Against the Flow:
Differentiating Between Public Opposition to the Immigration Stock and Flow

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Supporting Information

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1 Sample

Table A1: Sample and Population Demographics

	Population	Lucid Sample	
	Percent	Percent	N
AGE			
18-24	13	17.8	401
25-34	19	19.6	440
35-44	22	21.9	493
45-54	18	10.7	241
55+	28	29.9	673
RACE			
White	60.7	61.2	1,376
Hispanic	18.1	13.7	308
Black	13.4	16.4	369
Other	7.8	8.7	195
GENDER			
Male	48	44.3	995
Female	52	55.7	1,253
EDUCATION			
Less than high school	11	9.1	205
High school diploma	29	31.2	702
Some college	19	21.8	489
Associate's or Bachelor's degree	29.7	27.7	622
Graduate degree	11.3	10.2	230
Total	100	100	2,248

2 Questionnaire Section A: Experimental Preamble and the Location Experiment

Treatment: Immigration Flows
Next, we would like to ask you about your views on new applicants for immigration visas. These new applicants are people who were born overseas and are living outside the U.S. but are in the process of applying for admission to become U.S. residents (e.g. for work or family reunification). To enter the U.S., new applicants for immigration status must apply for a visa. If their application is denied, they cannot enter the U.S.
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Since 2016, the U.S. has approved hundreds of thousands of new visas for immigration applicants who are living abroad. The new applicants differ in terms of their professional skill levels. Please consider the group of new applicants for immigration visas who are: Low-[Highly-]skilled [and] Currently living abroad. In your view, how many of those applicants should the U.S. approve?

Treatment: Immigration Stocks
Next, we would like to ask you about your views on resident alien immigrants. Resident aliens are people who were born overseas but are now living officially in the US as non-citizens (e.g. for work or family reunification). To stay in the U.S., resident aliens must apply for a visa renewal before it expires. If their application is denied, they must leave the U.S.
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Since 2016, the U.S. has approved hundreds of thousands of applications for visa extension by immigrants residing in the United States. The resident aliens applying for visa renewal differ in terms of their professional skill levels. Please consider the group of resident aliens applying for visa renewal who are: Low-[Highly-]skilled [and] Living in U.S. In your view, how many of those applicants should the U.S. approve?

3 Questionnaire Section B: Decision Rules

People disagree on what factors should determine which applications for **visa extension** are approved. For each of the following decision rules, please state whether you think it is very relevant, somewhat relevant or not relevant for determining whether an application for a **visa extension** is accepted.

	Very Relevant	Somewhat Relevant	Not Relevant
Age of the applicant			
Professional skills of the applicant			

In the previous question, you indicated that age should be a relevant factor in determining which **new application for immigration visa** [**application for visa extension**] is approved. Which age groups should, in your view, be favored when considering the applications for approval? [You may select up to two categories]

Favor minors	Favor young	Favor adults	Favor elderly

In the previous question, you indicated that professional skills should be a relevant factor in determining which **new application for immigration visa** [**visa extension to resident aliens**] is approved. Which level of professional skills should, in your view, be favored when considering the applications for approval?

Strongly favor low-skilled workers
Somewhat favor low-skilled workers
Somewhat favor highly-skilled workers
Strongly favor highly-skilled workers

People applying for **admission into the U.S.** [**extension of their visa status**], do so for various reasons. With regard to each of the following reasons for immigration, how many of the applications should the U.S. approve? Remember, those whose **immigration visa** [**visa extension**] is not approved will **not be allowed to enter** [**be required to leave**] the U.S.

	Approve none	Approve some	Approve most	Approve all
For Family reunification				
Seeking a better job				
Escaping political or religious persecution				

4   Questionnaire Section C: The Stereotype Experiment

Please consider the case of *new visa applicants [applicants of visa extension]*, i.e., *people who were born overseas and are living outside the U.S., but are in the process of applying for admission to become U.S. residents [people who were born overseas and are now living officially in the U.S. as non-citizens]*. Which of the following characteristics best describe them?

On the scale below, please mark the position that best represents your perception of the group with regard to each characteristic. For example, if you think that *new visa applicants [applicants of visa extension]* are extremely lazy, mark '1' in the scale below; In contrast, if you think they are extremely hard working, mark '6'. If they are somewhere in the middle, mark a number that comes closest to your view.

