

# The political economy of EU asylum policies

## Results first time applications per capita

Martina Burmann, Marcus Drometer and Romuald Méango

November 23, 2017

## Contents

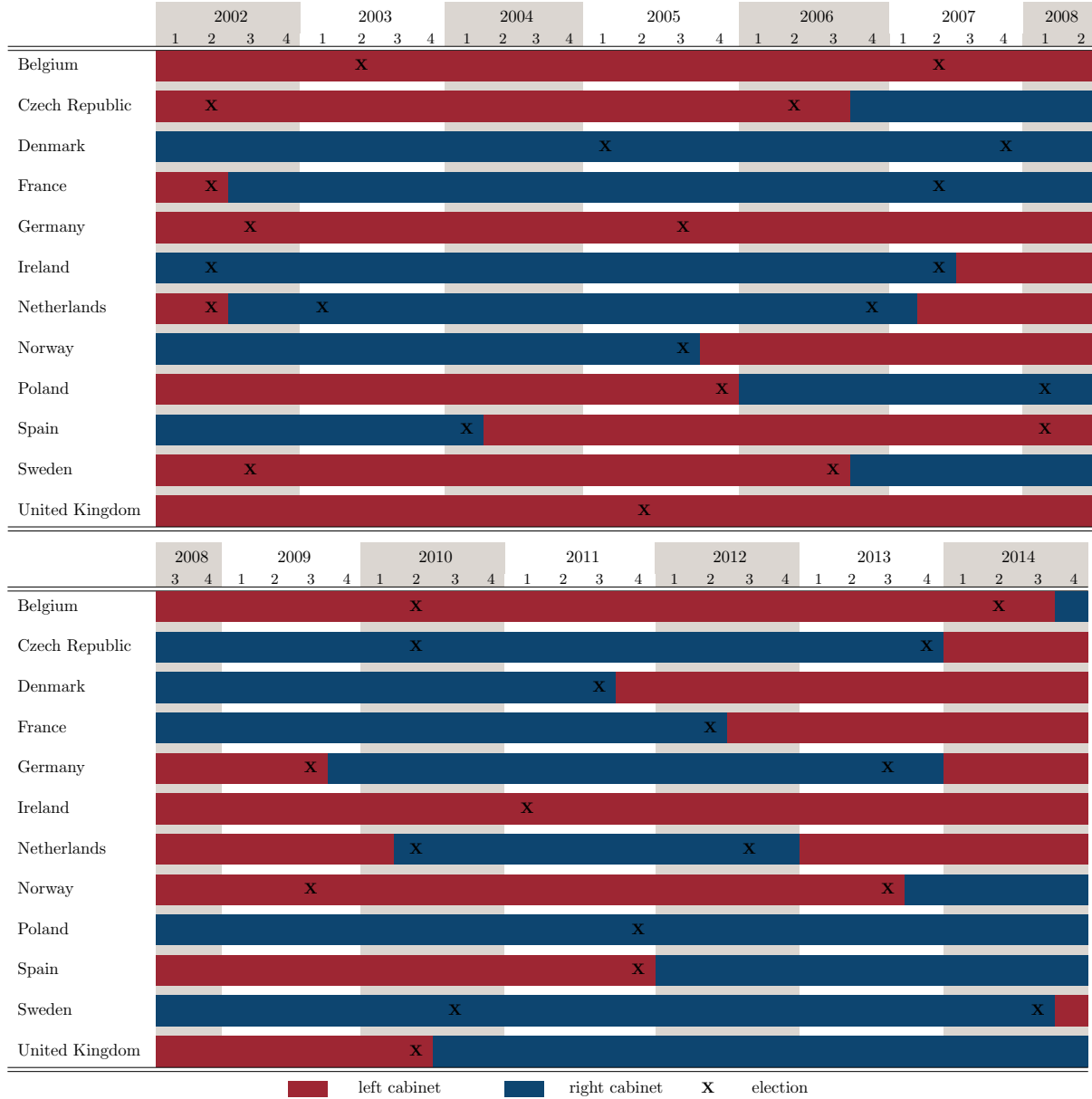
<b>1</b>	<b>Descriptives</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Baseline Specification</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Robustness</b>	<b>8</b>
3.1	Use destination, origin and time fixed effects . . . . .	8
3.2	Use destination and origin*time fixed effects . . . . .	10
3.3	Control for past asylum applications . . . . .	12
3.4	Include cabinet right dummy . . . . .	15
3.5	Use log first time applications per capita in origin country as dependent variable . . . . .	18
3.6	Do not use lags for origin country variables . . . . .	21
3.7	Use Syrian battle death data from UCDP . . . . .	24
3.8	Include a post 2007 dummy . . . . .	27
3.9	Cluster standard errors on destination*origin level . . . . .	30
3.10	Drop country pairs with less than one first-time application per quarter on average . . . . .	32
3.11	Drop country pairs with less than three first-time application per quarter on average . . . . .	35
3.12	Use normalized cabinet position to determine cabinet left-right dummies . . . . .	38
3.13	Split cabinet position at 5 to determine cabinet left-right dummies . . . . .	41
3.14	Use only 5 quarters around the election . . . . .	44
3.15	Use only 4 quarters around the election . . . . .	47
3.16	Do not impute first-time application data for 2008 and 2009 . . . . .	50
3.17	Include refugee crisis 2015 and 2016 . . . . .	53
3.18	Use all destination countries with a maximum of two years missing first-time application data . . . . .	56
3.19	Use only destination countries that report first-time application data in all years . . . . .	59
3.20	Add Cyprus to baseline sample of destination countries . . . . .	62
3.21	Use only countries that are also in baseline decision analysis . . . . .	65
<b>4</b>	<b>Heterogeneity by origin country region</b>	<b>68</b>

# 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



## 2 Baseline Specification

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

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.399*** (0.0703)	0.400*** (0.0696)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.175 (0.132)	0.175 (0.131)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0472 (0.0752)	0.0485 (0.0751)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.190*** (0.0236)	0.188*** (0.0234)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.659*** (0.165)	-0.661*** (0.163)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.263*** (0.0210)		0.263*** (0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.608* (0.298)		-0.613* (0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.415** (0.490)	-1.491** (0.441)	-1.158* (0.466)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0730*** (0.0114)	-0.0742*** (0.0108)	-0.0714*** (0.0116)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0247 (0.0291)	0.0232 (0.0292)	0.0114 (0.0304)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.122*** (0.0237)	0.114*** (0.0222)	0.116*** (0.0240)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0361 (0.0239)	0.0386 (0.0227)	0.0369 (0.0239)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0940*** (0.0243)	-0.0884*** (0.0233)	-0.0952*** (0.0241)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted $R^2$	0.444	0.176	0.447
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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

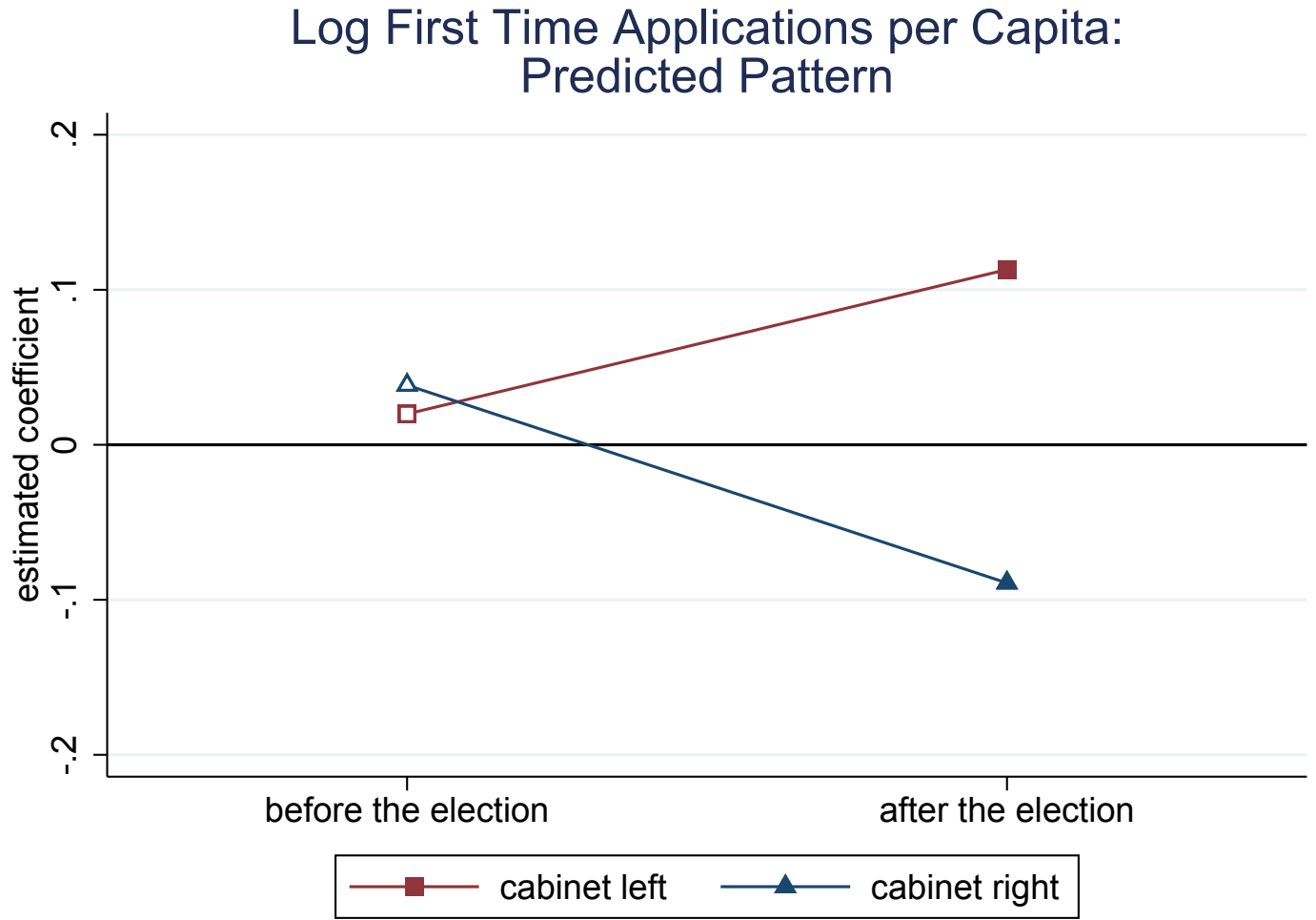


Figure 2: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0232 (0.0292)	0.0386 (0.0227)
after	0.114*** (0.0222)	-0.0884*** (0.0233)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

(\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ )

## Baseline Specification - Model 2

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

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.399*** (0.0703)	0.400*** (0.0696)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.174 (0.132)	0.175 (0.131)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0473 (0.0753)	0.0487 (0.0752)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.190*** (0.0236)	0.188*** (0.0234)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.659*** (0.165)	-0.661*** (0.163)	
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.453** (0.486)	-1.531*** (0.436)	-1.194* (0.462)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0736*** (0.0115)	-0.0748*** (0.0108)	-0.0719*** (0.0117)
Cabinet position left * 6 quarters before the election	0.0657 (0.0404)	0.0604 (0.0381)	0.0536 (0.0413)
Cabinet position left * 5 quarters before the election	-0.0132 (0.0384)	-0.0148 (0.0383)	-0.0209 (0.0390)
Cabinet position left * 4 quarters before the election	0.0464 (0.0377)	0.0453 (0.0390)	0.0390 (0.0390)
Cabinet position left * 3 quarters before the election	0.0594 (0.0433)	0.0592 (0.0426)	0.0439 (0.0453)
Cabinet position left * 2 quarters before the election	0.0258 (0.0332)	0.0237 (0.0338)	-0.000754 (0.0344)
Cabinet position left * 1 quarters before the election	0.0230 (0.0381)	0.0216 (0.0379)	0.00705 (0.0385)
Cabinet position left * election quarter	0.0546 (0.0382)	0.0511 (0.0378)	0.0435 (0.0393)
Cabinet position left * 1 quarters after the election	0.104* (0.0404)	0.0971* (0.0404)	0.0997* (0.0416)
Cabinet position left * 2 quarters after the election	0.0954** (0.0315)	0.0911** (0.0308)	0.0866** (0.0314)
Cabinet position left * 3 quarters after the election	0.108** (0.0331)	0.0976** (0.0323)	0.105** (0.0332)
Cabinet position left * 4 quarters after the election	0.159*** (0.0293)	0.149*** (0.0280)	0.151*** (0.0301)
Cabinet position left * 5 quarters after the election	0.201*** (0.0306)	0.191*** (0.0282)	0.187*** (0.0307)
Cabinet position left * 6 quarters after the election	0.115** (0.0336)	0.106** (0.0308)	0.109** (0.0336)
Cabinet position right * 6 quarters before the election	0.0381 (0.0418)	0.0416 (0.0413)	0.0403 (0.0414)
Cabinet position right * 5 quarters before the election	0.0825* (0.0333)	0.0864** (0.0321)	0.0882** (0.0317)
Cabinet position right * 4 quarters before the election	-0.00572 (0.0376)	-0.0000501 (0.0372)	-0.00461 (0.0368)
Cabinet position right * 3 quarters before the election	0.00437 (0.0311)	0.0111 (0.0297)	0.00220 (0.0310)
Cabinet position right * 2 quarters before the election	0.0608 (0.0387)	0.0641 (0.0380)	0.0612 (0.0389)
Cabinet position right * 1 quarters before the election	0.0781* (0.0344)	0.0755* (0.0344)	0.0739* (0.0340)
Cabinet position right * election quarter	0.0336 (0.0381)	0.0335 (0.0372)	0.0336 (0.0377)
Cabinet position right * 1 quarters after the election	-0.0700* (0.0321)	-0.0656* (0.0323)	-0.0702* (0.0317)
Cabinet position right * 2 quarters after the election	-0.136*** (0.0364)	-0.131*** (0.0360)	-0.143*** (0.0376)
Cabinet position right * 3 quarters after the election	-0.127** (0.0402)	-0.121** (0.0393)	-0.129** (0.0383)
Cabinet position right * 4 quarters after the election	-0.0736* (0.0362)	-0.0682 (0.0351)	-0.0742* (0.0368)
Cabinet position right * 5 quarters after the election	-0.0919* (0.0352)	-0.0863* (0.0355)	-0.0919* (0.0352)
Cabinet position right * 6 quarters after the election	-0.00909 (0.0325)	-0.00272 (0.0299)	-0.0110 (0.0317)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted $R^2$	0.443	0.176	0.447
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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

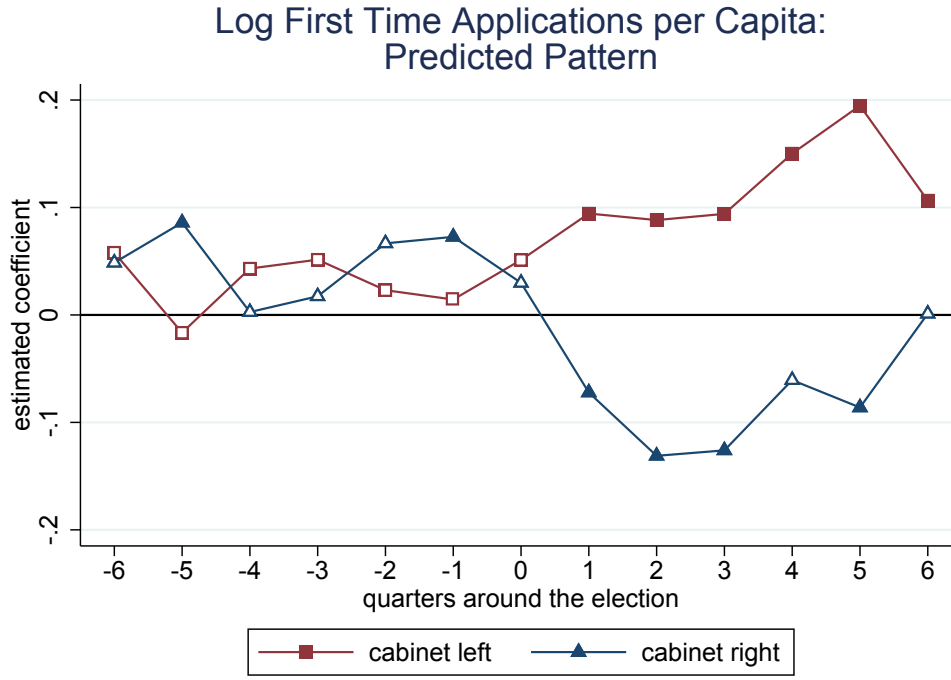


Figure 3: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.0604 (0.0381)	0.0416 (0.0413)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0148 (0.0383)	0.0864** (0.0321)
4 quarters before the election	0.0453 (0.0390)	-0.0000501 (0.0372)
3 quarters before the election	0.0592 (0.0426)	0.0111 (0.0297)
2 quarters before the election	0.0237 (0.0338)	0.0641 (0.0380)
1 quarters before the election	0.0216 (0.0379)	0.0755* (0.0344)
Quarter of the election	0.0511 (0.0378)	0.0335 (0.0372)
1 quarters after the election	0.0971* (0.0404)	-0.0656* (0.0323)
2 quarters after the election	0.0911** (0.0308)	-0.131*** (0.0360)
3 quarters after the election	0.0976** (0.0323)	-0.121** (0.0393)
4 quarters after the election	0.149*** (0.0280)	-0.0682 (0.0351)
5 quarters after the election	0.191*** (0.0282)	-0.0863* (0.0355)
6 quarters after the election	0.106*** (0.0308)	-0.00272 (0.0299)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

(\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ )

3 Robustness

3.1 Use destination, origin and time fixed effects

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

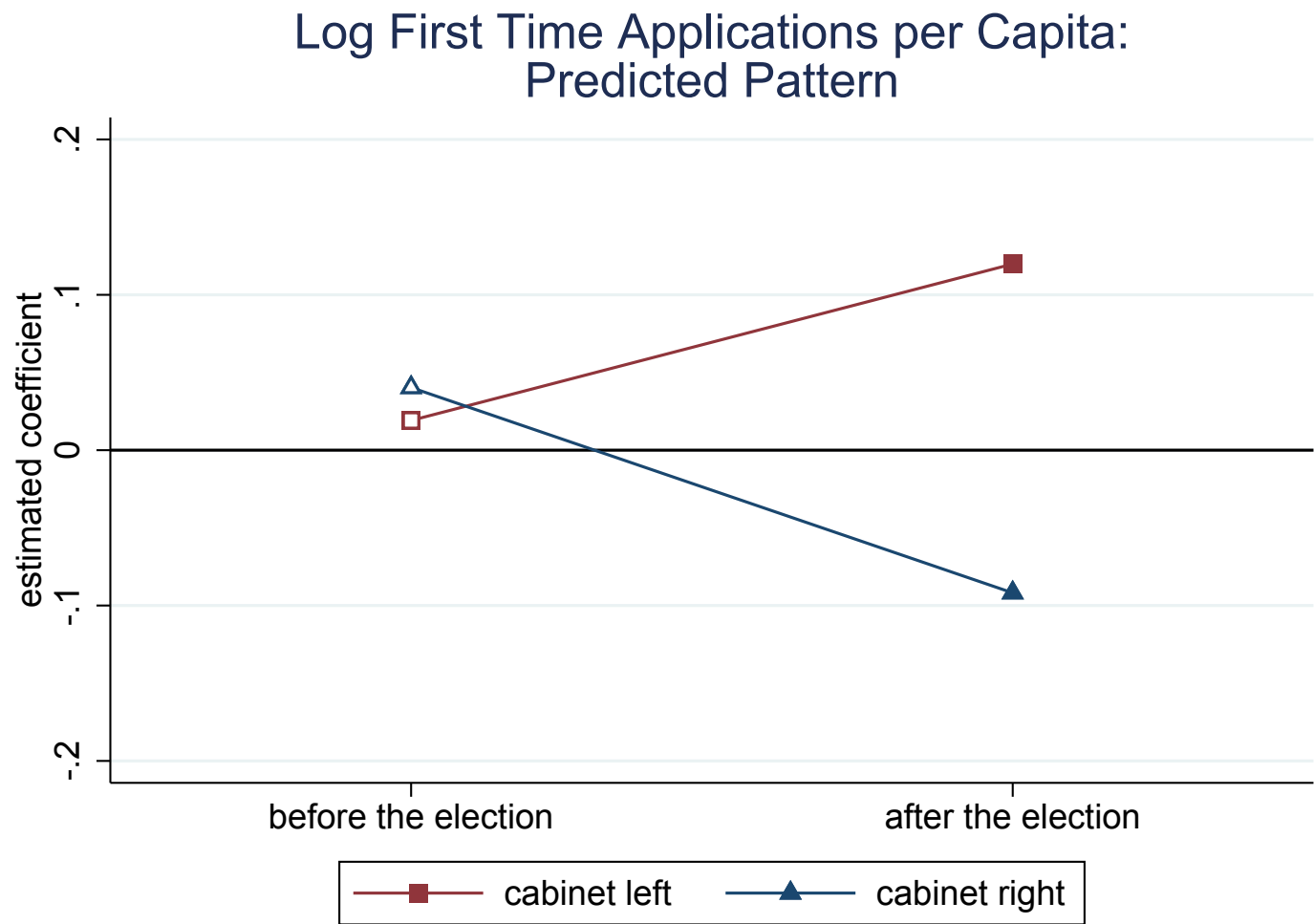


Figure 4: R1: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0226	0.0405
	(0.0294)	(0.0226)
after	0.121***	-0.0909***
	(0.0231)	(0.0240)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

(\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ )



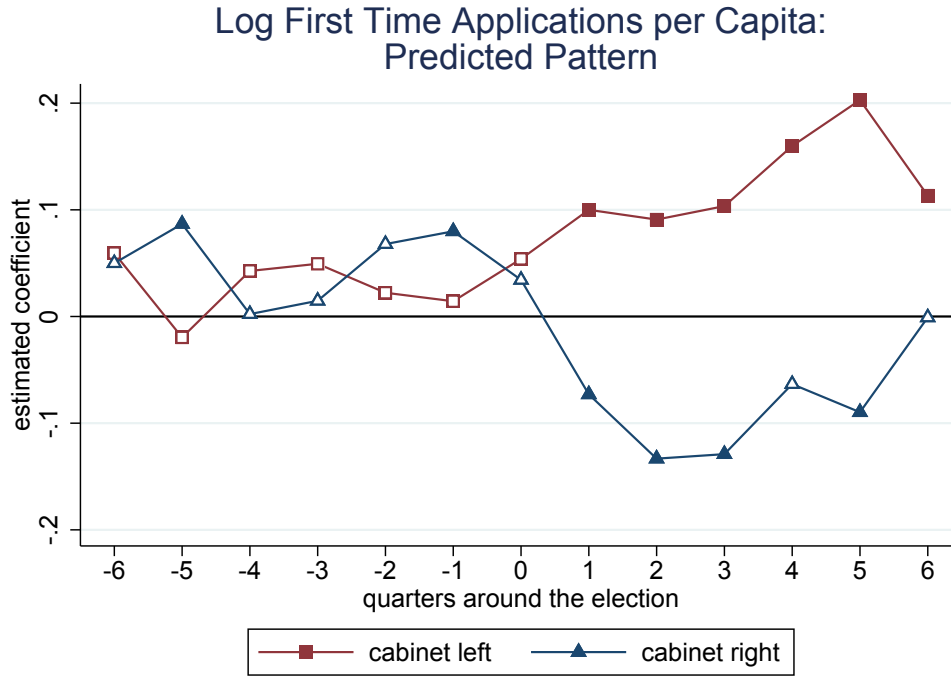


Figure 5: R1: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.0617 (0.0386)	0.0431 (0.0410)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0178 (0.0384)	0.0874** (0.0315)
4 quarters before the election	0.0449 (0.0390)	-0.000324 (0.0371)
3 quarters before the election	0.0572 (0.0429)	0.00862 (0.0301)
2 quarters before the election	0.0230 (0.0346)	0.0655 (0.0378)
1 quarters before the election	0.0216 (0.0378)	0.0826* (0.0345)
Quarter of the election	0.0540 (0.0373)	0.0379 (0.0373)
1 quarters after the election	0.103* (0.0403)	-0.0662* (0.0320)
2 quarters after the election	0.0935** (0.0308)	-0.133*** (0.0360)
3 quarters after the election	0.107** (0.0329)	-0.124** (0.0400)
4 quarters after the election	0.158*** (0.0291)	-0.0707* (0.0359)
5 quarters after the election	0.199*** (0.0300)	-0.0897* (0.0355)
6 quarters after the election	0.112*** (0.0325)	-0.00457 (0.0314)
Observations	23705	23705

