The political economy of EU asylum policies

Results first time applications per capita

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1 Descriptives

Table 1: Summary statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Quarterly fist-time asylum applications	23705	114.18	338.11	0	15330
Quarterly first-time asylum applications per 100,000 inhabitants	23705	.57	2.18	0	112.55
Number of elections per destination country	23705	3.45	.81	2	5
Number of cabinet changes per destination country	23705	1.83	.87	1	4
Left-right position of the cabinet	23705	5.57	1.52	2.77	8.22
Political Terror Scale	23705	3.34	.93	1	5
Civic Liberty (FHI)	23705	4.58	1.45	2	7
Political Rights (FHI)	23705	4.87	1.7	1	7
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	23705	.22	.87	0	15.09
Yearly real GDP per capita at origin	23705	6440.79	5270.3	336.8	24039.13
Distance from origin to destination	23705	4395.18	2167.79	454	9680
Migrant stock in 2000/1	23705	16452.49	74737.36	0	1272000
Quarterly real GDP per capita at destination	23705	8718.8	3206.1	1557.45	18047.84
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	23705	7.76	3.93	2.4	26.9

Figure 1: Elections and cabinet changes 2003 2002 2004 2005 2006 2008 2007 $\operatorname{Belgium}$ Czech Republic ${\bf Denmark}$ France Germany Ireland Netherlands Norway Poland Spain Sweden United Kingdom 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 Belgium Czech Republic Denmark France Germany Ireland Netherlands Norway Poland Spain Sweden United Kingdom left cabinet ${\bf right\ cabinet}$ ${\it regular \ election}$ early election quarter before election quarter before planned election quarter after election

2 Baseline Specification

Table 2: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.399***	0.400***	
	(0.0703)	(0.0697)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.174	0.175	
	(0.132)	(0.131)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0472	0.0486	
	(0.0753)	(0.0752)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.190^{***}	0.188***	
	(0.0236)	(0.0234)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.659***	-0.661***	
	(0.165)	(0.163)	
Log migrant stock in $2000/1$	0.263***		0.263***
	(0.0210)		(0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.608*		-0.613*
	(0.298)		(0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.404**	-1.479**	-1.146*
	(0.490)	(0.441)	(0.465)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0731***	-0.0743***	-0.0715***
	(0.0114)	(0.0108)	(0.0116)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0207	0.0191	0.00933
	(0.0262)	(0.0261)	(0.0269)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.116***	0.108***	0.111***
	(0.0228)	(0.0212)	(0.0229)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0159	0.0181	0.0191
	(0.0249)	(0.0234)	(0.0247)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.101***	-0.0955***	-0.101***
	(0.0242)	(0.0230)	(0.0240)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted R^2	0.444	0.176	0.447
Fixed Effects	O	$D \times O$	$O \times T$
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

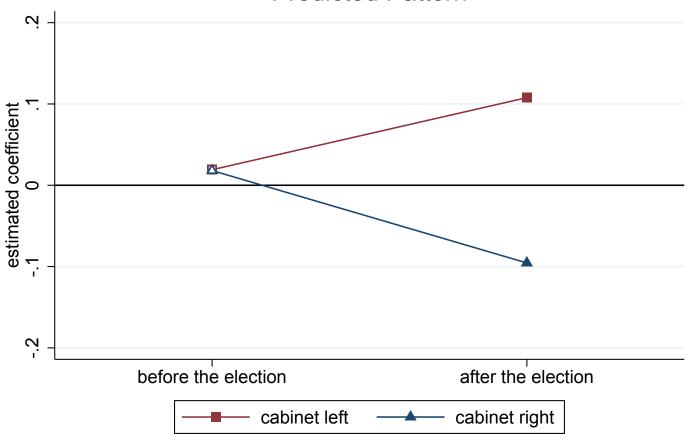


Figure 2: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 3: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0191	0.0181
	(0.0261)	(0.0234)
after	0.108***	-0.0955***
	(0.0212)	(0.0230)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

^{(*} p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001)

Table 4: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

Political Terror Scale	(1) 0.399***	(2) 0.400***	(3)
	(0.0703)	(0.0697)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.174	0.175	
Political Rights (FHI)	(0.132)	(0.131)	
Fontical Rights (FHI)	0.0474 (0.0753)	0.0487 (0.0752)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.190***	0.188***	
(/	(0.0236)	(0.0234)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.658***	-0.660***	
1.000	(0.165)	(0.163)	4 4 4 4 4 4
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.420** (0.485)	-1.498** (0.436)	-1.160* (0.461)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0736***	-0.0748***	-0.0719**
	(0.0115)	(0.0108)	(0.0117)
Cabinet position left * 6 quarters before the election	0.0681	0.0638	0.0615
	(0.0368)	(0.0340)	(0.0382)
Cabinet position left * 5 quarters before the election	-0.0200 (0.0321)	-0.0213 (0.0313)	-0.0236 (0.0320)
Cabinet position left * 4 quarters before the election	0.0321) 0.0413	0.0411	0.0320)
cusinos posicion ioto i quartore service ene electron	(0.0331)	(0.0341)	(0.0339)
Cabinet position left * 3 quarters before the election	0.0484	0.0477	0.0340
	(0.0425)	(0.0414)	(0.0439)
Cabinet position left * 2 quarters before the election	0.0186	0.0161	-0.00625
Cabinet position left * 1 quarters before the election	(0.0330) 0.0137	(0.0336) 0.0122	(0.0331) -0.000183
Capinot position lett - 1 quarters before the election	(0.0365)	(0.0122)	(0.0367)
Cabinet position left * election quarter	0.0441	0.0406	0.0349
	(0.0366)	(0.0362)	(0.0373)
Cabinet position left * 1 quarters after the election	0.0919*	0.0853*	0.0899^*
	(0.0390)	(0.0390)	(0.0398)
Cabinet position left * 2 quarters after the election	0.0819*	0.0775^* (0.0303)	0.0750*
Cabinet position left * 3 quarters after the election	(0.0310) 0.0951**	0.0852*	(0.0305) 0.0949**
casmot position for a quarters after the election	(0.0332)	(0.0324)	(0.0333)
Cabinet position left * 4 quarters after the election	0.149***	0.139***	0.143***
	(0.0291)	(0.0278)	(0.0299)
Cabinet position left * 5 quarters after the election	0.191***	0.181***	0.179***
Cabinet position left * 6 quarters after the election	(0.0302) $0.108**$	(0.0277) $0.0985**$	(0.0301) 0.104**
Cabinet position left o quarters after the election	(0.0333)	(0.0301)	(0.0333)
Cabinet position right * 6 quarters before the election	-0.0362	-0.0326	-0.0302
	(0.0422)	(0.0415)	(0.0421)
Cabinet position right * 5 quarters before the election	0.0269	0.0301	0.0386
Cabinet position right * 4 quarters before the election	(0.0367)	(0.0346) -0.0504	(0.0354) -0.0495
Cabinet position right 4 quarters before the election	-0.0553 (0.0374)	(0.0370)	(0.0362)
Cabinet position right * 3 quarters before the election	-0.00774	-0.00112	-0.00795
	(0.0313)	(0.0299)	(0.0311)
Cabinet position right * 2 quarters before the election	0.0491	0.0522	0.0515
	(0.0381)	(0.0373)	(0.0379)
Cabinet position right * 1 quarters before the election	0.0651	0.0623	0.0627
Cabinet position right * election quarter	(0.0342) 0.0217	(0.0342) 0.0215	(0.0335) 0.0234
Popular 1.9m crossion dam for	(0.0395)	(0.0385)	(0.0391)
Cabinet position right * 1 quarters after the election	-0.0821*	-0.0777*	-0.0806*
	(0.0321)	(0.0324)	(0.0316)
Cabinet position right * 2 quarters after the election	-0.149***	-0.144***	-0.155***
Cabinet position right * 3 quarters after the election	(0.0358) -0.141***	(0.0353) -0.136**	(0.0368) -0.142***
Capmer position right -5 quarters after the election	(0.0401)	(0.0391)	(0.0379)
Cabinet position right * 4 quarters after the election	-0.0868*	-0.0814*	-0.0856*
	(0.0357)	(0.0345)	(0.0366)
Cabinet position right * 5 quarters after the election	-0.105**	-0.0990**	-0.103**
Cabinat position wight * Computer Co. 13	(0.0354)	(0.0356)	(0.0353)
Cabinet position right * 6 quarters after the election	-0.0212 (0.0329)	-0.0149 (0.0302)	-0.0214 (0.0322)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted R^2	0.443	0.176	0.447
Fixed Effects	O	DхО	$O \times T$
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern Note that the product of the product

Figure 3: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 5: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	$_{ m right}$
6 quarters before the election	0.0638	-0.0326
	(0.0340)	(0.0415)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0213	0.0301
	(0.0313)	(0.0346)
4 quarters before the election	0.0411	-0.0504
	(0.0341)	(0.0370)
3 quarters before the election	0.0477	-0.00112
	(0.0414)	(0.0299)
2 quarters before the election	0.0161	0.0522
	(0.0336)	(0.0373)
1 quarters before the election	0.0122	0.0623
	(0.0363)	(0.0342)
Quarter of the election	0.0406	0.0215
	(0.0362)	(0.0385)
1 quarters after the election	0.0853*	-0.0777*
	(0.0390)	(0.0324)
2 quarters after the election	0.0775*	-0.144***
	(0.0303)	(0.0353)
3 quarters after the election	0.0852**	-0.136***
	(0.0324)	(0.0391)
4 quarters after the election	0.139***	-0.0814*
	(0.0278)	(0.0345)
5 quarters after the election	0.181***	-0.0990**
	(0.0277)	(0.0356)
6 quarters after the election	0.0985**	-0.0149
	(0.0301)	(0.0302)
Observations	23705	23705

3 Robustness

3.1 Use destination, origin and time fixed effects

R1: Use destination, origin and time fixed effects - Model 1

Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

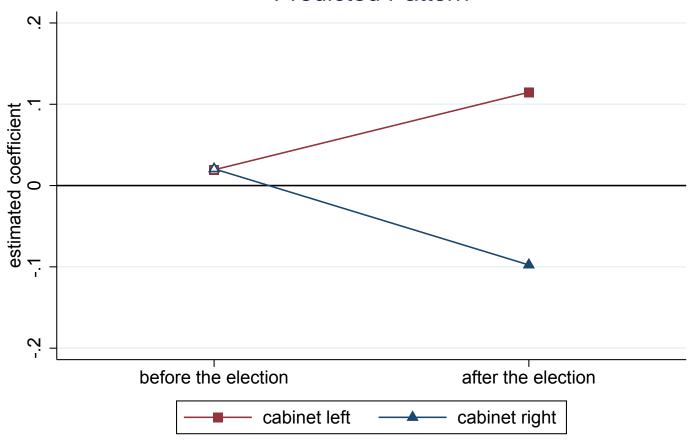


Figure 4: R1: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 6: R1: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0194	0.0206
	(0.0261)	(0.0235)
after	0.115^{***}	-0.0976***
	(0.0223)	(0.0238)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

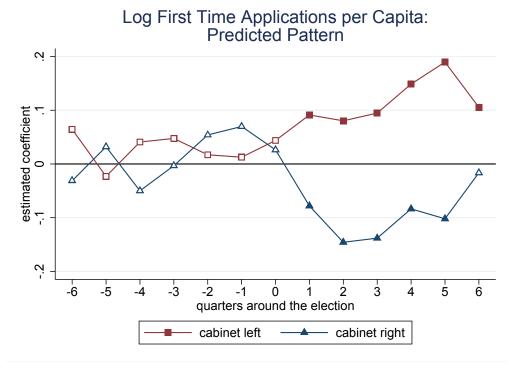


Figure 5: R1: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 7: R1: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	$_{ m right}$
6 quarters before the election	0.0646	-0.0313
	(0.0350)	(0.0410)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0231	0.0320
	(0.0316)	(0.0343)
4 quarters before the election	0.0409	-0.0499
	(0.0341)	(0.0369)
3 quarters before the election	0.0475	-0.00320
	(0.0416)	(0.0303)
2 quarters before the election	0.0171	0.0540
	(0.0338)	(0.0371)
1 quarters before the election	0.0126	0.0698*
	(0.0361)	(0.0343)
Quarter of the election	0.0438	0.0263
	(0.0356)	(0.0387)
1 quarters after the election	0.0912*	-0.0780*
	(0.0389)	(0.0320)
2 quarters after the election	0.0803**	-0.146***
	(0.0304)	(0.0353)
3 quarters after the election	0.0947**	-0.138***
	(0.0331)	(0.0398)
4 quarters after the election	0.149***	-0.0835*
	(0.0290)	(0.0354)
5 quarters after the election	0.190***	-0.102**
	(0.0297)	(0.0358)
6 quarters after the election	0.106**	-0.0164
	(0.0322)	(0.0317)
Observations	23705	23705

3.2 Use destination and origin*time fixed effects

R2: Use destination and origin*time fixed effects - Model 1

Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

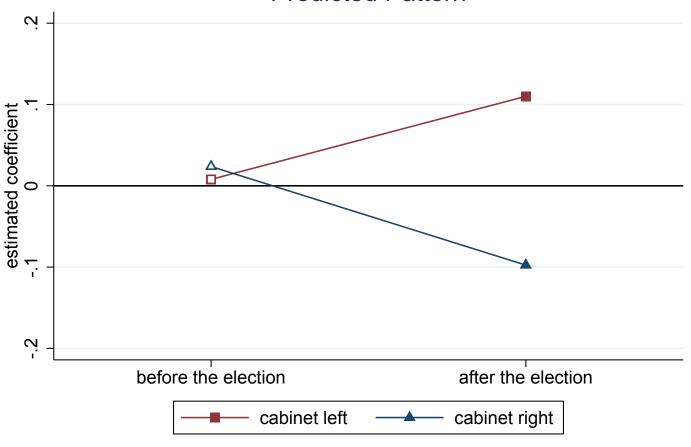


Figure 6: R2: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 8: R2: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

<u> </u>		<u> </u>
	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.00792	0.0237
	(0.0265)	(0.0234)
after	0.110***	-0.0976***
	(0.0223)	(0.0236)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

Log First Time Applications per Capita: **Predicted Pattern** Ŋ estimated coefficient ۲. -5 6 -4 2 -6 -2 3 Ó quarters around the election cabinet left cabinet right

Figure 7: R2: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 9: R2: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
6 quarters before the election	0.0572	-0.0259
	(0.0362)	(0.0407)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0271	0.0430
	(0.0315)	(0.0328)
4 quarters before the election	0.0375	-0.0447
	(0.0345)	(0.0360)
3 quarters before the election	0.0328	-0.00366
	(0.0429)	(0.0303)
2 quarters before the election	-0.00771	0.0561
	(0.0337)	(0.0370)
1 quarters before the election	-0.00144	0.0674*
	(0.0362)	(0.0338)
Quarter of the election	0.0342	0.0285
	(0.0362)	(0.0383)
1 quarters after the election	0.0892*	-0.0765*
	(0.0396)	(0.0315)
2 quarters after the election	0.0735*	-0.151***
	(0.0298)	(0.0361)
3 quarters after the election	0.0948**	-0.138***
	(0.0332)	(0.0376)
4 quarters after the election	0.142***	-0.0823*
	(0.0298)	(0.0363)
5 quarters after the election	0.178***	-0.100**
	(0.0296)	(0.0356)
6 quarters after the election	0.101**	-0.0168
	(0.0322)	(0.0311)
Observations	23705	23705

3.3 Control for past asylum applications

Table 10: R3: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.395***	0.396***	
	(0.0731)	(0.0725)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.166	0.166	
	(0.132)	(0.130)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0436	0.0449	
	(0.0739)	(0.0738)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.198***	0.196***	
	(0.0238)	(0.0236)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.628***	-0.630***	
	(0.164)	(0.161)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.262^{***}		0.262^{***}
	(0.0211)		(0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.610*		-0.615^*
	(0.297)		(0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.450**	-1.551***	-1.254^*
	(0.498)	(0.442)	(0.473)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0474***	-0.0486***	-0.0469***
	(0.00999)	(0.00971)	(0.00999)
Log average past asylum applications at destination per capita	0.638***	0.639***	0.620^{***}
	(0.0683)	(0.0588)	(0.0723)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.00197	0.0000662	-0.00895
	(0.0254)	(0.0255)	(0.0260)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.0992***	0.0912^{***}	0.0946^{***}
	(0.0217)	(0.0202)	(0.0218)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	-0.000998	0.00142	0.00344
	(0.0248)	(0.0233)	(0.0244)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.121***	-0.116***	-0.119***
	(0.0246)	(0.0234)	(0.0243)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted R^2	0.456	0.210	0.460
Fixed Effects	O	$D \times O$	$O \times T$
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

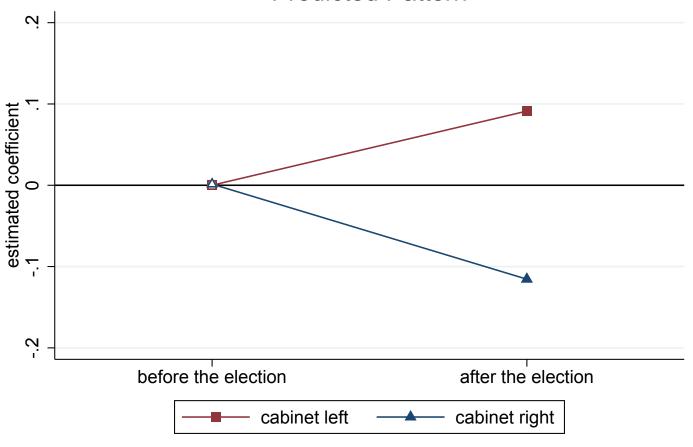


Figure 8: R3: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 11: R3: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0000662	0.00142
	(0.0255)	(0.0233)
after	0.0912^{***}	-0.116***
	(0.0202)	(0.0234)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

