Supporting Information for

Bridging the Gulf: How Migration Fosters Tolerance, Cosmopolitanism, and Support for Globalization

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Note: Some of the material in this appendix is the same as in the appendices to Gaikwad et al. (2022, 2023), which examine different outcomes from the same field experiment.

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A Additional Information about the Project

A.1 Intervention Location and Study Context

Figure A.1: Map of Mizoram, India

Mizoram is situated in northeastern India, bordering Bangladesh from the east and Myanmar from the west. The state is sparsely populated, with around one million residents. Aizawl, the capital city, hosts a third of this population with 300,000 residents. Mizoram has a highly educated population: the literacy rate is 91.33 percent according to the 2011 Census. Female literacy is 89.27 percent, which puts Mizoram amongst the highest literacy and female literacy rates in India (Census 2011). Mizoram also has one of the highest female-to-male demographic ratios as well as one of the lowest literacy gender gaps in the country (Census 2011). While most people in Mizoram speak the local language, Mizo, English is also widely spoken and used as the other official language of the state. The vast majority of the state's population belong to various tribes that are collectively known as Mizos. These tribes have been classified under the Indian Constitution as Scheduled Tribes, a category indicating groups that have been historically marginalized and discriminated. Today, the Indian Constitution guarantees Scheduled Tribes quotas in government jobs, educational institutions, as well as elected positions. The majority of Mizos identify as Christians and only a small minority identifies as Hindus or Buddhists.

Despite its high human capital, Mizoram lacks employment opportunities. The relative geographic isolation and mountainous topography have constrained industrial growth and produced high unemployment rates. Mizoram's GDP per capita is around US$1,600, which puts it at 19th amongst 27 Indian states (Institute for Human Development, 2013). The majority of the population remains employed in agriculture, even though the contribution of agriculture to GDP has been declining (Institute for Human Development, 2013). Industrial output is only 19.39 percent of the state's GDP, whereas the tertiary sector makes up 66.29 percent of the GDP. The largest employer within the services sector, however, remains the government. Taken together, Mizoram has struggled to create employment opportunities outside of small-scale agriculture and the public sector, which leaves its educated population without adequate employment opportunities.

Why focus on the India - GCC migration corridor? Much of prior research on migration has analyzed population flows from the Global South to the North, but migration across countries in the Global South has increased exponentially in the past twenty years. According to the 2017 United Nations Migration Report, migrants around the world are most likely to originate from Asia, which sends 41 percent of the world's migrant population (United Nations and Social Affairs, 2017). India alone sends 16.6 million migrants abroad making it the country with the largest number of

emigrants in absolute terms. Furthermore, Sasikumar and Timothy (2015) estimate that there are around 600,000 - 800,000 annual migrants from India, whereas annually India adds 7 - 8 million new workers to the labor force. This makes out-migration one of the major sources of new employment for Indian workers.

The Gulf region, meanwhile, is an important destination for migrant workers. Around 60 percent of Asian migrants, for instance, migrate to another Asian country, and only a much smaller subset, 16 and 19 percent migrate to Europe and North America, respectively. Saudi Arabia has the second largest migrant population in the world, the United Arab Emirates the eighth and Kuwait the twentieth.

When looking at migration flows between countries, Indian migration to the UAE is second only to the Mexico-US migration corridor. However, migration between India and the Gulf is growing much more rapidly. Migration between India and the UAE registered almost a three-fold increase and migration from India to Saudi Arabia doubled in the past twenty years.

An important difference between South-South migration and South-North migration is that many Western industrialized countries offer a route to citizenship, although they restrict labor migration flows tightly and often privilege educated and skilled migrants in the case of employment-based immigration (Peters, 2017). By contrast, countries in the Global South usually welcome labor migrants of varying skill levels, but make it very difficult for newcomers to obtain citizenship and permanent residency status.

A.2 Recruitment Strategy

We identified and recruited a group of prospective candidates interested in migrating to GCC countries for employment, but lacking the know-how and connections to do so. We relied on a variety of different media to advertise the job training and placement opportunity. We posted advertisements in leading Mizo newspapers as well as on local Mizo television networks (specifically, Zonet and LPS). We sent recruitment materials and application forms to regional offices of local skills training organizations and visited job fairs organized by the government. One of the job fairs took place in a suburb of Aizawl, while the other one in a neighboring district's headquarter. Additionally, we placed banners around Aizawl advertising the program. Finally, we reached out to the largest Mizo community organization, Mizo Zirlai Pawl (MZP) to advertise on their social media platforms. Advertisement materials were translated to Mizo to reach a wide audience. The advertisement period lasted for two months over the summer of 2018. While we targeted the entire state of Mizoram with our advertising strategy, the majority of applicants came from Aizawl, which was unsurprising given the higher educational attainment and English skills in the capital city.

All our advertising materials asked applicants to be above the age of 18 and have at least Grade 10 standard education. We also required English competency. Once registration for the program took place, our team in Aizawl called back all registered applicants and screened them for their English skills over the phone.

We randomly assigned treatment status using the final list of applicants who passed the English language screening. We matched these applicants into blocked pairs based on age, gender, education level, and English proficiency (judged in the English screening). We then randomized between each pair, assigning one to treatment and the other to control.

A.3 Survey Methodology

We were interested in examining the effects of migrating abroad on our theoretical outcome variables of interest. Therefore, we interviewed subjects (both treatment and control) in two survey

rounds: a baseline survey before participants were selected for the treatment, and an endline survey after the training program but before individuals secured jobs and began migrating abroad.

Both surveys were administered by a New Delhi-based survey company (CVoter Inc.), that hired twenty local, Mizo-speaking enumerators of both genders to conduct the surveys. This ensured that participants had access to enumerators of the same gender. Both surveys were written in English and then translated and back translated by CVoter's team into Mizo. We offered subjects the choice of Mizo and English versions of the survey. The topics that formed the basis of our surveys are socio-political topics that are routinely discussed in Indian society and that are identical or similar to questions that are often asked in many types of preexisting surveys, including government surveys (notably National Family and Health Surveys) carried out across India on a regular basis.

The baseline survey was a face-to-face survey that took place in Aizawl. Survey subjects were invited to the research team's offices in central Aizawl, where they were asked to fill out a survey by enumerators using handheld tablets. In order to facilitate re-contacting, we collected the phone numbers and addresses of each respondent as well as a back-up family member. Shortly after the baseline survey, we contacted our respondents via phone to ensure that appropriate contact information had been given and to verify respondents' willingness to participate in future surveys.

Approximately two and a half years later (January-March 2021), we fielded our endline survey round. The survey was administered as a 30-minute computer assisted telephone interviews (CATI) by CVoter enumerators. To boost participation, we offered phone credits worth a month of free calls, text messages, and 1 GB data to participants for taking the survey. Depending on the telephone operator, this cost around INR 169-199 (USD 2.36-2.78). We used the same protocol for two other surveys. First, in early 2021 we contacted the family member listed by the candidates to investigate the within-family spillover effects of the treatment. Second, in early 2019 we conducted a midline survey with both the treatment and control groups, after selection but prior to migration. This midline survey was intended primarily for other outcomes, particularly the anticipated economic effects of migration, and so does not play a major role in this paper. However, we did ask about globalization attitudes. These results can be found in *Appendix F*.

A.4 Treatment: Job Training and Placement

In this section, we provide further details regarding the treatment component related to the training program geared toward employment opportunities abroad. The training program was designed to equip individuals with the skills required to access employment opportunities overseas and overcome logistical barriers to migration. Individuals selected for the program had the opportunity to attend a five-week job training program designed to impart skills that would be useful in hospitality sector employment in GCC countries. Individuals were also informed that upon completion of the program, they would be contacted for employment opportunities by a recruitment firm partnering with the training program.

During the first half of the program, participants attended classroom training sessions administered by a Bangalore-based training firm, Free Climb. This component of the program included modules on restaurant food service, beverage and counter service, and housekeeping. Specifically, the training sessions included instructions on food preparation (e.g., food safety, knife skills, cooking methods, kitchen equipment handling and maintenance), beverage production (e.g., beverage equipment handling, inventory and storage principles, cleaning schedules, safety and accident prevention), counter services (e.g., customer interaction, communication, order-taking principles, cash register control, cleanliness and hygiene), casual dining service (e.g., table set-up, communication, billing standards and cash control, handling of complaints, food handling principles), and housekeeping (e.g., making beds, cleaning guest rooms and baths, re-stocking guest

amenities, handling special requests, managing household equipment), among others. Students attended class five days a week for six hours a day.

