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1. Survey design

The Danish case: Mixed signaling by *Socialdemokratiet* and *Venstre*

As described in the main text, in the fall of 2019, the positional signaling of the two traditionally government-bearing, mainstream parties in Denmark—the mainstream-left *Socialdemokratiet* (SD) and the mainstream-right *Venstre* (V)—was ambiguous. This section provides additional insights into the political dynamics and accompanying media reporting characteristic of the time.

While SD had campaigned on a more restrictive platform than previously in an attempt to win back voters lost to the Danish People’s Party (Simonsen 2020), its dependency on support from parties on the left to maintain government power raised questions about the viability and credibility of the newly announced restrictive turn. Not least V promoted the calling-into-question of SD’s policy line (Hjorth and Larsen 2022), which was echoed in leading national media. For instance, the conservative newspaper *Berlingske* listed in an article from September 14, 2019 a number of proposed changes to policy that the newspaper—and the political opposition figures it interviewed—interpreted as relaxations of the restrictive approach of the former liberal-conservative government (Holst and Andersen 2019). The credibility challenge led the newspaper *Kristeligt Dagblad* to pronounce immigration policy to be among the five main challenges for the new SD government looking into the new political season on October 1, 2019¹ (Redder and Mencke 2019). Despite the SD leadership’s insistence on its commitment to a “tight” immigration policy (Rytgaard 2019), newspaper coverage throughout the fall of 2019 continued to revolve around the question of whether SD was committing a “breach of promise” (*løftebrud*) on the immigration pledges the party had given during the election campaign (Skærbæk and Kristiansen 2019). The latest newspaper article to come out with this theme just five days before the launch of the experiment was published by the tabloid newspaper *B.T.* under the simplistic headline “Breach of promise?” on November 25, 2019.

The mixed signaling from V was also an explicit theme of several articles in national newspapers. As mentioned in the main text, tensions around the party’s immigration position loomed large in the aftermath of the showdown that replaced the former party leadership. The new leader, Jakob Ellemann-Jensen, represented a more pro-immigrant standpoint, and the new vice leader, Inger Støjberg, a more restrictive position. On November 15, 2019, the new party leader Jakob Ellemann-Jensen gave a high-profile interview to the liberal-conservative newspaper *Weekendavisen* on “immigration policy as a liberal-conservative challenge.” The interview centered around Ellemann-Jensen’s reflections on the dilemmas of the topic and his own doubts about the right way to go, as well as the internal disagreements in the party and the party leadership (Hardis and Mortensen 2019). Under the headline “Ellemann-Jensen without a project is challenged”, an analysis on November 18, 2019, in the omnibus news outlet *Avisen Danmark* pronounced “immigration policy” as challenge number two for the

¹ Activities in the Danish parliament, *Folketinget*, run from the first Tuesday in October in any given year to mid-June the following year. This means that the new parliament and the new government that had formed after the June 2019-election only really came into action after the summer break.

party (with number one being Ellemann-Jensen's ability to set a direction for the party). In a comment on the party leader's claim that "there is complete clarity about the immigration policy of *Venstre*", the analysis made the ironizing assessment that that claim "is a truth with modifications" (Chaudhury and Meyer 2019). The conservative newspaper, *Berlingske Tidende*, reported on November 17 that "there are still disagreements—particularly over rhetoric—when it comes to immigration policy", according to anonymous sources within the party (Domino, Bloch, and Munksgaard 2019), and on November 26, 2019, *Kristeligt Dagblad* concluded that "there is currently an intense dispute in *Venstre* about the line on immigration policy between a global liberal and a national liberal [conservative] wing" (Nedergaard 2019). That immigration policy was *the* theme of news coverage around the new leadership is telling for the salience of the topic as well as the widespread understanding that V was in an ambivalent or divided position. Note, again, that these articles came out just before the launch of the survey experiment on November 30, 2019.

Salience of immigration

In addition to the ambivalence and ambiguity surrounding both parties concerning the future direction of immigration policy at the time of data collection, it is relevant to reflect more broadly on the Danish case. In Denmark, immigration and immigrant integration issues have been central to political debate for more than two decades, and anti-immigrant political rhetoric in particular has been extremely salient compared to other Western-European countries (Simonsen 2021; Lehmann and Zobel 2018). While the topic may have dominated Danish politics for a longer period, however, it is prominent in many Western-European countries today, and the strategic dilemma facing the mainstream in light of anti-immigrant challenger parties' success is pertinent to contemporary German, Swedish, and French politics, just to mention a few cases. In addition, international survey data show that Danish public opinion on immigration falls in a middle field compared to populations in other Western democracies (Simonsen 2020).