Figure A1: The Stereotype Experiment

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Lazy	○	○	○	○	○	○	Hard-working
Rich	○	○	○	○	○	○	Poor
High-skilled	○	○	○	○	○	○	Low-skilled
Peaceful	○	○	○	○	○	○	Violent
Not-educated	○	○	○	○	○	○	Highly-educated
Secular	○	○	○	○	○	○	Religious
American	○	○	○	○	○	○	Not American
Left-wing	○	○	○	○	○	○	Right-wing
Intolerant	○	○	○	○	○	○	Tolerant
Great English skills	○	○	○	○	○	○	Poor English skills

5 Questionnaire Section D: The Conjoint Experiment

Treatment: Immigration Flows

Next, we will present you with profiles of 8 new visa applicants. In each of the next screens, we will ask you to evaluate two applicants at a time and answer a set of questions about them.

Before answering the questions, please carefully review the profiles of both new visa applicants detailed below.

Remember that both applicants are currently living abroad and will not be allowed to enter the U.S. if their visa application is denied.

	Applicant 1	Applicant 2
Country of Origin	Somalia	Philippines
Profession	Janitor	Doctor
Job Experience	One to two years	More than five years
Employment	Does not have a contract with a U.S. employer and has no plans to look for work at this time	Has a contract with a U.S. employer
Language	During the interview, this applicant tried to speak English but was unable	During the interview, this applicant spoke fluent English
Reason for Application	Seek better job in the U.S.	To live with family members residing in the U.S.
Education Level	Equivalent to completing high school in the U.S.	Equivalent to completing a college degree in the U.S.
Gender	Male	Female
Past Trips to the U.S.	Entered the U.S. once before on a tourist visa	Entered the U.S. once before without legal authorization

On a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 indicates that the U.S. should absolutely not admit the immigrant and 7 indicates that the United States should definitely admit the immigrant, what would you decide regarding applicant #1?

Treatment: Immigration Stocks, No Deportation

Next, we will present you with profiles of 8 visa extension applicants. In each of the following screens, we will ask you to evaluate two applicants at a time and answer a set of questions about them.

Before answering the questions, please carefully review the profiles of both applicants for visa extension detailed below.

Recall that both visa extension applicants are currently resident aliens in the U.S. and would be required to leave the U.S. if their visa application is denied.

	Resident Alien 1	Resident Alien 2
Country of Origin	Sudan	India
Gender	Female	Female
Reason for Application	Escape political/religious persecution	Seek better job in the U.S.
Language	During the interview, this applicant tried to speak English but was unable	During the interview, this applicant spoke through an interpreter
Past Trips to the U.S.	Spent six months with family members	Spent six months with family members
Education Level	Equivalent to completing a college degree in the U.S.	Equivalent to completing a college degree in the U.S.
Profession	Gardener	Research scientist
Job Experience	No job training or prior experience	One to two years
Employment	Does not have a contract with a U.S. employer, but has done job interviews	Does not have a contract with a U.S. employer and has no plans to look for work at this time

On a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 indicates that the U.S. should absolutely not allow the resident alien to stay and 7 indicates that the U.S. should definitely allow the resident alien to stay, what would you decide regarding resident alien #1?

Treatment: Immigration Stocks and Deportation

Next, we will present you with profiles of 8 visa extension applicants. In each of the following screens, we will ask you to evaluate two applicants at a time and answer a set of questions about them.

Before answering the questions, please carefully review the profiles of both applicants for visa extension detailed below.

Recall that both visa extension applicants are currently resident aliens in the U.S. and would be deported from the U.S. if their visa application is denied.

	Resident Alien 1	Resident Alien 2
Country of Origin	Sudan	India
Gender	Female	Female
Reason for Application	Escape political/religious persecution	Seek better job in the U.S.
Language	During the interview, this applicant tried to speak English but was unable	During the interview, this applicant spoke through an interpreter
Past Trips to the U.S.	Spent six months with family members	Spent six months with family members
Education Level	Equivalent to completing a college degree in the U.S.	Equivalent to completing a college degree in the U.S.
Profession	Gardener	Research scientist
Job Experience	No job training or prior experience	One to two years
Employment	Does not have a contract with a U.S. employer, but has done job interviews	Does not have a contract with a U.S. employer and has no plans to look for work at this time