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

3.2 Use destination and origin\*time fixed effects

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

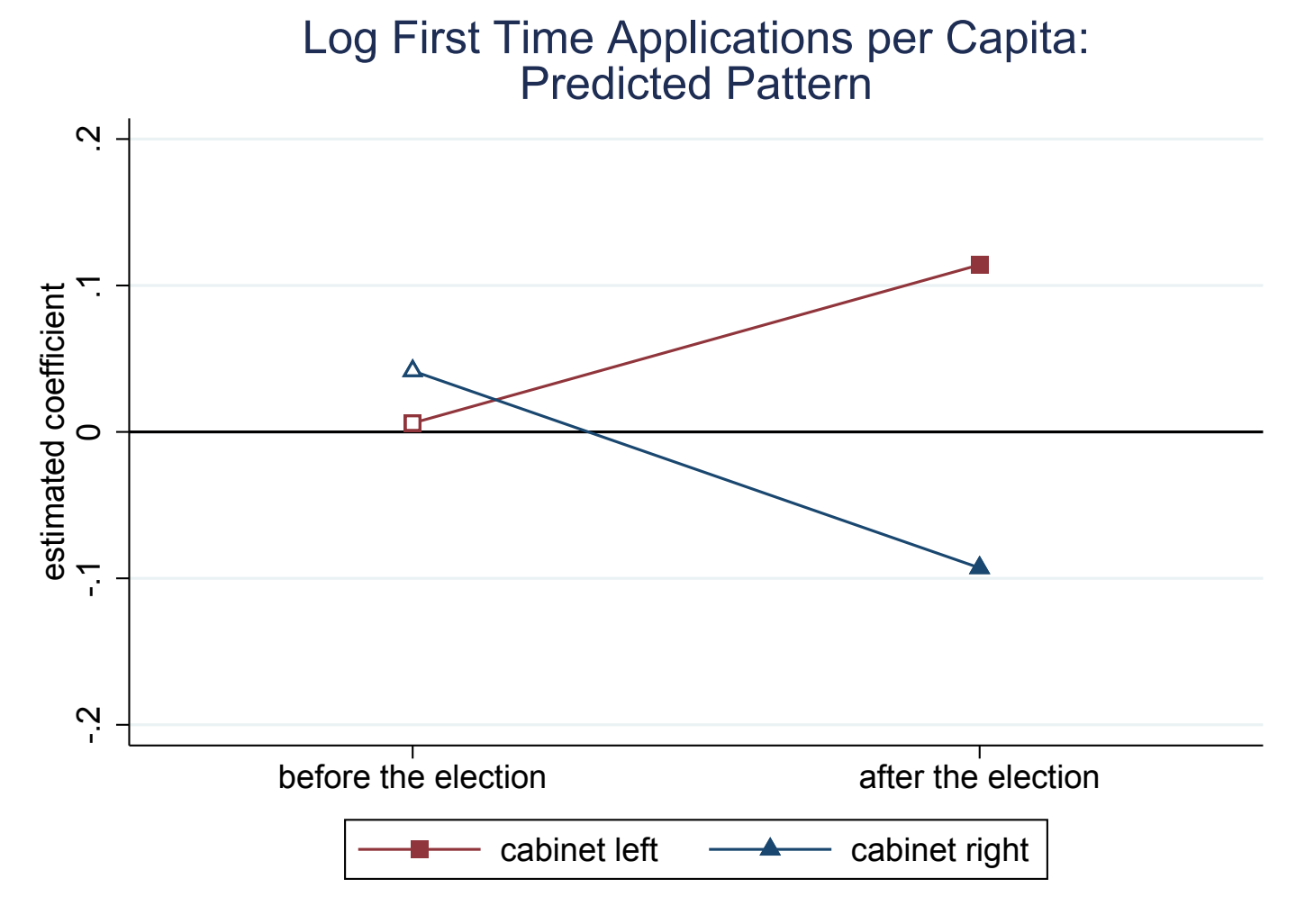


Figure 6: R2: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.00923 (0.0304)	0.0414 (0.0228)
after	0.115*** (0.0232)	-0.0919*** (0.0237)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

(\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ )

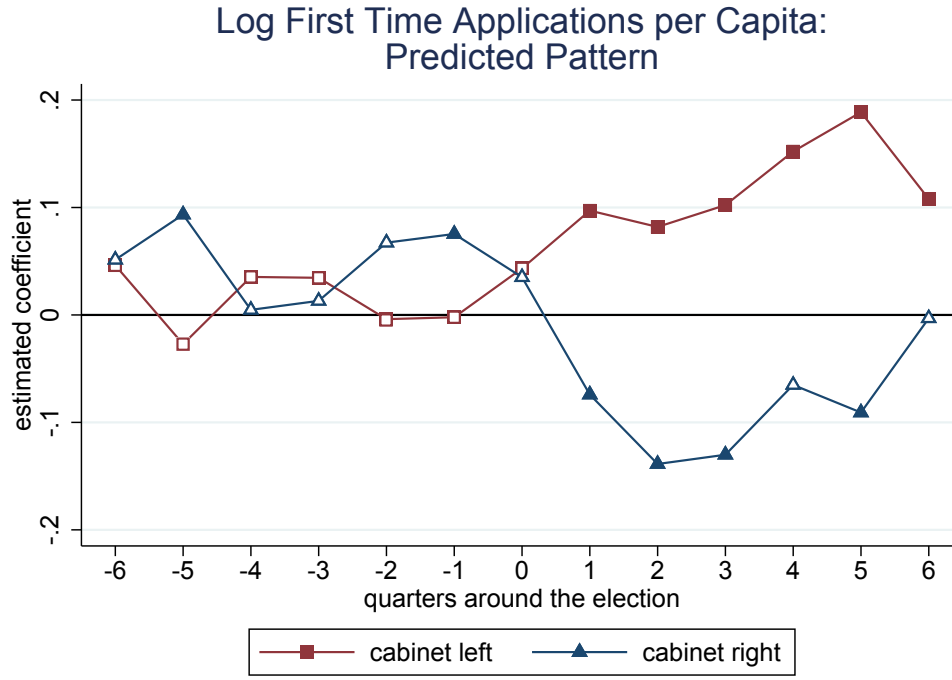


Figure 7: R2: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.0491 (0.0395)	0.0446 (0.0403)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0257 (0.0390)	0.0924** (0.0297)
4 quarters before the election	0.0374 (0.0399)	0.000113 (0.0365)
3 quarters before the election	0.0418 (0.0448)	0.00628 (0.0301)
2 quarters before the election	-0.00328 (0.0355)	0.0657 (0.0380)
1 quarters before the election	0.00560 (0.0382)	0.0785* (0.0343)
Quarter of the election	0.0426 (0.0383)	0.0385 (0.0369)
1 quarters after the election	0.0986* (0.0414)	-0.0663* (0.0316)
2 quarters after the election	0.0848** (0.0306)	-0.140*** (0.0372)
3 quarters after the election	0.105** (0.0329)	-0.126*** (0.0380)
4 quarters after the election	0.150*** (0.0299)	-0.0713 (0.0366)
5 quarters after the election	0.185*** (0.0300)	-0.0898* (0.0355)
6 quarters after the election	0.107** (0.0325)	-0.00661 (0.0306)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

(\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ )

### 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*** (0.0731)	0.396*** (0.0725)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.166 (0.132)	0.166 (0.130)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0436 (0.0739)	0.0449 (0.0738)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.198*** (0.0238)	0.196*** (0.0236)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.628*** (0.164)	-0.630*** (0.161)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.262*** (0.0211)		0.262*** (0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.611* (0.297)		-0.615* (0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.468** (0.498)	-1.570*** (0.441)	-1.274** (0.473)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0473*** (0.00997)	-0.0485*** (0.00969)	-0.0467*** (0.00999)
Log average past asylum applications at destination per capita	0.639*** (0.0684)	0.639*** (0.0588)	0.622*** (0.0723)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	-0.0144 (0.0277)	-0.0160 (0.0282)	-0.0273 (0.0288)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.0938*** (0.0220)	0.0861*** (0.0207)	0.0881*** (0.0222)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	-0.00140 (0.0245)	0.00167 (0.0228)	0.00130 (0.0240)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.125*** (0.0247)	-0.119*** (0.0235)	-0.124*** (0.0244)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted $R^2$	0.456	0.210	0.460
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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

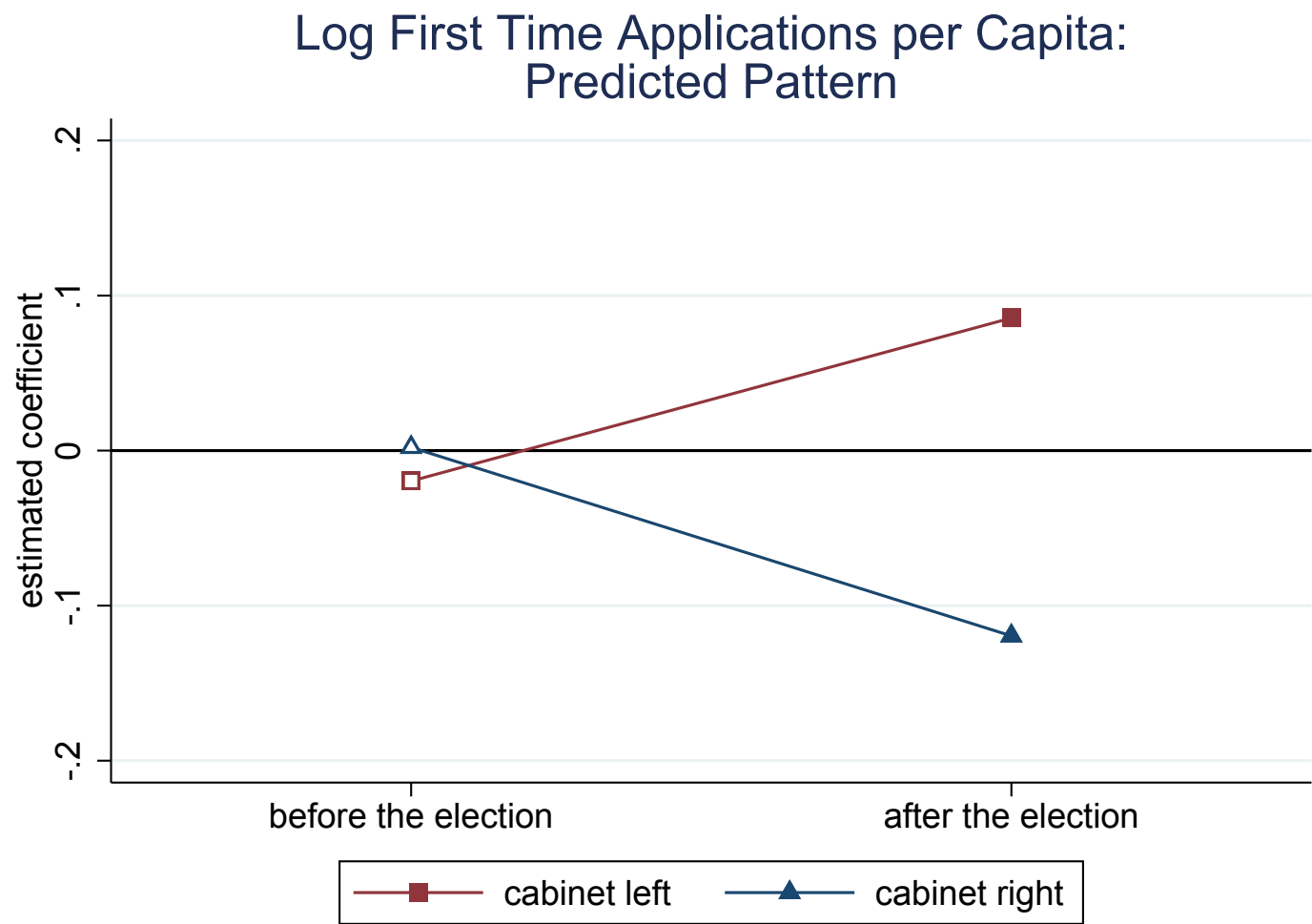


Figure 8: R3: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	-0.0160 (0.0282)	0.00167 (0.0228)
after	0.0861*** (0.0207)	-0.119*** (0.0235)
Observations	23705	23705

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

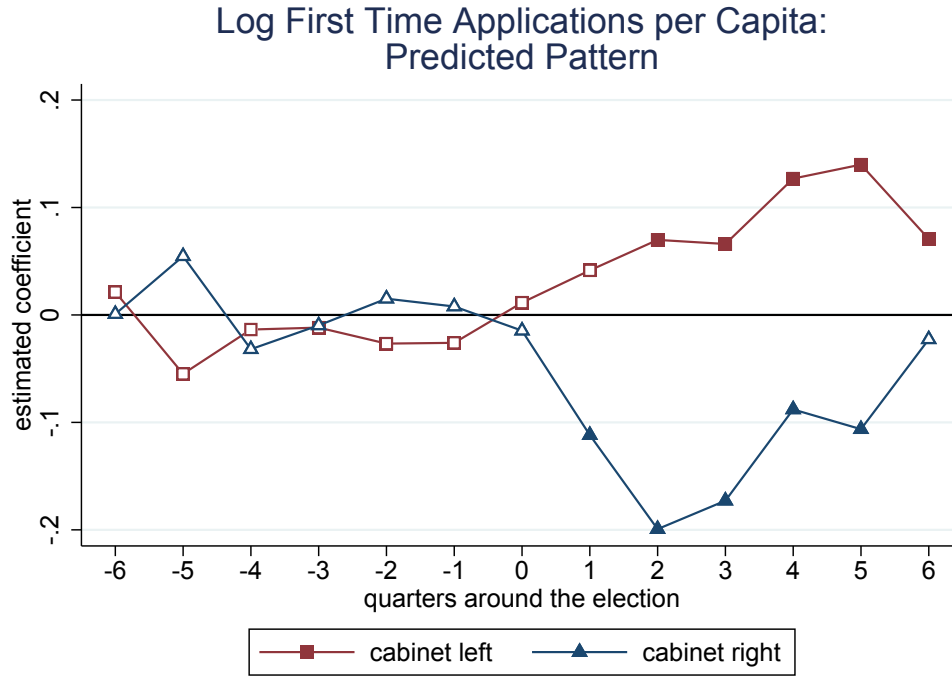


Figure 9: R3: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.0242 (0.0375)	-0.00599 (0.0412)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0524 (0.0380)	0.0551 (0.0325)
4 quarters before the election	-0.0111 (0.0381)	-0.0346 (0.0366)
3 quarters before the election	-0.00376 (0.0412)	-0.0161 (0.0297)
2 quarters before the election	-0.0256 (0.0331)	0.0124 (0.0369)
1 quarters before the election	-0.0184 (0.0373)	0.00938 (0.0350)
Quarter of the election	0.0117 (0.0361)	-0.0121 (0.0376)
1 quarters after the election	0.0439 (0.0386)	-0.105** (0.0325)
2 quarters after the election	0.0720* (0.0291)	-0.199*** (0.0354)
3 quarters after the election	0.0690* (0.0314)	-0.168*** (0.0399)
4 quarters after the election	0.125*** (0.0268)	-0.0957** (0.0349)
5 quarters after the election	0.136*** (0.0265)	-0.107** (0.0355)
6 quarters after the election	0.0699* (0.0294)	-0.0266 (0.0297)
Observations	23705	23705

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

### 3.4 Include cabinet right dummy

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

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.399*** (0.0702)	0.400*** (0.0696)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.174 (0.132)	0.175 (0.131)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0472 (0.0752)	0.0486 (0.0751)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.190*** (0.0236)	0.188*** (0.0234)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.658*** (0.165)	-0.660*** (0.163)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.263*** (0.0210)		0.263*** (0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.608* (0.298)		-0.613* (0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.375** (0.487)	-1.460** (0.441)	-1.126* (0.462)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0734*** (0.0115)	-0.0745*** (0.0108)	-0.0717*** (0.0117)
Weighted cabinet position right	-0.0638 (0.0492)	-0.0496 (0.0438)	-0.0525 (0.0503)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	-0.00455 (0.0313)	0.000528 (0.0313)	-0.0127 (0.0318)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.0922*** (0.0224)	0.0908*** (0.0226)	0.0912*** (0.0230)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0653** (0.0236)	0.0612* (0.0232)	0.0610* (0.0244)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0638* (0.0281)	-0.0650* (0.0275)	-0.0704* (0.0272)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted $R^2$	0.444	0.176	0.447
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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

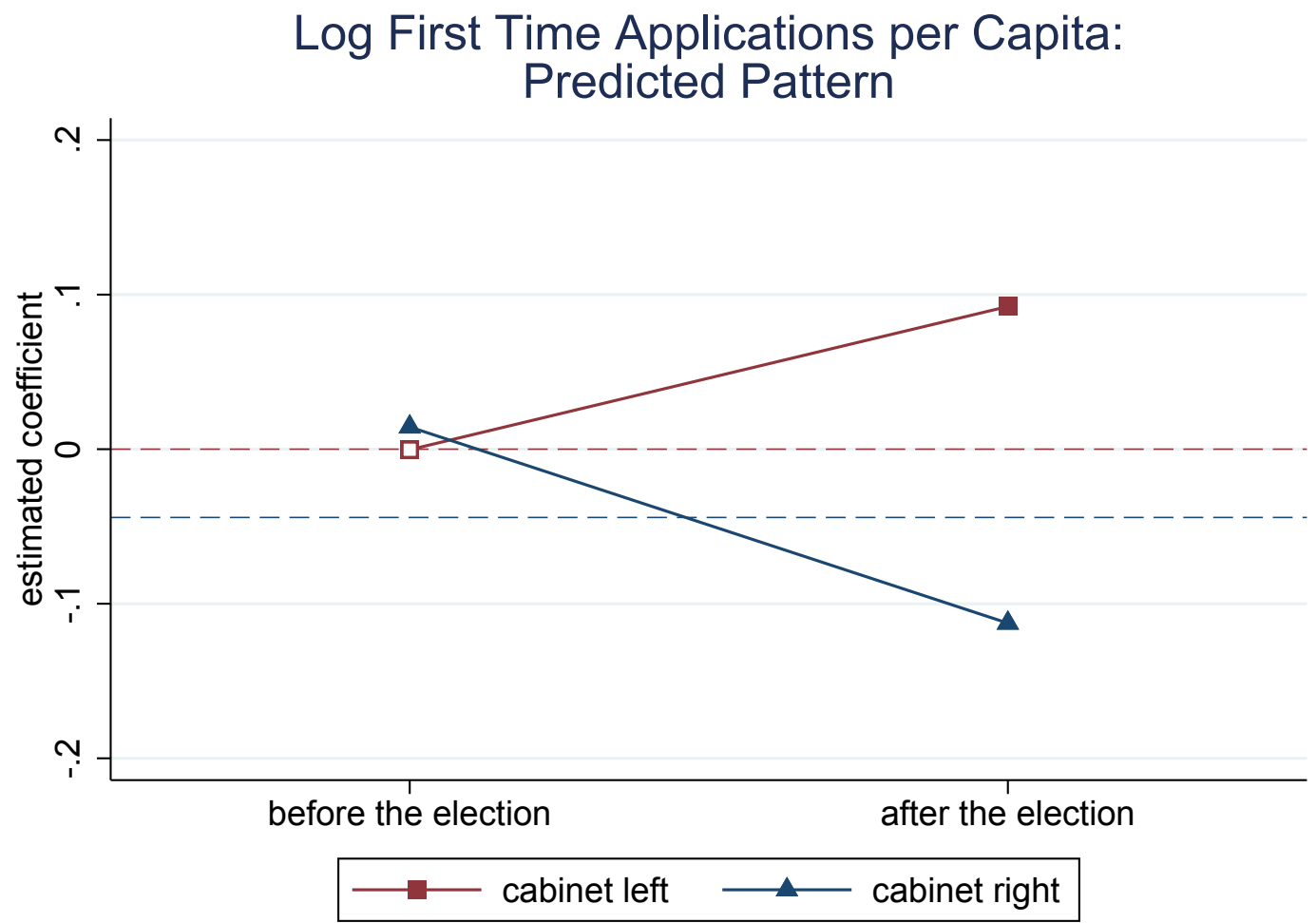


Figure 10: R4: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.000528 (0.0313)	0.0612** (0.0232)
after	0.0908*** (0.0226)	-0.0650* (0.0275)
Observations	23705	23705

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



#### R4: Include cabinet right dummy - Model 2

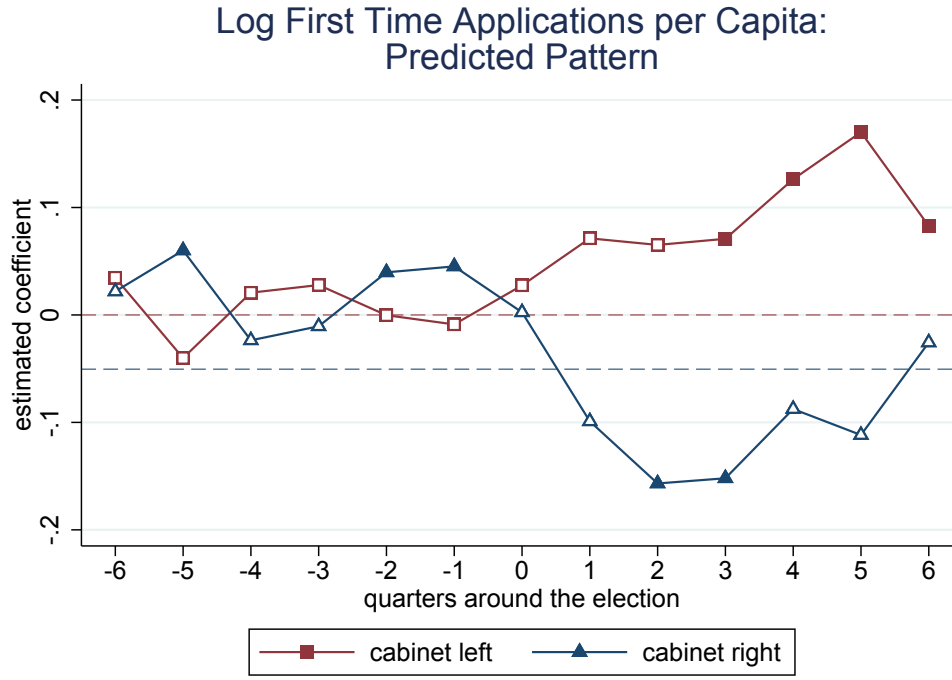


Figure 11: R4: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.0351 (0.0311)	0.0676 (0.0388)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0405 (0.0335)	0.113*** (0.0290)
4 quarters before the election	0.0209 (0.0413)	0.0264 (0.0403)
3 quarters before the election	0.0334 (0.0444)	0.0358 (0.0311)
2 quarters before the election	-0.00166 (0.0355)	0.0898* (0.0388)
1 quarters before the election	-0.00364 (0.0438)	0.101** (0.0364)
Quarter of the election	0.0254 (0.0406)	0.0586 (0.0357)
1 quarters after the election	0.0720 (0.0390)	-0.0397 (0.0369)
2 quarters after the election	0.0659 (0.0349)	-0.104** (0.0351)
3 quarters after the election	0.0722* (0.0331)	-0.0943* (0.0463)
4 quarters after the election	0.123*** (0.0312)	-0.0424 (0.0395)
5 quarters after the election	0.164*** (0.0279)	-0.0592 (0.0360)
6 quarters after the election	0.0797** (0.0273)	0.0232 (0.0311)
Observations	23705	23705

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

### 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	0.399*** (0.0701)	0.400*** (0.0696)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.142 (0.129)	0.143 (0.127)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0618 (0.0713)	0.0632 (0.0712)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.195*** (0.0225)	0.193*** (0.0224)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.635*** (0.160)	-0.637*** (0.158)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.263*** (0.0210)		0.263*** (0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.610* (0.298)		-0.613* (0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.427** (0.495)	-1.503** (0.444)	-1.223* (0.465)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0699*** (0.0114)	-0.0711*** (0.0107)	-0.0677*** (0.0116)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0341 (0.0293)	0.0325 (0.0294)	0.0193 (0.0304)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.127*** (0.0238)	0.118*** (0.0222)	0.119*** (0.0240)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0327 (0.0237)	0.0353 (0.0225)	0.0332 (0.0238)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0947*** (0.0243)	-0.0892*** (0.0232)	-0.0949*** (0.0241)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted $R^2$	0.472	0.182	0.475
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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

