Online Appendix for *Once We Too Were Strangers: Can a Heritage of Displacement be Leveraged to Build Support for Present-Day Refugees?*

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Contents

A Replication of Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021) Greece Study **2**

A.1 Overview . . . 2
A.2 Recruitment . . . 3
A.3 Analytic Approach . . . 5
A.4 Results . . . 6
A.5 Changes to Survey Protocol . . . 11
A.6 Contextual changes that may account for differences in results . . . 14
A.7 Parallels to other studies . . . 16

B Case Selection: Turkey and Cyprus **19**

B.1 Turkey . . . 19
B.2 Cyprus . . . 21

C Subject Recruitment **26**

C.1 Turkey . . . 26
C.2 Cyprus 2018 . . . 26
C.3 Cyprus 2021 and 2022 . . . 26

D Survey Instruments **27**

D.1 Survey Order . . . 27
D.2 Coding the *Refugee Family* Variable . . . 29

D.3 Experimental Treatment . . . 30
D.4 Outcomes . . . 33

E Analytic Approach **38**
E.1 Control Variables and Descriptive Statistics . . . 38
E.2 Robustness Check Procedures . . . 53
E.3 Meta-Analysis . . . 54
E.4 Pre-Registration . . . 54
E.5 Broader Aims . . . 56

F Results **56**
F.1 Main Results . . . 56
F.2 Robustness Checks . . . 66

G "Acknowledgment of Suffering" Treatment **84**

H Ethical Considerations **86**

A Replication of Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021) Greece Study

A.1 Overview

Our first study replicates Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*) as closely as possible. After consulting with the authors, who kindly shared with us a Greek version of their questionnaire, we re-created the original survey instrument with only minor differences. For instance, in the 5 years since the original study, the share of Syrians among refugees arriving in Greece has changed, and immigrant/refugee populations have begun arriving from Africa as well as Asia, so we dropped the word "Asia" in reference to the region of origin of the refugees from one of the questions. We list all changes to the original instrument in Appendix A.5. An English version of the original questionnaire can be found in Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*), Appendix E. Our objective, as in the original study, is to test whether we can induce more empathy or positive attitudes toward refugees by using a salience treatment drawing a parallel between Greeks' experiences with displacement from Asia Minor during the 1920s and Syrians' recent experiences with wartime displacement. Based on earlier results, we expect that the effects of the salience treatment will be significantly stronger among Greeks in the treated group, i.e. respondents whose ancestors were among the Asia Minor refugees.

Table A1: Prefecture Distribution for Dinas et. al (2021) Greece Data and Replication

		original (N=1897)		replication (N=2483)	
		N	Pct.	N	Pct.
prefecture	CHALCIDICE	104	5.5	132	5.3
	DRAMA	124	6.5	331	13.3
	FLORINA	48	2.5	63	2.5
	GREVENA	16	0.8	50	2.0
	IMATHIA	118	6.2	169	6.8
	KASTORIA	42	2.2	52	2.1
	KAVALA	256	13.5	280	11.3
	KILKIS	301	15.9	337	13.6
	KOZANI	143	7.5	184	7.4
	LESVOS	75	4.0	97	3.9
	PELLA	212	11.2	237	9.5
	PIERIA	120	6.3	139	5.6
	SERRES	160	8.4	195	7.9
	THESSALONIKI	178	9.4	217	8.7

A.2 Recruitment

As in Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*), we used a Greek survey firm to randomly sample phone numbers from 14 prefectures with known large inflows of Greek refugees from Asia Minor in the 1920s. We drew respondents from each prefecture in proportion to its population share of Asia Minor refugees in the 1928 census, resulting in a similar geographic distribution to the original (see Table A1). Both studies excluded phone numbers from prefecture capitals in order to focus on rural areas where the share of Asia Minor descendants is less likely to have been diluted by people migrating from other parts of Greece.[1] Our sample is about 30% larger than the original study, and 2/3 larger after dropping missing observations in the regressions.

Table A2 compares the demographics of the two samples. Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*) restricted their sample to respondents age 30 and above to increase the likelihood that refugee descendants would be only one or two generations removed from the original Asia Minor refugees. Since our study took place five years after the original, we updated this cutoff to 35. Thus, one would expect the average age in our replication sample to be about 5 years older than the original. However, we also dropped the original study's protocol of asking to speak to the youngest member of each household, resulting in a sample that is on average 9.5 years older and 23 percentage points more likely to be pensioners rather than other professions. Our respondents are also slightly less likely to have continued their education past primary school, which may be due to the higher percentage of women living in rural areas and people who grew up in an earlier

[1] We note that this design choice, which was implemented in the original study, could affect baseline results on support for refugees, as it is known that there are differences between urban and rural populations with respect to immigration attitudes (Rahsaan, 2019).

Table A2: Summary Statistics for Dinas et. al (2021) Greece Data and Replication

	original (N=1897)		replication (N=2483)			
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Diff. in Means	Std. Error
Treated	0.51	0.50	0.51	0.50	0.01	0.02
Asia Minor descendant	0.49	0.50	0.57	0.50	0.08	0.02
Female	0.60	0.49	0.50	0.50	-0.10	0.02
Age	53.13	12.46	62.68	13.01	9.55	0.39
Education						
primary	0.99	0.10	0.99	0.12	0.00	0.00
secondary	0.79	0.41	0.65	0.48	-0.13	0.01
higher	0.39	0.49	0.26	0.44	-0.14	0.01
Income						
1000 or less	0.56	0.50	0.49	0.50	-0.07	0.02
1000 to 3000	0.41	0.49	0.40	0.49	-0.01	0.02
Above 3000	0.03	0.16	0.02	0.14	-0.01	0.00
Occupation						
Public employee	0.11	0.31	0.08	0.27	-0.03	0.01
Private employee	0.14	0.35	0.11	0.31	-0.04	0.01
Pensioner	0.23	0.42	0.47	0.50	0.23	0.01
Self-employed	0.21	0.40	0.14	0.35	-0.06	0.01
Farmer	0.09	0.28	0.06	0.24	-0.03	0.01
Student	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00
Homemaker	0.10	0.31	0.08	0.27	-0.02	0.01
Unemployed	0.11	0.31	0.06	0.23	-0.05	0.01
Party						
New Democracy	0.26	0.44	0.39	0.49	0.13	0.01
SYRIZA	0.28	0.45	0.15	0.36	-0.13	0.01
PASOK	0.06	0.23	0.09	0.29	0.04	0.01
KKE	0.04	0.20	0.04	0.20	0.00	0.01
Golden Dawn	0.03	0.18	0.01	0.09	-0.02	0.00
Party Ideology						
Rightwing	0.32	0.47	0.39	0.49	0.07	0.02
Leftwing	0.38	0.48	0.27	0.44	-0.11	0.01

Note: The Greek party system shifted betewen the 2015 and 2019 elections, so not all parties appear in both surveys. Leftwing parties: SYRIZA, PASOK, KKE, MeRA25 (replication only), Course of Freedom (replication only). Rightwing parties: New Democracy, Golden Dawn, Greek Solution (replication only), ANEL (original only). Other parties: To Potami (original only) and the Union of Centrists (replication only).

era. The shift toward right-wing parties in the replication sample is reflective of shifts in Greek society as a whole. New Democracy, the largest rightwing party, won 28% of the vote in the 2015 parliamentary elections just prior to the original study and 40% in the 2019 elections prior to the replication study, a shift which closely mirrors the differences in the two samples.

None of these differences should affect our results, however, according to the theory articulated in Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*). Both samples had a large number of both descendants and non-descendants, each of whom had a 50/50 chance of being assigned to treatment or control. Nevertheless, as a robustness check, we created an additional dataset in which the replication sample was re-weighted to match the age, education, income, ideology, Asia Minor descent status, and prefecture distribution of the original sample and we use this weighted dataset in robustness tests.

A.3 Analytic Approach

Following Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*), we created two outcome indices, one for attitudes and another for behaviors, using principal component analysis (PCA). The attitude index included the authors' five-point agree/disagree statements about refugees: *Study in Greek schools* (refugee and Greek children should attend the same schools), *Residence permit* (refugees should be granted residency), *Money to Greeks* (public spending should be focused on Greeks instead of refugees), *Terror threat* (refugees increase the risk of terrorism), and *Increase crime* (refugees cause more crime than other groups). It also included indicator variables for each of the mains reasons respondents believe that refugees migrate (war, political persecution, poor economic conditions, potential welfare benefits in destination country). For their main analysis, Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*) combine all of these measures into a single index through PCA. However, in their appendix also consider a "strict" or "core" version that includes only the "purely normative attitudinal measures"— that is, the agree/disagree statements but not the supposed reasons for migration. Furthermore, their appendix shows results for averaging the outcomes as well as PCA. Below, we replicate the main results of their article (using PCA on all measures), but Figure 1 of you main text, we use the average of the purely normative measures in order to be consistent with our other studies (which also use an average and do not include the supposed reasons for refugee flight).

Our behavior index differs from the original study in two respects. Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*) created an index from the following outcome variables: a) sign a petition calling on the state to move refugees from open-air camps to hostels (yes/no), b) willingness to donate potential raffle winnings to a pro-refugee organization (yes/no), c) the log plus 1 of the amount the respondent was willing to donate (if any), and d) whether the researchers should tell members of parliament to increase/decrease the number of refugees

admitted (4 point-scale). We omitted question a) because the issue is no longer relevant in Greece[2] and relied only on the remaining three measures. We also changed question d) to a five-point scale with neutral middle options to accommodate respondents who did not want the researchers to contact parliament on their behalf. For both indices, each of these variables was standardized by using the mean and standard deviation of the control group before applying PCA, as in the original study.

To analyze the effect of treatment on refugee descendants, we used linear regression with the following specification:

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 T + \beta_2 AsiaMinor + \beta_3 (T)(AsiaMinor) + \gamma^\top \mathbf{X} + \varepsilon$$

where T indicates treatment, $AsiaMinor$ indicates having a parent or grandparent born in Asia Minor (i.e. being a refugee descendent), and $\mathbf{X}$ is a vector of controls. As in the original study, the controls consist of "prefecture fixed effects and indicators for gender, age,[3] seven educational categories, seven income categories, and eleven occupational categories." We run each model first without and then with these controls.

Replicating the original study's robustness checks, we compiled alternative indices using the mean rather than PCA and run an alternative PCA that includes only the normative attitudinal questions, excluding the reasons why refugees might come to Greece. We also include two robustness checks of our own. First, we run a weighted least squares regression using the weights we generated to match the population characteristics of our replications sample to the original. Second, we examine what happens in the original dataset and the replication when we control for a) party and b) party ideology.

A.4 Results

Table A3 compares the main results of the Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*) in Greece to our replication. The odd-numbered columns match the columns in Table 1, Panel A in the original study and were created using Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*)'s data.[4] The even-numbered columns present our replications. In accordance with the original study, we calculated the "total effect on Asia Minor" descendants by summing the point estimates for T and Asia Minor × T.[5]

In every model, we find an interaction effect and total effect that are closer to zero than the original

[2]There have been improvements in the quality of housing of camps in the Aegean islands, which were the place were most refugees were housed at the time of the original study, and most refugees have by now moved elsewhere.

[3]In keeping with the original study, we did not treat age as continuous but rather included an indicator for each birth year.

[4]The only differences between columns 1, 3, 5, 7 here and 1, 2, 3, 4 in Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*) is that we round to a greater number of significant digits and use a different star system for statistical significance in order to be consistent with the rest of our paper.

[5]The procedure to calculate the standard errors is a bit more involved. Following Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*), we ran an additional set of regressions of the form $Y \sim AsiaMinor + AsiaMinorTreated + NonAsiaMinorTreated$ where $AsiaMinorTreated$ is an indicator for being both a descendent and treated while $NonAsiaMinorTreated$ is an indicator for being both a non-descendent and treated. The "total effect" line in the table shows the coefficient estimates for $AsiaMinorTreated$.

study, despite having a sample that is much larger. Some results are negative and only one reaches the $p < 0.1$ level of statistical significance, let alone $p < 0.05$. The models consistently explain less of the total variance in the outcome in our data than in the original dataset, as measured by the squared correlation (R^2 value) listed in the last row.

Tables A4 and A5 compare the robustness checks from Table D6 of the original study's appendix to our replication. Again, the results are small and almost never reach any standard significance threshold.[6]

As an additional robustness check, we re-ran the main models presented in Table A3 with the replication sample re-weighted to match the original sample, as discussed in Section A.3. The results are presented in Table A6. Once again, we find no significant results.

Finally, given the rightward shift in the Greek electorate between the 2015 and 2019 parliamentary elections, we consider whether partisanship may account for the differences in the two studies. Models 1-4 in Table A7 show results for people who did *not* vote for leftwing parties in 2016; Models 5-7 show results for those who did. Despite the smaller sample size, the interaction between treatment and Asia Minor descent remains significant on both sides of the political spectrum in the original study. Table A8 repeats this exercise for our replication sample. Here, the interaction estimates remain small and non-significant regardless of party. Thus, the different results in the replication study cannot easily be explained by shifts in partisan ideology.

Table A3: Comparison of Table 1 in Dinas, et. al (2021) to Replication

Dependent Variables:	Quasi-behavioral				Attitudes			
Dataset:	Orig.	Repl.	Orig.	Repl.	Orig.	Repl.	Orig.	Repl.
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Variables								
Asia Minor	-0.015	0.004	-0.019	-0.002	0.099	-0.006	0.130*	-0.015
	(0.078)	(0.021)	(0.074)	(0.022)	(0.060)	(0.056)	(0.066)	(0.062)
T	-0.022	0.030	-0.069	0.031	-0.030	0.079	-0.013	0.073
	(0.066)	(0.021)	(0.067)	(0.022)	(0.066)	(0.076)	(0.071)	(0.081)
Asia Minor × T	0.189*	-0.003	0.223**	0.005	0.143*	-0.052	0.132	-0.021
	(0.096)	(0.030)	(0.101)	(0.029)	(0.079)	(0.126)	(0.094)	(0.128)
Total effect	0.167**	0.026	0.154**	0.036*	0.113**	-0.005	0.119**	0.052
on Asia Minor	(0.073)	(0.021)	(0.077)	(0.021)	(0.044)	(0.024)	(0.048)	(0.080)
Fit statistics								
Controls	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Observations	1,508	2,485	1,438	2,256	1,609	2,485	1,534	2,256
Squared Correlation	0.0053	0.0014	0.1091	0.0966	0.0088	0.0010	0.1291	0.0481

Clustered (municipality) standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

[6] Aside from differences in rounding and significance codes, Table D.6 in the original study differs from ours in that it reverses the order of the first two rows, listing T before Asia Minor. We, instead, maintain the same order as Table A3 for consistency.

Table A4: Comparison of Table D6 in Dinas, et. al (2021) to Replication (part 1)

Dependent Variables:	Average behavioral				Average attitudinal			
Dataset:	Orig.	Repl.	Orig.	Repl.	Orig.	Repl.	Orig.	Repl.
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Variables								
Asia Minor	-0.012	0.004	-0.015	-0.002	0.101*	-0.011	0.107	0.004
	(0.071)	(0.021)	(0.069)	(0.022)	(0.060)	(0.032)	(0.068)	(0.033)
T	-0.046	0.030	-0.084	0.031	0.004	-0.018	0.013	-0.007
	(0.058)	(0.021)	(0.061)	(0.022)	(0.062)	(0.020)	(0.069)	(0.025)
Asia Minor × T	0.133*	-0.003	0.179**	0.005	0.112	0.013	0.116	0.006
	(0.077)	(0.030)	(0.081)	(0.029)	(0.068)	(0.032)	(0.080)	(0.037)
Total effect on	0.087	0.026	0.094	0.036*	0.116**	-0.005	0.129***	-0.0008
Asia Minor	(0.066)	(0.021)	(0.075)	(0.021)	(0.045)	(0.024)	(0.046)	(0.024)
Fit statistics								
Controls	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Observations	1,895	2,485	1,793	2,256	1,895	2,485	1,793	2,256
Squared Correlation	0.0020	0.0014	0.0937	0.0966	0.0078	0.0003	0.1237	0.1068

Clustered (municipality) standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table A5: Comparison of Table D6 in Dinas, et. al (2021) to Replication (part 2)

Dependent Variable:	PCA attitudinal (strict)			
Dataset:	Orig.	Repl.	Orig.	Repl.
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Variables				
Asia Minor	0.118*	-0.015	0.099	0.011
	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.061)
T	0.037	-0.041	0.072	-0.020
	(0.056)	(0.035)	(0.058)	(0.042)
Asia Minor × T	0.110	0.030	0.096	0.015
	(0.074)	(0.061)	(0.074)	(0.070)
Total effect on	0.147**	-0.010	0.168***	-0.005
Asia Minor	(0.060)	(0.047)	(0.058)	(0.047)
Fit statistics				
Controls	N	N	Y	Y
Observations	1,785	2,485	1,689	2,256
Squared Correlation	0.0107	0.0004	0.1360	0.1121

Clustered (municipality) standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table A6: Main Models Weighting Replication Sample to Match Original

Dependent Variables:	Quasi-behavioral		Attitudes	
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Variables				
Asia Minor	-0.010	0.002	-0.031	-0.036
	(0.026)	(0.022)	(0.080)	(0.088)
T	0.023	0.036	0.059	0.079
	(0.026)	(0.028)	(0.083)	(0.088)
Asia Minor × T	0.006	-0.015	-0.034	-0.037
	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.117)	(0.116)
Total effect on	0.029	0.021	0.025	0.042
Asia Minor	(0.027)	(0.025)	(0.080)	(0.078)
Fit statistics				
Controls	N	Y	N	Y
Observations	2,483	2,256	2,483	2,256
Squared Correlation	0.0011	0.0790	0.0009	0.0352

Clustered (municipality) standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table A7: Table 1 in Dinas, et. al (2021) split by party ideology

Dependent Variables:	Quasi-behavioral		Attitudes		Quasi-behavioral		Attitudes	
Leftwing	No				Yes			
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Variables								
Asia Minor	-0.093	-0.174*	0.060	0.039	-0.011	-0.015	0.052	0.102
	(0.105)	(0.103)	(0.112)	(0.103)	(0.106)	(0.107)	(0.084)	(0.101)
T	0.010	-0.115	-0.067	-0.093	-0.103	-0.159	-0.055	-0.051
	(0.087)	(0.096)	(0.083)	(0.083)	(0.100)	(0.111)	(0.099)	(0.128)
Asia Minor × T	0.212*	0.349**	0.211*	0.270**	0.337**	0.421***	0.251**	0.205
	(0.125)	(0.133)	(0.120)	(0.119)	(0.125)	(0.125)	(0.109)	(0.145)
Total effect	0.222**	0.235**	0.144*	0.177**	0.234**	0.263***	0.196**	0.154
on Asia Minor	(0.098)	(0.116)	(0.083)	(0.081)	(0.100)	(0.086)	(0.075)	(0.098)
Fit statistics								
Standard Controls	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Observations	810	776	858	825	513	494	545	521
Squared Correlation	0.0057	0.1255	0.0090	0.1397	0.0185	0.2331	0.0150	0.2498

Clustered (municipality) standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table A8: Regressions on replication data split by party ideology

Dependent Variables:	Quasi-behavioral		Attitudes		Quasi-behavioral		Attitudes	
Leftwing	No				Yes			
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Variables								
Asia Minor	-0.017	-0.032	-0.003	-0.026	0.032	0.094*	-0.017	0.104
	(0.021)	(0.024)	(0.062)	(0.070)	(0.037)	(0.052)	(0.123)	(0.135)
T	-0.006	-0.002	0.122	0.105	0.113***	0.119***	-0.045	0.006
	(0.023)	(0.026)	(0.078)	(0.088)	(0.035)	(0.043)	(0.148)	(0.160)
Asia Minor × T	0.026	0.034	-0.087	-0.046	-0.080	-0.121*	0.053	-0.029
	(0.031)	(0.035)	(0.139)	(0.157)	(0.054)	(0.061)	(0.189)	(0.213)
Total effect	0.021	0.032	0.035	0.059	0.033	-0.002	0.007	-0.022
on Asia Minor	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.093)	(0.100)	(0.043)	(0.043)	(0.094)	(0.102)
Fit statistics								
Standard Controls	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Observations	1,816	1,633	1,816	1,633	667	623	667	623
Squared Correlation	0.0006	0.0990	0.0025	0.0676	0.0114	0.2188	0.0002	0.1428

Clustered (municipality) standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

A.5 Changes to Survey Protocol

Several contextual differences could potentially explain the differences in our results compared to the original study. While we do not explore such sources of contextual variation, we list here all deviations from the original study's survey protocol. This provides transparency regarding possible study-specific sources of variation in the results of the two studies. We recommend that a detailed of modifications to study design/survey instruments be provided in any replication of survey-based work to facilitate better understanding of possible sources of differences in results.

1. We expanded the consent page to include a statement that we are not affiliated with any political party and provided additional information regarding the anonymity of responses.

2. The introduction/consent page of the original survey instrument includes a request to speak to the youngest member of the household. We dropped this from our survey since it works counter to the goal of interviewing people over the age of 35 to maximize the likelihood that they would have a grandparent born in Asia Minor.

3. Our means of establishing a respondent's current place of residence differed in the following respects:

   (a) The original sample drew phone numbers from 14 prefectures including Lesvos, a prefecture consisting of two Aegean islands. However, an administrative reorganization since that time has split Lesvos prefecture into two prefectures, one for the island of Lesvos itself and one for the neighboring island of Lemnos. We retain only the former.[7]

   (b) The authors of the original study restricted their sample to respondents who did not live in a prefecture capital by asking the polling firm not to call numbers with prefixes that corresponded to the capital cities. We, too, followed this procedure. Additionally, they included a question asking for the respondent's municipality (the next administrative unit below the prefecture level), presumably to guard against visitors from the capital (or from outside the prefecture) answering the phone. We approximate this procedure, first by asking respondents their prefecture (dropping those who don't list one of the 14), and then which of the prefecture's municipalities they reside in (dropping those who list the capital). If a respondent lived in one of the 14 prefectures but then named a municipality that didn't exist in our drop-down list, the interviewer asked a follow-up free-response question "Πώς είπατε ότι λέγεται ο δήμος σας" ("what did you say your municipality

[7] We do so because we believe that sampling from the island of Lesvos itself was the original intent of the authors, judging by the maps included in their appendix and in light of the fact that Lesvos received the bulk of the refugees during the crisis of 2015. Lemnos did not have a sizable population of refugees during the 2015-2019 period.

is called?") and wrote down their response.[8] As a final safeguard against out-of-area respondents, we asked for the respondent's postal code.

