Supplemental Appendix for: The Political Consequences of Public Attitudes Toward 'Legal' vs. 'Illegal' Immigrants

Appendix A: Variable creation/coding for the 2019 ANES Pilot & 1994 GSS, pp. 1-7

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Appendix A

ANES Pilot, 2019

The 2019 American National Election Study Pilot (referred to in the paper as the 2019 ANES Pilot) was fielded online (median interview length = 33.9 minutes) to a sample of adult U.S. citizens from December 20-31, 2019. I used the February 4, 2020 version of the data (the most recent). As discussed in the user guide/codebook, it is a non-probability sample drawn from an online YouGov panel via sample matching. As per page 2 of the user guide/codebook, this sample was demographically matched to the U.S. citizen population via the 2016 American Community Survey (ACS). Further information on sample representativeness are detailed on pages 2-3 of the user guide/codebook. The raw data, codebook, and questionnaire are publicly available for download at the following link (`https://electionstudies.org/data-center/2019-pilot-study/`). I followed the recommendation on page 1 of the user guide/codebook and excluded the 165 "unweighted cases" from the sample (total N = 3,000) in all analyses. All of my analyses also used the "weight" variable in order to increase the representativeness of the sample, relative to the U.S. adult citizen population. The 2019 ANES Pilot included two different forms (Form 1 & Form 2). This meant that a random half of respondents were not asked certain questions. This was the case for my two independent variables of interest, feeling thermometer ratings toward "legal" and "illegal" immigrants. All respondents (3,000) were asked about their feelings toward "illegal immigrants" but only respondents in "Form 2" were asked about their feelings toward "legal immigrants." As such, my analyses only include Form 2 respondents. This reduces the valid sample size to approximately 1,500. In my variable coding description, I only focus on Form 2 respondents.

GSS, 1994

The General Social Survey (referred to the GSS in the main paper) is a long-running nationally representative survey of the American mass public. It has been conducted since 1972 (biannually since 1994) and asks a large battery of questions about government and society, some of which are repeated across years and others that are only asked of respondents in particular years. The raw data and guide/codebook are publicly available for download at the following link `https://gss.norc.org/us/en/gss/get-the-data.html`. The GSS also has a free tool that allows for people to search for specific questions `https://gssdataexplorer.norc.org/variables/vfilter`. This allowed me to find the relevant questions and identify that they appeared only in the 1994 GSS. As such, I only examine this specific year. In short, 1994 is, at the time of this writing, the only GSS year that has asked valid questions to measure attitudes toward "legal" vs. "illegal" immigrants as social groups. The GSS also has different forms that it uses, so not all respondents are asked all survey questions; this only applies here to my dependent variable and independent variables of interest ("legal" vs. "illegal" immigrant stereotypes). Only about 1/2 of GSS respondents were asked these questions. Similarly to the 2019 ANES Pilot, this reduces my valid sample size. In the descriptive statistics, I present the valid sample size for respondents who were asked *all* questions that I plan to analyze.

Variable Details, 2019 ANES Pilot

- Immigration Levels

  Created from **immignum** (number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the U.S. to live?)

  Valid N = 1,501

  Valid responses range from 1 to 5; re-coded to range from 0 to 1

  Mean = 0.504; Std Dev = 0.278; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  Higher values indicate more liberal pro-immigration attitudes

- Refugee Allowance

  Created from **refugees** (allowing refugees who are fleeing war, persecution, or natural disasters in other countries to come to live in the U.S.?)

  Valid N = 1,504

  Valid responses range from 1 to 5; re-coded to range from 0 to 1

  Mean = 0.599; Std Dev = 0.313; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  Higher values indicate more liberal pro-immigration attitudes

- Feeling Thermometer: Donald Trump

  Created from **fttrump** (how would you rate Donald Trump?)

  Valid N = 1,495

  Valid responses range 0 to 100

  Mean = 43.9; Std Dev = 41.3; Min = 0; Max = 100 (all unweighted)

  Higher values indicate warmer feelings

- Feeling Thermometer: Joe Biden

  Created from **ftbiden** (how would you rate Joe Biden?)

  Valid N = 1,500

  Valid responses range 0 to 100

  Mean = 41.6; Std Dev = 32.6; Min = 0; Max = 100 (all unweighted)

  Higher values indicate warmer feelings

- Feeling Thermometer: Pete Buttigieg

  Created from **ftbuttigieg** (how would you rate Pete Buttigieg?)