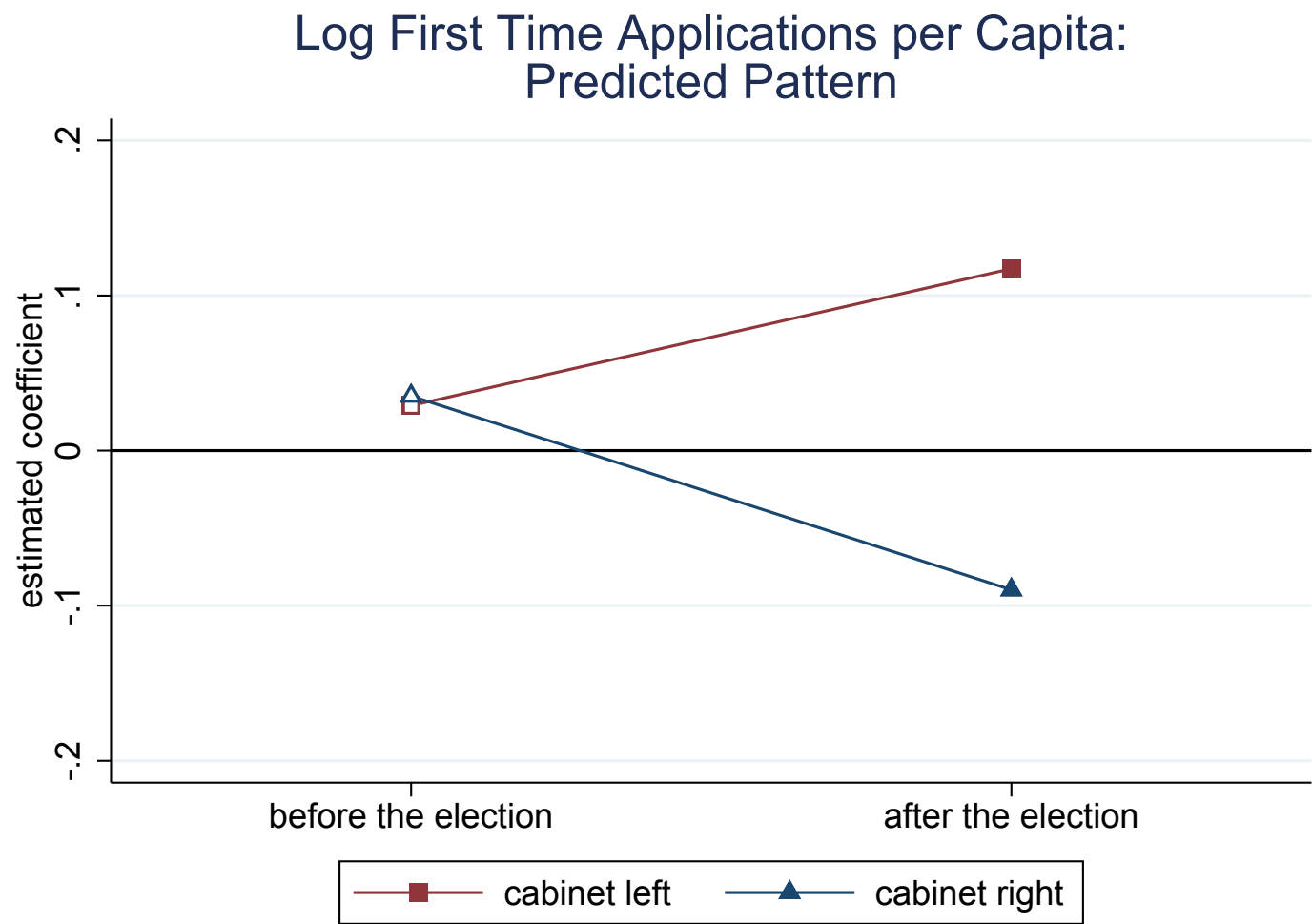


Figure 12: R5: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0325 (0.0294)	0.0353 (0.0225)
after	0.118*** (0.0222)	-0.0892*** (0.0232)
Observations	23705	23705

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

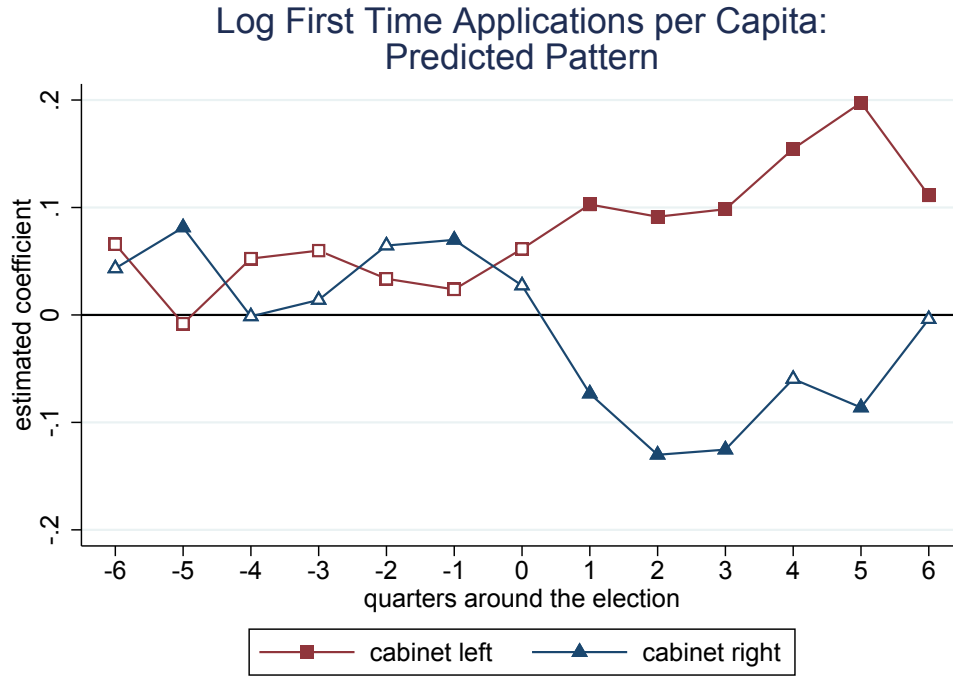


Figure 13: R5: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.0683 (0.0381)	0.0363 (0.0413)
5 quarters before the election	-0.00625 (0.0386)	0.0818* (0.0320)
4 quarters before the election	0.0547 (0.0390)	-0.00421 (0.0372)
3 quarters before the election	0.0677 (0.0426)	0.00770 (0.0296)
2 quarters before the election	0.0345 (0.0338)	0.0620 (0.0379)
1 quarters before the election	0.0310 (0.0380)	0.0726* (0.0341)
Quarter of the election	0.0615 (0.0380)	0.0309 (0.0371)
1 quarters after the election	0.106** (0.0403)	-0.0667* (0.0321)
2 quarters after the election	0.0942** (0.0307)	-0.130*** (0.0359)
3 quarters after the election	0.102** (0.0324)	-0.121** (0.0393)
4 quarters after the election	0.154*** (0.0281)	-0.0673 (0.0352)
5 quarters after the election	0.194*** (0.0282)	-0.0865* (0.0354)
6 quarters after the election	0.110*** (0.0308)	-0.00790 (0.0300)
Observations	23705	23705

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

### 3.6 Do not use lags for origin country variables

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

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.336*** (0.0622)	0.337*** (0.0616)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.130 (0.124)	0.129 (0.122)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0542 (0.0668)	0.0562 (0.0669)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.162*** (0.0223)	0.160*** (0.0221)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.692*** (0.151)	-0.693*** (0.149)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.263*** (0.0210)		0.263*** (0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.609* (0.298)		-0.613* (0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.394** (0.489)	-1.469** (0.440)	-1.158* (0.466)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0725*** (0.0114)	-0.0737*** (0.0108)	-0.0714*** (0.0116)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0257 (0.0291)	0.0242 (0.0291)	0.0114 (0.0304)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.123*** (0.0239)	0.115*** (0.0224)	0.116*** (0.0240)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0370 (0.0240)	0.0395 (0.0227)	0.0369 (0.0239)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0947*** (0.0243)	-0.0891*** (0.0232)	-0.0952*** (0.0241)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted $R^2$	0.441	0.168	0.447
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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

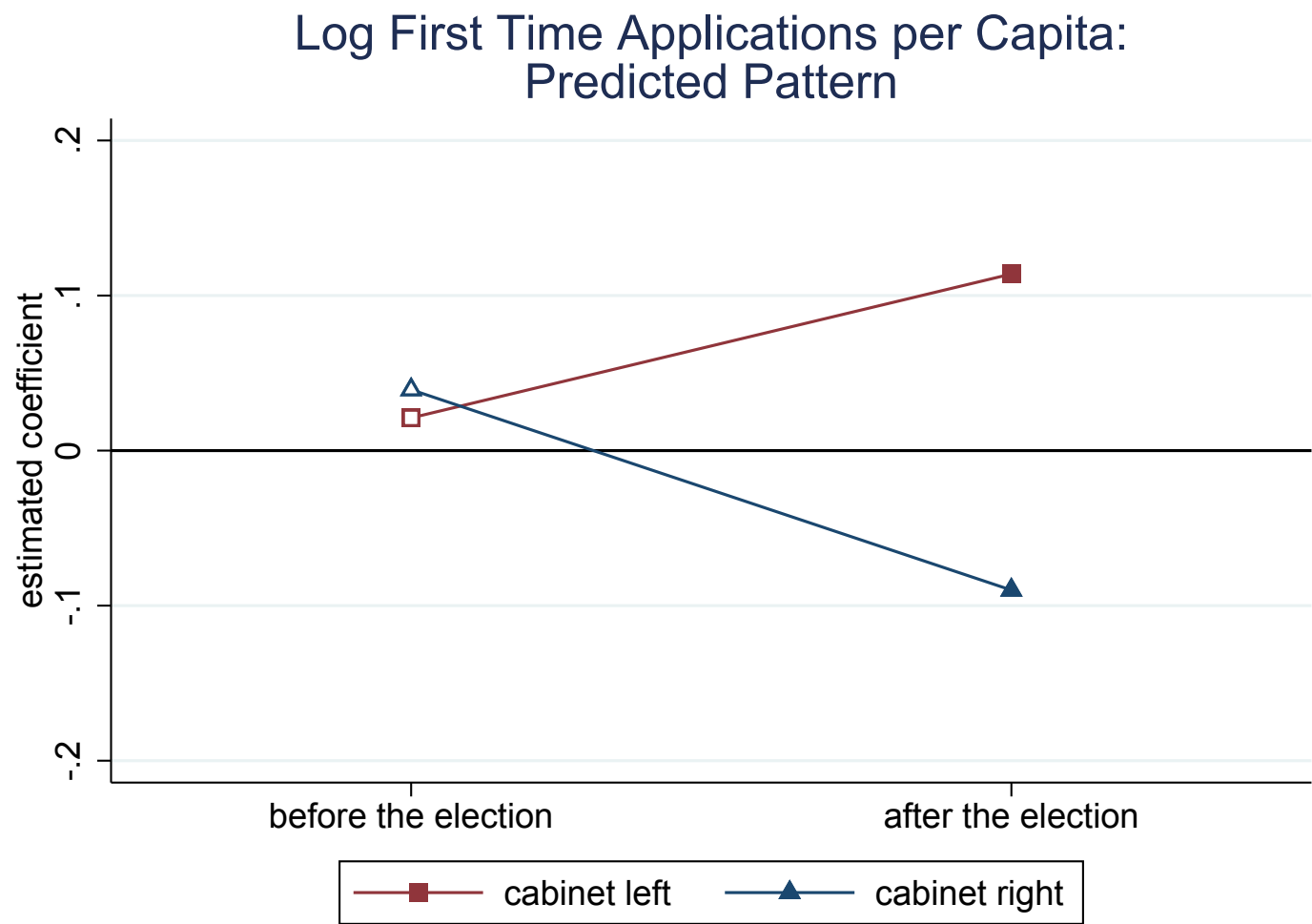


Figure 14: R6: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0242 (0.0291)	0.0395 (0.0227)
after	0.115*** (0.0224)	-0.0891*** (0.0232)
Observations	23705	23705

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

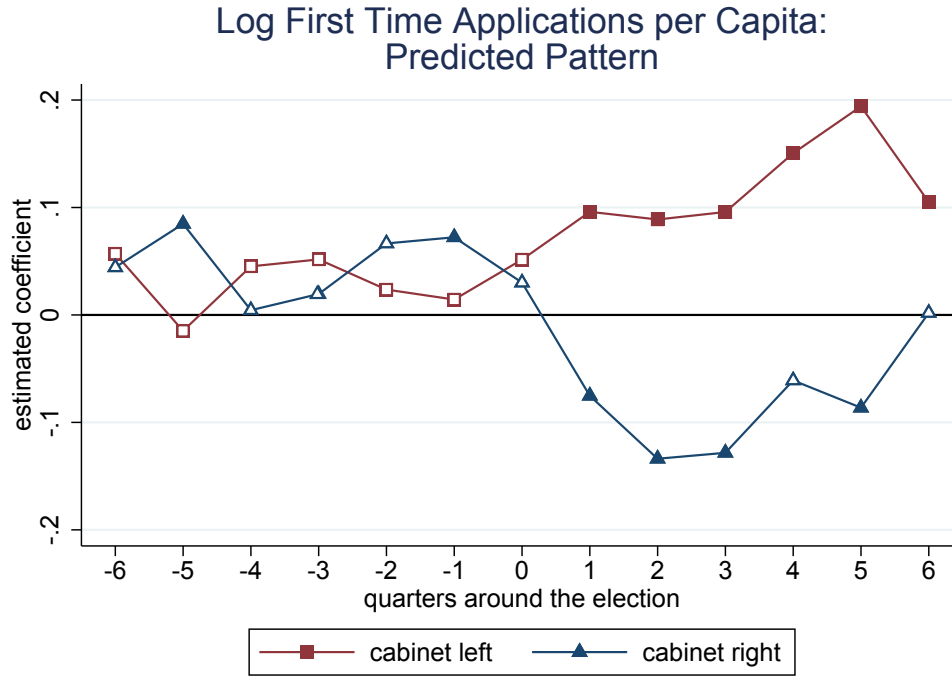


Figure 15: R6: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.0599 (0.0388)	0.0382 (0.0412)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0135 (0.0387)	0.0857** (0.0322)
4 quarters before the election	0.0471 (0.0388)	0.00185 (0.0372)
3 quarters before the election	0.0593 (0.0426)	0.0137 (0.0300)
2 quarters before the election	0.0240 (0.0338)	0.0647 (0.0375)
1 quarters before the election	0.0216 (0.0379)	0.0751* (0.0344)
Quarter of the election	0.0515 (0.0381)	0.0335 (0.0373)
1 quarters after the election	0.0988* (0.0404)	-0.0682* (0.0322)
2 quarters after the election	0.0919** (0.0313)	-0.133*** (0.0357)
3 quarters after the election	0.0994** (0.0321)	-0.123** (0.0397)
4 quarters after the election	0.150*** (0.0284)	-0.0683* (0.0348)
5 quarters after the election	0.191*** (0.0288)	-0.0865* (0.0350)
6 quarters after the election	0.104*** (0.0314)	-0.00190 (0.0299)
Observations	23705	23705

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

### 3.7 Use Syrian battle death data from UCDP

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

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.408*** (0.0702)	0.409*** (0.0696)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.176 (0.130)	0.177 (0.129)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0435 (0.0751)	0.0449 (0.0751)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.127*** (0.0141)	0.126*** (0.0139)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.653*** (0.169)	-0.655*** (0.167)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.263*** (0.0210)		0.263*** (0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.608* (0.298)		-0.613* (0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.409** (0.491)	-1.484** (0.441)	-1.158* (0.466)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0730*** (0.0114)	-0.0741*** (0.0108)	-0.0714*** (0.0116)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0246 (0.0291)	0.0232 (0.0292)	0.0114 (0.0304)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.122*** (0.0237)	0.114*** (0.0222)	0.116*** (0.0240)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0360 (0.0239)	0.0386 (0.0227)	0.0369 (0.0239)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0933*** (0.0244)	-0.0877*** (0.0233)	-0.0952*** (0.0241)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted $R^2$	0.444	0.177	0.447
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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



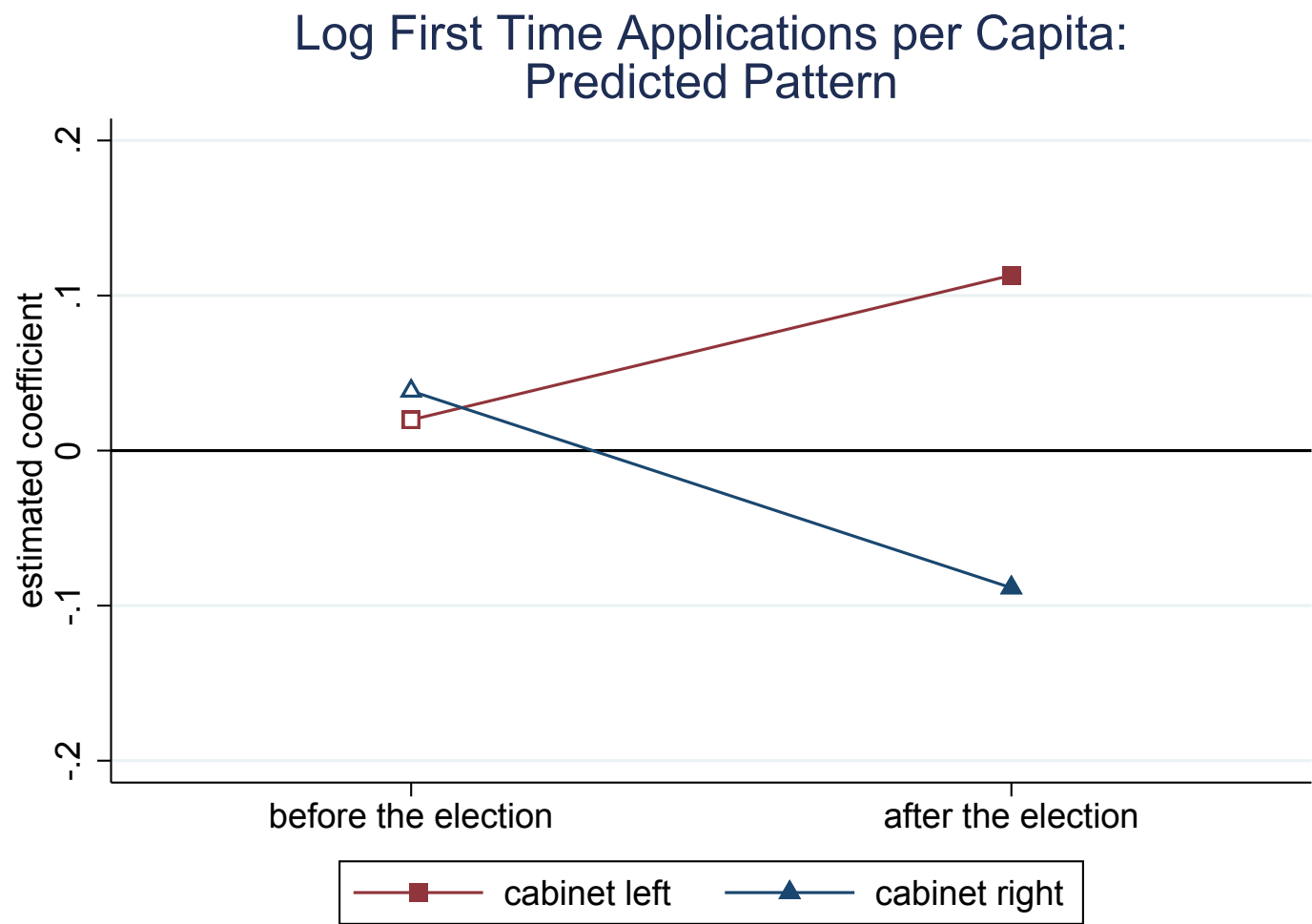


Figure 16: R7: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0232 (0.0292)	0.0386 (0.0227)
after	0.114*** (0.0222)	-0.0877*** (0.0233)
Observations	23705	23705

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

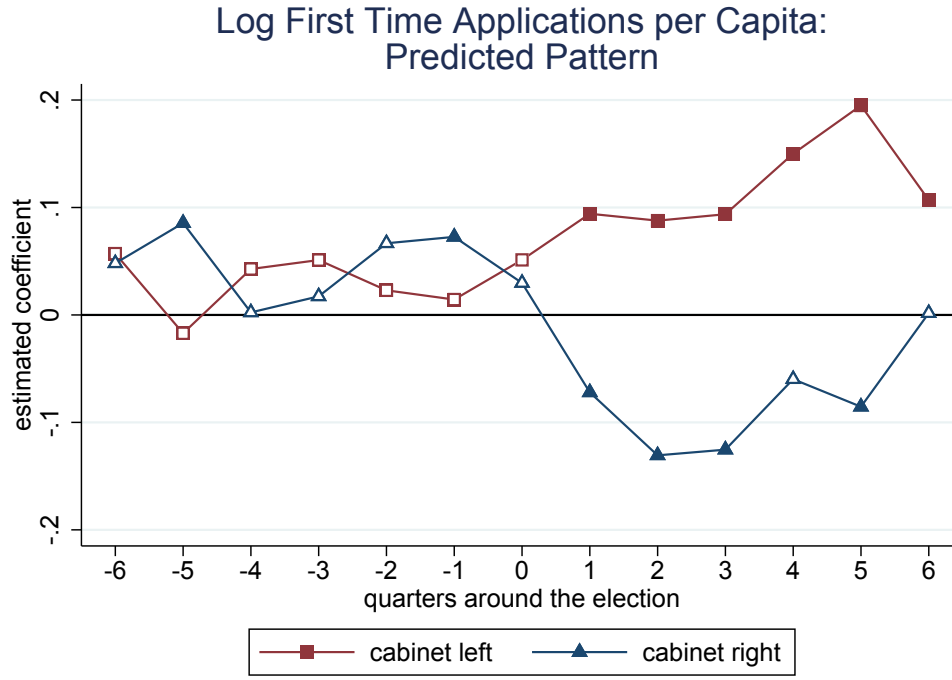


Figure 17: R7: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.0595 (0.0383)	0.0411 (0.0411)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0153 (0.0385)	0.0860** (0.0320)
4 quarters before the election	0.0449 (0.0389)	-0.000348 (0.0374)
3 quarters before the election	0.0588 (0.0426)	0.0111 (0.0297)
2 quarters before the election	0.0236 (0.0338)	0.0642 (0.0380)
1 quarters before the election	0.0216 (0.0378)	0.0754* (0.0344)
Quarter of the election	0.0512 (0.0378)	0.0333 (0.0372)
1 quarters after the election	0.0969* (0.0404)	-0.0654* (0.0323)
2 quarters after the election	0.0905** (0.0309)	-0.130*** (0.0360)
3 quarters after the election	0.0972** (0.0322)	-0.120** (0.0393)
4 quarters after the election	0.149*** (0.0281)	-0.0673 (0.0352)
5 quarters after the election	0.191*** (0.0282)	-0.0856* (0.0356)
6 quarters after the election	0.106*** (0.0308)	-0.00218 (0.0300)
Observations	23705	23705

Standard errors in parentheses

(\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ )

### 3.8 Include a post 2007 dummy

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

	(1)	(2)
Political Terror Scale	0.399*** (0.0703)	0.400*** (0.0696)
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.175 (0.132)	0.175 (0.131)
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0472 (0.0752)	0.0485 (0.0751)
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.190*** (0.0236)	0.188*** (0.0234)
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.659*** (0.165)	-0.661*** (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	-1.415** (0.490)	-1.491** (0.441)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0730*** (0.0114)	-0.0742*** (0.0108)
after 2007	0.206 (0.216)	0.185 (0.183)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0247 (0.0291)	0.0232 (0.0292)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.122*** (0.0237)	0.114*** (0.0222)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0361 (0.0239)	0.0386 (0.0227)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0940*** (0.0243)	-0.0884*** (0.0233)
Observations	23705	23705
Adjusted $R^2$	0.444	0.176
Fixed Effects	O	D x O
Destination dummies	Yes	No
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes