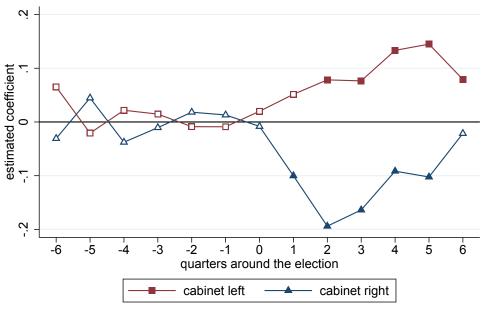


Figure 9: R3: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 12: R3: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	$_{ m right}$
6 quarters before the election	0.0653	-0.0308
	(0.0340)	(0.0416)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0207	0.0447
	(0.0316)	(0.0340)
4 quarters before the election	0.0218	-0.0377
	(0.0337)	(0.0368)
3 quarters before the election	0.0147	-0.0105
	(0.0408)	(0.0302)
2 quarters before the election	-0.00873	0.0182
	(0.0334)	(0.0366)
1 quarters before the election	-0.00892	0.0131
	(0.0361)	(0.0346)
Quarter of the election	0.0199	-0.00824
	(0.0350)	(0.0384)
1 quarters after the election	0.0515	-0.100**
	(0.0380)	(0.0326)
2 quarters after the election	0.0784**	-0.194***
	(0.0291)	(0.0351)
3 quarters after the election	0.0765*	-0.164***
	(0.0318)	(0.0399)
4 quarters after the election	0.133***	-0.0916**
	(0.0272)	(0.0346)
5 quarters after the election	0.145***	-0.102**
	(0.0268)	(0.0356)
6 quarters after the election	0.0793**	-0.0214
	(0.0294)	(0.0303)
Observations	23705	23705

3.4 Include cabinet right dummy

Table 13: R4: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

	(1)	(0)	(8)
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.399***	0.400***	
	(0.0702)	(0.0696)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.174	0.175	
	(0.132)	(0.131)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0473	0.0486	
	(0.0753)	(0.0752)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.190^{***}	0.188^{***}	
	(0.0236)	(0.0234)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.658***	-0.660***	
	(0.165)	(0.163)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.263***		0.263***
	(0.0210)		(0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.608*		-0.613*
	(0.298)		(0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.372**	-1.457**	-1.121*
	(0.487)	(0.442)	(0.462)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0735***	-0.0745***	-0.0718***
	(0.0115)	(0.0108)	(0.0118)
Weighted cabinet position right	-0.0489	-0.0346	-0.0378
	(0.0497)	(0.0447)	(0.0504)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	-0.00149	0.00355	-0.00775
•	(0.0293)	(0.0291)	(0.0289)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.0934***	0.0918***	0.0935***
•	(0.0218)	(0.0221)	(0.0221)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0384	0.0340	0.0365
	(0.0240)	(0.0237)	(0.0243)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0778**	-0.0792**	-0.0831**
	(0.0275)	(0.0270)	(0.0265)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted R^2	0.444	0.176	0.447
Fixed Effects	0	D x O	ОхТ
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No
		100	

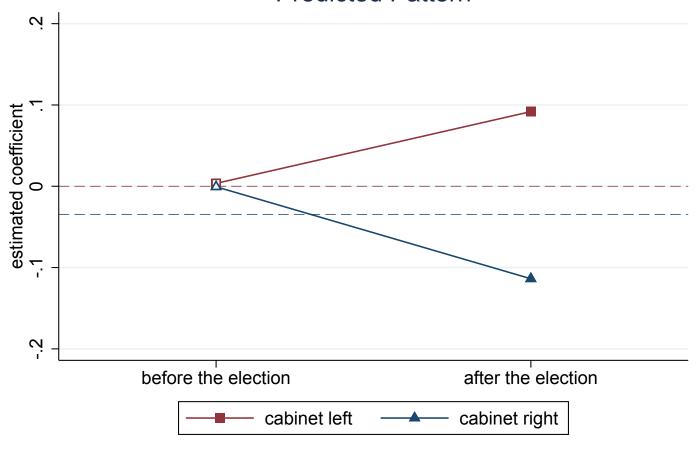


Figure 10: R4: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 14: R4: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.00355	0.0340
	(0.0291)	(0.0237)
after	0.0918^{***}	-0.0792**
	(0.0221)	(0.0270)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern 7 -6 -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 quarters around the election cabinet left cabinet right

Figure 11: R4: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 15: R4: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
6 quarters before the election	0.0555*	-0.0244
•	(0.0275)	(0.0365)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0294	0.0385
-	(0.0295)	(0.0311)
4 quarters before the election	0.0333	-0.0422
	(0.0366)	(0.0385)
3 quarters before the election	0.0398	0.00650
	(0.0439)	(0.0302)
2 quarters before the election	0.00828	0.0600
	(0.0358)	(0.0385)
1 quarters before the election	0.00414	0.0701
	(0.0425)	(0.0363)
Quarter of the election	0.0325	0.0293
	(0.0393)	(0.0374)
1 quarters after the election	0.0775*	-0.0698
	(0.0373)	(0.0364)
2 quarters after the election	0.0697*	-0.136***
	(0.0346)	(0.0338)
3 quarters after the election	0.0774*	-0.127**
	(0.0339)	(0.0448)
4 quarters after the election	0.131***	-0.0733
	(0.0315)	(0.0384)
5 quarters after the election	0.173***	-0.0904**
	(0.0288)	(0.0350)
6 quarters after the election	0.0899***	-0.00688
	(0.0264)	(0.0296)
Observations	23705	23705

3.5 Use log first time applications per capita in origin country as dependent variable

Table 16: R5: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

	·		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.400^{***}	0.400^{***}	
	(0.0702)	(0.0696)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.142	0.142	
	(0.129)	(0.127)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0619	0.0632	
	(0.0714)	(0.0712)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.194^{***}	0.192^{***}	
	(0.0225)	(0.0224)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.634***	-0.637***	
	(0.160)	(0.158)	
Log migrant stock in $2000/1$	0.263^{***}		0.263***
	(0.0210)		(0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.610*		-0.613*
	(0.298)		(0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.419**	-1.494**	-1.213*
	(0.495)	(0.444)	(0.464)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0699***	-0.0711***	-0.0678***
	(0.0115)	(0.0108)	(0.0116)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0275	0.0259	0.0153
	(0.0264)	(0.0262)	(0.0269)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.119^{***}	0.111***	0.114***
	(0.0229)	(0.0212)	(0.0228)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0121	0.0144	0.0146
	(0.0248)	(0.0234)	(0.0246)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.102***	-0.0970***	-0.101***
	(0.0241)	(0.0230)	(0.0240)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted R^2	0.472	0.182	0.475
Fixed Effects	O	$D \times O$	$O \times T$
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

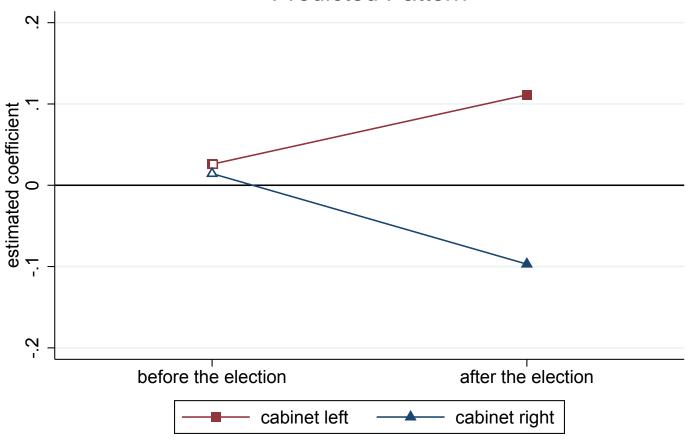


Figure 12: R5: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 17: R5: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0259	0.0144
	(0.0262)	(0.0234)
after	0.111***	-0.0970***
	(0.0212)	(0.0230)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

Log First Time Applications per Capita: **Predicted Pattern** Ŋ estimated coefficient ۲. -5 5 6 -4 2 -6 -2 3 Ó quarters around the election cabinet left cabinet right

Figure 13: R5: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 18: R5: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
6 quarters before the election	0.0692*	-0.0383
	(0.0340)	(0.0415)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0167	0.0254
	(0.0314)	(0.0345)
4 quarters before the election	0.0464	-0.0546
	(0.0341)	(0.0370)
3 quarters before the election	0.0528	-0.00540
	(0.0414)	(0.0298)
2 quarters before the election	0.0244	0.0493
	(0.0336)	(0.0373)
1 quarters before the election	0.0206	0.0588
	(0.0364)	(0.0339)
Quarter of the election	0.0498	0.0182
	(0.0363)	(0.0384)
1 quarters after the election	0.0926*	-0.0796*
	(0.0388)	(0.0322)
2 quarters after the election	0.0796**	-0.144***
	(0.0302)	(0.0352)
3 quarters after the election	0.0883**	-0.136***
	(0.0325)	(0.0391)
4 quarters after the election	0.142***	-0.0815*
	(0.0278)	(0.0346)
5 quarters after the election	0.183***	-0.100**
	(0.0277)	(0.0356)
6 quarters after the election	0.103***	-0.0209
	(0.0301)	(0.0303)
Observations	23705	23705

3.6 Do not use lags for origin country variables

Table 19: R6: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

	<u> </u>		<u> </u>
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.337***	0.337***	
	(0.0622)	(0.0616)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.130	0.129	
	(0.124)	(0.122)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0543	0.0563	
	(0.0668)	(0.0669)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.162^{***}	0.160***	
	(0.0223)	(0.0221)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.692***	-0.693***	
	(0.151)	(0.149)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.263***		0.263***
	(0.0210)		(0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.609*		-0.613*
	(0.298)		(0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.382**	-1.457**	-1.146*
	(0.489)	(0.441)	(0.465)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0726***	-0.0738***	-0.0715***
	(0.0114)	(0.0108)	(0.0116)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0215	0.0199	0.00933
	(0.0262)	(0.0260)	(0.0269)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.117^{***}	0.108***	0.111^{***}
	(0.0230)	(0.0214)	(0.0229)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0162	0.0185	0.0191
	(0.0249)	(0.0234)	(0.0247)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.102***	-0.0965***	-0.101***
	(0.0241)	(0.0229)	(0.0240)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted R^2	0.441	0.168	0.447
Fixed Effects	O	$D \times O$	$O \times T$
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No
<u> </u>			



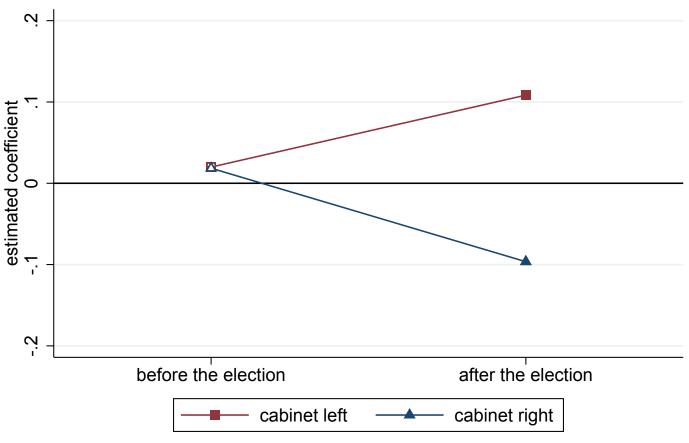


Figure 14: R6: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 20: R6: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0199	0.0185
	(0.0260)	(0.0234)
after	0.108***	-0.0965***
	(0.0214)	(0.0229)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

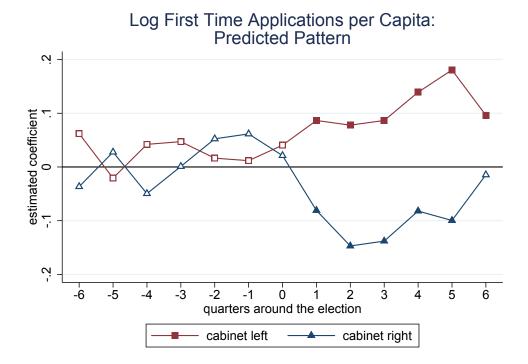


Figure 15: R6: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 21: R6: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(0)
	(1)	(2)
	left	right
6 quarters before the election	0.0620	-0.0366
	(0.0345)	(0.0411)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0207	0.0276
	(0.0318)	(0.0346)
4 quarters before the election	0.0421	-0.0496
	(0.0339)	(0.0368)
3 quarters before the election	0.0471	0.00100
	(0.0414)	(0.0302)
2 quarters before the election	0.0164	0.0524
	(0.0336)	(0.0369)
1 quarters before the election	0.0118	0.0616
	(0.0364)	(0.0341)
Quarter of the election	0.0406	0.0212
	(0.0365)	(0.0386)
1 quarters after the election	0.0866*	-0.0808*
	(0.0389)	(0.0322)
2 quarters after the election	0.0778*	-0.147***
	(0.0308)	(0.0349)
3 quarters after the election	0.0865**	-0.138***
	(0.0322)	(0.0394)
4 quarters after the election	0.139***	-0.0820*
	(0.0282)	(0.0342)
5 quarters after the election	0.181***	-0.0996**
	(0.0282)	(0.0351)
6 quarters after the election	0.0963**	-0.0146
	(0.0306)	(0.0301)
Observations	23705	23705

3.7 Use Syrian battle death data from UCDP

Table 22: R7: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

	<u> </u>		1 /
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.408***	0.409***	
	(0.0702)	(0.0696)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.176	0.176	
	(0.130)	(0.129)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0436	0.0450	
	(0.0751)	(0.0751)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.127^{***}	0.126***	
	(0.0141)	(0.0139)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.653***	-0.655***	
	(0.169)	(0.167)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.263***		0.263***
	(0.0210)		(0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.608*		-0.613*
	(0.298)		(0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.397**	-1.473**	-1.146*
	(0.491)	(0.441)	(0.465)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0731***	-0.0742***	-0.0715***
	(0.0114)	(0.0108)	(0.0116)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0206	0.0190	0.00933
	(0.0262)	(0.0261)	(0.0269)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.116^{***}	0.108***	0.111^{***}
	(0.0228)	(0.0212)	(0.0229)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0160	0.0182	0.0191
	(0.0249)	(0.0235)	(0.0247)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.100***	-0.0949***	-0.101***
	(0.0243)	(0.0231)	(0.0240)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted \mathbb{R}^2	0.444	0.177	0.447
Fixed Effects	O	$D \times O$	$O \times T$
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

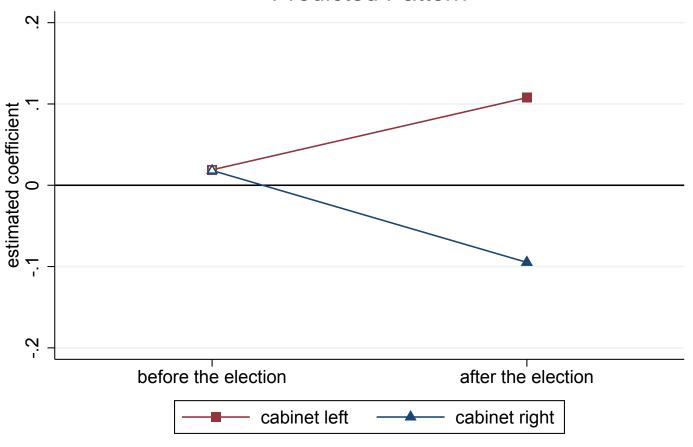


Figure 16: R7: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 23: R7: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0190	0.0182
	(0.0261)	(0.0235)
after	0.108***	-0.0949***
	(0.0212)	(0.0231)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern 7 -6 -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 quarters around the election — cabinet left — cabinet right

Figure 17: R7: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 24: R7: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	$_{ m right}$
6 quarters before the election	0.0630	-0.0325
	(0.0342)	(0.0414)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0218	0.0301
	(0.0314)	(0.0346)
4 quarters before the election	0.0407	-0.0504
	(0.0340)	(0.0371)
3 quarters before the election	0.0473	-0.00110
	(0.0414)	(0.0299)
2 quarters before the election	0.0160	0.0523
	(0.0336)	(0.0373)
1 quarters before the election	0.0123	0.0624
	(0.0363)	(0.0342)
Quarter of the election	0.0408	0.0215
	(0.0361)	(0.0385)
1 quarters after the election	0.0852*	-0.0775*
	(0.0390)	(0.0324)
2 quarters after the election	0.0771*	-0.144***
	(0.0304)	(0.0354)
3 quarters after the election	0.0849**	-0.135***
	(0.0324)	(0.0390)
4 quarters after the election	0.139***	-0.0805*
	(0.0278)	(0.0347)
5 quarters after the election	0.182***	-0.0982**
	(0.0276)	(0.0358)
6 quarters after the election	0.0989***	-0.0143
	(0.0300)	(0.0303)
Observations	23705	23705

