Contagious Prejudice: The Marocchinate*

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Abstract

During World War II, French Moroccan troops performed numerous acts of (sexual) violence against the Italian population, known in Italy as the Marocchinate. We demonstrate that these events led to contagion in prejudice: They triggered a pronounced shift to the far right following the recent mass influx of migrants from Syria, the Middle East and Northern Africa. Survey results provide no evidence of intergenerational transmission of attitudes but identify selective recall of collective memory as a likely channel.

JEL codes: N34, N44, D72, D91

Keywords: collective memory, contagion, WWII, associative recall

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1 Introduction

In 2025, the far right enjoyed greater support in Europe and much of the Western World than ever before (The Economist, 2025). Increasing flows of migrants and refugees fleeing crises in and outside Europe have amplified prejudice and animosities towards these out-groups (Czymara, 2021). Research in economics, psychology, sociology, and political science in recent years has sought to better understand how exposure to specific out-groups affects attitudes toward them and how those attitudes persist over time (Voigtländer and Voth, 2012; Schindler and Westcott, 2021; Bursztyn et al., 2024). At the same time, recent work has established that persistence of attitudes (or how attitudes are mapped into actions) does not necessarily translate into time-constant effects, as unrelated events can instead reactivate collective memory and generate renewed animosities when they occur (Cantoni et al., 2019; Fouka and Voth, 2023; Ochsner and Roesel, 2024). While these studies aim to explain the persistence of prejudicial attitudes towards the *same* out-group, why people feel negatively towards *other* out-groups with which they have little or no prior direct experience remains an open question.

This paper uses a unique historical event to examine how resentful actions by one group affect attitudes toward another group decades later. During World War II (WWII), Moroccan (and Algerian) troops formed the French Expeditionary Corps (FEC), part of the Allied effort to liberate Italy. As these troops progressed through Italy, FEC soldiers committed numerous atrocities, engaging in large-scale acts of sexual violence against local women. In total, between 3,000 and 12,000 women became rape victims (Le Gac, 2013; Baris, 2007), although higher values have also been reported. These events have entered the collective memory of many Italians as the Marocchinate (Moroccan deeds) and were even depicted in the Academy Award-winning 1960 film *Two Women*, which propelled Sophia Loren to worldwide fame.

We leverage these traumatic events using a difference-in-differences framework to estimate their impact on far-right voting in Italy. In the cross-section, we compare municipalities that hosted FEC soldiers (and could thus witness FEC-committed atrocities) with municipalities that hosted only American soldiers. Our temporal variation stems from the unprecedented influx of migrants from Syria, the Middle East, and Northern Africa into Italy, which began in 2011 and intensified throughout the European Refugee Crisis in the mid-2010s. We find that places with historical FEC exposure strongly shift

toward the far right after 2011, coinciding with the arrival of migrants on Italian shores. The estimated effects imply an additional 3.6 percentage-point vote share relative to a mean of 14%. These findings withstand a range of robustness checks, including standard error adjustments, fixed effects, data aggregation, sample splits, alternative treatments, and sample compositions, leaving us confident that the effects of historical atrocities on present-day voting imply a causal relationship.

We then show that our estimated effect is specific to this most recent migration wave. The first major wave of migration to post-war Italy, a country previously known for emigration only, occurred in the 1990s, with large numbers of migrants arriving from Albania and parts of former Yugoslavia. Utilizing this temporal variation instead, we detect only negligible effects on far-right voting, which are also highly sensitive to the chosen specification. These results emphasize that contagion of prejudice is not ubiquitous. Instead, they suggest that perceived similarities between groups may be a key driver for contagion to occur (Fouka and Tabellini, 2022). We remain agnostic about what those similarities might be, listing skin color, religion, and culture as the most salient among the potentially infinite candidates.

To better understand why and how prejudice spreads, we conducted two pre-registered surveys among the Italian population in the affected regions. In the first survey, encompassing 2,000 respondents, we elicited ancestral locations for up to two generations (similar in spirit to Becker et al., 2020). This enables us to identify individuals whose residence and ancestry are confined to towns historically hosting FEC troops. We then ask respondents to agree or disagree with several statements about Albanians or Syrians, which we use as representative nationalities for those who arrived during the respective migration waves. Compared to respondents residing in and having ancestors from municipalities without FEC exposure, respondents residing in historically FEC-exposed municipalities (and with ancestral FEC exposure) are more likely to state that Syrians take jobs from Italians, can never become truly Italians, damage the economy, commit crimes, do not enrich Italian culture, and that they harass Italian women. None of these statements differ significantly between respondents from FEC-exposed and unexposed municipalities regarding questions about Albanians. This shows that respondents from affected areas dislike Syrians for a variety of reasons, mostly economic and cultural. In addition, however, they also display worries about sexual misconduct, as evidenced by the significant coefficient on the harassment question, which is, albeit only slightly so, the largest point

estimate from all questions. This demonstrates patterns of concern reminiscent of the historical experience with FEC soldiers.

In the second survey, with 3,000 respondents, we examine the relative roles of attitude transmission and collective memory. According to the seminal paper by Bisin and Verdier (2001), attitudes can be vertically transmitted (from parents to children) or horizontally (through the neighborhood). Recent advances in behavioral economics have also highlighted the role of selective recall. Bordalo et al. (2025) postulate that memories can be retrieved to simulate yet unknown events, but that the recall likelihood of any memory depends on similarities with the target event. This similarity-based selector can crowd out the retrieval of more relevant memories, as recall is limited, potentially leading to incorrect beliefs. We designed the second survey to offer insights into the scope of attitude transmission, vis-à-vis selective recall of collective memory. As in the first survey, we elicit the respondents' and their ancestors' locations. We then designed an information intervention that primes respondents with information about the European Refugee Crisis (treatment) or extreme weather events (control). Subsequently, they were asked whether they knew what the Marocchinate was. We observe that respondents from FEC-exposed municipalities are more likely to correctly recall the meaning of Marocchinate, indicating the presence of local collective memory. Furthermore, having received the European Refugee Crisis information treatment also increases respondents' likelihood of recalling what the Marocchinate was. This shows that recall of collective memory can, just like personal memory, also be selective.

The interaction between historical FEC exposure and information treatment, however, is not significantly different from zero. This indicates that it is not selective recall of collective memory per se that explains a *differential* shift towards the far right in historically FEC-exposed areas (versus non-exposed areas). We therefore conduct a sentiment analysis on respondents' descriptions of how they learned about Marocchinate using FEEL-IT (Bianchi et al., 2021), a benchmark corpus for sentiment analysis. We observe that respondents from FEC-exposed areas describe how they were told about the Marocchinate using substantially more negative emotions than their unexposed counterparts after having received the information treatment, but not when assigned to the information control. This emphasizes that while recall of collective memory is universally selective, the emotions associated with respondents whose ancestors had firsthand experience may have served as a factor in shifting voting toward the far right.

Our paper adds to four distinct strands of literature. First, we present the first study to causally establish the contemporary contagion of racial prejudice in a large-scale setting, spanning vast areas of a highly populated European country. Correlational work and small-scale experiments in psychology use the term "Secondary Transfer Effect" to refer to prejudice contagion (e.g., Tausch et al., 2010; Vezzali et al., 2021). Sociologists, in turn, have conceptualized prejudice as a result of relative group positioning (e.g., Blumer, 1958; Quillian, 1995), whereby, in cases involving multiple groups, spillovers are possible. The closest to our study are probably Fouka et al. (2022) and Fouka and Tabellini (2022), which investigate prejudice shifts following the arrival of different groups. However, these papers examine changes in historical prejudice due to the arrival of new out-groups. Our paper, in contrast, examines how historical and temporary interactions with an out-group affect contemporary prejudice towards a new out-group that did not exist in the local context at the time. Beyond allowing us to disentangle persistence from reactivation, this approach also enables us to determine the absolute extent of contagion rather than merely a substitution between groups. Furthermore, while Fouka et al. (2022) and Fouka and Tabellini (2022) examine how new out-groups dampen prejudice toward existing out-groups, our study concerns the contagion of prejudice, whereby adverse interactions with one group selectively transfer into hatred of other groups.

Second, we contribute to a large body of literature attempting to distinguish pure persistence from reactivation. While earlier work has shown attitudes to persist (Voigtländer and Voth, 2012) and that interventions can persistently change trajectories in attitudes (Schindler and Westcott, 2021; Bursztyn et al., 2024), more recent contributions stress the nonlinearities in persistence (Rozenas and Zhukov, 2019; Cantoni et al., 2019) possibly through triggering collective memory (Fouka and Voth, 2023; Ochsner and Roesel, 2024). Our paper bridges the gap between these two approaches by investigating whether, in cases where collective memory exists (Lemoli and Gennaro, 2025), changes in prejudice stem from a resurgence of dormant attitudes or from reactivated collective memory. We find no significant role for transmission of attitudes; rather, we present evidence of selective recall of local collective memory.

Third, we contribute to the literature on identifying the roots and causes of support for the far right. Much of the historical literature has focused on explaining persistent far-right support by emphasizing extremists or political alienation (Vlachos, 2022; Ochsner and Roesel, 2020; Wang, 2021). Our paper, in turn, presents an additional source for far-

right support: historical atrocities perpetrated by members of an ethnoracial out-group and their interactions with extraordinary migration flows.

Fourth, we contribute to the growing behavioral economics literature on the role of selective memory. Drawing on insights from neuroscience (Kahana, 2012), economists have recently explicitly incorporated memory, particularly imperfect recall, into formal models of human behavior. The importance of selective memory has been documented for financial decision-making (Enke et al., 2024), and theories incorporating associative memory have been used to explain a wide variety of puzzles in human behavior (Graeber et al., 2024; Bordalo et al., 2020). Bordalo et al. (2025) model the decisions people make when encountering novel risks by relying on memory recollection and subsequent simulation, where different memories compete for recall. Our findings provide real-world evidence consistent with Bordalo et al. (2025): recall of Marocchinate increases when primed with the influx of Syrian refugees. This implicitly extends the selectiveness of memory to collective memory, rather than only personal memory. We also provide suggestive evidence that selective recall of collective memory alone may be insufficient to elicit strong voting responses. Instead, the emotions that make a memory feel personal are a likely candidate to mediate the effect, consistent with recent work investigating emotions as mediators of attention (Bolte and Raymond, 2025).

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. Section 2 presents the historical background. We discuss the data and empirical strategy in Section 3 and present results in Section 4. Section 5 concludes.

2 Background

2.1 The Italian Campaign

The Italian Campaign comprised a series of Allied land, air, and naval operations conducted between 1943 and 1945, aimed at removing Italy, famously described by Winston Churchill as the "soft underbelly" of the Axis, from the Axis alliance while securing the central Mediterranean and diverting German resources from other European fronts. The campaign began with the Allied invasion of Sicily on July 10, 1943; the rapid collapse of Axis defenses hastened the fall of Benito Mussolini's regime and led to the Armistice of Cassibile on September 8, which formalized Italy's unconditional surrender to the Allies

(Ginsborg, 1990). Rather than ending hostilities, the armistice prompted German forces to occupy much of the peninsula and establish a sequence of defensive lines designed to delay the Allied advance through a strategic fighting withdrawal toward northern Italy, exploiting the country's mountainous terrain (Short and Taylor, 2006). These defenses imposed a slow, infantry-intensive campaign.

In central Italy, the Allied advance stalled along the Gustav Line, a heavily fortified east–west defensive system blocking the direct route to Rome. The battle for Monte Cassino, a critical stronghold of the Gustav Line, lasted from January to March 1944 and involved repeated assaults under difficult conditions, generating extensive destruction, displacement, and civilian exposure to military operations (Holland, 2024).

Rome was liberated on June 4, 1944. However, German forces withdrew to the Gothic Line in the northern Apennines, where fighting continued until the spring of 1945. Throughout much of the campaign, the slow pace of advance and the reliance on ground forces operating in rural and mountainous areas produced frequent contact between Allied troops and local civilian populations (Atkinson, 2007).

2.2 The French Expeditionary Corps

The FEC joined the Italian Campaign in late November–December 1943. The FEC was organized around four divisions and substantial colonial manpower from French North Africa, alongside irregular Moroccan Goumiers (Gaujac, 2004).[1] It operated across Campania, Lazio, Molise, Umbria, and Tuscany and was widely regarded as particularly effective in rugged and mountainous terrain (Gaujac, 2004). Its most consequential contribution to the Allied breakthrough of the Gustav Line came in May 1944, when FEC units, especially Moroccan Goumiers, advanced through the Aurunci Mountains and outflanked German positions (Gaujac, 2004). The FEC continued operations northward after the liberation of Rome and was then redeployed ahead of the Allied landings in southern France in August 1944.

The advance of the FEC was accompanied by several episodes of violence against civilians, including sexual violence, murder, and looting. These episodes, commonly re-

[1] More precisely, the FEC included the 1st Free French Division (1re DFL, which saw limited engagement in Italy), the 2nd Moroccan Infantry Division (2e DIM), the 3rd Algerian Infantry Division (3e DIA), the 4th Moroccan Mountain Division (4e DMM), and additional attached units, including Moroccan tabors (GTM), under the command of General Alphonse Juin.

ferred to as the *Marocchinate*, are documented in contemporaneous reports and postwar investigations and are typically associated with the immediate aftermath of combat operations, when troops moved rapidly through rural areas and military control was limited. Estimates of victims vary widely across sources. French postwar compensation records list about 20,000 indemnities for pillage and material damage and 1,488 compensated cases of sexual violence in claims by Italian civilians (di Colloredo Mels, 2018). Victims' associations report substantially higher figures, including up to 60,000 women raped and approximately 180,000 cases of violence (Associazione Nazionale Vittime delle "Marocchinate", 2023). Other, more moderate estimates place rape totals between about 3,000–4,000 (Le Gac, 2013) and as many as 12,000 (Baris, 2007). These events are deeply embedded in the local collective memory of municipalities exposed to FEC troop movements, as reflected in commemorative plaques and monuments (e.g., in Castro dei Volsci, Viterbo, and Isola del Liri), as well as commemorative activities organized by victims' associations. Consistent with this, 67% of respondents from affected areas in our Survey II (see Section 3.6) who correctly recalled the Marocchinate report having learned about these episodes through local organizations, local media, schools, or interpersonal networks.

2.3 The Italian Far Right Post WWII

After the fall of Mussolini, Italy's political landscape transformed profoundly with the establishment of the Republic in 1946, the extension of women's suffrage that same year, and the adoption of a new constitution in 1948. Early postwar politics were dominated by Christian Democrats, Socialists, and Communists, but the far right persisted with the founding of the Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) in 1946. Drawing largely on former Fascist sympathizers, the MSI positioned itself as the principal institutional heir to Fascist ideology but remained electorally marginal and excluded from governing coalitions for much of the postwar period. Its political appeal centered on nationalism, order, and anti-communism (Ginsborg, 1990).

Immigration suddenly entered Italian political discourse in the early 1990s, with the arrival of the first asylum seekers from former Yugoslavia and Albania. Sustained migration flows continued during the late 1990s and early 2000s, predominantly from Eastern Europe (i.e., refugees from Kosovo and Romanians following their country's EU acces-

sion). This reshaped the political landscape: immigration became a more prominent issue. Far-right parties, including Alleanza Nazionale (the MSI's successor) and Lega Nord (now simply Lega), increasingly focused on anti-immigration rhetoric.

The European Refugee Crisis of the 2010s marked a turning point, bringing immigration to the forefront of national political debate and fueling a rise in far-right rhetoric that framed the issue in terms of national identity, security, and sovereignty. Lega capitalized on public discontent regarding the European Union's handling of the migration crisis and economic austerity measures. In the 2018 elections, and more notably by 2022, Fratelli d'Italia, a party with neo-Fascist roots, gained substantial ground, and its leader, Giorgia Meloni, was appointed as prime minister. These parties have positioned themselves firmly against immigration, advocating for stricter controls and framing immigration as a threat to national security and cultural identity.

In the empirical analyses, we classify Italian far-right parties with the PopuList 3.0 dataset (Rooduijn et al., 2023b,a). PopuList follows the definition of the far right proposed by Mudde (2007), classifying parties as far right if their core ideological profile combines nativism, i.e., the view that the state should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group and that non-native elements are threatening, and authoritarianism, defined as support for a strictly ordered society in which infringements of authority are punished severely. These criteria are applied through an expert-informed qualitative comparative classification procedure, in which national and cross-national experts assess parties' overall ideological profiles based on qualitative evidence. Classifications are time-varying at the party-election year level. Table 1 reports the Italian parties classified as far right, and the election years in which this classification applies.

