ONLINE APPENDIX

Table A: Coding scheme of the rhetorical analysis

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Topical categories and subcategories** | **Codes** | **Assigned components of the rhetorical triangle** | **Frequency of coded segments (N)** |
| Addressing public concerns | Reassuring the public | We can do it | Ethos and Pathos | 23 |
| Assurances on the implementation of measures | Pathos | 22 |
| We don't forget the public | Pathos | 5 |
| Don't panic | Pathos | 1 |
| Admitting losses to the public | Asking the public for understanding | Ethos and Pathos | 4 |
| We must make sacrifices | Ethos and Pathos | 3 |
| Feeling pity for volunteers | Pathos | 1 |
| Praise the public | Expressing gratitude to volunteers | Pathos | 14 |
| Being proud of volunteers | Pathos | 3 |
| Expressing support for volunteers | Pathos | 3 |
| Legitimization of help | Help as prevention | Logos | 15 |
| It's a public goal | Logos and Ethos | 3 |
| Filling the needs of the labor market | Logos | 1 |
| Refugees have lost everything | Logos and Pathos | 1 |

Table B: Co-occurrence analysis: To what extent do individual codes appear with "We can do it together" code.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Topical categories and subcategories** | **Codes** | **We can do itN=23** |
| Addressing public concerns | Reassuring the public | Assurances on the implementation of measuresN=22 | 6 |
| We don't forget the publicN=5 | 0 |
| Don't panicN=1 | 1 |
| Admitting losses to the public | Asking for understandingN=4 | 1 |
| We must make sacrificesN=3 | 2 |
| Feeling pity for volunteersN=1 | 0 |
| Praise the public | Expressing gratitude to volunteersN=14 | 5 |
| Being proud of volunteersN=3 | 1 |
| Expressing support for volunteersn=3 | 1 |
| Legitimization of help | Help as preventionN=15 | 4 |
| It's a public goalN=3 | 1 |
| Filling the needs of the labor marketN=1 | 0 |
| Refugees have lost everythingN=1 | 0 |

**Sample of communication analyzed in the rhetorical analysis**

Fiala P (2022) *Petr Fiala: Otázky Václava Moravce: Zmrazování majetků oligarchů probíhá razantně*. Available at: <https://www.ods.cz/clanek/22448-otazky-vaclava-moravce-zmrazovani-majetku-oligarchu-probiha-razantne> (accessed March 27, 2022).

Fiala P (2022) *Petr Fiala: Partie: Rusko je ve válce s celým světem, jen ji vede jinými prostředky. NATO nemůže do konfliktu aktivně vstoupit*. Available at: <https://www.ods.cz/clanek/22381-partie-rusko-je-ve-valce-s-celym-svetem-jen-ji-vede-jinymi-prostredky-nato-nemuze-do-konfliktu-aktivne-vstoupit> (accessed November 10, 2022).

Fiala P (2022) *Projev předsedy vlády Petra Fialy na konferenci Naše bezpečnost není samozřejmost*. Available at: <https://www.vlada.cz/cz/clenove-vlady/premier/projevy/projev-predsedy-vlady-petra-fialy-na-konferenci-nase-bezpecnost-neni-samozrejmost-194927/> (accessed December 5, 2022).

Fiala P (2022) *Projev předsedy vlády Petra Fialy v Poslanecké sněmovně k dopadům ruské vojenské agrese na Ukrajině na občany České republiky*. Available at: <https://www.vlada.cz/cz/clenove-vlady/premier/projevy/projev-predsedy-vlady-petra-fialy-v-poslanecke-snemovne-k-dopadum-ruske-vojenske-agrese-na-ukrajine-na-obcany-ceske-republiky-195203/> (accessed December 12, 2022).

Fiala P (2022) *Hlavní zprávy CNN Prima News.* Available at: https://www.ods.cz/clanek/22406 (accessed December 12, 2022).

Fiala P (2022) *Seznam Zprávy: Na Čechy nezapomínáme, senioři dostanou výrazně přidáno.* Available at: <https://www.ods.cz/clanek/22425> (accessed December 12, 2022).

