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# Online Appendix

## Value Shift: Immigration Attitudes and the Sociocultural Divide

July 10, 2020

### A: Descriptive Statistics

Table 1: EVS Descriptive Statistics

Note: Calculated with population weight

| <b>Variable</b>                    | <b>Mean</b> | <b>Std. Deviation</b> | <b>Min</b> | <b>Max</b> |
|------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|------------|------------|
| Children suffer (v72)              | 2.228       | 0.848                 | 1.000      | 4.000      |
| Women prefer homemaking (v73)      | 2.275       | 0.858                 | 1.000      | 4.000      |
| Family suffers (v74)               | 2.396       | 0.888                 | 1.000      | 4.000      |
| Male breadwinner (v75)             | 1.865       | 0.861                 | 1.000      | 4.000      |
| Women politicians (v76)            | 1.727       | 0.750                 | 1.000      | 4.000      |
| Women's schooling (v77)            | 1.534       | 0.666                 | 1.000      | 4.000      |
| Women in business (v78)            | 1.665       | 0.713                 | 1.000      | 4.000      |
| Immigrant jobs (v80)               | 3.159       | 1.323                 | 1.000      | 5.000      |
| Women jobs (v81)                   | 2.023       | 1.093                 | 1.000      | 5.000      |
| Duty to have kids (v83)            | 2.538       | 1.139                 | 1.000      | 5.000      |
| Women's rights (v141)              | 0.527       | 0.980                 | 0.000      | 4.000      |
| Abortion okay (v154)               | 1.820       | 1.339                 | 0.000      | 4.000      |
| Divorce okay (v155)                | 1.323       | 1.207                 | 0.000      | 4.000      |
| Immigrants good for country (v184) | 2.961       | 1.006                 | 1.000      | 5.000      |
| Immigrants take away jobs (v185)   | 1.747       | 1.247                 | 0.000      | 4.000      |
| Immigrant crime (v186)             | 2.433       | 1.218                 | 0.000      | 4.000      |

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|                                  |        |       |        |        |
|----------------------------------|--------|-------|--------|--------|
| Immigrant welfare (v187)         | 2.544  | 1.214 | 0.000  | 4.000  |
| Assimilation (v188)              | 3.313  | 1.117 | 1.000  | 5.000  |
| Left-right self-placement (v102) | 5.248  | 2.084 | 1.000  | 10.000 |
| Income (v261)                    | 5.051  | 2.816 | 1.000  | 10.000 |
| Religiosity (v54)                | 2.807  | 1.957 | 1.000  | 7.000  |
| Cohort                           | 3.072  | 1.498 | 1.000  | 5.000  |
| Gender Attitudes                 | 0.206  | 0.902 | -1.972 | 3.348  |
| Immigration Attitudes            | -0.048 | 0.973 | -2.649 | 2.332  |
| Female                           | 0.521  | 0.500 | 0.000  | 1.000  |
| Male                             | 0.479  | 0.500 | 0.000  | 1.000  |
| Married                          | 0.515  | 0.500 | 0.000  | 1.000  |
| Never married                    | 0.274  | 0.446 | 0.000  | 1.000  |
| Previously married               | 0.212  | 0.409 | 0.000  | 1.000  |
| Advanced degree                  | 0.144  | 0.351 | 0.000  | 1.000  |
| Bachelor's degree                | 0.108  | 0.310 | 0.000  | 1.000  |
| High school                      | 0.356  | 0.479 | 0.000  | 1.000  |
| Less than HS                     | 0.271  | 0.445 | 0.000  | 1.000  |
| Vocational                       | 0.121  | 0.327 | 0.000  | 1.000  |
| Employed                         | 0.519  | 0.500 | 0.000  | 1.000  |
| Homemaker                        | 0.058  | 0.234 | 0.000  | 1.000  |
| In school                        | 0.046  | 0.209 | 0.000  | 1.000  |
| Other employment situation       | 0.027  | 0.163 | 0.000  | 1.000  |
| Pensioner                        | 0.292  | 0.455 | 0.000  | 1.000  |
| Unemployed                       | 0.057  | 0.232 | 0.000  | 1.000  |

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Table 2: EVS Country Frequencies

| <b>Country</b> | <b>n</b> | <b>%</b> | <b><math>\sum</math> %</b> |
|----------------|----------|----------|----------------------------|
| Austria        | 1,644    | 6.3      | 6.3                        |
| Denmark        | 3,358    | 12.9     | 19.2                       |
| Finland        | 1,164    | 4.5      | 23.6                       |
| France         | 1,865    | 7.1      | 30.8                       |
| Germany        | 5,344    | 20.5     | 51.2                       |
| Italy          | 2,277    | 8.7      | 59.9                       |
| Netherlands    | 2,720    | 10.4     | 70.4                       |
| Norway         | 1,120    | 4.3      | 74.7                       |

|               |        |       |       |
|---------------|--------|-------|-------|
| Sweden        | 1,186  | 4.5   | 79.2  |
| Switzerland   | 3,658  | 14.0  | 93.2  |
| Great Britain | 1,776  | 6.8   | 100.0 |
| N             | 26,112 | 100.0 |       |

Table 3: LISS Descriptive Statistics

| Variable                                | Mean     | Std. Deviation | Min      | Max      |
|---|----------|----------------|----------|----------|
| Wave                                    | 5.837    | 3.176          | 1.000    | 11.000   |
| Birth year                              | 1962.091 | 16.998         | 1913.000 | 2000.000 |
| Age                                     | 50.094   | 17.066         | 17.000   | 101.000  |
| Income                                  | 5.474    | 3.066          | 1.000    | 13.000   |
| Left-right self-placement (CV101)       | 5.238    | 2.149          | 0.000    | 10.000   |
| Assimilation (CV104)                    | 3.693    | 0.968          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Working mothers (CV109)                 | 2.104    | 1.080          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Child suffers (CV110)                   | 2.692    | 1.139          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Family suffers (CV111)                  | 2.727    | 1.200          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Dual income (CV112)                     | 2.535    | 0.970          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Male breadwinner (CV113)                | 2.049    | 0.942          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Father housework (CV114)                | 2.646    | 0.836          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Father childcare (CV115)                | 2.593    | 0.804          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Different cultures are good (CV116)     | 2.433    | 0.889          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Can't retain culture (CV117)            | 2.619    | 0.954          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Easier asylum (CV118)                   | 3.799    | 0.914          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Welfare for immigrants (CV119)          | 2.514    | 0.997          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Too many foreigners (CV120)             | 3.241    | 1.060          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Foreigners not accepted (CV121)         | 3.346    | 0.827          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Economy needs immigrants (CV122)        | 2.891    | 0.994          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Immigrants bad for neighborhood (CV123) | 3.607    | 0.927          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Married happier (CV124)                 | 2.590    | 0.962          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Married before children (CV125)         | 2.250    | 1.073          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Single parents (CV126)                  | 2.780    | 1.014          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Cohabit with no marriage intent (CV127) | 1.810    | 0.883          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Cohabit before marriage (CV128)         | 2.415    | 1.026          | 1.000    | 5.000    |
| Divorce okay (CV129)                    | 2.403    | 0.908          | 1.000    | 5.000    |

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|--|--------|-------|--------|-------|
| Divorce with children (CV130)              | 2.412  | 0.908 | 1.000  | 5.000 |
| Mother working with baby (CV143)           | 2.161  | 0.674 | 1.000  | 3.000 |
| Mother working with toddler (CV144)        | 1.981  | 0.606 | 1.000  | 3.000 |
| Mother working with young children (CV145) | 1.627  | 0.524 | 1.000  | 3.000 |
| Mother working with older child (CV146)    | 1.314  | 0.486 | 1.000  | 3.000 |
| Women childrearing (CV151)                 | 2.788  | 1.061 | 1.000  | 5.000 |
| Girls' education (CV152)                   | 1.572  | 0.812 | 1.000  | 5.000 |
| Rearing boys (CV153)                       | 1.915  | 0.915 | 1.000  | 5.000 |
| Women bosses (CV154)                       | 1.631  | 0.774 | 1.000  | 5.000 |
| Abortion (CR105)                           | 1.386  | 0.673 | 1.000  | 3.000 |
| Religiosity                                | 2.011  | 1.473 | 1.000  | 7.000 |
| Gender attitudes                           | -0.001 | 0.955 | -3.236 | 4.296 |
| Immigration attitudes                      | 0.000  | 0.927 | -3.381 | 2.907 |
| Cohort (5-level)                           | 2.786  | 1.451 | 1.000  | 5.000 |
| Cohort (2-level)                           | 1.338  | 0.473 | 1.000  | 2.000 |
| Female                                     | 0.536  | 0.499 | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| Male                                       | 0.464  | 0.499 | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| Married                                    | 0.574  | 0.494 | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| Never married                              | 0.278  | 0.448 | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| Previously married                         | 0.148  | 0.355 | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| Rural                                      | 0.160  | 0.366 | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| Suburban                                   | 0.441  | 0.496 | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| Urban                                      | 0.400  | 0.490 | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| Employed                                   | 0.528  | 0.499 | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| Homemaker                                  | 0.087  | 0.282 | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| In school                                  | 0.074  | 0.261 | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| Other employment situation                 | 0.068  | 0.252 | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| Pensioner                                  | 0.210  | 0.407 | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| Unemployed                                 | 0.033  | 0.178 | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| Bachelor's or advanced degree              | 0.093  | 0.291 | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| High school                                | 0.110  | 0.313 | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| Less than HS                               | 0.298  | 0.458 | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| Other education                            | 0.028  | 0.165 | 0.000  | 1.000 |
| Vocational                                 | 0.470  | 0.499 | 0.000  | 1.000 |

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Table 4: LISS Scale Reliability By Panel Wave

| <b>Wave</b> | <b>Gender</b> | <b>Immigration</b> |
|-------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 1           | 0.85          | 0.75               |
| 2           | 0.87          | 0.77               |
| 3           | 0.87          | 0.77               |
| 4           | 0.87          | 0.78               |
| 5           | 0.87          | 0.78               |
| 6           | 0.87          | 0.77               |
| 7           | 0.87          | 0.78               |
| 8           | 0.87          | 0.78               |
| 9           | 0.87          | 0.78               |
| 10          | 0.87          | 0.78               |
| 11          | 0.87          | 0.79               |

Note: Table contains Cronbach's alphas for each indicator estimated on panel wave subsets.

