**Supplementary material for the article**

**“Voter Preferences for EU Asylum Policies: The Role of Government Cues”**

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**Appendix**

**Table A1**: Polarization between incumbent and opposition parties

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | PolDem 2017-2019 | | chess 2019 | | cmp |  | PolDem | chess | cmp | PolDem | chess | cmp |
| country | incumbents | opposition | incumbents | opposition | Incumbent | Opposition | difference (incumb-opp) | | | relative polarization incumb/opp | | |
| Greece | -1.00 | 1.00 | -7.78 | -4.76 |  |  | -2.00 | -3.02 |  | **1.00** | **0.57** |  |
| United Kingdom | -0.77 | 0.03 | -7.59 | -4.38 | 0.51 | 2.12 | -0.80 | -3.21 | -1.61 | **0.40** | **0.61** | **0.34** |
| Hungary | -0.75 | 0.74 | -9.93 | -4.67 | -5.42 | -0.65 | -1.49 | -5.26 | -4.78 | **0.75** | **1.00** | **1.00** |
| Poland | -0.59 | 0.00 | -9.05 | -4.88 | -2.71 | -0.24 | -0.59 | -4.17 | -2.46 | **0.30** | **0.79** | **0.52** |
| Latvia | -0.35 | -0.67 | -6.57 | -6.04 | -0.44 | 0.00 | 0.32 | -0.53 | -0.44 | 0.16 | 0.10 | 0.09 |
| Austria | -0.31 | -0.26 | -5.65 | -6.27 | 0.10 | -1.32 | -0.05 | 0.62 | 1.42 | 0.02 | 0.12 | **0.30** |
| Switzerland | -0.21 | 0.19 | -5.68 | -4.58 | -0.84 | 0.23 | -0.39 | -1.10 | -1.07 | 0.20 | 0.21 | 0.22 |
| France | 0.00 | -0.12 | -6.31 | -5.14 | -0.33 | -0.31 | -0.12 | -1.17 | -0.01 | 0.06 | 0.22 | 0.00 |
| Romania | 0.00 | 0.00 | -5.00 | -5.37 |  |  | 0.00 | 0.37 |  | 0.00 | 0.07 |  |
| Netherlands | 0.01 | -0.38 | -4.82 | -5.70 | -0.26 | -0.93 | 0.38 | 0.88 | 0.67 | 0.19 | 0.17 | 0.14 |
| Germany | 0.16 | 0.00 | -5.95 | -3.58 | 0.67 | 1.86 | 0.16 | -2.37 | -1.19 | 0.08 | **0.45** | 0.25 |
| Italy | 0.23 | -0.56 | -6.56 | -5.56 | 1.48 | 0.05 | 0.78 | -1.00 | 1.43 | **0.39** | 0.19 | **0.30** |
| Portugal | 0.44 | 0.00 | -3.88 | -3.41 | 4.47 | 1.59 | 0.44 | -0.47 | 2.88 | 0.22 | 0.09 | **0.60** |
| Spain | 0.71 | -0.16 | -2.83 | -5.02 | 2.77 | 0.75 | 0.87 | 2.19 | 2.02 | **0.44** | **0.42** | **0.42** |
| Ireland | 1.00 | 1.00 | -4.67 | -4.53 |  |  | 0.00 | -0.14 |  | 0.00 | 0.03 |  |
| Sweden |  |  | -3.45 | -5.32 | -0.11 | -0.91 |  | 1.87 | 0.80 |  | 0.36 | 0.17 |
| Finland |  |  | -3.80 | -5.59 | 1.00 | -0.83 |  | 1.79 | 1.83 |  | 0.34 | 0.38 |

**Table A2:** Descriptives of the variables included in the analysis

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Variable | Obs | Mean | Std. dev. | Min | Max |
| probpress | 34,246 | 2.0 | 0.8 | 1 | 3 |
| incumbent voter | 34,246 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0 | 1 |
| immigration attitude | 13,655 | 0.5 | 0.2 | 0 | 1 |
| trust in EU | 34,246 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0 | 1 |
| political interest | 34,051 | 0.6 | 0.3 | 0 | 1 |
| age | 34,246 | 45.3 | 17.4 | 18 | 99 |
| gender | 34,245 | 1.5 | 0.5 | 1 | 2 |
| educ | 34,246 | 2.3 | 0.7 | 1 | 3 |
| left-right self-placem. | 34,246 |  |  |  |  |
| left |  | 26.1 |  |  |  |
| neither |  | 41.3 |  |  |  |
| right |  | 32.6 |  |  |  |
| party family | 30,753 |  |  |  |  |
| radical left |  | 7.0 |  |  |  |
| greens |  | 4.1 |  |  |  |
| social-democrats |  | 14.6 |  |  |  |
| liberals |  | 11.9 |  |  |  |
| conservatives/CD |  | 17.7 |  |  |  |
| radical right |  | 10.4 |  |  |  |
| others |  | 4.7 |  |  |  |
| non voters |  | 29.6 |  |  |  |

