Anti-Muslim Voting and Media Coverage of Immigrant Crimes
– Online Appendix –

B1 Background and data

B1.1 The Swiss Minaret referendum

The minaret ban referendum was initiated by a group primarily composed of politicians of the far-right Swiss People's Party (*SVP/UDC*), the so-called "Egerkinger" committee. Of this committee, 14 out of the 16 participants were members the Swiss People's Party while the remaining 2 were members of the Federal Democratic Union of Switzerland (*EDU/UDF*). In Switzerland, citizens can launch a federal popular initiative by collecting 100,000 valid signatures of Swiss nationals. These signatures must be collected within 18 months of the official start of a signature collection campaign. Once the 100,000 signature threshold is reached, the signatures are brought to the Federal Chancellery for validation. The popular initiative then becomes an object on which Swiss citizens vote during a "votation".[1] In July 2008, this group collected the mandatory 100,000 signatures required to launch a popular initiative to ban the construction of minarets in Switzerland. The proposition of this referendum was to introduce a single sentence in the constitution: "The construction of minarets is prohibited" (Art. 72. P. 3).

Figure B1.1: Minaret ban campaign posters

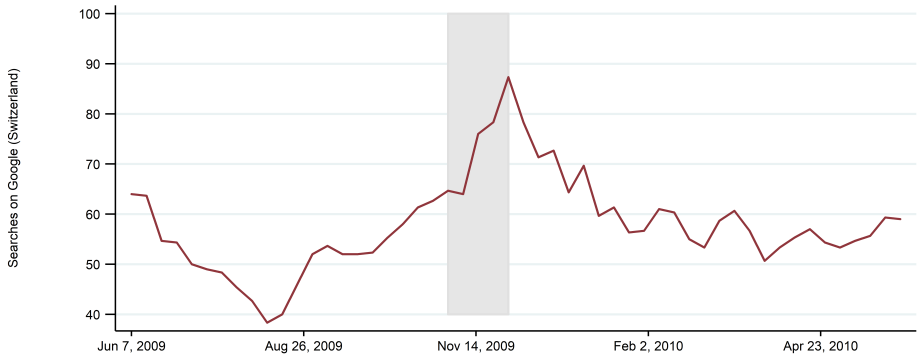
Note: LHS: Official poster (in German) of the initiators of the Minaret Ban referendum (2009). RHS: Official poster (in french) of the initiators of the Minaret Ban referendum in reaction to the ban of the LHS poster in some cities.

During the advisory vote in the Swiss Parliament that always precedes the popular vote, both chambers, and all majority parties except the Swiss People's Party opposed the initiative (171 votes against, 54 in favor, and 13 abstentions). The government as well suggested the disapproval of the popular initiative. The proposition was perceived as a threat to peaceful religious co-existence in Switzerland, and potentially harmful to Switzerland's international image. Note moreover that the Swiss Constitution guarantees equality in front of the law and prohibits discrimination (Art. 8), and all popular initiatives violating the *jus cogens* of international law (i.e. the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR) and the United Nation's Pact

[1] Votations take place 3 to 4 times per year. From 2001 to 2010, 31 votations took place during which Swiss citizens were asked to vote on 94 objects (popular initiatives and referenda). For simplicity, we hereon refer to the popular initiative as a referendum.

II) must be declared invalid (Art. 139). The "minaret ban" would not, however, be considered contrary to the Swiss constitution as popular initiatives are constitutional amendments. Moreover, despite potentially breaching Articles 9 and 14 of the ECHR, and Articles 2 and 18 of the UN Pact II, it was decided that the ban does not violate the intangible rights guaranteed by the ECHR and the UN Pact II.

Figure B1.2: Google searches before the referendum



Note: Google searches of the words "violence", "murder", "attack", "killer" in the period preceding the Minaret ban referendum. The shaded area are the 3 weeks preceding the Minaret Ban referendum.

In reality, the minaret ban was barely policy relevant as in 2009 there were only 4 minarets in Switzerland, none of which performed a prayer call.[2] They were, however, depicted as a symbol of the expansion of Islam in the country. The initiators of the referendum built on the idea that while in 1980 there were just 56,600 Muslims in the country, they would soon reach half a million, mostly recently arrived foreigners of non-European origin.[3] The campaign leading up to the referendum was highly controversial, capitalizing on fears of Muslim immigration and linking Islam with terrorism and violence. Islam was presented as a threat to fundamental Swiss values and to this end the main campaign poster depicted minarets as missiles coming out of the Swiss flag (Figure B1.1). The number of Google searches of the words "violence," "murder," "attack," and "killer" rose dramatically in the three months preceding the vote, an indication of the growing anxiety of the population towards violence and crime (Figure B1.2).

The referendum took place on November 29, 2009. Pre-referendum polls had indicated a comfortable, if slowly shrinking, majority against the proposal.[4] The participation rate (53.9%) turned out to be the largest in the past five years. The unexpected win of the "yes" campaign with 57.6% of the ballots came as a shock not only in Switzerland, but around the world. The *New York Times* described the outcome as one that "displayed a widespread anxiety" (NYT, Nov 30, 2009). *The Guardian* spoke of the result as "likely to cause

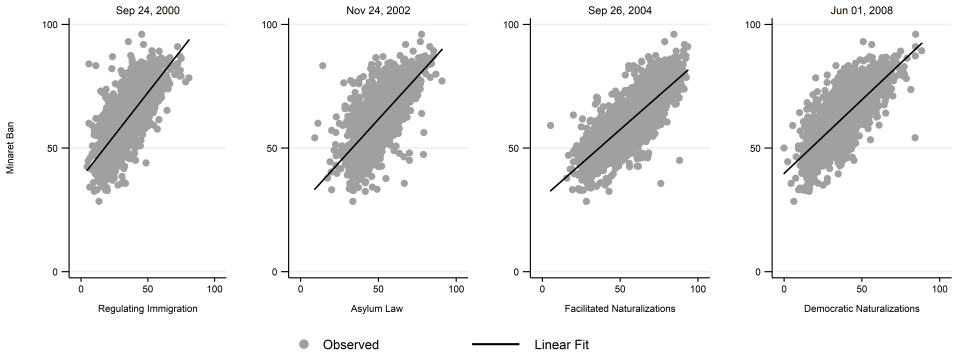
[2]The minarets are located respectively in Geneva, Zurich, Winterthur and Wangen bei Olten. The building of a fifth minaret was authorized in Langenthal in July 2009, but was never constructed.

[3]In the year 2000 in Switzerland (the time of the last population census collecting information on religious affiliations), there were 310,807 inhabitants of Muslim faith (representing 4.3% of the total population), 88.7% of whom did not have Swiss citizenship. Of these inhabitants, 87% were from Turkey and the Balkans (Kosovo, Albania, and Bosnia) and 6.3% were Arabic-speaking. In 2014, Muslim inhabitants represented an estimated 5.1% of the total population, 34.2% of whom were Swiss nationals (94% issued from migration) while 58.6% where first generation immigrants.

[4]In the last survey before the referendum on Nov 11, 2009, only 37% of respondents declared being in favor of the initiative.

strife [...] and set back efforts to integrate a population of some 400,000 Muslims, most of whom [were] European Muslims – and non-mosque-goers – from the Balkans" (The Guardian, Nov 29, 2009). Approval of the ban was initially perceived as a response to increased fears of Islam and yet the voting patterns reveal that there was a strong anti-foreigner component. For instance, the correlation between the minaret ban outcome and immigration referenda during the 2000-2009 period is positive and significant, ranging from 0.7 to 0.8 (Figure B1.3).

Figure B1.3: Minaret ban and previous immigration referendums



Note: Correlation between Minaret ban referendum (Nov 29, 2009), and past immigration referenda. The unit of observation is a municipality. The y axis is the fraction of vote share in favor of the Minaret Ban. The x axis is the vote share in favor of the corresponding immigration referendum. From left to right: "For the regulation of immigration" (36.2% in favor); "Against abuses in the asylum law" (49.9% in favor); "Facilitated naturalization of second-generation immigrants" (43.2% in favor); "For democratic naturalizations" (36.2% in favor).