3.8 Include a post 2007 dummy

Table 25: R8: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

(1) (2) (2)			
Civic Liberty (FHI) (0.0703) (0.0697) Political Rights (FHI) 0.174 0.175 Political Rights (FHI) 0.0472 0.0486 Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.190*** 0.188*** Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.190*** 0.188*** Log origin country real GDP per capita -0.659*** -0.661*** Log migrant stock in 2000/1 0.263*** (0.0210) Log distance from origin to destination -0.608* (0.298) Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.404** -1.479** Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731*** -0.0743*** Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731*** -0.0743*** after 2007 0.206 0.186 Gobinet position left * Before the election 0.0206 0.186 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.016** 0.0191 Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.016** 0.00249 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.010*		(1)	(2)
Civic Liberty (FHI) 0.174 0.175 Political Rights (FHI) (0.0472 0.0486 Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.190*** 0.188*** Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.190*** 0.188*** (0.0236) (0.0234) Log origin country real GDP per capita -0.659*** -0.661*** Log migrant stock in 2000/1 (0.0210) (0.0210) Log distance from origin to destination (0.263*** -1.479** Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.404*** -1.479** Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731**** -0.0743**** Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731**** -0.0743**** (0.010) (0.010) (0.186 after 2007 0.206 0.186 Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0207 0.0191 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.016*** 0.028* Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.016*** 0.00249 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.010*** 0.0955*** <	Political Terror Scale	0.399***	0.400***
Political Rights (FHI)		(0.0703)	(0.0697)
Political Rights (FHI) 0.0472 0.0486 Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.190*** 0.188*** Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.190*** 0.188*** (0.0236) (0.0234) 0.0234) Log origin country real GDP per capita (0.165) (0.163) Log migrant stock in 2000/1 0.263*** (0.0210) Log distance from origin to destination -0.608* (0.298) Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.404*** -1.479** (0.298) -1.479** (0.490) (0.441) Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731*** -0.0743*** quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731*** -0.0743*** (0.0114) (0.0108) (0.018) after 2007 0.206 0.186 (0.216) (0.183) Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0207 0.0191 (0.0262) (0.0212) Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0159 0.0181 (Cabinet position right * After the election 0.004 0.0	Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.174	0.175
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) (0.0753) (0.0752) Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.190^{***} 0.188^{***} Log origin country real GDP per capita -0.659^{***} -0.661^{***} Log migrant stock in 2000/1 0.263^{***} (0.0210) Log distance from origin to destination -0.608^{*} (0.298) Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.404^{**} -1.479^{**} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731^{***} -0.0743^{***} quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731^{***} -0.0743^{***} after 2007 0.206 0.186 (0.216) (0.183) Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0207 0.0191 (Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0249 0.0230 Observations <t< td=""><td></td><td>(0.132)</td><td>(0.131)</td></t<>		(0.132)	(0.131)
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.190^{***} 0.188^{**} Log origin country real GDP per capita -0.659^{***} -0.661^{***} Log migrant stock in 2000/1 0.263^{***} (0.0210) Log distance from origin to destination -0.608^* (0.298) Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.404^{**} -1.479^{**} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731^{***} -0.0743^{***} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731^{***} -0.0743^{***} (0.0114) (0.0108) after 2007 0.206 0.186 Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0207 0.0191 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.116^{***} 0.108^{***} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.016^{**} 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.00249 0.00230 Observations 23705 <	Political Rights (FHI)	0.0472	0.0486
Log origin country real GDP per capita (0.0236) (0.0234) Log migrant stock in 2000/1 0.263*** (0.163) Log distance from origin to destination -0.608* (0.298) Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.404** -1.479** (0.490) (0.441) Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731*** -0.0743*** (0.0114) (0.0108) after 2007 0.206 0.186 Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0207 0.0191 (0.0262) (0.0261) Cabinet position left * After the election 0.116*** 0.108*** (0.0228) (0.0212) Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0159 0.0181 (0.0249) (0.0234) Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 (0.0242) (0.0234) Cabinet position right * After the election 0.010** -0.0955*** (0.0242) (0.0234) Cabinet position right * After the election 0.010** -0.0955*** (0.0242) (0.0234) (0.0242) (0.0234)		(0.0753)	(0.0752)
Log origin country real GDP per capita -0.659^{***} -0.661^{***} Log migrant stock in 2000/1 0.263^{***} (0.0210) Log distance from origin to destination -0.608^* (0.298) Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.404^{**} -1.479^{**} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731^{***} -0.0743^{***} after 2007 0.206 0.186 Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0207 0.0191 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.016^{**} 0.108^{***} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.016^{**} 0.0261 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0199 0.0234 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0109 0.0099 Observations 23705 23705 Adjusted R^2 0.444 0.176 Fixed Effects 0 0 Destination dummies Yes No	Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.190^{***}	0.188***
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(0.0236)	(0.0234)
Log migrant stock in 2000/1 0.263^{***} (0.0210) Log distance from origin to destination -0.608^* (0.298) Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.404^{**} -1.479^{**} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731^{***} -0.0743^{***} after 2007 0.206 0.186 Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0207 0.0191 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.116^{***} 0.108^{***} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.016^{**} 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0234 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0234 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.00249 0.0230 Observations 23705 23705 Adjusted R^2 0.444 0.176 Fixed Effects 0 0.444 Destination dummies $0.00000000000000000000000000000000000$	Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.659***	-0.661***
Log distance from origin to destination (0.0210) Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.404^{**} -1.479^{**} Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.404^{**} -1.479^{**} (0.490) (0.441) Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731^{***} -0.0743^{***} (0.0114) (0.0108) after 2007 0.206 0.186 (0.216) (0.183) Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0207 0.0191 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.116^{***} 0.108^{***} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0249 (0.0234) Observations 23705 23705 Adjusted R^2 0.444 0.176 Fixed Effects 0 0.444 0.176 Destination dummies Yes No		(0.165)	(0.163)
Log distance from origin to destination -0.608^* (0.298) Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.404^{**} -1.479^{**} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731^{***} -0.0743^{***} after 2007 0.206 0.186 Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0207 0.0191 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.116^{***} 0.108^{***} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0234 Observations 23705 23705 Adjusted R^2 0.444 0.176 Fixed Effects 0 0 Destination dummies Yes No	Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.263***	
Log destination country real GDP per capita (0.298) Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.404^{**} -1.479^{**} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731^{***} -0.0743^{***} (0.0114) (0.0108) after 2007 0.206 0.186 (0.216) (0.183) Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0207 0.0191 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.116^{***} 0.108^{***} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0249 (0.0234) Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} (0.0242) (0.0230) Observations 23705 23705 Adjusted R^2 0.444 0.176 Fixed Effects 0 0.444 Destination dummies Yes No		(0.0210)	
Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.404^{**} -1.479^{**} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731^{***} -0.0743^{***} after 2007 0.206 0.186 Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0207 0.0191 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.116^{***} 0.108^{***} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.116^{***} 0.108^{***} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.011^{***} -0.0955^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.011^{***} -0.0955^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.011^{***} -0.0955^{***} Cabinet position right *	Log distance from origin to destination	-0.608*	
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination (0.490) (0.441) Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731^{***} -0.0743^{***} (0.0114) (0.0108) after 2007 0.206 0.186 (0.216) (0.183) Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0207 0.0191 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.116^{***} 0.108^{***} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.011^{***} -0.0955^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.011^{***} -0.0955^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.011^{***} -0.0955^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.011^{***} -0.0955^{***} Cabinet position right * After		(0.298)	
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0731^{***} -0.0743^{***} after 2007 0.206 0.186 Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0207 0.0191 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.116^{***} 0.108^{***} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.116^{***} 0.108^{***} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} Observations 23705 23705 Adjusted R^2 0.444 0.176 Fixed Effects 0 0.444 0.176 Destination dummies Yes No	Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.404**	-1.479**
after 2007 (0.0114) (0.0108) Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.206 0.186 Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0207 0.0191 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.116^{***} 0.108^{***} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0249 (0.0234) Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} (0.0242) (0.0230) Observations 23705 23705 Adjusted R^2 0.444 0.176 Fixed Effects 0 0.020 Destination dummies Yes No		(0.490)	(0.441)
after 2007 0.206 0.186 Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0207 0.0191 Cabinet position left * After the election $0.116***$ $0.108***$ Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election $-0.101***$ $-0.0955***$ Cabinet position right * After the election $-0.101***$ $-0.0955***$ (0.0242) (0.0230) Observations 23705 23705 Adjusted R^2 0.444 0.176 Fixed Effects 0 0.444 Destination dummies Yes 0.025	Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0731***	-0.0743***
Cabinet position left * Before the election (0.216) (0.183) Cabinet position left * After the election 0.0207 0.0191 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.116*** 0.108*** (0.0228) (0.0212) Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0159 0.0181 (0.0249) (0.0234) Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101*** -0.0955*** (0.0242) (0.0230) Observations 23705 23705 Adjusted R^2 0.444 0.176 Fixed Effects O D x O Destination dummies Yes No		(0.0114)	(0.0108)
Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0207 0.0191 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.116^{***} 0.108^{***} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0249 0.0234 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} 0.0249 0.0230 Observations 23705 23705 Adjusted R^2 0.444 0.176 Fixed Effects 0 0.020 Destination dummies Yes No	after 2007	0.206	0.186
Cabinet position left * After the election (0.0262) (0.0261) Cabinet position right * Before the election (0.0228) (0.0212) Cabinet position right * Before the election (0.0249) (0.0234) Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} (0.0242) (0.0230) Observations 23705 23705 Adjusted R^2 0.444 0.176 Fixed Effects O D x O Destination dummies Yes No		(0.216)	(0.183)
Cabinet position left * After the election 0.116^{***} 0.108^{***} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0249 (0.0234) Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} (0.0242) (0.0230) Observations 23705 23705 Adjusted R^2 0.444 0.176 Fixed Effects O D x O Destination dummies Yes No	Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0207	0.0191
Cabinet position right * Before the election (0.0228) (0.0212) Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} (0.0242) (0.0230) Observations 23705 23705 Adjusted R^2 0.444 0.176 Fixed Effects O D x O Destination dummies Yes No		(0.0262)	(0.0261)
Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0159 0.0181 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} (0.0242) (0.0230) Observations 23705 23705 Adjusted R^2 0.444 0.176 Fixed Effects O D x O Destination dummies Yes No	Cabinet position left * After the election	0.116^{***}	0.108***
Cabinet position right * After the election (0.0249) (0.0234) Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} (0.0242) (0.0230) Observations 23705 23705 Adjusted R^2 0.444 0.176 Fixed Effects O D x O Destination dummies Yes No		(0.0228)	(0.0212)
Cabinet position right * After the election -0.101^{***} -0.0955^{***} (0.0242) (0.0230) Observations 23705 23705 Adjusted R^2 0.444 0.176 Fixed Effects O D x O Destination dummies Yes No	Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0159	0.0181
Observations (0.0242) (0.0230) Adjusted R^2 0.444 0.176 Fixed Effects O D x O Destination dummies Yes No		(0.0249)	(0.0234)
Observations 23705 23705 Adjusted R^2 0.444 0.176 Fixed EffectsOD x ODestination dummiesYesNo	Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.101***	-0.0955***
		(0.0242)	(0.0230)
Fixed Effects O D x O Destination dummies Yes No		23705	23705
Destination dummies Yes No	Adjusted R^2	0.444	0.176
	Fixed Effects	O	$D \times O$
Quarter-Year dummies Yes Yes	Destination dummies	Yes	No
	Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes

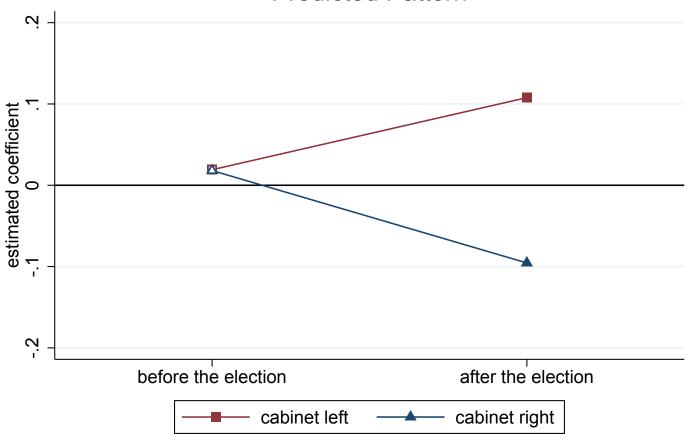


Figure 18: R8: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 26: R8: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0191	0.0181
	(0.0261)	(0.0234)
after	0.108***	-0.0955***
	(0.0212)	(0.0230)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

Figure 19: R8: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 27: R8: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
6 quarters before the election	0.0638	-0.0326
1	(0.0340)	(0.0415)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0213	0.0301
1	(0.0313)	(0.0346)
4 quarters before the election	0.0411	-0.0504
- 4	(0.0341)	(0.0370)
3 quarters before the election	0.0477	-0.00112
1	(0.0414)	(0.0299)
2 quarters before the election	0.0161	0.0522
1	(0.0336)	(0.0373)
1 quarters before the election	0.0122	0.0623
•	(0.0363)	(0.0342)
Quarter of the election	0.0406	0.0215
•	(0.0362)	(0.0385)
1 quarters after the election	0.0853*	-0.0777*
•	(0.0390)	(0.0324)
2 quarters after the election	0.0775*	-0.144***
	(0.0303)	(0.0353)
3 quarters after the election	0.0852**	-0.136***
	(0.0324)	(0.0391)
4 quarters after the election	0.139***	-0.0814*
	(0.0278)	(0.0345)
5 quarters after the election	0.181***	-0.0990**
	(0.0277)	(0.0356)
6 quarters after the election	0.0985**	-0.0149
	(0.0301)	(0.0302)
Observations	23705	23705

3.9 Cluster standard errors on destination*origin level

R9: Cluster standard errors on destination*origin level - Model 1

Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

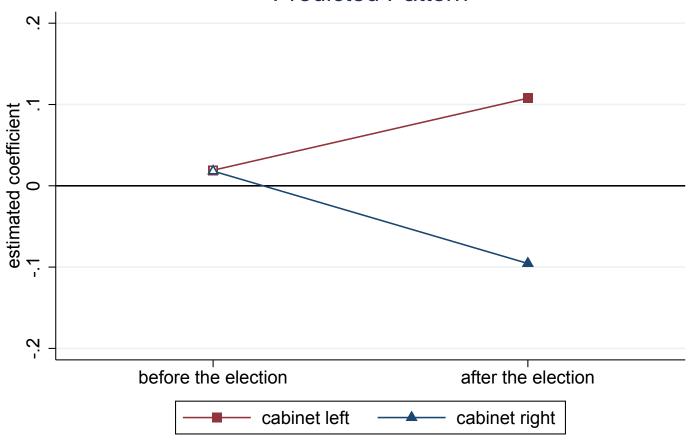


Figure 20: R9: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 28: R9: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0191	0.0181
	(0.0308)	(0.0297)
after	0.108***	-0.0955**
	(0.0275)	(0.0302)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

Figure 21: R9: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 29: R9: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
Compart and before the election		
6 quarters before the election	0.0638	-0.0326
	(0.0396)	(0.0408)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0213	0.0301
	(0.0387)	(0.0405)
4 quarters before the election	0.0411	-0.0504
	(0.0434)	(0.0428)
3 quarters before the election	0.0477	-0.00112
	(0.0491)	(0.0462)
2 quarters before the election	0.0161	0.0522
	(0.0432)	(0.0454)
1 quarters before the election	0.0122	0.0623
	(0.0398)	(0.0426)
Quarter of the election	0.0406	0.0215
	(0.0376)	(0.0406)
1 quarters after the election	0.0853*	-0.0777*
	(0.0369)	(0.0393)
2 quarters after the election	0.0775*	-0.144***
	(0.0374)	(0.0411)
3 quarters after the election	0.0852*	-0.136**
	(0.0390)	(0.0429)
4 quarters after the election	0.139***	-0.0814
	(0.0385)	(0.0434)
5 quarters after the election	0.181***	-0.0990*
	(0.0386)	(0.0415)
6 quarters after the election	0.0985*	-0.0149
	(0.0387)	(0.0373)
Observations	23705	23705

3.10 Drop country pairs with less than one first-time application per quarter on average

Table 30: R10: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

		1.1	1 /
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.374***	0.374***	
	(0.0660)	(0.0657)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.169	0.166	
	(0.126)	(0.124)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0381	0.0395	
	(0.0689)	(0.0688)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.192^{***}	0.191***	
	(0.0227)	(0.0226)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.635***	-0.633***	
	(0.151)	(0.150)	
Log migrant stock in $2000/1$	0.259^{***}		0.258***
	(0.0218)		(0.0218)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.739*		-0.743*
	(0.282)		(0.281)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.293**	-1.256**	-1.232**
	(0.462)	(0.412)	(0.453)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0641***	-0.0629***	-0.0657***
	(0.0104)	(0.00953)	(0.0108)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0220	0.0228	0.0135
	(0.0244)	(0.0242)	(0.0239)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.109^{***}	0.105^{***}	0.109***
	(0.0207)	(0.0198)	(0.0207)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0106	0.0146	0.0112
	(0.0236)	(0.0216)	(0.0242)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0829**	-0.0778**	-0.0834**
	(0.0248)	(0.0233)	(0.0239)
Observations	25466	25466	25466
Adjusted R^2	0.470	0.162	0.477
Fixed Effects	O	$D \times O$	$O \times T$
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

