

# Supplementary Material

## Free Movement of People and the Success of Far-Right Parties: Evidence from Switzerland's Border Liberalization

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September 12, 2024

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<sup>1</sup>We acknowledge funding from the Swiss National Science Foundation (grant NCCR on the move 51NF40-182897).

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# A1 Summary Statistics

## A1.1 Municipality-level data

**Table A1:** Summary Statistics for Economic Variables in Treated (0–15 Minutes) and Control (15–30 Minutes) Municipalities, 1998 and 2010. The Number of Observations Reflects the Number of Workers.

<b>Pre-Reform</b>			
	Control (N=506672)	Treated (N=295945)	Total (N=802617)
<b>Log hourly wage</b>			
Mean (SD)	3.6 (0.1)	3.6 (0.1)	3.6 (0.1)
Range	2.8 - 4.3	2.6 - 4.4	2.6 - 4.4
<b>Number of workers</b>			
Mean (SD)	45719.7 (65786.6)	15135.0 (18967.4)	34442.3 (54369.2)
Range	1.0 - 144492.5	1.0 - 46922.0	1.0 - 144492.5

  

<b>Post-Reform</b>			
	Control (N=628697)	Treated (N=352762)	Total (N=981459)
<b>Log hourly wage</b>			
Mean (SD)	3.6 (0.1)	3.6 (0.1)	3.6 (0.1)
Range	2.8 - 4.3	1.1 - 4.2	1.1 - 4.3
<b>Number of workers</b>			
Mean (SD)	53674.9 (78754.4)	25728.5 (34626.3)	43630.3 (66401.4)
Range	1.0 - 174550.2	1.0 - 82452.7	1.0 - 174550.2

**Table A2:** Summary Statistics for Political, Immigration, and Language Variables in Treated (0–15 Minutes) and Control (15–30 Minutes) Municipalities, 1999 and 2015 (Last Year with Available Data on Voting and Immigration). The Number of Observations Reflects the Population in Each Group.

<b>Pre-Reform</b>			
	Control (N=1825622)	Treated (N=1867165)	Total (N=3692787)
<b>Percent support for anti-immigrant parties</b>			
Mean (SD)	26.4 (12.5)	21.9 (13.1)	24.1 (13.0)
Range	0.2 - 67.3	0.0 - 72.8	0.0 - 72.8
<b>Swiss population</b>			
Mean (SD)	53166.3 (92825.8)	28123.2 (40634.4)	40503.9 (71705.4)
Range	41.0 - 242101.0	72.0 - 121075.0	41.0 - 242101.0
<b>Total immigrant population</b>			
Mean (SD)	20452.3 (36758.6)	18532.2 (30735.2)	19481.4 (33562.8)
Range	0.0 - 95576.0	1.0 - 87687.2	0.0 - 95576.0
<b>Resident immigrants</b>			
Mean (SD)	20221.1 (36447.2)	14353.6 (23972.2)	17254.3 (30619.5)
Range	0.0 - 94720.0	1.0 - 75572.0	0.0 - 94720.0
<b>Cross-border workers</b>			
Mean (SD)	231.2 (335.7)	4178.5 (8193.4)	2227.1 (6140.8)
Range	0.0 - 1094.2	0.0 - 27456.2	0.0 - 27456.2
<b>Language Region</b>			
French	431576 (23.6%)	624086 (33.4%)	1055662 (28.6%)
German	1327310 (72.7%)	1043468 (55.9%)	2370778 (64.2%)
Italian-Romansh	66736 (3.7%)	199611 (10.7%)	266347 (7.2%)
<b>Post-Reform</b>			
	Control (N=2167746)	Treated (N=2131690)	Total (N=4299436)
<b>Percent support for anti-immigrant parties</b>			
Mean (SD)	28.6 (10.7)	30.4 (10.0)	29.5 (10.3)
Range	0.0 - 70.2	0.0 - 80.0	0.0 - 80.0
<b>Swiss population</b>			
Mean (SD)	57973.4 (101345.0)	26278.4 (37325.2)	42258.8 (77422.8)
Range	41.0 - 266536.0	81.0 - 107565.0	41.0 - 266536.0
<b>Total immigrant population</b>			
Mean (SD)	27364.7 (49055.1)	25577.6 (43149.3)	26478.7 (45852.9)
Range	0.0 - 129050.0	4.0 - 129343.0	0.0 - 129343.0
<b>Resident immigrants</b>			
Mean (SD)	26313.5 (47504.8)	17447.0 (29503.6)	21917.4 (39487.1)
Range	0.0 - 124823.0	2.0 - 94092.0	0.0 - 124823.0
<b>Cross-border workers</b>			
Mean (SD)	1051.2 (1599.3)	8130.6 (14332.0)	4561.2 (10735.0)
Range	0.0 - 4227.0	0.0 - 42337.5	0.0 - 42337.5
<b>Language Region</b>			
French	514212 (23.7%)	737905 (34.6%)	1252117 (29.1%)
German	1574376 (72.6%)	1166445 (54.7%)	2740821 (63.7%)
Italian-Romansh	79158 (3.7%)	227340 (10.7%)	306498 (7.1%)

**Table A3:** Summary Statistics for Political, Immigration, and Language Variables in Ticino, Treated (0–15 Minutes) and Control (15–30 Minutes) Municipalities, 1999 and 2015 (Last Year with Available Data on Voting and Immigration). The Number of Observations Reflects the Population in Each Group.

<b>Pre-Reform</b>			
	Control (N=62036)	Treated (N=188714)	Total (N=250750)
<b>Percent support for anti-immigrant parties</b>			
Mean (SD)	21.1 (3.5)	26.2 (5.4)	24.9 (5.4)
Range	12.5 - 29.2	13.9 - 37.3	12.5 - 37.3
<b>Swiss population</b>			
Mean (SD)	16070.1 (15172.7)	12570.2 (15645.0)	13436.1 (14912.8)
Range	166.0 - 26436.0	209.0 - 35573.0	166.0 - 35573.0
<b>Total immigrant population</b>			
Mean (SD)	6045.1 (5820.5)	8188.8 (10544.4)	7658.4 (9409.0)
Range	10.0 - 10022.5	23.0 - 23659.5	10.0 - 23659.5
<b>Resident immigrants</b>			
Mean (SD)	5757.6 (5616.1)	6232.6 (8578.4)	6115.1 (7720.9)
Range	10.0 - 9596.0	22.0 - 18950.0	10.0 - 18950.0
<b>Cross-border workers</b>			
Mean (SD)	287.5 (216.0)	1956.2 (2207.8)	1543.4 (2037.8)
Range	0.0 - 467.8	1.0 - 4709.5	0.0 - 4709.5

