## Media Coverage, Salience of Immigration and the Polarization of Attitudes.

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# Appendix A Additional Descriptive Statistics for the ELIPSS

Table A1: Individual Characteristics and Natives' Attitudes Toward Immigration Difference in Means

	Pro-immig.	Pro-immig. moderates	Anti-immig. moderates	Anti-immig.	Mean (All)
Age	-0.579***	-0.005	0.372***	0.063	5.583
High education	$0.138^{***}$	$0.071^{***}$	-0.053***	-0.197***	0.653
Employed	$0.057^{***}$	$0.025^{**}$	-0.050***	-0.031**	0.671
Marital status	-0.021	-0.016	$0.039^{***}$	-0.007	0.664
Nb. Child	-0.003	0.004	$0.065^{**}$	-0.103***	0.788
Nb. Household member	-0.015	-0.000	0.006	0.007	2.476
Blue collar	-0.064***	-0.037***	$0.031^{***}$	$0.088^{***}$	0.212
Income category	$0.204^{***}$	$0.171^{***}$	-0.027	-0.491***	3.091

Notes: This table reports the difference between the mean of each group and the mean for the full sample used in the empirical analysis. We also report whether the difference is significant with a two-sample t-test. The "Age" variable is composed of 11 categories from less than 24 years old to more than 70 years old. The "High education" variable equals one if the individual has a diploma equivalent to the French baccalaureate and 0 otherwise. The "Employed" variable equals one if the individual is employed and 0 otherwise. The variable "Marital status" equals one if the individual is in a couple and 0 otherwise. The variable "Nb. Child" ranges from 0 for no children to 3 for more than 3 children. The variable "Nb. Household Member" ranges from 1 for one individual to 6 for more than 6 individuals in the household. The variable "Blue collar" equals one if the individual is a blue-collar worker and 0 otherwise. The "Income category." variable is composed of 7 categories from 0 monthly income to more than 6000  $\in$  monthly income.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on ELIPSS data.

Channel	2013		20	2016		erall	
					Nb. of Obs.		
					ND. O	I Obs.	
TF1	149	32.11	291	27.25	2,023	29.77	
France 2	120	25.86	298	27.97	$1,\!801$	26.50	
BFM TV	108	23.28	228	21.35	$1,\!543$	22.70	
M6	43	9.27	110	10.30	652	9.59	
France 3	21	4.53	60	5.62	353	5.19	
CNews	13	2.80	48	4.49	236	3.47	
Arte	10	2.16	33	3.09	188	2.77	
Indiv.	464		1,068		6,796		

Table A2: Respondents by Preferred TV Channel

Notes: This table reports the breakdown of respondents across French TV channels used as primary sources for political information in 2013 and 2016. Sources: Authors' elaboration on ELIPSS data.

Figure A1 depicts how we selected the analysis sample from the initial ELIPSS surveys. For the initial 2013 sample and the panel refreshment in 2016, as described in the paper's data description, we begin with a sample of French citizens and retain only those individuals who use TV as their primary source of political information (69%). Other individuals are kept for further placebo estimations (31%). Then, we exclude individuals for whom the channel watched for political information is of marginal significance or is not recorded (5 and 1%, respectively), as their inclusion would result in a too small sample size for our analysis. The figure further presents the number of individuals and the number of survey waves in which they are present. 62% of individuals have zero missing waves.

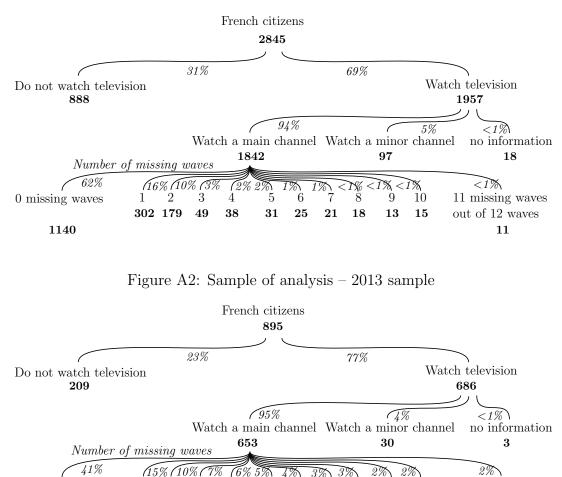


Figure A1: Sample of Analysis

6

5

 $\mathbf{31}$ 

6

25

9

 $\mathbf{13}$ 

10

15

8

18

 $\mathbf{21}$ 

11 missing waves

11

out of 12 waves

3

49

4

38

1

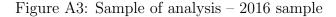
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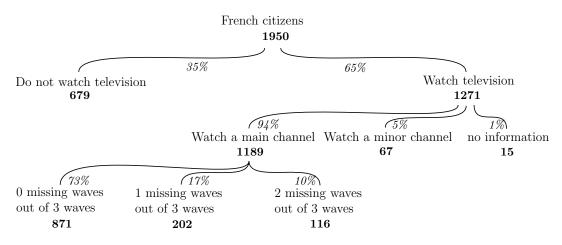
2

0 missing waves

out of 12 waves

269





Source: Author's elaboration on ELIPSS data.

## Appendix A1 Selection into Channels and Individual Characteristics

This appendix investigates the selection of individuals across channels based on their attitudes toward immigration and individual characteristics.

Overall, Table A3 reports that individuals opposed to immigration tend to favor TF1 for political information, while immigration supporters are more likely to choose Arte, France 2, or CNews. CNews's alignment with more positive immigration attitudes may come as a surprise, but it is important to note that this channel shifted its political stance after Vincent Bolloré's takeover in July 2015, which affects only the last four waves of our sample (Cagé et al., 2022).

Table A3 also reports strong selection across channels based on individuals' characteristics. This selection leads to varying distributions of attitudes for each channel, as shown in Figure A6. Nonetheless, the majority of channels attract a diverse set of respondents with mixed attitudes toward immigration. Since there could be high correlations across individual characteristics, we study the selection into channels based on observable characteristics using multinomial logit regressions presented in Figure A4. Regarding the two main television channels in France, TF1 (where individuals are more against immigration) and France 2 (where individuals are more in favor of immigration, according to Figure A5), we find that, *ceteris paribus*, being less educated, a blue-collar worker or having less income or more children for instance increases the likelihood of choosing TF1 as the main source of political information, while it decreases the probability of watching France 2. We provide evidence in Figure A5 that average attitudes toward immigration still differ across French television channels after partialling

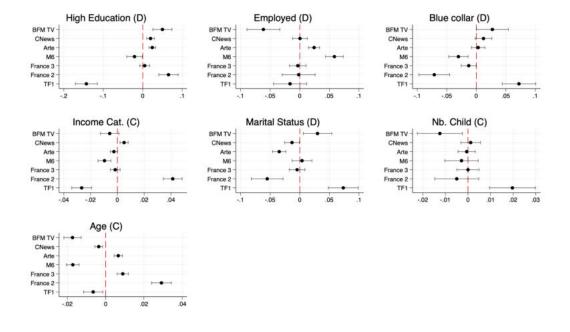
out individuals' characteristics.

#### Table A3: Preferred Television Channel and Natives' Attitudes Toward Immigration Difference in Means

	TF1	France 2	France 3	M6	Arte	CNews	$\rm BFM \ TV$	Mean (All)
$Attitudes_{it}$	0.296***	-0.222***	0.017	-0.003	-0.605***	-0.383***	0.001	2.483
Age	$0.134^{**}$	$0.655^{***}$	$1.202^{***}$	$-1.522^{***}$	$0.720^{***}$	-0.888***	-0.523***	5.583
High education	$-0.150^{***}$	$0.074^{***}$	-0.039	$0.057^{***}$	$0.134^{***}$	$0.173^{***}$	$0.053^{***}$	0.653
Employed	$-0.044^{***}$	-0.035***	$-0.141^{***}$	$0.197^{***}$	$0.079^{**}$	$0.122^{***}$	0.018	0.671
Marital status	0.017	0.019	-0.041	-0.027	$-0.345^{***}$	-0.003	0.019	0.664
Nb. Child	$0.070^{**}$	$0.079^{***}$	$0.139^{**}$	-0.216***	-0.038	-0.067	-0.110***	0.788
Nb. Household member	$0.083^{**}$	-0.075**	-0.422***	0.087	$-1.045^{***}$	$0.270^{***}$	$0.124^{***}$	2.476
Blue collar	$0.085^{***}$	-0.073***	-0.042*	-0.037**	-0.037	-0.013	0.006	0.212
Income category	$-0.357^{***}$	$0.523^{***}$	-0.113	-0.232***	$-0.516^{***}$	$0.460^{***}$	-0.026	3.091

Notes: This table reports the difference between the mean of each group and the mean for the full sample used in the empirical analysis. We also report whether the difference is significant with a two-sample t-test. The "Age" variable is composed of 11 categories from less than 24 years old to more than 70 years old. The "High education" variable equals one if the individual has a diploma equivalent to the French baccalaureate and 0 otherwise. The "Employed" variable equals one if the individual is employed and 0 otherwise. The variable "Marital status" equals one if the individual is in a couple and 0 otherwise. The variable "Nb. Child" ranges from 0 for no children to 3 for more than 3 children. The variable "Nb. Household Member" ranges from 1 for one individual to 6 for more than 6 individuals in the household. The variable "Blue collar" equals one if the individual is a blue-collar worker and 0 otherwise. The "Income category." variable is composed of 7 categories from 0 monthly income to more than 6000  $\in$  monthly income.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on ELIPSS data.



#### Figure A4: Multinomial Logit Regressions Probabilities of Choosing a Given Channel

Notes: Coefficients are obtained from predictive margins for continuous (C) and dummy variables (D) after a multinomial logit with alternative channels as dependent variables and age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, and income as predictors. For graphical representation, income, age, and the number of children are considered continuous variables in the specific regression. Using categorical variables does not affect the interpretation of the results and these estimates are available upon request. Confidence intervals are presented at the 95% level.

Interpretation: The probability of choosing TF1, ceteris paribus, is on average 1.41 percentage points lower for high-skilled compared to low-skilled viewers. Sources: Authors' elaboration on ELIPSS data.

7

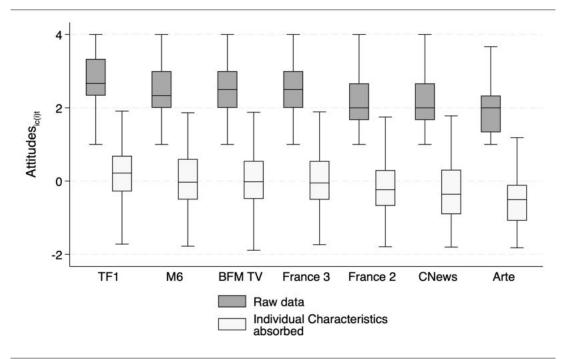


Figure A5: Attitudes by Preferred TV Channel, 2013-2017 Individual characteristics partialled-out

Notes: Individual attitudes by preferred TV channel for political information after absorbing variations from differences in observable characteristics.  $Attitudes_{it}$  is the average attitude of individual *i* in year-month *t* on the dimensions namely, the number of immigrants in the resident population, the cultural enrichment resulting from immigration, and the extent to which Muslims are just like any other citizens. The higher  $Attitudes_{it}$  is, the more the individual is against immigration. Controls include age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar, and income categories. Sources: Authors' elaboration on ELIPSS data (2013-2017).

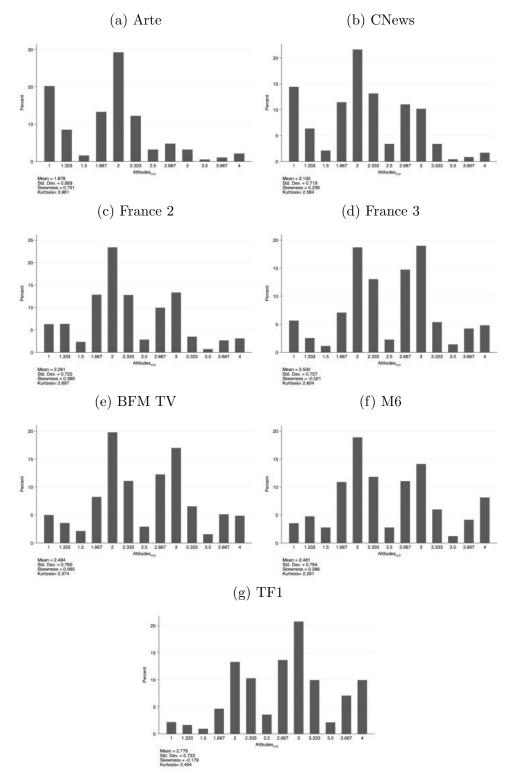


Figure A6: Individuals' Attitudes Toward Immigration by Channel

Note: Distribution of individuals' attitudes toward immigration by preferred channel. Sources: Authors' elaboration on ELIPSS data.

