Online Appendices:
A Populist Paradox? How Brexit Softened Anti-Immigrant Attitudes

A Sample Balance Pre and Post Brexit

Tables 1 – 4 show that the sample is balanced across treatment and control groups when considering 14 socio-demographic, political and geographic variables. We report the Chi-Squared tests to demonstrate that there were no significant differences in the distributions of categorical variables. Age was also examined with a T-test and a non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test. Tests show that treatment and control groups are not significantly different.

It is worth noting that the variable *% Leave Supporters*, which was used to differentiate between Leave and Remain supporters in the paper's main analyses, has a significantly different distribution in treatment and control groups. However, this variable was created by collapsing the *EU Support* variable from four categories to two. The original variable, *EU Support*, is balanced.We include additional tests to examine whether our results are sensitive to the recoding of the original variable. Using the original four-category variable, Appendix H reports all average treatment effects using the original variable. Our results closely mirror those presented in the main body. We find that individuals across all categories of *EU support* soften their attitudes towards immigrants as a consequence of the Brexit vote.

Table 1: Balance Across Treatment and Control Groups: Demographics, Pt 1

Measure	Categories	Treated	Control	Statistical Test
N		4010	4022	NA
% Male		48.532%	48.408%	$\chi^2 = 0.01$, df = 1, p-value = 0.93
Age		mean = 48.59	mean = 48.68	*T-test* Diff: -0.08 p-value=0.83 *K-S test* D=0.01 p-value = 0.98
Age (Categorical)				$\chi^2 = 2.81$
	18-24	9.05%	10.07%	df = 3
	25-39	26.47%	25.74%	p-value = 0.42
	40-59	33.50%	32.96%	
	60+	30.99%	31.23%	
Household income per year				$\chi^2 = 0.53$
	Low Income	29.92%	29.70%	df = 4
	Low-Mid Income	37.62%	38.07%	p-value = 0.97
	Mid Income	23.18%	23.40%	
	Mid-High Income	8.31%	7.86%	
	High Income	0.98%	0.97%	
Education				$\chi^2 = 4.86$
	No formal qualifications	7.26%	6.90%	df = 4 p-value = 0.30
	Junior High School/GCSE	28.32%	28.70%	
	High-School/ A-levels	22.42%	21.46%	
	Undergraduate University/ Bachelors	23.47%	22.67%	
	Masters/ PhD/ Advanced Professional Qualifications	18.53%	20.27%	
Ethnicity				$\chi^2 = 0.53$
	White	94.62%	94.22%	df = 1
	Non-White	0.54%	0.58%	p-value = 0.47

Table 2: Balance Across Treatment and Control Groups: Demographics, Part 2

Measure	Categories	Treated	Control	Statistical Test
Religious				$\chi^2 = 2.35$
Frequency	Frequently	5.87%	6.41	df = 3
	Rarely	4.45%	4.00 %	p-value = 0.50
	Sometimes	27.73%	27.04%	
	Never	61.95%	62.56%	
Num. Children				$\chi^2 = 3.68$
	0	78.42%	78.47%	df = 5
	1	9.91%	10.21%	p-value = 0.60
	2	8.45%	8.45%	
	3	2.19%	1.88%	
	4	0.94%	0.78%	
	5	0.09	0.21%	
Marital Status				χ^2 =0.32
	Married	47.29%	47.94%	df = 1
				p-value = 0.57
Type of Work				χ^2 =8.21
	Professional/ Manager	30.87%	30.88%	df = 5
	Clerical/Sales	33.91%	34.99%	p-value = 0.15
	Supervisor	2.09%	1.41%	
	Skilled/Semi-Skilled Manual	19.86%	20.13%	
	Other	9.80%	8.87%	
	Never Worked	3.47%	3.72%	
Social Grade				$\chi^2 = 7$
	A	12%	13%	df = 5
	B	19%	19%	p-value = 0.3
	C1	27%	28%	
	C2	18%	19%	
	D	12%	10%	
	E	12%	12%	

Table 3: Balance Across Treatment and Control Groups: Political Variables

Measure	Categories	Treated	Control	Statistical Test
EU Support				$\chi^2 = 4.60$
	Strongly Approve	17.02%	17.51%	df = 3
	Approve	31.96%	34.47%	p-value = 0.20
	Disapprove	24.58%	22.98%	
	Strongly Disapprove	26.44%	25.04%	
% Leave Supporters (Non-missing. *Recode of EU Support)* *		51.02%	48.02%	$\chi^2 = 4.15$, df = 1, p-value = 0.04
Leave Newspaper Readership		61.61%	60.59%	$\chi^2 = 0.33$ df = 1 p-value = 0.57
Party ID (Wave 5)				$\chi^2 = 1.09$
Main Parties	Conservative	28.39%	27.99%	df = 4
	Labour	27.78%	27.38%	p-value = 0.90
	Liberal Democrats	6.64%	6.69%	
	UK Independence Party	8.71%	8.30%	
	Other	28.49%	29.63%	

Leave Newspapers: The Express, The Daily Mail / The Scottish Daily Mail, The Daily Telegraph, The Sun, The Western Mail. Remain Newspapers: The Times, The Mirror / Daily Record, The Independent, The Guardian, The Financial Times, The Scotsman, The Herald (Glasgow). Sources: Moore and Ramsay (2017) and editorial pages.

* See Appendix H for direct effects disaggregated by all 4 original categories of the EU support variable.

Table 4: Balance Across Treatment and Control Groups: Geography

Measure	Categories	Treated	Control	Statistical Test
Country in UK:				$\chi^2 = 0.83$
	England	86.24%	85.89%	df = 3
	Wales	4.89%	5.22%	p-value = 0.84
	Scotland	8.81%	8.86%	
	Isle of Man	0.06%	0.04%	
Region in UK:				$\chi^2 = 12.41$
	North East	4.79%	5.28%	df = 10
	North West	10.75%	10.83%	p-value = 0.26
	Yorkshire & the Humber	9.69%	8.22%	
	East Midlands	8.06%	8.87%	
	West Midlands	7.90%	8.09%	
	East of England	8.98%	10%	
	London	13.05%	12.02%	
	South East	14.16%	13.92%	
	South West	9.07%	8.77%	
	Wales	4.86%	5.28%	
	Scotland	8.69%	8.72%	
	Northern Ireland	0	0	

B Representativeness

To check that our survey is weighted to adequately reflect a representative sample, in Tables 5 – 6, we compare the results of our weighted opt-in survey with the British Election Study's face-to-face representative sample (Fieldhouse et al., 2015). We use the 2015 BES wave, before the result of the referendum. The next wave of the BES was in 2017. In the 2015 wave, 2,987 people completed the face-to-face survey. The fieldwork for the survey was conducted by GfK between May 8th 2015 and September 13th 2015 and achieved an overall response rate of 55.9%.

It is important to note that the two surveys are not always perfectly comparable. First, the questions are worded differently and use different response categories (please see Table 7 in this section for details on the recoding that was done to make questions comparable). Second, the AAT survey is online and BES is face-to-face. Therefore, some responses may be different not due to representativeness but due to social desirability bias or a host of other factors related to enumerator presence. Nevertheless, descriptive statistics on both surveys are highly comparable.

Table 5: Comparison between BES and AAT, Part 1

Measure	Categories	AAT	BES
Country in UK	England	86.06%	86.30%
	Scotland	8.83%	8.67%
	Wales	5.05%	5.04%
Region in UK:			
	North East	5.03%	4.23%
	North West	10.79%	11.4%
	Yorkshire & the Humber	8.96%	8.58%
	East Midlands	8.46%	7.46%
	West Midlands	8.00%	9.08%
	East of England	9.49%	9.63%
	London	12.53%	12.90%
	South East	14.04%	14.10%
	South West	8.92%	8.87%
	Wales	5.07%	4.80%
	Scotland	8.70%	8.63%
	Northern Ireland	0%	0%
% Male		48.5%	48.4%
Age		Mean = 48.6	Mean = 48.6
Age (Categories)	18-24	9.7%	11.3%
	25-39	26.1%	24.1%
	40-59	33.2%	34.1%
	60+	31.1%	30.5%
Household Income			
Has Children		21.6%	28.5%
Marital Status			
	Married	47.6%	50.0%
	Living with partner	13.4%	12.3%
	Single	28.0%	23.9%
	Widowed	3.3%	6.4%
	Separated	1.5%	1.7%
	Divorced	6.2%	5.8%

Table 6: Comparison between BES and AAT, Part 2

Measure	Categories	AAT	BES
Work type	Professional	17.26%	12.8%
	Clerical/Junior manager	28.11%	11.41%
	Managerial	13.61%	9.5%
	Manual and Services	26.3%	45.3%
	Never worked	3.6%	1.80%
Party ID (Wave 5 AAT)	Conservative	28.19%	29.80%
	Labour	27.57%	30.20%
	Liberal Democrats	6.66%	5.81%
	UK Independence Party	8.50%	4.44%
	Scottish National	3.06%	3.18%
	Plaid Cymru	0.43%	0.48%
	Green Party	2.27%	2.11%
	British National Party	0.46%	0.04%
	Other Party	0.32%	2.61%
	No Party	16.53%	15.30%
	Don't know	4.64%	5.99%
EU Support			
	Strongly Approve	14.29%	10.4%
	Approve	27.53%	31.6%
	Disapprove	19.67%	21.6%
	Strongly Disapprove	21.27%	10.6%
	Don't know	17.24%	30.14%

Note: Party ID in Table 3 was coded to obtain percentages from main parties. 'Don't know' and 'No party' were coded as NA.

Table 7: Coding equivalence BES and AAT

Mismatched Measure	Category AAT	Category BES	Harmonization
Has Children Range aggregated into binary		Range 1-5	Binary
Marital Status	"Living with partner" "Civil Partnership"	Living with partner (Civil Partnership missing)	"Living with partner" and "Civil Partnership" in AAT aggregated as "Living with partner"
Work type	"Professional or higher technical work/ higher managerial"	"Modern professional," "Traditional professional"	Categories aggregated → "Professional"
	"Clerical/junior managerial/ professional/ administrator"	"Clerical and intermediate occupations," "Middle or Junior Managers"	Categories aggregated → "Clerical/Junior manager"
	Manager or Senior Administrator/ intermediate managerial/ professional	Senior managers or administrators	Categories aggregated → "Managerial"
	"Skilled Manual," "Semi-skilled Manual," "Sales and Services"	"Semi-routine manual," "Routine manual and Service occupations," "Technical and craft occupations"	Categories aggregated → "Manual and Services"
EU Approval	No middle category	Neither Approve Nor Disapprove	Middle category ="Don't know"

C Indicators

C.1 Dependent Variables

Our dependent variables were operationalized as follows. We examine three indicators related to attitudes towards refugees. The first two ask respondents, on a scale of one to five, how much they agree or disagree with the following statements: "Allowing a large number of refugees from countries like Syria, Iraq and Libya to live in Britain threatens British culture and traditions," "Allowing large numbers of refugees to come to Britain threatens to overwhelm our public services," and the third asks "Allowing refugees from countries like Syria, Iraq and Libya to come and live in Britain will improve Britain's standing in the world." To maintain a consistent direction across indicators, all items were recoded to reflect opposition to refugees. As such, we refer to these variables as *Refugees Threaten Culture*, *Refugees Overwhelm Services*, and *Refugees Do Not Improve UK Image* respectively.

Our analysis includes three indicators to assess attitudes towards migrants. First, we ask respondents to select which of the following four statements comes closest to their view: "Britain should increase the number of immigrants coming to the country," "The current number of immigrants coming to Britain is about right," "Britain should reduce the number of immigrants coming to the country," and "Britain should stop all immigrants from coming to the country." We refer to this item as, *Reduce Number of Migrants*. Second, we examine the degree to which respondents agree or disagree, on a scale of one to five, with the following two statements, "Workers coming to Britain from other European Union countries do not take away many jobs from British citizens," and "Letting large numbers of immigrants come to Britain from the European Union increases the threat of terrorism here." We identify these respective items as *Migrants Take Jobs* and *Migrants Bring Terror*.

Our mediators were operationalized as follows. We examine two indicators related to economic insecurity. First we ask respondents, on a scale of 1 to 5, "How do you think the general economic situation in this country has changed over the last 12 months?" where 1 is "Got a lot better" and 5 is "Got a lot worse". Next we ask "How does the financial situation of your household now compare with what it was 12 months ago?" using the same scale.

To measure locus of control, we use two variables: perceived efficacy and trust in government.

To measure perceived efficacy, we ask "How much influence do you have on politics and public affairs?" where 0 indicates "Have no influence at all on politics and public affairs" and 10 indicates "Have a great deal of influence on politics and public affairs."

Trust in government is measured on a scale of 0 to 10, in which we ask "In general, and not referring to any particular government, how much do you trust the UK Government?", where 0 indicates "no trust" and 10 indicates "a great deal of trust".

We operationalize the tendency to want to distance oneself from labels of xenophobia with an indicator that measures feelings towards Nigel Farage. The question read: "Using a scale that runs from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'strongly dislike' and 10 means 'strongly like', how do you feel about Nigel Farage?"

C.2 Imputation of Household Income

Our treatment effect estimates include the following control variables: Gender, age, social grade, household income, education, work status, children, marital status and region of residence. As is usually the case, household income displayed a high degree of non-response: one-third of our respondents did not provide this information in our survey. Through listwise deletion, these observations were dropped from our analysis. Because income is not likely to be missing at random, we impute household income using regression prediction. Following Gelman and Hills procedure on imputing single variables, we model income as a function of existing covariates, generate predicted values, and replace missing data with those predictions (Gelman and Hill, 2006). Table 8 reports the results of our income model.