In the second half of the program, participants conducted on-the-job training in hotels, restaurants, and fast food chains in Aizawl. Overall, this part of the intervention was designed to upgrade candidates' skills, equipping them with basic knowledge required to demonstrate eligibility for hospitality-sector job opportunities in international destinations at the interview stage. Concurrently, instructors also helped participants prepare resumes and practice interview skills. Resume formats and interview preparations were designed with the input of our Mumbai-based recruitment firm to ensure that participants' job application materials were consistent with GCC hiring standards. To prepare participants for integration into the GCC countries, instructors also provided them with information on regulations and resources abroad. The focus on preparing trainees for jobs abroad distinguished the training program from other skills-training initiatives that were geared toward domestic employment opportunities. Upon completion of the training session, participants were given a course completion certificate.

In the recruitment stage of the intervention, program participants were invited for interviews with several employers. These interviews were organized by our recruitment partner, Vira International. Every program participant was invited to interview, and most were offered multiple opportunities to do so. The vast majority of those who chose to attend interviews received job offers. Following job offers, Vira and our project manager assisted program participants in obtaining passports and medical certifications. The employers were responsible for providing everything else: work visas, airline tickets, and room and board.

A.5 Ethical Considerations

Researchers have both moral and professional obligations to minimize harm and maximize potential benefits for research participants. This section details the steps we took to protect research participants from potential harm in this project. We organize our discussion following the "Principles and Guidance for Human Subjects Research" of the American Political Science Association.

Principle 1: Political science researchers should respect autonomy, consider the wellbeing of participants and other people affected by their research, and be open about the ethical issues they face and the decisions they make when conducting their research. While international employment offers otherwise unattainable economic opportunities for many immigrants, it potentially poses certain costs and risks to their physical or psychological wellbeing. Labor migrants sometimes struggle to integrate into new political and social environments. Relocating for work, especially overseas, requires navigating a complex, often uncertain set of costs and benefits. International employment can be lucrative but it also requires migration-specific knowledge that is difficult to obtain. This explains why individuals who could gain the most from migration often do not migrate (Bryan, Chowdhury and Mobarak, 2014). Specifically, in the context of the GCC, there have been documented instances of migrants facing extortion by recruitment agencies that charge illegal recruitment fees (Sasikumar and Timothy, 2015). Furthermore, Gulf countries have also faced criticism for overlooking employer exploitation, such as the withholding of workers' passports or employers' reneging on promised salaries (Human Rights Watch, 2019). Reports of labor code violations have been concentrated in the construction sector; domestic household workers have also experienced exploitation (Human Rights Watch, 2019).

This study was conceptualized and embedded within the Research & Empirical Analysis of Labor Migration Program (REALM): "Research & Empirical Analysis of Labor Migration Program aims to shed light on the processes that sustain unfair migrant labor by improving our empirical

understanding of the structures and dynamics implicated in recruitment for temporary work in the Gulf region (and, where relevant, elsewhere)." REALM was founded in order to generate scientific knowledge regarding labor migration as a way to remedy labor recruitment practices in the Persian Gulf that are often private, unsupervised, and opaque, and to help develop and promote fairer migrant labor processes that can lead to better outcomes for migrants and their communities.

Within REALM, the goal of our project was to design and evaluate a blueprint for ethical and safe cross-border labor migration, to be used by governments and NGOs in the future. While designing our project, we paid significant consideration to the ethics of the study. We were mindful of the general obligation of researchers "to anticipate and protect participants from trauma stemming from participation in research" (APSA Committee on Human Subjects Research, 2019). We worked closely with our partners to minimize the potential risks and costs that participants might face, to ensure that the benefits of this program flow to participants and their communities, and to protect participants' informed consent (Humphreys, 2015; Teele, 2014).

We situated the study in Mizoram because of the demand for international employment opportunities, both from individuals and from the state government, in this region. The Government of Mizoram's earlier attempts at training and recruitment had drawn large numbers of youth looking for lucrative international work, given the scarcity of employment opportunities within Mizoram. The Government's Mizoram Youth Commission (MYC), the Chief Minister of Mizoram, and several leading Mizo community organizations sought to create recruitment opportunities for Mizo workers in GCC countries, and called upon researchers to assist in scientifically evaluating processes of skills training and overseas placement that were already underway. By helping connect government and community organizations with reputable partners both inside and outside of India, the program enabled local stakeholders to better screen potential employers, protect citizens during their employment tenures abroad, and facilitate migrant integration. Although we (and the government) could not possibly facilitate supervised employment opportunities for *all* individuals seeking employment abroad, our goal was to help the government and NGOs build an ethical template for future skills development and employment placement programs in the region.

Principle 2: Political science researchers have an individual responsibility to consider the ethics of their research-related activities and cannot outsource ethical reflection to review boards, other institutional bodies, or regulatory agencies. This research project has received IRB approval from Columbia University, Stanford University, Dartmouth College, and the US Naval War College. The project proposal was also reviewed by the grant selection committee of the Research & Empirical Analysis of Labor Migration Program and an advisory committee of five social science faculty unaffiliated with the research team. Apart from the formal IRB reviews, we strove to ensure that our involvement minimized risk to participants and that the benefits of the program flowed directly to participants (Teele, 2014; Humphreys, 2015). In particular, we worked closely with New York University–Abu Dhabi Office for Compliance & Risk Management to select an employment sector (hospitality) that is relatively reputable compared to sectors where labor violations had previously been reported (e.g. construction), and to choose a recruitment partner with a long and tested history for fair recruitment practices in the hospitality sector in the Persian Gulf. Additionally, we screened specific employers who participated in the job placement component of the study for reputable labor practices.

Principle 3: These principles describe the standards of conduct and reflexive openness that are expected of political science researchers. In some cases, researchers may have good reasons to deviate from these principles (for example, when the principles

conflict with each other). In such cases, researchers should acknowledge and justify deviations in scholarly publications and presentations of their work. There were no significant deviations from the principles. Below we discuss the ethical considerations that guided our study.

Principle 4: When designing and conducting research, political scientists should be aware of power differentials between researcher and researched, and the ways in which such power differentials can affect the voluntariness of consent and the evaluation of risk and benefit. Given the economic opportunities presented by our program and the potential power imbalances between the research team and the individuals in our study, we took two major steps to protect the sanctity of the informed consent process. First, we decided that PIs would not interact directly with any of the research subjects. We made this decision so as to not put pressure on potential research participants to take part in the program. The main point of contact for subjects was our project manager in Aizawl. The project manager is Mizo, of a similar age and background as the subjects. Most of these interactions happened in person or by phone/WhatsApp, in the Mizo language. Similarly, all surveys and interviews were also conducted by Mizos, by either our project manager or local enumerators hired by the survey firm. Subjects were given the option to conduct the surveys and interviews in either Mizo or English.

Second, the recruitment for the program and the three survey waves created distinct decision points for individuals in which they were informed that they could withdraw from the study without any negative impact. In addition, we did not make participation in the training program a condition for attending overseas job interviews. Consequently, many individuals in the treatment group decided against participating in either the training or placement interviews. In addition to the formal consent processes, we specifically trained our project manager to be honest and clear about the potential costs and benefits in any informal interactions with the participants. Our recruitment partner also conducted extensive information sessions with subjects, in which they were provided information about various aspects related to the risks and benefits of working abroad and in the Persian Gulf in particular. Finally, information sessions about the program conducted by the Mizoram Youth Commission and local community organizations were also designed to provide even-handed information about the risks and opportunities associated with pursuing employment abroad.

Principle 5: Political science researchers should generally seek informed consent from individuals who are directly engaged by the research process, especially if research involves more than minimal risk of harm or if it is plausible to expect that engaged individuals would withhold consent if consent were sought. Subjects were required to provide informed consent prior to participating in the study and had the right to withdraw from the project at any point. Additionally, participants had distinct decision points (from participating in surveys and attending the training program, to sitting for placement interviews and deciding to accept employment contracts) where they were able to reaffirm or withdraw consent. For example, participants were asked to provide informed consent at each survey wave: baseline, midline, and endline. The informed consent process is central to the study design (Humphreys, 2015; APSA Committee on Human Subjects Research, 2019): the participants themselves were the parties most affected by the intervention, and they had clearly marked opportunities throughout the process in which to provide and withdraw consent.

