

Family History and Attitudes Toward Outgroups: Evidence from the European Refugee Crisis *

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Abstract

Can leveraging family history reduce xenophobia? We address this question in the context of the recent European refugee crisis. Building on theories of group identity, we show that a family history of forced relocation leaves an imprint on future generations and can be activated to increase sympathy towards refugees. We provide evidence from Greece and Germany, two countries that vividly felt the migrant crisis, and that witnessed large-scale forced displacement of their own populations during the 20th century. Combining historical and survey data with an experimental manipulation, we show that mentioning the parallels between past and present increases monetary donations and attitudinal measures of sympathy for refugees among respondents with forcibly displaced ancestors. This effect is also present among respondents without a family history of forced migration who live in places with high historical concentration of refugees. Our findings highlight the role of identity and shared experience for reducing out-group discrimination.

Keywords: outgroup bias; family socialization; asylum seekers; forced displacement

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Since 2015, more than 1.5 million refugees have fled to Europe from war-torn countries in the Middle East and Africa. The migrant crisis has created social and political turmoil, increasing the pressure in receiving countries to integrate the surging number of asylum-seekers. This, however, is proving to be a challenging task, as native populations often exhibit exclusionary attitudes and are unwilling to accommodate most refugees (Bansak, Hainmueller and Hangartner, 2016). This struggle echoes the large literature on attitudes toward immigrants that finds xenophobia to be the modal answer of natives to immigrant inflows (Sniderman and Hagendoorn, 2007; Hainmueller and Hopkins, 2014; Hainmueller and Hangartner, 2013).

A voluminous literature has tried to explain the drivers of xenophobic sentiment. There is increasing agreement that anti-immigrant attitudes are motivated more by cultural than by economic factors (Sniderman, Hagendoorn and Prior, 2004; Hainmueller and Hopkins, 2014). Perceptions of outgroup norms and values as potentially in conflict with those of the ingroup generate bias against members of the outgroup and trigger exclusionary preferences as a way of protecting the ingroup's habitual way of life (Ivarsflaten 2005). The underlying assumption within this line of argument is that group identities are formed on the basis of observable differences, such as religious, ethnic, or linguistic, between natives and newcomers. However, though salient, these categories are not the only ones to forge group identities. Various other aspects can constitute pillars of group self-categorizations and some of these can be shared between natives and migrants.

In this paper we focus on one such category, namely that of refugee, minimally defined as someone forcibly displaced. Many people in the receiving countries are themselves descendants of migrants—immigration and forced population movements were common during the last two hundred years. We ask two interrelated questions: Do such historical experiences form strongly-felt group identities and, if so, how do they affect modern-day views about asylum seekers?

We address the question in the context of the European migrant crisis by focusing on

the two countries that received most media scrutiny during the peak of the crisis in 2015, Greece and Germany. While Greece served as the entry port to Europe for more than one million asylum seekers, Germany became the host country for a similarly large number. The management of these inflows sparked heated political debates in both countries and is one of the main reasons behind the electoral rise of anti-immigrant parties – AfD in Germany and the Golden Dawn in Greece (Dinas et al., 2018). A perhaps lesser known parallel between these two countries is that they both experienced a change in their demographic composition after large-scale forced relocations of populations during the 20th century. Greece received approximately 1.3 million Orthodox Christians expelled from the regions of Asia Minor and Pontus in Turkey in 1923, amounting to almost 25 percent of Greece’s then population of 5 million. Refugee inflow into Germany followed the forced relocation of ethnic Germans from the territories that formed part of the German Reich until World War II. In the aftermath of the war, an estimated 12 to 16 million people of German ethnic origin were expelled and relocated to Germany. In both countries, newly settled refugees faced adverse economic and social conditions and were often treated with mistrust and outright discrimination by the natives. In the long-run, however, integration of both groups was successful, with descendants today being largely indistinguishable from their country’s larger population.

We conduct surveys in Greece and Germany, in which we oversample descendants of Asia Minor refugees and expellees, respectively. We collect measures of refugee identity to assess the persistence of the memory of forced displacement among later generations. We also collect a number of behavioral and attitudinal measures of sympathy for modern day refugees. A random half of respondents is exposed to a treatment which makes explicit the similarity between past and present forced relocation. We compare the effect of the treatment on sympathy measures between descendants of forced migrants and other respondents. Our first survey, conducted in Greece, is pre-specified in a registered pre-analysis plan. We then replicate the design in a near-identical survey in Germany. This substantially increases the external validity of our design, since we estimate the effects of the treatment in two distinct countries with vastly different economic and cultural conditions. We find effects to be, both qualitatively and quantitatively, strikingly similar in both countries.

We first document that descendants of forced migrants assign particularly high importance to the respective episodes of expulsion in the context of their country’s history, and low

importance to events that took place before their ancestors migrated to Greece or Germany, respectively. This validates our research design, as it indicates that the identity of “refugee” was indeed successfully transmitted across generations. We then proceed to activate this identity and examine whether such activation fosters sympathy towards modern-day refugees. The estimated effect of our treatment is positive and large in both countries, but only among respondents with a family background of forced displacement. Among refugee descendants, the treatment “persuades” (DellaVigna and Kaplan, 2007) 16 percent of respondents in Greece and 8 percent of respondents in Germany to donate money to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and increases their contributions, relative to other respondents, by 72 and 82 percent, respectively. In both countries, the treatment positively transforms attitudes toward refugees, increasing in particular the expressed willingness to welcome more refugees into the country.

These effects extend to respondents without a family past of forced displacement, as long as they reside in areas with high historical density of refugees. In those areas, the local community acts as a socialization mechanism additional to the family that transmits the historical experience of forced displacement across generations. From a policy point of view, this result indicates that the impact of interventions appealing to historical memory can have positive spillovers outside the directly relevant group. This is important because, throughout the recent European migrant crisis, politicians, public figures and NGOs have appealed to experiences of past relocation in order to increase sympathy of native populations toward refugees. Our findings, however, also suggest that such interventions should be applied with caution: respondents in areas with low historical density of refugees tend to respond negatively to the treatment if they have no family background of forced relocation. We provide suggestive evidence that an increased sense of national identity might play a role in this backlash.

A long literature in political science emphasizes the role of family as an agent of political socialization, transmitting historical memory (Balcells, 2012) and political preferences (Jennings, Stoker and Bowers, 2009) across generations. A number of studies focus specifically on how historical experiences of past victimization can serve as basis for the formation of persistent social identities that affect behavior and attitudes. Balcells (2012) shows that victimization in the Spanish civil war left a long-term trauma that turned family members of current and previous generations against the political representatives of the side of the

perpetrator. Aguilar, Balcells and Cebolla-Boado (2011) suggest that such victimization also colors people's views of transitional justice. Similarly, Rozenas, Schutte and Zhukov (2017) find that communities in Western Ukraine that experienced indiscriminate violence during the Stalin era are less likely today to support pro-Russian parties. Lupu and Peisakhin (2017) extend this evidence, using an intergenerational survey of Crimean Tatars, and show that the intensity of Stalinist violence incurred within the family predicts higher levels of ingroup attachment and anti-Russian hostility even two generations later.

This scholarship has so far focused on how past experiences of violent repression affect views towards the perpetrators of the violence. Our study extends this question, by asking how a past experience of a traumatic nature may matter for attitudes towards outgroups that are unrelated to the past trauma, but that are facing similar experiences today. In particular, we are interested in discovering to what extent the analogy of historical experience, as transmitted through the family and local community, may reduce prejudice towards outgroups.

As such, our study relates to a literature, that examines what works and what doesn't in terms of prejudice reduction (Paluck and Green, 2009). Previous studies have highlighted the role of perspective-taking in ameliorating outgroup prejudice (Galinsky and Moskowitz, 2000), ingroup favoritism (Lamm, Batson and Decety, 2007), and subtle racial biases (Todd et al., 2011). When encouraged to visualize themselves in the conditions experienced by an outgroup, individuals report higher empathy with the outgroup. Our study contributes to this literature by highlighting the role of a potential moderator of perspective taking and empathetic thinking: that of analogous thinking about group experience. Prompting people to reflect on another's condition using not only one's own past but also that of one's relatives as a frame of reference increases the range of experiences that individuals can relate to and thus the potential for empathy.

Within this broader literature, we are contributing in particular to a narrower set of studies that have focused on increasing sympathy towards a specific outgroup: immigrants and refugees. With immigration becoming an ever more salient topic in the political arena, and the 2015 migrant crisis deeply affecting native attitudes and politics in Western countries, it is unsurprising that many have focused on understanding what drives attitudes towards migrants, and what can change them. Experimental manipulations have produced mixed results (Getmansky, Simmazdemir and Zeitzoff, 2018), and the type of message delivered has

been shown to matter greatly for the direction of response, with information primes (Facchini, Margalit and Nakata, 2016; Grigorieff, Roth and Ubfal, 2016) generally working less well than empathy ones (Adida, Lo and Platas, 2018). Our study adds to this literature by constructing an intervention that draws specifically from the native population’s historical past and shared identity, and showing that, unlike neutral primes, this can be effective in increasing sympathy for outsiders.

Theoretical expectations

Can sharing a similar experience affect people’s attitudes toward an outgroup, and if yes, in which direction? The synthesis of a large literature in social psychology and cultural sociology suggests two competing theoretical hypotheses. On the one hand, analogies between an ingroup’s and an outgroup’s experience can serve as the basis for group recategorization (Gaertner et al., 1993). Here we draw from social identity theory, which underlies much of the reasoning behind outgroup prejudice. Individuals form categorizations that help them classify themselves and others (Rosch, 1978). These can be based on any number of characteristics, from religion, ethnicity or language, to political parties (Campbell et al., 1960), ideologies (Bølstad and Dinas, 2017), or even specific music, food and sport tastes. Once categorization is in place, group members tend to accentuate between-group differences and within group similarities, producing attitudes and behaviors collectively described as ingroup bias. Accentuation of between-group differences can lead to stereotypes about outgroups and enhance perceptions of threat (Tajfel and Wilkes, 1963; Eiser and Stroebe, 1972). The more distant the outgroup is perceived to be, i.e. the less room there exists for shared identity, the more vivid ingroup threat perceptions will be.

Group identities, however, are not mutually exclusive. People hold multiple social identities and can experience strong or weak commitments to each (Huddy, 2001). What determines the emergence of a specific categorization and the likelihood that individuals will use it to classify themselves and others is its salience in a given context. Building on this malleability of group identities, interventions can aim at re-orienting individuals’ perceptions towards different, more inclusive, superordinate identities. Known as the common ingroup identity model, this approach posits that intergroup relations will improve when people endorse a common,

superordinate identity rather than merely identifying with separate subgroups (Gaertner and Dovidio, 2014). Recategorization thus tries to reduce bias by altering perceptions of intergroup boundaries, thereby redefining who is an ingroup and who is an outgroup member.

Interpreted through the light of the common ingroup identity model, our prime of the parallels between past and present experience of forced relocation can be seen as a recategorization intervention, highlighting a superordinate identity, that of “refugee”. As a result of the *recategorization channel*, we thus expect the prime to decrease the perceived distance to asylum seekers and thus to reduce prejudice, but only for natives with a background of forced relocation

Additionally, our treatment indirectly primes perspective taking. Prompting individuals to put themselves in another’s shoes has been shown to decrease prejudice and increase empathy even towards entirely unrelated outgroup members (Galinsky and Moskowitz, 2000; Todd et al., 2011). Presumably, such attempts at perspective taking become easier, when the individual is asked to identify with a situation they or their family have already experienced in the past. Beyond group identity then, there are purely individual-level reasons to expect that analogous thinking about one’s experience compared to that of others can increase empathy. The *perspective-taking channel* thus reinforces the *recategorization channel*.

At the same time, priming parallels between ingroups and outgroups may backfire. People choose their ingroup motivated by both the need to belong and the need to be distinct (Brewer, 2007). Attempts at recategorization may thus be perceived as a threat to the stability and uniqueness of the ingroup, and promote reactions aimed at restoring group distinctiveness (Jetten, Spears and Postmes, 2004). Experimental manipulations priming superordinate identities have sometimes ended up hardening ingroup boundaries (Hornsey and Hogg, 2000; Jetten, Spears and Manstead, 1996). This reasoning applies especially to cases in which group identity has been formed on the basis of experiences of past suffering and victimization (Moss and Vollhardt, 2016). As groups build their self-image along the lines of ingroup victimhood, they tend to glorify their suffering and relegate the suffering of others (Pettigrew et al., 2008), especially if the outgroup’s status of victim is perceived to gain higher levels of recognition than theirs (Corbel et al., 2004). We refer to this reaction as the *ingroup-reinforcement channel*.

The need to maintain group distinctiveness also informs our theoretical prior regard-

ing the reaction to our prime of respondents without a family history of forced relocation. Attempting to cast Greeks or Germans as “people who share the background of forced relocation”, because their countries have historically received large refugee inflows, may cause those individuals who do not themselves descend of refugees to reaffirm their distinctiveness through increased prejudice towards refugees today. Evoking a traumatic event in the history of Greece and Germany may also end up priming national identity, which in turn has been associated with increased xenophobia (Mudde, 2007; Sides and Citrin, 2007). In sum, the *ingroup-reinforcement channel* will work in the opposite direction than the other two channels for respondents with a family background of relocation, hardening their stance against present day refugees. Unlike the other channels, we expect the *ingroup-reinforcement channel* to also affect respondents without a relevant family history to a similar degree.

We summarize here our expectations and interpretation of empirical results. We expect a positive difference in the treatment effect between descendants of forced migrants and others. This should reflect the effect of the combined *recategorization* and *perspective-taking* channels (at work only for descendants of forced migrants) net of the effect of the *ingroup-reinforcement* channel (which may be present both for descendants and others). This is our main effect of interest, as it captures the role of shared past family experience. Additionally, we expect a negative treatment effect for respondents without a forced migration background, capturing the *ingroup-reinforcement* channel. Finally the total treatment effect on descendants of the forcibly relocated constitutes the sum of all three channels, and will thus only be positive if the negative effect of the *ingroup-reinforcement* channel is not too large.