4. The vignette in the original study makes reference to "Asia" along with Syria as the region of origin of refugees to Greece. We replaced "Asia" with "other countries," because many refugees come from Africa. The updated wording remains factually accurate as to the national makeup of refugee inflows to Greece and avoids the risk of drawing an additional parallel between "Asia" and "Asia Minor" in the treatment condition. The theory is not supposed to depend on a shared region of origin between respondent and outgroup, only a shared refugee identity/heritage.

5. In their published article, Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*) state that control and treatment vignettes are identical, except that in the control version, the final sentences is omitted: "Today's refugee crisis is reminiscent of the story of the Asia Minor refugees after the Asia Minor catastrophe." ("Η σημερινή προσφυγική κρίση θυμίζει την ιστορία των προσφύγων της Μικράς Ασίας μετά την Μικρασιατική Καταστροφή"). However, in the Greek version of the survey instrument which the authors shared with us, the preceding sentence is *also* omitted from the control version: "Greece recently received a large wave of refugees from Syria and other countries in Asia" ("Η Ελλάδα δέχθηκε πρόσφατα ένα μεγάλο κύμα προσφύγων από την Συρία και άλλες χώρες"). We chose to follow the published version, which indicates that the sentence starting with "Greece recently received..." was presented in the control condition, and we assume that the Greek version shared with us was a slightly earlier draft.[9]

6. The original study included a question regarding signing a petition in favor of moving refugees from "open air" camps to hotels, schools, and other locations where they would have better accommodations. It was reasonable to include this question as a policy outcome in 2017 when the original survey was fielded and such petitions were being circulated due to heavy news coverage of poor living conditions in open-air camps in the Aegean islands. However, in the intervening 5 years conditions in these camps have improved and most refugees have been moved either to other countries in Europe or to different

[8] If respondents mentioned a municipal unit that was smaller than the ones included on our list (this is possible in light of the recent restructuring of municipal units in Greece), interviewers were instructed to ask follow-up questions to establish whether it is part of a larger metropolitan area that might need to be excluded (e.g. PLOMARI, in the case of MYTILENE; in the US context, the analogy would be to exclude residents of a suburb that is adjacent to a large metropolitan center). Such units—if they have different prefixes in their telephone numbers—might not have been excluded from the original study. (We were unable to establish from the authors or from the instructions to interviewers that are included on the survey instrument how they handled such cases.) However, if the motivation for excluding capital cities is that to exclude populations with greater mobility than other parts of the prefecture, then the only logically consistent approach would be to screen out any residents of the greater metropolitan area, which is the approach we are following in this study.

[9] However, if in fact, this draft was accidentally the one deployed in the original study, then the difference between the original study's results and ours could be due to the original study having a stronger treatment; and due to the fact that the treatment specifies the national origin of the refugees whereas the control condition does not, leaving it up to the respondents to think about refugees from other regions of the world, which could influence their responses. It is possible that a longer, more detailed vignette has the power to evoke greater sympathy from refugee descendants. This is something that we address more fully in adaptations of this treatment that we deploy in other studies in Cyprus and Turkey.

camps inland where living conditions are better. Given that this question is no longer pertinent, and respondents would not perceive this as a "live" policy issue, we dropped the corresponding survey item.

7. The original study includes a question asking respondents if they wanted the researchers to contact members of parliament on their behalf to ask to increase or decrease the number of people Greece grants asylum to. The original question provided only four response options to the survey item asking whether respondents wanted to increase, greatly increase, decrease, or greatly decrease the number of refugees that Greece admits each year. We felt it was problematic to force respondents to choose among those actions because all four options assume that they would want the number of asylum admission to change. Therefore, we added a fifth option to allow respondents to indicate that they wanted the number to remain the same or that they did not want us to contact their member of parliament.[10]

8. The original study asks where the respondent was born. We changed this survey item to ask where the respondent "grew up" because we consider this more relevant to their socialization, which is a mechanism that could underlie outcomes in this study. We introduce this question by first asking if they grew up in the same place where they now live, so as to save time. For those who indicate that they grew up somewhere else, we specify the prefecture and municipality where they grew up. This allows us to test, for example, if they lived in a municipality/prefecture with large numbers of descendants from Asia Minor throughout their lives or only recently.

9. The original study asked if any of the respondent's grandparents were born in Asia Minor. For the paternal grandparents, the order of response options was [one, both, neither], while for the maternal grandparents, the order was [one, neither, both]. We changed the order of the latter to be consistent with the former.

10. We added a number of new questions after the end of the original survey instrument so as to test hypotheses that might shed light on mechanisms underlying the results reported in the original study. These are intended to identify whether neighbors or family members (or both) were the main agents of socialization and inculcation of the refugee descendant identity; whether the respondent or their family are Pontic Greeks who arrived in Greece since the 1970s; whether the respondent identifies strongly with Asia Minor descendants, as measured by a new lottery/allocation question; and whether respondents come into contact frequently with refugees from other countries and immigrants. All of these additional questions were added after the original questions.

[10] While the survey item informs researchers that their names and addresses would be included in the letter, the researchers did not actually collect that information (per email communication with the researchers on October 12, 2022). Instead, they sent a brief letter with a graph summarizing aggregate data from this survey item to MPs from the regions under study. We followed this procedure, but also included a debriefing statement at the end of the survey explaining that only aggregate results, and not names or contact information, would be shared.

A.6 Contextual changes that may account for differences in results

In this section, we provide more information about contextual differences between the Dinas et al. study and our replication survey. While this is conjectural, these differences are significant and could plausibly account for the differences in results. This discussion also provides useful background for readers who are not familiar with the Greek context and with the changing immigration landscape in the country.

The main differences that we see between the immigration landscape and political context between our study and Dinas et al (2021) are the following:

First, in the six years since data were collected for the original study, the salience of the refugee issue in Greece has decreased and baseline hostility is likely lower, judging by recent data collected for a different study and reported in [redacted for review]. We note a marked decrease in anti-immigrant sentiment in Greece over time, both in comparison to data reported in other other academic studies (such as Dinas et al) and compared to wave 7 of the World Values Survey, which was done in 2017 in Greece.

Second, Dinas et al collected data immediately after a deal was reached between the EU and Turkey to reduce the size of refugee inflows into Europe. The period immediately following that deal and preceding data collection for the Dinas et al survey was one characterized by a sharp reduction in refugee inflows, so it is possible that respondents were under the impression that hosting refugees would be a temporary situation. By contrast, at the time that we collected our data, the fact that large numbers of refugees were still present in Greece and new arrivals were noted 6 years after the onset of the refugee crisis, is likely to create the impression that migrants and refugees would not be transient. Such perceptions are reported in nation-wide public opinion polls conducted in Greece in 2020 and reported in other studies (see, e.g., Sambanis and Choi, 2023). This difference in perceptions of the permanence of the refugee/migrant inflows could shape the native population's attitudes toward refugees differently in the two studies.

Third, the composition of the refugee population arriving to Greece has changed over time. At the time of the original study, refugees were a much more homogeneous group, mainly composed of wartime refugees from the Middle East (Syria). By contrast, refugees/migrants from African now make up a larger part of new arrivals, which could potentially account for differences in the population's attitudes if they perceive a larger social distance between themselves and African vs Middle Eastern refugees.

Fourth, related to the point made just above, new research by other researchers (Fabbe et al., 2023; Fabbe, Kyrkopoulou and Vidali, 2023) finds that Greeks perceived Syrians as middle-to-high income, family-centered people who were forced to flee war and were therefore deserving of help. These perceptions do not apply to most new inflows as Greeks are more likely to characterize new arrivals as "illegal migrants" rather than wartime refugees. The fact that wars in African countries (e.g. Cameroon, Congo) causing refugee outflows

do no receive adequate media coverage in Greece (or elsewhere) adds to the misperception that migrants from those countries are not fleeing persecution.

Fifth, Greece has had a government change in the period intervening between the two studies. The new government is decidedly less favorable toward immigrants and refugees than the government that was in place at the time of the Dinas et al survey. The Prime Minister (Tsipras) of the left-leaning governing party (SYRIZA) at the time of the original survey had repeatedly pitched a pro-refugee response by making direct references to Greeks' Asia Minor refugee experiences. There was widespread reporting on this in the media at the time. For example, this https://www.news247.gr/afieromata/otan-oi-mikrasiates-evriskan-katafygio-sti-syria-kai-zoysan-ton-ratsismo-stin-ellada.6625710.html presents a story of Greek refugees from Asia Minor in 1922 who saught refugee in Syria and experienced "racism" upon their arrival in Greece. This story https://www.newsbeast.gr/greece/arthro/1927183/to-drama-ton-prosfigon-tote-ke-simera draws a direct parallel between refugees "then and now." The barrage of these references to the Asia Minor conflict creates an interesting setting in that the salience treatment by Dinas et al taps into a much larger, scaled-up campaign to mobilize support for refugees. However, it also raises concerns with possible party endorsement effects by supporters of pro-refugee government policies who were exposed to the prime minister's parallels at the time of the original survey. Interestingly, at the time of our survey, the Asia Minor disaster was also quite salient as we collected data on the 100th year anniversary of the destruction of Smyrna (Izmir), the historical references, documentaries, and opinion pieces regarding the Greek refugee crisis of 1922 were again widespread.

Sixth, the period between the two surveys was one of severe mismanagement of the refugee crisis in Greece. That mismanagement has been documented and widely reported in the international news media. In a new paper, Sambanis and Choi (2023) find that perceptions of the degree of government mismanagement of the refugee crisis in Greece shape respondents' immigration policy preferences today. Relatedly, Fabbe et al. (2023) find that many Greeks' perception was that they have done enough to help refugees over since 2015 despite high costs for themselves and the country. A related study by Fabbe, Kyrkopoulou and Vidali (2023) finds that Greek citizens worry that inadequate state institutions will create long-term problems for both asylum-seekers and Greek citizens. The study by Fabbe, Kyrkopoulou and Vidali (2023) provides evidence that due to the mismanagement of the crisis, there has been a large increase in migrants who are left outside of the labor market and dependent on humanitarian assistance from the EU. Over time, this is likely to have shaped negative perceptions of the migrant population as unwilling or unable to work and, therefore, as a greater burden on the host country.

Seventh, in the period since the summer of 2020, Greek public opinion has been sensitized to the idea that Turkish President Erdogan has been using migrants as a foreign policy tool, "weaponizing" them to

increase Turkey's leverage in bargaining with Greece (over ongoing territorial disputes in the Aegean sea) and the European Union.[11] This is well documented in the local press. A related study focusing on Greek Cypriot public opinion on refugees in Cyprus by Sambanis, Kassinis and Kassinis (2023) finds evidence of the same perception that Turkey uses refugees as a bargaining chip to apply pressure on neighboring states with which it has ongoing foreign policy conflicts. That study shows that Greek Cypriots are not ordinarily more hostile toward Syrian refugees (compared to refugees from other countries) when they arrive by boat directly from Lebanon, but they become more hostile to Syrians who arrive from Turkey because they perceive them as weapons of Turkish foreign policy.

Finally, the Covid-19 pandemic occurred during the period between the two surveys, and could have resulted in changing the public's policy preferences in unexpected ways, including in reference to refugees or with regard to how responsive citizens are to efforts to make their families' historical experiences with displacement cognitively salient.

Taken together, these differences in context are likely consequential and could shift baseline attitudes toward migrants or refugees, while also changing the sensitivity of the population to any parallels drawn between contemporary refugees' plight and the Greeks' own historical experiences with wartime displacement. These contextual differences likely account for weaker effects of the salience treatment in our replication compared to those reported in the original study.

A.7 Parallels to other studies

The preceding discussion of contextual changes in Greece over time that might affect the impact of the salience treatment naturally raises the question of how our studies fit with other explorations of analogic perspective-taking in even more different country contexts. In this section, we draw some parallels and brief comparisons to a number of recent contributions to the literature, go better situate our study in the literature. Overall, our review of existing studies reinforces our main conclusion that the effects of "salience treatments" are likely context-specific and inconsistent across studies.

To illustrate this general point, we briefly outline comparisons to four papers by Wayne and Zukov (2022), Meiske (2023), Turkoglu, Canvavan and Icduygu (2022), and Hong, Mo and Paik (2022).

Hong, Mo and Paik (2021) and Wayne and Zhukov (2022) use the same experimental approach as we and Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*). Hong, Mo and Paik (2021)'s treatment invokes memories of the Korean War for South Koreans, some of whose parents or grandparents fled from the north. Wayne and Zhukov (2022)'s treatment invokes the Holocaust for Americans, mostly Jewish Holocaust survivors, or their

[11] See https://thehill.com/opinion/international/486291-turkey-weaponizes-refugees-against-europe/ and https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2020/03/greece-turkey-refugees-explainer/.

descendants. Each study arrives at a different conclusion regarding the effects of the "salience treatment":

- Hong, Mo and Paik (2021) (see Table A9 in their appendix): **Positive treatment effects** for non-refugee families with even larger treatment effects for refugee families (**positive interaction**).
- Wayne and Zhukov (2022) (see Figure 4 in their main text): **Positive treatment effects** for non-refugee families, but smaller positive (non-significant) treatment effects for refugee families (**negative interaction**).
- Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*) (see Table 1 in their main text): **Negative (non-significant) treatment effects** for non-refugee families, but positive (sometimes significant) effects for refugee families (**positive interaction**).
- Our studies (see Figures 1 and 2): **Positive (non-significant) treatment effects** for non-refugee families in 4/5 studies, but negative (sometimes significant) treatment effects for refugee families (**negative interaction**).

It is perhaps unsurprising that these studies come to different conclusions about how the treatment affects *non*-refugee families. The five historical incidents invoked in these studies—the Korean War, Holocaust, Greek-Turkish population exchanges, ethnic German expulsions, and Turkish invasion of Cyprus—vary considerably in how analogous they are to present-day refugee crises. Furthermore, they may be commemorated and taught very differently in their respective countries. What is striking, however, is that in some countries *refugee families* react more positively to these comparisons than their compatriots while in other contexts they react less positively—even negatively. This divergence across studies is in part why we believe that the focus of these studies should be on differential effects rather than on the main effect of the treatment on the population as a whole if the objective is to better understand the "family history" mechanism in analogic perspective-taking. One difference between Hong, Mo and Paik (2021) study and ours is that Korea has faced a much smaller refugee burden than any of the countries we collect data from: Turkey/Greece/Cyprus. As a result of this more limited exposure and smaller effects on the population, South Korea can more easily regulate the flow of refugees into the country due to its location. The message of a shared refugee experience may also be more novel to this population. Both of these factors would predict Koreans being more sensitive to light-touch interventions.

Like our Cyprus 2022 study, Wayne and Zhukov (2022) explored differences between surviors themselves and their descendants. They find that descendants have slightly less positive treatment effects than survivors, though the difference is not significant. In contrast, our Cyprus 2022 study finds major, significance difference between how survivors of the 1974 Turkish invasion and their descendants react to treatment. They also

find that surivors and their decendents are less likely to be swayed a negative in-group defensive treatment than those with no connetion to the Holocaust. We too experimented with different treatment framings, but found no significant effects.

Meiske (2023) and Turkoglu, Canavan and Icduygu (2022) consider a different research question—under what circumstances are minorities and existing immigrant groups supportive of new refugees and immigrants? Using a survey experiment in Germany, Meiske (2023) argues the discrimination makes these groups more hostile toward immigrants (as a means of trying to raise themselves back up in the social hierarchy). Using observational data from Turkey and the European Social Survey, Turkoglu, Canavan and Icduygu (2022) find that (non-immigrant) ethnic minorities are less hostile to refugees than the rest of the native population, except when it comes economic issues (due presumably to the threat of economic competition). We see these studies as relevant to the broader agenda of testing the effectiveness of analogic perspective-taking, and note that they reach different conclusions. Neither study is directly relevant to ours, since we focus on native (majority) populations in all three countries, and because refugee families no longer face discrimination in Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus. However, it is worth noting that Meiske (2023) does hint at a possible explanation for our null findings: our treatment reminds Greek/Turkish/Cypriot refugee families of their family history, including both the trauma of displacement itself and the trauma of discrimination that followed. Some refugee families may latch onto the idea of shared displacement and become supportive while others recall their low status in Cypriot/Greek/Turkish society and subsequently look down on the newcomers with an even lower status. This is conjectiure, but it is possible to get such offsetting effects. This explanation would be consistent with our Cyprus 2022 results. First-generation refugees are reminded of their actual displacement more than refugee descendants, who never experience it first hand (both generations experienced discrimination). Still, this explanation is highly tentative and does not explain why our results differ from those of Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*).

The results of Turkoglu, Canavan and Icduygu (2022) differ from ours; they find that discriminated minorities (e.g., Kurds) are generally more supportive of refugees that their fellow citizens, except when it comes to economic issues. We do not find this result. Our two studies that ask about work permits for refugees—Turkey and Cyprus 2022—do not exhibit much difference between this outcome and the non-economic outcomes. However, refugee descendants probably do not face as much economic discrimination (if any) compared to minorities that are readily identifiable by name or skin color. Descendants in Greece and Turkey are probably too far removed to feel any discrimination, while first generation Cypriot refugees are likely to be either retired or well settled in their careers (as opposed to young people in search of a job).

B Case Selection: Turkey and Cyprus

B.1 Turkey

B.1.1 Country Selection

Turkey was selected as a case because, at the time of this writing, it is experiencing the largest inflow of Syrian refugees anywhere in the world and is one of the world's top refugee-hosting countries. Hostility toward Syrian refugees is high according to public opinion polls (Erdogan, 2018, 2019). As the percentage of refugees increased tenfold between 2013 and 2016, the share of the population agreeing with the statement that "refugees are not a concern of Turkey and should be sent back to their country" has increased from 38.9% in 2014 to 86.2% in 2018 (Erdogan, 2018). The vast majority of refugees live outside of refugee camps, with very high concentrations in provinces along the Syrian border and metropolitan areas near the border and the coastline. Poor economic conditions across the country have intensified concerns over job market competition with refugees, and there is resentment regarding the high overall economic costs of accommodating such large numbers of refugees. The majority of the population currently holds negative views of Syrian refugees; in a recent survey, 75% of Turkish respondents disagreed with a statement that "they can live in peace with Syrians" (Erdogan, 2018). Turkey's proximity to areas of conflict makes the Syrian refugee crisis more salient than in countries in the West where the native population is less directly affected. Moreover, Turkey's recent history has been marked by several episodes of violent interethnic conflict, including an ongoing Kurdish insurgency in the east, which provides an additional contextual difference from European, North American, or other Western contexts of migration in which there is no recent experience of violent conflict.

Turkey was also selected as a case because of the large number of Turks with family histories of migration/displacement. Modern Turkey's transition from a multiethnic empire to a nation-state involved the in-migration of several groups from lost territories of the empire who could claim the native identity yet were forcibly displaced from parts they considered their homelands. During the long period of decline of the Ottoman Empire, waves of inflows of Muslim refugees arrived to Turkey from different regions of the empire. More than 10 million Ottoman Muslim expellees and their descendants who were born after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire are present in Turkey today, including Turks, Albanians, Bosniaks, Greeks, Circassians, Crimean Tatars, Pomaks, and Serbs. These groups immigrated to Thrace and Anatolia from the late 18th century through the end of the 20th century to escape ethnic cleansing and persecution. From the 1930s to 2016, there was an additional in-migration of two million Balkan Turks who faced harassment and discrimination in their homelands.

These characteristics contrast with the environments such as Germany, Greece, and the U.S. in which

prior research on analogic thinking has taken place (Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer, 2021*a*; Williamson et al., 2021). Outsize refugee inflows combined with one of the worst economic crises in Turkey's history create difficult conditions for refugee integration, rendering Turkey a "hard" case for empirical tests of "light-touch" interventions designed to reduce native bias. At the same time, Turkey is a natural case to consider for a replication of the salience experiment in Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*) which studies the descendants of Greeks whose ancestors were expelled from Turkey during the breakup of the Ottoman Empire, the mirror image of our case (Turks expelled from Greece).

B.1.2 The Displacement of Muslims from Greece

The Ottoman Empire was effectively dissolved following its defeat in World War I, as the European allies occupied and partitioned the remaining territories of the empire. Under the leadership of Kemal Ataturk, an insurgent army (the Turkish National Movement) fought a series of wars, collectively known as the "Independence Wars (*Kurtuluş Savaşı*)" between 1919 and 1922. Throughout this period, the Turkish National Movement pursued a strategy to unify the nation around a Muslim identity and sought to expel Christian populations. At the end of the 1920-22 Greco-Turkish War, an agreement was signed between Greece and Turkey entitled "A Treaty for the Exchange of Turkish-Greek Orthodox Population" on January 30, 1923, for the purposes of homogenizing the populations of the two countries. The exchange was based on religious—not ethnic—identity, and it was compulsory. All Muslims in Greece and all Greek Orthodox Christians (except for those residing in Istanbul) were forcibly exchanged between Turkey and Greece as a result. Muslims who were resettled in Greece came to be known as *mübadils* (exchangees). Over 1 million ethnic Greeks in Turkey and 400,000 Turks in Greece were forced to migrate. Resettling 400,000 newcomers was a challenge as Turkey was a new nation coming out of a long war and going through major demographic shifts. The original plan was to settle the new arrivals from Greece in houses abandoned by the Greek inhabitants in Turkey.

This plan was difficult to implement (Arı, 1995). First, registries of available houses were not reliable. As a new state, Turkey did not have a well-developed administration, and there was poor coordination between local and national government agencies. Second, not every house that the government was planning on using for refugee resettlement was available, partly because of a time gap between the agreement and the Greeks' departure. During the year between their departure and the exchange treaty, the abandoned Greek houses were either plundered and looted or were taken over by the locals (Aktar, 2003). As a result, the resettlement process was not as organized as initially planned. To identify locations with large settlements of refugees from Greece, we relied on census documents.

