

# Replication - Tables

2023-05-10

## Election results from Parliament election (Table 1)

Table 1: Migration Patterns and Results of the July 2009 Parliamentary Election

	Share of votes for the Communist parties (percent)				Share of votes for opposition parties (percent)			
	Basic controls	Plus pre- migration election results	Plus nighttime light (full model)	Hetero- geneity within the West	Liberal Democratic party	Liberal Party	Demo- cratic Party	Party Alliance Our Moldova
Prevalence of emigration to the West (percent)	-0.70 (0.20)	-0.63 (0.18)	-0.63 (0.18)		0.40 (0.13)	0.24 (0.11)	-0.16 (0.15)	0.08 (0.12)
Prevalence of emigration to the East (percent)	0.44 (0.17)	0.39 (0.16)	0.39 (0.16)	0.39 (0.16)	-0.07 (0.09)	-0.17 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.11)	-0.07 (0.08)
Prevalence of emigration to flawed Western democracies (percent)				-0.33 (0.22)				
Prevalence of emigration to full Western democracies (percent)				-1.32 (0.36)				
N	848	848	848	848	848	848	848	848
R2	0.78	0.82	0.82	0.82	0.56	0.66	0.37	0.42

Notes: The table reports OLS estimates for 848 Moldovan communities. The dependent variables are the vote shares of different parties in the July 2009 parliamentary election at the community level (in percent). The set of basic controls includes community-level variables capturing population size, age structure, ethnic composition, skill level, and distribution of the population, a dummy for district capitals and the cities of Chisinau and Balti, the distance to the district capital, and the next Romanian border crossing. Table A4 in the online Appendix shows the full regression results. Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parentheses. Column 4 distinguishes between full and flawed democracies within Western destinations based on the classification provided by the Economist Intelligence Unit's index of democracy of 2006 (the index is not available for earlier years). Full Western democracies include Portugal, Greece, Spain, France, Germany, the Czech Republic, Great Britain, Ireland, the United States, Belgium, Austria, Canada, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Flawed Western democracies include Italy, Romania, Israel, Cyprus, Bulgaria, and Poland. Moldova is also classified as a flawed democracy

Table 2: Migration Patterns and Results of the November 2014 Parliamentary Election

	Share of votes for the Communist party (percent)				Share of votes for opposition parties (percent)		
	Basic controls	Plus pre- migration election results	Plus nighttime light (full model)	Hetero- geneity within the West	Liberal Demo- cratic party	Liberal Party	Social Demo- cratic Party
Prevalence of emigration to the West (percent)	-0.80 (0.23)	-0.74 (0.23)	-0.75 (0.24)		0.26 (0.08)	0.27 (0.18)	0.35 (0.21)
Prevalence of emigration to the East (percent)	0.37 (0.23)	0.31 (0.21)	0.31 (0.21)	0.31 (0.22)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.28 (0.14)	-0.02 (0.15)
Prevalence of emigration to flawed Western democracies (percent)				-0.64 (0.30)			
Prevalence of emigration to full Western democracies (percent)				-1.02 (0.32)			
N	847	847	847	847	847	847	847
R2	0.73	0.77	0.77	0.77	0.59	0.48	0.46

Notes: The table reports OLS estimates for 848 Moldovan communities. The dependent variables are the vote shares of different parties in the July 2009 parliamentary election at the community level (in percent). The set of basic controls includes community-level variables capturing population size, age structure, ethnic composition, skill level, and distribution of the population, a dummy for district capitals and the cities of Chisinau and Balti, the distance to the district capital, and the next Romanian border crossing. Table A4 in the online Appendix shows the full regression results. Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parentheses. Column 4 distinguishes between full and flawed democracies within Western destinations based on the classification provided by the Economist Intelligence Unit's index of democracy of 2006 (the index is not available for earlier years). Full Western democracies include Portugal, Greece, Spain, France, Germany, the Czech Republic, Great Britain, Ireland, the United States, Belgium, Austria, Canada, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Flawed Western democracies include Italy, Romania, Israel, Cyprus, Bulgaria, and Poland. Moldova is also classified as a flawed democracy

Table 3: Migration Patterns and Results of the November 2021 Parliamentary Election