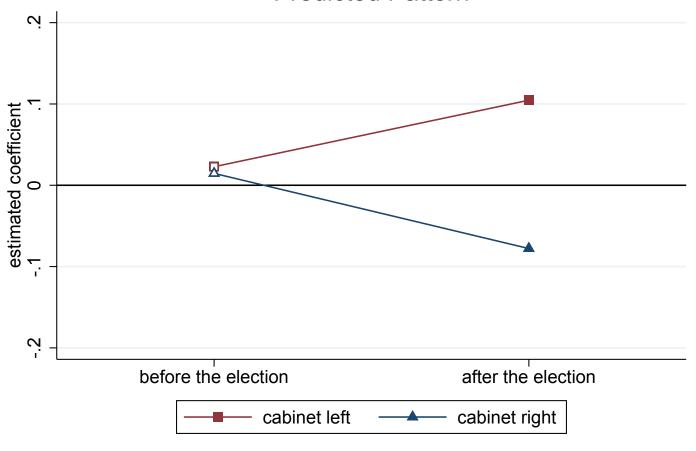


Figure 22: R10: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 31: R10: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0228	0.0146
	(0.0242)	(0.0216)
after	0.105****	-0.0778***
	(0.0198)	(0.0233)
Observations	25466	25466

Standard errors in parentheses

Log First Time Applications per Capita: **Predicted Pattern** Ŋ estimated coefficient ۲. -5 6 -4 -6 -2 2 3 Ó quarters around the election cabinet left cabinet right

Figure 23: R10: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 32: R10: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
6 quarters before the election	0.0587	-0.0376
	(0.0310)	(0.0380)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0175	0.0212
	(0.0297)	(0.0315)
4 quarters before the election	0.0274	-0.0364
	(0.0311)	(0.0340)
3 quarters before the election	0.0548	-0.00400
	(0.0396)	(0.0294)
2 quarters before the election	0.0157	0.0424
	(0.0316)	(0.0382)
1 quarters before the election	0.0267	0.0473
	(0.0351)	(0.0311)
Quarter of the election	0.0418	0.0187
	(0.0331)	(0.0360)
1 quarters after the election	0.0980**	-0.0655*
	(0.0357)	(0.0331)
2 quarters after the election	0.0841**	-0.129***
	(0.0297)	(0.0325)
3 quarters after the election	0.0754*	-0.121**
	(0.0301)	(0.0370)
4 quarters after the election	0.127***	-0.0587
	(0.0283)	(0.0353)
5 quarters after the election	0.170***	-0.0711*
	(0.0283)	(0.0332)
6 quarters after the election	0.0867**	-0.00777
	(0.0284)	(0.0332)
Observations	25466	25466

3.11 Drop country pairs with less than three first-time application per quarter on average

Table 33: R11: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

		1.1	1 /
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.412***	0.414***	
	(0.0755)	(0.0750)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.196	0.195	
	(0.135)	(0.133)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0419	0.0420	
	(0.0797)	(0.0797)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.203***	0.201^{***}	
	(0.0251)	(0.0249)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.646***	-0.641***	
	(0.162)	(0.160)	
Log migrant stock in $2000/1$	0.263***		0.263***
	(0.0215)		(0.0215)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.620*		-0.627*
	(0.301)		(0.299)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.159	-1.363*	-0.801
	(0.577)	(0.525)	(0.521)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0714***	-0.0737***	-0.0687***
	(0.0121)	(0.0114)	(0.0122)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.00267	0.00292	-0.00566
	(0.0267)	(0.0266)	(0.0281)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.110^{***}	0.102^{***}	0.103***
	(0.0221)	(0.0204)	(0.0228)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0268	0.0271	0.0321
	(0.0275)	(0.0263)	(0.0273)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.105***	-0.101***	-0.0993***
	(0.0256)	(0.0244)	(0.0251)
Observations	22446	22446	22446
Adjusted R^2	0.423	0.185	0.423
Fixed Effects	O	$D \times O$	$O \times T$
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

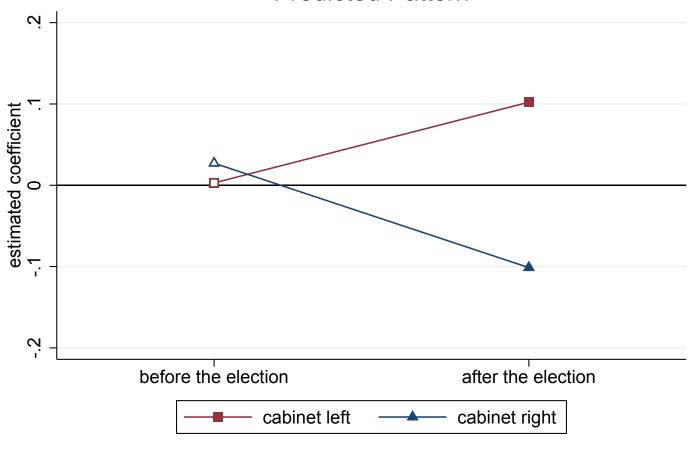


Figure 24: R11: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 34: R11: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.00292	0.0271
	(0.0266)	(0.0263)
after	0.102***	-0.101***
	(0.0204)	(0.0244)
Observations	22446	22446

Standard errors in parentheses

Log First Time Applications per Capita: **Predicted Pattern** Ŋ estimated coefficient ۲. -5 5 6 -4 2 -6 -2 3 Ó quarters around the election cabinet left cabinet right

Figure 25: R11: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 35: R11: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(0)
	(1)	(2)
	left	right
6 quarters before the election	0.0517	-0.0270
	(0.0359)	(0.0427)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0360	0.0387
	(0.0322)	(0.0335)
4 quarters before the election	0.0385	-0.0468
	(0.0345)	(0.0393)
3 quarters before the election	0.0483	-0.0119
	(0.0446)	(0.0306)
2 quarters before the election	-0.0181	0.0605
	(0.0329)	(0.0387)
1 quarters before the election	-0.0131	0.0755*
	(0.0356)	(0.0370)
Quarter of the election	0.0210	0.0424
	(0.0357)	(0.0461)
1 quarters after the election	0.0758*	-0.0767*
	(0.0382)	(0.0350)
2 quarters after the election	0.0708*	-0.150***
	(0.0305)	(0.0345)
3 quarters after the election	0.0708*	-0.133**
	(0.0315)	(0.0426)
4 quarters after the election	0.138***	-0.0970**
	(0.0278)	(0.0337)
5 quarters after the election	0.186***	-0.103**
	(0.0269)	(0.0375)
6 quarters after the election	0.0862**	-0.0322
	(0.0293)	(0.0322)
Observations	22446	22446

3.12 Use normalized cabinet position to determine cabinet left-right dummies

Table 36: R12: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

		11	1 /
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.399***	0.400***	
	(0.0703)	(0.0697)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.175	0.175	
	(0.132)	(0.130)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0469	0.0482	
	(0.0751)	(0.0750)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.190^{***}	0.188***	
	(0.0235)	(0.0234)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.660***	-0.662***	
	(0.165)	(0.163)	
Log migrant stock in $2000/1$	0.263^{***}		0.263^{***}
	(0.0210)		(0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.608*		-0.613*
	(0.298)		(0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.384**	-1.459**	-1.125^*
	(0.496)	(0.446)	(0.473)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0714***	-0.0727***	-0.0699***
	(0.0113)	(0.0107)	(0.0116)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.00792	0.00729	-0.00423
	(0.0262)	(0.0262)	(0.0271)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.109^{***}	0.101^{***}	0.103^{***}
	(0.0230)	(0.0216)	(0.0235)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0314	0.0326	0.0355
	(0.0244)	(0.0234)	(0.0239)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0889***	-0.0839***	-0.0885***
	(0.0219)	(0.0210)	(0.0218)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted \mathbb{R}^2	0.444	0.176	0.447
Fixed Effects	O	DхО	$O \times T$
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

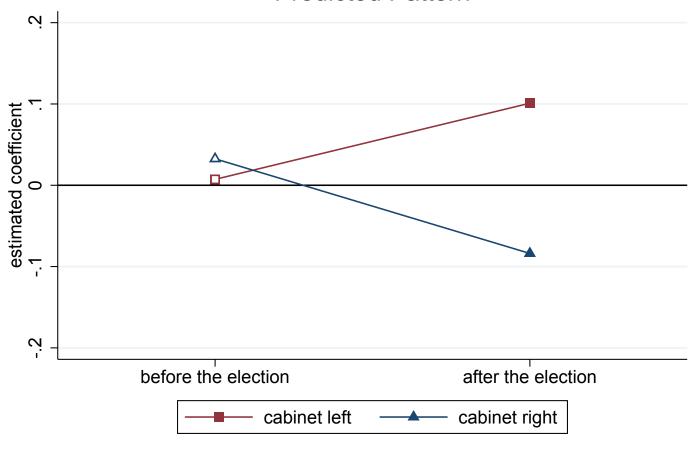


Figure 26: R12: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 37: R12: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.00729	0.0326
	(0.0262)	(0.0234)
after	0.101***	-0.0839***
	(0.0216)	(0.0210)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

Log First Time Applications per Capita: **Predicted Pattern** Ŋ estimated coefficient ۲. -5 6 -4 Ó -6 -2 2 3 quarters around the election cabinet left cabinet right

Figure 27: R12: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 38: R12: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
Compart and before the election		0.0106
6 quarters before the election	0.0217	
	(0.0353)	(0.0388)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0456	0.0526
	(0.0340)	(0.0325)
4 quarters before the election	0.0266	-0.0379
	(0.0336)	(0.0364)
3 quarters before the election	0.0275	0.0156
	(0.0395)	(0.0313)
2 quarters before the election	0.0117	0.0631
	(0.0331)	(0.0376)
1 quarters before the election	0.0124	0.0668
	(0.0361)	(0.0349)
Quarter of the election	0.0237	0.0405
	(0.0358)	(0.0385)
1 quarters after the election	0.0667	-0.0698*
	(0.0371)	(0.0299)
2 quarters after the election	0.0717*	-0.138***
	(0.0308)	(0.0351)
3 quarters after the election	0.0849*	-0.125***
	(0.0334)	(0.0354)
4 quarters after the election	0.141***	-0.0709*
	(0.0293)	(0.0328)
5 quarters after the election	0.161***	-0.0629
_	(0.0271)	(0.0321)
6 quarters after the election	0.102***	-0.0149
	(0.0310)	(0.0309)
Observations	23705	23705

3.13 Split cabinet position at 5 to determine cabinet left-right dummies

Table 39: R13: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

		1.1	1 /
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.399***	0.400***	
	(0.0703)	(0.0697)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.175	0.176	
	(0.132)	(0.131)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0463	0.0477	
	(0.0753)	(0.0751)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.189***	0.187^{***}	
	(0.0236)	(0.0234)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.661***	-0.663***	
	(0.165)	(0.163)	
Log migrant stock in $2000/1$	0.263***		0.262***
	(0.0210)		(0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.608*		-0.614*
	(0.298)		(0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.436**	-1.508**	-1.191*
	(0.488)	(0.441)	(0.463)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0722***	-0.0735***	-0.0708***
	(0.0113)	(0.0107)	(0.0115)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.00746	0.00809	-0.00876
	(0.0291)	(0.0288)	(0.0298)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.117^{***}	0.108^{***}	0.108***
	(0.0250)	(0.0232)	(0.0254)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0331	0.0326	0.0389
	(0.0218)	(0.0204)	(0.0215)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0493*	-0.0461*	-0.0469*
	(0.0219)	(0.0211)	(0.0220)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted R^2	0.443	0.175	0.447
Fixed Effects	O	$D \times O$	$O \times T$
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

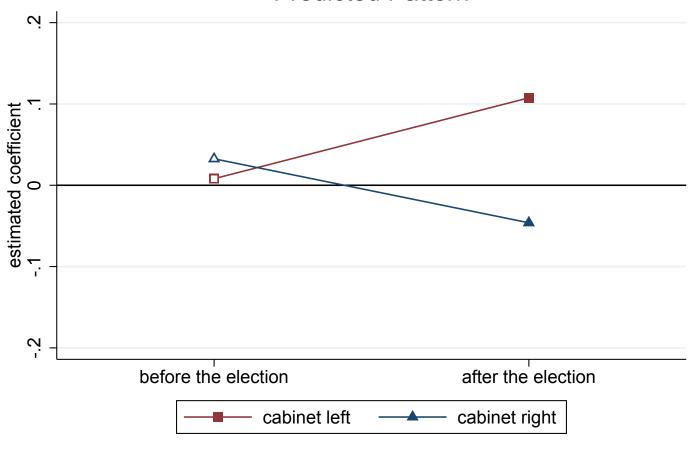


Figure 28: R13: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 40: R13: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.00809	0.0326
	(0.0288)	(0.0204)
after	0.108***	-0.0461*
	(0.0232)	(0.0211)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

^{(*} p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001)

Figure 29: R13: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 41: R13: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left.	right
Compart on the formation of the contraction		0.00913
6 quarters before the election	0.0293	
	(0.0375)	(0.0303)
5 quarters before the election	-0.00617	0.0112
	(0.0362)	(0.0286)
4 quarters before the election	0.0262	-0.0299
	(0.0348)	(0.0345)
3 quarters before the election	0.0418	0.00490
	(0.0448)	(0.0283)
2 quarters before the election	0.0165	0.0645
	(0.0350)	(0.0368)
1 quarters before the election	-0.00546	0.0807*
	(0.0378)	(0.0352)
Quarter of the election	0.000592	0.0630
	(0.0415)	(0.0365)
1 quarters after the election	0.139***	-0.0769*
	(0.0394)	(0.0319)
2 quarters after the election	0.0159	-0.0400
	(0.0330)	(0.0303)
3 quarters after the election	0.0553	-0.0596
	(0.0370)	(0.0342)
4 quarters after the election	0.142***	-0.0252
	(0.0365)	(0.0314)
5 quarters after the election	0.188***	-0.0274
-	(0.0332)	(0.0312)
6 quarters after the election	0.135***	-0.0114
•	(0.0306)	(0.0291)
Observations	23705	23705

3.14 Use only 5 quarters around the election

Table 42: R14: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.399***	0.400***	(9)
Tonoreal Torror Scarc	(0.0703)	(0.0697)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.175	0.175	
	(0.132)	(0.131)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0472	0.0486	
1 011/1011 1018/100 (1 111)	(0.0753)	(0.0752)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.190***	0.188***	
Q (0000)	(0.0236)	(0.0234)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.659***	-0.661***	
S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S	(0.165)	(0.163)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.263***	()	0.263***
,	(0.0210)		(0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.608*		-0.613*
	(0.298)		(0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.447**	-1.518**	-1.185*
· · ·	(0.496)	(0.444)	(0.472)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0734***	-0.0746***	-0.0718***
	(0.0114)	(0.0108)	(0.0116)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0220	0.0207	0.00880
	(0.0289)	(0.0289)	(0.0293)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.112***	0.104***	0.106***
	(0.0232)	(0.0218)	(0.0232)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.00686	0.00893	0.00791
	(0.0244)	(0.0235)	(0.0239)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.122***	-0.117***	-0.122***
	(0.0241)	(0.0236)	(0.0236)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted R^2	0.444	0.176	0.447
Fixed Effects	O	$D \times O$	$O \times T$
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

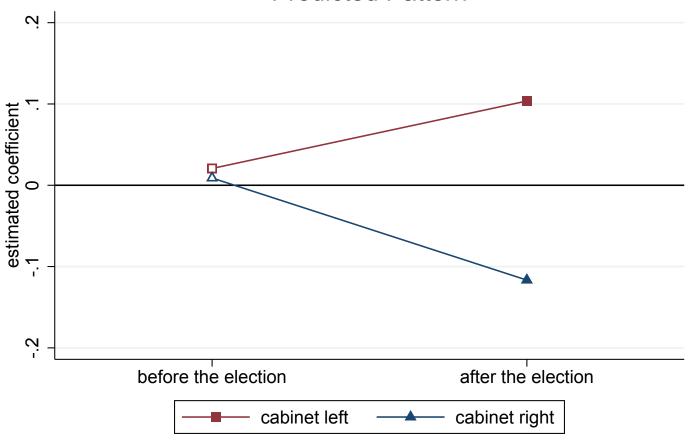


Figure 30: R14: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 43: R14: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0207	0.00893
	(0.0289)	(0.0235)
after	0.104***	-0.117***
	(0.0218)	(0.0236)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

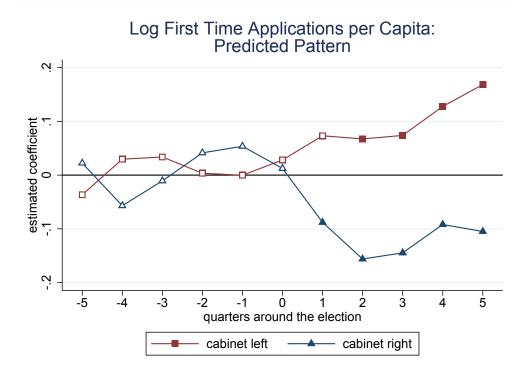


Figure 31: R14: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 44: R14: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	*	*
	(1)	(2)
	left	right
5 quarters before the election	-0.0365	0.0223
	(0.0301)	(0.0338)
4 quarters before the election	0.0296	-0.0569
	(0.0339)	(0.0363)
3 quarters before the election	0.0338	-0.0107
	(0.0414)	(0.0300)
2 quarters before the election	0.00348	0.0415
	(0.0331)	(0.0377)
1 quarters before the election	-0.000214	0.0537
	(0.0363)	(0.0340)
Quarter of the election	0.0283	0.0125
	(0.0357)	(0.0386)
1 quarters after the election	0.0732	-0.0879**
	(0.0376)	(0.0325)
2 quarters after the election	0.0673*	-0.156***
	(0.0302)	(0.0346)
3 quarters after the election	0.0739*	-0.145***
	(0.0320)	(0.0380)
4 quarters after the election	0.128***	-0.0919**
	(0.0271)	(0.0340)
5 quarters after the election	0.168***	-0.105**
	(0.0264)	(0.0353)
Observations	23705	23705