<b>Post-Reform</b>			
	Control (N=74057)	Treated (N=217138)	Total (N=291195)
<b>Percent support for anti-immigrant parties</b>			
Mean (SD)	27.4 (5.1)	36.3 (5.0)	34.1 (6.3)
Range	22.0 - 43.0	26.8 - 48.8	22.0 - 48.8
<b>Swiss population</b>			
Mean (SD)	18785.0 (17847.7)	14061.7 (17457.7)	15262.9 (16859.5)
Range	193.0 - 31419.0	207.0 - 39450.0	193.0 - 39450.0
<b>Total immigrant population</b>			
Mean (SD)	7734.9 (7311.9)	13769.8 (17560.8)	12235.0 (15537.3)
Range	24.0 - 12903.5	56.5 - 39093.2	24.0 - 39093.2
<b>Resident immigrants</b>			
Mean (SD)	6312.9 (6147.7)	8018.7 (11047.5)	7584.9 (9808.6)
Range	24.0 - 10665.0	42.0 - 24218.0	24.0 - 24218.0
<b>Cross-border workers</b>			
Mean (SD)	1422.0 (1191.2)	5751.1 (6776.3)	4650.2 (6123.1)
Range	0.0 - 2238.5	8.8 - 14875.2	0.0 - 14875.2

## A1.2 Swiss Household Panel Survey

### A1.2.1 Entire Sample

**Table A4:** Summary Statistics for Treated (0–15 Minutes) and Control (15–30 Minutes) Municipalities Using the Swiss Household Panel Survey, 1999. The Number of Observations Reflects the Population in Each Group.

Note: These variables are not used as controls in main regressions, which include individual, municipality, and year fixed effects.

	Control (15-30 min) (N=1707496)	Treated (0-15 min) (N=1500327)	Total (N=3207823)
<b>Household Income</b>			
N-Miss	221731	241654	463385
< CHF3000	106740 (7.2%)	124762 (9.9%)	231502 (8.4%)
CHF3000-5000	322821 (21.7%)	268913 (21.4%)	591734 (21.6%)
CHF5000-7000	343652 (23.1%)	293234 (23.3%)	636886 (23.2%)
CHF7000-9000	280572 (18.9%)	230171 (18.3%)	510743 (18.6%)
> CHF9000	431980 (29.1%)	341593 (27.1%)	773572 (28.2%)
<b>Age (Years)</b>			
N-Miss	0	0	0
Mean (SD)	46.3 (16.4)	46.6 (16.7)	46.4 (16.5)
Range	18.0 - 95.0	18.0 - 93.0	18.0 - 95.0
<b>Female</b>			
N-Miss	0	0	0
Mean (SD)	0.5 (0.5)	0.5 (0.5)	0.5 (0.5)
Range	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0
<b>Highest Education Level</b>			
N-Miss	0	0	0
Less than primary	22493 (1.3%)	15605 (1.0%)	38098 (1.2%)
Primary	238710 (14.0%)	238785 (15.9%)	477496 (14.9%)
Secondary	1043662 (61.1%)	881428 (58.7%)	1925090 (60.0%)
Tertiary	402631 (23.6%)	364508 (24.3%)	767139 (23.9%)
<b>Employment</b>			
N-Miss	0	0	0
Employed	1148358 (67.3%)	961238 (64.1%)	2109596 (65.8%)
Unemployed	29827 (1.7%)	31226 (2.1%)	61053 (1.9%)
Not in labor force	529311 (31.0%)	507863 (33.9%)	1037174 (32.3%)
<b>Currently Married</b>			
N-Miss	0	0	0
Mean (SD)	0.6 (0.5)	0.6 (0.5)	0.6 (0.5)
Range	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0
<b>Opinion on Foreigners</b>			
N-Miss	68305	77317	145622
Favor equality with foreigners	993362 (60.6%)	882200 (62.0%)	1875562 (61.2%)
Neither	158558 (9.7%)	139775 (9.8%)	298333 (9.7%)
Favor opportunities for Swiss	487271 (29.7%)	401036 (28.2%)	888307 (29.0%)
<b>Political Interest</b>			
N-Miss	3938	3411	7350
Mean (SD)	5.2 (3.0)	5.1 (3.1)	5.2 (3.0)
Range	0.0 - 10.0	0.0 - 10.0	0.0 - 10.0
<b>Language Region</b>			
French	535573 (31.4%)	549080 (36.6%)	1084653 (33.8%)
German	1122275 (65.7%)	789377 (52.6%)	1911652 (59.6%)
Italian	49648 (2.9%)	157416 (10.5%)	207063 (6.5%)
Romansh	0 (0.0%)	4455 (0.3%)	4455 (0.1%)

**Table A5:** Summary Statistics for Treated (0–15 Minutes) and Control (15–30 Minutes) Municipalities Using the Swiss Household Panel Survey, 2017. The Number of Observations Reflects the Population in Each Group. Note: These are not used as controls in main regressions, which include individual, municipality, and year fixed effects.

	Control (15-30 min) (N=1936664)	Treated (0-15 min) (N=1646881)	Total (N=3583545)
<b>Household Income</b>			
N-Miss	134957	161270	296227
< CHF3000	83809 (4.7%)	68892 (4.6%)	152700 (4.6%)
CHF3000-5000	239386 (13.3%)	190349 (12.8%)	429735 (13.1%)
CHF5000-7000	327821 (18.2%)	274956 (18.5%)	602777 (18.3%)
CHF7000-9000	319535 (17.7%)	228958 (15.4%)	548493 (16.7%)
> CHF9000	831156 (46.1%)	722457 (48.6%)	1553613 (47.3%)
<b>Age (Years)</b>			
N-Miss	0	0	0
Mean (SD)	47.7 (18.3)	50.3 (18.5)	48.9 (18.4)
Range	18.0 - 97.0	18.0 - 96.0	18.0 - 97.0
<b>Female</b>			
N-Miss	0	0	0
Mean (SD)	0.5 (0.5)	0.5 (0.5)	0.5 (0.5)
Range	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0
<b>Highest Education Level</b>			
Less than primary	51684 (2.7%)	37211 (2.3%)	88895 (2.5%)
Primary	198601 (10.3%)	181298 (11.0%)	379898 (10.6%)
Secondary	915787 (47.3%)	783761 (47.6%)	1699547 (47.4%)
Tertiary	770593 (39.8%)	644612 (39.1%)	1415205 (39.5%)
<b>Employment</b>			
Employed	1315479 (67.9%)	1073857 (65.2%)	2389336 (66.7%)
Unemployed	56811 (2.9%)	33918 (2.1%)	90729 (2.5%)
Not in labor force	564373 (29.1%)	539106 (32.7%)	1103480 (30.8%)
<b>Currently Married</b>			
N-Miss	0	0	0
Mean (SD)	0.5 (0.5)	0.5 (0.5)	0.5 (0.5)
Range	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0
<b>Opinion on Foreigners</b>			
N-Miss	61970	70759	132730
Favor equality with foreigners	1275857 (68.1%)	1063209 (67.5%)	2339066 (67.8%)
Neither	103778 (5.5%)	85800 (5.4%)	189578 (5.5%)
Favor opportunities for Swiss	495058 (26.4%)	427113 (27.1%)	922171 (26.7%)
<b>Political Interest</b>			
N-Miss	4065	15298	19362
Mean (SD)	5.0 (3.0)	4.9 (3.0)	4.9 (3.0)
Range	0.0 - 10.0	0.0 - 10.0	0.0 - 10.0
<b>Language Region</b>			
French	531763 (27.5%)	521024 (31.6%)	1052787 (29.4%)
German	1299517 (67.1%)	934460 (56.7%)	2233977 (62.3%)
Italian	105384 (5.4%)	188866 (11.5%)	294250 (8.2%)
Romansh	0 (0.0%)	2532 (0.2%)	2532 (0.1%)