B.1.3 Site Selection

To examine the interaction between a heritage of displacement and attitudes toward present-day refugees, we chose Edirne province because it had the highest proportion of Greek-born residents in the 1927 and 1935 censuses (14%), thus providing an adequate number of refugee-descendants for our study. To establish the share of the population comprised of refugees from Greece, we relied on the final Ottoman census prior to the exchange (in (Karpat, 1986)) conducted in 1914, and the first two censuses of the Republic of Turkey conducted in 1927 and 1935, following the Treaty of exchange of populations. The 1914 Census provided us with information about where Greek-speaking subjects of the Ottoman empire lived prior to being exchanged with Greece since their vacated houses would later become the primary targets for the resettlement of Muslim refugees from Greece. The first two censuses of the Turkish Republic had information about the birth country of each resident, indicating the extent to which Muslims born in Greece had been resettled there following the exchange. We also consulted the 1930 Statistical Yearbook published by the Turkish Statistical Institute, which provided data on the number of immigrants who arrived and resettled in Turkey between 1922 and 1930. We used the entry data between 1923 and 1925 and divided it by the total population of each province as provided by the 1927 census. Edirne is the province with the most consistently reported high ratio of population from Greece, and hence also the highest concentration of expelled/exchanged Muslims from Greece.

An additional consideration was that we would ideally like to choose a region in which the non-Mübadil-descended population was less likely to have migration experiences in their own family history. This setup allows for a sharper contrast between the Mübadil (families with a heritage of displacement) and families without a history of displacement. Izmir is another province with a high concentration of resettled *mübadil*. However, its population grew by more than 8.4 times (526,005 to 4,425,789) from 1927 to 2021, whereas Edirne's population grew by a factor of 2.73 (from 150,840 to 412,115). Since natural birthrates would not account for this difference in population growth in the two provinces, these data suggest a higher rate if in-migration into Izmir most likely from other regions of Turkey, but also possibly from abroad. Thus, we selected Edirne over Izmir.

B.2 Cyprus

B.2.1 Present-Day Asylum Seekers in Cyprus

Like Turkey, Cyprus presents a hard case for light-tough interventions aimed at improving attitudes toward refugees due to the magnitude and burden of the recent refugee flows. Prior to the Ukraine war, Cyprus was receiving the largest number of refugees per capita out of all EU member states, due to its proximity to

Syria and Turkey and its porous border. Since 1974, the island has been divided between the Republic of Cyprus (hereafter "Cyprus", an EU member state), and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (hereafter "Northern Cyprus," recognized only by Turkey and considered by the EU and UN to be illegally occupied by the Turkish military). This pre-existing conflict has exacerbated the current migrant crisis. Migrants have been arriving not only by boat but passing through a de facto border with Northern Cyprus, which many Cypriots believe is part of a deliberate effort by the Turkish government to destabilize the Republic of Cyprus.[12] Thus, widespread hostility toward migrants found elsewhere in Europe is compounded by resentment toward Turkey, making Cyprus a challenging context in which to improve outgroup attitudes toward asylum-seekers.

Resentment may also be fueled by perceptions that Cyprus bears an unfair share of the EU's refugee burden. The number of asylum applications in Cyprus has quadrupled since 2015 while declining in all other EU states over the same period. Many migrants view Cyprus as a way to access the rest of the EU; being unaware that Cyprus is not a member of the Schengen Treaty, they falsely assume that they can eventually transition to more affluent, large countries in Western Europe. In reality, many become stuck in Cyprus, sometimes for years, waiting for their asylum applications to be processed. The relatively large number of refugee arrivals on the island far exceeds the capacity of the state to provide adequate housing, which has led to overcrowding and poor living conditions in refugee reception centers.

B.2.2 The Displacement of Greek Cypriots from Northern Cyprus

Cyprus was a British colony until 1960 and adopted a constitution that divided power between the majority Greek (80%) and minority Turkish (18%) population (the remaining 2% Maronite, Armenian, and other Greek speakers were lumped together with the ethnic Greeks). A brief civil war in 1963 resulted in military intervention by Turkey in 1964 and then again in 1974 following a coup staged by Greek nationalists who intended to take over power and unify Cyprus with Greece. Turkey's intentions were to occupy the entirety of the island (Artuç, 1989; Erkmen, Yüksel and Alaçam, 1990; Oberling, 1987; Oran, 2009; Çetiner, 2007). As is evident in historical accounts of the military conflict, the Turkish army overpowered Greek Cypriot and Greek resistance, causing massive population displacements on the Greek side, and the advance of the Turkish army was halted by diplomatic intervention and a United Nations peacekeeping force which intervened to protect the Nicosia airport. Ultimately, approximately 40% of the island came under Turkish occupation. The legacies of this conflict continue to dominate politics in Cyprus, and the displaced Greek population and

[12] Media coverage of the refugee crisis suggests that this perception is prevalent. We confirm this via our survey as more than two-thirds of all respondents agree with the statement that "Most migrants and refugees who enter via the occupied territories in the north are being sent deliberately by Turkey to cause problems for the Republic of Cyprus."

their descendants refer to themselves as *refugees*.[13] The refugee identity among Greek Cypriots is extremely salient, nurtured by a climate of continual negotiations and public debates concerning ways to reunify the island and repatriate (or compensate) the displaced.

B.2.3 Exogeneity of Refugee Status

The partition of Cyprus in 1974 is a good case for an analysis of the legacies of exposure to wartime displacement due to the *as-if random* assignment of Greek-speaking Cypriots to this conditions.[14] By all accounts, violence was indiscriminate—Greek Cypriots were targeted as a group; not as individuals. Entire villages were vacated by caravans of refugees immediately prior to the arrival of the advancing army and as a result of fighting. All but a few hundred Greek Cypriots who remained in the north after the ceasefire line was drawn at the end of the fighting were subsequently exchanged for Turkish Cypriots in the south. This pattern of fighting resulted in an assignment to refugee status that was indiscriminate since all of the Greek population was displaced or exchanged when the partition (ceasefire) line dividing the island was established.

The precise location of the partition line of 1974 (known as "Green Line") was a historical accident, an extension across the island of a line dividing Nicosia after previous inter-communal violence. The precise path of that extension reflected patterns of territorial control at the time the fighting was halted by external intervention by the U.K., the U.S., and U.N. The intervention halted the advance of the Turkish army and froze in place the lines of territorial control at the end of the fighting. Treating the location of the buffer zone as exogenous to any pre-existing differences in the population's social preferences or other plausible (observed or unobserved) correlates of those preferences allows us to claim as-if random assignment to displacement. Case experts will not find this claim controversial and casual inspection of pre-1974 characteristics of the now government-controlled south and Turkish-occupied north of the island reveal that they are broadly similar.

One relevant comparison concerns the degree of exposure of Greek Cypriots to ethnic violence and to outgroups (Turkish Cypriots). Significant pre-war differences in those dimensions could potentially be associated with differences in the way the displaced population and their descendants view *other* outgroups today including refugees from other countries. We find no significant differences comparing the now-occupied versus government-controlled areas with respect to violence exposure or exposure to Turkish Cypriots. The Turkish Cypriot population as a share of the total population in 1960 in the now-government-controlled south was 12.4 versus 13.8 in the now-occupied territories. During the period of inter-communal fighting which started in December 1963, some Turkish Cypriots formed fortified enclaves in locations throughout

[13] Technically, these individuals are "internally displaced" rather than refugees, since the territory from which they fled is still considered part of the Republic Cyprus under international law.

[14] Although the majority of the displaced were ethnic Greeks, a small number of Greek-speaking minorities (Armenians, Latins, Maronites) were also displaced. These minorities taken together made up around 2% of the population of Cyprus.

the island and many civilians moved to those enclaves for protection. These enclaves existed in both the now-occupied parts and the government-controlled parts of Cyprus. Violence levels were higher around some enclaves, however, our research suggests that violence exposure was roughly equal for Greek Cypriots in the north vs the south side of the island.

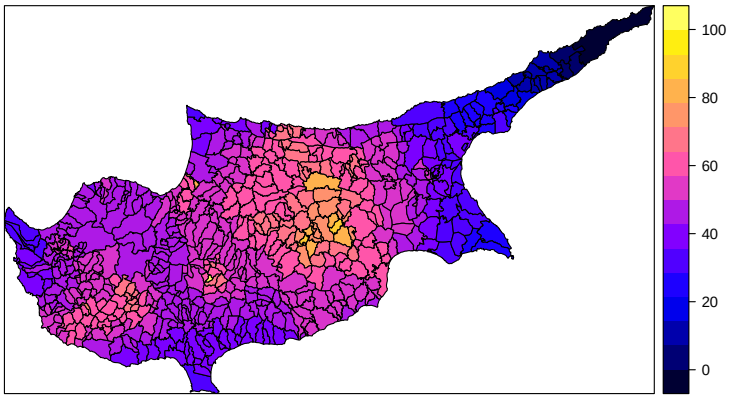
We collected geocoded data on inter-communal violence from 1963-64, which was the most violent period (from 1968-1973 there was almost no ethnic violence as the two sides were engaged in intercommunal talks on how to resolve the impasse regarding government power-sharing). We observe relatively similar levels of violence in municipalities in the now-government-controlled areas (0.25 events per municipality) and the now-occupied areas (0.18 events per municipality). Below, we present this information graphically. We show a measure that we constructed based on our prior research that incorporates the influence of violence outside of each municipality and assigns less weight to events further away. Specifically, spatial exposure to violence before the crisis in municipality i is calculated as:

$$geog.precrisis_i = precrisis_i + \sum_{j \neq i} \frac{precrisis_j}{\log d_{ij}}$$

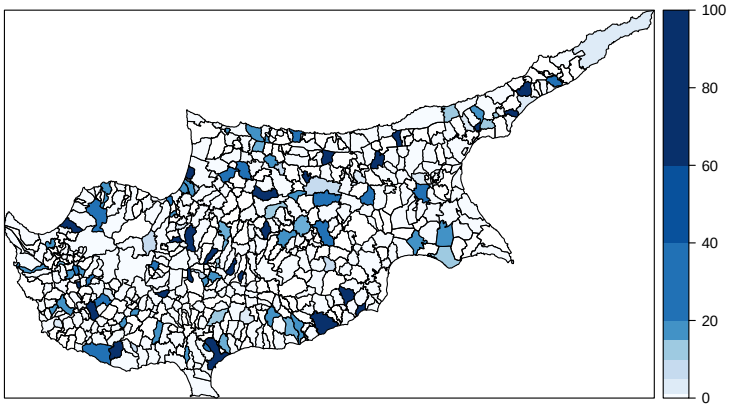
where d_{ij} the distance between the centroids of municipalities i and j, and $precrisis_i$ is a summary measure of violent events occurring in municipality i during the period 1963-1964. This is shown in Figure B1 (top). The bottom figure draws on 1960 census data to plot the share of the Turkish Cypriot population in every municipality.

B.2.4 Salience of Greek Cypriot Refugee Identity

One possible concern that can be raised with reference to our Turkey case study is that the salience of the refugee identity might be weak among the native population. This concern does not apply to the case of Cyprus, where the refugee identity is strong and has shaped the course of Cypriot politics since 1974. The humanitarian disaster of 1974 is widely referred to as a "national tragedy" in the popular press/media even today. Restoring the status quo ante via reunifying the island has been the top priority of most postwar governments, and reunification involves negotiating solutions that address the repatriation of displaced Greek Cypriots. This population and their descendants referred to themselves as "refugees" and a different term ("asylum-seeker") is used to refer to refugees from other countries.



Exposure to Violence in Cyprus in 1963−1964



Percent Turkish Population in Cyprus Municipalities in 1960

Figure B1: Wartime violence (top) and pre-war ethnic composition (bottom) in Cyprus.

C Subject Recruitment

C.1 Turkey

In Turkey, the target population consisted of Turkish citizens living in Edirne province who were at least 34 years old. In keeping with Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*)'s study in Greece, we imposed this age restriction to maximize sampling of individuals with at least one grandparent who was part of the Turkey-Greece population exchanges following the war of 1920-22. The survey, which ran from October 13–November 11, 2021, was implemented by Binom Research and Consulting Services, a large Turkish polling firm and ESOMAR member with extensive experience running computer-assisted telephone interview (CATI) surveys. The firm randomly drew phone numbers from a database of respondents contacted in previous nationwide survey respondents from prior nationwide surveys. Respondents were incentivized through a raffle for a 4000 Turkish lira (approximately 400 USD) grocery voucher which they could use in local supermarkets.

C.2 Cyprus 2018

Our first survey in Cyprus consisted of face-to-face interviews conducted by RAI, a leading market research and public opinion polling firm in Cyprus. A sample of N=1,400 respondents were interviewed in the four main districts of the Republic of Cyprus (Nicosia, Larnaca, Limassol, and Paphos) from November 2018–September 2019, with large breaks around holiday periods and summer. Our experiment was embedded in a longer survey (generally lasting an hour), focused primarily on the meaning and expression of Greek Cypriot refugee identity, not on present-day asylum seekers. Inspired by an early (pre-publication) draft of Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*b*), we added two items to the survey to test whether their reported findings in Greece could also be seen in Cyprus.

C.3 Cyprus 2021 and 2022

Respondents in the 2021 and 2022 Cyprus surveys were recruited by Kapa Research, a leading public opinion research firm in Greece with considerable experience running surveys in Cyprus, which recruited subjects for online surveys via Facebook ads.[15] Our objective was to maximize the daily number of online interviews while also maximizing the randomness of ad placement within a daily budget constraint.[16] Using Facebook's

[15] Although survey research on convenience samples has drawbacks, Coppock, Leeper and Mullinix (2018) show that convenience samples recruited online (in their case, from Amazon Mechanical Turk) not only yield similar average treatment effects to probability samples but also similar condition average treatment effects within demographic subgroups. Compared to Amazon Mechanical Turk, Facebook users are far more representative, particularly in Cyprus where nearly 80% of the population uses Facebook (see `https://napoleoncat.com/stats/facebook-users-in-cyprus/2020/02/`). Therefore, it is likely that our results could apply more broadly to the population of Cyprus as a whole and to the sub-population of Cypriot refugee families in particular.

[16] The initial budget was 150EUR daily; this increased over time to 700EUR per day to retain our targeted daily sample size.

ad management tool, from the official Facebook account of Kapa Research, we created a target group (the so-called "ad set audience") with the following specifications: (a) residents of Cyprus; (b) age 18+; (c) Greek language internet users. This was our target population. According to Facebook, the size of this audience in the summer of 2021 was 510,000 people, approximately half the population of the country and more than half of the adult population. Precise details of the Facebook advertising procedure (e.g., parameters fed into Facebook's machine-learning algorithm for targeting users) are available from the authors upon request.

Users who clicked our Facebook ad were redirected to a survey hosted by Qualtrics survey software. After agreeing to a consent statement, respondents answered a battery of demographic questions. We filtered out respondents who did not consent, were younger than 18, did not self-identify as Greek Cypriot, or did not have a least one parent who was a Cypriot citizen. Most questions were marked as mandatory; however, a substantial number of respondents dropped out prior to the end of the survey. For our analyses, we retain only complete cases.

Respondents were incentivized with an opportunity to participate in a lottery for 500 Euros.

D Survey Instruments

Translations of our questionnaires can be downloaded here: [Redacted for review]. Below, we present an overview of the contents of each survey in section D.1, followed by details on key variables in sections D.2–D.4.

D.1 Survey Order

D.1.1 Turkey

1. **Demographics**: age, gender, frequency of contact with refugees, district (within Edirne province), and estimate of the percentage of Syrian refugees in Turkey's population.

2. **Salience Experiment**: See Section D.3.

3. **Perspective-Taking Exercise**: Half of respondents were randomly assigned to a perspective-taking exercise based on that of Adida, Lo and Platas (2018). We control for this assignment in our analysis, though we ultimately find that it has null effects and also does not appear to interact with the salience experiment.

4. **Outcomes**: See Section D.4.1. The outcomes we analyze in this paper were followed by additional feeling thermometers measuring warmth toward Turks, Greeks, and Armenians. These served as a

point of comparison for feelings toward Syrian refugees and a check to see whether treatment also affected non-refugee outgroups.

5. **Refugee Family History and Identity**: importance of national identity, father and mother's country of origin, family history of displacement (see Section D.2.1), family history of immigration, salience of refugee/immigrant family identity if applicable, language spoken at home.

6. **Additional Demographics**: party, parenthood, occupation, employment, education, income, and religiosity.

D.1.2 Cyprus 2018

The Cyprus 2018 survey presented questions in the following order:

- **Demographics**: age, gender, municipality, district, marital and parental status, parents' birthplaces, occupation, experiences living or traveling abroad.
- **Conjoint (forced-choice) experiment**: An experiment comparing the profiles of hypothetical mayors to explore the weight attached to candidates' refugee background (not used in this study).
- **Social identification**: Questions about how strongly the respondent identifies as Cypriot and/or Greek compared to other identities; attitudes toward Turks and Turkish Cypriots.
- **Reunification** Level of trust in Greek Cypriots in general and in Greek Cypriot refugees, desire for reunification with Northern Cyprus.
- **Voting and Civic Behavior**: Party choice; party membership; membership in civic organizations.
- **Salience experiment**: See Appendix D.3
- **Outcomes** See Appendix D.4.2. Only one outcome specific to asylum-seekers was included; other outcomes measure national identification and solidarity with Greek-Cypriot refugees, Turkish Cypriots, and other outgroups.
- **Wartime experiences**: Questions about victimization and displacement during the war (those born after 1974 were asked about their parents' wartime experience). Our displacement variables come from this section.
- **Additional demographics and attitudes**: attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots (not used in this study), education, income, etc.

D.1.3 Cyprus 2021 and 2022

Both surveys presented questions in roughly the same order. Differences are noted in parentheses.

1. **Demographics**: gender, age, religion (2021 only), education (in the 2021 survey this appears at the end), rural/urban residence, citizenship, ethnicity, and time spent living abroad (2022 only)

2. **Priors about asylum seekers**: frequency of prior contact (broken out into separate questions on seeing refugees and speaking to them in the 2022 survey), estimated number of asylum-seekers in Cyprus (2021 only), whether respondents had heard of Pournara refugee camp (2022 only) and feeling thermometers measuring warmth towards Brits, Germans, Iraqis, Filipinos, Turks, Nigerians, and Greek Cypriots with the order of countries randomized (2022 only).

3. **Refugee origin and point of entry experiment** (2021 only): Respondents were shown a vignette resembling a news article about a group of asylum-seekers who have arrived in Cyprus. The origin of the asylum seekers (Congo or Cameroon, or Syria and Iraq) and the point of entry (land border with the occupied territories or sea) were randomly assigned to see if this information influenced attitudes toward asylum seekers and asylum policy. This experiment is part of a separate study and is not analyzed here, though we do control for the different conditions in case there is any interaction with the salience experiment that follows. Following this vignette, we presented respondents with several outcome measures which we also control for.

4. **Salience experiment**: See Section D.3

5. **Outcomes**: See Section D.4.3. The 2021 survey also contains outcomes about levels of national identification, while the 2022 survey contains a randomization check.

6. **Refugee Family History**: See Sections D.2.3 and D.2.4

7. **Additional demographics and attitudes**: parental status, voting history, strength of national identification (in 2022; asked earlier in the 2021 survey), employment, income, etc.

D.2 Coding the *Refugee Family* Variable

D.2.1 Turkey

In the Turkey survey, we asked, "Did any of your parents or grandparents come from Greece as part of the population exchanges in 1922-23?" and presented the options a) Yes, all of them came from Greece, b) Yes, my paternal grandparents came from Greece, c) Yes, my maternal grandparents came from Greece, d) Yes,

at least one of my grandparents came from Greece or e) none of them came from Greece. Any respondent providing a yes response was assigned a *refugee family* value of 1; "no" was assigned 0.

D.2.2 Cyprus 2018

In the Cyrpus 2018 survey we asked respondents over age 44: "Were you forced to relocate due to the war?" If the answer was "No," we followed up by asking if they had voluntarily relocated at any point since the start of hostilities with Turkish Cypriots in 1964 and the 1974 invasion. Those who were *forced to relocate* were assigned a *refugee family* value of 1. All others were assigned 0. Among respondents aged 44 and younger, the word "you" was replaced by "your parents."[17]

D.2.3 Cyprus 2021

In the Cyprus 2021 survey we asked, "Has anyone in your family been a refugee since the invasion of '74?" If the respondent checked any of the following options—father, mother, both parents, grandparent(s), all of us—they were assigned a *refugee family* value of 1. Those checking "no" or "I don't know" were assigned 0.

D.2.4 Cyprus 2022

In the Cyprus 2022 survey we asked, "Did you or anyone you know have to flee from the occupied parts of Cyprus during the period of the 1974 Turkish invasion or during previous years due to hostilities?" If they said yes, we asked "Who was it that was forced to leave their home from the now-occupied territories?" If the respondent checked any of the following boxes—self, father, mother, siblings, grandparent(s), spouse—they were assigned a *refugee family* value of 1. All others were assigned 0.

D.3 Experimental Treatment

The experimental treatment consisted of a vignette into which additional text was inserted (in the treatment condition) or omitted (control condition). We varied the intensity of the treatment (e.g., how many words were devoted to it, the length of the surrounding paragraph) from one survey to the next to see how this might affect the results. In the final survey (Cyprus 2022), we showed the control group a placebo text of equal length in case the total amount of text was driving the effect.[18] Below we present the vignette for each country with the treatment statement in bold (it was not bold in the original).

Turkey: [Interviewer reads this text:]

[17] Note that in Cyprus, people who relocated in the late 1960s before the invasion are not classified as "refugees" and are identified as a separate group ("Tourkopliktoi").

[18] Our pre-registration contains three additional treatment arms with different text insertions. One of these is discussed in section G, while the others are intended for a separate article. The total sample size reported in this study only includes respondents in the two treatment conditions discussed in this section.

> Now we will ask you a few questions about immigrants and refugees from other countries. Millions of people around the world have been forcibly displaced from their homes due to war. War in Syria has displaced more than 12 million people and some of them are asking for legal protection in Turkey because they are afraid they will be persecuted if they return to their country. The Syrian crisis is not the first time Turkey has had to accommodate refugees from war. **Today's refugee crisis is reminiscent of the story of the Turks (*mübadil*) who were forced to leave Greece after the independence wars of 1922 (*Kurtuluş Savaşı*). Similar to Turks who were forced to leave Greece in 1923-24, many Syrians had to leave their homes behind, move to Turkey only with what they can carry, and faced challenges to start a new life in a new country.**

Aside from the necessary modifications to fit the new country context, we added one sentence at the end of the treatment group vignette so as to make sure that respondents actually received the message the treatment was designed to deliver. Analogical thinking and perspective-taking is more likely to take place if respondents are given enough time to reflect on the parallel drawn in the vignette between the *mübadil* and the Syrians. Thus, while one might reasonably argue that the salience treatment here is relatively weak and the vignette is too short, it is still stronger than the treatment used in Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*). The addition of one sentence makes the vignette text for the treatment group slightly longer than the text in the control group, but the difference is extremely minor as it takes only seconds for the interviewer to read the additional sentence.