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## B: Survey Questions

### LISS Survey Questions: Gender Attitudes

For the questions below, respondents were asked to indicate their degree of agreement with each statement where 1 is “fully disagree” and 5 is “fully agree”.

- **CV109:** A working mothers relationship with her children can be just as close and warm as that of a non-working mother.
- **CV110:** A child that is not yet attending school is likely to suffer the consequences if his or her mother has a job.
- **CV111:** Overall, family life suffers the consequences if the mother has a full-time job.
- **CV112:** Both father and mother should contribute to the family income.
- **CV113:** The father should earn money, while the mother takes care of the household and the family.
- **CV114:** Fathers ought to do more in terms of household work than they do at present.
- **CV115:** Fathers ought to do more in terms of childcare than they do at present.
- **CV124:** Married people are generally happier than unmarried people.
- **CV125:** People that want to have children should get married.
- **CV126:** A single parent can raise a child just as well as two parents together.
- **CV127:** It is perfectly fine for a couple to live together without marriage intentions.
- **CV128:** For a couple that wants to get married, it is good to first start living together.
- **CV129:** A divorce is generally the best solution if a married couple cannot solve their marital problems.
- **CV130:** It is all right for a married couple with children to get divorced.

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- **CV151:** A woman is more suited to rearing young children than a man.
  - **CV152:** It is actually less important for a girl than for a boy to get a good education.
  - **CV153:** Generally speaking, boys can be reared more liberally than girls.
  - **CV154:** It is unnatural for women in firms to have control over men.

For the questions below, respondents were asked, “Do you think that women, under the circumstances described below, should be able to have a full-time job, a part-time job, or no job at all?”

- **CV143:** If she has a baby (a child younger than 1 year).
- **CV144:** If she has a child that does not yet attend school.
- **CV145:** After the youngest child starts primary school.
- **CV146:** After the youngest child starts secondary school.

For this question, answer choices are “yes”, “no”, “maybe” and “I don’t know” (coded as missing)

- **CR105:** Do you consider it good that abortion is permitted?

## **LISS Survey Questions: Immigration Attitudes**

- **CV104:** “In the Netherlands, some people believe that immigrants are entitled to live here while retaining their own culture. Others feel that they should adapt entirely to Dutch culture. Where would you place yourself on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means that immigrants can retain their own culture and 5 means that they should adapt entirely?”

For the questions below, respondents were asked their opinions on the following statements where 1 is “fully disagree” and 5 is “fully agree”.

- **CV116:** It is good if society consists of people from different cultures.

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- **CV117:** It is difficult for a foreigner to be accepted in the Netherlands while retaining his/her own culture.
  - **CV118:** It should be made easier to obtain asylum in the Netherlands.
  - **CV119:** Legally residing foreigners should be entitled to the same social security as Dutch citizens.
  - **CV120:** There are too many people of foreign origin or descent in the Netherlands.
  - **CV121:** People of foreign origin or descent are not accepted in the Netherlands.
  - **CV122:** Some sectors of the economy can only continue to function because people of foreign origin or descent work there.
  - **CV123:** It does not help a neighborhood if many people of foreign origin or descent move in.

## **EVS Survey Questions: Gender Attitudes**

For the questions below, respondents were asked to indicate their degree of agreement with each statement where 1 is “agree strongly” and 4 is “disagree strongly”.

- **v72** When a mother works for pay, the children suffer.
- **v73** A job is alright but what most women really want is a home and children.
- **v74** All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job.
- **v75** A man’s job is to earn money; a woman’s job is to look after the home and family.
- **v76** On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do.
- **v77** A university education is more important for a boy than a girl.
- **v78** On the whole, men make better business executives than women do.
- **v81** When jobs are scarce, men have more right to a job than women.



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- **v83** It is a duty towards society to have children.

For this question, respondents were asked whether this is an “essential characteristic of democracy” where 1 is “not essential” and 10 is “essential”.

- **v141** Women have the same rights as men.

For the questions below, respondents were asked whether this can “always be justified, never be justified, or something in between”, where 1 is “never” and 10 is “always”

- **v154** Abortion
- **v155** Divorce

## **EVS Survey Questions: Immigration Attitudes**

For this question, respondents were asked to indicate their degree of agreement with each statement where 1 is “agree strongly” and 4 is “disagree strongly”.

- **v80** When jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to {NATIONALITY} people over immigrants.

For this question, options range from 1, “very bad” to 5, “very good”.

- **v184** Now we would like to know your opinion about the people from other countries who come to live in {COUNTRY}—the immigrants. How would you evaluate the impact of these people on the development of {COUNTRY}?

For the below questions, respondents are asked to indicate their level of agreement on a 1–10 scale, where 1 indicates complete agreement.

- **v185** Immigrants take jobs away from {NATIONALITY}.
- **v186** Immigrants make crime problems worse.
- **v187** Immigrants are a strain on a country’s welfare system.
- **v188** It is better if immigrants maintain their distinct customs and traditions.

## C: Tables

### Results for Model Presented in Figures 2a and 3a (LISS)

The table below presents results from panel linear regressions predicting gender and immigration attitudes by birth cohort. Models 1 and 2 are base models, including only cohort, a cubic time control, and a random effect for individuals. Models 3 and 4 include all controls except left-right self-placement, and Models 5 and 6 are fully-specified. Figures 2a and 3a plot the marginal effects of cohort from the fully-specified models.

Table 5: Predicted Attitude by Cohort, with Controls, Random Effect for Individuals (LISS)

| Dependent variable:                    | Gender                | Immig.                | Gender                 | Immig.                 | Gender                 | Immig.                 |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Model:                                 | Base                  | Base                  | No LR                  | No LR                  | Full                   | Full                   |
| Birth cohort ( <i>ref: pre-1950</i> )  |                       |                       |                        |                        |                        |                        |
| 1950-9                                 | -0.309***<br>(0.0245) | -0.131***<br>(0.0250) | -0.213***<br>(0.0233)  | -0.0894***<br>(0.0236) | -0.204***<br>(0.0230)  | -0.0580**<br>(0.0222)  |
| 1960-9                                 | -0.376***<br>(0.0232) | -0.0678**<br>(0.0217) | -0.236***<br>(0.0243)  | -0.00132<br>(0.0235)   | -0.234***<br>(0.0240)  | 0.00674<br>(0.0227)    |
| 1970-9                                 | -0.421***<br>(0.0270) | -0.0621**<br>(0.0227) | -0.241***<br>(0.0283)  | 0.0405<br>(0.0295)     | -0.243***<br>(0.0281)  | 0.0358<br>(0.0291)     |
| 1980+                                  | -0.341***<br>(0.0260) | -0.162***<br>(0.0233) | -0.167***<br>(0.0301)  | -0.0264<br>(0.0307)    | -0.168***<br>(0.0296)  | -0.0240<br>(0.0296)    |
| Male                                   | —                     | —                     | 0.332***<br>(0.0150)   | 0.190***<br>(0.0150)   | 0.327***<br>(0.0152)   | 0.171***<br>(0.0138)   |
| Marital status ( <i>ref: Married</i> ) |                       |                       |                        |                        |                        |                        |
| Never married                          | —                     | —                     | -0.0837***<br>(0.0163) | -0.0471*<br>(0.0183)   | -0.0819***<br>(0.0162) | -0.0406*<br>(0.0164)   |
| Previously married                     | —                     | —                     | -0.0390*<br>(0.0154)   | -0.0193<br>(0.0161)    | -0.0375*<br>(0.0153)   | -0.0104<br>(0.0152)    |
| Urban/rural ( <i>ref: Rural</i> )      |                       |                       |                        |                        |                        |                        |
| Suburban                               | —                     | —                     | -0.0155<br>(0.0117)    | -0.00712<br>(0.0139)   | -0.0153<br>(0.0116)    | -0.0130<br>(0.0139)    |
| Urban                                  | —                     | —                     | -0.0378**<br>(0.0115)  | -0.0588***<br>(0.0153) | -0.0343**<br>(0.0113)  | -0.0590***<br>(0.0149) |
| Employment ( <i>ref: Employed</i> )    |                       |                       |                        |                        |                        |                        |
| Homemaker                              | —                     | —                     | 0.155***               | 0.0111                 | 0.155***               | 0.00349                |