 $\begin{array}{c} {\rm Standard\ errors\ in\ parentheses} \\ (*\ p < 0.05,\ ^{**}\ p < 0.01,\ ^{***}\ p < 0.001) \end{array}$

3.15 Use only 4 quarters around the election

Table 45: R15: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

		- 1 1	<u> </u>
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.399***	0.400***	
	(0.0703)	(0.0697)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.175	0.175	
	(0.132)	(0.131)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0469	0.0483	
	(0.0752)	(0.0751)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.189***	0.187^{***}	
	(0.0236)	(0.0234)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.660***	-0.662***	
	(0.165)	(0.163)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.263***		0.263***
	(0.0210)		(0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.608*		-0.613*
	(0.298)		(0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.491**	-1.559**	-1.224^*
	(0.500)	(0.448)	(0.475)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0732***	-0.0744***	-0.0716***
	(0.0114)	(0.0107)	(0.0116)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0107	0.00916	-0.00394
	(0.0282)	(0.0280)	(0.0287)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.0907^{***}	0.0830***	0.0873^{***}
	(0.0234)	(0.0224)	(0.0235)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0206	0.0221	0.0210
	(0.0233)	(0.0224)	(0.0228)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.129***	-0.123***	-0.130***
	(0.0243)	(0.0234)	(0.0242)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted R^2	0.443	0.175	0.447
Fixed Effects	O	$D \times O$	$O \times T$
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

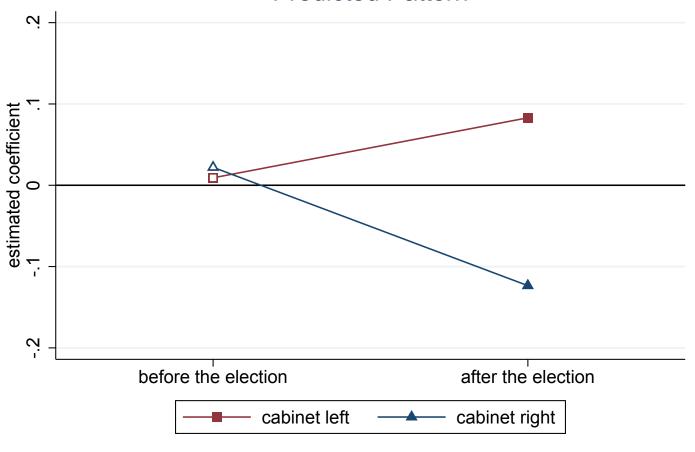


Figure 32: R15: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 46: R15: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.00916	0.0221
	(0.0280)	(0.0224)
after	0.0830***	-0.123***
	(0.0224)	(0.0234)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

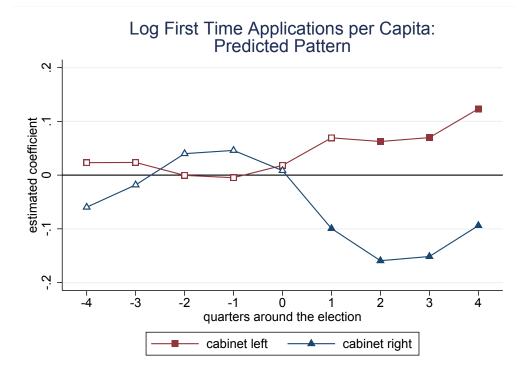


Figure 33: R15: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 47: R15: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
4 quarters before the election	0.0233	-0.0597
	(0.0333)	(0.0349)
3 quarters before the election	0.0236	-0.0183
	(0.0409)	(0.0291)
2 quarters before the election	-0.000450	0.0399
	(0.0316)	(0.0371)
1 quarters before the election	-0.00479	0.0460
	(0.0355)	(0.0324)
Quarter of the election	0.0182	0.00841
	(0.0353)	(0.0364)
1 quarters after the election	0.0694	-0.0994**
	(0.0371)	(0.0313)
2 quarters after the election	0.0626*	-0.159***
	(0.0287)	(0.0333)
3 quarters after the election	0.0698*	-0.151***
	(0.0323)	(0.0378)
4 quarters after the election	0.123***	-0.0940**
	(0.0268)	(0.0328)
Observations	23705	23705

 $\begin{array}{c} {\rm Standard\ errors\ in\ parentheses} \\ (*\ p < 0.05,\ ^{**}\ p < 0.01,\ ^{***}\ p < 0.001) \end{array}$

3.16 Do not impute first-time application data for 2008 and 2009

Table 48: R16: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

	v	1.1	1 /
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.412***	0.404***	
	(0.0714)	(0.0706)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.169	0.170	
	(0.135)	(0.134)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0437	0.0475	
	(0.0777)	(0.0758)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.186^{***}	0.186^{***}	
	(0.0239)	(0.0236)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.627***	-0.651***	
	(0.164)	(0.163)	
Log migrant stock in $2000/1$	0.261***		0.260***
	(0.0209)		(0.0207)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.557		-0.581
	(0.312)		(0.311)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.421**	-1.491**	-1.166*
	(0.493)	(0.444)	(0.468)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0700***	-0.0712***	-0.0693***
	(0.0115)	(0.0108)	(0.0115)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0162	0.0145	0.00554
	(0.0260)	(0.0258)	(0.0269)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.103^{***}	0.0950^{***}	0.100^{***}
	(0.0236)	(0.0219)	(0.0239)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0153	0.0175	0.0197
	(0.0251)	(0.0237)	(0.0248)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0990***	-0.0943***	-0.104***
	(0.0273)	(0.0262)	(0.0268)
Observations	23239	23239	23239
Adjusted R^2	0.435	0.175	0.439
Fixed Effects	O	$D \times O$	$O \times T$
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

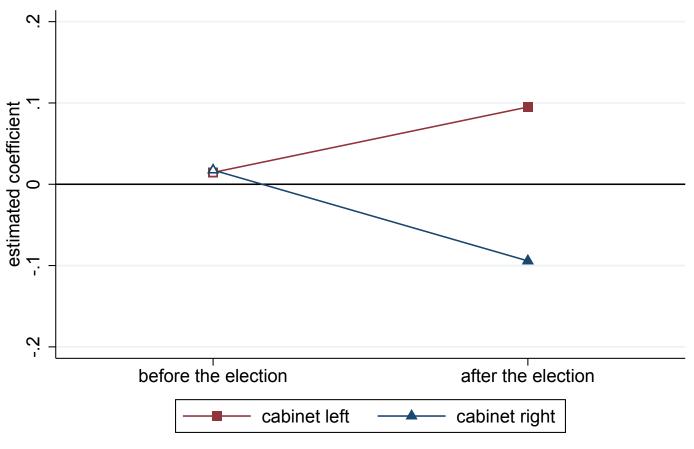


Figure 34: R16: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 49: R16: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0145	0.0175
	(0.0258)	(0.0237)
after	0.0950***	-0.0943***
	(0.0219)	(0.0262)
Observations	23239	23239

Standard errors in parentheses

Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern Note that the product of the product

Figure 35: R16: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 50: R16: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
6 quarters before the election	0.0610	-0.0265
	(0.0324)	(0.0414)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0217	0.0335
	(0.0305)	(0.0345)
4 quarters before the election	0.0371	-0.0501
	(0.0339)	(0.0368)
3 quarters before the election	0.0475	-0.00354
	(0.0420)	(0.0304)
2 quarters before the election	0.0128	0.0497
	(0.0333)	(0.0378)
1 quarters before the election	0.00740	0.0608
	(0.0368)	(0.0344)
Quarter of the election	0.0254	0.0201
	(0.0373)	(0.0385)
1 quarters after the election	0.0573	-0.0772*
	(0.0397)	(0.0344)
2 quarters after the election	0.0644	-0.146***
	(0.0336)	(0.0367)
3 quarters after the election	0.0631	-0.141**
	(0.0322)	(0.0444)
4 quarters after the election	0.122***	-0.0729
	(0.0285)	(0.0401)
5 quarters after the election	0.172***	-0.0885*
	(0.0281)	(0.0380)
6 quarters after the election	0.115***	-0.0138
	(0.0308)	(0.0331)
Observations	23239	23239

3.17 Include refugee crisis 2015 and 2016

Table 51: R17: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.412***	0.414***	
	(0.0799)	(0.0798)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.176	0.175	
	(0.132)	(0.131)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.00667	0.00592	
	(0.0734)	(0.0726)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.207^{***}	0.205^{***}	
	(0.0243)	(0.0241)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.669***	-0.662***	
	(0.125)	(0.122)	
Log migrant stock in $2000/1$	0.253^{***}		0.252^{***}
	(0.0217)		(0.0216)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.748*		-0.757^*
	(0.292)		(0.290)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.644**	-1.802***	-1.415**
	(0.478)	(0.443)	(0.445)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0744***	-0.0760***	-0.0753***
	(0.0125)	(0.0122)	(0.0129)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.120^{***}	0.122^{***}	0.112^{***}
	(0.0262)	(0.0255)	(0.0270)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.130***	0.124^{***}	0.119^{***}
	(0.0196)	(0.0183)	(0.0199)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	-0.0108	-0.00754	-0.00529
	(0.0278)	(0.0262)	(0.0274)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0830**	-0.0761**	-0.0864**
	(0.0257)	(0.0239)	(0.0260)
Observations	25428	25428	25428
Adjusted \mathbb{R}^2	0.445	0.171	0.449
Fixed Effects	O	$D \times O$	$O \times T$
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

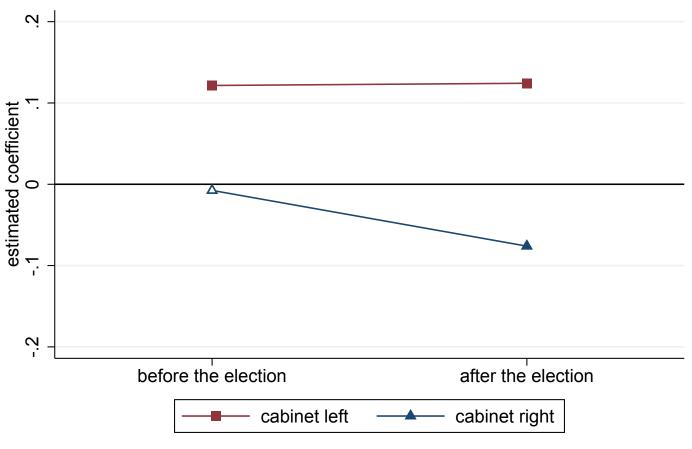


Figure 36: R17: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 52: R17: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.122***	-0.00754
	(0.0255)	(0.0262)
after	0.124***	-0.0761**
	(0.0183)	(0.0239)
Observations	25428	25428

Standard errors in parentheses

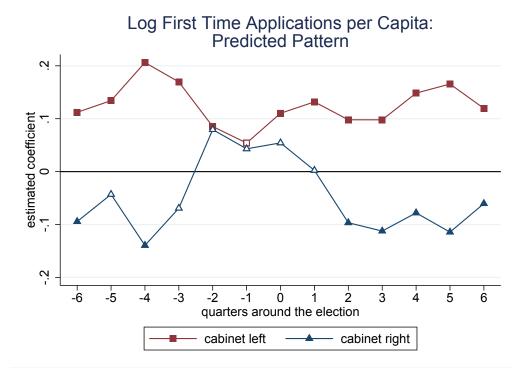


Figure 37: R17: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 53: R17: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

(1)	(2)
left	$_{ m right}$
0.112***	-0.0944*
(0.0313)	(0.0407)
0.134***	-0.0430
(0.0277)	(0.0325)
0.206***	-0.139***
(0.0306)	(0.0334)
0.170***	-0.0692
(0.0333)	(0.0384)
0.0852*	0.0794
(0.0348)	(0.0414)
0.0541	0.0431
(0.0396)	(0.0398)
0.110**	0.0543
(0.0365)	(0.0360)
0.132***	0.00234
(0.0326)	(0.0313)
0.0980***	-0.0966**
(0.0292)	(0.0312)
0.0979**	-0.112**
(0.0319)	(0.0360)
0.148***	-0.0780*
(0.0278)	(0.0343)
0.166***	-0.114***
(0.0253)	(0.0328)
0.120***	-0.0604*
(0.0262)	(0.0255)
25428	25428
	left 0.112*** (0.0313) 0.134*** (0.0277) 0.206*** (0.0306) 0.170*** (0.0333) 0.0852* (0.0348) 0.0541 (0.0396) 0.110** (0.0365) 0.132*** (0.0326) 0.0980*** (0.0292) 0.0979** (0.0319) 0.148*** (0.0278) 0.166*** (0.0253) 0.120*** (0.0262)

3.18 Use all destination countries with a maximum of two years missing first-time application data

Table 54: R18: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

		1.1	1 /
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.375***	0.376***	
	(0.0700)	(0.0694)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.123	0.122	
	(0.129)	(0.128)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0512	0.0518	
	(0.0681)	(0.0677)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.191***	0.190^{***}	
	(0.0222)	(0.0219)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.618**	-0.616**	
	(0.189)	(0.189)	
Log migrant stock in $2000/1$	0.234^{***}		0.233***
	(0.0201)		(0.0201)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.414		-0.414
	(0.213)		(0.213)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	0.00287	0.0221	-0.0794
	(0.823)	(0.816)	(0.719)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0598***	-0.0598***	-0.0617***
	(0.0124)	(0.0117)	(0.0114)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0766^{**}	0.0781**	0.0608*
	(0.0277)	(0.0282)	(0.0286)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.136^{***}	0.131***	0.124^{***}
	(0.0219)	(0.0221)	(0.0211)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0406	0.0391	0.0433
	(0.0219)	(0.0211)	(0.0219)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0610**	-0.0570^*	-0.0634**
	(0.0223)	(0.0214)	(0.0227)
Observations	26749	26749	26749
Adjusted R^2	0.449	0.138	0.457
Fixed Effects	O	$D \times O$	$O \times T$
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

R18: Use all destination countries with a maximum of two years missing first-time application data - Model $\bf 1$

Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

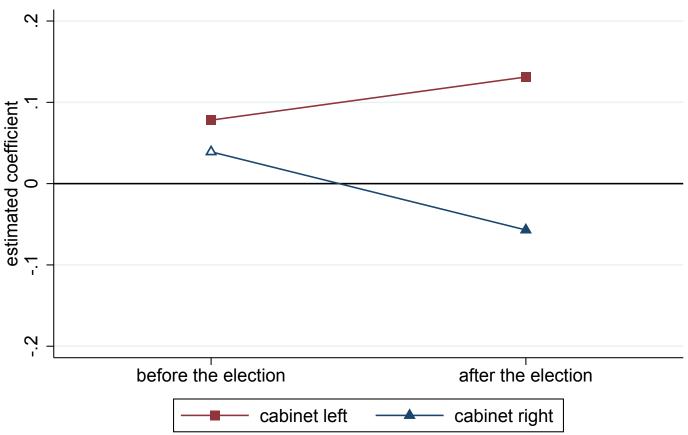


Figure 38: R18: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 55: R18: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0781**	0.0391
	(0.0282)	(0.0211)
after	0.131***	-0.0570**
	(0.0221)	(0.0214)
Observations	26749	26749

Standard errors in parentheses

R18: Use all destination countries with a maximum of two years missing first-time application data - Model 2

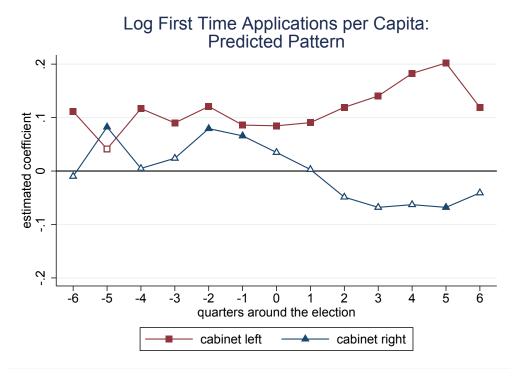


Figure 39: R18: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 56: R18: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

		*
	(1)	(2)
	left	$_{ m right}$
6 quarters before the election	0.111**	-0.00990
	(0.0362)	(0.0358)
5 quarters before the election	0.0413	0.0824*
	(0.0324)	(0.0328)
4 quarters before the election	0.117**	0.00491
	(0.0392)	(0.0377)
3 quarters before the election	0.0901*	0.0239
	(0.0439)	(0.0280)
2 quarters before the election	0.121**	0.0794*
	(0.0413)	(0.0349)
1 quarters before the election	0.0859*	0.0658*
	(0.0340)	(0.0333)
Quarter of the election	0.0846*	0.0347
	(0.0370)	(0.0348)
1 quarters after the election	0.0905*	0.00287
	(0.0363)	(0.0309)
2 quarters after the election	0.119***	-0.0488
	(0.0333)	(0.0343)
3 quarters after the election	0.140***	-0.0679
	(0.0376)	(0.0351)
4 quarters after the election	0.183***	-0.0629
	(0.0312)	(0.0347)
5 quarters after the election	0.202***	-0.0680*
	(0.0243)	(0.0341)
6 quarters after the election	0.119***	-0.0409
	(0.0303)	(0.0279)
Observations	26749	26749