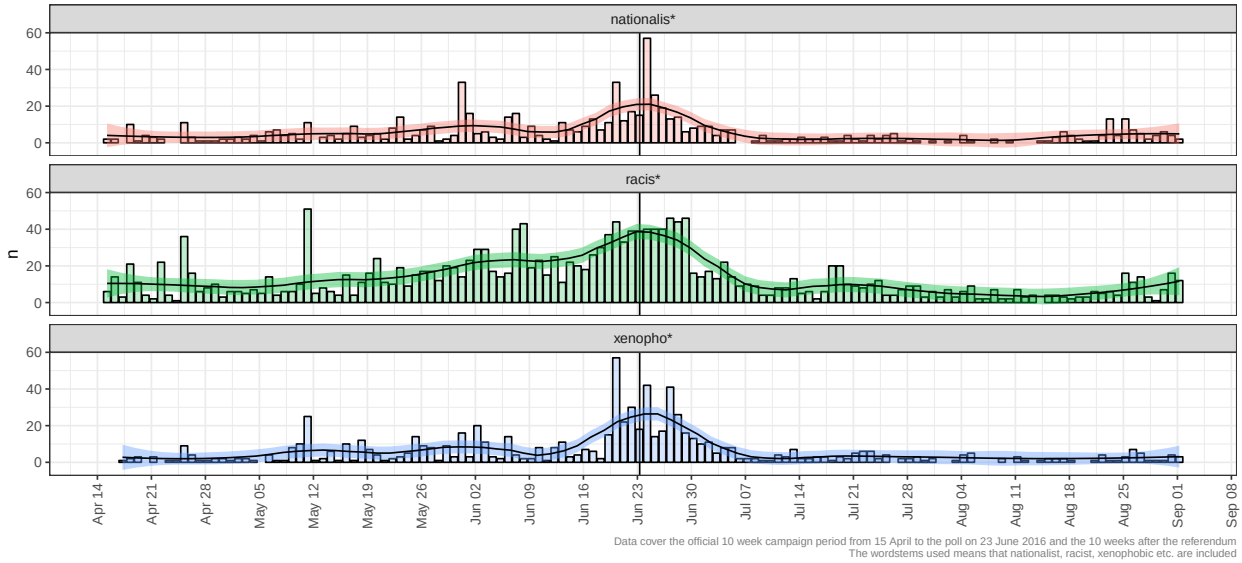
Table 8: Model For Imputation of Household Income

	Dependent variable: Household Income
Work: Part Time (8-29hrs/w)	−0.200***
	(0.040)
Work: Part Time (¡ 8hrs/w)	−0.400***
	(0.089)
Work: Full Time Student	−0.530***
	(0.120)
Work: Retired	−0.540***
	(0.036)
Work: Unemployed	−0.590***
	(0.088)
Work: Not Working	−0.320***
	(0.049)
Work: Other	−0.370***
	(0.084)
Work Type: Clerical/Sales	−0.280***
	(0.030)
Work Type: Supervisor	−0.160*
	(0.083)
Work Type: Skilled/Semi-Skilled Manual	−0.350***
	(0.040)
Work Type: Other	−0.290***
	(0.048)
Work Type: Never Worked	−0.200*
	(0.110)
Social Grade	−0.190***
	(0.009)
North West	0.027
	(0.059)
Yorkshire and the Humber	−0.008
	(0.061)
East Midlands	0.064
	(0.063)
West Midlands	−0.009
	(0.064)
East of England	0.110*
	(0.061)
London	0.300***
	(0.060)
South East	0.160***
	(0.057)
South West	−0.046
	(0.060)
Wales	−0.045
	(0.069)
Scotland	0.041
	(0.061)
Education	0.074***
	(0.011)
Male	−0.120***
	(0.024)
Age	0.001
	(0.001)
Children	0.170***
	(0.017)
Constant	3.000***
	(0.100)
Observations	4,747
R^2	0.360
Adjusted R^2	0.360
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

D Newspaper corpus: Descriptive statistics

After removing duplicate articles and copy, we were left with a dataset of 18,444 articles. The 18,444 newspaper articles were drawn from the Nexis archive using the search criteria described in the paper. That is to say, the story had to appear in one of the UK's national newspapers, in the period from the 15th April to the 1st September, 2016, and mentioned either immigra* or migra* or refugee at least three times, where an asterisk indicates a wild card to capture all possible endings to those roots. As in the main paper, we add a smoothed time series on top of the daily figures to help aid the eye of the reader in seeing the underlying trend. The smoothed time series is fitted using a local polynomial regression (span=.25) with a confidence interval showing the 95% interval of the regression line.

Figure 1: *Number of migration-related UK newspaper articles per day mentioning nationalism, racism, and xenophobia*



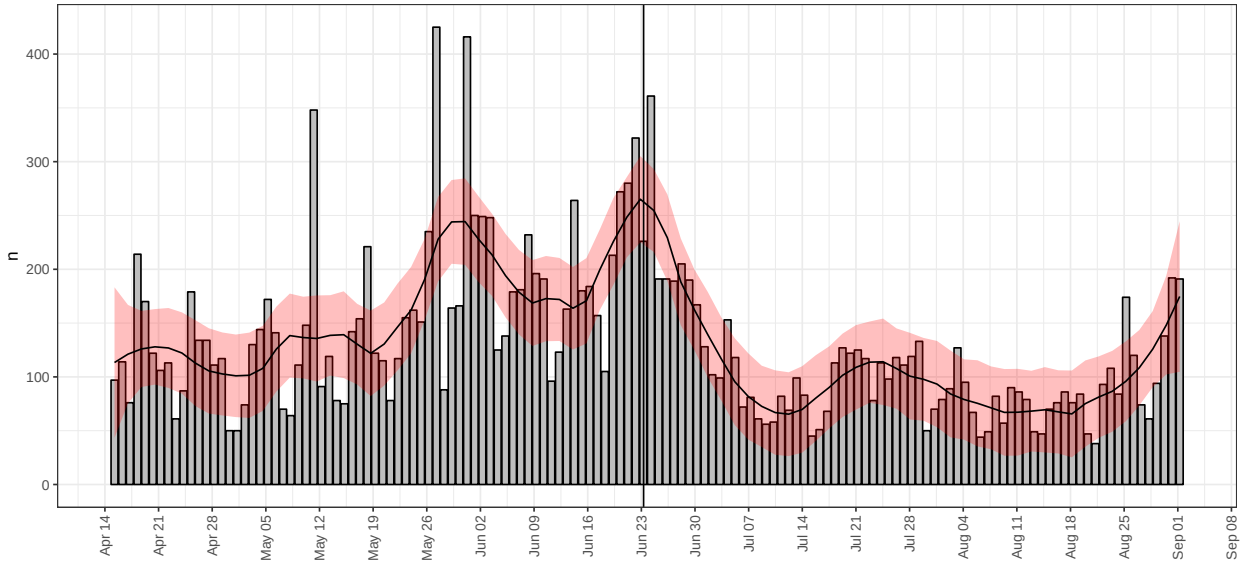
Data cover the official 10 week campaign period from 15 April to 23 June 2018 and the 10 weeks after the referendum. The wordstems used means that nationalist, racist, xenophobic etc. are included

Figure 1, duplicated in the main body, shows that the frequency with which normatively-loaded keywords were mentioned in the context of immigration is highly clustered around June 23rd. The number of articles per day mentioning some variant of the word 'nationalism' peaked the day after the referendum, with almost 60 mentions. This is a substantial change when compared to pre- and post-referendum frequencies, which mostly hovered around ∼10 per day or lower. This trend

is also visible when examining mentions of "racism and "xenophobia." Mentions of these words also remained consistently high in the days surrounding the referendum, as the media reflected on the significance of high Leave support and the contentious campaign. "Xenophobia" displays a similar trend to nationalism, though the number of mentions of this word reached its peak before the referendum results were announced. Daily mentions of "racism" appear to increase more slowly as we approach the campaign. These results suggest that the referendum was associated with a marked increase in accusatory language about anti-immigrant attitudes across UK publications.

Figure 2 plots the number of articles that meet these criteria, by day. The trend is a clear increase in the number of articles per day – with spikes at the weekends – until the referendum, and then an immediately fall in the number of articles referencing immigration or refugees in the weeks after the referendum before a plateau and uptick by the end of the period.

Figure 2: *Number of UK newspaper articles per day mentioning immigra* or migra* or refugee*



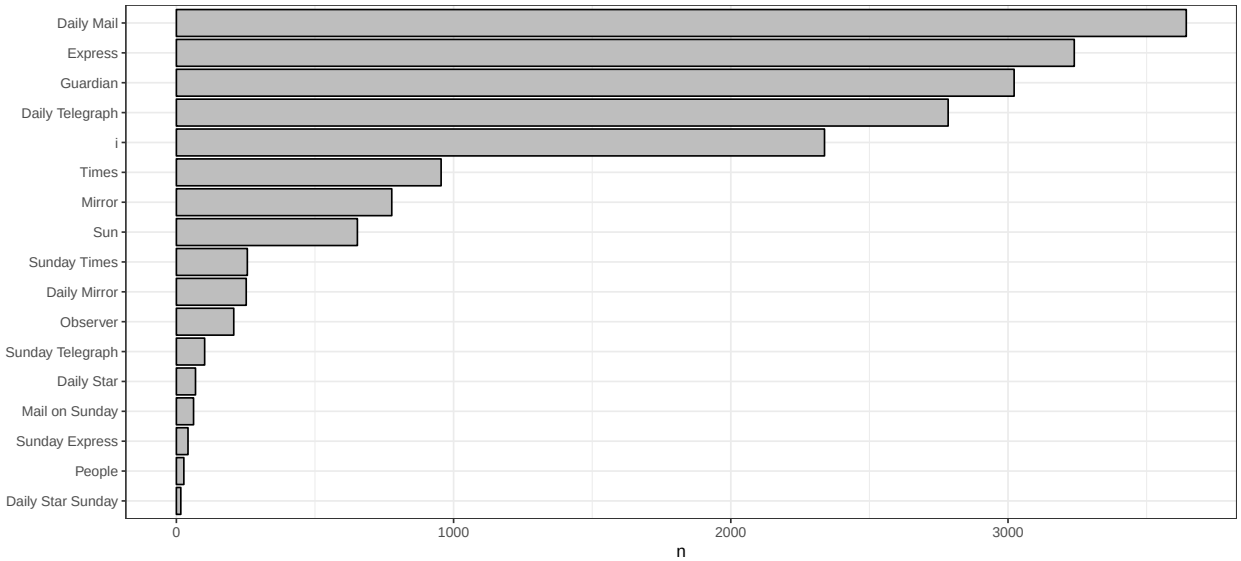
As is clear from Figure 2, the referendum date of June 23rd marked an apparent change in media coverage. As other studies have documented (see Moore and Ramsay, 2017), immigration was one of the most prominent issues covered in the media during lead-up to the Brexit referendum (and the vast majority of this coverage was overwhelmingly negative). The prominence of this issue largely explains the high numbers of articles about immigration before June 23rd. After June 23rd, the number of articles drops and remains low for the 10 week period under analysis. Specifically,

the corpus contains an average of 132 articles per day (sd=72.7) with a high of 425 articles on Friday 27th May, just over three weeks before the referendum, and a low of 38 articles on Sunday 21st August, 2 months after the referendum.

It is possible that the frequency of coverage changed the salience of migration issues and, thereby, abated UK citizens' immigration anxieties. However, this mechanism would not be entirely consistent with our existing evidence. After all, we see in Table 2 in the body of the text that post-referendum anti-immigrant attitudes were significantly softer than they were were seven months prior to the referendum. If the change in attitudes resulted from a short-term increase in migration salience as the referendum approached, it is unlikely that we would be able to detect significant differences from seven months prior. Nevertheless, a further analysis should attempt to test how the frequency of news coverage about migration may have shifted anti-immigrant attitudes.

Figure 3 plots which newspaper titles the articles came from. A total of 17 altogether, plus we distinguish between dailies and weekend versions of titles, e.g. The Times and The Sunday Times, given that editorial policies can and do vary. Overall, the Daily Mail (print and online) accounted for the greatest number of articles in our dataset at 3643, or 19.8 per cent of the total, with the Express (3239, 17.6%), Guardian (3022, 16.4%), Daily Telegraph (2784, 15.1%) and i (2338, 12.7%) being the next most frequent sources.

Figure 3: *Number of articles by newspaper title in the corpus*



D.1 Alternative searches to define corpus

In the body of the paper, we used general search criteria (migra*, immigra*, and refugee) in order to see if a pattern emerged around the Brexit referendum without defining the search on this assumption. We deliberately maintained a fairly broad search, as we are interested in how UK newspapers framed migration-related news quite generally. We anticipated that the Brexit referendum may have affected how such reports were framed, even if the referendum itself was not directly addressed in the article. The corpus included 18,444 migration-related articles. As a sensitivity analysis, we examined subsets of the corpus with different selection restrictions. In other words, we examine how more restrictive searches influence the content of the corpus and the subsequent analysis of normatively-loaded keywords. As we will show, the substantive results do not change.

First, we filtered the full corpus to only include articles that have the words "Brexit' or "referendum" in the title or text. This subset of the corpus includes 6,737 articles (mean=48.1, sd=51.0). As we can see, even in this highly restricted dataset, the patterns that emerge are very consistent with those we present in the body of the paper. The number of relevant articles peaks during the month of the referendum, and mentions of nationalism, racism, and xenophobia peak during the days surrounding the referendum.