  Valid N = 1,480

  Valid responses range 0 to 100

  Mean = 38.0; Std Dev = 29.0 Min = 0; Max = 100 (all unweighted)

  Higher values indicate warmer feelings

- Feeling Thermometer: Kamala Harris

  Created from **ftharris** (how would you rate Kamala Harris?)

  Valid N = 1,492

  Valid responses range 0 to 100

  Mean = 36.2; Std Dev = 29.7; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  Higher values indicate warmer feelings

- Feeling Thermometer: Bernie Sanders

  Created from **ftsanders** (how would you rate Bernie Sanders?)

  Valid N = 1,503

  Valid responses range 0 to 100

  Mean = 42.7; Std Dev = 34.5; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  Higher values indicate warmer feelings

- Feeling Thermometer: Elizabeth Warren

  Created from **ftwarren** (how would you rate Elizabeth Warren?)

  Valid N = 1,497

  Valid responses range 0 to 100

  Mean = 41.1; Std Dev = 34.0; Min = 0; Max = 100 (all unweighted)

  Higher values indicate warmer feelings

- Feeling Thermometer: "Legal Immigrants"

  Created from **ftimmig2** (how would you rate legal immigrants?)

  Valid N = 1,502

  Valid responses range 0 to 100; re-coded to range from 0 to 1

  Mean = 0.728; Std Dev = 0.243; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  Higher values indicate warmer feelings

- Feeling Thermometer: "Illegal Immigrants"

  Created from **ftillegal** (how would you rate illegal immigrants?)

  Valid N = 1,501

  Valid responses range 0 to 100; re-coded to range from 0 to 1

  Mean = 0.426; Std Dev = 0.318; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  Higher values indicate warmer feelings

- Partisanship

  Created from **pid7x** (Party ID summary)

  Valid N = 1,450

  Valid responses range 1 to 7; re-coded to range from 0 to 1

  Mean = 0.481; Std Dev = 0.356; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  Higher values indicate stronger Republican partisanship

- Retrospective Economic Evaluations

  Created from **econnow** (nation's economy compared to one year ago)

  Valid N = 1,502

  Valid responses range 1 to 5; re-coded to range from 0 to 1

  Mean = 0.608; Std Dev = 0.286; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  Higher values indicate more positive perceptions of the economy in the past year

- Policy Conservatism

  Created by summing **billtax** (taxing those making over $10 million), **richpoor2** (importance of reducing income inequality), **guarinc** (establishing a federal guaranteed income program), **hlthcare1** (single-payer health care system), **freecol** (guaranteeing free college tuition), **loans** (canceling student loans), **gw1** (regulating greenhouse emissions), **gw2** (fuel efficiency standards for automobiles), **prek** (universal pre-kindergarten), and **buyback** (mandatory buyback of assault rifles) into an index. All 10 questions load onto a single factor (eigenvalue = 6.53) and form a highly reliable scale ($\alpha = 0.936$).

  Valid N = 1,500

  Valid responses range 10 to 64; re-coded to range from 0 to 1

  Mean = 0.488; Std Dev = 0.296; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  Higher values indicate more conservative policy preferences (on all issues)

- Age

  Created by subtracting **birthyr** from 2019 (self-reported age in years)

  Valid N = 1,504

  Mean = 50.4; Std Dev = 17.3; Min = 19; Max = 92 (all unweighted)

  Higher values indicate that someone is older

- College

  Created from **educ** (self-reported highest degree)

  Valid N = 1,504

  Valid responses range 1-6; recoded to be 0 vs. 1

  Mean = 0.313; Std Dev = 0.464; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  0 = less than 4-year college degree; 1 = 4-year college degree or higher

- Female

  Created from **gender** (self-reported gender)

  Valid N = 1,504

  Valid responses range 1-2; re-coded to be 0 vs. 1

  Mean = 0.521; Std Dev = 0.500; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  0 = male; 1 = female

- White

  Created from **race** (self-reported race)

  Valid N = 1,504

  Valid responses range 1-8; recoded to be 0 vs. 1

  Mean = 0.680; Std Dev = 0.467; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  0 = non-White; 1 = White, non-Hispanic

- Republican Party ID

  Created from **pid7x** (party ID summary)

  Valid N = 1,450

  Valid responses range from 1-7; re-coded to be 0 vs. 1

  Mean = 0.379; Std Dev = 0.485; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  0 = Democrat/Independent who does not lean toward either party; 1 = Republican

Variable Details, 1994 GSS

- Immigration Policy Preferences

  Created from **letin** (number of immigrants to the USA)