The fact that Danish citizens rated immigration to be the third most important topic facing the country (after "energy and environment" and "the welfare state") at the June 2019 election (Stubager, Hansen, and Jensen 2020), along with the observation that both party leaders devoted substantive attention to the topic of immigration in their party congress speeches in the fall of 2019 (as well as in SD prime minister Mette Frederiksen's speech at the opening of parliament on October 1, 2019) testifies to the continued salience of the topic at the time of study (see below for further insights into these speeches).

It is possible that the prolonged salience of anti-immigrant rhetoric makes Denmark a hard case for testing effects of political rhetoric on immigration opinions in general and for political rhetoric to drive public opinion and policy support in a more pro-immigrant direction in particular. If the survey experiment provides support for the argument that moralization can be a viable strategy for pro-immigrant politicians in Denmark, then, there is reason to believe that similar effects can be found in other contemporary, multi-party, European cases.

Survey experiment

The survey experiment is preregistered (<https://osf.io/f254r>). Given the short format, this article zooms in on the core of the study and does not investigate the entire set of proposed relationships. Specifically, the article focuses on the question “Are pro-immigration (inclusive) and anti-immigration (exclusive) moral messages equally effective in shaping public opinion on immigration?” and “Do the effects of political messages on immigration attitudes depend on identification with the party sponsor?” (sub-question a). For the latter question, I have simplified the hypotheses, as expressed in H2 in the article. Not included in this article is the proposed analysis of whether message exposure affects respondents’ moral conviction and attitude extremity (p. 2 in the pre-registration), as well as the question of whether message exposure effects are moderated by respondents’ ideology. Finally, I refrain from exploratorily examining heterogeneous treatment effects across various subgroups defined by education, occupation, etc. (sub-question b). These additional tests are not included due to the already complex relationships reported on the core focus of the study.

Materials inspiring the formulation of treatment vignettes

To enhance the ecological validity of the content of the political messages and language used in the treatment vignettes, I read through central political documents produced by SD and V around the 2019 election and during the fall of 2019. These documents include:

- White papers, programmatic proposals, party webpage communication, and party manifesto segments on immigration policy
- Speeches from the party leadership given at each party’s annual national congress (held on September 14, 2019 for SD, and on November 19, 2019 for V)
- Prime minister Mette Frederiksen’s speech given at the opening of parliament for the new political season on October 1, 2019

It is relevant to note that both parties held annual national party congresses in the fall of 2019, and that the speeches given by the party leadership at these events contain mixed signaling, underlining that the positional ambivalence had not been resolved months after the election. To the contrary, and as discussed above, the fall of 2019 was characterized by many open questions on the standing of the two parties.

Table A1.1 gives insight into key quotes used as inspiration for designing the vignettes and serves to provide further backing for the argument that both parties sent pro- as well as anti-immigrant signals during this period. Based on my analysis of the type of arguments made in the documents I reviewed, I define pro-immigrant positional signaling as involving statements on Denmark’s ability or responsibility to accept people coming to the country, as well as statements on immigrant’s positive economic and cultural contributions to society. In contrast, anti-immigrant signaling involves statements that refuse to accept more people into Denmark or wishes to reduce the number of people coming to the country, as well as statements that emphasize immigrants’ negative economic or cultural impact on society. These definitions of what pro- and anti-immigration messages entail informed the design of the treatment vignettes (see below).

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Table A1.1 Key quotes from *Socialdemokratiet* and *Venstre* inspiring the formulation of vignettes