Fiala P (2022) *Stojíme za Ukrajinou a jsme připraveni pomoci našim přátelům, kteří utíkají před válkou. Available at:* <https://www.ods.cz/clanek/22349-stojime-za-ukrajinou-a-jsme-pripraveni-pomoci-nasim-pratelum-kteri-utikaji-pred-valkou> (accessed December 12, 2022).

Fiala P (2022) *Televizní noviny: Už šestý den pokračuje invaze ruských vojsk na Ukrajinu.* Available at: <https://www.ods.cz/clanek/22357> (accessed December 12, 2022).

Fiala P (2022) Události, komentáře: Ukrajinci bojují i za nás, zásah NATO by vedl ke světové válce. Available at: <https://www.ods.cz/clanek/22342> (accessed December 12, 2022).

Fiala P (2022) *Vláda připravila soubor opatření na pomoc s uprchlickou vlnou i se začleňováním uprchlíků, zlevnit chce i pohonné hmoty a zrušit silniční daň. Available at:* <https://www.vlada.cz/cz/media-centrum/aktualne/vlada-pripravila-soubor-opatreni-na-pomoc-s-uprchlickou-vlnou-i-se-zaclenovanim-uprchliku--zlevnit-chce-i-pohonne-hmoty-a-zrusit-silnicni-dan-194919/> (accessed December 12, 2022).

**SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE**

Note: Variable coding is in the parentheses.

**Are you...?**

* Male (0)
* Female (1)
* I do not wish to answer (.)

**What year were you born?**

**What is your highest achieved level of education?**

* Elementary education (0)
* High school without the graduation exam (1)
* High school with the graduation exam (1)
* Higher vocational education (2)
* College education (2)
* I do not wish to answer (.)

*Coding: 0 = Less then high school, 1 = high school, 2 College*

**To what extent do you trust the government of the Czech Republic?**

* Do not trust at all (0)
* 1
* 2
* 3
* 4
* 5
* 6
* 7
* 8
* 9
* Fully trust (10)
* DK (.)

**Which of the following best fits the area where you live?**

* A city (0)
* A suburb or a town close to a city (0)
* A town or a small town (1)
* A village (2)
* A farmhouse or a remote house (2)
* DK (.)
* I do not wish to answer (.)

*Coding: 0 = City&suburbs, 1 = small/midsize town, 2 village*

**In politics, people sometimes talk about "left" and "right". Where would you personally place yourself on this scale, where 0 means left and 10 means right?**

* Left (0)
* 1
* 2
* 3
* 4
* 5
* 6
* 7
* 8
* 9
* Right (10)
* DK (.)

***Note:*** *Random assignment of one of the following two:*

***Control:***

Please read the following excerpt from a news article:

 Czech government introduces welfare benefit for refugees from Ukraine:

The Czech Republic will provide a welfare benefit of CZK 5,000 per month to all refugees from Ukraine. The benefit is intended for people who are coming to our country, seeking refuge from the war, and it is intended to help them pay for the basic necessities. We must help, at least in the first few months, those who have had to leave everything behind and now need our help. We help because we are human beings and helping someone who is in need is a basic act of humanity (the minister told the media).

***Treatment:***

Czech government introduces welfare benefit for refugees from Ukraine:

The Czech Republic will provide a welfare benefit of CZK 5,000 per month to all refugees from Ukraine. We understand that some people find it unfair when you work hard, pay taxes and rent, and someone new comes in and simply gets everything. It is understandable to feel that way. However, the benefit is intended for people who are coming to our country, seeking refuge from the war, and it is intended to help them pay for the basic necessities. We must help, at least in the first few months, those who have had to leave everything behind and now need our help. We help because we are human beings and helping someone who is in need is a basic act of humanity (the minister told the media).

**Some people think that Ukrainian refugees should receive this welfare benefit, other people think that Ukrainian refugees should not receive it. What is your opinion? Please mark it on the following scale, where 0 means that Ukrainian refugees should not receive this benefit and 10 means that they should receive it.**

* Should not receive the benefit (0)
* 1
* 2
* 3
* 4
* 5
* 6
* 7
* 8
* 9
* Should receive the benefit (10)
* DK (.)