|                                       |             |             |             |             |             |             |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|                                       |             |             | (0.0171)    | (0.0183)    | (0.0170)    | (0.0174)    |
| In school                             | —           | —           | -0.00133    | -0.102***   | -0.00102    | -0.116***   |
|                                       |             |             | (0.0177)    | (0.0214)    | (0.0177)    | (0.0200)    |
| Other                                 | —           | —           | 0.0881***   | -0.0105     | 0.0925***   | -0.00173    |
|                                       |             |             | (0.0186)    | (0.0169)    | (0.0188)    | (0.0171)    |
| Pensioner                             | —           | —           | 0.0310*     | -0.00255    | 0.0313*     | -0.00504    |
|                                       |             |             | (0.0129)    | (0.0142)    | (0.0129)    | (0.0134)    |
| Unemployed                            | —           | —           | 0.0143      | -0.0143     | 0.0165      | -0.0109     |
|                                       |             |             | (0.0173)    | (0.0181)    | (0.0173)    | (0.0173)    |
| Income                                | —           | —           | -0.0155***  | -0.00834*** | -0.0163***  | -0.0115***  |
|                                       |             |             | (0.00110)   | (0.00128)   | (0.00110)   | (0.00125)   |
| Education ( <i>ref: Bachelor's+</i> ) |             |             |             |             |             |             |
| High school                           | —           | —           | 0.288***    | 0.291***    | 0.282***    | 0.280***    |
|                                       |             |             | (0.0257)    | (0.0267)    | (0.0256)    | (0.0244)    |
| Less than HS                          | —           | —           | 0.475***    | 0.486***    | 0.468***    | 0.488***    |
|                                       |             |             | (0.0270)    | (0.0266)    | (0.0267)    | (0.0235)    |
| Other                                 | —           | —           | 0.360***    | 0.392***    | 0.357***    | 0.391***    |
|                                       |             |             | (0.0391)    | (0.0391)    | (0.0386)    | (0.0371)    |
| Vocational                            | —           | —           | 0.262***    | 0.290***    | 0.256***    | 0.281***    |
|                                       |             |             | (0.0261)    | (0.0243)    | (0.0255)    | (0.0215)    |
| Religiosity                           | —           | —           | 0.0522***   | -0.00796**  | 0.0519***   | -0.0148***  |
|                                       |             |             | (0.00283)   | (0.00262)   | (0.00284)   | (0.00260)   |
| Left-right self-placement             | —           | —           | —           | —           | 0.0195***   | 0.0736***   |
|                                       |             |             |             |             | (0.00175)   | (0.00196)   |
| $t$                                   | 0.0403***   | 0.00162     | 0.0423***   | 0.00118     | 0.0413***   | -0.00359    |
|                                       | (0.00576)   | (0.00680)   | (0.00611)   | (0.00692)   | (0.00614)   | (0.00672)   |
| $t^2$                                 | -0.0127***  | (0.00576)   | -0.0124***  | 0.000259    | -0.0123***  | 0.000840    |
|                                       | (0.00114)   | (0.00129)   | (0.00120)   | (0.00132)   | (0.00121)   | (0.00128)   |
| $t^3$                                 | 0.000597*** | -0.0000576  | 0.000577*** | -0.0000786  | 0.000575*** | -0.0000987  |
|                                       | (0.0000654) | (0.0000713) | (0.0000690) | (0.0000729) | (0.0000692) | (0.0000710) |
| Constant                              | 0.361***    | 0.0593**    | -0.218***   | -0.308***   | -0.310***   | -0.644***   |
|                                       | (0.0200)    | (0.0186)    | (0.0390)    | (0.0329)    | (0.0400)    | (0.0325)    |
| $N$ observations                      | 62,530      | 62,530      | 62,530      | 62,530      | 62,530      | 62,530      |
| $N$ individuals                       | 13,140      | 13,140      | 13,140      | 13,140      | 13,140      | 13,140      |
| $R^2$                                 | 0.0519      | 0.0093      | 0.2341      | 0.0984      | 0.2522      | 0.2920      |

Standard errors in parentheses; \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

## Results for Models Presented in Figures 2b and 3b (EVS)

The table below presents results from linear regression models predicting gender and immigration attitudes by birth cohort in 11 West European countries. All models include population weights. Models 1 and 2 contain only the birth cohort variable and country fixed effects. Models 3 and 4 add all controls except left-right self-placement, and Models 5 and 6 are fully-specified. Figures 2b and 3b plot the estimated marginal effect of cohort from Models 5 and 6.

Table 6: Predicted Attitude by Cohort, with Controls, Fixed Effect for Country (EVS)

| Dependent variable:                        | Gender                | Immig.                | Gender                | Immig.                 | Gender                | Immig.                |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Model:                                     | Base                  | Base                  | No LR                 | No LR                  | Full                  | Full                  |
| Birth cohort ( <i>ref: pre-1950</i> )      |                       |                       |                       |                        |                       |                       |
| 1950-9                                     | -0.355***<br>(0.0252) | -0.126**<br>(0.0316)  | -0.212***<br>(0.0257) | -0.0871***<br>(0.0182) | -0.185***<br>(0.0259) | -0.0329<br>(0.0203)   |
| 1960-9                                     | -0.523***<br>(0.0272) | -0.194***<br>(0.0341) | -0.257***<br>(0.0150) | -0.116***<br>(0.0144)  | -0.234***<br>(0.0129) | -0.0703**<br>(0.0154) |
| 1970-9                                     | -0.590***<br>(0.0562) | -0.216**<br>(0.0496)  | -0.267***<br>(0.0221) | -0.0878<br>(0.0574)    | -0.250***<br>(0.0271) | -0.0538<br>(0.0397)   |
| 1980+                                      | -0.665***<br>(0.0397) | -0.336***<br>(0.0309) | -0.266***<br>(0.0192) | -0.162*<br>(0.0630)    | -0.241***<br>(0.0277) | -0.112*<br>(0.0407)   |
| Male                                       | —                     | —                     | 0.304***<br>(0.0355)  | 0.0623<br>(0.0310)     | 0.283***<br>(0.0313)  | 0.0213<br>(0.0225)    |
| Marital status ( <i>ref: Married</i> )     |                       |                       |                       |                        |                       |                       |
| Never married                              | —                     | —                     | -0.122***<br>(0.0210) | -0.0349<br>(0.0178)    | -0.116***<br>(0.0206) | -0.0215<br>(0.0212)   |
| Previously married                         | —                     | —                     | -0.0369<br>(0.0271)   | 0.00353<br>(0.0155)    | -0.0433<br>(0.0251)   | -0.00932<br>(0.0140)  |
| Employment status ( <i>ref: Employed</i> ) |                       |                       |                       |                        |                       |                       |
| Homemaker                                  | —                     | —                     | 0.314***<br>(0.0113)  | 0.0795<br>(0.0523)     | 0.300***<br>(0.00922) | 0.0519<br>(0.0407)    |
| In school                                  | —                     | —                     | -0.269***<br>(0.0436) | -0.322***<br>(0.0514)  | -0.250***<br>(0.0382) | -0.284***<br>(0.0404) |
| Other                                      | —                     | —                     | 0.174**<br>(0.0449)   | 0.0878<br>(0.0630)     | 0.174***<br>(0.0376)  | 0.0890<br>(0.0513)    |
| Pensioner                                  | —                     | —                     | 0.109**<br>(0.0336)   | 0.0204<br>(0.0275)     | 0.102**<br>(0.0321)   | 0.00813<br>(0.0237)   |

|   |           |           |            |           |            |            |
|---|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| Unemployed                                | —         | —         | 0.111**    | 0.0901    | 0.121**    | 0.109*     |
|   |           |           | (0.0349)   | (0.0475)  | (0.0315)   | (0.0414)   |
| Religiosity                               | —         | —         | -0.0378*** | -0.0117   | -0.0418*** | -0.0196*   |
|   |           |           | (0.00174)  | (0.00840) | (0.00178)  | (0.00720)  |
| Education ( <i>ref: Advanced degree</i> ) |           |           |            |           |            |            |
| Bachelor's degree                         | —         | —         | 0.115*     | 0.134**   | 0.102*     | 0.109**    |
|   |           |           | (0.0410)   | (0.0318)  | (0.0371)   | (0.0243)   |
| High school                               | —         | —         | 0.362***   | 0.413***  | 0.323***   | 0.336***   |
|   |           |           | (0.0496)   | (0.0600)  | (0.0452)   | (0.0526)   |
| Less than HS                              | —         | —         | 0.588***   | 0.542***  | 0.544***   | 0.456***   |
|   |           |           | (0.0675)   | (0.0493)  | (0.0649)   | (0.0436)   |
| Vocational                                | —         | —         | 0.227***   | 0.274***  | 0.196***   | 0.212***   |
|   |           |           | (0.0257)   | (0.0226)  | (0.0228)   | (0.0227)   |
| Income                                    | —         | —         | 0.0897***  | -0.0228*  | 0.0806***  | -0.0408*** |
|   |           |           | (0.00678)  | (0.00774) | (0.00590)  | (0.00719)  |
| Left-right self-placement                 | —         | —         | —          | —         | 0.0748***  | 0.149***   |
|   |           |           |            |           | (0.00744)  | (0.0110)   |
| Country ( <i>ref: Austria</i> )           |           |           |            |           |            |            |
| Denmark                                   | -0.772*** | -0.283*** | -0.598***  | -0.189*** | -0.613***  | -0.218***  |
|   | (0.00242) | (0.00244) | (0.0106)   | (0.0127)  | (0.0106)   | (0.0114)   |
| Finland                                   | -0.385*** | -0.508*** | -0.200***  | -0.412*** | -0.259***  | -0.529***  |
|   | (0.00579) | (0.00597) | (0.0104)   | (0.0152)  | (0.00830)  | (0.0143)   |
| France                                    | -0.475*** | -0.599*** | -0.378***  | -0.616*** | -0.393***  | -0.645***  |
|   | (0.00258) | (0.00257) | (0.00846)  | (0.00660) | (0.00715)  | (0.00646)  |
| Germany                                   | -0.219*** | -0.410*** | -0.0910*** | -0.344*** | -0.0830*** | -0.327***  |
|   | (0.00244) | (0.00269) | (0.0111)   | (0.0105)  | (0.0120)   | (0.00931)  |
| Great Britain                             | -0.145*** | -0.735*** | -0.0135    | -0.695*** | -0.0323*   | -0.733***  |
|   | (0.00201) | (0.00186) | (0.0126)   | (0.0152)  | (0.0105)   | (0.0119)   |
| Italy                                     | 0.302***  | -0.144*** | 0.146***   | -0.167*** | 0.118***   | -0.223***  |
|   | (0.00131) | (0.00150) | (0.0132)   | (0.0184)  | (0.0130)   | (0.0171)   |
| Netherlands                               | -0.336*** | -0.365*** | -0.186***  | -0.310*** | -0.219***  | -0.376***  |
|   | (0.00279) | (0.00269) | (0.0120)   | (0.00574) | (0.00943)  | (0.00382)  |
| Norway                                    | -1.027*** | -0.529*** | -0.918***  | -0.469*** | -0.947***  | -0.526***  |
|   | (0.00150) | (0.00146) | (0.0137)   | (0.00698) | (0.0113)   | (0.00444)  |
| Sweden                                    | -1.028*** | -0.727*** | -0.752***  | -0.617*** | -0.784***  | -0.680***  |
|   | (0.00292) | (0.00278) | (0.0196)   | (0.0194)  | (0.0184)   | (0.0178)   |

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|                       |            |            |          |           |          |           |
|-----------------------|------------|------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| Switzerland           | -0.145***  | -0.415***  | -0.0211  | -0.366*** | -0.0413* | -0.406*** |
|                       | (0.000691) | (0.000839) | (0.0157) | (0.00972) | (0.0141) | (0.00692) |
| Constant              | 0.756***   | 0.581***   | -0.0618  | 0.233*    | -0.374** | -0.389*   |
|                       | (0.0267)   | (0.0212)   | (0.0647) | (0.101)   | (0.0875) | (0.131)   |
| <i>N</i>              | 26,112     | 26,112     | 26,112   | 26,112    | 26,112   | 26,112    |
| <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> | 0.188      | 0.064      | 0.317    | 0.114     | 0.345    | 0.213     |

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Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

## Results for Models Presented in Figures 3a, 3b, 4a, and 4b

In Figures 3a and b, and 4a and b, I plot the estimated within-individual change in gender and immigration attitudes over the course of the LISS panel (2007—2019). These figures plot the marginal effect of time, estimated from the fully-specified models (Models 5 and 6). Table 7 presents the models estimated on a subset of older individuals (born prior to 1980), and Table 8 presents models estimated on a subset born after 1979.

