

Regaining Control? The Political Impact of Policy Responses to Refugee Crises

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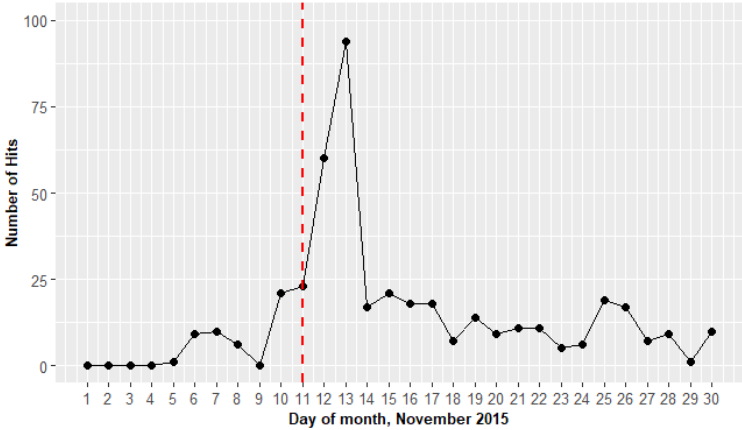
Supporting Information

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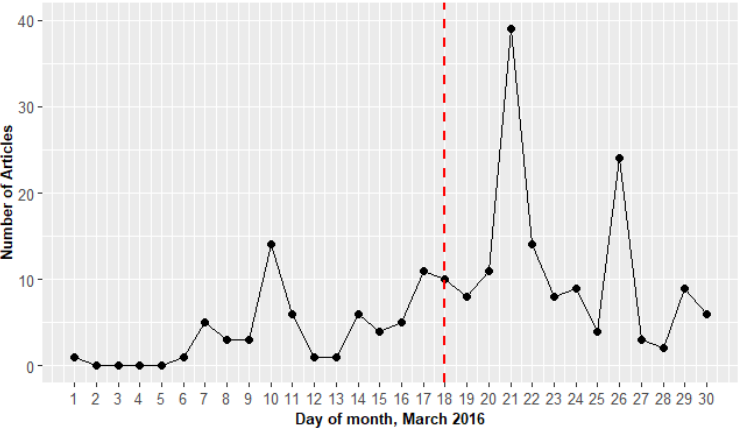
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1 Media Coverage and Public Attention to Policies

Figure S1.1: Media Coverage of Counter-Crisis Policies



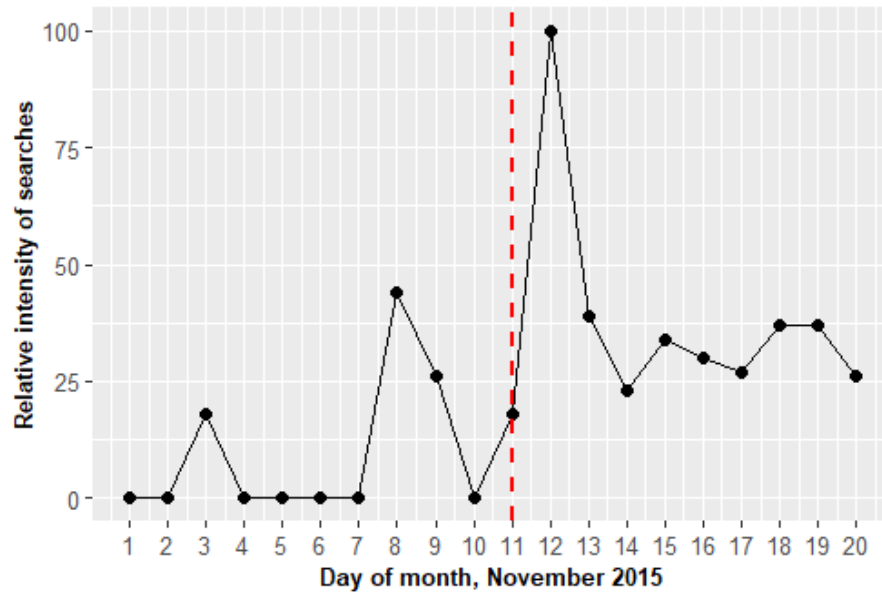
(a) Border Controls (Nov-2015, Sweden)



(b) EU Turkey Agreement (Mar-2016, Germany)

Note: Panel (a) presents the total number of hits (appearances) of the term ‘border controls’ (gränskontroller’) in four leading newspapers in Sweden: Dagens Nyheter, Svenska Dagbladet, Aftonbladet, and Expressen (Source: <https://tidningar.kb.se>). Panel (b) presents the total number of articles that included the term ‘EU Turkey Agreement’ (German: ‘EU Türkei Abkommen’) in Germany, March 2016 (source: Lexis Nexis).