Table 1: Italian Far-Right Parties in the PopuList 3.0

Party name	Years classified as far right	Notes
Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI)	1948–1972	Postwar neo-fascist party
MSI–Destra Nazionale	1976–1994	Successor to MSI
Alleanza Nazionale	1996–2008	Successor to MSI–DN
Lega d'Azione Meridionale	1992	Single election
Lega Nord	1994–2022	Includes regional and national phases
Lega	2022	Lega Nord rebranding
Lega per Salvini Premier	2022	Party reorganization
Fiamma Tricolore	2001, 2008, 2018	Minor far-right party
La Destra–Fiamma Tricolore	2013	Electoral alliance
La Destra	2018	Minor far-right party
Fratelli d'Italia	2018	Post-fascist successor party
Fratelli d'Italia con Giorgia Meloni	2022	Party list name

Notes: Classifications are based on the PopuList 3.0 dataset and vary at the party-election year level. The table reports all Italian parties coded as far right in PopuList 3.0 that received votes in national parliamentary elections.

3 Data & Empirical Strategy

3.1 Estimation Strategy

To estimate the effects of FEC troop presence (i.e., the increased propensity to be subjected to the atrocities) on far-right voting, we pursue a difference-in-differences (DiD) strategy. In the cross-section, we compare voting outcomes in municipalities exposed to FEC troops with those in municipalities not exposed to FEC troops. In the time dimension, we compare elections before and after the onset of the large migration waves from Syria, the Middle East, and Northern Africa that began with the Arab Spring in 2011 and intensified over the subsequent years.[2] We will later also contrast this with the effects of the country's first salient immigration wave in the 1990s. Starting in 1990, which we define as the cutoff, migrants predominantly from Albania and former Yugoslavia started to arrive in Italy, a migration wave that lasted until the early 2000s.

For our difference-in-differences analyses, we will estimate

$$y_{i,t} = \alpha + \beta \text{FEC Troops}_i \cdot \text{Post Migration}_t + \gamma_i + \delta_t + t \cdot \nu_i + \epsilon_{i,t} \tag{1}$$

where $y_{i,t}$ denotes the vote share for the far right in municipality i in election year t. FEC Troops$_i$ denotes a dummy for whether a municipality hosted FEC troops at some

[2] Appendix Figure A.1 shows the annual number of asylum requests submitted in Italy over time (data obtained from Commissione Nazionale per il Diritto d'Asilo (2020)).

point, and Post Migration$_t$ is a dummy for elections after 2011.[3] γ denotes municipality fixed effects, and δ denotes election year fixed effects. In some robustness checks, we also include predetermined control variables or region fixed effects v_i interacted with year fixed effects to allow for time-varying effects. We cluster standard errors at the municipality level.

The necessary assumption for interpreting our estimates as causal is the classical parallel trends assumption: absent the large migration shock after 2011, far-right vote shares in municipalities with and without FEC troops would have evolved similarly. Municipalities that did or did not host combat troops during WWII might have been very different (Schindler and Westcott, 2021). Therefore, we restrict our sample to municipalities that experienced either American or FEC forces. This is akin to the strategy pursued by Schindler and Westcott (2021), but because our identification strategy adds a DiD analysis to the municipality selection, we do not require the strong assumption that FEC troop deployment, conditional on any troop deployment, is as good as random. Instead, we merely require that nothing correlates with troop deployment that also affects far-right voting *differentially* before and after the influx of migrants.

Appendix Table A.2 presents the coefficients of regressing FEC troop presence on all of our control variables.[4] p-values are calculated using randomization inference as suggested by Kerwin et al. (2024) to avoid an over-rejection of the null. Columns 1 and 2 use a baseline set of geographic and demographic covariates, whereas Columns 3 and 4 use a broader set of covariates, which are available only for a subset of municipalities. Columns 2 and 4 include fixed effects for the five regions of Italy that are in our sample. As some of the distances are heavily skewed, we apply the natural logarithm to all distance controls.[5] Despite the standard error corrections, a few variables still predict FEC troop placement when using fewer controls: the (logarithmic) distance to Naples and the malaria index remain significant predictors even when including region fixed effects.[6]

[3] When contrasting it with the first migration wave during the 1990s, that dummy will take the value one for election years after 1990.

[4] Details on how the control variables are collected can be found in section 3.4.

[5] A balance table with non-transformed distances can be found in Appendix Table A.3.

[6] The malaria index was derived from a file with an original solution of 0.5×0.5 degrees, much larger than many of the small municipalities in our sample. To make it usable, the original raster was "resampled" by creating sub-pixels. As a limitation, this creates a strong spatial correlation in the data, rendering its use as a control variable in cross-sectional analyses suboptimal.

However, when including the full set of controls, no variable can significantly predict Moroccan troop locations.

That very few variables correlate with troop locations suggests that FEC troops were primarily deployed in accordance with military requirements, rather than to accommodate potential local preferences. Given the uncertainty of ultimate outcomes in warfare and the high risks of wrong strategic choices, it seems conceivable that military leadership attempts to distribute troops primarily to achieve military goals. This has also been demonstrated for American soldiers in the United Kingdom by Schindler and Westcott (2021).

Since our analysis is based on a DiD specification, note that differences in control variables can influence voting outcomes only if they have a differential impact before and after the onset of the large migration wave. To make sure that is not the case and that our estimates can be interpreted as causal, we present evidence from event studies and show that our results are robust to any control variable interacted with year fixed effects.

3.2 Troop Location Data

Locations of the FEC units at a disaggregated level are not readily available. Most available sources describe the locations of entire divisions which encompassed more than 15,000 soldiers (e.g., Le Gac, 2013; Jackson, 1967). Because of the sheer size of the divisions, only utilizing division-level data would underestimate the extent of exposure of troops to municipalities and forgo important geospatial variation. Therefore, we combine several sources to create a novel dataset measuring exposure to FEC troops at the municipal level based on regiments (much smaller units with a strength of approximately 1,000 soldiers each). We manually browsed through translated versions of Gaujac (2004) and Goutard (1947), as well as official US Army records reported in United States Army (1944a,b,c,d,e,f, 1945a,b) and extracted troop locations from the text. This information is supplemented with the official marching journal of the French Expeditionary Corps as a whole (Service Historique de la Défense, 1998c), as well as the marching journals of the 3rd Algerian Infantry Division (Service Historique de la Défense, 1998b), and the 4th Mo-

roccan Mountain Division (Service Historique de la Défense, 1998a).[7] We collected these marching journals from the French Military Archives in Vincennes, and subsequently digitized and translated these (partly handwritten) documents. Many locations across all sources are given as the names of municipalities, villages, or even nearby mountains, and these rarely carry unique names across Italy (or even the broader region). To ensure locational accuracy, we manually cross-referenced all locations against the general divisional movements of the FEC. After determining the GPS coordinates of each location, we are thus able to determine the historic presence of units of the FEC within the 2011 and 2021 municipal boundaries (Istituto Nazionale di Statistica, 2024a).[8]

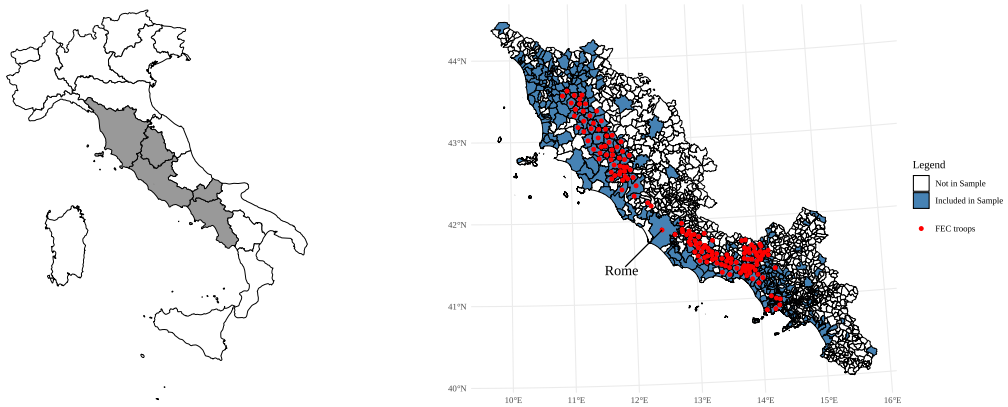
We identify the locations of American troops following the approach taken in Schindler and Westcott (2021). The US Army produced biweekly station lists detailing the locations of all troops in the North African Theater of Operations (to which Italy was assigned). We photographed and digitized 32 surviving station lists between October 16, 1943, and November 26, 1944, from the National Archives in College Park, MD (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, 1953). Each of the over 1,400 unique locations is listed with a four-digit coordinate indicating its approximate location on a 10 × 10 km grid. We then manually looked up the precise GPS coordinates of each location by cross-referencing Google Maps and assigned each location to its corresponding municipality (using the 2011 and 2021 municipal boundaries; Istituto Nazionale di Statistica, 2024a).

3.3 Voting and Other Outcomes

Municipal-level voting data is freely available for all elections from the Italian Ministry of the Interior, Central Directorate for Electoral Service (2023). We downloaded all results for the Chamber of Deputies' elections since the end of WWII (1948-2022), and matched them to the 2011 and 2021 municipal boundaries. To account for changes in the composition of municipalities, we track the merging, creating, renaming, splitting, and dissolving of municipalities using the information provided by D'Emilio (2004). For each year and

[7] Marching journals of the 1st Free French Division (which was only posted to Italy very briefly) and the 2nd Moroccan Infantry Division, the other two divisions of the FEC, were not available in the French Archives, but receive extended coverage in the other aforementioned sources.

[8] Our empirical strategy seeks to account for time-invariant municipality-specific confounders through the use of fixed effects. Therefore, we determine troop locations using the 2011 boundaries, supplemented by the 2021 boundaries for new municipalities created since. We start from 2011 boundaries as the boundary data contains additional information about the municipality, such as altitude, and area.



(a) Italian Regions Included in the Sample (b) Municipalities with FEC Troops

Figure 1: Map of Italy and Municipalities in the Sample

municipality, we subsequently calculate the vote share for far-right parties as defined by the PopuList 3.0 (Rooduijn et al., 2023b,a). Since FEC troops only passed through the Italian regions of Campania, Lazio, Molise, Tuscany, and Umbria, we restrict our sample for voting and other outcomes to these regions.

Figure 1 visualizes our sample. The left plot shows a map of Italy, highlighting the included regions in dark grey. The right plot zooms in on these regions only and marks municipalities that are in our sample in steel blue, and municipalities that we exclude from the sample in white.[9] Municipalities that encountered FEC troops are marked with a red dot. Appendix Table A.1 reports municipality-level summary statistics by region for the estimation sample.

To establish that FEC troop presence actually increased the propensity for experiencing sexual violence, we collected data from two sources. As discussed in Section 2.2, historical sources disagree on the extent of the Marocchinate, likely leading to both over- and underestimates. We compile the small number of locations listed in Lucioli and Sabatini (1998) into a set of municipalities and match it to the 2011 and 2021 municipal boundaries. Associazione Nazionale Vittime delle "Marocchinate" (2023), in turn, lists many more municipalities affected by FEC atrocities and additionally includes multiple offenses per municipality. We scrape this data and also match it to municipal boundaries. We consider it possible that the former source underestimates and the latter overestimates the extent of the atrocities. Therefore, we will use them only to demonstrate that

[9]Inclusion in the sample is limited to municipalities that encountered either American or Moroccan troops or both.

FEC troop deployments predict atrocities, according to *either* source. This exercise should not be interpreted as an endorsement of the accuracy of either source.

In robustness checks, we also demonstrate that our treatment did not affect differential in-migration. For this purpose, we use data from Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (2024b), which provides us with municipal-level population by nationality for the years 2002 to 2022.

3.4 Control Variables

We collect several pre-WWII control variables for creating the balance table (Appendix Table A.2), and we use them in robustness checks by interacting them with year fixed effects. Using the 2011 and 2021 municipal boundaries (Istituto Nazionale di Statistica, 2024a), we calculate each municipality's distance to Rome and Naples, as well as to the nearest provincial capital. We digitized a 1943 road and railroad map (United States Army Map Service, 1943a,b,c) to compute distances to the nearest main road and the nearest railroad. Distance to the coast is calculated using the coastline shapefile from Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (2013). We compute distance to the nearest major port using the main pre-WWII port cities, Genoa, Livorno, Messina, Naples, Palermo, Savona, Venice, Brindisi, Chioggia, and Ancona, as listed in Cafarelli (2009). Distance to the nearest large river is calculated using data from Lehner and Grill (2013). McCormick et al. (2013) provides data on the network of Roman roads. Finally, we compute distances to the nearest "Fascistville", defined as a new town built under the Mussolini regime (Carillo, 2022), and to the Gothic Line, digitized from Short and Taylor (2006). From the 2011 municipality boundary shapefile (Istituto Nazionale di Statistica, 2024a), we obtain each municipality's area (in km^2) and its mean altitude. Data on terrain ruggedness are taken from Durante et al. (2019). We digitize the 1911 Census, from which we obtain municipality-level population data, and the 1921 Census, from which we obtain population, number of families, the share of the population aged six and above, the share of the literate population, and the share of foreigners. A municipality-level malaria index is derived from Kiszewski et al. (2004) and was kindly provided to us by Buonanno et al. (2020). Data on the Fascist vote share in 1924, the Socialist vote share in 1913, the presence of a Fascist branch in 1921, Fascist violence in 1920–22, and the Socialist and Communist vote share in 1924 for a small subsample of municipalities come from Acemoglu et al. (2022). We further ob-

tain municipality-level data on Nazi violence, including indicators for at least one violent episode, the number of episodes, years of Nazi occupation, and the presence of a violent Nazi division, from INSMLI (nd). Finally, Nicola Fontana kindly shared data collected for Fontana et al. (2023, 2024), including the number of livestock in 1929, the number of businesses and employees in 1927, the number of full-time and part-time agricultural workers in 1927, and the number of agricultural holdings in 1929. As with the data on Fascist activity, these variables are not available for all municipalities.

3.5 Pre-registered Survey I

In May 2024, we implemented a first survey among approximately 2,000 adult respondents residing in the Italian regions of Abruzzo, Campania, Lazio, Molise, Tuscany, and Umbria, administered through the market research company Cint.[10] The survey was designed to study whether historical exposure to FEC troops is associated with persistent differences in attitudes toward contemporary migrant groups.

At the beginning of the survey, we collected information on respondents' country of birth, municipality of residence, and the municipalities of birth of their parents and grandparents, as well as year of birth, gender, education level, and employment status. To avoid priming respondents about the historical events of interest, we then asked some general questions about Italian politics and public affairs (e.g., whether they think the economy has improved over the last 10 years or whether Italy should be a part of the European Union). Next, we elicited respondents' attitudes toward several immigrant groups using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (very negative) to 7 (very positive). The immigrant groups were presented in randomized order and included French, Romanians, Moroccans, Albanians, Chinese, Syrians, Algerians, Pakistanis, Eritreans, Ukrainians, and Germans. These groups were selected to reflect major immigrant communities in Italy.

Subsequently, respondents were asked to state their agreement, again on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (totally disagree) to 7 (totally agree), with ten statements about Syrian or Africans immigrants and ten analogous statements about Albanian immigrants. To avoid order effects, these statements were presented in two separate blocks, with block

[10]Survey I pre-registration can be found at `https://aspredicted.org/zr28mx.pdf`. The full questionnaire is reported in Appendix A.1. We recruited in Abruzzo because we initially misidentified FEC units as being located in Abruzzo. Fortunately, no respondents from Abruzzo remain in the sample after conditioning on municipalities with either American or FEC troops.

order randomized across respondents and question order randomized within each block. The statements covered economic, cultural, and security-related perceptions, including labor market competition, integration, crime, cultural enrichment, and, importantly, sexual harassment. By comparing differences between municipalities that were exposed to FEC troops and those that were not, we can identify the different drivers of negative attitudes toward Syrian immigrants, relative to Albanian immigrants. The survey concluded with a brief factual description of the Marocchinate, followed by a question asking respondents whether they were familiar with the events. In accordance with the pre-registered exclusion criteria, we excluded respondents who completed the survey in less than two minutes, who did not reside in one of the five target regions, or who were not born in Italy.

3.6 Pre-registered Survey II

In October 2025, we implemented a second survey with market research company Bilendi to disentangle the role of selective collective memory from intergenerational attitude transmission as potential mechanisms underlying the voting results.[11] We surveyed approximately 3,000 adult respondents from the five regions of interest.[12] As in Survey I, in addition to standard socio-demographic characteristics, we elicited respondents' municipality of residence and the municipalities of birth for two generations of ancestors. To assess the role of selective memory, half of the respondents were randomly assigned to read a short text describing the large inflow of migrants into Italy during the European Refugee Crisis, emphasizing arrivals from Syria and Northern Africa in 2015 (treatment group). The other half, instead, read about extreme weather events in Italy in the same year (control group).[13] After reading the respective text, respondents answered a factual question about it to ensure they paid attention. They could not proceed until they provided the correct answer.