**Table A3**: Determinants of policy assessments: OLS-regression coefficients, t-values, and significance levels1)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | relocation | first entry | external borders | Externali-zation |
|  | b/t | b/t | b/t | b/t |
| political interest | 0.656\*\*\* | 0.582\*\*\* | 0.713\*\*\* | 0.673\*\*\* |
|  | (4.734) | (3.921) | (7.275) | (6.707) |
| left, reference category |  |  |  |  |
| neither left nor right | -0.253\*\*\* | 0.450\*\*\* | 0.841\*\*\* | 0.261\*\*\* |
|  | (-4.515) | (7.498) | (9.572) | (3.225) |
| right | -0.573\*\*\* | 0.803\*\*\* | 1.249\*\*\* | 0.357\*\*\* |
|  | (-4.785) | (8.045) | (11.864) | (4.554) |
| radical left, reference category |  |  |  |  |
| green | 0.150 | -0.414\* | -0.111 | 0.108 |
|  | (0.814) | (-2.021) | (-0.509) | (0.858) |
| social-dem | -0.180 | -0.033 | 0.516\*\*\* | 0.087 |
|  | (-1.358) | (-0.181) | (3.402) | (0.720) |
| liberal | -0.363\*\* | -0.380 | 0.572\*\*\* | 0.027 |
|  | (-2.159) | (-1.558) | (3.659) | (0.216) |
| conservative-Christian-democrats | -0.474\*\*\* | -0.159 | 0.535\*\*\* | 0.152 |
|  | (-3.398) | (-0.803) | (3.353) | (1.558) |
| radical right | -1.318\*\*\* | -0.275 | 0.787\*\*\* | -0.117 |
|  | (-5.334) | (-1.248) | (4.086) | (-0.972) |
| others | -0.278 | -0.084 | 0.329\*\* | -0.125 |
|  | (-1.419) | (-0.404) | (2.165) | (-0.830) |
| non-voter | -0.541\*\*\* | -0.136 | 0.291\*\* | -0.187\* |
|  | (-3.775) | (-0.675) | (2.664) | (-1.795) |
| age | 0.006 | -0.002 | 0.018\*\*\* | 0.020\*\*\* |
|  | (1.477) | (-0.589) | (9.176) | (8.779) |
| gender | 0.336\*\*\* | 0.054 | -0.352\*\*\* | 0.065 |
|  | (4.262) | (0.591) | (-5.901) | (1.015) |
| education | 0.008 | -0.202\*\*\* | -0.014 | 0.071\* |
|  | (0.176) | (-5.596) | (-0.388) | (2.046) |
| problem pressure low, ref. |  |  |  |  |
| medium | 0.208 | 0.019 | -0.029 | -0.157 |
|  | (1.329) | (0.061) | (-0.112) | (-0.621) |
| high | 0.798\*\*\* | -0.361 | 0.305 | 0.370\* |
|  | (4.894) | (-1.350) | (1.295) | (1.782) |
| incumbent2021=0 |  |  |  |  |
| incumbent2021=1 | -1.777\*\*\* | -0.350 | 0.077 | -0.141\* |
|  | (-5.422) | (-1.387) | (0.944) | (-2.126) |
| EU no trust |  |  |  |  |
| EU trust | 1.381\*\*\* | 0.589\*\* | 0.294\*\*\* | 0.561\*\*\* |
|  | (10.543) | (2.605) | (5.804) | (4.551) |
| Immigration attitude=0 |  |  |  |  |
| Immigration attitude=1 | 2.239\*\*\* | 1.344\*\*\* | -1.470\*\*\* | 0.084 |
|  | (8.169) | (5.061) | (-9.644) | (0.369) |
| against-divided, reference category |  |  |  |  |
| against-undivided | -0.078 |  |  |  |
|  | (-0.511) |  |  |  |
| bystander-divided |  | 1.130\*\*\* | -0.430\* | -0.055 |
|  |  | (4.552) | (-1.818) | (-0.140) |
| bystander-undivided | 0.762\*\*\* | 1.412\*\*\* | -0.069 | 0.085 |
|  | (3.331) | (3.098) | (-0.293) | (0.273) |
| pro-undivided | 1.168\*\*\* | 2.553\*\*\* | -0.147 | -0.128 |
|  | (6.000) | (9.954) | (-0.651) | (-0.750) |
| pro-divided: UK | 2.253\*\*\* | 2.925\*\*\* | -0.400\*\* | 0.104 |
|  | (11.492) | (15.756) | (-2.320) | (1.155) |