B1.2 Crime data

The Federal Statistical Office provides us with non-publicly available exhaustive data on all crimes detected by the local police services in Switzerland between 2009 and 2013. The dataset covers all cases when somebody was charged with infractions to the Swiss federal Penal Code. From 2009 to 2013, it represents on average around 290,000 offenses by year.[5] The offenses against life and limb represent 6.7% of all offenses (Swiss penal code Title 1); the offenses against property represent the major part with 83.12% (Swiss penal code Title 2); the offenses against personal honor and in breach of secrecy or privacy represent 3.26% (Swiss penal code Title 3); the felonies and misdemeanors against liberty represent 19.28% (Swiss penal code Title 4); the offenses against sexual integrity represent 1.51% (Swiss penal code Title 5); offenses that go under Titles 6 to 20 represent 9.87% of the offenses. Note that a crime may be recorded under more than one Title of the Swiss penal code.

We focus on most violent crimes only (the newsworthy ones), also including attempts. These crimes correspond to homicide, murder, manslaughter and infanticide (articles 111, 112, 113, 116 and 117), and correspond to approximately 2% of the offenses under Title 1.[6] These so-called signal crimes are defined

[5] In 2009, 277,880 offenses; in 2010, 267,609 ; in 2011, 295,280; in 2012, 316,291; and in 2013, 296,313.

[6] The criminal code articles are: homicide / intentional homicide (art. 111), homicide / murder (art. 112), homicide / manslaugh-

by Innes et al. (2002) as "particular types of criminal and disorderly conduct [that] have a disproportionate impact upon fear of crime". Over the 2009-2013, we get 1367 cases, including solved cases (1241) and unsolved cases (126). We then focus on cases for which we have information both on the location of the crime (i.e. name of the municipality) and the nationality of the perpetrator(s). This leaves us with our baseline sample of 846 cases over the 2009-2013 period (including respectively 167 and 185 cases in 2009 and 2010). Note that each case may encompasses many infractions to Swiss penal code Title 1. In our baseline sample, the 847 cases represent a total of of 973 murders, 48 assassinations and 5 infanticides, perpetrated by 1200 aggressors.

B1.3 News coverage

Newspaper sample – The newspaper sample consists of 12 major Swiss newspapers, 6 German- and 6 French-speaking ones, that represent a total share of 60.4% of the newspapers market for the 2006-2008 period. The choice of the outlets is based on two criteria: the market share of the newspaper and data availability. Our newspaper sample covers 8 out the 10 largest Swiss newspapers, and 12 out of the 17 largest. The German-speaking outlets are (average market share in brackets): 20 Minuten D-CH (13.6%), SonntagsZeitung (9%), Tages-Anzeiger (6.1%), NZZ am Sonntag (5.4%), Neue Zuercher Zeitung (3.6%), and St. Galler Tagblatt (1.9%); the French-speaking ones are: Le Matin dimanche (6.5%), 20 Minutes F-CH (4.4%), Le Matin (lu-sa) (3.7%), 24Heures (2.9%), Tribune de Geneve (1.9%), and Le Temps (1.5%). This newspaper sample covers 8 out the 10 largest Swiss newspapers; the smallest for which we collected data ranks 17th. The largest newspaper for which we do not have data is Blick (8.2% of market, ranked 3rd in country). The Blick archives are not available on Lexis/Nexis at the time of the data collection and the Blick webpage search engine did not allow us to follow the same data collection process as for other newspapers.

Data collection procedure – We search the on-line archives of these newspapers for mentions of the 352 aggressions over the 2009-2010 period. Data for 8 newspapers are available on Lexis/Nexis. Data for Neue Zuercher Zeitung, and NZZ am Sonntag, are collected on the on-line archives of the newspaper (`https://nzz.genios.de/dosearch`), while data for the 20 Minuten D-CH and 20 Minutes F-CH is scrapped directly from the webpage of the newspapers (`https://m.20min.ch/search`). We restrict the search window from 2 days prior to the event up to 10 days after. We choose a standard set of keywords related to these aggressions to identify the articles, such as kill, murder etc, as well as their variants in German or French according to the newspaper.[7] Thanks to this procedure, we identify 4,022 articles. The articles are then double-checked to evaluate whether they refer to the specific aggression.[8] Information on which of the nationalities of perpetrators and victims are mentioned in the newspaper article is also coded. Interestingly,

ter (art. 113), homicide / infanticide (art. 116), and homicide / homicide through negligence (art. 117).

[7]The German keywords are: tote, umbringen, morder, totschlag, mord, gestorben, verstorben, ersitck, erschlagen, erschlug, gekopft, erstechen, erstochen, abstechen, abgestochen, vergift, erstick, erwurg, exekutier, hinricht, erschiessen, erschoss, erschossen, steinigen, gesteinigt, steinigung, lynchen, gelyncht, massaker, beschiessen, beschossen, ertrinken, ertrunken, ertranken, erhang, erstechen, erstach, erstochen. The French keywords are: tue, assassin, homicide, mort, decede, abat, asphyxie, assomme, decapite, egorge, empoisonne, etouffe, etrangle, execute, fusille, lapide, lynch, massacre, mitraille, noye, pendre, pendu.

[8]We are especially thankful to Kate Dassesse, Felix Deimer, Noëmi Jacober, Nils Hossli, Adrien Schneeberger, Aurore Vallez, Raphaël Wirth, and Pascal Zumbühl that have provided an excellent research assistance.

the information found in these articles is very precise, with more than 48% of covered cases reporting the nationality of the perpetrators. This allow us to match 454 articles corresponding to 138 perpetrators (53 Swiss, and 85 non-Swiss) out of the 507 perpetrators over the 2009-2010 period. Not surprisingly, some crimes appear in more than one newspaper, or more than once in the same newspaper (in different dates).

Nationality coverage – It is important to note that nationalities are not reported in 52% of the covered cases. While we exclude these from the baseline sample as they provide poor and ambiguous information to readers on foreigner criminality, we explore more inclusive coding choices in section B3.1.

B1.4 Other covariates

Covariates – Data on voting outcomes, demography, and municipality characteristics are collected by the Swiss Statistical Office. The municipality-level voting data provide information on the number of voters registered, total ballots, valid ballots, and votes in favor for every referendum since 1960. Population data inform on the native/foreign composition, language, religion, sectoral employment, gender-age distributions, and education. We also add time-invariant municipality characteristics such as elevation and ruggedness (standard deviation of elevation).

Newspaper circulation data – Newspaper circulation data come from the Research and Studies in Advertising Media Association (*WEMF/REMP*), which conducts two surveys per year, covering approximately 20,000 individuals and collecting information on media consumption.[9] Based on the waves from 2006 to 2008, information on the district of residence of the respondents allows to calculate pre-vote market share for each newspaper in every district. We use market shares (i.e. sales of newspaper j in total sales) in our aggregating procedure as information is available for all municipalities. By contrast, newspaper readership (i.e. share of readers of j in total population) is known only for a sub-sample of municipalities. The propensity to read newspapers is homogeneous and close to 100% in most municipalities (*Swiss Household Panel*). Hence the two measures are, in fact, comparable.

Past anti-foreigner vote – A crucial information is the measure of past anti-foreigner vote outcomes at the municipality level that makes our econometric model akin to a first difference specification. This variable is constructed as the mean of the vote share in favor of anti-foreigner referenda in the 2000-2008 period: "For a regulation of immigration" (September 24, 2000), "Against abuses in asylum rights" (November 24, 2002), "Federal decision on facilitated naturalization of second generation immigrants" (September 26, 2004), "Federal law on foreigners" (September 24, 2006), and "For democratic naturalization" (June 1, 2008). Moreover, to capture partisanship, two referendums with party recommendations identical to the minaret ban are included: "For the imprescriptibility of acts of child pornography" (March 1, 2006), and "For taking into account complementary medicines" (May 17, 2009). The use of a principal component with the outcome of these referenda or the vote share of the *SVP/UDC* in the previous federal election leaves our result unchanged (results available upon request). Table B1.1 displays the summary statistics on the various covariates used throughout the paper.

