EXPLAINING THE IMMIGRATION POLICY MIX: COUNTRIES' RELATIVE OPENNESS TO ASYLUM AND LABOUR MIGRATION

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APPENDIX

TABLE A1 Data and operationalisation

Variable	**Operationalisation**	**Data source**	**Country coverage**
Immigration policy mix	Relative openness of immigration regulations calculated as asylum restrictiveness minus labour restrictiveness. Asylum: Aggregated index of regulations on asylum and refugees in terms of their restrictiveness from 0 to 1. Labour: Aggregated index of regulations on labour migration in terms of their restrictiveness from 0 to 1.	IMPIC dataset, Helbling et al. 2017 [AvgS_Reg_B, AvgS_Reg_C]	IMPIC dataset: all 33 OECD countries DEMIG government extension: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Finland, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Italy, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Ireland, United Kingdom, Iceland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, German (18 West European countries)
EU-membership	Dummy variable on membership in the European Union (0=non-member, 1=member).	CPDS, Armingeon et al. 2018 [eu]	Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg,

			Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States
Radical-right strength	Cumulative vote share of parties that belong to the party family of radical-right populist parties at the last election in percentages. Cumulative seat share of parties that belong to the party family of radical-right populist parties from the last election in percentages.	CPDS, Armingeon et al. 2018 [right1, right2, right3, right4, right5] [sright1, sright2, sright3, sright4, sright5]	Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States
Left-wing government	Relative power position of social democratic and other left parties in government based on their seat share in parliament, measured in percentage of the total parliamentary seat share of all governing parties. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.	CPDS, Armingeon et al. 2018, 2017 [gov_left2]	Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States

Right-wing government	Relative power position of right-wing parties in government based on their seat share in parliament, measured in percentage of the total parliamentary seat share of all governing parties. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.	CPDS, Armingeon et al. 2018, 2017 [gov_right2]	Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States
Welfare state generosity	Aggregated index of welfare generosity based on generosity related to unemployment insurance, sick pay insurance and public pensions.	Scruggs et al. 2014, Comparative Welfare Entitlements Dataset [TOTGEN]	Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Korea, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States
Unemployment	Unemployment rate, as a percentage of the civilian labour force.	CPDS, Armingeon et al. 2018	Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway,

			Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States
Net migration	Immigration minus emigration per 1000 residents.	Quality of Government Dataset (QoG)	Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom

Manifesto data on the policy preferences of political parties (Dancygier & Margalit 2019)

Asylum migration [asylum/refugees]:

'for example, statements about the inflow of refugees; conditions and regulations of the asylum process'.

Labour migration [jobs]:

'Labor market: impact on job availability of natives; facilitating the recruitment of high-skill or low-skill labor; references to labor shortages in certain sectors. For example, statements referring to immigration filling labor shortages should be coded here'.