Principle 6: Political science researchers should carefully consider any use of deception and the ways in which deception can conflict with participant autonomy. No deception was used in this study.

Principle 7: Political science researchers should consider the harms associated with their research. One of the major obstacles to fair labor migration is the high costs of migration, often due to illegal recruitment fees (Sasikumar and Timothy, 2015). Prospective migrants may also be subject to the possibility of exploitation overseas. We strived to minimize both of these costs and risks for participants. We designed our skills training and placement program for employment within the hospitality sector, which is relatively reputable, remunerative, and desirable compared to sectors where labor violations had previously been reported (e.g., construction or household work). We worked closely with New York University–Abu Dhabi Office for Compliance & Risk Management to carefully vet project partners and employers. We scrutinized our recruitment partner closely and worked alongside them to screen and assess specific employers that entered the placement program for fair recruitment practices, working conditions, and migrant worker treatment. Employers agreed to charge no recruitment fees, sponsor and guide prospective employees through the work visa authorization process for the receiving country, cover expenses for round-trip flights, visas, and other immigration costs, help recruited workers relocate and find housing abroad, provide competitive salaries and benefits, and enter into labor contracts that permitted workers to switch employers or leave their jobs at any time. All labor contracts were registered with governmental agencies in both home and host countries. To minimize participants' financial obligations, training (including tuition, course materials, and on-the-job training) was provided free of charge. While not all participants may eventually obtain employment in the GCC, their training was deemed broadly useful for jobs in the hospitality sector.

Cognizant of potential power differentials between employees and employers, we strove to empower participants by informing them of their rights and resources in destination countries. The GCC states have passed several decrees in recent years that require employers to cover recruitment expenses (including visas and costs of travel), provide competitive salaries and benefits, and furnish housing and health fees for foreign workers. New reforms allow workers to leave their jobs at any time (subject to contractual obligations) and make it easier for workers to switch employers. Under the new policies in the U.A.E., for instance, prospective migrants sign a standard employment offer in their home country that is registered at the Ministry of Human Resources and Emiratisation (MoHRE) before a work permit is issued. Once the worker arrives in the country, the agreement becomes registered as the contract and no changes are allowed unless the employer extends further benefits to the worker. Our project provided subjects with detailed information regarding the locations and helpline numbers of MoHRE offices. Additionally, the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India has established Indian Workers Resource Centres in GCC countries that provide helplines and conduct awareness classes and counseling programs on legal, financial, and social issues. Our project ensured that subjects were aware of these resources and had access to them. In addition, in order to assist with integration and reintegration, our project provided participants with access to comprehensive information regarding legal and counseling services both in the GCC states and in Mizoram. They were made aware of the option of availing counseling services free of cost (with the cost of these services covered by the project).

We took a number of steps to guarantee that participants were provided extensive information regarding the potential risks associated with international employment before agreeing to participate in the training and recruitment program. Individuals attended information sessions detailing opportunities and challenges associated with overseas employment. During these presentations,

subjects were informed about the potential risks associated with the process of international employment, including the risk of labor law violations by employers. Additionally, we designed the project such that our field research team would follow up regularly with all participants who undertook employment abroad to check on their wellbeing and safety.

Principle 8: Political science researchers should anticipate and protect individual participants from trauma stemming from participation in research. Under Principles 1 and 7, we discussed the steps taken to protect participants from harms stemming from this research project. In addition to providing migrants with information on risks, rights, and resources for working in the GCC, we followed up with subjects regularly outside of the three survey waves.

We wished to ensure that those who received job offers abroad, in particular, did not face harm from employment practices in the GCC. To address this possibility, our local research manager contacted research subjects regularly to make sure that they received help from our recruitment partner in obtaining necessary documents and information prior to migration, that after arrival to the host country employers did not violate their rights, and that during the Covid-19 pandemic they had the resources to return home or to stay in the GCC, according to their wishes. After the endline survey, we also conducted long-form, semi-structured interviews with individual subjects who had migrated abroad in order to better understand the migration experience and to provide access to counselling, if needed. Within these interviews, we specifically asked respondents if they had experienced any discrimination in the workplace and none of the respondents indicated any such experience.

Principle 9: Political science researchers should generally keep the identities of research participants confidential; when circumstances require, researchers should adopt the higher standard of ensuring anonymity. We took steps to keep our participants' identities confidential in this project. Enumerators collected the names and contact information of respondents, but that information was immediately encrypted and uploaded to a secure central server. Only the project investigators and the survey team' project manager were able to access the file linking the encrypted identifying information to the anonymous numerical ID associated with each respondent. In other words, anyone else working on the survey (e.g., enumerators, other employees of the survey firm, etc.), was only able to see a number ID associated with the survey responses. In any reproduction material, we will only make the numerical IDs of respondents available, stripped of any identifying information.

Principle 10: Political science researchers conducting studies on political processes should consider the broader social impacts of the research process as well as the impact on the experience of individuals directly engaged by the research. In general, political science researchers should not compromise the integrity of political processes for research purposes without the consent of individuals that are directly engaged by the research process. Besides the research subjects, one other group of individuals directly impacted by our study was the subjects' family members. Therefore, it was important that families were aware of the process, costs, and benefits of the program. During the registration process, the project manager encouraged subjects to take information home to their families and discuss the opportunity before signing up. We also held public information sessions open to the community, particularly to interested individuals and their families. At these sessions, the project manager, the head of our local NGO training partner, and one of our co-PIs answered any questions, attempting to be as honest as possible about the purpose, costs, and benefits of the program.

Additionally, our study was conducted in conjunction with the Government of Mizoram's Mizoram Youth Commission, with the permission of the Chief Minister of Mizoram, and prominent local community organizations such as the MZP. Receiving government and community buy-in for the study helped ensure that the broader social impacts of the research were understood by relevant stakeholders apart from the research subjects themselves. Note that our study was designed to not interfere with nor compromise the integrity of political processes either in the home country or in any of the host countries.

Principle 11: Political science researchers should be aware of relevant laws and regulations governing their research related activities. Given that India does not have laws about non-clinical human subjects research, the guidelines of the Indian Council of Medical Research to have ethical review boards examine research design were followed by obtaining IRB approval from the home institutions of all members of the research team. In addition, this research project has also complied with all applicable Indian and GCC laws about labor migration by making sure with our recruitment partner that all labor contracts were registered at the appropriate agencies prior to migration. Overall, the program was designed to significantly improve and safeguard recruitment and employment processes for prospective migrants as compared to individuals who decided to migrate on their own accord or through unsupervised private channels. It was anticipated that future government initiatives in the region would be able to benefit from the knowledge generated and the connections created by the program.

A principal reason for working with partners was to ensure that our project followed relevant laws and regulations, both in Mizoram and in the Gulf Region. In Mizoram, we partnered with a state government office (Mizoram Youth Commission) and a local non-governmental organization (SJnDI), who helped us navigate local laws and regulations. In the Gulf Region, our recruitment partner assisted our research subjects in navigating immigration laws and provided legal recourse for any workplace issues. Subjects were also provided a list of counseling services in both Mizoram and the GCC, and were given the option of availing these services with the cost covered by the program budget.

Principle 12: The responsibility to promote ethical research goes beyond the individual researcher or research team. Throughout the research design and implementation phase, we workshopped the research design and solicited feedback on research ethics with scholars in several social scientific scholarly venues, including conferences on migration, gender, and experimental research (notably Evidence in Governance and Politics).

A.6 Cost-Benefit Comparison for Intervention

Lastly, we conducted a rough estimate of the costs and benefits of our training and recruitment program. This is valuable for two reasons. First, it acts as an impact evaluation for the program as an economic development intervention. Second, it helps inform the discussion of ethical considerations to weigh the benefits for candidates against the costs for researchers.

For costs, we estimated all major costs of conducting the training and recruitment program in 2018 and 2019. This did not include, for example, the costs of the surveys and the time of the research team. It did, however, include travel costs for researchers and for the training program team, as well as all costs for training and placement.

