

Online Appendix: Persuasion through Slanted Language: Evidence from the Media Coverage of Immigration

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A Text analysis methods and additional results

A.1 Computation of immigration slant

To capture political slant in the media coverage of immigration, I compute a slant index that measures the similarity of the language used in a given text to that used by Republican or Democratic speakers in Congress. The procedure closely follows the method developed by Gentzkow and Shapiro (2010). I apply this method to obtain (i) an index for the slant of AP dispatches released in each quarter and (ii) an index for the slant of articles published by each media outlet in a given year.

I start with the set of all Congressional speeches for the period 2009-2012 (i.e., before the AP’s ban) that use the word “immigrant.” First, after pre-processing the text (removing stop-words and lemmatizing), I rank the 500 bigrams that are most predictive of the speaker’s party based on Pearson’s χ^2 statistic. I keep ones encountered in the similarly pre-processed corpus of AP dispatches at least 10 times, which results in 331 phrases. Table A1 lists the phrases with highest χ^2 that are encountered more often in Republican vs Democratic speech, respectively; i.e., the phrases with highest partisanship. In one version of the slant measure, in this step I further exclude the phrase “illegal immigrant” and its (lemmatized) substitutes “country illegally” / “border illegally.”

For each phrase p and for each Congressperson c , I compute the relative frequency of the phrase in the Congressperson’s speech as $\tilde{f}_{pc} = f_{pc} / \sum_p f_{pc}$. I then regress \tilde{f}_{pc} on a continuous measure of the Congressperson’s ideology. Specifically, I measure ideology as the first dimension of the DW-nominate score provided by *Voteview*, which is a widely used index of ideology derived from roll-call voting. I obtain phrase-specific intercept and slope coefficients a_p and b_p .

Finally, I compute the relative frequency of each phrase in AP dispatches released in a given quarter \hat{f}_{pq} and regress $(\hat{f}_{pq} - a_p)$ on b_p . The resulting slope coefficient is the quarter-specific measure of slant.

As a within-sample validation of this measure, I also compute the analogous index by Congressperson and correlate it with true ideology. The correlation is 0.50 for the baseline version of slant and 0.54 for the version that excludes “illegal immigrant” and its substitutes. Taking the square of these coefficients, this implies that, respectively, 25% and 29% of the variation in these measures is due to variation in ideology, with the rest due to noise.

To compute immigration-specific slant by media outlet and year I follow the procedure outlined above with three modifications. First, I replace the AP dispatch corpus with a corpus containing the text (headline + first paragraph) of each news article that uses the word “immigrant.” Second, given the high volume of data, I set the threshold for a phrase’s occurrence in the corpus to 50, which results in 340 phrases. Third, in the final set of regressions, I operate at the level of news outlet \times year rather than at quarter level.¹

To validate the resulting measure, Figure A1 presents the correlation of newspapers’ average immigration-specific slant with bias ratings submitted by online users at `mondotimes.com`. This source provides a rating on a 5-point scale (ranging from “conservative” to “liberal”) for 661 US newspapers in my sample.²

¹For some outlet-years, none of the selected phrases is contained in the text; in this case, the slant index is set to missing.

²While the majority of these ratings are based on only 1 user submission, similar results obtain for the subsample restricted to 258 newspapers with ≥ 2 submissions.

For both versions of the slant index—i.e., including or excluding the term “illegal immigrant”—I find that users tend to rate newspapers with more right-leaning slant according to my text-derived measure as more right-leaning. This confirms that the procedure captures meaningful variation in the ideology associated with newspapers’ language.³

Table A1: Partisan phrases in Congressional speech on immigration

Phrases used more often by Republicans		
illegal immigrant	illegal immigration	enforce immigration
illegal alien	amnesty illegal	human smuggling
secure border	citizen legal	lottery program
federal government	insurance policy	immigrant program
american people	visa lottery	social security
immigration law	yuma sector	country illegally
enforce law	taxpayer dollar	legal worker
drug cartel	raise taxis	security number
free enterprise	immigration nationality	national medium
illegal worker	national language	official language
Phrases used more often by Democrats		
domestic violence	american woman	comprehensive immigration
violence woman	hate crime	undocumented immigrant
asian pacific	sexual violence	american citizen
victim domestic	health care	violence sexual
immigrant woman	senate bill	protect victim
young people	charter school	american community
pacific american	heritage month	american heritage
sexual assault	federal employee	lgbt community
rule pass	visa program	native american
rhode island	immigrant student	diversity visa

A.2 Computation of immigration sentiment

To capture positive vs. negative tone in media coverage of immigration, I use a rule-based method provided by the `TextBlob` library in Python (Loria 2018). The method uses a lexicon of adjectives annotated with scores for sentiment polarity (positive vs. negative), and applies additional rules to adjust for negation and modifiers.

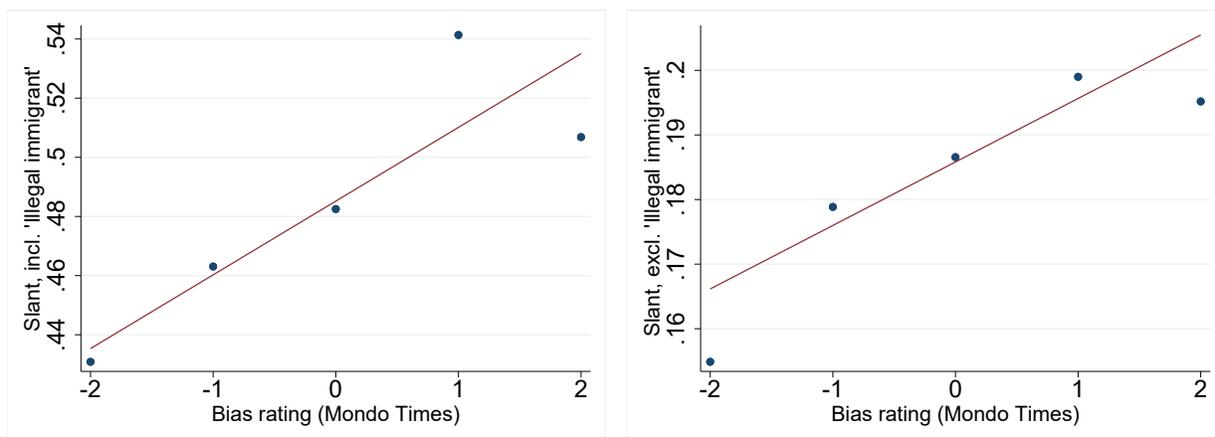
I apply this method to obtain (i) a sentiment polarity index for AP dispatches released in each quarter and (ii) a sentiment polarity index for the articles published by each news outlet in a given year. I compute two versions of each index: including and excluding the term “illegal immigrant” and its substitutes. For news outlets, I aggregate the share of articles classified as having negative sentiment (sentiment polarity < -0.01) by outlet and year.

A.3 Plagiarism detection algorithm

In this section, I describe the algorithm I use to identify articles using the the term “immigrant” that are copied from the AP but do not necessarily credit the AP.

³The index of immigration-specific slant is also positively correlated with the original Gentzkow and Shapiro (2010) slant index.

Figure A1: Validation of newspapers’ immigration-specific slant



Notes: Binned scatter plots for the relationship between the index of immigration-specific slant, computed including or excluding the term “illegal immigrant,” and user-submitted bias ratings from `mondotimes.com`. The bias ratings are measured on a 5-point scale, ranging from liberal (-2) to conservative (+2).

The first step of the algorithm is to assign to each article a set of AP dispatches that could have been used in writing the article. I focus on AP dispatches released on the day before publication and use the term “immigrant.”⁴ This is a simplified version of the procedure used by Cage et al. (2020), who first cluster articles by the event they cover and then form the set of potentially plagiarized articles as those that cover the same event and are published prior to the article of interest.

The second step in the algorithm is to compute a measure of verbatim copying. I preprocess all texts by removing punctuation and stop-words, stemming, and tokenizing into 5-grams. I then measure the share of the article’s text that is identical to each paired dispatch and take the maximum over all paired dispatches. The left-hand side of Figure A2 shows the distribution of this share, conditional on exceeding 20%. I label an article as copied from the AP if the maximum text overlap exceeds 50%, or about 175 characters for the average paragraph length (≈ 350 characters).

The right-hand side of figure A2 presents the relationship between copying and crediting the AP, plotting the average share of credited articles by bin of the copy-rate distribution (i.e., by share of text that overlaps with an AP dispatch). It is notable that even among articles whose lead paragraph is virtually identical to an AP dispatch (with 90%-100% identical text), the rate of crediting the AP never exceeds 60%.⁵ In other words, relying on credit to the AP alone would have missed a substantial volume of copied articles.

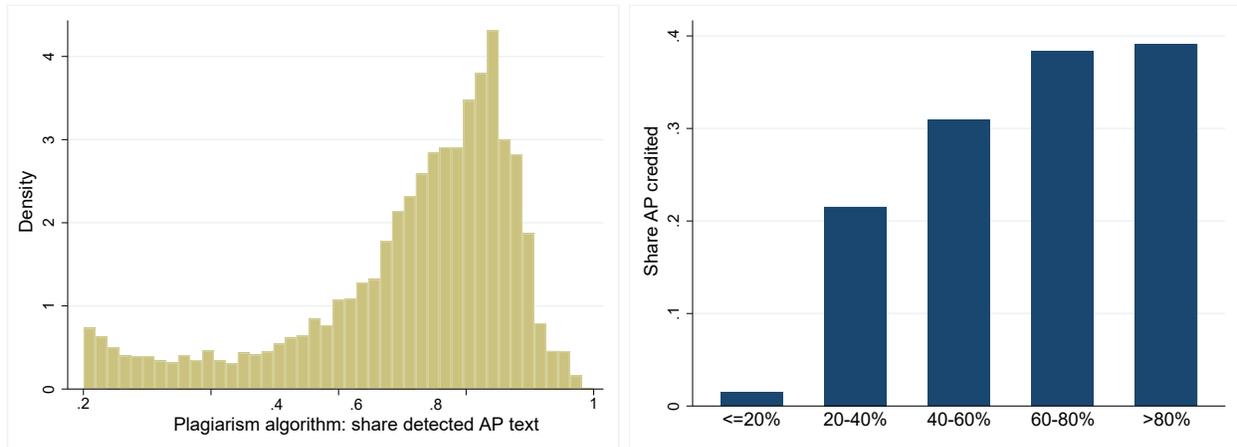
When collapsed at media outlet level, the correlation between the two independent mea-

⁴I do not use contemporaneous (same-day) AP dispatches because the origin of the content is more ambiguous in this case: Text similarity could be due the media outlet copying the AP, or to the AP redistributing content produced by a member outlet. I also find that detected text similarity falls off sharply when looking back further than 1 day.

⁵An article can have a low copy rate despite crediting the AP. This can happen if the outlet has rephrased the AP’s language sufficiently to be missed by the plagiarism detection algorithm, or if verbatim copying occurs in a part of the text I do not observe; that is, not in the lead paragraph.

asures of AP intensity (i.e., constructed based on AP credit vs. constructed based on plagiarism) is 0.57.

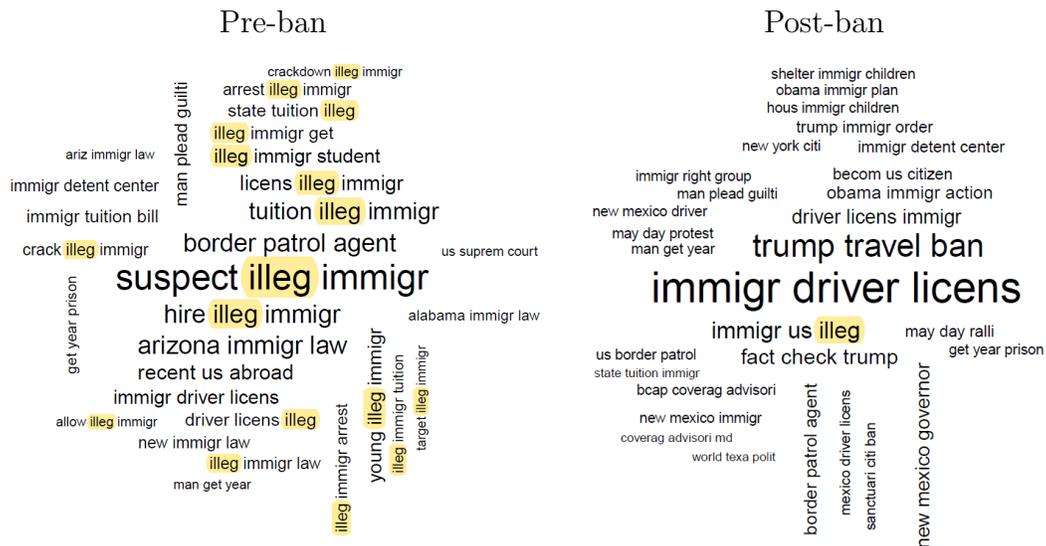
Figure A2: AP-credited articles by copy rate



Notes: Share of articles in which the AP is credited (i.e., using “AP” or “Associated Press” in the byline or first paragraph) by bin of the AP-copy rate distribution. The AP-copy rate is defined as the share of the article’s text that is identical to the text of an AP dispatch released on the previous day.