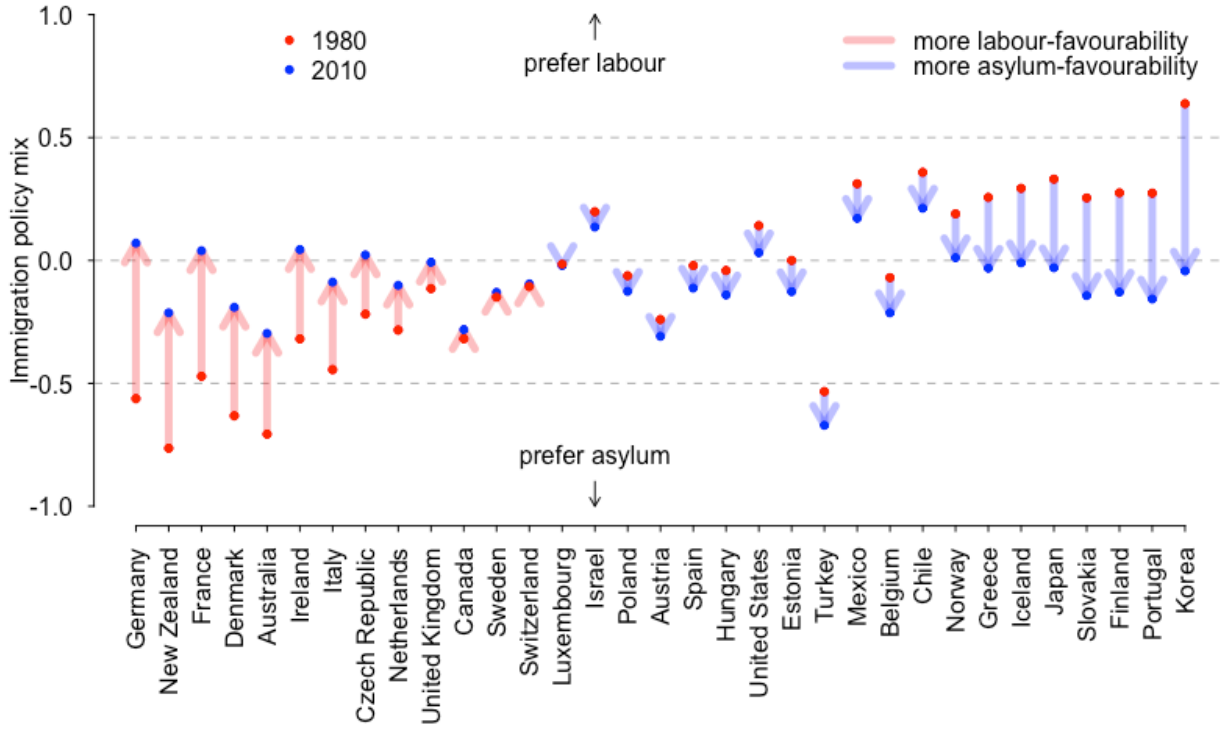


FIGURE A1 Change in the immigration policy mix (1980-2010)