3.19 Use only destination countries that report first-time application data in all years

Table 57: R19: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

			1 /
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.381***	0.382***	
	(0.106)	(0.106)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.242	0.241	
	(0.137)	(0.137)	
Political Rights (FHI)	-0.0190	-0.0188	
	(0.0645)	(0.0644)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.173***	0.173***	
	(0.0234)	(0.0233)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.541*	-0.539*	
	(0.207)	(0.207)	
Log migrant stock in $2000/1$	0.221***		0.221***
	(0.0251)		(0.0250)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.504		-0.505
	(0.358)		(0.358)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.424	-1.461	-1.154
	(0.822)	(0.803)	(0.671)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0887***	-0.0882***	-0.0878***
	(0.0158)	(0.0152)	(0.0151)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.133***	0.133***	0.121^{***}
	(0.0305)	(0.0304)	(0.0304)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.129^{***}	0.123^{***}	0.119***
	(0.0344)	(0.0341)	(0.0339)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0118	0.00138	0.0206
	(0.0363)	(0.0347)	(0.0373)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0715	-0.0682	-0.0578
	(0.0410)	(0.0386)	(0.0392)
Observations	16128	16128	16128
Adjusted R^2	0.411	0.177	0.413
Fixed Effects	O	DхО	$O \times T$
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

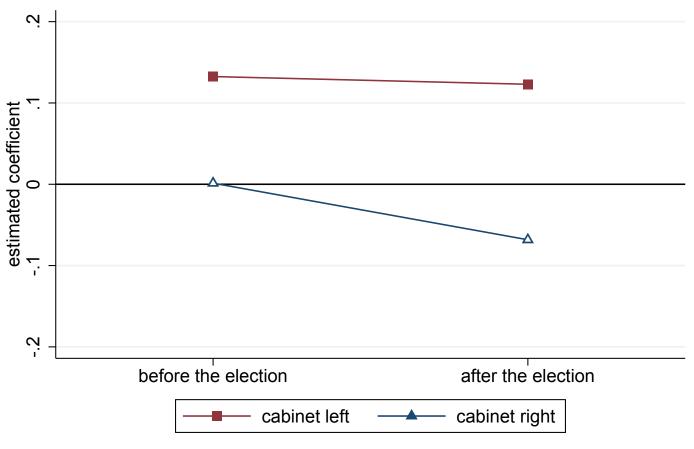


Figure 40: R19: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 58: R19: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.133***	0.00138
	(0.0304)	(0.0347)
after	0.123***	-0.0682
	(0.0341)	(0.0386)
Observations	16128	16128

Standard errors in parentheses

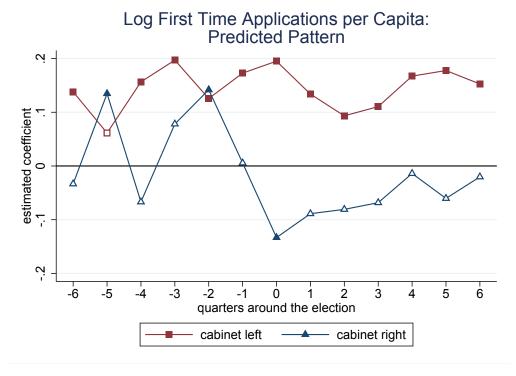


Figure 41: R19: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 59: R19: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
6 quarters before the election	0.138**	-0.0333
	(0.0460)	(0.0526)
5 quarters before the election	0.0614	0.135**
	(0.0417)	(0.0515)
4 quarters before the election	0.157^{***}	-0.0669
	(0.0426)	(0.0608)
3 quarters before the election	0.197***	0.0781
	(0.0481)	(0.0609)
2 quarters before the election	0.126*	0.142*
	(0.0488)	(0.0614)
1 quarters before the election	0.173***	0.00564
	(0.0455)	(0.0418)
Quarter of the election	0.195***	-0.133**
	(0.0389)	(0.0441)
1 quarters after the election	0.134**	-0.0888*
	(0.0451)	(0.0428)
2 quarters after the election	0.0933*	-0.0807
	(0.0458)	(0.0492)
3 quarters after the election	0.110*	-0.0683
	(0.0500)	(0.0501)
4 quarters after the election	0.167***	-0.0140
	(0.0398)	(0.0597)
5 quarters after the election	0.178***	-0.0604
	(0.0445)	(0.0671)
6 quarters after the election	0.153***	-0.0203
	(0.0448)	(0.0479)
Observations	16128	16128

3.20 Add Cyprus to baseline sample of destination countries

Table 60: R20: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

		11	1 /
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.396***	0.396***	
	(0.0680)	(0.0673)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.167	0.167	
	(0.133)	(0.132)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0464	0.0477	
	(0.0751)	(0.0750)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.182***	0.181***	
	(0.0226)	(0.0224)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.634***	-0.635***	
	(0.174)	(0.172)	
Log migrant stock in $2000/1$	0.257^{***}		0.257***
	(0.0213)		(0.0213)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.574*		-0.575^*
	(0.222)		(0.221)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-0.681	-0.733	-0.516
	(0.494)	(0.468)	(0.473)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0743***	-0.0755***	-0.0719***
	(0.0112)	(0.0103)	(0.0114)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0816*	0.0823^{*}	0.0618
	(0.0319)	(0.0321)	(0.0323)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.149^{***}	0.141^{***}	0.139***
	(0.0224)	(0.0221)	(0.0218)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0272	0.0277	0.0289
	(0.0235)	(0.0217)	(0.0233)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0769**	-0.0721**	-0.0779***
	(0.0225)	(0.0212)	(0.0223)
Observations	24827	24827	24827
Adjusted R^2	0.454	0.156	0.463
Fixed Effects	O	$D \times O$	$O \times T$
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

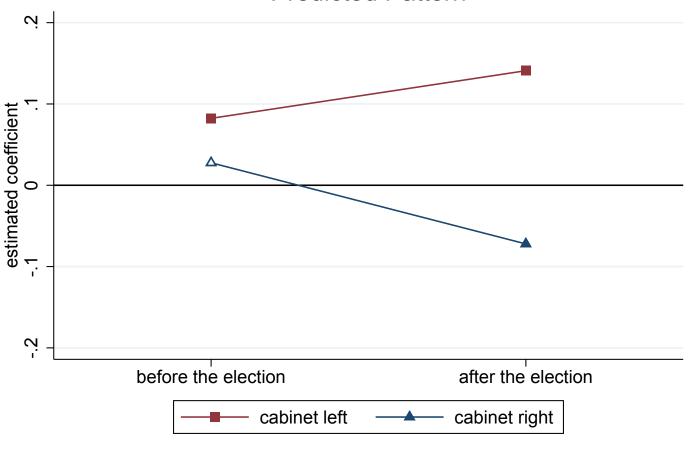


Figure 42: R20: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 61: R20: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

(1)	(2)
left	right
0.0823*	0.0277
(0.0321)	(0.0217)
0.141***	-0.0721***
(0.0221)	(0.0212)
24827	24827
	left 0.0823* (0.0321) 0.141*** (0.0221)

Standard errors in parentheses

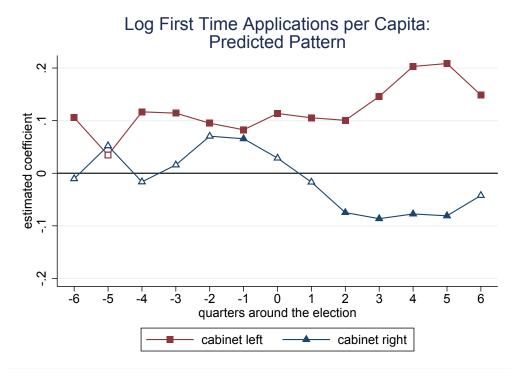


Figure 43: R20: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 62: R20: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(0)
	(1)	(2)
	left	right
6 quarters before the election	0.106**	-0.0104
	(0.0345)	(0.0364)
5 quarters before the election	0.0346	0.0522
	(0.0334)	(0.0323)
4 quarters before the election	0.117^{**}	-0.0164
	(0.0385)	(0.0360)
3 quarters before the election	0.114*	0.0158
	(0.0475)	(0.0298)
2 quarters before the election	0.0951*	0.0704
	(0.0435)	(0.0370)
1 quarters before the election	0.0827*	0.0656*
	(0.0385)	(0.0324)
Quarter of the election	0.114**	0.0287
	(0.0431)	(0.0363)
1 quarters after the election	0.105**	-0.0169
	(0.0392)	(0.0318)
2 quarters after the election	0.101***	-0.0748*
	(0.0288)	(0.0347)
3 quarters after the election	0.146***	-0.0864*
	(0.0333)	(0.0354)
4 quarters after the election	0.203***	-0.0774*
	(0.0306)	(0.0333)
5 quarters after the election	0.209***	-0.0809*
	(0.0271)	(0.0314)
6 quarters after the election	0.149***	-0.0423
_	(0.0310)	(0.0285)
Observations	24827	24827

3.21 Use only countries that are also in baseline decision analysis

Table 63: R21: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

		1.1	1 /
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.410***	0.410***	
	(0.0848)	(0.0849)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.172	0.172	
	(0.143)	(0.143)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0513	0.0512	
	(0.0785)	(0.0785)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.186^{***}	0.186^{***}	
	(0.0232)	(0.0232)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.767***	-0.766***	
	(0.170)	(0.169)	
Log migrant stock in $2000/1$	0.255^{***}		0.255***
	(0.0240)		(0.0240)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.784*		-0.784^*
	(0.301)		(0.301)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.658**	-1.758***	-1.197*
	(0.506)	(0.470)	(0.496)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0721***	-0.0733***	-0.0697***
	(0.0114)	(0.0111)	(0.0117)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0423	0.0411	0.0428
	(0.0314)	(0.0317)	(0.0331)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.209^{***}	0.196^{***}	0.212***
	(0.0337)	(0.0315)	(0.0343)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0402	0.0423	0.0468
	(0.0307)	(0.0304)	(0.0308)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0510	-0.0410	-0.0469
	(0.0345)	(0.0326)	(0.0337)
Observations	16488	16488	16488
Adjusted R^2	0.461	0.183	0.468
Fixed Effects	O	$D \times O$	$O \times T$
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No



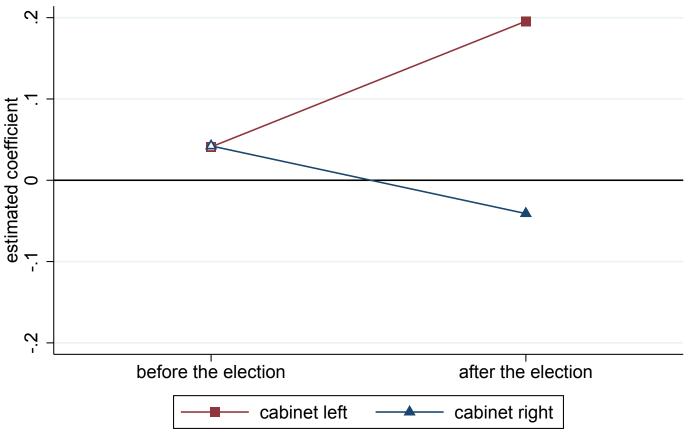


Figure 44: R21: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 64: R21: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0411	0.0423
	(0.0317)	(0.0304)
after	0.196***	-0.0410
	(0.0315)	(0.0326)
Observations	16488	16488

Standard errors in parentheses

Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern Ŋ estimated coefficient ۲. -5 6 -6 -4 -3 2 -2 3 Ó quarters around the election cabinet left cabinet right

Figure 45: R21: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 65: R21: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	(1)	(2)
	left	right
6 quarters before the election	0.0231	-0.0198
	(0.0475)	(0.0480)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0368	-0.0180
	(0.0480)	(0.0362)
4 quarters before the election	0.0429	-0.0230
	(0.0499)	(0.0402)
3 quarters before the election	0.0747	0.0917*
	(0.0480)	(0.0360)
2 quarters before the election	0.0358	0.0557
	(0.0410)	(0.0458)
1 quarters before the election	0.0502	0.108*
	(0.0467)	(0.0505)
Quarter of the election	0.0738	0.0603
	(0.0455)	(0.0529)
1 quarters after the election	0.153***	-0.0203
	(0.0413)	(0.0381)
2 quarters after the election	0.162***	-0.118*
	(0.0409)	(0.0469)
3 quarters after the election	0.233***	-0.123**
	(0.0450)	(0.0439)
4 quarters after the election	0.253***	-0.0124
	(0.0356)	(0.0430)
5 quarters after the election	0.240***	-0.0116
	(0.0401)	(0.0502)
6 quarters after the election	0.118**	0.0401
	(0.0438)	(0.0400)
Observations	16488	16488

3.22 Use only countries with a maximum of one early elections

Table 66: R22: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.395***	0.394***	
	(0.0741)	(0.0735)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.176	0.176	
	(0.140)	(0.138)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0355	0.0369	
	(0.0851)	(0.0853)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.188***	0.185***	
	(0.0232)	(0.0230)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.710***	-0.713***	
	(0.166)	(0.162)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.254***		0.254***
	(0.0223)		(0.0223)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.668*		-0.679*
	(0.297)		(0.295)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.165^*	-1.245**	-0.872
	(0.500)	(0.463)	(0.495)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0714***	-0.0725***	-0.0700***
	(0.0114)	(0.0108)	(0.0117)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	-0.0257	-0.0272	-0.0299
	(0.0280)	(0.0279)	(0.0280)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.111***	0.0991***	0.111***
	(0.0258)	(0.0235)	(0.0257)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0122	0.0154	0.0178
	(0.0251)	(0.0232)	(0.0253)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0374	-0.0315	-0.0439
	(0.0277)	(0.0266)	(0.0288)
Observations	19293	19293	19293
Adjusted R^2	0.470	0.176	0.480
Fixed Effects	O	$D \times O$	ОхТ
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

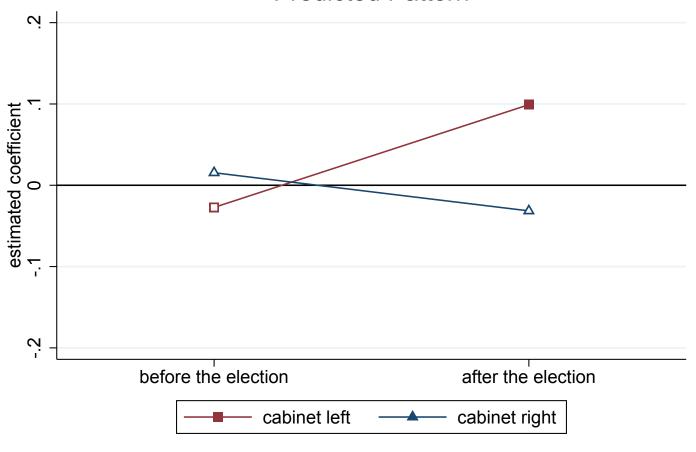


Figure 46: R22: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 67: R22: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	-0.0272	0.0154
	(0.0279)	(0.0232)
after	0.0991***	-0.0315
	(0.0235)	(0.0266)
Observations	19293	19293

Standard errors in parentheses

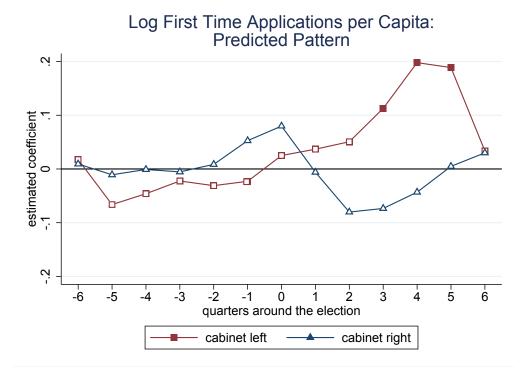


Figure 47: R22: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 68: R22: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
6 quarters before the election	0.0175	0.00926
	(0.0332)	(0.0353)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0662	-0.0108
	(0.0340)	(0.0317)
4 quarters before the election	-0.0460	-0.000948
	(0.0386)	(0.0360)
3 quarters before the election	-0.0223	-0.00538
	(0.0464)	(0.0308)
2 quarters before the election	-0.0310	0.00856
	(0.0333)	(0.0371)
1 quarters before the election	-0.0229	0.0527
	(0.0387)	(0.0438)
Quarter of the election	0.0250	0.0798
	(0.0381)	(0.0467)
1 quarters after the election	0.0369	-0.00607
	(0.0383)	(0.0352)
2 quarters after the election	0.0507	-0.0802
	(0.0336)	(0.0479)
3 quarters after the election	0.113**	-0.0735
	(0.0364)	(0.0430)
4 quarters after the election	0.198***	-0.0432
	(0.0359)	(0.0378)
5 quarters after the election	0.189***	0.00484
	(0.0286)	(0.0364)
6 quarters after the election	0.0336	0.0301
	(0.0346)	(0.0334)
Observations	19293	19293