	Pro-immigrant/inclusive arguments	Anti-immigrant/exclusive arguments
Def.	<p>Statements on Denmark’s ability/responsibility to accept people coming to the country.</p> <p>Statements on immigrants’ positive cultural and economic contribution to Danish society + calls to respect or acknowledge minorities and remove barriers/extend rights.</p>	<p>Statements refusing to accept more people to the country or wish to reduce number of people coming to country.</p> <p>Statements on immigrants’ negative cultural and economic contribution to Danish society + claims to refuse immigrant minorities’ access to rights/benefits or acknowledgement.</p>
SD	<p>“...people who are fleeing need our help. We assume our responsibilities in the world. And we are fulfilling our responsibility to Denmark” (Frederiksen 2019b).</p> <p>“Most have come here because of our freedom and democracy. This is only good, and I am very happy to have them as fellow citizens. We need to focus less on keeping foreigners out and more on integrating those who are already here” (Minister for immigration and integration (2019)).</p> <p>“Danish society benefits from the contribution of many of those who have come here over the years. Who have learned Danish, are in work, share our values and who, in short, are Danes” (Socialdemokratiet 2019a).</p> <p>“Thousands of people have come here from other places. They have learned Danish, gone to school, got educated, are in work and share our values. I want to say to all of you: you are part of society. You contribute to the community. And, of course, you can trust that Denmark is your country too” (Frederiksen 2019a).</p>	<p>“This is the flip side of many years of failed immigration policy. Too many people are committing crimes. Of course, we will not accept that. And this government is willing to go to great lengths to fight those who do not wish the community and Denmark well. Denmark's immigration policy must be tough” (Frederiksen 2019b).</p> <p>“Unfortunately, too many people have come to Denmark without becoming part of Danish society. If it is to be reversed, then we must only take in as many as we are able to help in this country” (Socialdemokratiet 2019b).</p> <p>“When you come to Denmark. Get the chance to live in a country with free access to education. Free medical care. The opportunity to work. And live in peace. Then you have an obligation to use those opportunities. If you don't, it's a breach of trust. The government is willing to go to great lengths to address those who do not want the community and Denmark well” (Frederiksen 2019a).</p>
V	<p>“We owe it to the people who come to Denmark to get to know us and our great country (...) When you come to Denmark and want to be part of the community here, you should also be given the opportunity to do so” (Ellemann-Jensen 2019).</p> <p>“<i>Venstre</i> will always stand on an unshakeable foundation of religious freedom. Therefore, I would also like to say this very clearly to all religious minorities: it is not you that are unwelcome in Denmark. It is those who harass and persecute religious minorities who have no place in Denmark (...) It is a fundamental principle that we do not judge people on their beliefs, but on their deeds” (Ellemann-Jensen 2019).</p>	<p>“We've got the asylum flow under control! (...) With the Social Democrats at the helm, 45 relaxations had been implemented, higher benefits given and too few requirements for refugees and immigrants. We tightened up and have introduced over 100 restrictions since then. It has worked. Since 2015, the number of asylum seekers has dropped significantly, and the number of asylum seekers is currently at lowest level in a decade. That means more money for our common welfare” (Venstre 2019).</p> <p>“There are still far too many people who have come here who have not embraced Denmark. Who make special religious demands, who fill in the bad statistics and, in general, live as if they lived in a completely different part of the world with different values to those that apply here” (Ellemann-Jensen 2019).</p>

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		“The foundation of freedoms laid by generations before us - must not crumble! (...) it is only right and proper that we demand that people adapt to our values, norms, and rules” (Støjberg 2019).
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Two observations from Table A1.1 are relevant to note. First, we see that moral rhetoric (such as in statements about “fulfilling our responsibilities” or claims that “it is only right and proper that we demand that people adapt to our values”), was used to some extent by both parties, implying that this language has ecological validity and would not be experienced by survey participants as alien. Second, as has been the case in many European countries at least since the so-called refugee crisis of 2015/2016, the categories of “refugee” and “immigrant” are often mixed or used interchangeably, or different categories of migrants are discussed together. In fact, “immigrant” or “people coming here” are typically used instead of “refugee” in the documents I reviewed. For this reason, the vignettes (in their pro- as well as anti-immigrant versions) deliberately mix arguments that can be read as concerning people who come to Denmark for humanitarian reasons and work migration.

The central aim in developing the vignettes was to construct messages as closely paired as possible (note the mirror image logic of pro- and anti-immigrant arguments), varying the use of moral rhetoric. Below I provide the full versions of the four messages that respondents could receive (English translations first, and then Danish originals). In the English version, moral words are bolded. In the actual survey, all text was in normal font. Message vignettes are roughly equal in length (number of words in Danish versions: 180–197).

English translations

Below is an extract from [Venstres/Socialdemokratiets] new immigration policy proposal. We will ask you a couple of questions about the text later. Therefore, please take your time to read the extract. Click to continue once you have read about the party’s position.



SOCIALDEMOKRATIET

Condition 1a (pro-immigrant, non-moral)

A better and sounder immigration- and integration policy

[Venstre/Socialdemokratiet] wants a better and sounder immigration- and integration policy. Policy has been tightened enough, and it is time to focus less on numbers and focus more on integration of those who are already here.

First, we will accept the people who flee from other parts of the world. We have the option of helping these people – we can handle that.

Second, it is time to see the contributions immigrants have made to Danish society over the years. The few who have created problems have received too much attention in comparison with the rest. But by far the majority of immigrants are in employment, have learned Danish and follow the Danish way of life. In short: they have integrated themselves. We get something

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out of immigration. Integration is hindered when laws mean that immigrants do not have the same options as others in society. We will remove those kinds of laws.