## A1.2.2 Ticino

**Table A6:** Summary Statistics for Treated (0–15 Minutes) and Control (15–30 Minutes) Municipalities in Ticino Using the Swiss Household Panel Survey, 1999. The Number of Observations Reflects the Population in Each Group. Note: These are not used as controls in main regressions, which include individual, municipality, and year fixed effects.

	Control (15-30 min) (N=49648)	Treated (0-15 min) (N=156144)	Total (N=205792)
<b>Household Income</b>			
N-Miss	5033	33740	38773
< CHF3000	3387 (7.6%)	19813 (16.2%)	23200 (13.9%)
CHF3000-5000	8589 (19.3%)	34958 (28.6%)	43548 (26.1%)
CHF5000-7000	13603 (30.5%)	36118 (29.5%)	49721 (29.8%)
CHF7000-9000	7282 (16.3%)	13111 (10.7%)	20394 (12.2%)
> CHF9000	11753 (26.3%)	18404 (15.0%)	30157 (18.1%)
<b>Age (Years)</b>			
N-Miss	0	0	0
Mean (SD)	49.5 (16.6)	47.8 (16.7)	48.2 (16.6)
Range	19.0 - 95.0	18.0 - 85.0	18.0 - 95.0
<b>Female</b>			
N-Miss	0	0	0
Mean (SD)	0.6 (0.5)	0.5 (0.5)	0.5 (0.5)
Range	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0
<b>Highest Education Level</b>			
N-Miss	0	0	0
Less than primary	936 (1.9%)	3744 (2.4%)	4680 (2.3%)
Primary	9820 (19.8%)	38458 (24.6%)	48278 (23.5%)
Secondary	28912 (58.2%)	84019 (53.8%)	112931 (54.9%)
Tertiary	9980 (20.1%)	29923 (19.2%)	39903 (19.4%)
<b>Employment</b>			
N-Miss	0	0	0
Employed	28213 (56.8%)	87449 (56.0%)	115662 (56.2%)
Unemployed	0 (0.0%)	3965 (2.5%)	3965 (1.9%)
Not in labor force	21435 (43.2%)	64730 (41.5%)	86164 (41.9%)
<b>Currently Married</b>			
N-Miss	0	0	0
Mean (SD)	0.6 (0.5)	0.6 (0.5)	0.6 (0.5)
Range	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0
<b>Opinion on Foreigners</b>			
N-Miss	0	8821	8821
Favor equality with foreigners	28255 (56.9%)	84500 (57.4%)	112755 (57.2%)
Neither	2583 (5.2%)	18292 (12.4%)	20875 (10.6%)
Favor opportunities for Swiss	18809 (37.9%)	44532 (30.2%)	63341 (32.2%)
<b>Political Interest</b>			
N-Miss	0	936	936
Mean (SD)	5.4 (2.8)	4.3 (3.4)	4.6 (3.3)
Range	0.0 - 10.0	0.0 - 10.0	0.0 - 10.0



**Table A7:** Summary Statistics for Treated (0–15 Minutes) and Control (15–30 Minutes) Municipalities in Ticino Using the Swiss Household Panel Survey, 2017. The Number of Observations Reflects the Population in Each Group. Note: These are not used as controls in main regressions, which include individual, municipality, and year fixed effects.

	Control (15-30 min) (N=93400)	Treated (0-15 min) (N=183700)	Total (N=277100)
<b>Household Income</b>			
N-Miss	18197	23962	42159
< CHF3000	3789 (5.0%)	10852 (6.8%)	14640 (6.2%)
CHF3000-5000	12568 (16.7%)	29119 (18.2%)	41687 (17.7%)
CHF5000-7000	11112 (14.8%)	47296 (29.6%)	58408 (24.9%)
CHF7000-9000	21438 (28.5%)	26344 (16.5%)	47782 (20.3%)
> CHF9000	26296 (35.0%)	46127 (28.9%)	72424 (30.8%)
<b>Age (Years)</b>			
N-Miss	0	0	0
Mean (SD)	40.5 (16.2)	53.6 (18.5)	49.2 (18.7)
Range	18.0 - 87.0	18.0 - 93.0	18.0 - 93.0
<b>Female</b>			
N-Miss	0	0	0
Mean (SD)	0.5 (0.5)	0.5 (0.5)	0.5 (0.5)
Range	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0
<b>Highest Education Level</b>			
Less than primary	4519 (4.8%)	5056 (2.8%)	9575 (3.5%)
Primary	11948 (12.8%)	35643 (19.4%)	47591 (17.2%)
Secondary	45344 (48.5%)	89338 (48.6%)	134682 (48.6%)
Tertiary	31589 (33.8%)	53663 (29.2%)	85252 (30.8%)
<b>Employment</b>			
Employed	50820 (54.4%)	102279 (55.7%)	153099 (55.3%)
Unemployed	9985 (10.7%)	2299 (1.3%)	12285 (4.4%)
Not in labor force	32595 (34.9%)	79121 (43.1%)	111717 (40.3%)
<b>Currently Married</b>			
N-Miss	0	0	0
Mean (SD)	0.6 (0.5)	0.6 (0.5)	0.6 (0.5)
Range	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0
<b>Opinion on Foreigners</b>			
N-Miss	1343	5603	6946
Favor equality with foreigners	61786 (67.1%)	106315 (59.7%)	168101 (62.2%)
Neither	12190 (13.2%)	12902 (7.2%)	25092 (9.3%)
Favor opportunities for Swiss	18082 (19.6%)	58880 (33.1%)	76961 (28.5%)
<b>Political Interest</b>			
N-Miss	0	0	0
Mean (SD)	3.2 (3.2)	4.2 (3.3)	3.9 (3.3)
Range	0.0 - 10.0	0.0 - 10.0	0.0 - 10.0

### A1.3 Post-popular vote (VOX) surveys

**Table A8:** Summary Statistics for Treated (0–15 Minutes) and Control (15–30 Minutes) Municipalities Using the Post-Popular Vote (VOX) Survey, 1999. The Number of Observations Reflects the Number of Responses in Each Group Weighted by Turnout.