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

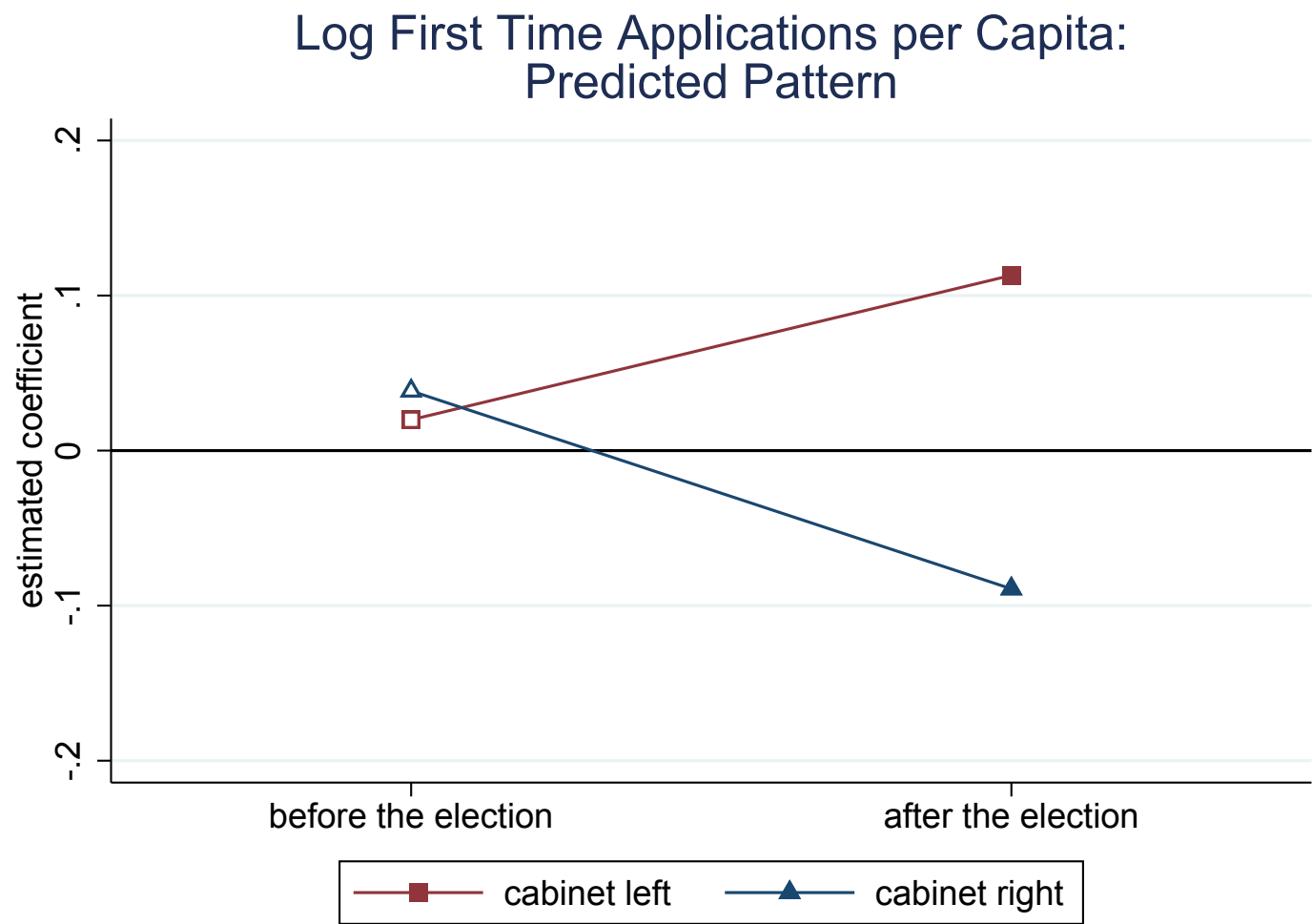


Figure 18: R8: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0232 (0.0292)	0.0386 (0.0227)
after	0.114*** (0.0222)	-0.0884*** (0.0233)
Observations	23705	23705

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

R8: Include a post 2007 dummy - Model 2

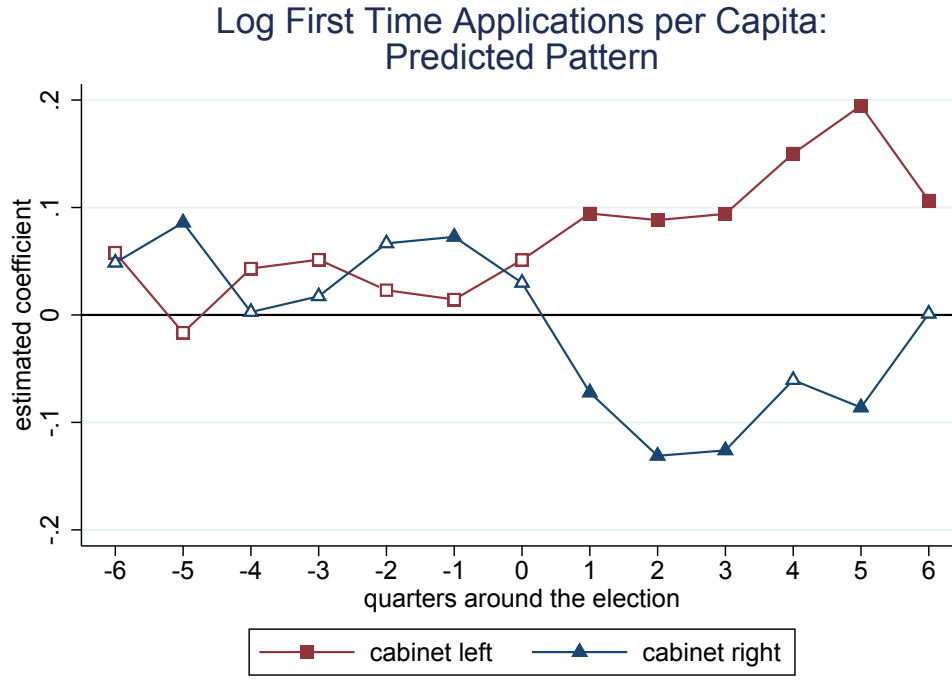


Figure 19: R8: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.0604 (0.0381)	0.0416 (0.0413)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0148 (0.0383)	0.0864** (0.0321)
4 quarters before the election	0.0453 (0.0390)	-0.0000501 (0.0372)
3 quarters before the election	0.0592 (0.0426)	0.0111 (0.0297)
2 quarters before the election	0.0237 (0.0338)	0.0641 (0.0380)
1 quarters before the election	0.0216 (0.0379)	0.0755* (0.0344)
Quarter of the election	0.0511 (0.0378)	0.0335 (0.0372)
1 quarters after the election	0.0971* (0.0404)	-0.0656* (0.0323)
2 quarters after the election	0.0911** (0.0308)	-0.131*** (0.0360)
3 quarters after the election	0.0976** (0.0323)	-0.121** (0.0393)
4 quarters after the election	0.149*** (0.0280)	-0.0682 (0.0351)
5 quarters after the election	0.191*** (0.0282)	-0.0863* (0.0355)
6 quarters after the election	0.106*** (0.0308)	-0.00272 (0.0299)
Observations	23705	23705

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

3.9 Cluster standard errors on destination\*origin level

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

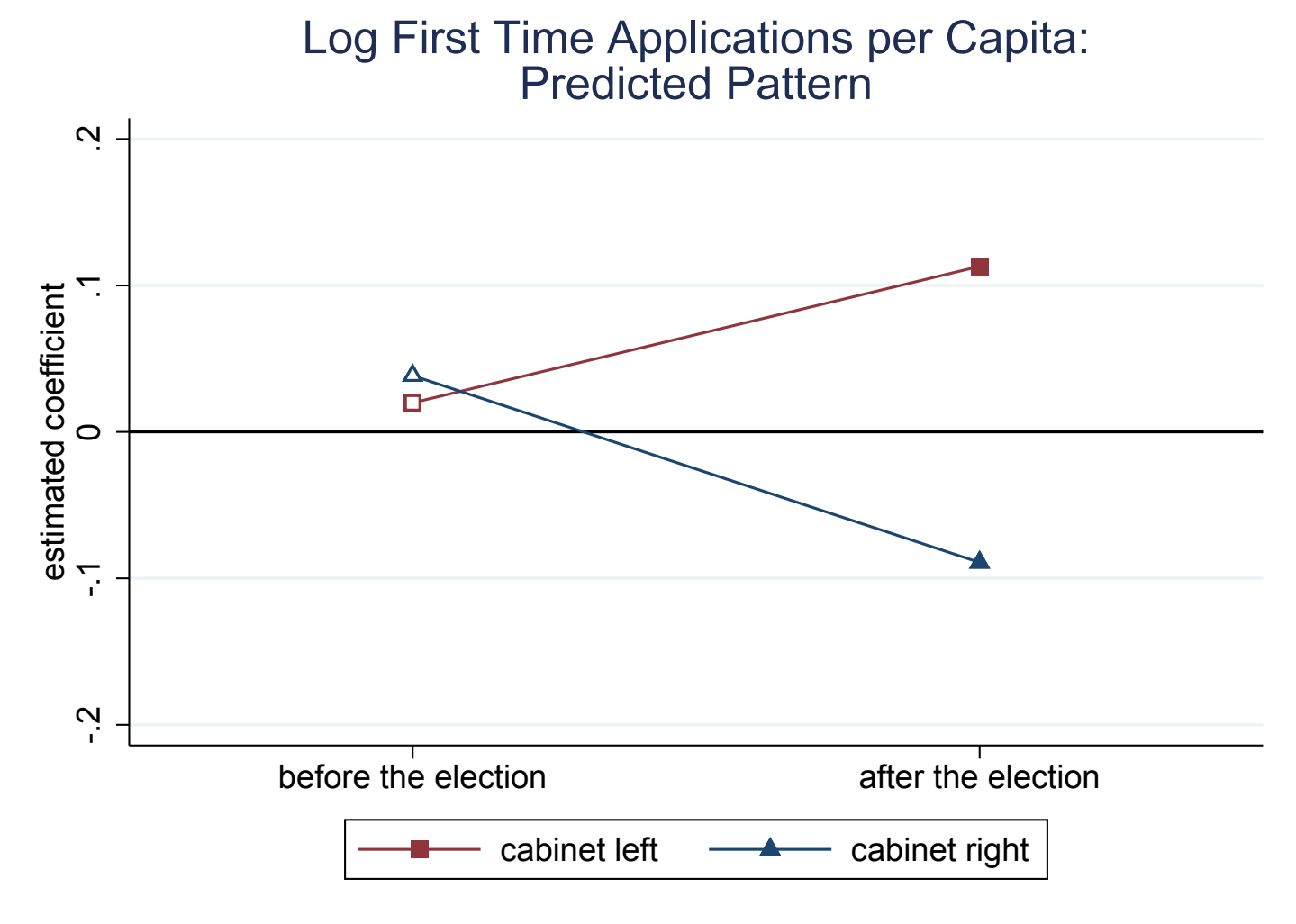


Figure 20: R9: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0232 (0.0322)	0.0386 (0.0292)
after	0.114*** (0.0279)	-0.0884** (0.0302)
Observations	23705	23705

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

R9: Cluster standard errors on destination\*origin level - Model 2

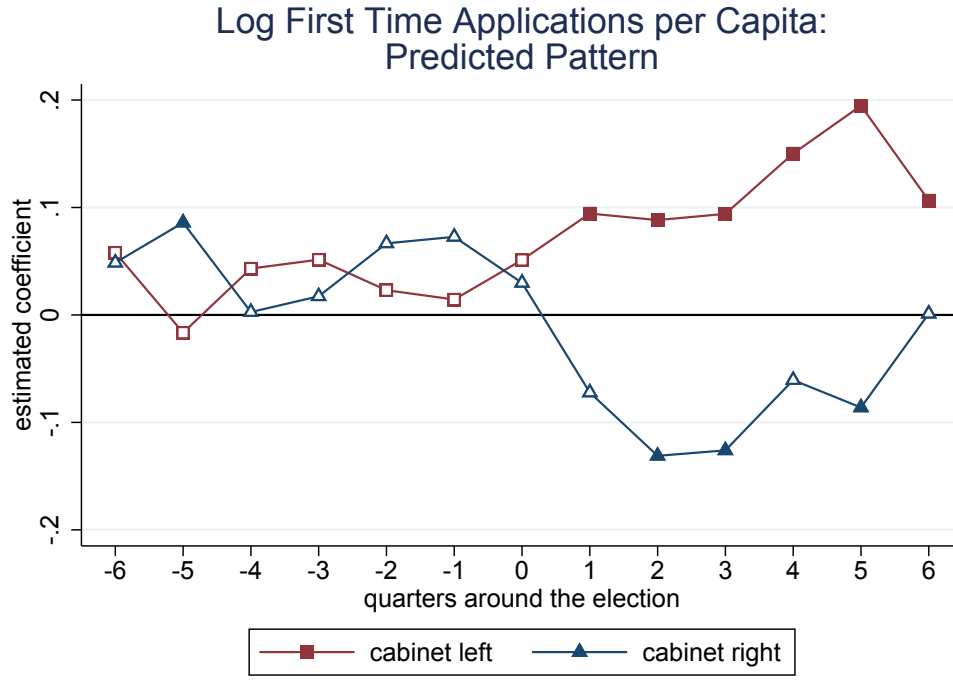


Figure 21: R9: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.0604 (0.0418)	0.0416 (0.0415)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0148 (0.0415)	0.0864* (0.0406)
4 quarters before the election	0.0453 (0.0456)	-0.0000501 (0.0436)
3 quarters before the election	0.0592 (0.0478)	0.0111 (0.0463)
2 quarters before the election	0.0237 (0.0430)	0.0641 (0.0458)
1 quarters before the election	0.0216 (0.0407)	0.0755 (0.0420)
Quarter of the election	0.0511 (0.0385)	0.0335 (0.0396)
1 quarters after the election	0.0971** (0.0377)	-0.0656 (0.0386)
2 quarters after the election	0.0911* (0.0371)	-0.131** (0.0410)
3 quarters after the election	0.0976* (0.0387)	-0.121** (0.0428)
4 quarters after the election	0.149*** (0.0383)	-0.0682 (0.0435)
5 quarters after the election	0.191*** (0.0383)	-0.0863* (0.0413)
6 quarters after the election	0.106** (0.0382)	-0.00272 (0.0372)
Observations	23705	23705

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

### 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)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.374*** (0.0660)	0.374*** (0.0657)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.169 (0.126)	0.166 (0.124)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0380 (0.0688)	0.0394 (0.0688)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.192*** (0.0227)	0.191*** (0.0225)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.635*** (0.151)	-0.633*** (0.150)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.259*** (0.0218)		0.258*** (0.0218)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.739* (0.282)		-0.743* (0.281)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.305** (0.463)	-1.267** (0.412)	-1.245** (0.454)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0640*** (0.0104)	-0.0628*** (0.00953)	-0.0656*** (0.0108)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0261 (0.0274)	0.0272 (0.0273)	0.0171 (0.0272)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.115*** (0.0216)	0.111*** (0.0207)	0.115*** (0.0218)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0318 (0.0224)	0.0352 (0.0211)	0.0312 (0.0231)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0755** (0.0248)	-0.0706** (0.0236)	-0.0765** (0.0239)
Observations	25466	25466	25466
Adjusted $R^2$	0.470	0.162	0.477
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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



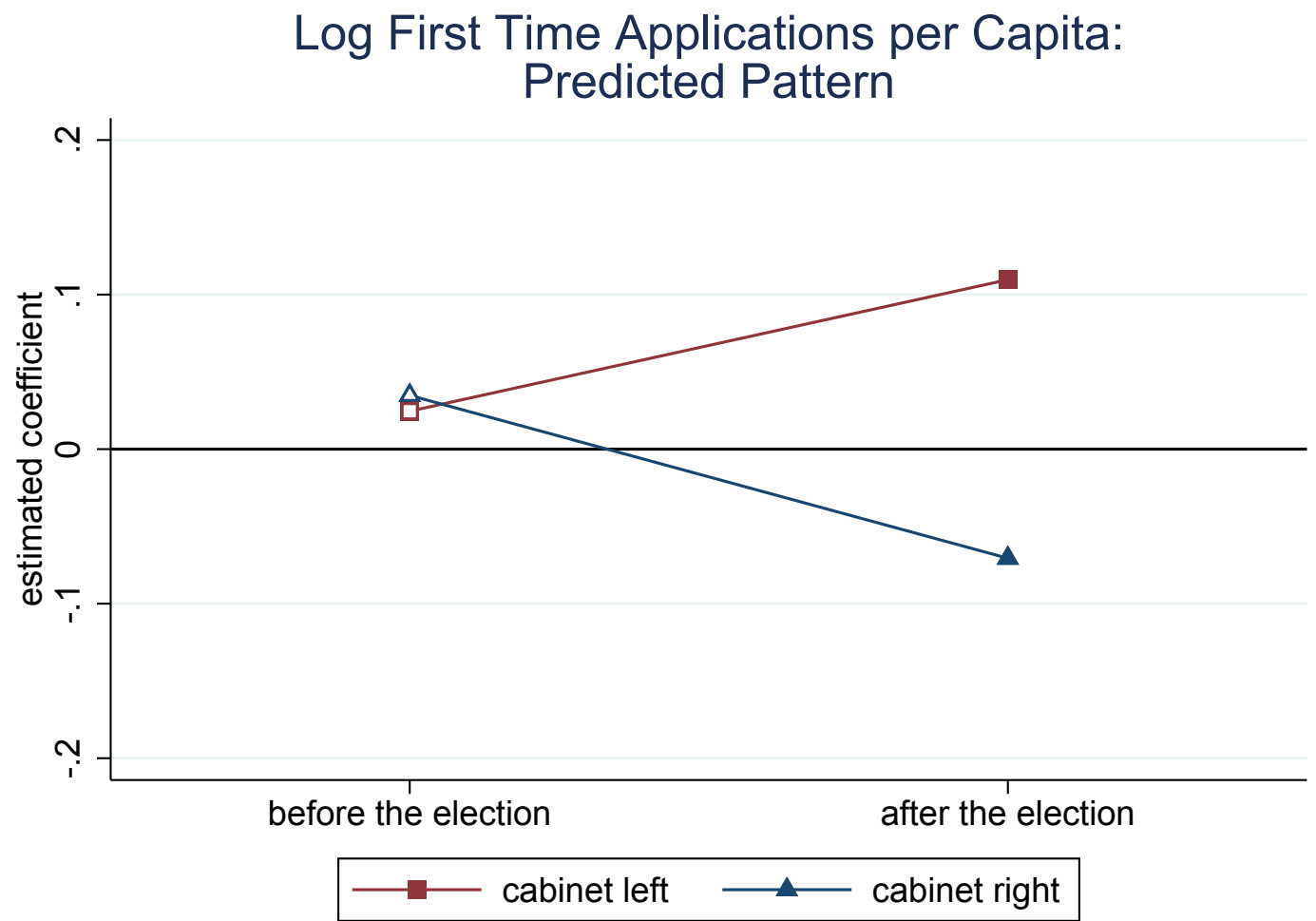


Figure 22: R10: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0272 (0.0273)	0.0352 (0.0211)
after	0.111*** (0.0207)	-0.0706** (0.0236)
Observations	25466	25466

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

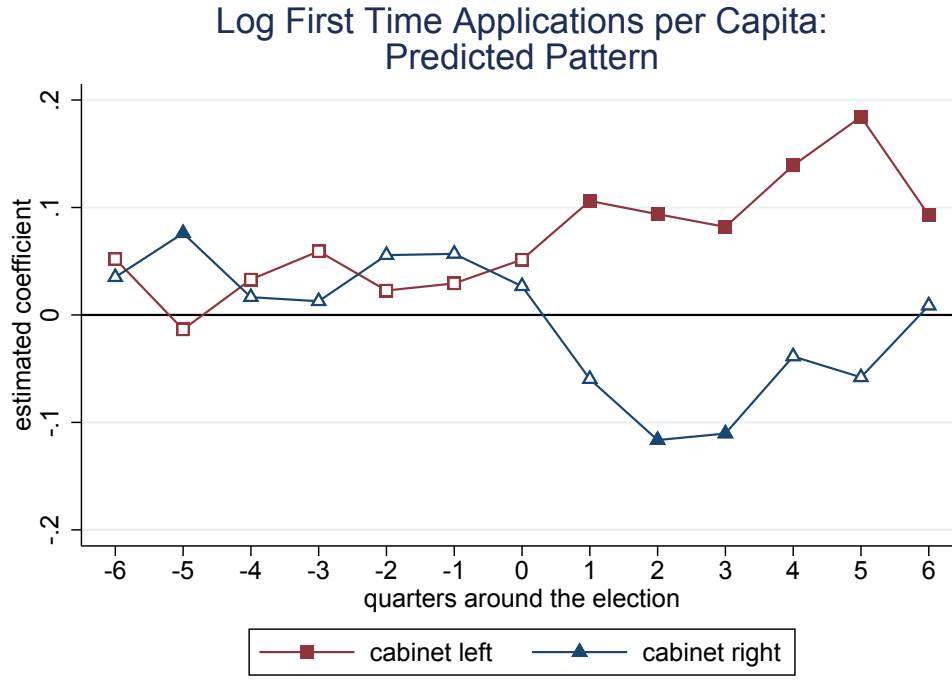


Figure 23: R10: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
6 quarters before the election	0.0563 (0.0355)	0.0301 (0.0388)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0102 (0.0375)	0.0773** (0.0296)
4 quarters before the election	0.0335 (0.0364)	0.0137 (0.0350)
3 quarters before the election	0.0651 (0.0406)	0.00818 (0.0290)
2 quarters before the election	0.0223 (0.0320)	0.0540 (0.0389)
1 quarters before the election	0.0362 (0.0366)	0.0600 (0.0316)
Quarter of the election	0.0521 (0.0347)	0.0305 (0.0349)
1 quarters after the election	0.110** (0.0369)	-0.0535 (0.0330)
2 quarters after the election	0.0972** (0.0303)	-0.116*** (0.0330)
3 quarters after the election	0.0876** (0.0301)	-0.107** (0.0372)
4 quarters after the election	0.137*** (0.0284)	-0.0457 (0.0358)
5 quarters after the election	0.180*** (0.0288)	-0.0585 (0.0333)
6 quarters after the election	0.0938** (0.0292)	0.00420 (0.0328)
Observations	25466	25466

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

### 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)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.412*** (0.0755)	0.414*** (0.0750)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.196 (0.135)	0.195 (0.133)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0418 (0.0797)	0.0419 (0.0797)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.203*** (0.0251)	0.201*** (0.0249)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.646*** (0.162)	-0.641*** (0.160)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.263*** (0.0215)		0.263*** (0.0215)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.620* (0.301)		-0.628* (0.299)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.172* (0.578)	-1.377* (0.525)	-0.815 (0.522)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0713*** (0.0121)	-0.0735*** (0.0114)	-0.0685*** (0.0122)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.00532 (0.0296)	0.00520 (0.0297)	-0.00501 (0.0317)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.116*** (0.0229)	0.108*** (0.0212)	0.108*** (0.0239)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0465 (0.0265)	0.0479 (0.0255)	0.0491 (0.0265)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0986*** (0.0256)	-0.0945*** (0.0246)	-0.0940*** (0.0249)
Observations	22446	22446	22446
Adjusted $R^2$	0.424	0.185	0.423
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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