For benefits, we used the endline survey's estimates of monthly wages in the treatment and control groups. On average, individuals in the treatment group had monthly wages approximately

5,650 INR higher at endline than those in the control group. We extrapolated this number, therefore, over the full treatment and control groups and estimated the increase in wages per year.

Overall, we estimate that the program generated about 900 USD per person per year in benefits to candidates against just over 200 USD per person in costs. Despite only about 20% of the treatment group moving overseas for work, the intervention was extremely cost-effective overall.

Table A.1: Costs and Benefits of the Program

Costs of Intervention	
Training Program (USD)	22,200
Location Rental for Training (USD)	4,000
Advertising & Registration Costs (USD)	1,000
Visa & Certification Assistance for Candidates (USD)	1,700
One Year of Salary for Program Manager (USD)	8,000
Travel Costs for Research Team (USD)	6,000
Total Cost (USD)	**42,900**
Cost Per Person (USD)	**219**
Benefits (Per Year)	
Monthly Wages Increase Per Person (INR)	5,650
Yearly Wages Increase Per Person (INR)	**67,800**
Yearly Wages Increase Per Person (USD)	**904**

B Balance and Attrition

B.1 Balance Table

The following regressions attempt to predict treatment status by pre-treatment covariates, among each of the three sample stages (the job candidates both pre-treatment and post-treatment, and the household members post-treatment). The covariates include both demographic characteristics and pre-treatment measures of key outcome variables. We find little evidence of significant differences between treatment and control group in any of the three survey stages, even after attrition. In fact, the treatment groups were remarkably balanced. Just one of the ten pre-treatment covariates predicted treatment status, and only on the endline survey. This 1/30 is lower than the expected false-positive rate of .05, and any pre-treatment imbalances should be accounted for in the main statistical analysis. Overall, the omnibus F-test (p-values at the bottom) shows that even the combination of all ten variables provides no predictive value on treatment group on any of the three surveys. This balance is partly because the subjects were grouped into demographically similar pairs for treatment assignment – when this is considered (in the RI-based F-test), the p-values become less strikingly high.

Table A.2: Balance Test for Three Surveys

	Dependent variable: Treatment Group		
	Baseline	Endline	Household
Age	−0.009	−0.004	−0.011
	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Male	−0.005	−0.045	−0.044
	(0.053)	(0.066)	(0.060)
Education	0.025	0.063	0.013
	(0.032)	(0.040)	(0.035)
Employed	−0.024	−0.066	−0.053
	(0.077)	(0.102)	(0.092)
Scheduled Tribe	−0.042	−0.073	−0.063
	(0.122)	(0.165)	(0.133)
Married	0.120	0.314	0.124
	(0.200)	(0.311)	(0.263)
English Ability	−0.003	0.0004	−0.005
	(0.025)	(0.032)	(0.029)
Pre:Income	0.001	0.015	0.013
	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.016)
Pre:Tolerance	0.033	0.063†	0.018
	(0.026)	(0.032)	(0.029)
Pre:Migration Support	0.020	−0.002	0.009
	(0.026)	(0.035)	(0.030)
Observations	389	248	303
F-Test P-Value	.942	.594	.967
F-Test P-Value (RI)	.777	.422	.921
Note:		†p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01	

B.2 Tests for Attrition Bias

In addition to the balance tests before and after treatment (and attrition), we also conducted two tests for attrition bias in the endline and household surveys.

First, we tested whether attrition was greatly affected by treatment assignment itself – i.e. whether the differences in response rates between the treatment and control groups are larger than

what might be expected based purely on chance. There is no significant evidence that treatment is affecting response rate in the main survey, but there is evidence that the treatment may have decreased response rates in the household survey. In the main candidate survey, the treatment group had a slightly higher response rate (66% vs. 61%), but this is fully within the normal range of variation. The p-values suggest that under the null hypothesis we would expect a larger difference between the treatment and control groups in approximately 30% of cases. In the household survey, however, the control group households responded at a significantly higher rate (84% vs. 70%), which is statistically significant at a $p < .01$ level. This suggests that there may be some attrition bias resulting from differential response rates.

Table A.3: Response Rates: Treatment vs. Control Group

	Endline	***Household***
Response Rate: Treatment Group	65.8 %	70.4%
Response Rate: Control Group	60.7 %	84.2%
Difference in Response Rate	5.1 %	13.8%
P-Value: Two-Sample T-Test	.296	.001
P-Value: RI-based Test	.268	.002

We also tested whether response rates for the endline and household surveys were affected by any pre-treatment covariates. For each survey, we ran three regressions predicting survey response based on pre-treatment covariates. The first column predicts response rates based on the seven key demographic covariates. The second column adds in pre-treatment measures of key outcomes of the experiment: income, intercultural tolerance, and support for migration. Not included here are similar analyses testing whether these covariates differentially affect response in treatment and control groups.

Here, again, there is no evidence that attrition in the endline survey was systematic, but some suggestive evidence that household survey responses may have been. In the endline survey, there were just three predictive covariates out of all the models (which is consistent with a .05 false-positive rate), and the omnibus F-test suggests that the model as a whole is no more predictive of response rates than randomly-generated covariates would be (with p-values between .2 and .5). In the household survey, there was slight evidence that respondents were different from non-respondents, though it was statistically marginal (with p-values between .04 and .08). In particular, there may be a reasonable concern that respondents for the household survey were significantly less likely to be from households where the candidate had a job in the first place – though this was not substantially different in the treatment and control groups.

Table A.4: Predictors of Response Rate

	Endline Response		*Household Response*	
Age	0.001	0.001	0.010	0.011
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Education	0.018	0.017	0.023	0.023
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Scheduled Tribe	0.123	0.128	−0.057	−0.049
	(0.116)	(0.117)	(0.100)	(0.100)
Pre:Employed	−0.098	−0.096	−0.128*	−0.146*
	(0.072)	(0.073)	(0.062)	(0.063)
Married	−0.137	−0.137	−0.191	−0.193
	(0.190)	(0.191)	(0.163)	(0.163)
Male	−0.031	−0.035	−0.019	−0.012
	(0.050)	(0.051)	(0.043)	(0.043)
English	0.043†	0.040†	0.031	0.028
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Pre:Income		0.014		0.013
		(0.014)		(0.012)
Pre:Tolerance		0.004		0.030
		(0.024)		(0.021)
Pre:Migration		0.013		−0.017
		(0.025)		(0.021)
Observations	389	384	389	389
F-Stat P-Value	.314	.483	.080†	.085†
Note:	†p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01			

C Key Outcome Questions

Table A.5: Questions: Intercultural Tolerance

Question	**Options**
Could you tell me whether your general feeling about each group of people is positive or negative?:	Very positive Somewhat positive
Indians from Mainland	Neither positive nor negative
European people	Somewhat negative
Bangladeshi people	Very negative
Pakistani people	
Middle Eastern people	
Would it be acceptable to you if someone in your family married someone of a different ethnic group (e.g. non-Mizo)?	Yes No

Table A.6: Questions: Internationalism

Question	**Options**
On balance, how do you think international trade affects people's lives around the world?	Improves them a lot Improves them a little Does not affect them much Hurts them a little Hurts them a lot
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Peace with Pakistan is important for India's future.	Agree strongly Agree somewhat Neither agree nor disagree Disagree somewhat Disagree strongly
On balance, how do you think people migrating from one country to another affects people's lives around the world	Improves them a lot Improves them a little Does not affect them much Hurts them a little Hurts them a lot
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The Government of Mizoram should work to prevent people from migrating from Bangladesh into Mizoram?	Agree strongly Agree somewhat Neither agree nor disagree Disagree somewhat Disagree strongly

Table A.7: Questions: Identity

Question	**Options**
People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Which of the following statements do you agree with most?	I see myself as a citizen of the world I see myself as part of the Indian nation I see myself as a Mizo. I see myself as part of my local community I see myself as an individual.