	Control (15-30 min) (N=922)	Treated (0-15 min) (N=926)	Total (N=1848)
<b>Household Income</b>			
N-Miss	137	162	299
< 3000 CHF	112 (14.3%)	120 (15.7%)	232 (15.0%)
3000–5000 CHF	215 (27.4%)	238 (31.2%)	453 (29.2%)
5000–7000 CHF	238 (30.3%)	208 (27.2%)	446 (28.8%)
7000–9000 CHF	128 (16.3%)	112 (14.7%)	240 (15.5%)
> 9000 CHF	92 (11.7%)	86 (11.3%)	178 (11.5%)
<b>Age (Years)</b>			
Mean (SD)	50.3 (16.5)	49.6 (17.5)	50.0 (17.0)
Range	18.0 - 84.0	18.0 - 84.0	18.0 - 84.0
<b>Female</b>			
Mean (SD)	0.5 (0.5)	0.5 (0.5)	0.5 (0.5)
Range	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0
<b>Highest Education Level</b>			
N-Miss	11	4	15
primary	114 (12.5%)	141 (15.3%)	255 (13.9%)
secondary	549 (60.3%)	533 (57.8%)	1082 (59.0%)
tertiary	248 (27.2%)	248 (26.9%)	496 (27.1%)
<b>Currently Employed</b>			
N-Miss	6	1	7
Mean (SD)	0.6 (0.5)	0.6 (0.5)	0.6 (0.5)
Range	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0
<b>Currently Married</b>			
N-Miss	11	4	15
Mean (SD)	0.6 (0.5)	0.6 (0.5)	0.6 (0.5)
Range	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0

**Table A9:** Summary Statistics for Treated (0–15 Minutes) and Control (15–30 Minutes) Municipalities Using the Post-Popular Vote (VOX) Survey, 2016. The Number of Observations Reflects the Number of Responses in Each Group Weighted by Turnout.

	Control (15-30 min) (N=792)	Treated (0-15 min) (N=723)	Total (N=1514)
<b>Household Income</b>			
N-Miss	122	117	239
< 3000 CHF	66 (9.8%)	42 (7.0%)	108 (8.5%)
3000–5000 CHF	105 (15.6%)	170 (28.0%)	274 (21.5%)
5000–7000 CHF	200 (29.9%)	151 (24.9%)	351 (27.5%)
7000–9000 CHF	124 (18.6%)	106 (17.5%)	231 (18.1%)
> 9000 CHF	175 (26.1%)	137 (22.6%)	312 (24.4%)
<b>Age (Years)</b>			
Mean (SD)	52.3 (17.5)	50.5 (17.2)	51.5 (17.4)
Range	18.0 - 92.0	18.0 - 93.0	18.0 - 93.0
<b>Female</b>			
Mean (SD)	0.5 (0.5)	0.5 (0.5)	0.5 (0.5)
Range	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0
<b>Highest Education Level</b>			
N-Miss	3	1	4
primary	65 (8.3%)	31 (4.3%)	97 (6.4%)
secondary	375 (47.6%)	336 (46.6%)	712 (47.1%)
tertiary	348 (44.1%)	354 (49.1%)	702 (46.5%)
<b>Currently Employed</b>			
N-Miss	1	1	2
Mean (SD)	0.6 (0.5)	0.6 (0.5)	0.6 (0.5)
Range	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0
<b>Currently Married</b>			
N-Miss	4	2	7
Mean (SD)	0.5 (0.5)	0.6 (0.5)	0.5 (0.5)
Range	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0	0.0 - 1.0

## A2 Regression Tables for Immigration

### A2.1 Difference-in-Differences and Event Study

**Table A10:** Baseline Immigration Effects. Outcome: Total Immigration (Resident Immigrants and Cross-Border Workers) Relative to 1998 and Current Swiss Population. Sample: Border Region, 1996–2016. Weights are based on the population size of each municipality.

	Relative to 1998 Swiss				Relative to Current Swiss			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
0–15 Minutes X Transition	0.48* (0.21)	0.43 (0.27)	1.18*** (0.20)	1.07** (0.36)	0.05 (0.21)	0.18 (0.55)	0.59** (0.19)	0.91 (0.69)
0–15 Minutes X Free	3.61*** (0.72)	6.14*** (1.48)	6.35*** (0.70)	7.93*** (1.87)	2.58*** (0.53)	6.09*** (1.52)	4.21*** (0.52)	6.46** (2.09)
Weights	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Control Group	15–30 Min	15–30 Min	30–45 Min	30–45 Min	15–30 Min	15–30 Min	30–45 Min	30–45 Min
Num. obs.	20853	20853	17598	17598	20853	20853	17598	17598
Num. groups: bfs19	993	993	838	838	993	993	838	838
Num. groups: year	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	21

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

**Table A11:** Event Study on Immigrant Workers. Outcome: Share of Immigrant Workers Relative to 1998 and Current Swiss Population. Sample: Border Region, Travel Minutes  $\leq 30$ , 1991–2019. The baseline year is 1999. Weights are based on the population size of each municipality.