  Valid N = 1,397

  Valid responses range from 1 to 5; re-coded to be dichotomous (0 vs. 1)

  Mean = 0.346; Std Dev = 0.476; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  0 = decrease immigration levels; 1 = maintain/increase immigration levels

- Stereotypes: "Legal" Immigrants

  Created from **workimm** (lazy vs. hardworking perceptions)

  Valid N = 1,324

  Valid responses range from 1-7; recoded to range 0-1

  Mean = 0.578; Std Dev = 0.213; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  (lower) higher values indicate beliefs that this group is more (lazy) hardworking

- Stereotypes: "Illegal" Immigrants

  Created from **workundc** (lazy vs. hardworking perceptions)

  Valid N = 1,280

  Valid responses range from 1-7; recoded to range 0-1

  Mean = 0.514; Std Dev = 0.289; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  (lower) higher values indicate beliefs that this group is more (lazy) hardworking

- Age

  Created from **age** (self-reported age in years)

  Valid N = 2,986

  Valid responses range from 18-89

  Mean = 46.0; Std Dev = 17.1; Min = 18; Max = 89 (all unweighted)

  Higher values indicate that someone is older

- College

  Created from **degree** (self-reported highest degree)

  Valid N = 2,982

  Valid responses range from 0-4; recoded to be 0 vs. 1

  Mean = 0.239; Std Dev = 0.427; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  0 = less than 4-year college degree; 1 = 4-year college degree or higher

- White

  Created from **race** (self-reported race)

  Valid N = 2,992

  Valid responses range from 1-3; recoded to be 0 vs. 1

  Mean = 0.830; Std Dev = 0.376; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  0 = non-White; 1 = White

- Female

  Created from **sex** (respondent's sex)

  Valid N = 2,992

  Valid responses range from 1-2; recoded to be 0 vs. 1

  Mean = 0.569; Std Dev = 0.495; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  0 = male; 1 = female

- Republican Party ID

  Created from **partyid** (partisanship)

  Valid N = 2,899

  Valid responses range from 0-6; recoded to be 0 vs. 1

  Mean = 0.387; Std Dev = 0.487; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  0 = Democrat/Independent who does not lean toward either party; 1 = Republican

- Born in the USA

  Created from **born** (where the respondent said they were born)

  Valid N = 2,963

  Valid responses range from 1-2; recoded to be 0 vs. 1

  Mean = 0.928; Std Dev = 0.259; Min = 0; Max = 1 (all unweighted)

  0 = not born in the USA; 1 = born in the USA

Appendix B

Table B1

Replicating Table 3 in the main paper but controlling for feelings toward Mexico (created from *ftmexico*; ranges 0-1; cold → warm; mean = 0.540; Valid N = 1,503).

Table B1: Feelings Toward "Legal" vs. "Illegal" Immigrants and General Immigration Policy Preferences When Controlling for Feelings Toward Mexico, 2019

	DV = Immigration Levels			DV = Refugee Allowance		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
FT: "Legal" Immigrants	0.055		-0.028	0.096*		-0.001
	(0.032)		(0.031)	(0.035)		(0.034)
FT: "Illegal" Immigrants		0.340*	0.347*		0.403*	0.403*
		(0.027)	(0.028)		(0.030)	(0.032)
FT: Mexico	0.340*	0.162*	0.169*	0.398*	0.199*	0.199*
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.031)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.035)
Age	-0.002*	-0.001*	-0.001*	-0.001*	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
College	0.070*	0.063*	0.064*	0.098*	0.090*	0.090*
	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Female	-0.024	-0.042*	-0.043*	0.051*	0.029*	0.029*
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.013)
White	0.043*	0.058*	0.059*	0.059*	0.078*	0.078*
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.016)
Republican	-0.183*	-0.101*	-0.098*	-0.204*	-0.106*	-0.106*
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Constant	0.368*	0.295*	0.305*	0.315*	0.242*	0.242*
	(0.046)	(0.043)	(0.045)	(0.059)	(0.054)	(0.055)
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,445	1,443	1,443	1,448	1,446	1,446
R^2	0.348	0.417	0.418	0.344	0.418	0.418

Note: Dependent variables are preferred immigration levels and support for allowing refugees (both range 0-1; high = pro-immigration/pro-refugee). Feeling thermometer ratings (FT) both range 0-1 (high = warmer feelings). OLS coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Source is the 2019 ANES Pilot. * $p<0.05$, two-tailed test.

