

**Emphasizing safety and remorse reduces resistance to the return of Islamic State
collaborators and their children**

Supplementary Materials

Sources for Table 1

Pre-treatment questionnaire

Vignettes

Post-treatment questionnaire

table S1. Descriptive statistics for the samples.

table S2. Balance tests.

table S3. Manipulation checks.

table S4. Average levels of returnee support in each of the 12 conditions.

table S5. Numeric results.

table S6. Cross-country heterogeneity.

fig. S1. Original 5-point outcome (replication of Fig. 1).

fig. S2. Logistic regression (replication of Fig. 1).

fig. S2. Attentive subsample (replication of Fig. 1).

fig. S3. Including covariates (replication Fig. 1).

Reducing Resistance to IS-Returnees

Sources for Table 1

TO BE ADDED

Reducing Resistance to IS-Returnees

Pre-treatment questionnaire

TO BE ADDED

Vignettes

Adult Vignettes

Introduction

In the next question, you will get a description of a fictional person who traveled from [country] to Syria to join the Islamic State (IS). That person now wants to return to [country], and we would like to know your **opinion** about this. We realize that this is a difficult topic with **no right or wrong answers**.

Vignette 1

Mohammed is a **28-year-old man** from [capital]. He joined IS in 2015 and is currently living in the Syrian refugee camp al-Hol. He now wants to return to [country]. The [country's] government has set up a committee to advise them on this matter. The advisory committee has sent two independent psychiatrists to Syria to assess Mohammed. After a thorough investigation, they both conclude that he **does not constitute a threat** to [country's] society. According to their report, he **sincerely regrets** joining IS and wants to help the [country's] authorities to prevent radicalization.

Vignette 2

Mohammed is a **28-year-old man** from [capital]. He joined IS in 2015 and is currently living in the Syrian refugee camp al-Hol. He now wants to return to [country]. The [country's] government has set up a committee to advise them on this matter. The advisory committee has sent two independent psychiatrists to Syria to assess Mohammed. After a thorough investigation, they both conclude that he **sincerely regrets** joining IS and wants to help the [country's] authorities to prevent radicalization.

Vignette 3

Mohammed is a **28-year-old man** from [capital]. He joined IS in 2015 and is currently living in the Syrian refugee camp al-Hol. He now wants to return to [country]. The [country's] government has set up a committee to advise them on this matter. The advisory committee has sent two independent psychiatrists to Syria to assess Mohammed. After a thorough investigation, they both conclude that he **does not constitute a threat** to the [country's] society.

Vignette 4

Mohammed is a **28-year-old man** from [capital]. He joined IS in 2015 and is currently living in the Syrian refugee camp al-Hol. He now wants to return to [country]. The [country's] government has set up a committee to advise them on this matter.

Vignette 5

Fatima is a **28-year-old woman** from [capital]. She joined IS in 2015 and is currently living in the Syrian refugee camp al-Hol. She now wants to return to [country]. The [country's] government has set up a committee to advise them on this matter. The advisory committee has sent two independent psychiatrists to Syria to assess Fatima. After a thorough investigation, they both conclude that she **does not constitute a threat** to the [country's] society. According to their report, she **sincerely regrets** joining IS and wants to help the [country's] authorities to prevent radicalization.

Vignette 6

Fatima is a **28-year-old woman** from [capital]. She joined IS in 2015 and is currently living in the Syrian refugee camp al-Hol. She now wants to return to [country]. The [country's]

government has set up a committee to advise them on this matter. The advisory committee has sent two independent psychiatrists to Syria to assess Fatima. After a thorough investigation, they both conclude that she **sincerely regrets** joining IS and wants to help the [country's] authorities to prevent radicalization.

Vignette 7

Fatima is a **28-year-old woman** from [capital]. She joined IS in 2015 and is currently living in the Syrian refugee camp al-Hol. She now wants to return to [country]. The [country's] government has set up a committee to advise them on this matter. The advisory committee has sent two independent psychiatrists to Syria to assess Fatima. After a thorough investigation, they both conclude that she **does not constitute a threat** to the [country's] society.

Vignette 8

Fatima is a **28-year-old woman** from [capital]. She joined IS in 2015 and is currently living in the Syrian refugee camp al-Hol. She now wants to return to [country]. The [country's] government has set up a committee to advise them on this matter.