Denmark profits from immigration. We will make sure that integration works by implementing a better and sounder immigration- and integration policy that strengthens society.

Condition 1b (pro-immigrant, moral)

A fairer and more decent immigration and integration policy

*[Venstre/Socialdemokratiet] wants a **fairer** and more **decent** immigration and integration policy. Policy has been tightened enough, and it is time for less focus on **excluding** our **fellow** citizens and more on **proper** integration of those who already **served** our **community**.*

*First, we have a **duty** to help the people who have had to **abandon** their **homelands** because of **repression** and **war**. We have a humanitarian **duty** toward these people – we cannot **desert** them.*

*Second, it is time to **acknowledge** the **value** that immigrants have contributed to our **nation** over the years. The few who created problems have received **disproportioned** attention at the **detriment** of law-abiding immigrants. That is **unfair** because by far the majority of our new **fellow** citizens are in employment, have learned Danish, and taken our **values** to heart. In short: They have become part of our **community**. We owe them **respect** for their effort. Integration is hindered when immigrants are stripped of **principle rights**. We will remove **discriminating** laws.*

*Denmark is built on **values** such as openness, **tolerance**, and **equal rights**. In **respect** for those **values**, we will pursue a **fair** and **decent** policy. Everything else would be un-Danish.*

Condition 2a (anti-immigrant, non-moral)

A better and sounder immigration and integration policy

[Venstre/Socialdemokratiet] wants a better and sounder immigration- and integration policy. Integration has yet been unsuccessful and it is time to develop a policy that tackles the problems immigration has caused in society. We want to reduce the number and make sure to activate the immigrants who are here.

First, we have let too many people in but we do not have the option to take more now. Our society cannot handle it and therefore we now say stop.

Second, the many immigrants that have arrived to Denmark over the years have had a negative effect on our society. Many of them are not in employment and therefore cost money for the public purse. They have not learnt Danish, and they do not follow the Danish way of life. In short: they have not become integrated. Because of that, they cannot get access to the services and options that our society offers.

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We will make sure that integration works by implementing a better and sounder immigration- and integration policy that reduces the number and tackles the problems.

Condition 2b (anti-immigrant, moral)

A fairer and more responsible foreigner policy

*[Venstre/Socialdemokratiet] wants a **fairer** and more **responsible foreigner** policy. Integration has yet been unsuccessful and it is time to develop a policy that **respects** the Danes and takes **responsibility** in order that our **community** is not **destroyed**. We will **exclude foreigners** who don't want Denmark, and we will make sure that those who are here make themselves **deserving** of becoming part of our **community**.*

*First, in **goodness**, we have allowed way too many people to come to Denmark but we cannot accommodate more. We have a **duty** to **protect** our **nation**.*

*Second, the many **foreigners** that have arrived to Denmark over the years have been a **burden**. Way too many **refuse** to work and constitute an enormous **burden** for our welfare society. They have not taught themselves **proper** Danish, and they do not **respect** Danish norms and **values**. In short: they have **excluded** themselves. Because of that, they do not **deserve** to enjoy our goods and **rights**.*

*Denmark is built on **values** such as sense of **responsibility**, **tolerance**, and **equal rights** – **values** that are **destroyed** when **foreigners** with other norms come here. We will implement a **fairer** and more **responsible foreigner** policy. All else would be un-Danish.*

Original Danish versions

Nedenfor kan du se et uddrag fra [Venstres/Socialdemokratiets] nye indvandringspolitiske udspil. Vi stiller dig nogle spørgsmål om teksten senere. Tag dig derfor god tid om at læse den. Tryk på knappen "Fortsæt" når du er færdig med at læse uddraget.

Condition 1a (pro-immigrant, non-moral)

En bedre og mere fornuftig indvandrings- og integrationspolitik

[Socialdemokratiet/Venstre] vil en bedre og mere fornuftig indvandrings- og integrationspolitik. Der er blevet strammet nok, og det er på tide med mindre fokus på antallet og mere fokus på integration af dem, som allerede er her.

For det første skal vi tage imod de mennesker, som flygter fra andre dele af verden. Vi har mulighed for at hjælpe disse mennesker – det kan vi godt håndtere.

For det andet er det på tide, at vi ser det bidrag, som indvandrere har ydet for det danske samfund gennem årene. De få, der skaber problemer har fået for meget opmærksomhed i forhold til alle andre indvandrere. Men langt de fleste indvandrere er i arbejde, har lært dansk

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og følger dansk levevis. Kort sagt: De har integreret sig. Vi får noget ud af indvandringen. Integrationen hæmmes, når lovgivning betyder, at indvandrere ikke har de samme muligheder som andre i samfundet. Vi vil fjerne den slags lovgivning.