A.4 Additional results

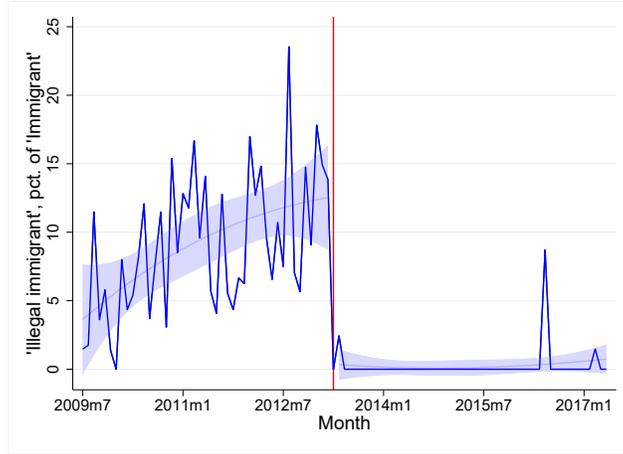
Figure A3: Headlines before and after the ban



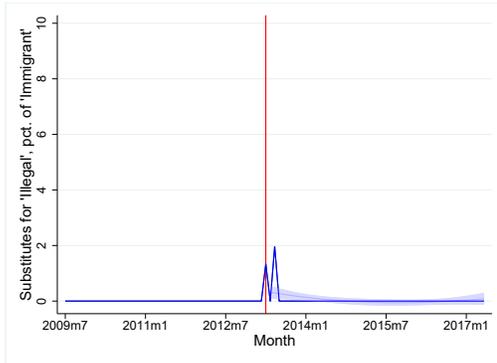
Notes: 50 most frequent trigrams in the headlines of AP dispatches using the term “immigrant.” Left-hand panel: dispatches published before the ban; Right-hand panel: dispatches published after the ban.

Figure A4: The AP's language on immigration over time: Headlines

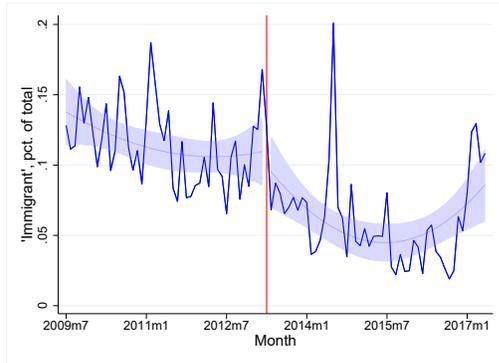
(a) “Illegal immigrant”



(b) AP-approved substitutes for “illegal immigrant”

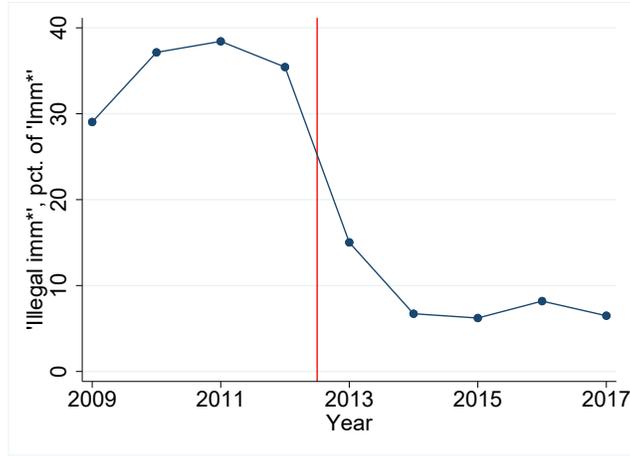


(c) “Immigrant”



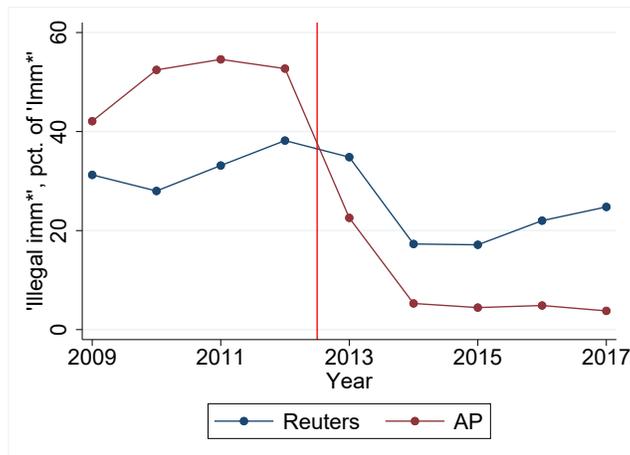
Notes: Language on immigration in AP headlines over time. Panel (a): Use of the term “illegal immigrant” relative to the term “immigrant.” Panel (b): Use of the AP-approved substitutes “enter* / live* in the country illegally/ without legal permission” relative to the term “immigrant.” Panel (c): Use of the term “immigrant” relative to total headlines.

Figure A5: AP’s language over time: Adding the word “immigration”



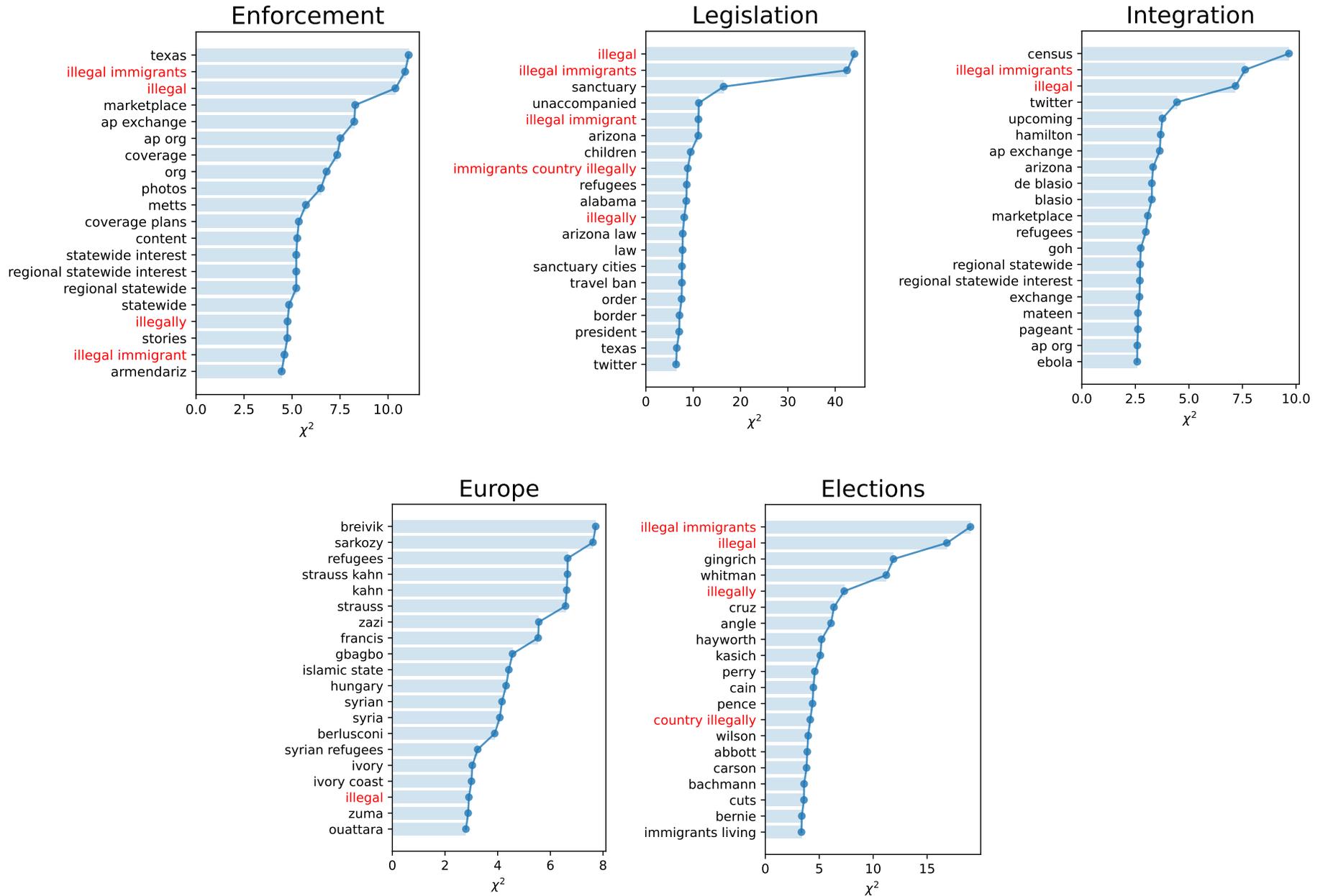
Notes: Number of dispatches that use the terms “illegal (immigrant + immigration)” relative to the terms “(immigrant + immigration)”. Averages by year.

Figure A6: Reuters vs. AP language over time



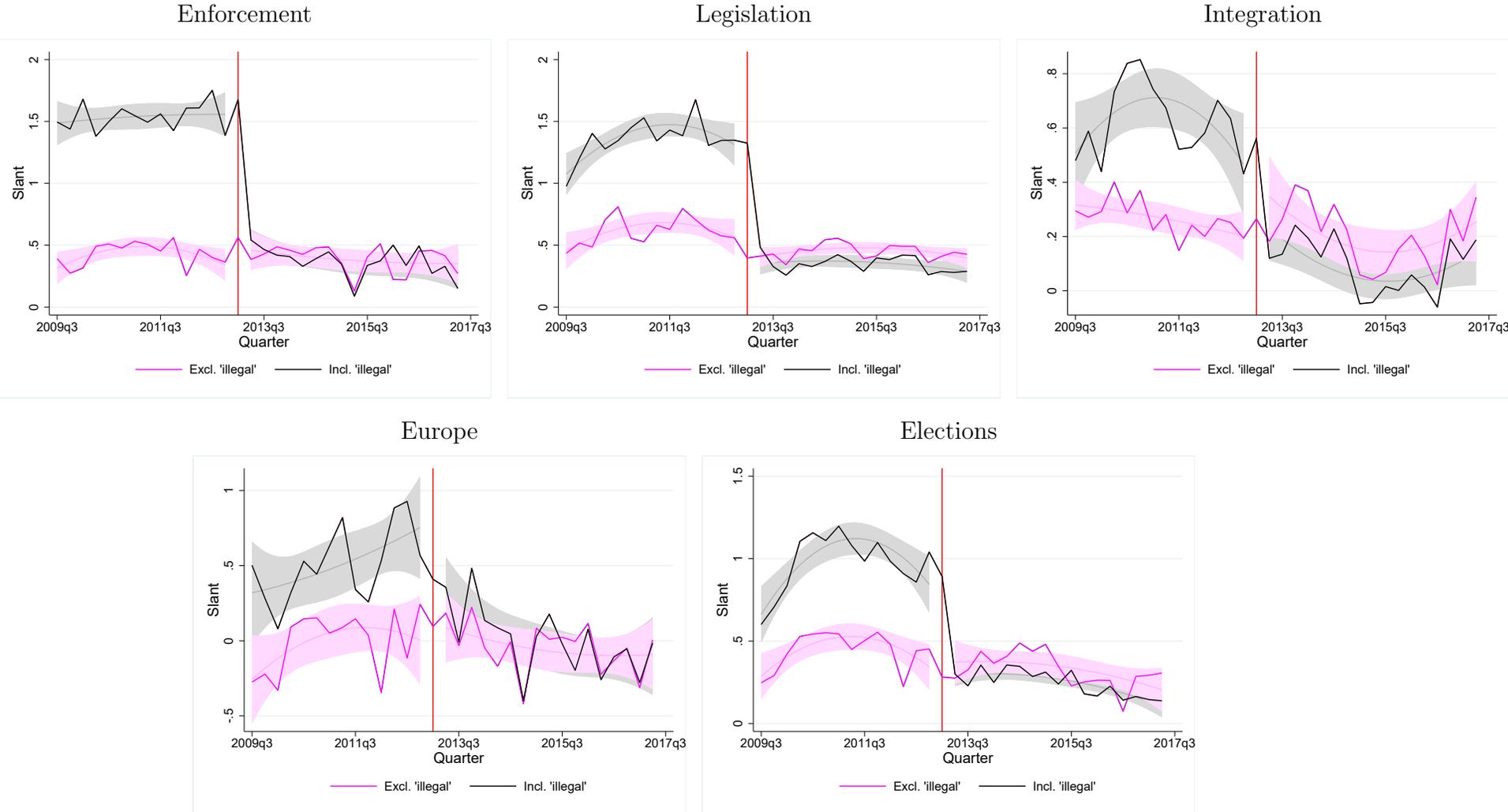
Notes: Language on immigration on the Reuters news wire, compared with the AP news wire. Use of the term “illegal immigrant” relative to the term “immigrant”. Yearly time-series.

Figure A9: Phrases predictive of pre- vs. post-ban publication: By topic



Notes: Phrases most predictive for whether an AP dispatch using the term “immigrant” is published before or after the ban. Top 20 n-grams ($n \in \{1,2,3\}$) based on χ^2 test statistic.