# Appendix B Additional Descriptive Statistics for the INA

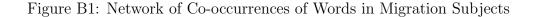
#### Appendix B1 Identifying Migration Subjects

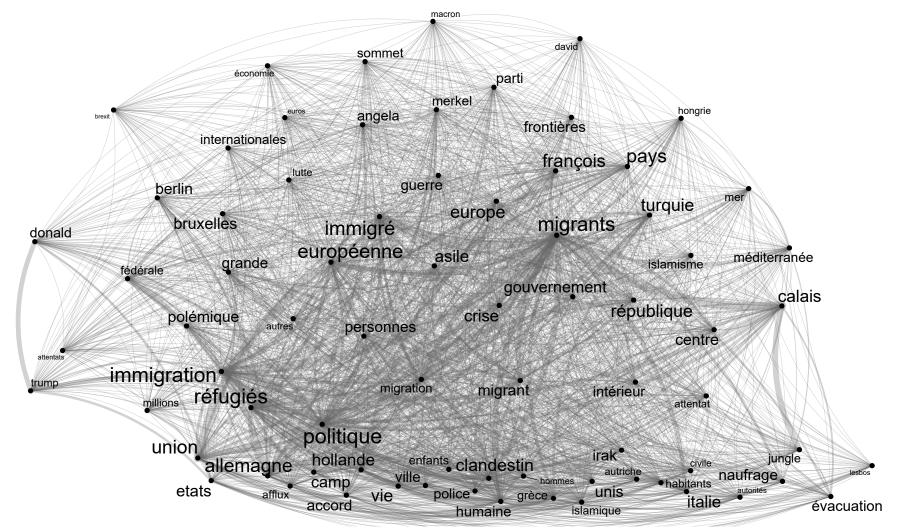
#### Lexicon

The lexicon includes the following list of French words: migration, migrations, immigration, immigrations, immigré, immigrés, immigrée, immigrées, immigre, immigres, immigree, immigrees, réfugié, réfugiés, réfugiée, réfugiées, réfugies, réfugies, réfugiees, réfugiees, refugié, refugiés, refugiée, refugies, refugies, refugiee, refugiees, migrant, migrants, immigrant, immigrants, migrante, migrantes, immigrante, immigrantes, sans-papier, sans-papiers, mineur non accompagné, mineurs non accompagnés, mineur isolé étranger, mineurs isolés étranger, clandestin, clandestins, asile, asiles, demandeur d'asile, demandeurs d'asile, demandeuse d'asile, demandeuses d'asile, demandeur d asile, demandeurs d'asile, demandeuse d asile, demandeuses d asile, demande d'asile, demandes d'asile, demande d asile, demandes d asile, étranger, etrangers, étrangers, étrangère, etrangere, étrangere, etrangère, étrangères, etrangeres, étrangeres, etrangères.

Aside from the words denoting the act of migrating ("migration"), the other words are all the ones used to denominate migrants according to the French Museum of the History of Immigration.<sup>1</sup> A cleaning process is therefore performed to remove identification of subjects: i) where the word "réfugié" (refugee) picks up the action verb to take refuge in a specific place (usually in the context of attacks where victims or military take refugee in a building), ii) where the word "étranger" (foreign) or "clandestin" (clandestine) applies to entities or objects and does not denote immigration-related individuals (for instance, we remove references to foreign firms or clandestine hospital ), iii) where the word "asile" (asylum) denotes psychiatric asylum, and iv) where the word "migration" (migration) denotes the migration of birds and other animals. Our main conclusions remain valid even when we remove these additional exclusion rules. The lexicon approach is further validated by the co-occurrence network of words in migration subjects depicted in Figure B1. It illustrates the approach's efficacy in identifying migration-related topics within the French context, as there are no irrelevant themes or words associated with the migration subject.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See https://www.histoire-immigration.fr/les-mots, last accessed on April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2023.

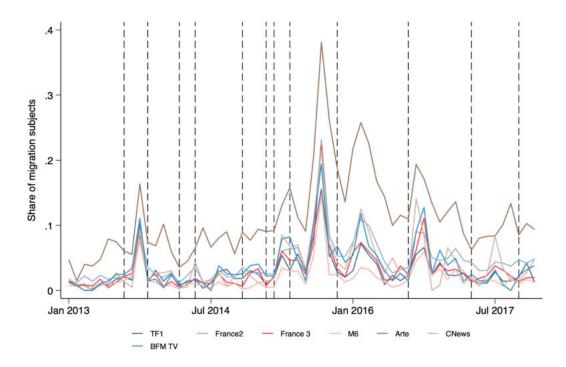




Notes: Co-occurrence networks are the collective interconnection of terms based on their paired presence within a subject. This plots the co-occurrences of the top 75 words in migration subjects where the edges show the co-occurrences of words. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA data.

# Appendix B2 Coverage of Immigration Between 2013 and 2017

Figure B2: Media Coverage and the 2015 Refugee Crisis by Channel



Notes: This graph depicts the average aggregated share of subjects devoted to immigrationrelated topics on French TV evening news programs for each channel. Horizontal lines display months preceding ELIPPS waves that include questions on attitudes toward immigrants. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA data.

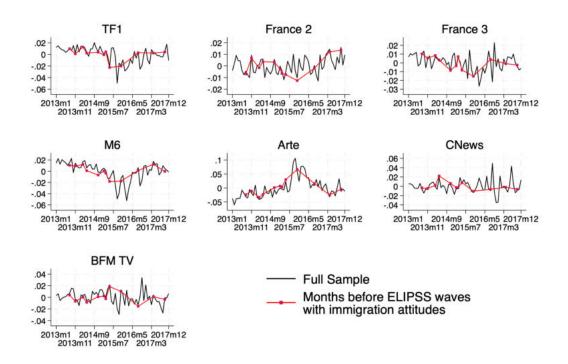
	Before the refugee crisis (09.2015)			s (09.2015)	After the refugee crisis (09.2015)			(09.2015)		All		
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
TF1	0.025	0.022	0.002	0.103	0.035	0.030	0.009	0.156	0.029	0.026	0.002	0.156
France 2	0.031	0.022	0.012	0.097	0.061	0.040	0.027	0.232	0.045	0.035	0.012	0.232
France 3	0.022	0.020	0.004	0.085	0.043	0.042	0.013	0.223	0.032	0.033	0.004	0.223
M6	0.014	0.016	0.000	0.076	0.025	0.027	0.005	0.146	0.019	0.022	0.000	0.146
Arte	0.081	0.040	0.015	0.205	0.146	0.071	0.062	0.381	0.111	0.065	0.015	0.381
CNews	0.028	0.027	0.000	0.105	0.053	0.047	0.000	0.215	0.039	0.039	0.000	0.215
BFM TV	0.029	0.028	0.000	0.111	0.048	0.042	0.000	0.194	0.038	0.036	0.000	0.194
Total	0.033	0.033	0.000	0.205	0.059	0.058	0.000	0.381	0.045	0.048	0.000	0.381

Table B1: Average Share of Migration Subjects on Evening Television ProgramsFull INA Sample

Notes: This table reports the average monthly share of migration subjects on evening TV programs from 2013 to 2017. The date of the refugee crisis in our context is September 2015.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA data.

#### Figure B3: Media Coverage of Immigration Year-month and Channel Fixed Effects Partialled Out



Notes: This figure plots the coverage of immigration on French evening news programs at the channel level. Channel fixed effects, as well as wave fixed effects, are partialled out. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA data.

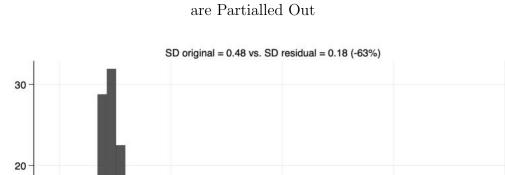
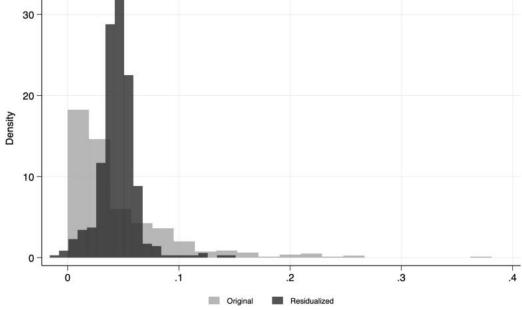
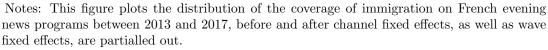


Figure B4: Media Coverage of Immigration Distribution Before and After Year-month and Channel Fixed Effects





Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA data.

### Appendix B3 Coverage of Immigration in Months Preceding the ELIPSS Waves

As reported in Table B1, the average share of immigration-related news stands at 4.50% between 2013 and 2017, with a standard deviation of 4.80% and a maximum of 38,10% (Arte in September 2015). This corresponds to an average number of immigration-related subjects of 17.50 and to an average duration of immigration-related topics for the months of analysis of approximately 31.38 minutes per month, while the duration share stands at 4.95%. Unfortunately, our analysis does not allow us to track individual attitudes every month because we can only do so for a subsample of 12 ELIPSS waves, as described in Table 1. This subsample consisting of only media data for the months preceding each wave of the ELIPSS survey is, however, representative of the variation recorded in the full INA database. First, Figure B2 shows that the different waves of surveys are well distributed over the analysis period, both before and after the refugee crisis. Second, Table B2 reports descriptive statistics for the average share of migration subjects on evening news programs for the 12 preceding months of the ELIPSS waves that are used for the empirical analysis. The average share of immigration-related news stands at 3.33% between 2013 and 2017, with a standard deviation of 3.32% and a maximum of 18,80% (Arte in November 2015). As long as September 2015 is excluded from the full INA sample, we do not find statistically significant mean differences in coverage between the full INA sample and the 12 waves from ELIPSS.

	Before the refugee crisis (09.2015)			After	After the refugee crisis (09.2015)				All			
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
TF1	0.017	0.007	0.009	0.031	0.022	0.005	0.016	0.028	0.019	0.007	0.009	0.031
France 2	0.032	0.015	0.012	0.064	0.045	0.007	0.036	0.053	0.036	0.014	0.012	0.064
France 3	0.018	0.013	0.005	0.046	0.021	0.010	0.013	0.033	0.019	0.012	0.005	0.046
M6	0.011	0.009	0.002	0.030	0.018	0.006	0.010	0.025	0.013	0.009	0.002	0.030
Arte	0.083	0.036	0.036	0.158	0.111	0.055	0.062	0.188	0.093	0.043	0.036	0.188
CNews	0.025	0.021	0.004	0.068	0.024	0.013	0.016	0.044	0.025	0.018	0.004	0.068
BFM TV	0.027	0.023	0.006	0.082	0.033	0.024	0.015	0.068	0.029	0.023	0.006	0.082
Total	0.030	0.030	0.002	0.158	0.039	0.038	0.010	0.188	0.033	0.032	0.002	0.188

 Table B2: Average Share of Migration Subjects on Evening Television Programs

 Months Preceding ELIPSS Waves Only

Notes: This table reports the average monthly share of migration subjects on evening TV programs for months preceding the 12 waves in the ELIPSS sample. The date of the refugee crisis in our context is September 2015.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA data.

# Appendix C Additional Estimates and Robustness Checks

#### Appendix C1 Descriptives

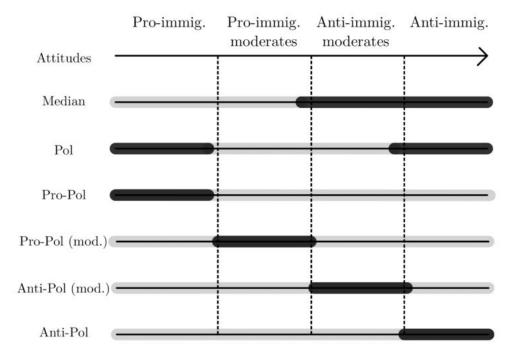


Figure C1: Dependent Variables

Notes: This figure depicts the definition of the main dependent variables. Grey zones are coded as zero while dark zones are coded as one. Attitudes is the continuous average attitude of individual *i* in year-month *t* toward immigration. Median is a dummy variable equal to one for respondents with attitudes above the median and zero otherwise. Pol is a dummy variable that takes the value of one for individuals with extreme attitudes (pro-and anti-immigration) and zero otherwise (moderates). Pro-pol is a dummy equal to one for individuals with pro-immigration attitudes and zero otherwise (anti-immigration and moderates). Pro-pol (mod.) is a dummy equal to one for pro-immigration moderates and zero otherwise (anti-immigration, anti-immigration moderates, and pro-immigration). Anti-pol (mod.) is a dummy equal to one for anti-immigration. Anti-pol is a dummy equal to one for individuals with anti-immigration attitudes and zero otherwise (anti-immigration, zero otherwise, and pro-immigration). Anti-pol (mod.) is a dummy equal to one for anti-immigration. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

Table C1: Summary Statistics

	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	Type
$Attitudes_{it}$	2.483	0.776	1	4	Categorical
Median	0.466	0.499	0	1	Dummy
Pol.	0.382	0.486	0	1	Dummy
Pro-Pol	0.198	0.399	0	1	Dummy
Pro-Pol moderates	0.336	0.472	0	1	Dummy
Anti-Pol moderates	0.282	0.450	0	1	Dummy
Anti-Pol	0.184	0.388	0	1	Dummy
$ln(Dur_{ct-1})$	3.632	0.865	0.421	5.249	Continous
$ShareDur_{ct-1}$	0.031	0.021	0.001	0.198	Continous
$ln(Sub_{ct-1})$	3.010	0.778	0.881	4.625	Continous
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	0.027	0.019	0.002	0.188	Continous
$Days_{ct-1}$	9.009	4.876	1	26	Continous
Age, 5-year cat.	5.583	2.648	0	10	Categorical
High education	0.654	0.476	0	1	Dummy
Employed	0.671	0.470	0	1	Dummy
Marital Status	0.664	0.472	0	1	Dummy
Nb. Child	0.788	1.077	0	3	Categorical
Blue collar	0.212	0.409	0	1	Dummy
Income category	3.091	1.824	0	6	Categorical
Nb. Household member	2.476	1.299	1	6	Categorical
Nb. observations		6,796	;		