D Main Results

Table A.8: Full Results: Migration

	Diff-in-Means			OLS			
	Ctrl	***Treat***	***P(RI)***	***ATE***	***P(RI)***	***P(OLS)***	***N***
Moved Overseas	.03	.23	.000	+ .20	.000	.000	248
Training Program	.43	.58	.011	+ .14	.009	.012	245
Job Offer	.08	.34	.000	+ .26	.000	.000	231
Moved in India*	.32	.13	.000	− .19	.000	.000	247

Table A.9: Full Results: Intercultural Contact

	Diff-in-Means			OLS		2SLS			
	Ctrl	***Treat***	***P(RI)***	***ATE***	***P(RI)***	***P***	***CACE***	***P***	***N***
Contact Index	—	.481	.001	+ .487	.001	.001	+ 2.447	.000	248
Meal w/ Non-Christian	2.28	2.61	.032	+ .34	.031	.032	+ 1.71	.021	248
Meal w/ Non-Mizo	2.18	2.66	.003	+ .49	.002	.003	+ 2.50	.001	248
Meal w/ Non-Indian	1.49	2.13	.000	+ .64	.000	.000	+ 3.16	.000	247
Work w/ Non-Christian	2.79	2.99	.130	+ .20	.131	.141	+ .99	.128	248
Work w/ Non-Mizo	2.72	2.98	.074	+.27	.070	.068	+ 1.34	.051	248
Work w/ Non-Indian	1.59	2.26	.000	+ .67	.000	.000	+ 3.34	.000	247

All items are measured from 1 (never) to 5 (every day).

Table A.10: Full Results: Intercultural Tolerance

	Diff-in-Means			OLS		2SLS			
	Ctrl	***Treat***	***P(RI)***	***ATE***	***P(RI)***	***P***	***CACE***	***P***	***N***
Tolerance Index	—	.371	.002	+.354	.004	.003	+ 1.79	.006	248
OK to Marry Non-Mizo	.52	.65	.022	+.13	.022	.018	+ .64	.026	248
View of Bangladeshis	2.95	3.08	.051	+.13	.041	.043	+ .66	.047	248
View of Pakistanis	2.90	3.01	.076	+.11	.072	.071	+ .56	.075	248
View of Middle Easterners	3.01	3.23	.001	+.21	.002	.001	+ 1.04	.004	248
View of Europeans	3.14	3.25	.046	+.11	.045	.051	+ .54	.050	248

Items 2-5 are measured from 1 (Very negative) to 5 (Very positive).

Table A.11: Raw Means: Intercultural Tolerance

	Pre		Post	
	T	***C***	***T***	***C***
OK to Marry Non-Mizo	.50	.47	.65	.52
View of Bangladeshis	3.03	2.89	3.08	2.95
View of Pakistanis	2.90	2.83	3.01	2.90
View of Middle Easterners	3.21	3.17	3.22	3.01
View of Europeans	3.43	3.39	3.25	3.14

Items 2-5 are measured from 1 (Very negative) to 5 (Very positive).

Table A.12: Full Results: Support for Globalization and Cosmopolitanism

	Diff-in-Means			OLS			2SLS		
	Ctrl	***Treat***	***P(RI)***	***ATE***	***P(RI)***	***P***	***CACE***	***P***	***N***
Cooperation Index	—	.231	.038	+ .231	.038	.039	+ 1.16	.051	248
Trade Improves Lives	4.04	4.27	.023	+ .23	.023	.022	+ 1.14	.027	248
Peace w/ Pakistan	3.87	3.98	.206	+ .12	.179	.180	+ .62	.191	248
Migration Index	—	.125	.156	+ .123	.161	.164	+ .61	.164	248
Migration Improves Lives	3.39	3.47	.279	+ .08	.278	.269	+ .40	.268	248
Bangladeshi Migration	2.66	2.78	.194	+ .11	.198	.207	+ .55	.209	248
Intl News Interest	—	.212	.063	+ .211	.066	.067	+ 1.06	.072	248
World Citizen	.14	.23	.027	+ .10	.025	.025	+ .48	.028	247

First four items are measured from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree).

Table A.13: Full Results: National vs. Regional Identity

	Diff-in-Means			OLS			2SLS		
	Ctrl	***Treat***	***P(RI)***	***ATE***	***P(RI)***	***P***	***CACE***	***P***	***N***
View of Mainland Indians	3.22	3.39	.021	+ .17	.017	.020	+ .86	.029	248
Identify as Indian vs. Mizo	2.26	2.17	.526	+.05	.867	.872	+.26	.871	247
Less Autonomy for Mizoram	2.93	3.04	.481	+ .11	.487	.498	+ .54	.502	248
Support Domestic Migration	1.92	2.09	.243	+ .16	.250	.234	+ .82	.247	248
Natl News Interest	1.53	1.71	.015	+.18	.012	.012	+.90	.022	248

Items 1-4 are measured from 1 (Strongly Disagree or Very Negative) to 5 (Strongly Agree or Very Positive). Item 5 is measured from 1 (not at all interested) to 3 (very interested). Note: we did not specify a effect direction on these national vs. regional identity outcomes in our pre-analysis plan, as we found theoretical reasons for either direction. Therefore, all p-values are two-sided.

E Multiple Comparisons Analysis

As specified in the pre-analysis plan, we also provide a Benjamini-Hochberg false discovery rate analysis for the sub-hypotheses – except for the cosmopolitan identity hypothesis, which was listed separately. The below analysis uses a conservative false discovery rate of $Q < .05$. The correction does not flag any otherwise statistically significant results. That is, the same 3 of 5 results that fall below the $p < .05$ significance level on their own also fall below the B-H corrected significance threshold. Meanwhile, the one additional result that meets the $p < .10$ significance level (Interest in International Politics) would also meet the B-H corrected threshold with a corresponding false discovery rate of $Q < .10$.

Table A.14: Benjamini-Hochberg Correction, International Hypotheses

	P-Value	*Target*
H6a: Intercultural Contact	.001	.01
H6b: Intercultural Tolerance	.004	.02
H6c: Support for Intl Cooperation	.038	.03
H6e: Interest in Intl Politics	.066	.04
H6d: Support for Intl Migration	.166	.05

F Mechanism Tests

Figure A.2: Change over Time in Tolerance, Migrants vs. Non-Migrants

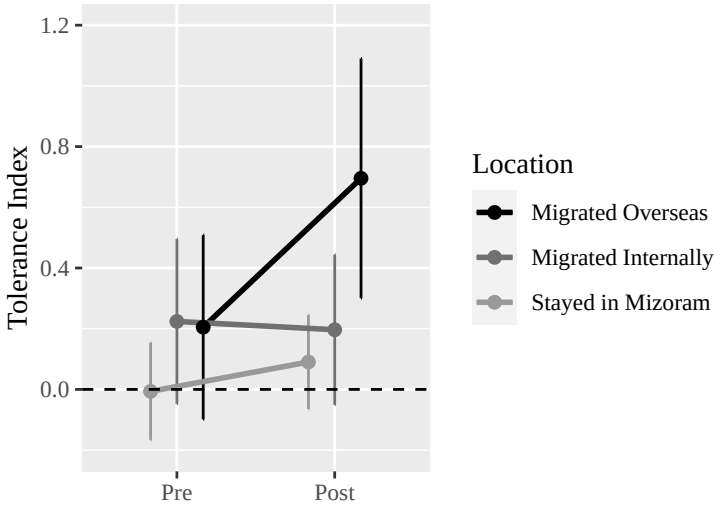


Table A.15: Effect of Training Attendance, Control Group Only

	Dependent variable:				
	Tolerance	Cooperation	Migration	News	Citizen
Training	0.262	0.213	0.066	0.189	0.095
	(0.171)	(0.186)	(0.190)	(0.185)	(0.064)
Baseline Outcome	0.193*	0.021	0.007	−0.058	−0.029
	(0.088)	(0.100)	(0.093)	(0.102)	(0.068)
Controls?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Obs.	118	118	118	118	117

Note: †p<0.1; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Demographic controls: Age, Gender, Employment Status, Marriage status, Education level, Scheduled Tribe Status. Tolerance: Index of tolerance measures. Cooperation: Index of support for international cooperation. Migration: Index of support for international migration. News: Index of interest in international news. Citizen: Identify primarily as "citizen of the world."