	Relative to 1998 Swiss		Relative to Current Swiss	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
0–15 Minutes X 1996	0.38 (0.21)	0.89 (0.26)***	0.59 (0.24)*	1.03 (0.41)*
0–15 Minutes X 1997	−0.00 (0.16)	0.24 (0.17)	0.16 (0.17)	0.31 (0.29)
0–15 Minutes X 1998	0.06 (0.10)	0.13 (0.10)	0.11 (0.11)	0.16 (0.14)
0–15 Minutes X 2000	0.24 (0.10)*	0.34 (0.11)**	0.08 (0.11)	0.33 (0.18)
0–15 Minutes X 2001	0.56 (0.16)***	0.69 (0.21)***	0.28 (0.16)	0.51 (0.33)
0–15 Minutes X 2002	0.67 (0.21)**	0.70 (0.27)**	0.30 (0.20)	0.45 (0.49)
0–15 Minutes X 2003	0.86 (0.25)***	1.23 (0.39)**	0.38 (0.23)	0.91 (0.58)
0–15 Minutes X 2004	1.25 (0.30)***	1.97 (0.56)***	0.61 (0.26)*	1.51 (0.71)*
0–15 Minutes X 2005	1.54 (0.37)***	2.71 (0.74)***	0.85 (0.31)**	2.17 (0.85)*
0–15 Minutes X 2006	1.93 (0.43)***	3.60 (0.94)***	1.17 (0.36)**	3.09 (1.01)**
0–15 Minutes X 2007	2.34 (0.50)***	4.41 (1.02)***	1.51 (0.39)***	3.93 (1.14)***
0–15 Minutes X 2008	2.78 (0.57)***	4.60 (1.09)***	1.82 (0.44)***	4.05 (1.10)***
0–15 Minutes X 2009	3.30 (0.65)***	5.20 (1.25)***	2.31 (0.50)***	4.77 (1.18)***
0–15 Minutes X 2010	3.72 (0.70)***	6.15 (1.43)***	2.76 (0.52)***	5.86 (1.36)***
0–15 Minutes X 2011	4.21 (0.79)***	7.14 (1.68)***	3.38 (0.60)***	7.43 (1.66)***
0–15 Minutes X 2012	4.71 (0.88)***	7.84 (1.79)***	3.80 (0.66)***	8.29 (1.79)***
0–15 Minutes X 2013	5.22 (0.96)***	8.43 (1.97)***	4.23 (0.72)***	8.95 (1.91)***
0–15 Minutes X 2014	5.70 (1.05)***	9.57 (2.18)***	4.59 (0.78)***	10.20 (2.13)***
0–15 Minutes X 2015	5.80 (1.10)***	10.34 (2.39)***	4.68 (0.81)***	11.06 (2.33)***
0–15 Minutes X 2016	5.79 (1.15)***	10.50 (2.60)***	4.55 (0.83)***	11.09 (2.43)***
Weights	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num. obs.	20853	20853	20853	20853
Num. groups: bfs19	993	993	993	993
Num. groups: year	21	21	21	21

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

## A2.2 By Origin

### A2.2.1 All Regions

**Table A12:** Effects on Immigrant Workers by Origin. Outcome: Immigrant Workers (Split by Origin) Relative to 1998 Swiss Population. Sample: Border Region, Travel Minutes  $\leq 30$ , 1996–2016. Weights are based on the population size of each municipality.

	Germany		France		Italy		Austria	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
0–15 Minutes X Transition	0.21*** (0.05)	0.18 (0.21)	0.35*** (0.10)	0.58*** (0.15)	0.11 (0.09)	0.12 (0.16)	−0.02 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.02)
0–15 Minutes X Free	1.20*** (0.20)	0.67 (1.05)	1.04*** (0.31)	3.45* (1.39)	1.67*** (0.45)	1.78* (0.80)	0.01 (0.03)	−0.00 (0.07)
Weights	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num. obs.	18867	18867	18867	18867	18867	18867	18867	18867
Num. groups: bfs19	993	993	993	993	993	993	993	993
Num. groups: year	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19

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

**Table A13:** Effects on Immigrant Workers by Origin. Outcome: Immigrant Workers (Split by Origin) Relative to Current Swiss Population. Sample: Border Region, Travel Minutes  $\leq 30$ , 1996–2016. Weights are based on the population size of each municipality.

	Germany		France		Italy		Austria	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
0–15 Minutes X Transition	0.19*** (0.05)	0.26 (0.28)	0.28** (0.09)	0.55*** (0.14)	−0.08 (0.10)	−0.04 (0.14)	−0.02 (0.02)	−0.01 (0.02)
0–15 Minutes X Free	1.17*** (0.20)	1.11 (1.19)	0.78** (0.25)	2.95* (1.21)	1.12*** (0.31)	1.46* (0.59)	0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.07)
Weights	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num. obs.	18867	18867	18867	18867	18867	18867	18867	18867
Num. groups: bfs19	993	993	993	993	993	993	993	993
Num. groups: year	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19

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

## A2.2.2 German-Language Region

**Table A14:** Effects on Immigrant Workers by Origin. Outcome: Immigrant Workers (Split by Origin) Relative to 1998 Swiss Population. Sample: German-Speaking Municipalities, Border Region, Travel Minutes  $\leq 30$ , 1996–2016. Weights are based on the population size of each municipality.

	All origins		Germany		France		Italy		Austria	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
0–15 Minutes X Transition	–0.08 (0.22)	–0.09 (0.34)	0.34*** (0.08)	0.42 (0.23)	0.08* (0.04)	0.19* (0.08)	0.07 (0.06)	0.16 (0.17)	–0.02 (0.03)	–0.01 (0.03)
0–15 Minutes X Free	1.07 (0.55)	1.25 (1.11)	2.33*** (0.29)	2.25* (1.05)	0.08 (0.06)	0.11 (0.18)	–0.12 (0.15)	0.17 (0.33)	0.04 (0.05)	0.05 (0.09)
Weights	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num. obs.	11802	11802	10678	10678	10678	10678	10678	10678	10678	10678
Num. groups: bfs19	562	562	562	562	562	562	562	562	562	562
Num. groups: year	21	21	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19

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

**Table A15:** Effects on Immigrant Workers by Origin. Outcome: Immigrant Workers (Split by Origin) Relative to Current Swiss Population. Sample: German-Speaking Municipalities, Border Region, Travel Minutes  $\leq 30$ , 1996–2016. Weights are based on the population size of each municipality.

	All origins		Germany		France		Italy		Austria	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
0–15 Minutes X Transition	–0.10 (0.24)	0.71 (0.74)	0.30*** (0.08)	0.60 (0.34)	0.06 (0.04)	0.35 (0.19)	0.07 (0.06)	0.26* (0.13)	–0.02 (0.03)	–0.00 (0.03)
0–15 Minutes X Free	1.45** (0.55)	4.65* (2.31)	2.31*** (0.29)	3.01* (1.34)	0.04 (0.06)	0.44 (0.39)	–0.11 (0.18)	0.51 (0.28)	0.05 (0.05)	0.11 (0.09)
Weights	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num. obs.	11802	11802	10678	10678	10678	10678	10678	10678	10678	10678
Num. groups: bfs19	562	562	562	562	562	562	562	562	562	562
Num. groups: year	21	21	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19

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

### A2.2.3 French-Language Region

**Table A16:** Effects on Immigrant Workers by Origin. Outcome: Immigrant Workers (Split by Origin) Relative to 1998 Swiss Population. Sample: French-Speaking Municipalities, Border Region, Travel Minutes  $\leq 30$ , 1996–2016. Weights are based on the population size of each municipality.