Figure 4: *Number of articles with search terms: migra*, immigra*, OR refugee, AND Brexit OR referendum*

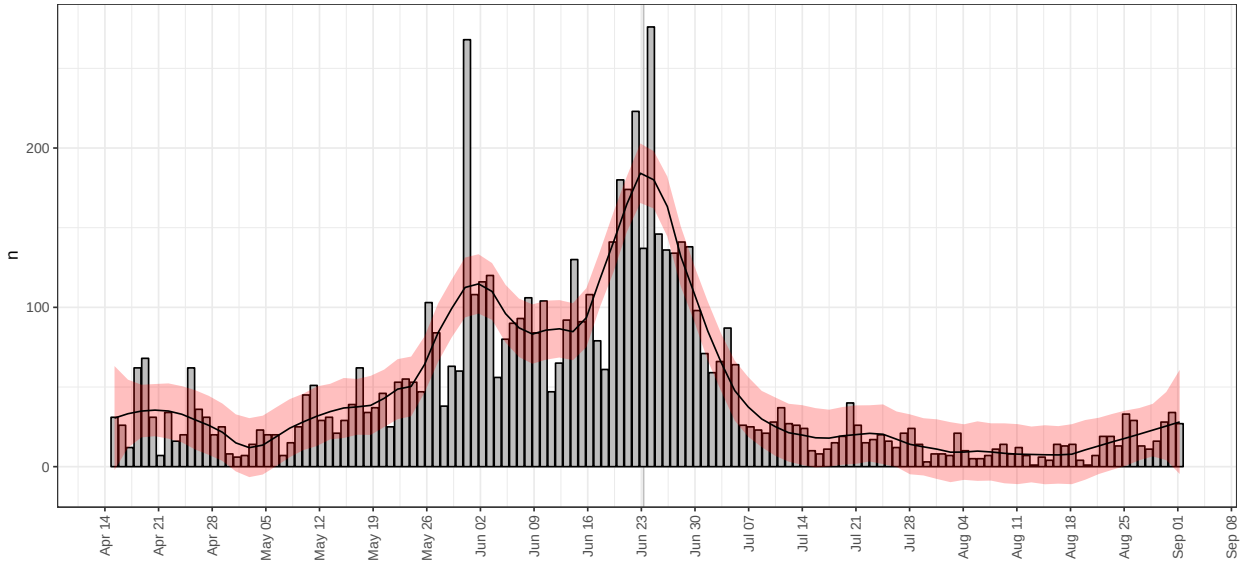
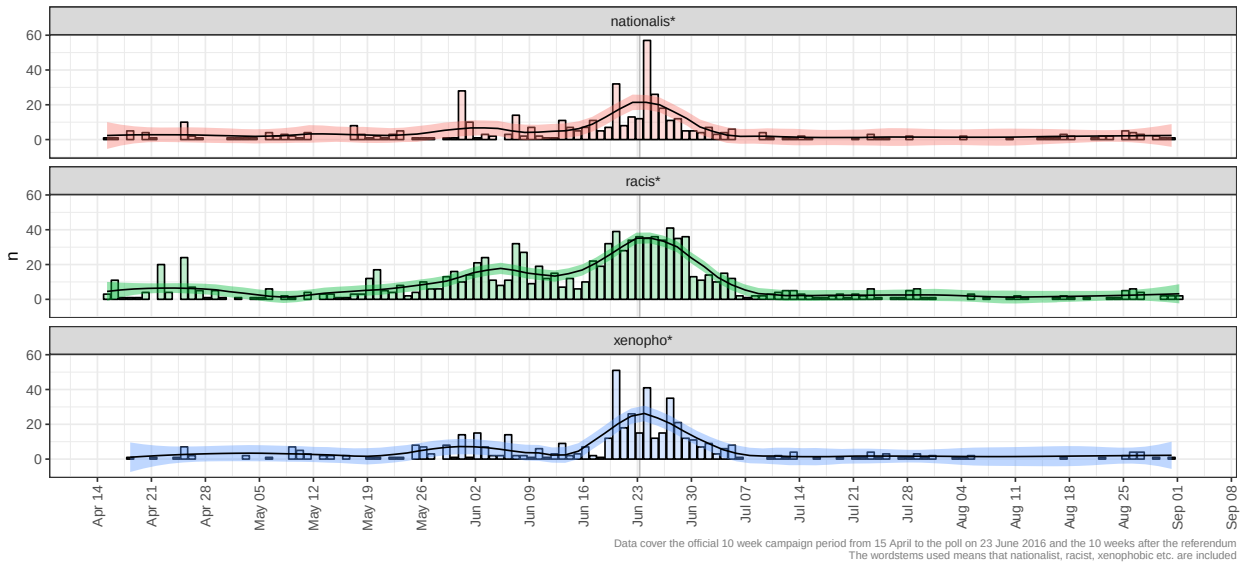


Figure 5: *Keywords with search terms: migra*, immigra*, OR refugee, AND Brexit OR referendum*



We also attempt a final subset, in which we filtered the corpus to only include articles that have the words "Brexit" or "referendum" *or* "EU" or "UK" in the title or text. This loosens the restrictions to include articles that are about the EU and UK – and presumably, removing articles about Donald Trump or other world news – even if the articles are not specifically about the Brexit

referendum. This subset of the corpus includes 10,101 articles (mean=72.2, sd=54.9).

Figure 6: *Number of articles with search terms: migra*, immigra*, OR refugee, AND Brexit OR referendum OR UK OR EU*

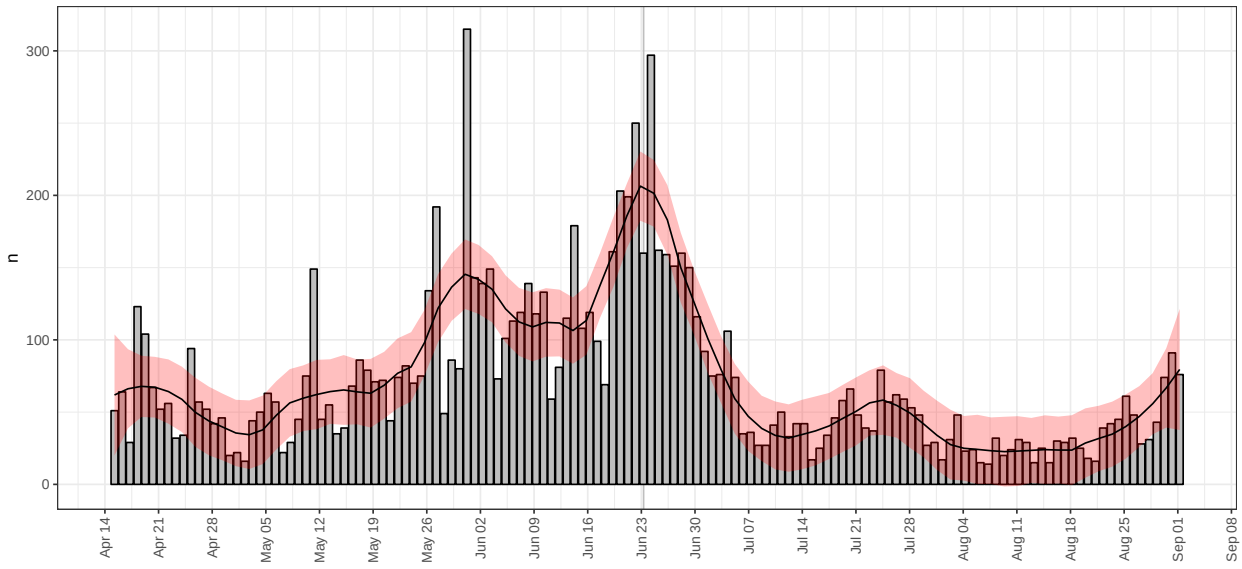
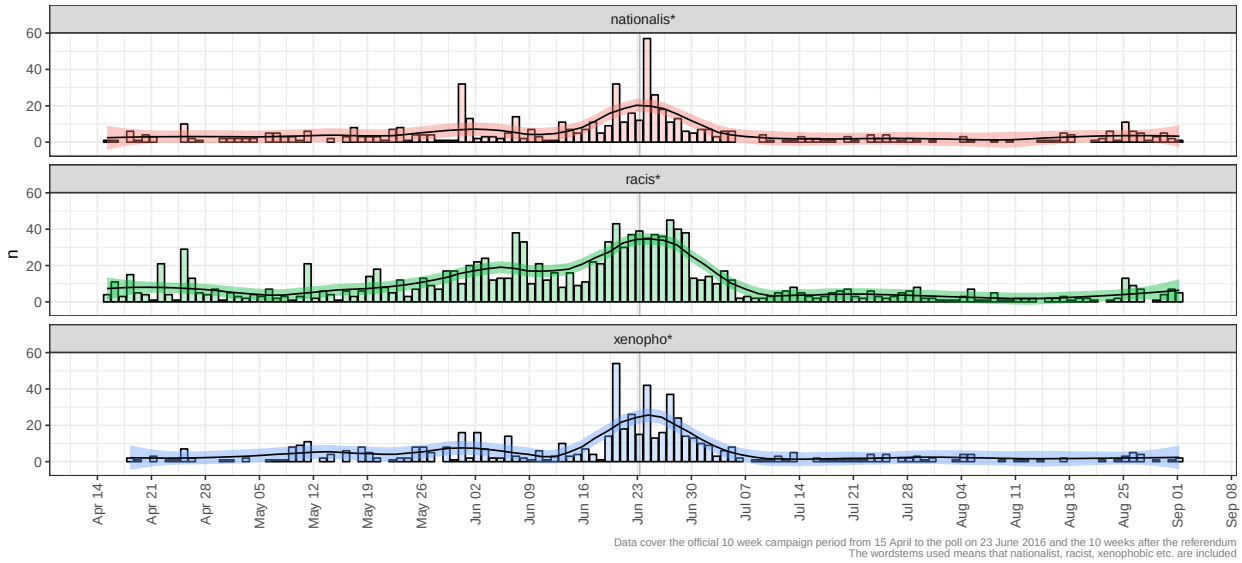


Figure 7: *Keywords with search terms: migra*, immigra*, OR refugee, AND Brexit OR referendum OR UK OR EU*



Again, the trends remain very similar to those of the most general corpus. In total, these figures suggest that the results presented in the paper are not sensitive to the search terms defining the corpus.

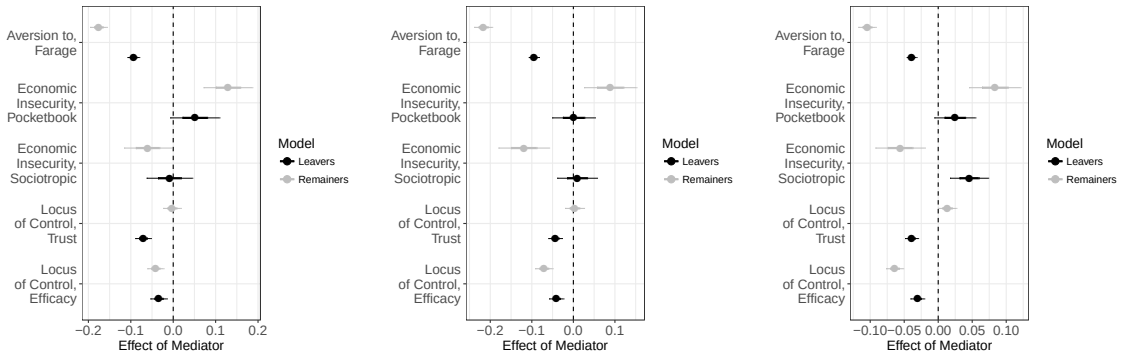
E Effects of Mediators on Immigration Attitudes

Figures 8 and 9 show the effects of the mediators for each attitude. Results for the Leavers are in black, while Remainers are in gray. Each model is estimated with the full range of possible mediators, though the models do not account for the differences between pre- and post-referendum subsamples.

We can see similar patterns across all panels. First, aversion to Farage, our indicator for *Motivation to Control Prejudice*, is significantly associated with a softening of anti-immigrant attitudes across both Leavers and Remainers and across all attitudinal measures. However, dislike of Farage appears to have consistently smaller effects on outcomes for Leavers than it did for Remainers.

Figure 8: *Effect of Mediators on Migration Outcomes, by EU Membership Preference*

(a) Migrants Take Jobs (b) Migrants Bring Terrorism (c) Not Open to Migrants



Consistent with extant literature (e.g. Hainmueller and Hopkins, 2014), personal economic concerns tend to have a smaller influence on attitudes towards migrants than sociotropic considerations of the economy. Leavers are significantly more inclined to believe that migrants take away many jobs from natives and report being less open to increases in immigration, the more concerned they are about their household economic situation. This is not the case for Remainers. In the case of attitudes towards refugees, pocketbook concerns do not significantly drive attitudes for Leavers or Remainers. Insecurity about the UK's economic situation make for more favorable attitudes towards both immigrants and refugees, in general, but effects are very small.

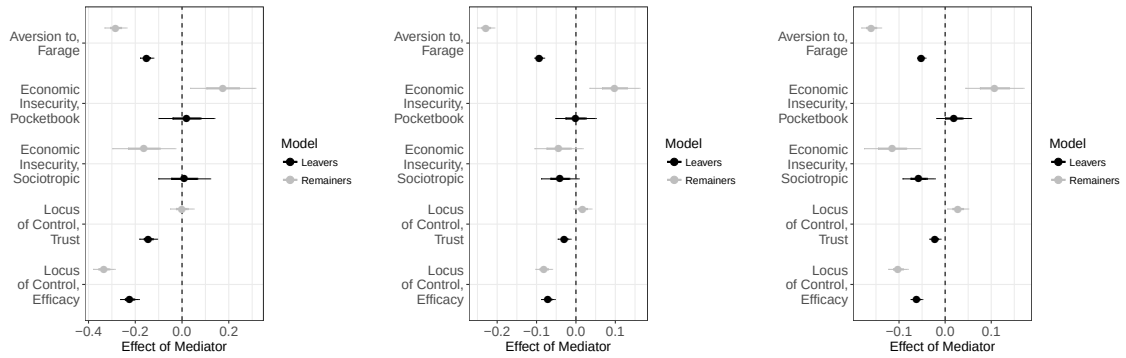
Negative attitudes towards immigrants may stem from a perceived lack of control over who is able to reside in the country. Trust in the UK government does not generally drive migration

Figure 9: *Effect of Mediators on Refugee Outcomes, by EU Membership Preference*

(a) Refugees Don't Improve UK Image

(b) Refugees Threaten Culture

(c) Refugees Overwhelm Public Services



attitudes amongst Remainers. Among Leavers, however, it tends to drive more favorable attitudes to both migrants and refugees. The higher respondents' perceived influence over political processes, the more favourable their attitude towards refugees.

These results largely correspond with theoretical expectations. We find that a greater sense of political efficacy results in lower anti-immigrant attitudes. Contrary to established theoretical expectations, economic insecurities often lead to more favorable attitudes towards migrants. We believe that this finding can be attributed to post-treatment confoundedness, which we address in the paper through multiple mediation analysis.