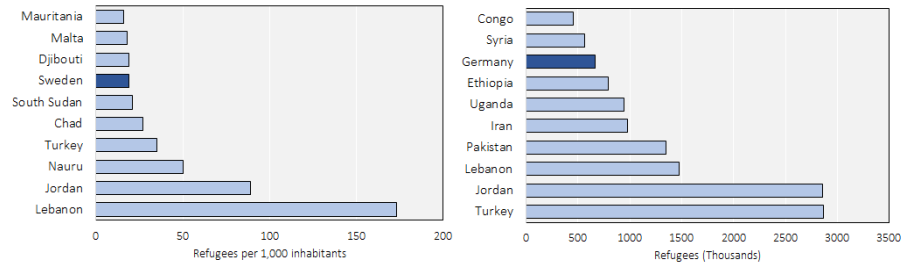
Figure S1.2: Online Searches on Border Controls, Denmark



Note: Google Trends score for the keyword 'Border Controls' (Danish: 'Grnsekontrol') in Denmark, November 2015.

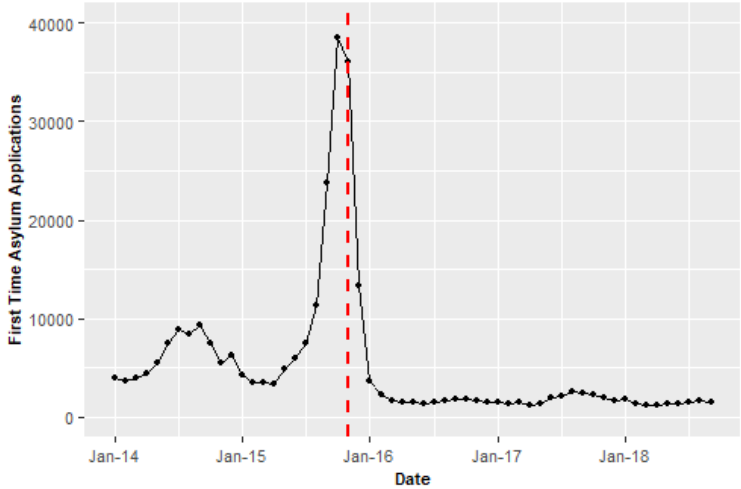
2 Refugee Populations and Arrivals

Figure S2.1: Top 10 Countries of Asylum, 2016

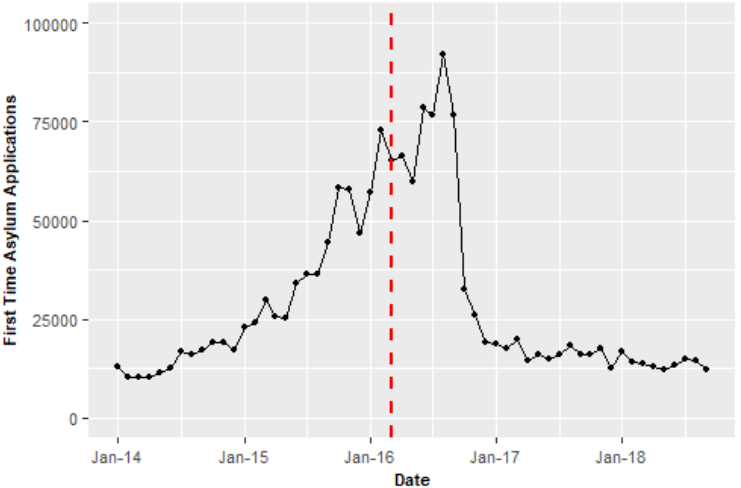


Note: Data on refugees per 1,000 inhabitants is taken from the UNHCR Global trends 2016 report, available at: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/54001>. Data on refugees populations by country is from the World Bank, available at: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SM.POP.REFG>.