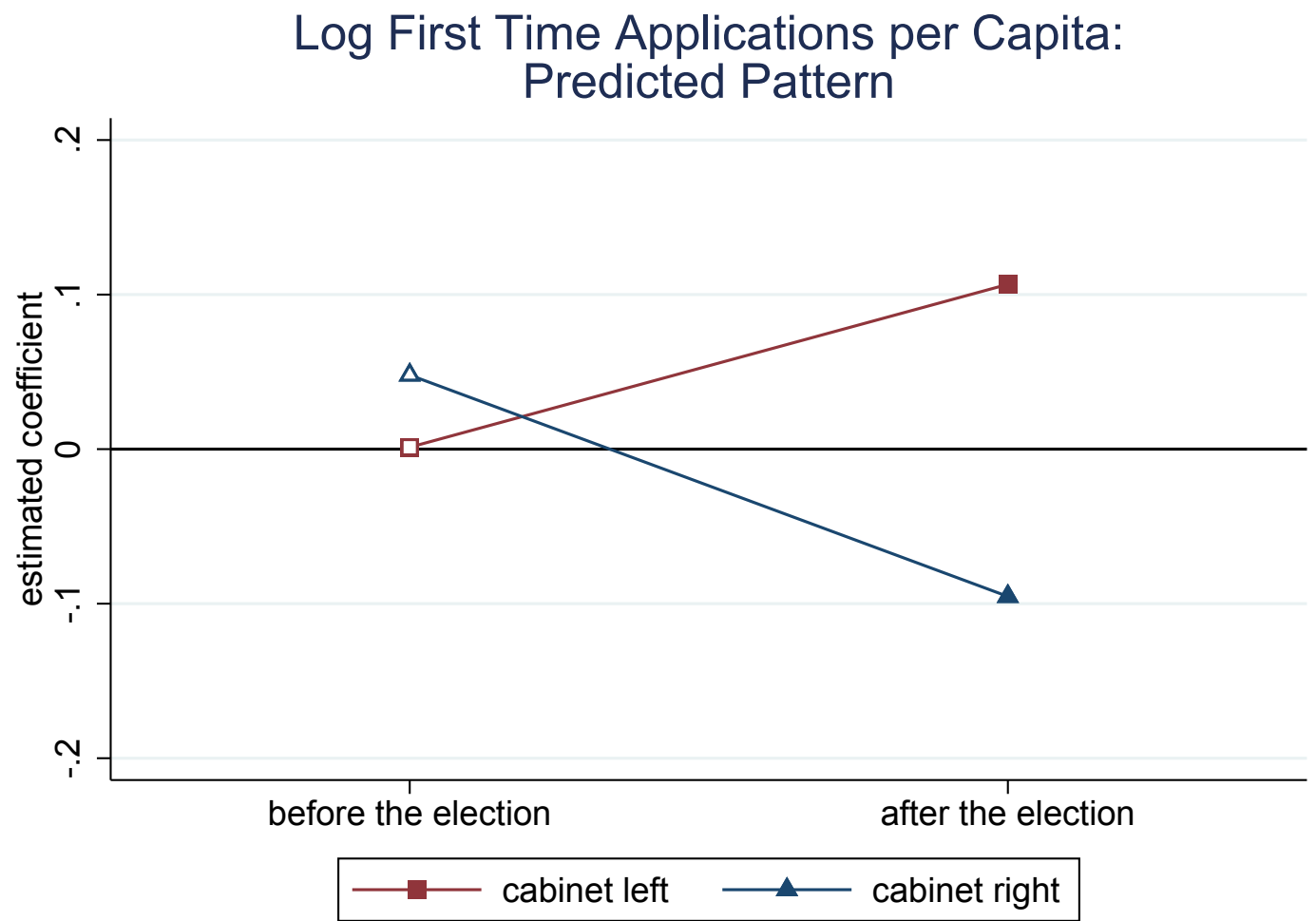


Figure 24: R11: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.00520 (0.0297)	0.0479 (0.0255)
after	0.108*** (0.0212)	-0.0945*** (0.0246)
Observations	22446	22446

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

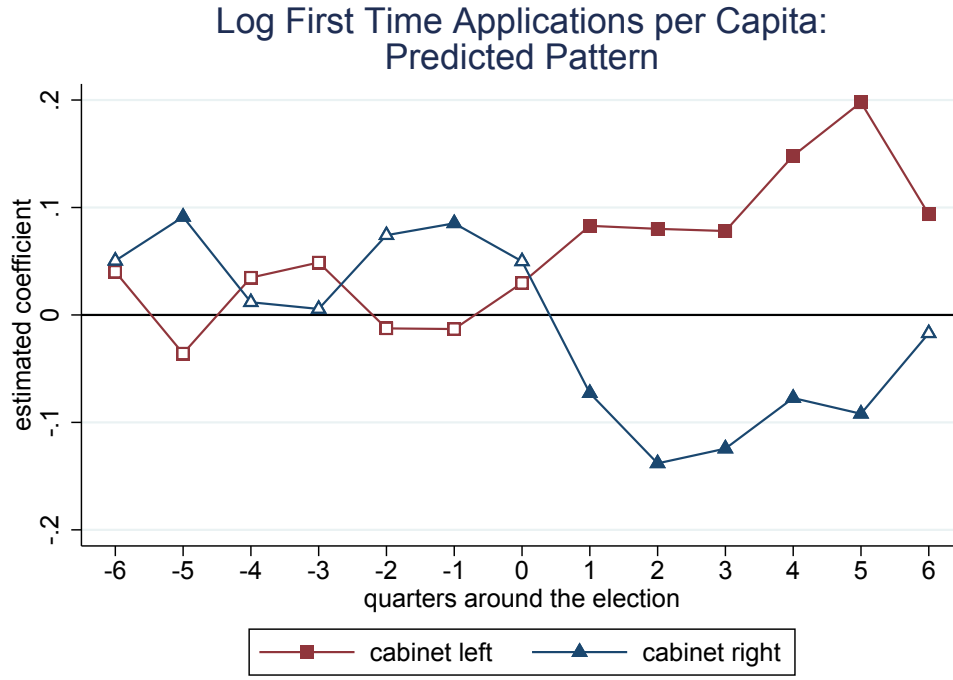


Figure 25: R11: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.0431 (0.0395)	0.0431 (0.0427)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0336 (0.0394)	0.0916** (0.0318)
4 quarters before the election	0.0372 (0.0395)	0.00864 (0.0403)
3 quarters before the election	0.0571 (0.0452)	-0.000753 (0.0307)
2 quarters before the election	-0.0111 (0.0335)	0.0716 (0.0396)
1 quarters before the election	-0.00504 (0.0375)	0.0879* (0.0372)
Quarter of the election	0.0303 (0.0376)	0.0534 (0.0447)
1 quarters after the election	0.0861* (0.0397)	-0.0657 (0.0348)
2 quarters after the election	0.0831** (0.0311)	-0.138*** (0.0350)
3 quarters after the election	0.0819** (0.0315)	-0.119** (0.0429)
4 quarters after the election	0.147*** (0.0278)	-0.0850* (0.0341)
5 quarters after the election	0.194*** (0.0274)	-0.0920* (0.0372)
6 quarters after the election	0.0930** (0.0298)	-0.0210 (0.0320)
Observations	22446	22446

Standard errors in parentheses

(\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ )

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

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

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.399*** (0.0703)	0.400*** (0.0697)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.175 (0.132)	0.175 (0.130)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0468 (0.0751)	0.0482 (0.0750)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.190*** (0.0235)	0.188*** (0.0233)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.660*** (0.165)	-0.662*** (0.163)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.263*** (0.0210)		0.263*** (0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.608* (0.298)		-0.613* (0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.388** (0.496)	-1.463** (0.446)	-1.130* (0.473)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0713*** (0.0113)	-0.0725*** (0.0107)	-0.0697*** (0.0116)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0139 (0.0286)	0.0132 (0.0287)	-0.0000954 (0.0302)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.115*** (0.0239)	0.107*** (0.0226)	0.108*** (0.0246)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0496* (0.0236)	0.0513* (0.0227)	0.0514* (0.0233)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0825*** (0.0221)	-0.0774*** (0.0212)	-0.0833*** (0.0219)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted $R^2$	0.444	0.176	0.447
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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

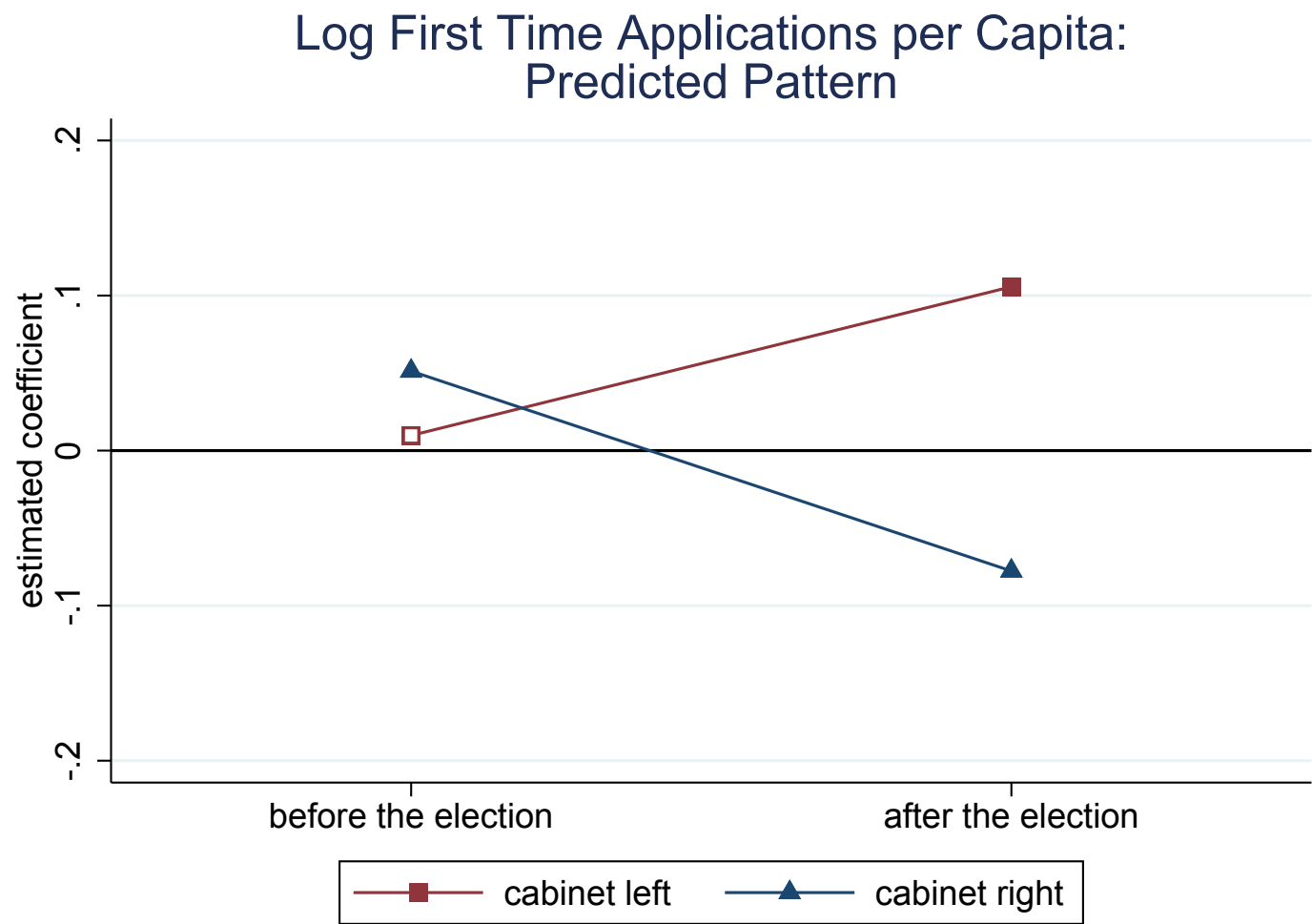


Figure 26: R12: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0132 (0.0287)	0.0513* (0.0227)
after	0.107*** (0.0226)	-0.0774*** (0.0212)
Observations	23705	23705

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

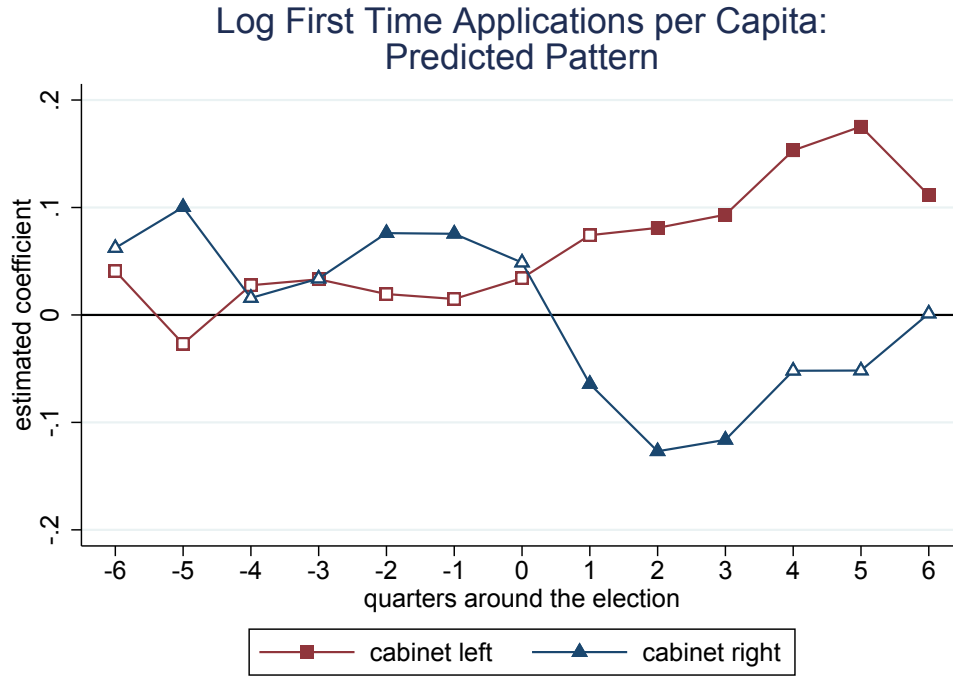


Figure 27: R12: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.0433 (0.0372)	0.0550 (0.0421)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0250 (0.0377)	0.101** (0.0315)
4 quarters before the election	0.0302 (0.0382)	0.0126 (0.0366)
3 quarters before the election	0.0405 (0.0408)	0.0277 (0.0309)
2 quarters before the election	0.0198 (0.0337)	0.0741 (0.0380)
1 quarters before the election	0.0220 (0.0377)	0.0785* (0.0351)
Quarter of the election	0.0351 (0.0374)	0.0515 (0.0372)
1 quarters after the election	0.0780* (0.0386)	-0.0583 (0.0298)
2 quarters after the election	0.0839** (0.0313)	-0.126*** (0.0357)
3 quarters after the election	0.0975** (0.0334)	-0.112** (0.0353)
4 quarters after the election	0.152*** (0.0294)	-0.0590 (0.0335)
5 quarters after the election	0.172*** (0.0273)	-0.0528 (0.0322)
6 quarters after the election	0.111*** (0.0318)	-0.00289 (0.0304)
Observations	23705	23705

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



### 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)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.399*** (0.0703)	0.400*** (0.0697)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.176 (0.132)	0.176 (0.131)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0463 (0.0752)	0.0477 (0.0751)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.189*** (0.0236)	0.187*** (0.0234)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.661*** (0.165)	-0.663*** (0.163)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.263*** (0.0210)		0.262*** (0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.608* (0.298)		-0.614* (0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.445** (0.488)	-1.517** (0.441)	-1.202* (0.464)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0722*** (0.0113)	-0.0734*** (0.0107)	-0.0707*** (0.0115)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0130 (0.0318)	0.0136 (0.0316)	-0.00536 (0.0330)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.124*** (0.0261)	0.114*** (0.0243)	0.112*** (0.0267)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0502* (0.0210)	0.0500* (0.0198)	0.0538* (0.0210)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0429 (0.0221)	-0.0396 (0.0214)	-0.0416 (0.0223)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted $R^2$	0.443	0.175	0.447
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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

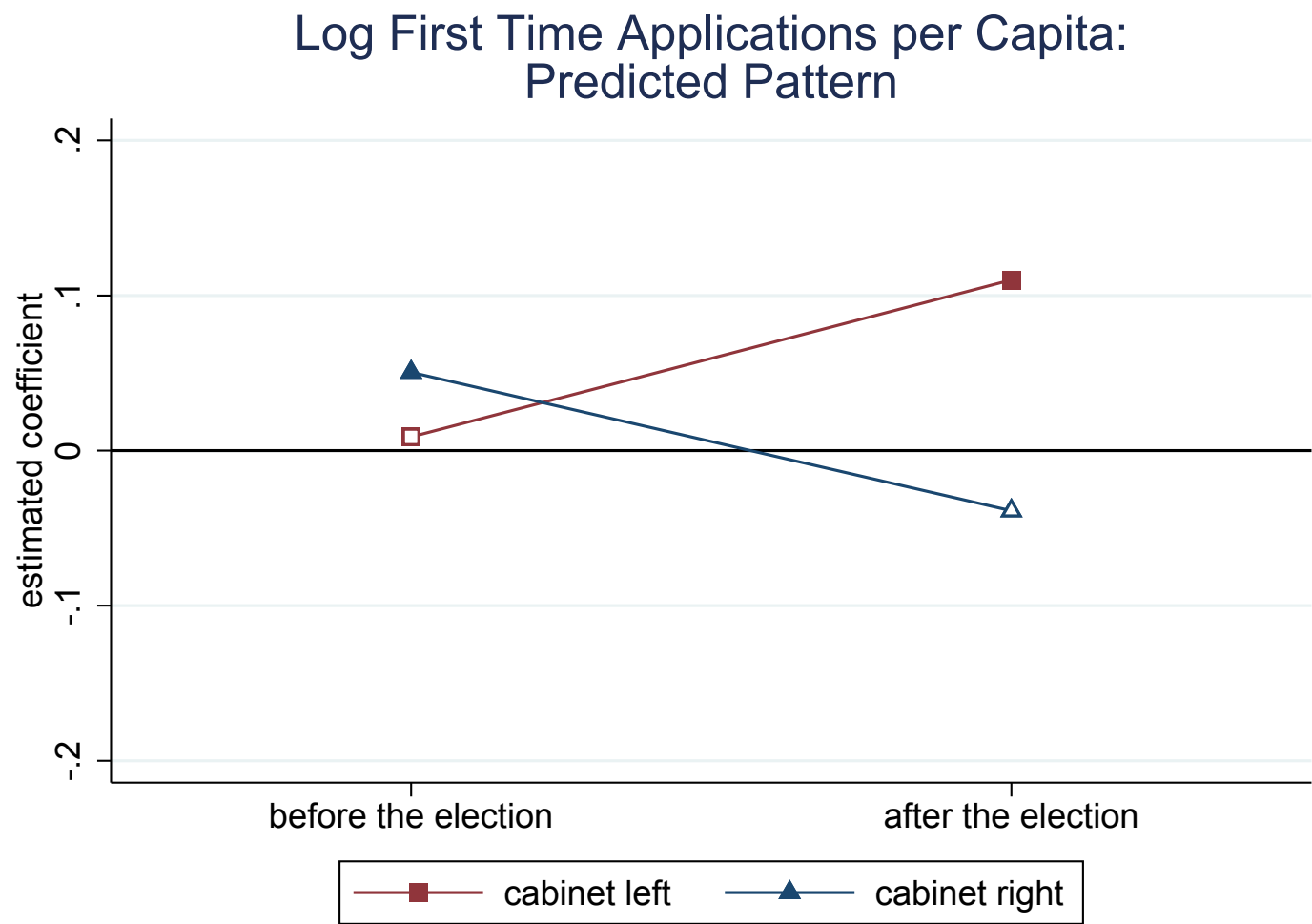


Figure 28: R13: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0136 (0.0316)	0.0500* (0.0198)
after	0.114*** (0.0243)	-0.0396 (0.0214)
Observations	23705	23705

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

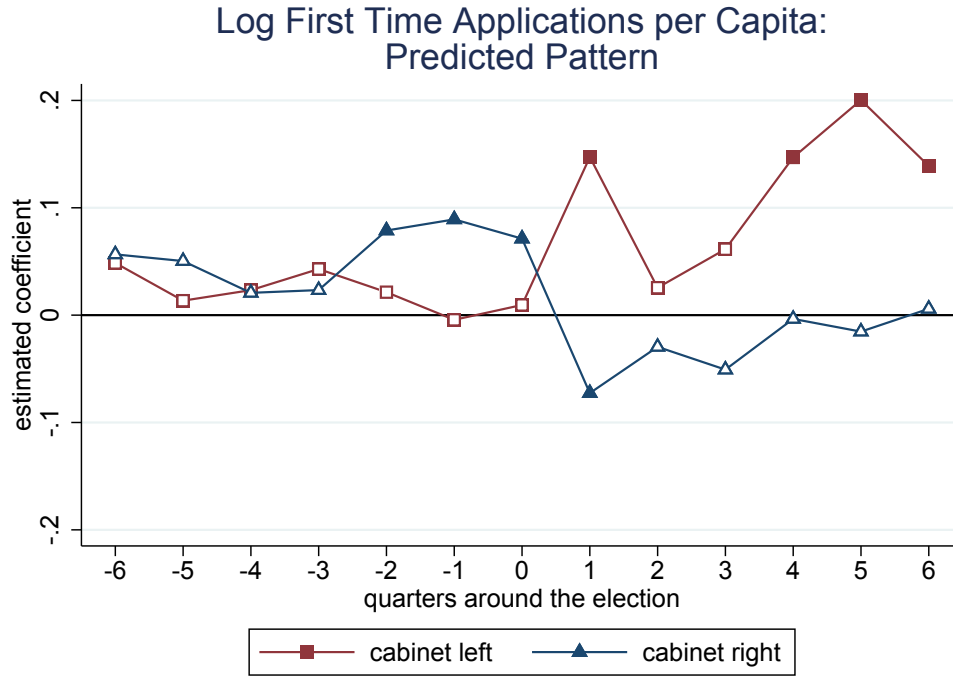


Figure 29: R13: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.0523 (0.0403)	0.0493 (0.0323)
5 quarters before the election	0.0164 (0.0406)	0.0500 (0.0265)
4 quarters before the election	0.0275 (0.0402)	0.0173 (0.0347)
3 quarters before the election	0.0520 (0.0458)	0.0169 (0.0284)
2 quarters before the election	0.0234 (0.0355)	0.0760* (0.0375)
1 quarters before the election	0.00415 (0.0393)	0.0918** (0.0355)
Quarter of the election	0.0111 (0.0432)	0.0733* (0.0353)
1 quarters after the election	0.151*** (0.0406)	-0.0665* (0.0323)
2 quarters after the election	0.0290 (0.0338)	-0.0287 (0.0308)
3 quarters after the election	0.0675 (0.0373)	-0.0475 (0.0341)
4 quarters after the election	0.152*** (0.0369)	-0.0137 (0.0318)
5 quarters after the election	0.198*** (0.0338)	-0.0169 (0.0312)
6 quarters after the election	0.142*** (0.0311)	-0.000519 (0.0294)
Observations	23705	23705

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

### 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*** (0.0703)	0.400*** (0.0697)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.175 (0.132)	0.175 (0.131)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0472 (0.0752)	0.0486 (0.0751)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.190*** (0.0236)	0.188*** (0.0234)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.659*** (0.165)	-0.661*** (0.163)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.263*** (0.0210)		0.263*** (0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.608* (0.298)		-0.613* (0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.451** (0.496)	-1.521** (0.444)	-1.189* (0.472)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0734*** (0.0114)	-0.0745*** (0.0108)	-0.0718*** (0.0116)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0223 (0.0298)	0.0210 (0.0299)	0.00821 (0.0307)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.114*** (0.0236)	0.106*** (0.0222)	0.108*** (0.0238)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0166 (0.0241)	0.0188 (0.0232)	0.0166 (0.0237)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.120*** (0.0242)	-0.114*** (0.0237)	-0.121*** (0.0236)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted $R^2$	0.444	0.176	0.447
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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

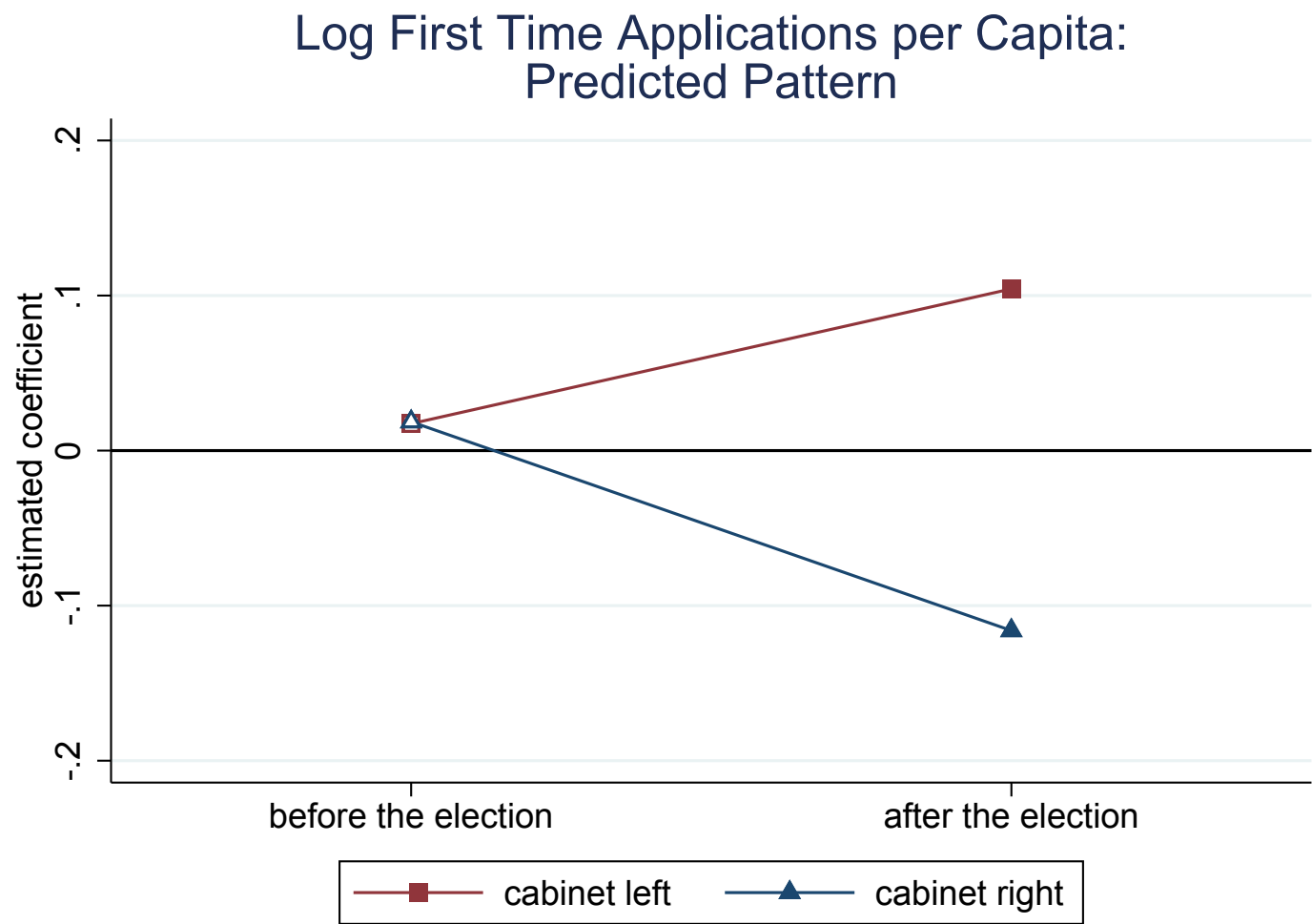


Figure 30: R14: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0210	0.0188
	(0.0299)	(0.0232)
after	0.106***	-0.114***
	(0.0222)	(0.0237)
Observations	23705	23705