3.23 Use only countries with no early elections

Table 69: R23: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

1			1.1	1 /
Civic Liberty (FHI) (0.0894) (0.0879) Count (0.135) Political Rights (FHI) -0.0990 -0.0959 -0.0950 Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.173*** 0.170*** Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.0232) (0.0228) Log origin country real GDP per capita -0.687*** -0.691*** Log migrant stock in 2000/1 0.270**** -0.916** Log distance from origin to destination -0.909 -0.916* Log destination country real GDP per capita 1.725*** 1.608*** 1.702** Log destination country real GDP per capita 1.725*** 1.608*** 1.702** Log destination country real GDP per capita 1.725*** 1.608*** 1.702** Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.153*** -0.156*** -0.155*** Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0246 0.016** -0.155*** Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0342 0.0319 0.0244 Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0246 0.016** 0.0193 Cabinet position right * After t		(1)	(2)	(3)
Civic Liberty (FHI) 0.334^* 0.321^* 0.351^* Political Rights (FHI) -0.0990 -0.0959 -0.0959 Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.173^{***} 0.170^{***} Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.173^{***} 0.170^{***} Log origin country real GDP per capita -0.687^{***} -0.691^{***} Log migrant stock in 2000/1 0.270^{***} 0.268^{***} Log distance from origin to destination -0.909 -0.916 Log destination country real GDP per capita 1.725^{***} 1.608^{**} 1.702^{**} Log destination country real GDP per capita 1.725^{***} 1.608^{**} 1.702^{**} Log destination country real destination 0.0475 0.0473 0.491 Quarterly unemployment rate at destination 0.0153^{***} -0.156^{****} -0.155^{***} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination 0.0225 0.0199 0.0244 Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0246 0.0167 0.0193 Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0342 0.0313 0.0311 0.0361	Political Terror Scale	0.348***	0.351***	
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(0.0894)	(0.0879)	
Political Rights (FHI) -0.0990 -0.0959 -0.0971 -0.0771 -0.0771 -0.0771 -0.0771 -0.0771 -0.0771 -0.0771 -0.0771 -0.0771 -0.0022 -0.00228 -0.00228 -0.091**** -0.091**** -0.091**** -0.091**** -0.091**** -0.091*** -0.00332 -0.016 -0.016 -0.016 -0.016 -0.016 -0.015 -0.016 -0.015 -0.016 -0.015 <	Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.334^{*}	0.321^{*}	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) (0.0747) (0.0771) (0.0232) (0.0228) Log origin country real GDP per capita (0.0232) (0.0228) $(0.091)^{***}$ Log migrant stock in 2000/1 (0.194) (0.186) (0.0332) Log distance from origin to destination (0.0334) (0.0332) Log destination country real GDP per capita (0.718) (0.473) (0.471) Log destination country real GDP per capita (0.475) (0.473) (0.491) Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.153^{****} -0.156^{***} -0.155^{****} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0245 (0.0193) (0.0341) (0.0341) Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.153^{****} -0.156^{****} -0.156^{****} -0.155^{****} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0245 (0.0193) (0.0341) (0.0341) Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0246 0.0167 0.0193 Quarterly unemployment rate at destination 0.0246 0.0167 0.0193 Quarterly unemployment rate at destination 0.0246 <td< td=""><td></td><td>(0.136)</td><td>(0.135)</td><td></td></td<>		(0.136)	(0.135)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.173^{***} 0.170^{***} 0.0228 Log origin country real GDP per capita -0.687^{***} -0.691^{***} -0.691^{***} Log migrant stock in 2000/1 0.270^{***} 0.268^{***} Log distance from origin to destination -0.909 -0.916 Log destination country real GDP per capita 1.725^{***} 1.608^{***} 1.702^{**} Log destination country real destination -0.153^{***} -0.156^{***} -0.155^{***} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.153^{***} -0.156^{***} -0.155^{***} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0246 0.0167 0.0193 Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0246 0.0167 0.0193 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.106^{**} 0.0812^{**} 0.102^{**} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0382 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0233 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0233 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * After the election<	Political Rights (FHI)	-0.0990	-0.0959	
$\begin{tabular}{ c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c$		(0.0747)	(0.0771)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita -0.687^{***} -0.691^{***} -0.687^{***} -0.687^{***} -0.687^{***} -0.268^{***} Log migrant stock in 2000/1 0.270^{***} 0.268^{***} 0.268^{***} Log distance from origin to destination -0.909 -0.916 Log destination country real GDP per capita 1.725^{***} 1.608^{**} 1.702^{**} Log destination country real dDP per capita 1.725^{***} 1.608^{**} 1.702^{**} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.153^{***} -0.156^{***} -0.155^{***} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.153^{***} -0.156^{***} -0.155^{***} Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0246 0.0167 0.0193 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.106^{**} 0.0812^{*} 0.0376 Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0233 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0233 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0380 0.0341 0.0390 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0380	Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.173***	0.170***	
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(0.0232)	(0.0228)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1 0.270^{***} 0.268^{***} Log distance from origin to destination -0.909 -0.916 Log destination country real GDP per capita 1.725^{***} 1.608^{**} 1.702^{**} Log destination country real GDP per capita 1.725^{***} 1.608^{**} 1.702^{**} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.153^{***} -0.156^{***} -0.155^{***} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.153^{***} -0.156^{***} -0.155^{***} Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0246 0.0167 0.0193 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.106^{**} 0.0812^{**} 0.102^{**} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0233 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0233 0.0341 0.0390 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{***} -0.201^{***} -0.211^{***} Observations 10974 10974 10974 10974 Adjusted R^2 0.038 0.034 0.210 0.338 Fixed Effects 0	Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.687***	-0.691***	
$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(0.194)	(0.186)	
Log distance from origin to destination -0.909 -0.916 Log destination country real GDP per capita 1.725^{***} 1.608^{**} 1.702^{**} Log destination country real GDP per capita 1.725^{***} 1.608^{**} 1.702^{**} (0.475) (0.473) (0.491) Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.153^{***} -0.156^{***} -0.155^{***} (0.0225) (0.0199) (0.0244) Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0246 0.0167 0.0193 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.106^{**} 0.0812^{**} 0.102^{**} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0233 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{***} -0.201^{***} -0.211^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{***} -0.201^{***} -0.211^{***} Observations 10974 10974 10974 10974 Adjusted R^2 0.334 0.210 0.338 Fixed Effects 0 0 0 0 0 0.000000000000000000	Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.270***		0.268***
Log destination country real GDP per capita (0.718) 1.608^{**} 1.702^{**} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.153^{***} -0.156^{***} -0.155^{***} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.153^{***} -0.156^{***} -0.155^{***} Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0246 0.0167 0.0193 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.106^{**} 0.0812^{*} 0.102^{**} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0382 (0.0355) (0.0376) Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0233 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{***} -0.201^{***} -0.211^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{***} -0.201^{***} -0.211^{***} Observations 10974 10974 10974 Adjusted R^2 0.334 0.210 0.338 Fixed Effects 0 0 0 0 0 Destination dummies 0 0 0 0 0		(0.0334)		(0.0332)
Log destination country real GDP per capita 1.725^{***} 1.608^{**} 1.702^{**} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.153^{***} -0.156^{***} -0.155^{***} Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0246 0.0167 0.0193 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.0342 (0.0318) (0.0323) Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.106^{**} 0.0812^{**} 0.0376 Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0233 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0388 (0.0341) (0.0390) Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{***} -0.201^{***} -0.211^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{***} -0.201^{***} -0.211^{***} Observations 10974 10974 10974 Adjusted R^2 0.334 0.210 0.338 Fixed Effects 0 0 0 0 0 Destination dummies 0 0 0 0 0	Log distance from origin to destination	-0.909		-0.916
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination (0.475) (0.473) (0.491) Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.153^{***} -0.156^{***} -0.155^{***} Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0246 0.0167 0.0193 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.106^{**} 0.0812^{*} 0.0323 Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0233 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0233 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{****} -0.201^{****} -0.211^{***} Observations 10974 10974 10974 Adjusted R^2 0.334 0.210 0.338 Fixed Effects 0 0 0 0 0 Destination dummies Yes 0 0 0 0		(0.718)		(0.715)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.153^{***} -0.156^{***} -0.155^{***} Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0246 0.0167 0.0193 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.106^{**} 0.0812^{*} 0.0323 Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0233 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0233 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{***} -0.201^{***} -0.211^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{***} -0.201^{***} -0.211^{***} Observations 10974 10974 10974 Adjusted R^2 0.334 0.210 0.338 Fixed Effects 0 0 0 0 0 Destination dummies Yes 0 0 0 0	Log destination country real GDP per capita	1.725***	1.608**	1.702**
Cabinet position left * Before the election (0.0225) (0.0199) (0.0244) Cabinet position left * After the election 0.0246 0.0167 0.0193 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.106^{**} 0.0812^{*} 0.102^{**} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0233 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0388 (0.0341) (0.0390) Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{***} -0.201^{***} -0.211^{***} Observations 10974 10974 10974 Adjusted R^2 0.334 0.210 0.338 Fixed Effects 0		(0.475)	(0.473)	(0.491)
Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.0246 0.0167 0.0193 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.106^{**} 0.0812^{*} 0.102^{**} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0382 (0.0355) (0.0376) Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0233 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{****} -0.201^{****} -0.211^{****} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{****} -0.201^{****} -0.211^{****} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{*****} -0.201^{****} -0.201^{****} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{****} -0.201^{****} -0.211^{****} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{****} -0.201^{****} -0.201^{****} Observations 10974 10974 10974 10974 Adjusted R^2 0.334 0.210 0.338 Fixed Effects 0 0 0 Destination dummies 0.00380 0.00380 0.00380 0.00380 0.00380 0.00380	Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.153***	-0.156***	-0.155***
Cabinet position left * After the election (0.0342) (0.0318) (0.0323) Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.106^{**} 0.0812^{*} 0.102^{**} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0233 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{***} -0.201^{***} -0.211^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{***} -0.201^{***} -0.211^{***} Observations 10974 10974 10974 Adjusted R^2 0.334 0.210 0.338 Fixed Effects 0 0 0 0 0 Destination dummies Yes 0 0 0 0		(0.0225)	(0.0199)	(0.0244)
Cabinet position left * After the election 0.106^{**} 0.0812^{*} 0.102^{**} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0233 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * After the election (0.0388) (0.0341) (0.0390) Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{***} -0.201^{***} -0.211^{***} (0.0380) (0.0355) (0.0385) Observations 10974 10974 10974 Adjusted R^2 0.334 0.210 0.338 Fixed Effects 0 0 0 0 0 Destination dummies Yes 0 0 0	Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0246	0.0167	0.0193
Cabinet position right * Before the election (0.0382) (0.0355) (0.0376) Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0233 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{***} -0.201^{***} -0.211^{***} (0.0380) (0.0355) (0.0385) Observations 10974 10974 10974 Adjusted R^2 0.334 0.210 0.338 Fixed Effects 0 0 0 0 0 Destination dummies Yes 0 0 0 0		(0.0342)	(0.0318)	(0.0323)
Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0233 0.0311 0.0361 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{***} -0.201^{***} -0.211^{***} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{***} -0.201^{***} -0.211^{***} (0.0380) (0.0355) (0.0385) Observations 10974 10974 10974 Adjusted R^2 0.334 0.210 0.338 Fixed Effects O D x O O x T Destination dummies Yes No Yes	Cabinet position left * After the election	0.106**	0.0812^{*}	0.102**
Cabinet position right * After the election (0.0388) (0.0341) (0.0390) Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{***} -0.201^{***} -0.211^{***} (0.0380) (0.0355) (0.0385) Observations 10974 10974 10974 Adjusted R^2 0.334 0.210 0.338 Fixed Effects O D x O O x T Destination dummies Yes No Yes		(0.0382)	(0.0355)	(0.0376)
Cabinet position right * After the election -0.219^{***} -0.201^{***} -0.211^{***} (0.0380) (0.0355) (0.0385) Observations 10974 10974 10974 Adjusted R^2 0.334 0.210 0.338 Fixed Effects O D x O O x T Destination dummies Yes No Yes	Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0233	0.0311	0.0361
Observations (0.0380) (0.0355) (0.0385) Adjusted R^2 0.334 0.210 0.338 Fixed Effects O D x O O x T Destination dummies Yes No Yes		(0.0388)	(0.0341)	(0.0390)
Observations 10974 10974 10974 Adjusted R^2 0.334 0.210 0.338 Fixed EffectsOD x OO x TDestination dummiesYesNoYes	Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.219***	-0.201***	-0.211***
Adjusted R^2 0.3340.2100.338Fixed EffectsOD x OO x TDestination dummiesYesNoYes		(0.0380)	(0.0355)	(0.0385)
Fixed Effects O D x O O x T Destination dummies Yes No Yes	Observations	10974	10974	10974
Destination dummies Yes No Yes	Adjusted R^2	0.334	0.210	0.338
	Fixed Effects	O	$D \times O$	$O \times T$
Quarter-Year dummies Yes Yes No	Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
	Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

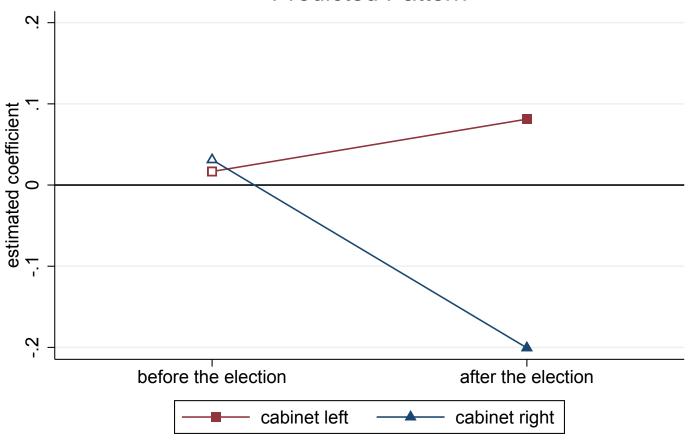


Figure 48: R23: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 70: R23: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

(1)	(2)
left	right
0.0167	0.0311
(0.0318)	(0.0341)
0.0812*	-0.201***
(0.0355)	(0.0355)
10974	10974
	left 0.0167 (0.0318) 0.0812* (0.0355)

Standard errors in parentheses

^{(*} p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001)

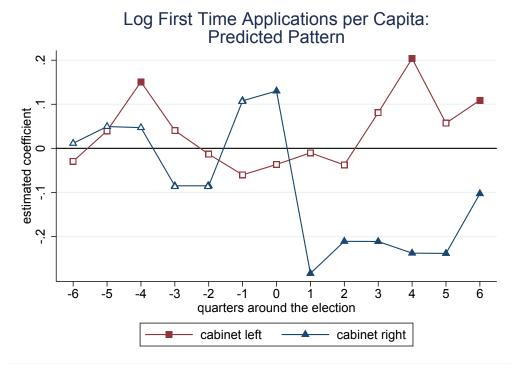


Figure 49: R23: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 71: R23: Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
6 anomana hafana tha alaatian	-0.0295	0.0114
6 quarters before the election		
	(0.0486)	(0.0436)
5 quarters before the election	0.0398	0.0495
	(0.0426)	(0.0427)
4 quarters before the election	0.151**	0.0470
	(0.0567)	(0.0446)
3 quarters before the election	0.0404	-0.0850
	(0.0618)	(0.0503)
2 quarters before the election	-0.0133	-0.0849
	(0.0441)	(0.0578)
1 quarters before the election	-0.0602	0.108
	(0.0575)	(0.0606)
Quarter of the election	-0.0366	0.130*
	(0.0533)	(0.0627)
1 quarters after the election	-0.0102	-0.284***
	(0.0507)	(0.0644)
2 quarters after the election	-0.0377	-0.211***
	(0.0515)	(0.0585)
3 quarters after the election	0.0809	-0.211***
	(0.0566)	(0.0536)
4 quarters after the election	0.204***	-0.238***
	(0.0464)	(0.0486)
5 quarters after the election	0.0571	-0.238***
	(0.0445)	(0.0513)
6 quarters after the election	0.109*	-0.103**
-	(0.0482)	(0.0356)
Observations	10974	10974

4 Heterogeneity by origin country region

Table 72: Determinants of log(First time asylum applications per capita)