Figure S2.2: Refugee Arrivals



(a) Sweden



(b) Germany

Note: Panels (a) and (b) present first time asylum applications per month in Sweden and in Germany, respectively, from 2014 to 2018. The dashed vertical line denotes the month of the policy change. Source: Eurostat.

3 Additional Results

Table S3.1: Balance Tests, Sweden

Subset:	DV: Policy Treatment			
	(1) [±1 days]	(2) [±2 days]	(3) [±3 days]	(4) All days [-4,6]
Age [15-24]				
25 - 39 years	0.019 (0.982)	-0.061 (0.906)	-0.165 (0.737)	-0.168 (0.681)
40 - 54 years	0.189 (0.823)	-0.288 (0.587)	-0.517 (0.306)	-0.415 (0.323)
55 years or older	-0.244 (0.763)	-0.491 (0.334)	-0.796 (0.101)	-0.636 (0.112)
Gender [Man]				
Woman	-0.232 (0.380)	-0.023 (0.890)	-0.058 (0.715)	-0.032 (0.812)
Education [Up to 12 years]				
Still studying	0.770 (0.456)	14.675 (0.984)	14.004 (0.984)	0.626 (0.673)
13-15 years	0.114 (0.798)	13.943 (0.984)	13.824 (0.985)	0.549 (0.707)
16-20 years	0.092 (0.774)	13.945 (0.984)	13.764 (0.985)	0.303 (0.834)
21+ years	-	14.098 (0.984)	13.980 (0.984)	0.588 (0.683)
Community type [Rural area]				
Small/middle town	0.564 (0.189)	0.332 (0.236)	0.032 (0.900)	-0.037 (0.863)
Large town	0.843 (0.075)	0.473 (0.123)	0.206 (0.474)	0.195 (0.421)
NUTS-2 region [Stockholm]				
Ostra Mellansverige	0.290 (0.571)	0.303 (0.359)	0.126 (0.676)	0.133 (0.596)
Smaland med oarna	-0.621 (0.276)	-0.672 (0.078)	-0.698 (0.055)	-0.6 (0.055)
Sydsverige	-0.221 (0.668)	0.065 (0.840)	-0.177 (0.558)	0.077 (0.759)
Vastsverige	-0.656 (0.119)	-0.209 (0.435)	-0.116 (0.648)	-0.206 (0.337)
Norra Mellansverige	0.158 (0.809)	0.354 (0.409)	0.488 (0.222)	0.379 (0.261)
Mellersta Norrland	1.666 (0.082)	0.982 (0.052)	0.859 (0.081)	0.725 (0.081)
Ovre Norrland	-0.349 (0.605)	-0.011 (0.980)	0.412 (0.296)	0.303 (0.360)
Constant	-0.240 (0.812)	-13.726 (0.985)	-13.136 (0.985)	0.372 (0.804)
Observations	268	618	703	1,012

Notes: P-values in parentheses. Balance tests are Logit models probing assignment to the policy treatment by observable covariates. Reference category of each covariate is in square brackets. The outcome variable is a binary indicator for assignment to treatment, where '1' is assigned to respondents who were interviewed on November 11, 2015, or later.

Table S3.2: The Effect of Border Controls on public opposition to immigration in Sweden and placebo samples