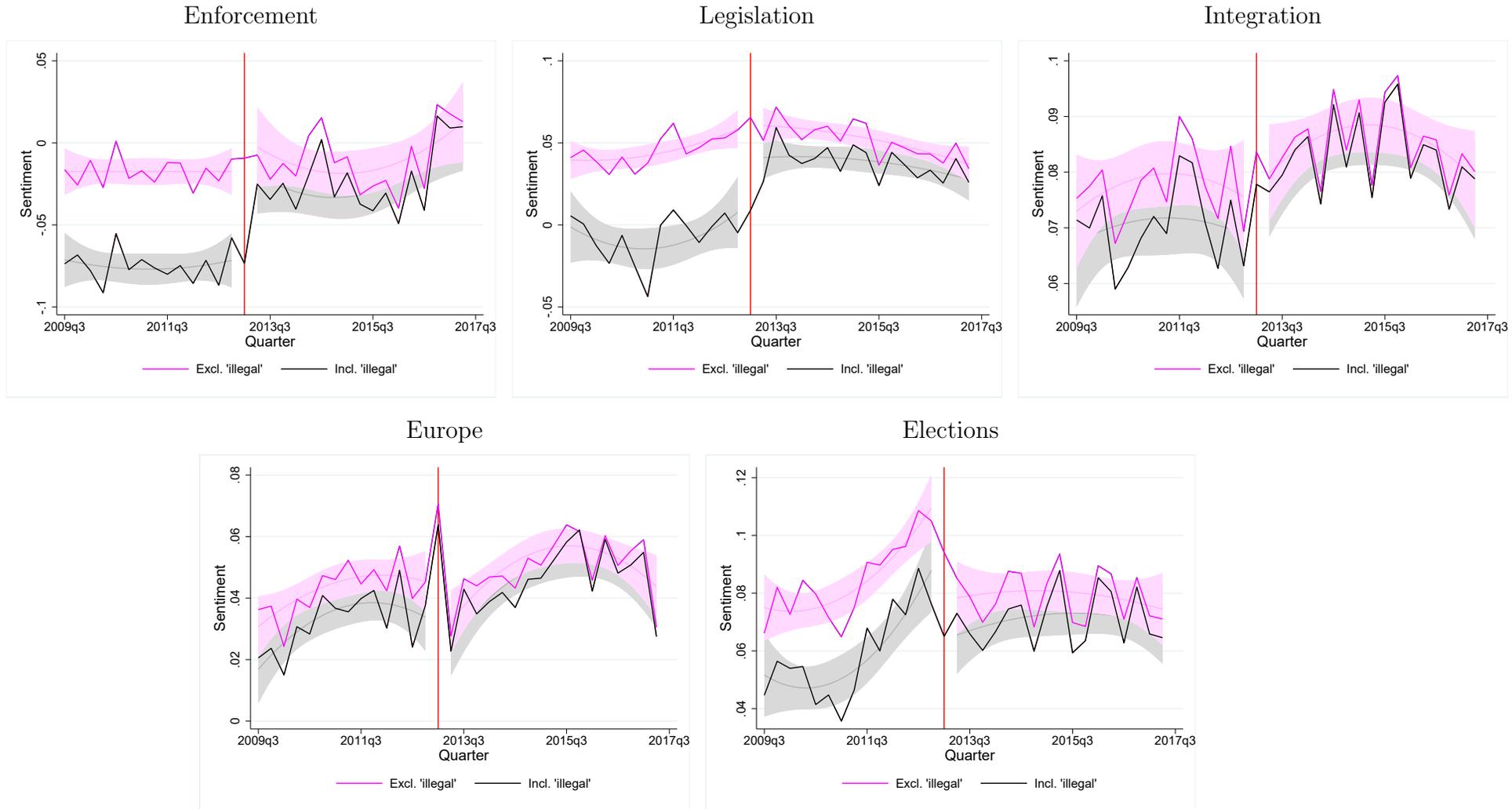
Figure A10: Slant Index: By topic



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Notes: Immigration-specific slant of AP dispatches by quarter, estimated separately for each of five topics derived from an LDA topic model, including (gray) or excluding (magenta) the term 'illegal immigrant' and its substitutes. Higher values indicate more right-leaning slant.

Figure A11: Sentiment Index: By topic

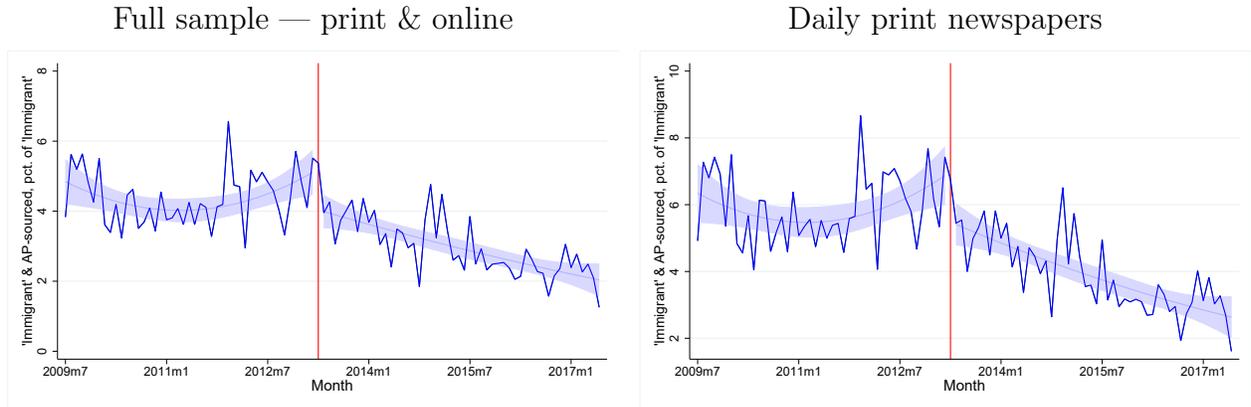


Notes: Immigration-specific sentiment of AP dispatches by quarter, estimated separately for each of five topics derived from an LDA topic model, including (gray) or excluding (magenta) the term 'illegal immigrant' and its substitutes. Higher values indicate more positive sentiment.

B Diffusion of the ban

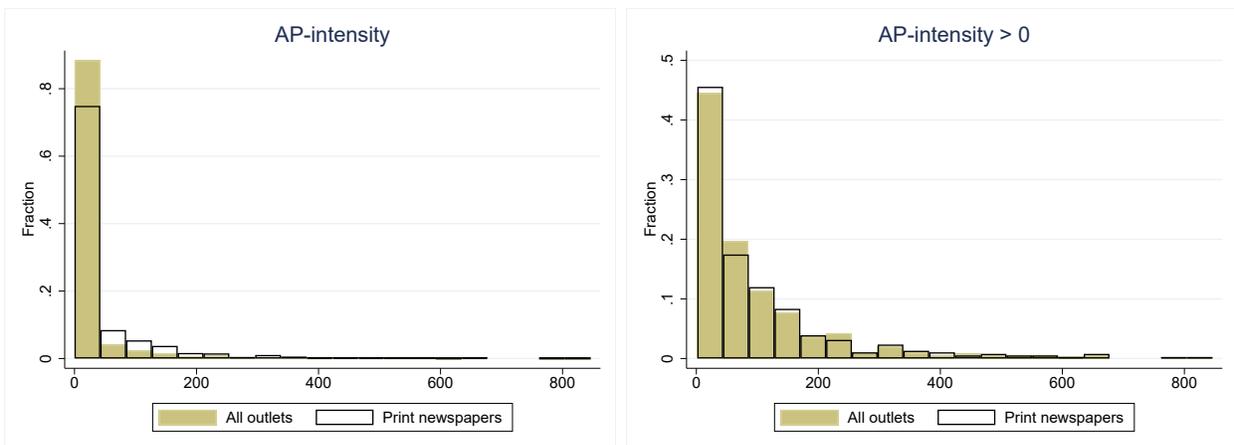
B.1 Descriptive statistics

Figure B1: 'Immigrant' articles sourced from the AP over time



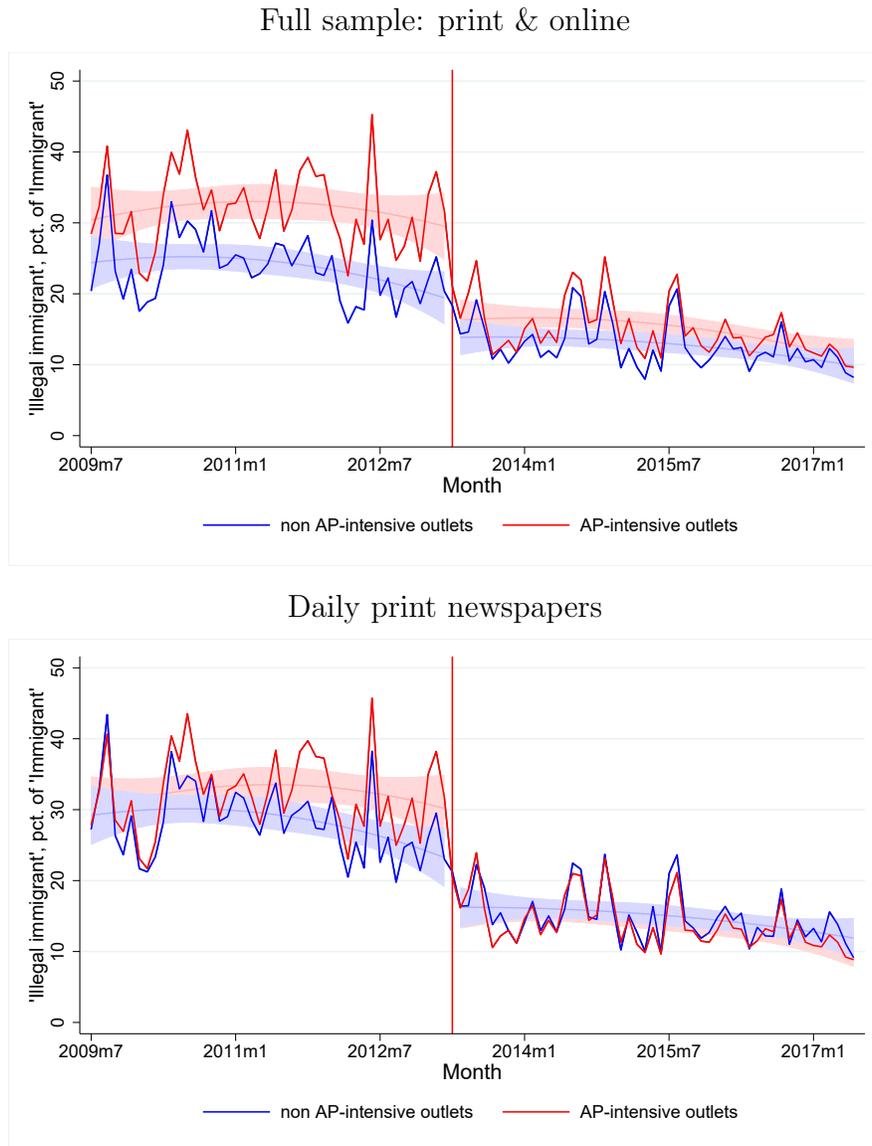
Notes: Monthly percentage of articles using the term “immigrant” that are sourced from the AP. Average across all media outlets.

Figure B2: Distribution of AP intensity



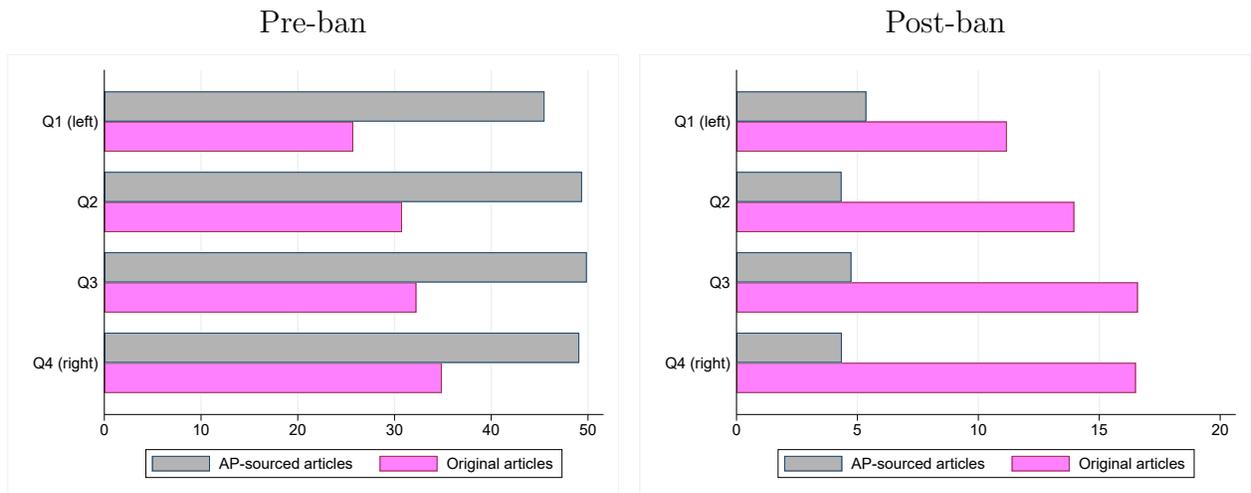
Notes: Distribution of AP intensity, measured in the number of articles that use the term “immigrant” and are sourced from the AP per 1,000 articles. AP-sourced articles include those credited to the AP and those flagged by plagiarism detection.

Figure B3: Use of the term ‘illegal immigrant’ in AP-intensive vs. non AP-intensive media outlets over time



Notes: Monthly use of the term “illegal immigrant” relative to the term “immigrant” in media outlets with zero AP-intensity vs. media outlets with positive AP intensity.

Figure B4: Use of the term “illegal immigrant” by outlet ideology



Notes: Media outlets’ use of the term “illegal immigrant” relative to the term “immigrant” by quartile of the Gentzkow-Shapiro index of ideology. Panel (a) shows pre-ban averages and Panel (b) shows post-ban averages. Gray bars denote AP-sourced articles and magenta bars denote original articles.