F Treatment effects among UKIP Supporters

Figure 11 presents the average treatment effects (ATE) among the subset of individuals who indicated they supported the UK Independence Party in the survey wave prior to the referendum (November 2015). The ATE can be interpreted as the difference in means between pre-referendum and post-referendum samples, for each of our dependent variables. The error bars reflect 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 10: *Average Treatment Effects among UKIP supporters*

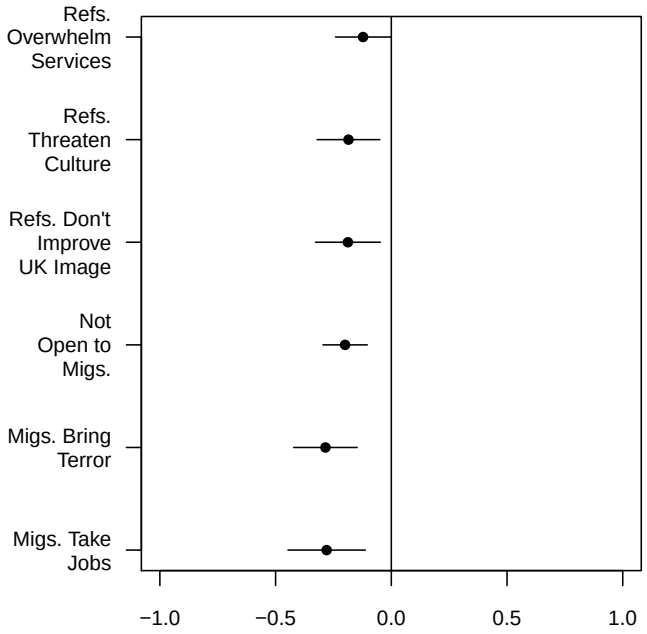
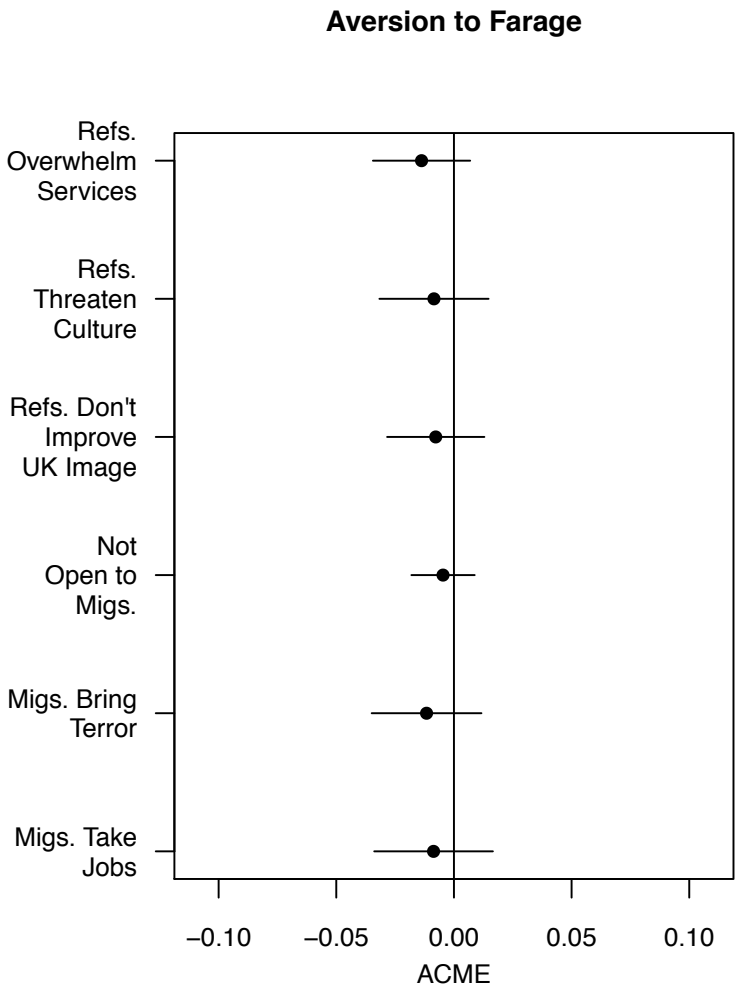


Figure 11: *ACME among UKIP supporters, Aversion to Farage*



G Further details on tests conducted

G.1 Main Effects (Figure 1 in main text)

Figure 1 in the main body presents the difference in means between pre-referendum and post-referendum samples for each of our dependent variables. A different model was run for each of our six dependent variables. These models include control variables. The control variables – gender, age, social grade, household income, education, work status, children, marital status and region of residence – are included to account for residual differences between treatment and control groups that are not due to the treatment.

In the following tables, we present the numerical estimates relating to each of these models.

Tables 9 and 10 presents results with no control variables included for our migrant and refugee indicators respectively. Tables 11 and 12 present results with control variables included.

One of our control variables, "Household Income," generated a large proportion of non-response in the sample (approximately one-third of the sample). Although the variable is balanced across treatment and control groups (see Section A), we expect non-response is not randomly distributed across the population. Consequently, we used regression prediction to impute missing values of the income variable in our analyses. Details on imputation and the model for income used can be found in Section C. To demonstrate that our results are robust to the missingness of the income variable and the subsequent imputation, we also include estimates including the original, non-imputed variable and estimates with household income not included. These estimates, shown in Tables 13 - 16, show that treatment effects persist across all model specifications.

Table 9: Effect of Brexit on Immigration Attitudes, by EU Referendum Preference (June/ July 2016): Migrants

	Dependent variable:					
	Migs. Take Jobs		Migs. Bring Terror		Not Open to Migs.	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
Treat	−0.220***	−0.223***	−0.235***	−0.315***	−0.131***	−0.144***
	(0.044)	(0.046)	(0.039)	(0.051)	(0.023)	(0.031)
Constant	4.020***	2.506***	4.306***	2.835***	3.325***	2.477***
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.027)	(0.035)	(0.016)	(0.021)
Observations	2,526	2,437	2,538	2,428	2,562	2,373
R^2	0.010	0.010	0.014	0.015	0.013	0.009
Adjusted R^2	0.010	0.009	0.014	0.015	0.012	0.009
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 10: Effect of Brexit on Immigration Attitudes, by EU Referendum Preference (June/ July 2016): Refugees

	Dependent variable:					
	Refs. Threaten Culture		Refs. Overwhelm Services		Refs. Don't Improve UK Image	
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
Treat	-0.190^{***}	-0.181^{***}	-0.081^{***}	-0.233^{***}	-0.164^{***}	-0.159^{***}
	(0.040)	(0.053)	(0.029)	(0.050)	(0.037)	(0.046)
Constant	4.372^{***}	2.900^{***}	4.647^{***}	3.482^{***}	4.282^{***}	3.029^{***}
	(0.028)	(0.036)	(0.021)	(0.034)	(0.026)	(0.032)
Observations	2,563	2,437	2,576	2,427	2,524	2,355
R^2	0.009	0.005	0.003	0.009	0.008	0.005
Adjusted R^2	0.009	0.004	0.003	0.008	0.007	0.005

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Figure 12: *Average Treatment Effects, EU Support*

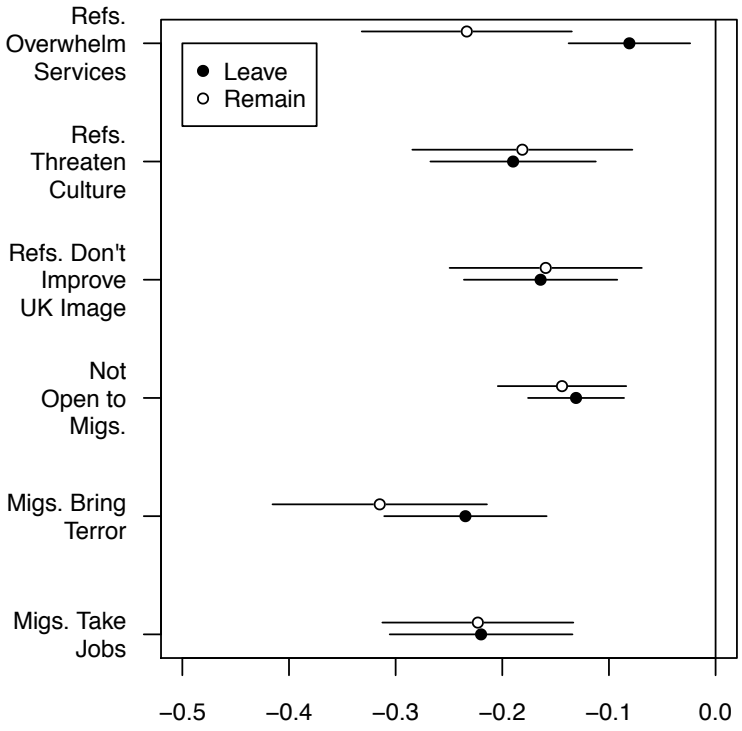


Table 11: Effect of Brexit on Immigration Attitudes, by EU Referendum Preference (June/ July 2016): Migrants. Including Controls (Income Imputed)

	Dependent variable:					
	Migs. Take Jobs		Migs. Bring Terror		Not Open to Migs.	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
Treat	−0.170***	−0.260***	−0.230***	−0.390***	−0.140***	−0.150***
	(0.047)	(0.049)	(0.041)	(0.054)	(0.024)	(0.032)
Male	−0.160***	−0.160***	−0.130***	−0.073	−0.032	−0.007
	(0.048)	(0.049)	(0.042)	(0.055)	(0.025)	(0.032)
Age	0.007***	0.005***	0.006***	0.005***	0.002	0.007***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Income (Imp.)	−0.035	−0.066**	−0.053*	−0.065*	−0.056***	−0.030
	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.028)	(0.035)	(0.017)	(0.020)
Social Grade	0.004	0.082***	0.025	0.030	0.041***	0.029**
	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.015)	(0.021)	(0.009)	(0.012)
Education	−0.073***	−0.190***	−0.073***	−0.230***	−0.042***	−0.120***
	(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.018)	(0.026)	(0.011)	(0.015)
Employed	−0.014	0.096*	0.021	0.180***	−0.003	0.079**
	(0.059)	(0.058)	(0.052)	(0.064)	(0.031)	(0.038)
Children (=1)	−0.081**	0.071**	0.006	0.190***	−0.021	0.087***
	(0.039)	(0.035)	(0.034)	(0.039)	(0.020)	(0.023)
Married	0.110**	0.200***	0.120***	0.190***	0.056**	0.053
	(0.052)	(0.057)	(0.046)	(0.064)	(0.027)	(0.037)
North West	−0.140	−0.069	−0.160	0.200	−0.054	0.230**
	(0.120)	(0.140)	(0.110)	(0.160)	(0.064)	(0.092)
Yorkshire and the Humber	−0.280**	−0.140	−0.120	−0.026	−0.045	0.110
	(0.120)	(0.140)	(0.110)	(0.150)	(0.062)	(0.088)
East Midlands	−0.150	−0.093	−0.029	−0.021	−0.035	0.046
	(0.120)	(0.140)	(0.110)	(0.150)	(0.063)	(0.089)
West Midlands	0.034	−0.130	−0.160	0.170	−0.054	0.230**
	(0.120)	(0.140)	(0.110)	(0.160)	(0.065)	(0.092)
East of England	0.008	−0.020	−0.150	−0.022	−0.034	0.140
	(0.120)	(0.130)	(0.110)	(0.150)	(0.063)	(0.086)
London	−0.120	0.021	−0.140	−0.170	−0.045	0.055
	(0.120)	(0.130)	(0.110)	(0.140)	(0.063)	(0.082)
South East	−0.140	−0.110	−0.170*	0.002	−0.088	0.055
	(0.120)	(0.130)	(0.100)	(0.140)	(0.060)	(0.081)
South West	−0.200	−0.180	−0.230**	0.030	−0.130**	0.074
	(0.120)	(0.140)	(0.110)	(0.150)	(0.064)	(0.089)
Wales	−0.230	−0.091	−0.310**	0.018	−0.110	0.083
	(0.140)	(0.150)	(0.130)	(0.170)	(0.075)	(0.098)
Scotland	−0.270**	−0.280**	−0.230**	0.011	−0.210***	−0.140*
	(0.140)	(0.130)	(0.120)	(0.150)	(0.070)	(0.084)
Constant	4.200***	3.000***	4.500***	3.300***	3.400***	2.400***
	(0.230)	(0.220)	(0.200)	(0.240)	(0.120)	(0.140)
Observations	2,024	1,939	2,035	1,932	2,055	1,890
R^2	0.055	0.110	0.064	0.120	0.081	0.120
Adjusted R^2	0.046	0.097	0.055	0.110	0.072	0.110
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 12: Effect of Brexit on Immigration Attitudes, by EU Referendum Preference (June/ July 2016): Refugees. Including Controls (Income Imputed)

	Dependent variable:					
	Refs. Threaten Culture		Refs. Overwhelm Services		Refs. Don't Improve UK Image	
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
Treat	−0.120***	−0.180***	−0.064**	−0.250***	−0.170***	−0.180***
	(0.042)	(0.056)	(0.029)	(0.054)	(0.040)	(0.048)
Male	−0.170***	−0.067	−0.043	0.080	−0.160***	0.090*
	(0.043)	(0.056)	(0.030)	(0.054)	(0.040)	(0.049)
Age	0.009***	0.017***	0.008***	0.011***	0.004**	0.013***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Income (Imp.)	−0.045	−0.034	−0.027	−0.071**	−0.033	−0.017
	(0.029)	(0.036)	(0.020)	(0.034)	(0.027)	(0.031)
Social Grade	0.024	0.016	0.022**	0.006	0.030**	0.042**
	(0.016)	(0.022)	(0.011)	(0.021)	(0.015)	(0.019)
Education	−0.037**	−0.230***	−0.024*	−0.200***	−0.073***	−0.200***
	(0.018)	(0.027)	(0.013)	(0.026)	(0.017)	(0.023)
Employed	0.011	0.180***	−0.017	0.180***	0.074	0.140**
	(0.053)	(0.066)	(0.037)	(0.064)	(0.050)	(0.058)
Children (=1)	−0.003	0.150***	−0.038	0.120***	0.005	−0.027
	(0.035)	(0.040)	(0.024)	(0.039)	(0.033)	(0.035)
Married	0.043	0.075	0.041	0.087	0.025	0.180***
	(0.047)	(0.066)	(0.032)	(0.063)	(0.044)	(0.057)
North West	−0.007	−0.022	0.009	0.140	−0.053	0.180
	(0.110)	(0.160)	(0.077)	(0.160)	(0.100)	(0.140)
Yorkshire and the Humber	−0.120	−0.270*	0.024	0.110	−0.025	−0.005
	(0.110)	(0.160)	(0.075)	(0.150)	(0.100)	(0.140)
East Midlands	0.024	−0.032	0.038	0.160	−0.072	0.085
	(0.110)	(0.160)	(0.075)	(0.150)	(0.100)	(0.140)
West Midlands	0.160	−0.011	0.089	0.200	0.036	0.046
	(0.110)	(0.160)	(0.078)	(0.160)	(0.100)	(0.140)
East of England	0.073	−0.018	0.088	0.230	0.085	0.067
	(0.110)	(0.150)	(0.075)	(0.150)	(0.100)	(0.130)
London	0.100	0.078	0.110	0.180	0.094	0.160
	(0.110)	(0.150)	(0.076)	(0.140)	(0.100)	(0.130)
South East	0.047	0.120	−0.005	0.400***	0.015	0.089
	(0.100)	(0.150)	(0.071)	(0.140)	(0.096)	(0.130)
South West	−0.011	−0.130	−0.025	0.210	0.025	0.036
	(0.110)	(0.160)	(0.077)	(0.150)	(0.100)	(0.140)
Wales	−0.038	0.094	−0.017	0.110	−0.014	0.220
	(0.130)	(0.180)	(0.089)	(0.170)	(0.120)	(0.150)
Scotland	−0.058	−0.280*	−0.024	−0.056	−0.160	−0.088
	(0.120)	(0.150)	(0.084)	(0.140)	(0.110)	(0.130)
Constant	4.100***	2.900***	4.300***	3.400***	4.400***	2.700***
	(0.200)	(0.250)	(0.140)	(0.240)	(0.190)	(0.220)
Observations	2,050	1,943	2,060	1,935	2,018	1,883
R^2	0.047	0.120	0.061	0.093	0.043	0.120
Adjusted R^2	0.038	0.110	0.053	0.084	0.034	0.110
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 13: Effect of Brexit on Immigration Attitudes, by EU Referendum Preference (June/ July 2016): Migrants. Including Controls (Income Not Imputed)