Present and Past Refugee Waves in Greece and Germany

Present: The 2015 Migrant Crisis

The escalation of the Syrian civil war gave rise to one of the most severe refugee crises the world has witnessed since the aftermath of World War II. Between 2015 and 2017, more than fourteen million refugees were under the mandate of UNHCR and more than two million new asylum claims were submitted in Europe alone (UNHCR, 2017). Few other countries in Europe felt these inflows as vividly as Greece and Germany.

Serving as the entry point to the European Union from the Middle East, Greece received

more than 50 percent of all refugees crossing into Europe (UNHCR, 2015). Although the vast majority of these arrivals were temporary, the closure of the Macedonian borders in the spring of 2016 transformed Greece from a transit destination into a host country, accommodating approximately fifty thousand refugees. In a representative survey of fifteen countries conducted by Bansak, Hainmueller and Hangartner (2016), less than 25 percent of Greek respondents were in favor of increasing the number of asylum-seekers. Greece was no exception to a pattern observed all across Europe, with median voters in all surveyed countries opposed to receiving more asylum-seekers.

By September 2015, German Chancellor Angela Merkel suspended on the part of Germany the 1990 protocol which required refugees to seek asylum in the first European country in which they set foot, adding that all Syrian asylum-seekers were welcome to remain in Germany. Germany quickly became the largest host of asylum seekers in Europe, receiving more than one million refugees in 2015 alone. Merkel's decision was highly controversial. Protests spanned around the country and CDU's alter ego in Bavaria, CSU, threatened to withdraw their support to the government. In a critical assessment of the open-gate policy one year afterwards, *Der Spiegel* characterized it a "dramatic decision" that "changed German history".¹ The openly anti-immigration party AfD doubled its national vote share in the 2017 national elections.

Past: Forced displacement in Greece and Germany in the 20th century

During the 20th century, both Greece and Germany witnessed an abrupt demographic expansion due to a massive relocation into each country of approximately one fifth of their population. In both cases, displacement was the result of a military defeat, followed by the redrafting of national borders and reprisals against the local population, and was formalized with an international treaty. In what follows, we provide a brief historical account of the two episodes.

¹See "The Makings of Merkel's Decision to Accept Refugees" *Der Spiegel*, accessed online on November 5, 2018: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/a-look-back-at-the-refugee-crisis-one-year-later-a-1107986.html>.

The 1923 Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey

After the defeat of the Greek army in the Greco-Turkish war of 1919-1922, the Turkish military victory was accompanied by extensive retaliation and reprisals against the former Ottoman Empire's Christian populations. Atrocities spiraled, leaving no choice to the targeted populace but to try to escape, typically to Greece through the Aegean Sea. As Hirschon (2003) puts it, "[t]hroughout the region, from villages and towns, the population fled with little more than their lives." This exodus marks the first of the two waves of refugee arrivals, counting approximately one million destitute people.

The League of Nations initiated peace negotiations, which resulted in the Convention on the Exchange of Populations, signed in January 1923. The criterion for this compulsory exchange was religion, with the target groups "Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion" and "Greek nationals of the Moslem religion." The second wave of expulsion resulted in the arrival of an additional two hundred thousand people. Combined, the two waves totaled more than 1.2 million refugees arriving in Greece between 1922 and 1923. As shown in Figure E.1 in the appendix, most refugees were relocated in the region of Macedonia, chosen due to the vast areas of uncultivated but cultivable land and the fertile estates left vacant after the departure of the Muslim population.

The refugees experienced severe hardship, economic and status deprivation, and outright discrimination (Mavrogordatos, 1983). More often than not, interactions with locals were marked by hostility and prejudice. Indicative in this respect is the almost complete absence of marriages between refugees and locals during the first decade of the settlement process. Initial difficulties notwithstanding, the settlement and integration of refugees into Greek society has been characterized as the greatest achievement of the modern Greek state and nation (Mavrogordatos, 1983), with the second generation, after the end of World War II, fully assimilated within Greek society (Kontogiorgi, 2006). Despite this, the Asia Minor identity remains vivid. The settlers appropriated the term "refugees" (*prosfyghes*), which together with the term "Asia Minor people" (*Mikrasiates*), denotes a common bond based on the shared experience of forced relocation, and an overarching cultural dichotomy among the newcomers, and the locals (Hirschon, 1998, 30-31). This collective identity was almost immediately institutionalized in the form of local refugee associations, which spread soon after the refugees arrived and remained active ever since.

The expulsion of ethnic Germans from the former Eastern Territories

The end of World War I converted many German-speaking communities that formed part of the German Reich into minorities residing within new nation states which resulted from the partition of the old empires. The Nazi defeat in World War II made them vulnerable to reprisals by the local population, the Red Army, and the allies. In total, between twelve and fourteen million ethnic Germans fled or were expelled from the so-called Eastern territories, and approximately two million died in what has been described as the “greatest single movement of peoples in human history” (Douglas, 2012).

The expulsion took place in three stages. The first phase started in October 1944 when Soviet troops entered East Prussia. The second phase of expulsion is also known as the “wild expulsions” due to the lack of any regulation by international agreements or organizations. The governments-in-exile of the newly liberated Czech and Polish territories put an expulsion plan into action, with approximately one million Germans forced out of their homes and sent into Germany from Czechoslovakia alone. The Potsdam Agreement legalized ex-post the “wild expulsions” and initiated the third wave which lasted until 1950. Among the twelve million people who were displaced, eight million settled in West Germany, mainly in rural areas, where they accounted for approximately 16.5% of the population (Braun and Dwenger, 2017). Figure E.2 shows the distribution of expellees in West Germany in 1950.

Although refugees and natives shared a common language, education and historical past, the social and economic integration of newcomers proved a challenging task for post-1945 Germany. Refugees faced higher levels of unemployment, and intermarriage rates between refugees and non-refugees were quite low, especially in the South and North-West (Braun and Dwenger, 2017).

The collective memory of German expellees oscillated between acknowledging their suffering and contrasting it with the crimes committed by Nazi Germany against the populations of Eastern Europe. This is also evident in school textbooks. For some, the crimes committed against Germans deserved to be subject to trial, while for others the predominant element is that of recognition without retribution (Cajani, 2004), depicting the crimes against Germans in the East as a response to the crimes of the Third Reich.

In what follows, we thus test our hypothesis in two very different contexts. Though Asia Minor refugees and ethnic German expellees share the experience of forced relocation and have, over the years, forged a collective identity around it, the specifics of this identity differ in the two countries. What is constant is the background of forced migration, the experience of suspicion or outright hostility in the host country and the difficulties faced in integrating. We argue that these elements of identity are the ones that arise as salient and color individuals' response towards groups undergoing similar plights.

Research Design

We conduct two surveys, in Greece and in Germany, spaced about a year apart. Details on our sampling strategy and research design for our original survey in Greece, conducted in June 2017, were specified in a pre-analysis plan.² We replicated the design in Germany in August 2018.

The survey was conducted by phone in Greece and online, using a standing commercial panel, in Germany. In both countries, we targeted geographically areas with a high concentration of forcibly displaced populations, which we identified using historical census data. Close to 50% of our final samples consist of Asia Minor refugee descendants or expellee descendants, respectively. Details on our sampling strategy, sample descriptives, and a discussion on representativeness can be found in Section A of the Appendix. In that section we also discuss in detail how we identify respondents with a background of forced relocation.

Survey design and experimental manipulation

Our surveys were framed as generic interviews about political behavior, and among other questions, they inquired on views towards asylum seekers. For a randomly selected half of the respondents, the introduction to this set of questions contained a phrase highlighting the similarity between past events of forced relocation in each country's history and the present migrant crisis. In the case of Greece, respondents were told the following (emphasis indicates treatment condition):

²Available at <http://egap.org/registration/2561>.

We would now like to talk about your opinions on policies towards asylum seekers in Greece (that means people who left their countries of origin and are asking for legal protection in Greece because they are afraid they will be persecuted in their countries of origin). In Greece we often use the term refugees to refer to these people. Greece has recently received a large wave of refugees from Syria and other Asian countries. *Today's refugee crisis is reminiscent of the story of the Asia Minor refugees after the Asia Minor catastrophe.*

Asia Minor catastrophe is the standard way in which the historical episode of population exchange is referred to in Greek history textbooks (Yildirim, 2006). It is not uncommon for Greek media, or for groups aiming at raising awareness and collecting help for refugees, to compare the experience of Asian refugees today to the historical experience of Greek Orthodox refugees from Turkey.³ Thus, it should not be a surprising parallelism for respondents.

In the German survey, respondents read on their screen:

We would now like to turn to a series of questions about asylum seekers, people who left their home countries and request legal safe-haven in Europe on the basis of fearing persecution in their home countries. The current refugee crisis is not the first time Germany has had to accommodate forcedly displaced populations. Other examples include Bosnians and Croats during the Yugoslav war *as well as Germans from Eastern and Central Europe who came to Germany after WWII.*

Similar to Greece, parallels between the post-WWII population movements and the current refugee crisis have often been invoked by politicians and other public figures in Germany and should thus be a familiar trope for respondents. Former President Joachim Gauck has cited the integration of German expellees as a success story and used it to demand of Germans to display tolerance towards refugees today.⁴ Nobel prize winning author Günther Grass advocated for

³For example, the 2016 Thessaloniki Annual Bookfair involved a tribute titled “Refugees then and now,” which juxtaposed the experience of past and present refugees through photographic exhibitions, documentaries, and discussions. The municipal art gallery of Piraeus launched a double exhibition in January 2017, with photographic material from the population exchange of 1923 and the contemporary migrant camps on Greek islands.

⁴See “Weihnachtsansprache des Bundespräsidenten Gauck: Auch Deutsche waren Flüchtlinge”, *n-tv.de*, accessed online on November 21, 2018: <https://www.n-tv.de/politik/Gauck-Auch-Deutsche-waren-Fluechtlinge-article11971541.html>. Also, “Gauck fordert mehr Groherzigkeit gegenüber Flüchtlingen”, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, accessed online on November 21, 2018: <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/inland/rede-des-bundespraesidenten-gauck-fordert-mehr-grossherzigkeit-gegenueber-fluechtlingen-13657911.html>

hosting refugees in private homes, a strategy that was employed for the accommodation of German expellees post-WWII.⁵

Following this manipulation, we collected a series of attitudinal and quasi-behavioral measures of support for refugees, other outgroups, as well as other measures of identity and memory. Tables A.1 and A.2 show that the treatment randomization was successful in both surveys, and the sample is balanced in terms of observables.

Empirical strategy

Our reference to past forced relocation is aimed at priming the parallels of this historical experience and the current situation of refugees. It is also meant to prime a superordinate “refugee” identity. Both the *perspective-taking channel* and the *recategorization channel* imply that respondents with a family background of relocation should become more sympathetic towards refugees when exposed to our treatment. It is, however, possible that such a reference evokes additional associations in the minds of respondents. The Asia Minor catastrophe and the expulsion of ethnic Germans from the former Eastern Territories are important events in the modern history of Greece and Germany, respectively, and their salience could be priming national identity for Greeks and Germans more broadly through the *ingroup-reinforcement channel*. To isolate the effect of the first two channels, we treat respondents without a background of forced relocation as a second control group and compare the effect of the salience treatment between descendants of the forcibly displaced and other respondents in a specification of the form:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 T_i + \beta_2 D_i + \beta_3 T_i \times D_i + \gamma X_i + v_i, \quad (1)$$

where T_i and D_i are indicators for the identity prime and descendant status, respectively, and X_i is a vector of individual controls. The coefficient β_1 is the estimated magnitude of the *ingroup-reinforcement channel*. Our main interest lies in coefficient β_3 , which constitutes the estimand of the combined *perspective-taking* and *recategorization* channels.

⁵See “Grass fordert private Unterbringung von Flüchtlingen”, *Zeit Online*, accessed online on November 21, 2018: <https://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/2014-11/guenter-grass-fluechtlinge-asytrecht-unterbringung>.

Outcomes

Our main quasi-behavioral measure of support for refugees is a donation to the UNHCR, decided as a fraction of a 100-euro voucher to be raffled among participants at the end of the survey. We record whether respondents are willing to donate any positive amount and the actual amount they decide to contribute. In the case of Greece, we collect two additional quasi-behavioral measures. The first is the option to inform members of the Greek Parliament that the respondent wishes to increase or decrease (4-point Likert scale) the number of approved asylum applications. Respondents would have to agree to this by providing their name and location. The last measure is signing a petition to push the government to provide housing for asylum seekers in hostels and hospitality centers instead of open-air asylum camps. We refrained from collecting these two additional measures in Germany. Doing so would require the collection of sensitive personal information of the respondents, which the company that conducted our survey was not able to accommodate, bound by the EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), which came in effect shortly before our survey in Germany was conducted.

We additionally collected two sets of attitudinal measures. First, respondents in both countries were asked how much they agree or disagree that refugees increase the likelihood of a terrorist attack, that they are more to blame for crime than other groups, and that the money spent to fund their ongoing presence could be better spent on the needs of Greeks/Germans. Two country-specific statements were also included. In the case of Greece, respondents were asked whether children of asylum seekers should be allowed to study in Greek schools and whether refugees should be granted asylum. In the case of Germany, we asked whether the number of people granted asylum should be increased or decreased and whether refugees take natives' jobs and social benefits.

We opted for sacrificing complete replicability, in order to better capture the context-specific nature of attitudes towards refugees in the two countries. Greece is a transit and not major destination country for refugees, and most of the issues raised by the migrant crisis relate to the short-term accommodation of refugee needs. Incorporation of refugee children into Greek schools is one such major issue that has divided local communities near

accommodation centers in the past two years.⁶ Also, unlike Germany, Greece has not approved a large number of asylum applications or granted residence and work permits to refugees in large numbers. Germany instead, has officially adopted an “open borders” policy since 2015, providing refugee status or subsidiary protection to over 800,000 refugees. In that country, concerns about the migrant crisis are more related to the large number of incoming migrants, their incorporation in the German labor market and competition with low-skilled German workers (among other considerations regarding social integration).