	All origins		Germany		France		Italy		Austria	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
0–15 Minutes X Transition	1.42*** (0.39)	1.65** (0.60)	0.12** (0.04)	0.12** (0.04)	0.99*** (0.27)	1.26*** (0.30)	−0.06 (0.08)	−0.22 (0.17)	−0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
0–15 Minutes X Free	4.84*** (1.33)	11.06*** (2.28)	0.24** (0.09)	0.36** (0.13)	3.27*** (0.77)	8.71*** (1.71)	0.18 (0.16)	0.11 (0.37)	−0.01 (0.03)	0.03* (0.01)
Weights	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num. obs.	7077	7077	6403	6403	6403	6403	6403	6403	6403	6403
Num. groups: bfs19	337	337	337	337	337	337	337	337	337	337
Num. groups: year	21	21	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19

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

**Table A17:** Effects on Immigrant Workers by Origin. Outcome: Immigrant Workers (Split by Origin) Relative to Current Swiss Population. Sample: French-Speaking Municipalities, Border Region, Travel Minutes  $\leq 30$ , 1996–2016. Weights are based on the population size of each municipality.

	All origins		Germany		France		Italy		Austria	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
0–15 Minutes X Transition	0.77* (0.34)	0.22 (0.67)	0.09** (0.03)	0.08* (0.04)	0.80** (0.24)	0.88** (0.28)	−0.07 (0.08)	−0.38* (0.16)	−0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
0–15 Minutes X Free	2.70** (0.93)	6.82*** (2.04)	0.16* (0.07)	0.26 (0.14)	2.51*** (0.63)	6.87*** (1.65)	0.18 (0.16)	−0.05 (0.39)	−0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.01)
Weights	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num. obs.	7077	7077	6403	6403	6403	6403	6403	6403	6403	6403
Num. groups: bfs19	337	337	337	337	337	337	337	337	337	337
Num. groups: year	21	21	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19

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



## A2.2.4 Italian- and Romansh-Language Region

**Table A18:** Effects on Immigrant Workers by Origin. Outcome: Immigrant Workers (Split by Origin) Relative to 1998 Swiss Population. Sample: Italian-Speaking Municipalities, Border Region, Travel Minutes  $\leq 30$ , 1996–2016. Weights are based on the population size of each municipality.

	All origins		Germany		France		Italy		Austria	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
0–15 Minutes X Transition	1.27 (0.99)	1.03 (0.86)	0.19 (0.11)	0.07 (0.06)	0.03 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.54 (0.88)	0.86 (0.79)	−0.04 (0.05)	−0.01 (0.02)
0–15 Minutes X Free	10.63* (4.23)	13.38*** (3.07)	−0.10 (0.19)	0.24* (0.10)	−0.00 (0.06)	0.14* (0.06)	9.26* (3.76)	12.11*** (2.71)	−0.01 (0.09)	−0.01 (0.03)
Weights	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num. obs.	1974	1974	1786	1786	1786	1786	1786	1786	1786	1786
Num. groups: bfs19	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94
Num. groups: year	21	21	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19

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

**Table A19:** Effects on Immigrant Workers by Origin. Outcome: Immigrant Workers (Split by Origin) Relative to Current Swiss Population. Sample: Italian-Speaking Municipalities, Border Region, Travel Minutes  $\leq 30$ , 1996–2016. Weights are based on the population size of each municipality.

	All origins		Germany		France		Italy		Austria	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
0–15 Minutes X Transition	0.42 (1.01)	−0.05 (0.94)	0.22* (0.11)	0.04 (0.06)	0.03 (0.03)	−0.00 (0.02)	−0.34 (0.89)	−0.07 (0.81)	−0.04 (0.06)	−0.01 (0.02)
0–15 Minutes X Free	8.41** (2.73)	11.84*** (2.51)	−0.11 (0.20)	0.15 (0.09)	−0.02 (0.05)	0.11* (0.05)	6.95** (2.49)	10.21*** (2.26)	−0.01 (0.08)	−0.02 (0.03)
Weights	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num. obs.	1974	1974	1786	1786	1786	1786	1786	1786	1786	1786
Num. groups: bfs19	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94
Num. groups: year	21	21	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19

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

## A2.2.5 Immigration by Resident Immigrants and Cross-Border Workers

**Table A20:** Effects on Immigration by Resident Immigrants and Cross-Border Workers (CBWs). Outcome: Resident Immigrants (Models 1, 2, 5, 6) or CBWs (Models 3, 4, 7, 8) Relative to 1998 Swiss (Models 1–4) or Current Swiss (Models 5–8) Population. Sample: Border Region, Travel Minutes  $\leq 30$ , 1991–2018 (Resident Immigrants) or 1996–2016 (CBWs). Weights are based on the population size of each municipality.

	Cross-Border Workers				Resident Immigrants			
	Resident	Resident	CBWs	CBWs	Resident	Resident	CBWs	CBWs
0–15 Minutes X Transition	0.51*** (0.13)	1.06*** (0.17)	0.33** (0.12)	1.04*** (0.26)	–0.00 (0.19)	–0.79** (0.27)	–0.34 (0.21)	–1.21* (0.60)
0–15 Minutes X Free	3.38*** (0.56)	6.87*** (1.18)	2.61*** (0.41)	6.24*** (1.12)	0.27 (0.47)	–0.91 (0.77)	–0.06 (0.39)	–0.32 (1.05)
Weights	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num. obs.	20853	20853	20853	20853	27804	27804	27804	27804
Num. groups: bfs19	993	993	993	993	993	993	993	993
Num. groups: year	21	21	21	21	28	28	28	28

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

## A3 Regression Tables for Voting

### A3.1 Difference-in-Differences and Event Study

**Table A21:** Baseline Political Effects on Support for Anti-Immigrant Parties in Federal Parliamentary Elections. Outcome: Percentage Support for Anti-Immigrant Parties. Sample: Border Region, 1991–2019 Elections. Weights are based on the population size of each municipality.