Table B2

Replicating Table 4 in the main paper but controlling for feelings toward Mexico (created from *ftmexico*; ranges 0-1; cold → warm; mean = 0.540; Valid N = 1,503).

Table B2: Feelings Toward "Legal" vs. "Illegal" Immigrants and Presidential Candidate Evaluations When Controlling for Feelings Toward Mexico, 2019

	Trump vs. Biden	Trump vs. Buttigieg	Trump vs. Harris	Trump vs. Sanders	Trump vs. Warren
FT: "Legal" Immigrants	9.134	3.718	8.911	9.638	1.029
	(5.881)	(5.395)	(5.149)	(5.959)	(5.670)
FT: "Illegal" Immigrants	-36.021*	-33.549*	-37.878*	-35.741*	-36.316*
	(5.343)	(5.117)	(4.928)	(5.194)	(4.766)
Policy Conservatism	50.794*	55.383*	60.247*	77.110*	76.663*
	(4.885)	(4.800)	(4.680)	(4.823)	(4.484)
Economic Evaluations	54.441*	48.092*	53.791*	59.276*	57.776*
	(4.863)	(4.484)	(4.437)	(4.810)	(4.795)
Partisanship	71.988*	59.107*	58.754*	61.756*	63.463*
	(3.924)	(3.399)	(3.398)	(3.567)	(3.647)
FT: Mexico	-12.997*	-10.937**	-14.320*	-7.068	-8.471*
	(4.893)	(4.657)	(4.333)	(4.918)	(4.591)
Constant	-75.042*	-61.262*	-65.350*	-90.039*	-81.215*
	(6.017)	(5.879)	(5.801)	(6.091)	(5.721)
Observations	1,429	1,411	1,422	1,431	1,425
R-squared	0.744	0.728	0.786	0.793	0.807

Note: Dependent variables are differences in feeling thermometer ratings (Trump - Dem; ranges -100 to +100). All independent variables range from 0-1 (higher values = warmer feelings toward immigrant groups, more conservative policy preferences, more positive economic evaluations, and stronger Republican partisanship). OLS coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Source is the 2019 ANES Pilot, survey weights applied. * $p<0.05$, two-tailed test.

Table B3

Replicating Table 5 in the main paper but controlling for stereotype ratings of Hispanics (created from *workhsps*; ranges 0-1; lazy → hardworking; mean = 0.484).

Table B3: Stereotypes of "Legal" vs. "Illegal" Immigrants and General Immigration Policy Preferences When Controlling for Stereotypes of Hispanics, 1994

	DV = Do Not Decrease Immigration
Stereotypes: "Legal" Immigrants	-0.094
	(0.082)
Stereotypes: "Illegal" Immigrants	0.201*
	(0.058)
Stereotypes: Hispanics	0.088
	(0.076)
Age	-0.001
	(0.001)
College	0.195*
	(0.033)
Female	-0.005
	(0.027)
White	0.006
	(0.040)
Born in USA	-0.270**
	(0.056)
Republican	-0.069*
	(0.029)
Constant	0.478*
	(0.112)
Region Fixed Effects	Yes
Observations	1,174
R^2	0.084

Note: Dependent variable is dichotomous (0 = decrease; 1 = maintain/increase). OLS coefficients from a linear probability model with robust standard errors in parentheses. Probit yields very similar results. Source is the 1994 GSS. * $p<0.05$, two-tailed test.

Table B4

Replicating Tables 3 & 5 (in the main paper) when **interacting** attitudes toward "illegal" immigrants (ranges 0-1 in both models) with (a) political interest in the 2019 ANES Pilot (created from *newsint*; scaled to range 0-1; low → high; mean = 0.717; Valid N = 1,503) and (b) frequency of newspaper readership in the 1994 GSS (created from *news*; scaled to range 0-1; never → every day; mean = 0.761).

For the purposes of saving space, and because I am interest here in the *interaction* between attitudes toward "illegal" immigrants and measures of media consumption, I only present the results for this interaction, despite including the same controls at Table 2 & Table 4 in the main paper (attitudes toward "legal" immigrants, demographics, party ID, and state/region fixed effects). I also do not display the constant terms nor the coefficients for the other term in the interaction (political interest & newspaper readership).