Danmark nyder godt af indvandringen. Vi vil sørge for, at integrationen fungerer ved at føre en bedre og mere fornuftig indvandrings- og integrationspolitik, der styrker samfundet.

Condition 1b (pro-immigrant, moral)

En mere retfærdig og anstændig indvandrings- og integrationspolitik

[Socialdemokratiet/Venstre] vil en mere retfærdig og anstændig indvandrings- og integrationspolitik. Der er blevet strammet nok, og det er på tide med mindre fokus på at ekskludere vores medborgere og mere fokus på reel integration af dem, som allerede tjener vores fællesskab.

For det første har vi pligt til at hjælpe de mennesker, som må forlade deres hjemlande pga. undertrykkelse og krig. Vi har et medmenneskeligt ansvar for disse mennesker – dem kan vi ikke svigte.

For det andet er det på tide, at vi anerkender den værdi, som indvandrere har ydet for vores nation gennem årene. De få, der skaber problemer har fået uforholdsmæssig meget opmærksomhed på bekostning af loydlige indvandrere. Det er urimeligt, for langt de fleste nye medborgere er i arbejde, har lært dansk og har taget vores værdier til sig. Kort sagt: De er blevet en del af vores fællesskab. Vi skylder dem respekt for deres indsats. Integrationen hæmmes, når indvandrere fratages grundlæggende rettigheder. Vi vil fjerne diskriminerende lovgivning.

Danmark bygger på værdier som åbenhed, tolerance, frisind og ligestilling. I respekt for de værdier vil vi føre en retfærdig og anstændig politik. Alt andet ville være udansk.

Condition 2a (anti-immigrant, non-moral)

En bedre og mere fornuftig indvandrings- og integrationspolitik

[Socialdemokratiet/Venstre] vil en bedre og mere fornuftig indvandrings- og integrationspolitik. Integrationen er endnu ikke lykkedes og det er på tide med en politik der tackler de problemer, som indvandring har skabt i samfundet. Vi skal reducere antallet og sørge for at aktivere de indvandrere, der er her.

For det første har vi lukket for mange mennesker ind, men vi har ikke mulighed for at tage flere nu. Det kan vores samfund ikke håndtere og derfor siger vi stop.

For det andet har de mange indvandrere, som gennem årene er kommet til Danmark, haft en negativ påvirkning på vores samfund. Mange af dem er ikke i arbejde og koster dermed statskassen penge. De har ikke lært sig dansk, og de følger ikke dansk levevis. Kort sagt: de er ikke blevet integreret. Så kan man ikke få del i de ydelser og muligheder, som vores samfund tilbyder.

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Vi vil sørge for, at integrationen kommer til at fungere ved at føre en bedre og mere fornuftig indvandrings- og integrationspolitik, der reducerer antallet og tackler problemerne.

Condition 2b (anti-immigrant, moral)

En mere retfærdig og ansvarlig udlændingepolitik

[Socialdemokratiet/Venstre] vil en mere retfærdig og ansvarlig udlændingepolitik. Integrationen er endnu ikke lykkedes og det er på tide med en politik der respekterer danskerne og tager ansvar, så vores fællesskab ikke ødelægges. Vi vil holde udlændinge, som ikke vil Danmark, ude og sørge for, at dem, der er her, gør sig fortjent til at blive en del af fællesskabet.

For det første har vi i godhed tilladt alt for mange at komme til Danmark, men vi kan ikke rumme flere. Vi har pligt til at beskytte vores nation.

For det andet har de mange udlændinge, som gennem årene er kommet til Danmark, været en belastning. Alt for mange nægter at arbejde og udgør en enorm byrde for vores velfærdssamfund. De har ikke lært sig ordentligt dansk, og de respekterer ikke danske normer og værdier. Kort sagt: de har ekskluderet sig selv. Så fortjener man ikke at nyde godt af vores goder og rettigheder.

Danmark bygger på værdier som ansvarsbevidsthed, frisind, og ligestilling – værdier som ødelægges, når udlændinge med andre normer kommer hertil. Vi vil føre en retfærdig og ansvarlig udlændingepolitik. Alt andet ville være udansk.

