## Appendix

Table A1: Variable list and operationalization

| Variable                         | Operationalization   |
|----------------------------------|--|
| Dependent variables              |  |
| Free movement                    | "Which of the following do you think is the most positive result of the EU? Firstly?" The response categories are "Peace among the Member States of the EU", "The free movement of people, goods and services within the EU", "The euro", "Student exchange programmes such as ERASMUS", "The Common Agricultural Policy", "The economic power of the EU", "The political and diplomatic influence of the EU in the rest of the world", "The level of social welfare (healthcare, education, pensions) in the EU", "Other (SPONTANEOUS)" and "None (SPONTANEOUS)", dummy variable on whether or not free movement is mentioned as first or second choice for the most positive result of the EU. |
| Insufficient controls            | "What does the EU mean to you personally?" The respondents can choose among 14 categories, including multiple answers. We code a dummy variable whether or not respondents select the category 'Not enough control at external borders'.   |
| More controls                    | "In your opinion, should additional measures be taken to fight illegal immigration of people from outside the EU?" Response categories are "Yes, preferably at an EU level", "Yes, preferably at a national level", "Yes, at both levels (EU and national) (SPONT.)", "No, there is no need for additional measures". We code a dummy variable on whether or not respondents support additional measures to prevent illegal immigration. In addition, we code two dummies for whether or not respondents support a national/European response. On the aggregate level, we calculate the difference between the share that support national controls and those that support European controls.    |
| Insider favourability            | "Please tell me whether each of the following statements evokes a positive or negative feeling for you. Immigration of people from other EU Member States/Immigration of people from outside the EU". The response categories are "Very positive", "Fairly positive", "Fairly negative", "Very negative". We code a dummy variable that takes the value '1' if feelings towards EU-immigrants are more positive than towards non-EU immigrants.  |
| Immigration salience             | "What do you think are the two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment?", "And personally, what are the two most important issues you are facing at the moment?", "What do you think are the two most important issues facing the EU at the moment?" We code a dummy variable on whether or not a citizen mentions immigration in any of these three questions.   |
| $\underline{Control\ variables}$ |  |
| Unemployment                     | Unemployment rate in percentage of active population, seasonally adjusted, from January for Spring survey wave and from July for fall survey wave [Eurostat database]  |
| GDP                              | Gross domestic product at market prices as percentage of EU28 total per capita (based on million purchasing power standards), current prices [Eurostat database]   |
| Age                              | Age in years   |
| Sex                              | Male, Female   |
| Social class                     | "Do you see yourself and your household belonging to?" Response categories are "The working class of society", "The lower middle class of society" "The middle class of society", "The upper middle class of society", "The higher class of society".  |
| Type of community                | "Would you say you live in a?" The response categories are "Rural area or village", "Small or middle sized town" and "Large town".   |

Table A2: Overview of the available data pre and post the refugee crisis of 2015

| Year                  | 201 | 2  | 201 | 3  | 201 | 4  | 201 | 5  | 201 | 6  | 201 | 7  | 2018 |
|-----------------------|-----|----|-----|----|-----|----|-----|----|-----|----|-----|----|------|
| Eurobarometer No.     | 77  | 78 | 79  | 80 | 81  | 82 | 83  | 84 | 85  | 86 | 87  | 88 | 89   |
| Free movement         |     |    |     |    |     |    |     |    |     |    |     |    |      |
| Insufficient controls |     |    |     |    |     |    |     |    |     |    |     |    |      |
| More controls         |     |    |     |    |     |    |     |    |     |    |     |    |      |
| Insider favourability |     |    |     |    |     |    |     |    |     |    |     |    |      |
| Immigration salience  |     |    |     |    |     |    |     |    |     |    |     |    |      |

Table A3: Summary statistics

| Statistic             | N           | Mean  | St. Dev. | Min   | Pctl(25) | Pctl(75) | Max   |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------|----------|-------|----------|----------|-------|
| Free movement         | 361,791     | 0.602 | 0.489    | 0.000 | 0.000    | 1.000    | 1.000 |
| Insufficient control  | 361,780     | 0.192 | 0.394    | 0.000 | 0.000    | 0.000    | 1.000 |
| More control          | 215,225     | 0.913 | 0.281    | 0.000 | 1.000    | 1.000    | 1.000 |
| Insider-favourability | $204,\!574$ | 0.412 | 0.492    | 0.000 | 0.000    | 1.000    | 1.000 |

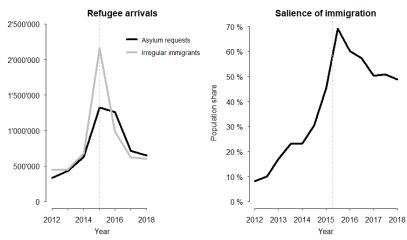
Table A4: Correlation matrix dependent variables (individual level)

|                       | Free movement | Insufficient controls | More controls | Insider favourability |
|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| Free movement         | 1             | -0.040                | 0             | 0.100                 |
| Insufficient controls | -0.040        | 1                     | 0.090         | 0.090                 |
| More controls         | 0             | 0.090                 | 1             | 0.130                 |
| Insider favourability | 0.100         | 0.090                 | 0.130         | 1                     |