Table A.16: Midline Results: Attitudes toward Globalization

	Diff-in-Means			OLS			
	Ctrl	***Treat***	***P(RI)***	***ATE***	***P(RI)***	***P***	***N***
Cooperation Index	.000	-.020	.567	-.017	.556	.559	288
Trade Improves Lives	4.35	4.26	.836	-.09	.830	.829	288
Encourage FDI	.69	.74	.208	+.06	.189	.191	288
Migration Index	—	.020	.435	+ .028	.411	.407	287
Migration Improves Lives	3.65	3.68	.434	+ .04	.394	.394	238
Support Migration into India	1.51	1.52	.462	-.00	.492	.500	287

Table A.17: Estimates of Direct Effects, Holding Wages Constant

	OLS		ACDE	
	ATE	SE	ACDE	SE
Tolerance	+.35	.13	+.32	.13
Cosmopolitan Identity	+.10	.05	+.08	.05
Support for Intl Cooperation	+.23	.13	+.29	.14
Support for Intl Migration	+.12	.13	+.06	.13
Interest in Intl News	+.21	.14	+.23	.14

ACDE (Acharya et al., 2016) is the estimate of the effect of the treatment on each outcome holding constant the increase in wages. Cosmopolitan identity is measured in percentage points, others are measured in standard deviations of the DV.

G Representativeness and External Validity

We begin by probing how our experimental sample compares to other samples of overseas migrants in India and Asia. Next, we evaluate external validity concerns by considering whether treatment effects might vary across different populations and contexts, what Egami and Hartman (2022) term "X-validity" and "C-validity" concerns, respectively.

G.1 Representativeness

To what degree is our experimental sample and context representative of migration from India, the world's largest source of emigrants? In this section, we characterize India's overseas migrant population using data in the Kerala Migration Study (KMS),[18] a comprehensive household survey of the South Indian state of Kerala that has some of India's highest historic rates of out-migration, and overseas migrants in the Indian Human Development Survey (IHDS),[19] a nationally representative survey of Indian citizens. We do so to assess the extent to which our sample conforms to the demographic traits of the country's overseas migrant population. Additionally, we analyze data from the World Values Survey (Round 7), which is one of the few existing nationally representative global surveys that collects information regarding the immigration status of respondents, and the countries of origin for immigrants.

We first compare the profiles of migrants involved in overseas migration and non-migrants. Across both the KMS and IHDS datasets, cross-border migrants are younger, more likely to belong to minority and historically disadvantaged religions, and more likely to have higher educational qualifications than non-migrants (see Table A.18). Similar to subjects in our study, overseas migrants from Kerala are considerably more likely than non-migrants to have completed secondary

[18] Zachariah, Kunniparambil Curien, and S. Irudaya Rajan. "Kerala migration study 2014." Economic and Political Weekly (2016): 66-71.

[19] Desai, Sonalde, Reeve Vanneman and National Council of Applied Economic Research. India Human Development Survey-II (IHDS-II), 2011-12. Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2018-08-08. https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR36151.v6

education (75 vs 52 percent). This is also true in the IHDS data: overseas migrants from India are 10 percentage points more likely to have completed high school than the general population. Kerala migrants are also significantly more likely to hail from religious minority communities compared to non-migrants (64 vs 45 percent). The IHDS data similarly shows that 26 percent of overseas Indian migrants are Muslim or Christian, compared to the population-wide Muslim or Christian rate of 16 percent. Finally, like in our study, overseas migrants in both the KMS and IHDS data were younger than the average non-migrant.

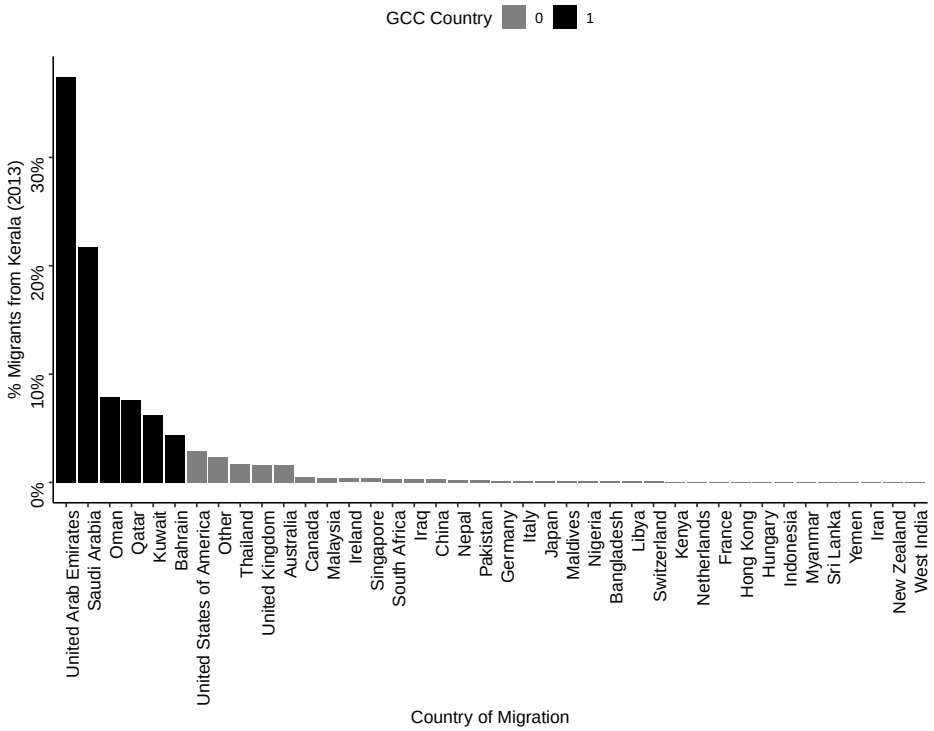
Table A.18: Characteristics of Overseas Migrants in IHDS and KMS

	IHDS		KMS	
	Gen. Pop.	Overseas Migrants	Gen. Pop.	Overseas Migrants
Age <30	0.57	0.36	0.46	0.81
Age: 31-50	0.25	0.60	0.28	0.19
Age >50	0.18	0.04	0.26	0.01
Male	0.50	0.95	0.47	0.86
At least 10th Standard Educ.	0.23	0.32	0.52	0.75
Minority Religion	0.16	0.26	0.45	0.64

IHDS and KMS asks different questions about migrant's age. While IHDS asks about the current age of migrant household members, KMS asks about age at first migration.

We next assess whether key contextual factors in our study are common in broader out-migration flows from India and Asia. Our study focused on migration from India to autocratic countries in the Persian Gulf. The KMS data provides a breakdown of the destination countries of overseas migrants; as Appendix Figure A.3 shows, the top 6 destination countries for Kerala's migrants are GCC countries, and migrants to these countries far outnumber migrants to democracies such as the United States and United Kingdom. Additionally, the KMS data shows that the average number of return migrants per household was more than half the average number of migrants per household, indicating that circular migration, like in our study, is common in the Kerala context. This is also true of the IHDS data, which shows that the average overseas migrant from India returned home after 20 months, similar to our study.

Figure A.3: Destination Countries of Kerala Migrants



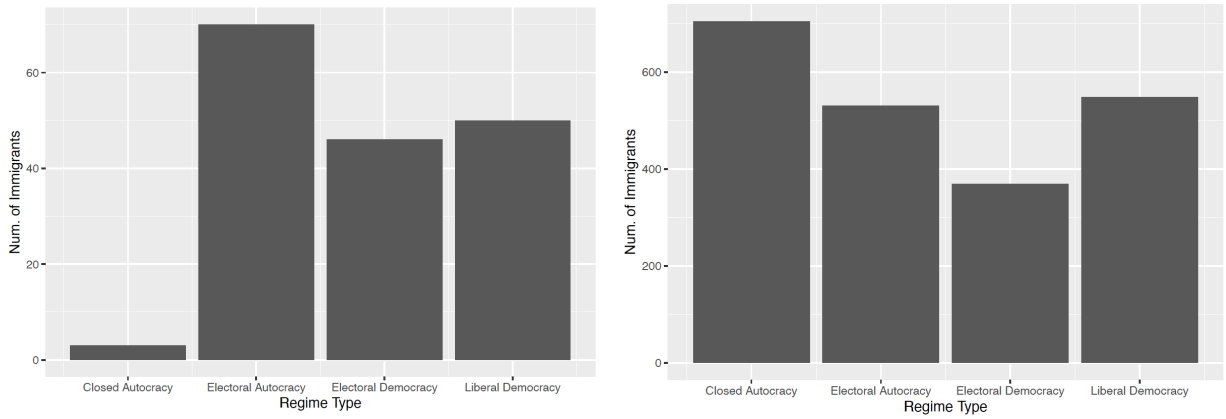
Kerala Migration Survey Round (2013)

These patterns are corroborated in the WVS data.[20] As Appendix Figure A.4a shows, significant proportions of immigrants from India tend to reside in autocratic nations, as defined by the Varieties of Democracy database;[21] Appendix Figure A.4b, which considers immigrants from Asia as a whole, shows that more immigrants from Asia reside in autocratic nations than in democratic nations.