Attention Checks

The survey included several attention checks. A first check involved delay, preventing respondents from moving on from the vignette text to the outcome questions within the first 35 second of being presented with the vignette. This forced respondents to spend time on the vignette screen. The survey also included three factual questions about the experimental material (asked at the end of the survey). The first question asked respondents to indicate the topic of the text they read earlier in the survey (immigration and four other political topics). This question is treatment-irrelevant in the sense that it does not help distinguish between experimental groups but rather checks all respondents' attentiveness (Kane and Barabas 2019). The second question asked which party wrote the text (+ the option to indicate that no party had written the text). This question is treatment-relevant in that it helps check respondent attentiveness across treatment groups. In total, 250 respondents did not provide correct answers to these questions. Failure to pass the attention checks is not patterned across experimental groups. The third question, which is treatment-relevant, asks if the party advocated for a more inclusive or exclusive policy. However, given that the wording of this third question is more difficult and stilted in Danish, I place less weight on it (this is also noted in the preregistration report). Although the preregistration report notes that only respondents who can identify the right topic and party sponsor will be included in the analyses, it has later come to my attention that respondents who did not pass the attention checks should not be discarded (see

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(Aronow, Baron, and Pinson 2019)); analyses therefore include these respondents (analyses without these respondents, as well as analyses including a control for whether respondents passed the attention checks, replicate the article's findings).

Power

The study is based on a sample of 1,563 respondents from the adult (18+) population in Denmark, sampled on key variables (age, gender, region, and education). Given that the test of H2 sub-divides the sample into smaller groups and zooms in on partisans of the SD- and V-camps (55% of the sample), reflections on power are warranted. As power analyses were not performed prior to fielding the study, any assessment of power will necessarily be post-hoc. Post-hoc power analyses of differences of means demonstrate that under standard assumptions (80% power at $\alpha = .05$), the study is sufficiently powered to detect effects of the sizes it does for both outcomes, and, conversely, would have needed significantly larger sample sizes to identify smaller effects (3.5-70 times larger than the actual sample sizes for it to have found the observed "null-findings" to be statistically different from zero). These insights strengthen our confidence in the conclusions drawn from the experiment, especially with regard to the null-findings, since the power analyses indicate that the true effect sizes are likely close to zero.

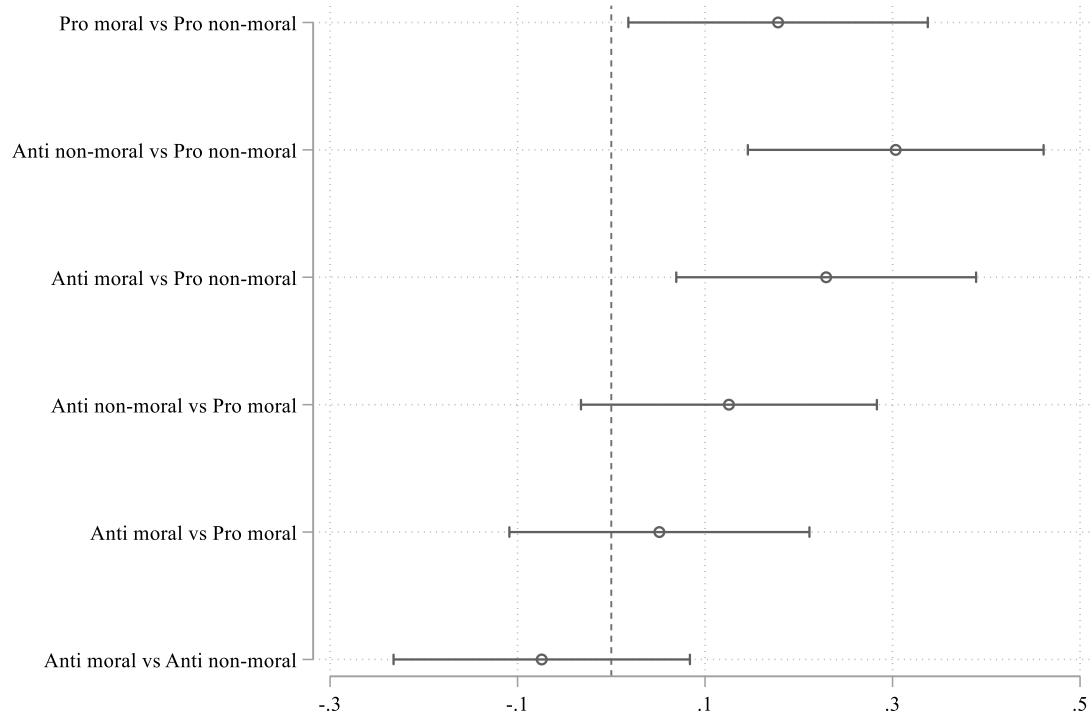
Thus, while larger sub-groups are always an asset, the study is sufficiently powered to draw the conclusions it does. In addition, keeping resource constraints in mind, the study was able to take advantage of unique political circumstances to design a credible and ecologically valid experiment; a situation that rarely occurs and therefore is close to impossible to repeat.