Cyprus 2018 [Respondents see the non-bold text below, while only those in the treatment condition see the text written in bold font:]

> The devastating war in Syria is causing a huge refugee crisis. More than 12 million Syrians have been displaced from their homes. **Many of these refugees will not be able to return. This is one of the worst refugee crises since 1945 along with Bosnia in 1992, Rwanda in 1994, and Cyprus in 1974.** Hundreds of thousands have applied for asylum in the European Union and in 2015-2016, more than half a million Syrians were granted asylum in E.U. countries. Resolving ethnic conflicts like the war in Syria is difficult.

This treatment draws a parallel between the Syrian conflict and Cyprus in 1974, while acknowledging the scale of the suffering of Greek Cypriots by mentioning the 1974 crisis in the same vein as two other conflicts that everyone will recognize as severely impactful.

Cyprus 2021 [Respondents read this text (bold font corresponds to the treatment condition only):]

> Thank you for your answers regarding the refugee issue. As you may know, more than 80 million

people around the world have been forced to flee their homes due to wars like the one in Syria. More than 12 million Syrians have been displaced and many will not be able to return home. Hundreds of thousands have applied for asylum in Europe and in 2015-2016 more than half a million Syrians were granted asylum in European Union countries. Ethnic wars like the one in Syria create humanitarian crises and cause terrible suffering **just like what we went through during the 1974 refugee crisis after the Turkish invasion**.

Cyprus 2022 [Respondents read this text:]

On the next screen, we will show you a letter addressed to the President of the Republic, written by a group of academics who intervene to urge the government to improve living conditions at the Pournara Reception Center. Read the letter carefully and then we will ask you if you agree or disagree with it:

To His Excellency, President Anastasiades:

We are academics writing in regard to the refugee crisis in Cyprus. Hundreds of mothers, fathers, and children remain held behind barbed wire in the Pournara Reception Center. According to news agencies, a group of MPs who visited the center in December were "shocked" to see "children crammed into a container" and families living in miserable conditions. Many of these families have fled civil wars in their countries in Africa or the Middle East. They have arrived at our nation's doorstep asking for help.

[control condition:] **The plight of these people is tragic. Like other refugees and asylum-seekers around the world, these families from Africa and the Middle East were forced to leave everything behind and start their lives over again. Now they are stuck in a refugee camp where living conditions have become inhumane.**

[treatment condition:] **The situation of these people is reminiscent of our refugee crisis in Cyprus, after the Turkish invasion of 1974, when thousands of families were forced to flee their homes. Like the Greek Cypriots in 1974, these refugees from Africa and the Middle East were forced to start their lives over again.**

We call on you to immediately remove any orphans and unaccompanied minors from the camp and provide them with proper care. All families with young children should be given temporary housing in Nicosia while they wait for their asylum applications to be processed. The government must provide humane living conditions for every person who arrives seeking asylum and reduce overcrowding by processing applications faster.

Sincerely,

Concerned Academics [signatories' names withheld]

D.4 Outcomes

The exact wording of each outcome is below in the order in which the questions were presented. Variable names are in italics. All variables were recoded so that higher scores correspond to greater support for refugees and non-binary outcomes were standardized by subtracting their means and dividing by their standard deviations

D.4.1 Turkey

1. (*admissions*) Do you think that Turkey should admit more refugees like the Syrians? (5 options ranging from admit all to admit none).

2. (*permits*) Do you agree or disagree with the statement that "Syrian refugees should be given work permits in Turkey?" (5 options ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree").

3. (*concern*) Some people say that "The suffering of Syrian refugees is something that really concerns me." What about you, how concerned are you about Syrian refugees' suffering? (5 options ranging from "extremely concerned" to "not concerned at all").

4. (*letter*) Now, we would like to ask you if you would like us to send a brief letter to your representative in the parliament on your behalf in support of refugees. The letter reads:

   > "Turkey has done a great job in offering a hand to millions of Syrian refugees who were escaping violence and persecution. It was our humanitarian responsibility to admit them. Many of them have started a new life here, and have been contributing to our economy. I would like those that have security clearance to have permanent residence in Turkey."

   Would you like us to send this letter on your behalf anonymously? (options: yes or no)

5. (*donate*) Before we continue, we would like to inform you that as part of this survey we will raffle one 4000-Turkish lira grocery voucher. Every respondent has an equal chance of winning the voucher. If you win, you can keep the whole amount for yourself or donate all or a percentage of your winnings to Kizilay, an organization working in Turkey to provide assistance to Syrian refugees. The amount of your donation will be deducted from the voucher you will receive if you win and we will give it to Kizilay to help Syrian refugees in Turkey. If you win the 4000-Turkish Lira voucher, would you like to

donate some part of it to Kizilay for sending food to Syrian refugees and, if so how much? (options: yes or no)

- (*don. amt. (log)*) Those who said yes were also asked an amount (0-400) Those who said no were recorded as 0. We added 1 to this amount and took the log.

6. (*therm refugees*) Think of a refugee from Syria. Using a thermometer from 0-100, how cold or warm do you feel towards Syrian refugees? Remember: 50 means that you feel neither cold nor warm; 0 means you feel extremely cold and 100 means you feel extremely warm.

7. (*attitude mean*) is the average of *admissions*, *permits*, *concern*, and *therm refugees* after standardizing. **This is the outcome used in Figure 1 of the main text.**

8. (*outgroup mean*) is the average of these same outcomes plus *letter* and *don. amt. (log)* after standardizing.

9. Measures of ingroup attachment

   - (*therm Turk*) Now think of other people in Turkey. On a scale from 0-100, how cold or warm do you feel towards other Turks?
   - (*chauvinism*) Please tell us if you agree with this statement: "We Turks are not perfect, but our culture and civilization is superior than other nations" (1-5 disagree to agree scale)
   - (*ingroup mean*) The average of these two items after standardizing them.

D.4.2 Cyprus 2018

We included one outcome about asylum-seekers and another related to Greek Cypriot refugees.

1. (*asylum*) Do you think that the E.U. should admit more refugees from wars like in Syria? Indicate how many refugee asylum applications you think E.U. countries should accept. (5 options ranging from all to none). **This is the outcome used in Figure 1 of the main text.**

2. (*Kyrenia*) Suppose that Cyprus is reunified, but refugees from Kyrenia cannot return. Would you support an increase in your taxes by 100 euros to compensate refugees from Kyrenia?[19] (5 options ranging from "strongly support" to "strongly oppose." Those who gave a neutral or supportive answer

[19]Kyrenia is a port city in the now-occupied north. Greek Cypriot refugees from Kyrenia are unlikely to be allowed to return to their homes there even in the event of reunification. It is a point of national debate whether any solution that involves reunification can be supported if refugees from Kyrenia are effectively excluded. This measure of solidarity with Greek Cypriot refugees serves as a counterpoint to the other outcome, which could be considered a measure of solidarity with refugees from other countries.

were then asked if 200 Euro would be acceptable and so on up to 400 Euro. The *kyrenia* variable is coded as the highest amount a respondent was willing to tolerate, including 0 for those who oppose or strongly oppose even 100 euros).

According to our hypothesis, only *asylum* should be affected by *treatment*. If *kyrenia* is also affected, it would suggest that the treatment also generates sympathy for Greek Cypriot refugees (if the effect is specific to respondents from refugee families, it strengthens solidarity among this group). If such an effect is observed while no effect is observed with respect to the asylum-seeker outcome, this would provide for a stronger null result with respect to our main research question in the current study.

D.4.3 Cyprus 2021

1. (*donate*) Before we continue, we inform you that in the context of this research, we will draw a lottery ticket worth 500 euros. All participants have an equal chance of winning. If you win, you can keep the full amount for yourself or donate all or part of the amount to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR), an international organization working in Cyprus to help refugees. Your donation amount will be deducted from the amount you will receive if your ticket is drawn and given to UNCHR to help refugees.[20] Would you like to donate some of the 500-euro lottery ticket and if so, how much? If you prefer to keep the whole amount, leave the slider at zero.

2. (*concern*) Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The plight of refugees is something that really concerns me." (Responses ranged from 1 = "I do not care at all" to 7 = "I really care"). **This is the outcome used in Figure 1 of the main text.**

3. Ingroup attachment measures

   - *(proud Greek)* "I am proud to be Greek"." Do you agree or disagree? (7-point scale)
   - *(proud Gr. Cyp.)* "I am proud to be a Cypriot"." (7-point scale) Do you agree or disagree?
   - *(trust Gr. Cyp.)* "Some say they can trust all Greek Cypriots while others disagree. Do you trust all the Greek Cypriots, most of them, only a few or no one?" (5-point scale)
   - *(ID rank nat.)* and *(ID rank eth.)* "Some people believe that social identities are very important to a person's character and quality. For you, which of the following identities is most important? Use "1" to indicate the first(most important) ID, "2" to indicate the second most important, and so on to the least important ("6"). Tap the ID you want to sort and drag it to the location

[20] On the final page of the survey, we informed respondents that we would actually award them the full amount of the lottery ticket and that we would make a separate donation for the amount they indicated they wanted to donate. This was done as an additional step to preserve their anonymity (in case the donation amount they suggested was unique).

you want." (Choices were National (Cypriot) Identity (1), Ethnic (Greek) identity (2), Religious Identity (3), Gender Identity (4), Professional ID (5), Class ID (6), Racial identity (eg white) (7)

- *(we not they)* "When you talk about Greek Cypriots, how often do you say "we are Greek Cypriots" instead of "Greek Cypriots are"?" (5-point scale)
- *(chauvinism)* "We Cypriots are not perfect, but our culture is superior to other peoples. Do you agree or disagree?" (5-point scale)

D.4.4 Cyprus 2022

Respondents were asked how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statements, with 7 options ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree."

1. (*children*) "Orphans and unaccompanied minors should not be left in reception centers and should be given appropriate care elsewhere."
2. (*families*) "Families with young children should be given temporary housing in Nicosia[21] until their asylum applications are processed."
3. (*open camp*) "We must not allow them to enter and leave freely in reception centers like Pournara. Centers must be closed and asylum seekers must be kept inside."
4. (*permits*) "More work permits should be granted to asylum seekers wishing to become members of Cypriot society."
5. (*admissions*) "The number of people to whom the Republic of Cyprus grants asylum every year must increase."
6. (*men*) "We should not give asylum to unmarried young men. We should only accept families or women and children from asylum seekers."[22]
7. Ingroup attachment items
   - (*proud Gr. Cyp.*) "I am proud to be a Cypriot".
   - (*chauvinism*) "We Cypriots are not perfect, but our culture is superior to other peoples."

We also analyze two other outcomes:

[21] The capital of Cyprus.

[22] Note that *open camp* and *men* were phrased in the negative so as to reduce demand effects, but we recode them prior to analysis so that higher values reflect more pro-asylum attitudes as in all other outcomes.

7. (*attitude mean*) is the average of the prior six measures after recoding, centering, and dividing by their standard deviations. **This is the outcome used in Figure 1 of the main text.**

8. (*letter*) "In response to concerns about conditions at the Pournara Asylum Reception Center, some of the academics who wrote the letter you read earlier plan to publish part of the letter in a well-known Cypriot newspaper and seek the support of citizens like you. Would you like to co-sign the letter which says the following:

   > To the President of the Republic and the Minister of Interior,
   >
   > **The conditions at the Pournara Asylum Reception Center shame us.**[23] No one, especially children, should be forced to live behind barbed wire in camps with poor sanitation, lack of beds, and uncontrolled COVID-19 infections. According to estimates of the Minister of Interior, more than 2,500 people have lived from time to time in the Pournara center, which has a maximum capacity of 800 people. **We ask you to immediately take the unaccompanied minors from the center and provide them with the appropriate care and supervision elsewhere.** All families with young children should be given temporary housing in Nicosia until their asylum applications are processed. The relevant authorities should address this issue in accordance with the recommendations and findings of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the European Union, and the Commissioner for the Protection of Children's Rights.
   >
   > Sincerely,
   >
   > Interested citizens of Cyprus.

   The names of all the co-signatories will be published in a major newspaper in Cyprus and on the internet. Would you like your name added to this public letter? Whether you sign or not does not affect your participation in the lottery for 500 euros - all participants who complete the survey will register for the lottery." (options: yes or no)

After answering yes or no, all respondents were then shown the next section of the questionnaire. At the end of the questionnaire, following instructions regarding the lottery, those who had earlier indicated they wished to sign were directed to an external website (a Google Form) where they could enter their name,

[23] Bold font in the original. Note that the first sentence of the letter was slightly edited before publication to say "As you saw yourself recently, conditions at the Pournara reception center for asylum-seekers shame us." This minor change was due to the fact that the President of the Republic of Cyprus made an unexpected visit to the center on March 14th, about 3 weeks into our data collection. Data collection was halted after his visit since he announced publicly that he would move unaccompanied minors from the camp. The open letter was scheduled to be published two weeks later and it needed to reflect the fact of the President's visit to the camp. This modification was communicated to all signatories and we requested their permission to proceed with publication.

hometown, and email address. This allowed the survey to remain anonymous, though unfortunately, it prevents us from knowing which respondents (from which experimental condition) actually followed through. We wrote to each respondent who provided an email address to confirm that they still wished to participate, validate their email address, and give them the opportunity to withdraw. The letter, with the signatories' names, was published in the leading newspaper of Cyprus in a full-page display on March 27th, 2022.

It is worth noting that many respondents who initially signaled a willingness to sign the letter did not ultimately follow through. In all 1297 respondents (27.6% of the full sample, which included treatment arms not analyzed in this paper), initially said yes to signing the letter. Roughly half of these respondents actually filled out the Google Form with their information and there was further attrition when each respondent was sent a separate consent form to sign and return to us. Our analysis does not take that attrition into account; we use the share of respondents who said they would sign the letter knowing that their name would be published in the newspaper. The high attrition rate, however, is telling in regards to the durability of such pro-refugee commitments when these commitments are costly.

E Analytic Approach

All analyses discussed in the main text rely on linear regression with controls. We chose this approach because it makes the incorporation of interactions between refugee heritage and treatment assignment straightforward and allows us to condition on underlying demographic and attitudinal differences between the refugee descendants and non-descendants. Although some outcomes are binary, we chose linear regression due to its ease of interpretation. Alternative modeling strategies, including logistic regression, pre-regression matching, and multiple imputation are discussed in Appendix E.2. In this section, we introduce control variable names, present summary tables, and show balance across treatment arms (and across refugee status) before and after matching with love plots. Balance tables are available upon request.

E.1 Control Variables and Descriptive Statistics

E.1.1 Turkey

For our analysis of the Turkey data, our default set of controls consists of the following variables:

- *age*
- *male* male = 1; all non-males = 0,

- *freq contact* frequency of contact with present-day refugees coded categorically with options of never, rarely, sometimes, and very often
- *foreign parent* 1 = either parent a non-citizen; 0 = both parents Turkish citizens
- *estimate Syrian pct* estimated percentage of Turkey's population that are Syrian refugees (0-100%)
- *balkan imm family* 1 = any grandparents immigrated to Turkey from the Balkans; 0 = none did
- *parent lang* categories: Kurdish (at least one parent), other (at least one parent), only Turkish
- *parent* 1 = has children, 0 = does not
- *unemployed* 1 = out-of-work but seeking a job; 0 = all other employment statuses
- *college* 1 = attained at least a Bachelor's degree; 0 = did not
- *low income* 1 = earns no more than 4000 Turkish lira per month; 0 = higher earners[24]
- *pt vignette* 1 = randomly assigned to a perspective-taking (pt) vignette treatment (as a part of a separate experiment not discussed in this article); 0 = vignette not shown
- *district* of current residence (within Edirne province)

The dummy variables for each politcial party (*AKP*, *CHP*, *MHP*, *other*) and the 1-10 *religiosity* scale are used in robustness checks. Table E1 presents summary statistics for all controls. The standard control variables appear to be reasonably balanced across treatment conditions (an F-test of their joint effect on treatment yields $p \approx 0.28$). However, there are more substantial imbalances between refugee and non-refugee families. To address these covariate imbalances, we created an alternative matched dataset using coarsened exact matching (see Section E.2). The resulting dataset removes the major imbalances while dropping 174 of observations (17%). The improvements in balance gained through matching are displayed in Figure E1.

[24]Those who didn't wish to disclose an amount were asked a more general question. These respondents were coded as low income if they reported they were forced to rely on savings or a loan to make ends meet in the past month.

Table E1: Turkey 2021 Descriptive Statistics

		Mean	Std. Dev.
age		51.35	10.03
male		0.50	0.50
freq contact		2.81	1.10
foreign parent		0.01	0.11
estimate Syrian pct		15.93	16.71
balkan imm family		0.32	0.47
parent		0.83	0.38
unemployed		0.03	0.17
college		0.23	0.42
low income		0.50	0.50
pt vignette		0.50	0.50
religiosity		7.52	2.42
		N	Pct.
district	Merkez	664	44.3
	Enez	40	2.7
	Havsa	70	4.7
	Ipsala	98	6.5
	Kesan	305	20.3
	Lalapasa	24	1.6
	Meric	50	3.3
	Suloglu	33	2.2
	Uzunkopru	216	14.4
parent lang	Only Turkish	1390	92.7
	Kurdish	38	2.5
	Other	72	4.8
party	AKP	226	15.1
	CHP	296	19.7
	MHP	44	2.9
	Other	286	19.1
treated	control	750	50.0
	treated	750	50.0
refugee family	non-refugee	598	39.9
	refugee family	902	60.1

Note: N=1500

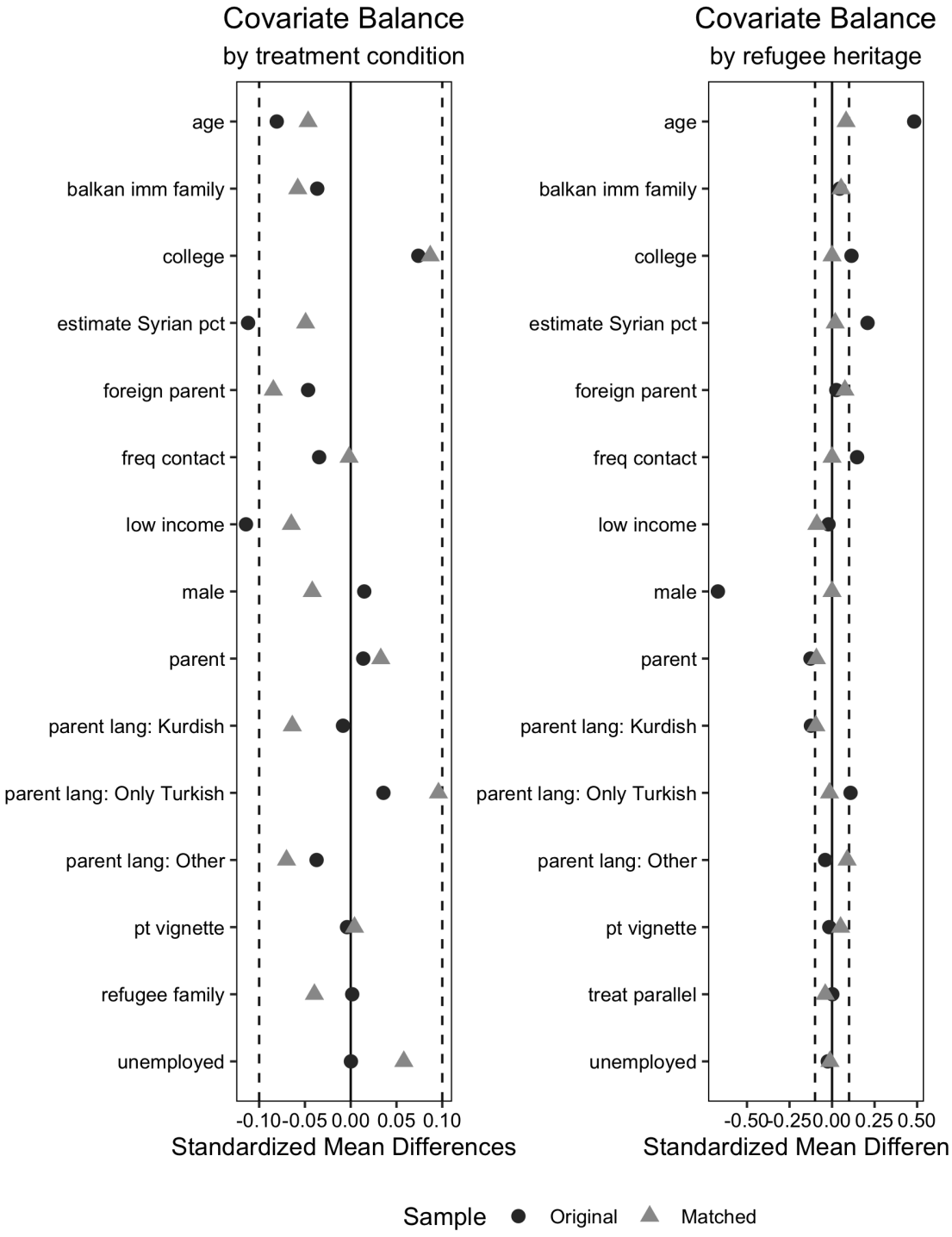


Figure E1: Turkey covariate balance before and after matching. Dashed lines indicate the recommended balance threshold.