	Dependent variable:					
	Migs. Take Jobs		Migs. Bring Terror		Not Open to Migs.	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
Treat	−0.150***	−0.250***	−0.250***	−0.460***	−0.160***	−0.190***
	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.049)	(0.062)	(0.029)	(0.035)
Male	−0.180***	−0.150***	−0.130***	−0.074	−0.022	0.010
	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.049)	(0.063)	(0.029)	(0.036)
Age	0.007***	0.005**	0.004*	0.002	0.00001	0.006***
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Income (Orig.)	−0.036	−0.079**	−0.068**	−0.099**	−0.061***	−0.047**
	(0.038)	(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.040)	(0.020)	(0.023)
Social Grade	−0.001	0.089***	0.018	0.025	0.041***	0.020
	(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.019)	(0.026)	(0.011)	(0.014)
Education	−0.067***	−0.180***	−0.074***	−0.220***	−0.037***	−0.110***
	(0.024)	(0.027)	(0.021)	(0.030)	(0.013)	(0.017)
Employed	−0.083	0.140**	−0.013	0.220***	−0.018	0.100**
	(0.071)	(0.067)	(0.063)	(0.075)	(0.037)	(0.043)
Children (=1)	−0.038	0.130***	−0.025	0.200***	−0.026	0.098***
	(0.045)	(0.038)	(0.040)	(0.043)	(0.023)	(0.024)
Married	0.110*	0.170***	0.150***	0.180**	0.069**	0.027
	(0.061)	(0.065)	(0.054)	(0.072)	(0.032)	(0.041)
North West	−0.110	0.030	−0.180	0.200	−0.058	0.210**
	(0.140)	(0.160)	(0.120)	(0.180)	(0.073)	(0.100)
Yorkshire and the Humber	−0.220	−0.150	−0.130	−0.056	−0.058	0.081
	(0.140)	(0.160)	(0.120)	(0.170)	(0.072)	(0.100)
East Midlands	−0.049	−0.110	0.009	−0.054	−0.028	0.036
	(0.140)	(0.150)	(0.120)	(0.170)	(0.072)	(0.100)
West Midlands	0.130	−0.150	−0.160	0.170	−0.066	0.210**
	(0.140)	(0.160)	(0.130)	(0.180)	(0.074)	(0.100)
East of England	0.005	−0.004	−0.160	−0.100	−0.056	0.089
	(0.140)	(0.150)	(0.120)	(0.170)	(0.071)	(0.098)
London	−0.045	0.012	−0.110	−0.110	−0.055	0.013
	(0.140)	(0.150)	(0.120)	(0.160)	(0.073)	(0.094)
South East	−0.140	−0.110	−0.170	0.037	−0.140**	0.015
	(0.130)	(0.140)	(0.120)	(0.160)	(0.068)	(0.092)
South West	−0.200	−0.190	−0.250**	0.047	−0.140**	0.063
	(0.140)	(0.160)	(0.120)	(0.170)	(0.073)	(0.100)
Wales	−0.210	−0.098	−0.390***	0.026	−0.140	0.041
	(0.170)	(0.170)	(0.150)	(0.190)	(0.086)	(0.110)
Scotland	−0.330**	−0.250*	−0.270**	0.079	−0.330***	−0.180*
	(0.160)	(0.150)	(0.140)	(0.170)	(0.082)	(0.095)
Constant	4.200***	2.900***	4.700***	3.600***	3.500***	2.500***
	(0.260)	(0.250)	(0.230)	(0.280)	(0.140)	(0.160)
Observations	1,525	1,551	1,539	1,545	1,554	1,513
R^2	0.056	0.110	0.070	0.120	0.094	0.120
Adjusted R^2	0.044	0.095	0.058	0.100	0.083	0.110
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 14: Effect of Brexit on Immigration Attitudes, by EU Referendum Preference (June/ July 2016): Refugees. Including Controls (Income Not Imputed)

	Dependent variable:					
	Refs. Threaten Culture		Refs. Overwhelm Services		Refs. Don't Improve UK Image	
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
Treat	−0.150***	−0.250***	−0.068*	−0.320***	−0.170***	−0.260***
	(0.049)	(0.062)	(0.035)	(0.060)	(0.047)	(0.054)
Male	−0.180***	−0.100	−0.062*	0.110*	−0.200***	0.074
	(0.050)	(0.063)	(0.036)	(0.061)	(0.047)	(0.055)
Age	0.007***	0.015***	0.008***	0.011***	0.001	0.012***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Income (Orig.)	−0.059*	−0.060	−0.037	−0.091**	−0.068**	−0.057
	(0.034)	(0.040)	(0.025)	(0.039)	(0.032)	(0.035)
Social Grade	0.020	0.019	0.025*	0.013	0.022	0.022
	(0.019)	(0.025)	(0.014)	(0.025)	(0.018)	(0.022)
Education	−0.029	−0.230***	−0.017	−0.180***	−0.059***	−0.180***
	(0.022)	(0.030)	(0.016)	(0.029)	(0.021)	(0.026)
Employed	−0.041	0.260***	−0.043	0.250***	0.055	0.160**
	(0.063)	(0.076)	(0.046)	(0.074)	(0.060)	(0.066)
Children (=1)	0.023	0.180***	−0.046	0.120***	0.002	−0.004
	(0.040)	(0.043)	(0.029)	(0.042)	(0.038)	(0.038)
Married	0.049	0.076	0.057	0.072	0.081	0.190***
	(0.054)	(0.073)	(0.039)	(0.071)	(0.052)	(0.064)
North West	0.029	−0.084	0.031	0.250	−0.031	0.200
	(0.130)	(0.180)	(0.091)	(0.180)	(0.120)	(0.160)
Yorkshire and the Humber	−0.018	−0.420**	0.056	0.200	−0.053	0.006
	(0.120)	(0.180)	(0.089)	(0.170)	(0.120)	(0.150)
East Midlands	0.170	−0.110	0.097	0.260	−0.047	0.150
	(0.120)	(0.180)	(0.089)	(0.170)	(0.120)	(0.150)
West Midlands	0.290**	−0.040	0.180*	0.230	0.062	0.094
	(0.130)	(0.180)	(0.092)	(0.180)	(0.120)	(0.160)
East of England	0.130	−0.140	0.140	0.240	0.059	0.064
	(0.120)	(0.170)	(0.088)	(0.170)	(0.120)	(0.150)
London	0.170	−0.006	0.160*	0.300*	0.100	0.240
	(0.120)	(0.170)	(0.091)	(0.160)	(0.120)	(0.150)
South East	0.039	0.083	0.014	0.480***	−0.023	0.110
	(0.120)	(0.170)	(0.084)	(0.160)	(0.110)	(0.140)
South West	0.036	−0.170	0.030	0.320*	0.054	0.085
	(0.120)	(0.180)	(0.090)	(0.170)	(0.120)	(0.160)
Wales	−0.015	0.048	0.039	0.260	0.059	0.270
	(0.150)	(0.200)	(0.110)	(0.190)	(0.140)	(0.170)
Scotland	−0.029	−0.320*	−0.031	0.013	−0.240*	−0.061
	(0.140)	(0.170)	(0.100)	(0.160)	(0.130)	(0.150)
Constant	4.300***	3.100***	4.300***	3.200***	4.700***	2.800***
	(0.230)	(0.280)	(0.170)	(0.280)	(0.220)	(0.250)
Observations	1,551	1,553	1,555	1,553	1,525	1,512
R^2	0.049	0.120	0.070	0.096	0.043	0.110
Adjusted R^2	0.037	0.100	0.058	0.085	0.031	0.100
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 15: Effect of Brexit on Immigration Attitudes, by EU Referendum Preference (June/ July 2016): Migrants. Including Controls (Income Not Included)

	Dependent variable:					
	Migs. Take Jobs		Migs. Bring Terror		Not Open to Migs.	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
Treat	−0.170***	−0.260***	−0.230***	−0.390***	−0.140***	−0.150***
	(0.047)	(0.049)	(0.042)	(0.054)	(0.024)	(0.032)
Male	−0.160***	−0.150***	−0.130***	−0.065	−0.029	−0.002
	(0.048)	(0.049)	(0.042)	(0.055)	(0.025)	(0.032)
Age	0.008***	0.005***	0.006***	0.006***	0.002*	0.007***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Social Grade	0.009	0.092***	0.033**	0.040*	0.049***	0.033***
	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.015)	(0.021)	(0.009)	(0.012)
Education	−0.076***	−0.190***	−0.077***	−0.230***	−0.046***	−0.120***
	(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.018)	(0.026)	(0.011)	(0.015)
Employed	−0.028	0.078	−0.0004	0.160**	−0.026	0.071*
	(0.058)	(0.057)	(0.051)	(0.064)	(0.030)	(0.037)
Children (=1)	−0.082**	0.063*	0.004	0.180***	−0.022	0.084***
	(0.039)	(0.035)	(0.034)	(0.039)	(0.020)	(0.023)
Married	0.098*	0.170***	0.100**	0.160***	0.035	0.039
	(0.051)	(0.056)	(0.044)	(0.062)	(0.026)	(0.036)
North West	−0.140	−0.062	−0.160	0.200	−0.055	0.230**
	(0.120)	(0.140)	(0.110)	(0.160)	(0.064)	(0.092)
Yorkshire and the Humber	−0.280**	−0.140	−0.120	−0.021	−0.040	0.110
	(0.120)	(0.140)	(0.110)	(0.150)	(0.063)	(0.088)
East Midlands	−0.150	−0.088	−0.025	−0.014	−0.031	0.049
	(0.120)	(0.140)	(0.110)	(0.150)	(0.063)	(0.089)
West Midlands	0.040	−0.130	−0.150	0.170	−0.047	0.230**
	(0.120)	(0.140)	(0.110)	(0.160)	(0.065)	(0.092)
East of England	0.007	−0.024	−0.150	−0.023	−0.036	0.140
	(0.120)	(0.130)	(0.110)	(0.150)	(0.063)	(0.086)
London	−0.130	−0.0003	−0.150	−0.190	−0.055	0.046
	(0.120)	(0.130)	(0.110)	(0.140)	(0.063)	(0.082)
South East	−0.140	−0.120	−0.170*	−0.009	−0.090	0.050
	(0.120)	(0.130)	(0.100)	(0.140)	(0.060)	(0.081)
South West	−0.190	−0.180	−0.220**	0.037	−0.120*	0.077
	(0.120)	(0.140)	(0.110)	(0.150)	(0.064)	(0.089)
Wales	−0.230	−0.076	−0.300**	0.035	−0.100	0.091
	(0.140)	(0.150)	(0.130)	(0.170)	(0.075)	(0.098)
Scotland	−0.270**	−0.280**	−0.230*	0.009	−0.200***	−0.140*
	(0.140)	(0.130)	(0.120)	(0.150)	(0.071)	(0.084)
Constant	4.100***	2.900***	4.300***	3.200***	3.300***	2.300***
	(0.210)	(0.210)	(0.190)	(0.230)	(0.110)	(0.130)
Observations	2,024	1,939	2,035	1,932	2,055	1,890
R^2	0.055	0.100	0.062	0.110	0.076	0.120
Adjusted R^2	0.046	0.095	0.054	0.110	0.067	0.110
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 16: Effect of Brexit on Immigration Attitudes, by EU Referendum Preference (June/ July 2016): Refugees. Including Controls (Income Not Included)