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2. Pairwise comparisons

Figure A2.1 is based on the OLS regression reported in Table 1, Model 1 and displays all possible comparisons of effects of the four treatments.

Figure A2.1. Comparing effects on policy support for the four messages



Note: Pairwise comparisons of marginal effects. Bars indicate 95% confidence intervals.

3. Ordered logistic estimates

The analysis in Table 1 is based on OLS regressions, since the outcome variable uses a five-point response scale with equal distance between response categories and is thus treated as continuous. To check the robustness of the conclusions based on OLS estimates, this section uses an ordered logistic regression model instead.

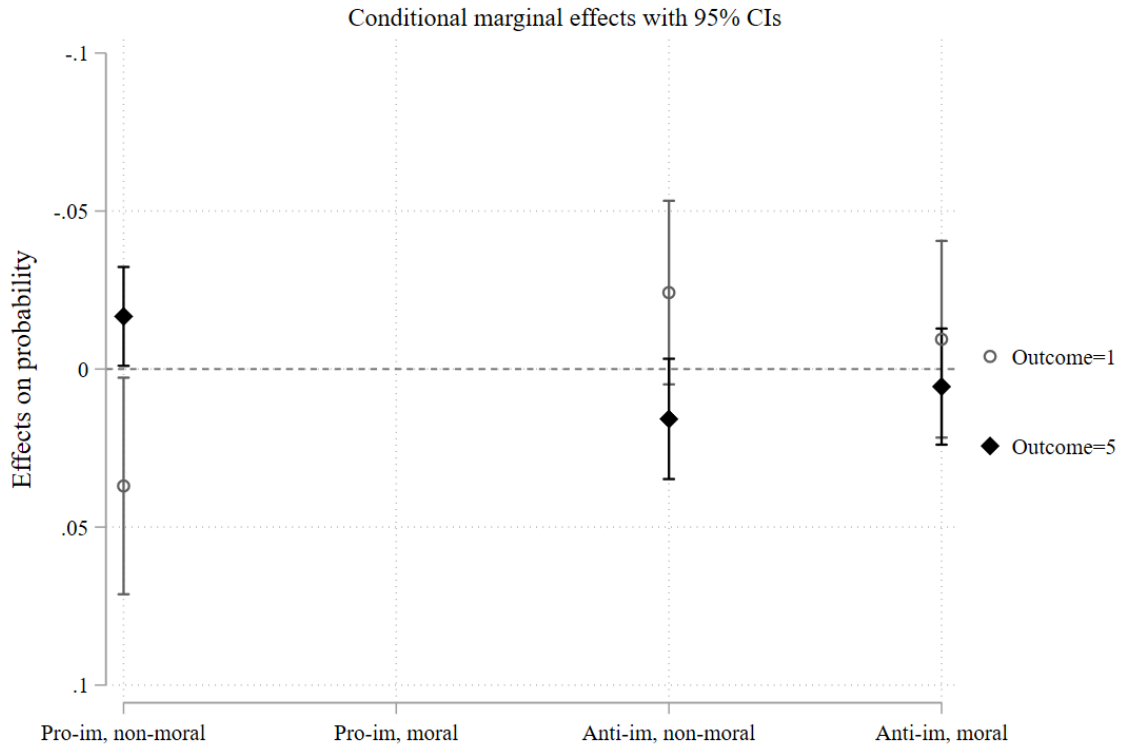
Table A3.1. Ordered logistic regressions of treatment groups on policy support

	(1) Policy support (1;5)
Pro-immigrant, non-moral	Ref.
Pro-immigrant, moral	0.27* (0.12)
Anti-immigrant, non-moral	0.48*** (0.13)
Anti-immigrant, moral	0.35** (0.13)
<i>N</i>	1563

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. Unstandardized coefficients, standard errors in parentheses.

As can be seen, the results lead to conclusions similar to those drawn in the main text: H1a-H1c find support. Figure A3.1 displays the marginal effects of the messages on policy support, focusing, for simplicity, on the lowest and highest policy support values. As the theoretically most relevant comparison message, the moral pro-immigrant message is chosen as the reference in the figure, indicated by the zero-line. We see that exposure to the non-moral pro-immigrant message is associated with a higher probability of answering “not at all” to the policy support question (1) and a lower probability of answering “to a very high degree” (5), compared with the moral pro-immigrant message (support for H1b). There are no differences in the probabilities of picking various response options for the two anti-immigrant messages compared to the moral pro-immigrant message (support for H1c).