[11]The full pre-analysis plan, as well as the English translation of Survey II, are available at `https://www.socialscienceregistry.org/trials/15633`.

[12]Just like with Survey I, we also recruited respondents from a sixth region, Abruzzo, as we initially believed FEC units to have been located there as well. Consequently, and not contained in the preregistration, we remove all survey respondents from Abruzzo from our sample. Keeping these respondents does not qualitatively affect the results.

[13]Treatment and control texts were highly comparable in length and used a similar emotional tone. Both texts are reproduced in Appendix A.2.

All respondents were subsequently asked whether they were aware of the Marocchinate, and we recorded their response times. Building on the model by Bordalo et al. (2025), we hypothesize that, particularly among respondents in FEC-exposed municipalities, reminders of the Refugee Crisis would facilitate recall of the Marocchinate, leading to a higher share of affirmative responses and faster response times. Those who answered affirmatively then provided open-ended descriptions of the events, which we use to identify respondents with misconceptions. Respondents also reported how the Marocchinate were described to them and identified the channels through which they acquired this knowledge (e.g., family, local community, schools, local and national media). This allows us to investigate how collective memory is transmitted, i.e., within families, through local social networks, or national sources. The open-ended responses on how the Marocchinate were described to respondents are also suitable for sentiment analysis, enabling us to explore the role of emotions in the transmission of memory.

Following these questions, all respondents were presented with a brief factual description of the Marocchinate to harmonize their knowledge before proceeding to subsequent questions. They were then asked to report their own perceptions of how many out of 100 migrants from Syria or Northern Africa would commit sexual violence. After answering for themselves, they retrospectively assessed how close family members, teachers, peers, and neighbors would have answered the same question when the respondent was a child. If attitude transmission was the primary mechanism, following Bisin and Verdier (2001), we would expect to observe two phenomena. First, respondents' current beliefs should be strongly correlated with the retrospective beliefs attributed to others in Marocchinate-exposed municipalities, but not necessarily in non-exposed municipalities. Second, respondents in FEC-exposed areas should report higher numbers for their beliefs about others than in non-exposed areas. These variables also allow us to distinguish whether such transmission occurred horizontally (i.e., if the correlation is stronger with peers, teachers, and local social networks) or vertically (i.e., if the correlation is stronger within the family). Next, we ask for respondents' primary motive determining their voting choice in the last election, with options including: the economy, inflation, immigration, pensions, the management of public services, national security and crime, climate change and the environment, and other. Finally, we collected retrospective vot-

ing behavior in national elections by asking respondents to report the party they voted for in the 2008, 2013, 2018, and 2022 elections.[14]

Our pre-registration defines several exclusion criteria. Respondents completing the survey in less than three minutes were excluded. We also excluded respondents who were not born in Italy, had at least one migrant parent or two migrant grandparents, did not reside in one of the target regions, or provided invalid or non-interpretable information for the municipality of origin of their ancestors. We preregistered our estimation sample to include only respondents who either reside in FEC-exposed areas and all of their ancestors hail from FEC-exposed areas too, or who reside in unexposed areas with all of their ancestors hailing from unexposed areas too.[15] Doing so allows us to focus on respondents where the chance of spillover effects or selective migration is rather low.

4 Results

4.1 Troop Presence Predicts Atrocities

Before demonstrating the effect of FEC troop presence on far-right voting, we need to establish that FEC troop presence is predictive of sexual violence. Given that we observe FEC troop presence and atrocities with some degree of imperfection, we would expect the resulting classical measurement error to bias our estimates downward.

Table 2 shows coefficients from linear regressions to demonstrate that troop locations are highly predictive of sexual violence. Odd columns include no additional fixed effects, while even columns include region fixed effects and hence restrict identification to within-region variation. Columns 1 and 2 use a dummy for each municipality in which Lucioli and Sabatini (1998) report rapes to have occurred. Columns 3 and 4 repeat these analyses but now utilize a dummy for municipalities in which rapes were reported from Associazione Nazionale Vittime delle "Marocchinate" (2023). Columns 5 and 6 exploit the

[14]Since respondents could select only the top six parties by vote share in each election, along with an "Other" and an "I did not vote" option, we failed to include La Destra, which never ranked among the top parties nationally, although its leader, Francesco Storace, born in Cassino, obtained significant support in Lazio and Campania. This caveat restricts the usefulness of this question. We therefore utilize the 2013 Italian National Elections Study (Associazione ITANES, 2013) instead, where respondents were asked who they voted for in the 2008 and 2013 elections.

[15]In the preregistration, we specify that if this definition does not allow for a sufficient sample size, we would consider a weakened version in which we only require the majority of ancestors to hail from exposed/unexposed municipalities. Fortunately, the difference in sample size is not large (1,221 versus 1,528), so we can apply the stricter definition.

Table 2: FEC Troops Predict Victimization

	Rape Dummy (Conservative)		Rape Dummy (Optimistic)		Rape Count (Optimistic)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Dummy FEC troops	0.0823***	0.0857***	0.4966***	0.4021***	18.6604***	11.6745***
	(0.0219)	(0.0247)	(0.0423)	(0.0524)	(4.1613)	(2.6942)
Region FEs		✓		✓		✓
Observations	473	473	473	473	473	473
R^2	0.06	0.06	0.30	0.34	0.08	0.12
Mean in Control	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.08	0.32	0.32
Effect in SDs	.	.	1.83	1.49	7.85	4.91

Notes: The table displays coefficients from OLS regressions. The dependent variable is a dummy for rapes as reported in Lucioli and Sabatini (1998) in Columns 1 and 2, a dummy for rapes as reported in Associazione Nazionale Vittime delle "Marocchinate" (2023) in Columns 3 and 4, and the number of rapes as reported in Associazione Nazionale Vittime delle "Marocchinate" (2023) in Columns 5 and 6. The main independent variable is a dummy for FEC troop presence. Region fixed effects are included as indicated. The level of analysis is the municipality. The observations included are restricted to the Campania, Lazio, Molise, Tuscany, and Umbria regions. Only municipalities that either hosted American or FEC troops or both are included. Robust standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses, with significance levels * = $p < 0.10$, ** = $p < 0.05$, and *** = $p < 0.01$.

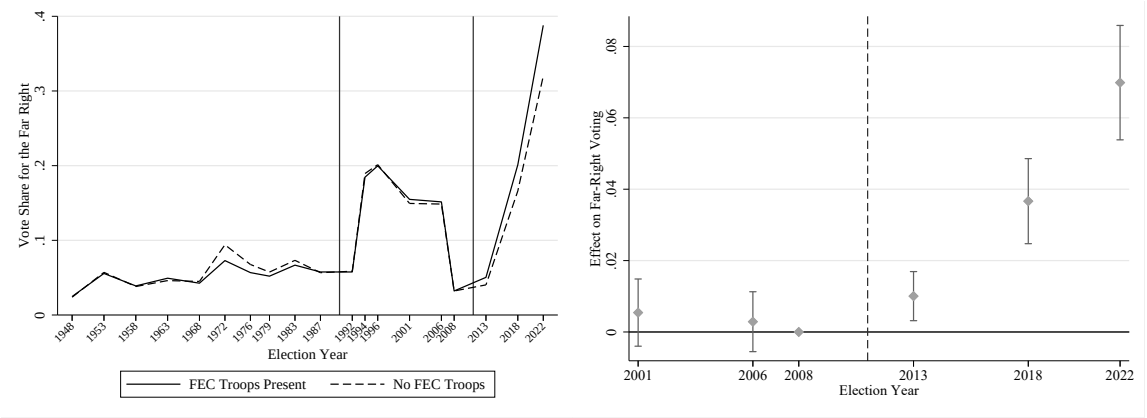
fact that, with data from the same source, we can calculate an intensive margin measure of rape victimization by counting the total number of rapes reported in a municipality. Across all specifications, effects are highly significant, even when restricting to within-region variation. Overall, these results paint a clear picture that, despite the potential under- and overreporting of the various sources, areas in which we record FEC troop presence are much more likely to be victimized.

4.2 Voting for the Far Right

Figure 2a shows the evolution of the vote share for the far right separately for Italian municipalities in which FEC troops were recorded and those where they were not. Apart from some differences in the 1970s and 1980s, which coincide with the "Anni di Piombo" (Years of Lead), a turbulent social and political period marked by far-right and far-left terrorism, municipalities hosting troops voted similarly for the far right in most post-war elections. Starting with the 2013 elections, however, an increasing divergence emerges, which is precisely what our estimation strategy is designed to capture.

Figure 2b displays the event study graph estimating the annual effects of FEC exposure corresponding to Equation 1. The reference category is 2008, the last election year before the beginning of sustained migration flows from Syria, the Middle East, and Northern Africa into Italy in 2011.[16] While far-right voting did not differ systematically

[16] Appendix Figure A.2 shows the event study with a longer pre-period time horizon and in which the reference period is set to 1948.



(a) Raw Data: Vote Share for the Far Right (b) Event Study: Vote Share for the Far Right

Figure 2: Raw Data and Event Study

between FEC-exposed and non-exposed municipalities before 2011, a positive and statistically significant effect emerges thereafter and grows over time.

Column 1 of Table 3 shows the results of estimating Equation 1 for the large migration wave after 2011. The implied effect sizes are economically significant: FEC troop presence raises far-right voting after 2011 by approximately 3.59 percentage points (relative to a mean of around 14%), or 0.32 standard deviations.

In subsequent columns, we add control variables which we interact with year fixed effects to allow for a time-varying impact (and to avoid collinearity with the municipality fixed effects). As these interactions quickly increase the number of covariates, we limit ourselves to five control variables per category. In selecting these variables, we predominantly chose those that tend to predict troop placement, as shown in Appendix Table A.2. For demographic controls in Column 2, we use (the log of) the number of families in 1921, (the log of) the population in 1921, as well as the share of the 1921 population over the age of 6, the share of the 1921 population that can read, and the share of foreigners in the 1921 population. Geographic controls in Column 3 encompass several distances, all expressed in logs: the distance to Naples, to the nearest Roman road, the nearest provincial capital, and the nearest main road in 1943. We also include the malaria index. Column 4 introduces economic controls: (the log of) businesses, employers, main agricultural employees, secondary agricultural employees in 1927 over the 1921 population, as well as (the log of) the number of agricultural holdings in 1929 over the 1921 population. Column 5 includes political controls: the occurrence of fascist violence in

Table 3: Difference-in-Differences: Controls

	No Controls	Demographic	Geographic	Economic	Political
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
FEC troops × Post 2011	0.0359***	0.0338***	0.0147***	0.0166**	0.0219***
	(0.0042)	(0.0044)	(0.0045)	(0.0066)	(0.0059)
Municipality FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,818	2,648	2,498	1,046	1,016
R^2	0.87	0.89	0.92	0.92	0.93
Mean in Control	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.15	0.14
Effect in SDs	0.32	0.31	0.13	0.15	0.20

Notes: The table displays coefficients from OLS regressions. The dependent variable is the share of votes for the far right. The main independent variable is a dummy for FEC troop presence interacted with a dummy for years after 2011. Column 1 does not include controls. Column 2 includes the (log of) families and of the population in the 1921 Census, the share over the age of 6, who can read, and of foreigners in the 1921 population. Column 3 includes the (log of the) distance to Naples, to the nearest Roman road, to the nearest provincial capital, and the nearest main road in 1943, as well as the malaria index. Column 4 includes (the log of) 1927 business, employees, main agricultural employees, secondary agricultural employees, and 1929 agricultural holdings over the 1921 population. Column 5 includes fascist violence in 1920-22, the presence of a fascist branch in 1921, the fascist vote share in 1924, years of Nazi occupation, and the socialist and communist vote share in 1924. All controls are interacted with election year fixed effects. The level of analysis is the municipality. The sample is restricted to the election years 2001-2022. The observations included are restricted to the Campania, Lazio, Molise, Tuscany, and Umbria regions. Only municipalities that either hosted American or FEC troops or both are included. Municipality and year fixed effects are included as indicated. Robust standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses, with significance levels * = $p < 0.10$, ** = $p < 0.05$, and *** = $p < 0.01$.

1920–1922, the presence of a fascist branch in 1921, the fascist vote share in 1924, years of Nazi occupation, and the socialist and communist vote share in 1924.

Across all specifications, the effect on FEC troops after 2011 is highly significant and positive. Including geographic, economic, or political controls lowers the magnitude of the estimated effect by almost half, but it still remains highly statistically significant and represents an effect of between 0.13–0.20 standard deviations.

4.3 Voting for the Far Right: Robustness Checks

To verify that our results are robust to several challenges of our identification strategy, we provide a range of robustness checks in the appendix. Appendix Table A.4 addresses issues of across-municipality spillovers. We demonstrate that our estimates remain highly significant, albeit with lower magnitudes, by including region-by-year fixed effects, thereby effectively comparing only municipalities within the same region of Italy. To account for spillovers of troop exposure from one municipality to the next, we also

demonstrate that our results still hold when aggregating data at the province level, both when we define exposure as the average of FEC troop dummies within a province's municipalities, as well as the sum of all municipalities that ever encountered FEC troops.

Recent work by Conley and Kelly (2025) has challenged the interpretation of many persistence studies due to the high spatial correlation of treatment measures. We address this criticism in two ways. First, Appendix Table A.5 presents results using Conley standard errors (Conley, 1999) with 10km, 20km, 50km and 100km cutoffs. Although standard errors increase with higher cutoffs, the estimates remain highly significant even at 100km. Second, we present two spatial noise synthetic outcome exercises following Conley and Kelly (2025) in Appendix Table A.6. Our dataset contains two spatial measures relative to a fixed point: the distance to Rome and the distance to Naples. As these contain potential spatial correlation that we already control for, we provide one synthetic outcome exercise for each. Reassuringly, the low Moran statistic indicates that the correlation between each residual and its nearest neighbor is close to zero, ruling out substantial local spatial noise. The low R^2 indicates limited explanatory power of simple smooth spatial trends. The column labelled "Synth p" indicates that we can reject the null hypothesis that the treatment effect is attributable to spatial noise for all cluster sizes when including distance to Naples, and for most clusters when including distance to Rome (highest p-value = 0.139). Employing BCH cluster corrections with any number of clusters (Bester et al., 2011) still yields highly significant treatment estimates (Column labelled "Est p") for distance to Naples, even though confidence intervals have increased. For the distance to Rome, using 5 or 6 clusters would yield confidence intervals that narrowly miss statistical significance ($p = 0.139$ and $p = 0.109$). These results emphasize that our available control variables can capture the lion's share of the spatial dependence and that our results are robust to spatial noise.

Appendix Table A.7 demonstrates in "leave-one-out" regressions, that no single Italian region is driving our results. Appendix Table A.8 further shows that the effects are not driven by locations close to Rome, Naples, or Cassino, by removing municipalities within a 30km radius.

To assuage remaining concerns regarding the slight imbalance of control variables reported in the balance table, we proceed in two steps. First, Appendix Table A.9 performs horse races between the FEC troop dummy and other covariates that appeared significant in the first two columns of the balance table. Across all specifications, the FEC

troop dummy remains highly significant, although its magnitude is sometimes reduced. Second, Appendix Figure A.4 reports horse race regressions as reported in Appendix Table A.9, but for all control variables. Most control variables do not materially affect the estimated difference-in-differences coefficient, and even when they do, the coefficient remains significantly different from zero.[17]

Another worry may relate to selective migration, both internally and in residential choices of immigrants. Appendix Table A.10 presents heterogeneity results by quintiles of the population share in 2011 that moved into the municipality in that year. The effect is similar and significant across all specifications. Appendix Figure A.6 illustrates an event study of immigration patterns of various nationalities in FEC-exposed versus non-exposed municipalities. As the graph shows, some nationalities exhibit upward or downward trends over time, but migrants from Syria and Northern Africa are not more or less likely to settle in FEC-exposed areas.

Finally, we present heterogeneous treatment effects by splitting municipalities into quintiles of the 2011 population (Appendix Table A.11) and of their 2008 vote share (Appendix Table A.12). The effects are statistically significant across almost all specifications. The effect across voting quintiles tends to decline as the far-right vote share in 2008 increases. Furthermore, the effect for municipalities in the highest population quintile is not distinguishable from zero. This is unsurprising as these urban locations see more in-migration over time.

4.4 Voting for the Far Right: An Earlier Migration Shock

While we have demonstrated contagion, i.e., the atrocities committed by Moroccan soldiers drove Italians to the far right in the wake of a large influx of (different) migrants, one pressing question remains: Does any sort of salient migration inflow trigger such contagion?

Table 4 presents results analogous to Table 3, but uses the sudden and unprecedented influx of Albanians and other migrants from former Yugoslavia into Italy in the 1990s as the temporal variation. Following the fall of the Iron Curtain in the 1990s, Albania was plagued by severe food shortages that quickly escalated into social unrest, prompting many Albanians to leave the country. On August 8, 1991, the cargo ship Vlora arrived in

[17] Appendix Figure A.5 repeats the same exercise but without log-transforming any control variables. Doing so does not qualitatively affect the results.