Table 7: Predicted Attitude by Panel Wave, with Controls, Fixed Effect for Individuals, Born before 1980 (LISS)

| Dependent Variable:                        | Gender                     | Immig.                    | Gender                     | Immig.                    | Gender                     | Immig.                    |
|--|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Model:                                     | Base                       | Base                      | No LR                      | No LR                     | Full                       | Full                      |
| $t$  | 0.0305***<br>(0.00778)     | -0.00474<br>(0.00803)     | 0.0315***<br>(0.00788)     | -0.00406<br>(0.00823)     | 0.0312***<br>(0.00786)     | -0.00581<br>(0.00826)     |
| $t^2$                                      | -0.0110***<br>(0.00144)    | 0.00113<br>(0.00154)      | -0.0111***<br>(0.00147)    | 0.000992<br>(0.00158)     | -0.0110***<br>(0.00147)    | 0.00119<br>(0.00158)      |
| $t^3$                                      | 0.000540***<br>(0.0000790) | -0.0000991<br>(0.0000838) | 0.000542***<br>(0.0000806) | -0.0000875<br>(0.0000863) | 0.000541***<br>(0.0000806) | -0.0000930<br>(0.0000863) |
| Marital status ( <i>ref: Married</i> )     |                            |                           |                            |                           |                            |                           |
| Never married                              | —                          | —                         | 0.0492<br>(0.0333)         | 0.0322<br>(0.0376)        | 0.0497<br>(0.0332)         | 0.0347<br>(0.0380)        |
| Previously married                         | —                          | —                         | -0.0191<br>(0.0209)        | -0.0233<br>(0.0209)       | -0.0187<br>(0.0209)        | -0.0216<br>(0.0204)       |
| Rural/urban ( <i>ref: Rural</i> )          |                            |                           |                            |                           |                            |                           |
| Suburban                                   | —                          | —                         | -0.00342<br>(0.0167)       | 0.0176<br>(0.0138)        | -0.00356<br>(0.0165)       | 0.0169<br>(0.0135)        |
| Urban                                      | —                          | —                         | 0.0219<br>(0.0230)         | 0.0246<br>(0.0202)        | 0.0226<br>(0.0228)         | 0.0282<br>(0.0198)        |
| Employment status ( <i>ref: Employed</i> ) |                            |                           |                            |                           |                            |                           |
| Homemaker                                  | —                          | —                         | 0.0126<br>(0.0281)         | -0.0256<br>(0.0226)       | 0.0121<br>(0.0280)         | -0.0281<br>(0.0223)       |
| In school                                  | —                          | —                         | -0.0744<br>(0.0560)        | -0.0569<br>(0.0736)       | -0.0772<br>(0.0559)        | -0.0695<br>(0.0727)       |
| Other                                      | —                          | —                         | 0.0258<br>(0.0215)         | -0.00752<br>(0.0183)      | 0.0263<br>(0.0215)         | -0.00514<br>(0.0182)      |
| Pensioner                                  | —                          | —                         | -0.0144<br>(0.0145)        | -0.0114<br>(0.0131)       | -0.0147<br>(0.0145)        | -0.0131<br>(0.0128)       |
| Unemployed                                 | —                          | —                         | -0.0130<br>(0.0189)        | -0.00322<br>(0.0176)      | -0.0125<br>(0.0189)        | -0.000763<br>(0.0174)     |
| Income                                     | —                          | —                         | -0.00563***<br>(0.00141)   | -0.00369**<br>(0.00128)   | -0.00583***<br>(0.00142)   | -0.00462***<br>(0.00129)  |
| Education ( <i>ref: Bachelor's +</i> )     |                            |                           |                            |                           |                            |                           |
| High school                                | —                          | —                         | 0.0251<br>(0.0838)         | 0.0522<br>(0.0627)        | 0.0218<br>(0.0832)         | 0.0367<br>(0.0600)        |
| Less than HS                               | —                          | —                         | 0.0487                     | 0.0357                    | 0.0465                     | 0.0253                    |

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|                           |          |          |           |           |            |           |
|---------------------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|
|                           |          |          | (0.0690)  | (0.0552)  | (0.0681)   | (0.0520)  |
| Other                     | —        | —        | 0.00591   | 0.0885    | 0.00393    | 0.0793    |
|                           |          |          | (0.0699)  | (0.0548)  | (0.0690)   | (0.0547)  |
| Vocational                | —        | —        | 0.0270    | 0.0742    | 0.0244     | 0.0620    |
|                           |          |          | (0.0721)  | (0.0541)  | (0.0714)   | (0.0512)  |
| Religiosity               | —        | —        | 0.0119*** | -0.00383  | 0.0116***  | -0.00507  |
|                           |          |          | (0.00240) | (0.00269) | (0.00241)  | (0.00270) |
| Left-right self-placement | —        | —        | —         | —         | 0.00749*** | 0.0348*** |
|                           |          |          |           |           | (0.00175)  | (0.00243) |
| Constant                  | 0.124*** | 0.0309*  | 0.0865    | -0.00829  | 0.0519     | -0.169**  |
|                           | (0.0162) | (0.0155) | (0.0727)  | (0.0575)  | (0.0719)   | (0.0553)  |
| <i>N</i> observations     | 51,076   | 51,076   | 51,076    | 51,076    | 51,076     | 51,076    |
| <i>N</i> individuals      | 9,897    | 9,897    | 9,897     | 9,897     | 9,897      | 9,897     |
| <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>     | 0.059    | 0.001    | 0.060     | 0.001     | 0.061      | 0.013     |

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Standard errors in parentheses; \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$



Table 8: Predicted Attitude by Panel Wave, with Controls, Fixed Effect for Individuals, Born after 1979 (LISS)

| Dependent Variable:                        | Gender                    | Immig.                  | Gender                    | Immig.                  | Gender                    | Immig.                 |
|--|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Model:                                     | Base                      | Base                    | No LR                     | No LR                   | Full                      | Full                   |
| $t$  | 0.0801***<br>(0.0236)     | 0.0496*<br>(0.0222)     | 0.0816***<br>(0.0246)     | 0.0500*<br>(0.0224)     | 0.0808***<br>(0.0245)     | 0.0372<br>(0.0227)     |
| $t^2$                                      | -0.0214***<br>(0.00434)   | -0.0104**<br>(0.00368)  | -0.0199***<br>(0.00451)   | -0.0101**<br>(0.00375)  | -0.0198***<br>(0.00449)   | -0.00822*<br>(0.00375) |
| $t^3$                                      | 0.000937***<br>(0.000233) | 0.000416*<br>(0.000189) | 0.000861***<br>(0.000242) | 0.000406*<br>(0.000192) | 0.000856***<br>(0.000241) | 0.000328<br>(0.000192) |
| Marital status ( <i>ref: Married</i> )     |                           |                         |                           |                         |                           |                        |
| Never married                              | —                         | —                       | 0.0466<br>(0.0356)        | -0.0265<br>(0.0399)     | 0.0465<br>(0.0355)        | -0.0276<br>(0.0389)    |
| Previously married                         | —                         | —                       | -0.0518<br>(0.107)        | -0.0947<br>(0.138)      | -0.0503<br>(0.108)        | -0.0719<br>(0.133)     |
| Urban/rural ( <i>ref: Rural</i> )          |                           |                         |                           |                         |                           |                        |
| Suburban                                   | —                         | —                       | -0.0418<br>(0.0377)       | 0.0617<br>(0.0341)      | -0.0421<br>(0.0377)       | 0.0579<br>(0.0334)     |
| Urban                                      | —                         | —                       | -0.0309<br>(0.0456)       | 0.0788<br>(0.0430)      | -0.0311<br>(0.0454)       | 0.0755<br>(0.0415)     |
| Employment status ( <i>ref: Employed</i> ) |                           |                         |                           |                         |                           |                        |
| Homemaker                                  | —                         | —                       | 0.102<br>(0.0912)         | 0.0274<br>(0.0813)      | 0.102<br>(0.0909)         | 0.0305<br>(0.0781)     |
| In school                                  | —                         | —                       | 0.0342<br>(0.0319)        | -0.0586<br>(0.0310)     | 0.0343<br>(0.0319)        | -0.0578<br>(0.0297)    |
| Other                                      | —                         | —                       | 0.0923<br>(0.0695)        | 0.0195<br>(0.0485)      | 0.0931<br>(0.0692)        | 0.0330<br>(0.0480)     |
| Unemployed                                 | —                         | —                       | -0.00128<br>(0.0358)      | -0.0363<br>(0.0360)     | -0.00110<br>(0.0359)      | -0.0335<br>(0.0364)    |
| Income                                     | —                         | —                       | -0.0141***<br>(0.00416)   | -0.0109*<br>(0.00466)   | -0.0141***<br>(0.00417)   | -0.0124**<br>(0.00445) |
| Education ( <i>ref: Bachelor's +</i> )     |                           |                         |                           |                         |                           |                        |
| High school                                | —                         | —                       | 0.0890*<br>(0.0434)       | 0.105*<br>(0.0523)      | 0.0883*<br>(0.0434)       | 0.0954*<br>(0.0479)    |
| Less than HS                               | —                         | —                       | 0.0811<br>(0.0587)        | 0.137*<br>(0.0648)      | 0.0799<br>(0.0588)        | 0.118<br>(0.0620)      |
| Other                                      | —                         | —                       | -0.0861<br>(0.120)        | 0.145<br>(0.0976)       | -0.0885<br>(0.120)        | 0.107<br>(0.0983)      |
| Vocational                                 | —                         | —                       | 0.0915*<br>(0.0435)       | 0.0846<br>(0.0457)      | 0.0906*<br>(0.0435)       | 0.0691<br>(0.0428)     |
| Religiosity                                | —                         | —                       | 0.0290***<br>(0.00691)    | 0.000718<br>(0.00747)   | 0.0289***<br>(0.00692)    | -0.00201<br>(0.00725)  |
| Left-right self-placement                  | —                         | —                       | —                         | —                       | 0.00414<br>(0.00439)      | 0.0645***<br>(0.00491) |