In the 2019 ANES Pilot (models 1 & 2), the results show that greater political interest significantly strengthens the connection between attitudes toward "illegal" immigrants and general immigration policy preferences. They also show that this relationship is statistically significant even at the lowest (a value of 0) levels of political interest. In the 1994 GSS (model 3), the results similarly show that greater frequency of newspaper readership significantly strengthens the relationship between stereotypes of "illegal" immigrants and general immigration policy preferences. Model 3 also shows that this relationship is not significant among the small number of people who report "never" reading a newspaper (a value of 0). In short, these results suggest that information and media consumption matter for whether ordinary Americans bring their attitudes toward "illegal" immigrants to bear.

Table B4: Measures of Media Consumption, Attitudes Toward "Illegal" Immigrants, and General Immigration Policy Preferences, 2019 & 1994

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	2019 ANES		1994 GSS
FT: "Illegal" Immigrants	0.174*	0.203*	
	(0.051)	(0.056)	
FT: "Illegal" Immigrants × Political Interest	0.319*	0.376*	
	(0.060)	(0.066)	
Stereotypes: "Illegal" Immigrants			-0.118
			(0.153)
Stypes: "Illegal" Immigrants × Newspaper Readership			0.541*
			(0.182)
Additional Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,443	1,446	772
R-squared	0.398	0.413	0.117

Note: Dependent variables are the same as the main paper; preferred immigration levels (ranges 0-1 in model 1), preferred refugee allowance (ranges 0-1 in model 2), and preferred immigration levels (dichotomous 0 vs. 1 in model 3). OLS coefficients from a series of linear probability models with robust standard errors in parentheses. The main variables of interest: attitudes toward "illegal" immigrants, political interest, and newspaper readership all range from 0 to 1. The other constitutive term for the interactions and the constant terms are not displayed here. Additional Controls are for attitudes toward "legal" immigrants, demographics, and Party ID. Sources are the 2019 ANES Pilot & the 1994 GSS. * $p<0.05$, two-tailed test.

Table B5

Replicates Table 3 from the main paper but with controls for state fixed effects (a dummy variable created from the ANES variable *inputstate*).

Table B5: Feelings Toward "Legal" vs. "Illegal" Immigrants and General Immigration Policy Preferences + Controls for State Fixed Effects, 2019

	DV = Immigration Levels			DV = Refugee Allowance		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
FT: "Legal" Immigrants	0.190*		0.007	0.256*		0.040
	(0.030)		(0.031)	(0.033)		(0.033)
FT: "Illegal" Immigrants		0.421*	0.419*		0.503*	0.488*
		(0.024)	(0.025)		(0.026)	(0.029)
Age	-0.002*	-0.001*	-0.001**	-0.001*	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
College	0.071*	0.063*	0.063*	0.098*	0.090*	0.089*
	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Female	-0.026**	-0.049*	-0.048*	0.048*	0.021	0.023*
	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.013)
White	0.031**	0.058*	0.058*	0.044*	0.077*	0.076*
	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Republican	-0.229*	-0.098*	-0.099*	-0.257*	-0.102*	-0.106*
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Constant	0.484*	0.341*	0.338*	0.450*	0.298*	0.280*
	(0.049)	(0.043)	(0.046)	(0.060)	(0.053)	(0.055)
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,446	1,444	1,444	1,449	1,447	1,447
R^2	0.275	0.403	0.403	0.265	0.401	0.402

Note: Dependent variables are preferred immigration levels and support for allowing refugees (both range 0-1; high = pro-immigration/pro-refugee). Feeling thermometer ratings (FT) both range 0-1 (high = warmer feelings). OLS coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Source is the 2019 ANES Pilot. * $p<0.05$, two-tailed test.

Table B6

Replicates Table 4 from the main paper but with controls for state fixed effects (a dummy variable created from the ANES variable *inputstate*).

Table B6: Feelings Toward "Legal" vs. "Illegal" Immigrants and Presidential Candidate Evaluations + Controls for State Fixed Effects, 2019

	Trump vs. Biden	Trump vs. Buttigieg	Trump vs. Harris	Trump vs. Sanders	Trump vs. Warren
FT: "Legal" Immigrants	7.030	2.588	6.221	8.837	-0.893
	(5.299)	(4.784)	(4.787)	(5.452)	(5.108)
FT: "Illegal" Immigrants	-39.184*	-36.227*	-41.865*	-38.213*	-38.657*
	(5.117)	(4.759)	(4.600)	(4.975)	(4.673)
Policy Conservatism	52.884*	58.645*	63.508*	79.582*	80.036*
	(5.025)	(4.702)	(4.624)	(4.792)	(4.543)
Economic Evaluations	55.314*	47.816*	53.253*	58.433*	56.900*
	(4.941)	(4.490)	(4.503)	(4.922)	(4.787)
Partisanship	72.131*	59.045*	59.128*	60.593*	63.028*
	(4.019)	(3.457)	(3.478)	(3.674)	(3.726)
Constant	-86.232*	-57.104*	-67.683*	-85.402*	-80.708*
	(7.950)	(7.083)	(7.115)	(6.893)	(7.670)
State Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,430	1,412	1,423	1,432	1,426
R^2	0.753	0.745	0.793	0.799	0.817