Table 4: Difference-in-Differences: 1990s Migration Shock

	No Controls	Demographic	Geographic	Economic	Political
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
FEC troops × Post 1990	0.0050*	0.0042	-0.0010	-0.0048	-0.0043
	(0.0027)	(0.0028)	(0.0032)	(0.0036)	(0.0040)
Municipality FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	7,432	7,062	6,619	2,800	2,710
R^2	0.81	0.82	0.85	0.85	0.90
Mean in Control	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.08
Effect in SDs	0.07	0.06	-0.01	-0.08	-0.07

Notes: The table displays coefficients from OLS regressions. The dependent variable is the share of votes for the far right. The main independent variable is a dummy for FEC troop presence interacted with a dummy for years after 1990. Column 1 does not include controls. Column 2 includes the (log of) families and of the population in the 1921 Census, the share over the age of 6, who can read, and of foreigners in the 1921 population. Column 3 includes the (log of the) distance to Naples, to the nearest Roman road, to the nearest provincial capital, and the nearest main road in 1943, as well as the malaria index. Column 4 includes (the log of) 1927 business, employees, main agricultural employees, secondary agricultural employees, and 1929 agricultural holdings over the 1921 population. Column 5 includes fascist violence in 1920-22, the presence of a fascist branch in 1921, the fascist vote share in 1924, years of Nazi occupation, and the socialist and communist vote share in 1924. All controls are interacted with election year fixed effects. The level of analysis is the municipality. The sample is restricted to the election years 1948-1996. The observations included are restricted to the Campania, Lazio, Molise, Tuscany, and Umbria regions. Only municipalities that either hosted American or FEC troops or both are included. Municipality and year fixed effects are included as indicated. Robust standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses, with significance levels * = $p < 0.10$, ** = $p < 0.05$, and *** = $p < 0.01$.

the port of Bari, carrying 10,000-20,000 Albanians, catching Italian authorities off guard. Following this initial and widely publicised event, Italy sought to curb Albanian migration flows, but undocumented migration continued. Similarly, refugees from war-torn ex-Yugoslavia (initially mostly from Bosnia, later also from Kosovo) made their way onto Italian shores throughout much of the 1990s.

The estimated effect in Column 1 of Table 4 is barely significant, much smaller in size, and disappears upon inclusion of control variables. Appendix Figure A.3 furthermore demonstrates clear signs of pre-trends, independent of which there are no detectable effects on the far-right vote share. These findings emphasize that the large influx of migrants, which began in 2011, was unique in its ability to drive voters to the far right.

4.5 Survey I: Attitudes toward Migrants

To establish the link between the atrocities committed by FEC soldiers and the recent shift to the far right, we administered Survey I. As discussed in Section 3.5, the survey

elicited different views of contemporary migrant groups, including perceptions related to sexual harassment of Italian women. We define exposed respondents as individuals who currently reside in a municipality that hosted FEC troops and whose relevant ancestors were also born in municipalities that hosted FEC troops.[18] Respondents are classified as unexposed if neither they nor their relevant ancestors were born in municipalities with recorded FEC troop presence.

Figure 3 reports the estimated exposure coefficients for each of the ten elicited views, separately for Albanians and for Syrians or Africans.[19] Each bar represents a linear regression in which the dependent variable is the level of agreement with a specific statement, and the main regressor is a dummy variable for FEC exposure. As we elicited agreement with each statement once for Albanians and once for Syrians/Africans, the figure presents bars for each of the two statements. All specifications control for age, gender, education, and employment status, with standard errors clustered at the municipality level.[20] All estimates for Albanians are small and statistically insignificant, indicating little difference in reported views between respondents from exposed and unexposed municipalities. In contrast, the estimates for Syrians or Africans are generally larger in magnitude and, in many cases, statistically significant. This contrast mirrors the electoral patterns documented above, in which far-right support increases following the European Refugee Crisis but responds much less to earlier migration from Albania and former Yugoslavia.

Among the different motives elicited, the coefficient associated with perceived sexual harassment by Syrians or Africans is the largest in magnitude, albeit only slightly: respondents in municipalities with FEC exposure, relative to those without such exposure, are more likely to report that Syrians or Africans pose a risk of harassing Italian women. The difference between this estimate and the estimate for Albanians is also statistically significant (see Appendix Table A.13), as are statements regarding labor market competition, assimilation, economic impact, and criminal activity. Taken together, the prominence of sexual harassment among the estimated effects is consistent with the transfer of

[18] This sample selection is identical to the one we pre-registered for Survey II. The average age at first birth in Italy has historically been around 25 years. For respondents born before 1964, we use parental birthplace; for respondents born after 1965, we additionally use grandparents' birthplace.

[19] Whether respondents received all statements for Albanians or Syrians/Africans first was randomized. To avoid potential order effects, we compare responses between subjects, i.e., we compare respondents who first answered questions about Syrians or Africans to those who first answered questions about Albanians.

[20] Results are robust to the inclusion of region fixed effects (see Appendix Figure A.7).

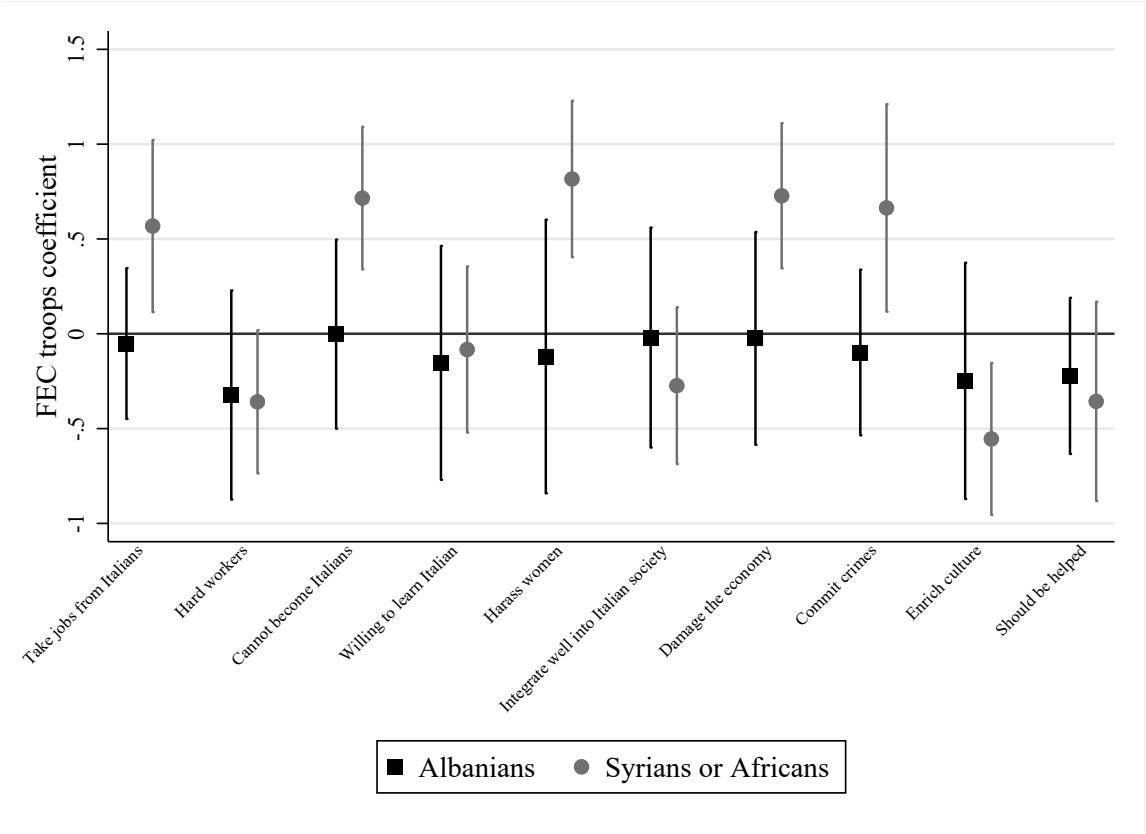


Figure 3: Survey I: Different Views on Albanians and Syrians or Africans

memory of historically salient forms of violence to contemporary, new migrant groups in areas with past FEC exposure.

In line with the presence of collective memory of the Marocchinate, respondents in FEC-exposed municipalities are also approximately 7 percentage points more likely to report awareness of these episodes than respondents in non-exposed areas, although the difference is not statistically significant ($p = 0.125$).

Finally, Survey I allows us to explore the relationship between FEC troop exposure and respondents' reported attitudes towards different immigrant groups. As shown in Appendix Figure A.8, exposure to FEC troops is not associated with a generalized dislike of all immigrant groups. Instead, negative differences are concentrated among more recent migrant groups, such as Syrians (the only group exhibiting a statistically significant difference), while estimates for Albanians and other European groups are close to zero. The pattern is also consistent with the presence of a gradient in attitudes across migrant groups, rather than a sharp discontinuity between specific nationalities. We do not wish

to speculate on the precise underlying variable(s) that make respondents perceive various immigrants as more or less similar.

4.6 Survey II: Transmission of Attitudes or Selective Memory

To better understand the selective shift toward the far right following the influx of migrants after 2011, we investigate two competing hypotheses. Either the contagion occurred during the initial events or was triggered contemporaneously. Under the first hypothesis, witnessing the atrocities would have led to a pronounced shift in sentiment against groups that were associated with the initial perpetrators, which would then be passed down either from parents to children (vertical transmission) or through the neighborhood (horizontal transmission), following Bisin and Verdier (2001). Alternatively, the events would have been stored in collective memory and then led to contagion as the inflow of migrants accelerated. One conceptualization of the latter is presented in Bordalo et al. (2025). The paper is concerned with decision-making in yet unknown scenarios under limited recall. Conceptually, individuals use past memory to simulate potential outcomes. Because memory retrieval is competitive and noisy, experiences that are more similar to or salient relative to the target event are more likely to be retrieved and to influence the simulation. At the same time, unrelated yet salient experiences can interfere with and bias beliefs when retrieval is imperfect. In the present case, it could be interpreted as follows: Perceived similarities between immigrants from Syria and Northern Africa with Moroccans trigger the recall of Marocchinate from collective memory. The atrocities committed by Moroccan soldiers are almost certainly unrelated to the expected conduct of the contemporary immigrants; however, the salience of the event and perceived similarities between both groups may lead to excessive weights in the simulation, eventually triggering the shift to the far right.

Survey II was designed to distinguish between these two mechanisms, acknowledging that they are not mutually exclusive per se. We follow the pre-analysis plan for Survey II, except for two items. First, we pre-registered to include demographic (i.e., municipality-level) and individual (i.e., respondent-level) controls in the regressions. Including demographic controls, however, frequently renders the coefficients of interest multicollinear with these controls. We therefore only include individual controls (age, occupation, gender, social status, civic status, and education level). Second, as described

Table 5: Survey II: Transmission

	Vertical transmission		Horizontal transmission		Mover to atrocities		Mover from atrocities	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
FEC troops	1.3670	0.9754	0.5347	-2.4822	-5.8801***	-8.7973***	-0.9679	-1.2762
	(1.3545)	(1.3323)	(1.5738)	(1.6260)	(1.3055)	(2.1374)	(3.0987)	(2.9920)
Region FEs		✓		✓		✓		✓
Observations	1,178	1,178	1,178	1,178	1,065	1,065	499	499
R^2	0.50	0.50	0.40	0.40	0.10	0.10	0.21	0.23
Mean in Control	35.86	35.86	43.50	43.50	35.18	35.18	37.66	37.66
Effect in SDs	0.05	0.04	0.02	-0.08	-0.20	-0.30	-0.03	-0.04

Notes: The table displays coefficients from OLS regressions. The dependent variable is based on estimates how many out of 100 Syrians and North Africans would commit sexual violence. Columns 1-2 report the average answer for all ancestors, Columns 3-4 report the average answer for peers, and Columns 5-8 report the answer for oneself. The main independent variable is a dummy for FEC troop presence. The included control variables are age, gender, education level, civil status, and occupation. The level of analysis is the respondent. In Columns 1-4, the sample includes only respondents who currently reside and whose ancestors were also born in municipalities that hosted FEC troops, and respondents who currently reside and whose ancestors were also born in municipalities that did not host FEC troops. In Columns 5-6, the sample only includes respondents whose ancestors were born in municipalities that did not host FEC troops. In Columns 7-8 the sample only includes respondents whose ancestors were born in municipalities that hosted FEC troops. Region fixed effects are included as indicated. Robust standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses, with significance levels * = $p < 0.10$, ** = $p < 0.05$, and *** = $p < 0.01$.

in Section 3.6, we failed to include a locally important far-right party in the survey question on voting history, rendering the question essentially useless. As an alternative, we present descriptive evidence from the 2013 ITANES survey (Associazione ITANES, 2013). All exploratory analyses are clearly marked as such.

Table 5 investigates transmission of attitudes. The outcome variables in Columns 1 through 4 are based on the perceptions of how many out of 100 Syrians/Northern Africans would commit sexual violence.[21] Columns 1 and 2 use the average reported for parents and paternal and maternal grandparents, thus measuring vertical transmission. Columns 3 and 4 use the average reported for friends, teachers, neighbors, and classmates, thus measuring horizontal transmission. All effects are small in magnitude and not statistically significant.[22] Auxiliary regressions in Columns 5 through 8 confirm this picture. In a sample of people whose ancestors hail from unexposed municipalities (Columns 5 and 6), those who now live in FEC-exposed locations think that fewer Syrians and North Africans commit sexual violence. This speaks against horizontal transmission of attitudes. In a sample of people whose ancestors hail from FEC-exposed municipalities (Columns 7 and 8), those who now live in unexposed locations do not think differently

[21] We do not possess objective numbers about the correct answer to this question, but deem it highly unlikely that the large average numbers reported by participants across all areas are anywhere close to the true numbers. Our survey was also not designed to assess the precision of the beliefs, which is not required to answer our research questions.

[22] We also do not observe stronger correlations between own and ancestral answers ($p = 0.567$) or own and peers' answers ($p = 0.593$) depending on whether one hails from FEC-exposed versus unexposed municipalities.

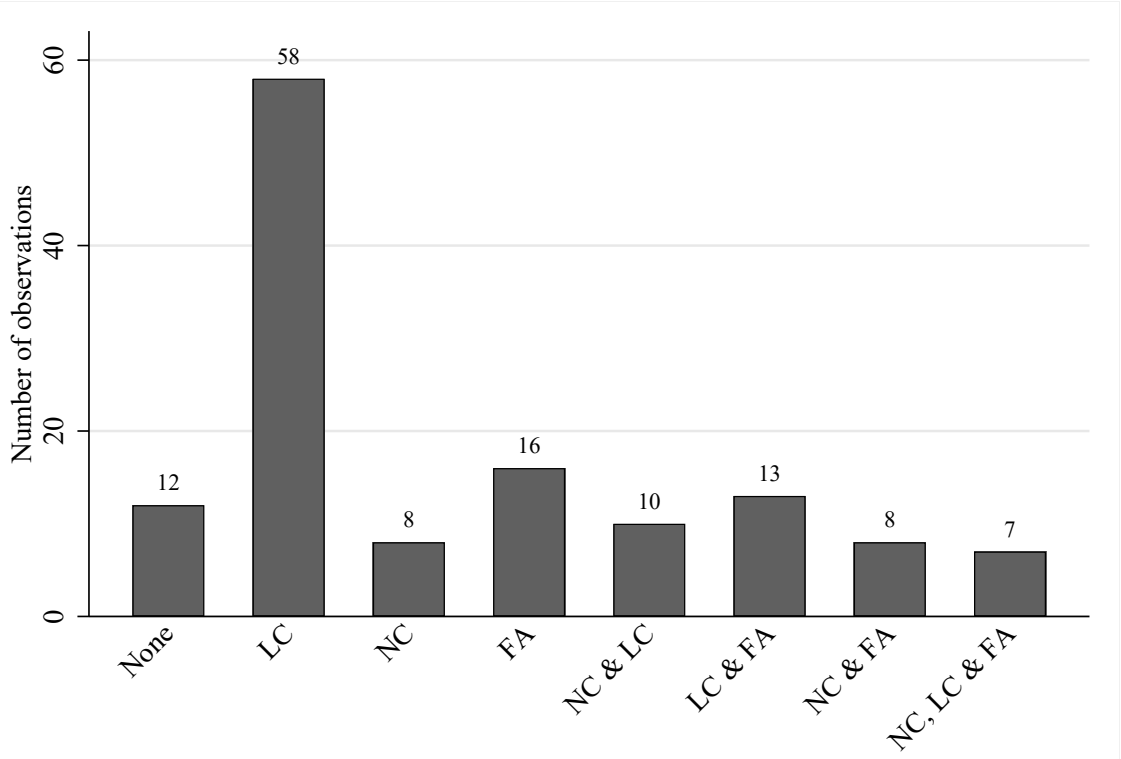


Figure 4: Survey II: Source of Memory

about the propensity of Syrians and North Africans committing sexual violence, making horizontal transmission very unlikely. Overall, these results suggest that vertical and horizontal transmission of attitudes in this setting had a very limited role in explaining the contagion of prejudice.