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|                       |                    |                     |                    |                    |                    |                       |
|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Constant              | 0.0508<br>(0.0425) | -0.0430<br>(0.0484) | -0.104<br>(0.0886) | -0.124<br>(0.0945) | -0.123<br>(0.0906) | -0.416***<br>(0.0928) |
| <i>N</i> observations | 11,454             | 11,454              | 11,454             | 11,454             | 11,454             | 11,454                |
| <i>N</i> individuals  | 3,244              | 3,244               | 3,244              | 3,244              | 3,244              | 3,244                 |
| $R^2$                 | 0.094              | 0.017               | 0.103              | 0.021              | 0.103              | 0.056                 |

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Standard errors in parentheses; \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

## Results for Model Presented in Figure 6

This table presents the results from the main regression model in the paper, which predicts gender attitude by immigration attitude and birth cohort, as well as versions of this model without controls (Model 1) and without left-right self-placement as a control.

Table 9: Predicted Gender Attitude by Immigration Attitude and Cohort, with Controls, Random Effect for Individuals (LISS)

| Dependent Variable:                    | Gender                     | Gender                     | Gender                     |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Model:                                 | Base                       | No LR                      | Full                       |
| Immigration                            | 0.126***<br>(0.00889)      | 0.126***<br>(0.00839)      | 0.119***<br>(0.00825)      |
| Birth cohort ( <i>ref: pre-1970</i> )  |                            |                            |                            |
| Post-1969                              | -0.158***<br>(0.0170)      | -0.0416*<br>(0.0185)       | -0.0471*<br>(0.0184)       |
| Post-1969 * immigration                | -0.0627***<br>(0.0143)     | -0.0716***<br>(0.0137)     | -0.0748***<br>(0.0137)     |
| $t$                                    | 0.0424***<br>(0.00589)     | 0.0444***<br>(0.00623)     | 0.0435***<br>(0.00625)     |
| $t^2$                                  | -0.0131***<br>(0.00116)    | -0.0129***<br>(0.00122)    | -0.0128***<br>(0.00122)    |
| $t^3$                                  | 0.000617***<br>(0.0000663) | 0.000602***<br>(0.0000698) | 0.000599***<br>(0.0000700) |
| Male                                   | —                          | 0.324***<br>(0.0148)       | 0.322***<br>(0.0150)       |
| Marital status ( <i>ref: Married</i> ) |                            |                            |                            |
| Never married                          | —                          | -0.0810***<br>(0.0153)     | -0.0784***<br>(0.0154)     |
| Previously married                     | —                          | -0.0273<br>(0.0151)        | -0.0260<br>(0.0150)        |
| Urban/rural ( <i>ref: urban</i> )      |                            |                            |                            |
| Suburban                               | —                          | -0.0133<br>(0.0117)        | -0.0134<br>(0.0115)        |
| Rural                                  | —                          | -0.0320**<br>(0.0112)      | -0.0296**<br>(0.0111)      |
| Income                                 | —                          | -0.0150***<br>(0.00113)    | -0.0155***<br>(0.00111)    |

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|  |          |           |           |
|--|----------|-----------|-----------|
| Employment ( <i>ref: Employed</i> )    |          |           |           |
| Homemaker                              | —        | 0.180***  | 0.178***  |
|  |          | (0.0170)  | (0.0169)  |
| In school                              | —        | 0.0154    | 0.0155    |
|  |          | (0.0173)  | (0.0172)  |
| Other                                  | —        | 0.112***  | 0.115***  |
|  |          | (0.0186)  | (0.0188)  |
| Pensioner                              | —        | 0.0841*** | 0.0833*** |
|  |          | (0.0121)  | (0.0121)  |
| Unemployed                             | —        | 0.0234    | 0.0245    |
|  |          | (0.0173)  | (0.0173)  |
| Education ( <i>ref: Bachelor's +</i> ) |          |           |           |
| High school                            | —        | 0.268***  | 0.265***  |
|  |          | (0.0244)  | (0.0246)  |
| Less than HS                           | —        | 0.448***  | 0.444***  |
|  |          | (0.0263)  | (0.0262)  |
| Other                                  | —        | 0.343***  | 0.341***  |
|  |          | (0.0372)  | (0.0370)  |
| Vocational                             | —        | 0.238***  | 0.235***  |
|  |          | (0.0250)  | (0.0248)  |
| Religiosity                            | —        | 0.0568*** | 0.0558*** |
|  |          | (0.00291) | (0.00291) |
| Left-right self-placement              | —        | —         | 0.0143*** |
|  |          |           | (0.00173) |
| Constant                               | 0.146*** | -0.370*** | -0.434*** |
|  | (0.0127) | (0.0329)  | (0.0343)  |
| <hr/>                                  |          |           |           |
| <i>N</i> observations                  | 62,530   | 62,530    | 62,530    |
| <i>N</i> individuals                   | 13,140   | 13,140    | 13,140    |
| <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>                  | 0.1020   | 0.2898    | 0.2952    |
| <hr/>                                  |          |           |           |

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

## D: Alternate Specifications of Main Regression Model

This table presents alternate specifications of the main regression model. Model 1 adds time to the cohort-immigration interaction to determine whether the slope of the interaction varies across the duration of the panel. Figure 1 below the table plots the marginal effects of this interaction at the beginning and end of the panel. As discussed in the main text, the effects are similar at both time points. Model 2 differs from the main regression in that birth cohort takes on five levels rather than two. Figure 2 plots the marginal effect of cohort from this model. As shown, the slope on “immigration attitude” flattens with each subsequent cohort.

Table 10: Predicted Gender Attitude by Immigration Attitude and Cohort, with Controls, Random Effect for Individuals (LISS)

|   | Gender                  | Gender                  |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Immigration                                     | 0.128***<br>(0.0156)    | 0.127***<br>(0.00974)   |
| Birth cohort (2-level) ( <i>ref: pre-1970</i> ) |                         |                         |
| Post-1969                                       | -0.124***<br>(0.0297)   | —                       |
| Post-1969 * immigration                         | -0.0558<br>(0.0315)     | —                       |
| $t$   | 0.0320***<br>(0.00687)  | 0.0417***<br>(0.00624)  |
| Immigration * $t$                               | -0.00796<br>(0.00938)   | —                       |
| Post-1969 * $t$                                 | 0.0464**<br>(0.0175)    | —                       |
| Post-1969 * immigration * $t$                   | -0.00533<br>(0.0185)    | —                       |
| $t^2$   | -0.0112***<br>(0.00132) | -0.0124***<br>(0.00122) |
| Immigration * $t^2$                             | 0.000681<br>(0.00172)   | —                       |
| Post-1969 * $t^2$                               | -0.00676*<br>(0.00323)  | —                       |
| Post-1969 * immigration * $t^2$                 | -0.000105<br>(0.00332)  | —                       |

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|  |             |             |
|--|-------------|-------------|
| $t^3$  | 0.000540*** | 0.000582*** |
|  | (0.0000743) | (0.0000696) |
| Immigration * $t^3$                                | 0.0000207   | —           |
|  | (0.0000953) |             |
| Post-1969 * $t^3$                                  | 0.000287    | —           |
|  | (0.000174)  |             |
| Post-1969 * immigration * $t^3$                    | 0.0000425   | —           |
|  | (0.000179)  |             |
| Male   | 0.321***    | 0.316***    |
|  | (0.0149)    | (0.0152)    |
| Marital status ( <i>ref: Married</i> )             |             |             |
| Never married                                      | -0.0774***  | -0.0795***  |
|  | (0.0150)    | (0.0158)    |
| Previously married                                 | -0.0250     | -0.0360*    |
|  | (0.0153)    | (0.0153)    |
| Urban/rural ( <i>ref: Urban</i> )                  |             |             |
| Suburban   | -0.0140     | -0.0151     |
|  | (0.0115)    | (0.0115)    |
| Rural  | -0.0299**   | -0.0324**   |
|  | (0.0112)    | (0.0112)    |
| Income   | -0.0156***  | -0.0157***  |
|  | (0.00109)   | (0.00109)   |
| Employment ( <i>ref: Employed</i> )                |             |             |
| Homemaker  | 0.178***    | 0.159***    |
|  | (0.0167)    | (0.0169)    |
| In school  | 0.0154      | 0.00746     |
|  | (0.0173)    | (0.0177)    |
| Other  | 0.115***    | 0.0951***   |
|  | (0.0187)    | (0.0187)    |
| Pensioner  | 0.0843***   | 0.0343**    |
|  | (0.0118)    | (0.0131)    |
| Unemployed   | 0.0248      | 0.0193      |
|  | (0.0172)    | (0.0173)    |
| Education ( <i>ref: Bachelor's +</i> ) High school | 0.262***    | 0.263***    |
|  | (0.0243)    | (0.0246)    |
| Less than HS                                       | 0.442***    | 0.434***    |

|   |           |            |
|---|-----------|------------|
|   | (0.0264)  | (0.0263)   |
| Other   | 0.337***  | 0.331***   |
|   | (0.0366)  | (0.0371)   |
| Vocartional                                     | 0.232***  | 0.239***   |
|   | (0.0247)  | (0.0248)   |
| Left-right self-placement                       | 0.0142*** | 0.0142***  |
|   | (0.00172) | (0.00173)  |
| Religiosity                                     | 0.0556*** | 0.0545***  |
|   | (0.00292) | (0.00288)  |
| Birth cohort (5-level) ( <i>ref: Pre-1950</i> ) |           |            |
| 1950-9  | —         | -0.191***  |
|   |           | (0.0228)   |
| 1960-9  | —         | -0.228***  |
|   |           | (0.0232)   |
| 1970-9  | —         | -0.240***  |
|   |           | (0.0279)   |
| 1980+   | —         | -0.163***  |
|   |           | (0.0290)   |
| 1950-9 * immigration                            | —         | -0.00738   |
|   |           | (0.0135)   |
| 1960-9 * immigration                            | —         | -0.0205    |
|   |           | (0.0188)   |
| 1970-9 * immigration                            | —         | -0.0875*** |
|   |           | (0.0186)   |
| 1980+ * immigration                             | —         | -0.0771*** |
|   |           | (0.0176)   |
| Constant  | -0.410*** | -0.273***  |
|   | (0.0333)  | (0.0389)   |
| <hr/>   |           |            |
| <i>N</i> observations                           | 62,530    | 62,530     |
| <i>N</i> individuals                            | 13,140    | 13,140     |
| <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>                           | 0.2952    | 0.2903     |
| <hr/> <hr/>                                     |           |            |