On a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 indicates that the U.S. should definitely deport the resident alien and 7 indicates that the U.S. should definitely allow the resident alien to stay, what would you decide regarding resident alien #1?
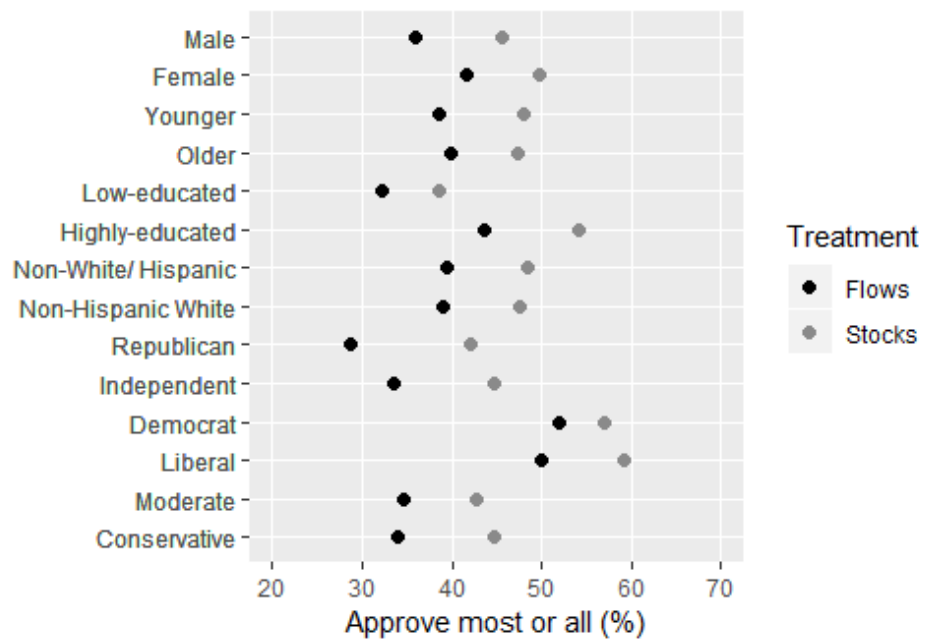
6 Additional Results

Table A2: Entropy Balancing and Effect Heterogeneity over Key Demographics

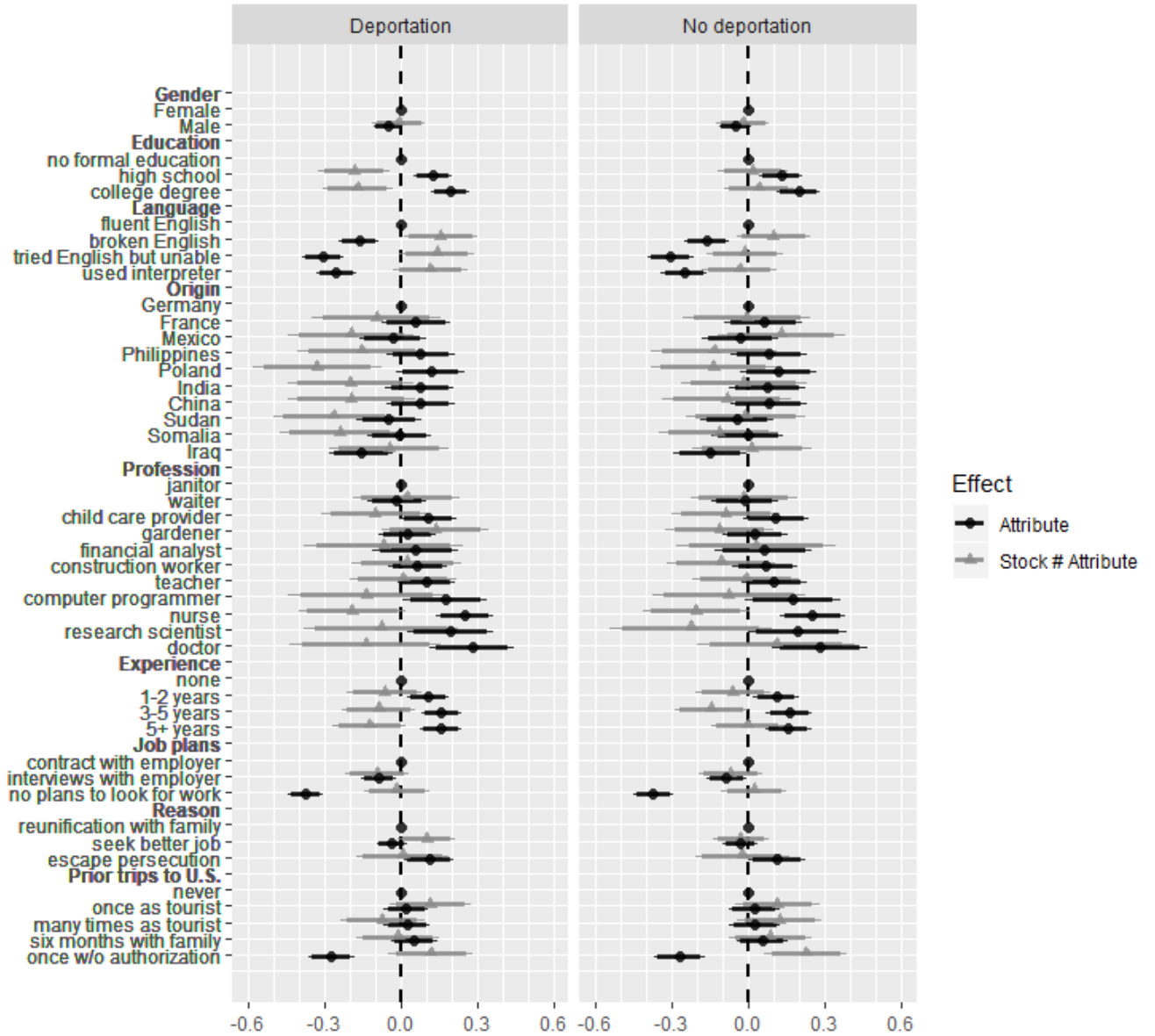|	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
DV:			Approve most or all			
Model:		Entropy	Interactions:			
	Benchmark	balancing	Sex	Age	Education	Race
Stock-Treatment	0.087***	0.092***	0.093**	0.074+	0.063+	0.084**
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.031)	(0.039)	(0.033)	(0.027)
Stock-Treatment # female			-0.009			
			(0.042)			
Stock-Treatment # age 30-39				0.043		
				(0.059)		
Stock-Treatment # age 40-49				0.001		
				(0.066)		
Stock-Treatment # age 50-64				-0.023		
				(0.065)		
Stock-Treatment # age 65+				0.055		
				(0.063)		
Stock-Treatment # higher education					0.040	
					(0.042)	
Stock-Treatment # hispanic						-0.006
						(0.062)
Stock-Treatment # black						0.011
						(0.058)
Stock-Treatment # asian						0.042
						(0.096)
Stock-Treatment # other						-0.001
						(0.116)
Constant	0.242***	0.350***	0.239***	0.291***	0.255***	0.244***
	(0.049)	(0.041)	(0.050)	(0.047)	(0.040)	(0.050)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	2,212	2,212	2,212	2,212	2,212	2,212
R-squared	0.034	0.050	0.034	0.042	0.031	0.034