[9] We kindly thank Marc Sele for granting access to the *WEMF/REMP* dataset.

Table B1.1: News and voting: Summary statistics

	Obs.	Mean	Std.Dev.	Min	Max
Minaret Ban "Yes" Vote (%)	1980	63.27	10.48	32.43	96.00
Crime News Exposure (CNE)	1980	0.07	0.87	–1.72	1.93
HQ Crime Propensity Differential Deviation (ΔHQC)	1980	–0.12	0.90	–2.79	1.12
Past Vote Outcomes	1980	49.39	9.86	14.94	76.44
Local Crime Propensity Differential (CPD)	1980	0.03	1.04	–1.31	7.28
German-speaking (%)	1980	68.94	43.21	0.00	100.00
Log population	1980	7.22	1.22	3.30	11.51
Immigrants (%)	1980	13.27	8.92	0.00	59.67
Net Immigration (%)	1980	0.63	0.78	–4.90	5.87
High-skilled (%)	1980	31.33	8.14	6.38	64.40
Secondary Employment (%)	1980	23.88	7.46	0.00	52.89
Tertiary Employment (%)	1980	53.90	8.85	16.18	82.59
Log Net Income (ChF)	1980	11.01	0.25	9.93	12.98
Log Net Income Squared	1980	121.18	5.53	98.66	168.50
Elevation (km)	1980	0.77	0.46	0.26	3.02
Ruggedness	1980	138.60	167.68	2.54	848.60
Active (%)	1980	49.60	5.83	25.54	100.00
Young (%)	1980	23.83	3.44	10.47	49.29
Protestants (%)	1980	47.69	29.16	0.00	99.43
Muslim (%)	1980	2.84	3.18	0.00	20.44
Newspaper Market Shares	1980	0.57	0.25	0.12	1.00
Local Property Crime	1980	4.61	16.01	0.00	344.00

Notes: The unit of observation is a municipality. Vote data comes from the Swiss Statistical Office (FSO). News data collected by the authors. Crime data comes from the Swiss Statistical Office (FSO). Newspaper circulation data comes from the Research and Studies in Advertising Media Association (*WEMF/REMP*). Other municipality characteristics data comes from the Swiss Statistical Office (FSO). CNE constructed using articles published in from Jan 1, 2009 to Nov 29, 2009. ΔHQC, Local Crime Propensity Differential, Local Property Crime constructed using crime data from Jan 1, 2009 to Nov 29, 2009. Newspaper Market Shares constructed for the 2006-2008 period. All other variables are constructed for the year 2009 with the exception of sectoral employment, language, religion, and skills level that are constructed using data from 2000.

Definition of agglomeration – Agglomerations in Switzerland are the equivalent of Commuting Zones (CZ) in the US. The Swiss Statistical Office (FSO) defines agglomerations according to three criteria: worker flows, population density, and overnight hotel stays. The purpose of this purely statistical unit is to overcome historic institutional borders. Agglomerations are determined according to the intensity of worker flows; this designates the potential agglomeration center and the municipalities that belong to it. Every potential agglomeration then has to have a minimum number of inhabitants and overnight hotel stays to qualify as such. Note that the FSO defines as rural municipalities those not belonging to an agglomeration. In 2015, there were 79 agglomerations; an average agglomeration comprises 29 municipalities (min=1, max=271).

B2 Crime news provision: Further results

In this section, we document how the coverage probability of crime affected by (i) perpetrators' countries of origin and (ii) newspapers' characteristics.

Perpetrators' origins – We make use of a unique feature of our dataset on criminality in Switzerland, namely information on the nationalities of the perpetrators, to assess whether the religious affiliation affects the likelihood of news coverage. We follow a two-step procedure in the spirit of Bertrand and Schoar (2003); Bandiera et al. (2009); Couttenier et al. (2019). First, we estimate a flexible version of Equation (1) that allows the coefficient of $\texttt{foreign}_i$ to vary across nationalities

$$\mathbb{P}(\texttt{news}_{ij} = 1) = \sum_n \rho_n \cdot \mathbb{1}_{n(i)} + \alpha \cdot \texttt{readershare}_{ij} + \beta \cdot \texttt{newspaperHQ}_{ij} + \mathbf{X}_i'\boldsymbol{\gamma} + \mathbf{X}_j'\boldsymbol{\lambda} \tag{B2.1}$$

where $\mathbb{1}_n$ is equal to 1 if individual i is from nationality n and 0 otherwise. The model is estimated on the 847 cases over the 2009-2013 period. Our interest lies in the vector of 60 nationality-specific effects on news coverage, namely the distribution of the point estimates $\hat{\rho}_n$ in Equation (B2.1). The dispersion of the (unreported) distribution is pretty large with a Relative Standard Deviation equal to $\hat{\rho}_n = 0.067/0.027 = 2.48$. This pattern suggests that the media coverage of violence perpetrated by foreigners varies substantially across nationalities. Likely factors include cultural and political proximity, geographical distance, development and population size. To then assess the specific role of religion, and specifically Muslim religion, controlling for other factors, we estimate the following second step equation

$$\hat{\rho}_n = \sum_n \alpha_n \cdot \texttt{religion}_n + \mathbf{X}_n'\boldsymbol{\lambda} + \epsilon_n \tag{B2.2}$$

where $\texttt{religion}_n$ encompasses a set of 6 binary variables coding for religious composition (Muslim / Hindu / Jewish / Buddhist / Christian / Other), each one equal to 1 for nationalities where the share of the considered religion is above the sample median. The set of nationality-specific controls, $\mathbf{X}_n$, is detailed in the regression Table B2.2. Equation (B2.2) is estimated with Generalized Least Squares (GLS): we account for the measurement error in the dependent variable $\hat{\rho}_n$ by weighting each observation by the inverse of its estimated standard error, as retrieved from the first step Equation B2.1.

The results are reported in Table B2.2. In Column (1), only the 6 variables coding for religious composition are included. In Column (2) we control for country of emigration characteristics. Early in the 1990s, Swiss authorities have designed an immigration policy based on three different "circles": Countries in the first circle have a simpler access to work permit than countries in the third one.[10] Hence we control for two dummies coding for the first/second circle (implicit reference being the third circle); a dummy equal to 1 if the nationality is a top-10 origin country among asylum seekers in Switzerland; a dummy equal to 1 if the nationality is a top-10 among economic migrants in Switzerland.[11] We then include the geographical (Column 3) and political distance, as approximated by UN affinity vote (Column (4)). In Column (5), we control for the size of the country and in Column (6) for the level of development. The coefficient of *Muslim* in Table B2.2 displays a consistent positive pattern throughout the specifications, i.e. countries

[10] In 1991, first circle: Germany, Austria, Finland, Island, France, Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, U.K., Ireland, Denmark, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Liechtenstein, Norway and Sweden. In the second circle: USA, Canada, Japan, Australia and New-Zealand and in the third circle all the other countries.

[11] The 10 most represented nations of asylum seekers in Switzerland are: Afghanistan, Eritrea, Iraq, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Somalia, Serbia, Syria, Tunisia, and Turkey. Source: Foreign Resident Population Statistics.