[20] Haerpfer, C., Inglehart, R., Moreno, A., Welzel, C., Kizilova, K., Diez-Medrano J., M. Lagos, P. Norris, E. Ponarin & B. Puranen (eds.). 2022. World Values Survey: Round Seven - Country-Pooled Datafile Version 5.0. Madrid, Spain & Vienna, Austria: JD Systems Institute & WVSA Secretariat. doi:10.14281/18241.20

[21] Coppedge, Michael, John Gerring, Carl Henrik Knutsen, StaffanI Lindberg, Jan Teorell, David Altman, Michael Bernhard, Agnes Cornell, M. Steven Fish, Lisa Gastaldi, Haakon Gjerløw, Adam Glynn, Sandra Grahn, Allen Hicken, Katrin Kinzelbach, Kyle L. Marquardt, Kelly McMann, Valeriya Mechkova, Anja Neundorf, Pamela Paxton, Daniel Pemstein, Oskar Rydén, Johannesvon Römer, Brigitte Seim, Rachel Sigman,Svend-Erik Skaaning, Jeffrey Staton, Aksel Sundström, Eitan Tzelgov, Luca Uberti, Yi-ting Wang, Tore Wig, and Daniel Ziblatt. 2023. "V-DemCodebookv13" Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project.

Figure A.4: Immigrants, by Political System of Destination Countries



(a) Immigrants from India

(b) Immigrants from Asia

Taken together, analyses of existing datasets on overseas migrants reveals that although our experimental sample is far from representative of India's general population, it generalizes to India's overseas migrant population with respect to age, minority status, and educational qualifications. Additionally, key contextual factors in our study, such as migration to autocracies and circular migration, feature commonly in broader cross-border patterns in India and Asia.

G.2 Individual-Level (X-Validity) Concerns

"X-validity" concerns relate to the idea that the composition of subjects in experimental samples often varies from those in target populations (Egami and Hartman, 2022). The subjects in our study were relatively young and educated, and largely hailed from minority backgrounds. How might the findings from this sample generalize to other population groups? It is plausible, for example, that minorities' own experiences with discrimination in the home society might moderate the effect of overseas migration on contact and tolerance. Education and age might similarly moderate the effect of migration on attitudinal change.

We investigated X-validity concerns empirically by testing for heterogeneous effects within the sample to assess potential effects outside of the sample. First, looking at pairwise interactions, we found no significant interactions between treatment effects and demographic and socio-economic characteristics of respondents: age, gender, tribe, religion, education level, employment status, and baseline income (see Appendix Table A.19). There is no significant evidence, in other words, that members of underrepresented groups were more (or less) affected by the treatment than others.

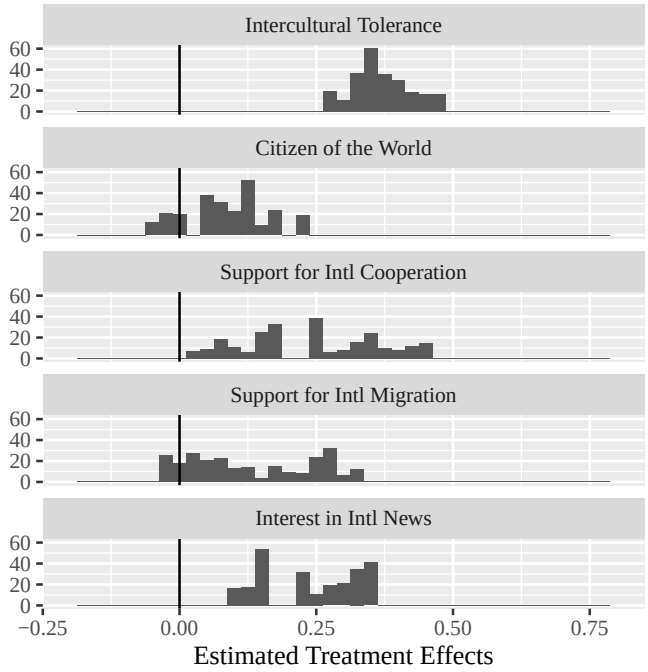
Table A.19: Pairwise Heterogeneous Effects

	Tolerance	Cooperation	Migration	News Interest	World Citizen
Age	0.31	-0.45	-1.32	-0.48	0.45
Gender	0.97	-1.42	0.32	-0.10	-0.80
Education	-0.42	-0.54	-1.12	-1.57	0.74
Employed	0.87	1.35	0.03	0.25	-0.23
ST	0.38	-1.81	1.75	-0.69	1.42
Christian	0.84	0.19	1.65	0.70	0.21
Wages	0.11	0.69	-0.09	0.41	-0.02

T-Statistics of pairwise interaction terms between treatment and key covariates for each main outcome.

Second, we used machine-learning estimators to investigate heterogeneity agnostically, following Devaux and Egami (2022), which proposes estimating individual-level treatment effects for all individuals in the sample based on estimates of the heterogenous effects of the treatment using all pre-treatment covariates. The results, presented in Appendix Figure A.5, generally show very little systematic heterogeneity in the treatment effects—particularly with effects on tolerance—which suggests that the treatment would not have different effects for individuals with different socio-economic profiles.

Figure A.5: Estimated Treatment Effects for Each Subject



Predicted treatment effects for each individual in our sample, estimated using **`exr`** *package (CRAN). Machine-learning algorithm estimates heterogeneity of treatment effect using all pre-treatment covariates, then predicts treatment effect for each unit.*

Given that the majority of our sample were ethno-religious minorities, it is difficult to definitively assess the effect of minority status, which could proxy for prior experience with discrimination at home, using this data. For individuals with less experience with discrimination, the effect of migration on tolerance might be less strong than its effect among minorities, although we still hypothesize a positive effect. On the one hand, majority-group members do not necessarily benefit as much from migration as minority-group members, for whom migration offers an avenue to escape discriminatory structures in domestic labor markets. Hence, migration might foster more tolerance among discriminated minorities than among majority group members. On the other hand, if majority group members are more intolerant to begin with because they benefit from ethnic hierarchies in their home society, they might stand to register the biggest increases in tolerance from contact with ethnic outgroups in foreign societies. Future work that explicitly compares the treatment effects of migration among majority- and minority-group migrants (for example, by block sampling across these demographic groups) can better adjudicate the extent to which minority status moderates the impact of migration on tolerance.

G.3 Site-Level (C-Validity) Concerns

"C-validity" concerns question whether experimental results based on one site can generalize to other contexts (Egami and Hartman, 2022). How generalizable are our study's findings from the India-GCC migration corridor to other types of migration flows? For example, is the effect of migration on tolerance similar in the case of migration to democracies? C-validity concerns are very difficult to address empirically with only one context. Due to constraints stemming from resources, logistical capabilities, ethical considerations, and policy environments, we were unable to replicate our study in other cross-border migration contexts; indeed, the intensive and focused nature of our efforts were necessary to successfully induce migration in contrast to the null effects on migration interventions reported in prior work (Beam et al., 2016).

Nevertheless, based on insights gleaned from theory and fieldwork, we propose a set of key site-level, contextual factors that potentially moderate the effects of overseas migration. In Appendix Table A.20, we hypothesize the effect of migration on tolerance in a range of different migration contexts, and offer suggestions for research designs that can be employed in future work seeking to study the effects of migration in these alternate contexts. For example, we conjecture that in cases of migration to democracies, holding all else constant, migration should have a stronger positive effect on tolerance because migrants encounter relatively more liberal societies, polities and legal systems, and open media environments that promote diversity. We predict that long-term migration, as opposed to the short-term migration analyzed in our study, should also spur strong positive effects because immigrants are predicted to develop longer-time horizons and in turn make additional efforts to integrate, come into contact with, and tolerate others in host societies. Yet migration to countries that offer a pathway to citizenship for immigrants, unlike the contexts in our study, might engender mixed effects. This is because the positive effects of immigrants' longer-time horizons might be offset by new forms of backlash from natives fearful of the impacts of immigration on electoral politics (Dancygier, 2010).