	Percent Support for Anti-Immigrant Parties					
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
0–15 Minutes X Transition	–0.15 (0.52)	2.46 (1.31)	0.87 (0.57)	1.34 (1.07)	0.21 (0.54)	0.64 (1.01)
0–15 Minutes X Free	2.18*** (0.61)	6.06** (2.05)	2.83*** (0.74)	3.61** (1.22)	1.41* (0.70)	2.61* (1.20)
Weights	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Control Group	15–30 Min	15–30 Min	30–45 Min	30–45 Min	30–60 Min	30–60 Min
Num. obs.	7944	7944	6704	6704	7544	7544
Num. groups: bfs19	993	993	838	838	943	943
Num. groups: year	8	8	8	8	8	8

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

**Table A22:** Event Study of Political Effects on Support for Anti-Immigrant Parties in Federal Parliamentary Elections. Outcome: Support for Anti-Immigrant Parties in Federal Parliamentary Elections. Sample: Border Region, 1987–2019. The baseline year is 1999. In models that include population weights, the 1991 weights are used for 1987.

	Percent Support for Anti-Immigrant Parties					
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
0–15 Minutes X 1987	−0.59 (0.68)	0.69 (1.46)	−1.21 (0.80)	0.03 (1.72)	−1.06 (0.73)	0.74 (1.66)
0–15 Minutes X 1991	0.85 (0.57)	−0.40 (0.97)	1.07 (0.64)	0.64 (1.15)	1.96*** (0.59)	1.62 (1.13)
0–15 Minutes X 1995	0.01 (0.41)	−1.55* (0.71)	−1.79*** (0.43)	−1.39* (0.60)	−0.99* (0.42)	−0.67 (0.58)
0–15 Minutes X 2003	0.14 (0.50)	1.80 (1.19)	0.63 (0.49)	1.08 (1.11)	0.54 (0.46)	0.94 (1.04)
0–15 Minutes X 2007	1.84** (0.67)	3.94* (1.55)	1.88** (0.70)	2.60* (1.27)	1.42* (0.63)	2.37 (1.22)
0–15 Minutes X 2011	3.05*** (0.68)	5.96** (2.00)	4.27*** (0.76)	4.53** (1.69)	3.52*** (0.70)	4.22** (1.62)
0–15 Minutes X 2015	2.98*** (0.67)	6.34** (2.22)	2.81*** (0.76)	3.99** (1.44)	2.02** (0.71)	3.54* (1.41)
0–15 Minutes X 2019	2.01** (0.62)	5.28* (2.21)	1.41 (0.75)	2.33 (1.33)	−0.03 (0.70)	1.60 (1.32)
Weights	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Control Group	15–30 Min	15–30 Min	30–45 Min	30–45 Min	30–60 Min	30–60 Min
Num. obs.	8937	8937	7542	7542	8487	8487
Num. groups: bfs19	993	993	838	838	943	943
Num. groups: year	9	9	9	9	9	9

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

## A4 Regression Table for Traffic

**Table A23:** Effects on Traffic. Outcome: Traffic per Operative Hour. Sample: Border Region, Travel Minutes  $\leq 30$ , 1997–2015. Baseline Year: 1999. Note: All regressions include year and traffic-station fixed effects.

	Traffic per Operative Hour							
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
0–15 Minutes X Transition			–8.34 (13.55)	–27.22 (10.78)*			–9.35 (8.85)	–11.67 (6.75)
0–15 Minutes X Free			–23.24 (23.27)	–81.87 (30.25)**			–7.86 (17.56)	–14.78 (15.38)
0–15 Minutes X 1997	1.05 (9.92)	13.92 (9.60)			12.08 (8.33)	14.62 (7.49)		
0–15 Minutes X 1998	4.40 (7.38)	10.84 (7.24)			7.74 (6.71)	9.01 (6.42)		
0–15 Minutes X 2000	–7.36 (6.09)	–13.79 (6.37)*			–3.27 (5.25)	–4.54 (5.46)		
0–15 Minutes X 2001	1.64 (8.82)	–11.24 (10.19)			1.82 (7.20)	–0.72 (7.31)		
0–15 Minutes X 2002	–5.66 (10.57)	–24.97 (12.11)*			–0.45 (9.44)	–4.26 (10.20)		
0–15 Minutes X 2003	0.55 (11.48)	–25.20 (13.27)			–0.50 (10.25)	–5.58 (10.85)		
0–15 Minutes X 2004	–7.83 (13.35)	–40.01 (16.50)*			–0.36 (11.50)	–6.71 (12.40)		
0–15 Minutes X 2005	–2.72 (14.34)	–41.34 (18.58)*			3.83 (11.90)	–3.79 (12.27)		
0–15 Minutes X 2006	–14.13 (16.01)	–59.19 (18.88)**			5.06 (12.03)	–3.83 (12.59)		
0–15 Minutes X 2007	–26.46 (13.43)*	–77.96 (23.61)**			0.88 (13.08)	–9.28 (13.87)		
0–15 Minutes X 2008	–13.18 (12.56)	–71.11 (25.46)**			5.80 (14.39)	–5.63 (15.76)		
0–15 Minutes X 2009	–6.10 (10.91)	–70.47 (31.43)*			–0.24 (14.40)	–12.94 (18.98)		
0–15 Minutes X 2010	–12.65 (11.46)	–83.46 (37.96)*			0.46 (16.93)	–13.51 (22.09)		
0–15 Minutes X 2011	–18.05 (11.45)	–95.30 (41.29)*			12.44 (12.73)	–2.80 (20.00)		
0–15 Minutes X 2012	–7.47 (9.76)	–91.15 (42.08)*			16.27 (13.57)	–0.24 (21.73)		
0–15 Minutes X 2013	7.31 (9.08)	–82.81 (43.77)			15.53 (11.11)	–2.25 (20.39)		
0–15 Minutes X 2014	–3.94 (8.74)	–100.50 (43.22)*			15.40 (13.08)	–3.65 (21.31)		
0–15 Minutes X 2015		–103.00 (45.50)*				–20.32 (27.53)		
0–15 Minutes X (year-1997)	–6.44 (2.84)*		–5.35 (3.69)		–1.27 (1.72)		–0.66 (1.95)	
Linear Trend	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Highways Included	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
Num. obs.	5406	5406	5406	5406	2348	2348	2348	2348
Num.groups: year	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
Num.groups: traffic station	243	243	243	243	102	102	102	102

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

## A5 Regression Table for Ticino Parliamentary Data

**Table A24:** Effects on Immigrant-Related Parliamentary Bills in Ticino. Outcome: Immigration-Related Bills per Region Relative to All Bills in Municipalities Within 0–30 Minutes from Border Crossings in Ticino (Models 1 and 2) and Immigration-Related Bills per Region Relative to All Bills in That Specific Region Only (0–15 Minutes from Border Crossings as One Region and 15–30 Minutes as Another Region) (Models 3 and 4).  
Sample: Border Region, Travel Minutes  $\leq 30$ , 1992–2021 in Ticino. Baseline Year: 1999.