Table B2.2: Crime news provision: Perpetrators' origins

Dependent Variable	$\hat{\rho}_n$ (See Equation B2.2)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Muslim	0.044	0.048^c	0.051^c	0.046^c	0.049^c	0.044^c
	(0.028)	(0.026)	(0.029)	(0.026)	(0.028)	(0.025)
Hindu	0.033^b	0.028^c	0.032^c	0.028	0.029^c	0.028^c
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Jewish	–0.028	–0.031	–0.025	–0.025	–0.030	–0.024
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.018)	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.019)
Buddhist	0.035	0.038	0.036	0.038	0.033	0.044
	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.026)	(0.028)	(0.024)	(0.033)
Christian	0.016	–0.002	0.003	0.003	0.002	–0.002
	(0.023)	(0.021)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.022)	(0.020)
Other	–0.022	–0.017	–0.025	–0.023	–0.020	–0.020
	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.033)	(0.027)	(0.025)	(0.029)
Circle 1		0.046^c	0.047^c	0.052^c	0.040	0.054^c
		(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.030)	(0.027)	(0.028)
Circle 2		–0.056^b	–0.062^c	–0.086^c	–0.068^b	–0.042
		(0.027)	(0.033)	(0.045)	(0.033)	(0.030)
Asylum Seeker		–0.024	–0.025	–0.030	–0.034	–0.031
		(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.024)	(0.026)	(0.025)
Economic Migrants		–0.036^b	–0.028	–0.028	–0.032^c	–0.036
		(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.023)	(0.019)	(0.022)
Log distance			0.010			
			(0.012)			
UN affinity index				–0.057		
				(0.041)		
Log population					0.006	
					(0.006)	
Log GDP/cap						–0.008
						(0.011)
Observations	59	59	59	55	58	57
Adjusted R^2	0.102	0.106	0.099	0.100	0.117	0.096
Sample Average	0.027	0.027	0.027	0.028	0.027	0.028

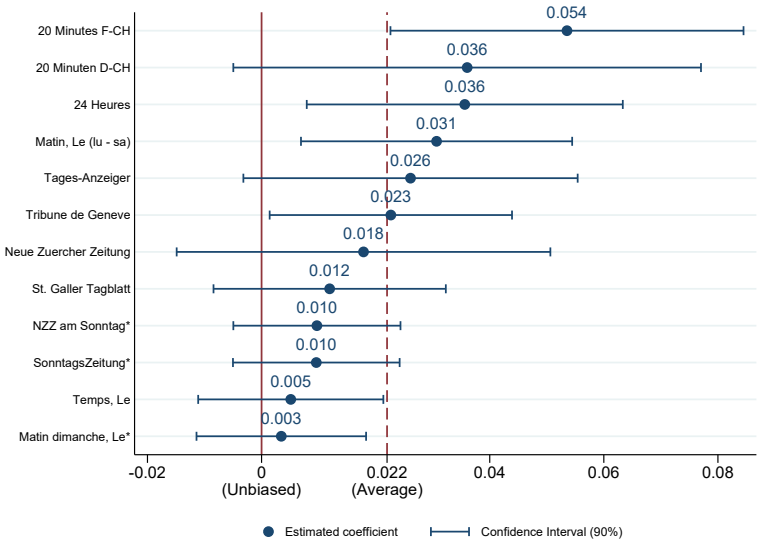
Notes: GLS estimations. The dependent variable consists of the estimated coefficients at the nationality level from the regression equation B2.1. Robust standard errors in parentheses. ^{c} significant at 10%; ^{b} significant at 5%; ^{a} significant at 1%.

that are predominantly Muslim are more reported (as are countries that are predominantly Hindu). It is both precisely estimated and stable in terms of magnitude. We conclude from this analysis that nationalities with an above-median share of Muslims tend to be more reported.

Across newspapers – Is the over-sampling of crimes perpetrated by foreigners in the news the same for all newspapers? We replicate Column (3) of Table 1 but splitting the variable *foreign perpetrator* across the different newspapers. For the for ease of interpretation results by newspaper are presented in Figure B2.4. All newspapers are more likely to report foreign aggressions. The effect ranges form 0.5% (*Le Temps*) to 5.8% (*20 Minutes F-CH*). The effect is statistically significant for 4 newspapers (*20 Minutes F-CH*, *Le*

Matin (lu-sa), *24 Heures*, and *Tribune de Geneve*). Turning to magnitudes, this implies that an individual only reading the *20 Minutes F-CH* would have the impression that foreigners are four times more likely to commit crimes than one only reading the *St. Galler Tagblatt*.

Figure B2.4: Crime news provision: Across newspapers



Note: The unit of observation is a perpetrator × newspaper dyad. Standard errors clustered at crime event level (90% confidence intervals presented). Linear probability model estimations. All regressions include the full vector of controls of Table 1. * for Sunday newspapers.

B3 News and voting: Further results

B3.1 Sensitivity analysis

Tabloids and high-quality newspapers – We first investigate the heterogeneous effects of crime news on votes across newspaper types in Columns (1) and (2) of Table B3.3 . eleven instrumental variables would need to be included (one per newspaper). We therefore consider two categories – tabloids and regular newspapers – and split our main explanatory ($\texttt{CNE}_m$) and instrumental variable ($\Delta\texttt{HQC}_m$) accordingly. The classification of newspapers into tabloid/regular is based on that of *Medienqualitatsrating Schweiz*, an organization that rates the quality of media in Switzerland. In our sample, three newspapers are classified as tabloids by *Medienqualitatsrating Schweiz*: *20 Minuten*, *20 Minutes*, and *Le Matin*. Tabloids are standardly defined as popular newspapers with many pictures and short, simple reports. They tend to publish sensational stories and contain images of large shock value. They are usually viewed as big providers of crime news, a feature that is borne out in our data.

In Column (1) we replicate the baseline OLS specification with a coefficient of $\texttt{CNE}_m$ that is specific to each category; in Column (2) we estimate the 2SLS version. 2SLS coefficients are precisely estimated

Table B3.3: News and voting: Tabloids and high-quality newspapers

Dependent Variable	Minaret Ban approval (%Yes)			
Specification	Tabloids vs Non-Tabloids		Swiss vs Foreign News	
	OLS	2SLS	OLS	2SLS
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Crime News Exposure : Tabloids	1.164^{b}	2.391^{a}		
	(0.447)	(0.754)		
Crime News Exposure : High-quality	–0.272	3.656^{c}		
	(1.039)	(2.008)		
Crime News Exposure : Swiss crimes			–2.481^{c}	–2.858^{c}
			(1.430)	(1.697)
Crime News Exposure : Foreign crimes			3.949^{a}	5.255^{b}
			(1.408)	(2.028)
Local CPD	0.274	0.254	0.275	0.262
	(0.189)	(0.184)	(0.189)	(0.170)
Past Vote Outcomes	1.000^{a}	1.002^{a}	0.999^{a}	0.997^{a}
	(0.039)	(0.042)	(0.040)	(0.041)
Observations	1980	1980	1980	1980
Adjusted R^2	0.851	0.850	0.851	0.851
First-stage F-statistic		10.70		9.74

Notes: The unit of observation is a municipality. Standard errors clustered at agglomeration level in parentheses. ^{c} significant at 10%; ^{b} significant at 5%; ^{a} significant at 1%. Columns (1) and (3) show OLS estimates. Columns (2) to (4) present the second-stage estimates of 2SLS regressions. Columns (1) and (2) present estimates where CPD is computed for tabloids and non-tabloids separately. Columns (3) and (4) show estimates where news-based CPD is computed for Native and Foreigners separately. The tabloid versus non-tabloid classification comes from Medienqualitatsrating Schweiz (see www.mqr-schweiz.ch). Newspapers classified as tabloid in our sample are *20 Minuten*, *20 Minutes*, and *Le Matin*. The other newspapers in our sample are classified as non-tabloid . All regressions include the full vector of controls of Table 2.