Notes:  $Attitudes_{it}$  is the continuous average attitude of individual i in year-month t toward immigration. Median is a dummy variable equal to one for respondents with attitudes above the median and zero otherwise. Pol is a dummy variable that takes the value of one for individuals with extreme attitudes (pro-and anti-immigration) and zero otherwise (moderates). Anti-pol is a dummy equal to one for individuals with anti-immigration attitudes and zero otherwise (pro-immigration and moderates). Pro-pol is a dummy equal to one for individuals with pro-immigration attitudes and zero otherwise (anti-immigration and moderates). Pro-pol (mod.) is a dummy equal to one for pro-immigration moderates and zero otherwise (anti-immigration, anti-immigration moderates, and pro-immigration). Anti-pol (mod.) is a dummy equal to one for anti-immigration moderates and zero otherwise (anti-immigration, pro-immigration moderates, and pro-immigration).  $ShareSubj_{ct}$ is the share of subjects devoted to the topic of migration in year-month t on the evening news program of channel c.  $ln(Subj_{sct})$  is the log total number of subjects related to immigration in year-month t during the evening news program of channel c.  $ln(Dur_{ct})$  is the log total number of minutes in year-month t devoted to immigration during the evening news program of channel c.  $ShareDur_{ct}$  is the share of the time devoted to immigration out of the total broadcasting time. The "Age" variable is composed of 11 categories ranging from less than 24 years old to more than 70 years old. The "High education" variable equals one if the individual has a diploma equivalent to the French baccalaureate and 0 otherwise. The "Employed" variable equals one if the individual is employed and 0 otherwise. The variable "Marital Status" equals one if the individual is in a couple and 0 otherwise. The variable "Nb. Child" ranges from 0 for no children to 3 for more than 3 children. The variable "Nb. Household member" ranges from 1 for one individual to 6 for more than 6 individuals in the household. The variable "Blue collar" equals one if the individual is a blue-collar worker and 0 otherwise. The "Income category" variable is composed of 7 categories ranging from 0 monthly revenue to more than 6000€monthly revenues (Less than 1200, [1200;2000], [2000;2500], [2500;3000], [3000;4000], [4000;6000], more than 6000.). Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

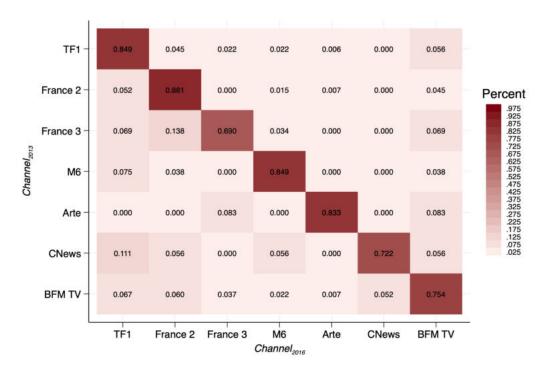


Figure C2: Transition Matrix of Preferred Channel

Notes: This figure depicts the transition matrix of TV viewers from their declared channel in 2013 to their declared channel in 2016. Sources: Authors' elaboration on ELIPSS data.

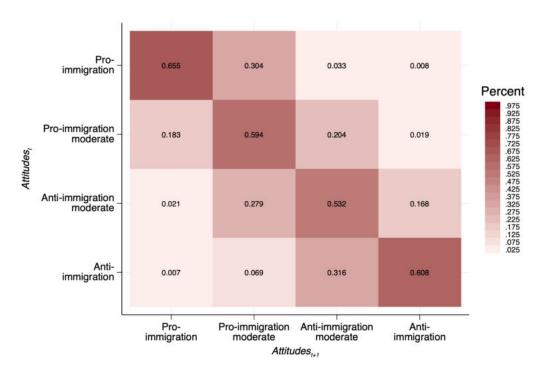
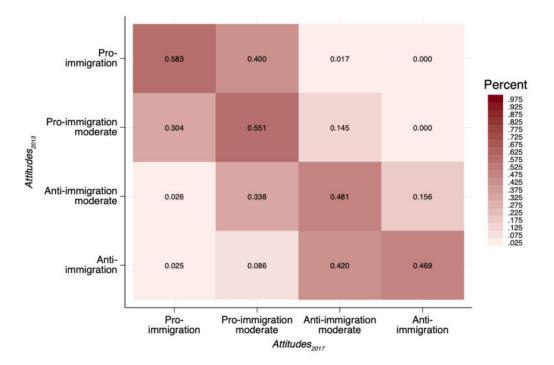


Figure C3: Transition Matrix of Attitudes

Notes: This figure depicts the transition matrix of respondents from their declared attitudes toward immigration in wave t to their declared attitudes toward immigration in wave t + 1. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.



#### Figure C4: Transition Matrix of Attitudes

Notes: This figure depicts the transition matrix of respondents from their declared attitudes toward immigration in the first wave of 2013 to their declared attitudes toward immigration in the last wave of 2017.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

#### Appendix C2 Robustness to Sub-Sample

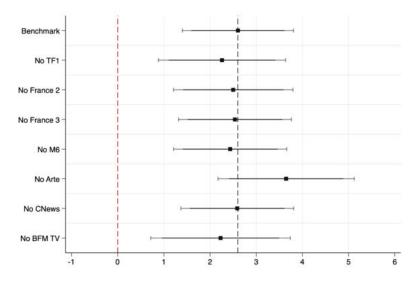


Figure C5: Removing Channels One by One

Notes: These coefficients are obtained estimating Equation 2 and removing all channels one after the other. The dependent variable is polarization, which takes a value of one for individuals with extreme attitudes (deeply concerned or not concerned at all) and zero otherwise. All estimates include wave, individual, and channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, house-hold size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Confidence intervals are presented at the 95% and 90% levels.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

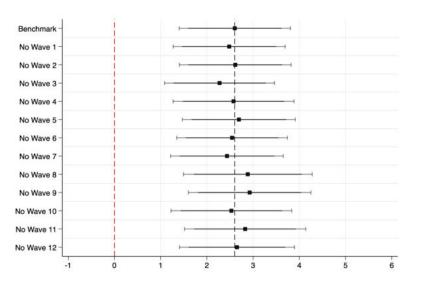


Figure C6: Removing Waves One by One

Notes: These coefficients are obtained estimating Equation 2 and removing each wave one after the other. The dependent variable is polarization, which takes a value of one for individuals with extreme attitudes (deeply concerned or not concerned at all) and zero otherwise. All estimates include wave, individual, and channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Confidence intervals are presented at the 95% and 90% levels.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

#### Appendix C3 Alternative Dependent Variable

This appendix assesses the robustness of our main results, derived from estimating Equation 2, to alternative dependent variables.

We measure attitudes towards immigration in France by considering responses to three questions, namely (1) There are too many immigrants in France, (2) France's cultural life is enriched by immigrants and (3) French Muslims are French citizens same as any others. We argue that these three statements effectively capture attitudes towards immigration in France, even the third question. This is justified by the fact that Muslims constitute 43% of the immigrant population in France, blurring the distinction between these two groups within the native population (Simon and Tiberj, 2016).<sup>2</sup> Our main variable, Attitudes<sub>it</sub>, represents the average attitude of individual *i* in year-month *t* across these three dimensions.

 Table C2: Coverage of Immigration in the News and Average Attitudes Toward

 Immigration

	(1) Mean	(2) Mean	(3) Mean	(4) Mean	(5) Median	(6) Median	(7) Median	(8) Median
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	$-6.635^{***}$ (0.798)	$-1.532^{***}$ (0.336)	0.307 (0.490)	0.336 (0.536)	$-3.713^{***}$ (0.417)	$-0.883^{***}$ (0.286)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.119\\ (0.435) \end{array}$	0.061 (0.484)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Channel FE	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Nb. Observations	6,796	6,796	6,796	6,796	6,796	6,796	6,796	6,796
Adjusted $R^2$	0.109	0.766	0.786	0.786	0.089	0.633	0.659	0.659
Std. coefficient	-0.127	-0.029	0.006	0.006	-0.071	-0.017	0.002	0.001
Bootstrap t-stat	-4.164	-3.833	0.382	0.398	-4.062	-2.697	0.240	0.112
Bootstrap p-value	0.027	0.113	0.668	0.736	0.034	0.089	0.849	0.925

Notes: The dependent variable from Columns (1) to (4) is continuous and represents the average attitudes of individual *i* toward immigration. The dependent variable from Columns (5) to (8) is the median split of average attitudes. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Standardized coefficients for the coverage of immigration, with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1, are also reported in the table footer (Std. coefficient). Bootstrap t-stats and p-values clustered at the channel level are also reported in the table footer (Bootstrap t-stat and Bootstrap p-value). Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

In Table C2, we explore the relationship between immigration coverage and average native attitudes toward immigration. In Columns (1) to (4), we employ a continuous variable  $(Attitudes_{ic_{(i)}t})$  as the dependent variable. Subsequently,

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$ Table C4 reports the outcomes of an increase in the coverage of news related to Muslims in France using a lexicon that only encompasses Muslim-specific vocabulary. Although the coefficients are not statistically significant, they closely match those of our benchmark specification.

in Columns (5) to (9), we re-estimate the model using a dummy variable equal to one for individuals with positive attitudes and zero otherwise (Median). In both cases, the most comprehensive specification confirms the absence of a significant association between immigration coverage and native attitudes toward immigration. This underlines that null effects on the average or median may conceal underlying polarization within the distribution of attitudes.

Table C3 reports the impact of focusing on or removing each of the three dimensions of  $Attitudes_{it}$  separately. Note that the average  $Attitudes_{it}$  is only calculated based on the available questions, as not all three questions are asked in every survey wave, as shown in Table 1. Excluding dimensions reduces therefore the number of observations in our analysis. Columns (1) to (3) demonstrate that our main conclusion regarding the polarizing effect of increased immigration coverage remains consistent when each dimension is excluded one after the other. In Columns (4) to (6), we find that when focusing on one dimension at a time, the coefficient of interest becomes insignificant for two out of three questions. However, we provide evidence that our primary conclusions remain unaffected when employing a principal component analysis (PCA) that captures the shared component of all three dimensions in Column (7).<sup>3</sup>

		Excluding:		Focusing on:			
	Muslims=citizens (1)	Immigration=Culture (2)	Too much immigrants (3)	Too much immigrants (4)	Immigration=Culture (5)	Muslims=Citizens (6)	PCA (7)
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	2.233*** (0.549)	2.680*** (0.594)	2.128*** (0.585)	0.677 (0.547)	$1.080^{*}$ (0.558)	0.254 (0.568)	$1.077^{**}$ (0.495)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Channel FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nb. Observations	4,874	5,054	5,218	5,867	5,946	5,948	5,007
Adjusted $R^2$	0.601	0.514	0.510	0.495	0.445	0.493	0.470
Bootstrap t-stat	5.130	5.217	3.157	1.938	1.049	0.879	2.378
Bootstrap p-value	0.026	0.032	0.021	0.080	0.440	0.451	0.034

Table C3: Alternative Dependent Variable

Notes: The dependent variable is Polarization, which takes a value of one for individuals with extreme attitudes (deeply concerned or not concerned at all) and zero otherwise. All estimates include wave, individual, and channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses; \*\*\* p < 0.01, \*\* p < 0.05, \* p < 0.1. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

 $<sup>^{3}</sup>$ Taking the average of the three dimensions still appears to be a superior option because the PCA ignores observations when information on at least one of the three dimensions is missing, either because one of the three questions is not asked on a specific year or due to individual non-response (less than 1% for all questions separately).

	(1) Pol.	(2) Pro-Pol	(3) Pro-Pol (mod.)	(4) Anti-Pol (mod.)	(5) Anti-Pol
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	$2.654^{*}$ (1.572)	1.992 (1.310)	-1.194 (1.749)	-1.461 (1.202)	$0.663 \\ (0.797)$
Nb. Observations Adjusted $R^2$	$6,796 \\ 0.448$	$6,796 \\ 0.584$	$6,796 \\ 0.369$	$6,796 \\ 0.350$	$6,796 \\ 0.556$

Table C4: Exposure to Immigration-Related News Concerning Muslims

Notes: The dependent variable in Column (1) is Polarization, which takes a value of one for individuals with extreme attitudes (deeply concerned or not concerned at all) and zero otherwise. The dependent variable in Column (2) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with proimmigration attitudes and zero otherwise (anti-immigration, pro- and anti-immigration moderates). The dependent variable in Column (3) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with proimmigration moderate attitudes and zero otherwise (pro-immigration, anti-immigration moderates, and anti-immigration). The dependent variable in Column (4) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with anti-immigration moderate attitudes and zero otherwise (pro-immigration, pro-immigration moderates, and anti-immigration). The dependent variable in Column (5) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with anti-immigration attitudes and zero otherwise (proimmigration, pro- and anti-immigration moderates). All estimates include wave, individual, and channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

#### Appendix C4 Alternative Independent Variable

This appendix tests the robustness of the result using alternative measures of the salience of the migration topic.