E.1.2 Cyprus 2018

The following five control variables were specified in the pre-analysis plan:

- *male* 1 = male, 0 = female
- *age*
- *dad occupation* father's occupation in 1973
- *mom occupation* mother's occupation in 1973
- *municipality* of current residence (second-highest level administrative unit in the Republic of Cyprus)

For descriptive statistics and robustness checks, we include the following additional controls:

- *district* of current residence (highest level administrative unit in the Republic of Cyprus)
- *married* 1 = married, 0 = not
- *parent* 1 = has children, 0 = does not
- *voted* 1 = voted in last election, 0 = did not or could not
- *education* 1 = can read and write, 6 = Post-graduate degree
- *unemployed* 1 = unemployed but looking for work, 0 = all other employment categories
- *abroad ever* 1 = respondent has ever lived abroad, even briefly, 0 = never has
- *church freq* frequency of church attendance ranging from 1 = never to 4 = every week
- *class* self-reported social class ranging from low (1) to high (5)

Summary statistics are shown in Table E2. The sample is well balanced across treatment conditions (an F-test of their joint effect on treatment yields $p \approx 0.33$). There are slightly more men in the control group, but all other variables are roughly equal. More variables differ by refugee heritage (namely class, district, education, and church attendance), which we correct for via matching. The resulting matched dataset drops 32 respondents. As shown in Figure E2, it is well balanced with respect to refugee heritage and (except for *male*) by treatment condition as well.

Table E2: Cyprus 2018 Descriptive Statistics

		Mean	Std. Dev.
age		57.68	17.95
male		0.41	0.49
married		0.65	0.48
parent		0.81	0.39
unemployed		0.04	0.20
lived abroad		0.29	0.45
voted		0.80	0.40
church freq		2.91	0.92
class		2.38	1.02
education		4.04	1.19
		N	Pct.
district	Larnaca	192	13.9
	Limassol	473	34.2
	Nicosia	610	44.1
	Paphos	107	7.7
treated	control	707	51.2
	treated	675	48.8
refugee family	non-refugee	923	66.8
	refugee family	459	33.2

Note: N=1382

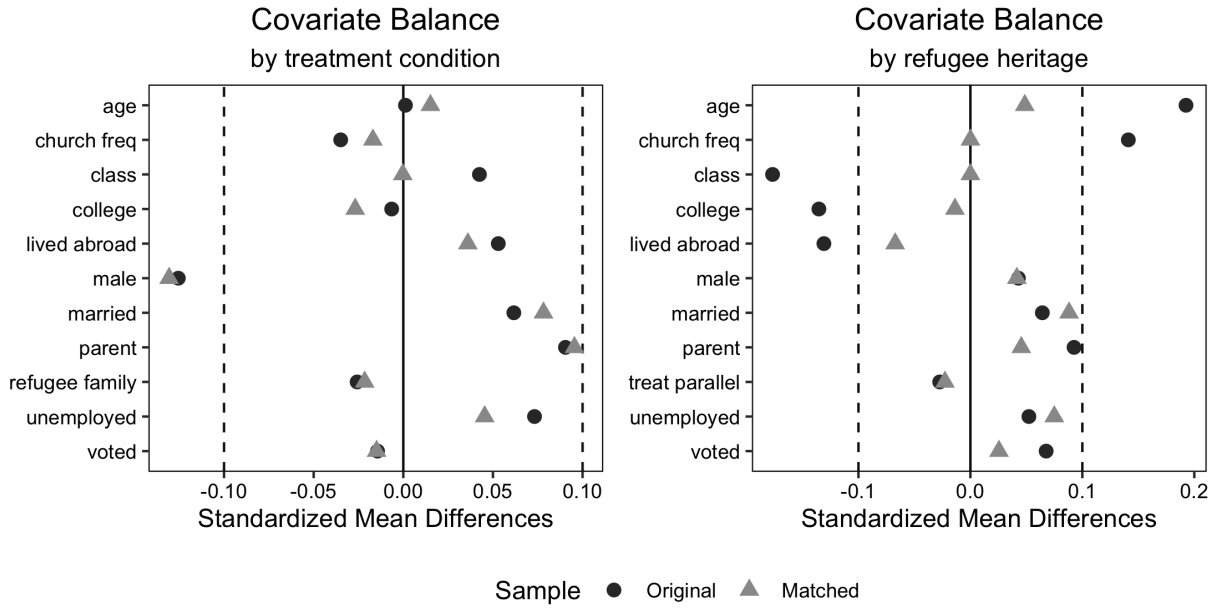


Figure E2: Cyprus 2018 covariate balance before and after matching. Dashed lines indicate the recommended balance threshold.

E.1.3 Cyprus 2021

For our primary analysis of the 2021 Cyprus survey, our control variables consist of:

- *male* 1 = male, 0 = female or other
- *age*
- *foreign parent* 1 = either parent a non-citizen, 0 = both parents Cypriot citizens (those with two non-citizen parents were excluded from the survey)
- *orthodox* 1 = Greek Orthodox; 0 = other or none
- *freq contact* frequency of contact with foreign refugees in everyday life, coded categorically: often, sometimes, never, and NA (skipped the question or don't know)
- *estimate Syrian N* estimate of the number of asylum applications that have been submitted to the Cypriot authorities in the last decade (options provided in increments of 10,000 from 0–100,000)
- *landsea treatment* treatment assignment in the unrelated refugee national-origin-and-point-of-entry experiment discussed in section D.1.3
- *therm english, therm greek, therm turk, therm homosexual, therm cypriot, therm refugee* feeling thermometers for each group (0 = cold/negative and 100 = warm/positive); *therm index* is their mean
- *asylum (pre-treat)* Number of refugees (of the sort described in the origin-and-entry experiment) should be granted asylum, coded categorically: all, some (combining "some," "not all", and "don't know"), none.
- *attitude mean (pre-treat)* sum of respondent's 7-point agreement/disagreement with four statements about refugees (refugees cause crime, refugees increase the likelihood of a terrorist attack, money spent on refugees should be spent on Cypriots, and more work permits should be issued to refugees) recoded so that higher is more pro-refugee. Measured pre-treatment[25]
- *church freq* frequency of church attendance ranging from 1 = never to 6 = more than once a week
- *club member* 1 = member of sports club, volunteer or non-profit organization, 0 = not a member
- *parent* 1 = has children, 0 = does not

[25] *asylum (pre-treat)*, the thermometer questions, and *attitudes (pre-treat)* were originally intended to be outcomes for the national-origin-and-point-of-entry experiment. Since they come before the salience experiment, however, we employ them as controls.

- *voted* 1 = voted in last election, 0 = did not or could not
- *college* 1 = attained college degree, 0 = did not
- *unemployed* 1 = unemployed but looking for work, 0 = all other employment categories
- *tourism* 1 = respondent's likelihood derives at least in part from tourism, 0 = does not
- *hire imm* 1 = respondent (or parents) employs immigrants in their business or home, 0 = does not
- *income* annual household income (euros), coded categorically: ≤16k, 16-26k, 26-41k, 41k+, no answer
- *abroad ever* 1 = respondent has ever lived abroad, even briefly, 0 = never has

Summary statistics are shown in Table E3. The sample is well balanced across treatment conditions (an F-test of their joint effect on treatment yields $p \approx 0.78$). It is also well balanced by refugee/non-refugee heritage, except that respondents from refugee families are on average about 2 years younger. This discrepancy likely reflects the fact that many Greek Cypriot refugees have married non-refugees; the offspring of such marriages would report having refugee heritage, thus increasing the proportion of refugee descendants in each subsequent generation. We correct for this imbalance using matching (see Section E.2). The resulting matched dataset drops the 146 observations with missing data but does not leave any of the remaining units unmatched. As shown in Figure E3, it is well balanced with respect to both treatment condition and heritage.

Table E3: Cyprus 2021 Descriptive Statistics

		Mean	Std. Dev.
male		0.48	0.50
age		39.26	13.54
foreign parent		0.05	0.21
orthodox		0.93	0.26
estimate Syrian N		4.84	2.32
therm english		49.43	28.54
therm greek		75.14	24.46
therm turk		25.86	28.92
therm homosexual		63.92	29.99
therm cypriot		80.76	21.56
therm refugee		49.76	28.41
baseline index		3.97	1.65
church freq		2.89	1.18
club member		0.40	0.49
parent		0.58	0.49
voted		0.80	0.40
college		0.74	0.44
unemployed		0.06	0.24
tourism		0.20	0.40
hire imm		0.31	0.46
abroad ever		0.39	0.49
		N	Pct.
freq contact	never	1246	31.8
	sometimes	2053	52.4
	often	611	15.6
landsea treatment	Land Africa	966	24.7
	Land Syria	955	24.4
	Sea Africa	1028	26.3
	Sea Syria	967	24.7
income	under 16k	932	23.8
	16-26k	873	22.3
	26-41k	723	18.5
	41k+	515	13.2
	no answer	873	22.3
asylum	all	769	19.6
	some/unsure	2547	65.0
	none	600	15.3
treated	control	2000	51.1
	treated	1916	48.9
refugee family	non-refugee	1717	43.8
	refugee family	2199	56.2

Note: N=3916

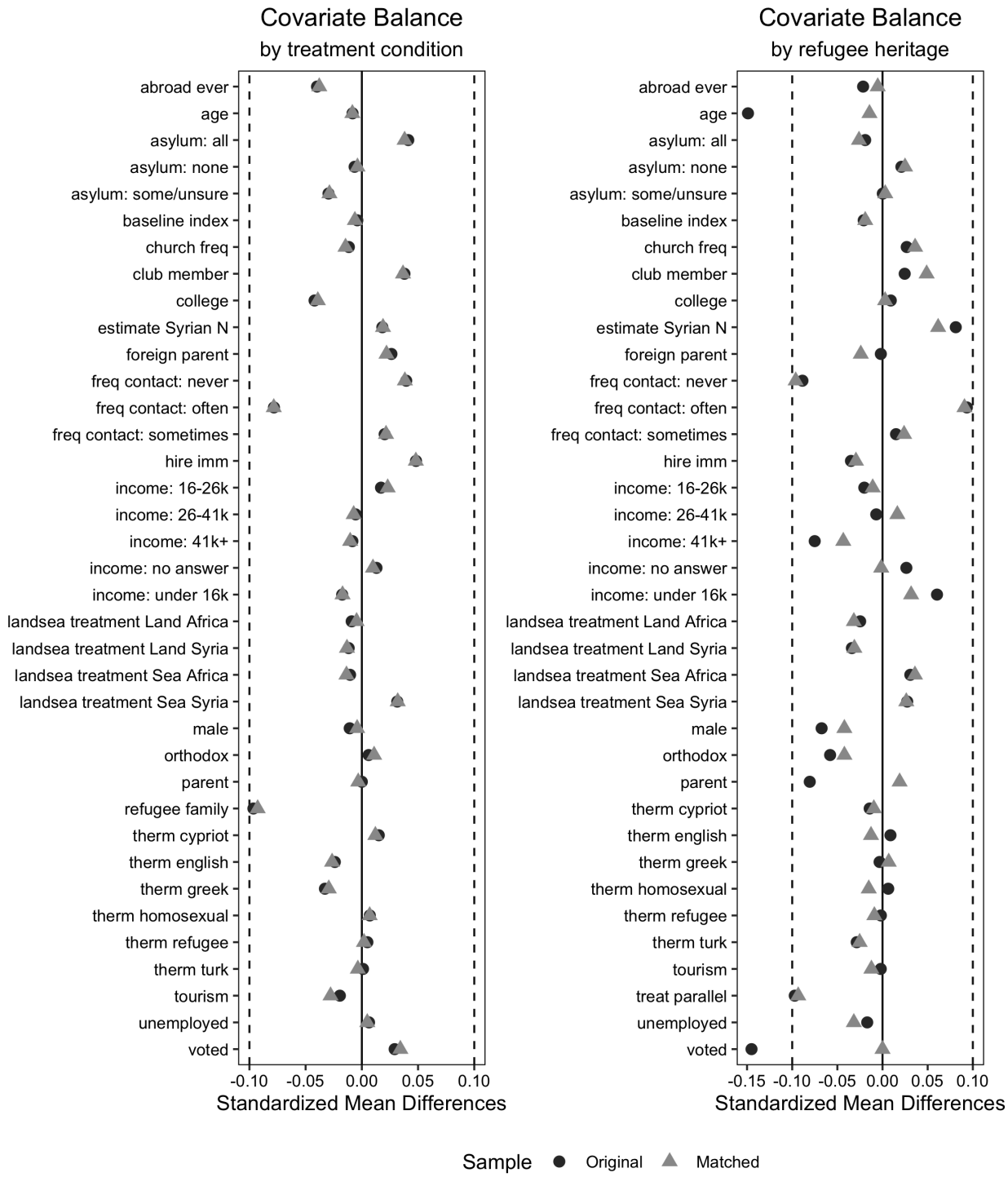


Figure E3: Cyprus 2021 covariate balance before and after matching. Dashed lines indicate the recommended balance threshold.

E.1.4 Cyprus 2022

For our primary analyses of the 2022 Cyprus survey, our control variables consist of:

- *male* 1 = male; 0 = female or other
- *age*
- *college* 1 = attained college degree; 0 = did not
- *foreign parent* 1 = either parent a non-citizen; 0 = both parents Cypriot citizens (those with two non-citizen parents were excluded from the survey)
- *abroad year-round* 1 = lives abroad at least part of the year; 0 currently does not live abroad at all
- *rural* 1 = lives in rural area, 0 = lives in urban area
- *heard of Pournara* 1 = heard of Pournara Reception Centre (for asylum seeker); 0 = not heard of it
- *freq see asylum* frequency with which respondents encounter immigrants and asylum seekers on a 7-point scale ranging from never to daily (recoded so that higher values indicate greater contact)
- *freq speak asylum* frequency of speaking with immigrants and asylum seekers (same scale as *freq see asylum*)
- *violence family* 1 = parent, sibling, spouse, or respondent suffered physical violence in the 1974 invasion or earlier; 0 = did not
- *therm english, therm german, therm iraqi, therm filipino, therm turk, therm nigerian, therm cypriot* warmth toward each group where 0=cold/negative and 100=warm/positive
- *voted* 1 = voted in last election; 0 = did not or could not
- *parent* 1 = has children; 0 = does not
- *job type* salaried, wage labor, part-time, self-employed, unemployed, not in the labor market
- *income* household income in Euros: 0-10k, 11-20k, 21k-30k, 31k-40k, 41k+, or refuse to disclose
- *household size*

Summary statistics are shown in Table E4. The sample is well balanced across treatment conditions (an F-test of their joint effect on treatment yields $p \approx 0.30$). It is also well balanced by family history of displacement, though again there is an age imbalance. We use matching as described in Section E.2 to correct

this imbalance. As shown in Figure E4, the matched dataset has no major imbalances. No observations were dropped due to lack of a match. We also analyze a version of the data in which people who reported personally being displaced (first-generation refugees) are excluded in order to focus on the effects of refugee heritage. Excluding these individuals introduces further imbalances, particularly with respect to age, since one had to be alive in 1974 to have experienced displacement first-hand. We correct for these imbalances successfully as shown in Figure E5. An additional 13 observations are dropped due to the lack of a match.

Table E4: Cyprus 2022 Descriptive Statistics

		Mean	Std. Dev.
male		0.57	0.50
age		42.55	13.53
college		0.66	0.47
foreign parent		0.04	0.20
abroad year-round		0.02	0.14
rural		0.22	0.41
heard of pournara		0.93	0.26
freq see asylum		5.11	1.90
freq speak asylum		3.18	1.91
violence family		0.18	0.38
therm english		49.37	28.99
therm german		48.59	28.30
therm iraqi		46.64	28.23
therm filipino		55.91	25.78
therm turk		29.03	30.42
therm nigerian		47.24	28.92
therm cypriot		79.71	22.65
voted		0.82	0.38
parent		0.65	0.48
household size		3.01	1.57
		N	Pct.
job type	Not in labor market	135	9.0
	Part time	67	4.5
	Salaried	845	56.3
	Self-employed	173	11.5
	Unemployed	100	6.7
	Wage labor	46	3.1
income	0-10k	228	15.2
	11-20k	366	24.4
	21-30k	237	15.8
	31-40k	153	10.2
	41k or more	141	9.4
	Refused	243	16.2
treated	control	720	48.0
	treated	780	52.0
refugee family	non-refugee	679	45.3
	refugee family	821	54.7

Note: N=1500

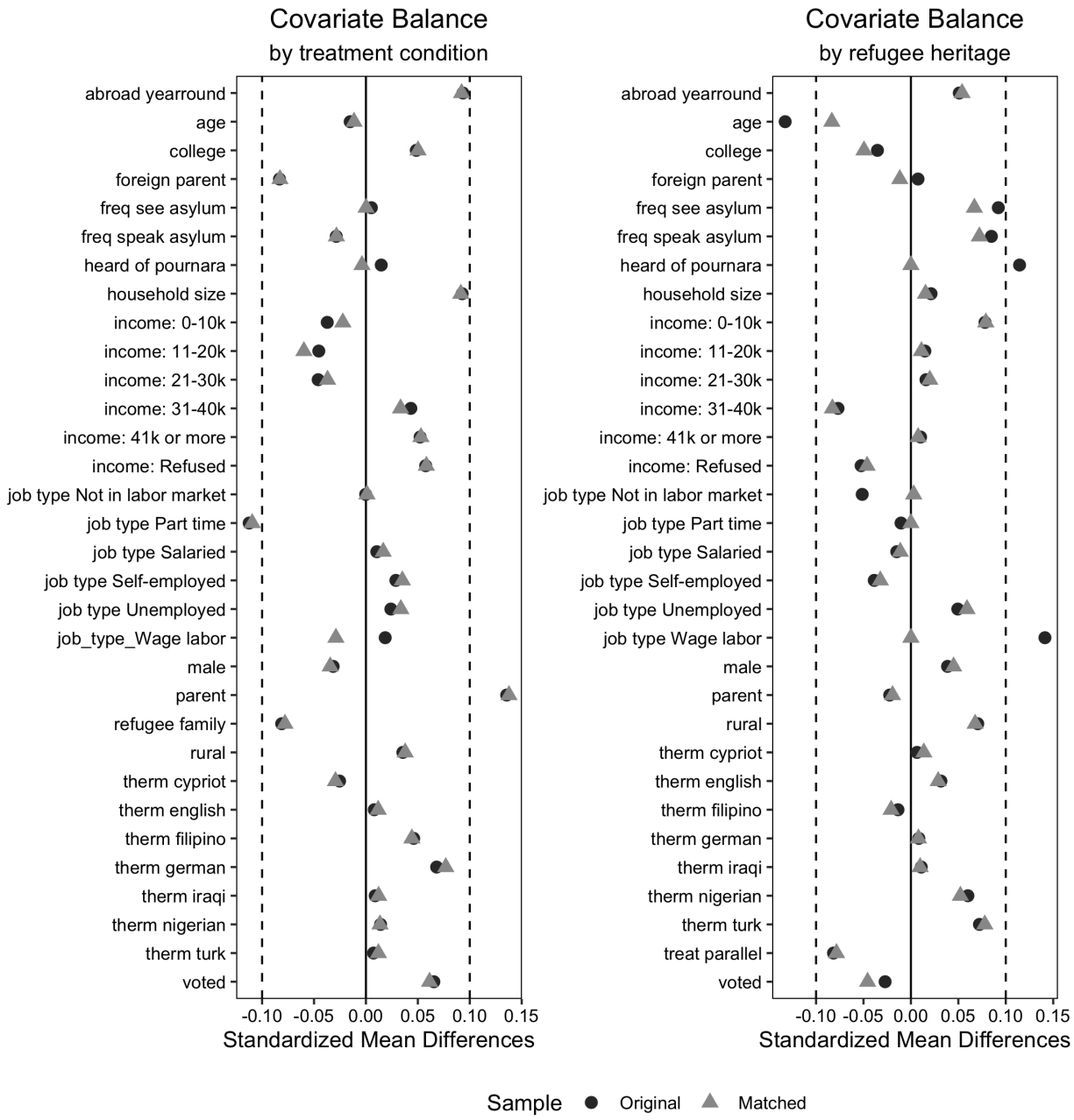


Figure E4: Cyprus 2022 covariate balance before and after matching. Dashed lines indicate the recommended balance threshold.

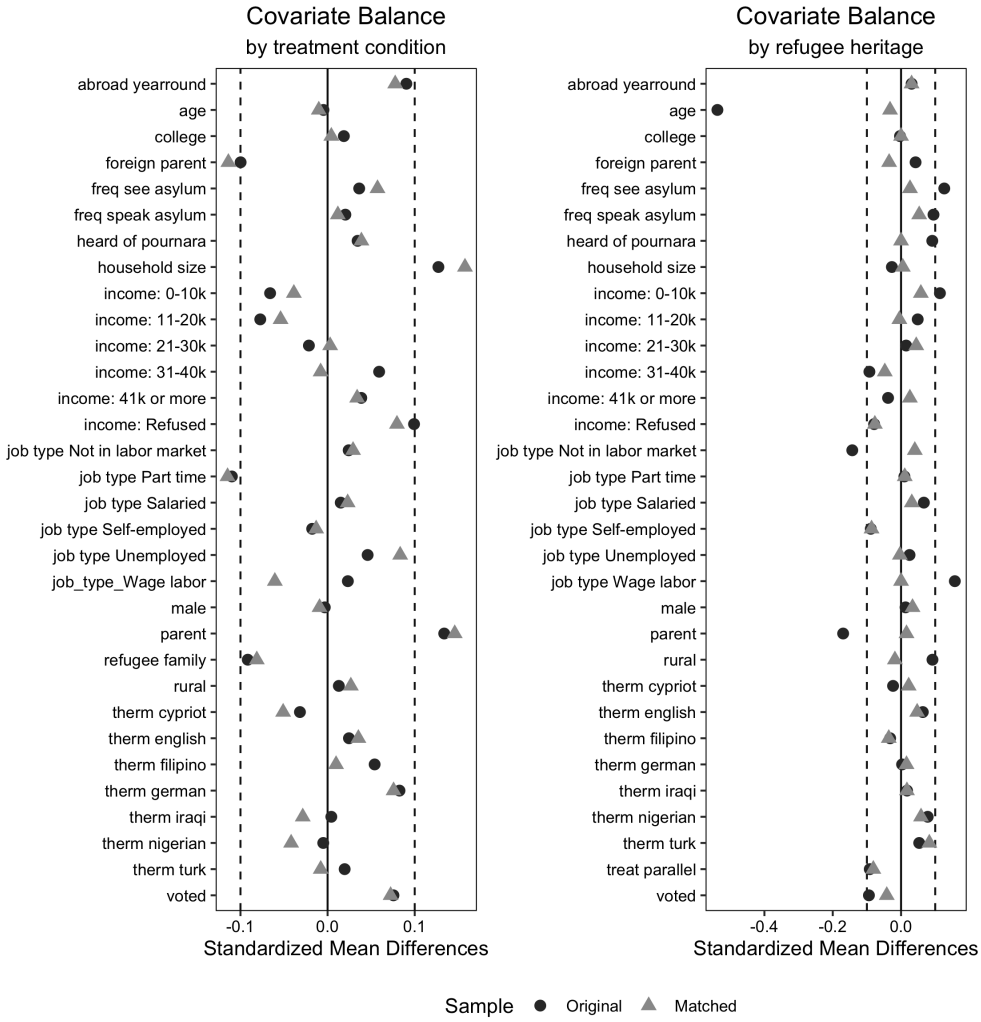


Figure E5: Cyprus 2022 (without first generation refugees) covariate balance before and after matching. Dashed lines indicate the recommended balance threshold.