Table A5: Correlation matrix dependent variables (aggregate level)

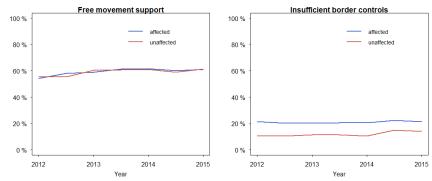
|                       | Free movement | Insufficient controls | More controls | Insider favourability |
|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| Free movement         | 1             | -0.280                | -0.040        | 0.280                 |
| Insufficient controls | -0.280        | 1                     | 0.140         | 0.140                 |
| More controls         | -0.040        | 0.140                 | 1             | 0.500                 |
| Insider favourability | 0.280         | 0.140                 | 0.500         | 1                     |

Figure A1: The refugee crisis as an external shock event



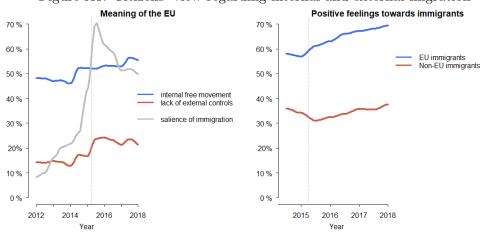
Note: The plot on the left displays the annual number of asylum requests and the number of irregular immigrants (third country nationals found to be illegally present) across 28 EU member states (Eurostat). The plot on the right displays the average population share that considers immigration an important issue (Eurobarometer).

Figure A2: Pre-treatment trends of dependent variables



Note: Eurobarometer data from 2012 to (spring) 2015. Only the pre-treatment period shown.

Figure A3: Citizens' view regarding internal and external migration



Note: Eurobarometer data from 2012 to 2018. The first wave is from Spring 2012 and the last wave from Spring 2018. The lines are based on the average country-means. The dashed vertical line indicates the time of the refugee crisis in autumn 2015.

## Threshold calculation

We classify EU member states into affected and unaffected countries based on the extent of the increase in asylum seekers they experienced during the refugee crisis. We focus on the number of asylum seekers rather than registered arrivals. Applying for asylum appears to be a more robust approximation of the willingness to stay in a country for a longer period. The mere arrival rates from non-EU citizens also comprise of migrants who might only wish to transfer between EU member states but happen to be first registered in a particular member state, most likely a member state with an external border.

For that purpose we compare the number of asylum request before the crisis with the number of asylum requests (ASYLUM) during the crisis and calculate the this change in percent of the population (POP). The measure of crisis exposure is represented by whether or not a country experienced a significant increase in asylum seekers during the time of the refugee crisis: A country is classified as affected if the increase is higher than 0.5% of the population and as unaffected if the increase is lower than 0.05%.

For the classification we combine two models to account for the fact that some countries took longer in registering asylum requests and registered their peak in 2016 instead of 2015:

```
\begin{aligned} & \text{Model 1} = ASYLUM_{2015} - mean (\text{ASYLUM}_{2013} + \text{ASYLUM}_{2014}) \; / \; POP_{2015} \; * \; 100 \\ & \text{Model 2} = \text{mean} (ASYLUM_{2015} + \text{ASYLUM}_{2016}) \; - \; \text{mean} (ASYLUM_{2013} + \text{ASYLUM}_{2014}) / \text{POP}_{2015} \; * \; 100 \end{aligned}
```

Table A6: Threshold calculations

|                | Model 1 | Model 2 |
|----------------|---------|---------|
| Hungary        | 1.48    | 0.73    |
| Sweden         | 0.98    | 0.29    |
| Austria        | 0.77    | 0.50    |
| Finland        | 0.53    | 0.29    |
| Germany        | 0.39    | 0.55    |
| Luxembourg     | 0.25    | 0.22    |
| Belgium        | 0.20    | 0.09    |
| Denmark        | 0.18    | 0.05    |
| Bulgaria       | 0.16    | 0.15    |
| Netherlands    | 0.16    | 0.08    |
| Cyprus         | 0.09    | 0.13    |
| Italy          | 0.06    | 0.10    |
| Greece         | 0.04    | 0.21    |
| Czech Republic | 0.01    | 0.01    |
| Estonia        | 0.01    | 0.01    |
| Ireland        | 0.04    | 0.03    |
| Spain          | 0.02    | 0.02    |
| France         | 0.02    | 0.02    |
| Croatia        | -0.01   | 0.01    |
| Latvia         | 0.00    | 0.00    |
| Lithuania      | 0.00    | 0.00    |
| Malta          | 0.01    | 0.02    |
| Poland         | 0.00    | 0.00    |
| Portugal       | 0.00    | 0.01    |
| Romania        | 0.00    | 0.00    |
| Slovenia       | 0.00    | 0.02    |
| Slovakia       | 0.00    | 0.00    |
| United Kingdom | 0.01    | 0.01    |