Sample	All days			± 2 days		
	Border Controls	SE	N	Border Controls	SE	N
Sweden	-0.070*	(0.029)	1,012	-0.083*	(0.038)	618
EU	0.012*	(0.006)	27,113	-0.010	(0.007)	15,829
France	-0.050	(0.029)	1,018	-0.035	(0.035)	733
Belgium	-0.011	(0.030)	1,022	-0.063	(0.040)	561
The Netherlands	0.052	(0.031)	1,020	0.054	(0.035)	790
Germany - West	-0.026	(0.030)	1,031	-0.037	(0.038)	667
Italy	0.012	(0.033)	974	0.005	(0.038)	679
Luxembourg	0.036	(0.045)	505	0.057	(0.056)	338
Denmark	0.040	(0.031)	989	0.013	(0.042)	543
Ireland	-0.013	(0.033)	997	-0.018	(0.041)	627
Great Britain	0.016	(0.033)	1,002	-0.055	(0.047)	485
Northern Ireland	0.114	(0.062)	294	0.215**	(0.077)	167
Greece	-0.019	(0.028)	999	-0.064	(0.036)	568
Spain	0.035	(0.031)	999	0.027	(0.038)	672
Portugal	-0.098**	(0.037)	950	-0.043	(0.054)	419
Germany East	-0.012	(0.040)	517	-0.023	(0.047)	379
Finland	0.026	(0.032)	993	0.013	(0.039)	602
Austria	-0.040	(0.030)	975	-0.073	(0.038)	582
Cyprus	-0.017	(0.042)	488	-0.026	(0.054)	321
Czech Republic	-0.001	(0.025)	991	-0.024	(0.032)	627
Estonia	-0.025	(0.025)	985	-0.015	(0.035)	515
Hungary	0.068*	(0.028)	1,035	0.045	(0.044)	448
Latvia	0.023	(0.024)	989	0.015	(0.034)	409
Lithuania	0.082**	(0.026)	979	0.106**	(0.037)	477
Malta	-0.057	(0.041)	497	-0.055	(0.044)	398
Poland	0.027	(0.032)	929	-0.015	(0.039)	677
Slovakia	0.047*	(0.022)	1,007	0.053	(0.033)	426
Slovenia	0.052	(0.029)	985	0.045	(0.037)	538
Bulgaria	-0.016	(0.031)	1,003	-0.116**	(0.041)	595
Romania	0.212***	(0.052)	939	0.097	(0.061)	367
Croatia	0.088**	(0.032)	989	-0.029	(0.042)	601

Notes: Estimates are drawn from separate OLS models for each subsample, representing the effect of the policy change on public opposition to immigration. Public opposition to immigration is measured by a binary variable, where 1 indicates negative feelings toward non-EU immigration. Standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05; All models control for gender, age, education, and community type. The analysis shows that the treatment effect is significant and stable across different time windows only in Sweden, while in all other countries the correlation is either statistically insignificant, unstable, or both.

Table S3.3: Border Controls in Sweden, Placebo Outcomes

DV:	Opposition to	EU Feeling Issues		Important EU values			International
	Immigration	Sports	Science	Rule of law	Equality	Tolerance	Openness Index
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Treatment Effect	-0.090*** (0.026)	-0.025 (0.034)	0.021 (0.033)	0.046 (0.035)	-0.002 (0.020)	0.016 (0.018)	-0.005 (0.056)
Observations	618	618	618	618	618	618	618
R-squared	0.055	0.024	0.016	0.060	0.017	0.032	0.245

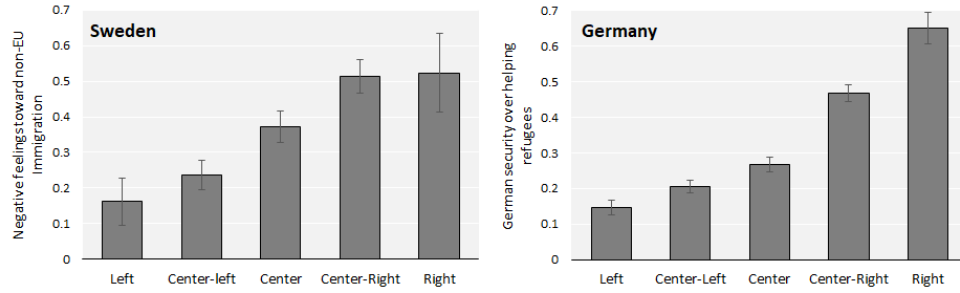
Notes: The outcome in Model 1 is a binary variable indicating disagreement with the statement “immigrants contribute to Sweden.” The international openness index is measured on a 3-points scale, where the values 1, 2, and 3 represent ‘low’, ‘medium’, and ‘high’ degrees of international openness, respectively. All other placebo outcomes are binary variables indicating the model headings.