E.2 Robustness Check Procedures

Our analysis hinges on the assumption that the *refugee family* variable is not confounded by pre-existing differences between refugee and non-refugee families. As discussed in Section E.1, in both Cyprus and Turkey these populations look broadly similar, but some imbalances do exist, the most notable of which is age.[26] We deal with these potential confounders in three ways. First, in all our regressions including those in the main text, we control for all stable or pre-treatment observables (including age). Second, in one of our robustness checks, we interact treatment with all covariates so that the interaction between *treated* and *refugee family* will include effects induced by these covariates. Third, we create a matched version of each dataset using coarsened exact matching (CEM) (Iacus, King and Porro, 2012) and run regression on that dataset as well.[27]

To deal with non-response to non-required survey items, including respondents who dropped out after answering the outcome questions but before completing the entire survey, we used multiple imputation implemented with Amelia II software in R version 4.1.1 (Honaker, King and Blackwell, 2011), including all covariates and outcomes in the imputation algorithm. After imputing, we used OLS regression with our standard set of controls.

We ran the following robustness checks:

1. **logistic regression** for binary outcomes (when applicable)
2. **t-test** for difference in means (available upon request)
3. OLS regression **without controlling for pre-treatment attitudes** (available upon request)
4. OLS regression controlling for the exact set of covariates listed in **pre-analysis** plan (whenever a deviation from the pre-analysis took place)
5. OLS regression **interacting treatment with all covariates**
6. **Matching** to correct for imbalances with respect to refugee family status
7. **Multiple imputations** to account for item non-response (available upon request)

Other robustness checks specific to each study are discussed in the results section.

[26] This likely results from the fact that with each subsequent generation, more people are the descendants of refugees due to intermarriage between the two groups.

[27] CEM is a procedure in which the researcher first determines which covariates are "imbalanced" and then matches on those covariates specifically. Following standard practice (de los Angeles Resa and Zubizarreta, 2016; Linden and Samuels, 2013), we treat as "imbalanced" any covariates whose difference-in-means exceeds 0.1 standard deviations. We also continued to tweak the matching algorithm (without looking at the regression results) until we had gotten as many variables below the 0.1 threshold as possible while trying to drop as few observations as possible.

E.3 Meta-Analysis

We conducted a meta-analysis of all five studies using the `metafor` package (version 3.8) in R. Specifically, for each study, we first estimated the partial correlation coefficient[28] between the outcome (attitude mean) and predictor (*refugee family*, *treated*, their interaction, and the net effect of treatment on refugee families, respectively.) We then aggregate these partial correlation coefficient estimates using a random effects model, following the guidance of Aloe and Thompson (2013). This procedure estimates the underlying true effect for each predictor using a restricted maximum likelihood estimator. It also conducts a Cochran's Q-test to detect whether the variation between studies can be explained by sampling variance or whether the true effect likely varies from one context to the next. For each of the four predictors, the test failed to reject the null that of a single true underlying effect ($p > 0.1$ in all cases). The partial correlation coefficient *refugee family* was estimated to be 0.0206 (SE=0.0116), *treated* was 0.0198 (SE=0.0130), their interaction was -0.0274 (SE=0.0102), and the net effect was -0.0177 (SE=0.00999). Further procedural details and function output can be found in the replication file.

E.4 Pre-Registration

All five of our studies were pre-registered. In this section, we lay out which analyses were part of these pre-registrations and which were not. The main things that were *not* preregistered were meta-analysis of all 5 studies (Figure 2), since we did not know we would be doing 5 studies when we began, and the models excluding first-generation refugees (Figure 4 right panel, Figure 5), since this idea arose during exploratory data analysis.

Greece Since our goal for this study was to replicate Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*), we stuck closely to our pre-analysis plan and did not engage in exploratory analyses beyond its scope. See section A.5 for the places in which contexual changes forced us to deviate in minor technical ways from the original study.

Turkey In our pre-analysis plan, we stated that we would be "including control variables for age, gender, political party, education, religiosity, ethnicity, family history of immigration, and employment status. Heterogeneous treatment effects will be analyzed via the addition of interactions terms to our core models." This preregistered specification appears in Table F11. includes a robustness check in which we use the set of controls specified in the pre-analysis plan. Our results in main text (i.e., Tables 1 and 3) follow a slightly different model, however. It omits the party dummies and *religiosity* (which were mistakenly place placed

[28] That is, the correlation after partialling out the correlation between a) outcome and all other predictors, and b) the focal predictor and all other predictors

after the treatment module in our questionnaire[29] but adds in *foreign parent*, *freq contact*, *estimate Syrian pct*, and *parent* (which we included in the questionnaire but forgot to mention in the pre-analysis plan). In any case, the results are substantively unchanged. Other robustness checks were not preregistered.

Cyprus 2018 Our pre-analysis plan states: "We will estimate the heterogeneous effects of the salience treatment by the respondent's refugee status, using linear models and clustering standard errors by primary sampling unit to reflect the sampling procedure. In the baseline specification, we will control for the respondent's age, gender, and their parents' prewar occupation. The operationalizations for the key outcome measures are: 1. Attitudes toward Syrian refugees: how many refugee asylum applications E.U. countries should accept, on a 1-5 scale. 2. Attitudes toward Greek Cypriot refugees: the highest level of taxes (from 0–400 euros) for refugees from Kyrenia that respondent will support (where support is a response of 3 or above on a 1–5 scale)." The first outcome appears in Figures 1 of the main text and its corresponding table F3. Both outcomes appear in Table F14. Both regressions use the pre-registered controls. The robustness checks were not pre-registered.

Cyprus 2021 Our pre-analysis plan for this survey did not specify what controls we would use it. Regarding the model we wrote that we would use "Means comparisons across experimental conditions" and "OLS regression of average treatment effects." All of our models use OLS, and robustness check in Table F20 constitutes a difference in means test since no controls are included. None of the other robustness checks are pre-registered. For outcomes, we specified that "We will measure empathy toward refugees/immigrants using the 'empathy' question" (renamed *concern* in this paper) and "the question asking respondents to donate all or part of their winnings from a lottery" (renamed *donate* in this paper). These outcomes appear in Figures 1 and 3 of the main text respectively, and the corresponding table F4.

Cyprus 2022 Our pre-analysis plan lists the control variables we use in the main text (Tables 1, 4, and 5). Regarding outcomes, we wrote "We ask about support for 6 policy measures related to asylum-seekers as well as one behavioral outcome: signing an open letter in support of asylum-seekers to be published in a major newspaper. Our eighth outcome will be an index derived from the six policy measures using PCA." All outcomes can be found in F24. However, throughout the paper, we chose use the mean of the attitude measures instead of a principal component analysis in order to be with the other studies. The mean appears in Figure 1 of the main text, while the behavioral outcomes appears in Figures 4 (and corresponding table F5). We did not preregister the exclusion of first-generation refugees (Figure 4, right panel) or splitting the

[29] Unlike more stable demographic questions such as education, these could potentially be altered by treatment. In our balance tests, we find that a higher proportion of respondents in the treatment group refused to answer one of these questions. Therefore, we chose to omit them from our main results

sample by refugee status (Figure 5). Most of our robustness checks were pre-specified, however: difference-in-means (OLS without controls) (Table F26), logistic regression (Table F28), excluding respondents who were both displaced and suffered violence F30), and the acknowledgment of suffering treatment (Table G1) discussed in Section G. One deviation we made throughout the above results was that we chose not to exclude respondents based on attention checks, because we were adviced this would undermine our results since the attention checks were placed after treatment in the survey. Therefore, we include a version with these attention checks in Table F32 in order to comply with our registration.

E.5 Broader Aims

Our aim in exploring the effects of "shared history" between natives and refugees is based on the premise that these experiences differentiate those among the natives who can claim family experiences of displacement from those who cannot do so. According to the theory Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*a*) are testing, invoking a shared history of tragedy or displacement will be most effective for those for whom those historical parallels are most applicable. If the parallel works by evoking empathy, then those who have experienced displacement first-hand should have an easier time seeing things from a refugee's perspective, followed by their descendants, then their neighbors (see Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer, 2021*a*) or their coreligionists (see Wayne and Zhukov, 2022) and finally, other people in their society. Likewise, if the parallel works by getting respondents to recategorize themselves and present-day refugees as members of the same group identity (a mechanism both sets of authors posit), then respondents who have experienced displacement should be the most susceptible (followed by their descendants, etc.) If, however, there is another mechanism at work such as competitive victimization (i.e., displaced respondents feel like their unique status is being challenged) (see Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer, 2021*b*) then we should expect differential effects in the opposite direction. And if the treatment merely evokes a sense of national tragedy (or a national identity as a welcoming people, a land of immigrants) then we should expect effects to be uniform (i.e. family history need not be important). Thus, we believe that we have tested differential effect that engage directly with the theory, rather than *only* with a view toward producing actionable findings aimed at practitioners.

F Results

F.1 Main Results

This section shows regression tables for the models used to create the coefficient plots in the main text. In the tables that follow, *refugee family* and *treated* can be found at the top, while *refugee family* × *treated* is

at the bottom. The main results for our Greece replications are presented in Table F1. Across our three outcomes, the effect of *treated* is non-significant and close to zero. The interaction between *refugee family* and *treated* is even smaller. The only result that is consistently significant across outcomes is that older people and, in models (1) and (3), the highly educated, are more sympathetic to refugees.

Table F1: Table for Figures 1 and 3 (Greece)

Dependent Variables:	attitude mean	donate
Model:	(1)	(2)
Variables		
refugee family	0.009 (0.06)	0.004 (0.03)
treated	-0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.03)
female	0.10*** (0.02)	-0.008 (0.02)
age	0.006*** (0.001)	0.002** (0.001)
edu = Primary	-0.09 (0.13)	-0.009 (0.11)
edu = Middle	-0.12 (0.14)	0.07 (0.12)
edu = HighSchool	-0.02 (0.15)	0.05 (0.12)
edu = TEI	0.07 (0.17)	0.08 (0.11)
edu = University	0.30** (0.14)	0.14 (0.11)
edu = GradDegree	0.33* (0.17)	0.13 (0.13)
occupation = Privatesectoremployee	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.04)
occupation = Publicsectorpensioner	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.005 (0.04)
occupation = Privatesectorpensioner	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.05)
occupation = Freelance/Merchant	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.05)
occupation = Self-employed	-0.007 (0.12)	0.08 (0.09)
occupation = Farmer	-0.09 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.05)
occupation = Student	0.52** (0.20)	0.11 (0.39)
occupation = Homemaker	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.05)
occupation = Unemployed	-0.12 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.04)
occupation = Other	0.17 (0.16)	-0.07 (0.12)
income	0.02 (0.01)	0.03*** (0.010)
refugee family × treated	0.02 (0.07)	0.002 (0.04)
Fixed-effects		
prefecture	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics		
Observations	2,256	2,256
Squared Correlation	0.07534	0.06249
Pseudo R^2	0.03691	0.04444
BIC	4,888.6	3,408.4

Clustered (municipality) standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

The main results for Turkey are presented in Table F2. The coefficient estimate for *treated* is consistently positive, though only significant for the *donate* outcome. On the other hand, the interaction between *refugee family* and *treated* is consistently negative (significant at $p < 0.10$ in models 1 and 3 and at $p < 0.05$ in model 2). However, the sum of *treated* and *refugee family* × *treated* is virtually zero in all models. Thus, refugee families and non-refugee families appear to react differently to treatment insomuch as the refugee families are unmoved while non-refugee families may become marginally more sympathetic toward Syrians. This finding runs contrary to our hypothesis that the treatment should evoke empathy primarily in the descendants of refugees. Note that the direct effect of *refugee family* is null, meaning there is no difference in sympathy for Syrians at baseline. In general, people who believe that more Syrians have arrived in their country (*estimate Syrian %*) or have a *low income* tend to be less sympathetic. Kurdish respondents, in contrast, tend to be more supportive.

Table F2: Table for Figures 1 and 3 (Turkey)

Dependent Variables:	attitude mean	donate
Model:	(1)	(2)
Variables		
refugee family	0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)
treated	0.07 (0.04)	0.08*** (0.02)
age	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)
male	-0.06** (0.02)	0.009 (0.02)
freq contact	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)
foreign parent	0.37* (0.17)	-0.10 (0.10)
est. Syrian %	-0.004*** (0.0007)	-0.0009* (0.0004)
balkan imm family	0.03 (0.03)	0.03 (0.05)
parent language = Kurdish	0.51*** (0.11)	0.13 (0.07)
parent language = Other	0.05 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)
parent	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)
unemployed	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)
college	0.03 (0.03)	-0.0002 (0.03)
low income	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.05* (0.03)
PT vignette	0.10** (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)
refugee family × treated	-0.09* (0.05)	-0.10** (0.03)
Fixed-effects		
district	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics		
Observations	1,489	1,489
Squared Correlation	0.05094	0.02931
Pseudo R^2	0.02534	0.02355
BIC	3,177.3	2,019.2

Clustered (district) standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

The main results for Cyprus 2018 are presented in Table F3. The coefficient estimate for *treated* is consistently positive, though significant only at the $p < 0.10$ level. On the other hand, the interaction between *refugee family* and *treated* is negative by almost the same magnitude (and non-significant). Thus, there is little evidence to suggest that the treatment makes the descendants of Greek Cypriot refugees more sympathetic to present-day asylum seekers. In contrast to Greece and Turkey, we find that older people are less sympathetic. Note that only pre-registered controls are shown; additional controls can be found in the robustness checks in Table F16 in the next subsection.

Table F3: Table for Figure 1 (Cyprus 2018)

Dependent Variable:	asylum
Model:	(1)
Variables	
(Intercept)	2.8*** (0.18)
refugee family	0.10 (0.07)
treated	0.07* (0.04)
age	-0.008*** (0.003)
male	-0.13** (0.06)
dad job in '73 = K-12Student	-0.44*** (0.11)
dad job in '73 = PostsecondaryStudent	-0.58*** (0.17)
dad job in '73 = Governmentemployee	0.08 (0.11)
dad job in '73 = Privatesectoremployee	0.07 (0.13)
dad job in '73 = Self-employed	0.01 (0.15)
dad job in '73 = Retired	-0.09 (0.17)
dad job in '73 = Other	0.23* (0.12)
mom job in '73 = K-12Student	0.67*** (0.12)
mom job in '73 = PostsecondaryStudent	0.67*** (0.07)
mom job in '73 = Governmentemployee	0.07 (0.10)
mom job in '73 = Privatesectoremployee	0.13 (0.09)
mom job in '73 = Self-employed	0.03 (0.11)
mom job in '73 = Retired	0.24 (0.22)
mom job in '73 = Other	0.15 (0.17)
refugee family × treated	-0.10 (0.07)
Fit statistics	
Observations	1,291
Squared Correlation	0.03884
Pseudo R^2	0.01397
BIC	3,753.3

Clustered (municipality) standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

The main results for Cyprus 2021 are presented in Table F4. The coefficient estimate for *treated* is small and non-significant. Refugee families in the control condition are slightly more concern for asylum-seekers than non-refugee families; the magnitude is virtually the same as that in Cyprus 2018 study (see Table F3). Once again, the interaction between *refugee family* and *treated* is negative (and very close to its counterpart in Table F3). Thus, the salience treatment does not evoke a more positive reaction in refugee families, contrary to our expectations. (Results for the *donate* outcome are non-significant for *refugee family*, *treatment*, and their interaction.)

Older Cypriots tend to be more sympathetic to refugees, as in Greece. Unsurprisingly, respondents' attitudes prior to treatment were correlated with their attitudes post-treatment (for instance, those who thought that no one should get asylum pre-treatment were less likely to register concern post-treatment). One unexpected result is that church attendance frequency is positively associated with support for refugees (in both models).

Table F4: Table for Figures 1 and 3 (Cyprus 2021)

Dependent Variables:	concern	donate
Model:	(1)	(2)
Variables		
(Intercept)	0.79*** (0.12)	0.19*** (0.06)
refugee family	0.11*** (0.04)	0.03 (0.02)
treated	0.05 (0.04)	-0.005 (0.02)
male	-0.05* (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)
age	0.009*** (0.001)	0.002*** (0.0007)
foreign parent	-0.05 (0.06)	0.003 (0.03)
orthodox	0.02 (0.05)	0.04 (0.03)
freq contact = sometimes	0.09*** (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)
freq contact = often	0.16*** (0.04)	-0.04 (0.02)
est. Syrian N	0.02*** (0.006)	-0.005 (0.003)
land/sea treatment = LandSyria	0.007 (0.04)	-0.03* (0.02)
land/sea treatment = SeaAfrica	0.01 (0.04)	0.007 (0.02)
land/sea treatment = SeaSyria	0.007 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.02)
therm english	-0.001** (0.0006)	0.0002 (0.0003)
therm greek	0.002* (0.0008)	0.0005 (0.0004)
therm turk	0.0007 (0.0006)	0.0003 (0.0003)
therm homosexual	0.002*** (0.0006)	7.5×10^{-7} (0.0003)
therm cypriot	0.0002 (0.0008)	0.0001 (0.0004)
asylum (pre-treat): admit all	0.17*** (0.04)	0.01 (0.02)
asylum (pre-treat): admit none	-0.37*** (0.05)	-0.12*** (0.03)
therm refugee (pre-treat)	0.009*** (0.0009)	0.003*** (0.0004)
attitude mean (pre-treat)	0.14*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.007)
church freq.	0.05*** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.007)
club member	0.03 (0.03)	0.009 (0.01)
parent	0.02 (0.04)	0.008 (0.02)
voted	0.07* (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)
college	-0.002 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.02)
unemployed	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.07** (0.03)
tourism	0.01 (0.04)	0.03* (0.02)
hire immigrant	0.03 (0.03)	0.05*** (0.01)
income = 16-26k	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.04* (0.02)
income = 26-41k	0.005 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.02)
income = 41k+	-0.05 (0.05)	0.02 (0.03)
income = noanswer	-0.009 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.02)
abroad ever	-0.002 (0.03)	-0.003 (0.01)
refugee family × treated	-0.11** (0.05)	0.007 (0.03)
Fit statistics		
Observations	3,770	3,770
Squared Correlation	0.33717	0.14270
Pseudo R^2	0.14501	0.12093
BIC	9,437.6	4,515.9

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

The main results for Cyprus 2022 are presented in Figure F5. Across all four models, the coefficient of *treated* is positive though non-significant, while the interaction between *refugee family* and *treated* is consistently negative. In general, this effect is stronger and more significant when first-generation Greek Cypriots are excluded (models 2 and 4). We explore this pattern further in Table F6 which splits the sample into first-generation refugees (model 1), respondents who are neither refugees nor refugee descendants (model 2), and the descendants of Greek Cypriot refugees (model 3). This is no interaction term in these models since the split sample itself takes the place of the *refugee family* variable. Instead, we look at the estimate for *treated*. The coefficient estimate is positive and significant at $p < 0.05$ for first-generation refugees, non-significant for non-refugee families, and negative and significant at $p < 0.05$ for refugee descendants. Thus, treatment appears to evoke opposite reactions in refugees and their offspring. Although we might wonder whether first-generation refugee status is merely a proxy for age, Table F7 reveals no substantial differences in treatment among non-refugee Cypriots of the pre-invasion and post-invasion generations (the coefficient *treated* is virtually identical in each sample).

Unsurprisingly, we find that respondents with more favorable views of Iraqis, Turks, and Nigerians prior to treatment tend to show greater empathy toward asylum seekers. In contrast, those who feel warmer toward their fellow Cypriots (*therm cypriot*) are less supportive of asylum seekers. We do not see significant effects for age nor are there notable differences between refugee and non-refugee families in the control group (*refugee family* coefficient is non-significant). All else being equal, respondents to merely encounter asylum seekers more frequently tend to be less supportive (*freq. see asylum*) while those who actually have conversations with them tend to be more supportive (*freq. speak asylum*). This contrast provides suggestive evidence that intergroup contact can have positive effects but personal only if involves a meaningful interaction.