| pro-divided | 2.590\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  | (5.969) |  |  |  |
| against-divided#incumbent, ref. |  |  |  |  |
| against-undiv#incumbent | 1.685\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  | (5.269) |  |  |  |
| bystander-divided#incumbent |  | 0.706\*\* | 0.360\*\*\* | 0.467 |
|  |  | (2.771) | (3.524) | (1.719) |
| bystander-undivided#incumbent | 2.000\*\*\* | 0.549\*\* | 0.042 | 0.283\*\*\* |
|  | (6.064) | (2.270) | (0.319) | (4.475) |
| pro-undivided#incumbent | 2.210\*\*\* | 0.319 | -0.112 | 0.237 |
|  | (6.837) | (1.320) | (-0.832) | (1.330) |
| pro-div:UK#incumbent | 1.857\*\*\* | 1.042\*\*\* | 0.450\*\*\* | 0.666\*\*\* |
|  | (6.286) | (4.672) | (4.100) | (10.151) |
| pro-divided#incumbent | 2.410\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  | (8.103) |  |  |  |
| against-divided#immigration, ref |  |  |  |  |
| against-undiv#immigration | -0.191 |  |  |  |
|  | (-1.458) |  |  |  |
| bystander-divided#immigration |  | -0.439 | -0.262\*\* | -0.097 |
|  |  | (-1.615) | (-2.656) | (-0.503) |
| bystander-undivided#immigration | -0.389\*\* | -0.151 | -0.077 | 0.032 |
|  | (-2.879) | (-0.599) | (-1.126) | (0.241) |
| pro-undivided#immigration | -0.377\*\* | -0.510\*\* | -0.046 | -0.016 |
|  | (-2.903) | (-2.165) | (-0.501) | (-0.121) |
| pro-div:UK#immigration | -0.516\*\*\* | -0.551\*\* | 0.185\*\*\* | 0.225\* |
|  | (-3.965) | (-2.418) | (3.845) | (1.932) |
| pro-divided#immigration | -0.848\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  | (-4.024) |  |  |  |
| against-divided#EUtrust, ref |  |  |  |  |
| against-undiv#EUtrust | 0.369 |  |  |  |
|  | (0.904) |  |  |  |
| bystander-divided#EUtrust |  | -1.171\*\* | 0.675\* | 0.111 |
|  |  | (-2.829) | (2.006) | (0.298) |
| bystander-undivided#EUtrust | 0.287 | -1.044\*\* | 0.052 | 0.036 |
|  | (0.999) | (-2.691) | (0.251) | (0.138) |
| pro-undivided#EUtrust | -0.255 | -1.818\*\*\* | -0.096 | -0.110 |
|  | (-0.761) | (-6.222) | (-0.382) | (-0.406) |
| pro-div:UK#iEUtrust | -1.006\*\*\* | -1.786\*\*\* | 0.138 | -0.139 |
|  | (-3.555) | (-6.739) | (0.898) | (-0.595) |
| pro-divided#EUtrust | -1.128\*\* |  |  |  |
|  | (-2.813) |  |  |  |
| Constant | 2.408\*\*\* | 3.429\*\*\* | 5.601\*\*\* | 4.723\*\*\* |
|  | (7.998) | (8.471) | (21.996) | (16.397) |
| Observations | 12210 | 12210 | 12210 | 12210 |
| aic | 59867.74 | 60156.51 | 56918.66 | 57452.49 |
| bic | 59978.90 | 60267.66 | 57029.81 | 57563.64 |
| r2 | 0.28 | 0.08 | 0.18 | 0.06 |

1)\*\*\*=.001; \*\*=.01; \*=.05. Standard errors clustered by country.

**Figure A1**: Predictive margins of immigration attitude and trust in EU on policy support, by policy and member state type for consensual policies

A collage of graphs

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**Figure A2**: Contrast between effects of anti-immigration attitudes on policy support for different types of member states

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