We define  $Dur_{ct}$  as the total number of minutes in year-month t devoted to immigration during the evening news program of channel c. Then, we define  $ShareDur_{ct}$  as the share of time devoted to immigration from the total broadcasting time on French TV channels. In contrast, to  $Dur_{ct}$ ,  $ShareDur_{ct}$  does not denote a stock but rather accounts for the prevalence of immigration within the overall broadcasting time devoted to political information on French television channels. To capture whether the distribution of the coverage of immigration in the month matters, we also use  $Days_{ct}$ , which is the number of days in the month that migration has been discussed on the TV channel, as a dependent variable.<sup>4</sup> We also report the results of the benchmark specification with  $ShareSubj_{ct}$  (our benchmark independent variable of interest) and  $Subj_{ct}$ , the share and the total number of subjects related to immigration, respectively. All variables are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Note that  $Dur_{ct}$  and  $Sub_{ct}$  are monotonically rescaled using the inverse hyperbolic sine. The inverse hyperbolic sine is defined as  $(log(x_i + \sqrt{x_1^2 + 1}))$ . Unlike the log transformation, the inverse hyperbolic sine transformation is defined at zero (if the channel coverage of immigration in a given month is null), while the interpretation of the coefficients is identical. All the conclusions remain unchanged when using the log transformation of  $Dur_{ct}$  and  $Sub_{ct}$ , and the results are available upon request to the authors.

standardized to ease comparison across estimates.

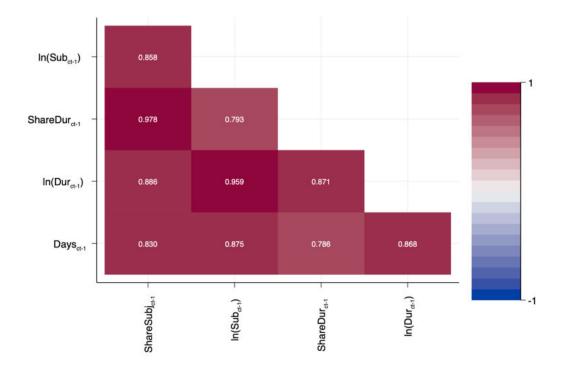


Figure C7: Cross-Correlations Between Measures of Salience

Notes: This graph depicts the Pearson's correlations between various measures of salience. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA data.

Table C5 reports the results of the benchmark specification using the aforementioned alternative independent variables. Irrespective of the measure, we always find a positive effect of an increase in the coverage of immigration on the likelihood of polarization. Our effect is always highly significant for polarization toward positive attitudes (column 2) and for three out of five variables for polarization toward negative attitudes (Column 5). This is not surprising as Figure C7 reports strong correlations between all variables.

	(1) Pol.	(2) Pro-Pol	(3) Pro-Pol (mod.)	(4) Anti-Pol (mod.)	(5) Anti-Pol
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.050^{***} \\ (0.012) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.032^{***} \\ (0.008) \end{array}$	$-0.033^{**}$ (0.013)	-0.017 (0.011)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.018^{**} \\ (0.008) \end{array}$
$ln(Sub_{ct-1})$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.045^{***} \\ (0.014) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.024^{**} \\ (0.011) \end{array}$	$-0.028^{*}$ (0.015)	-0.016 (0.014)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.020^{**} \\ (0.010) \end{array}$
$ShareDur_{ct-1}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.038^{***} \\ (0.010) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.024^{***} \\ (0.007) \end{array}$	$-0.025^{**}$ (0.011)	-0.012 (0.010)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.014^{**} \\ (0.006) \end{array}$
$ln(Dur_{ct-1})$	$0.026^{**}$ (0.011)	$0.016^{**}$ (0.008)	-0.018 (0.012)	-0.008 (0.011)	0.010 (0.008)
$Days_{ct-1}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.041^{***} \\ (0.014) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.032^{***} \\ (0.010) \end{array}$	$-0.039^{***}$ (0.014)	-0.002 (0.013)	0.009 (0.009)
Nb. Observations Adjusted $R^2$	$6,796 \\ 0.450$	$6,796 \\ 0.585$	$6,796 \\ 0.370$	$6,796 \\ 0.350$	$6,796 \\ 0.557$

Table C5: Alternative Independent VariablesStandardized coefficients

Notes: The dependent variable in Column (1) is Polarization, which takes value one for individuals with extreme attitudes (deeply concerned or not concerned at all) and zero otherwise. The dependent variable in Column (2) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with pro-immigration attitudes and zero otherwise (anti-immigration, pro- and anti-immigration moderates). The dependent variable in Column (3) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with pro-immigration moderate attitudes and zero otherwise (pro-immigration, anti-immigration moderates, and anti-immigration). The dependent variable in Column (4) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with anti-immigration moderate attitudes and zero otherwise (pro-immigration, proimmigration moderates, and anti-immigration). The dependent variable in Column (5) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with anti-immigration attitudes and zero otherwise (proimmigration, pro- and anti-immigration moderates). This table reports standardized coefficients for comparison between estimates. All estimates include wave, individual, and channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

#### Appendix C5 Heterogeneity Analysis

To investigate whether the polarization effect of an increase in the coverage of immigration on natives' attitudes toward immigration is heterogeneous across individual characteristics and sources of political information, we augment Equation (2) using an interaction term between the treatment variable and various characteristics set at the beginning of the period, to be considered as exogenous as possible. We consider several individual dimensions that may drive a heterogeneous effect, including gender, age, education, employment status, income and political interest. For all variables, we chose the splitting value for the dummy to be as close as possible to the median value of the variable. For age, we compare individuals who are below and above 50 years old. For education, we compare people with and without a tertiary diploma. For employment, we compare employed individuals with their unemployed and out-of-labor-market counterparts. For income, we compare individuals who have an income below and above  $2500 \in$  per month. The benchmark equation is modified as follows:

$$Pol_{ic_{(i)}t} = \beta_1 ShareSubj_{ct-1} + \beta_3 ShareSubj_{ct-1} \times Characteristic_{ic_{(i)}} + \beta' X_{it} + \gamma_i + \gamma_c + \gamma_t + \varepsilon_{it}$$
(1)

where  $Characteristic_{ic_{(i)}}$  is an indicator equal to one for each aforementioned individual characteristic and zero otherwise. Being, time-invariant, the direct effect of these characteristics is absorbed by the individual fixed effects such that  $\beta_1$  and  $\beta_3$  can be directly interpreted as the marginal impact of an increase in the coverage of immigration when  $Characteristic_{ic_{(i)}} = 0$  and  $Characteristic_{ic_{(i)}} =$ 1, respectively. We plot  $\beta_1$  and  $\beta_3$ , the total effects of exposure to immigration news by categories of interest in Figure C8.

Figure C8a reports that polarization is significant for most of the individuals in the population except for unemployed respondents. Further investigations on Anti - pol and Pro - Pol highlight few differences in the magnitude of the effect along all individual characteristics.

Figure C8b shows that the priming effect toward pro-immigration attitudes is slightly lower for individuals with low education and unemployed individuals.

In the same way, Figure C8c, which focuses on polarization toward extremely negative attitudes also reports a lower probability of switching toward extremely negative attitudes for women, low-skilled, and unemployed individuals. The interpretation of these results is that individuals who are unemployed and less educated are less likely than others to change their attitudes and remain entrenched on their positions. In addition, we find that younger respondents are more likely to endorse anti-immigration attitudes than older respondents when the salience of immigration increases.

We further investigate whether the main effect of polarization is heterogeneous over individuals' second source of political information. Indeed, the data record not only whether respondents use TV as a first or second source of political information but also whether they rely on radio, the internet, or printed news. These results are reported in Figure C9 in the Appendix. We find that polarization is stronger among people who declare that they also listen to the radio on top of watching their preferred channel, while we still find a significant polarization effect when viewers also obtain political information from the internet or traditional press. Several patterns could explain the greater effect

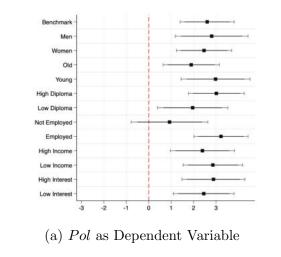
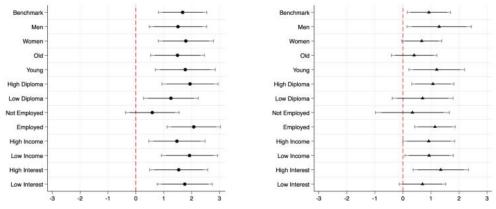


Figure C8: Heterogeneity Analysis by Individual Characteristics



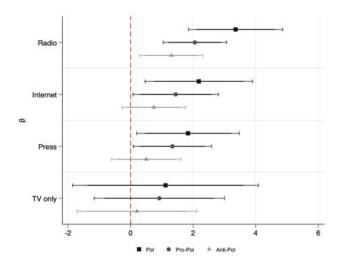
(b) *Pro-Pol* as Dependent Variable

(c) Anti-Pol as Dependent Variable

Notes: The figure shows the marginal effect of  $ShareSub_{ct-1}$  on polarization, *Anti-pol*, and *Pro-pol*, respectively, conditional on individuals' characteristics, and estimated in Equation (3). All estimates include wave, individual, and channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, house-hold size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. Confidence intervals are presented at the 95% and 90% levels. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

of the radio: i) TV coverage may correlate more strongly with radio coverage than other forms of media, ii) there could be a greater likelihood of joint media consumption of TV and radio, or iii) individuals watching TV may have similar characteristics as those who listen to the radio.

#### Figure C9: Heterogeneity Analysis by Alternative Sources of Information



Notes: The figure shows the marginal effect of  $ShareSub_{ct-1}$  on polarization, Anti-pol, and *Pro-pol*, respectively, conditional on individuals' second source of information, and estimated in Equation (3). For instance, the first group "radio" is composed of individuals who mentioned using the radio as a second source of political information. All estimates include wave, individual, and channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. Confidence intervals are presented at the 95% and 90% levels.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

#### Appendix C6 Quantile Estimates

This appendix tests the robustness of our main specification using quantile estimates. This allows us to exploit the full spectrum of information within our measure of attitudes towards immigrants, without the need to construct separate dummies, such as pro- or anti-polarization indicators. Still, it is worth noting that quantile estimates are primarily designed for continuous variables, while our measure of attitudes towards immigrants is an aggregation of three discrete variables and, by design, is not perfectly continuous.

With this caveat in mind, we run quantile estimates using our measure of average attitudes toward immigrants, which can take 13 distinct values. Specifically, we perform unconditional quantile estimates, as conditional quantile results cannot be generalized to the overall population (Firpo et al., 2009). To do so, we rely on the **rifhdreg** STATA command, which runs recentered influence function regressions, following the methodology developed by (Firpo et al., 2009).

Our findings are depicted in Figure C10. The estimated coefficients support previous results that increased immigration coverage impacts the likelihood of displaying extreme attitudes on both ends of the distribution. It is associated with both an increase in the likelihood of having more positive attitudes toward

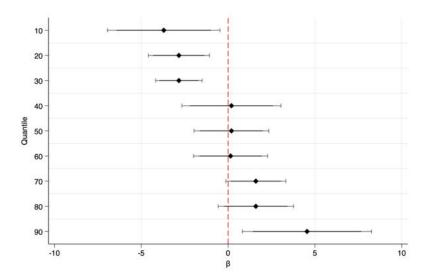


Figure C10: Unconditional Quantile Regressions (Firpo et al., 2009)

Notes: These coefficients are obtained estimating unconditional quantile regressions (Firpo, Fortin, and Lemieux 2009) with the **rifhdreg** in STATA 18. The dependent variable is continuous and represents the average attitudes of individual i toward immigration. All estimates include wave, individual, and channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Bootstrapped standard errors with 100 replications. Confidence intervals are presented at the 95% and 90% levels. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

immigrants at the left-hand side of the distribution (quantiles 10 to 30) and a significant increase in the likelihood of having more negative attitudes toward immigrants at the right-hand side of the distribution (quantiles 70 to 90). Overall, these new estimates confirm that an increase in the coverage of immigration is associated with polarization at both sides of the distribution and in opposite directions.

## Appendix C7 Clustering at the Channel Level and Bootstrapping

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	$ \begin{array}{c} 1.640^{***} \\ (0.245) \end{array} $	$\begin{array}{c} 1.747^{***} \\ (0.220) \end{array}$	$2.171^{***} \\ (0.546)$	$2.603^{**}$ (0.893)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	No	No	Yes	Yes
Channel FE	No	No	No	Yes
Nb. Observations	6,796	6,796	6,796	6,796
Adjusted $R^2$	0.018	0.431	0.449	0.450
Std. coefficient	0.031	0.033	0.042	0.050
Bootstrap t-stat	6.699	7.959	3.977	3.461
Bootstrap p-value	0.007	0.002	0.007	0.013

Table C6: Coverage of Immigration in the News and the Polarization of<br/>Attitudes Toward Immigration<br/>Clustering at the Channel Level

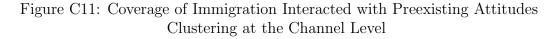
Notes: The dependent variable is Polarization, which takes a value of one for individuals with extreme attitudes (deeply concerned or not concerned at all) and zero otherwise. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the channel level are reported in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Standardized coefficients for the coverage of immigration, with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1, are also reported in the table footer (Std. coefficient). Bootstrap t-stats and p-values clustered at the channel level are also reported in the table footer (Bootstrap t-stat and Bootstrap p-value).