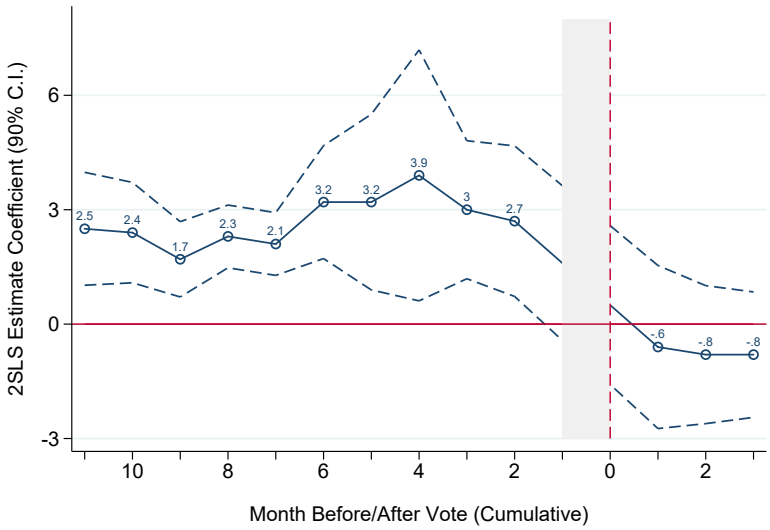
and are not significantly different from each other. Hence, the quantitative effect of crime news on voting behavior is comparable for readerships of tabloids and regular newspapers.

Foreign and native crimes – We then consider a model identical to the baseline, now splitting our main explanatory variable $\texttt{CNE}_m$ into its foreigner and native news components, each with its own regression coefficient. Visual inspection of Equation (3) implies that these two coefficients should have opposite signs. In Columns (3) and (4) of Table B3.3 we estimate OLS and 2SLS models respectively – note that our instrumental variable $\Delta\texttt{HQC}_m$ is now also split into its foreigner and native crime components.

Alternative time frames – In the baseline estimates, we focus on the eleven-month period preceding the vote (Jan 1st, 2009 to Nov 29, 2009) to calculate the crime and news-related variables. Figure B3.5 presents the coefficients from the 2SLS estimation of Table 2, Column (5), for alternative time frames. The point estimate is very stable and statistically significant for all time windows ranging from two to eleven months before the vote. The first-stage remains valid in all specifications. We also evaluate the impact of post-vote crime news on the ban vote. Reassuringly, crime news released after the minaret ban vote have no impact on its outcome, both quantitatively and statistically.

Control for crime where people work (commuting) – Our identification strategy relies on the fact that

Figure B3.5: News and voting: Alternative time frames



Note: The unit of observation is a municipality. The outcome is the Minaret Ban "yes" vote share. Standard errors clustered at agglomeration level in parentheses. 2SLS estimations. Only second stage point estimates and confidence intervals for the CNE variable are reported. The crime and news-related variables are calculated over different time windows before and after the vote: from one month up to eleven months *before* the vote (sensitivity analysis), and from one month up to three months *after* the vote (placebo specifications). First stage F-statistics of the 11 to 2 months estimates reported range from 10.07 to 38.71. Second stage point estimate and confidence interval of the one month pre-vote period are not reported since the first stage F-statistics is very low (0.31). All regressions include the full vector of controls of Table 2.

voters can update their belief about immigrants' criminality from two sources: crime news exposure and local crime. For local criminality to fully capture the directly observable part of crime, we add a measure of criminality in places where people work, and not only in places where they live and vote. This issue is particularly crucial if people work in municipalities where newspapers have a headquarter, since it would violate the exclusion restriction. We thus construct a co-variate, based on the share of foreign crimes perpetrated in each of the places w where individuals from municipality m work. We then aggregate this variable at the municipality m level, by weighting workplace w crime by the share of the population in m that works in this municipality w. The inclusion of this co-variate leaves our results unchanged (Table B3.4).

Alternative coding rules for news without nationality – In our baseline estimates, we exclude from the CNE variable the news that do not report the perpetrators' nationalities. We can nevertheless suspect that readers draw some conclusions from the absence of nationality. They may assume for example that newspapers mention the nationality of the perpetrator more frequently when the offender is not a Swiss citizen, or the other way around. For this reason, we compute a CNE variable that includes the sub-sample of no-nationality news, and attribute to each news story a probability that the perpetrators is foreign. Figure B3.6 presents the 2SLS estimates of Equation (2) for the full spectrum of probabilities one can attribute to the no-nationality news, i.e. from a probability equal to 0 (Swiss when no nationality mentioned) to a probability of 1 (foreign when no nationality). This scenario bears a crucial assumption: news do not convey any signal on the potential nationality of the perpetrator when the nationality is not reported. In Table B3.5 we

Table B3.4: News and voting: Control for crime where people work (commuting)

Crime Controls	Workplace Crime Prop. Diff.			(i) Workplace Crime Prop. Diff. (ii) Local Crime Prop. Diff.		
Specification	RF	FS	2SLS	RF	FS	2SLS
Dependent Variable	%Yes	CNE	%Yes	%Yes	CNE	%Yes
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Crime News Exposure (CNE)			2.321[a]			2.479[a]
			(0.827)			(0.932)
Workplace CPD	0.322	0.018	0.279	–0.013	0.000	–0.014
	(0.362)	(0.019)	(0.325)	(0.536)	(0.042)	(0.505)
Local CPD				0.308	0.017	0.267
				(0.292)	(0.038)	(0.250)
Past Vote Outcomes	1.006[a]	0.003[c]	0.999[a]	1.006[a]	0.003[c]	0.999[a]
	(0.040)	(0.002)	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.002)	(0.039)
HQ CPD Deviation (ΔHQC)	1.001[b]	0.431[a]		1.080[b]	0.436[a]	
	(0.427)	(0.135)		(0.453)	(0.134)	
Observations	1980	1980	1980	1980	1980	1980
Adjusted R^2	0.850	0.950	0.690	0.850	0.950	0.690
First-stage F-statistic		10.14			10.63	

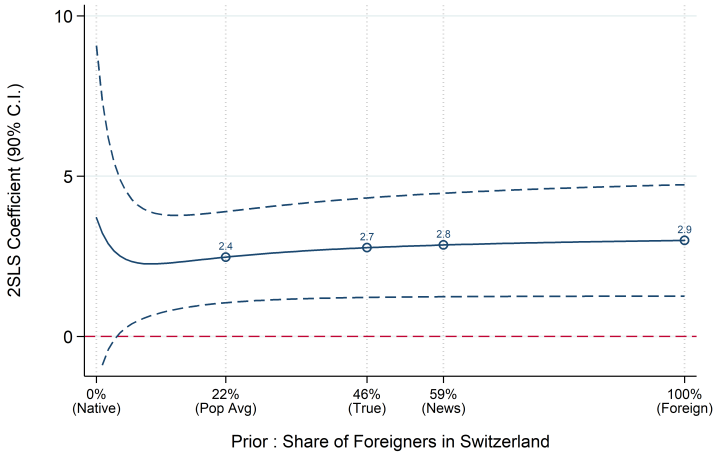
Notes: The unit of observation is a municipality. Standard errors clustered at agglomeration level in parentheses. [c] significant at 10%; [b] significant at 5%; [a] significant at 1%. Columns (1) to (3) present 2SLS estimation when controlling for workplace Crime Propensity Differential instead of the local one; Columns (4) to (6) when simultaneously controlling for workplace and local Crime Propensity Differential. Columns (1) and (4) present the reduced form estimation; Columns (2) and (5) the first-stage; Columns (3) and (6) the second-stage estimates. All regressions include the full vector of controls of Table 2.

challenge this assumption and test two alternative scenarios. In Columns (1) to (3), we assume that readers can successfully infer the true nationality of the perpetrators and re-compute the CNE variable by including the true (i.e. police-based) nationalities when those are not reported in the newspaper articles. In Columns (4) to (6), we assume that the reader conditions the probability that the perpetrator is a foreigner on the share of foreigners in the municipality where the crime took place. In all three approaches the estimates remain positive and statistically significant.

Reduced-form estimates when adding newspapers – The newspapers for which we have collected data represent 60.4% of the market. There are some large newspapers for which we were unable to collect data, notably *Blick* that is the third largest in the country and represents 8.1% of the market. While we do not have the news data to estimate the full 2SLS specification, we can nevertheless perform the reduced-form estimation for the 4 largest newspapers that are not in our baseline sample. Our reduced-form estimates are affected (Table B3.6) .