Free movement Insufficient controls Insider favorability 70 % 50 % 80% 60 % 70 % 40 % 90% 60 % 50 % 30 % 50 % 40 % 20% 80% 40 % 30 % 10 % 70 % 30 % 20% 0 % 2012 2014 2018 2014 2016 2018 2015 2016 2017 2018 2015 2016 2017 2018 Insufficient controls Insider favorability Free movement More controls 100% 70 % 50 % 60 % 70 % 40 % 90% 30 % 50 % 40 % 20% 80% 40 % 30 % 70 % 30 % 20% 2014 2018 2018

Figure A4: Country-means over time

Note: Share of aggregate support over time. The data points represent country means of a given survey wave. The lines displays a smoothed estimate across country means (smoothing parameter of 0.1). The upper plot shows an estimate across all countries, the lower plot shows separate estimates for affected countries (blue) and unaffected countries (red). The dashed vertical line indicates the time of the refugee crisis in autumn 2015. Eurobarometer data from 2012 to 2018. The first wave is from Spring 2012 and the last wave from Spring 2018.

2016

2017

2018

2015

2016

2012

2012

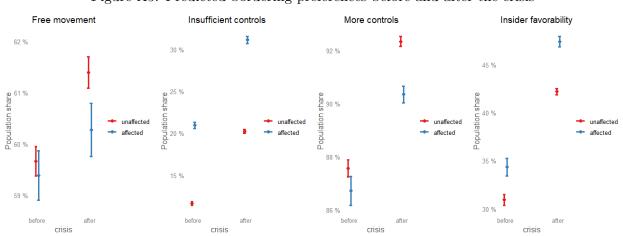


Figure A5: Predicted bordering preferences before and after the crisis

Note: Predicted values based on linear regression models with difference-in-difference estimates. Pre-crisis estimate from Spring 2015, after-crisis estimate based on six survey waves between Autumn 2015 and Spring 2018.

Free movement Insider favorability e 62.5 % te 60 % 57.5 % 55 % 6 52.5 % Population share 50 % 45 % 40 % unaffected unaffected affected affected 35 % 30 % 2016 2015 2016 2012 2014 2018 2017 2018 Year Year Insufficient controls More controls 35 % Population share Population share 95 % 30 % 25 % 20 % 90 % unaffected unaffected 15 % affected affected 85 % 10 % 2012 2014 2016 2018 2015 2016 2018

Figure A6: Predicted probability of de-bordering and re-bordering preferences

Note: Predicted probabilities from linear probability models with an interaction term between crisis exposure (affected/unaffected countries) and survey waves. The dashed vertical line indicates the time of the refugee crisis.

Year

Year

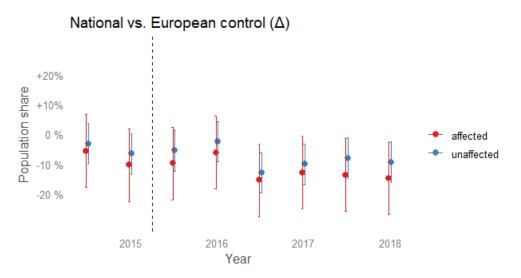


Figure A7: Relative preference for European and national controls

Note: Eurobarometer data from 2012 to 2018. The first wave is from Spring 2012 and the last wave from Spring 2018. The lines represent the average country means over time in the relative preference for national controls over European ones (positive values) and vice versa (negative values). The dashed vertical line indicates the time of the refugee crisis in autumn 2015.

Table A7: Support for de-bordering and re-bordering (overall crisis effect)

|                    | Free movement | Insufficient controls | $   \begin{array}{c} \text{More} \\ \text{controls} \end{array} $ | Insider<br>favourability |
|--------------------|---------------|-----------------------|---|--------------------------|
|                    | (1)           | (2)                   | (3)   | (4)                      |
| Crisis             | -0.021***     | 0.075***              | 0.060***  | 0.093***                 |
|                    | (0.003)       | (0.003)               | (0.002)   | (0.004)                  |
| Unemployment       | 0.006***      | 0.001                 | 0.015***  | 0.004                    |
|                    | (0.001)       | (0.001)               | (0.002)   | (0.004)                  |
| GDP p.c.           | 0.001         | 0.0004                | 0.0003  | $-0.001^*$               |
| -                  | (0.0004)      | (0.0003)              | (0.0003)  | (0.0005)                 |
| Age                | -0.002***     | 0.001***              | 0.001***  | 0.001***                 |
|                    | (0.00005)     | (0.00004)             | (0.00003)   | (0.0001)                 |
| Sex (Woman)        | -0.029***     | -0.014***             | -0.004***   | -0.036***                |
| ,                  | (0.002)       | (0.001)               | (0.001)   | (0.002)                  |
| Lower middle class | 0.043***      | -0.012****            | $-0.007^{***}$  | 0.035***                 |
|                    | (0.002)       | (0.002)               | (0.002)   | (0.003)                  |
| Middle class       | 0.046***      | -0.023****            | $-0.003^*$  | 0.035***                 |
|                    | (0.002)       | (0.002)               | (0.001)   | (0.003)                  |
| Upper middle class | 0.082***      | $-0.057^{***}$        | $-0.016^{***}$  | 0.066***                 |
|                    | (0.004)       | (0.003)               | (0.003)   | (0.005)                  |
| Higher class       | $0.005^{'}$   | -0.028****            | $-0.030^{***}$  | 0.052***                 |
|                    | (0.008)       | (0.007)               | (0.007)   | (0.013)                  |
| Small/middle town  | 0.018***      | -0.001                | $-0.003^*$  | -0.001                   |
| ·                  | (0.002)       | (0.002)               | (0.001)   | (0.003)                  |
| Large town         | 0.035***      | -0.013****            | -0.019****  | -0.004                   |
|                    | (0.002)       | (0.002)               | (0.002)   | (0.003)                  |
| Constant           | 0.626***      | 0.264***              | 0.737***  | 0.502***                 |
|                    | (0.052)       | (0.041)               | (0.043)   | (0.076)                  |
| Observations       | 347,388       | 347,388               | 207,684   | 197,642                  |
| Adjusted $R^2$     | 0.047         | 0.064                 | 0.034   | 0.067                    |