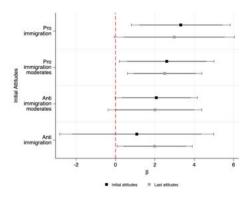
Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

	(1) Pol.	(2) Pro-Pol	(3) Pro-Pol (mod.)	(4) Anti-Pol (mod.)	(5) Anti-Pol
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	$2.603^{**}$ (0.893)	$\begin{array}{c} 1.677^{***} \\ (0.391) \end{array}$	-1.739 (0.912)	$-0.865^{**}$ (0.277)	0.926 (0.630)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Channel FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nb. Observations	6,796	6,796	6,796	6,796	6,796
Adjusted $R^2$	0.450	0.585	0.370	0.350	0.557
Std. coefficient	0.050	0.032	-0.033	-0.017	0.018
Bootstrap t-stat	2.912	4.287	-1.906	-3.123	1.468
Bootstrap p-value	0.005	0.023	0.108	0.020	0.238

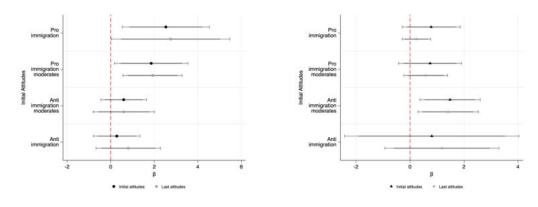
Table C7: Direction of the Polarization Clustering at the Channel Level

Notes: The dependent variable in Column (1) is Polarization, which takes a value of one for individuals with extreme attitudes (deeply concerned or not concerned at all) and zero otherwise. The dependent variable in Column (2) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with proimmigration attitudes and zero otherwise (anti-immigration, pro- and anti-immigration moderates). The dependent variable in Column (3) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with proimmigration moderate attitudes and zero otherwise (pro-immigration, anti-immigration moderates, and anti-immigration). The dependent variable in Column (4) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with anti-immigration moderate attitudes and zero otherwise (pro-immigration, pro-immigration moderates, and anti-immigration). The dependent variable in Column (5) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with anti-immigration attitudes and zero otherwise (proimmigration, pro- and anti-immigration moderates). All estimates include wave, individual, and channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the channel level are reported in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Standardized coefficients for the coverage of immigration, with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1, are also reported in the table footer (Std. coefficient). Bootstrap t-stats and p-values clustered at the channel level are also reported in the table footer (Bootstrap t-stat and Bootstrap p-value). Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.





(a) Pol as Dependent Variable

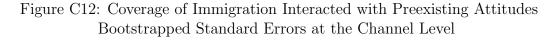


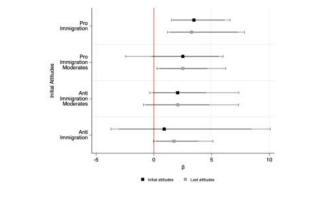
(b) *Pro-Pol* as Dependent Variable

(c) Anti-Pol as Dependent Variable

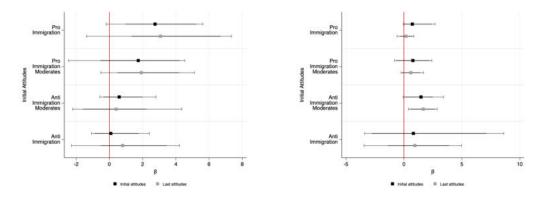
Notes: The figure shows the marginal effect of  $ShareSubj_{ct-1}$  on polarization, *Anti-pol* and *Pro-pol* respectively, estimated separately from Equation (3). Each coefficient represents the marginal effect of the variable for different preexisting attitudes. All estimates include wave, channel, and individual fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the channel level. Confidence intervals are presented at the 95% and 90% levels.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.





(a) Pol as Dependent Variable



(b) Pro-Pol as Dependent Variable

(c) Anti-Pol as Dependent Variable

Notes: The figure shows the marginal effect of  $ShareSubj_{ct-1}$  on polarization, Anti-pol and Pro-pol respectively, estimated separately from Equation (3). Each coefficient represents the marginal effect of the variable for different preexisting attitudes. All estimates include wave, channel, and individual fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Bootstrapped confidence intervals are presented at the 95% and 90% levels. Wild cluster bootstrap with 999 replications and Webb weights. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

#### Appendix C8 Distributed Leads and Lags Model

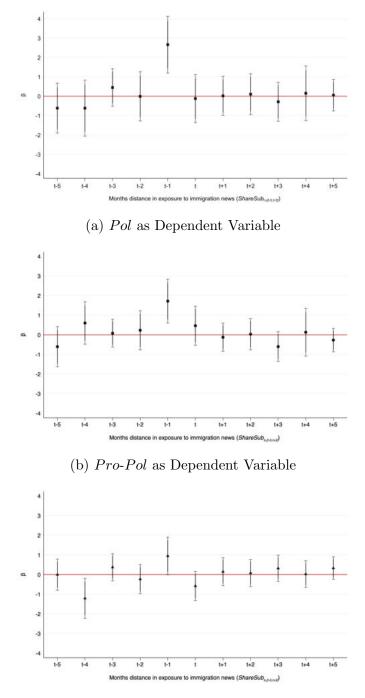


Figure C13: Leads and Lags of the Coverage of Immigration

(c) Anti-Pol as Dependent Variable

Notes: The figure shows the marginal effect of  $ShareSub_{ct-1}$  as well as its lagged and leading values on *Pol* estimated in one single regression. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. Confidence intervals are presented at the 95% and 90% levels. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

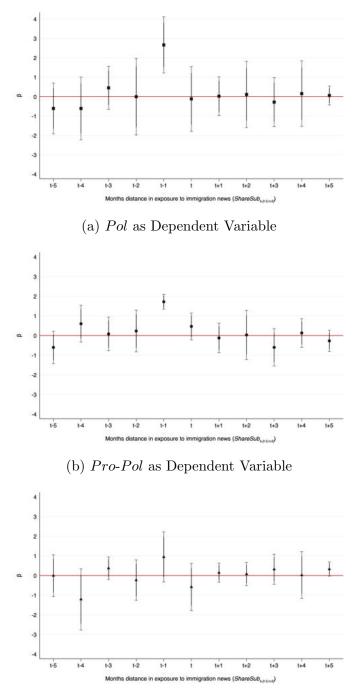


Figure C14: Leads and Lags of the Coverage of Immigration Clustering at the Channel Level



Notes: The figure shows the marginal effect of  $ShareSub_{ct-1}$  as well as its lagged and leading values on Pol estimated in one single regression. Robust standard errors clustered at the channel level. Confidence intervals are presented at the 95% and 90% levels. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

### Appendix C9 Robustness to Individual-Channel Fixed Effects

 Table C8: Coverage of Immigration in the News and the Polarization of

 Attitudes Toward Immigration

 Robustness to Individual-Channel Fixed Effects

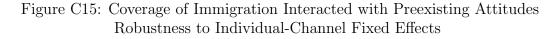
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	$\begin{array}{c} 1.640^{***} \\ (0.459) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 1.747^{***} \\ (0.361) \end{array}$	$2.171^{***} \\ (0.554)$	$2.603^{***} \\ (0.613)$	$2.621^{***} \\ (0.620)$
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Wave FE	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Channel FE	No	No	No	Yes	No
Indiv. $\times$ Channel FEs	No	No	No	No	Yes
Nb. Observations	6,796	6,796	6,796	6,796	6,776
Adjusted $R^2$	0.018	0.431	0.449	0.450	0.453
Std. coefficient	0.031	0.033	0.042	0.050	0.050

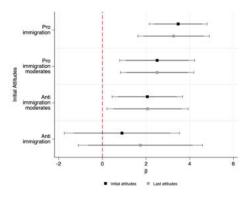
Notes: The dependent variable is Polarization, which takes a value of one for individuals with extreme attitudes (deeply concerned or not concerned at all) and zero otherwise. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Standardized coefficients for the coverage of immigration, with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1, are also reported in the table footer (Std. coefficient). Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Pol.	Pro-Pol	Pro-Pol (mod.)	Anti-Pol (mod.)	Anti-Pol
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	2.621***	1.716***	-1.827***	-0.794	0.905**
	(0.620)	(0.447)	(0.683)	(0.579)	(0.395)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Indiv. $\times$ Channel FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nb. Observations	6,776	6,776	6,776	6,776	6,776
Adjusted $\mathbb{R}^2$	0.453	0.586	0.370	0.354	0.559
Std. coefficient	0.050	0.033	-0.035	-0.015	0.017

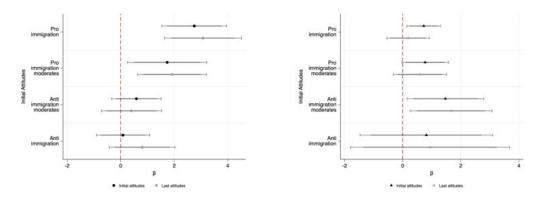
Table C9: Direction of the Polarization Robustness to Individual-Channel Fixed Effects

Notes: The dependent variable in Column (1) is Polarization, which takes a value of one for individuals with extreme attitudes (deeply concerned or not concerned at all) and zero otherwise. The dependent variable in Column (2) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with pro-immigration attitudes and zero otherwise (anti-immigration, pro- and antiimmigration moderates). The dependent variable in Column (3) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with pro-immigration moderate attitudes and zero otherwise (pro-immigration, anti-immigration moderates, and anti-immigration). The dependent variable in Column (4) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with anti-immigration moderate attitudes and zero otherwise (pro-immigration, pro-immigration moderates, and anti-immigration). The dependent variable in Column (5) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with anti-immigration attitudes and zero otherwise (pro-immigration, pro- and anti-immigration moderates). All estimates include wave and individual-channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Standardized coefficients for the coverage of immigration, with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1, are also reported in the table footer (Std. coefficient).





#### (a) Pol as Dependent Variable



(b) *Pro-Pol* as Dependent Variable

(c) Anti-Pol as Dependent Variable

Notes: The figure shows the marginal effect of  $ShareSubj_{ct-1}$  on polarization, Anti-pol and Pro-pol respectively, estimated separately from Equation (3). Each coefficient represents the marginal effect of the variable for different preexisting attitudes. All estimates include wave and individual-channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. Confidence intervals are presented at the 95% and 90% levels.

#### Appendix C10 Robustness to Ideological Controls

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	1.726***	2.099***	2.010***	2.450***
	(0.500)	(0.424)	(0.602)	(0.673)
Left(0)-Right(10) scale	-0.010**	$0.010^{**}$	0.008*	0.008*
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Interest in politics	-0.051***	-0.042***	-0.027**	-0.026**
	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
TV frequency	0.006	0.005	0.008	0.006
	(0.006)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	No	No	Yes	Yes
Channel FE	No	No	No	Yes
Nb. Observations	$6,\!457$	$6,\!443$	$6,\!443$	$6,\!443$
Adjusted $R^2$	0.028	0.427	0.444	0.446
Std. coefficient	0.033	0.040	0.039	0.047

Table C10: Coverage of immigration in the news and the polarization of attitudes toward immigration. Robustness to ideological controls

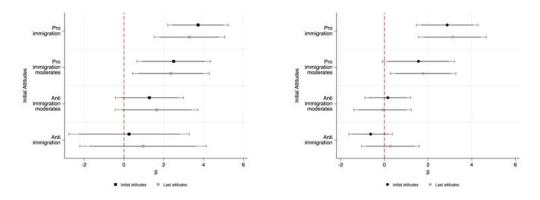
Notes: The dependent variable is Polarization, which takes a value of one for individuals with extreme attitudes (deeply concerned or not concerned at all) and zero otherwise. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Standardized coefficients for the coverage of immigration, with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1, are also reported in the table footer (Std. coefficient). Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Pol.	Pro-Pol	Pro-Pol (mod.)	Anti-Pol (mod.)	Anti-Pol
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	2.450***	1.494***	-1.428*	-1.022*	0.956**
	(0.673)	(0.496)	(0.764)	(0.612)	(0.425)
Left(0)-Right(10) scale	0.008*	-0.002	-0.002	-0.006	$0.010^{***}$
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Interest in politics	-0.026**	-0.023**	$0.032^{**}$	-0.006	-0.003
	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.009)
TV frequency	0.006	0.004	-0.011	0.004	0.003
	(0.011)	(0.006)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.009)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Channel FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nb. Observations	$6,\!443$	$6,\!443$	6,443	6,443	$6,\!443$
Adjusted $\mathbb{R}^2$	0.446	0.586	0.368	0.350	0.545
Std. coefficient	0.047	0.029	-0.027	-0.020	0.018

#### Table C11: Direction of the polarization Robustness to Ideological Controls

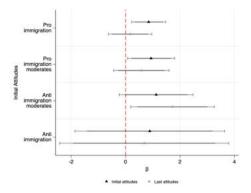
Notes: The dependent variable is Polarization, which takes a value of one for individuals with extreme attitudes (deeply concerned or not concerned at all) and zero otherwise. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p < 0.1. Standardized coefficients for the coverage of immigration, with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1, are also reported in the table footer (Std. coefficient).

Figure C16: Coverage of Immigration Interacted with Preexisting Attitudes Robustness to Ideological Controls



(a) Pol as Dependent Variable

(b) Pro-Pol as Dependent Variable



(c) Anti-Pol as Dependent Variable

Notes: The figure shows the marginal effect of  $ShareSubj_{ct-1}$  on polarization, Anti-pol and Pro-pol respectively, estimated separately from Equation (3). Each coefficient represents the marginal effect of the variable for different preexisting attitudes. All estimates include wave, channel, and individual fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. Confidence intervals are presented at the 95% and 90% levels. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

#### Appendix C11 2SLS Estimates

Recent advances in the media literature have relied on an identification strategy that uses news pressure to predict exogenous coverage of specific topics (Eisensee and Strömberg, 2007; Durante and Zhuravskaya, 2018; Djourelova and Durante, 2022). This approach assumes that the presence of significant stories may displace news attention, consequently limiting the time available for covering other subjects. We adapt this strategy at the monthly-channel level by leveraging an additional source of data from INA, which records the relative coverage allocated to 15 different topics across channels during our period of analysis. We use these measures as an instrument for the coverage of immigration.<sup>5</sup> The topic classification of the INA does not cover CNews and BFM TV, which reduces our sample of analysis by 26%.