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. *** $p<0.001$, ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$, †$p<0.1$.

Figure A2: The Stock Premium and Effect Heterogeneity

Note: Black markers indicate the average support for approving most or all *new immigration visas* (flows). Gray markers indicate the average support for approving most or all *visa extension* applications (stocks).

Figure A3: Location, Deportation and Immigrant Attributes' Effects

Note: Estimates are drawn from two OLS fixed effects models. Thin and thick lines represent 95% and 90% confidence intervals, respectively. Black circle markers show the effect of immigrant attributes on being preferred to admission in the United States (i.e., in the flows treatment group). Gray triangular markers represent the interaction effect of each attribute with a stock treatment (either with or without the deportation frame). The reference category for each attribute is the point without horizontal bars.

7 Changes in the Stock of Migrants, United States

Table A3: Total Immigrant Stock

	2000	2018	Change
Origin %			
Mexico	29.4	25	-4.4
East and Southeast Asia	18.9	19.3	0.4
Central Asia	0.1	0.3	0.2
South Asia	4.6	8.2	3.6
Oceania	0.5	0.6	0.1
Europe	16.1	10.8	-5.3
Canada and Other North America	2.7	1.8	-0.9
Caribbean	9.5	10	0.5
Central America	6.5	8	1.5
South America	6.2	7.4	1.2
Middle East-North Africa	3.3	4	0.7
Sub-Saharan Africa	2.3	4.5	2.2
Education %			
High school or less	57.4	49.2	-8.2
Two-year degree/some college	18.5	18.8	0.3
Bachelors degree or more	24.1	32	7.9
English proficiency %	49	53.2	4.2
Median Age	37	45	8
Female %	50.2	51.8	1.6
Living in poverty %	17.7	14.6	-3.1
Median annual HH income (2018$)	57,561	59,000	1,439

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of 2018 American Community Survey.

Table A5: Refugee Arrivals by Region

	2001		2017	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Africa	19,070	(28)	20,248	(38)
Asia	16,985	(25)	26,648	(50)
Europe	29,897	(43)	5,026	(9)
North America	2,968	(4)	1,455	(3)
South America	5	(0)	233	(0)
Total	74,602	(100)	53,691	(100)

Source: Homeland Security, Refugees and Asylees. Available at: https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/refugees-asylees.