Note: Linear regression models with country-FE's, country-specific time-trends and country-clustered SE's. Level of statistical significance: \*p < 0.05; \*\*\*p < 0.01; \*\*\*\*p < 0.001.

Table A8: Logistic models for overall crisis effect

|                    | Free movement    | Insufficient controls | More controls   | Insider favourability |
|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
|                    | (1)              | (2)                   | (3)             | (4)                   |
| Crisis             | -0.094***        | 0.508***              | 0.774***        | 0.415***              |
|                    | (0.015)          | (0.018)               | (0.029)         | (0.017)               |
| Unemployment       | 0.026***         | 0.005                 | 0.142***        | 0.015                 |
| 1 0                | (0.004)          | (0.006)               | (0.032)         | (0.018)               |
| GDP p.c.           | $0.002^{'}$      | $0.005^{*}$           | 0.004           | $-0.006^*$            |
|                    | (0.002)          | (0.002)               | (0.003)         | (0.002)               |
| Age                | -0.009****       | 0.009***              | 0.011***        | 0.003***              |
|                    | (0.0002)         | (0.0003)              | (0.0005)        | (0.0003)              |
| Sex (Woman)        | -0.126***        | -0.090***             | -0.055***       | -0.159***             |
| ,                  | (0.007)          | (0.009)               | (0.016)         | (0.010)               |
| Lower middle class | 0.187***         | -0.097***             | -0.100***       | 0.157***              |
|                    | (0.009)          | (0.012)               | (0.026)         | (0.015)               |
| Middle class       | 0.202***         | -0.151***             | -0.060**        | 0.155***              |
|                    | (0.010)          | (0.012)               | (0.020)         | (0.012)               |
| Upper middle class | $0.367^{***}$    | -0.368***             | -0.204***       | $0.291^{***}$         |
|                    | (0.019)          | (0.023)               | (0.032)         | (0.020)               |
| Higher class       | 0.022            | -0.213***             | -0.336***       | 0.229***              |
|                    | (0.036)          | (0.049)               | (0.081)         | (0.055)               |
| Small/middle town  | 0.078***         | -0.005                | -0.044*         | -0.004                |
|                    | (0.009)          | (0.011)               | (0.020)         | (0.012)               |
| Large town         | 0.156***         | -0.093***             | -0.238***       | -0.018                |
|                    | (0.010)          | (0.012)               | (0.021)         | (0.013)               |
| Constant           | $0.515^{*}$      | -1.439***             | 0.689           | 0.069                 |
|                    | (0.225)          | (0.332)               | (0.538)         | (0.346)               |
| Observations       | 347,388          | 347,388               | 207,684         | 197,642               |
| Log Likelihood     | $-224,\!820.800$ | $-159,\!519.900$      | $-57,\!571.000$ | $-127,\!154.300$      |
| Akaike Inf. Crit.  | 449,775.700      | 319,173.800           | 115,276.000     | 254,442.700           |

Note: Logistic regression models with country-FE's, country-specific time-trends and country-clustered SE's. Level of statistical significance: \*p < 0.05; \*\*\*p < 0.01; \*\*\*\*p < 0.001.

Table A9: Support for de-bordering and re-bordering (direct exposure)