Table B1: Summary statistics

Full sample: print & online

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”	18.57	28.61	0	100	143,966
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”: Pre-Ban	24.744	32.001	0	100	64,693
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”: Post-Ban	13.532	24.378	0	100	79,273
“Immigrant” & AP-sourced, pct. of “Immigrant”	2.278	10.215	0	100	143,669
IHS(AP-intensity)	0.959	1.951	0	7.434	224,673
1[AP-intensity > 0]	0.21	0.407	0	1	224,673
IHS(AP-intensity, credit)	0.54	1.517	0	7.331	224,673
IHS(AP-intensity, plagiarism)	0.766	1.739	0	7.115	224,673
IHS(AP-intensity, credit – all articles)	0.853	1.231	0	6.517	248,686
IHS(Reuters-int, credit – all articles)	0.375	1.006	0	7.154	248,686

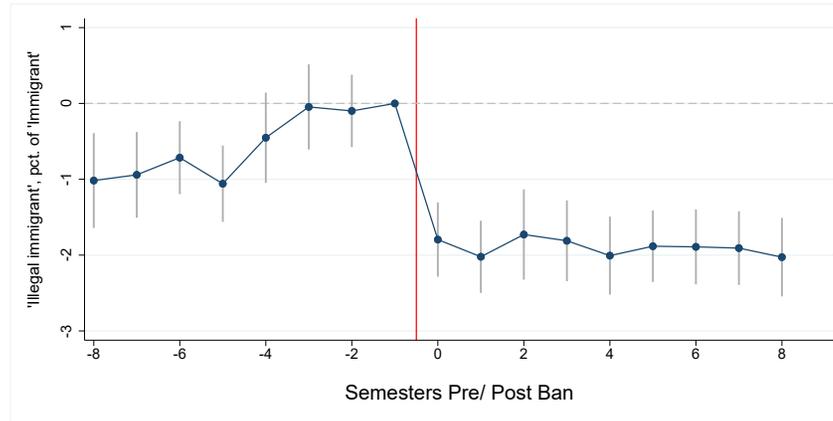
Daily print newspapers

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”	22.53	27.325	0	100	67,552
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”: Pre-Ban	30.347	30.305	0	100	30,369
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”: Post-Ban	16.145	22.71	0	100	37,183
“Immigrant” & AP-sourced, pct. of “Immigrant”	3.988	12.982	0	100	67,374
IHS(AP-intensity)	2.099	2.446	0	7.434	80,540
1[AP-intensity > 0]	0.456	0.498	0	1	80,540
IHS(AP-intensity, credit)	1.182	2.077	0	7.331	80,540
IHS(AP-intensity, plagiarism)	1.741	2.269	0	7.115	80,540
IHS(AP-intensity, credit – all articles)	1.479	1.488	0	6.517	82,236
IHS(Reuters-intensity, credit – all articles)	0.482	0.98	0	6.568	82,236

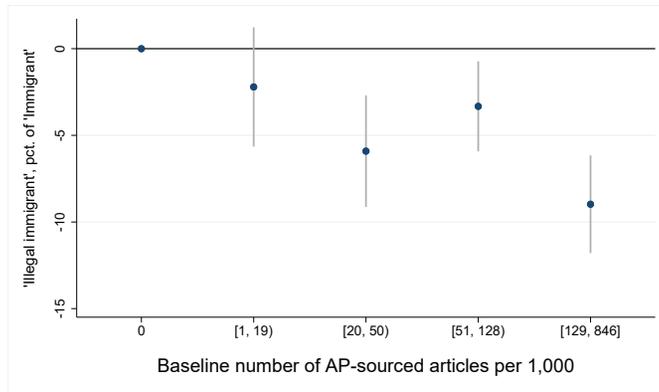
B.2 Additional results

Figure B5: Diffusion of the ban: Subsample of daily print newspapers

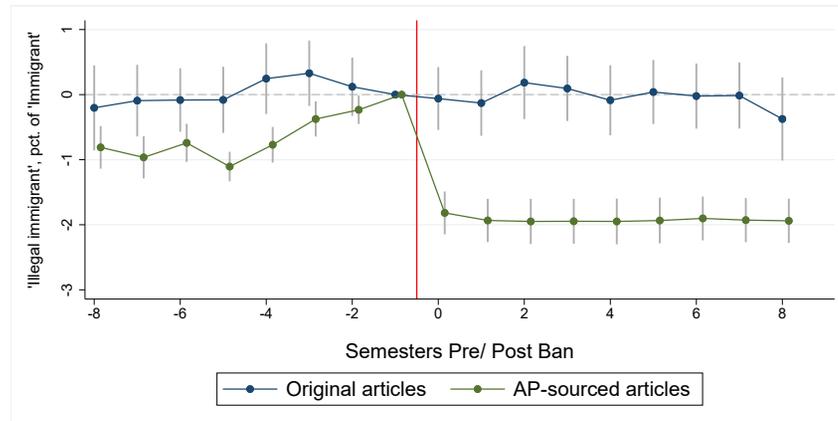
(a): Dynamic difference-in-differences



(b): Effects by bin of AP-intensity



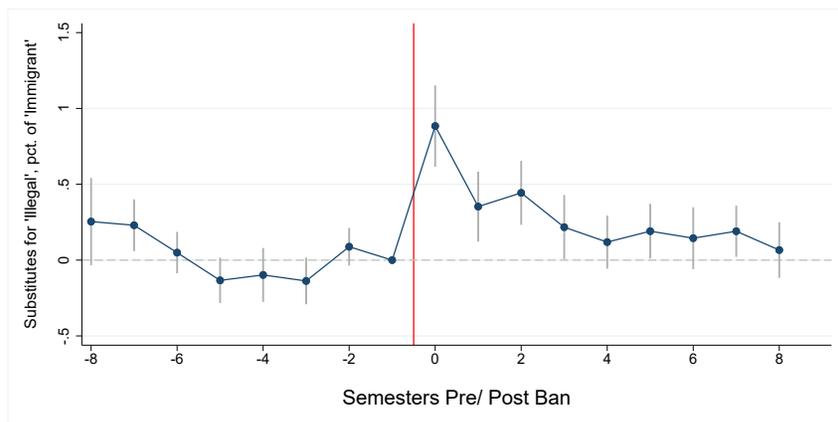
(c): Dynamic difference-in-differences: AP-sourced vs original articles



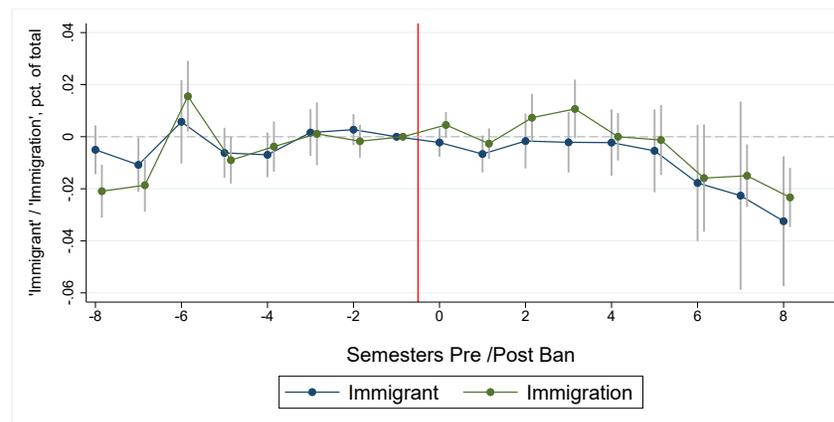
Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on media outlets’ use of the term “illegal immigrant”: Subsample of daily print newspapers. Panel (a): Regression of outlets’ monthly use of the term “illegal immigrant,” relative to the term “immigrant,” on the interaction of IHS(AP-intensity) with a set of indicators for semester pre-/ post- ban. The omitted category is the semester before the ban. Panel (b): Regression of outlets’ monthly use of the term “illegal immigrant,” relative to the term “immigrant,” on a set of indicators for quartile of (positive) AP intensity interacted with Post Ban. The omitted category is AP intensity = 0. Panel (c) replicates Panel (a), splitting the dependent variable into articles that use the term “illegal immigrant” and are sourced from the AP (green) vs. ones not sourced from the AP (blue), both expressed relative the number of articles using the term “immigrant.” All regressions control for media outlet and year-month FEs and are weighted by the number of articles using the term “immigrant.” The figures show point estimates and 95% confidence intervals. Standard errors are clustered by media outlet.

Figure B6: Diffusion of the ban: Additional measures of immigration coverage

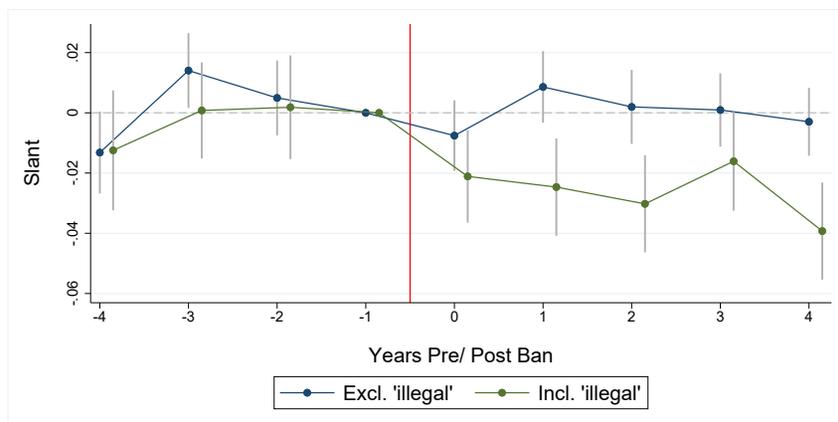
(a) AP-approved substitutes for “illegal immigrant”



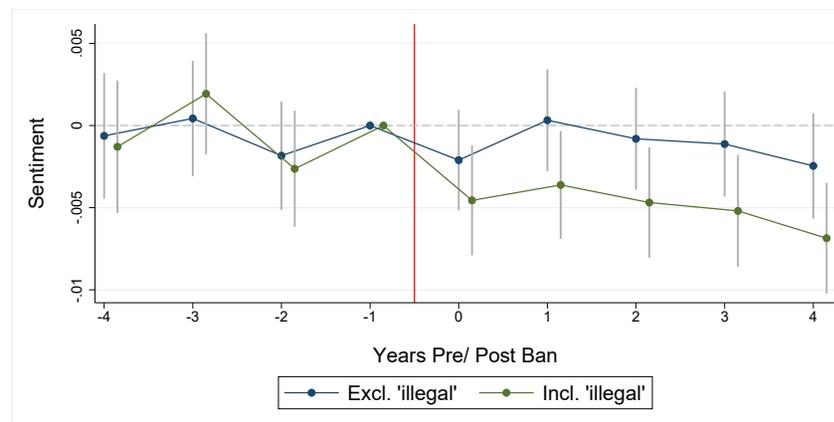
(b) Volume of immigration coverage



(c) Slant index



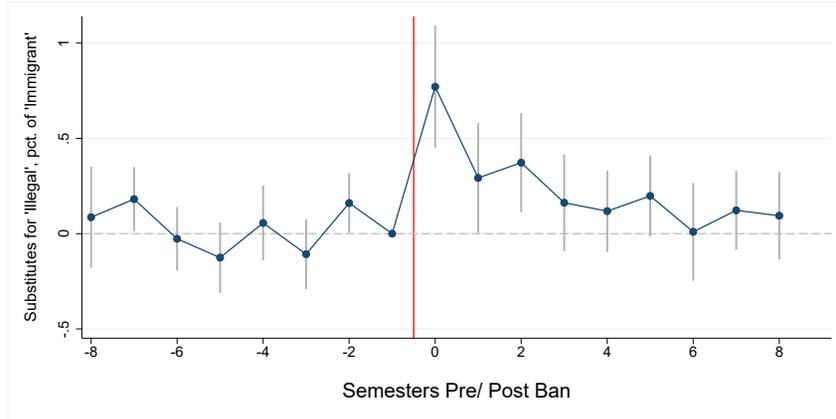
(d) Negative sentiment



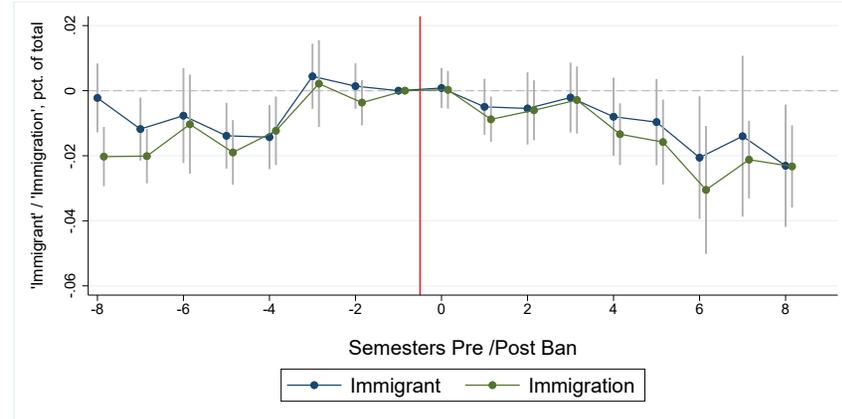
Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on additional measures of immigration coverage. Panel (a): Regression of outlets’ monthly use of AP-approved substitutes for the term “illegal immigrant,” relative to use of the term “immigrant,” on the interaction of IHS(AP-intensity) with a set of indicators for semester pre-/ post- ban. The omitted category is the semester before the ban. Weighted by the number of articles using the term “immigrant.” Panel (b): Regression of outlets’ monthly use of the terms “immigrant’ or ‘immigration,” relative to total articles, on the interaction of IHS(AP-intensity) with a set of indicators for semester pre-/ post- ban. The omitted category is the semester before the ban. Weighted by total articles. Panels (c) and (d): Regression of an yearly index of slant / sentiment—computed either including or excluding the term ‘illegal immigrant’ and its substitutes—on the interaction of IHS(AP-intensity) with year pre-/post-ban. Panels (a) and (b) control media outlet and year-month FEs. Panels (c) and (d) control for media outlet and year FEs. The figures show point estimates and 95% confidence intervals. Standard errors are clustered by media outlet. Table B6 presents the corresponding regression results.