Our approach distinguishes itself from the methodology used in prior studies, which typically measure news pressure by the amount of time allocated to the day's leading stories, assuming that such prominent news crowd out less significant topics. Unlike these approaches, our analysis neutralizes the impact of these widespread disturbances through the use of time fixed effects. Thus, our strategy uses the dynamic interplay between the topic specializations of channels and the fluctuating availability of news on these topics on a monthly basis.

The strength of our instruments relies therefore on the assumption that certain channels may specialize in particular events, such as sports, and that in certain periods, like during the soccer World Cup, the available time to discuss immigration is therefore constrained. Thus, we only report 2SLS estimates that i) fulfill the instrument needs to be sufficiently strong (Kleibergen-Paap test exceeding 20) and ii) for which the first-stage coefficient is negative, indicating that higher coverage of a specific topic is associated with less coverage of immigration.<sup>6</sup> Four topics satisfy these conditions, namely, justice, disasters, sports, and sciences. Note that this identification strategy relies on additional assumptions that cannot be empirically tested, and which explains why it cannot be used as our primary identification strategy. Specifically, it assumes that the coverage of other topics is uncorrelated with attitudes toward immigration, which can be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>All cited papers have in common the use of daily media reporting data. This prevents us from using the exact same strategy due to the monthly-level nature of the ELIPSS data. Indeed, unexpected major news stories that could reduce the available time for covering migration topics would be diluted when information is averaged at the monthly level.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>For instance, the "international" topic is one where the first-stage result is strong but positive, indicating that this topic may overlap with the coverage of immigration in French TV news.

	(1) Disasters	(2) Justice	(3) Sciences	(4) Sport
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	$5.961^{**}$ (2.582)	$0.353 \\ (3.494)$	2.472 (2.443)	$ \begin{array}{r} 4.784^{**} \\ (2.143) \end{array} $
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Channel FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nb. Observations	$5,\!010$	$5,\!010$	5,010	5,010
First stage	-0.204	-0.243	-0.369	-0.111
KP-F test	239.606	85.591	387.115	172.671

Table C12: 2SLS estimates. Dependent is Pol

Notes: The dependent variable is *Pol*. All estimates include wave, channel, and individual fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

viewed as a heroic assumption of exogeneity.<sup>7</sup>

Our results are reported in Table C12, C13 and C14 for Pol, Pro - pol and Anti - pol as dependent variables, respectively. Overall, the estimated 2SLS coefficients concur with our benchmark results, despite having lower precision than the OLS estimates. On the one hand, almost all 2LS coefficients are positive as in our benchmark specification. On the other hand, the estimated coefficients are less precise than those in the OLS estimates (standard deviations are multiplied by more than 4). As a result, they lack significance for polarization toward extremely positive attitudes but do show significance for Anti - Pol and Polwhen using Disasters and Sports as instruments.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Even topics like sports may be related to immigration. In France, for instance, debates about the origins of national soccer team players, often driven by far-right parties, are quite salient, especially during election periods.

	(1) Disasters	(2) Justice	(3) Sciences	(4) Sport
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	$2.110 \\ (1.891)$	-0.523 (2.837)	$1.482 \\ (1.844)$	2.350 (1.626)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Channel FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nb. Observations	$5,\!010$	$5,\!010$	5,010	$5,\!010$
First stage	-0.204	-0.243	-0.369	-0.111
KP-F test	239.606	85.591	387.115	172.671

Table C13: 2SLS estimates. Dependent is Pro-Pol

Notes: The dependent variable is *Pro-Pol*. All estimates include wave, channel, and individual fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses; \*\*\* p < 0.01, \*\* p < 0.05, \* p < 0.1.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Disasters	Justice	Sciences	Sport
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	3.851**	0.876	0.991	$2.435^{*}$
	(1.735)	(2.139)	(1.688)	(1.378)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Channel FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nb. Observations	$5,\!010$	$5,\!010$	5,010	5,010
First stage	-0.204	-0.243	-0.369	-0.111
KP-F test	239.606	85.591	387.115	172.671

Table C14: 2SLS estimates. Dependent is Anti-Pol

Notes: The dependent variable is *Anti-Pol*. All estimates include wave, channel, and individual fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses; \*\*\* p < 0.01, \*\* p < 0.05, \* p < 0.1.

### Appendix C12 Oster's Methodology: Accounting for Selection in Unobservables

This section tests the robustness of our main results regarding selection on unobservables using the approach developed by Oster (2019). To the extent that selection on unobservables is sufficiently correlated with selection on observables, this methodology measures the degree of selection on unobservables in the estimates. Indeed, Oster (2019) demonstrates that changes in the coefficient and R-squared following the introduction of observables allow estimating the likelihood that the coefficient of interest is entirely driven by unobservables. The results are reported in Table C15.

We compute  $\delta$ , the degree of selection on unobservables relative to observables that would be necessary to make the coefficient of interest equal to zero in various specifications. As reported by Oster (2019), concerns regarding self-selection on unobservables are ruled out as long as  $\delta > 1$ . Computing  $\delta$  requires choosing a value for the R-squared of the hypothetical regression of *Pol* on *ShareSubj<sub>ct-1</sub>*, while controlling for both observables and unobservables ( $R_{max}$ ). Without further insights into how to choose an appropriate value for the bound on  $R_{max}$  in our setting, we follow the advice provided by Oster (2019) and set  $R_{max} = 1.3\tilde{R}$ , with  $\tilde{R}$  being the R-squared of the benchmark specification with full controls and fixed effects. Interestingly, it is very close to the benchmark R-squared reported in the seminal paper by DellaVigna and Kaplan (2007).

Overall, we find that selection on unobservables would have to be 2.06 times higher than the selection on observables to change the nature of the findings. In the most comprehensive specification estimated in column (5), the bounding values of the coefficient of interest after correcting for the selection on unobservables are [1.18,110.84]. Thus, the identification set excludes zero and is of the same sign as the coefficient of interest.

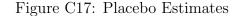
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Pol.	Pol.	Pol.	Pol.	Pol.
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	1.792***	$1.747^{*}$	2.171***	2.603***	2.621***
	(0.628)	(0.797)	(0.554)	(0.613)	(0.620)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Wave FE	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Channel FE	No	No	No	Yes	No
Indiv. $\times$ Channel FEs	No	No	No	No	Yes
Nb. Observations	6,796	6,796	6,796	6,796	6,776
$R^2$	0.039	0.543	0.558	0.560	0.569
Adjusted $R^2$	0.033	0.431	0.449	0.450	0.453
Lower CI	1.195	1.195	1.195	1.195	1.195
Upper CI	349.482	2.430	104.973	132.476	110.840
$\delta$ for $R_{max}^2 = 0.73$	4.186	6.025	1.775	1.898	2.063

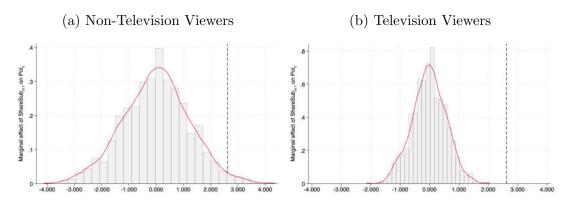
Table C15: Accounting for Selection in Unobservables  $R^2_{max} = 1.3 \times R^2$ 

Notes: The dependent variable is Polarization, which takes a value of one for individuals with extreme attitudes (deeply concerned or not concerned at all) and zero otherwise. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the individual level. The set of control variables includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories.  $\delta$  is the level of selection on unobservables compared to observables which produces  $\beta = 0$  given the value of  $R_{max}$ . The identified set (lower and upper CI) is bounded by  $\hat{\beta}$  when  $\delta = 0$  (no bias-adjustment) and  $\tilde{\beta}$  when  $\delta = 1$  (observables as important as unobservables). Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

#### Appendix C13 Placebo Estimates

In the presence of reverse causality bias, non-TV viewers should be also affected by the treatment assuming a parallel evolution in their attitudes to that witnessed among TV viewers. We thus perform placebo estimations on individuals who do not report TV as one of their top sources of political information. Indeed, a significant coefficient for non-TV viewers would suggest that the previous estimates plausibly captured a spurious correlation between media and attitudes e.g., if a particular event increased the salience of immigration in a specific TV channel but also separately increased the negative attitudes of viewers of this channel through direct exposure or through external factors such as social networks for instance. We first run 1,000 replications of the benchmark specification where non-TV viewers are randomly assigned to a specific TV channel. We constrain the random allocation to perfectly match the distribution of channels across individuals in the benchmark sample. The results of these placebo estimations are shown in Figure C17 (a). One can see that the coefficient of interest follows a standard normal distribution centered at zero.<sup>8</sup> Then, we perform an additional exercise where individuals are assigned to channels based on their individual characteristics instead of randomly. Indeed, using a Mahalanobis distance, each non-TV viewer is matched to the coverage of immigration on the preferred channel of the closest TV viewer who shares the same characteristics. The list of characteristics encompasses control variables such as age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, worker category (blue vs. white collar), and income, as well as political attitudes and interest. Again, considering individuals who never declared watching TV in our sample, the main coefficient of interest remains non-significant, as reported in Table C16. This tackles the issue that channels could decide how much coverage to give to newsworthy events based on how interested their viewers are likely to be in the event.





Notes: These graphs depict the distribution of the estimates of the effect of an increase in salience on the polarization of attitudes for 1,000 different regressions where we randomly assign a channel to each respondent.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>We replicate the exercise by randomly allocating channels to all TV- viewers. After 1,000 additional replications, we also obtain a point estimate that is centered at zero and is below the benchmark coefficient reported in Table 2. This finding supports that the results truly capture the direct influence of TV on attitudes and that the effect we identify is solely driven by channel-specific changes in migration news broadcasting.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Pol.	Pro-Pol	Pro-Pol (mod.)	Anti-Pol (mod.)	Anti-Pol
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	$0.800 \\ (1.253)$	$1.136 \\ (1.121)$	-1.246 (1.250)	$0.446 \\ (0.817)$	-0.336 (0.612)
Nb. Observations	2,080	2,080	2,080	2,080	2,080
Adjusted $R^2$	0.505	0.643	0.383	0.403	0.587
Std. coefficient	0.016	0.023	-0.025	0.009	-0.007

Table C16: Placebo Estimates on Non-TV Viewers

Notes: The dependent variable in Column (1) is Polarization, which takes value one for individuals with extreme attitudes (deeply concerned or not concerned at all) and zero otherwise. The dependent variable in Column (2) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with pro-immigration attitudes and zero otherwise (anti-immigration, pro- and anti-immigration moderates). The dependent variable in Column (3) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with pro-immigration moderate attitudes and zero otherwise (pro-immigration, anti-immigration moderates, and anti-immigration). The dependent variable in Column (4) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with anti-immigration moderate attitudes and zero otherwise (pro-immigration, proimmigration moderates, and anti-immigration). The dependent variable in Column (5) is a dummy equal to one for individuals with anti-immigration attitudes and zero otherwise (proimmigration, pro- and anti-immigration moderates). All estimates include wave, individual, and channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Standardized coefficients for the coverage of immigration, with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1, are also reported in the table footer (Std. coefficient). Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

Table C17: Placebo - Attitudes Towards Alternative Topics - Gender & LGBT	Table	C17:	Placebo -	Attitudes	Towards	Alternative	Topics -	Gender & LG	BT
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	(1) Women Abortion	(2) Women Children	(3) Women Intolerance	(4) Homosexuality Adoption	(5) Homosexuality Acceptable	(6) Homosexuality Intolerance
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	$0.307 \\ (0.377)$	-0.033 (0.382)	$0.150 \\ (0.647)$	-0.027 (0.757)	$0.037 \\ (0.476)$	$0.262 \\ (0.735)$
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Channel FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nb. Observations	3,174	3,174	3,176	3,152	3,159	3,170
Adjusted $R^2$	0.449	0.456	0.487	0.448	0.525	0.451
Benchmark coefficient	2.713	2.712	2.710	2.746	2.733	2.678
Benchmark P-value	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001

Notes: The dependent variable refers to a measure of the likelihood that a respondent holds extreme positions on various dimensions, with extreme views being defined as those falling outside of the middle 50% of the distribution of answers. Women intolerance in (3) is an index combined of attitudes against women's ability to abort in (1) and views that women are made to make and raise children in (2). Homosexuality intolerance in (6) is an index combined of attitudes against homosexuals' ability in (4) and views that homosexuality is not acceptable in (5). All estimates include wave, individual, and channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

	(1) Climate Change Human-caused	(2) Slow Growth Environment	(3) Nuclear Energy	(4) Environment Intolerance
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	-0.807 (0.788)	$0.225 \\ (0.601)$	-0.268 (0.622)	$0.582 \\ (0.716)$
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Channel FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nb. Observations	3,129	3,999	3,567	4,006
Adjusted $\mathbb{R}^2$	0.531	0.294	0.475	0.309
Benchmark coefficient	2.050	2.324	2.507	2.254
Benchmark P-value	0.023	0.001	0.002	0.001