	Dependent variable:					
	Refs. Threaten Culture		Refs. Overwhelm Services		Refs. Don't Improve UK Image	
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
Treat	−0.120***	−0.180***	−0.064**	−0.250***	−0.170***	−0.180***
	(0.042)	(0.056)	(0.029)	(0.054)	(0.040)	(0.048)
Male	−0.170***	−0.063	−0.041	0.089*	−0.160***	0.092*
	(0.043)	(0.056)	(0.030)	(0.054)	(0.040)	(0.049)
Age	0.010***	0.017***	0.008***	0.011***	0.004**	0.013***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Social Grade	0.030**	0.021	0.027**	0.016	0.035**	0.045**
	(0.015)	(0.021)	(0.011)	(0.020)	(0.014)	(0.018)
Education	−0.040**	−0.230***	−0.026**	−0.210***	−0.075***	−0.200***
	(0.018)	(0.026)	(0.013)	(0.026)	(0.017)	(0.023)
Employed	−0.007	0.170***	−0.028	0.170***	0.060	0.140**
	(0.052)	(0.066)	(0.036)	(0.064)	(0.049)	(0.057)
Children (=1)	−0.004	0.150***	−0.039	0.110***	0.004	−0.030
	(0.035)	(0.040)	(0.024)	(0.039)	(0.033)	(0.035)
Married	0.026	0.059	0.031	0.055	0.013	0.170***
	(0.045)	(0.064)	(0.032)	(0.061)	(0.043)	(0.055)
North West	−0.006	−0.018	0.009	0.150	−0.053	0.180
	(0.110)	(0.160)	(0.077)	(0.160)	(0.100)	(0.140)
Yorkshire and the Humber	−0.110	−0.260*	0.026	0.120	−0.022	−0.004
	(0.110)	(0.160)	(0.075)	(0.150)	(0.100)	(0.140)
East Midlands	0.028	−0.029	0.041	0.170	−0.069	0.086
	(0.110)	(0.160)	(0.075)	(0.150)	(0.100)	(0.140)
West Midlands	0.170	−0.009	0.093	0.200	0.040	0.046
	(0.110)	(0.160)	(0.078)	(0.160)	(0.100)	(0.140)
East of England	0.072	−0.019	0.088	0.230	0.084	0.066
	(0.110)	(0.150)	(0.075)	(0.150)	(0.100)	(0.130)
London	0.096	0.068	0.100	0.160	0.087	0.150
	(0.110)	(0.150)	(0.076)	(0.140)	(0.100)	(0.130)
South East	0.046	0.110	−0.006	0.390***	0.014	0.086
	(0.100)	(0.140)	(0.071)	(0.140)	(0.096)	(0.130)
South West	−0.004	−0.120	−0.021	0.220	0.030	0.037
	(0.110)	(0.160)	(0.077)	(0.150)	(0.100)	(0.140)
Wales	−0.033	0.100	−0.014	0.130	−0.010	0.220
	(0.130)	(0.180)	(0.089)	(0.170)	(0.120)	(0.150)
Scotland	−0.052	−0.280*	−0.020	−0.056	−0.160	−0.089
	(0.120)	(0.150)	(0.084)	(0.140)	(0.110)	(0.130)
Constant	4.000***	2.800***	4.200***	3.200***	4.400***	2.700***
	(0.190)	(0.240)	(0.130)	(0.230)	(0.180)	(0.200)
Observations	2,050	1,943	2,060	1,935	2,018	1,883
R^2	0.046	0.120	0.061	0.091	0.042	0.120
Adjusted R^2	0.037	0.110	0.052	0.083	0.034	0.110
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

G.2 Differences in Means for Different Time Periods (Table 2 in main text)

Table 2 of the main body of the paper examines the duration of the Brexit effects. In this section, we extend these tests to one year after the referendum. Columns 1-4 and 7-8 of Table 17 duplicate the results from the main body, albeit without controls included. Columns 5 and 6 examine attitudes one year after the referendum. We only present difference-in-means for the refugee indicators and one migration indicator, as these were the only dependent variables that were asked in the June–August 2017 wave of the survey.[1] As Columns 3-8 are within-subjects test, standard errors are clustered by individual. As is shown, many effects hold even one year after the referendum, particularly among Leavers. Table 18 presents these estimates including control variables.

The following tables (19 – 26) present a detailed output for columns 3-8 in Tables 17 and 18 above. The output for columns 1-2 of these tables can be found in Appendix G1.

[1] It is worth noting that attitudes towards migrants and refugees appear to be affected in very similar ways throughout all of our other analyses. Therefore, we have no reason to believe that they would differ significantly in these tests.

Table 17: *Effects of Brexit Across Different Time Periods Showing Effects After 1 Year (Columns 5 and 6)*, No Controls

	June 2016 (Pre-Referendum) – Jun./ Jul. 2016 (Post-Referendum)		*June 2016 (Pre-Referendum) – Oct./ Nov. 2016*		*June 2016 (Pre-Referendum) – Jun./ Aug. 2017*		*Nov./Dec. 2015 – Jun./ Jul. 2016 (Post-Referendum)*	
	(1) Leavers	(2) Remainers	(3) Leavers	(4) Remainers	(5) Leavers	(6) Remainers	(7) Leavers	(8) Remainers
Refs. Threaten Culture	−0.190***	−0.181***	-0.140***	-0.130***	0.022	0.045	−0.130***	−0.250***
	(0.040)	(0.053)	(0.039)	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.045)	(0.036)	(0.035)
Refs. Overwhelm Services	−0.081***	−0.233***	−0.087***	0.035	−0.120***	0.017	−0.037	−0.240***
	(0.029)	(0.050)	(0.032)	(0.040)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.028)	(0.035)
Refs. Don't Improve UK Image	−0.164***	−0.159***	-0.035	-0.036	−0.110***	−0.110***	−0.120***	−0.110***
	(0.037)	(0.046)	(0.036)	(0.038)	(0.025)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.034)
Not Open to Migs.	−0.131***	−0.144***	-0.046**	-0.120***	−0.079**	0.038	−0.190***	−0.0005
	(0.023)	(0.031)	(0.020)	(0.028)	(0.036)	(0.045)	(0.021)	(0.022)
Migs. Take Jobs	−0.220***	−0.223***	−0.210***	−0.120***				
	(0.044)	(0.046)	(0.043)	(0.045)				
Migs. Bring Terror	−0.235***	−0.315***	-0.086**	-0.110**				
	(0.039)	(0.051)	(0.040)	(0.046)				

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Each cell in this Table presents the results of a separate difference-in-means test, weighted for representativeness. Tests in Columns 3-8 are conducted within subjects and SEs are clustered by individual.

Table 18: *Effects of Brexit Across Different Time Periods Showing Effects After 1 Year (Columns 5 and 6), Including Controls*

	June 2016 (Pre-Referendum) – Jun./ Jul. 2016 (Post-Referendum)		*June 2016 (Pre-Referendum) – Oct./ Nov. 2016*		*June 2016 (Pre-Referendum) – Jun./ Aug. 2017*		*Nov./Dec. 2015 – Jun./ Jul. 2016 (Post-Referendum)*	
	(1) Leavers	(2) Remainers	(3) Leavers	(4) Remainers	(5) Leavers	(6) Remainers	(7) Leavers	(8) Remainers
Refs. Threaten Culture	-0.120^{***}	-0.180^{***}	-0.120^{***}	-0.170^{***}	0.001	0.058	-0.110^{***}	-0.270^{***}
	(0.042)	(0.056)	(0.042)	(0.045)	(0.044)	(0.045)	(0.039)	(0.038)
Refs. Overwhelm Services	-0.064^{**}	-0.250^{***}	-0.075^{**}	0.022	-0.130^{***}	0.046	-0.046	-0.260^{***}
	(0.029)	(0.054)	(0.031)	(0.042)	(0.051)	(0.049)	(0.028)	(0.037)
Refs. Don't Improve UK Image	-0.170^{***}	-0.180^{***}	-0.057	-0.026	-0.130^{***}	-0.110^{***}	-0.130^{***}	-0.130^{***}
	(0.040)	(0.048)	(0.040)	(0.037)	(0.025)	(0.029)	(0.031)	(0.037)
Not Open to Migs.	-0.140^{***}	-0.150^{***}	-0.066^{***}	-0.140^{***}	-0.100^{***}	0.028	-0.180^{***}	0.002
	(0.024)	(0.032)	(0.020)	(0.028)	(0.035)	(0.045)	(0.022)	(0.024)
Migs. Take Jobs	-0.170^{***}	-0.260^{***}	-0.200^{***}	-0.110^{**}				
	(0.047)	(0.049)	(0.045)	(0.047)				
Migs. Bring Terror	-0.230^{***}	-0.390^{***}	-0.110^{***}	-0.170^{***}				
	(0.041)	(0.054)	(0.043)	(0.048)				

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Each cell in this Table presents the results of a separate difference-in-means test, weighted for representativeness. Tests in Columns 3-8 are conducted within subjects and SEs are clustered by individual.

Table 19: June 2016 (Pre-Referendum) Oct./ Nov. 2016 (Post-Referendum): Refugees. Columns 3 and 4, Rows 1-3 in Table 17

	Dependent variable:					
	Refs. Threaten Culture		Refs. Overwhelm Services		Refs. Don't Improve UK Image	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
Treat	-0.140^{***}	-0.130^{***}	-0.087^{***}	0.035	-0.035	-0.036
	(0.039)	(0.044)	(0.032)	(0.040)	(0.036)	(0.038)
Constant	4.500^{***}	3.000^{***}	4.700^{***}	3.400^{***}	4.300^{***}	3.100^{***}
	(0.057)	(0.069)	(0.044)	(0.063)	(0.060)	(0.062)
Observations	2,266	2,138	2,279	2,132	2,230	2,060
R^2	0.005	0.002	0.003	0.0002	0.0004	0.0002
Adjusted R^2	0.004	0.002	0.003	-0.0003	-0.0001	-0.0002
Clustered SEs	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 20: June 2016 (Pre-Referendum) Oct./ Nov. 2016 (Post-Referendum): Refugees. Columns 3 and 4, Rows 1-3 in Table 18

	Refs. Threaten Culture		Refs. Overwhelm Services		Refs. Don't Improve UK Image	
	(1) Leavers	(2) Remainers	(3) Leavers	(4) Remainers	(5) Leavers	(6) Remainers
Treat	−0.120***	−0.170***	−0.075**	0.022	−0.057	−0.026
	(0.042)	(0.045)	(0.031)	(0.042)	(0.040)	(0.037)
Male	−0.120*	−0.059	−0.003	0.090	−0.100*	0.140*
	(0.064)	(0.090)	(0.044)	(0.082)	(0.055)	(0.078)
Age	0.010***	0.015***	0.009***	0.006**	0.005	0.007**
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Income (Imp.)	0.055	−0.036	0.031	−0.067	0.043	0.001
	(0.044)	(0.061)	(0.032)	(0.054)	(0.036)	(0.051)
Social Grade	0.043*	−0.007	0.039**	−0.044	0.054***	0.020
	(0.023)	(0.035)	(0.015)	(0.032)	(0.018)	(0.030)
Education	−0.008	−0.270***	−0.012	−0.240***	−0.059**	−0.230***
	(0.026)	(0.043)	(0.020)	(0.039)	(0.024)	(0.035)
Employed	0.023	0.067	0.006	0.093	0.056	0.013
	(0.086)	(0.100)	(0.064)	(0.093)	(0.068)	(0.089)
Children (=1)	−0.019	0.210***	−0.040	0.150**	0.005	−0.019
	(0.066)	(0.073)	(0.053)	(0.059)	(0.048)	(0.081)
Married	0.120*	0.071	0.051	0.085	0.069	0.250***
	(0.068)	(0.100)	(0.049)	(0.096)	(0.058)	(0.093)
North West	−0.130	0.047	−0.067	0.100	0.050	0.130
	(0.160)	(0.260)	(0.100)	(0.240)	(0.120)	(0.220)
Yorkshire and the Humber	−0.160	−0.150	−0.032	0.041	0.050	0.130
	(0.170)	(0.270)	(0.120)	(0.250)	(0.130)	(0.220)
East Midlands	−0.049	0.210	−0.071	0.240	−0.004	0.220
	(0.150)	(0.270)	(0.110)	(0.230)	(0.130)	(0.220)
West Midlands	−0.062	0.130	−0.046	0.140	0.052	0.085
	(0.150)	(0.250)	(0.100)	(0.240)	(0.130)	(0.220)
East of England	0.160	−0.076	0.075	0.200	−0.006	0.024
	(0.130)	(0.250)	(0.093)	(0.230)	(0.130)	(0.210)
London	0.100	0.210	−0.026	0.190	−0.064	0.280
	(0.140)	(0.250)	(0.100)	(0.230)	(0.140)	(0.200)
South East	0.031	0.200	−0.081	0.420*	0.042	0.210
	(0.140)	(0.240)	(0.100)	(0.220)	(0.120)	(0.200)
South West	−0.110	−0.059	−0.120	−0.059	−0.018	−0.018
	(0.160)	(0.250)	(0.099)	(0.230)	(0.120)	(0.200)
Wales	0.065	0.130	0.034	0.039	0.019	0.160
	(0.180)	(0.300)	(0.130)	(0.270)	(0.170)	(0.230)
Scotland	−0.057	−0.180	−0.091	−0.093	−0.100	−0.063
	(0.160)	(0.240)	(0.110)	(0.230)	(0.140)	(0.210)
Constant	3.800***	3.300***	4.100***	3.900***	4.100***	3.100***
	(0.350)	(0.420)	(0.270)	(0.360)	(0.290)	(0.360)
Observations	1,845	1,732	1,858	1,726	1,819	1,672
R^2	0.052	0.128	0.064	0.094	0.034	0.120
Adjusted R^2	0.040	0.116	0.052	0.082	0.021	0.108
Clustered SEs	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 21: June 2016 (Pre-Referendum) Oct./ Nov. 2016 (Post-Referendum): Migrants. Columns 3 and 4, Rows 4-5 in Table 17

	Dependent variable:					
	Not Open to Migs.		Migs. Take Jobs		Migs. Bring Terror	
	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
Treat	-0.046^{**}	-0.120^{***}	-0.210^{***}	-0.120^{***}	-0.086^{**}	-0.110^{**}
	(0.020)	(0.028)	(0.043)	(0.045)	(0.040)	(0.046)
Constant	3.400^{***}	2.600^{***}	4.200^{***}	2.600^{***}	4.400^{***}	2.900^{***}
	(0.032)	(0.043)	(0.066)	(0.070)	(0.060)	(0.073)
Observations	2,263	2,084	2,230	2,140	2,242	2,131
R^2	0.001	0.006	0.009	0.003	0.002	0.002
Adjusted R^2	0.001	0.006	0.008	0.002	0.001	0.001
Clustered SEs	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 22: June 2016 (Pre-Referendum) Oct./ Nov. 2016 (Post-Referendum): Migrants. Columns 3 and 4, Rows 4-5 in Table 18