Figure B7: Diffusion of the ban, Subsample of daily print newspapers: Additional measures of immigration coverage

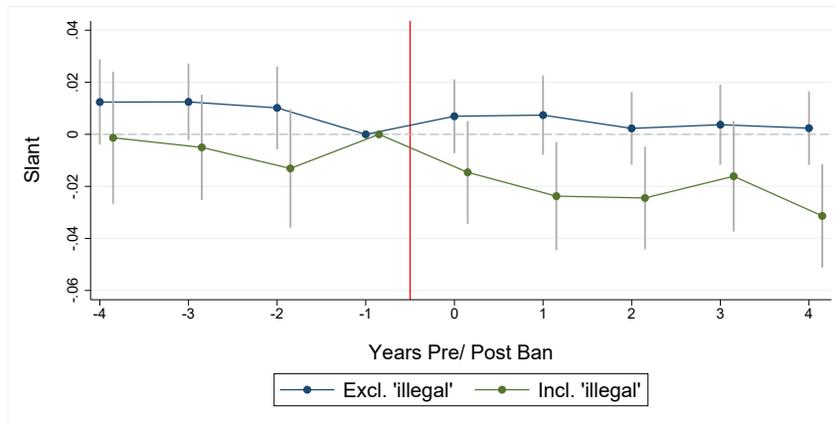
(a) AP-approved substitutes for ‘illegal immigrant’



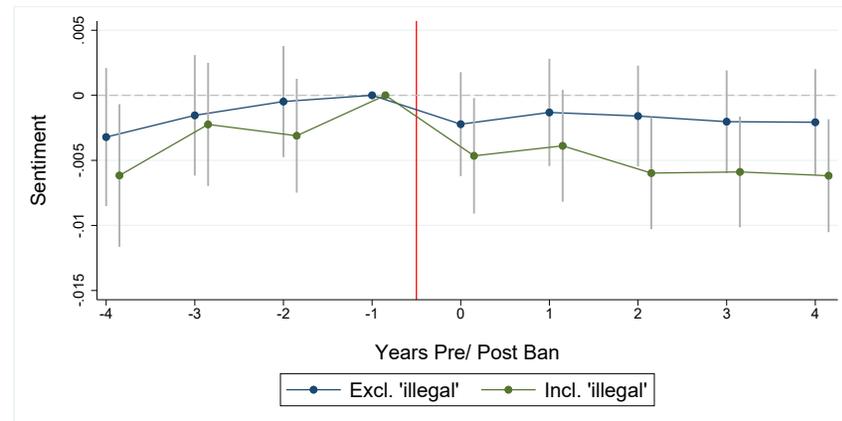
(b) Volume of immigration coverage



(c) Slant index



(d) Negative sentiment



Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on additional measures of immigration coverage: Subsample of daily print newspapers. Panel (a): Regression of outlets’ monthly use of AP-approved substitutes for the term “illegal immigrant,” relative to use of the term “immigrant,” on the interaction of IHS(AP-intensity) with a set of indicators for semester pre-/ post-ban. The omitted category is the semester before the ban. Weighted by the number of articles using the term ‘immigrant’. Panel (b): Regression of outlets’ monthly use of the terms “immigrant” or “immigration,” relative to total articles, on the interaction of IHS(AP-intensity) with a set of indicators for semester pre-/ post-ban. The omitted category is the semester before the ban. Weighted by total articles. Panels (c) and (d): Regression of an yearly index of slant / sentiment—computed either including or excluding the term ‘illegal immigrant’ and its substitutes—on the interaction of IHS(AP-intensity) with year pre-/post-ban. Panels (a) and (b) control media outlet and year-month FEs. Panels (c) and (d) control for media outlet and year FEs. The figures show point estimates and 95% confidence intervals. Standard errors are clustered by media outlet. Table B6 presents the corresponding regression results.

Table B2: Diffusion estimates: AP-sourced vs. original articles

	Full sample - print & online		Daily print newspapers	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	AP-sourced	not AP-sourced	AP-sourced	not AP-sourced
PostBan × IHS(AP-intensity)	-1.157*** (0.111)	-0.341** (0.164)	-1.304*** (0.138)	-0.052 (0.202)
Observations	139,309	139,309	66,749	66,749
Number of outlets	2,385	2,385	853	853
R ²	0.37	0.38	0.39	0.38
Mean dep. var.	0.99	19.42	1.31	20.15

Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on media outlets’ use of the term “illegal immigrant”: AP-sourced vs. original articles. Full sample of media outlets in the left-hand panel, daily print newspapers in the right-hand panel. The level of observation is media outlet × year-month. All specifications control for media outlet and year-month FEs and are weighted by the number of articles using the term “immigrant.” Standard errors clustered by media outlet. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table B3: Shifting the baseline period back in time

	Full sample - print & online		Daily print newspapers	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”			
PostBan × IHS(AP-intensity, 12-24mo pre-ban)	-1.556*** (0.182)		-1.239*** (0.218)	
PostBan × IHS(AP-intensity, 24-36mo pre-ban)		-1.567*** (0.197)		-1.160*** (0.233)
Observations	139,423	139,720	66,763	66,890
Number of outlets	2,389	2,418	852	856
R ²	0.43	0.43	0.44	0.43
Mean dep. var.	20.28	20.32	21.70	21.69

Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on media outlets’ use of the term “illegal immigrant”: Robustness checks shifting the measurement of AP-intensity back in time. Full sample of media outlets in the left-hand panel, subsample of print newspapers in the right-hand panel. The level of observation is media outlet × year-month. All specifications control for media outlet and year-month FEs and are weighted by the number of articles using the term “immigrant.” Standard errors clustered by media outlet. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table B4: Alternative transformations of AP-intensity

	Full sample - print & online				Daily print newspapers			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”							
PostBan × 1(AP-int. > median)	-7.201*** (0.591)				-4.509*** (0.805)			
PostBan × log(1 + AP-int.)		-1.815*** (0.137)				-1.210*** (0.184)		
PostBan × IHS(AP-int., per 100)			-6.948*** (0.519)				-4.762*** (0.638)	
PostBan × IHS(AP-int., per 10,000)				-1.073*** (0.082)				-0.707*** (0.112)
Observations	139,523	139,523	139,523	139,523	66,846	66,846	66,846	66,846
Number of outlets	2,385	2,385	2,385	2,385	853	853	853	853
R ²	0.22	0.22	0.22	0.22	0.21	0.21	0.21	0.21
Mean dep. var.	18.67	18.67	18.67	18.67	22.59	22.59	22.59	22.59
St. dev. treatment var.		1.90	0.46	3.21		2.14	0.57	3.55

Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on media outlets’ use of the term “illegal immigrant”: Robustness checks with alternative transformations of AP-intensity. Full sample of media outlets in the left-hand panel, subsample of print newspapers in the right-hand panel. The level of observation is media outlet × year-month. All specifications control for media outlet and year-month FEs and are weighted by the number of articles using the term “immigrant.” Standard errors clustered by media outlet. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table B5: Alternative transformations/ definitions of the use of “illegal immigrant” articles

Full sample - print & online					
	Transformations of “Illegal immigrant”			Alternative keywords	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Headlines only	IHS	Pct. of total articles	“Illegal immigration,” pct. of “Immigration”	“Illegal immigr*,” pct. of “Immigr*”
PostBan × IHS(AP-intensity)	-1.149*** (0.281)	-0.067*** (0.006)	-0.014*** (0.002)	-0.999*** (0.151)	-1.333*** (0.156)
Observations	18,976	177,094	161,237	107,947	125,770
Number of outlets	1,414	2,385	2,192	2,184	2,197
R ²	0.24	0.54	0.40	0.35	0.42
Mean dep. var.	14.46	0.54	0.14	31.21	26.87
Daily print newspapers					
	Transformations of “Illegal immigrant”			Alternative keywords	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Headlines only	IHS	Pct. of total articles	“Illegal immigration,” pct. of “Immigration”	“Illegal immigr*,” pct. of “Immigr*”
PostBan × IHS(AP-intensity)	-1.337*** (0.325)	-0.071*** (0.008)	-0.012*** (0.002)	-0.863*** (0.151)	-1.187*** (0.182)
Observations	13,249	76,463	68,207	54,177	59,002
Number of outlets	678	853	757	757	757
R ²	0.22	0.50	0.42	0.35	0.43
Mean dep. var.	15.15	0.86	0.15	32.36	28.23

Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on media outlets’ use of the term “illegal immigrant”: Robustness checks with alternative definitions of the dependent variable. Full sample of media outlets in the upper panel, subsample of print newspapers in the lower panel. The level of observation is media outlet × year-month. All specifications control for media outlet and year-month FEs. Regressions in which the dependent variable is a ratio are weighted the denominator. Standard errors clustered by media outlet. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table B6: Other aspects of immigration coverage

Panel (a): Substitutes and volume of coverage

	Full sample - print & online			Daily print newspapers		
	(1) AP-approved substitutes, pct. of “Immigrant”	(2) “Immigrant,” pct. of total	(3) “Immigration,” pct. of total	(4) AP-approved substitutes, pct. of “Immigrant”	(5) “Immigrant,” pct. of total	(6) “Immigration,” pct. of total
PostBan × IHS(AP-intensity)	0.271*** (0.070)	-0.007 (0.006)	0.001 (0.005)	0.209** (0.082)	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.004)
Observations	126,113	124,585	204,849	59,062	58,775	71,969
Number of outlets	2,195	2,192	2,201	757	757	757
R ²	0.26	0.59	0.48	0.13	0.54	0.47
Mean dep. var.	6.34	0.73	0.51	6.79	0.69	0.50

Panel (b): Slant (right- to left-leaning)

	Full sample - print & online		Daily print newspapers	
	(1) Slant incl. ‘illegal’	(2) Slant excl. ‘illegal’	(3) Slant incl. ‘illegal’	(4) Slant excl. ‘illegal’
PostBan × IHS(AP-intensity)	-0.024*** (0.005)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.017*** (0.006)	-0.004 (0.004)
Observations	14,431	13,948	6,584	6,459
Number of outlets	1,814	1,765	756	746
R ²	0.31	0.23	0.34	0.28
Mean dep. var.	0.42	0.17	0.51	0.19

Panel (b): Negative sentiment

	Full sample - print & online		Daily print newspapers	
	(1) Negative sentiment incl. “illegal”	(2) Negative sentiment excl. “illegal”	(3) Negative sentiment incl. “illegal”	(4) Negative sentiment excl. “illegal”
PostBan × IHS(AP-intensity)	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.002** (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Observations	19,725	19,725	7,234	7,234
Number of outlets	2,320	2,320	813	813
R ²	0.22	0.19	0.25	0.20
Mean dep. var.	0.18	0.16	0.21	0.18

Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on additional measures of immigration coverage. Panel (a): Use of the AP-approved substitutes for the term “illegal immigrant” and volume of immigration coverage. Panel (b): Slant on immigration. Panel (c): Sentiment on immigration. The level of observation is media outlet × year-month in Panel (a) and media outlet × year in Panels (b) and (c). Weighted by the number of articles using the term “immigrant” in Panel (a), columns 1 and 3, and by total articles in Panel (a), columns 2 and 4. Standard errors clustered by media outlet. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, ***.

Table B7: Diffusion estimates: By outlet ideology

Panel (a): All articles

	left Q1	Q2	Q4	right Q4
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”			
PostBan \times IHS(AP-intensity)	-1.9845*** (0.4825)	-1.1459*** (0.3942)	-0.5317 (0.7418)	-1.6109*** (0.4286)
Observations	7,961	8,076	7,930	7,384
Number of outlets	88	91	90	89
R ²	0.55	0.49	0.53	0.45
Mean dep. var.	17.78	22.48	23.42	23.96

Panel (b): AP-sourced articles

	left Q1	Q2	Q3	right Q4
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	“Illegal immigrant” & AP-sourced, pct. of “Immigrant”			
PostBan \times IHS(AP-intensity)	-1.0831*** (0.1985)	-1.4769*** (0.2333)	-1.8338*** (0.4578)	-1.9922*** (0.5506)
Observations	7,940	8,039	7,890	7,341
Number of outlets	88	91	90	89
R ²	0.50	0.52	0.48	0.48
Mean dep. var.	0.69	2.22	1.56	1.80

Panel (c): Original articles

	left Q1	Q2	Q3	right Q4
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	“Illegal immigrant” & not AP-sourced, pct. of “Immigrant”			
PostBan \times IHS(AP-intensity)	-0.9383* (0.4681)	0.3798 (0.3399)	1.2292* (0.6866)	0.4153 (0.5664)
Observations	7,940	8,039	7,890	7,341
Number of outlets	88	91	90	89
R ²	0.49	0.40	0.49	0.39
Mean dep. var.	16.87	19.79	21.43	21.79

Notes: Effects of the AP’s ban on use of the term “illegal immigrant”: Heterogeneity by outlet ideology. Q1 to Q4 denote quartiles of the index of outlet ideology constructed by Gentzkow and Shapiro (2010), with higher values indicating more right-leaning ideology. The level of observation is media outlet \times year-month. The dependent variable is number of articles using the term “illegal immigrant” in Panel (a), the subset sourced from the AP in Panel (b), and the subset not sourced from the AP in Panel (c), all expressed in percentage of articles using the term “immigrant.” All specifications control for media outlet and year-month FEs and are weighted by the number of articles using the term “immigrant.” Standard errors clustered by media outlet. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, ***.