|                       | Free<br>movement | Insufficient<br>controls | More controls  | Insider<br>favourability |
|-----------------------|------------------|--------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|
|                       | (1)              | (2)                      | (3)            | (4)                      |
| Crisis                | -0.057           | 0.331***                 | 0.093***       | 0.235***                 |
|                       | (0.054)          | (0.042)                  | (0.019)        | (0.032)                  |
| Exposure              | 0.284***         | 0.113***                 | -0.031         | 0.109**                  |
| -                     | (0.016)          | (0.012)                  | (0.020)        | (0.034)                  |
| Crisis*Exposure (DiD) | $-0.031^{***}$   | 0.030***                 | $-0.034^{***}$ | $-0.026^{**}$            |
| 1                     | (0.008)          | (0.007)                  | (0.006)        | (0.010)                  |
| Unemployment          | 0.006***         | -0.001                   | 0.024***       | 0.014**                  |
|                       | (0.001)          | (0.001)                  | (0.003)        | (0.005)                  |
| GDP p.c.              | 0.0004           | -0.0003                  | $-0.001^*$     | $-0.001^*$               |
|                       | (0.0004)         | (0.0003)                 | (0.0003)       | (0.001)                  |
| Age                   | -0.002***        | $0.001^{***}$            | $0.001^{***}$  | 0.001***                 |
|                       | (0.0001)         | (0.00004)                | (0.00004)      | (0.0001)                 |
| Sex (Woman)           | -0.024***        | -0.016***                | -0.005***      | -0.033***                |
|                       | (0.002)          | (0.001)                  | (0.001)        | (0.002)                  |
| Lower middle class    | 0.038***         | -0.008***                | -0.009***      | 0.026***                 |
|                       | (0.002)          | (0.002)                  | (0.002)        | (0.004)                  |
| Middle class          | 0.043***         | -0.031***                | -0.005**       | 0.026***                 |
|                       | (0.003)          | (0.002)                  | (0.002)        | (0.003)                  |
| Upper middle class    | $0.069^{***}$    | $-0.057^{***}$           | -0.019***      | $0.053^{***}$            |
|                       | (0.005)          | (0.004)                  | (0.003)        | (0.006)                  |
| Higher class          | -0.010           | -0.018*                  | $-0.021^*$     | 0.051***                 |
|                       | (0.009)          | (0.007)                  | (0.009)        | (0.015)                  |
| Small/middle town     | $0.016^{***}$    | -0.005**                 | -0.003         | -0.001                   |
|                       | (0.002)          | (0.002)                  | (0.002)        | (0.003)                  |
| Large town            | 0.030***         | -0.019****               | -0.018***      | -0.005                   |
|                       | (0.002)          | (0.002)                  | (0.002)        | (0.003)                  |
| Constant              | 0.327***         | 0.290***                 | 0.806***       | 0.422***                 |
|                       | (0.048)          | (0.038)                  | (0.046)        | (0.079)                  |
| Observations          | 271,444          | 271,444                  | 161,504        | 153,628                  |
| Adjusted $R^2$        | 0.049            | 0.070                    | 0.037          | 0.074                    |

Note: Linear regression models with country-FE's, country-specific time-trends and country-clustered SE's. Level of statistical significance: \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001.

Table A10: Logistic models for direct exposure

|                       | Free<br>movement | Insufficient controls | More controls  | Insider favourability |
|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
|                       | (1)              | (2)                   | (3)            | (4)                   |
| Crisis                | -0.295           | 2.258***              | 1.002***       | 1.058***              |
| 011010                | (0.240)          | (0.278)               | (0.228)        | (0.141)               |
| Exposure              | 1.166***         | 0.521***              | -0.615**       | 0.583***              |
| Emposaro              | (0.068)          | (0.087)               | (0.231)        | (0.162)               |
| Crisis*Exposure (DiD) | $-0.129^{***}$   | 0.019                 | $-0.527^{***}$ | $-0.146^{***}$        |
| Chisis Exposure (DID) | (0.037)          | (0.044)               | (0.073)        | (0.043)               |
| Unemployment          | 0.025***         | -0.020*               | 0.146***       | 0.061**               |
|                       | (0.007)          | (0.010)               | (0.038)        | (0.022)               |
| GDP p.c.              | 0.002            | -0.003                | $-0.008^*$     | $-0.005^{*}$          |
| _                     | (0.002)          | (0.003)               | (0.004)        | (0.002)               |
| Age                   | $-0.009^{***}$   | 0.008***              | 0.011***       | 0.003***              |
|                       | (0.0002)         | (0.0003)              | (0.0005)       | (0.0003)              |
| Sex (Woman)           | -0.108***        | -0.112****            | -0.062****     | -0.149****            |
| ,                     | (0.008)          | (0.010)               | (0.018)        | (0.011)               |
| Lower middle class    | 0.165***         | $-0.069^{***}$        | $-0.114^{***}$ | 0.118***              |
|                       | (0.010)          | (0.014)               | (0.028)        | (0.017)               |
| Middle class          | 0.191***         | $-0.208^{***}$        | $-0.077^{***}$ | 0.117***              |
|                       | (0.011)          | (0.014)               | (0.022)        | (0.013)               |
| Upper middle class    | 0.308***         | $-0.383^{***}$        | -0.223****     | 0.236***              |
| **                    | (0.023)          | (0.028)               | (0.037)        | (0.024)               |
| Higher class          | -0.043           | $-0.137^{*}$          | $-0.244^*$     | 0.225***              |
|                       | (0.041)          | (0.057)               | (0.099)        | (0.066)               |
| Small/middle town     | 0.071***         | $-0.040^{**}$         | -0.033         | -0.006                |
| ,                     | (0.010)          | (0.012)               | (0.022)        | (0.013)               |
| Large town            | 0.132***         | $-0.145^{***}$        | -0.209****     | -0.024                |
| ~                     | (0.011)          | (0.014)               | (0.024)        | (0.015)               |
| Constant              | $-0.736^{***}$   | -0.612                | 2.127***       | -0.409                |
|                       | (0.212)          | (0.322)               | (0.584)        | (0.363)               |
| Observations          | 271,444          | 271,444               | 161,504        | 153,628               |
| Akaike Inf. Crit.     | $350,\!660.700$  | 239,481.100           | 93,640.810     | $196,\!173.900$       |

Note: Logistic regression models with country-FE's, country-specific time-trends and country-clustered SE's. Level of statistical significance: \*p < 0.05; \*\*p < 0.01; \*\*\*p < 0.001.