Children Vignettes

Note: The vignettes below describe a child being born in Syria during ISIS as reports indicate a large majority of the so-called ISIS children were born during ISIS. For example, it is estimated that 75 % of the Dutch and Belgian children currently held in refugee camps were born in Iraq and Syria (Mehra and Paulussen 2019). Hence, the vignettes describe the most realistic scenario. Moreover, in all three countries of study, children automatically acquire national citizenship if, when they are born, one of the parents is a citizen of that country. In other words, children to a British/Belgian/Norwegian mother are, regardless of the territory where they are born, British/Belgian/Norwegian citizens.

Introduction

In the next question, you will get a description of a fictional child born to a [country's] mother who joined the Islamic State (IS) in Syria. The question now is whether to bring the child to [country], and we would like to know your opinion about it. We realize that this is a difficult topic with **no right or wrong answers**.

Vignette 9

Malik is a **6-year-old boy**, born in 2015 in Syria during IS. He is currently living in the Syrian refugee camp al-Hol together with his British mother. The British government has set up a committee to advise them on whether Malik should be repatriated. The advisory committee has sent two independent psychiatrists to Syria to assess Malik. After a thorough investigation, they both conclude that he **does not constitute a threat** to the British society.

Vignette 10

Leila is a **6-year-old girl**, born in 2015 in Syria during IS. She is currently living in the Syrian refugee camp al-Hol together with her British mother. The British government has set up a committee to advise them on whether Leila should be repatriated. The advisory committee has sent two independent psychiatrists to Syria to assess Leila. After a thorough investigation, they both conclude that she **does not constitute a threat** to the British society.

Vignette 11

Leila is a **6-year-old girl**, born in 2015 in Syria during IS. She is currently living in the Syrian refugee camp al-Hol together with her British mother. The British government has set up a committee to advise them on whether Leila should be repatriated. The advisory committee

Reducing Resistance to IS-Returnees

has sent two independent psychiatrists to Syria to assess Leila. After a thorough investigation, they both conclude that she **does not constitute a threat** to the British society.

Vignette 12

Leila is a **6-year-old girl**, born in 2015 in Syria during IS. She is currently living in the Syrian refugee camp al-Hol together with her British mother. The British government has set up a committee to advise them on whether Leila should be repatriated.

Post-treatment questionnaire

- 1) If you were on the advisory committee, would you recommend [name]’s return to [country]?

Definitely not – Probably not – Might or might not – Probably yes – Definitely yes

- 2) People have different opinions on whether [name] should be allowed to return to [country], and we would like to find out more about the **reasons** behind such differences in opinion.

Hence, can you please explain why you selected “[*Definitely not – Probably not – Might or might not – Probably yes – Definitely yes*]” in the previous question? _____

- 3) Thinking about [Mohammed/Fatima/Leila/Malik], please indicate to what extent you **agree or disagree** with each of the following statements.

- I would not mind living in the same district as [name].
- [name] deserves to be reintegrated into [country’s] society.¹
- I fear [name] may represent a future risk to public security in [country].

Completely disagree – Disagree – Somewhat disagree – Neither disagree nor agree – Somewhat agree – Agree – Completely agree

- 4) Please write down the **name** of the person that was described to you earlier: _____

¹ ‘Re’ is removed following the child vignettes 9-12.

table S1. Descriptive statistics for the samples.

	Sample	Population	Source
United Kingdom			
Female			
Median age			
Unemployed			
Christians			
Party affiliation			
Labour			
Conservative			
Belgium			
Female			
Median age			
Unemployed			
Christians			
Party affiliation			
N-VA			
VB			
PS			
CD&V			
PVDA-PTB			
Open Vld			
MR			
Norway			
Female			
Age cohorts			
Unemployed			
Christians			
Party affiliation			
Labour			
Conservative			
Centre			
Progress			
Socialist left			

table S2. Balance test.

TO BE ADDED

Question to readers: should we add those, given the controversy regarding balance tests (e.g., Mutz et al., 2019)?

table S3. Support for repatriation of adults and child returnees.