The second set of attitudinal outcomes is the same in Greece and Germany and asks respondents to choose the primary reason why refugees abandon their countries. We hypothesize that increased capacity for perspective-taking will make respondents more likely to attribute refugees’ decisions to fleeing war and avoiding political persecution, rather than seeking economic opportunity and getting access to social security benefits.

To reduce noise and avoid multiple hypotheses testing (Ansolabehere, Rodden and Snyder, 2008; Broockman, Kalla and Sekhon, forthcoming), we use the first principal component of all standardized measures as a summary index of support for refugees. We construct this index separately for behavioral (in the case of Greece) and attitudinal (in the case of both countries) outcomes. The precise wording, sequencing and coding of all outcome measures, as well as summary statistics (Tables E.1 and E.2), are presented in the Appendix.

Results

The Endurance of Refugee Identity

Our design is based on the assumption that past experiences are successfully transmitted to younger generations through various forms of socialization, among which family socialization plays a crucial role. We examine the extent to which the memory of past forced displacement persists among children and grandchildren of the displaced by asking respondents to choose an event from the country’s history that they consider most crucial for inclusion in history school textbooks. We listed as potential answers some of the most important events or periods in each

⁶See The New Arab, “Refugee children marginalised in Greek schools as afternoon programme fails”, 30 June, 2017, and BBC, “Greece’s refugee children learn the hard way”, 19 April 2017.

country’s modern history, all of which already feature in history curricula. For Greece, these events included the war of independence (known as the Greek revolution), the Asia Minor catastrophe, the country’s entry into WWII, the civil war, and the military dictatorship of 1967–1974. For Germany, possible answers were the outbreak of WWI, the expulsion of ethnic Germans after WWII, the Marshall plan and Germany’s reconstruction, and the history of the Berlin Wall.

Figure 1 plots differences in responses between descendants of the forcibly displaced and others, for respondents in the control group who have not been primed about their ancestors’ history. In both countries, descendants are significantly more likely to select the respective instance of forced relocation (Asia Minor catastrophe and the expulsion of ethnic Germans) for inclusion in school textbooks. Interestingly, in both cases the increase occurs at the expense of the historical event that took place before the arrival of the displaced population in each country – the war of independence in the case of Greece and WWI in the case of Germany. Descendants of refugees appear to discount the part of their country’s history that their ancestors did not participate in.

[Figure 1 about here.]

Tables E.3 and E.4 in the Appendix present the regression analogs of Figure 1 and demonstrate that the results are robust to the inclusion of a list of covariates. Taken together, these findings lend support to our research strategy by illustrating the successful transmission of refugee identity to the second and third generations of descendants. We next examine how activating this identity can affect support for asylum seekers.

Priming the parallels between past and present

Figure 2 illustrates our main result. When prompted with the similarity of past and present refugee waves, the descendants of the forcibly displaced become differentially more friendly and generous toward refugees, as reflected in significant increases in both behavioral and attitudinal measures. All estimated effects are reported relative to the outcome’s standard deviation among respondents in the control group. The magnitude of the treatment effect is surprisingly consistent across both measures and countries, and all differential effects are significant at 90% confidence levels. Attitudinal responses are nearly identical in both coun-

tries (19.3% in Germany, 18.6% in Greece). Donations to the UNHCR increase by 31.6% more for expellee descendants than other respondents in Germany. The principal component of quasi-behavioral outcomes increases differentially by 14.3% for Asia Minor refugee descendants in Greece. These effects are politically meaningful. In the case of Germany, the differential treatment effect is of similar magnitude to the difference in the control group between respondents who voted for the SPD in the last German election and those who voted for the CDU/CSU (23.8% for attitudes, 12.2% for donations). Taken together, these results confirm our expectation that positive effects working through the channels of recategorization and perspective-taking are mainly concentrated among respondents with a relevant family background.

[Figure 2 about here.]

Table 1 presents regression results from equation 1 for our summary measures, with and without the addition of covariates. We cluster standard errors at the level of municipalities in Greece and counties (Kreise) in Germany, to account for potentially correlated errors within geographic units. The estimated effect on behavioral measures is robust to the inclusion of control variables, increasing slightly both in magnitude and significance in the case of Greece. Results for the attitudinal scale lose precision with the inclusion of controls in both countries, but remain large in magnitude.⁷

[Table 1 about here.]

We dissect these results further by looking at each individual component separately. Table E.5 in the appendix presents results from the specification in equation 1 for all behavioral outcomes. The magnitudes of estimated effects are remarkably consistent across the two countries. For comparability across countries and measures we report effects for standardized outcomes. To contextualize these estimated effects, we convert them to percentage point changes by multiplying each coefficient with the respective standard deviation in the control group. Reference to the parallels between the Asia Minor catastrophe and today's migrant

⁷Table E.8 in the Appendix additionally shows that our results are robust to aggregating outcomes using a simple average, instead of the principal component.

crisis makes descendants of Asia Minor refugees 7 to 8 percentage points more likely than other Greeks to donate to the UNHCR and differentially increases their contribution by up to 72 percent. The differential effect on descendants of German expellees amounts to a 10 percentage point increase in the likelihood of donations, with amounts boosted by up to 82 percent on average. We can express these result in terms of a “persuasion rate”, the estimated percentage of receivers who change their behavior, among those who receive a message and are not already persuaded (DellaVigna and Kaplan, 2007). Among descendants of refugees only, the effect amounts to a persuasion rate of 16.0 percent in Greece and 7.8 percent in Germany. These rates are substantial: they lie above the 75th percentile and the median, respectively, of the distribution of effects identified by a large literature on persuasion, which primarily focuses on field interventions (DellaVigna and Gentzkow, 2010).

In Greece, where we collected additional behavioral outcomes, we find a similarly large effect on the likelihood of contacting members of Parliament to request an increase in the number of people Greece grants asylum to. The differential increase for Asia Minor refugee descendants amounts to 9.5 percentage points on the non-standardized outcome. The only behavioral outcome that does not respond to the treatment is signing a petition to provide improved housing for asylum seekers.

Tables E.6 and E.7 present results for individual attitudinal measures. All measures are standardized and recoded to facilitate readability, so that a positive value indicates higher sympathy towards refugees. These results are somewhat noisier but indicate a similar pattern. In Germany we observe a differential increase across all measures in response to the treatment. The largest effect manifests in agreement with increasing the number of granted asylum applications, which is raised by 19.1 percent of a standard deviation in the specification with controls. This effect is again sizable, larger than the difference between the mean position in the control group of CDU/CSU voters and the voters of the notoriously anti-refugee party AfD (15.8%). Results are not uniform in Greece, where treated descendants of Asia Minor refugees are more likely to fear that refugees increase the threat of a terrorist attack, and differentially slightly less likely to want to allow refugee children to study in Greek schools. In Greece, as in Germany, we observe the largest increase in the agreement to grant more asylum and residence rights (up to 14.1%).

Table E.7 presents results on the motives respondents attribute to refugees for leaving

their countries. Though the Table reports effects on standardized outcomes, it is again easier to contextualize the magnitudes in terms of percentage point changes. Specifications with covariates imply that descendants become 7.8 (Greece) and 5.4 (Germany) percentage points more likely to state that refugees have left their countries to flee war, as opposed to leaving to seek economic opportunity (-2.8% and -6.3%) or claim social security benefits (-3.1% and -0.8%) in the destination country. This indicates that the mention of past waves of forced relocation induces descendants to think of refugees more as forced, and less as economic migrants.

A potential concern is that the differential response to the treatment is not driven by analogous thinking about family experience, but rather by other correlates of a background of forced displacement. As Tables C.1 and C.2 in the Appendix indicate, descendants of forced migrants are broadly similar to other respondents across most observable characteristics. Greek descendants of Asia Minor refugees are somewhat less likely to be female, more likely to have a higher family income, and less likely to vote for Nea Dimokratia, Greece's center-right opposition party. German descendants of expellees differ mainly with respect to their education levels, having attained somewhat higher degrees than the sample average. To examine whether any of these differences drives the differential response of descendants, we separately estimate differential treatment effects across groups of respondents defined by these and other baseline covariates. The results are shown in Figure 3. In Greece, differential treatment effects are zero for all subgroups other than Asia Minor refugee descendants. In Germany, the only subgroups other than expellees that show a differentially significant treatment effect are females and those aged above the median. Neither of these subgroups is overrepresented in the expellee subsample. Taken together, these results increase our confidence that what we capture is not driven by any characteristics of refugee descendants other than the shared history of forced displacement in their family.

[Figure 3 about here.]

Is the increased sympathy that we observe restricted to refugees or is it part of more inclusionary attitudes towards outgroups in general? While either finding would be interesting, the distinction is relevant for the interpretation of our result. A recent growing literature shows that the experience of violence and violent conflict can increase altruism (Voors et al.,

2012) and induce prosocial behavior (Tedeschi and Calhoun, 2004; Hartman and Morse, 2018). To account for this possibility, we ask respondents to state, for a list of various outgroups, whether they would like to have them as neighbors. Figure D.1 in the Appendix presents differential treatment effects on responses averaged across all outgroups other than refugees. In neither country do we observe a significantly higher sympathy towards other outgroups. The differential effect of the treatment is a precisely estimated zero in Germany and less than 5 percent of a standard deviation and insignificant in Greece. This finding allows us to rule out that increased sympathy towards refugees is driven by increased prosociality in response to past traumatic experiences. It is instead more likely that our main results can be attributed to the priming of a superordinate refugee identity, or facilitated perspective taking due to similar family experiences.

Our analysis so far has focused on the differential effect of the treatment on descendants of forced migrants compared to the wider population. This allows us to identify the effect of priming the parallels of past and present experience, over and above other associations the mention of past relocation may invoke in the minds of respondents (such as priming a country’s history or national identity). However, from a policy perspective, the absolute effects of the treatment are also of interest. Both in Greece and in Germany, politicians, public figures, and NGOs have highlighted the parallels of past and present refugee waves as part of attempts to increase sympathy towards recent forced migrants. Our results indicate that such efforts can be successful, but must be employed with care. Coefficient β_1 in equation 1 identifies the effect of the treatment on individuals without a background of forced displacement. As can be seen in Table 1, though not significant, this effect is negative for both behavioral and attitudinal measures in both countries, consistent with an ingroup-reinforcement channel at work. The magnitude is small in the case of Greece, and also in the case of attitudes in Germany. However, the effect on donations in Germany is large, amounting to almost half the differential effect of the treatment. Reassuringly, the absolute effect of the treatment on descendants of expellees, given by the sum of the coefficients on the treatment variable and the interaction term, remains strongly positive. This confirms that the sum of the effects of recategorization and perspective-taking outweigh those of ingroup-reinforcement.

Our theory suggests that a reason for the observed negative treatment effect on respondents without a background of forced displacement is that the mention of historic population

movements primes national identity. Both the Asia Minor catastrophe and the expulsion of ethnic Germans were important – and traumatic – events in the history of Greece and Germany respectively. A prime of historical defeat and hardship may trigger nationalist sentiment, which in turn can foster exclusionary attitudes towards outgroups. In both countries, we elicit nationalist sentiment by asking respondents how proud they are to be Greek or German. As Figure E.3 in the Appendix shows, this measure of national identity is largely unaffected by the treatment for Greek respondents without a refugee background. In Germany, where the treatment causes a more pronounced negative reaction towards refugees among this group of respondents, we observe a larger, yet statistically insignificant, increase in national identity.⁸ While not conclusive, these results indicate that references to past instances of forced relocation prime national, rather than common, identities among individuals who do not directly share a past of forced migration in the family. This in turn can lead such attempts to increase sympathy among this group to backfire.

The role of local community

In this section we provide evidence that the family is not the only socialization mechanism capable of transmitting the historical memory of forced relocation across generations. The local community can undertake such a role as well. Thus, appealing to the analogy between past and present experience can be effective not just for the narrower group of descendants of the forcibly displaced, but also for groups indirectly exposed to the history of forced relocation in their social environment.

We take advantage of a natural source of variation in the degree of past exposure to forced relocation: the magnitude of historical refugee inflows to Greece and Germany at the local level. The 1928 Greek census was conducted explicitly to enumerate the forced migrants who arrived from the former Ottoman Empire and provides the number of refugees by locality. We aggregate these numbers at the modern municipality level and assign the

⁸An explanation for the larger increase in national identity among German respondents may be that the expulsion of ethnic Germans has a specific relevance for the country in light of its role in WWII. A common narrative around the mass expulsions is that Germans were not only perpetrators of crimes committed during WWII, but also largely victims of such crimes (Plamper, 2015).

ratio of refugees to the total population in 1928 to the location of our survey respondents. In the case of Germany, the 1950 census of expellees conducted by the statistical office of the German Democratic Republic (Statistisches Bundesamt, 1953) enumerates numbers of expellees by county (*Kreis*). To match county borders between 1950 and today, we create minimum comparable units, which account for counties that have been divided or united in larger units over time. We then assign the ratio of expellees to total 1950 population to the location of survey respondents based on these artificial local units.

Figure 4 shows how the effect of the treatment varies by local historical refugee or expellee share for respondents without a background of forced relocation in Greece (left panel) and in Germany (right panel). As shown previously, the average treatment effect on this group of respondents was negative in both countries, more strongly so in the case of Germany. Figure 4 demonstrates substantial heterogeneity in this average effect depending on the historical local presence of forced migrants. In municipalities or counties with a low historical concentration of forcibly displaced populations, the treatment provokes a negative response among respondents. As the historical share of refugees or expellees increases, this negative effect disappears, and, in the case of Greece, becomes significantly positive, especially in the case of behavioral outcomes.

[Figure 4 about here.]

While this correlation cannot be interpreted as a causal effect, because respondents were not randomly assigned to localities with a different historical concentration of forcibly displaced populations, it does suggest that exclusionary attitudes can be changed not only by leveraging analogies with one's own family history but also with the history of one's neighbors and the surrounding community. The recategorization channel is less likely to produce these results in the case of individuals who do not share the identity of refugee. Instead, the findings suggest a strong role for perspective-taking: those who have been exposed to the traumatic experience of forced relocation in the past, albeit indirectly, through the community and not the family, find it easier to associate to the plights of the forcibly displaced today. It is for this subgroup of respondents that priming the parallels of past and present experience is most effective.