Table A.20: Key Contextual Factors, Predicted Effects, and Suggested Designs

Context	**Hypothesized Effect on Tolerance**	**Suggested Study Sites and/or Research Designs**
Migration to democracies	Stronger positive effect because migrants encounter liberal societies, polities, legal systems, and open media environments	Study Sites: Migration from Global South countries to western, liberal democracies. Research Design: Effect of winning lottery of H1B high-skilled employment visas in United States on migrants' tolerance levels.
Longer-term migration	Stronger positive effect because migrants develop longer-term horizons and invest in host society integration	Research Design: Comparing effects of migration in countries that permit longer-term versus shorter-term employment contracts, holding political systems in host countries constant.
Migration with pathway to citizenship	Mixed effects because positive effects of immigrants' longer-term horizons might be offset by backlash by natives' electoral competition with migrants (Dancygier, 2010)	Research Design in democracies: Effect of winning lottery of diversity Green Cards in United States. Research Design in autocracies: Comparing migrants with and without citizenship in the UAE and Saudi Arabia, which both now offer citizenship to some categories of high-skilled migrants.
Migration in other employment sectors	Stronger positive effect for sectors with more contact; weaker/negative effect for sectors with restricted contact because contact is the key mechanism by which we find tolerance to increase	Research Design: Studying effects of migration in sectors with more contact (e.g., doctors and nurses) versus less contact (e.g., domestic help).
Migration resulting in segregation and "ethnic enclaves"	Mixed effects because migrants have fewer opportunities for contact with native-born, offset by ethnic networks fostering the socio-economic integration of migrants (Martén et al., 2019)	Research Design: Effect of winning residential lotteries for immigrants in public housing. Distinguishing between homogeneous immigrant neighborhoods and mixed-country-of-origin immigrant neighborhoods where migrants have routine contact with out-groups.
Family-based migration	Weaker positive or negative effects because family-based migration typically results in less employment-based contact than labor migration	Research Design: Comparing changes in tolerance for migrants receiving Green Cards based through family and employment eligibility criteria in the United States
Nativism or prejudice in host society	Weaker positive or negative effect because migrants face greater hostility from the native-born	Research Design: Comparing tolerance levels among Syrian refugees and Ukrainian refugees in western European nations

Sectoral dynamics might also moderate the impact of migration. Our study focused on

migration into the customer-facing hospitality sector. We predict that migrants in other interactive occupations—such as doctors, nurses, and retail and entertainment workers—are likely to experience positive effects due to the higher likelihood of contact with outgroup members in host societies. At the same time, labor migration in sectors such as domestic work that are relatively less interactive might offer migrants fewer opportunities for intergroup contact.

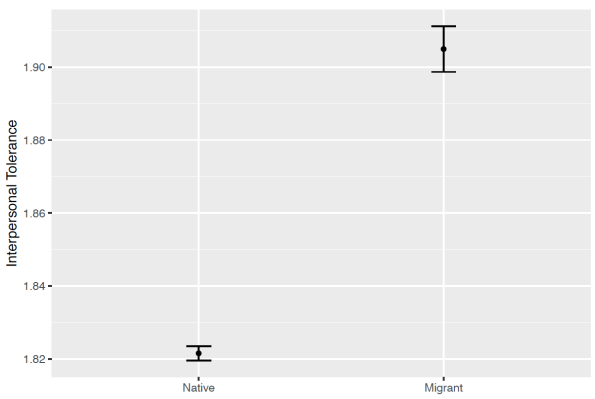
Migrants' living arrangements are likely also to be important. In our study, employers provided living quarters in which workers lived in essentially identical conditions to their peers. Residential proximity, also common in sectors such as mining, agriculture, and construction, plausibly fosters heightened contact and tolerance. By contrast, migration that results in residential and educational segregation and the creation of "ethnic enclaves" are likely to offer migrants fewer opportunities for contact and attitudinal change, although we note that research suggests that ethnic networks can help foster the socio-economic integration of migrants (Martén et al., 2019). A similar logic applies to family-based migration relative to employment-based migration, to the extent that family migration offers fewer institutionalized opportunities for cross-cultural contact.

Finally, we consider migration contexts in which migrants encounter heightened nativism in the host societies. Migrants potentially face greater hostility by natives in settings where natives view migrants as permanently altering the social makeup of the country. In such settings, the effect of migration on migrants' tolerance levels is predicted to be lower than in cases where nativism or anti-migrant prejudice is less pronounced. We note that since nativism is itself endogenous to many factors, it is difficult to empirically disentangle the effect of nativism on migrants' tolerance.

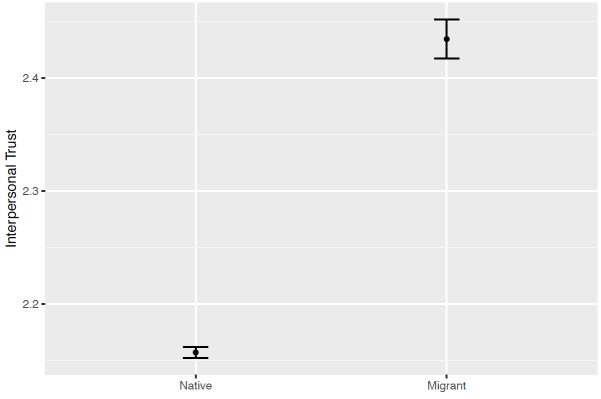
This list of contextual factors is not intended to be exhaustive; additional theoretical and empirical work is needed to ascertain whether and in which direction contextual elements condition the effects of migration. The study sites and research designs that we have proposed delineate avenues for future research seeking to investigate whether and how context matters for the effect of migration on migrant attitudes.

We conclude by leveraging the WVS data to probe some of these contextual claims in an observational manner. In particular, we analyze mean levels of intergroup tolerance and trust across natives and immigrants. We find that immigrants are significantly more likely to display higher levels of tolerance (Appendix Figure A.6a) and trust (Appendix Figure A.6b) than natives. These findings are in line with out theoretical contentions about the positive effect of migration of migrants' levels of tolerance and prior empirical work finding that migration can generate inter-ethnic discord among the native born. Additionally, when evaluating tolerance and trust levels amongst immigrants in autocratic and democratic nations, we find that immigrants are significantly more likely to express greater levels of tolerance and trust in democratic destination countries than in autocratic destination countries.

Figure A.6: Intergroup Tolerance and Trust, by Native and Immigrant Status

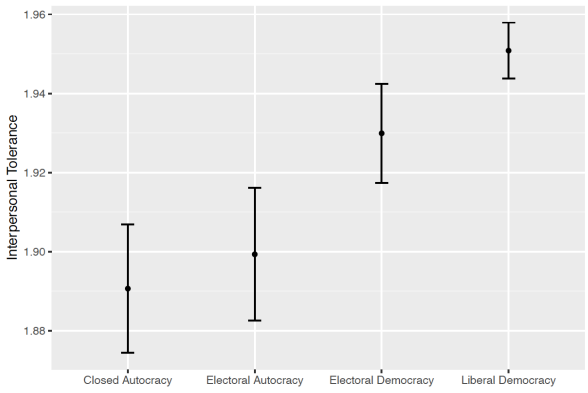


(a) Intergroup Tolerance

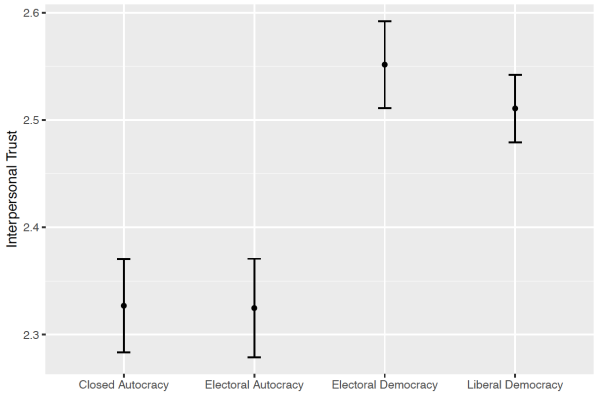


(b) Intergroup Trust

Figure A.7: Tolerance and Trust among Immigrants, by Host Country Political System



(a) Intergroup Tolerance



(b) Intergroup Trust

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