Table A11: Separate estimates for feelings towards EU and non-EU immigrants

|                         | Negative Feelings<br>EU-immigrants | Negative Feelings<br>Non-EU immigrants |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
|                         | (1)                                | (2)                                    |
| Crisis                  | -0.017**                           | 0.144***                               |
|                         | (0.006)                            | (0.006)                                |
| Unemployment            | 0.008                              | -0.004                                 |
| - •                     | (0.007)                            | (0.007)                                |
| GDP p.c.                | 0.001                              | -0.002*                                |
|                         | (0.001)                            | (0.001)                                |
| Age                     | 0.004***                           | 0.005***                               |
|                         | (0.0001)                           | (0.0001)                               |
| Sex (Woman)             | 0.027***                           | $-0.029^{***}$                         |
|                         | (0.004)                            | (0.004)                                |
| Lower middle class      | -0.106***                          | $-0.072^{***}$                         |
|                         | (0.005)                            | (0.006)                                |
| Middle class            | -0.179***                          | -0.145***                              |
|                         | (0.004)                            | (0.004)                                |
| Upper middle class      | -0.308***                          | $-0.239^{***}$                         |
|                         | (0.008)                            | (0.008)                                |
| Higher class            | $-0.287^{***}$                     | $-0.193^{***}$                         |
|                         | (0.020)                            | (0.021)                                |
| Small/middle town       | -0.034***                          | -0.043***                              |
| ,                       | (0.004)                            | (0.004)                                |
| Large town              | -0.066***                          | $-0.085^{***}$                         |
|                         | (0.005)                            | (0.005)                                |
| Constant                | 2.303***                           | 3.149***                               |
|                         | (0.124)                            | (0.130)                                |
| Observations            | 202,504                            | 201,438                                |
| Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> | 0.086                              | 0.127                                  |

Note: Linear regression models with country-FE's, country-specific time-trends and country-clustered SE's. Level of statistical significance:  $^*p<0.05; ^{**}p<0.01; ^{***}p<0.001.$ 

Table A12: Support for de-bordering and re-bordering (gradual exposure)

|                       | Free movement | Insufficient controls | More controls  | Insider<br>favourability |
|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|----------------|--------------------------|
|                       | (1)           | (2)                   | (3)            | (4)                      |
| Crisis                | -0.051        | 0.299***              | 0.083***       | 0.201***                 |
|                       | (0.048)       | (0.038)               | (0.016)        | (0.028)                  |
| Exposure              | 0.567***      | 0.179***              | $-0.104^{***}$ | 0.191***                 |
| -                     | (0.031)       | (0.025)               | (0.039)        | (0.069)                  |
| Crisis*Exposure (DiD) | -0.066****    | 0.039***              | -0.073****     | $-0.035^{*}$             |
| 1                     | (0.017)       | (0.013)               | (0.011)        | (0.019)                  |
| Unemployment          | 0.004***      | -0.003***             | 0.013***       | 0.002                    |
| 1 0                   | (0.001)       | (0.001)               | (0.002)        | (0.004)                  |
| GDP p.c.              | 0.0005        | 0.0003                | $-0.001^{*}$   | $-0.001^{**}$            |
| •                     | (0.0004)      | (0.0003)              | (0.0003)       | (0.001)                  |
| Age                   | -0.002***     | 0.001***              | 0.001***       | 0.001***                 |
|                       | (0.00005)     | (0.00004)             | (0.00003)      | (0.0001)                 |
| Sex (Woman)           | -0.029***     | -0.014***             | -0.004***      | -0.036****               |
| ,                     | (0.002)       | (0.001)               | (0.001)        | (0.002)                  |
| Lower middle class    | 0.041***      | -0.009****            | -0.007****     | 0.035***                 |
|                       | (0.002)       | (0.002)               | (0.002)        | (0.003)                  |
| Middle class          | 0.051***      | -0.030****            | $-0.003^{**}$  | 0.035***                 |
|                       | (0.002)       | (0.002)               | (0.001)        | (0.003)                  |
| Upper middle class    | 0.088***      | $-0.064^{***}$        | $-0.016^{***}$ | 0.066***                 |
| 11                    | (0.004)       | (0.003)               | (0.003)        | (0.005)                  |
| Higher class          | $0.004^{'}$   | $-0.027^{***}$        | $-0.030^{***}$ | 0.052***                 |
|                       | (0.008)       | (0.007)               | (0.007)        | (0.013)                  |
| Small/middle town     | 0.019***      | -0.001                | $-0.003^{**}$  | -0.001                   |
| ,                     | (0.002)       | (0.002)               | (0.001)        | (0.003)                  |
| Large town            | 0.035***      | -0.013***             | -0.019***      | -0.004                   |
| <u> </u>              | (0.002)       | (0.002)               | (0.002)        | (0.003)                  |
| Constant              | 0.342***      | 0.226***              | 0.868***       | 0.500***                 |
|                       | (0.045)       | (0.036)               | (0.042)        | (0.075)                  |
| Observations          | 347,388       | 347,388               | 207,684        | 197,642                  |
| Adjusted $R^2$        | 0.047         | 0.065                 | 0.035          | 0.067                    |