Table B8: Effects on readership

	Full sample	left Q1	Q2	Q3	right Q4
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Log circulation				
PostBan \times IHS(AP-intensity)	-0.004 (0.004)	0.001 (0.009)	0.008 (0.007)	-0.021 (0.015)	-0.007 (0.006)
Outlet FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,616	262	258	262	264
Number of outlets	386	51	53	58	68
R ²	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99
Mean dep. var.	10.69	11.96	11.26	10.91	10.36

Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on newspaper circulation. Q1 to Q4 denote quartiles of the index of outlet ideology constructed by Gentzkow and Shapiro (2010), with higher values indicating more right-leaning ideology. The level of observation is media outlet \times year. The dependent variable is yearly log circulation. All specifications control for media outlet and year-month FEs. Standard errors clustered by media outlet. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table B9: Diffusion estimates: By newspaper circulation

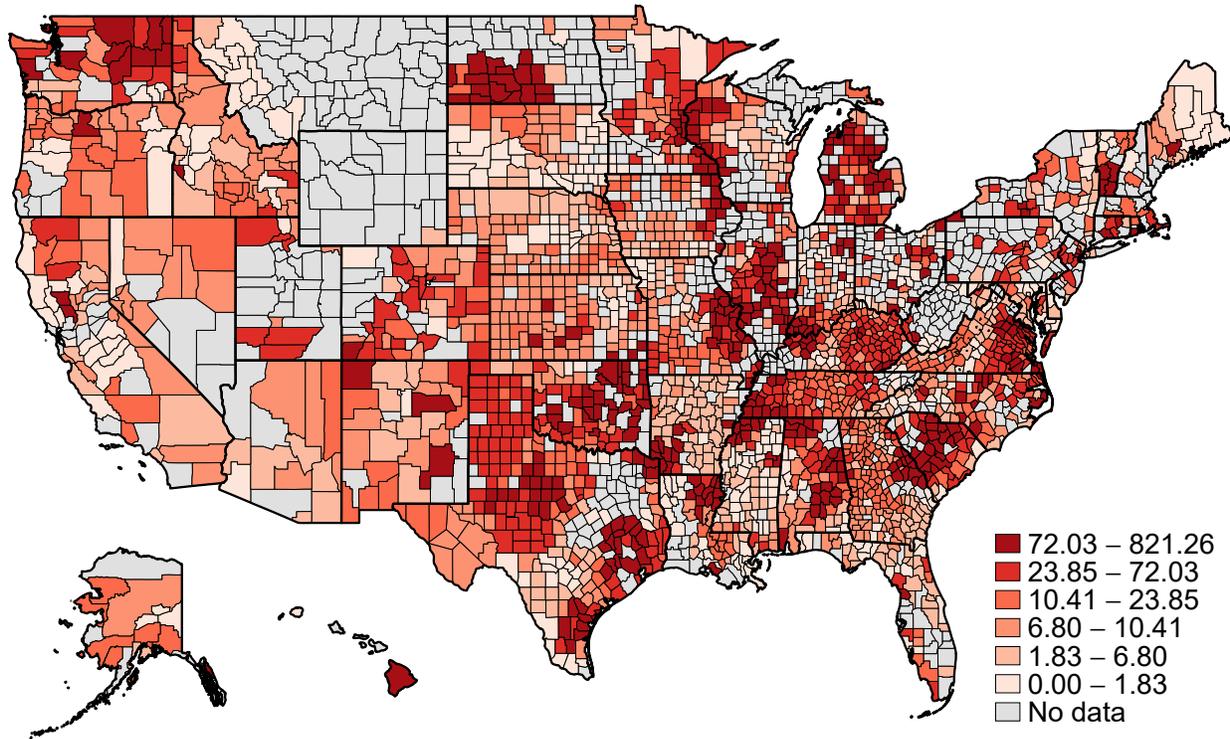
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”			
PostBan \times IHS(AP-intensity)	-1.5087*** (0.4904)	-1.4609*** (0.3835)	-1.6957*** (0.3337)	-1.1563*** (0.3422)
Observations	12,809	15,688	18,224	18,983
Number of outlets	202	219	214	204
R ²	0.25	0.33	0.40	0.55
Mean dep. var.	24.24	23.02	23.41	20.65

Effect of the AP’s ban on use of the term “illegal immigrant”: Heterogeneity by newspaper circulation. Q1 to Q4 denote quartiles of circulation in the year 2010, with higher values indicating higher circulation. The level of observation is media outlet \times year-month. The dependent variable is outlets’ monthly use of the term “illegal immigrant” relative to the term “immigrant.” All specifications control for media outlet and year-month FEs. Weighted by number of articles using the term ‘immigrant’. Standard errors are clustered by media outlet. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, ***

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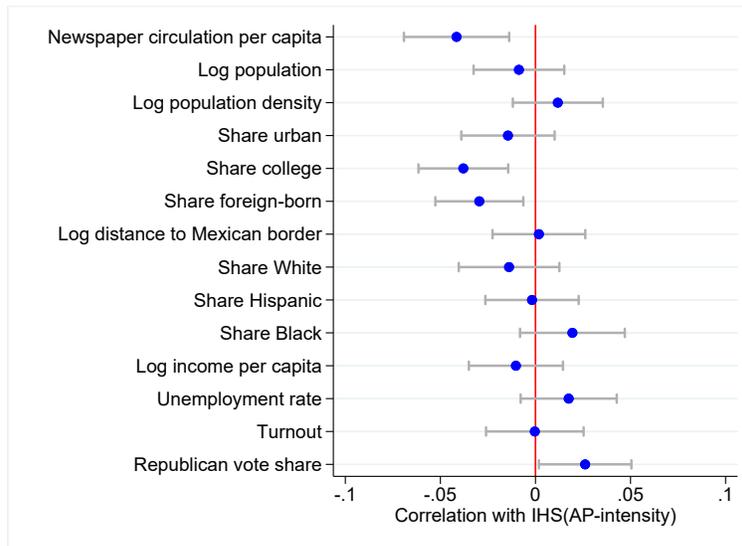
C.1 Descriptive statistics

Figure C1: Geographic distribution of AP intensity



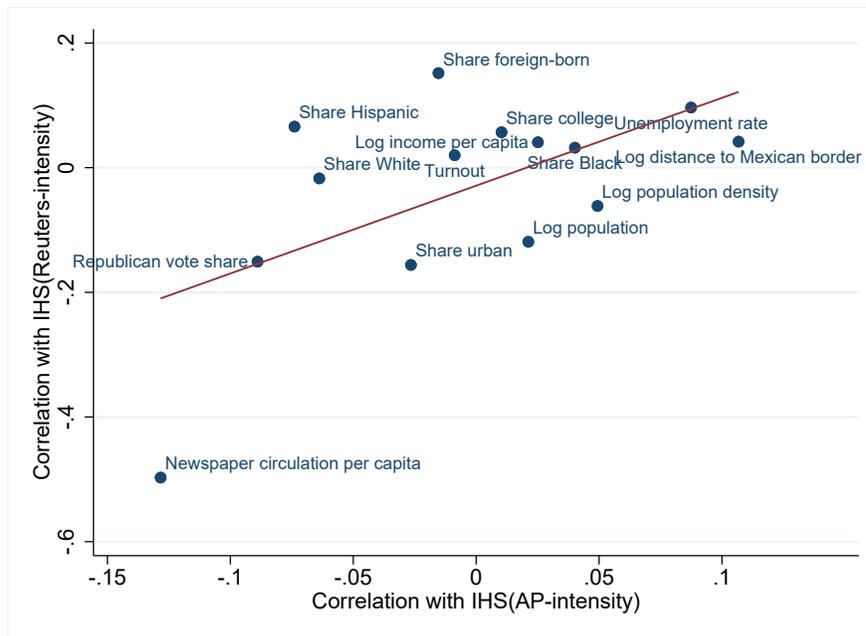
Notes: Distribution of AP intensity by county. AP intensity is measured as the circulation-weighted number of articles that use the term “immigrant” and are sourced from the AP, per 1,000 articles.

Figure C2: County-level correlates of AP intensity



Notes: Correlates of the baseline measure of AP intensity. Coefficients and 95% confidence intervals from univariate regressions of IHS(AP-intensity) on each of the listed county characteristics. AP-intensity is defined based on credit and plagiarism detection in the sample of articles using the term “immigrant.” County characteristics are measured at baseline and standardized to mean zero and standard deviation one. Robust standard errors.

Figure C3: Correlates of Reuters intensity, compared to the correlates of AP intensity



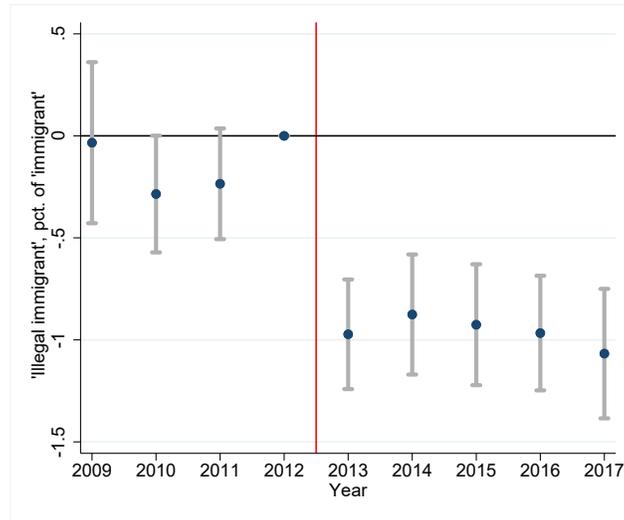
Notes: Scatter plot comparing the correlates of Reuters intensity to the correlates of AP intensity. The y-axis shows correlations between county characteristics and IHS(Reuters-intensity). Reuters intensity is defined based on credit in all articles. The y-axis shows correlations between county characteristics and the equivalent definition of IHS(AP-intensity).

Table C1: Summary statistics: CCES

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
Immigration: Increase border security	0.546	0.498	0	1	203,245
Immigration: Sanction employers	0.612	0.487	0	1	119,358
Immigration: Grant legal status \times (-1)	-0.48	0.5	-1	0	203,245
Immigration: Allow police questioning	0.395	0.489	0	1	159,976
Immigration: Prohibit services	0.419	0.493	0	1	86,734
Media Use: Read a newspaper	0.539	0.498	0	1	143,586
Media Use: Newspaper Print	0.616	0.486	0	1	76,655
Ideology					
Very Liberal	0.086	0.281	0	1	212,482
Liberal	0.175	0.38	0	1	212,482
Moderate	0.309	0.462	0	1	212,482
Conservative	0.237	0.425	0	1	212,482
Very Conservative	0.118	0.322	0	1	212,482
Not Sure	0.076	0.265	0	1	212,482
Age	50.176	16.332	18	109	212,629
Gender (Male)	0.458	0.498	0	1	212,629
Race					
White	0.73	0.444	0	1	212,629
Black	0.133	0.34	0	1	212,629
Hispanic	0.072	0.259	0	1	212,629
Other	0.065	0.247	0	1	212,629
Education					
No HS	0.03	0.171	0	1	212,629
High School Graduate	0.269	0.444	0	1	212,629
Some College	0.253	0.435	0	1	212,629
2-Year	0.097	0.296	0	1	212,629
4-Year	0.233	0.423	0	1	212,629
Post-Grad	0.118	0.322	0	1	212,629
Immigration status					
Immigrant Citizen	0.047	0.212	0	1	202,293
Immigrant non-citizen	0.015	0.12	0	1	202,293
First generation	0.082	0.275	0	1	202,293
Second generation	0.209	0.407	0	1	202,293
Third generation	0.646	0.478	0	1	202,293
Household income					
Less than 20k	0.124	0.33	0	1	212,406
20-40k	0.212	0.409	0	1	212,406
40-60k	0.185	0.388	0	1	212,406
60-80k	0.134	0.34	0	1	212,406
80-120k	0.138	0.345	0	1	212,406
More than 120k	0.096	0.295	0	1	212,406
Prefer not to say	0.111	0.315	0	1	212,406
“Illegal immigrant” / “Immigrant” articles (pct)	21.309	12.427	0	98.365	212,620
“Illegal immigrant” / “Immigrant” articles (pct): Pre-Ban	29.746	11.548	0	98.365	98,111
“Illegal immigrant” / “Immigrant” articles (pct): Post-Ban	14.08	7.696	0	96.627	114,509
IHS(AP-intensity)	3.069	1.624	0	7.404	212,629
IHS(AP-intensity), credit	2.312	1.748	0	7.106	212,629
IHS(AP-intensity), plagiarism	2.398	1.677	0	7.085	212,629
IHS(AP-intensity), credit – all articles	2.412	1.271	0	6.313	212,629
IHS(Reuters-intensity), credit – all articles	1.979	0.982	0	6.229	212,629

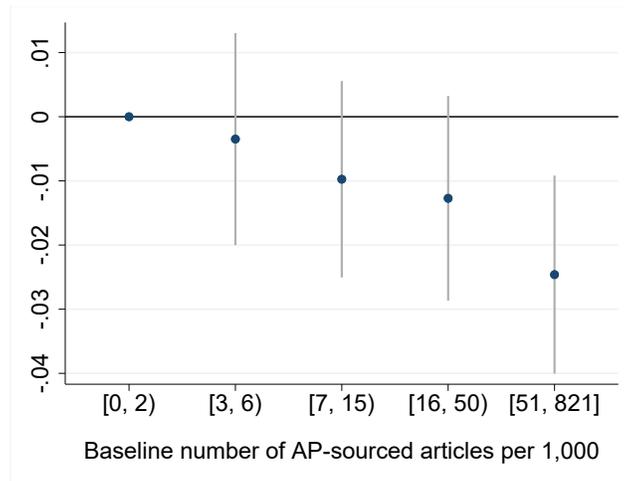
C.2 Additional results

Figure C4: Diffusion of the ban by county \times year



Notes: Diffusion of the AP’s ban aggregated to the level of county \times year. The figure presents point estimates and 95% confidence intervals from a regression of use the term “illegal immigrant” relative to the term “immigrant” by locally circulated newspapers on the interaction of IHS(AP-intensity) with year FEs, where 2012 is the omitted category. The unit of observation is county \times year. The regression controls and baseline county controls interacted with time, and county and year FEs. Standard errors clustered by county.

Figure C5: Reduced-form by quintile of AP intensity



Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on support for border security, estimated flexibly by quintile of AP-intensity. The figure presents point estimates and 95% confidence intervals from a regression of support for increasing border security on the interaction of indicators for quintile of AP intensity with a PostBan indicator. The omitted category is the first quintile. The regression is at the respondent level and controls for respondent characteristics, baseline county controls interacted with time, and county and year FEs. Standard errors clustered by county.