Reduced-form estimates when adding sexual assaults – We only collected news coverage for violent crimes classified as "Offenses against Life and Limb" (Title 1 of the Swiss Penal Code), that comprises homicide, murder, and manslaughter. We focused on these crimes precisely because we consider them to be the most newsworthy. Other types of crime such as rape (art. 190) and sexual acts with children (art.

Figure B3.6: News and voting: Alternative coding rules for news without nationality



Note: The unit of observation is a municipality. Standard errors clustered at agglomeration level in parentheses. 2SLS estimates of Equation (2) for the full spectrum of probabilities one can attribute to the no-nationality news. `CNE` variable constructed including the sub-sample of no-nationality news, where we attribute to each news story a probability that the perpetrators is foreign, i.e. from a probability equal to 0 (Swiss when no nationality mentioned) to a probability of 1 (foreign when no nationality). All regressions include the full vector of controls of Table 2.

Table B3.5: News and voting: Alternative coding rules for news without nationality

Specification	True nationality			Locality distribution		
	RF	FS	2SLS	RF	FS	2SLS
Dependent Variable	%Yes	CNE	%Yes	%Yes	CNE	%Yes
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Crime News Exposure (CNE)			5.654^{b}			3.997^{a}
			(2.641)			(1.442)
Local CPD	0.301	0.010	0.246	0.301	0.014	0.243
	(0.207)	(0.012)	(0.157)	(0.207)	(0.016)	(0.158)
Past Vote Outcomes	1.006^{a}	0.002^{b}	0.993^{a}	1.006^{a}	0.003^{c}	0.996^{a}
	(0.040)	(0.001)	(0.041)	(0.040)	(0.001)	(0.041)
HQ CPD Deviation (ΔHQC)	1.077^{b}	0.191^{a}		1.077^{b}	0.270^{a}	
	(0.427)	(0.037)		(0.427)	(0.043)	
Observations	1980	1980	1980	1980	1980	1980
Adjusted R^2	0.850	0.973	0.849	0.850	0.964	0.850
First-stage F-statistic		27.08			39.73	

Notes: The unit of observation is a municipality. Standard errors clustered at agglomeration level in parentheses. ^{c} significant at 10%; ^{b} significant at 5%; ^{a} significant at 1%. Columns (1) to (3) present 2SLS estimation when the true (reported) nationality of aggressor is imputed for news that do not report the perpetrators' nationalities; Columns (4) to (6) when the share of foreigners in the municipality where the crime took place is imputed. All regressions include the full vector of controls of Table 2.

187) are much more common, hence should be less newsworthy. More precisely, while during the 2009-2010 period there are 507 perpetrators of "Offenses against Life and Limb", there are 854 perpetrators of

Table B3.6: News and voting: Reduced-form estimates when adding newspapers

Specification	Reduced-Form Estimation				
Dependent Variable	Minaret Ban approval (%Yes)				
Newspaper added	Baseline sample	Blick	Mittelland Zeitung	N. Luzerner Zeitung	Sudost-schweiz
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
HQ CPD Deviation (ΔHQC)	1.077^{b}	1.159^{b}	0.810^{a}	0.918^{c}	0.616^{a}
	(0.427)	(0.445)	(0.295)	(0.466)	(0.211)
Local CPD	0.301	0.300	0.280	0.299	0.306
	(0.207)	(0.205)	(0.191)	(0.210)	(0.207)
Past Vote Outcomes	1.006^{a}	1.005^{a}	1.004^{a}	1.006^{a}	1.005^{a}
	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.042)	(0.040)	(0.040)
Observations	1980	1968	1821	1980	1975
Adjusted R^2	0.850	0.850	0.848	0.850	0.850

Notes: The unit of observation is a municipality. Standard errors clustered at agglomeration level in parentheses. ^{c} significant at 10%; ^{b} significant at 5%; ^{a} significant at 1%. Columns (1) presents the baseline reduced-form estimation. Columns (2) to (5) display reduced-form estimates when adding the 4 largest newspapers that are not in our baseline dataset. All regressions include the full vector of controls of Table 2.

rape (art. 190), and 1,597 perpetrators of sexual acts with children (art. 187). We nonetheless perform the reduced form estimation when also including these offenses in the headquarter crime propensity differential deviation. Results remain in line with the hypothesis, and are more precisely estimated when only including sexual offenses that do not take place between couples (Table B3.7).

Spatial clustering – Given the spatial resolution of the data it is important to carefully consider the spatial correlation of the error term. Table B3.8 displays standard errors estimated with a spatial HAC correction using different thresholds, ranging from 10 to 25km.

B3.2 Alternative instruments

Instrumenting with the headquarter crime exposure in levels ($\texttt{HQC}_m$) – In our baseline analysis we retain the instrument one based on short-run deviations. The instrument in level is the aggregation across newspaper of the HQ's Crime Propensity Differential ($\texttt{CPD}_j^{\texttt{HQ}}$), i.e. the difference between realized foreigner and native crime propensity in its headquarter municipality (Equation 4 in the manuscript). The instrument corresponds also supply shifters of crime reporting by newspapers. Table B3.9 reports some summary statistics on $\texttt{CPD}_j^{\texttt{HQ}}$. As for the instrumental variable $\texttt{HQC}_m$, the identifying variations stem from the combination of cross-newspaper variations in $\texttt{CPD}_j^{\texttt{HQ}}$ and cross-municipality heterogeneity in market shares $s_m(j)$. The instrumental variable strategy exploits cross-newspaper exogenous variations in crime news provision that originate from the fact that (i) newspaper headquarters are located in different municipalities, and (ii) spatial proximity of a crime to a headquarter drives news coverage, for cost-related reasons that are unconnected to the nationality of the perpetrator. Columns (1) to (3) of Table B3.10 displays the estimates.

Table B3.7: News and voting: Reduced-form estimates when adding sexual assaults

Specification	Reduced-Form Estimation				
Dependent Variable	Minaret Ban approval (%Yes)				
ΔHQC Construction	Violent Crime	Violent Crime, Rape		Violent Crime, Rape, Sex. acts w/ child	
Sample	All	All	No couples	All	No couples
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
HQ CPD Deviation (Baseline)	1.077[b]				
	(0.427)				
HQ CPD Deviation (Violent crime & rape)		0.648	0.813[b]	0.594	0.761[c]
		(0.402)	(0.385)	(0.481)	(0.447)
Local CPD	0.301	0.297	0.299	0.296	0.298
	(0.207)	(0.210)	(0.209)	(0.211)	(0.210)
Past Vote Outcomes	1.006[a]	1.006[a]	1.006[a]	1.005[a]	1.006[a]
	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.040)
Observations	1980	1980	1980	1980	1980
Adjusted R^2	0.850	0.850	0.850	0.850	0.850

Notes: The unit of observation is a municipality. Standard errors clustered at agglomeration level in parentheses. [c] significant at 10%; [b] significant at 5%; [a] significant at 1%. Column (1) is the baseline reduced-form estimation. Columns (2) and (3) are the reduced-form estimations when including HQ rape (art. 190). Columns (4) and (5) are the reduced-form estimations when including HQ rape (art. 190) and sexual acts with children (art. 187). All regressions include the full vector of controls of Table 2.