Note: Linear regression models with country-FE's, country-specific time-trends and country-clustered SE's. Level of statistical significance: \*p < 0.05; \*\*p < 0.01; \*\*\*p < 0.001.

Table A13: Models with continuous treatment variable

|                    | Free movement (1) | Insufficient controls (2) | More controls (3) | Insider<br>favourability<br>(4) |
|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
|                    |                   |                           |                   |                                 |
| Asylum requests    | $-1.697^{***}$    | 1.614***                  | 3.706***          | 2.479***                        |
|                    | (0.481)           | (0.385)                   | (0.377)           | (0.676)                         |
| Unemployment       | 0.010***          | -0.006***                 | 0.005             | -0.009                          |
|                    | (0.001)           | (0.001)                   | (0.003)           | (0.005)                         |
| GDP p.c.           | 0.0004            | 0.0004                    | 0.0003            | -0.001                          |
|                    | (0.0004)          | (0.0003)                  | (0.0003)          | (0.001)                         |
| Age                | -0.002***         | 0.001***                  | 0.001***          | 0.001***                        |
|                    | (0.00005)         | (0.00004)                 | (0.00004)         | (0.0001)                        |
| Sex (Woman)        | -0.030***         | -0.012***                 | -0.004**          | -0.038***                       |
| ,                  | (0.002)           | (0.001)                   | (0.001)           | (0.002)                         |
| Lower middle class | 0.044***          | -0.012***                 | -0.007***         | 0.035***                        |
|                    | (0.002)           | (0.002)                   | (0.002)           | (0.004)                         |
| Middle class       | 0.048***          | -0.024***                 | $-0.003^*$        | 0.037***                        |
|                    | (0.002)           | (0.002)                   | (0.002)           | (0.003)                         |
| Upper middle class | 0.088***          | -0.059****                | $-0.015^{***}$    | 0.070***                        |
|                    | (0.005)           | (0.004)                   | (0.003)           | (0.005)                         |
| Higher class       | $0.003^{'}$       | -0.026***                 | -0.028****        | 0.057***                        |
|                    | (0.009)           | (0.007)                   | (0.008)           | (0.014)                         |
| Small/middle town  | 0.019***          | 0.001                     | -0.001            | 0.004                           |
|                    | (0.002)           | (0.002)                   | (0.002)           | (0.003)                         |
| Large town         | 0.037***          | -0.011***                 | -0.016***         | -0.002                          |
|                    | (0.002)           | (0.002)                   | (0.002)           | (0.003)                         |
| Constant           | 0.651***          | 0.264***                  | 0.702***          | 0.398***                        |
|                    | (0.053)           | (0.043)                   | (0.045)           | (0.080)                         |
| Observations       | 309,378           | 309,378                   | 174,748           | 166,174                         |
| Adjusted $R^2$     | 0.047             | 0.062                     | 0.029             | 0.065                           |

Note: Linear regression models with country-FE's, country-specific time-trends and country-clustered SE's. Asylum requests measured as a share of a country's population. Level of statistical significance: \*p < 0.05; \*\*p < 0.01; \*\*\*p < 0.001.

Table A14: Support for free movement (only strong supporters)

|                       | Strong free movement support |            |  |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|------------|--|
|                       | (1)                          | (2)        |  |
| Crisis                | -0.018***                    | -0.184***  |  |
|                       | (0.003)                      | (0.051)    |  |
| Exposure              |                              | 0.086***   |  |
|                       |                              | (0.015)    |  |
| Crisis*Exposure (DiD) |                              | -0.003     |  |
| - , ,                 |                              | (0.008)    |  |
| Unemployment          | 0.006***                     | 0.004**    |  |
| - v                   | (0.001)                      | (0.001)    |  |
| GDP p.c.              | -0.001                       | $-0.001^*$ |  |
| -                     | (0.0004)                     | (0.0004)   |  |
| Age                   | -0.002****                   | -0.002***  |  |
|                       | (0.00004)                    | (0.00005)  |  |
| Sex (Woman)           | -0.020***                    | -0.018***  |  |
| ,                     | (0.002)                      | (0.002)    |  |
| Lower middle class    | 0.022***                     | 0.018***   |  |
|                       | (0.002)                      | (0.002)    |  |
| Middle class          | 0.017***                     | 0.021***   |  |
|                       | (0.002)                      | (0.002)    |  |
| Jpper middle class    | 0.030***                     | 0.029***   |  |
|                       | (0.004)                      | (0.005)    |  |
| Higher class          | -0.009                       | -0.006     |  |
|                       | (0.008)                      | (0.009)    |  |
| Small/middle town     | 0.014***                     | 0.014***   |  |
|                       | (0.002)                      | (0.002)    |  |
| Large town            | 0.014***                     | 0.011***   |  |
|                       | (0.002)                      | (0.002)    |  |
| Constant              | 0.423***                     | 0.324***   |  |
|                       | (0.048)                      | (0.046)    |  |
| Observations          | 347,388                      | 271,444    |  |
| $Adjusted R^2$        | 0.040                        | 0.038      |  |

Note: Linear regression models with country-FE's, country-specific time-trends and country-clustered SE's. Level of statistical significance: \*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*\*p<0.001.