Table S3.4: Border Controls in Sweden, Placebo Cutoffs

Cutoff	Real/Placebo	Control	Treatment	Diff-in-Means	p-value	N
November 8	Placebo	11/7	11/9-10	-0.038	0.703	341
November 9	Placebo	11/7-8	11/10-11	-0.115	0.155	395
November 10	Real	11/8-9	11/11-12	-0.206	0.007	418
November 11	Real	11/9-10	11/12-13	-0.172	0.016	482
November 12	Placebo	11/10-11	11/13-14	-0.011	0.880	407
November 13	Placebo	11/11-12	11/14-15	-0.002	0.986	313
November 14	Placebo	11/12-13	11/15-16	0.038	0.652	361
November 15	Placebo	11/13-14	11/16-17	0.035	0.675	332

Notes: The table presents RD estimates for the difference in means between the control and treatment groups over placebo and real cutoffs. The outcome is a 1-4 scale of *disagreement* with the statement “immigrants contribute to Sweden.” Each row presents results from a separate RD estimation, where the control and treatment groups are two days before and after the cutoff. The analysis shows that treatment effects are statistically significant and substantively large only when using the real policy cutoff.

Figure S3.1: Left-Right Placement and Opposition to Immigration, Pre-Treatment



Note: The outcome variables are binary indicators for opposition to immigration. In Sweden, 1 if respondents have negative feelings toward non-EU immigration, and 0 otherwise. In Germany, 1 if respondents prioritize German security over helping refugees, and 0 otherwise. Lines represent standard errors. To avoid post-treatment bias, the analysis excludes all respondents interviewed after the policy change.

Table S3.5: Policy Effects by Personally Important Values, Sweden

	Immigrants don't Contribute to Sweden			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Policy treatment	-0.081*	-0.054*	-0.066**	-0.045†
	(0.032)	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.025)
Should help refugees	-0.256***			
	(0.032)			
Policy treatment # should help refugees	0.050			
	(0.041)			
Tolerance	0.002			
	(0.049)			
Policy treatment # tolerance	-0.062			
	(0.063)			
Individual freedom	0.027			
	(0.041)			
Policy treatment # individual freedom	0.022			
	(0.052)			
Respect for human life	0.029			
	(0.036)			
Policy treatment # respect for human life	-0.062			
	(0.046)			
Observations	1,008	1,012	1,012	1,012
R-squared	0.154	0.054	0.054	0.053

Notes: The table replicates the test for the left-wing backlash hypothesis (Table 3 in the main text) using alternative measures. The analysis shows that, as in the case of political identification, policy effects are similar for voters who prioritize humanitarian values and their counterparts who prioritize other values. Model 1 interacts the policy treatment with a binary indicator of attitudes toward helping refugees (1 for totally agreeing that Sweden should be helping refugees, 0 otherwise). Model 2 interacts the treatment with a binary indicator for personally valuing tolerance (1 if the subject personally values tolerance, 0 otherwise). Models 3 and 4 use similar measures for valuing individual freedom and having respect for human life. Standard errors in parentheses; *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$; All OLS models control for gender, age, education, community type, and NUTS-2 regions.