Figure 4 shows the channel through which respondents in FEC-exposed areas acquired knowledge about the Marocchinate. We categorize all sources they list into local (e.g., friends, neighbors, local organizations, schools), national (e.g., national newspapers), and family. While many respondents report multiple sources, 88 of 132 report having learned from local sources. We take this as evidence that collective memory in municipalities that were subject to FEC soldiers is alive and actively shared.

Table 6 reports results pertaining to a contemporary contagion through collective memory. The outcome variable in Columns 1 and 2 is an indicator of whether respondents (correctly) knew what the Marocchinate was. As the first row shows, having been exposed to a reminder about the recent migration inflow increases the probability of correctly recalling the atrocities committed by FEC soldiers. This demonstrates selec-

Table 6: Survey II: Collective Memory

	Knows Marocchinate		Response Time		Sentiment	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Syrian information treatment	0.0463*	0.0473*	4.6700	4.2041	0.0619	0.1274
	(0.0274)	(0.0268)	(4.5235)	(4.0289)	(0.1575)	(0.1602)
FEC troops	0.1257***	0.1191***	-1.8388	-6.7238	0.1131	0.2231
	(0.0361)	(0.0375)	(1.4227)	(6.5775)	(0.1541)	(0.1937)
Information treatment × FEC troops	-0.0259	-0.0239	-0.7590	0.4114	-0.3086	-0.3662
	(0.0428)	(0.0405)	(3.6221)	(2.5436)	(0.2580)	(0.2620)
Region FEs		✓		✓		✓
Observations	1,181	1,181	1,181	1,181	260	260
R^2	0.17	0.18	0.03	0.04	0.37	0.39
Mean in Control	0.18	0.18	9.46	9.46	-0.45	-0.45
Effect in SDs	-0.07	-0.06	-0.01	0.01	-0.34	-0.41

Notes: The table displays coefficients from OLS regressions. The dependent variable in Columns 1 and 2 is a dummy whether a respondent knows about the Marocchinate, the response time to this question in Columns 3 and 4, and the emotional sentiment of their answer to the question of how the Marocchinate were told to them (scale from -1 = negative to +1 = positive). The main independent variables are a dummy for whether they received the Syrian information treatment (with the weather information control as the omitted category), a dummy for FEC troop presence, and their interaction. The included control variables are age, gender, education level, civil status, and occupation. The level of analysis is the respondent. The sample includes only respondents who currently reside and whose ancestors were also born in municipalities that hosted FEC troops, and respondents who currently reside and whose ancestors were also born in municipalities that did not host FEC troops. The observations included are restricted to respondents residing in the Campania, Lazio, Molise, Tuscany, and Umbria regions. Only respondents from municipalities that either hosted American or FEC troops or both are included. In Columns 5 and 6, the sample is further restricted to only respondents who knew the term Marocchinate. Region fixed effects are included as indicated. Robust standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses, with significance levels * = $p < 0.10$, ** = $p < 0.05$, and *** = $p < 0.01$.

tive recall: perceived similarities between Moroccan FEC soldiers and Syrian and North African refugees lead to higher recall probabilities of the historic atrocities. The second row shows that respondents from FEC-exposed areas are more likely to know about the Marocchinate, indicating that memory is predominantly local. To explain the differential shift to the far right in FEC-exposed municipalities, we had also hypothesized that row three would exhibit a positive and significant result. The estimates, however, are indistinguishable from zero. This makes us conclude that while memory is predominantly local, the sudden influx of migrants affected the (selective) recall of the events uniformly. Columns 3 and 4 present the same analysis of response times regarding whether respondents knew the Marocchinate. The results are inconclusive, which we find ex post unsurprising: Being primed could lead to shorter response times (as information is recalled more quickly) or longer response times (as, without the prime, respondents quickly realized they did not know the answer). We present these results nonetheless in line with our pre-registration.

Given the unexpected lack of interaction effects in Columns 1 and 2, we conduct an exploratory analysis in Columns 5 and 6. To explain why FEC-exposed places shift to the far right differentially, one possible channel is the emotions respondents attach to the memory. For example, thinking about atrocities may evoke stronger emotional responses in those who can link the atrocities to distant family members or who intimately know the locations where they took place. Therefore, we apply FEEL-IT (Bianchi et al., 2021), a benchmark corpus for sentiment analysis, to respondents' answers to the question of how the Marocchinate was described to them. FEEL-IT was initially developed to detect sentiment in Tweets, making it well-suited to detecting emotional valence in short survey responses. As only 260 survey respondents (after applying the same sample restrictions as before) report knowing the Marocchinate, we primarily conduct non-parametric tests, and use regression analyses to descriptively back up the test results. The average emotional valence (measured on a scale from -1 to $+1$) for those who received the Syrian information treatment is -0.44 in non-exposed and -0.83 in FEC-exposed municipalities (Mann-Whitney test: $p = 0.0079$). For respondents who did not receive the Syrian information treatment, the average emotional valence is -0.48 in non-exposed and -0.65 in FEC-exposed municipalities (Mann-Whitney test: $p = 0.3458$). The results in Columns 5 and 6 of Table 6 paint a similar picture. Although not statistically significant at conventional levels ($p = 0.235$ and $p = 0.166$), possibly due to the small sample size, the implied magnitude of the interaction effect is substantial: up to 0.41 standard deviations. These findings emphasize that selective recall of collective memory, coupled with emotions from lived experiences, can explain the contagion of attitudes. This provides real-world evidence for behavior consistent with recent theoretical work by (Bordalo et al., 2025), with emotions as a possible additional mechanism that facilitates the simulation of experiences (Bolte and Raymond, 2025).

Finally, in Appendix Table A.14, we show descriptive evidence that survey respondents from areas with FEC troops are more likely (yet not significantly so, $p = 0.111$) to report migration as a top concern for their voting choice in 2022, and that respondents to the 2013 ITANES are more likely to switch to the far right in FEC-exposed areas.[23]

[23]This exploratory regression includes individual fixed effects, i.e., it detects within-person changes to the voting choice. We wish to merely view this as descriptive evidence, as the significant effect relies on only two out of 125 respondents switching far-right status.

5 Conclusion

During the liberation of Italy, thousands of Italian women were raped by (mostly Moroccan) soldiers of the French Expeditionary Corps. These experiences have entered Italy's collective memory as Marocchinate. In this paper, we demonstrate that these atrocities have nonlinear yet long-lasting effects. In most years of the Italian Republic, voters in areas exposed to FEC soldiers voted in line with their unexposed peers. After the influx of refugees from Syria and Northern Africa starting in 2011 and intensifying during the European Refugee Crisis, areas that encountered FEC troops started to vote differentially more for far-right parties. This, however, is not mirrored in the first salient migration wave during the 1990s, during which large numbers of Albanians and former Yugoslavians settled across Italy. Through survey evidence, we document that a fear of Syrians having sexual motives, yet not Albanians, seems to be one of a handful of driving factors behind this contagion of prejudice.

We disentangle the mechanisms of this contagion by demonstrating that attitudinal contagion is unlikely to have occurred historically, been subsequently transmitted, and then been activated by the arrival of large numbers of migrants. Instead, it seems more likely that collective memory remained dormant for decades and, through perceived similarities, was selectively recalled by voters as they made their voting decisions, in line with recent theory by Bordalo et al. (2025). Our findings, however, also highlight that collective memory and selective recall are not the only factors that drive the shift to the far right. In exploratory analyses, we show that emotions interact with recall and collective memory.

Our findings carry large potential implications. They suggest that political reactions to migration shocks cannot be fully understood without accounting for how historical experiences are cognitively organized and selectively recalled. Even when direct exposure to violence lies several generations in the past, collective memories can remain latent and become politically consequential when contemporary events evoke perceived similarities. In this sense, historical trauma does not mechanically translate into persistent hostility; rather, it can re-emerge in nonlinear ways, contingent on the nature of subsequent shocks and the narratives through which they are interpreted.

More broadly, this paper contributes to a growing body of work trying to understand decision processes that involve memory: personal and collective. Understanding how

past experiences are retrieved, reinterpreted, and emotionally weighted may be crucial for explaining sudden behavioral shifts. Future research should examine in greater depth how emotions shape the activation of collective memory and investigate whether similar mechanisms operate in other historical and geographic contexts.

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A Appendix

A.1 Survey I (English translation)

1. Please indicate your current place of residence. <Dropdowns: Region / Province / Municipality>
   (If the municipality is not available, select "(not required)".)

2. What is the highest level of education you have completed? <Dropdown>

3. What is your gender? <Dropdown>

4. What is your year of birth? <Dropdown>

5. Which of the following best describes your current employment situation? <Dropdown>

6. Were you born in a country other than Italy? <Yes/No>
   If yes: please specify the country. <Input>

7. Is at least one of your parents an immigrant in Italy from abroad? <Yes/No>

8. In which municipality did your ancestors reside in 1945? You may enter information for up to six ancestors.

   a. Father: <Input>

   b. Mother: <Input>

   c. Paternal grandfather: <Input>

   d. Paternal grandmother: <Input>

   e. Maternal grandfather: <Input>

   f. Maternal grandmother: <Input>

   Instructions: provide the most precise information possible; leave blank if unknown; if an ancestor lived outside Italy, write the country name.

9. How much do you agree with each statement? <Slider: 1–7 (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree)>

a. Overall, immigrants bring a benefit to Italy.

b. Refugees coming from Syria and Africa should not be welcomed in Italy.

c. Interactions with the Muslim community contribute positively to Italian society.

d. It is a good thing that Italy belongs to the European Union.

e. Italian politicians care more about their own interests than those of voters.

f. The Italian economy is stronger now than it was 10 years ago.

10. How positively do you evaluate each group of immigrants? <Slider: 1–7 (1 = very negative, 7 = very positive)>

    a. Germans

    b. Moroccans

    c. French

    d. Ukrainians

    e. Eritreans

    f. Syrians

    g. Romanians

    h. Pakistanis

    i. Albanians

    j. Algerians

    k. Chinese

11. Now consider immigrants from Albania. How much do you agree with each statement? <Slider: 1–7>

    a. These immigrants take jobs away from Italians.

    b. These immigrants often harass Italian women.

    c. These immigrants will never be able to become true Italians.

    d. These immigrants work hard.

    e. These immigrants work hard to learn the Italian language.

f. These immigrants enrich Italian culture.

g. These immigrants often commit crimes.

h. These immigrants harm the Italian economy.

i. We should help these immigrants.

j. These immigrants will integrate well into Italian society.

12. Now consider immigrants from Syria and Africa. How much do you agree with each statement? <Slider: 1–7>

    a. These immigrants take jobs away from Italians.

    b. These immigrants often commit crimes.

    c. We should help these immigrants.

    d. These immigrants harm the Italian economy.

    e. These immigrants often harass Italian women.

    f. These immigrants will never be able to become true Italians.

    g. These immigrants work hard to learn the Italian language.

    h. These immigrants work hard.

    i. These immigrants will integrate well into Italian society.

    j. These immigrants enrich Italian culture.

13. The term Marocchinate is used to refer to episodes of mass sexual violence and killings committed during the Italian campaign of the Second World War by Moroccan soldiers, who were colonial troops of the French Expeditionary Corps. Before today, were you aware of these events? <Yes / No>

A.2 Survey II

The treatment condition in survey II received the following text:

"In 2015, Italy faced an extraordinary wave of migration, with over 150,000 arrivals in a single year. Many migrants came from Syria and African countries, such as Sudan, Nigeria, Eritrea, and Somalia. This migratory wave put strong pressure on the Italian reception system, arousing widespread concerns about security, the safety of Italian women, public order, and economic sustainability."

The control condition in survey II received the following text:

"In 2015, Italy faced a series of extreme weather events. Numerous municipalities suffered floods, with more than 400 millimeters of rain falling in a single day. These events caused casualties and serious damage to houses, businesses, and agriculture. The management of the emergency aroused criticism from public opinion, with concerns about the government's ability to deal with disasters and protect the affected communities."

A.3 Tables

Table A.1: Descriptive Statistics by Region

	Tuscany	Umbria	Lazio	Molise	Campania
FEC troops	0.2828	0.2500	0.7037	0.3913	0.0926
	(0.4519)	(0.5000)	(0.4583)	(0.4990)	(0.2908)
American troops	0.8056	0.7500	0.5852	0.9130	0.9815
	(0.3972)	(0.5000)	(0.4945)	(0.2881)	(0.1352)
Voter turnout in 2008 elections	0.8410	0.8435	0.8256	0.7812	0.7849
	(0.0282)	(0.0186)	(0.0378)	(0.0607)	(0.0635)
Far-right vote share in 2008 elections	0.0487	0.0450	0.0326	0.0180	0.0188
	(0.0157)	(0.0061)	(0.0181)	(0.0072)	(0.0098)
Population in 1,000 in 2011	19.7390	73.6412	31.8563	5.2431	23.6076
	(38.7033)	(75.4272)	(224.8753)	(11.7314)	(77.3389)
Share of Syrians in 2011	0.0000	0.0001	0.0001	0.0000	0.0000
	(0.0001)	(0.0002)	(0.0001)	(0.0000)	(0.0001)
Share of Albanians in 2011	0.0145	0.0092	0.0042	0.0014	0.0017
	(0.0104)	(0.0057)	(0.0041)	(0.0028)	(0.0023)
Share of Moroccans in 2011	0.0065	0.0034	0.0027	0.0034	0.0021
	(0.0047)	(0.0030)	(0.0029)	(0.0047)	(0.0029)
Share of migrants in 2011	0.0935	0.0945	0.0729	0.0677	0.0474
	(0.0326)	(0.0256)	(0.0276)	(0.0355)	(0.0231)
Municipality area (in km^2)	96.1940	256.4526	66.0225	32.8920	28.2559
	(77.4093)	(152.7987)	(120.2730)	(17.4166)	(28.2855)
Ruggedness	150.2099	181.5669	198.6895	249.4074	160.1058
	(109.6866)	(64.5220)	(139.6052)	(94.7865)	(140.7975)
Mean altitude (in meters)	261.2144	367.6350	343.1062	602.6057	196.1322
	(214.2957)	(43.6513)	(243.9215)	(285.1435)	(184.3512)
Malaria suitability index	0.0720	0.1025	0.1257	0.0637	0.0384
	(0.0324)	(0.0289)	(0.0368)	(0.0146)	(0.0160)
Observations	145	4	135	23	162

Notes: The table reports raw averages for municipalities in our estimation sample. The observations included are restricted to the Campania, Lazio, Molise, Tuscany, and Umbria regions. Only municipalities that either hosted American or FEC troops or both are included.