	Dependent variable:					
	Not Open to Migs.		Migs. Take Jobs		Migs. Bring Terror	
	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
Treat	−0.066***	−0.140***	−0.200***	−0.110**	−0.110***	−0.170***
	(0.020)	(0.028)	(0.045)	(0.047)	(0.043)	(0.048)
Male	−0.044	0.017	−0.020	−0.110	−0.120**	0.002
	(0.037)	(0.052)	(0.073)	(0.080)	(0.058)	(0.084)
Age	0.0003	0.005***	0.009***	0.002	0.002	−0.0001
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Income (Imp.)	−0.027	−0.031	0.003	−0.066	−0.010	−0.086
	(0.024)	(0.034)	(0.047)	(0.050)	(0.037)	(0.053)
Social Grade	0.046***	0.020	0.029	0.042	0.030	0.00000
	(0.013)	(0.020)	(0.025)	(0.031)	(0.020)	(0.033)
Education	−0.056***	−0.160***	−0.026	−0.220***	−0.084***	−0.280***
	(0.016)	(0.024)	(0.032)	(0.034)	(0.026)	(0.039)
Employed	0.001	0.054	−0.110	0.094	−0.059	0.094
	(0.046)	(0.061)	(0.086)	(0.095)	(0.072)	(0.093)
Children (=1)	−0.005	0.089*	−0.120	0.089	−0.043	0.170**
	(0.032)	(0.050)	(0.098)	(0.076)	(0.059)	(0.068)
Married	0.017	0.085	0.091	0.200**	0.150**	0.270***
	(0.040)	(0.062)	(0.079)	(0.095)	(0.062)	(0.100)
North West	−0.048	0.004	−0.027	−0.070	−0.100	0.014
	(0.091)	(0.130)	(0.180)	(0.180)	(0.130)	(0.220)
Yorkshire and the Humber	−0.050	−0.073	−0.330*	−0.110	−0.210	−0.110
	(0.089)	(0.140)	(0.190)	(0.190)	(0.140)	(0.230)
East Midlands	0.008	0.100	−0.140	0.280	−0.200	0.180
	(0.090)	(0.150)	(0.170)	(0.210)	(0.120)	(0.240)
West Midlands	0.047	0.052	−0.130	−0.023	−0.240*	0.043
	(0.091)	(0.140)	(0.170)	(0.190)	(0.130)	(0.240)
East of England	0.026	−0.0001	0.033	0.039	−0.100	−0.110
	(0.086)	(0.140)	(0.170)	(0.190)	(0.130)	(0.210)
London	−0.067	−0.041	−0.180	0.083	−0.190	0.004
	(0.093)	(0.140)	(0.180)	(0.180)	(0.130)	(0.210)
South East	0.0004	0.031	−0.290	0.130	−0.190	0.140
	(0.090)	(0.130)	(0.190)	(0.170)	(0.120)	(0.200)
South West	−0.084	−0.049	−0.150	0.026	−0.270**	−0.057
	(0.093)	(0.130)	(0.170)	(0.180)	(0.140)	(0.210)
Wales	0.021	−0.086	0.110	0.069	−0.160	0.062
	(0.110)	(0.180)	(0.200)	(0.240)	(0.170)	(0.250)
Scotland	−0.071	−0.270*	−0.024	−0.170	−0.220	−0.140
	(0.098)	(0.140)	(0.190)	(0.170)	(0.150)	(0.200)
Constant	3.500***	2.900***	3.800***	3.300***	4.800***	4.000***
	(0.180)	(0.230)	(0.370)	(0.340)	(0.280)	(0.370)
Clustered SEs	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 23: June 2016 (Pre-Referendum) Jun./ Aug. 2017 (Post-Referendum). Columns 5 and 6, in Table 17

	Dependent variable:							
	Refs. Threaten Culture		Refs. Overwhelm Services		Refs. Don't Improve UK Image		Not Open to Migs.	
	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Treat	0.022	0.045	-0.120^{***}	0.017	-0.110^{***}	-0.110^{***}	-0.079^{**}	0.038
	(0.040)	(0.045)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.025)	(0.029)	(0.036)	(0.045)
Constant	4.300^{***}	3.000^{***}	4.500^{***}	2.900^{***}	3.400^{***}	2.600^{***}	4.700^{***}	3.400^{***}
	(0.062)	(0.066)	(0.065)	(0.072)	(0.036)	(0.044)	(0.051)	(0.066)
Observations	1,997	1,893	2,024	1,963	2,036	1,915	2,045	1,949
R^2	0.0001	0.0004	0.004	0.00004	0.008	0.005	0.003	0.0002
Adjusted R^2	−0.0004	−0.0001	0.003	−0.0005	0.007	0.004	0.002	−0.0003
Clustered SEs	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES		

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 24: June 2016 (Pre-Referendum) Jun./ Aug. 2017 (Post-Referendum). Columns 5 and 6, in Table 18

	Dependent variable:							
	Refs. Threaten Culture		Refs. Overwhelm Services		Refs. Don't Improve UK Image		Not Open to Migs.	
	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Treat	−0.001	0.058	−0.130***	0.046	−0.130***	−0.110***	−0.100***	0.028
	(0.044)	(0.045)	(0.051)	(0.049)	(0.025)	(0.029)	(0.035)	(0.045)
Male	−0.099*	0.170**	−0.220***	−0.059	−0.051	0.026	−0.040	0.050
	(0.056)	(0.079)	(0.062)	(0.090)	(0.038)	(0.050)	(0.044)	(0.083)
Age	0.004	0.008**	0.008**	0.013***	0.0005	0.006***	0.007***	0.006*
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Income (Imp.)	0.026	−0.014	0.061	−0.048	−0.052**	−0.035	0.023	−0.060
	(0.040)	(0.055)	(0.042)	(0.060)	(0.027)	(0.034)	(0.032)	(0.057)
Social Grade	0.047**	0.024	0.033	0.018	0.032**	0.022	0.023	−0.023
	(0.020)	(0.033)	(0.024)	(0.035)	(0.013)	(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.032)
Education	−0.079***	−0.240***	−0.029	−0.260***	−0.050***	−0.150***	−0.027	−0.260***
	(0.024)	(0.037)	(0.026)	(0.042)	(0.016)	(0.022)	(0.019)	(0.038)
Employed	0.079	0.042	−0.046	0.088	0.013	0.092	−0.023	0.120
	(0.070)	(0.089)	(0.081)	(0.110)	(0.046)	(0.060)	(0.063)	(0.096)
Children (=1)	0.046	0.042	−0.011	0.200***	0.005	0.100**	−0.050	0.170***
	(0.051)	(0.085)	(0.069)	(0.069)	(0.037)	(0.049)	(0.050)	(0.061)
Married	0.110*	0.180**	0.064	0.120	0.050	0.100	0.071	0.072
	(0.061)	(0.092)	(0.069)	(0.100)	(0.039)	(0.061)	(0.048)	(0.099)
North West	0.075	−0.028	0.003	−0.140	−0.015	−0.015	0.034	0.017
	(0.120)	(0.230)	(0.150)	(0.230)	(0.088)	(0.140)	(0.130)	(0.230)
Yorkshire	0.036	−0.082	−0.230	−0.260	−0.075	−0.032	0.029	0.006
	(0.140)	(0.230)	(0.150)	(0.240)	(0.095)	(0.150)	(0.140)	(0.240)
East Midlands	0.057	0.011	0.040	−0.018	0.009	0.034	0.099	0.140
	(0.140)	(0.230)	(0.140)	(0.240)	(0.086)	(0.150)	(0.130)	(0.230)
West Midlands	0.065	−0.130	0.041	−0.190	0.029	0.067	0.010	−0.031
	(0.140)	(0.220)	(0.140)	(0.240)	(0.091)	(0.140)	(0.130)	(0.240)
East of England	0.140	−0.220	0.260**	−0.290	0.018	−0.088	0.150	−0.021
	(0.120)	(0.220)	(0.120)	(0.240)	(0.085)	(0.140)	(0.120)	(0.230)
London	−0.023	0.034	−0.027	0.045	−0.025	−0.073	0.079	0.036
	(0.140)	(0.220)	(0.160)	(0.240)	(0.090)	(0.140)	(0.130)	(0.230)
South East	0.063	0.070	0.160	0.200	0.003	−0.019	0.077	0.350*
	(0.130)	(0.200)	(0.140)	(0.220)	(0.087)	(0.140)	(0.130)	(0.210)
South West	0.110	−0.120	−0.014	−0.170	−0.067	−0.051	−0.046	−0.065
	(0.130)	(0.200)	(0.160)	(0.230)	(0.086)	(0.140)	(0.150)	(0.220)
Wales	0.110	−0.058	0.100	−0.015	−0.083	−0.130	0.130	−0.060
	(0.170)	(0.250)	(0.190)	(0.270)	(0.120)	(0.170)	(0.160)	(0.270)
Scotland	−0.087	−0.180	−0.086	−0.320	−0.088	−0.230	−0.160	−0.043
	(0.150)	(0.210)	(0.160)	(0.220)	(0.100)	(0.140)	(0.160)	(0.220)
Constant	4.000***	3.100***	4.200***	3.200***	3.600***	2.800***	4.300***	4.000***
	(0.300)	(0.400)	(0.350)	(0.400)	(0.170)	(0.230)	(0.250)	(0.370)
Observations	1,649	1,545	1,672	1,598	1,685	1,565	1,691	1,585
R^2	0.044	0.120	0.058	0.128	0.063	0.143	0.062	0.095
Adjusted R^2	0.030	0.107	0.045	0.116	0.050	0.131	0.049	0.082
Clustered SEs	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES		

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 25: Nov./Dec. 2015 (Pre-Referendum) Jun./ Jul. 2016 (Post-Referendum): Refugees. Columns 7 and 8, Table 17

	Dependent variable:							
	Refs. Threaten Culture		Refs. Overwhelm Services		Refs. Don't Improve UK Image		Not Open to Migs.	
	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
Treat	-0.130^{***}	-0.250^{***}	-0.037	-0.240^{***}	-0.120^{***}	-0.110^{***}	-0.190^{***}	-0.0005
	(0.036)	(0.035)	(0.028)	(0.035)	(0.029)	(0.034)	(0.021)	(0.022)
Constant	4.400^{***}	3.200^{***}	4.600^{***}	3.700^{***}	4.400^{***}	3.100^{***}	3.600^{***}	2.300^{***}
	(0.063)	(0.068)	(0.051)	(0.063)	(0.049)	(0.065)	(0.038)	(0.046)
Obs.	2,510	2,349	2,516	2,341	2,471	2,268	2,506	2,259
R^2	0.004	0.009	0.001	0.010	0.005	0.002	0.024	0.00000
Adj. R^2	0.004	0.009	0.0001	0.009	0.004	0.002	0.024	-0.0004
Clustered SEs	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES		
Note:					*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01			

Table 26: Nov./Dec. 2015 (Pre-Referendum) Jun./ Jul. 2016 (Post-Referendum): Refugees. Columns 7 and 8, Table 18

	Dependent variable:							
	Refs. Threaten Culture		Refs. Overwhelm Services		Refs. Don't Improve UK Image		Not Open to Migs.	
	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
Treat	−0.110***	−0.270***	−0.046	−0.260***	−0.130***	−0.130***	−0.180***	0.002
	(0.039)	(0.038)	(0.028)	(0.037)	(0.031)	(0.037)	(0.022)	(0.024)
Male	−0.200***	−0.077	−0.110**	0.055	−0.220***	0.004	−0.029	−0.062
	(0.064)	(0.084)	(0.049)	(0.078)	(0.058)	(0.079)	(0.039)	(0.051)
Age	0.009***	0.022***	0.007***	0.017***	0.003	0.017***	0.001	0.010***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Income (Imp.)	−0.058	−0.041	−0.081**	−0.079	−0.057	−0.032	−0.057**	−0.021
	(0.045)	(0.054)	(0.039)	(0.050)	(0.039)	(0.049)	(0.028)	(0.032)
Social Grade	−0.004	0.063**	0.017	0.070**	0.018	0.071**	0.041***	0.062***
	(0.022)	(0.032)	(0.016)	(0.031)	(0.020)	(0.028)	(0.014)	(0.020)
Education	−0.038	−0.160***	−0.004	−0.110***	−0.052**	−0.140***	−0.051***	−0.087***
	(0.025)	(0.040)	(0.019)	(0.037)	(0.025)	(0.036)	(0.017)	(0.024)
Employed	−0.002	−0.066***	−0.009	−0.058***	−0.012	−0.055***	0.008	−0.030**
	(0.018)	(0.023)	(0.014)	(0.021)	(0.016)	(0.021)	(0.011)	(0.015)
Children (=1)	−0.067	0.150**	−0.042	0.140**	−0.017	−0.019	−0.020	0.039
	(0.053)	(0.062)	(0.041)	(0.062)	(0.049)	(0.064)	(0.032)	(0.045)
Married	0.084	0.089	0.110**	0.130	0.066	0.110	0.072*	0.040
	(0.066)	(0.097)	(0.051)	(0.092)	(0.060)	(0.090)	(0.041)	(0.065)
North West	0.150	0.096	0.091	0.005	−0.180	0.240	−0.079	0.410**
	(0.190)	(0.240)	(0.120)	(0.220)	(0.140)	(0.230)	(0.089)	(0.170)
Yorkshire	−0.016	−0.230	−0.040	−0.065	−0.170	−0.059	−0.100	0.180
	(0.190)	(0.220)	(0.120)	(0.200)	(0.130)	(0.210)	(0.095)	(0.140)
East Midlands	0.043	−0.320	0.077	−0.110	−0.210	0.003	−0.085	−0.011
	(0.200)	(0.230)	(0.120)	(0.220)	(0.130)	(0.200)	(0.094)	(0.150)
West Midlands	0.240	0.110	0.210*	0.180	0.029	0.210	−0.002	0.380**
	(0.200)	(0.240)	(0.120)	(0.220)	(0.150)	(0.210)	(0.096)	(0.160)
East of England	0.150	0.100	0.100	0.100	−0.019	0.210	−0.043	0.270*
	(0.190)	(0.230)	(0.120)	(0.220)	(0.130)	(0.190)	(0.089)	(0.140)
London	0.210	−0.002	0.075	0.030	0.150	0.210	−0.073	0.170
	(0.200)	(0.210)	(0.130)	(0.200)	(0.130)	(0.200)	(0.100)	(0.140)
South East	0.130	0.003	0.100	0.100	−0.085	0.110	−0.130	0.200
	(0.190)	(0.190)	(0.120)	(0.200)	(0.120)	(0.180)	(0.082)	(0.130)
South West	0.140	−0.029	0.022	0.190	−0.110	0.190	−0.100	0.190
	(0.200)	(0.230)	(0.140)	(0.210)	(0.140)	(0.200)	(0.097)	(0.140)
Wales	−0.110	0.210	−0.027	0.017	−0.130	0.360*	−0.150	0.250*
	(0.250)	(0.250)	(0.170)	(0.230)	(0.180)	(0.210)	(0.120)	(0.140)
Scotland	−0.046	−0.340*	−0.057	−0.450**	−0.300*	0.026	−0.290***	−0.078
	(0.220)	(0.200)	(0.140)	(0.210)	(0.150)	(0.180)	(0.100)	(0.140)
Constant	4.400***	2.900***	4.500***	3.300***	4.900***	2.600***	3.700***	2.000***
	(0.310)	(0.350)	(0.220)	(0.350)	(0.260)	(0.360)	(0.170)	(0.240)
Observations	1,997	1,903	2,000	1,890	1,969	1,969	1,997	1,997
R^2	0.055	0.150	0.054	0.130	0.052	0.052	0.099	0.099
Adjusted R^2	0.044	0.139	0.043	0.119	0.041	0.041	0.088	0.088
Clustered SEs	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES		
Note:								*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