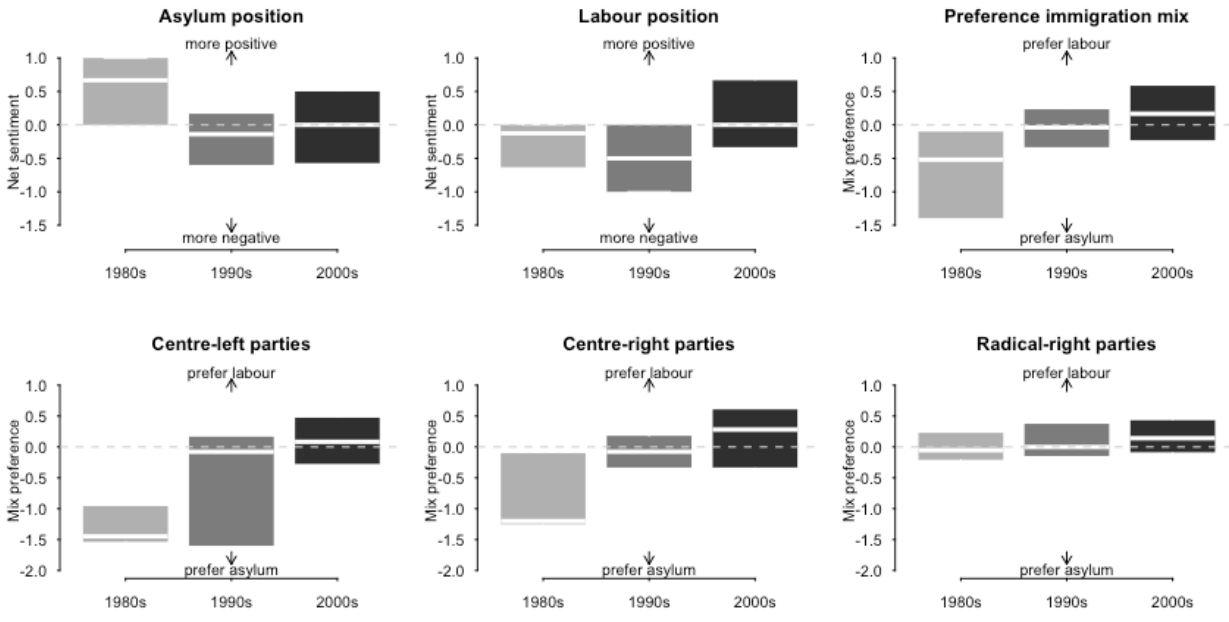


FIGURE A2 Party sentiments on asylum and labour migration over time

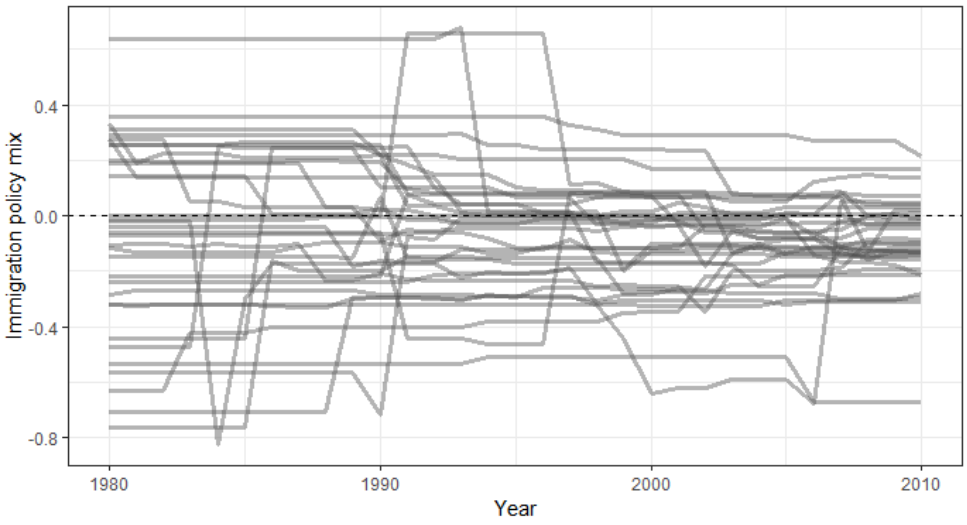


FIGURE A3 Line plot of the immigration policy mix by country over time

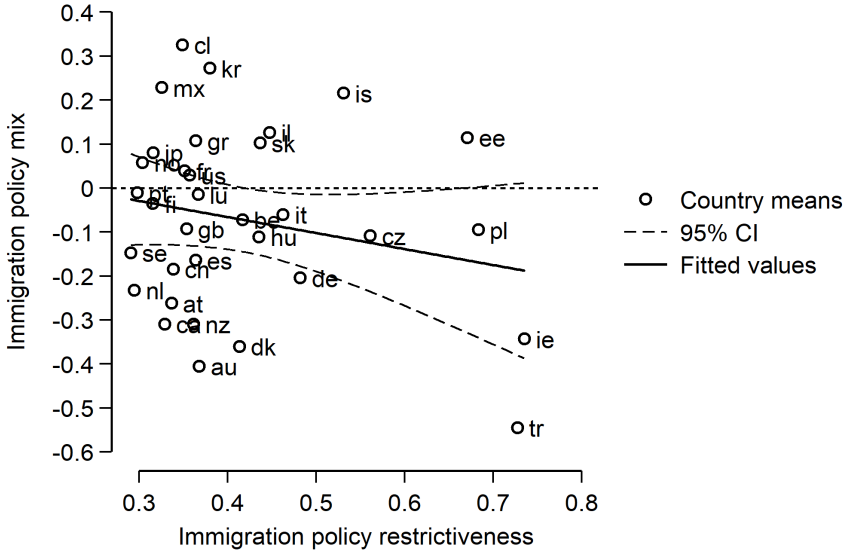


FIGURE A4 Scatterplot showing the relative and absolute immigration policy openness

Note: The y-axis shows the immigration policy mix and the x-axis shows immigration policy restrictiveness (as a composite index of asylum and labour migration policy restrictiveness). Values are averaged over the years 1980 to 2010. Pearson's r is -0.22. The results do not imply that there is a substantive or statistically significant association between the immigration policy mix and immigration policy restrictiveness (p=0.21).