Figure A3.1. Marginal effects for the lowest and highest policy support values for three messages compared to the moral pro-immigrant message



Note: Conditional marginal effects. Outcome = 1 corresponds to answering “not at all” to the policy support question; Outcome = 5 corresponds to “to a very high degree”. The moral pro-immigrant message is the reference, indicated by the zero-line. Bars indicate 95% confidence intervals.

4. Controlling for party sponsor

Since the treatments included information on the party sponsor, Table A4.1 gauges the robustness of the main results from Table 1 by controlling for who sponsored the messages (SD is the reference category). We see that the results from Table 1 replicate. This alleviates concerns that the policy support outcome captures respondents' support for the message sender rather than their support for the policy described in the message. In addition, there is no general party sponsor effect across messages, which can be interpreted as a sign that V and SD shared issue ownership on immigration and were therefore equally credible or persuasive as sponsors of the treatment messages, looking at the electorate overall.

Table A4.1. OLS regressions of treatment groups on the two outcome measures

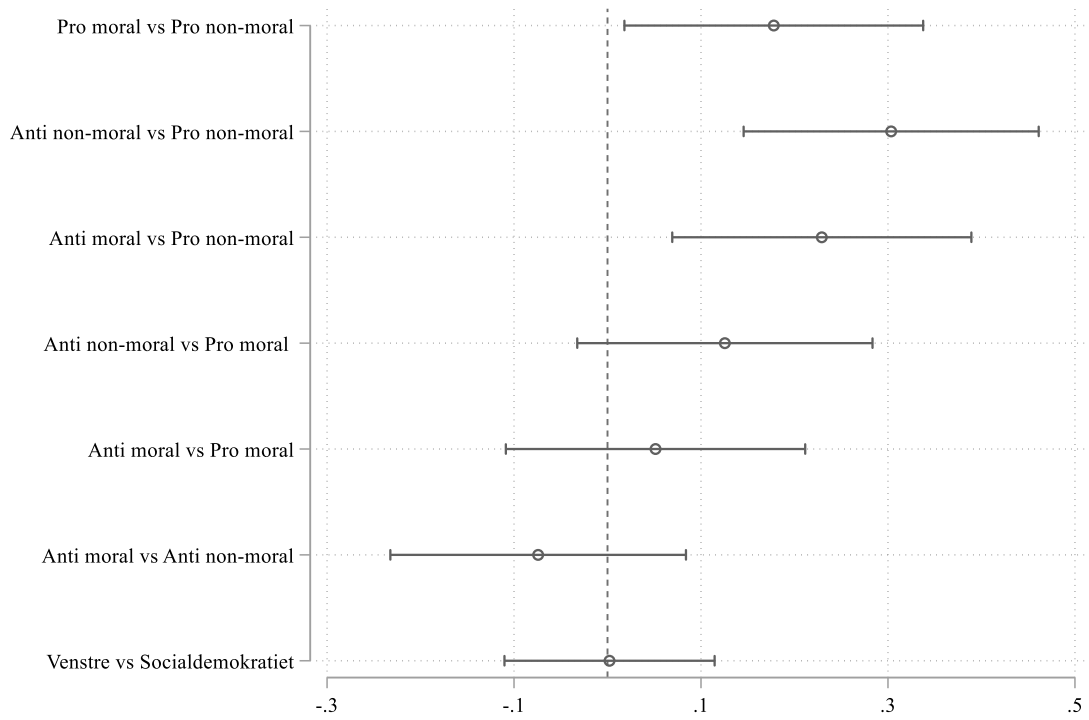
	(1) Policy support (1;5)
Message	
Pro-immigrant, non-moral	Ref.
Pro-immigrant, moral	0.18* (0.08)
Anti-immigrant, non-moral	0.30*** (0.08)
Anti-immigrant, moral	0.23** (0.08)
Party sponsor	
<i>Socialdemokratiet</i>	Ref.
<i>Venstre</i>	0.00 (0.06)
Constant	2.67*** (0.06)
<i>N</i>	1563

Notes: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. Unstandardized coefficients, standard errors in parentheses.

Figure A4.1. (next page) displays pairwise comparisons of messages and party sponsors based on Table A4.1. Again, we see that the results from Figure A2.1 replicate.

Appendix

Figure A4.1. Comparing effects on policy support for the four messages and the two party sponsors



Note: Pairwise comparisons of marginal effects. Bars indicate 95% confidence intervals.

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Appendix

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