Table A.2: Balance Table

	Geographic & Demographic		+ Political + Economic	
	(1) No FEs	(2) Region FEs	(3) No FEs	(4) Region FEs
(Log of) Distance to Rome	0.1879	0.2047	-0.6456	-0.4930
	[0.2440]	[0.2020]	[0.7720]	[0.8520]
(Log of) Distance to Naples	-0.2126**	-0.2887***	0.4092	-0.2785
	[0.0200]	[0.0080]	[0.8380]	[0.9540]
(Log of) Distance to nearest main road in 1943	-0.0822**	-0.0679	-0.0742	-0.0610
	[0.0480]	[0.1160]	[0.6420]	[0.7120]
(Log of) Distance to nearest railroad in 1943	0.0652	0.0624	0.0623	0.0615
	[0.2820]	[0.2940]	[0.7560]	[0.7680]
(Log of) Distance to nearest Roman road	0.0516*	0.0465	0.0871	0.0778
	[0.0980]	[0.1660]	[0.5220]	[0.5680]
(Log of) Distance to nearest coast	-0.0018	0.0088	-0.3046	-0.3331
	[0.9580]	[0.8420]	[0.4400]	[0.4360]
(Log of) Distance to nearest main port city	0.0455	0.1017	-0.0520	-0.0895
	[0.6340]	[0.3760]	[0.9340]	[0.8660]
(Log of) Distance to nearest provincial capital	0.0637	0.0582	-0.0637	-0.0822
	[0.3420]	[0.4080]	[0.8320]	[0.7900]
(Log of) Distance to nearest large river	-0.0684	-0.0657	-0.0159	-0.0326
	[0.2400]	[0.3080]	[0.9440]	[0.8900]
(Log of) Distance to the Gothic line	0.0244	-0.0212	0.1126	0.1270
	[0.6940]	[0.7740]	[0.6120]	[0.5780]
(Log of) Distance to Fascistville	-0.0712	-0.0700	0.0910	0.0739
	[0.1200]	[0.1240]	[0.6860]	[0.7840]
(Log of) area in km^2	0.0222	0.0140	-0.2774	-0.3136
	[0.7340]	[0.8320]	[0.5640]	[0.5320]
Malaria index	6.9965**	5.8082**	5.7232	6.1596
	[0.0100]	[0.0340]	[0.7440]	[0.7380]
Mean altitude	0.0002	0.0002	0.0009	0.0010
	[0.3860]	[0.5420]	[0.5700]	[0.5640]
Ruggedness	0.0002	0.0002	-0.0001	-0.0000
	[0.5300]	[0.6400]	[0.9800]	[0.9860]
Municipality occupied by a violent Nazi division	0.0075	0.0320	-0.0171	-0.0264
	[0.9260]	[0.6820]	[0.9300]	[0.9040]
Number of episodes of Nazi violence	-0.0057	-0.0035	0.0110	0.0129
	[0.6100]	[0.7280]	[0.7280]	[0.6980]
Years of Nazi occupation	0.5157***	-0.0939	0.4753	0.6377
	[0.0020]	[0.7800]	[0.6760]	[0.6680]
At least one episode of Nazi violence	0.0436	0.0430	-0.2133	-0.2346
	[0.5420]	[0.5620]	[0.4780]	[0.4700]
(Log of) 1911 population	0.0019	-0.0239	0.0198	0.0195
	[1.0000]	[0.9140]	[0.9460]	[0.9680]
(Log of) 1921 number of families	-0.0597	-0.0485	-0.6376	-0.7601
	[0.8060]	[0.8280]	[0.7180]	[0.6900]
(Log of) 1921 population	0.0228	0.0351	0.9313	1.0761
	[0.9400]	[0.9100]	[0.6680]	[0.6420]
Share of population over 6 years of age in 1921	-0.1987	-0.1543	1.4946	1.7884
	[0.8060]	[0.9080]	[0.8760]	[0.8600]
Share of literate population in 1921	-0.0061**	-0.0049*	0.0111	0.0139
	[0.0320]	[0.0960]	[0.6080]	[0.5560]
Share of foreign population in 1921	-7.8960	-10.7785	14.0932	9.1047
	[0.6580]	[0.5460]	[0.8020]	[0.8720]
Fascist violence in 1920-22			0.4830	0.4591
			[0.5360]	[0.5580]
Presence of Fascist branch in 1921			-0.0898	-0.0789
			[0.6420]	[0.7020]
Fascist vote share in 1924			1.4358	1.3506
			[0.5520]	[0.6040]
Socialist vote share in 1913			0.0762	0.1173
			[0.9200]	[0.8840]
Socialist and Communist vote share in 1924			3.0109	2.9459
			[0.5120]	[0.5220]
1929 number of livestock divided by 1921 population			0.6309	0.6553
			[0.5740]	[0.5660]
1927 number of business divided by 1921 population			-3.7499	-3.1638
			[0.7080]	[0.7640]
1927 number of employees divided by 1921 population			1.3475	1.0466
			[0.6600]	[0.7420]
1927 number of main agricultural employees divided by 1921 population			1.5957	1.6329
			[0.3280]	[0.3200]
1927 number of secondary agricultural employees divided by 1921 population			1.0428	1.1782
			[0.7860]	[0.7620]
1929 number of agricultural holdings by 1921 population			-0.1805	-0.1303
			[0.9660]	[0.9760]
Region FEs		✓		✓
Observations	375	375	72	72
R^2	0.50	0.52	0.89	0.90

Notes: The table displays coefficients from OLS regressions. The dependent variable is a dummy for FEC troop presence. The level of analysis is the municipality. The observations included are restricted to the Campania, Lazio, Molise, Tuscany, and Umbria regions. Only municipalities that either hosted American or FEC troops or both are included. Region fixed effects are included as indicated. Robust standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses, with significance levels * = $p < 0.10$, ** = $p < 0.05$, and *** = $p < 0.01$.

Table A.3: Balance Table: Levels

	Geographic & Demographic		+ Political + Economic	
	(1) No FEs	(2) Region FEs	(3) No FEs	(4) Region FEs
Distance to Rome	-0.0018	-0.0013	-0.0055	-0.0169
	[0.4280]	[0.6320]	[0.6700]	[0.5400]
Distance to Naples	-0.0003	-0.0006	0.0066	0.0160
	[0.8880]	[0.8440]	[0.6580]	[0.5500]
Distance to nearest main road in 1943	-0.0114*	-0.0114*	-0.0165	-0.0235
	[0.0720]	[0.0840]	[0.4940]	[0.3600]
Distance to nearest railroad in 1943	0.0116	0.0108	-0.0072	-0.0092
	[0.4060]	[0.4420]	[0.8340]	[0.7800]
Distance to nearest Roman road	0.0098**	0.0112**	0.0066	0.0112
	[0.0100]	[0.0160]	[0.6140]	[0.4900]
Distance to nearest coast	0.0003	0.0005	-0.0084	-0.0037
	[0.8860]	[0.8180]	[0.5320]	[0.8240]
Distance to nearest main port city	-0.0013	-0.0006	0.0026	-0.0010
	[0.4460]	[0.7660]	[0.7760]	[0.9400]
Distance to nearest provincial capital	0.0042	0.0036	-0.0025	0.0019
	[0.1080]	[0.1960]	[0.8100]	[0.8960]
Distance to nearest large river	-0.0068	-0.0070	-0.0034	-0.0032
	[0.5020]	[0.5400]	[0.9340]	[0.9320]
Distance to the Gothic line	0.0003	-0.0001	0.0028	0.0036
	[0.8940]	[0.9880]	[0.8140]	[0.7600]
Distance to Fascistville	-0.0002	-0.0002	-0.0001	0.0001
	[0.4300]	[0.5380]	[0.9340]	[0.8960]
Area in km^2	-0.0006	-0.0007	-0.0008	-0.0006
	[0.4460]	[0.4140]	[0.7300]	[0.8020]
Malaria index	3.5398**	2.2750	4.6799	0.4664
	[0.0460]	[0.2260]	[0.6200]	[0.9480]
Mean altitude	0.0001	0.0001	0.0008	0.0005
	[0.5000]	[0.5960]	[0.5120]	[0.7560]
Ruggedness	0.0002	0.0001	-0.0004	-0.0001
	[0.6580]	[0.7100]	[0.8040]	[0.9560]
Municipality occupied by a violent Nazi division	-0.0147	0.0045	-0.0552	-0.0258
	[0.8340]	[0.9280]	[0.7640]	[0.8960]
Number of episodes of Nazi violence	-0.0030	-0.0003	-0.0023	-0.0048
	[0.7920]	[0.9660]	[0.9280]	[0.8460]
Years of Nazi occupation	0.3732**	-0.0889	-0.4230	-0.2720
	[0.0460]	[0.7560]	[0.6300]	[0.7540]
At least one episode of Nazi violence	0.0240	0.0274	-0.0547	-0.0538
	[0.6860]	[0.6900]	[0.8400]	[0.8360]
1911 population	0.0000	-0.0000	-0.0000	-0.0000
	[0.9680]	[0.8540]	[0.5820]	[0.5220]
1921 number of families	0.0000	0.0000	-0.0001	-0.0002
	[0.9360]	[0.7460]	[0.8240]	[0.6320]
1921 population	0.0000	-0.0000	0.0000	0.0001
	[0.9860]	[1.0000]	[0.7220]	[0.5480]
Share of population over 6 years of age in 1921	-0.1812	-0.1658	-0.7970	-1.6236
	[0.8660]	[0.9000]	[0.9600]	[0.8800]
Share of literate population in 1921	-0.0072***	-0.0063**	-0.0011	-0.0028
	[0.0060]	[0.0220]	[0.9360]	[0.8740]
Share of foreign population in 1921	-16.0223	-18.7141	7.8967	13.5690
	[0.3840]	[0.2980]	[0.8960]	[0.8080]
Fascist violence in 1920-22			-0.0154	0.0482
			[0.9800]	[0.9480]
Presence of Fascist branch in 1921			-0.0820	-0.0684
			[0.6740]	[0.7360]
Fascist vote share in 1924			0.3308	0.3444
			[0.8540]	[0.8600]
Socialist vote share in 1913			0.2659	0.2728
			[0.6640]	[0.6560]
Socialist and Communist vote share in 1924			1.0342	0.9309
			[0.7680]	[0.7820]
1929 number of livestock divided by 1921 population			0.0537	0.0613
			[0.8400]	[0.8180]
1927 number of business divided by 1921 population			-2.4496	-2.9937
			[0.7280]	[0.6800]
1927 number of employees divided by 1921 population			1.0405	0.9758
			[0.5740]	[0.6200]
1927 number of main agricultural employees divided by 1921 population			0.7565	0.5235
			[0.5420]	[0.7040]
1927 number of secondary agricultural employees divided by 1921 population			0.1114	0.1254
			[0.9520]	[0.9480]
1929 number of agricultural holdings by 1921 population			-0.6439	-0.1577
			[0.8800]	[0.9680]
Region FEs		✓		✓
Observations	400	400	80	79
R^2	0.51	0.53	0.90	0.90

Notes: The table displays coefficients from OLS regressions. The dependent variable is a dummy for FEC troop presence. The level of analysis is the municipality. The observations included are restricted to the Campania, Lazio, Molise, Tuscany, and Umbria regions. Only municipalities that either hosted American or FEC troops or both are included. Region fixed effects are included as indicated. Robust standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses, with significance levels * = $p < 0.10$, ** = $p < 0.05$, and *** = $p < 0.01$.

Table A.4: Difference-in-Differences: Spillover Effects

	Baseline	Region FEs	Province (avgs)	Province (sums)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
FEC troops × Post 2011	0.0359***	0.0079**	0.0464***	0.0010**
	(0.0042)	(0.0035)	(0.0158)	(0.0004)
Municipality FEs	✓	✓		
Province FEs			✓	✓
Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓
Region × Year FEs		✓		
Observations	2,818	2,818	138	138
R^2	0.87	0.92	0.93	0.93
Mean in Control	0.14	0.14	0.15	0.15
Effect in SDs	0.32	0.07	0.43	0.01

Notes: The table displays coefficients from OLS regressions. The dependent variable is the share of votes for the far right. The main independent variable is a measure of FEC troop presence interacted with a dummy for years after 2011. In Columns 1 and 2, the measure of FEC troop presence is a dummy variable. Columns 3 and 4 aggregate the dependent variable at the province level. Column 3 defines the measure of FEC troop presence as the average of all dummies for municipalities within the same province. Column 4 defines the measure of FEC troop presence as the number of municipalities in which the dummy was positive within the same province. Region-by-year fixed effects are included as indicated. The level of analysis is at the municipality level in Columns 1 and 2 and at the province level in Columns 3 and 4. The observations included are restricted to the Campania, Lazio, Molise, Tuscany, and Umbria regions. Only municipalities that either hosted American or FEC troops or both are included. The sample is restricted to the election years 2001-2022. Municipality or province and year fixed effects are included as indicated. Robust standard errors clustered at the municipality or province level in parentheses, with significance levels * = $p < 0.10$, ** = $p < 0.05$, and *** = $p < 0.01$.

Table A.5: Difference-in-Differences: Conley Standard Errors

	Baseline	Conley: 10km	Conley: 20km	Conley: 50km	Conley: 100km
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
FEC troops × Post 2011	0.0359***	0.0359***	0.0359***	0.0359***	0.0359***
	(0.0042)	(0.0052)	(0.0081)	(0.0121)	(0.0126)
Municipality FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,818	2,819	2,819	2,819	2,819
R^2	0.87	0.87	0.87	0.87	0.87
Mean in Control	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14
Effect in SDs	0.32	0.32	0.32	0.32	0.32

Notes: The table displays coefficients from OLS regressions. The dependent variable is the share of votes for the far right. The main independent variable is a dummy for FEC troop presence interacted with a dummy for years after 2011. The level of analysis is the municipality. The sample is restricted to the election years 2001-2022. The observations included are restricted to the Campania, Lazio, Molise, Tuscany, and Umbria regions. Only municipalities that either hosted American or FEC troops or both are included. Municipality and year fixed effects are included as indicated. Robust standard errors clustered at the municipality in Column 1, Conley (1999) standard errors with increasing cutoffs in Columns 2–5 in parentheses, with significance levels * = $p < 0.10$, ** = $p < 0.05$, and *** = $p < 0.01$.

Table A.6: Spatial Inference Exercise

		Distance to Naples				Distance to Rome			
Adj	Clusters	Est p	Synth p	CI Width	CI	Est p	Synth p	CI Width	CI
HC	.	0.000	0.000	0.49	[0.75, 1.25]	0.000	0.000	0.50	[0.75, 1.25]
BCH	3	0.041	0.038	1.79	[0.1, 1.9]	0.023	0.022	1.34	[0.33, 1.67]
BCH	4	0.025	0.025	1.53	[0.24, 1.76]	0.053	0.045	2.04	[-0.02, 2.02]
BCH	5	0.015	0.017	1.37	[0.32, 1.68]	0.139	0.127	3.01	[-0.51, 2.51]
BCH	6	0.008	0.009	1.22	[0.39, 1.61]	0.109	0.105	2.64	[-0.32, 2.32]
BCH	7	0.001	0.001	0.84	[0.58, 1.42]	0.076	0.079	2.28	[-0.14, 2.14]

Moran=0.27, Structure=0.35, Effective Range=0.45, R2=0.03.

N=2819, Splines=5, PCs=5.

Notes: Reports p-values and confidence intervals of treatment effects, and p-values from a synthetic outcome exercise when adjusted with Bester et al. (2011) large cluster standard errors. In columns labeled "Distance to Naples", the regression includes (the log of) distance to Naples interacted with year fixed effects. In columns labeled "Distance to Rome", the regression includes (the log of) distance to Rome interacted with year fixed effects. Each of those exercises is based on 5,000 simulations. Moran represents the Z-score of the null hypothesis of zero correlation between each residual and its nearest neighbors. Structure measures the share of residual variance attributable to the spatially structured signal relative to the total variance. The effective range reports the spatial scale over which this structured component remains correlated, defined as the distance (normalized by the 95th percentile of pairwise distances) at which spatial correlation decays to approximately 0.14. R^2 gives the explanatory power of a regression of the outcome on a quadratic in longitude and latitude.

Table A.7: Difference-in-Differences: Removing Regions

	Without Tuscany	Without Umbria	Without Lazio	Without Molise	Without Campania
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
FEC troops × Post 2011	0.0513***	0.0363***	0.0234***	0.0388***	0.0112***
	(0.0045)	(0.0037)	(0.0048)	(0.0037)	(0.0036)
Municipality FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,946	2,794	2,008	2,680	1,844
R^2	0.86	0.87	0.85	0.88	0.92
Mean in Control	0.13	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.17
Effect in SDs	0.48	0.33	0.22	0.35	0.09

Notes: The table displays coefficients from OLS regressions. The dependent variable is the share of votes for the far right. The main independent variable is a dummy for FEC troop presence interacted with a dummy for years after 2011. Column 1 excludes the region of Tuscany, Column 2 excludes Umbria, Column 3 excludes Lazio, Column 4 excludes Molise, and Column 5 excludes Campania. The level of analysis is the municipality. The observations included are restricted to the Campania, Lazio, Molise, Tuscany, and Umbria regions. Only municipalities that either hosted American or FEC troops or both are included. The sample is restricted to the election years 2001-2022. Municipality and year fixed effects are included as indicated. Robust standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses, with significance levels * = $p < 0.10$, ** = $p < 0.05$, and *** = $p < 0.01$.

Table A.8: Difference-in-Differences: Removing Municipalities

	Full Sample	>30km from Rome	>30km from Naples	>30km from Cassino	>30km from Rome or Naples
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
FEC troops × Post 2011	0.0359***	0.0366***	0.0265***	0.0416***	0.0270***
	(0.0036)	(0.0037)	(0.0036)	(0.0042)	(0.0037)
Municipality FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,818	2,740	2,404	2,404	2,326
R^2	0.87	0.87	0.89	0.87	0.89
Mean in Control	0.14	0.14	0.15	0.15	0.15
Effect in SDs	0.32	0.34	0.23	0.36	0.23

Notes: The table displays coefficients from OLS regressions. The dependent variable is the share of votes for the far right. The main independent variable is a dummy for FEC troop presence interacted with a dummy for years after 2011. Columns 2–5 exclude locations within 30km of Rome, Naples, Cassino, and Rome and Naples, respectively. The level of analysis is the municipality. The observations included are restricted to the Campania, Lazio, Molise, Tuscany, and Umbria regions. Only municipalities that either hosted American or FEC troops or both are included. The sample is restricted to the election years 2001-2022. Municipality and year fixed effects are included as indicated. Robust standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses, with significance levels * = $p < 0.10$, ** = $p < 0.05$, and *** = $p < 0.01$.