Table B3.8: News and voting: Spatial clustering

Specification	Two-Stage Least-Squares				
Dependent Variable	Minaret Ban approval (%Yes)				
Clustering	10 km	20 km	25 km	District	Canton
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Crime News Exposure (CNE)	2.474[b]	2.474[a]	2.474[a]	2.474[b]	2.474[a]
	(1.137)	(0.618)	(0.794)	(1.054)	(0.773)
Local CPD	0.259[b]	0.259[b]	0.259[b]	0.259[b]	0.259
	(0.119)	(0.119)	(0.124)	(0.128)	(0.163)
Past Votes Outcome	0.999[a]	0.999[a]	0.999[a]	0.999[a]	0.999[a]
	(0.038)	(0.035)	(0.039)	(0.040)	(0.045)
Observations	1976	1976	1976	1980	1980
First-stage F-statistic	12.30	11.71	11.57	11.35	7.04
Average surface (sq. km.)	314.2	1256.6	1963.5	279.0	1587.9

Notes: The unit of observation is a municipality. Spatially clustered standard errors in parentheses in Columns (1) to (3). Standard errors clustered at district and canton level in parentheses in Columns (4) and (5). [c] significant at 10%; [b] significant at 5%; [a] significant at 1%. All columns present the second-stage of the 2SLS estimation based on the instrument computed as the short-run Crime Propensity Differential (CPD) in newspaper headquarter areas in deviation from its long-run counterpart (ΔHQC_m). All regressions include the full vector of controls of Table 2.

Table B3.9: News and voting: Identifying variations

Newspaper (j)	Crimes (#) Short-Run		Crime Propensity Differential Short-Run	Crime Propensity Differential Deviation
	F	CH	$\texttt{CPD}_j^{\texttt{HQ}}$	$\texttt{CPD}_j^{\texttt{HQ}} - \overline{\texttt{CPD}}_j^{\texttt{HQ}}$
20 Minuten D-CH	23	25	5.87	1.27
20 Minutes F-CH	23	13	10.41	9.68
24 Heures	1	5	-5.04	-8.86
Matin dimanche, Le	1	5	-5.04	-8.86
Matin, Le (lu - sa)	1	5	-5.04	-8.86
NZZ am Sonntag	9	12	3.67	-0.18
Neue Zuercher Zeitung	9	12	3.67	-0.18
SonntagsZeitung	11	13	4.46	1.32
Tages-Anzeiger	9	12	3.67	-0.18
Temps, Le	39	28	9.24	6.63
Tribune de Geneve	22	8	19.51	21.26
Average newspaper	13.45	12.55	4.13	1.18

Notes: Population and crime calculated at newspaper level, i.e. summing local populations and local crimes in municipalities hosting a headquarter. Crime data comes from the Swiss Statistical Office (FSO). The crime propensity differential short run, $\texttt{CPD}_j^{\texttt{HQ}} \equiv \frac{\#\texttt{crime}_{\texttt{F}}^{\texttt{HQ}}}{\texttt{pop}_{\texttt{F}}^{\texttt{HQ}}} - \frac{\#\texttt{crime}_{\texttt{CH}}^{\texttt{HQ}}}{\texttt{pop}_{\texttt{CH}}^{\texttt{HQ}}}$, is computed over the period Jan 1, 2009 to Nov 30, 2009. $\overline{\texttt{CPD}}_j^{\texttt{HQ}}$ is calculated over the period Dec 1, 2009 to Dec 31, 2013.

Instrumenting with residuals – When instrumenting crime news exposure, we build the short-run crime propensity differential in newspaper headquarter municipalities in deviation from its long-run counterpart. A complementary approach consists of using the estimated residual $\hat{\eta}_{mt}$ of a regression of the short-run crime-rate differential on its long-run counterpart instead.

$$\texttt{CR}_{mt} = \gamma \cdot \texttt{CR}_m^{\texttt{LR}} + \eta_{mt}$$

where $\texttt{CR}_{mt} \equiv \frac{\#\texttt{crime}_{\texttt{F}mt}}{\texttt{pop}_{\texttt{F}m}} - \frac{\#\texttt{crime}_{\texttt{CH}mt}}{\texttt{pop}_{\texttt{CH}m}}$, and $\texttt{CR}_m^{\texttt{LR}} \equiv \frac{\#\texttt{LRcrime}_{\texttt{F}m}}{\texttt{pop}_{\texttt{F}m}} - \frac{\#\texttt{LRcrime}_{\texttt{CH}m}}{\texttt{pop}_{\texttt{CH}m}}$. t defines a 11-month period ending on November 29 of a given year and starting eleven months before that date. This model is estimated on the subsample of 355 municipalities experiencing at least one violent crime over the 2009-2013. We find that $\hat{\gamma}$ = 0.795 (0.040). Moreover the long-run crime-rate differential can explain by itself 18% of the variation in the short-run crime-rate differential.

In Columns (4) to (6) of Table B3.10 we replicate our preferred specification using $\hat{\eta}_m \equiv \sum_j s_m(j) \cdot \hat{\eta}_j^{\texttt{HQ}}$ as instrument. These specifications yield results similar to the baseline estimates. This goes without surprise as $\hat{\gamma}$ is close to 1 implying that residuals and first-differences are in fact quantitatively comparable.

Instrument with crime in places with large readershare – Our instrument exploits cross-newspaper exogenous variations in the sampling of crimes. This sampling is driven by cost-related reasons, i.e. it is less costly for journalists to report on events that occur nearby. A very similar approach would have been to use cross-newspaper variations in crime-sampling demand-related reasons. We can use an instrument

Table B3.10: News and voting: Instrumenting with residuals

Instrument	HQ Crime Prop. Differential (HQC)			HQ Crime Prop. Residual ($\hat{\eta}$)		
Additional Controls	HQ Crime Prop. Diff. LR ($\overline{\text{HQC}}$)					
Specification	RF	FS	2SLS	RF	FS	2SLS
Dependent Variable	%Yes	CNE	%Yes	%Yes	CNE	%Yes
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Crime News Exposure (CNE)			1.978[b]			2.375[a]
			(0.780)			(0.826)
Local CPD	0.298	0.011	0.277	0.300	0.017	0.261
	(0.204)	(0.013)	(0.185)	(0.207)	(0.018)	(0.174)
Past Vote Outcomes	1.006[a]	0.002[c]	1.001[a]	1.006[a]	0.003[c]	0.999[a]
	(0.040)	(0.001)	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.002)	(0.041)
HQ CPD (HQC)	1.066[b]	0.539[a]				
	(0.434)	(0.049)				
HQ CPD Long-Run ($\overline{\text{HQC}}$)	0.070	1.208[a]	–2.320			
	(1.513)	(0.338)	(1.429)			
HQ CPD Residual ($\hat{\eta}$)				1.062[b]	0.447[a]	
				(0.420)	(0.132)	
Observations	1980	1980	1980	1980	1980	1980
Adjusted R^2	0.850	0.965	0.851	0.850	0.951	0.851
First-stage F-statistic		119.45			11.46	

Notes: The unit of observation is a municipality. Standard errors clustered at agglomeration level in parentheses. [c] significant at 10%; [b] significant at 5%; [a] significant at 1%. Columns (1) to (3) present 2SLS estimation based on the instrument computed as the short-run Crime Propensity Differential in newspaper headquarter areas (HQC) and simultaneously controlling for the long-run Crime Propensity Differential in newspaper headquarter areas ($\overline{\text{HQC}}$). Columns (4) to (6) using using the estimated residual $\hat{\eta}_m$ of a regression of the short-run crime-rate differential on its long-run counterpart. Columns (1) and (4) present the reduced form estimation; Columns (2) and (5) the first-stage; Columns (3) and (6) the second-stage estimates. All regressions include the full vector of controls of Table 2.

based on the deviation between the short- and long-run crime propensity differentials in municipalities with the largest readership for each newspaper. Results are qualitatively unchanged instrumenting Crime News Exposure with the aggregate measure of the share of foreign crimes in the five municipalities that have the largest readershare of newspaper j, using the market share of j in municipality m as weights (Table B3.11).

Instrument readership with relative distance – In the baseline we use the pre-2009 period to calculate market shares. It is still however plausible that long-run readership of a newspaper in a municipality correlates with xenophobia. We tackle this issue by instrumenting the market share of newspaper j in municipality m by the geographical distance between newspaper j's headquarter and municipality m.[12] More precisely, we consider the relative distance to newspaper j's headquarter (i.e. distance to j divided by the sum of the distance to all newspapers) to account for the fact that municipality m might be far away from all newspapers (i.e. isolated). Results are qualitatively unchanged (Table B3.12).