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

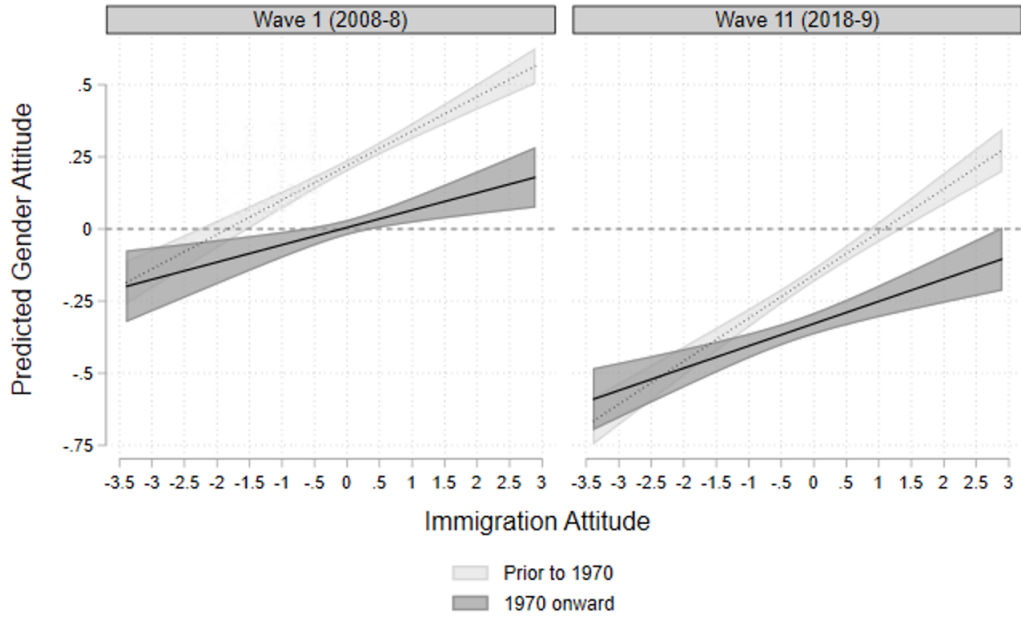


Figure 1: Predicted Gender Attitude by Immigration Attitude, Beginning and End of Panel

Note: Attitudes are centered at 0, where positive values indicate that the individual holds a conservative attitude. Figure plots predicted gender attitude by immigration attitude, birth cohort, and panel wave.

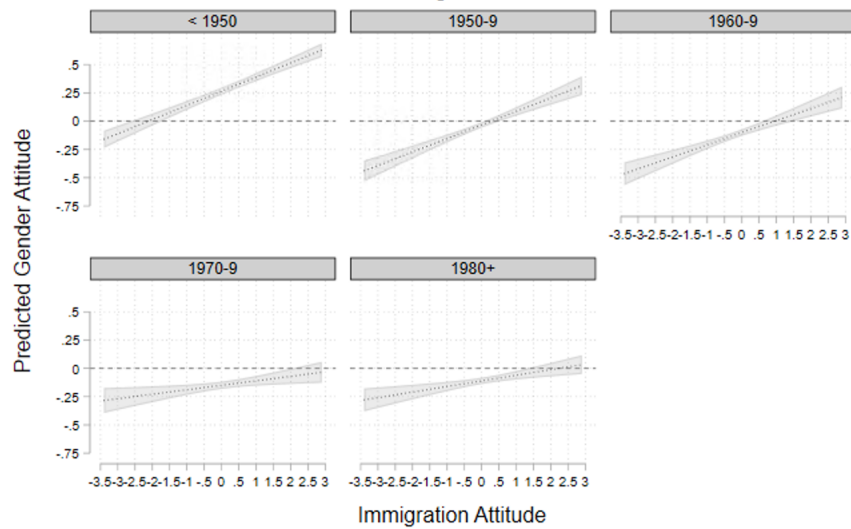


Figure 2: Immigration Predicting Gender Attitudes

Note: Attitudes are centered at 0, where positive values indicate that the individual holds a conservative attitude. Figure plots predicted gender attitude by immigration attitude and birth cohort.



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## E: Supplemental Figures

Figures 3—6 plot the estimated discrimination parameters for each indicator (gender and immigration attitudes) in each data set (LISS and EVS). Discrimination parameters are similar to factor loadings and describe the strength of each item’s relation with the estimated latent trait. Items that are highly discriminating indicate more about a respondents’ position on the latent trait than items with low discrimination.

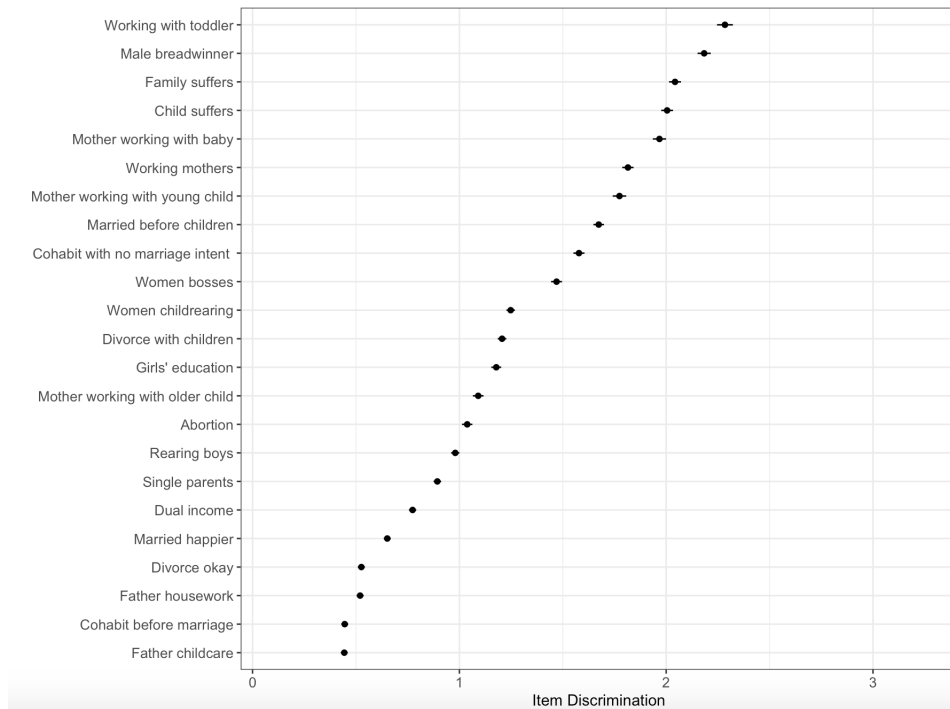


Figure 3: Item Discrimination Parameters – Gender (LISS Panel)

Note: Higher values indicate items that more heavily relate to the latent trait.

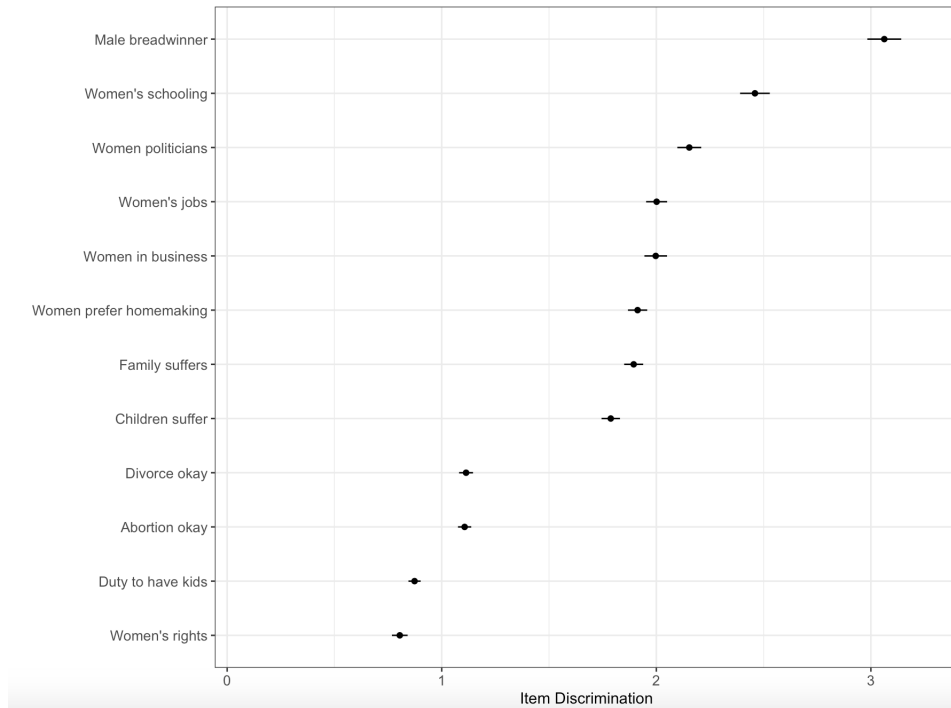


Figure 4: Item Discrimination Parameters – Gender (EVS)

Note: Higher values indicate items that more heavily relate to the latent trait.