Conclusion

With help from two large-scale surveys in Greece and Germany, we show that priming the parallels between family history and the experience of present outgroups increases sympathy for contemporary refugees among respondents with a family history of forced displacement. This effect spills over to individuals without a refugee background who live in places with a large share of refugee descendants.

Our findings are surprisingly similar in direction and magnitude in both Greece and Germany, despite substantial differences between the two countries. Greece is primarily a transit country for refugees, while Germany has granted protection status to a large number of asylum seekers aiming at staying in the country in the long-run. As such, concerns of Greeks are mostly centered around the short-term competition for resources between them and transient migrants hosted in accommodation centers, while concerns of Germans revolve around labor market competition and longer-term economic and cultural integration of refugees. The identity of refugee/expellee also has a different content in the two countries. In Greece, Asia Minor refugees constructed a proud, honorable narrative around their identity as forced migrants, built around the shared memories of a glorified past (Alpan, 2012). In Germany instead, the experience of the expellees has long remained in the shadow of Nazi atrocities. This has led members of the expellee community to develop a heightened sense of collective victimhood, since crimes against them were often depicted as a response to the crimes of the Third Reich (Cajani, 2004). Nonetheless, expellee descendants in Germany are no less likely than descendants of Asia Minor refugees in Greece to display increased support for modern-day refugees upon activation of their collective identity.

The replicability of our study in two very different contexts suggests that our design is of broader relevance for many of the countries that receive large refugee inflows today. Population displacements took place in several parts of Central and Northern Europe in the twentieth century. This paper illustrates the possibility that intervention campaigns that highlight Europe's tormented past can have a significant impact on public opinion, that operates not only on descendants of forced migrants but also on their neighbors. Although beyond the scope of the present study, it is not unlikely that priming the family experience of immigration (which many more people share than that of forced relocation) can be a fruitful

way of increasing inclusionary attitudes toward immigrants.

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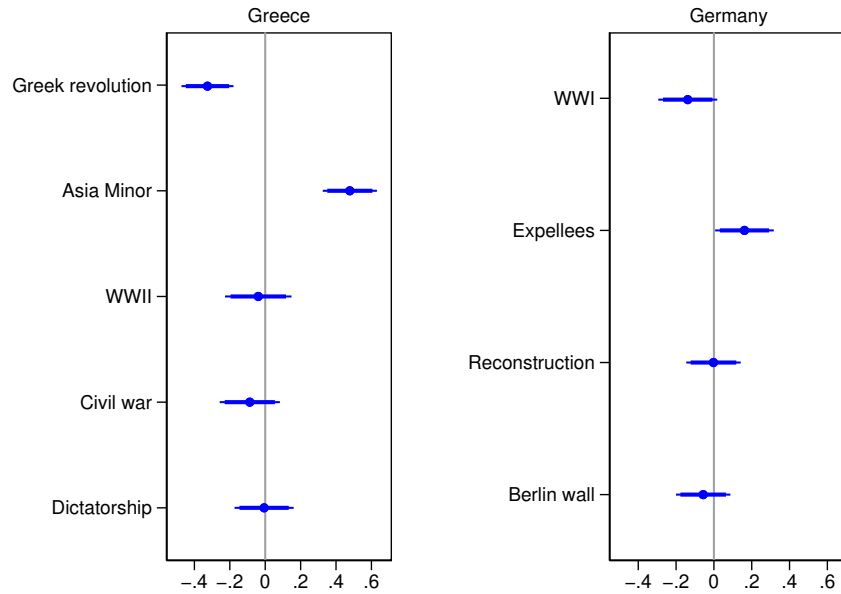
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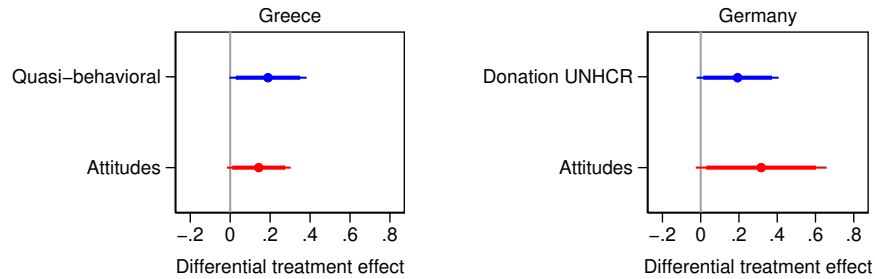
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Figure 1. Topics for history textbooks



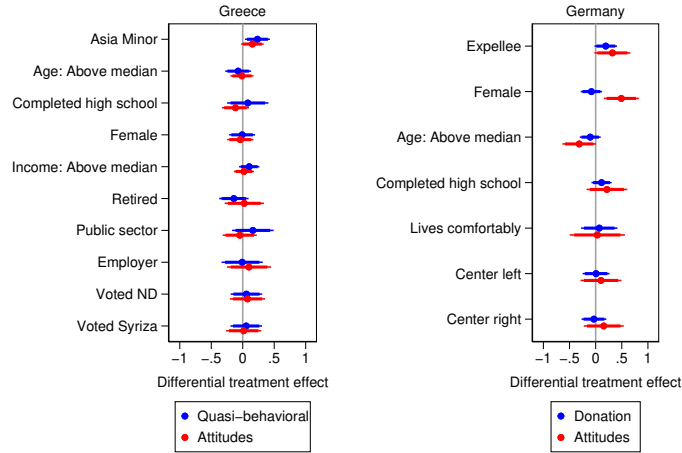
Notes: The figure plots differences in responses to the question “Which of the following topics do you think should be part of the history curriculum in schools?” between descendants of forced migrants and other respondents in the control group. Outcomes are standardized, and point estimates can be interpreted in terms of standard deviations. Dots with horizontal lines indicate point estimates with cluster-robust 90 percent (thick line) and 95 percent (thin line) confidence intervals.

Figure 2. Differential treatment effect on behaviors and attitudes toward refugees



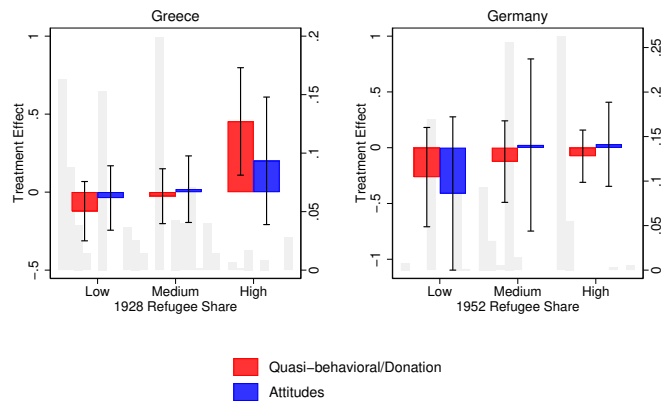
Notes: Dots with horizontal lines indicate point estimates with cluster-robust 90 percent (thick line) and 95 percent (thin line) confidence intervals. Outcomes are standardized using the mean and standard deviation of the control group, and larger values imply higher support for refugees.

Figure 3. Differential treatment effect across subgroups



Notes: The figure plots the difference in the treatment effect on standardized outcomes between groups of respondents indicated on the y-axis. Outcomes are standardized using the mean and standard deviation of the control group, and larger values imply higher support for refugees. Dots with horizontal lines indicate point estimates with cluster-robust 90 percent (thick line) and 95 percent (thin line) confidence intervals.

Figure 4. Treatment effect on respondents without a background of forced displacement by historical share of Asia Minor refugees (left panel) and German expellees (right panel)



Notes: Bars indicate treatment effects, and lines represent 90 percent confidence intervals. *Low*, *Medium*, and *High* denote municipalities with less than 1/3, between 1/3 and 2/3 and above 2/3 Asia Minor refugees in 1928 in the left panel, and counties with less than 10%, between 10% and 20%, and above 20% German expellees in 1950 in the right panel. The underlying histograms show the distribution of the data across municipalities or counties by historical shares of refugees/expellees.

Table 1. Treatment effects: Summary measures

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Panel A: Greece | | | | |
| Dep. variable | Quasi-behavioral | | Attitudes | |
| Asia Minor | -0.0150 (0.0781) | -0.0186 (0.0744) | 0.0989 (0.0599) | 0.130* (0.0660) |
| T | -0.0223 (0.0661) | -0.0691 (0.0667) | -0.0299 (0.0658) | -0.0135 (0.0707) |
| Asia Minor \times T | 0.189* (0.0960) | 0.223** (0.101) | 0.143* (0.0792) | 0.132 (0.0943) |
| Observations | 1508 | 1438 | 1609 | 1534 |
| R-squared | 0.00532 | 0.109 | 0.00881 | 0.129 |
| Panel B: Germany | | | | |
| Dep. variable | Donation | | Attitudes | |
| Expellee | 0.0568 (0.0717) | 0.0228 (0.0734) | 0.168 (0.119) | 0.114 (0.119) |
| T | -0.108 (0.0727) | -0.0893 (0.0746) | -0.107 (0.122) | -0.0502 (0.116) |
| Expellee \times T | 0.193* (0.109) | 0.193* (0.109) | 0.316* (0.174) | 0.260 (0.174) |
| Observations | 1517 | 1517 | 1517 | 1517 |
| R-squared | 0.00815 | 0.0876 | 0.0114 | 0.123 |
| Controls | N | Y | N | Y |

Notes: *T* indicates the treatment. In Panel A, controls include prefecture fixed effects and indicators for gender, age, seven educational categories, seven income categories, and eleven occupational categories. In Panel B, they include federal state fixed effects and indicators for gender, age, nine educational categories, and four self-reported income categories. Standard errors are clustered at the municipality level in Panel A and at the county (Kreis) level in Panel B. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Appendix (Not for publication)

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A Sampling

In both Greece and Germany, the criterion for choosing the geographical focus of our survey was to maximize the number of descendants of Asia Minor refugees or expellees from the former Eastern Territories in our sample, respectively. Information on the original populations of Asia Minor refugees and ethnic German expellees is available in historical census data, but contemporary statistics do not include information that would have allowed us to know the current distribution of their children and grandchildren in advance of our survey.

In Greece, the survey was conducted using computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) by the Public Opinion Research Unit of the University of Macedonia. We targeted the region of Macedonia, in the north of Greece, and the island of Lesbos, which collectively received more than 55 percent of the total inflow of refugees from Asia Minor in the early twentieth century. These regions have, for us, the additional advantage of hosting several accommodation facilities that have received a high per-capita number of Syrian refugees since the start of the 2015 migrant crisis. To maximize the likelihood of finding second- and third-generation descendants of Asia Minor refugees, we interviewed only people aged thirty years or older and sampled from each prefecture proportionally to their recorded shares of refugees in the 1928 census. We excluded prefecture capitals, which are larger and have higher mobility rates and thus make it more likely that interviewed individuals come from different parts of Greece and have no Asia Minor background. We end up with a sample of 1,928 respondents, out of whom 927 have a forced relocation background.⁹ The first column of Table A.1 presents summary statistics.

While the nature of our survey methodology and our geographic and demographic focus prevent us from having a representative sample, we end up with wide coverage of occupational and educational groups. 23.4 percent of our sample has a university degree, compared to 12.2 percent of the Greek population older than 30 years, according to the 2011 Greek census. This education gap between sample and population is a common pattern in CATI surveys. In a 2016 national survey conducted by the same polling company (Antoniou, Dinas and Kosmidis,

⁹Figure A.1 shows that there is a strong positive relationship between the proportion of refugee descendants in our end sample and the share of refugees in a prefecture in 1928.

2017), the share of respondents with university degrees was 32.93 percent, indicating that our sample is, if anything, closer to the population target than the typical nationwide CATI survey.

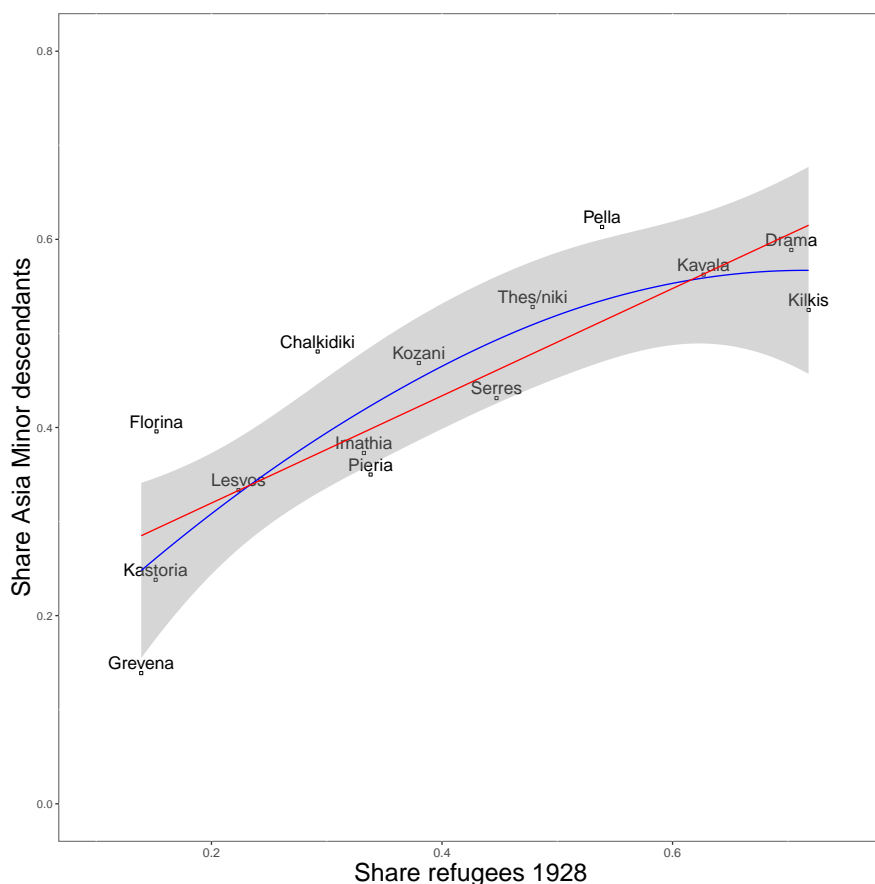
One concern with restricting the sample geographically could be that the historical presence of Muslims in the region has created a long-standing bias against this group, which may have been transmitted to later generations. This would imply that refugee descendants are compared against a group with unrepresentative low levels of empathy for today's asylum seekers. To see whether this is the case, we compare the attitudes of non-refugee descendants in the control group with attitudes reported in a nationally representative survey, publicly available online (Dianeosis, 2016). In both surveys, respondents are asked whether refugees a) should be granted residence rights, b) are likely to increase crime, and c) increase the probability of a terror attack. Among respondents without a refugee background ($n \approx 500$), 41.6 percent, 32 percent and 46 percent agree with each of these statements, respectively. The equivalent figures from the nationwide survey are 32 percent for the first item and 45 percent for the next two items. These results indicate that our comparison group is broadly comparable with the national average and if anything, more positive toward refugees, thus making the region of Macedonia a harder test of our hypothesis. In any case, the internal validity of our design relies on within-sample randomization and is not compromised by the lack of representativeness.¹⁰

Importantly, as Table A.1 reveals, the share of respondents who report an Asia Minor background does not differ between the treatment and control groups. This helps alleviate concerns of a potential source of bias, namely, that Asia Minor descendants in the treatment group who express negative views toward refugees are more likely to falsely report that they have no refugee background. If this were the case, we would observe a higher share of descendants in the control group.¹¹

¹⁰Importantly, there is no correlation between the response rate and the 1928 refugee share per prefecture (Pearson correlation coefficient = 0.0006, $p > 0.9$).