Table F5: Table for Figures 1 and 4 (Cyprus 2022)

Dependent Variables:	attitude mean		letter	
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Variables				
(Intercept)	2.0*** (0.13)	2.1*** (0.14)	0.36*** (0.11)	0.38*** (0.12)
refugee family	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)
treated	0.04 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	0.06 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)
male	-0.19*** (0.03)	-0.19*** (0.03)	-0.04* (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
age	-0.0007 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)	0.0008 (0.001)
college	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.009 (0.04)	-0.06** (0.03)	-0.06** (0.03)
foreign parent	-0.14** (0.07)	-0.12 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.06)	0.005 (0.06)
abroad year-round	0.10 (0.11)	-0.0009 (0.12)	0.23** (0.09)	0.21** (0.09)
rural	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.001 (0.03)	-0.005 (0.03)
heard of pournara	0.01 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)	0.03 (0.05)	0.05 (0.05)
freq. see asylum	-0.06*** (0.009)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.007)	-0.02** (0.008)
freq. speak asylum	0.04*** (0.009)	0.05*** (0.010)	0.02*** (0.007)	0.03*** (0.007)
violence family	-0.11*** (0.04)	-0.12*** (0.05)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
therm english	0.001 (0.0009)	0.001 (0.0009)	-0.0001 (0.0006)	-0.0003 (0.0006)
therm german	-0.0006 (0.0009)	-0.0007 (0.001)	-0.0002 (0.0006)	1.1×10^{-5} (0.0006)
therm iraqi	0.004*** (0.001)	0.003** (0.001)	0.0008 (0.0007)	0.0009 (0.0008)
therm filipino	-4.8×10^{-5} (0.0010)	0.0007 (0.001)	0.0002 (0.0007)	0.0004 (0.0008)
therm turk	0.005*** (0.0008)	0.006*** (0.0008)	0.002*** (0.0006)	0.002*** (0.0006)
therm nigerian	0.007*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.001* (0.0007)	0.0010 (0.0007)
therm cypriot	-0.004*** (0.0008)	-0.004*** (0.0008)	-0.002*** (0.0006)	-0.002*** (0.0006)
voted	-0.003 (0.04)	0.004 (0.04)	0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
parent	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)	0.003 (0.04)
job type = Parttime	0.09 (0.09)	0.05 (0.09)	0.08 (0.07)	0.01 (0.08)
job type = Salaried	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.002 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)
job type = Self-employed	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.09 (0.06)
job type = Unemployed	-0.006 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.09)	0.03 (0.06)	-0.0007 (0.07)
job type = Wagelabor	-0.06 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.11)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.07)
income = 11-20k	0.002 (0.05)	-0.003 (0.06)	-0.07* (0.04)	-0.10** (0.04)
income = 21-30k	0.06 (0.06)	0.06 (0.06)	-0.002 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)
income = 31-40k	0.17*** (0.07)	0.12 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.06)
income = 41kormore	0.04 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.08)	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.13** (0.06)
income = Refused	-0.13** (0.05)	-0.12** (0.06)	-0.11** (0.04)	-0.14*** (0.04)
household size	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02** (0.008)	-0.02* (0.009)
refugee family × treated	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.14** (0.07)	-0.08* (0.05)	-0.14*** (0.05)
First Gen. Refugees	included	excluded	included	excluded
Fit statistics				
Observations	1,363	1,183	1,363	1,183
Squared Correlation	0.45724	0.46298	0.13415	0.14838
Pseudo R^2	0.26989	0.27614	0.11543	0.12977
BIC	2,498.6	2,168.5	1,749.9	1,514.7

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F6: Table for Figure 5 (Cyprus 2022)

Dependent Variable:		letter	
refugee status	descendant	firstgen	none
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)
Variables			
(Intercept)	0.38** (0.16)	-0.37 (0.47)	0.45*** (0.17)
treated	-0.08** (0.04)	0.18** (0.07)	0.05 (0.04)
male	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.007 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.04)
age	-0.0002 (0.002)	0.01** (0.006)	0.002 (0.002)
college	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.11** (0.04)
foreign parent	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.47*** (0.12)	0.07 (0.10)
abroad year-round	0.17 (0.12)	0.20 (0.25)	0.25* (0.15)
rural	0.007 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.05)
heard of pournara	0.004 (0.08)	-0.12 (0.22)	0.06 (0.07)
freq. see asylum	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02* (0.01)
freq. speak asylum	0.02** (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03** (0.01)
violence family	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.14* (0.08)	0.04 (0.06)
therm english	-0.0003 (0.0008)	0.003* (0.002)	-0.0003 (0.0008)
therm german	-0.0006 (0.0009)	-0.003 (0.002)	0.0004 (0.0009)
therm iraqi	0.002 (0.001)	0.001 (0.002)	0.0002 (0.001)
therm filipino	-7.4×10^{-6} (0.001)	-0.0007 (0.002)	0.0007 (0.001)
therm turk	0.003*** (0.0008)	0.0001 (0.002)	0.002** (0.0009)
therm nigerian	0.0008 (0.001)	0.001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)
therm cypriot	-0.0008 (0.0008)	-0.004** (0.002)	-0.003*** (0.0009)
voted	0.07 (0.05)	0.06 (0.11)	-0.03 (0.05)
parent	0.005 (0.05)	0.19 (0.12)	0.004 (0.05)
job type = Parttime	0.004 (0.12)	0.58** (0.26)	0.04 (0.10)
job type = Salaried	-0.05 (0.07)	0.13 (0.12)	-0.002 (0.07)
job type = Self-employed	-0.08 (0.09)	0.17 (0.14)	-0.10 (0.08)
job type = Unemployed	-0.05 (0.10)	0.18 (0.15)	0.03 (0.10)
job type = Wagelabor	-0.10 (0.10)	0.29 (0.22)	-0.13 (0.12)
income = 11-20k	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.13)	-0.16** (0.07)
income = 21-30k	0.010 (0.07)	0.24* (0.13)	-0.06 (0.07)
income = 31-40k	-0.07 (0.08)	0.10 (0.15)	-0.05 (0.08)
income = 41kormore	-0.06 (0.08)	0.07 (0.14)	-0.21** (0.08)
income = Refused	-0.09 (0.06)	0.09 (0.13)	-0.20*** (0.07)
household size	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)
Fit statistics			
Observations	579	180	604
Squared Correlation	0.15341	0.25241	0.16934
Pseudo R^2	0.13934	0.22066	0.14532
BIC	799.12	351.11	864.00

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F7: Letter outcome subset by generation among non-refugee families (Cyprus 2022)

Dependent Variable:	letter	
generation	older	younger
Model:	(1)	(2)
Variables		
(Intercept)	-0.25 (0.48)	0.59** (0.23)
treated	0.06 (0.06)	0.05 (0.05)
male	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.05)
age	0.010 (0.006)	0.007* (0.004)
college	-0.0002 (0.07)	-0.15** (0.06)
foreign parent	0.15 (0.26)	0.010 (0.10)
abroad year-round	-0.30** (0.14)	0.38** (0.16)
rural	-0.05 (0.09)	6.1×10^{-5} (0.05)
heard of pournara	0.09 (0.15)	0.07 (0.07)
freq. see asylum	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02* (0.01)
freq. speak asylum	0.007 (0.02)	0.03** (0.01)
violence family	0.08 (0.13)	0.0010 (0.07)
therm english	0.0003 (0.002)	-0.0006 (0.001)
therm german	-0.0009 (0.002)	0.002 (0.001)
therm iraqi	-0.0008 (0.002)	-5.5×10^{-5} (0.002)
therm filipino	0.004** (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)
therm turk	0.001 (0.002)	0.002** (0.001)
therm nigerian	0.003 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)
therm cypriot	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.002** (0.001)
voted	-0.11 (0.12)	0.03 (0.05)
parent	-0.03 (0.11)	0.02 (0.06)
job type = Parttime	0.14 (0.16)	-0.23 (0.15)
job type = Salaried	0.17* (0.10)	-0.30** (0.14)
job type = Self-employed	0.08 (0.11)	-0.40** (0.16)
job type = Unemployed	0.12 (0.20)	-0.22 (0.16)
job type = Wagelabor	-0.002 (0.24)	-0.44** (0.18)
income = 11-20k	-0.10 (0.13)	-0.17** (0.08)
income = 21-30k	-0.09 (0.14)	-0.07 (0.10)
income = 31-40k	-0.10 (0.14)	-0.06 (0.10)
income = 41kormore	-0.27* (0.15)	-0.21* (0.11)
income = Refused	-0.33** (0.13)	-0.17** (0.08)
household size	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)
Fit statistics		
Observations	218	386
Squared Correlation	0.24414	0.20363
Pseudo R^2	0.21671	0.17881
BIC	392.85	594.22

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

F.2 Robustness Checks

F.2.1 Turkey

Table F8 shows the results for all outcome variables using our main model specification. The effect of being *treated* is positive for nearly all outcomes (with the exception of *admissions*), while interaction with *refugee family* is always negative. This reverse effect is statistically significant at $p < 0.01$ for *concern* for Syrian refugees, at $p < 0.05$ for *donate* to a charity supporting them and at $p < 0.10$ for the sending a *letter* to elected officials on their behalf. As predicted in the literature, the effects are larger for outcomes related to empathy. Treatment increases *concern* by nearly a quarter of a standard deviation for non-refugee families, while effects on support for pro-refugee policies (increasing *admissions* and granting more work *permits*) are negligible (< 0.05 SDs and non-significant).

Table F9 shows the same outcomes in linear regressions with no controls. The interaction effects are much the same as in F8.

Table F10 displays alternative model specifications for the letter and donation outcomes. In all cases, we see the same pattern as in Table F8: a positive direct treatment effect and a negative interaction effect, the sum of which is within a standard error of 0. Treatment appears to has a statistically significant positive effect on these quasi-behavioral outcomes but ironically only for *non*-refugee families.

Table F11 shows the same models using the set of controls specified in our pre-analysis plan. Specifically, this means omitting *freq contact*, *foreign parent*, *parent*, and *estimate Syrian pct*, while including *party* and *religiosity* (these models also do not include district fixed effects). The estimates in model 1 are virtually unchanged from those in Table F8. The estimates in models 2-7 agree in direction with those of Table F8, though vary in magnitude and thus fall below the conventional significance threshold.

In Table F12 we interact *treated* with all control variables. This is motivated by the imbalances observed when we compare families with/without displacement background, and this specification allows us to capture any effects of the treatment that might operate via the covariates that are imbalanced. Table F13 uses weighted least squares on the matched dataset (the sample size is smaller due to dropping unmatched observations).The results of these robustness tests echo those of the main models in Table F8 and support our conclusions reported in the paper.

Table F8: All outcomes using OLS regression (Turkey)

Dependent Variables:	concern	admissions	permits	therm refugees	donate	letter	attitude mean
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Variables							
refugee family	0.07	-0.07	0.09	-0.02	0.02	0.04	0.02
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.05)
treated	0.22***	-0.02	0.04	0.02	0.08**	0.04	0.07
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.06)
refugee family × treated	-0.28***	-0.01	-0.009	-0.05	-0.10**	-0.06*	-0.09
	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.07)
controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics							
Observations	1,489	1,489	1,489	1,489	1,489	1,489	1,489
Squared Correlation	0.05465	0.04207	0.03574	0.04555	0.02931	0.04019	0.05094
Pseudo R^2	0.01978	0.01518	0.01281	0.01641	0.02355	0.06705	0.02534
BIC	4,328.7	4,335.1	4,360.5	4,344.5	2,019.2	1,032.4	3,177.3

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F9: OLS regressions without controls (Turkey)

Dependent Variables:	concern	admissions	permits	therm refugees	donate	letter	attitude mean
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Variables							
refugee family	0.20***	-0.10	0.05	-0.08	-0.004	-0.0007	0.02
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.05)
treated	0.22***	-0.010	0.05	0.04	0.09**	0.03	0.08
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.06)
refugee family × treated	-0.31***	-0.01	-0.03	-0.04	-0.08*	-0.04	-0.10
	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.07)
Fit statistics							
Observations	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500
Squared Correlation	0.00667	0.00300	0.00070	0.00263	0.00592	0.00221	0.00189
Pseudo R^2	0.00236	0.00106	0.00025	0.00093	0.00471	0.00366	0.00092
BIC	4,277.0	4,282.6	4,286.0	4,283.1	1,912.7	933.98	3,114.6

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F10: Alternate models for letter and donation outcomes (Turkey)

	OLS		Logit	
Dependent Variables:	don. amount	log(don. amount)	donate	letter
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Variables				
refugee family	204.8*	0.24	0.11	0.35
	(113.1)	(0.27)	(0.18)	(0.25)
treated	231.0*	0.62**	0.40**	0.36
	(120.7)	(0.29)	(0.18)	(0.25)
refugee family × treated	-366.5**	-0.83**	-0.45*	-0.58*
	(156.6)	(0.38)	(0.24)	(0.34)
controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics				
Observations	1,489	1,489	1,489	1,489
Squared Correlation	0.03630	0.03134	0.02973	0.04082
Pseudo R^2	0.00212	0.00593	0.02463	0.05443
BIC	26,114.1	8,128.9	1,937.2	1,232.0

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F11: OLS regression using the preregistered set of controls (Turkey)

Dependent Variables:	concern	admissions	permits	therm refugees	donate	letter	attitude mean
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Variables							
refugee family	0.12	-0.05	0.11	-0.01	-0.004	0.02	0.04
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.05)
treated	0.22***	-0.01	0.04	0.03	0.07*	0.02	0.07
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.06)
refugee family × treated	-0.32***	-0.04	-0.07	-0.04	-0.06	-0.04	-0.12
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.07)
preregistered controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics							
Observations	1,345	1,345	1,345	1,345	1,345	1,345	1,345
Squared Correlation	0.05232	0.07898	0.06941	0.09315	0.06151	0.10432	0.11867
Pseudo R^2	0.01889	0.02849	0.02538	0.03435	0.04979	0.16929	0.06123
BIC	3,891.5	3,910.8	3,852.5	3,834.1	1,766.6	864.05	2,741.6

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F12: OLS regression interacting treatment with all covariates (Turkey)

Dependent Variables:	concern	admissions	permits	therm refugees	donate	letter	attitude mean
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Variables							
refugee family	0.10	-0.05	0.08	0.01	0.03	0.04	0.04
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.06)
treated	0.36	-0.25	0.35	0.04	0.49***	-0.05	0.13
	(0.38)	(0.37)	(0.38)	(0.36)	(0.17)	(0.12)	(0.25)
refugee family × treated	-0.35***	-0.05	0.01	-0.11	-0.10*	-0.07*	-0.13
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.08)
controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics							
Observations	1,489	1,489	1,489	1,489	1,489	1,489	1,489
Squared Correlation	0.06712	0.05482	0.04920	0.05947	0.03986	0.05718	0.06550
Pseudo R^2	0.02446	0.01991	0.01775	0.02158	0.03220	0.09625	0.03283
BIC	4,462.4	4,468.6	4,493.0	4,476.1	2,156.4	1,159.2	3,307.7

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F13: Weighted least squares regression on matched data (Turkey)

Dependent Variables:	concern	admissions	permits	therm refugees	donate	letter	attitude mean
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Variables							
refugee family	0.07	-0.12	0.09	-0.05	0.0008	0.03	-0.006
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.06)
treated	0.31***	-0.12	-0.04	0.07	0.09	0.02	0.05
	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.07)
refugee family × treated	-0.38***	0.05	0.13	-0.09	-0.08	-0.05	-0.07
	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.15)	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.09)
controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics							
Observations	1,315	1,315	1,315	1,315	1,315	1,315	1,315
Squared Correlation	0.05301	0.03442	0.03749	0.03753	0.02617	0.03126	0.04454
Pseudo R^2	0.02906	0.01445	0.01909	0.01484	0.02305	0.05584	0.02489
BIC	3,940.6	3,941.0	3,989.9	4,075.2	1,942.7	1,078.5	2,958.5

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

F.2.2 Cyprus 2018

As shown in Table F14, treatment has a positive impact on *asylum* but there is no differential treatment effect for refugee families. Removing the control variables (in case of endogeneity), adding additional demographic controls (listed in Section E.1.2), interacting treatment with covariates, and using a matched dataset do not alter the magnitude of this effect, though they do result in less precision (see Tables F15–F18). The interaction between *treated* and *refugee family* is always negative but never statistically significant. Across all models, treatment has a positive effect on support for compensating Greek Cypriots from Kyrenia (model 2). The interaction effect between *treated* and *refugee family* is generally negative. The sum of the direct effect for treated and the interaction effect is almost always close to zero, so whatever effects do occur seem to be limited to non-refugee families (the opposite of what our hypothesis predicted).

Table F14: All outcomes using OLS regression (Cyprus 2018)

Dependent Variables:	asylum	kyrenia
Model:	(1)	(2)
Variables		
refugee family	0.10	0.11***
	(0.07)	(0.03)
treated	0.07*	0.07***
	(0.04)	(0.02)
refugee family × treated	-0.10	-0.08*
	(0.07)	(0.04)
controls	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics		
Observations	1,291	1,286
Squared Correlation	0.03884	0.05906
Pseudo R^2	0.01397	0.07067
BIC	3,753.3	1,172.7

Clustered (municipality) standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F15: OLS regressions without controls (Cyprus 2018)

Dependent Variables:	asylum	kyrenia
Model:	(1)	(2)
Variables		
refugee family	0.06	0.11***
	(0.08)	(0.04)
treated	0.08*	0.06***
	(0.04)	(0.02)
refugee family × treated	-0.08	-0.10**
	(0.08)	(0.04)
controls		
Fit statistics		
Observations	1,346	1,342
Squared Correlation	0.00101	0.01221
Pseudo R^2	0.00036	0.01451
BIC	3,851.0	1,148.2

Clustered (municipality) standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F16: OLS regression using additional set of controls (Cyprus 2018)

Dependent Variables:	asylum	kyrenia
Model:	(1)	(2)
Variables		
refugee family	0.17**	0.11***
	(0.06)	(0.02)
treated	0.07	0.07***
	(0.05)	(0.01)
refugee family × treated	-0.09	-0.08*
	(0.06)	(0.04)
additional controls	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics		
Observations	1,280	1,274
Squared Correlation	0.05736	0.16281
Pseudo R^2	0.02083	0.20960
BIC	3,675.4	975.28

Clustered (municipality) standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F17: OLS regression interacting treatment with all covariates (Cyprus 2018)

Dependent Variables:	asylum	kyrenia
Model:	(1)	(2)
Variables		
refugee family	0.16**	0.11***
	(0.07)	(0.03)
treated	0.27	0.12
	(0.27)	(0.09)
refugee family × treated	-0.08	-0.08*
	(0.06)	(0.04)
controls	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics		
Observations	1,280	1,274
Squared Correlation	0.06434	0.16697
Pseudo R^2	0.02345	0.21548
BIC	3,758.9	1,061.9

Clustered (municipality) standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F18: Weighted least squares regression on matched data (Cyprus 2018)

Dependent Variables:	asylum	kyrenia
Model:	(1)	(2)
Variables		
refugee family	0.15	0.11***
	(0.10)	(0.03)
treated	0.07	0.07***
	(0.05)	(0.02)
refugee family × treated	-0.15	-0.08*
	(0.09)	(0.04)
controls	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics		
Observations	1,203	1,197
Squared Correlation	0.04045	0.05745
Pseudo R^2	0.01683	0.08007
BIC	3,534.7	1,124.7

Clustered (municipality) standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

F.2.3 Cyprus 2021

As shown in figure F19 treatment has a positive but non-significant direct effect on *concern*. The interaction effect between *refugee family* and *treated* is negative and significant at the $p < 0.05$ level. As in the prior studies, the sum of the direct and interaction effects is close to zero, suggesting that any positive effects of treatment are limited to non-refugee families, contrary to theory. The results for donate are not signficant. Results are substantive unchanged when we exclude the control variables (in case of endogeneity) in Table F20. Using alternative specifications of the donate variable (Table F21) still results in non-significant effects. Interacting the treatment with all covariates (Table F22) or using weighted least squares on a matched dataset (Table F23) does not change the significant negative interaction effect for *concern*, while the interaction effect for donate remains non-significant. Overall, these robustness checks confirm our initial findings.

Table F19: All outcomes using OLS regression (Cyprus 2021)

Dependent Variables:	concern	donate
Model:	(1)	(2)
Variables		
refugee family	0.11***	0.03
	(0.04)	(0.02)
treated	0.05	-0.005
	(0.04)	(0.02)
refugee family × treated	-0.11**	0.007
	(0.05)	(0.03)
controls	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics		
Observations	3,770	3,770
Squared Correlation	0.33717	0.14270
Pseudo R^2	0.14501	0.12093
BIC	9,437.6	4,515.9

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F20: OLS regressions without controls (Cyprus 2021)

Dependent Variables:	concern	donate
Model:	(1)	(2)
Variables		
refugee family	0.06	0.009
	(0.05)	(0.02)
treated	0.02	-0.01
	(0.05)	(0.02)
refugee family × treated	-0.06	0.02
	(0.06)	(0.03)
controls		
Fit statistics		
Observations	3,916	3,916
Squared Correlation	0.00052	0.00052
Pseudo R^2	0.00018	0.00041
BIC	11,145.2	5,013.9

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F21: Alternate models for the donation outcome (Cyprus 2021)

		OLS	Logit
Dependent Variables:	don. amount	log(don. amount)	donate
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)
Variables			
refugee family	8.7	0.16	0.15
	(6.7)	(0.10)	(0.11)
treated	2.0	-0.0005	-0.04
	(7.2)	(0.11)	(0.12)
refugee family × treated	1.7	0.03	0.04
	(9.6)	(0.14)	(0.16)
controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics			
Observations	3,770	3,770	3,770
Squared Correlation	0.21733	0.21594	0.14853
Pseudo R^2	0.01879	0.05295	0.12289
BIC	48,526.8	16,698.7	4,322.9

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F22: OLS regression interacting treatment with all covariates (Cyprus 2021)

Dependent Variables:	concern	donate
Model:	(1)	(2)
Variables		
refugee family	0.12***	0.03*
	(0.04)	(0.02)
treated	0.38	0.31**
	(0.26)	(0.13)
refugee family × treated	-0.11**	0.0002
	(0.06)	(0.03)
controls	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics		
Observations	3,770	3,770
Squared Correlation	0.34178	0.15300
Pseudo R^2	0.14747	0.13042
BIC	9,674.8	4,733.8

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F23: Weighted least squares regression on matched data (Cyprus 2021)

Dependent Variables:	concern	donate
Model:	(1)	(2)
Variables		
refugee family	0.11***	0.03
	(0.04)	(0.02)
treated	0.06	-0.006
	(0.04)	(0.02)
refugee family × treated	-0.11**	0.007
	(0.05)	(0.03)
controls	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics		
Observations	3,770	3,770
Squared Correlation	0.33711	0.14264
Pseudo R^2	0.14444	0.12165
BIC	9,460.8	4,532.2

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

F.2.4 Cyprus 2022

Each table in this section is followed by a table with the same set of models implemented on the subset of respondents who are not first-generation Greek Cypriot refugees ("first generation" refers to respondents who were themselves displaced during the 1974 Turkish invasion). We do this to isolate the effects of refugee heritage as opposed to direct victimization, which could create more empathy (or different affective responses) toward other victimized groups compared to respondents with no such direct experiences. Personal experiences with displacement, or psychological trauma from wartime violence that is strongly correlated with it, may exert different—even countervailing—effects than family narratives and norms that are passed down through the generations.

Across all regressions, we see a consistent pattern first seen in Tables F24–F25. The direct effect of treatment is nearly always positive but almost never significant. The interaction effect between *refugee family* and *treated* is nearly always negative, as is the sum of the direct and interaction effects. Hence, on net, the effect of treatment on *refugee families* is null or negative, contrary to theory (but consistent with our earlier findings). As noted in Section D.3, the treatment in this survey consisted of showing respondents a letter, similar to the one they were later given the chance to sign, which focused on improving living conditions for families and children in Pournara camp. Perhaps this is why the interaction effects tend to be strongest (and most significant) for the *children*, *families*, and *letter* outcomes, across nearly all regressions. As discussed in the main text, the negative interaction effects are stronger when first-generation Greek Cypriot refugees are excluded, a finding which holds in every pair of tables in this section.