**To what extent do you think the government cares about people like you?**

* Does not care at all (0)
* 1
* 2
* 3
* 4
* 5
* 6
* 7
* 8
* 9
* Cares a lot (10)
* DK (.)

**DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS**

|  |
| --- |
| **Table C. Descriptive statistics: Continuous and continuous-like variables.** |
|   | **Mean** | **Standard deviation** | **Min** | **Max** | **N** |
| Policy support | 5.3 | 3.3 | 0 | 10 | 922 |
| Perceived empathy | 3.1 | 2.8 | 0 | 10 | 908 |
| Age | 49.5 | 16.4 | 18 | 86 | 918 |
| Trust in government | 3.5 | 2.9 | 0 | 10 | 919 |
| Ideology | 5.4 | 2.3 | 0 | 10 | 798 |

|  |
| --- |
| **Table D. Descriptive statistics: Categorical and ordinal variables.** |
| Variable name | Category | Percentage |
| Group |  |  |
|  | Treatment | 49.8 |
|  | Control | 50.2 |
|   | Total | 100 |
| gender |   |   |
|  | Male | 50.1 |
|  | Female | 49.7 |
|  | Missing | 0.2 |
|   | Total | 100 |
| Education |   |   |
|  | Less than high school | 6.5 |
|  | High school | 70.3 |
|  | College | 23.1 |
|  | Missing | 0.1 |
|   | Total | 100 |
| Area of residence |   |   |
|  | City&suburbs | 30.8 |
|  | Small/midsize town | 39.4 |
|  | Village | 29.7 |
|  | Missing | 0.1 |
|  | Total | 100 |

**RESULTS OF REGRESSION MODELS**

**Table E. Regression models: The effect of empathetic communication on perceived empathy and on policy support.**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|   | Dependent variable |
|   | Perceived empathy | Policy support |
| Empathetic communication | 0.185 | 0.272 |
|  | (0.187) | (0.215) |
| Intercept | 3.055 | 5.175 |
|  | (0.132)\*\* | (0.152)\*\* |
| *N* | 908 | 922 |
| *Note: OLS regression coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. Statistical significance levels:* \* p<0.05; \*\* p<0.01 |

**Table F. Balance table: Comparing the composition of the control group and the treatment group.**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable name** | **Categories** | **Control group** | **Treatment group** | **p-value from the test of difference between groups** |
| **Chi-squared test** | **t-test** |
| Gender |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Male (% within group) | 51.3 | 49.13 | 0.52 |  |
|   | Female (% within group) | 48.7 | 50.87 |   |
| Age |  |  |  |  |  |
|   | Mean within group | 50.25 | 48.77 |   | 0.17 |
| Education |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Less than high school (% within group) | 7.14 | 5.88 | 0.26 |  |
|  | High school (% within group) | 71.86 | 68.85 |  |
|   | College (% within group) | 21 | 25.27 |   |
| Place of residence |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | City | 30.02 | 31.66 | 0.6 |  |
|  | Town | 41.04 | 37.77 |  |
|   | Country | 28.94 | 30.57 |   |
| Trust in government |  |  |  |  |  |
|   | Mean within group | 3.46 | 3.49 |   | 0.72 |
| Ideology |  |  |  |  |  |
|   | Mean within group | 5.39 | 5.43 |   | 0.85 |

Table G. TOST equivalence test results. Dependent variable: Treatment effect on perceived responsiveness of the government.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Control group** | **Treatment group** |
| **Mean** | 3.06 | **Mean** | 3.24 |
| **Std. deviation** | 2.87 | **Std. deviation** | 2.77 |
| **N** | 457 | **N** | 451 |
| **TOST Equivalence Test** |
| **Low equivalence bound (Cohen's d)** | -0.2 | **High equivalence bound (Cohen's d)** | 0.2 |
| **One-Sided Test 1** |   | **One-Sided Test 2** |   |
| **t** | 2.027 | **t** | -4.001 |
| **df** | 905.56 | **df** | 905.56 |
| **p** | 0.021 | **p** | 0.000 |
| **TOST result** |   |  |   |
| **t** | 2.027 | **p** | 0.021 |

*Note: This table was adapted from an Excel file provided by Lakens (2017).*