Instrument with news pressure in crime days – As the daily competition among issues is very intense in

[12] In the case of newspapers with multiple headquarters (i.e. editorial rooms), we use the distance between the closest headquarter and the municipality.

Table B3.11: News and voting: Instrument with crime in places with large readershare

Instrument	Top Readershare CPD Deviation			(i) Top Readershare CPD Deviation (ii) HQ CPD Deviation (ΔHQC)		
Specification	RF	FS	2SLS	RF	FS	2SLS
Dependent Variable	%Yes	CNE	%Yes	%Yes	CNE	%Yes
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Crime News Exposure (CNE)			3.080[a]			1.984[b]
			(1.177)			(0.843)
Local CPD	0.316	0.009	0.287[c]	0.320	0.012	0.295
	(0.212)	(0.017)	(0.172)	(0.210)	(0.015)	(0.189)
Past Vote Outcomes	1.015[a]	0.002	1.009[a]	1.015[a]	0.002	1.011[a]
	(0.037)	(0.002)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.002)	(0.036)
Top Readershare CPD Deviation	0.877[b]	0.285[a]		–1.577	–1.321[c]	
	(0.377)	(0.075)		(2.116)	(0.692)	
HQ CPD Deviation (ΔHQC)				2.935	1.921[b]	
				(2.441)	(0.848)	
Observations	2073	2073	2073	2073	2073	2073
Adjusted R^2	0.852	0.945	0.694	0.852	0.955	0.696
First-stage F-statistic		14.27			14.91	

Notes: The unit of observation is a municipality. Standard errors clustered at agglomeration level in parentheses. [c] significant at 10%; [b] significant at 5%; [a] significant at 1%. Columns (1) to (3) show estimates with the instrument for CNE computed as short-run deviation of CPD in the top-5 readership municipalities of each newspaper (instead of the headquarter municipalites of each newspaper in our baseline specification). Columns (4) to (6) present estimates where CNE is instrumented by both our baseline instrument (ΔHQC) and the instrument computed on the top-5 readership municipalities of each newspaper. All regressions include the full vector of controls of Table 2.

the media, the occurrence of newsworthy events may crowd out media coverage of less newsworthy ones (George and Waldfogel, 2006; Couttenier and Hatte, 2016). Transposed in our context, this means that some violent crimes may take place in days where news pressure is high and thus be less likely to appear in the news. To exploit this source of variation we construct the crime rate differential weighting the events (crimes) by the news space (i.e. the remaining news time) on the crime day. The exogenous instrument thus becomes

$$\texttt{HQNP}_m \equiv \sum_j s_m(j) \cdot \sum_t (1 - NP_t) \cdot \left(\frac{\#\texttt{crime}^{\texttt{HQ}}_{\texttt{F}jt}}{\texttt{pop}^{\texttt{HQ}}_{\texttt{F}j}} - \frac{\#\texttt{crime}^{\texttt{HQ}}_{\texttt{CH}jt}}{\texttt{pop}^{\texttt{HQ}}_{\texttt{CH}j}} \right)$$

where NP_t stands for news pressure on day t measured as the fraction of total news time spent on the top-3 topics on day t. We make use of US data on news pressure from Eisensee and Strömberg (2007) as proxy of international tightness to mitigate the potential threat of endogenous news pressure, i.e. the fact that violent crimes might alter the local news. Results are quantitatively unchanged. Moreover, the first-stage F-statistic is higher than our baseline specification, indicating that news pressure indeed plays a important role on which crimes end up in the news (Table B3.12, Columns (4) to (6)).

Re-centered IV (Borusyak and Hull, 2020) – As a last alternative, we can make use of the re-centered IV methodology suggested by Borusyak and Hull (2020) for the cases of non-random exposure to exogenous

Table B3.12: News and voting: Alternative instruments

Instrument	Relative Distance ×ΔHQC			News pressure on HQC days		
Specification	RF	FS	2SLS	RF	FS	2SLS
Dependent Variable	%Yes	CNE	%Yes	%Yes	CNE	%Yes
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Crime News Exposure (CNE)			6.288[a]			1.808[b]
			(1.839)			(0.916)
Local CPD	0.270	0.010	0.207	0.297	0.016	0.268
	(0.194)	(0.017)	(0.132)	(0.209)	(0.019)	(0.178)
Past Vote Outcomes	1.008[a]	0.003	0.992[a]	1.006[a]	0.003[c]	1.001[a]
	(0.039)	(0.002)	(0.042)	(0.040)	(0.002)	(0.040)
Relative Distance ×ΔHQC	–0.900[c]	–0.143[b]				
	(0.512)	(0.057)				
News pressure on HQC days (HQNP)				0.788[c]	0.436[a]	
				(0.429)	(0.101)	
Observations	1980	1980	1980	1980	1980	1980
Adjusted R^2	0.850	0.943	0.673	0.850	0.950	0.691
First-stage F-statistic		6.37			18.78	

Notes: The unit of observation is a municipality. Standard errors clustered at agglomeration level in parentheses. [c] significant at 10%; [b] significant at 5%; [a] significant at 1%. Columns (1) to (3) show estimates with the instrument for CNE computed as short-run deviation of CPD in headquarter areas aggregated at municipality level using the relative distance between the municipality and the nearest headquarter as weights. Columns (4) to (6) present estimates where CNE is instrumented by news pressure on HQ crime days. i.e. by weighting the events (crimes) by the news space (i.e. the remaining news time) on the crime day for each of the newspapers. All regressions include the full vector of controls of Table 2.

shocks. We perform three versions of the re-centered instrument (Table B3.13). The first two columns keep the crime rate and the composition of the pool of perpetrators unchanged (100 foreigners, 112 natives, as in the baseline analysis) and randomize the location of the crime (proportionally to the population). Following 1,000 permutations we re-calculate the expected crime composition by municipality, and then aggregate by newspaper. This is then subtracted from the headquarter crime of each newspaper and used as an instrument for crime news provision. In Columns (3) to (6) of Table B3.13, we randomize the date of the offense, keeping the the pool of perpetrators and location of the crime unchanged. We perform 1,000 permutations and calculate the expected crime propensity differential, which we aggregate by newspaper to construct the expected instrument. We then use the expected instrument to re-center our instrument. Columns (5) and (6) follow the same procedure – keeping the location of the offense constant – but randomize the date for each perpetrator (thus not necessarily keeping the composition of an offense). Both the reduced-form and two-stage-least-squares estimators for all three variant are quasi-identical to the baseline specification both in magnitude and statistical significance.

Table B3.13: News and voting: Recentered instrument (Borusyak and Hull, 2020)

Dependent Variable	Minaret Ban approval (%Yes)			
Randomizing	Location of crime (constant cases within period)		Date of crime (constant cases within location)	
Specification	RF	2SLS	RF	2SLS
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Crime News Exposure (CNE)		2.300		2.462
		(0.698)[a]		(0.886)[a]
Past Vote Outcomes	1.006	1.000	1.006	0.999
	(0.040)[a]	(0.041)[a]	(0.040)[a]	(0.041)[a]
Local Crime Propensity Differential (CPD)	0.299	0.262	0.301	0.259
	(0.205)	(0.176)	(0.207)	(0.172)
HQ Crime Prop. Diff. (HQC) - Expected HQC	1.107		1.057	
	(0.424)[b]		(0.422)[b]	
Observations	1980	1980	1980	1980
Adjusted R^2	0.850	0.851	0.850	0.851
First-stage F-statistic (agglo cluster)		10.37		10.93

Notes: The unit of observation is a municipality. Standard errors clustered at agglomeration level in parentheses. [c] significant at 10%; [b] significant at 5%; [a] significant at 1%. Columns (1) and (3) show the reduced-form estimates. Columns (2) and (4) present the 2SLS estimates. Columns (1) and (2) randomize the crime location; Columns (3) and (4) the offence date. All regressions include the full vector of controls of Table 2.

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