Table C18: Placebo - Attitudes Towards Alternative Topics - Environment

Notes: The dependent variable refers to a measure of the likelihood that a respondent holds extreme positions on various dimensions, with extreme views being defined as those falling outside of the middle 50% of the distribution of answers. Environment intolerance in (4) is an index combined of views that climate change is not caused by humans in (1), that growth should not be slowed for the environment in (2), and the support for the use of nuclear energy for energy production in (3). All estimates include wave, individual, and channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

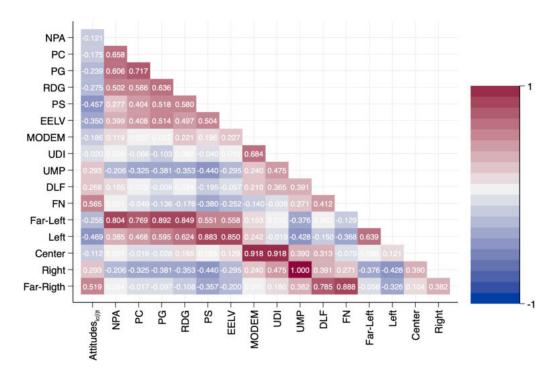
	(1) Benchmark	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Migration	Crime	Employement	Terrorism	Aid	Gender	Environment
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	$2.603^{***} \\ (0.613)$	-0.220 (0.205)	$0.164 \\ (0.313)$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.103 \\ (0.279) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.187 \\ (0.301) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.826\\ (0.705) \end{array}$	-0.105 (0.549)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Channel FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nb. Observations	6,796	6,796	6,796	6,796	6,796	6,796	5,010
Adjusted $R^2$	0.450	0.448	0.448	0.448	0.448	0.448	0.450
Mean $ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	0.027	0.237	0.100	0.103	0.100	0.016	0.045

Table C19: Placebo Estimates with Share of Subjects of Alternative Topics

Notes: The dependent variable is Polarization, which takes a value of one for individuals with extreme attitudes toward immigration (deeply concerned or not concerned at all) and zero otherwise. All estimates include wave, individual, and channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

# Appendix D Additional Results for the Political Analysis

Figure D1: French Political Parties and Attitudes Toward Immigration Cross-Correlations



Notes: Political variables report the self-declared probabilities (0 to 10) that respondents vote for a party. "NPA" refers to the "Nouveau Parti Anticapitaliste" party; "PG refers to the "Parti de Gauche"; "RDG" refers to the "Radicaux de Gauche" party; "PS" refers to the "Parti Socialiste" party. "EELV" refers to the party "Europe Ecologie/Les Verts" party; "ModeM" refers to the "Mouvement Démocrate" party; "UDI" refers to the "Union des Démocrates et Indépendants" parti; "UMP" refers to the "Union pour un Mouvement Populaire" party and later called "Les Républicains"; "DLF" refers to the "Debout la France" party"; "FN" refers to the "Front National" party and later called "Rassemblement National"; "FG" refers to the "Front de Gauche" party. Attitudes<sub>it</sub> is a continuous variable and represents the average attitudes of individual *i* toward immigration. Sources: Authors' elaboration on ELIPSS data.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Left-Right scale	Far-Left	Left	Center	Right	Far-Right
		PG NPA	PS	UDI	UMP	FN
		RDG PC	EELV	MODEM		DLF
$ShareSubj_{ct-1}$	-0.096	-2.571	-1.123	-0.873	1.151	0.325
	(1.695)	(2.435)	(1.882)	(2.648)	(2.218)	(2.152)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Channel FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nb. Observations	6,443	5,862	6,327	6,271	6,300	6,330
Adjusted $\mathbb{R}^2$	0.744	0.645	0.763	0.648	0.774	0.763

Table D1: Probability of Voting for a Given Political Party

Notes: The dependent variable in column (1) is a continuous 10-point scale that ranges from zero (for respondents endorsing far-left ideologies) to 10 (for respondents close to far-right ideologies). Other columns use the average self-declared probabilities (0 to 10) that respondents vote for a group of political parties as the dependent variable. "NPA" refers to the "Nouveau Parti Anticapitaliste" party; "PC" refers to the "Parti Communiste" party; "RDG" refers to the "Radicaux de Gauche" party; "PS" refers to the "Parti Socialiste" party; "EELV" refers to the party "Europe Ecologie/Les Verts" party; "Modem" refers to the "Mouvement Démocrate" party; "UDI" refers to the "Union des Démocrates et Indépendants" parti; "UMP" refers to the "Union pour un Mouvement Populaire" party and later called "Les Républicains"; "DLF" refers to the "Bront National" party and later called "Rassemblement National". The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

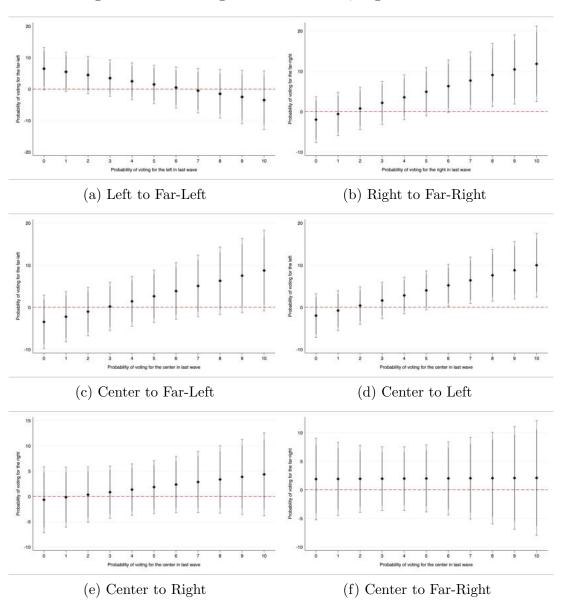


Figure D2: Switching Parties from Left, Right and Center

Notes: The figure shows the marginal effect of an increase in the coverage of immigration on an individual's probability of voting for a party conditional on his or her initial political preferences. All estimates include wave, individual, and channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. Confidence intervals are presented at the 95% and 90% levels.

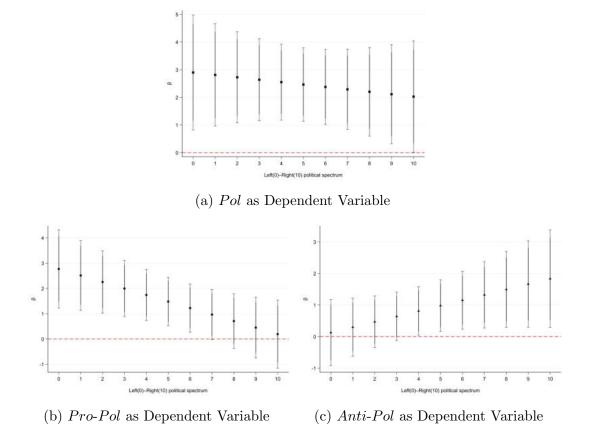


Figure D3: Coverage of Immigration Interacted with Political Affiliation

Notes: The figures report the marginal impact of an increase in the coverage of immigration, conditional on levels of political affiliation, on *Pol, Pro-pol*, and *Anti-pol*, respectively. All estimates include wave, individual, and channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. Confidence intervals are presented at the 95% and 90% levels. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

# Appendix E Additional Results for the Topic Analysis Appendix E1 Detection of Topics

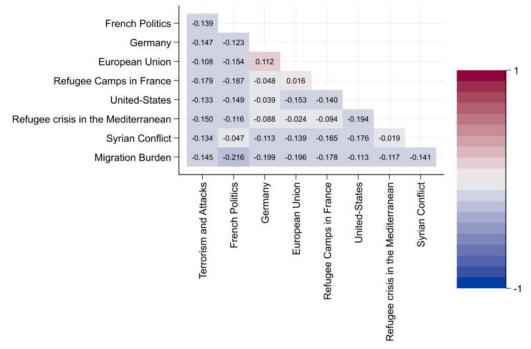
United-States	Terrorism and Attacks	Syrian Conflict	European Union	Refugee Crisis in the Mediterranean	French Politics	Migration Burden	Refugee Camps in France	Germany
Unis	Attack	Syria	Europe	Italy	François	Foreigners	Calais	Germany
States	Police	Conflict	Turkey	Shipwreck	Hollande	French	Jungle	Federal
Trump	Terrorism	Irak	Greece	Mediterranean	Minister	Economics	Paris	Republic
Donald	Terrorist	War	Crisis	Sea	Asylum	Work	Center	Merkel
President	Paris	State	Hungaria	Libya	Valls	Foreigner	Life	Angela
United-States	Victim	Syrians	Agreement	Offshore	Rights	Paris	Camp	Party
London	Fundamentalism	Islamic	Brussels	Rescue	President	Tourism	Camps	Right
Decree	Attacks	Army	Summit	Victims	Controversy	Economy	Evacuation	Berlin
American	Man	Aid	Borders	Drowning	Statement	Movie	Conditions	Election
Kingdom	Islamism	Camp	European	Lampedusa	Expulsion	Tourists	Large	Extremes
Russia	March	Syrian	Relations	People	Pope	Firm	Bernard	Pen
Relations	Berlin	Humanitarian	Inflow	Disaster	Macron	World	Association	Campaign
United	Foreigners	Situation	Conference	Boat	Manuel	Euros	Mayor	Marine
Brexit	Attacked	UN	Monitoring	Island	Prime	Jobs	Police	German
David	Christmas	Civilians	Austria	Sicilia	Visit	Life	Cazeneuve	Strikes

#### Table E1: Top 15 Words in Topics

Notes: Topics were identified using an unsupervised latent Dirichlet allocation algorithm on the corpus of migration subjects. The names of the topics were chosen by the authors for their interpretability. Words have been translated from French to English by the authors.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA data

Figure E1: Cross Correlations Across Subjects in Immigration news



Notes: Topics were identified using an unsupervised latent Dirichlet allocation algorithm on the corpus of migration subjects. The names of the topics were chosen by the authors for their interpretability, and the top words identified in each topic are displayed in Table E1. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

#### Appendix E2 Descriptive Statistics

This appendix provides additional descriptive statistics on the topics detected by the Latent Dirichlet Algorithm in immigration subjects between 2013 and 2017. As reported in Table E2, one can observe a decrease in immigrationrelated news before and after the 2015 refugee crisis, for topics such as "French politics", "migration burden", "Syrian conflict", and the "refugee crisis in the Mediterranean". In contrast, there is an increase in news related to "Refugee camps in France", and immigration in foreign contexts, specifically "Germany", "United States", and the "European Union". These variations are depicted at the monthly level in Figure E2(b). It reveals that the evolution of broadcasted topics over time is mainly influenced by world events. For instance, one can observe a peak following the major terrorist attacks in France or during the period of the Syrian conflict in 2014 and the refugee crisis in Europe and Germany in late 2015.

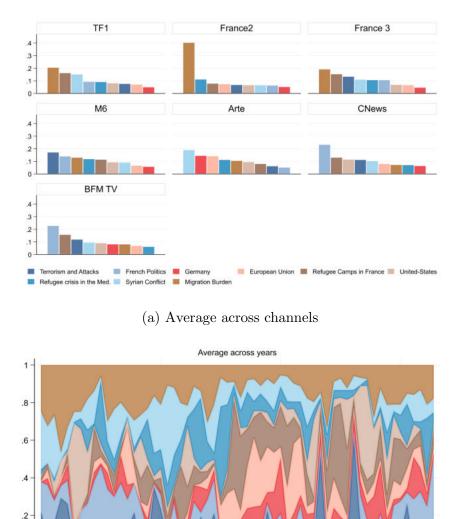
Table E2: Share of Topics in Immigration News

	All	All before Sep. $2015$	All after Sep. 2015	TF1	France 2	France 3	M6	Arte	CNews	BFM TV
Terrorism and Attacks	0.108	0.107	0.109	0.079	0.070	0.136	0.173	0.064	0.114	0.121
French Politics	0.131	0.149	0.112	0.095	0.066	0.108	0.142	0.054	0.234	0.230
Germany	0.073	0.043	0.106	0.052	0.054	0.048	0.060	0.147	0.066	0.084
European Union	0.083	0.052	0.119	0.073	0.076	0.068	0.069	0.143	0.083	0.071
Refugee Camps in France	0.127	0.098	0.160	0.164	0.081	0.155	0.116	0.082	0.133	0.159
United-States	0.089	0.077	0.102	0.083	0.068	0.071	0.095	0.097	0.117	0.092
Refugee crisis in the Mediterranean	0.099	0.119	0.076	0.093	0.114	0.109	0.121	0.114	0.073	0.064
Syrian Conflict	0.117	0.153	0.077	0.154	0.068	0.112	0.093	0.192	0.106	0.097
Migration Burden	0.173	0.203	0.139	0.207	0.405	0.193	0.132	0.107	0.075	0.083

Notes: This table reports the average share of topics among all migration news in evening television programs of Arte, BFM-TV, CNews, TF1, France 2, France 3, and M6. The date of the refugee crisis in our context is September 2015. Topics were identified using an unsupervised latent Dirichlet allocation algorithm on the corpus of migration subjects. The names of the topics were chosen by the authors for their interpretability, and the top words identified in each topic are displayed in Table E1.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

As far as heterogeneity between channels is concerned, Figure E2(a) reveals that, on average, channels allocate different broadcasting time to various immigration-related topics. For instance, the two main national TV evening programs of TF1 and France 2 are relatively more likely than other channels to associate immigration with its economic cost ("migration burden). Similarly, 24-hour news channels are more likely to cover immigration news in the context of "French politics", and Arte, a European public service channel with programming provided by its French and German subsidiaries, is relatively more likely to cover immigration news in "Germany" and the "European Union". Combining average differences across channels and the evolution of world events, Figure E3 depicts the evolution of topics within channels and over time. It reports substantial variability and supports the use off within-channel variations over time