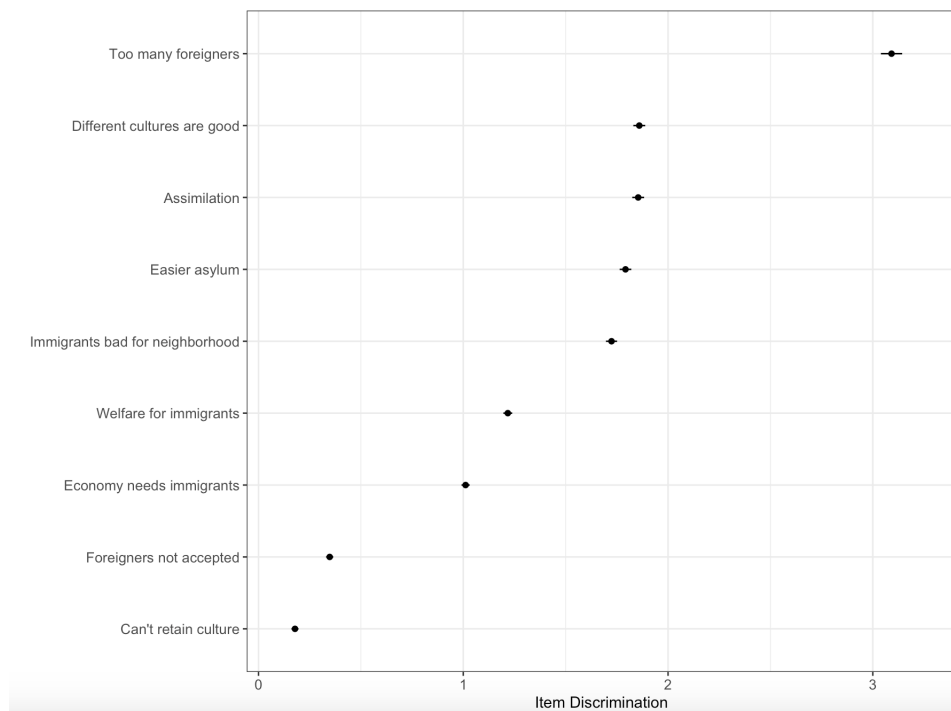


Figure 5: Item Discrimination Parameters – Immigration (LISS Panel)

Note: Higher values indicate items that more heavily relate to the latent trait.

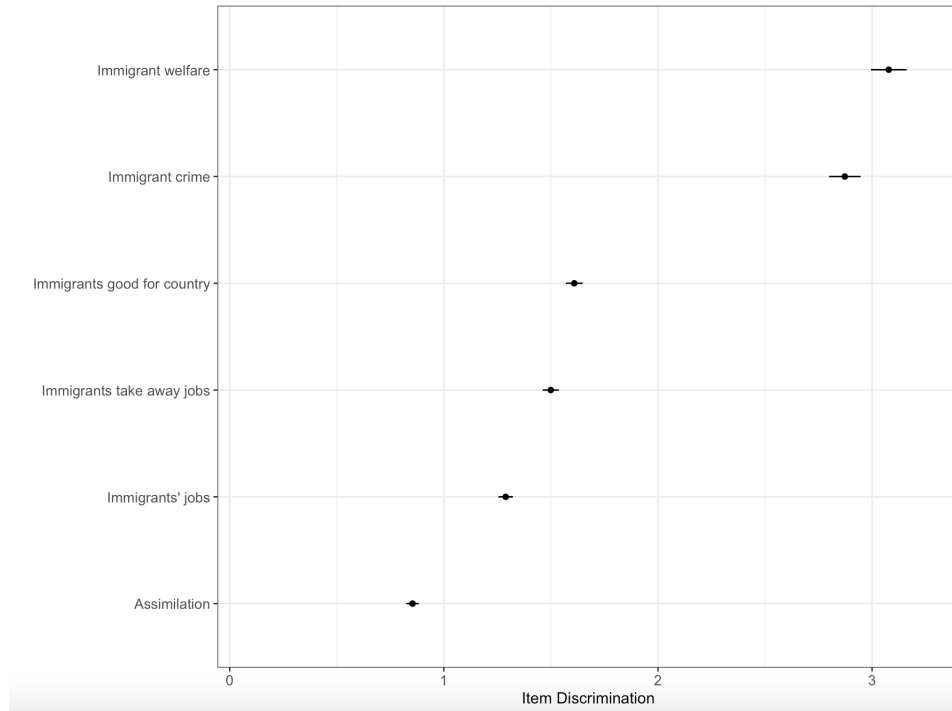


Figure 6: Item Discrimination Parameters – Immigration (EVS)

Note: Higher values indicate items that more heavily relate to the latent trait.

Figures 7 and 8 show country-specific predictions corresponding to Figures 2b and 3b in the main text. Country is interacted with cohort, whereas in the main text, country served as a fixed effect.

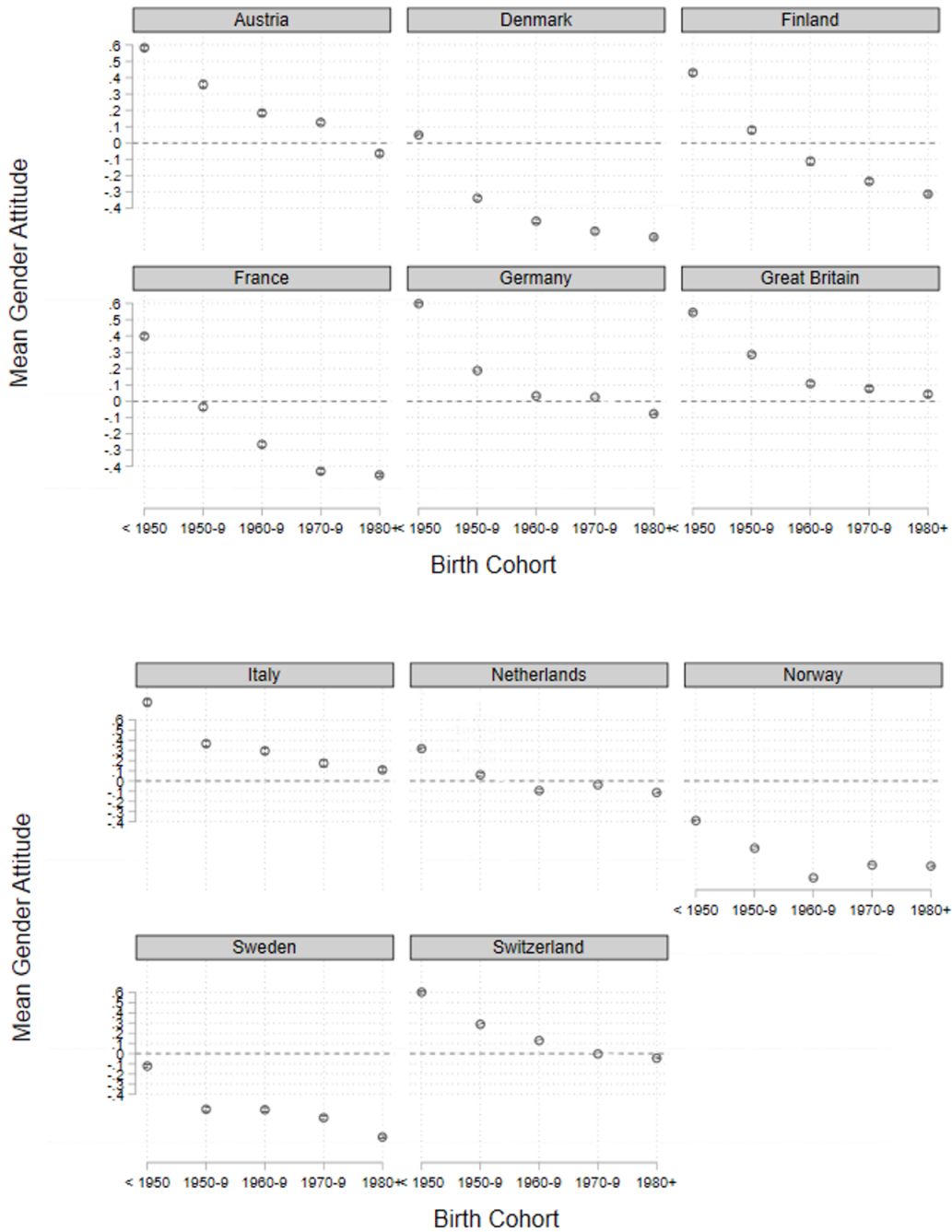


Figure 7: Country Variation: Mean Gender Attitude by Cohort

Note: Attitudes are centered at 0, where positive values indicate that the cohort holds, on average, more conservative attitudes.