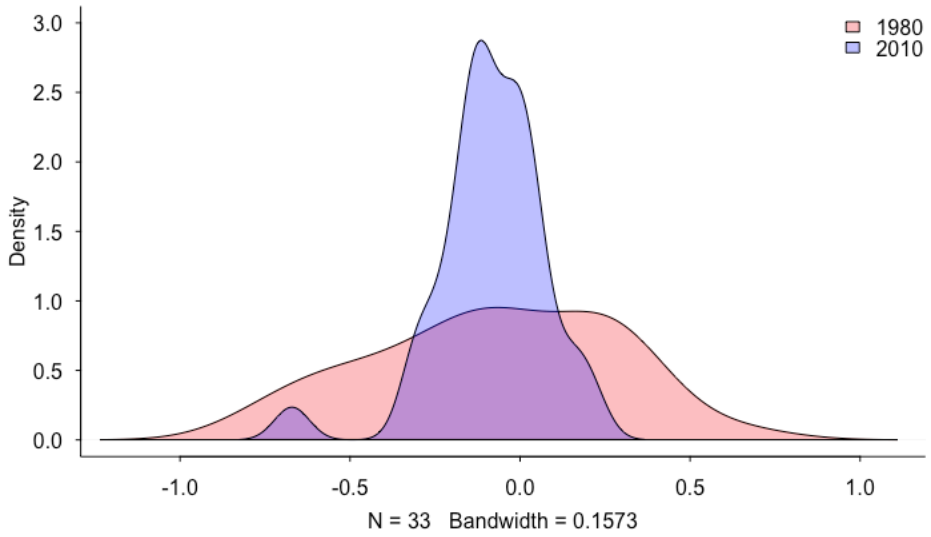


FIGURE A5 Density plot of the immigration policy mix

TABLE A2 Alternative model specifications (within models)

	DV: Policy Mix				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Standard	Time-trend	Welfare	Migration	Seat share
EU-membership	−0.087*	−0.098*	−0.079	−0.071*	−0.088*
	(0.037)	(0.043)	(0.055)	(0.036)	(0.037)
Radical-right vote share	0.005†	0.005	0.006*	0.004	
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	
Radical-right seat share					0.004†
					(0.002)
Left government	0.0002	0.0002	0.0004	−0.0001	0.0002
	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)
Right government	0.0003	0.0003	0.0002	0.0001	0.0003
	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0004)	(0.0003)
Unemployment	0.002	0.002	0.003	−0.007	0.003
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.006)
Time trend		0.001			
		(0.002)			
Welfare generosity			−0.007		
			(0.008)		
Net migration				−0.008**	
				(0.003)	
Observations	800	800	628	616	800
Countries	28	28	21	23	28
R^2	0.059	0.061	0.053	0.118	0.048

Note: The table shows the output of linear regressions (within-models) with standard errors clustered by countries. Model (1) displays the main model presented in the article and allows for comparison with alternative model specifications. Country-specific intercepts are not shown.

TABLE A3 Alternative model specifications (between models)

	DV: Policy Mix	
	(1)	(2)
	Regime dummies	All IVs
Social-democratic regime	−0.063	
	(0.083)	
Liberal regime	−0.156	
	(0.090)	
Conservative regime	0.083	
	(0.110)	
Southern regime	0.084	
	(0.107)	
Welfare generosity		0.002
		(0.008)
EU-membership		0.031
		(0.122)
Radical-right strength		−0.005
		(0.009)
Left government		0.0003
		(0.002)
Right government		0.0001
		(0.003)
Unemployment	−0.014	−0.010
	(0.011)	(0.021)
Constant	0.022	−0.162
	(0.088)	(0.423)
Observations	28	21
R^2	0.288	0.047

Note: The table shows the output of linear regressions (between-models) for the time period from 1980 to 2010 (standard errors in parentheses).