Table A.9: Difference-in-Differences: Alternative Treatment

	Dependent Variable: Share of Far-Right Votes				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
FEC troops × Post 2011	0.0359***	0.0338***	0.0278***	0.0376***	0.0091**
	(0.0036)	(0.0037)	(0.0035)	(0.0038)	(0.0040)
(Log of) Distance to nearest main road × Post 2011		0.0089***			
		(0.0022)			
(Log of) Distance to Naples × Post 2011			0.0249***		
			(0.0015)		
Share of literate population in 1921 × Post 2011				0.0005***	
				(0.0001)	
Malaria index × Post 2011					0.4391***
					(0.0458)
Municipality FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,818	2,818	2,812	2,648	2,624
R^2	0.87	0.87	0.89	0.87	0.88
Effect in SDs	0.32	0.08	0.22	0.00	3.92

Notes: The table displays coefficients from OLS regressions. The dependent variable is the share of votes for the far right. The main independent variable is a dummy for FEC troop presence interacted with a dummy for years after 2011. Additional independent variables (interacted with year fixed effects) are the logarithm of the distance to nearest main road in 1943, the distance to Naples, the share of the literate population in 1921, and the malaria index. The sample is restricted to the election years 2001-2022. The observations included are restricted to the Campania, Lazio, Molise, Tuscany, and Umbria regions. Only municipalities that either hosted American or FEC troops or both are included. The level of analysis is the municipality. Municipality and year fixed effects are included as indicated. Robust standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses, with significance levels * = $p < 0.10$, ** = $p < 0.05$, and *** = $p < 0.01$.

Table A.10: Difference-in-Differences: Internal Migration Quintiles

	Quintile 1	Quintile 2	Quintile 3	Quintile 4	Quintile 5
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
FEC troops × Post 2011	0.0448***	0.0273***	0.0393***	0.0392***	0.0285***
	(0.0108)	(0.0091)	(0.0091)	(0.0095)	(0.0076)
Municipality FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	558	554	560	564	562
R^2	0.86	0.87	0.87	0.88	0.89
Mean in Control	0.14	0.15	0.14	0.15	0.15
Effect in SDs	0.40	0.24	0.36	0.34	0.26

Notes: The table displays coefficients from OLS regressions. The dependent variable is the share of votes for the far right. The main independent variable is a dummy for FEC troop presence interacted with a dummy for years after 2011. Each of the five columns corresponds to the quintiles of municipalities constructed by the share of the population in 2011 that had moved into the municipality. The sample is restricted to the election years 2001-2022. The observations included are restricted to the Campania, Lazio, Molise, Tuscany, and Umbria regions. Only municipalities that either hosted American or FEC troops or both are included. The level of analysis is the municipality. Municipality and year fixed effects are included as indicated. Robust standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses, with significance levels * = $p < 0.10$, ** = $p < 0.05$, and *** = $p < 0.01$.

Table A.11: Difference-in-Differences: Population Quintiles

	Quintile 1	Quintile 2	Quintile 3	Quintile 4	Quintile 5
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
FEC troops × Post 2011	0.0258***	0.0408***	0.0185**	0.0361***	0.0061
	(0.0093)	(0.0088)	(0.0084)	(0.0103)	(0.0161)
Municipality FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	562	557	563	564	558
R^2	0.86	0.91	0.88	0.88	0.85
Mean in Control	0.15	0.14	0.15	0.14	0.13
Effect in SDs	0.22	0.36	0.16	0.32	0.06

Notes: The table displays coefficients from OLS regressions. The dependent variable is the share of votes for the far right. The main independent variable is a dummy for FEC troop presence interacted with a dummy for years after 2011. Each of the five columns corresponds to the quintiles of municipalities constructed by their 2011 population. The sample is restricted to the election years 2001-2022. The observations included are restricted to the Campania, Lazio, Molise, Tuscany, and Umbria regions. Only municipalities that either hosted American or FEC troops or both are included. The level of analysis is the municipality. Municipality and year fixed effects are included as indicated. Robust standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses, with significance levels * = $p < 0.10$, ** = $p < 0.05$, and *** = $p < 0.01$.

Table A.12: Difference-in-Differences: Voting Quintiles

	Quintile 1	Quintile 2	Quintile 3	Quintile 4	Quintile 5
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
FEC troops × Post 2011	0.0513***	0.0525***	0.0239***	0.0199***	0.0216***
	(0.0129)	(0.0090)	(0.0084)	(0.0066)	(0.0074)
Municipality FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	642	534	544	539	545
R^2	0.82	0.87	0.89	0.92	0.95
Mean in Control	0.11	0.13	0.15	0.15	0.18
Effect in SDs	0.57	0.50	0.21	0.18	0.18

Notes: The table displays coefficients from OLS regressions. The dependent variable is the share of votes for the far right. The main independent variable is a dummy for FEC troop presence interacted with a dummy for years after 2011. Each of the five columns corresponds to the quintiles of municipalities constructed by the far-right vote share in 2008. The sample is restricted to the election years 2001-2022. The observations included are restricted to the Campania, Lazio, Molise, Tuscany, and Umbria regions. Only municipalities that either hosted American or FEC troops or both are included. The level of analysis is the municipality. Municipality and year fixed effects are included as indicated. Robust standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses, with significance levels * = $p < 0.10$, ** = $p < 0.05$, and *** = $p < 0.01$.

Table A.13: Survey I: Differences in Views about Albanians and Syrians or Africans

	(1) Take jobs from Italians	(2) Hard workers	(3) Cannot become Italians	(4) Willing to learn Italian	(5) Harass women	(6) Integrate well into Italian society	(7) Damage the economy	(8) Commit crimes	(9) Enrich culture	(10) Should be helped
FEC troops	-0.2320	-0.5712**	-0.2758	0.0051	-0.1025	-0.0083	-0.1131	-0.1629	-0.1664	-0.1302
	(0.2459)	(0.2746)	(0.2339)	(0.3024)	(0.2445)	(0.2999)	(0.2111)	(0.1867)	(0.2565)	(0.1850)
Syrians or Africans	-0.2296	-0.2191	-0.0187	-0.3349	-0.2494	-0.2709	-0.2537	-0.1428	0.0576	0.0914
	(0.2042)	(0.2392)	(0.2147)	(0.2716)	(0.2442)	(0.2319)	(0.2133)	(0.2220)	(0.2325)	(0.2282)
FEC troops × Syrians or Africans	0.6339*	-0.0104	0.7048***	-0.0644	0.7735***	-0.1974	0.7316***	0.5779**	-0.2422	-0.0883
	(0.3234)	(0.4349)	(0.2647)	(0.4672)	(0.2913)	(0.4013)	(0.2519)	(0.2690)	(0.3491)	(0.3024)
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	476	476	476	476	476	476	476	476	476	476
R^2	0.20	0.19	0.23	0.20	0.12	0.17	0.18	0.17	0.22	0.23

Notes: The table displays coefficients from OLS regressions. The dependent variable is the agreement to one of ten statements listed in Appendix Section A.1. The main independent variables are a dummy for FEC troop presence, a dummy for statements about Syrians/Africans (with Albanians as the omitted category), and their interaction. The included control variables are age, gender, education level, and occupation. The sample includes only respondents who currently reside and whose ancestors were also born in municipalities that hosted FEC troops, and respondents who currently reside and whose ancestors were also born in municipalities that did not host FEC troops. The observations included are restricted to respondents residing in the Campania, Lazio, Molise, Tuscany, and Umbria regions. Only respondents from municipalities that either hosted American or FEC troops or both are included. Robust standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses, with significance levels * = $p < 0.10$, ** = $p < 0.05$, and *** = $p < 0.01$.

Table A.14: Survey II: Other Results

	Migration Concerns		Far-right Vote	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
FEC troops	0.0373	0.0572		
	(0.0238)	(0.0358)		
FEC troops × Post 2011			0.0347**	0.0280
			(0.0167)	(0.0192)
Region FEs		✓		
Region × Year FEs				✓
Respondent FEs			✓	✓
Observations	1,221	1,221	250	250
R^2	0.04	0.04	0.75	0.75
Mean in Control	0.31	0.31	0.02	0.02
Effect in SDs	0.08	0.12	0.26	0.21

Notes: The table displays coefficients from OLS regressions. The dependent variable in Columns 1 and 2 is a dummy whether the respondent from Survey II listed migration as a top concern for their vote choice in the 2022 election. In Columns 3 and 4, it is a dummy whether the ITANES 2013 respondent voted for the far right, interacted with a dummy for 2013 (relative to 2008). The independent variable is a dummy for FEC troop presence in Columns 1 and 2, which, in Columns 3 and 4, is interacted with a dummy for years after 2011. The included control variables in Columns 1 and 2 are age, gender, education level, civil status, and occupation. Region, region-by-year and respondent fixed effects are included as indicated. Robust standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses, with significance levels * = $p < 0.10$, ** = $p < 0.05$, and *** = $p < 0.01$.