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

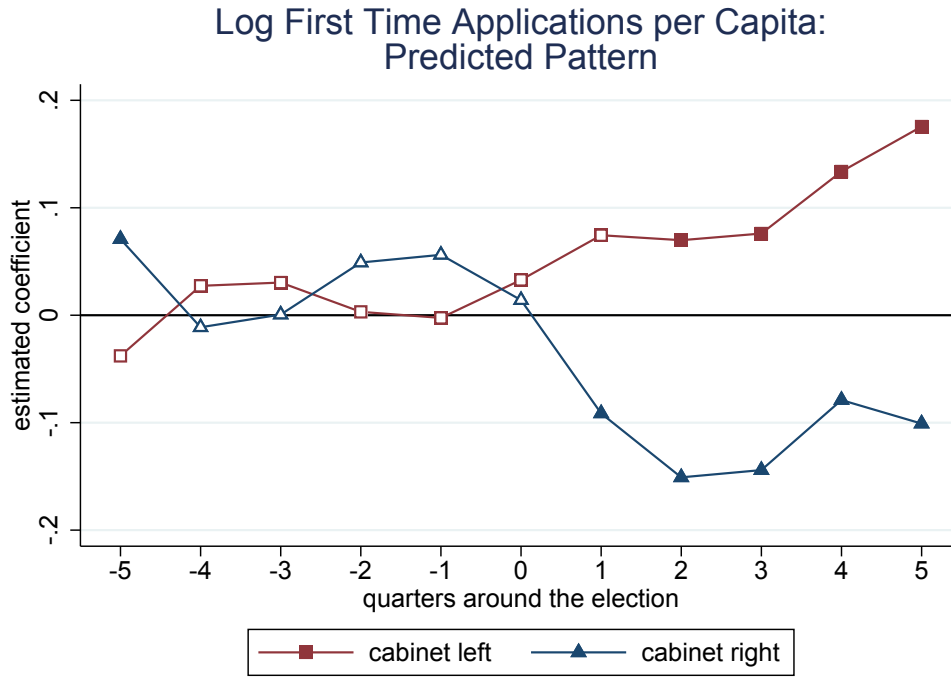


Figure 31: R14: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
5 quarters before the election	-0.0355 (0.0365)	0.0722* (0.0313)
4 quarters before the election	0.0301 (0.0386)	-0.0132 (0.0366)
3 quarters before the election	0.0387 (0.0412)	-0.00490 (0.0300)
2 quarters before the election	0.00445 (0.0327)	0.0474 (0.0377)
1 quarters before the election	0.00537 (0.0374)	0.0598 (0.0341)
Quarter of the election	0.0334 (0.0368)	0.0183 (0.0381)
1 quarters after the election	0.0779* (0.0385)	-0.0838** (0.0325)
2 quarters after the election	0.0735* (0.0304)	-0.150*** (0.0350)
3 quarters after the election	0.0802* (0.0322)	-0.138*** (0.0382)
4 quarters after the election	0.133*** (0.0273)	-0.0858* (0.0341)
5 quarters after the election	0.173*** (0.0268)	-0.100** (0.0351)
Observations	23705	23705

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

### 3.15 Use only 4 quarters around the election

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

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.399*** (0.0703)	0.400*** (0.0697)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.175 (0.132)	0.175 (0.131)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0469 (0.0752)	0.0483 (0.0751)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.189*** (0.0236)	0.187*** (0.0234)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.660*** (0.165)	-0.662*** (0.163)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.263*** (0.0210)		0.263*** (0.0210)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.608* (0.298)		-0.613* (0.296)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.491** (0.500)	-1.559** (0.448)	-1.225* (0.475)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0732*** (0.0114)	-0.0744*** (0.0107)	-0.0716*** (0.0116)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.00926 (0.0282)	0.00811 (0.0281)	-0.00519 (0.0290)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.0905*** (0.0236)	0.0828*** (0.0226)	0.0870*** (0.0237)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0204 (0.0234)	0.0219 (0.0224)	0.0207 (0.0228)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.129*** (0.0243)	-0.124*** (0.0234)	-0.130*** (0.0242)
Observations	23705	23705	23705
Adjusted $R^2$	0.443	0.175	0.447
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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

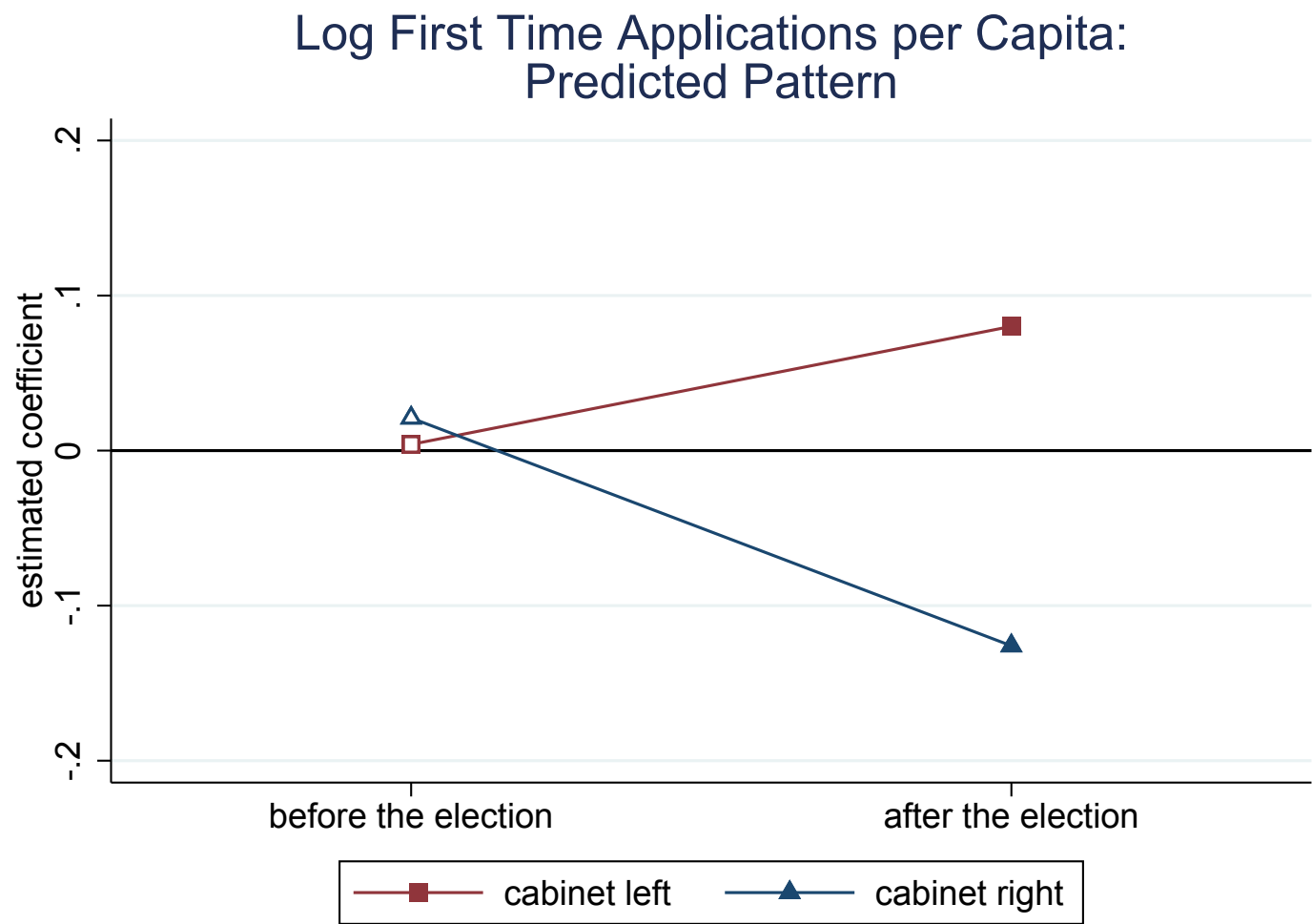


Figure 32: R15: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.00811 (0.0281)	0.0219 (0.0224)
after	0.0828*** (0.0226)	-0.124*** (0.0234)
Observations	23705	23705

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



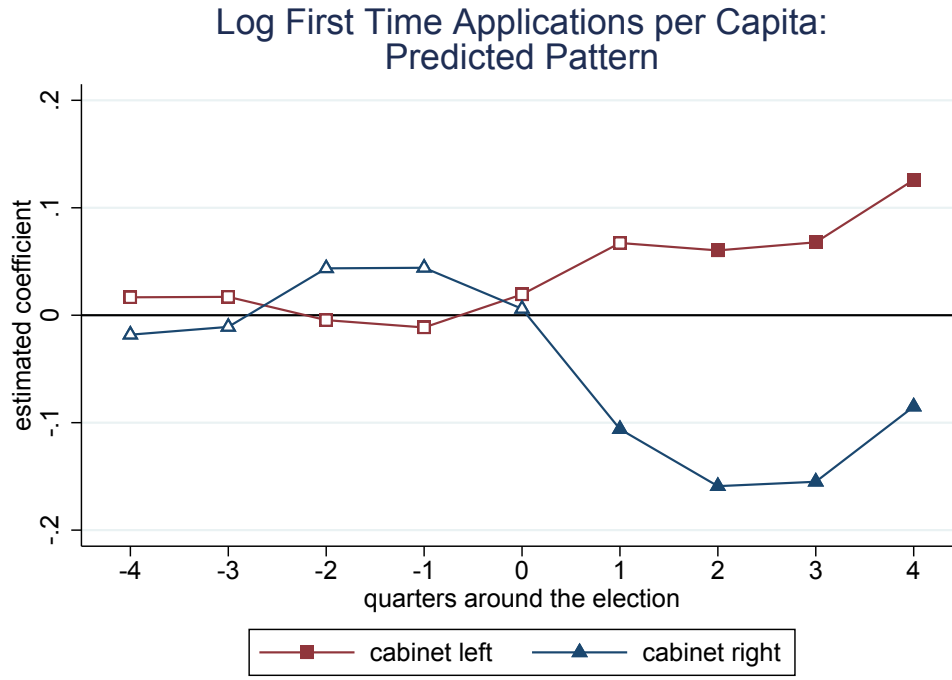


Figure 33: R15: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
4 quarters before the election	0.0193 (0.0372)	-0.0201 (0.0355)
3 quarters before the election	0.0255 (0.0403)	-0.0163 (0.0291)
2 quarters before the election	-0.00339 (0.0306)	0.0419 (0.0370)
1 quarters before the election	-0.00362 (0.0360)	0.0477 (0.0326)
Quarter of the election	0.0199 (0.0358)	0.0102 (0.0362)
1 quarters after the election	0.0706 (0.0374)	-0.0984** (0.0313)
2 quarters after the election	0.0639* (0.0289)	-0.158*** (0.0335)
3 quarters after the election	0.0719* (0.0325)	-0.149*** (0.0379)
4 quarters after the election	0.125*** (0.0270)	-0.0920** (0.0327)
Observations	23705	23705

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

### 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)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.412*** (0.0714)	0.404*** (0.0706)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.169 (0.135)	0.170 (0.134)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0436 (0.0777)	0.0475 (0.0757)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.186*** (0.0239)	0.186*** (0.0236)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.627*** (0.164)	-0.651*** (0.163)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.261*** (0.0209)		0.260*** (0.0207)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.558 (0.312)		-0.581 (0.311)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.433** (0.493)	-1.503** (0.444)	-1.180* (0.468)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0699*** (0.0115)	-0.0711*** (0.0108)	-0.0692*** (0.0115)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0196 (0.0288)	0.0180 (0.0289)	0.00660 (0.0304)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.109*** (0.0244)	0.101*** (0.0228)	0.105*** (0.0250)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0355 (0.0242)	0.0380 (0.0230)	0.0374 (0.0241)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0919** (0.0274)	-0.0871** (0.0265)	-0.0982*** (0.0270)
Observations	23239	23239	23239
Adjusted $R^2$	0.435	0.175	0.439
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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

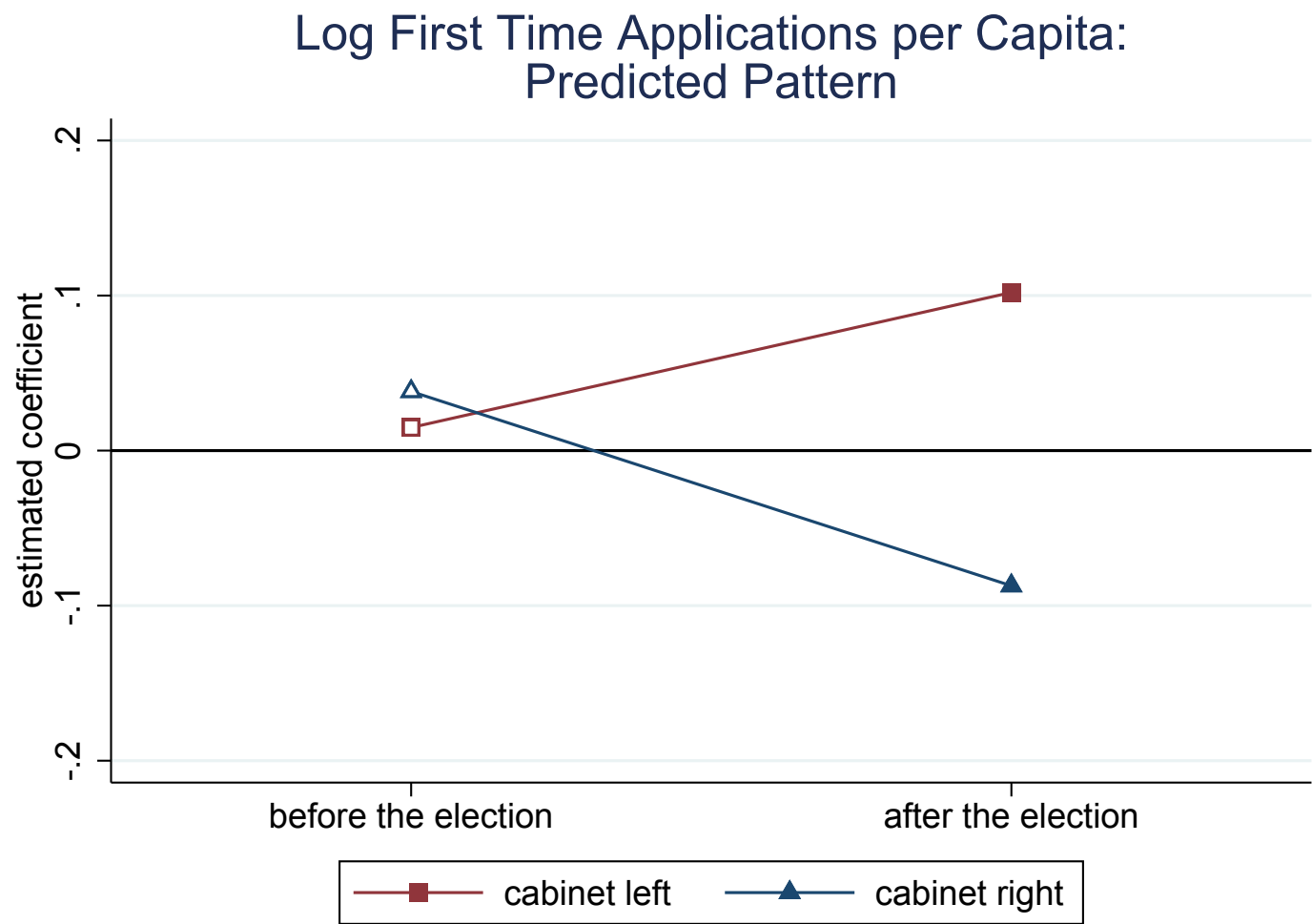


Figure 34: R16: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0180 (0.0289)	0.0380 (0.0230)
after	0.101*** (0.0228)	-0.0871** (0.0265)
Observations	23239	23239

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

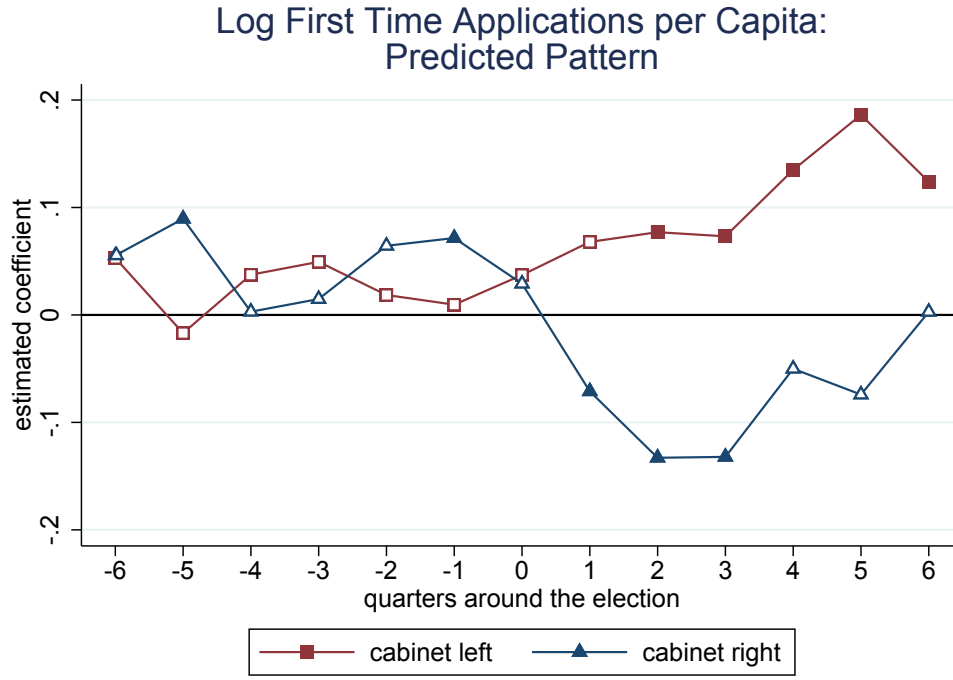


Figure 35: R16: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.0555 (0.0369)	0.0484 (0.0413)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0146 (0.0371)	0.0901** (0.0321)
4 quarters before the election	0.0397 (0.0388)	0.000373 (0.0370)
3 quarters before the election	0.0571 (0.0431)	0.00841 (0.0302)
2 quarters before the election	0.0193 (0.0334)	0.0614 (0.0385)
1 quarters before the election	0.0165 (0.0383)	0.0738* (0.0346)
Quarter of the election	0.0356 (0.0390)	0.0319 (0.0372)
1 quarters after the election	0.0689 (0.0412)	-0.0653 (0.0342)
2 quarters after the election	0.0780* (0.0340)	-0.133*** (0.0373)
3 quarters after the election	0.0750* (0.0318)	-0.126** (0.0447)
4 quarters after the election	0.132*** (0.0288)	-0.0596 (0.0405)
5 quarters after the election	0.181*** (0.0286)	-0.0754* (0.0379)
6 quarters after the election	0.121*** (0.0316)	-0.00174 (0.0330)
Observations	23239	23239

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

### 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*** (0.0799)	0.414*** (0.0798)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.176 (0.132)	0.175 (0.131)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.00660 (0.0733)	0.00585 (0.0725)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.207*** (0.0243)	0.205*** (0.0241)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.670*** (0.125)	-0.662*** (0.122)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.253*** (0.0217)		0.252*** (0.0216)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.748* (0.292)		-0.757* (0.290)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.648** (0.478)	-1.807*** (0.443)	-1.419** (0.445)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0748*** (0.0125)	-0.0764*** (0.0122)	-0.0757*** (0.0129)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.113*** (0.0278)	0.116*** (0.0271)	0.103*** (0.0292)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.132*** (0.0201)	0.126*** (0.0188)	0.120*** (0.0206)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.00160 (0.0278)	0.00592 (0.0263)	0.00447 (0.0274)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0817** (0.0257)	-0.0744** (0.0239)	-0.0864** (0.0259)
Observations	25428	25428	25428
Adjusted $R^2$	0.445	0.171	0.449
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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

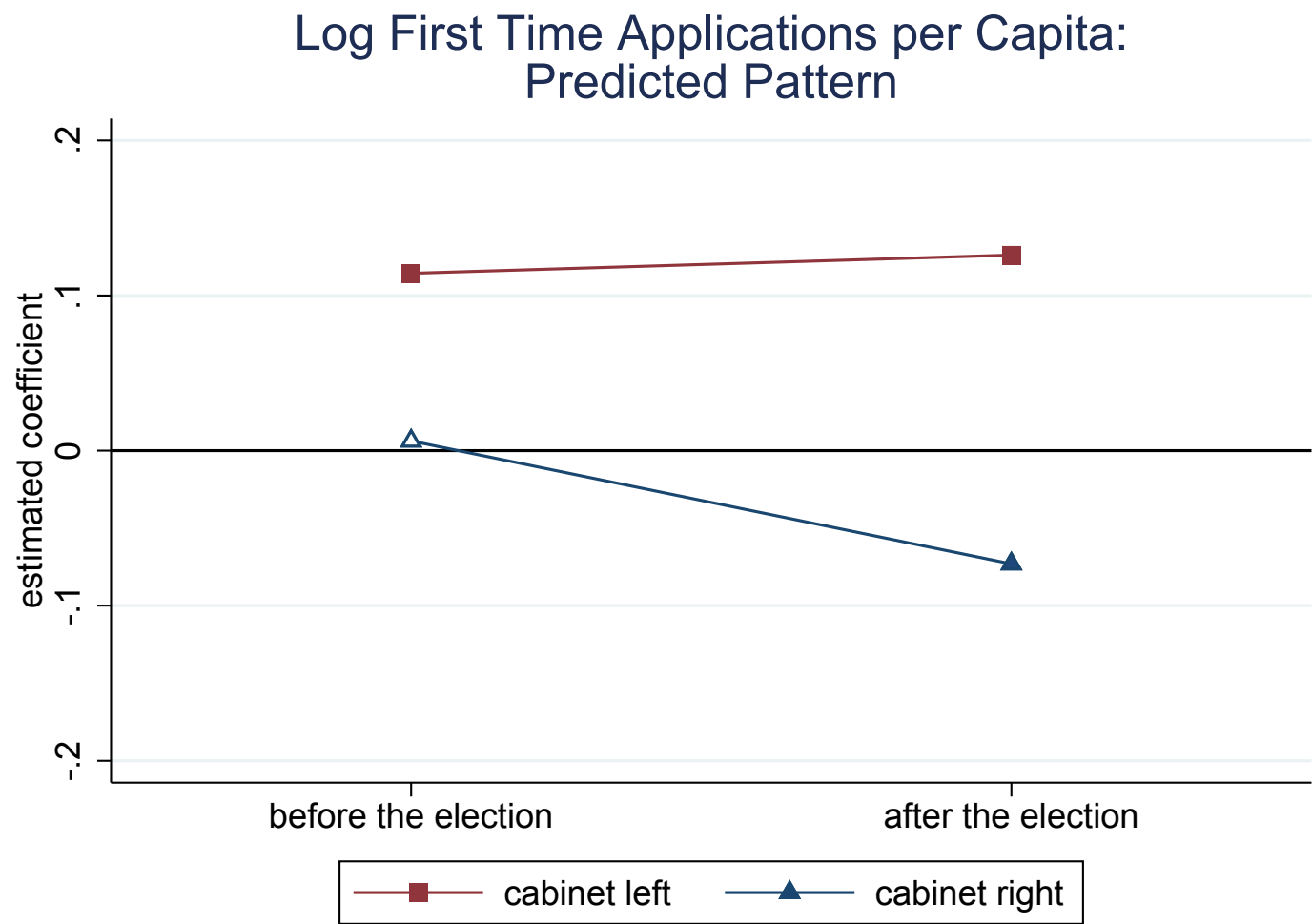


Figure 36: R17: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.116*** (0.0271)	0.00592 (0.0263)
after	0.126*** (0.0188)	-0.0744** (0.0239)
Observations	25428	25428