¹¹We also tested whether the treatment yielded differential levels of item non-response in the questions that followed. A difference in means test between the treatment and control groups in the count of not answered post-treatment questions yields a p-value of 0.82. The same test between refugee descendants and the rest of the sample yielded a p-value of 0.37. Finally, when regressing item missingness on each of the two binary indicators and their interaction, none of the terms is statistically significantly different from zero with the p-value corresponding to the interaction term being 0.701.

Figure A.1. Historical refugee share and share of descendants in the sample



Notes: The figure plots the proportion of descendants in the sample against the share of refugees in 1928 in a prefecture. The red line indicates a linear fit and the blue line a loess fit. The linear regression line has a slope of 0.570 ($p = 0.000$).

In Germany, the survey was conducted online using the standing panel of Infratest Dimap, one of the largest survey companies in the country. All respondents are German citizens aged 18 and above. Infratest’s initial target was for a sample in which 50% are descendants of expellees. The final sample includes 1,587 respondents, out of whom 684 (43,1%) have an expellee background.¹² Unlike in Greece, where Asia Minor refugees were heavily concentrated in the north of the country—with some prefectures receiving refugee inflows amounting up to 70% of their population in 1928—the population of ethnic German expellees was more

¹²143 people were dropped during the data cleaning process either because of inconsistencies in their demographic characteristics between the two surveys or because of having spent less than half of the median time per treatment group completing the main survey. Less than one percent ($n=35$) of the pre-screened participants who were invited to the main survey failed to complete the main questionnaire. Among those in the treatment group, all of them dropped out before getting to the treatment page.

uniformly distributed across Germany. The largest shares of expellees were concentrated in the northern and southern part of the country, along the two main entryways the displaced followed into Germany (Figure E.2). We target the six federal states with the highest recorded proportions of expellees in the census of the Federal Republic of Germany conducted in 1950 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 1953): Schleswig-Holstein (30.7%), Lower Saxony (26.5%), Bavaria (20.7%), Hessen (17.2%), Baden-Württemberg (14.7%), and North Rhine-Westphalia (11.6%). We also included in the sample the former East German state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, which shares borders with Poland and was expected to have a high density of expellee descendants. We matched expellee descendants and other respondents on the basis of federal state, gender, and age categories (in ten year increments). The first column of Table A.2 provides summary statistics for our German sample.

A typical concern with online surveys is that young, more educated respondents are over-represented. This is not the case here. Compared to the German sample of the 2016 European Social Survey (using face-to-face interviewing), the average age in our sample is, if anything, higher (54.5 compared to 49.5). Importantly, this is not due to expellee descendants. The average age among non-expellee descendants is 53.78. 22.5 percent of our sample have a university degree. The equivalent figure from the EES panel is 26.2 percent. Reported vote in the 2017 matches relatively closely the electoral results for each party. The only partial exception is the AfD, for which the reported vote is 7.8 percentage points, clearly below the national vote share of the party in the 2017 election. However, this underrepresentation of radical right voters is found also in other surveys. The recalled 2013 AfD vote share from the 2016 EES is only 2.78. This difference does not seem to stem from the distance between actual vote and the survey fieldwork. The equivalent figure from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems post-election 2013 survey is 3.3 percent in the nation-wide tier and 1.75 percent in the district-level tier. Item non-response was not possible, as users had to fill in all questions in the survey.

Identifying respondents with a forced relocation background

In Greece, the demographic questions that allowed us to identify refugee descendants were asked only at the end of the survey and were open-ended (i.e., we did not ask respondents

to choose a birthplace from a list). This sequencing of questions is important for our design, because it mitigates concerns related to the presence of demand effects. Interviewers did not know (and respondents were aware that they did not know) who is from a family that originates from Turkey, and thus, were unlikely to provide responses favorable to refugees out of social desirability motivations. We define as descendants of Asia Minor refugees those individuals with at least one parent or grandparent born in Asia Minor, Pontus, or Istanbul.

For the German survey, the online mode of interview and the low historical geographic concentration of expellees meant that we would not have managed to achieve a sufficient number of respondents with expellee background if we only asked questions on family history at the end of the survey. Instead, we conducted a screening survey approximately two weeks before our actual survey took place, in which we collected information on the birthplace of the respondent and of each of their parents and grandparents. Birthplaces could be chosen from the following predetermined set of regions: Germany, former Eastern German Territories, former Yugoslavia, Albania, Turkey, Middle East, North Africa, other European countries, other countries outside Europe. The set of regions reflected the origins of the largest immigrant groups to Germany, and was selected so that respondents would perceive the screening survey as probing on immigration background in general. In cases of foreign birthplace, we also asked for the year of immigration to the country. The combination of birthplace and year of immigration allows us to identify expellees and their descendants. We define as descendants of expellees those with either parent or any of the grandparents born in the former Eastern German territories and having immigrated to Germany between 1944-1950. Based on the information collected in the screening survey, we re-invited a proportionally larger share of expellee descendants to participate in the followup survey. Infratest panel members participate in multiple surveys per year, so that they would not necessarily connect the objective of two surveys conducted weeks apart.

Table A.1. Randomization check – Greece

| Variable | All | Control | Treatment | Difference |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Age | 53.191 (12.457) | 53.229 (0.405) | 53.153 (0.398) | 0.076 (0.568) |
| Female | 0.603 (0.489) | 0.605 (0.159) | 0.600 (0.157) | 0.005 (0.022) |
| Asia Minor descendant | 0.489 (0.500) | 0.492 (0.016) | 0.485 (0.016) | 0.008 (0.023) |
| <u>Education</u> | | | | |
| Primary | 0.989 (0.104) | 0.986 (0.004) | 0.992 (0.003) | -0.005 (0.005) |
| Secondary | 0.784 (0.411) | 0.773 (0.013) | 0.795 (0.013) | -0.021 (0.019) |
| Higher | 0.394 (0.489) | 0.394 (0.016) | 0.394 (0.016) | -0.000 (0.022) |
| <u>Occupation</u> | | | | |
| Public employee | 0.109 (0.311) | 0.102 (0.010) | 0.114 (0.010) | -0.012 (0.014) |
| Private employee | 0.144 (0.351) | 0.148 (0.012) | 0.140 (0.011) | 0.016 (0.016) |
| Pensioner | 0.231 (0.422) | 0.235 (0.014) | 0.228 (0.013) | 0.007 (0.019) |
| Self-employed | 0.207 (0.405) | 0.210 (0.013) | 0.204 (0.013) | 0.006 (0.019) |
| Farmer | 0.089 (0.285) | 0.095 (0.010) | 0.084 (0.009) | 0.012 (0.013) |
| Student | 0.002 (0.040) | 0.001 (0.001) | 0.002 (0.001) | -0.001 (0.002) |
| Homemaker | 0.105 (0.307) | 0.098 (0.010) | 0.111 (0.010) | -0.013 (0.014) |
| Unemployed | 0.106 (0.309) | 0.104 (0.010) | 0.109 (0.010) | -0.006 (0.014) |
| <u>Monthly income</u> | | | | |
| 1000 or less | 0.563 (0.496) | 0.580 (0.016) | 0.547 (0.016) | 0.033 (0.023) |
| 1000 to 3000 | 0.412 (0.492) | 0.395 (0.016) | 0.428 (0.016) | -0.032 (0.023) |
| Above 3000 | 0.025 (0.155) | 0.024 (0.005) | 0.025 (0.005) | -0.001 (0.007) |
| <u>Voted</u> | | | | |
| Nea Dimokratia | 0.261 (0.439) | 0.260 (0.015) | 0.261 (0.015) | -0.000 (0.021) |
| Syriza | 0.277 (0.448) | 0.270 (0.015) | 0.285 (0.016) | -0.014 (0.022) |
| Pasok | 0.058 (0.234) | 0.058 (0.008) | 0.059 (0.008) | -0.001 (0.011) |
| ANEL | 0.025 (0.157) | 0.029 (0.006) | 0.021 (0.005) | 0.007 (0.008) |
| Potami | 0.028 (0.164) | 0.025 (0.006) | 0.030 (0.006) | -0.004 (0.008) |
| KKE | 0.041 (0.199) | 0.041 (0.007) | 0.042 (0.007) | -0.001 (0.010) |
| Golden Dawn | 0.033 (0.179) | 0.031 (0.006) | 0.035 (0.006) | -0.003 (0.009) |
| Observations | 1,928 | 950 | 978 | |

Notes: Numbers in parentheses in the first three columns are standard deviations. In the last column, they represent standard errors of the differences. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A.2. Randomization check – Germany

| Variable | All | Control | Treatment | Difference |
|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Age | 53.882 (13.462) | 53.758 (13.934) | 53.287 (13.905) | 0.472 (0.712) |
| Female | 0.436 (0.496) | 0.437 (0.496) | 0.415 (0.493) | 0.0217 (0.0253) |
| Expellee | 0.415 (0.493) | 0.412 (0.492) | 0.407 (0.492) | 0.00470 (0.0252) |
| Income ok | 0.906 (0.292) | 0.921 (0.269) | 0.893 (0.310) | 0.0289* (0.0148) |
| <u>Education</u> | | | | |
| Realschule | 0.580 (0.493) | 0.586 (0.493) | 0.561 (0.496) | 0.0241 (0.0253) |
| Abitur | 0.184 (0.387) | 0.175 (0.380) | 0.184 (0.388) | -0.00939 (0.0148) |
| University | 0.228 (0.419) | 0.235 (0.424) | 0.249 (0.432) | -0.0134 (0.0219) |
| <u>Voted</u> | | | | |
| CDU | 0.317 (0.465) | 0.316 (0.465) | 0.332 (0.471) | -0.0157 (0.0265) |
| SPD | 0.266 (0.442) | 0.264 (0.441) | 0.256 (0.436) | 0.00849 (0.0248) |
| AfD | 0.080 (0.271) | 0.083 (0.277) | 0.095 (0.294) | -0.0121 (0.0161) |
| FDP | 0.089 (0.285) | 0.099 (0.299) | 0.087 (0.283) | 0.0117 (0.0164) |
| Die Linke | 0.075 (0.263) | 0.082 (0.274) | 0.065 (0.246) | 0.0170 (0.0147) |
| Grüne | 0.085 (0.279) | 0.070 (0.257) | 0.084 (0.278) | -0.0134 (0.0151) |
| Observations | 3,155 | 765 | 764 | |

Notes: Numbers in parentheses in the first three columns are standard deviations. In the last column, they represent standard errors of the differences. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

B Attitudinal outcomes

We collected two sets of attitudinal measures. The first set elicits respondents' agreement with the following statements on a 5-point Likert scale. Three out of the five items were common in the Greek and German surveys:

1. The money spent to fund the ongoing presence of refugees in Greece could be better spent on the needs of Greeks/Germans.
2. Refugees will increase the likelihood of a terrorist attack in our country.
3. Refugees in our country are more to blame for crime than other groups.

We furthermore included two country-specific items. In the case of Greece these were:

1. Children of asylum seekers in Greece should be allowed to study in Greek schools.
2. Refugees who live in our country should be granted asylum and residence rights.

And in the case of Germany:

1. Over the last two years, Germany received 968,000 asylum applications. Do you think Germany should increase or decrease the number of people it grants asylum to?
2. Refugees are a burden on our country because they take our jobs and social benefits.

The order of the five statements was randomized, and they were presented in such a way that the highest level of agreement with a statement did not always indicate maximum sympathy for refugees. This reduces the likelihood that any responses are driven by interviewer demand effects, because it makes it harder for respondents to guess for which statement and in which direction the interviewer would like their responses to be affected by the mention of past forced displacement. We create binary indicators out of these responses, by assigning the value one to individuals who agree or strongly agree with statements 1 and 2 and who disagree or strongly disagree with statements 3, 4, and 5.