Note: Dependent variables are differences in feeling thermometer ratings (Trump - Dem; ranges -100 to +100). All independent variables range from 0-1 (higher values = warmer feelings toward immigrant groups, more conservative policy preferences, more positive economic evaluations, and stronger Republican partisanship). OLS coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Source is the 2019 ANES Pilot, survey weights applied. * $p<0.05$, two-tailed test.

Table B7

Replicates Table 5 from the main paper but with controls for region fixed effects (a dummy variable created from the GSS variable *region*).

Table B7: Stereotypes of "Legal" vs. "Illegal" Immigrants and General Immigration Policy Preferences + Controls for Region Fixed Effects, 1994

	DV = Immigration Levels
Stereotypes: "Legal" Immigrants	-0.058
	(0.076)
Stereotypes: "Illegal" Immigrants	0.220*
	(0.055)
Age	-0.001
	(0.001)
College	0.191*
	(0.032)
Female	-0.007
	(0.027)
White	0.000
	(0.040)
Born in USA	-0.275*
	(0.055)
Republican	-0.071*
	(0.029)
Constant	0.496*
	(0.110)
Region Fixed Effects	Yes
Observations	1,188
R^2	0.085

Note: Dependent variable is dichotomous (0 = decrease; 1 = maintain/increase). OLS coefficients from a linear probability model with robust standard errors in parentheses. A probit model yields very similar results. Source is the 1994 GSS. * $p<0.05$, two-tailed test.

Table B8

Full models associated with Table 3 in the main paper.

Table B8: Feelings Toward "Legal" vs. "Illegal" Immigrants and General Immigration Policy Preferences, 2019

	DV = Immigration Levels			DV = Refugee Allowance		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
FT: "Legal" Immigrants	0.196*		0.012	0.261*		0.044
	(0.030)		(0.030)	(0.032)		(0.032)
FT: "Illegal" Immigrants		0.425*	0.421*		0.508*	0.492*
		(0.024)	(0.025)		(0.026)	(0.029)
Age	-0.002*	-0.001*	-0.001*	-0.001*	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
College	0.079*	0.069*	0.069*	0.099*	0.090*	0.089*
	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Female	-0.028*	-0.050*	-0.050*	0.048*	0.022	0.024*
	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.013)
White	0.033*	0.061*	0.061*	0.039*	0.073*	0.072*
	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Republican	-0.228*	-0.096*	-0.097*	-0.255*	-0.098*	-0.102*
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Constant	0.516*	0.361*	0.356*	0.481*	0.314*	0.294*
	(0.031)	(0.026)	(0.030)	(0.034)	(0.028)	(0.031)
Observations	1,446	1,444	1,444	1,449	1,447	1,447
R^2	0.238	0.371	0.371	0.238	0.380	0.381

Note: Dependent variables are preferred immigration levels and support for allowing refugees (both range 0-1; high = pro-immigration/pro-refugee). Feeling thermometer ratings (FT) both range 0-1 (high = warmer feelings). OLS coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Source is the 2019 ANES Pilot. * $p<0.05$, two-tailed test.

Table B9

Full model associated with Table 5 in the main paper.

Table B9: Stereotypes of "Legal" vs. "Illegal" Immigrants and General Immigration Policy Preferences, 1994

	DV = Immigration Levels
Stereotypes: "Legal" Immigrants	-0.049
	(0.076)
Stereotypes: "Illegal" Immigrants	0.217*
	(0.054)
Age	-0.001
	(0.001)
College	0.188*
	(0.032)
Female	-0.006
	(0.027)
White	0.001
	(0.039)
Born in USA	-0.275*
	(0.055)
Republican	-0.070**
	(0.028)
Constant	0.555*
	(0.088)
Observations	1,188
R^2	0.079

Note: Dependent variable is dichotomous (0 = decrease; 1 = maintain/increase). OLS coefficients from a linear probability model with robust standard errors in parentheses. A probit model yields very similar results. Source is the 1994 GSS. * $p<0.05$, two-tailed test.