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

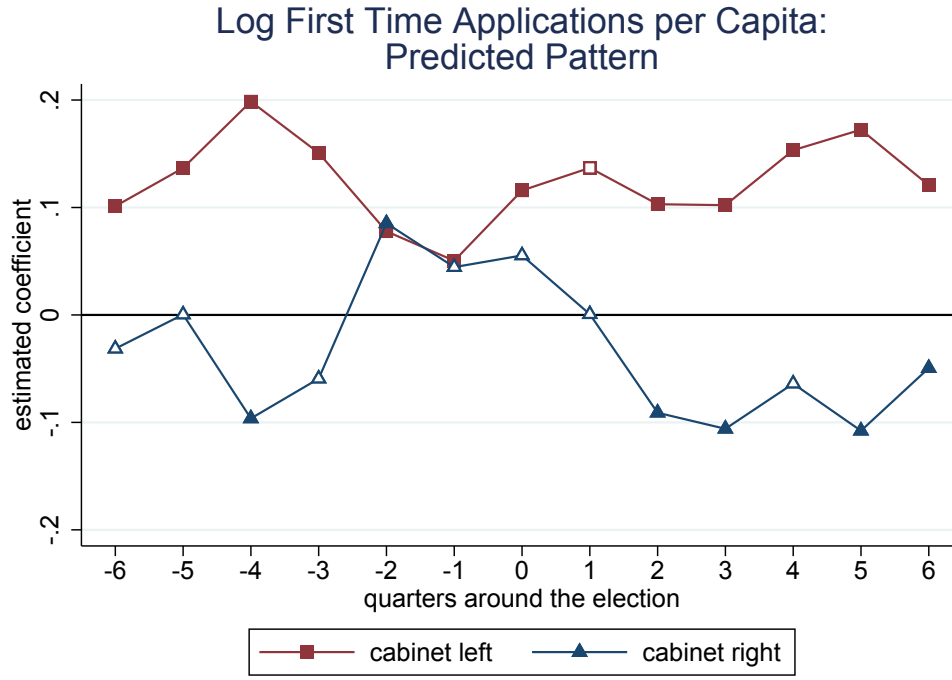


Figure 37: R17: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.101** (0.0329)	-0.0383 (0.0418)
5 quarters before the election	0.134*** (0.0296)	0.000459 (0.0322)
4 quarters before the election	0.202*** (0.0329)	-0.1000** (0.0344)
3 quarters before the election	0.155*** (0.0341)	-0.0659 (0.0390)
2 quarters before the election	0.0770* (0.0340)	0.0823 (0.0420)
1 quarters before the election	0.0553 (0.0409)	0.0472 (0.0404)
Quarter of the election	0.113** (0.0380)	0.0579 (0.0356)
1 quarters after the election	0.137*** (0.0335)	0.00514 (0.0321)
2 quarters after the election	0.105*** (0.0297)	-0.0922** (0.0318)
3 quarters after the election	0.105*** (0.0317)	-0.107** (0.0359)
4 quarters after the election	0.153*** (0.0281)	-0.0726* (0.0346)
5 quarters after the election	0.169*** (0.0256)	-0.108** (0.0331)
6 quarters after the election	0.118*** (0.0264)	-0.0558* (0.0252)
Observations	25428	25428

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

### 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)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.375*** (0.0700)	0.375*** (0.0694)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.123 (0.129)	0.122 (0.128)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0511 (0.0680)	0.0517 (0.0677)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.191*** (0.0222)	0.190*** (0.0219)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.619** (0.189)	-0.616** (0.189)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.234*** (0.0201)		0.233*** (0.0201)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.414 (0.213)		-0.414 (0.213)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-0.00554 (0.822)	0.0131 (0.815)	-0.0876 (0.720)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0600*** (0.0124)	-0.0601*** (0.0117)	-0.0619*** (0.0114)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0812** (0.0299)	0.0818** (0.0304)	0.0637* (0.0310)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.141*** (0.0225)	0.136*** (0.0227)	0.128*** (0.0218)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0576** (0.0206)	0.0560** (0.0200)	0.0586** (0.0208)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0557* (0.0224)	-0.0520* (0.0216)	-0.0589* (0.0227)
Observations	26749	26749	26749
Adjusted $R^2$	0.449	0.138	0.457
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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



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

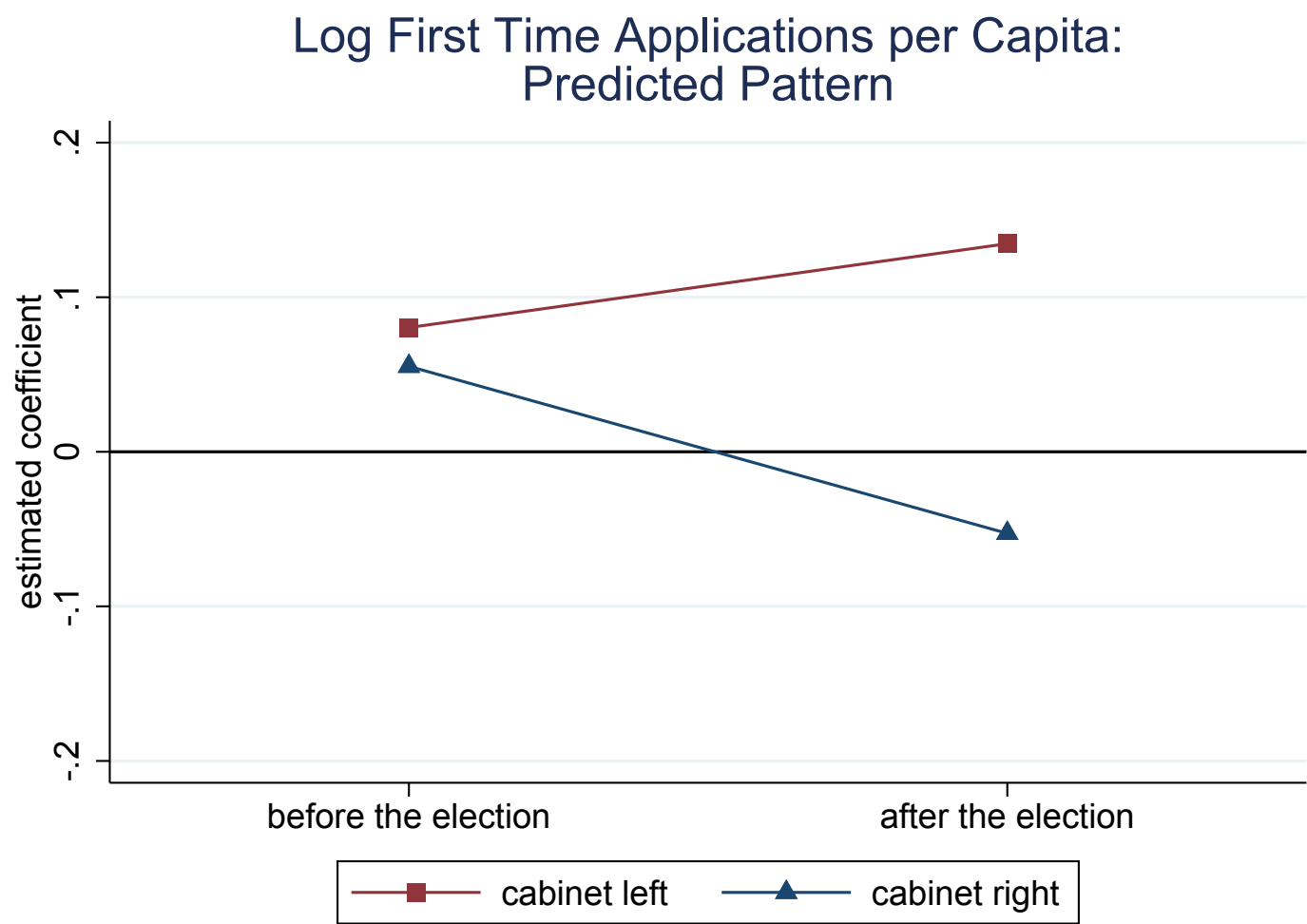


Figure 38: R18: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0818** (0.0304)	0.0560** (0.0200)
after	0.136*** (0.0227)	-0.0520* (0.0216)
Observations	26749	26749

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

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

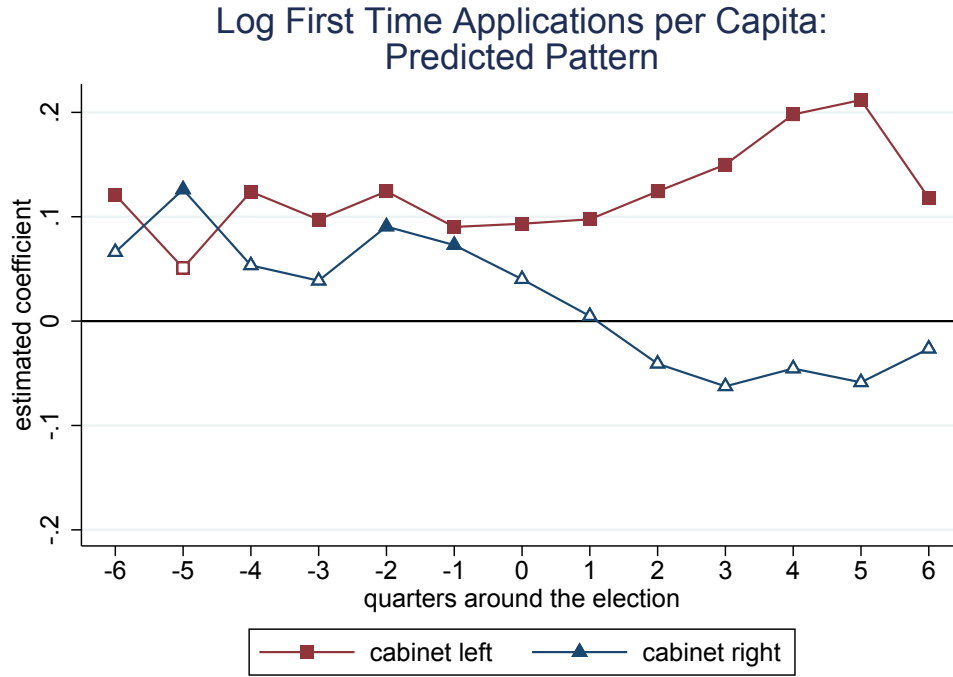


Figure 39: R18: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.120** (0.0377)	0.0610 (0.0342)
5 quarters before the election	0.0515 (0.0379)	0.128*** (0.0295)
4 quarters before the election	0.125** (0.0404)	0.0501 (0.0368)
3 quarters before the election	0.0999* (0.0426)	0.0336 (0.0275)
2 quarters before the election	0.122** (0.0404)	0.0889* (0.0352)
1 quarters before the election	0.0936** (0.0354)	0.0761* (0.0334)
Quarter of the election	0.0937* (0.0379)	0.0441 (0.0335)
1 quarters after the election	0.1000** (0.0368)	0.0117 (0.0308)
2 quarters after the election	0.130*** (0.0332)	-0.0386 (0.0349)
3 quarters after the election	0.151*** (0.0373)	-0.0575 (0.0348)
4 quarters after the election	0.193*** (0.0315)	-0.0532 (0.0345)
5 quarters after the election	0.211*** (0.0237)	-0.0585 (0.0337)
6 quarters after the election	0.122*** (0.0311)	-0.0312 (0.0273)
Observations	26749	26749

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

### 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)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.381*** (0.106)	0.381*** (0.106)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.242 (0.136)	0.242 (0.136)	
Political Rights (FHI)	-0.0196 (0.0645)	-0.0194 (0.0644)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.173*** (0.0234)	0.173*** (0.0233)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.542* (0.207)	-0.541* (0.207)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.221*** (0.0251)		0.221*** (0.0250)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.505 (0.358)		-0.505 (0.358)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.428 (0.822)	-1.464 (0.802)	-1.156 (0.670)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0899*** (0.0158)	-0.0893*** (0.0152)	-0.0889*** (0.0150)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.157*** (0.0345)	0.157*** (0.0346)	0.143*** (0.0339)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.146*** (0.0365)	0.140*** (0.0362)	0.135*** (0.0358)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0550 (0.0348)	0.0452 (0.0334)	0.0592 (0.0360)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0580 (0.0401)	-0.0545 (0.0376)	-0.0457 (0.0384)
Observations	16128	16128	16128
Adjusted $R^2$	0.411	0.177	0.413
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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

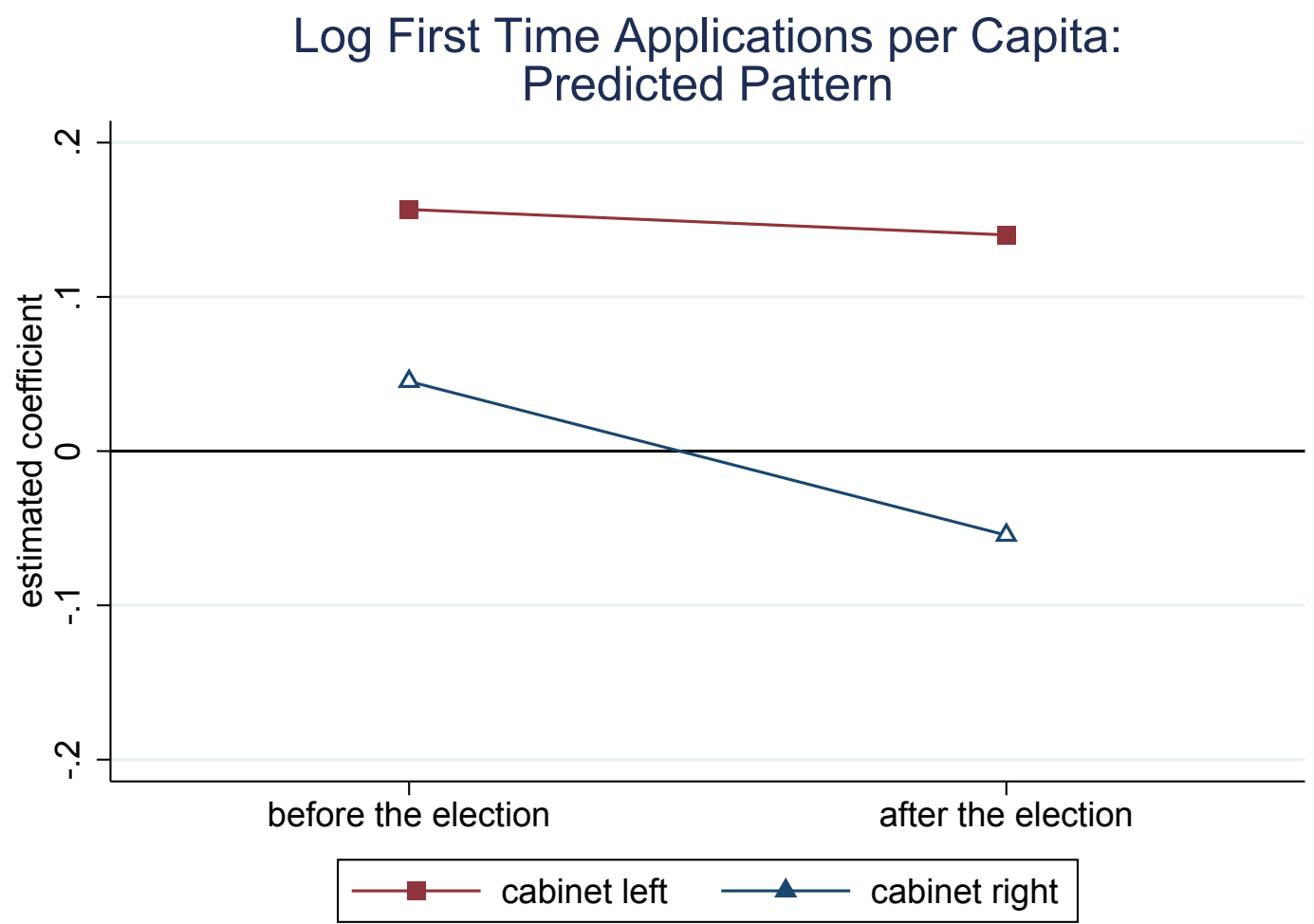


Figure 40: R19: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.157*** (0.0346)	0.0452 (0.0334)
after	0.140*** (0.0362)	-0.0545 (0.0376)
Observations	16128	16128

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

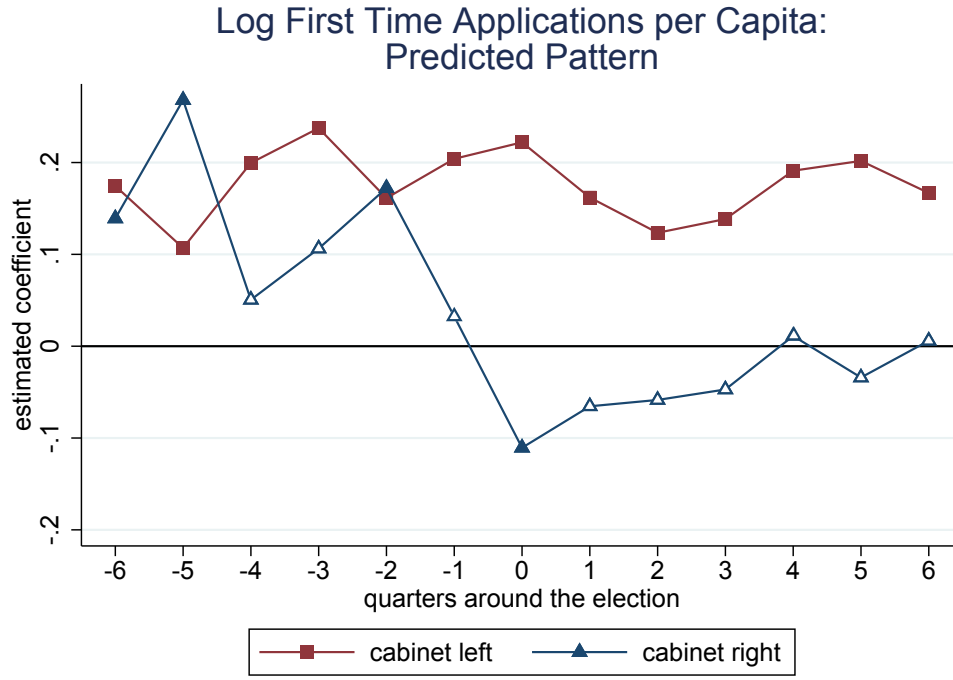


Figure 41: R19: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.174*** (0.0431)	0.139** (0.0489)
5 quarters before the election	0.107* (0.0437)	0.268*** (0.0475)
4 quarters before the election	0.200*** (0.0445)	0.0506 (0.0620)
3 quarters before the election	0.237*** (0.0500)	0.106 (0.0614)
2 quarters before the election	0.161** (0.0503)	0.172** (0.0610)
1 quarters before the election	0.204*** (0.0486)	0.0324 (0.0408)
Quarter of the election	0.222*** (0.0404)	-0.111** (0.0424)
1 quarters after the election	0.162*** (0.0472)	-0.0654 (0.0421)
2 quarters after the election	0.124** (0.0479)	-0.0585 (0.0491)
3 quarters after the election	0.138** (0.0506)	-0.0471 (0.0489)
4 quarters after the election	0.191*** (0.0416)	0.0112 (0.0581)
5 quarters after the election	0.202*** (0.0448)	-0.0341 (0.0657)
6 quarters after the election	0.167*** (0.0457)	0.00593 (0.0478)
Observations	16128	16128

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

### 3.20 Add Cyprus to baseline sample of destination countries

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

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.395*** (0.0680)	0.396*** (0.0673)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.167 (0.133)	0.167 (0.132)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0463 (0.0751)	0.0476 (0.0749)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.182*** (0.0226)	0.181*** (0.0224)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.634*** (0.174)	-0.635*** (0.172)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.257*** (0.0213)		0.257*** (0.0213)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.574* (0.222)		-0.575* (0.221)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-0.690 (0.494)	-0.742 (0.468)	-0.525 (0.474)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0746*** (0.0111)	-0.0758*** (0.0102)	-0.0721*** (0.0114)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0857* (0.0340)	0.0863* (0.0342)	0.0637 (0.0349)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.155*** (0.0232)	0.147*** (0.0229)	0.144*** (0.0229)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0456* (0.0224)	0.0462* (0.0208)	0.0447 (0.0224)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0709** (0.0226)	-0.0661** (0.0214)	-0.0730** (0.0223)
Observations	24827	24827	24827
Adjusted $R^2$	0.455	0.157	0.463
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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

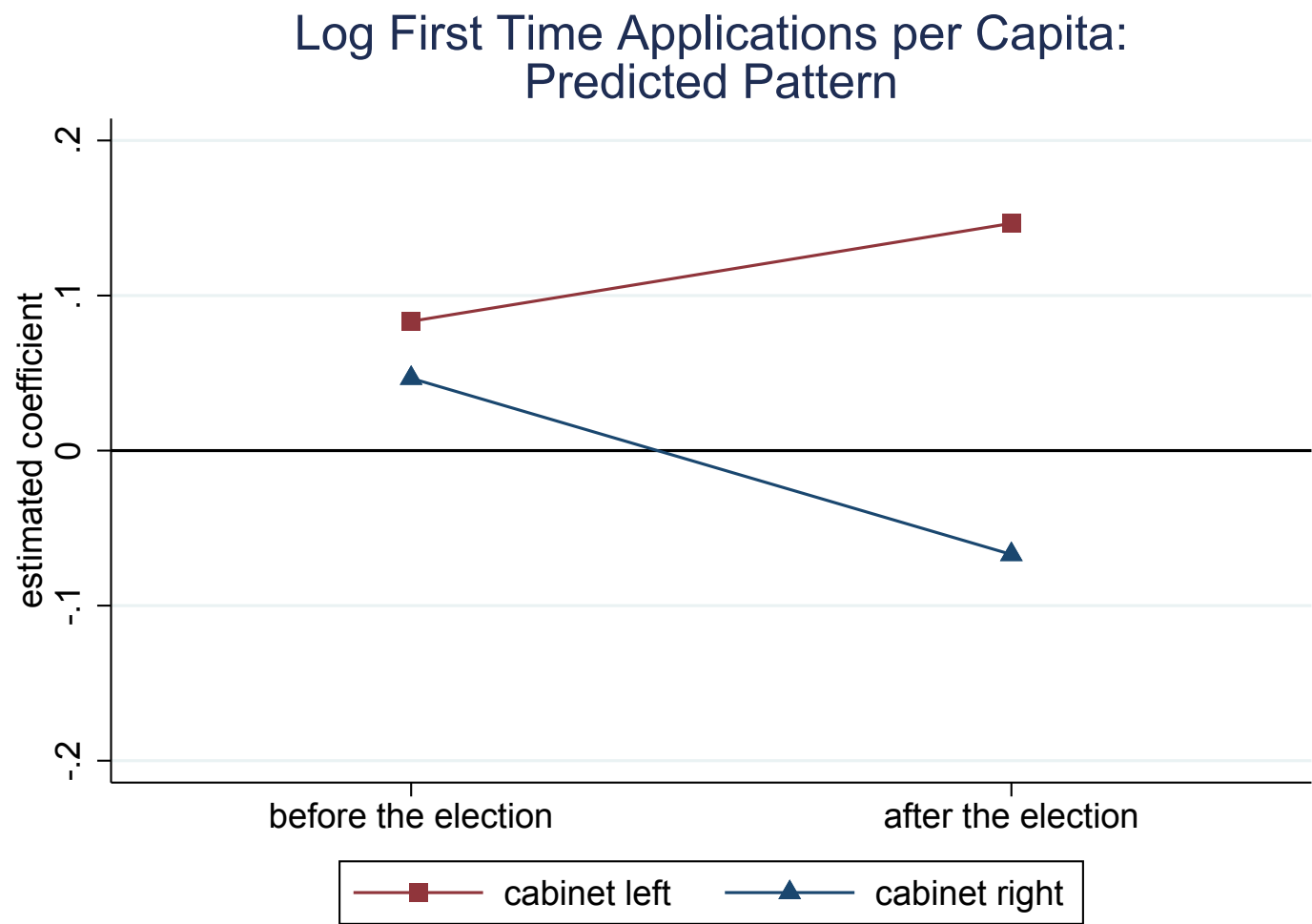


Figure 42: R20: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0863* (0.0342)	0.0462* (0.0208)
after	0.147*** (0.0229)	-0.0661** (0.0214)
Observations	24827	24827