The second set of attitudinal outcomes was the same in Greece and Germany and asked respondents to choose the primary reason why refugees abandon their countries among the following alternatives (whose order was also randomized in each interview):

- Flee the war

- Improve their economic conditions
- Avoid political persecution
- Obtain access to social security payments in the destination country

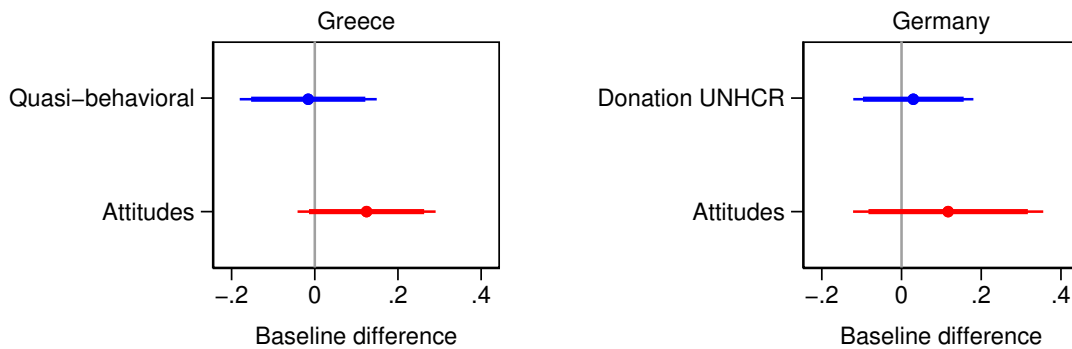
We code each outcome as taking on the value one if respondents indicated it as the primary reason refugees leave their countries. We recode all outcomes so that higher values indicate higher support for refugees.

C Comparing descendants to other respondents

There are few meaningful differences in terms of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics between descendants of forced migrants and the general population in our sample. In the case of Greece, as Table C.1 shows, descendants are somewhat more likely to be female, wealthier, and more likely to vote for the center-left, but they have similar educational and occupational profiles as the rest of the population. In Germany, our sampling strategy ensures that expellee descendants and other respondents are balanced in terms of age and gender. Descendants are more likely to have a university education, but are otherwise comparable to the rest of the sample in terms of self-reported income and political orientation (Table C.2).

We find mixed evidence for whether descendants exhibit greater sympathy for refugees compared to other respondents before priming. Figure C.1 illustrates graphically the difference in outcomes between the two groups among untreated respondents. The pattern is remarkably similar in Greece and Germany. Behavioral outcomes are identical and attitudes are more positive among refugee descendants (by 0.10 standard deviations) but this difference is not statistically significant.

Figure C.1. Baseline differences in support for refugees between descendants and others



Notes: The figure plots the estimated difference in outcomes between descendants of Asia Minor refugees (left) or ethnic German expellees (right) and others in the control group. Outcomes are standardized and point estimates can be interpreted in terms of standard deviations. Lines denote cluster-robust 90 percent (thick line) and 95 percent (thin line) confidence intervals.

Table C.1. Comparing Asia Minor descendants to other Greeks

| Variable | Other respondents | Asia Minor descendants | Difference |
|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Age | 52.777 (13.062) | 53.667 (11.917) | -0.889 (0.816) |
| Female | 0.634 (0.482) | 0.573 (0.495) | 0.0609* (0.0319) |
| <u>Education</u> | | | |
| Primary | 0.981 (0.136) | 0.991 (0.093) | -0.0102 (0.00759) |
| Secondary | 0.754 (0.431) | 0.796 (0.403) | -0.0423 (0.0272) |
| Higher | 0.378 (0.485) | 0.409 (0.492) | -0.0309 (0.0319) |
| <u>Occupation</u> | | | |
| Public employee | 0.097 (0.296) | 0.111 (0.314) | -0.0138 (0.0200) |
| Private employee | 0.160 (0.367) | 0.137 (0.344) | 0.0233 (0.0232) |
| Pensioner | 0.213 (0.410) | 0.258 (0.438) | -0.0455 (0.0277) |
| Self-employed | 0.210 (0.408) | 0.208 (0.406) | 0.00228 (0.0266) |
| Farmer | 0.090 (0.287) | 0.098 (0.297) | -0.00709 (0.0191) |
| Student | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.002 (0.046) | -0.00217 (0.00217) |
| Homemaker | 0.105 (0.307) | 0.091 (0.288) | 0.0142 (0.0195) |
| Unemployed | 0.114 (0.318) | 0.093 (0.291) | 0.0204 (0.0199) |
| <u>Monthly income</u> | | | |
| 1000 or less | 0.611 (0.488) | 0.547 (0.498) | 0.0640* (0.0330) |
| 1000 to 3000 | 0.366 (0.482) | 0.425 (0.495) | -0.0589* (0.0327) |
| Above 3000 | 0.022 (0.147) | 0.027 (0.163) | -0.00507 (0.0104) |
| <u>Voted</u> | | | |
| Nea Dimokratia | 0.294 (0.456) | 0.226 (0.419) | 0.0676** (0.0306) |
| Syriza | 0.255 (0.436) | 0.285 (0.452) | -0.0302 (0.0310) |
| Pasok | 0.036 (0.187) | 0.081 (0.273) | -0.0447*** (0.0164) |
| ANEL | 0.036 (0.187) | 0.022 (0.147) | 0.0143 (0.0118) |
| Potami | 0.027 (0.161) | 0.024 (0.155) | 0.00213 (0.0111) |
| KKE | 0.041 (0.199) | 0.042 (0.200) | -0.000507 (0.0140) |
| Golden Dawn | 0.036 (0.187) | 0.027 (0.162) | 0.00938 (0.0123) |
| Observations | 476 | 462 | |

Notes: Numbers in parentheses in the first two columns are standard deviations. In the last column, they represent standard errors of the differences. Significance levels: *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1.

Table C.2. Comparing expellee descendants to other Germans

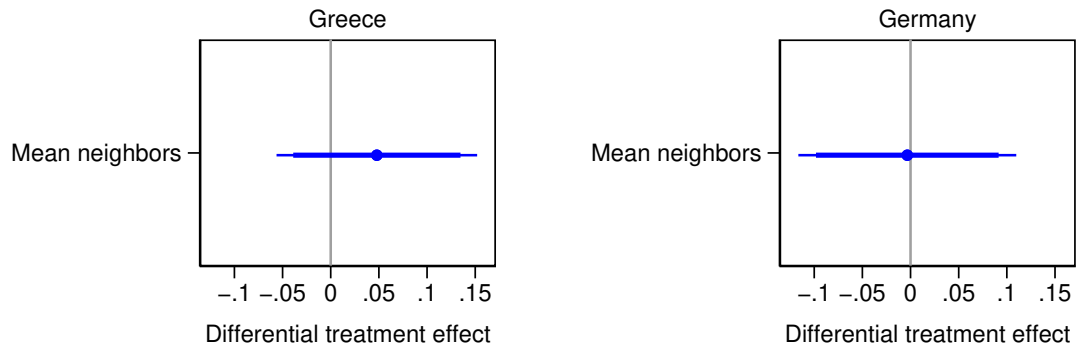
| Variable | Other respondents | Expellee descendants | Difference |
|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Age | 54.069 (14.499) | 53.314 (13.094) | 0.755 (1.006) |
| Female | 0.442 (0.497) | 0.428 (0.496) | 0.0137 (0.0365) |
| Income ok | 0.909 (0.288) | 0.940 (0.238) | -0.0308 (0.0191) |
| <u>Education</u> | | | |
| Realschule | 0.611 (0.488) | 0.549 (0.498) | 0.0619* (0.0363) |
| Abitur | 0.178 (0.383) | 0.171 (0.377) | 0.00635 (0.0279) |
| University | 0.209 (0.407) | 0.273 (0.446) | -0.0641** (0.0316) |
| <u>Voted</u> | | | |
| CDU | 0.297 (0.458) | 0.342 (0.475) | -0.0448 (0.0376) |
| SPD | 0.265 (0.442) | 0.263 (0.441) | 0.00171 (0.0355) |
| AfD | 0.092 (0.289) | 0.071 (0.258) | 0.0205 (0.0218) |
| FDP | 0.100 (0.300) | 0.098 (0.297) | 0.00226 (0.0240) |
| Die Linke | 0.076 (0.265) | 0.090 (0.287) | -0.0145 (0.0223) |
| Grüne | 0.062 (0.242) | 0.083 (0.276) | -0.0205 (0.0211) |
| Observations | 450 | 315 | |

Numbers in parentheses in the first two columns are standard deviations. In the last column, they represent standard errors of the differences. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

D Altruism towards other groups

To examine whether the treatment primes generalized altruism, perhaps as the pro-social effect of a past traumatic experience transmitted across generations, we elicited respondents' attitudes towards different outgroups. To do this, we provided respondents with a list of groups and asked them which ones they would not like to have as neighbors. The list (whose order was randomized in each interview) included Muslims, Jews, refugees, people of a different race, homosexuals, unmarried couples living together, heavy drinkers, and drug addicts. Answers for each group were binary, and Figure D.1 plots the differential treatment effect on the mean answer for all groups excluding refugees. There is no indication that the treatment differentially increases sympathy towards outgroups in general for descendants of forced migrants. Instead, effects seem to be refugee-specific. Priming family history increases sympathy only towards outgroups that face similar experiences or can be thought of as sharing a superordinate identity. This suggests our treatment works through recategorization or increased perspective taking facilitated by common experience.

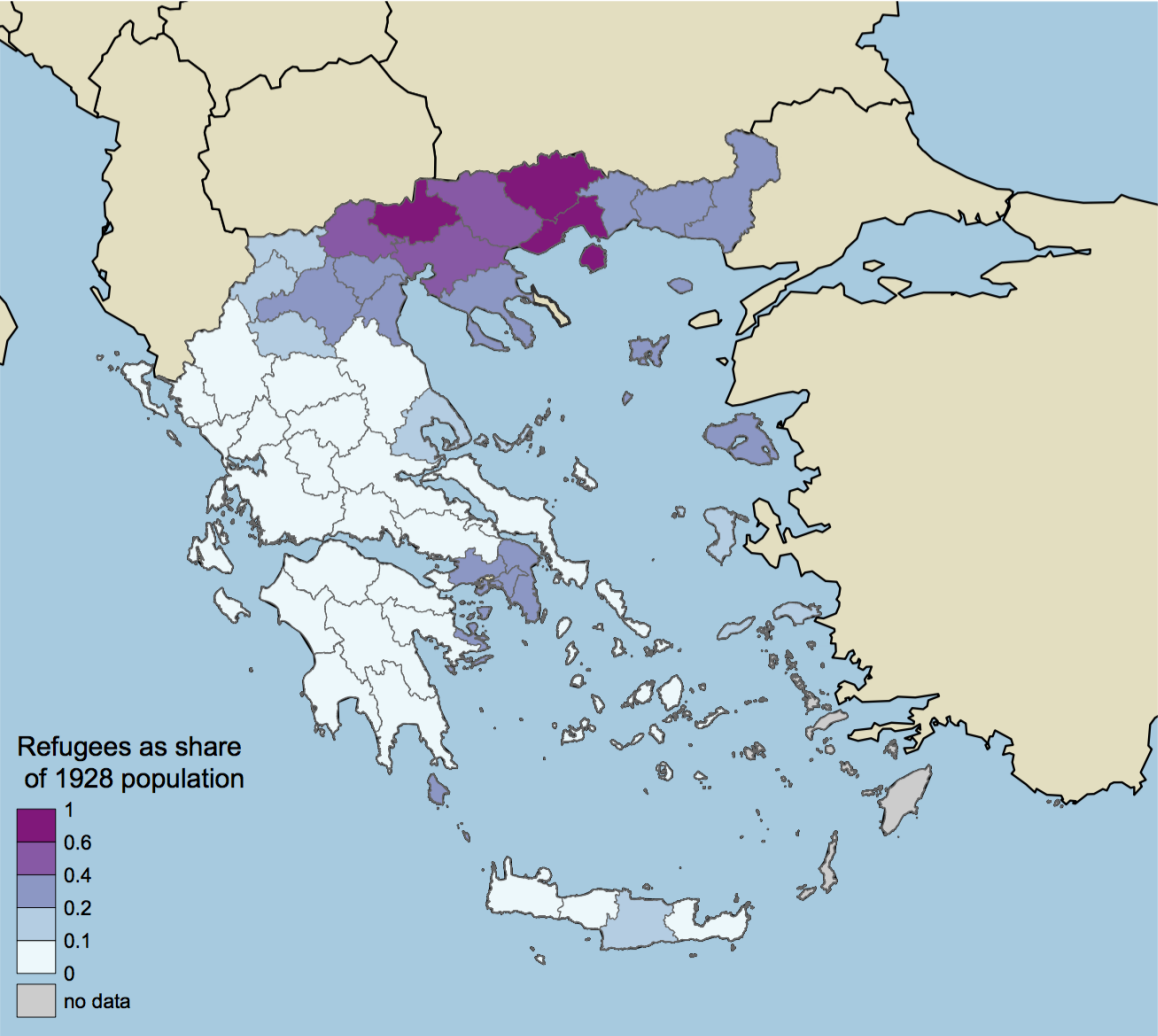
Figure D.1. Groups as neighbors



Notes: *Mean neighbors* is the average response to the question “Could you please tell me for each of these groups if you would or would not like to have them as neighbors?” for the following groups: Muslims, Jews, people of a different race, homosexuals, unmarried couples living together, heavy drinkers, and drug addicts. Outcomes are standardized, and point estimates can be interpreted in terms of standard deviations. Lines denote cluster-robust 90 percent (thick line) and 95 percent (thin line) confidence intervals.