Table S3.6: Balance Tests, Germany

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
DV: Policy Treatment				
Subset:	[±1 days]	[±3 days]	[±5 days]	All days [-17,13]
Age [17-36 years]				
37-65 years	-0.246 (0.595)	-0.057 (0.845)	-0.183 (0.381)	0.067 (0.540)
52-66 years	0.251 (0.603)	0.119 (0.684)	-0.427 (0.047)	-0.217 (0.049)
67-81 years	0.010 (0.985)	-0.104 (0.776)	-0.384 (0.153)	-0.536 (0.000)
Gender [Man]				
Woman	0.021 (0.952)	-0.144 (0.509)	-0.327 (0.036)	0.186 (0.022)
Education [Still a student]				
No graduation	-	-	-1.110 (0.397)	0.179 (0.790)
8th or 9th grade	0.207 (0.729)	0.622 (0.569)	0.957 (0.225)	0.449 (0.394)
10th grade	0.408 (0.302)	0.458 (0.666)	0.821 (0.285)	0.518 (0.319)
Fachoberschule	-0.531 (0.417)	0.043 (0.968)	0.385 (0.626)	0.316 (0.549)
12th grade	-	0.255 (0.809)	0.729 (0.337)	0.437 (0.398)
Secondary school	-	2.084 (0.117)	2.619 (0.008)	1.074 (0.060)
State [Schleswig-Holstein/Hamburg]				
Niedersachsen/Bremen	1.532 (0.211)	0.694 (0.278)	0.394 (0.353)	0.129 (0.586)
Nordrhein-Westfalen	1.766 (0.126)	0.419 (0.480)	0.227 (0.566)	0.122 (0.574)
Hessen	1.045 (0.413)	-0.216 (0.747)	-0.119 (0.791)	-0.183 (0.461)
Rheinland-Pfalz/Saarland	1.640 (0.168)	0.363 (0.571)	-0.031 (0.947)	-0.056 (0.829)
Baden	1.984 (0.085)	1.216 (0.041)	0.466 (0.250)	0.303 (0.171)
Bayern	2.004 (0.085)	0.918 (0.128)	0.043 (0.916)	0.123 (0.575)
Berlin/Brandenburg	0.669 (0.620)	0.446 (0.509)	0.162 (0.724)	0.123 (0.617)
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	-	1.423 (0.168)	-0.158 (0.815)	-0.006 (0.986)
Sachsen	3.121 (0.019)	1.096 (0.117)	0.693 (0.150)	0.199 (0.432)
Sachsen-Anhalt	-	0.753 (0.622)	-0.810 (0.358)	-0.640 (0.096)
Thringen	-	-0.021 (0.980)	0.115 (0.845)	0.011 (0.973)
Observations	159	384	727	3,138

Notes: P-values in parentheses. Balance tests are Logit models probing assignment to the policy treatment by observable covariates. Reference category of each covariate is in square brackets. The outcome variable is a binary indicator for assignment to treatment, where '1' is assigned to respondents who were interviewed after September 18, 2016.

Table S3.7: Placebo Outcomes, Germany

	Pre-treatment				Agreeableness:	
	AfD vote		Political interest		Finds fault in others	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Policy treatment	0.002	0.024	-0.008	-0.086	-0.038	-0.025
p-value	0.869	0.323	0.902	0.654	0.31	0.819
Window (days)	[-17,13]	[±3]	[-17,13]	[±3]	[-17,13]	[±3]
Observations	2,131	228	3,059	322	3,054	322
R-squared	0.038	0.147	0.217	0.274	0.032	0.091

Notes: The outcome in Model 1 is a binary variable indicating support for the AfD party in the pre-treatment period (the previous wave that included this survey item, September 2015). Political interest is measured on a 8-points scale, where 8 represents the highest level of political interest. Agreeableness is measured by respondents' agreement with the statement "I tend to criticize others," on a 1 (doesn't apply at all) to 5 (fully applies) scale.

Replication with the German Longitudinal Election Survey

Table S3.8: Policy effects by proximity to the border at the district-level, Germany

DV:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Scared of the crisis		Stop admission		threat to EU cohesion		Vote AfD	
Post-policy	-0.095*** (0.026)	-0.087** (0.026)	-0.070** (0.025)	-0.069** (0.026)	-0.104*** (0.023)	-0.100*** (0.024)	-0.036+ (0.020)	-0.036† (0.021)
Border districts		0.051 (0.207)		0.241 (0.197)		-0.107 (0.189)		0.088 (0.143)
Post-policy # Border districts		-0.176 (0.124)		-0.023 (0.118)		-0.097 (0.111)		-0.009 (0.088)
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Election District FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	1,714	1,714	1,647	1,647	1,672	1,672	1,164	1,164
R-squared	0.209	0.210	0.243	0.243	0.195	0.196	0.231	0.231

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, †p<0.1; OLS regressions controlling for gender, age, education, and district fixed effects. Border districts are all election districts located on the southern border of Bavaria. Data: the German Longitudinal Election Study (GLES). The outcome variables are: fear of the refugee crisis (1 for being scared, 0 otherwise), opposition to refugee admission (1 for opposing admission, 0 otherwise), believing that the crisis harms EU cohesion (1 for believing so, 0 otherwise), and voting for the AfD if state elections were being held on next Sunday (1 for the AfD, 0 otherwise).