A.4 Figures

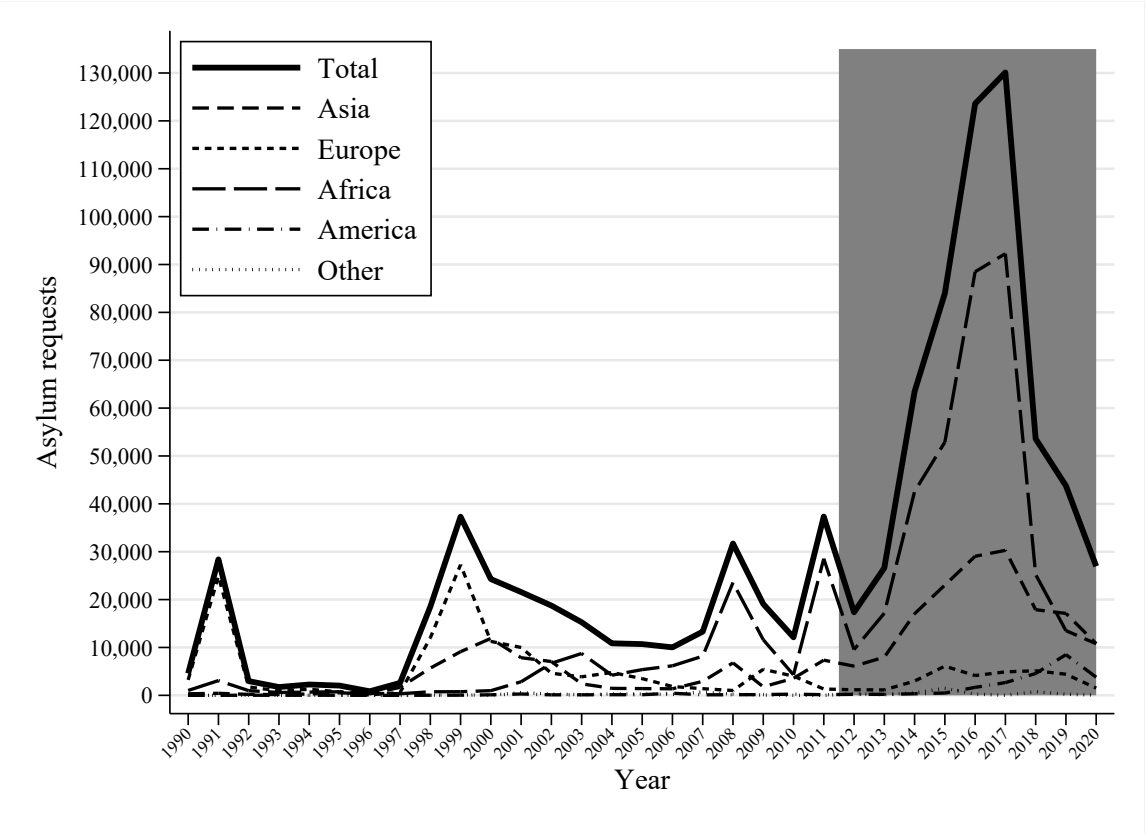

Figure A.1: Asylum Requests

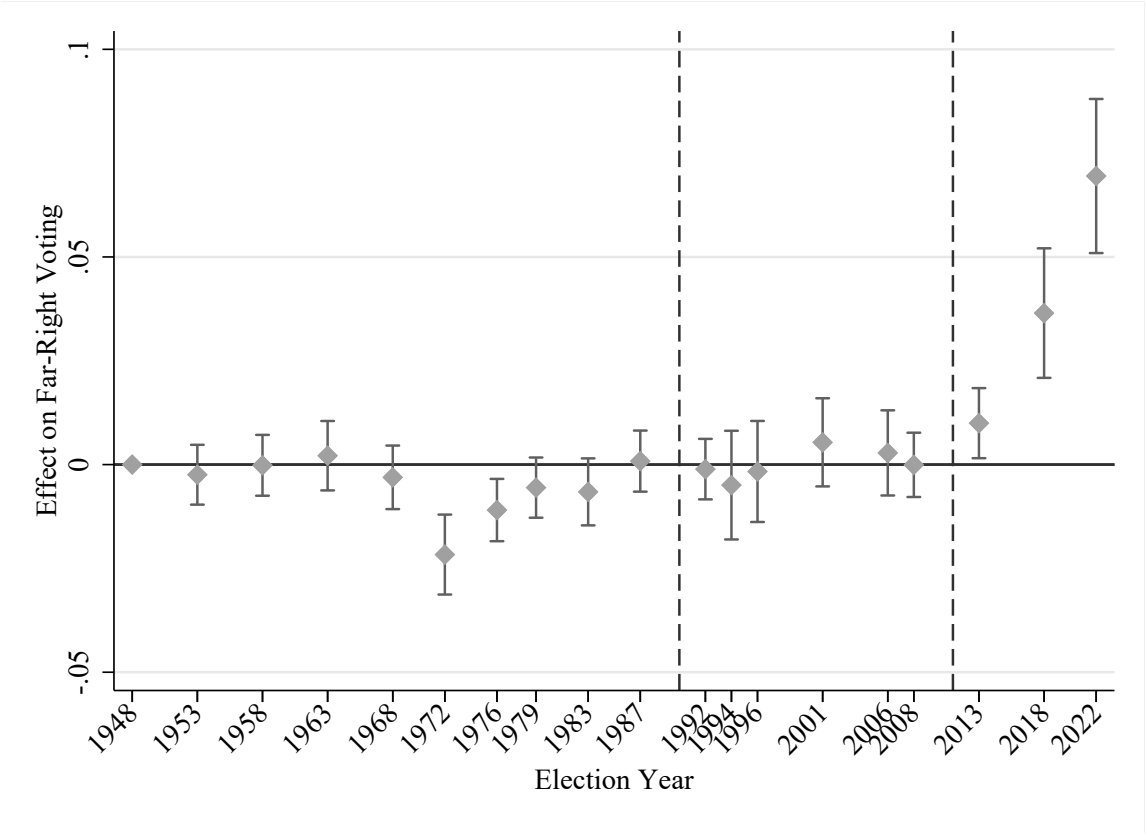

Figure A.2: Event Study: Vote Share for the Far Right after 1948

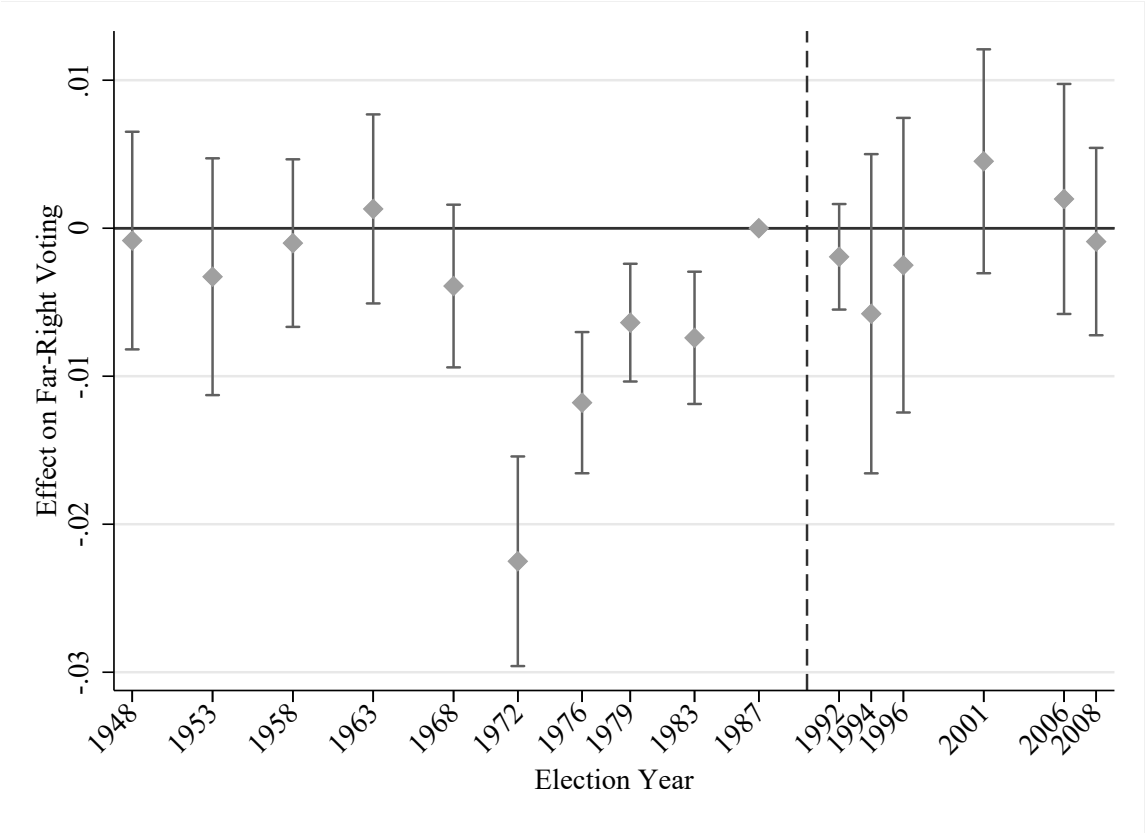

Figure A.3: Event Study: Vote Share for the Far Right after 1990

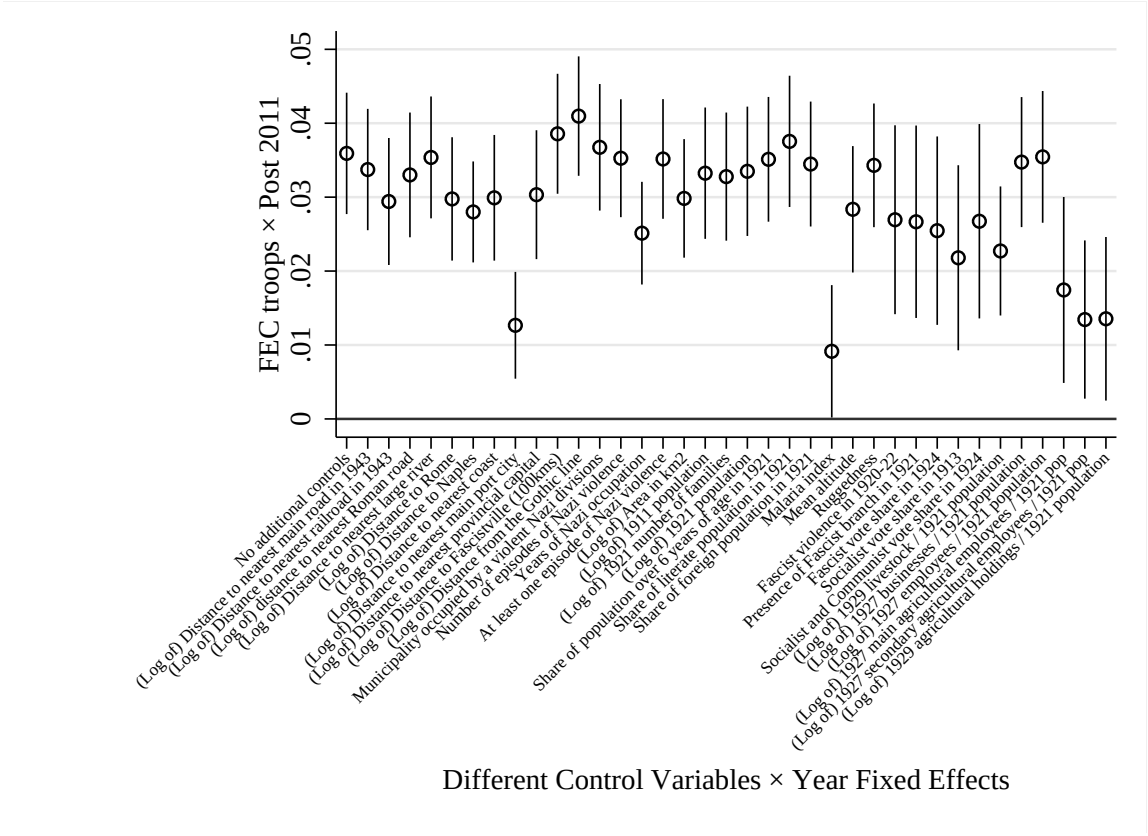

Figure A.4: Difference-in-Differences: Specification Graph

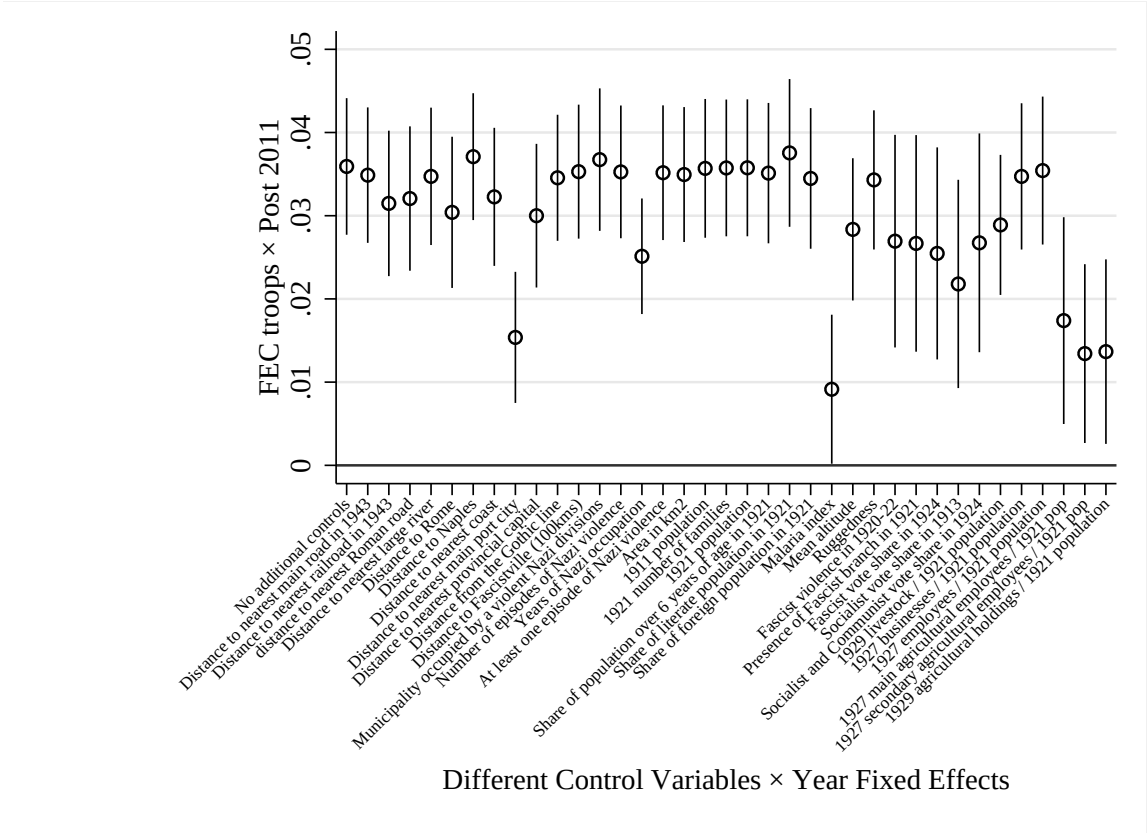

Figure A.5: Difference-in-Differences: Specification Graph (without logs)

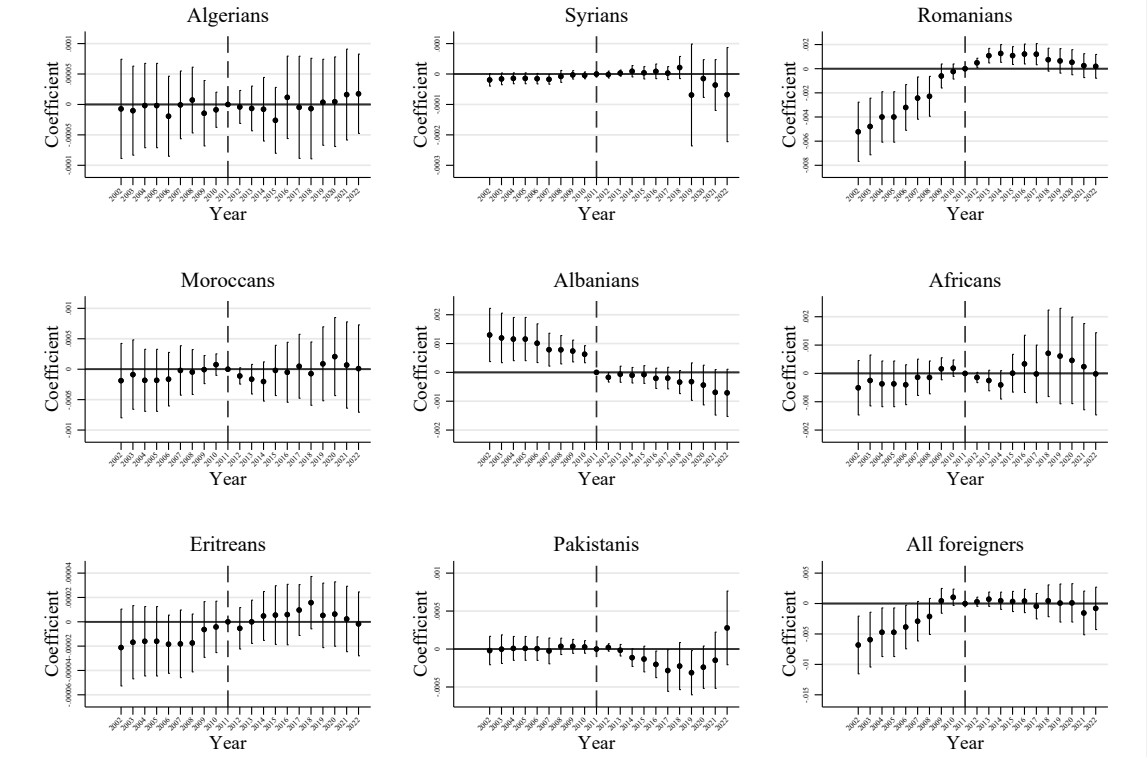

Figure A.6: Event Study: Migration Patterns by Nationality

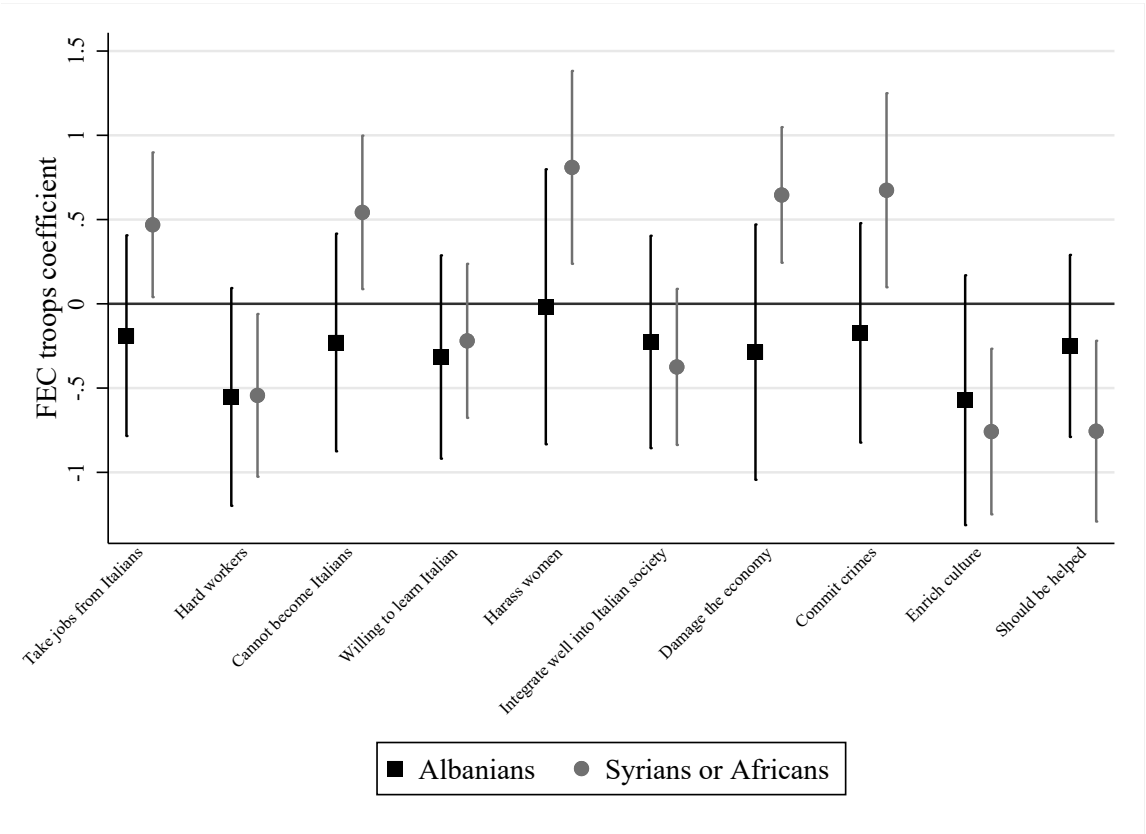

Figure A.7: Survey I: Different Views on Albanians and Syrians or Africans (including Region Fixed Effects)

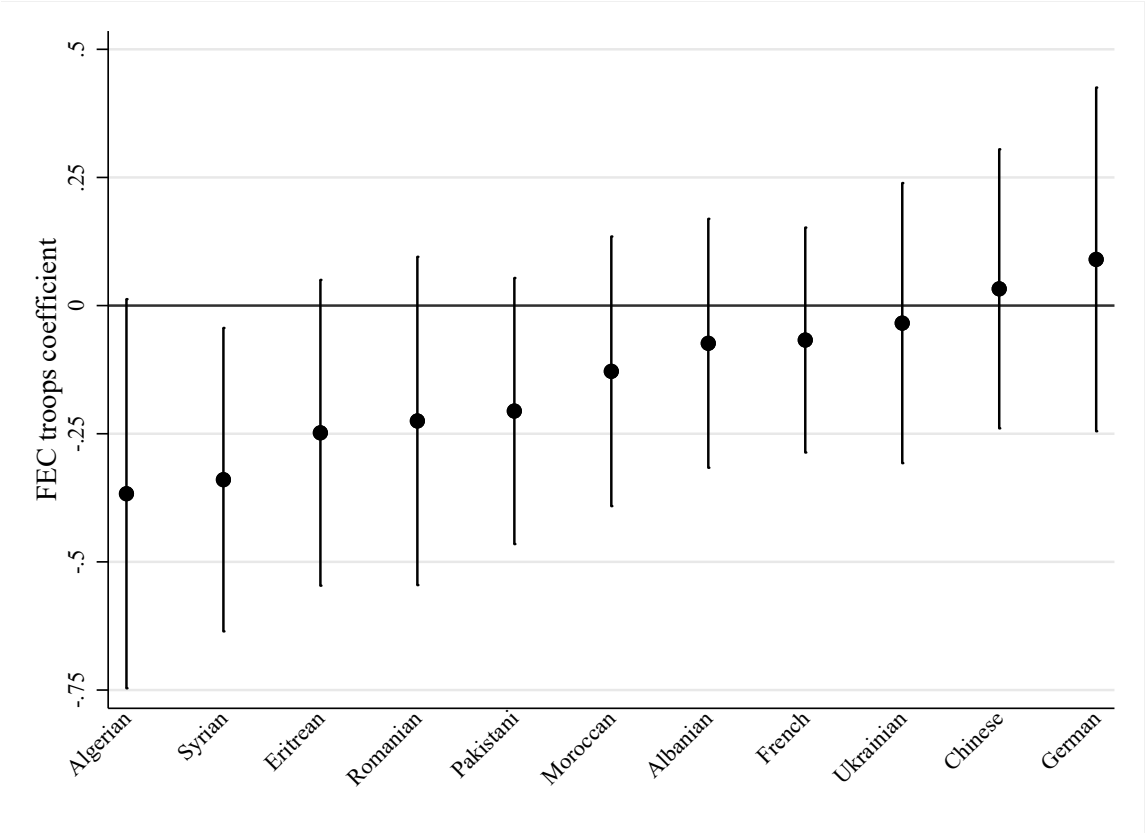

Figure A.8: Survey I: Views on Various Migrant Groups