	Relative to All bills		Relative to Bills in Region	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
0–15 Minutes X Transition	–0.00 (0.00)		0.00 (0.01)	
0–15 Minutes X Free	0.01 (0.00)**		0.01 (0.01)*	
0–15 Minutes X 1996		–0.00 (0.01)		0.00 (0.03)
0–15 Minutes X 1997		0.01 (0.01)		0.02 (0.03)
0–15 Minutes X 1998		0.01 (0.01)		0.02 (0.02)
0–15 Minutes X 2000		–0.00 (0.01)		0.01 (0.02)
0–15 Minutes X 2001		0.01 (0.01)		0.02 (0.02)
0–15 Minutes X 2002		0.01 (0.01)		0.03 (0.02)
0–15 Minutes X 2003		0.00 (0.01)		0.02 (0.02)
0–15 Minutes X 2004		0.01 (0.01)		0.02 (0.02)
0–15 Minutes X 2005		0.01 (0.01)		0.02 (0.02)
0–15 Minutes X 2006		0.02 (0.01)		0.03 (0.02)
0–15 Minutes X 2007		0.04 (0.01)**		0.06 (0.02)*
0–15 Minutes X 2008		0.03 (0.01)*		0.04 (0.02)
0–15 Minutes X 2009		0.03 (0.01)**		0.05 (0.02)*
0–15 Minutes X 2010		0.04 (0.01)**		0.06 (0.02)*
0–15 Minutes X 2011		0.04 (0.01)**		0.04 (0.03)
0–15 Minutes X 2012		0.03 (0.01)*		0.05 (0.02)*
0–15 Minutes X 2013		0.03 (0.01)*		0.05 (0.03)*
0–15 Minutes X 2014		0.01 (0.01)		0.03 (0.03)
0–15 Minutes X 2015		0.01 (0.01)		0.02 (0.02)
0–15 Minutes X 2016		0.02 (0.01)		0.04 (0.02)
Num. obs.	19182	19182	12293	12293
Num.groups: year	30	30	30	30
Num.groups: border	2	2	2	2

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

## A6 Economic Outcomes

**Table A25:** Effects on Economic Outcomes. Outcomes: Number of Workers (Logged) and Real Hourly Wages (Logged). Sample: Border Region, Travel Minutes  $\leq 30$ .  
Baseline Year: 1998. Weights Represent the Number of Workers.

	No. of workers (log)				Mean log hourly wage			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
0–15 Minutes X Transition	0.06 (0.07)	–0.03 (0.05)			0.02 (0.01)	–0.01 (0.01)		
0–15 Minutes X Free	–0.00 (0.07)	–0.02 (0.05)			0.03 (0.01)*	–0.02 (0.03)		
0–15 Minutes X 1994			–0.07 (0.13)	0.05 (0.07)			0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)
0–15 Minutes X 1996			–0.13 (0.12)	0.03 (0.08)			0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.01)*
0–15 Minutes X 2000			0.06 (0.12)	0.03 (0.08)			0.04 (0.02)*	0.00 (0.01)
0–15 Minutes X 2002			–0.06 (0.10)	–0.03 (0.05)			0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)
0–15 Minutes X 2004			–0.12 (0.11)	0.03 (0.08)			0.04 (0.02)*	–0.01 (0.03)
0–15 Minutes X 2006			–0.09 (0.10)	0.00 (0.10)			0.04 (0.02)*	–0.00 (0.03)
0–15 Minutes X 2008			–0.00 (0.10)	0.06 (0.10)			0.05 (0.02)**	0.00 (0.04)
0–15 Minutes X 2010			–0.05 (0.10)	–0.06 (0.10)			0.03 (0.02)	–0.00 (0.03)
Weights	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num. obs.	8258	8258	8258	8258	8252	8252	8252	8252
Num. groups: bfsnr	1089	1089	1089	1089	1089	1089	1089	1089
Num. groups: year	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9

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

## A7 Results from the SHP and VOX Surveys

**Table A26:** Effects on Perceived Economic Outcomes. Sample: Border Region, Travel Minutes  $\leq 30$ . Data: The Swiss Household Panel Survey. Regressions Include Individual (Household), Municipality, and Year Fixed Effects.

	Financial Satisfaction	Unemployment Risk	Accommodation Expenses	Favor Tax Reduction
0–15 Minutes X Transition	0.14*** (0.03)	–0.00 (0.05)	–0.02 (0.04)	–0.03 (0.04)
0–15 Minutes X Free	0.11** (0.04)	–0.04 (0.06)	0.03 (0.04)	–0.00 (0.04)
Weights	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Num. obs.	72934	48661	49900	47738
Num. groups: bfs19	813	786	825	787
Num. groups: year	19	19	19	14
Num. groups: idpers	11804	9249		10193
Num. groups: idhouse			7435	

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



**Table A27:** Effects on Favoring Better Opportunities for Swiss Citizens by Political Awareness Groups in Ticino. Political awareness groups use measures that vary by survey wave (changing) or are determined by the average across all available survey waves (constant). Sample: Border region in Ticino, Travel Minutes  $\leq 30$ . Data: The Swiss Household Panel Survey. Regressions include individual, municipality, and year fixed effects.

	Low awareness		Intermediate awareness		High awareness	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
0–15 Minutes X Transition	0.39 (0.32)	0.61* (0.30)	0.59** (0.19)	0.51** (0.15)	–0.02 (0.19)	–0.20 (0.12)
0–15 Minutes X Free	0.01 (0.35)	0.20 (0.34)	0.58** (0.18)	0.44* (0.21)	–0.01 (0.32)	–0.09 (0.22)
Political awareness groups	Changing	Constant	Changing	Constant	Changing	Constant
Weights	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Num. obs.	890	749	881	934	1143	1234
Num. groups: bfs19	57	51	62	56	61	58
Num. groups: year	14	14	14	14	14	14
Num. groups: idpers	313	208	325	202	304	231

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

**Table A28:** Effects on Outcomes from VOX. Model 1: Effects on Protecting Traditions. Model 2: Effects on Emphasizing Law and Order. Model 3: Effects on Favoring Economic Prosperity Over Protecting the Environment. Sample: Border Region, Travel Minutes  $\leq 30$ . Data: The Post-Popular Vote Survey (VOX). Regressions include municipality and survey wave fixed effects. Controls include income, gender, age, education level, employment status, and marital status.

	Protect Traditions	Law & Order	Prosperity over Environment
0–15 Minutes X Transition	0.02 (0.06)	0.07 (0.05)	0.02 (0.04)
0–15 Minutes X Free	0.01 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)
Weights	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Num. obs.	31251	31350	31029
Num. groups: bfs19	915	915	914
Num. groups: voxnr	62	62	62

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