G.3 Effect of Brexit on Mediators, Figure 3 in Main Text

Table 27: Effect of Brexit on Mediators, by EU Membership Preference: Pt. 1

	Dependent variable:					
	Aversion to Farage		Political Efficacy		Government Trust	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
Treat	0.330***	0.470***	0.330***	0.110	0.350***	−0.320***
	(0.081)	(0.065)	(0.072)	(0.075)	(0.073)	(0.069)
Prior Wave Lag	0.780***	0.700***	0.640***	0.670***	0.660***	0.690***
	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.014)
Constant	0.740***	2.600***	0.670***	1.000***	0.600***	1.400***
	(0.085)	(0.120)	(0.059)	(0.066)	(0.071)	(0.076)
Observations	2,486	2,430	2,492	2,397	2,559	2,459
R^2	0.582	0.518	0.380	0.439	0.491	0.500
Adjusted R^2	0.582	0.518	0.379	0.439	0.490	0.500
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 28: Effect of Brexit on Mediators, by EU Membership Preference: Pt. 2

	Dependent variable:			
	Economic Insecurity, Sociotropic		Economic Insecurity, Pocketbook	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treat	-0.098^{***}	0.190^{***}	-0.073^{***}	0.051^{*}
	(0.031)	(0.032)	(0.027)	(0.029)
Prior Wave Lag	0.510^{***}	0.530^{***}	0.590^{***}	0.560^{***}
	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.017)
Constant	1.800^{***}	1.600^{***}	1.400^{***}	1.400^{***}
	(0.051)	(0.054)	(0.053)	(0.054)
Observations	2,475	2,390	2,551	2,439
R^2	0.319	0.304	0.374	0.317
Adjusted R^2	0.318	0.303	0.373	0.317
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

G.4 Multiple Mediation Tests

Tables 29 – 31 display the numerical output relating to Figures 4 – 6 of the main text, relating to the results of the multiple mediation tests. Each model includes the main mediator, all alternative mediators, and the lagged values of each mediator. The ACME confidence intervals are based on nonparametric bootstrap with 1000 resamples. All equations were estimated using least squares and weights are applied for representativeness.

Table 29: Multiple Mediation: Economic Insecurity. Figure 4 main text

	Average Causal Mediation Effect			
	Sociotropic Insecurity		Pocketbook Insecurity	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Outcome variables	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
Refs. Overwhelm Services	0.006	-0.008	0.000	0.002
	[-0.001, 0.01]	[-0.024, 0.008]	[-0.004, 0.004]	[-0.006, 0.010]
Refs. Threaten Culture	0.003	0.008	0.003	0.002
	[-0.004, 0.01]	[-0.007, 0.02]	[-0.003, 0.009]	[-0.006, 0.009]
Refs. Don't Improve Image	-0.002	0.005	0.000	0.001
	[-0.010, 0.010]	[-0.009, 0.019]	[-0.006, 0.006]	[-0.005,0.007]
Not Open to Migs	-0.004	-0.005	-0.001	0.002
	[-0.009,0.000]	[-0.016 0.006]	[-0.004, 0.003]	[-0.004 0.008]
Migs. Bring Terror	-0.002	-0.010	0.003	0.003
	[-0.010, 0.010]	[-0.027,0.006]	[-0.006, 0.008]	[-0.005 0.012]
Migs take Jobs	0.001	-0.007	-0.001	0.005
	[-0.007, 0.010]	[-0.0230, 0.009]	[-0.008, 0.006]	[-0.007, 0.016]

Table 30: Multiple Mediation: Locus of Control. Figure 5, main text

	Average Causal Mediation Effect			
	Government Trust		Political Efficacy	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Outcome variables	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
Refs. Overwhelm Services	-0.008	0.000	-0.010	-0.007
	[-0.016, 0.001]	[-0.012, 0.012]	[-0.018, -0.002]	[-0.021, 0.007]
Refs. Threaten Culture	-0.009	0.005	-0.016	-0.005
	[-0.019, 0.002]	[-0.007, 0.016]	[-0.028, -0.004]	[-0.016, 0.006]
Refs. Don't Improve Image	-0.024	0.011	-0.010	-0.009
	[-0.022, -0.004]	[-0.001, 0.022]	[-0.021, 0.001]	[-0.026, 0.009]
Not Open to Migs	-0.013	0.003	-0.005	-0.006
	[-0.009, 0.000]	[-0.004, 0.009]	[-0.011, 0.001]	[-0.018, 0.006]
Migs. Bring Terror	-0.019	0.012	-0.010	-0.005
	[-0.033, -0.005]	[-0.001, 0.026]	[-0.018, -0.001]	[-0.016, 0.006]
Migs take Jobs	-0.029	0.004	-0.006	-0.002
	[-0.047, -0.011]	[-0.007, 0.015]	[-0.016, 0.003]	[-0.009, 0.004]

Table 31: Multiple Mediation: Anti-Prejudice Norms. Figure 6 main text

	Average Causal Mediation Effect	
	Aversion to Farage	
	(1)	(2)
Outcome variables	Leavers	Remainers
Refs. Overwhelm Services	-0.016	-0.040
	[-0.028, -0.005]	[-0.061, -0.018]
Refs. Threaten Culture	-0.025	-0.063
	[-0.042, -0.008]	[-0.090, -0.035]
Refs. Don't Improve Image	-0.018	-0.036
	[-0.033, -0.003]	[-0.057, -0.015]
Not Open to Migs	-0.010	-0.034
	[-0.018, -0.001]	[-0.049, -0.018]
Migs. Bring Terror	-0.032	-0.071
	[-0.053, -0.012]	[-0.101, -0.041]
Migs take Jobs	-0.030	-0.066
	[-0.049, -0.011]	[-0.092, -0.040]

H Disaggregating EU Support

Figure 13 examines the total effects of the Brexit referendum on migration outcomes. While in Figure 1 in the main text, EU support has a binary classification, here it is left in its original 4-point scale. Tables 32 – 37 show the detailed numerical output of these tests.

Figure 13: *Average Treatment Effects, EU Support Disaggregated*

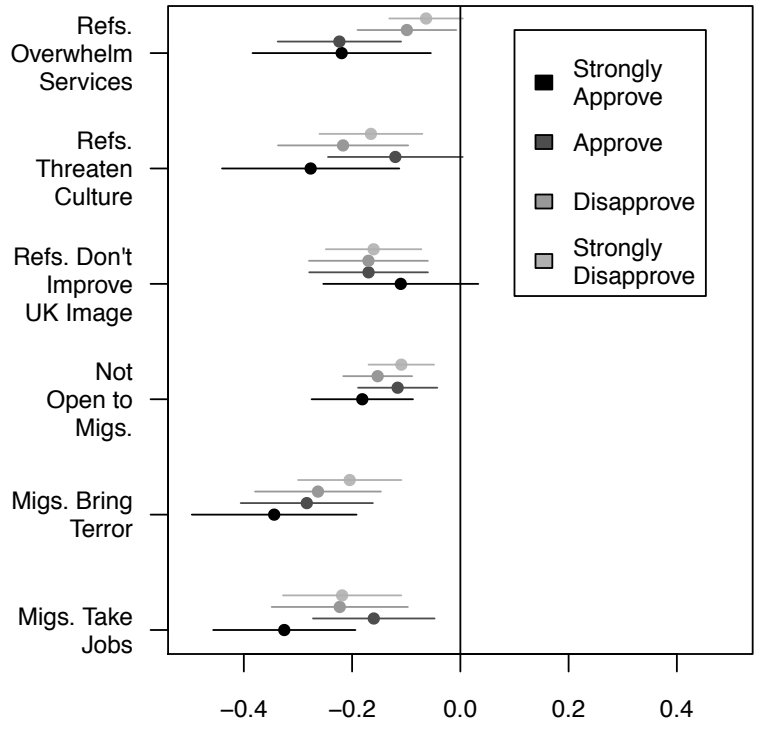


Table 32: Average Treatment Effects, EU Support Disaggregated: Migs. Take Jobs

	Dependent variable:			
	Migs. Take Jobs			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	EU: Strongly Approve	EU: Approve	EU: Disapprove	EU: Strongly Disapprove
Treat	−0.325***	−0.160***	−0.223***	−0.218***
	(0.067)	(0.057)	(0.064)	(0.056)
Constant	2.125***	2.700***	3.716***	4.299***
	(0.046)	(0.039)	(0.045)	(0.039)
Observations	910	1,527	1,135	1,391
R^2	0.025	0.005	0.011	0.011
Adjusted R^2	0.024	0.004	0.010	0.010
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 33: Average Treatment Effects, EU Support Disaggregated: Migs. Bring Terror

	Dependent variable:			
	Migs. Bring Terror			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	EU: Strongly Approve	EU: Approve	EU: Disapprove	EU: Strongly Disapprove
Treat	-0.344^{***}	-0.284^{***}	-0.263^{***}	-0.204^{***}
	(0.078)	(0.062)	(0.059)	(0.049)
Constant	2.298^{***}	3.111^{***}	4.093^{***}	4.498^{***}
	(0.054)	(0.043)	(0.042)	(0.034)
Observations	908	1,520	1,140	1,398
R^2	0.021	0.013	0.017	0.012
Adjusted R^2	0.020	0.013	0.016	0.012
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 34: Average Treatment Effects, EU Support Disaggregated: Not Open to Migs.

	Dependent variable:			
	Not Open to Migs.			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	EU: Strongly Approve	EU: Approve	EU: Disapprove	EU: Strongly Disapprove
Treat	-0.181^{***}	-0.116^{***}	-0.153^{***}	-0.109^{***}
	(0.048)	(0.037)	(0.032)	(0.031)
Constant	2.199^{***}	2.620^{***}	3.198^{***}	3.441^{***}
	(0.033)	(0.025)	(0.023)	(0.022)
Observations	883	1,490	1,161	1,401
R^2	0.016	0.006	0.019	0.009
Adjusted R^2	0.015	0.006	0.018	0.008
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 35: Average Treatment Effects, EU Support Disaggregated: Refs. Don't Improve UK Image

	Dependent variable:			
	Refs. Don't Improve UK Image			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	EU: Strongly Approve	EU: Approve	EU: Disapprove	EU: Strongly Disapprove
Treat	−0.110	−0.170***	−0.170***	−0.160***
	(0.073)	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.045)
Constant	2.606***	3.245***	4.032***	4.507***
	(0.051)	(0.038)	(0.040)	(0.032)
Observations	882	1,473	1,129	1,395
R^2	0.003	0.006	0.008	0.009
Adjusted R^2	0.001	0.006	0.007	0.008
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 36: Average Treatment Effects, EU Support Disaggregated: Refs. Threaten Culture

	Dependent variable:			
	Refs. Threaten Culture			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	EU: Strongly Approve	EU: Approve	EU: Disapprove	EU: Strongly Disapprove
Treat	−0.277***	−0.120*	−0.217***	−0.165***
	(0.083)	(0.063)	(0.061)	(0.048)
Constant	2.442***	3.133***	4.146***	4.578***
	(0.058)	(0.043)	(0.043)	(0.034)
Observations	905	1,532	1,155	1,408
R^2	0.012	0.002	0.011	0.008
Adjusted R^2	0.011	0.002	0.010	0.007
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 37: Average Treatment Effects, EU Support Disaggregated: Refs. Overwhelm Services

	Dependent variable:			
	Refs. Overwhelm Services			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	EU: Strongly Approve	EU: Approve	EU: Disapprove	EU: Strongly Disapprove
Treat	−0.219***	−0.223***	−0.099**	−0.063*
	(0.084)	(0.058)	(0.046)	(0.035)
Constant	2.953***	3.749***	4.503***	4.780***
	(0.058)	(0.040)	(0.033)	(0.024)
Observations	897	1,530	1,165	1,411
R^2	0.008	0.010	0.004	0.002
Adjusted R^2	0.006	0.009	0.003	0.002
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

I Main Effects, Ordinal Logit

Tables 38 – 39 replicate the results shown in Figure 1 in the main text (the effects of the Brexit outcome on attitudes) estimated using ordinal logit. The coefficients are in units of ordered logits.

Table 38: Migrants

	Dependent variable:					
	Migs. Take Jobs		Migs. Bring Terror		Not Open to Migs.	
	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Treat	−0.446***	−0.382***	−0.517***	−0.455***	−0.444***	−0.376***
	(0.073)	(0.076)	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.082)	(0.079)
Observations	2,526	2,315	2,538	2,319	2,562	2,268
AIC	6235.511	6613.499	5533.805	7190.162	3927.671	5086.281
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 39: Refugees

	Dependent variable:					
	Refs. Threaten Culture		Refs. Overwhelm Services		Refs. Don't Improve UK Image	
	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers	Leavers	Remainers
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Treat	−0.390***	−0.247***	−0.267***	−0.340***	−0.286***	−0.265***
	(0.077)	(0.074)	(0.088)	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.076)
Observations	2,563	2,317	2,576	2,310	2,524	2,232
AIC	5397.184	6660.694	5340.045	7274.891	3823.755	7101.555
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

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