Causal Mediation Analysis

Table S3.9: Causal Mediation Analysis

	Stage (1): Treatment effect on opposition to immigration	Stage (2): Treatment effect on mediator (political trust)	Stage (3): Treatment effect controlling for mediator
DV:	Negative feelings non-EU immigration	Trust in parliament	Negative feelings non-EU immigration
Policy treatment	-0.065* (0.029)	0.088** (0.030)	-0.045 (0.029)
Political trust (mediator)			-0.228*** (0.030)
Constant	-0.069 (0.325)	0.410 (0.338)	0.024 (0.316)
Controls	YES	YES	YES
Observations	1,012	1,012	1,012
R-squared	0.094	0.044	0.145

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, † $p < 0.1$; All models control for gender, age, education, community type, and NUTS-2 regions. The Causal Mediation Analysis (Imai et al. 2011) shows that the policy treatment reduces both anti-immigrant sentiments and the mediator—political trust. Stage (3) of the analysis also confirms that the policy effect on the outcome is significantly reduced when the mediator is controlled for.

4 Description of Survey Questions

4.1: Eurobarometer

QD11.3 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

Immigrants contribute a lot to (OUR COUNTRY)

- 1 Totally agree
- 2 Tend to agree
- 3 Tend to disagree
- 4 Totally disagree
- 5 DK

QB4 Please tell me whether each of the following statements evokes a positive or negative feeling for you.

QB41[Immigration of people from other EU Member States]

QB42[Immigration of people from outside the EU]

- 1 Very positive
- 2 Fairly positive
- 3 Fairly negative
- 4 Very negative
- 5 DK

QA8a I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain media and institutions. For each of the following media and institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it.

6) Political parties

8) The (NATIONALITY) Government

9) The (NATIONALITY PARLIAMENT) (USE PROPER NAME FOR LOWER HOUSE)

- 1 Tend to trust
- 2 Tend not to trust
- 3 DK

QD6 In your opinion, among the following issues, which are those that most create a feeling of community among EU citizens?

- 1 History
- 2 Religion
- 3 Values
- 4 Geography
- 5 Languages
- 6 The rule of law
- 7 Sports
- 8 Inventions, science and technology
- 9 Economy
- 10 Healthcare, education and pensions
- 11 Solidarity with poorer regions

- 12 Culture
- 13 Other Culture
- 14 None, such a feeling does not exist
- 15 None
- 16 DK

4.2: GIP

ZJ22013 How do you think politicians should deal with this potential dilemma: Either one can fulfill the moral obligation to help refugees from war zones. Or one can ensure security in German society.

With this question you can only give one answer.

- 1 This dilemma does not exist, the refugee aid does not affect the security of the German population.
- 2 In this dilemma, politicians should only pay attention to the aid of refugees.
- 3 In this dilemma politicians should rather pay attention to the refugee assistance.
- 4 In this dilemma politicians should pay equal attention to the aid of refugees and the security of the German population.
- 5 In this dilemma, politicians should rather pay attention to the security of the German population.
- 6 In this dilemma, politicians should only pay attention to the security of the German population.

AA22039 If next Sunday's Bundestag election would be, which party would you vote for with your second vote? The second vote is the vote with which you choose a party. With this question you can only give one answer.

- 1 Would not vote
- 2 Not eligible to vote (not of legal age / no German citizenship)
- 3 CDU / CSU
- 4 SPD
- 5 The left
- 6 Alliance 90 / The Greens
- 7 FDP
- 8 AFD
- 9 Pirate party
- 10 NPD
- 11 Other party: (please write its name):
- 98 I rather not say
- 99 I don't know

ZJ22011 How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Germany can overcome the challenges posed by the influx of refugees.

- 1 totally agree
- 2 agree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 4 disagree
- 5 totally disagree

-99 don't know

-98 no reponse

ZJ22010 How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Germany should maintain its policy of accepting refugees from war zones.

1 totally agree

2 agree

3 neither agree nor disagree

4 disagree

5 totally disagree

-99 don't know

-98 no reponse

Placebo outcomes: Which of the following applications do you at least occasionally use on the Internet or as a mobile app?

AJ22011 Facebook

AJ22012 Instagram

AJ22013 LinkedIn

AJ22014 Twitter

1 yes

2 no