In addition to the standard robustness checks described in section E.2, we include two that are specific to this survey. As discussed in Section E.1.4, all of our models control for whether the respondent's family experienced physical violence around the time of the 1974 invasion in order to isolate the effects of becoming a refugee. In our pre-analysis plan, we hypothesized that violence and displacement might exert opposite effects and therefore planned an analysis in which people who experienced both violence and displacement would be excluded. The results can be seen in Tables F30 and F31. In neither case do the results substantially change. In our pre-analysis plan, we also specified that as a robustness check, we would exclude respondents who failed an attention check (we do not do this in our main analyses because the attention checks are post-treatment). As shown in Tables F32 and F33, excluding these respondents does not substantively affect our findings.

Table F24: All outcomes using OLS regression (Cyprus 2022)

Dependent Variables:	children	families	open camp	permits	admissions	men	att. mean	letter
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Variables								
refugee family	-0.07	0.02	-0.06	-0.04	-0.04	-0.03	-0.03	0.02
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.03)
treated	0.03	0.08	0.04	-0.02	0.08	0.006	0.04	0.06
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.04)
refugee family × treated	-0.11	-0.19**	-0.11	0.09	-0.07	-0.008	-0.07	-0.08*
	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.06)	(0.05)
controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics								
Observations	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363
Squared Correlation	0.17842	0.30207	0.34286	0.34041	0.34929	0.20164	0.45724	0.13415
Pseudo R^2	0.06872	0.12722	0.14718	0.14696	0.15112	0.07966	0.26989	0.11543
BIC	3,875.4	3,608.1	3,561.3	3,537.8	3,535.2	3,791.8	2,498.6	1,749.9

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F25: All outcomes using OLS regression (Cyprus 2022 with first generation Greek Cypriot refugees excluded)

Dependent Variables:	children	families	open camp	permits	admissions	men	att. mean	letter
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Variables								
refugee family	-0.02	0.05	-0.05	-0.03	-0.006	-0.03	-0.02	0.03
	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.04)
treated	0.04	0.09	0.04	-0.02	0.09	0.010	0.04	0.06
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.04)
refugee family × treated	-0.23**	-0.31***	-0.16*	0.02	-0.14	-0.01	-0.14**	-0.14***
	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.05)
controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics								
Observations	1,183	1,183	1,183	1,183	1,183	1,183	1,183	1,183
Squared Correlation	0.18591	0.30926	0.34406	0.34162	0.35194	0.20588	0.46298	0.14838
Pseudo R^2	0.07242	0.13125	0.14809	0.14787	0.15182	0.08156	0.27614	0.12977
BIC	3,357.0	3,137.7	3,110.2	3,090.0	3,107.4	3,311.7	2,168.5	1,514.7

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F26: OLS regressions without controls (Cyprus 2022)

Dependent Variables:	children	families	open camp	permits	admissions	men	att. mean	letter
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Variables								
refugee family	-0.06	-0.008	-0.04	-0.05	-0.03	0.003	-0.03	0.03
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.03)
treated	0.05	0.07	-0.01	-0.03	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.04
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.04)
refugee family × treated	-0.12	-0.17	-0.07	0.08	-0.05	-0.03	-0.06	-0.07
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.05)
controls								
Fit statistics								
Observations	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500
Squared Correlation	0.00494	0.00409	0.00236	0.00045	0.00087	8.74×10^{-5}	0.00212	0.00195
Pseudo R^2	0.00173	0.00145	0.00083	0.00016	0.00031	3.09×10^{-5}	0.00094	0.00158
BIC	4,318.6	4,264.5	4,302.2	4,279.8	4,284.5	4,269.0	3,405.6	1,876.3

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F27: OLS regressions without controls (Cyprus 2022 with first generation Greek Cypriot refugees excluded)

Dependent Variables:	children	families	open camp	permits	admissions	men	att. mean	letter
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Variables								
refugee family	0.005	0.05	-0.06	-0.02	0.03	0.04	0.006	0.04
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.04)
treated	0.05	0.07	-0.01	-0.03	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.04
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.04)
refugee family × treated	-0.26**	-0.30***	-0.14	-0.009	-0.13	-0.04	-0.15*	-0.13***
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.05)
controls								
Fit statistics								
Observations	1,305	1,305	1,305	1,305	1,305	1,305	1,305	1,305
Squared Correlation	0.01002	0.00966	0.00657	0.00050	0.00143	0.00016	0.00552	0.00675
Pseudo R^2	0.00354	0.00345	0.00232	0.00018	0.00050	5.61×10^{-5}	0.00247	0.00555
BIC	3,725.2	3,693.2	3,728.8	3,717.6	3,742.1	3,715.6	2,939.2	1,612.1

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F28: Alternative models for binary outcomes (Cyprus 2022)

Dependent Variable:	letter
Model:	(1)
Variables	
refugee family	0.10
	(0.20)
treated	0.30
	(0.20)
refugee family × treated	-0.44*
	(0.27)
controls	Yes
Fit statistics	
Observations	1,363
Squared Correlation	0.14111
Pseudo R^2	0.11864
BIC	1,680.5

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F29: Alternative models for binary outcomes (Cyprus 2022 with first generation Greek Cypriot refugees excluded)

Dependent Variable:	letter
Model:	(1)
Variables	
refugee family	0.19
	(0.22)
treated	0.31
	(0.20)
refugee family × treated	-0.82***
	(0.30)
controls	Yes
Fit statistics	
Observations	1,183
Squared Correlation	0.15212
Pseudo R^2	0.13313
BIC	1,456.3

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F30: OLS regression excluding families who were both displaced and suffered violence (Cyprus 2022)

Dependent Variables:	children	families	open camp	permits	admissions	men	att. mean	letter
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Variables								
refugee family	-0.07	0.02	-0.06	-0.04	-0.04	-0.03	-0.03	0.02
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.03)
treated	0.03	0.08	0.04	-0.02	0.08	0.006	0.04	0.06
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.04)
refugee family × treated	-0.11	-0.19**	-0.11	0.09	-0.07	-0.008	-0.07	-0.08*
	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.06)	(0.05)
controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics								
Observations	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363
Squared Correlation	0.17842	0.30207	0.34286	0.34041	0.34929	0.20164	0.45724	0.13415
Pseudo R^2	0.06872	0.12722	0.14718	0.14696	0.15112	0.07966	0.26989	0.11543
BIC	3,875.4	3,608.1	3,561.3	3,537.8	3,535.2	3,791.8	2,498.6	1,749.9

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F31: OLS regression excluding families who were both displaced and suffered violence (Cyprus 2022 with first generation Greek Cypriot refugees excluded)

Dependent Variables:	children	families	open camp	permits	admissions	men	att. mean	letter
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Variables								
refugee family	-0.02	0.05	-0.05	-0.03	-0.006	-0.03	-0.02	0.03
	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.04)
treated	0.04	0.09	0.04	-0.02	0.09	0.010	0.04	0.06
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.04)
refugee family × treated	-0.23**	-0.31***	-0.16*	0.02	-0.14	-0.01	-0.14**	-0.14***
	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.05)
controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics								
Observations	1,183	1,183	1,183	1,183	1,183	1,183	1,183	1,183
Squared Correlation	0.18591	0.30926	0.34406	0.34162	0.35194	0.20588	0.46298	0.14838
Pseudo R^2	0.07242	0.13125	0.14809	0.14787	0.15182	0.08156	0.27614	0.12977
BIC	3,357.0	3,137.7	3,110.2	3,090.0	3,107.4	3,311.7	2,168.5	1,514.7

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F32: OLS regression with post-treatment attention checks (Cyprus 2022)

Dependent Variables:	children	families	open camp	permits	admissions	men	att. mean	letter
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Variables								
refugee family	-0.05	0.03	-0.06	-0.03	-0.04	-0.02	-0.03	0.02
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.04)
treated	0.03	0.05	0.02	-0.04	0.06	-0.004	0.02	0.06
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.04)
refugee family × treated	-0.10	-0.17*	-0.09	0.10	-0.07	0.0007	-0.06	-0.08*
	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.06)	(0.05)
controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics								
Observations	1,318	1,318	1,318	1,318	1,318	1,318	1,318	1,318
Squared Correlation	0.18472	0.31211	0.35296	0.35334	0.35444	0.21215	0.47074	0.13507
Pseudo R^2	0.07161	0.13241	0.15242	0.15413	0.15345	0.08420	0.27975	0.11660
BIC	3,734.0	3,475.1	3,435.1	3,397.5	3,426.4	3,662.3	2,403.4	1,693.1

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F33: OLS regression with post-treatment attention checks (Cyprus 2022 with first generation Greek Cypriot refugees excluded)

Dependent Variables:	children	families	open camp	permits	admissions	men	att. mean	letter
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Variables								
refugee family	0.006	0.06	-0.05	-0.02	-0.01	-0.03	-0.009	0.03
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.04)
treated	0.04	0.06	0.03	-0.03	0.07	0.0005	0.03	0.06
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.04)
refugee family × treated	-0.22**	-0.29***	-0.15	0.03	-0.14	0.003	-0.13*	-0.14***
	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.05)
controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics								
Observations	1,143	1,143	1,143	1,143	1,143	1,143	1,143	1,143
Squared Correlation	0.19436	0.32095	0.35406	0.35660	0.35735	0.21739	0.47854	0.14748
Pseudo R^2	0.07634	0.13744	0.15332	0.15620	0.15434	0.08656	0.28797	0.12927
BIC	3,228.3	3,016.0	2,997.9	2,962.3	3,008.4	3,195.9	2,079.6	1,467.8

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F34: OLS regression interacting treatment with all covariates (Cyprus 2022)

Dependent Variables:	children	families	open camp	permits	admissions	men	att. mean	letter
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Variables								
refugee family	-0.09	-0.004	-0.07	-0.05	-0.04	-0.02	-0.04	0.02
	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.03)
treated	0.23	-0.13	-0.44	-0.24	-0.14	-0.87*	-0.27	0.04
	(0.49)	(0.42)	(0.44)	(0.42)	(0.43)	(0.48)	(0.28)	(0.22)
refugee family × treated	-0.06	-0.15	-0.08	0.12	-0.06	-0.02	-0.04	-0.08
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.06)	(0.05)
controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics								
Observations	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363
Squared Correlation	0.19676	0.31712	0.35290	0.36075	0.35959	0.21803	0.46737	0.14985
Pseudo R^2	0.07661	0.13493	0.15258	0.15802	0.15673	0.08699	0.27822	0.13010
BIC	4,061.1	3,795.0	3,756.8	3,711.6	3,730.0	3,980.0	2,689.4	1,941.5

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F35: OLS regression interacting treatment with all covariates (Cyprus 2022 with first generation Greek Cypriot refugees excluded)

Dependent Variables:	children	families	open camp	permits	admissions	men	att. mean	letter
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Variables								
refugee family	-0.0010	0.02	-0.07	-0.04	0.005	-0.02	-0.02	0.04
	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.04)
treated	0.39	-0.12	-0.29	-0.11	-0.10	-0.76	-0.17	0.17
	(0.54)	(0.46)	(0.47)	(0.45)	(0.47)	(0.53)	(0.30)	(0.24)
refugee family × treated	-0.23**	-0.26**	-0.14	0.04	-0.13	-0.03	-0.12*	-0.14***
	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.05)
controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics								
Observations	1,183	1,183	1,183	1,183	1,183	1,183	1,183	1,183
Squared Correlation	0.20436	0.32521	0.35319	0.36502	0.36624	0.22966	0.47261	0.16267
Pseudo R^2	0.08050	0.13954	0.15301	0.16067	0.15963	0.09231	0.28418	0.14344
BIC	3,542.2	3,322.3	3,305.9	3,259.5	3,293.3	3,488.0	2,359.4	1,707.0

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F36: Weighted least squares regression on matched data (Cyprus 2022)

Dependent Variables:	children	families	open camp	permits	admissions	men	att. mean	letter
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Variables								
refugee family	-0.07	0.0006	-0.06	-0.05	-0.04	-0.03	-0.04	0.02
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.03)
treated	0.02	0.07	0.04	-0.03	0.08	0.0002	0.03	0.06*
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.04)
refugee family × treated	-0.09	-0.17*	-0.11	0.10	-0.07	-0.005	-0.06	-0.08*
	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.06)	(0.05)
controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics								
Observations	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363	1,363
Squared Correlation	0.17805	0.30163	0.34267	0.34017	0.34914	0.20123	0.45699	0.13387
Pseudo R^2	0.06964	0.12714	0.14841	0.14611	0.15216	0.08124	0.27131	0.11519
BIC	3,877.9	3,613.2	3,563.1	3,546.0	3,538.4	3,790.4	2,498.9	1,760.6

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Table F37: Weighted least squares regression on matched data (Cyprus 2022 with first generation Greek Cypriot refugees excluded)

Dependent Variables:	children	families	open camp	permits	admissions	men	att. mean	letter
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Variables								
refugee family	-0.02	0.04	-0.05	-0.05	-0.007	-0.05	-0.02	0.03
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.04)
treated	0.05	0.09	0.04	-0.07	0.08	-0.02	0.03	0.06
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.04)
refugee family × treated	-0.23**	-0.30***	-0.17	0.06	-0.13	0.005	-0.13*	-0.14***
	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.05)
controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fit statistics								
Observations	1,170	1,170	1,170	1,170	1,170	1,170	1,170	1,170
Squared Correlation	0.17935	0.30375	0.34773	0.33956	0.35223	0.20826	0.46270	0.14645
Pseudo R^2	0.06934	0.12984	0.14837	0.14253	0.15610	0.09002	0.27158	0.12445
BIC	3,361.3	3,154.5	3,122.1	3,119.3	3,122.5	3,307.5	2,199.5	1,566.4

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

G "Acknowledgment of Suffering" Treatment

After seeing a backlash effect among treated refugee families in Turkey 2021 and Cyprus 2021 surveys, we decided to test an alternate wording of our salience treatment which acknowledges Cypriots' suffering and then uses that suffering as a justification for being charitable toward others in need. This is now done *without* drawing a parallel between the Cypriots' and others' displacement experience. The middle paragraph of the treatment letter read as follows:

> [acknowledgment condition:] **As Cypriots, we know what it means to lose everything from war. We understand the pain that families displaced by violence have endured. Mr President, we ask you to show the world that, as a Cypriot, you know what it means to be a refugee. Our pain and suffering were not in vain. They can help us set an example for how to treat refugee families with respect and kindness.**

Our goal was to make refugee identity salient while avoiding inciting feelings of *competitive victimization* whereby the respondent feels the magnitude of their own suffering is diminished or trivialized by comparing it to someone else's and their claim to victimhood is threatened. For instance, Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer (2021*b*) find that descendants of German expellees become more favorable toward refugees when they are told that their suffering is acknowledged by a larger proportion of the German public than they believed. We present our results in Table G1, denoting the original treatment condition as *treated* and the new treatment arm as *acknowledge*.[30] The interaction between *refugee family* and *acknowledge* is negative in all models and never reaches conventional thresholds of significance. Furthermore, the sum of the *acknowledge* and *refugee family times acknowledge* point estimates is negative in every instance. Thus, the acknowledgment version of the treatment fails to arouse sympathy or political action from refugee families.

[30] Summary tables, balance tables, full results with controls, and robustness checks are available upon request.

Table G1: OLS regressions with acknowledgement treatment (Cyprus 2022)

Dependent Variables:	attitude mean		letter	
Model:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Variables				
refugee family	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.009 (0.05)	0.02 (0.03)	0.04 (0.04)
acknowledge	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)
refugee family × treated	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.14** (0.07)	-0.08* (0.05)	-0.14*** (0.05)
refugee family × acknowledge	-0.006 (0.06)	-0.004 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.05)
controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
First Gen. Refugees	included	excluded	included	excluded
Fit statistics				
Observations	2,049	1,783	2,049	1,783
Squared Correlation	0.47334	0.47869	0.13808	0.14577
Pseudo R^2	0.28562	0.29317	0.11828	0.12564
BIC	3,560.6	3,069.8	2,544.1	2,224.4

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

H Ethical Considerations

In this section, we discuss the ethical issues pertinent to our study, and the precautions we took to avoid harm. Respondents did not receive benefits from this research except for the opportunity to share their opinions and participate in a lottery. Our participant pool reflected the diversity of the contexts in which we worked. Our research questions led us to limit our pool to citizens of Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus, because we sought to understand the attitudes of citizens toward asylum seekers, not asylum seekers toward one another. However, within this pool, we sought to create panels that were broadly representative of Edirne province in Turkey, Macedonia, Lesvos in Greece, and the Republic of Cyprus, including a range of ages, gender balance, rural/urban balance, and range of incomes and political views. While some households may have been excluded due to not having phones (Greece, Turkey) or Facebook (Cyprus), we believe this to be a very small slice of the population based on the reach of those technologies in those countries. We limited our study to adults, and we did not target vulnerable populations for recruitment. Our primary ethical considerations included obtaining informed consent, creating a process for the lottery that would not compromise the anonymity of respondents with the exception of the single winner who had the choice to contact us to receive payment (or not), and ensuring that our survey instruments did not inflict emotional harm on participants. The protection of personal data was guaranteed, as per the approved protocol submitted to the IRB. The larger impact of the study on the societies in which it was conducted was also taken into consideration. We address each of these in turn.

Compensation and Informed Consent We began each survey with a consent script, the text of which can be found in the questionnaires [redacted for review]. Respondents were informed that the survey was voluntary, their answers were anonymous, and their identities would not be revealed. Contact information was provided in each survey for respondents to launch any complaints or ask for more information. Fewer than 30 respondents in all 3 studies contacted us; all of these were in Cyprus. About half had questions about the location of the announcement of the lottery winner (these were all directed to the website, as per instructions that had been included in the survey questionnaire); the other half were participants in the 2022 survey who wanted to express their feelings regarding the letter published in the newspaper addressing the President of the Republic. These respondents were grateful for the opportunity to express their opinion; one of them wrote months later to make sure that we had not included her name as she had withdrawn consent (she had not been included). Given the local context, we considered a lottery to be a non-coercive incentive. In the Cyprus 2022 survey, respondents who said they wanted to sign the newspaper letter had to pass through multiple rounds of consent. In the initial consent statement respondents were told,

> "In the context of this study, we will give you the opportunity to express your opinion on an important social issue in an open letter that will be published in a major newspaper in Cyprus. The subject of the letter will be explained later and those who wish can sign it publicly. You are free to sign it or not, and no one will be able to link your name to your answers to this questionnaire."

After being shown the open letter, they were asked,

> "The names of all the co-signatories will be published in a widely circulated newspaper in Cyprus and on the internet. Would you like your name added to this public letter? Whether you sign or not does not affect your participation in the draw for 500 euros - all participants who complete the survey will register for the draw."

If they chose the "Yes, I want to sign" option, upon reaching the last screen of the online questionnaire they were shown the following message:

> "If you said that you want to sign the open letter, as soon as you click on the arrow below you will be taken to another website where you can leave your details so that no one can link them to your answers to this questionnaire. You can also access the sign-up website directly by clicking this link: [url for the Google Form]"

The Google Form restated the letter and asked for first name, last name, email address, and place of residence. Since we had no way of easy way of preventing respondents from passing the link on to friends and family wishing to sign, we asked signatories if they had arrived at the form through our survey or through some other means, and told them they were welcome to share the link to the form if they wished. We then confirmed that the respondent still wished to sign, asking them to respond "yes" or "no" to the statement, "I agree to co-sign the letter and have my signature published in a Cypriot newspaper and on the internet." Those who said yes were then contacted by email to inform them when the ad would be published and allow them to opt out before the stated publication deadline.

Risk of Harm While some of our treatment vignettes describe upsetting conditions refugees have experienced, they are not graphic or disturbing in a way that would be traumatizing. Likewise, our questions about the respondent's or their family's experiences with wartime violence or displacement are brief, non-judgemental, and do not press for details. These topics—displacement and wartime violence experiences—are routinely discussed in Cyprus as in many other countries whose territories have been partitioned due to war and where the government is engaged in efforts to reverse the status quo. Our survey raised no issues that

would be considered too sensitive or hurtful and our survey instrument was reviewed by local scholars in Cyprus who provided us with input on the language to include in the experimental treatments and the letter that we published in the newspaper.

Confidentiality We did not collect personally identifying information within our survey instrument. In Turkey, we instructed the survey firm to destroy any links between the phone numbers they called and the data they collected, and we never had access to respondents' contact information. In Greece, data was collected by a vendor (KAPA research) and we have no way of accessing information regarding participants' identities. In the Cyprus 2021 survey, we asked respondents if they would be willing to be re-contacted (in a procedure approved by our university's IRB). If they said yes, they were directed to a separate website, as were respondents in 2022 who wished to add their names to the newspaper open letter. We never re-contacted those respondents and opted to collect a new sample for the 2022 survey. Due to the size of the populations in our sampling frame, the demographic information collected in our surveys is not sufficiently specific to identify respondents, even when using multiple traits (e.g. gender, age, municipality) in combination.

Societal Impact Based on prior studies, we expected the impact of a salience prime on attitudes toward refugees to be small, and this indeed was the case here. Although some treatments caused a decrease in concern for refugees, we do not believe that these treatments are strong enough to spark an uptick in prejudicial behavior towards them. The open letter published in the newspaper following the Cyprus 2022 survey does not contain the passage that triggered backlash nor does it advocate sweeping changes in asylum policy that might provide incentives for new waves of refugees to attempt to reach Cyprus. To the extent that this letter does have an impact on society, we expect that impact to be positive by increasing pressure on government officials to provide humane living conditions for asylum-seekers who have a right to humane treatment according to international laws and treaties that the government of Cyprus has signed. The treatment that the newspaper letter urged the government to follow reflected the rulings of the UNCHR and European Union agencies focusing on refugee issues and human rights. By demonstrating public support for the humane treatment of refugees, the treatment/letter may have had a small positive effect in pushing the government to address the squalid, dangerous conditions in the Pournara camp while stimulating the public discourse around this issue.

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