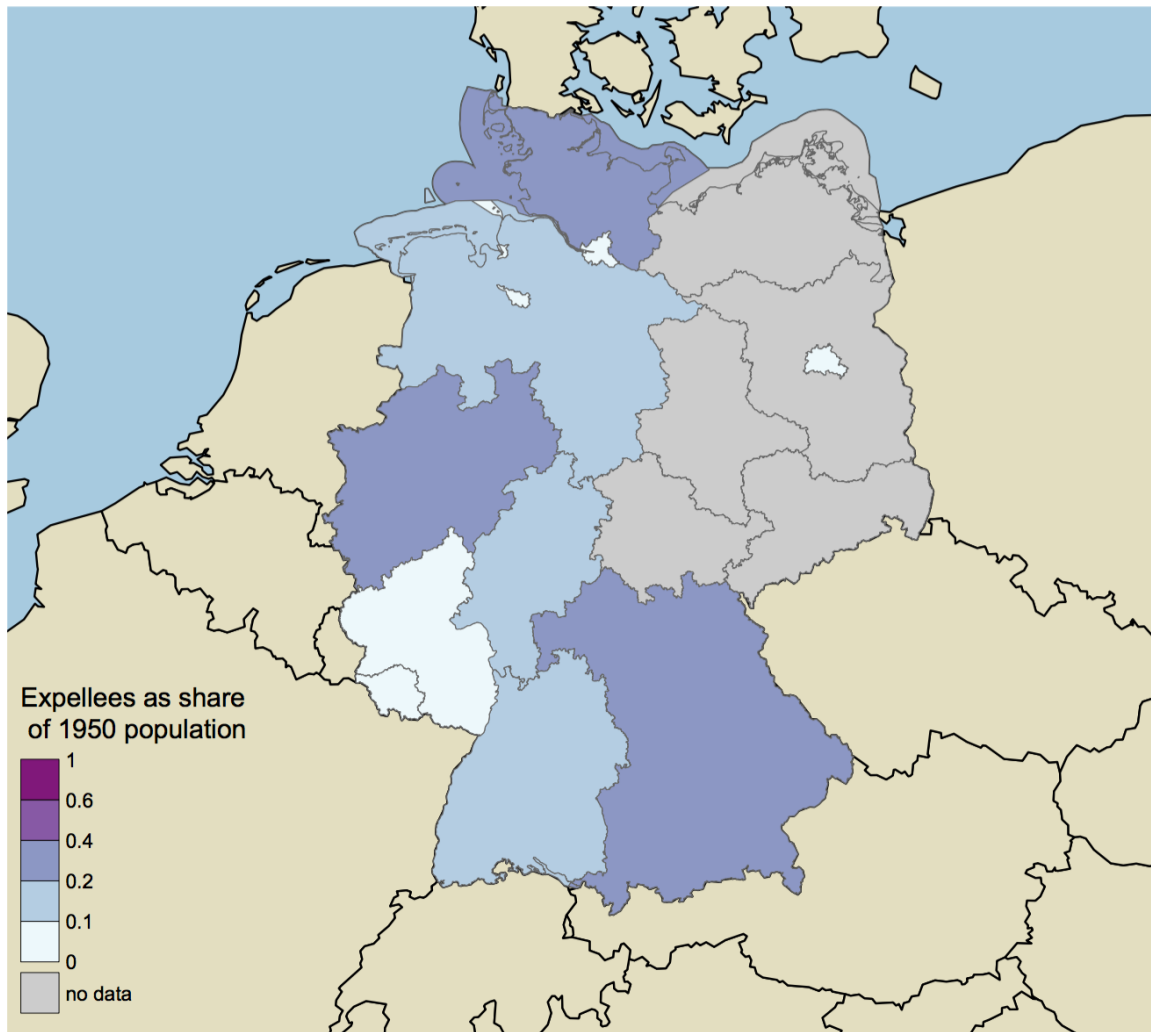
E Additional Figures and Tables

Figure E.1. Share of Asia Minor refugees by prefecture in 1928



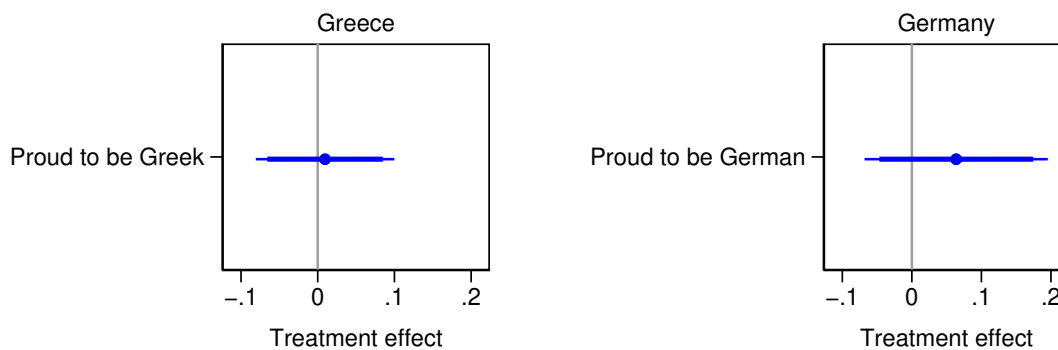
Source: 1928 Greek census.

Figure E.2. Share of ethnic German expellees by federal state in 1950



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (1953).

Figure E.3. National identity



Notes: The figure plots the estimated treatment effect on the subset of respondents without a background of forced displacement. Outcomes are standardized, and point estimates can be interpreted in terms of standard deviations. Lines denote cluster-robust 90 percent (thick line) and 95 percent (thin line) confidence intervals.

Table E.1. Summary statistics – Greece

| | Mean | S.D. | N |
|--|--------|-------|------|
| Donate | 0.712 | 0.453 | 1765 |
| Amount | 54.36 | 43.32 | 1765 |
| Log amount | 1.662 | 4.023 | 1765 |
| Sign petition | 0.307 | 0.462 | 1783 |
| Contact MP | -0.306 | 0.624 | 1758 |
| Study in Greek schools | 0.790 | 0.407 | 1906 |
| Residence permit | 0.438 | 0.496 | 1877 |
| Money to Greeks | 0.451 | 0.498 | 1881 |
| Terror threat | 0.559 | 0.497 | 1878 |
| Increase crime | 0.699 | 0.458 | 1868 |
| Reason to leave: flee war | 0.756 | 0.430 | 1796 |
| Reason to leave: economic | 0.124 | 0.330 | 1796 |
| Reason to leave: political persecution | 0.060 | 0.237 | 1796 |
| Reason to leave: social benefits | 0.061 | 0.239 | 1796 |
| Proud to be Greek | 1.425 | 0.923 | 1918 |
| Important for identity: religion | 2.551 | 1.248 | 1897 |
| Important for identity: nationality | 2.261 | 1.198 | 1897 |
| Important for identity: language | 2.111 | 1.200 | 1891 |
| Important for identity: gender | 1.680 | 1.039 | 1871 |
| Important for identity: social class | 2.108 | 1.129 | 1891 |
| Greeks have suffered more | 2.047 | 1.333 | 1906 |
| Want as neighbors: Muslims | 0.612 | 0.487 | 1885 |
| Want as neighbors: Jews | 0.761 | 0.427 | 1865 |
| Want as neighbors: refugees | 0.729 | 0.445 | 1855 |
| Want as neighbors: other races | 0.823 | 0.382 | 1890 |
| Want as neighbors: homosexuals | 0.689 | 0.463 | 1912 |
| Want as neighbors: unmarried couples | 0.915 | 0.280 | 1909 |
| Want as neighbors: alcoholics | 0.309 | 0.462 | 1899 |
| Want as neighbors: drug addicts | 0.236 | 0.425 | 1899 |

Table E.2. Summary statistics – Germany

| | Mean | S.D. | N |
|--|--------|--------|-------|
| Donate | 0.477 | 0.499 | 1,529 |
| Amount | 24.198 | 33.052 | 1,529 |
| Log amount | -0.645 | 4.178 | 1,529 |
| Increase number | 0.065 | 0.247 | 1,529 |
| Take jobs | 0.775 | 0.418 | 1,529 |
| Money to Germans | 0.315 | 0.465 | 1,529 |
| Increase terrorism | 0.619 | 0.486 | 1,529 |
| Increase crime | 0.423 | 0.494 | 1,529 |
| Reason to leave: flee war | 0.562 | 0.496 | 1,529 |
| Reason to leave: economic | 0.776 | 0.417 | 1,529 |
| Reason to leave: political persecution | 0.078 | 0.269 | 1,529 |
| Reason to leave: social benefits | 0.864 | 0.343 | 1,529 |
| Proud to be German | 0.593 | 0.491 | 1,529 |
| Want as neighbors: Muslims | 0.537 | 0.499 | 1,529 |
| Want as neighbors: Jews | 0.863 | 0.344 | 1,529 |
| Want as neighbors: refugees | 0.505 | 0.500 | 1,529 |
| Want as neighbors: other races | 0.859 | 0.158 | 1,529 |
| Want as neighbors: homosexuals | 0.859 | 0.348 | 1,529 |
| Want as neighbors: unmarried couples | 0.957 | 0.203 | 1,529 |
| Want as neighbors: alcoholics | 0.040 | 0.197 | 1,529 |
| Want as neighbors: drug addicts | 0.025 | 0.158 | 1,529 |

Table E.3. Topics for history textbooks: Differences between Asia Minor refugee descendants and other respondents

| Dep. variable | Greek revolution | | Asia Minor | | WWII | | Civil War | | Dictatorship | |
|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |
| Asia Minor | -0.314*** (0.0616) | -0.326*** (0.0728) | 0.464*** (0.0775) | 0.478*** (0.0759) | -0.0686 (0.0693) | -0.0393 (0.0931) | -0.0445 (0.0767) | -0.0872 (0.0843) | -0.0426 (0.0672) | -0.00629 (0.0828) |
| Observations | 734 | 709 | 734 | 709 | 734 | 709 | 734 | 709 | 734 | 709 |
| R-squared | 0.0246 | 0.193 | 0.0542 | 0.183 | 0.00115 | 0.144 | 0.000493 | 0.132 | 0.000466 | 0.178 |
| Controls | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y |

Notes: Each dependent variable is an indicator for respondents who chose the respective topic as an answer to the question “Which of the following topics you think should be part of the history curriculum in schools?” All regressions are estimated in the control group. *Asia Minor* denotes respondents with at least one parent or grandparent born in Turkey. Controls include prefecture fixed effects and indicators for gender, age, seven educational categories, seven income categories, and eleven occupational categories. Standard errors are clustered at the municipality level. Significance levels: *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1.

Table E.4. Topics for history textbooks: Differences between expellee descendants and other respondents

| Dep. variable | WWI | | Expellees | | Reconstruction | | Berlin wall | |
|---------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| Expellee | -0.145** (0.0703) | -0.138* (0.0791) | 0.151** (0.0758) | 0.162** (0.0788) | -0.0133 (0.0723) | -0.00223 (0.0731) | -0.0285 (0.0711) | -0.0566 (0.0730) |
| Observations | 759 | 759 | 759 | 759 | 759 | 759 | 759 | 759 |
| R-squared | 0.00508 | 0.125 | 0.00541 | 0.128 | 0.0000471 | 0.104 | 0.000195 | 0.130 |
| Controls | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y |

Notes: Each dependent variable is an indicator for respondents who chose the respective topic as an answer to the question “Which of the following topics you think should be part of the history curriculum in schools?” All regressions are estimated in the control group. *Expellee* denotes respondents with at least one parent or grandparent born in the former Eastern German territories. Controls include federal state fixed effects and indicators for gender, age, nine educational categories, and four self-reported income categories. Standard errors are clustered at the county (Kreis) level. Significance levels: *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1.

Table E.5. Treatment effects: Behavioral outcomes

| Dep. variable | Germany | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| | Greece | | | | | | Germany | | | | | |
| | Donate | Log Amount | Petition | Contact MP | Donate | Log Amount | Donate | Log Amount | Donate | Log Amount | Donate | Log Amount |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | |
| T | -0.0494 (0.0669) | -0.0677 (0.0598) | -0.0411 (0.0662) | -0.0618 (0.0587) | -0.0288 (0.0708) | -0.0467 (0.0867) | -0.0117 (0.0686) | -0.0656 (0.0833) | -0.108 (0.0727) | -0.0893 (0.0746) | -0.113 (0.0727) | -0.0924 (0.0747) |
| Asia Minor | -0.0249 (0.0629) | -0.0206 (0.0633) | -0.00921 (0.0621) | -0.0111 (0.0625) | 0.0742 (0.0683) | 0.0688 (0.0719) | -0.0754 (0.0634) | -0.0857 (0.0675) | | | | |
| Asia Minor \times T | 0.157* (0.0923) | 0.181* (0.0949) | 0.157* (0.0918) | 0.182* (0.0939) | -0.0336 (0.0965) | -0.000305 (0.110) | 0.0966 (0.0769) | 0.152* (0.0828) | | | | |
| Expellee | | | | | | | | | 0.0568 (0.0717) | 0.0228 (0.0734) | 0.0612 (0.0719) | 0.0225 (0.0737) |
| Expellee \times T | | | | | | | | | 0.193* (0.109) | 0.193* (0.109) | 0.197* (0.109) | 0.198* (0.109) |
| Observations | 1737 | 1650 | 1737 | 1650 | 1756 | 1670 | 1732 | 1644 | 1517 | 1517 | 1517 | 1517 |
| R-squared | 0.00249 | 0.0898 | 0.00309 | 0.0971 | 0.00144 | 0.0553 | 0.00106 | 0.111 | 0.00815 | 0.0876 | 0.00880 | 0.0959 |
| Controls | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y |

Notes: T indicates the treatment. All outcomes are standardized using the mean and standard deviation of the control group. In columns (2), (4), (6) and (8), controls include prefecture fixed effects and indicators for gender, age, seven educational categories, seven income categories, and eleven occupational categories. In columns (10) and (12), they include federal state fixed effects and indicators for gender, age, nine educational categories, and four self-reported income categories. Standard errors are clustered at the municipality level in columns (1)–(8) and at the county (Kreis) level in columns (9)–(12). Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table E.6. Treatment effects: Attitudes toward refugees