(1) (2) (3) (4) Political Terror Scale					
Civic Liberty (FHI) (0.0758) (0.0954) (0.119) (0.142) Civic Liberty (FHI) 0.0556 0.164 0.377* 0.0245 Political Rights (FHI) (0.261) (0.121) (0.161) (0.240) Political Rights (FHI) 0.0173 0.210* -0.109 0.345 (0.114) (0.0839) (0.0776) (0.171) Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.137** -0.0952 0.280* 2.571** (0.0377) (0.0728) (0.108) (0.844) Log origin country real GDP per capita -0.329 -0.570* -1.056 0.0193 Log destination country real GDP per capita (0.376) (0.270) (0.490) (0.343) Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.355 -0.242 -2.172* -0.405 Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.051* -0.085** -0.0158 -0.0927** Quarterly unemployment rate at destination 0.109* 0.0521 0.0312 -0.0927** Cabinet position left * After the election 0.0731 0.133** <th></th> <th>(1)</th> <th>(2)</th> <th>(3)</th> <th>(4)</th>		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Civic Liberty (FHI) 0.0556 0.164 0.377^* 0.0245 Political Rights (FHI) (0.261) (0.121) (0.161) (0.240) Political Rights (FHI) 0.0173 0.210^* -0.109 0.345 Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.137^{**} -0.0952 0.280^* 2.571^{**} Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.137^{**} -0.0952 0.280^* 2.571^{**} Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.137^{**} -0.0952 0.280^* 0.541^* Log origin country real GDP per capita -0.329 -0.570^* -1.056 0.0193 Log destination country real GDP per capita -0.329 -0.570^* -1.056 0.0193 Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.355 -0.242 -2.172^* -0.405 Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.355 -0.242 -2.172^* -0.405 Log destination country real GDP per capita -0.0551^* -0.042 -0.158 -0.0927^** Quarterly unemployment rate at destination 0.00231 0.0176 0.0230 0.0187 <td>Political Terror Scale</td> <td>0.525***</td> <td>0.382***</td> <td>0.288*</td> <td>-0.150</td>	Political Terror Scale	0.525***	0.382***	0.288*	-0.150
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(0.0758)	(0.0954)	(0.119)	(0.142)
Political Rights (FHI) 0.0173 0.210* -0.109 0.345 Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) (0.114) (0.0839) (0.0776) (0.171) Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.137** -0.0952 0.280* 2.571** (0.0377) (0.0728) (0.108) (0.844) Log origin country real GDP per capita -0.329 -0.570* -1.056 0.0193 Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.355 -0.242 -2.172* -0.456 Log destination country real GDP per capita -0.0551* -0.042 -2.172* -0.405 Log destination country real GDP per capita -0.359 -0.711 (0.707) (0.787) Log destination country real GDP per capita -0.35* -0.242 -2.172* -0.405 Log destination country real GDP per capita -0.0551* -0.0859*** -0.0158 -0.0927** Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0551* -0.0859*** -0.0158 -0.0927** Quarterly unemployment rate at destination 0.109** 0.0521 0.0312 -0.0394	Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.0556	0.164	0.377^{*}	0.0245
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(0.261)	(0.121)	(0.161)	(0.240)
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s) 0.137^{**} -0.0952 0.280^* 2.571^{**} Log origin country real GDP per capita -0.329 -0.570^* -1.056 0.0193 Log destination country real GDP per capita -0.329 -0.570^* -1.056 0.0193 Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.355 -0.242 -2.172^* -0.405 Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0551^* -0.0859^{***} -0.0158 -0.0927^{***} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0551^* -0.0859^{***} -0.0158 -0.0927^{***} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0551^* -0.0859^{***} -0.0158 -0.0927^{***} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0551^* -0.0859^{****} -0.0158 -0.0927^{****} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination 0.00521 0.0230 (0.0187) Quarterly unemployment rate at destination 0.00521 0.0118 0.0230 (0.0187) Quarterly unemployment rate at destination 0.00851 0.00521 0.0312 0.00230 Quarterly unemployment rate at destinatio	Political Rights (FHI)	0.0173	0.210^{*}	-0.109	0.345
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(0.114)	(0.0839)	(0.0776)	(0.171)
Log origin country real GDP per capita -0.329 -0.570^* -1.056 0.0193 Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.355 -0.242 -2.172^* -0.405 Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0551^* -0.0859^{***} -0.0158 -0.0927^{***} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0551^* -0.0859^{***} -0.0158 -0.0927^{***} Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.109^* 0.0521 0.0312 -0.0394 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.0731 0.133^{**} 0.0279 0.120^{**} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0731 0.133^{**} 0.0279 0.120^{**} Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0227 0.0918^{**} -0.103 0.0231 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0227 0.0918^{**} -0.103 0.0231 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{**} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{**} Cabinet positio	Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.137^{**}	-0.0952	0.280^{*}	2.571**
Log destination country real GDP per capita (0.376) (0.270) (0.490) (0.343) Log destination country real GDP per capita -1.355 -0.242 -2.172^* -0.405 Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0551^* -0.0859^{***} -0.0158 -0.0927^{***} Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0551^* -0.0859^{***} -0.0158 -0.0927^{***} Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.109^* 0.0521 0.0312 -0.0394 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.0731 0.133^{***} 0.0279 0.120^{**} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0227 0.0918^{**} -0.103 0.0231 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0227 0.0918^{**} -0.103 0.0231 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^* Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^* Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^* Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^* Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^* Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^* Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} <t< td=""><td></td><td>(0.0377)</td><td>(0.0728)</td><td>(0.108)</td><td>(0.844)</td></t<>		(0.0377)	(0.0728)	(0.108)	(0.844)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.329	-0.570^*	-1.056	0.0193
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination (0.759) (0.711) (0.707) (0.787) Quarterly unemployment rate at destination -0.0551^* -0.0859^{***} -0.0158 -0.0927^{***} Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.109^* 0.0521 0.0312 -0.0394 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.0731 0.133^{**} 0.0279 0.120^{**} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0227 0.0918^{**} -0.103 0.0231 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0227 0.0918^{**} -0.103 0.0231 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0227 0.0314 (0.0496) (0.0368) Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{*} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{*} Observations 4536 7776 4696 7365 Adjusted R^2 0.255 0.202 0.124 0.273 Fixed Effects 0.020 0.00 0.00 0.00 </td <td></td> <td>(0.376)</td> <td>(0.270)</td> <td>(0.490)</td> <td>(0.343)</td>		(0.376)	(0.270)	(0.490)	(0.343)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.355	-0.242	-2.172*	-0.405
Cabinet position left * Before the election (0.0180) (0.0176) (0.0230) (0.0187) Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.109^* 0.0521 0.0312 -0.0394 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.0731 0.133^{**} 0.0279 0.120^{**} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0227 0.0918^{**} -0.103 0.0231 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0227 0.0918^{**} -0.103 0.0231 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^* Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^* Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^* Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{**} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{**} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{**} Cabinet p		(0.759)	(0.711)	(0.707)	(0.787)
Cabinet position left * Before the election 0.109^* 0.0521 0.0312 -0.0394 Cabinet position left * After the election 0.0731 0.133^{**} 0.0279 0.120^{**} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0227 0.0918^{**} -0.103 0.0231 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0227 0.0918^{**} -0.103 0.0231 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^* Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^* Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^* Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^* Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^* Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^* Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^* Cabinet position	Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0551^*	-0.0859***	-0.0158	-0.0927***
Cabinet position left * After the election (0.0419) (0.0338) (0.0819) (0.0537) Cabinet position left * After the election 0.0731 0.133^{**} 0.0279 0.120^{**} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0227 0.0918^{**} -0.103 0.0231 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{*} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{*} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{*} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{*} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{*} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{*} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{*} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{*}		(0.0180)	(0.0176)	(0.0230)	(0.0187)
Cabinet position left * After the election 0.0731 0.133^{**} 0.0279 0.120^{**} Cabinet position right * Before the election 0.0227 0.0918^{**} -0.103 0.0231 Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0267 (0.0314) (0.0496) (0.0368) Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{*} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{*} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{*} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{*} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{*} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{*} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^{**} Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.128^{**}	Cabinet position left \ast Before the election	0.109^{*}	0.0521	0.0312	-0.0394
Cabinet position right * Before the election (0.0366) (0.0408) (0.0341) (0.0402) Cabinet position right * After the election 0.0227 $0.0918**$ -0.103 0.0231 Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 $-0.128**$ $-0.106*$ Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 $-0.128**$ $-0.106*$ Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 $-0.128**$ $-0.106*$ Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 $-0.128**$ $-0.106*$ Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 $-0.128**$ $-0.106*$ Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 $-0.128**$ $-0.106*$ Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 $-0.128**$ $-0.106*$ Observations 4536 7776 4696 7365 Adjusted R^2 0.202 0.124 0.273 Fixed Effects 0.002 0.002 0.002 0.002 0.002 0.00		(0.0419)	(0.0338)	(0.0819)	(0.0537)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Cabinet position left $*$ After the election	0.0731	0.133**	0.0279	0.120**
$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(0.0366)	(0.0408)	(0.0341)	(0.0402)
Cabinet position right * After the election -0.0608 -0.0694 -0.128^{**} -0.106^* Observations 4536 7776 4696 7365 Adjusted R^2 0.255 0.202 0.124 0.273 Fixed Effects $D \times O$ $D \times O$ $D \times O$ $D \times O$ Destination dummies No No No No Quarter-Year dummies Yes Yes Yes Yes	Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0227	0.0918**	-0.103	0.0231
Observations (0.0468) (0.0405) (0.0338) (0.0423) Observations 4536 7776 4696 7365 Adjusted R^2 0.255 0.202 0.124 0.273 Fixed Effects $D \times O$ $D \times O$ $D \times O$ $D \times O$ Destination dummies No No No No Quarter-Year dummies Yes Yes Yes Yes		(0.0567)	(0.0314)	(0.0496)	(0.0368)
Observations 4536 7776 4696 7365 Adjusted R^2 0.255 0.202 0.124 0.273 Fixed Effects $D \times O$ $D \times O$ $D \times O$ $D \times O$ Destination dummies No No No No Quarter-Year dummiesYesYesYesYes	Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0608	-0.0694	-0.128**	-0.106*
Adjusted R^2 0.255 0.202 0.124 0.273 Fixed EffectsD x OD x OD x OD x ODestination dummiesNoNoNoNoQuarter-Year dummiesYesYesYesYes		(0.0468)	(0.0405)	(0.0338)	(0.0423)
Fixed Effects DxO DxO DxO DxO Destination dummies No No No No No Quarter-Year dummies Yes Yes Yes	Observations	4536	7776	4696	7365
Destination dummies No No No No Quarter-Year dummies Yes Yes Yes Yes	Adjusted R^2	0.255	0.202	0.124	0.273
Quarter-Year dummies Yes Yes Yes Yes	Fixed Effects	$D \times O$	$D \times O$	$D \times O$	$D \times O$
•	Destination dummies	No	No	No	No
Area of origin MENA Africa SEA ECA	Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Area of origin	MENA	Africa	SEA	ECA

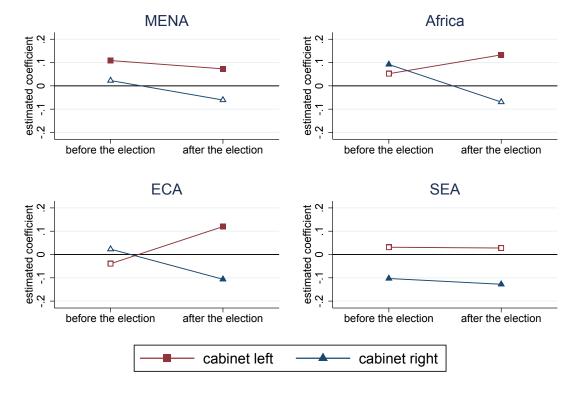


Figure 50: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 73: log First-Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

(a) Middle East and North Africa				
	(1)	(2)		
	left	$_{ m right}$		
before	0.109**	0.0227		
	(0.0419)	(0.0567)		
after	0.0731*	-0.0608		
	(0.0366)	(0.0468)		
Observations	4536	4536		

Standard errors in parentheses (* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001)

	(b) Africa	
	(1)	(2)
	left	$_{ m right}$
before	0.0521	0.0918**
	(0.0338)	(0.0314)
after	0.133**	-0.0694
	(0.0408)	(0.0405)
Observations	7776	7776

Standard errors in parentheses (* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001)

Table 75: log First-Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

(a) Europe and Central Asia			
	(1)	(2)	
	left	$_{ m right}$	
before	-0.0394	0.0231	
	(0.0537)	(0.0368)	
after	0.120**	-0.106*	
	(0.0402)	(0.0423)	
Observations	7365	7365	
~			

 $\begin{array}{c} {\rm Standard\ errors\ in\ parentheses} \\ (*\ p < 0.05,\ ^{**}\ p < 0.01,\ ^{***}\ p < 0.001) \end{array}$

(b) South and East Asia			
	(1)	(2)	
	left	$_{ m right}$	
before	0.0312	-0.103*	
	(0.0819)	(0.0496)	
after	0.0279	-0.128***	
	(0.0341)	(0.0338)	
Observations	4696	4696	

 $\begin{array}{c} {\rm Standard\ errors\ in\ parentheses}\\ (*\ p<0.05,\ ^{**}\ p<0.01,\ ^{***}\ p<0.001) \end{array}$

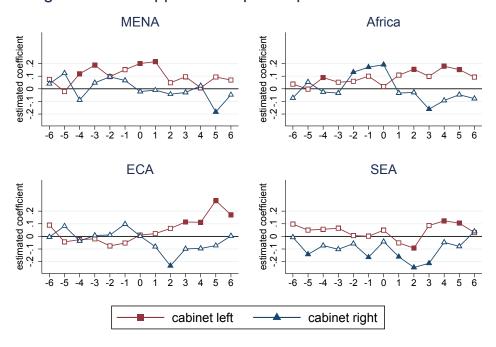


Figure 51: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 77: log First-Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

(a) Middle East and North Afric	((a)	Middle	East	and	North	Africa
---------------------------------	---	-----	--------	------	-----	-------	--------

(a) Middle East and	NOI UII AII I	ca
	(1)	(2)
	left	right
6 quarters before the election	0.0741	0.0402
	(0.102)	(0.0947)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0219	0.124
	(0.105)	(0.0841)
4 quarters before the election	0.119*	-0.0885
	(0.0520)	(0.0993)
3 quarters before the election	0.187^{***}	0.0477
	(0.0567)	(0.0850)
2 quarters before the election	0.0964	0.0948
	(0.0522)	(0.0943)
1 quarters before the election	0.151	0.0665
	(0.0962)	(0.0546)
Quarter of the election	0.201***	-0.0218
	(0.0507)	(0.0469)
1 quarters after the election	0.215*	-0.0104
	(0.0975)	(0.0939)
2 quarters after the election	0.0479	-0.0427
	(0.0537)	(0.0805)
3 quarters after the election	0.0954	-0.0291
	(0.0691)	(0.0861)
4 quarters after the election	0.00819	0.0239
	(0.0578)	(0.0746)
5 quarters after the election	0.0937	-0.183*
	(0.0489)	(0.0766)
6 quarters after the election	0.0696	-0.0473
	(0.0875)	(0.0796)
Observations	4536	4536

 $\begin{array}{c} {\rm Standard\ errors\ in\ parentheses} \\ (*\ p < 0.05,\ ^{**}\ p < 0.01,\ ^{***}\ p < 0.001) \end{array}$

(b) Africa

	(1)	(2)
	left	$_{ m right}$
6 quarters before the election	0.0368	-0.0723
	(0.0593)	(0.0436)
5 quarters before the election	-0.00293	0.0537
	(0.0431)	(0.0496)
4 quarters before the election	0.0892*	-0.0253
	(0.0441)	(0.0697)
3 quarters before the election	0.0521	-0.0341
	(0.0626)	(0.0562)
2 quarters before the election	0.0594	0.132*
	(0.0513)	(0.0571)
1 quarters before the election	0.100	0.172**
	(0.0532)	(0.0524)
Quarter of the election	0.0183	0.191***
	(0.0480)	(0.0508)
1 quarters after the election	0.108	-0.0335
	(0.0595)	(0.0509)
2 quarters after the election	0.155**	-0.0289
	(0.0511)	(0.0490)
3 quarters after the election	0.0985	-0.161*
	(0.0671)	(0.0645)
4 quarters after the election	0.179***	-0.0926
	(0.0531)	(0.0693)
5 quarters after the election	0.152**	-0.0469
	(0.0565)	(0.0670)
6 quarters after the election	0.0927	-0.0775
	(0.0516)	(0.0662)
Observations	7776	7776

 $\begin{array}{c} {\rm Standard\ errors\ in\ parentheses} \\ (*\ p < 0.05,\ ^{**}\ p < 0.01,\ ^{***}\ p < 0.001) \end{array}$

Table 79: log First-Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

(a) Europe and Central Asia

(b) South and East Asia

	(1)	(2)
	left	$_{ m right}$
6 quarters before the election	0.0891	-0.00515
	(0.0701)	(0.0983)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0437	0.0823
	(0.0495)	(0.0541)
4 quarters before the election	-0.0260	-0.0363
	(0.0698)	(0.0552)
3 quarters before the election	-0.0196	0.00741
	(0.0773)	(0.0383)
2 quarters before the election	-0.0754	0.0109
	(0.0673)	(0.0677)
1 quarters before the election	-0.0526	0.0980
	(0.0749)	(0.0614)
Quarter of the election	0.0108	0.00265
	(0.0706)	(0.0785)
1 quarters after the election	0.0221	-0.0814
	(0.0766)	(0.0459)
2 quarters after the election	0.0631	-0.233***
	(0.0600)	(0.0613)
3 quarters after the election	0.114*	-0.0986
	(0.0539)	(0.0667)
4 quarters after the election	0.112*	-0.0958
	(0.0479)	(0.0649)
5 quarters after the election	0.283***	-0.0725
	(0.0439)	(0.0652)
6 quarters after the election	0.171***	0.00368
	(0.0387)	(0.0459)
Observations	7365	7365

	(1)	(2)
	left	$_{ m right}$
6 quarters before the election	0.0973	-0.00711
	(0.0728)	(0.0934)
5 quarters before the election	0.0496	-0.142*
	(0.0808)	(0.0725)
4 quarters before the election	0.0564	-0.0726
	(0.118)	(0.0856)
3 quarters before the election	0.0646	-0.102
	(0.123)	(0.0766)
2 quarters before the election	0.00611	-0.0576
	(0.0987)	(0.0655)
1 quarters before the election	0.00144	-0.165***
	(0.103)	(0.0456)
Quarter of the election	0.0488	-0.0413
	(0.0971)	(0.0840)
1 quarters after the election	-0.0516	-0.161**
	(0.0757)	(0.0595)
2 quarters after the election	-0.0929*	-0.246***
	(0.0404)	(0.0583)
3 quarters after the election	0.0860	-0.213**
	(0.0779)	(0.0652)
4 quarters after the election	0.123*	-0.0472
	(0.0525)	(0.0543)
5 quarters after the election	0.105***	-0.0790
	(0.0311)	(0.0495)
6 quarters after the election	0.0300	0.0392
	(0.0671)	(0.0591)
Observations	4696	4696