#### Figure E2: Topic Frequency in Immigration News

Notes: This figure plots the share of topics among migration news in evening television programs of Arte, BFM-TV, CNews, TF1, France 2, France 3, and M6. Topics were identified using an unsupervised latent Dirichlet allocation algorithm on the corpus of migration subjects. The names of the topics were chosen by the authors for their interpretability, and the top words identified in each topic are displayed in Table E1. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA data

(b) Average Across Years

Date month, Stata format

Jan 2016

European Union 📕 Refugee Camps in France

Jul 2017

Jul 2014

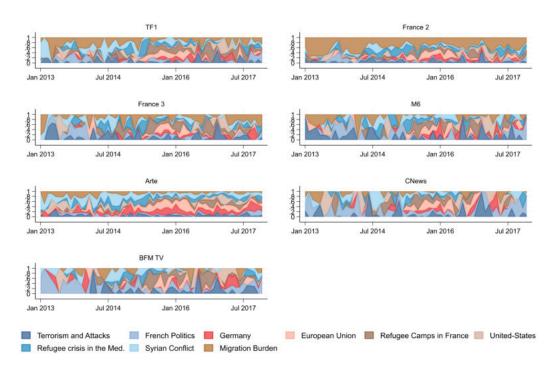
Refugee crisis in the Med. Syrian Conflict Migration Burder

📕 French Politics 📕 Germany

0 - Jan 2013

Terrorism and Attacks

#### Figure E3: Topic Frequency in Immigration News By channel

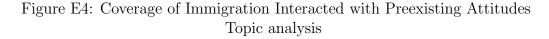


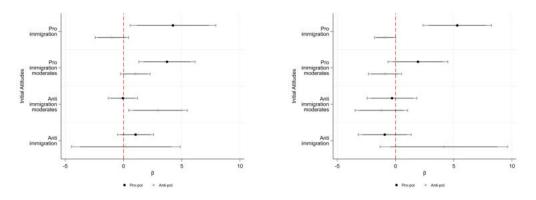
Notes: This figure plots the share of topics among migration news in evening television programs of Arte, BFM-TV, CNews, TF1, France 2, France 3, and M6. Topics were identified using an unsupervised latent Dirichlet allocation algorithm on the corpus of migration subjects. The names of the topics were chosen by the authors for their interpretability, and the top words identified in each topic are displayed in Table E1. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA data

in our topic analysis.

### Appendix E3 Additional Results on Topic Analysis

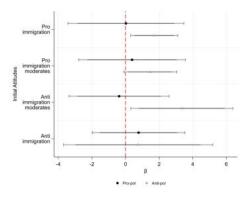
Figure E5 reveals distinct patterns in the association between different topics and the polarization of attitudes toward immigration. Topics related to the integration of immigrants into French national territory ("migration burden" and "refugee camps in France" for instance), which can be viewed as a threat or an opportunity by French residents, show a positive association with increased polarization on both ends of the distribution. In contrast, coefficients associated with immigration outside of France (the "European Union" or the "United-States" for instance), although not always significant, indicate that an increase in immigration news coverage focusing on foreign countries tends to reduce the likelihood of anti-polarization while increasing pro-polarization. Finally, "terrorism" or the "Syrian Conflict" are found to be associated with highly negative attitudes toward immigrants, leading to polarization toward only the right-hand side of the distribution.





(a) Immigration in France

(b) Immigration in Foreign Countries





Notes: The figure shows the marginal effect of  $ShareSubj_{ct-1}$  on Pro-pol and Anti-pol respectively. Each coefficient represents the marginal effect of the variable for different preexisting attitudes. All estimates include wave, channel and individual fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. Confidence intervals are presented at the 95% and 90% levels.

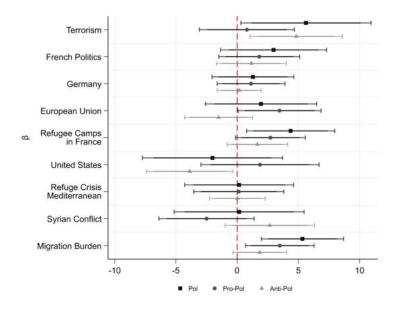


Figure E5: Topic Analysis

Notes: The dependent variables are alternatively Polarization, which takes a value of one for individuals with extreme attitudes (deeply concerned or not concerned at all) and zero otherwise, a dummy equal to one for individuals with anti-immigration attitudes and zero otherwise (pro-immigration, pro- and anti-immigration moderates), and a dummy equal to one for individuals with pro-immigration attitudes and zero otherwise (anti-immigration, pro- and anti-immigration moderates). All estimates include wave, individual and channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. Confidence intervals are presented at the 95% and 90% levels.

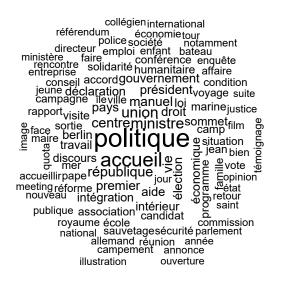
# Appendix F Additional Results for the Sentiment Analysis

#### Appendix F1 Detection of Sentiments

Figure F1: Most Frequent Words in the Sentiment Analysis of Migration Subjects

(a) Positive Subjects

#### (b) Negative Subjects

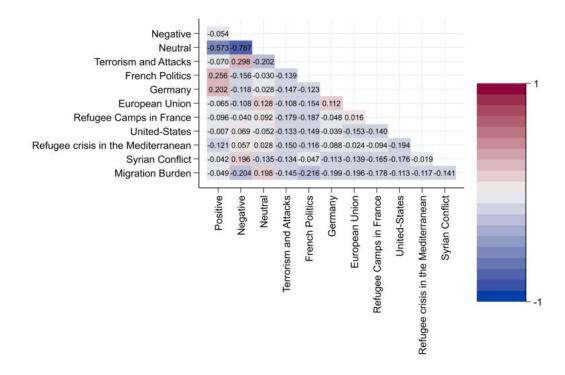




Notes: Figure F1a represents the most frequent positive tokens from the FEEL lexicon in positive migration subjects. Figure F1b represents the most frequent negative tokens from the FEEL lexicon in negative migration subjects. A subject as positive or negative if its share of positive or negative words exceeds the 75th percentile of the subject distribution. All other subjects are classified as neutral.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA data.

# Figure F2: Cross Correlations Across Subjects and Sentiments in Immigration news



Notes: Topics were identified using an unsupervised latent Dirichlet allocation algorithm on the corpus of migration subjects. The names of the topics were chosen by the authors for their interpretability, and the top words identified in each topic are displayed in Table E1. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA data.

#### Appendix F2 Descriptive Statistics

This appendix provides additional descriptive statistics on the sentiments detected in immigration subjects between 2013 and 2017. As reported in Table F1, there is an overall increase in the neutrality of subjects at the expense of a decrease in extremely positive and negative subjects. This increase is mainly due to the relative decrease in the share of negative subjects (-25%), while the share of positive subjects is little affected. These variations are depicted at the monthly level in Figure F3(b). As far as heterogeneity between channels is concerned, Figure F3(b) reveals that, on average, channels mainly use neutral subjects to talk about immigration. France 2 is the channel that uses the most neutral framing (86.5% of subjects), whereas M6 tends to frame its coverage of immigration more negatively.<sup>9</sup> Combining average differences across channels and the overall evolution of world events, Figure F4 depicts the evolution of sentiment within channels and over time. It provides support for enough variability to use within-channel variations on sentiment over time in our empirical analysis. Interestingly, channels that attract the most positive viewers toward immigration (such as France 2 and Arte) exhibit the most stable sentiment over time, indicating that they are less inclined to alter the framing of the immigration topic over time. Conversely, entertainment channels like M6 or 24-hour news channels (CNews or BFM TV) display significantly more variability in their framing, which may suggest a more sensationalized treatment of immigration over time.

	All Channels	All channels before the refugee crisis $\left(09.2015\right)$	All channels after the refugee crisis $\left(09.2015\right)$	TF1	France 2	France 3	M6	Arte	CNews	BFM TV
Neutral	0.671	0.638	0.710	0.599	0.865	0.710	0.547	0.651	0.647	0.680
Positive	0.128	0.135	0.121	0.175	0.056	0.099	0.169	0.125	0.128	0.150
Negative	0.200	0.227	0.170	0.226	0.079	0.192	0.284	0.224	0.226	0.170

Notes: This table reports the average share of sentiments among all migration news in evening television programs of Arte, BFM-TV, CNews, TF1, France 2, France 3, and M6. The date of the refugee crisis in our context is September 2015.

Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA and ELIPSS data.

#### Appendix F3 Additional Results on Sentiment Analysis

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Interestingly, we find a slight change in the framing of immigration news in CNews toward more negative content, compared to other channels at the end of our period of analyses. This echoes previous findings in Cagé et al. (2022) who report that the timeshare of radical-right guests in CNews has gradually increased from 8 to 15 percentage points after Bolloré's takeover.

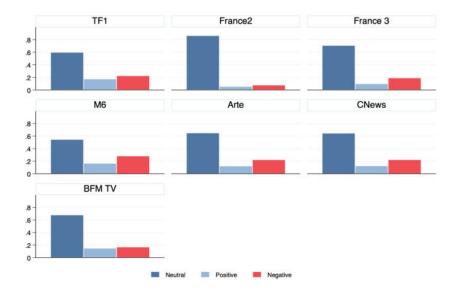
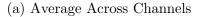
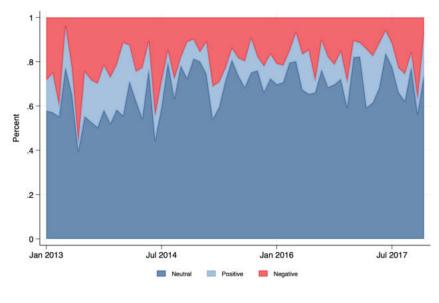


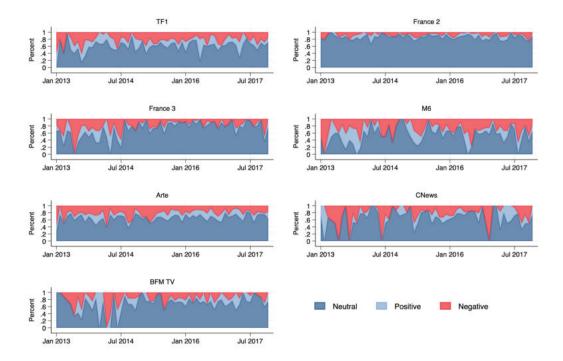
Figure F3: Sentiments in Immigration News





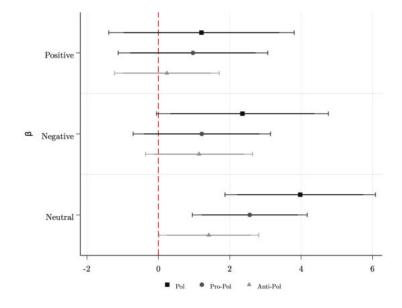
(b) Average Across Years

Notes: This figure plots sentiments among migration news in evening television programs of Arte, BFM-TV, CNews, TF1, France 2, France 3, and M6. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA data



#### Figure F4: Sentiments in Immigration News By Channel

Notes: This figure plots sentiments among migration news in evening television programs of Arte, BFM-TV, CNews, TF1, France 2, France 3, and M6. Sources: Authors' elaboration on INA data



#### Figure F5: Sentiment Analysis with a 50% Threshold Classification

Notes: The dependent variables are alternatively Polarization, which takes a value of one for individuals with extreme attitudes (deeply concerned or not concerned at all) and zero otherwise, a dummy equal to one for individuals with anti-immigration attitudes and zero otherwise (pro-immigration, pro- and anti-immigration moderates), and a dummy equal to one for individuals with pro-immigration attitudes and zero otherwise (anti-immigration moderates). All estimates include wave, individual, and channel fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. Confidence intervals are presented at the 95% and 90% levels.

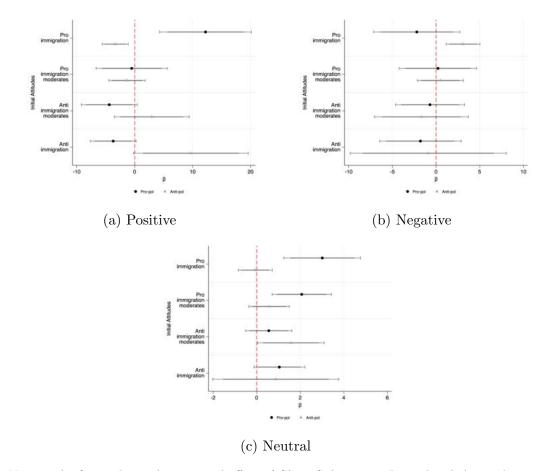


Figure F6: Coverage of Immigration Interacted with Preexisting Attitudes Sentiment Analysis

Notes: The figure shows the marginal effect of  $ShareSubj_{ct-1}$  on Pro-pol and Anti-pol respectively. Each coefficient represents the marginal effect of the variable for different preexisting attitudes. All estimates include wave, channel and individual fixed effects. The vector of time-varying controls includes age, education, employment status, marital status, number of children, household size, a dummy for blue-collar and income categories. Robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. Confidence intervals are presented at the 95% and 90% levels.

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