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |
|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Panel A: Greece | | | | | | | | | | |
| Dep. Variable | Study in Greek schools | Residence permit | Money to Greeks | Terror threat | Increase crime | Money cover German needs | Increase terrorism | Money cover German needs | Increase terrorism | Money cover German needs |
| Asia Minor | 0.129** (0.0593) | 0.115* (0.0614) | 0.0145 (0.0590) | 0.00939 (0.0582) | 0.117 (0.0700) | 0.0892 (0.0770) | 0.117* (0.0602) | 0.129** (0.0625) | 0.0502 (0.0689) | 0.0305 (0.0810) |
| T | 0.105** (0.0465) | 0.164*** (0.0469) | -0.0113 (0.0626) | -0.0145 (0.0703) | -0.00775 (0.0614) | -0.00623 (0.0675) | 0.0213 (0.0570) | 0.0105 (0.0664) | 0.00310 (0.0694) | -0.0492 (0.0789) |
| Asia Minor \times T | -0.000677 (0.0786) | -0.0483 (0.0745) | 0.125 (0.0774) | 0.141 (0.0921) | 0.0860 (0.0960) | 0.0848 (0.0911) | -0.0706 (0.0793) | -0.0629 (0.0840) | 0.0728 (0.0681) | 0.108 (0.0697) |
| Observations | 1873 | 1772 | 1845 | 1744 | 1848 | 1751 | 1847 | 1750 | 1837 | 1741 |
| R-squared | 0.00724 | 0.0909 | 0.00306 | 0.0852 | 0.00719 | 0.129 | 0.00200 | 0.0961 | 0.00259 | 0.112 |
| Panel B: Germany | | | | | | | | | | |
| Dep. Variable | Increase number | Take jobs | Increase crime | Increase terrorism | Money cover German needs | Increase terrorism | Money cover German needs | Increase terrorism | Money cover German needs | Increase terrorism |
| Expellee | -0.0448 (0.0705) | -0.0515 (0.0743) | 0.145** (0.0688) | 0.134* (0.0726) | 0.0760 (0.0790) | 0.0448 (0.0848) | 0.0879 (0.0741) | 0.0673 (0.0754) | 0.0652 (0.0708) | 0.0211 (0.0706) |
| T | -0.0808 (0.0642) | -0.0938 (0.0675) | 0.0150 (0.0766) | 0.0636 (0.0750) | -0.0322 (0.0674) | -0.0219 (0.0635) | -0.0494 (0.0683) | -0.0134 (0.0676) | -0.0511 (0.0691) | -0.0232 (0.0675) |
| Expellee \times T | 0.213* (0.111) | 0.191 (0.120) | 0.0659 (0.102) | 0.0128 (0.103) | 0.149 (0.113) | 0.156 (0.116) | 0.120 (0.0990) | 0.106 (0.1000) | 0.115 (0.107) | 0.0612 (0.102) |
| Observations | 1517 | 1517 | 1517 | 1517 | 1517 | 1517 | 1517 | 1517 | 1517 | 1517 |
| R-squared | 0.00381 | 0.0694 | 0.00803 | 0.0790 | 0.00704 | 0.103 | 0.00614 | 0.0907 | 0.00461 | 0.128 |
| Controls | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y |

Notes: T indicates the treatment. All outcomes are standardized using the mean and standard deviation of the control group. Items are recoded so that larger values imply higher support for refugees. In Panel A, controls include prefecture fixed effects and indicators for gender, age, seven educational categories, seven income categories, and eleven occupational categories. In Panel B, they include federal state fixed effects and indicators for gender, age, nine educational categories, and four self-reported income categories. Standard errors are clustered at the municipality level in Panel A and at the county (Kreis) level in Panel B. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table E.7. Treatment effects: Reasons why refugees leave their countries

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Dep. Variable | Flee war | | Economic | | Political persecution | | Social benefits | |
| Panel A: Greece | | | | | | | | |
| Asia Minor | -0.0365 (0.0514) | 0.0138 (0.0604) | 0.0501 (0.0705) | 0.0581 (0.0722) | 0.0794 (0.0717) | 0.0568 (0.0793) | -0.0553 (0.0763) | -0.000249 (0.0768) |
| T | -0.117 (0.0709) | -0.0967 (0.0778) | -0.0759 (0.0656) | -0.0647 (0.0770) | 0.105* (0.0627) | 0.104 (0.0769) | -0.00672 (0.0832) | 0.0122 (0.0776) |
| Asia Minor × T | 0.191** (0.0916) | 0.182 (0.109) | 0.0816 (0.0810) | 0.0873 (0.0912) | -0.0937 (0.0989) | -0.0837 (0.122) | 0.136 (0.104) | 0.122 (0.103) |
| Observations | 1766 | 1679 | 1766 | 1679 | 1766 | 1679 | 1766 | 1679 |
| R-squared | 0.00332 | 0.0784 | 0.00277 | 0.0633 | 0.00153 | 0.0634 | 0.00231 | 0.0730 |
| Panel B: Germany | | | | | | | | |
| Expellee | 0.0788 (0.0765) | 0.0665 (0.0771) | -0.000393 (0.0783) | -0.0140 (0.0794) | -0.0731 (0.0875) | -0.0737 (0.0861) | 0.0593 (0.0820) | 0.0576 (0.0823) |
| T | -0.0880 (0.0697) | -0.0770 (0.0727) | -0.118* (0.0659) | -0.121* (0.0703) | 0.0148 (0.0703) | 0.0269 (0.0742) | 0.0293 (0.0737) | 0.0582 (0.0736) |
| Expellee × T | 0.110 (0.102) | 0.109 (0.109) | 0.142 (0.106) | 0.150 (0.115) | 0.0747 (0.119) | 0.0634 (0.118) | 0.0430 (0.0978) | 0.0233 (0.0969) |
| Observations | 1517 | 1517 | 1517 | 1517 | 1517 | 1517 | 1517 | 1517 |
| R-squared | 0.00552 | 0.0691 | 0.00338 | 0.0660 | 0.00112 | 0.0520 | 0.00215 | 0.0760 |
| Controls | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y |

Notes: T indicates the treatment. Each original outcome equals one if respondents indicated it as the primary reason refugees leave their countries. *Economic* and *Social benefits* are recoded so that higher values indicate higher support for refugees. All outcomes are standardized using the mean and standard deviation of the control group. In Panel A, controls include prefecture fixed effects and indicators for gender, age, seven educational categories, seven income categories, and eleven occupational categories. In Panel B, they include federal state fixed effects and indicators for gender, age, nine educational categories, and four self-reported income categories. Standard errors are clustered at the municipality level in Panel A and at the county (Kreis) level in Panel B. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table E.8. Robustness: Summary measures

| Dep. variable: | Greece | | | | Germany | |
|----------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | Average behavioral | | Average attitudinal | | Average attitudinal | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| T | -0.0460 (0.0577) | -0.0844 (0.0613) | 0.00410 (0.0623) | 0.0131 (0.0693) | -0.0397 (0.0511) | -0.0177 (0.0485) |
| Asia Minor | -0.0121 (0.0715) | -0.0149 (0.0691) | 0.101* (0.0598) | 0.107 (0.0677) | | |
| Asia Minor×T | 0.133* (0.0773) | 0.179** (0.0814) | 0.112 (0.0680) | 0.116 (0.0801) | | |
| Expellee | | | | | 0.0659 (0.0503) | 0.0431 (0.0512) |
| Expellee×T | | | | | 0.133* (0.0754) | 0.106 (0.0748) |
| Observations | 1895 | 1793 | 1895 | 1793 | 1517 | 1517 |
| R-squared | 0.00196 | 0.0937 | 0.00783 | 0.124 | 0.0113 | 0.126 |
| Controls | N | Y | N | Y | N | Y |

Notes: *T* indicates the treatment. The dependent variable is the average of the standardized outcomes. *Asia Minor* denotes respondents with at least one parent or grandparent born in Turkey. *Expellee* denotes respondents with at least one parent or grandparent born in the former Eastern German territories. In columns (2) and (4), controls include prefecture fixed effects and indicators for gender, age, seven educational categories, seven income categories, and eleven occupational categories. In column (6), they include federal state fixed effects and indicators for gender, age, nine educational categories, and four self-reported income categories. Standard errors are clustered at the municipality level in columns (1)–(4) and at the county (Kreis) level in columns (5)–(6). Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

F Survey Instrument – Greece

Demographics Pt.1

- Q.1 In what year were you born?
- Q.2 Which municipal district do you reside in?
- Q.3 Generally speaking, how interested are you in politics in Greece and in the world more broadly? Would you say you are interested a lot, a fair amount, a little, or not at all?
-

Attitudes toward refugees

- Q.4 Children of asylum seekers in Greece should be allowed to study in Greek schools. (1 = Completely agree; 5 = Completely disagree)
- Q.5 Refugees who live in our country should be granted asylum and residence rights. (1 = Completely agree; 5 = Completely disagree)
- Q.6 The money spent to fund the ongoing presence of refugees in Greece could be better spent on the needs of Greeks. (1 = Completely agree; 5 = Completely disagree)
- Q.7 Refugees will increase the likelihood of a terrorist attack in our country. (1 = Completely agree; 5 = Completely disagree)
- Q.8 Refugees in our country are more to blame for crime than other groups. (1 = Completely agree; 5 = Completely disagree)
- Q.9 Which of the following do you believe is the primary reason why refugees abandon their countries? (1 = To flee war; 2 = To improve their economic conditions; 3 = To avoid political persecution; 4 = To obtain access to social security payments in the destination country.)
-

Other social groups

- Q.10 I will now mention various groups of people. Could you please tell me for each of these groups if you would or would not like to have them as neighbors? (Muslims, Jews, refugees, people of a different race, homosexuals, unmarried couples living together, heavy drinkers, and drug addicts)
-

Identity

- Q.11 How important do you think the following characteristics are for the identity and character of a person? Use a scale in which 1 means not important, 2 means slightly important, 3 means quite important, and 4 means very important. (Religion, nationality, gender, and social class)
- Q.12 Please tell me if you completely agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or completely disagree with the following statement: “I am proud to be Greek.”
- Q.13 Which of the following topics do you think should be part of the history curriculum: the 1821 Greek revolution, the Asia Minor catastrophe, Metaxas’s “No” to the Italians in World War II, the civil war, or the dictatorship?
-

Victimhood

- Q.14 Please tell me if you completely agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or completely disagree with the following statement: Greeks have suffered historically more than other people.
-

Voting behavior

Cont.

Q.15 Did you vote in the last elections in September 2015? (If *Yes*) Which party did you vote for?

Behavior toward refugees

Q.16 Before concluding our interview, I would like to inform you that as part of the survey we will raffle off a 100-euro voucher. Every respondent has an equal chance of winning the voucher. However, you can also choose to donate a percentage of your winnings to the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR). If you win the voucher, the donation amount will be deducted from the voucher. Would you like to donate some part of the 100-euro voucher, and if so, how much?

Q.17 In recent months, different groups of citizens collected signatures to push the government to provide housing for asylum seekers in hostels and hospitality centers instead of open-air asylum camps. Would you like to sign this petition? This information notice would contain your name and location. (Yes/No)

Q.18 Should we inform the members of Parliament on your behalf whether you want to increase or decrease the number of people Greece grants asylum to? This information notice would contain your name and location. (1 = Greatly increase; 4 = Greatly decrease)

Demographics Pt. 2

Q.19 Which is the highest level of education you have attained?

Q.20 Occupation

Q.21 Net monthly household income

Q.22 Where were you born? (1 = Macedonia; 2 = Rest of Greece; 3 = Asia Minor or Pontus or Istanbul)

Q.23 Where was your father born? (1 = Macedonia; 2 = Rest of Greece; 3 = Asia Minor or Pontus or Istanbul)

Q.24 And do you remember where your father's parents were born? (1 = At least one in Asia Minor, Pontus or Istanbul; 2 = Both in Asia Minor, Pontus or Istanbul; 3 = Both in Asia Minor or Pontus or Istanbul)

Q.25 Where was your mother born? (1 = Macedonia; 2 = Rest of Greece; 3 = Asia Minor or Pontus or Istanbul)

Q.26 And do you remember where your mother's parents were born? (1 = At least one in Asia Minor, Pontus or Istanbul; 2 = Both in Asia Minor, Pontus or Istanbul; 3 = Both in Asia Minor or Pontus or Istanbul)

G Survey Instrument – Germany

Demographics

- Q.1 What is your gender?
- Q.2 In what year were you born?
- Q.3 Which of the following statements comes closest to how you feel about your household's income nowadays?
- Q.4 How interested would you say you are in politics? Would you say you are very interested, fairly interested, not very interested, or not at all interested?

Attitudes toward refugees

- Q.5 Do you think Germany should increase or decrease the number of people it grants asylum to? (1 = Greatly increase; 5 = Greatly decrease)
- Q.6 Refugees are a burden on our country because they take our jobs and social benefits. (1 = Completely agree; 5 = Completely disagree)
- Q.7 The money spent on the accommodation of refugees in our country could have been spent better to cover the needs of Germans. (1 = Completely agree; 5 = Completely disagree)
- Q.8 Refugees will increase the likelihood of a terrorist attack in our country. (1 = Completely agree; 5 = Completely disagree)
- Q.9 Refugees in our country are more to blame for crime than other groups. (1 = Completely agree; 5 = Completely disagree)
- Q.10 Among the following options, which one do you think best explains why refugees from Syria and other countries leave their country? (1 = To flee war; 2 = To improve their economic conditions; 3 = To avoid political persecution; 4 = To gain access to host country's social benefits.)

Other social groups

- Q.11 I will now mention various groups of people. Could you please tell me for each of these groups if you would or would not like to have them as neighbors? (Muslims, Jews, refugees, people of a different race, homosexuals, unmarried couples living together, heavy drinkers, and drug addicts)

Identity

- Q.12 How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "I am proud to be German."
- Q.13 If you only had to choose one of the following topics, which one would you choose as compulsory for the German school curriculum? The bombing of German cities during WWII, the Marshall Plan and Germany's reconstruction, the expulsion of ethnic Germans after WWII, the history of the Berlin Wall

Voting behavior

- Q.14 Some people choose to vote in elections whereas other choose to abstain. What about you? Did you vote in the last federal election?
- Q.15 And which party did you vote for?
- Q.16 And what about the 2013 election, did you vote in that election?
- Q.17 And which party did you vote for?

Cont.

Behavior toward refugees

- Q.18 Among all participants of the survey we raffle off a 100-euro voucher. Every respondent has an equal chance of winning the voucher. However, you can also choose to donate a percentage of your winnings to the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR). If you win the voucher, the donation amount will be deducted from the voucher, the remaining part will be transferred to you panel account. Would you like to donate some part of the 100-euro voucher, and if so, how much?
-

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