Table C2: Standardized index of all questions on immigration policy

	Reduced Form				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Restrict immigration: index of all questions				
<u>Reduced form:</u>					
PostBan \times IHS(AP-intensity)	-0.0066*** (0.002)	-0.0064*** (0.002)	-0.0067*** (0.002)	-0.0061** (0.003)	-0.0096** (0.004)
County FEs \times					
Linear time trend	No	No	No	No	Yes
DMA \times Year FEs	No	No	No	Yes	No
State \times Year FEs	No	No	Yes	No	No
County controls \times Year FEs	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	192,635	192,072	192,072	192,068	192,072
Number of counties	2,157	2,143	2,143	2,143	2,143
R ²	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.16	0.16
Mean dep. var.	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
Effect of st.dev. Δ in treatment	-0.011	-0.010	-0.011	-0.010	-0.016
<u>2SLS:</u>					
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”	0.0073** (0.003)	0.0060*** (0.002)	0.0080*** (0.003)	0.0055** (0.002)	0.0094* (0.005)
First-Stage F stat.	10.53	27.61	22.32	29.82	11.71

Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on support for restrictive immigration policies: Standardized index of all questions. The dependent variable is an index aggregating all questions on immigration policy in the CCES. Regressions are at the respondent level. Reduced-form OLS regressions in the upper panel and 2SLS regressions in the lower panel. All specifications control for respondent characteristics, and county and year FEs. Standard errors clustered by county. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table C3: Standardized index of consistent questions on immigration policy

	Reduced Form				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Restrict immigration: Index of consistent questions					
<u>Reduced form:</u>					
PostBan \times IHS(AP-intensity)	-0.0067*** (0.002)	-0.0059** (0.002)	-0.0074*** (0.003)	-0.0065** (0.003)	-0.0081* (0.005)
County FEs \times					
Linear time trend	No	No	No	No	Yes
DMA \times Year FEs	No	No	No	Yes	No
State \times Year FEs	No	No	Yes	No	No
County controls \times Year FEs	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	192,635	192,072	192,072	192,068	192,072
Number of counties	2,157	2,143	2,143	2,143	2,143
R ²	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.12
Mean dep. var.	0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
Effect for st. dev. Δ in treatment	-0.011	-0.010	-0.012	-0.011	-0.013
<u>2SLS:</u>					
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”	0.0074** (0.003)	0.0056** (0.003)	0.0087*** (0.003)	0.0058** (0.003)	0.0079 (0.005)
First-Stage F stat.	10.53	27.61	22.32	29.82	11.71

Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on support for restrictive immigration policies: Standardized index of consistent questions. The dependent variable is an index aggregating support for increasing border security and opposition to granting legal status — the two questions on immigration policy asked in every wave of the CCES. Regressions are at the respondent level. Reduced-form OLS regressions in the upper panel and 2SLS regressions in the lower panel. All specifications control for respondent characteristics, county and year FEs. Standard errors clustered by county. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table C4: Alternative measures of the use of “illegal immigrant”

	2SLS				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
			Increase border security		
Headlines: “Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”	0.0036*** (0.001)				
IHS(“Illegal immigrant”)		0.0441*** (0.015)			
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of total articles			0.6909 (0.467)		
“Illegal immigration,” pct. of “Immigration”				0.0056*** (0.002)	
“Illegal immigr*,” pct. of “Immigr*”					0.0044*** (0.001)
First-Stage F stat.	17.37	76.80	2.91	13.48	23.99
Observations	171,714	192,072	178,284	177,325	178,302
Number of counties	1,754	2,143	1,809	1,806	1,809
Mean dep. var.	0.54	0.55	0.54	0.55	0.54

Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on support for increasing border security: Robustness to alternative transformations and definitions of use of the term “illegal immigrant” in locally circulated media. Column (1) considers only headlines instead of articles’ full text. Column (2) uses the IHS-transformed number of articles using the term “illegal immigrant” without normalization. Column (3) replaces the word “immigrant” with the word “immigration.” Column (4) considers both words. Regressions are at the respondent level. All specifications control for respondent characteristics, baseline county characteristics interacted with time, and county and year FEs. Standard errors clustered by county. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table C5: Shifting the measurement of AP intensity back in time

	Reduced Form		2SLS	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Increase border security			
PostBan \times IHS(AP-intensity, 12-24mo pre-ban)	-0.0042*** (0.0014)			
PostBan \times IHS(AP-intensity, 24-36mo pre-ban)		-0.0031** (0.0015)		
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”			0.0048** (0.0020)	0.0042* (0.0023)
First-Stage F stat.			20.34	12.37
Observations	192,072	192,072	192,072	192,072
Number of counties	2,143	2,143	2,143	2,143
Mean dep. var.	0.55	0.55	0.55	0.55

Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on support for increasing border security: Robustness to shifting the measurement of AP intensity back in time. Reduced-form OLS regressions in the left-hand side panel and 2SLS regressions in the right-hand side panel. Regressions are at the respondent level. All specifications control for respondent characteristics, baseline county characteristics interacted with time, and county and year FEs. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table C6: Alternative transformations of AP intensity

	Reduced Form				2SLS			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Increase border security							
PostBan \times 1(AP-int. > median)	-0.0083*							
	(0.005)							
PostBan $\log(1 + \text{AP-int.})$		-0.0052***						
		(0.002)						
PostBan \times IHS(AP-int. per 100)			-0.0146***					
			(0.006)					
PostBan \times IHS(AP-int. per 10,000)				-0.0045***				
				(0.001)				
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”					0.0032	0.0045***	0.0040**	0.0045***
					(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
First-Stage F stat.					13.07	27.84	26.39	27.61
Observations	192,072	192,072	192,072	192,072	192,072	192,072	192,072	192,072
Number of counties	2,143	2,143	2,143	2,143	2,143	2,143	2,143	2,143
Mean dep. var.	0.55	0.55	0.55	0.55	0.55	0.55	0.55	0.55
Standard deviation of the treatment variable		1.46	0.44	1.70				

Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on support for increasing border security: Robustness to alternative transformations of AP intensity. Reduced-form OLS regressions in the left-hand side panel and 2SLS regressions in the right-hand side panel. Regressions are at the respondent level. All specifications control for respondent characteristics, baseline county characteristics interacted with time, and county and year FEs. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table C7: Alternative construction of country-level AP intensity

	Reduced Form			2SLS		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
			Increase border security			
PostBan × IHS(AP-intensity)	-0.0037*** (0.001)	-0.0053*** (0.002)	-0.0042 (0.003)			
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”				0.0040*** (0.001)	0.0041*** (0.001)	0.0098 (0.008)
Aggregation	Highest-circ. newsp.	Circ.-weighted avg.	Circ.-weighted avg.	Highest-circ. newsp.	Circ.-weighted avg.	Circ.-weighted avg.
Sample	Full sample	1 major newsp.	≥2 major newsp.	Full sample	1 major newsp.	≥2 major newsp.
First-Stage F stat.				27.97	25.44	2.48
Observations	218,475	102,209	89,863	217,722	102,209	89,863
Number of counties	2,217	855	1,288	2,216	855	1,288
Mean dep. var.	0.55	0.55	0.55	0.55	0.55	0.55

Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on support for increasing border security: Robustness to alternative aggregation of AP intensity and of the share articles using the term “illegal immigrant” to the county level. Reduced-form OLS regressions in the left-hand side panel and 2SLS regressions in the right-hand side panel. Regressions are at the respondent level. All specifications control for respondent characteristics, baseline county characteristics interacted with time, and county and year FEs. In columns (1) and (4), AP intensity corresponds to the single newspaper with highest circulation in the county of the respondent. In columns (2) and (5), AP intensity is the circulation-weighted average across newspapers read in the respondent’s county and the sample is limited to counties with only 1 main newspaper (i.e., only one newspaper with market share $\geq 10\%$). In columns (3) and (6), AP intensity is the circulation-weighted average across newspapers read in the respondent’s county and the sample is limited to counties with 2 or more major newspapers. Standard errors clustered by county. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table C8: Alternative thresholds for inclusion in the sample

Reduced form

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Increase border security						
PostBan × IHS(AP-intensity)	-0.0066*** (0.0018)	-0.0047*** (0.0015)	-0.0048*** (0.0015)	-0.0047*** (0.0015)	-0.0047*** (0.0014)	-0.0046*** (0.0013)	-0.0044*** (0.0013)
Threshold for inclusion in sample	= 1	≥ 0.95	≥ 0.85	≥ 0.75	≥ 0.50	≥ 0.25	≥ 0
Observations	119,518	175,794	202,947	215,449	238,852	257,564	283,407
Number of counties	1680	2078	2187	2247	2357	2522	2870
R ²	0.10	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.09
Mean dep. var.	0.55	0.55	0.55	0.54	0.54	0.54	0.55

2SLS

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Increase border security						
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”	0.0072*** (0.0027)	0.0043*** (0.0016)	0.0047*** (0.0017)	0.0050*** (0.0019)	0.0044*** (0.0015)	0.0040*** (0.0013)	0.0037*** (0.0012)
Threshold for inclusion in sample	= 1	≥ 0.95	≥ 0.85	≥ 0.75	≥ 0.50	≥ 0.25	≥ 0
First stage F stat.	15.72	28.34	26.14	21.37	31.69	37.52	42.30

Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on support for increasing border security: Robustness to alternative thresholds for inclusion in the baseline sample — share of total county circulation covered by the NewsLibrary/ProQuest content data. Reduced-form OLS regressions in the upper panel and 2SLS regressions in the lower panel. Regressions are at the respondent level. All specifications control for respondent characteristics, baseline county characteristics interacted with time, and county and year FEs. Standard errors clustered by county. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table C9: Controlling for internet and Craigslist penetration

	Reduced Form		2SLS	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Increase border security			
PostBan \times IHS(AP-intensity)	-0.0046*** (0.002)	-0.0048*** (0.002)		
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”			0.0045*** (0.002)	0.0049*** (0.002)
Internet connections	0.0012 (0.004)		0.0044 (0.004)	
Years Craigslist present	0.0007 (0.001)		-0.0009 (0.002)	
Internet connections 2012 \times year FEs	No	Yes	No	Yes
Years Craigslist present 2012 \times year FEs	No	Yes	No	Yes
First-Stage F stat.			25.89	23.35
Observations	190,538	192,072	190,538	192,072
Number of counties	2,143	2,143	2,143	2,143
Mean dep. var.	0.55	0.55	0.55	0.55

Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on support for increasing border security: Robustness to controls for local internet quality and the presence of Craigslist. Reduced-form OLS regressions in the left-hand side panel and 2SLS regressions in the right-hand side panel. Regressions are at the respondent level. All specifications control for respondent characteristics, baseline county characteristics interacted with time, and county and year FEs. Columns (1) and (3) also control for internet and Craigslist penetration in 2012, interacted with year FEs. Columns (2) and (4) also control for contemporaneous internet and Craigslist penetration. Standard errors clustered by county. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table C10: Alternative clustering

	Reduced Form		2SLS	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Increase border security			
PostBan \times IHS(AP-intensity)	-0.0047*** (0.002)	-0.0047** (0.002)		
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”			0.0045** (0.002)	0.0045** (0.002)
Clustering	DMA	State	DMA	State
First-Stage F stat.			17.46	16.43
Observations	192,072	192,072	192,072	192,072
Number of counties	2,143	2,143	2,143	2,143
Mean dep. var.	0.55	0.55	0.55	0.55

Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on support for increasing border security: Alternative level of clustering of standard errors. Reduced-form OLS regressions in the left-hand side panel and 2SLS regressions in the right-hand side panel. Regressions are at the respondent level. All specifications control for respondent characteristics, baseline county characteristics interacted with time, and county and year FEs. Standard errors clustered by DMA in columns (1) and (3), and by state in columns (2) and (4). Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table C11: Reduced-form over time

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Increase border security	Grant legal status $\times -1$	Sanction employers	Allow police questioning	Prohibit services	Restrict imm. index: all questions	Restrict imm. index: consistent questions
Survey year=2010 \times IHS(AP-intensity)	-0.0020 (0.002)	-0.0030 (0.002)	0.0032 (0.007)	-0.0018 (0.002)		-0.0042 (0.003)	-0.0050 (0.004)
Survey year=2011 \times IHS(AP-intensity)	-0.0018 (0.003)	-0.0006 (0.003)		-0.0027 (0.003)		-0.0031 (0.004)	-0.0023 (0.005)
Survey year=2012 \times IHS(AP-intensity)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Survey year=2013 \times IHS(AP-intensity)	-0.0021 (0.003)	-0.0020 (0.003)	-0.0023 (0.003)	-0.0047 (0.003)	-0.0056* (0.003)	-0.0074* (0.004)	-0.0041 (0.005)
Survey year=2014 \times IHS(AP-intensity)	-0.0073*** (0.002)	-0.0025 (0.002)	-0.0067*** (0.002)	-0.0058*** (0.002)	-0.0033 (0.002)	-0.0100*** (0.003)	-0.0099*** (0.003)
Survey year=2016 \times IHS(AP-intensity)	-0.0047** (0.002)	-0.0020 (0.002)	-0.0062* (0.003)			-0.0066** (0.003)	-0.0068* (0.004)
Survey year=2017 \times IHS(AP-intensity)	-0.0084*** (0.003)	-0.0045 (0.003)	-0.0078*** (0.003)	-0.0071** (0.003)		-0.0128*** (0.004)	-0.0130*** (0.005)
Observations	192,072	192,072	108,655	149,016	85,850	192,072	192,072
Number of counties	2,143	2,143	2,008	2,101	1,973	2,143	2,143
R ²	0.09	0.09	0.13	0.14	0.16	0.15	0.11
Mean dep. var.	0.55	-0.48	0.61	0.40	0.42	-0.00	-0.00

Notes: Effect of the AP's ban on support for restrictive immigration policies: Effects over time. Reduced-form OLS regressions, interacting AP intensity with a set of indicators for survey year, with 2012 as the omitted category. Regressions are at the respondent level. All specifications control for respondent characteristics, baseline county characteristics interacted with time, and county and year FEs. Standard errors clustered by county. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table C12: Use of the term “illegal immigrant” in locally circulated media and views on immigration policy: OLS

Panel (a): Cross-sectional correlations

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Increase border security	Grant legal status $\times -1$	Sanction employers	Allow police questioning	Prohibit services	Restrict imm. index all questions	Restrict imm. index: consistent questions
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”	0.0031*** (0.000)	0.0037*** (0.000)	0.0024*** (0.000)	0.0039*** (0.000)	-0.0032*** (0.000)	0.0023*** (0.000)	0.0020*** (0.000)
Observations	203,236	203,236	119,354	159,974	86,734	203,236	203,236
Number of counties	2,261	2,261	2,187	2,238	2,150	2,261	2,261
R ²	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00
Mean dep. var.	0.55	-0.48	0.61	0.39	0.42	-0.00	0.00

Panel (b): Conditional on FEs and controls

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Increase border security	Grant legal status $\times -1$	Sanction employers	Allow police questioning	Prohibit services	Restrict imm. index: all questions	Restrict imm. index: consistent questions
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”	-0.0000 (0.000)	0.0000 (0.000)	0.0001 (0.000)	0.0002 (0.000)	0.0003 (0.000)	0.0003 (0.000)	0.0000 (0.000)
Respondent controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs \times County controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	192,072	192,072	108,655	149,016	85,850	192,072	192,072
Number of counties	2,143	2,143	2,008	2,101	1,973	2,143	2,143
R ²	0.09	0.09	0.13	0.14	0.16	0.15	0.11
Mean dep. var.	0.55	-0.48	0.61	0.40	0.42	-0.00	-0.00