TO BE ADDED

table S4. Manipulation checks.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Risk assessments	Deservingness perceptions
Gender (ref: male)	-0.268*** (0.039)	0.170*** (0.042)
Age (ref: adult)	-1.564*** (0.048)	1.664*** (0.051)
Elite cue: safety	-0.185*** (0.048)	0.126** (0.051)
Elite cue: remorse	-0.232*** (0.063)	0.234*** (0.068)
Elite cue: safety + remorse	0.102 (0.082)	-0.088 (0.088)
Constant	5.456*** (0.046)	2.870*** (0.049)
Observations	7,890	7,876
R ²	0.146	0.141
Adjusted R ²	0.145	0.140

Note: Cell entries are unstandardized OLS coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. The dependent variable is perceptions of future risk (left column) and of deservingness (right column), ranging from 1 to 5. + p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001 (two-sided).

table S5. Average acceptance rate of returnees in each of the 12 conditions.

#	Risk	Regret	Age	Gender	Mean	SD	N
1	Low	High	Adult	Male	0.2106	0.4080	660
2	Low	Control	Adult	Male	0.1988	0.3994	674
3	Control	High	Adult	Male	0.1632	0.3699	680
4	Control	Control	Adult	Male	0.1026	0.3037	653
5	Low	High	Adult	Female	0.2265	0.4189	680
6	Low	Control	Adult	Female	0.2541	0.4357	677
7	Control	High	Adult	Female	0.2525	0.4348	689
8	Control	Control	Adult	Female	0.1676	0.3738	686
9	Low	Control	Child	Male	0.4776	0.4999	670
10	Control	Control	Child	Male	0.4412	0.4969	680
11	Low	Control	Child	Female	0.5359	0.4991	668
12	Control	Control	Child	Female	0.4415	0.4970	677

table S6. Numeric results.

	Acceptance Rate of Returnees			
	Overall	Belgium	Norway	UK
Gender (ref: male)	0.047*** (0.029, 0.066)	0.034* (0.005, 0.062)	0.079*** (0.034, 0.124)	0.043** (0.014, 0.072)
Age (ref: adult)	0.302*** (0.279, 0.326)	0.273*** (0.237, 0.308)	0.422*** (0.368, 0.476)	0.275*** (0.238, 0.312)
Elite cue: safety	0.069*** (0.046, 0.092)	0.063*** (0.028, 0.099)	0.044 (-0.010, 0.098)	0.089*** (0.052, 0.126)
Elite cue: remorse	0.089*** (0.061, 0.118)	0.109*** (0.066, 0.152)	0.089* (0.016, 0.163)	0.072** (0.031, 0.114)
Elite cue: Safety + remorse	-0.077*** (-0.116, -0.038)	-0.098** (-0.157, -0.038)	-0.057 (-0.154, 0.040)	-0.069* (-0.129, -0.009)
Constant	0.113*** (0.094, 0.133)	0.094*** (0.065, 0.122)	0.205*** (0.154, 0.256)	0.088*** (0.059, 0.117)
Observations	8,094	3,309	1,594	3,191

Note: Cell entries are unstandardized OLS coefficients with robust 95% confidence intervals in parentheses. The dependent variable is returnee acceptance with 0 = not allowed to return and 1 = allowed to return. + p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001 (two-sided).

table S7. Cross-country heterogeneity.

	Acceptance Rate of Returnees
UK * Gender	0.009 (-0.032, 0.050)
Norway * Gender	0.045 ⁺ (-0.008, 0.098)
UK * Age	0.002 (-0.049, 0.053)
Norway * Age	0.149 ^{***} (0.084, 0.214)
UK * Safety	0.026 (-0.025, 0.077)
Norway * Safety	-0.019 (-0.084, 0.045)
UK * Regret	-0.037 (-0.096, 0.023)
Norway * Regret	-0.019 (-0.105, 0.066)
UK * Both cues	0.029 (-0.055, 0.113)
Norway * Both cues	0.041 (-0.073, 0.155)
Constant	0.094 ^{***} (0.065, 0.122)
Observations	8,094

Note: Cell entries are unstandardized OLS coefficients with robust 95% confidence intervals in parentheses. The dependent variable is returnee acceptance with 0 = not allowed to return and 1 = allowed to return. Only the interaction terms are displayed. Constituents were included in the model but not displayed to aid interpretation. + p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001 (two-sided).

fig. S1. Logistic regression (replication of Fig. 1).

TO BE ADDED

fig. S2. Attentive subsample (replication of Fig. 1).

TO BE ADDED

fig. S3. Including covariates (replication Fig. 1).

TO BE ADDED

fig. S4. Original 5-point outcome (replication of Fig. 1).