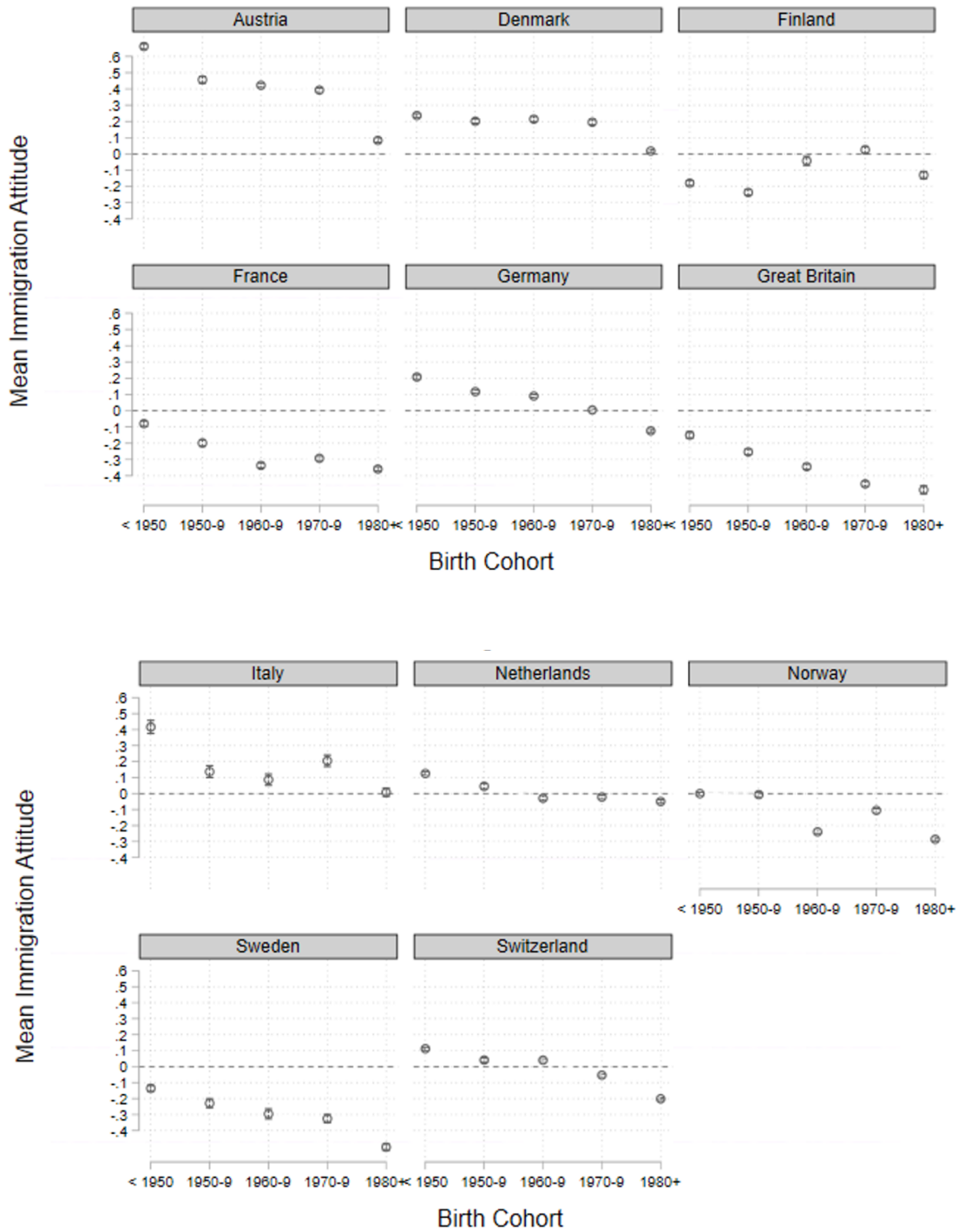
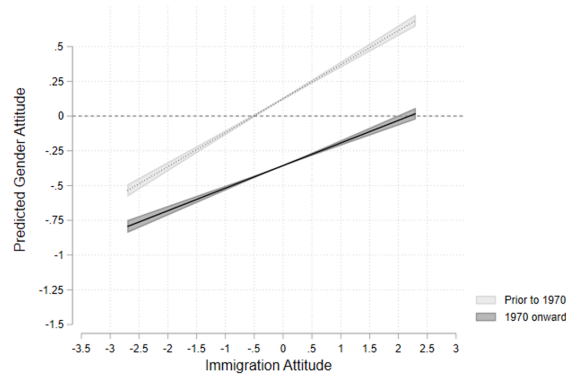


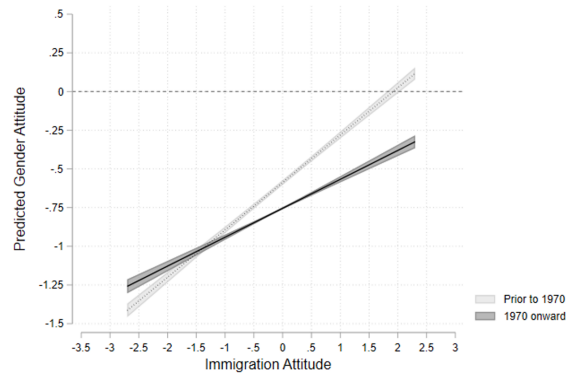
Figure 8: Country Variation: Mean Immigration Attitude by Cohort

Note: Attitudes are centered at 0, where positive values indicate that the cohort holds, on average, more conservative attitudes.

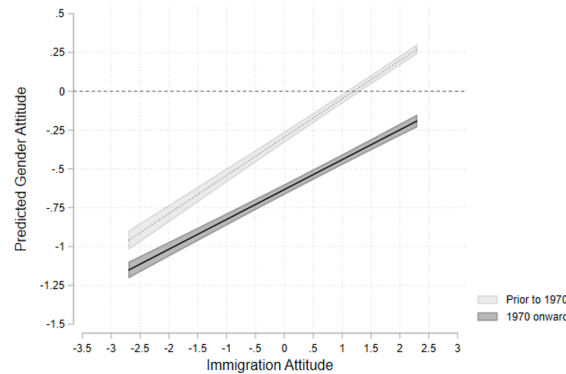
Figure 9 below presents estimated marginal effects from the main regression model defined above, estimated on EVS data, where an interaction between immigration attitude, cohort, and country predicts gender attitudes. Select countries exhibiting the pattern seen in the Dutch LISS data are presented.



(a) France



(b) Norway



(c) Sweden

Figure 9: Immigration Predicting Gender Attitudes, Select Countries from EVS

Note: Attitudes are centered at 0, where positive values indicate that the individual holds a conservative attitude. Figure plots predicted gender attitude by immigration attitude and birth cohort.

## F: Alternate Specifications for Attitude Correlations

Figure 10 and 11 below are alternate specifications of Figure 7 in the main text. In that figure, the attitude correlations of respondents present for the entire panel, from three five-year birth cohorts (1950-5, 1970-5, 1980-5) were plotted. Ten-year cohorts are used in Figure 10, and different five-year cohorts are presented in Figure 11.. The  $n$  for each cohort is provided after the figure.

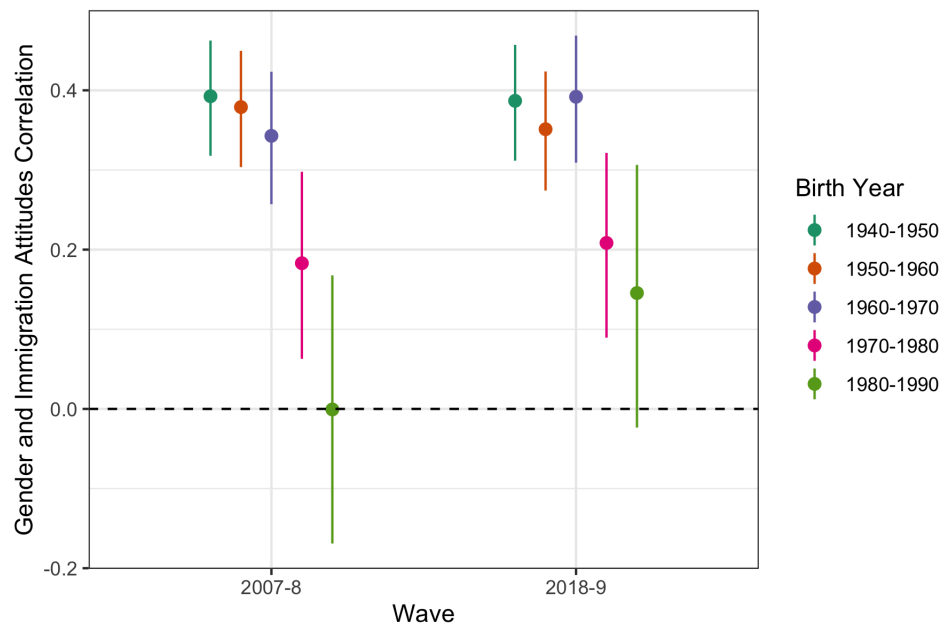


Figure 10: Attitude Correlation by Birth Year – Beginning and End of Panel

Note: Figure plots the Pearson correlation coefficient for the same individuals at the beginning and end of the panel. Individuals are grouped by birth year.

| Cohort    | n   |
|-----------|-----|
| 1940-1950 | 527 |
| 1950-1960 | 530 |
| 1960-1970 | 434 |
| 1970-1980 | 261 |
| 1980-1990 | 136 |

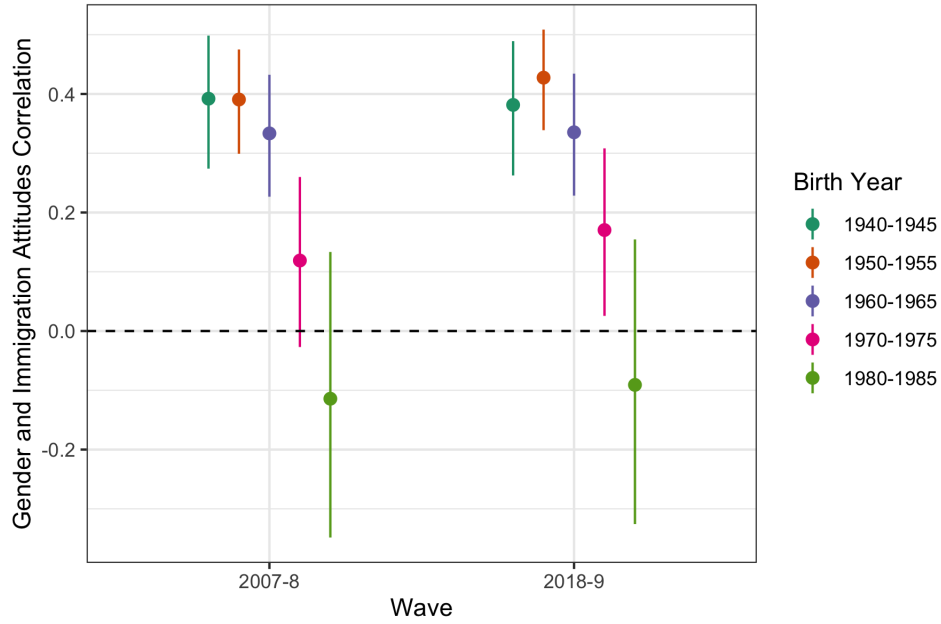


Figure 11: Attitude Correlation by Birth Year – Beginning and End of Panel

Note: Figure plots the Pearson correlation coefficient for the same individuals at the beginning and end of the panel. Individuals are grouped by birth year.

| Cohort    | n   |
|-----------|-----|
| 1940-1945 | 65  |
| 1950-1955 | 182 |
| 1960-1965 | 288 |
| 1970-1975 | 358 |
| 1980-1985 | 65  |