Notes: Correlation between immigration policy views and use of the term “illegal immigrant” relative to the term “immigrant” in locally circulated newspapers. Panel (a) shows OLS coefficients without controls. Panel (b) shows OLS coefficients from regressions controlling for respondent characteristics, baseline county characteristics interacted with time, and county and year FEs. Standard errors clustered by county. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table C13: Falsification test: Views on policies other than immigration

Reduced form									
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Allow abortion $\times -1$	Oppose gay marriage	Repeal ACA	Oppose affirmative action	Support military intervention	Spending cuts over tax increase	Sales tax over income tax	Jobs over environment	Economy worse
PostBan \times IHS(AP-intensity)	0.0018 (0.001)	0.0017 (0.001)	-0.0009 (0.002)	-0.0001 (0.001)	-0.0016 (0.001)	-0.0013 (0.001)	0.0010 (0.002)	0.0001 (0.003)	0.0003 (0.001)
Observations	200,330	187,588	138,846	145,507	201,379	143,376	135,795	84,931	196,806
Number of counties	2,149	2,139	2,065	2,097	2,151	2,070	2,062	2,000	2,148
R ²	0.48	0.10	0.11	0.22	0.34	0.06	0.05	0.07	0.13
Mean dep. var.	-0.28	0.58	0.50	0.62	0.68	0.71	0.51	0.39	0.42
2SLS									
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Allow abortion $\times -1$	Oppose gay marriage	Repeal ACA	Oppose affirmative action	Support military intervention	Spending cuts over tax increase	Sales tax over income tax	Jobs over environment	Economy worse
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”	-0.0016 (0.001)	-0.0016 (0.001)	0.0008 (0.001)	0.0001 (0.001)	0.0015 (0.001)	0.0012 (0.001)	-0.0010 (0.002)	-0.0001 (0.003)	-0.0003 (0.001)
First-Stage F stat.	31.43	29.37	27.40	21.78	31.20	27.60	27.68	13.64	30.80
Observations	200,330	187,588	138,846	145,507	201,379	143,376	135,795	84,931	196,806
Number of counties	2,149	2,139	2,065	2,097	2,151	2,070	2,062	2,000	2,148
Mean dep. var.	-0.28	0.58	0.50	0.62	0.68	0.71	0.51	0.39	0.42

Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on views on policies other than immigration. See section C.3 for a description of the individual questions. Reduced-form OLS regressions in the left-hand side panel and 2SLS regressions in the right-hand side panel. All specifications control for respondent characteristics, baseline county characteristics interacted with time, and county and year FEs. Standard errors clustered by county. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table C14: Political effects: Voting intentions in the CCES

	Reduced Form				2SLS			
	(1) President Rep. vote	(2) Senate Rep. vote	(3) House Rep. vote	(4) Disapproval Obama Approval Trump	(5) President Rep. vote	(6) Senate Rep. vote	(7) House Rep. vote	(8) Disapproval Obama Approval Trump
PostBan × IHS(AP-intensity)	-0.0014 (0.001)	0.0015 (0.003)	0.0012 (0.002)	-0.0050 (0.003)				
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”					0.0013 (0.001)	-0.0019 (0.003)	-0.0011 (0.002)	0.0046 (0.003)
Respondent controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs × County controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
First-Stage F stat.					31.27	10.23	23.75	31.51
Observations	164,088	86,630	123,029	194,827	164,088	86,630	123,029	194,827
Number of counties	2,122	1,948	2,057	2,145	2,122	1,948	2,057	2,145
Mean dep. var.	0.46	0.46	0.49	2.66	0.46	0.46	0.49	2.66

Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on having voted/ intention to vote for the Republican candidate in presidential, Senate and House elections, and on disapproval of president Obama/ approval of president Trump. Reduced-form OLS regressions in the left-hand side panel and 2SLS regressions in the right-hand side panel. Regressions are at the respondent level. All specifications control for respondent characteristics, baseline county characteristics interacted with time, and county and year FEs. Standard errors clustered by county. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table C15: Political effects: Electoral data

	Reduced Form			2SLS		
	(1) Rep. Share President	(2) Rep. Share Senate	(3) Rep. Share House	(4) Rep. Share President	(5) Rep. Share Senate	(6) Rep. Share House
PostBan \times IHS(AP-intensity)	-0.0008 (0.001)	0.0030 (0.002)	0.0002 (0.002)			
“Illegal immigrant,” pct. of “Immigrant”				0.0006 (0.000)	-0.0044 (0.004)	-0.0002 (0.002)
Year FEs \times County controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
First-Stage F stat.	.	.	.	28.42	8.87	28.48
Observations	4,696	6,275	9,373	4,696	6,275	9,373
Number of counties	2,348	2,349	2,349	2,348	2,349	2,349
Mean dep. var.	0.64	0.63	0.66	0.64	0.63	0.66

Notes: Effect of the AP’s ban on the Republican vote share in presidential, Senate and House elections. Reduced-form OLS regressions in the left-hand side panel and 2SLS regressions in the right-hand side panel. The level of observation is county \times election year. All specifications control for baseline county controls interacted with time and county and year FEs. Weighted by 2012 voting-age population. Standard errors clustered by county. Significance levels: * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

C.3 CCES questions

Question on immigration policy This section lists all possible answers to the multiple-choice question on immigration policy on the CCES survey, along with the respective survey waves the options appear in. Similar issues are grouped together following Dagonel (2021) and listed under the same bullet point. Survey waves conducted beyond the main sample period (2009-2017) are in italics.

What do you think the US government / Congress and the President should do about immigration? Select all that apply.

Options appearing both before and after the ban:

- **Increase border security**

Increase the number of border patrol on the US-Mexican border: *2007*, 2010, 2012, 2013 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, *2019*

Increase border presence: 2011 Increase spending on border security by \$25 billion, including building a wall between the U.S. and Mexico: *2018*

- **Grant legal status**

Grant legal status to all illegal immigrants who have held jobs and paid taxes for at least 3 years, and not been convicted of any felony crimes: *2007*, 2010, 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017, *2019*

Amnesty long term residents: 2011

- **Sanction employers**

Fine US businesses that hire illegal immigrants: *2007*, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017

- **Allow police questioning**

Allow police to question anyone they think may be in the country illegally: 2010, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2017

Police question those reasonably suspected of being illegal: 2011

- **Prohibit services**

Prohibit illegal immigrants from using emergency hospital care and public schools: 2012, 2013

Identify and deport illegal immigrants: 2014

Options appearing only before the ban, only after the ban, or outside the main sample period:

- Build a wall between the U.S. and Mexico: 2007, 2017, 2020

- Increase the number of visas for overseas workers to work in the U.S: 2015, 2016, 2017
Increase the number of guest workers allowed to come legally to the US: 2007, 2010

- Deny automatic citizenship to American-born children of illegal immigrants: 2012

- Identify and deport illegal immigrants: 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017

- Admit no refugees from Syria: 2016

- Ban Muslims from immigrating to the U.S: 2016

- Require local police departments to report to the federal government anyone they identify as an illegal immigrant: 2017

- Reduce legal immigration by eliminating the visa lottery and ending family-based migration: *2018*
- Grant legal status to people who were brought to the US illegally as children, but who have graduated from a U.S. high school: 2016
Provide legal status to children of immigrants who are already in the United States and were brought to the United States by their parents. Provide these children the option of citizenship in 10 years if they meet citizenship requirements and commit no crimes. (DACA): *2018*
- Withhold federal funds from any local police department that does not report to the federal government anyone they identify as an illegal immigrant: *2018, 2019*
- Send to prison any person who has been deported from the United States and reenters the United States: *2018*
- Overturn President Trump's order to use \$6 billion of defense funds to pay for the construction of a wall: *2019*
- Reduce legal immigration by 50%: *2019*

Other policy questions The following section lists all policy questions appearing on the CCES in the main sample period and asked at least once before and at least once after the ban.

- **Allow abortion**
 - Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view on abortion? [1 By law, abortion should never be permitted, ..., 4 By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice]: 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013
 - Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Always allow a woman to obtain an abortion as a matter of choice [Support, Oppose]: 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017
- **Oppose gay marriage**
 - Constitutional Amendment banning Gay Marriage [Support, Oppose]: 2010
 - Gay Marriage [Support, Oppose]: 2009, 2011
 - Do you favor or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally? [Favor, Oppose]: 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016
- **Repeal ACA**
 - Congress considered many important bills over the past few years. For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose the legislation in principle. Repeal Affordable Care Act. Would repeal the Affordable Care Act [Support, Oppose]: 2012, 2013, 2015, 2017
 - The Affordable Health Care Act was passed into law in 2010. It does the following: Requires Americans to obtain health insurance. Prevents insurance companies from denying coverage for preexisting conditions. Allows people to keep current health insurance and care provider. Sets up national health insurance option for those without coverage, but allows states the option to implement their own insurance system [Support, Oppose]: 2014
 - Congress considers many issues. If you were in Congress would you vote for or against each of the following? Repeal Affordable Care Act. Would repeal the Affordable Care

Act of 2009 (also known as Obamacare) [For, Against]: 2016

- **Oppose affirmative action**

- Affirmative action programs give preference to racial minorities and to women in employment and college admissions in order to correct for discrimination. Do you support or oppose affirmative action? [Support, Oppose]: 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014

- **Spending cuts over tax increase**

- If your state were to have a budget deficit this year it would have to raise taxes on income or sales or cut spending, such as on education, health care, welfare, and road construction. What would you prefer more, raising taxes or cutting spending? Choose a point along the scale from 100 percent tax increases (and no spending cuts) to 100 percent spending cuts (and no tax increases). The point in the middle means that the budget should be balanced with equal amounts of spending cuts and tax increases. If you are not sure, or don't know, please check the box below. [Values in range 0 to 100]: 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017

- **Sales tax over income tax**

- If the state had to raise taxes, what share of the tax increase should come from increased income taxes and what share from increased sales taxes? Choose a point along the scale from 100 percent from sales (and none from income) to 100 percent from income (and none from sales). The point in the middle means that any increase in taxes should come equally from sales and income taxes. If you are Not sure, or don't know, please check the 'Not sure' box. [Values in range 0 to 100]: 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017

- **Jobs over environment**

- Some people think it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living. Other people think that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living. Which is closer to the way you feel, or haven't you thought much about this? [1=Environment much more important,... 5=Jobs much more important]: 2010, 2012, 2013

- **Support military intervention**

- Would you approve of the use of U.S. military troops in order to...? Assist the spread of democracy / Intervene in a region where there is genocide or a civil war / Help the United Nations uphold international law / Ensure the supply of oil / Protect American allies under attack by foreign nations/ Destroy a terrorist camp [Approve, Disapprove]: 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016

- **Economy worse**

- Would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has...? [1 Gotten much better, ..., 5 Gotten much worse]: 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017

C.4 Evidence on framing effects from survey experiments

Table C16 summarizes the results of survey experiments that manipulate the language used to refer to immigrants and measure effects on opinions and / or policy views. To facilitate comparison across studies, I orient the treatment such that labels that are more favorable toward immigrants are compared to less favorable ones. I also orient outcomes such that higher values indicate more negative views toward immigrants or stronger support for restrictive immigration policy. If a study reports multiple outcomes or sub-studies including the same conditions, I report average effects across outcomes or sub-studies.⁶

Column “Effect Size” reports the estimated difference between conditions relative to the comparison condition mean.⁷ Column “Persuasion Rate” reports the corresponding persuasion rate. Persuasion rates are calculated as follows. First, I translate the outcome variable in each condition to a 0-1 scale. For example, if support for deportation is equal to 2.5 on a 5-point Likert scale, I recode this value to $(2.5 - 1)/(5 - 1) = 0.375$. I then assume that this number corresponds to the share of respondents who support deportation vs. those who do not.

With this, I compute the persuasion rate for supporting conservative immigration policy or adopting a negative position toward migrants as:

$$f = \frac{b_T - b_C}{e_T - e_C} \frac{1}{1 - b_0} = \frac{b_T - b_C}{1 - b_C}, \quad (1)$$

where b_T and b_C are the recoded outcomes for the treatment and comparison condition, respectively, and $e_T = 1$ and $e_C = 0$ is exposure to the treatment.

My computations from the statistics reported in each study are available at shorturl.at/bioSV.

⁶In the case of Rucker et al. (2019) which consists of 5 studies, I focus on studies 4 and 5 because they allow me to compare the conditions “illegal immigrant” and “immigrant.”

⁷Pearson (2010) reports differences between conditions but not outcome means by condition. I therefore assume that outcomes are at the mid-point of the scale in the comparison condition.

Table C16: Summary of evidence from survey experiments: Effects of framing on support restrictive immigration policies and negative views toward immigrants

Study	Treatment	Frame type	Effect size	Persuasion rate
Pearson (2010)	“undocumented workers” vs. “illegal aliens”	equivalence	-10.6%	11.5%
Knoll et al. (2011)	“undocumented immigrants” vs. “illegal immigrants”	equivalence	no effect	—
Ommundsen et al. (2014)	“undocumented immigrant” vs. “illegal immigrant”	equivalence	-8.1%	14.6%
	“illegal immigrant” or “undocumented immigrant” vs. “illegal alien”	equivalence	+12.7%	14.7%
Merolla et al. (2013)	“undocumented” vs. “illegal” vs. “unauthorized immigrant”	equivalence	no effect	—
	“opportunity to become citizen” vs. “amnesty”	emphasis	-17.8%	50.8%
McCabe et al. (2021)	“Latino immigrants” vs. “undocumented Latino immigrants”	emphasis	-6.3%	13.6%
Rucker et al. (2019)	“undocumented immigrants” vs. “illegal immigrants”	equivalence	-9.1%	13.9%
	“immigrants” vs. “illegal immigrants”	emphasis	-29.1%	43.5%

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