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

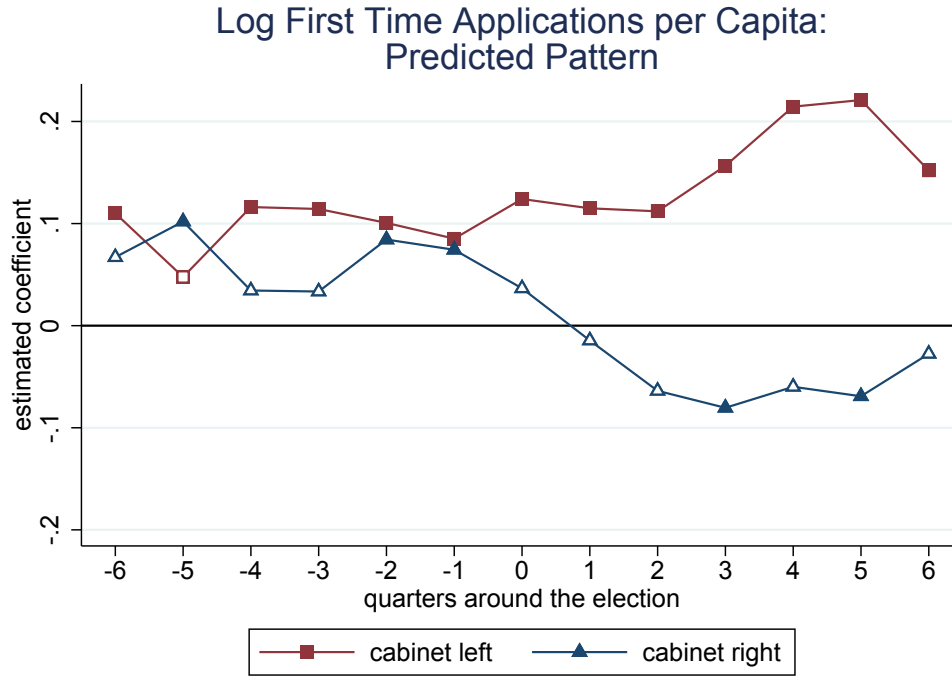


Figure 43: R20: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.112** (0.0379)	0.0606 (0.0350)
5 quarters before the election	0.0490 (0.0387)	0.102*** (0.0292)
4 quarters before the election	0.118** (0.0415)	0.0312 (0.0354)
3 quarters before the election	0.122** (0.0468)	0.0272 (0.0293)
2 quarters before the election	0.101* (0.0422)	0.0815* (0.0377)
1 quarters before the election	0.0912* (0.0399)	0.0769* (0.0327)
Quarter of the election	0.123** (0.0439)	0.0392 (0.0352)
1 quarters after the election	0.116** (0.0399)	-0.00698 (0.0318)
2 quarters after the election	0.113*** (0.0291)	-0.0629 (0.0352)
3 quarters after the election	0.158*** (0.0327)	-0.0744* (0.0354)
4 quarters after the election	0.214*** (0.0307)	-0.0664* (0.0334)
5 quarters after the election	0.219*** (0.0273)	-0.0701* (0.0314)
6 quarters after the election	0.153*** (0.0319)	-0.0320 (0.0281)
Observations	24827	24827

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



### 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)	(2)	(3)
Political Terror Scale	0.410*** (0.0848)	0.410*** (0.0849)	
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.172 (0.142)	0.172 (0.142)	
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0513 (0.0785)	0.0511 (0.0784)	
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.186*** (0.0232)	0.186*** (0.0232)	
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.768*** (0.170)	-0.766*** (0.169)	
Log migrant stock in 2000/1	0.255*** (0.0240)		0.255*** (0.0240)
Log distance from origin to destination	-0.784* (0.301)		-0.785* (0.301)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.648** (0.506)	-1.748*** (0.469)	-1.189* (0.496)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0718*** (0.0114)	-0.0730*** (0.0111)	-0.0694*** (0.0117)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.0498 (0.0335)	0.0493 (0.0339)	0.0485 (0.0356)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.219*** (0.0350)	0.206*** (0.0331)	0.221*** (0.0361)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0692* (0.0300)	0.0719* (0.0296)	0.0723* (0.0300)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0408 (0.0337)	-0.0304 (0.0319)	-0.0381 (0.0326)
Observations	16488	16488	16488
Adjusted $R^2$	0.461	0.184	0.468
Fixed Effects	O	D x O	O x T
Destination dummies	Yes	No	Yes
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	No

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

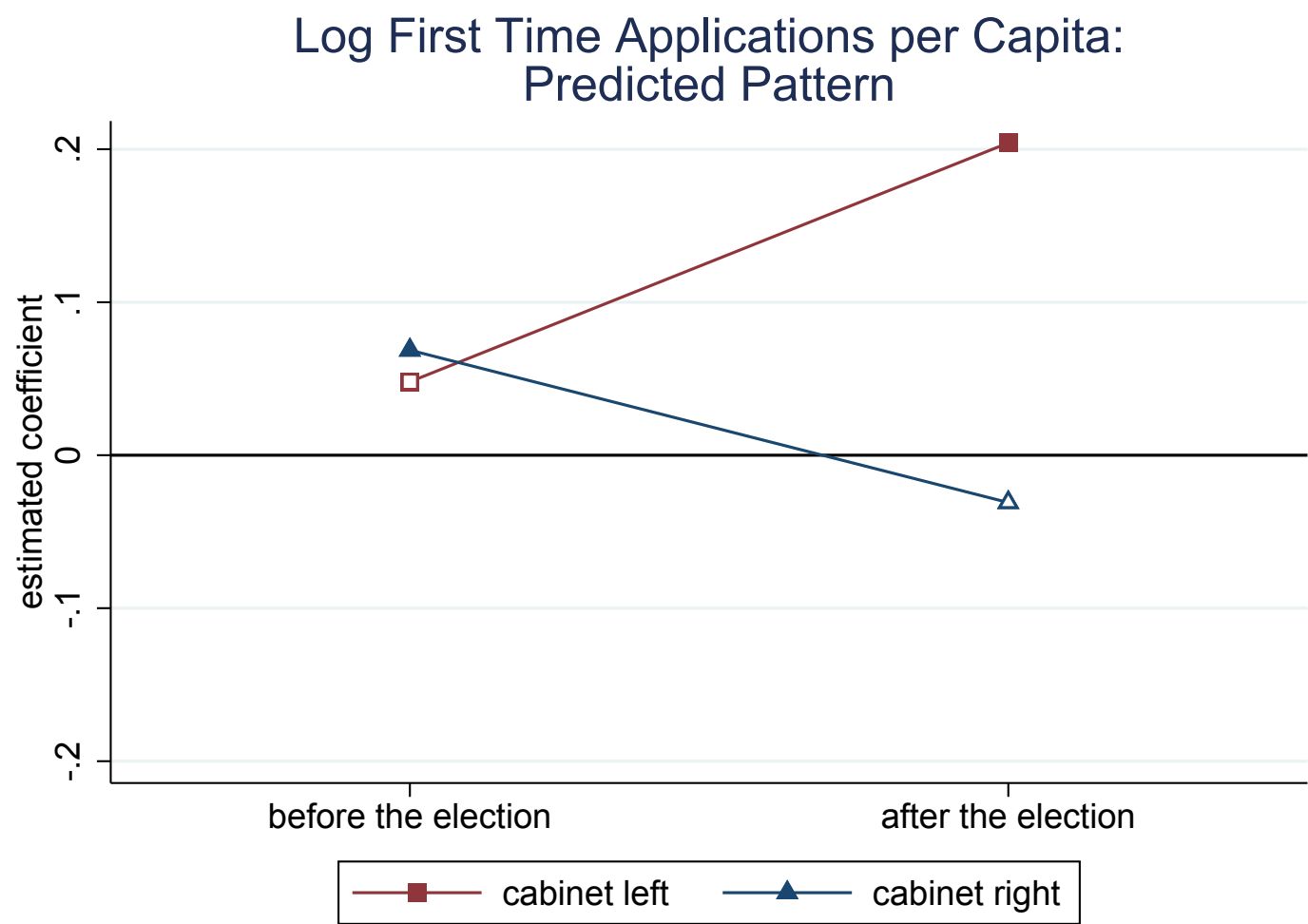


Figure 44: R21: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1)	(2)
	left	right
before	0.0493 (0.0339)	0.0719* (0.0296)
after	0.206*** (0.0331)	-0.0304 (0.0319)
Observations	16488	16488

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

R21: Use only countries that are also in baseline decision analysis - Model 2

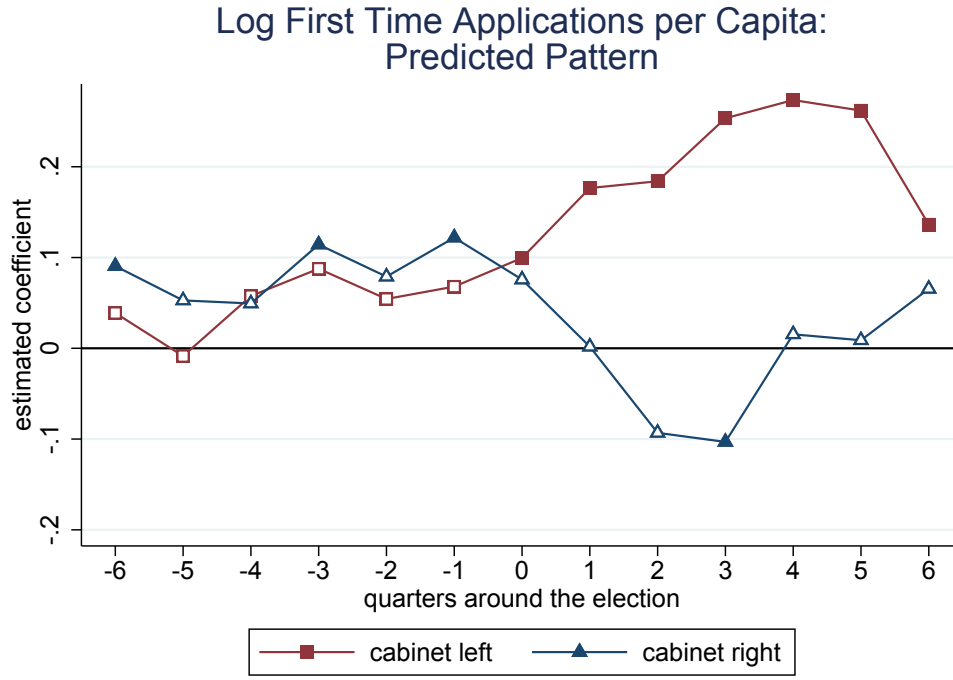


Figure 45: R21: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

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

	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.0383 (0.0490)	0.0863 (0.0442)
5 quarters before the election	-0.00860 (0.0501)	0.0574 (0.0342)
4 quarters before the election	0.0593 (0.0513)	0.0481 (0.0406)
3 quarters before the election	0.0919 (0.0484)	0.113** (0.0354)
2 quarters before the election	0.0537 (0.0417)	0.0790 (0.0453)
1 quarters before the election	0.0721 (0.0478)	0.131** (0.0501)
Quarter of the election	0.0962* (0.0469)	0.0801 (0.0513)
1 quarters after the election	0.177*** (0.0431)	0.00441 (0.0374)
2 quarters after the election	0.186*** (0.0423)	-0.0932* (0.0467)
3 quarters after the election	0.256*** (0.0458)	-0.0987* (0.0434)
4 quarters after the election	0.275*** (0.0366)	0.00878 (0.0422)
5 quarters after the election	0.261*** (0.0413)	0.0109 (0.0492)
6 quarters after the election	0.135** (0.0442)	0.0624 (0.0386)
Observations	16488	16488

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

## 4 Heterogeneity by origin country region

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

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Political Terror Scale	0.525*** (0.0759)	0.382*** (0.0953)	0.288* (0.119)	-0.150 (0.142)
Civic Liberty (FHI)	0.0556 (0.260)	0.164 (0.121)	0.378* (0.160)	0.0240 (0.240)
Political Rights (FHI)	0.0176 (0.114)	0.210* (0.0838)	-0.109 (0.0777)	0.345 (0.171)
Quarterly civil war battle death (000s)	0.138** (0.0377)	-0.0954 (0.0727)	0.279* (0.108)	2.571** (0.844)
Log origin country real GDP per capita	-0.330 (0.375)	-0.570* (0.269)	-1.058 (0.490)	0.0196 (0.343)
Log destination country real GDP per capita	-1.367 (0.761)	-0.203 (0.712)	-2.196* (0.706)	-0.417 (0.788)
Quarterly unemployment rate at destination	-0.0556* (0.0179)	-0.0861*** (0.0176)	-0.0155 (0.0231)	-0.0923*** (0.0186)
Cabinet position left * Before the election	0.103 (0.0492)	0.0754 (0.0403)	0.0271 (0.0897)	-0.0289 (0.0617)
Cabinet position left * After the election	0.0742 (0.0379)	0.144** (0.0428)	0.0347 (0.0352)	0.130** (0.0419)
Cabinet position right * Before the election	0.0330 (0.0565)	0.105** (0.0282)	-0.0726 (0.0440)	0.0523 (0.0377)
Cabinet position right * After the election	-0.0594 (0.0487)	-0.0603 (0.0405)	-0.118** (0.0348)	-0.0945* (0.0421)
Observations	4536	7776	4696	7365
Adjusted $R^2$	0.255	0.202	0.123	0.273
Fixed Effects	D x O	D x O	D x O	D x O
Destination dummies	No	No	No	No
Quarter-Year dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Area of origin	MENA	Africa	SEA	ECA

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

## Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

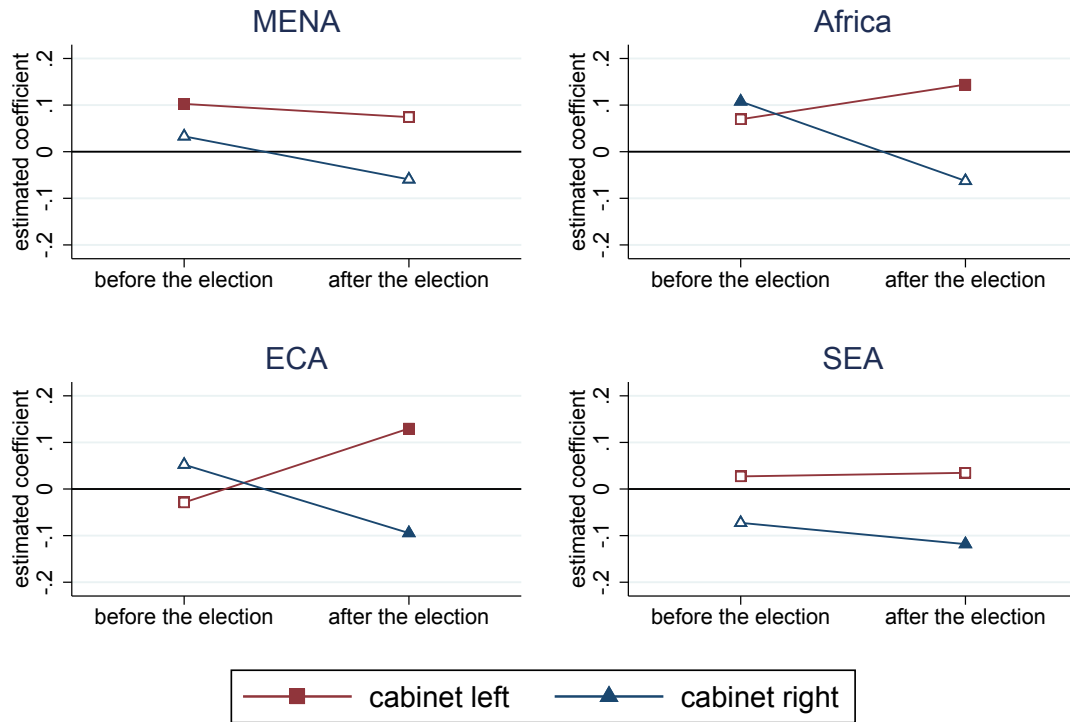


Figure 46: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 67: log First-Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

(a) Middle East and North Africa		
	(1) left	(2) right
before	0.103* (0.0492)	0.0330 (0.0565)
after	0.0742 (0.0379)	-0.0594 (0.0487)
Observations	4536	4536
Standard errors in parentheses (* $p < 0.05$ , ** $p < 0.01$ , *** $p < 0.001$ )		

(b) Africa		
	(1) left	(2) right
before	0.0754 (0.0403)	0.105*** (0.0282)
after	0.144*** (0.0428)	-0.0603 (0.0405)
Observations	7776	7776
Standard errors in parentheses (* $p < 0.05$ , ** $p < 0.01$ , *** $p < 0.001$ )		

Table 69: log First-Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

(a) Europe and Central Asia		
	(1) left	(2) right
before	-0.0289 (0.0617)	0.0523 (0.0377)
after	0.130** (0.0419)	-0.0945* (0.0421)
Observations	7365	7365
Standard errors in parentheses (* $p < 0.05$ , ** $p < 0.01$ , *** $p < 0.001$ )		

(b) South and East Asia		
	(1) left	(2) right
before	0.0271 (0.0897)	-0.0726 (0.0440)
after	0.0347 (0.0352)	-0.118*** (0.0348)
Observations	4696	4696
Standard errors in parentheses (* $p < 0.05$ , ** $p < 0.01$ , *** $p < 0.001$ )		

## Log First Time Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

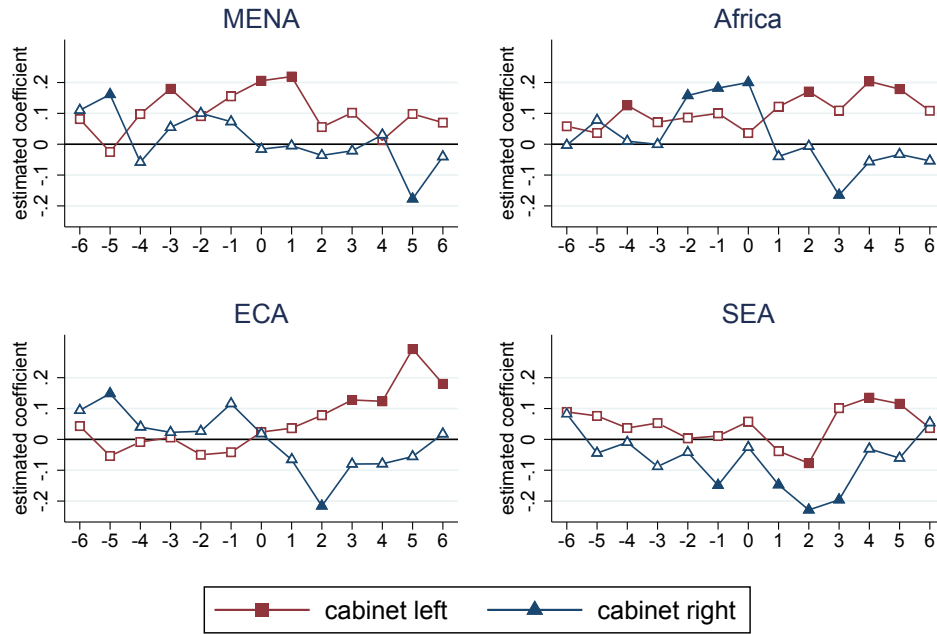


Figure 47: log First Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

Table 71: log First-Time Asylum Applications per Capita: Predicted Pattern

(a) Middle East and North Africa			(b) Africa		
	(1) left	(2) right		(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.0815 (0.113)	0.110 (0.0817)	6 quarters before the election	0.0623 (0.0628)	-0.0206 (0.0517)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0251 (0.116)	0.161* (0.0816)	5 quarters before the election	0.0372 (0.0487)	0.0794 (0.0467)
4 quarters before the election	0.0978 (0.0704)	-0.0582 (0.105)	4 quarters before the election	0.127* (0.0518)	0.000936 (0.0611)
3 quarters before the election	0.180** (0.0665)	0.0547 (0.0836)	3 quarters before the election	0.0911 (0.0662)	-0.0204 (0.0558)
2 quarters before the election	0.0910 (0.0523)	0.100 (0.0945)	2 quarters before the election	0.0822 (0.0488)	0.146* (0.0594)
1 quarters before the election	0.155 (0.0987)	0.0731 (0.0555)	1 quarters before the election	0.116* (0.0537)	0.185*** (0.0529)
Quarter of the election	0.206*** (0.0522)	-0.0160 (0.0472)	Quarter of the election	0.0356 (0.0512)	0.204*** (0.0482)
1 quarters after the election	0.219* (0.0982)	-0.00495 (0.0952)	1 quarters after the election	0.125* (0.0628)	-0.0194 (0.0508)
2 quarters after the election	0.0557 (0.0516)	-0.0362 (0.0828)	2 quarters after the election	0.173** (0.0534)	-0.0136 (0.0501)
3 quarters after the election	0.102 (0.0719)	-0.0213 (0.0867)	3 quarters after the election	0.116 (0.0662)	-0.146* (0.0631)
4 quarters after the election	0.0131 (0.0581)	0.0303 (0.0753)	4 quarters after the election	0.195*** (0.0538)	-0.0776 (0.0713)
5 quarters after the election	0.0981 (0.0508)	-0.177* (0.0771)	5 quarters after the election	0.168** (0.0552)	-0.0328 (0.0677)
6 quarters after the election	0.0700 (0.0853)	-0.0404 (0.0785)	6 quarters after the election	0.106* (0.0524)	-0.0623 (0.0671)
Observations	4536	4536	Observations	7776	7776
Standard errors in parentheses (* $p < 0.05$ , ** $p < 0.01$ , *** $p < 0.001$ )			Standard errors in parentheses (* $p < 0.05$ , ** $p < 0.01$ , *** $p < 0.001$ )		

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

(a) Europe and Central Asia		
	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.0431 (0.0790)	0.0941 (0.0951)
5 quarters before the election	-0.0538 (0.0774)	0.149** (0.0501)
4 quarters before the election	-0.00855 (0.0724)	0.0401 (0.0652)
3 quarters before the election	0.00614 (0.0847)	0.0228 (0.0418)
2 quarters before the election	-0.0499 (0.0752)	0.0263 (0.0696)
1 quarters before the election	-0.0417 (0.0791)	0.116 (0.0629)
Quarter of the election	0.0237 (0.0771)	0.0185 (0.0756)
1 quarters after the election	0.0362 (0.0826)	-0.0659 (0.0452)
2 quarters after the election	0.0781 (0.0617)	-0.216*** (0.0639)
3 quarters after the election	0.128* (0.0542)	-0.0799 (0.0694)
4 quarters after the election	0.123* (0.0483)	-0.0793 (0.0664)
5 quarters after the election	0.293*** (0.0481)	-0.0556 (0.0639)
6 quarters after the election	0.180*** (0.0401)	0.0178 (0.0447)
Observations	7365	7365

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

(b) South and East Asia		
	(1) left	(2) right
6 quarters before the election	0.0890 (0.0753)	0.0825 (0.101)
5 quarters before the election	0.0761 (0.0995)	-0.0445 (0.0652)
4 quarters before the election	0.0369 (0.136)	-0.00956 (0.0735)
3 quarters before the election	0.0529 (0.126)	-0.0880 (0.0753)
2 quarters before the election	0.00314 (0.0944)	-0.0423 (0.0670)
1 quarters before the election	0.0109 (0.107)	-0.149*** (0.0433)
Quarter of the election	0.0577 (0.100)	-0.0258 (0.0789)
1 quarters after the election	-0.0383 (0.0740)	-0.147* (0.0623)
2 quarters after the election	-0.0770* (0.0390)	-0.229*** (0.0631)
3 quarters after the election	0.101 (0.0766)	-0.196** (0.0672)
4 quarters after the election	0.135* (0.0535)	-0.0307 (0.0524)
5 quarters after the election	0.115*** (0.0298)	-0.0606 (0.0475)
6 quarters after the election	0.0367 (0.0695)	0.0541 (0.0582)
Observations	4696	4696

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