Table A15: Support for de-bordering and re-bordering (aggregate level)  $\,$ 

|                         | Free movement | Insufficient controls | More controls | Insider favourability |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
|                         | (1)           | (2)                   | (3)           | (4)                   |
| Crisis                  | -0.023***     | 0.074***              | 0.059***      | 0.091***              |
|                         | (0.007)       | (0.006)               | (0.007)       | (0.009)               |
| Unemployment            | 0.004*        | -0.0001               | 0.013         | 0.001                 |
|                         | (0.002)       | (0.002)               | (0.007)       | (0.009)               |
| GDP p.c.                | 0.001         | 0.001                 | 0.0003        | -0.001                |
|                         | (0.001)       | (0.001)               | (0.001)       | (0.001)               |
| Constant                | 0.490***      | $0.238^{*}$           | 0.767***      | 0.553**               |
|                         | (0.100)       | (0.095)               | (0.136)       | (0.180)               |
| Observations            | 364           | 364                   | 224           | 224                   |
| Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> | 0.896         | 0.910                 | 0.721         | 0.910                 |

Note: Level of statistical significance: p < 0.05; p < 0.01; p < 0.00

Table A16: DiD models for Northern destination countries

|                       | Free movement | Insufficient controls | More controls | Insider<br>favourability |
|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
|                       | (1)           | (2)                   | (3)           | (4)                      |
| Crisis                | -0.066        | 0.221***              | 0.097***      | 0.098*                   |
|                       | (0.076)       | (0.067)               | (0.028)       | (0.045)                  |
| Exposure              | 0.526***      | 0.247***              | -0.082        | 0.272***                 |
| -                     | (0.040)       | (0.035)               | (0.045)       | (0.072)                  |
| Crisis*Exposure (DiD) | -0.120****    | 0.106***              | $0.036^{*}$   | $0.060^{*}$              |
| 1 ( )                 | (0.026)       | (0.023)               | (0.018)       | (0.029)                  |
| Unemployment          | 0.003         | -0.0004               | -0.009        | 0.023**                  |
|                       | (0.004)       | (0.003)               | (0.005)       | (0.009)                  |
| GDP p.c.              | 0.0004        | 0.0003                | -0.0002       | 0.0001                   |
|                       | (0.0004)      | (0.0004)              | (0.0003)      | (0.001)                  |
| Age                   | -0.002***     | 0.002***              | 0.001***      | 0.001***                 |
|                       | (0.0001)      | (0.0001)              | (0.0001)      | (0.0001)                 |
| Sex (Woman)           | -0.043***     | -0.008***             | -0.009***     | -0.047***                |
| ,                     | (0.003)       | (0.002)               | (0.002)       | (0.003)                  |
| Lower middle class    | 0.059***      | -0.032****            | -0.016***     | 0.044***                 |
|                       | (0.003)       | (0.003)               | (0.003)       | (0.005)                  |
| Middle class          | 0.088***      | -0.065***             | -0.019***     | 0.032***                 |
|                       | (0.004)       | (0.003)               | (0.003)       | (0.004)                  |
| Upper middle class    | 0.139***      | -0.110***             | -0.036***     | 0.062***                 |
|                       | (0.006)       | (0.005)               | (0.004)       | (0.006)                  |
| Higher class          | 0.080***      | -0.053***             | -0.052***     | $0.039^{*}$              |
|                       | (0.013)       | (0.011)               | (0.011)       | (0.017)                  |
| Small/middle town     | 0.011***      | 0.0001                | -0.012***     | -0.003                   |
| •                     | (0.003)       | (0.003)               | (0.002)       | (0.004)                  |
| Large town            | 0.036***      | -0.027***             | -0.041***     | -0.027***                |
|                       | (0.003)       | (0.003)               | (0.003)       | (0.005)                  |
| Constant              | 0.389***      | 0.140**               | 1.003***      | $0.095^{'}$              |
|                       | (0.060)       | (0.053)               | (0.070)       | (0.113)                  |
| Observations          | $145,\!245$   | $145,\!245$           | 86,841        | 83,098                   |
| Adjusted $R^2$        | 0.047         | 0.054                 | 0.037         | 0.047                    |

Note: Linear regression models with country-FE's, country-specific time-trends and country-clustered SE's. Crisis exposure measured as relative surge in asylum requests in 2015/2016. Level of statistical significance: \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.01.