	Share of votes for the Communist parties (percent)			Share of votes for all parties with seats (percent)			
	Basic controls	Plus pre- migration election results	Plus nighttime light (full model)	Hetero- geneity within the West	Party of Action and Solidarity	Block of Com- munists and Socialists	Șor Party
Prevalence of emigration to the West (percent)	-0.46 (0.20)	-0.41 (0.19)	-0.41 (0.19)		0.39 (0.18)	-0.39 (0.18)	-0.02 (0.09)
Prevalence of emigration to the East (percent)	0.34 (0.15)	0.28 (0.14)	0.27 (0.14)	0.27 (0.14)	-0.22 (0.11)	0.15 (0.13)	0.12 (0.07)
Prevalence of emigration to flawed Western democracies (percent)				-0.14 (0.29)			
Prevalence of emigration to full Western democracies (percent)				-1.03 (0.33)			
N	847	847	847	847	847	847	847
R2	0.86	0.87	0.87	0.87	0.85	0.86	0.64

Notes: The table reports OLS estimates for 848 Moldovan communities. The dependent variables are the vote shares of different parties in the July 2009 parliamentary election at the community level (in percent). The set of basic controls includes community-level variables capturing population size, age structure, ethnic composition, skill level, and distribution of the population, a dummy for district capitals and the cities of Chisinau and Balti, the distance to the district capital, and the next Romanian border crossing. Table A4 in the online Appendix shows the full regression results. Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parentheses. Column 4 distinguishes between full and flawed democracies within Western destinations based on the classification provided by the Economist Intelligence Unit's index of democracy of 2006 (the index is not available for earlier years). Full Western democracies include Portugal, Greece, Spain, France, Germany, the Czech Republic, Great Britain, Ireland, the United States, Belgium, Austria, Canada, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Flawed Western democracies include Italy, Romania, Israel, Cyprus, Bulgaria, and Poland. Moldova is also classified as a flawed democracy

Table 4: Migration Patterns and Communist Votes over Time, 2001–2021

	Share of Communist votes in parliamentary elections (percent)						
	2001	2005	April 2009	July 2009	2010	2014	2021
Prevalence of emigration to the West (percent)	-0.30 (0.30)	-0.18 (0.34)	-0.40 (0.20)	-0.63 (0.18)	-0.85 (0.17)	-0.75 (0.24)	-0.41 (0.19)
Prevalence of emigration to the East (percent)	0.00 (0.14)	-0.13 (0.16)	0.27 (0.14)	0.39 (0.16)	0.20 (0.20)	0.31 (0.21)	0.27 (0.14)
N	848	848	848	848	848	847	847
R2	0.79	0.52	0.68	0.82	0.82	0.77	0.87

Notes: The table reports OLS estimates for 848 Moldovan communities. The dependent variables are the vote shares of the Communist Party in the parliamentary elections between 2001 and 2010 at the community level (in percent) (columns 1–5) and a binary indicator for whether a Communist mayor was elected in the municipal elections of 1999, 2003, and 2007 (columns 6–8). The full set of controls includes community-level variables capturing population size, age structure, ethnic composition, skill level, and distribution of the population, a dummy for district capitals and the cities of Chisinau and Balti, the distance to the district capital and the next Romanian border crossing, as well as premigration election results and night-light intensity. Standard errors, clustered at the district level, are in parentheses.

Table 5: —The Relationship of Migration Patterns and Non-migration Community Characteristics with Communist Votes over Time, 2001–2021

	Share of Communist votes in parliamentary elections (percent)						
	2001	2005	April 2009	July 2009	2010	2014	2021
Prevalence of emigration to the West (percent)	-0.00 (0.25)	0.21 (0.20)	-0.30 (0.14)	-0.65 (0.14)	-0.78 (0.17)	-1.06 (0.17)	-0.97 (0.26)
Prevalence of emigration to the East (percent)	0.06 (0.19)	-0.45 (0.28)	0.07 (0.14)	0.45 (0.15)	0.33 (0.14)	0.87 (0.18)	0.58 (0.26)
Propensity score	1.08 (0.04)	0.57 (0.06)	0.88 (0.03)	1.18 (0.03)	1.13 (0.03)	0.84 (0.04)	1.29 (0.08)
Constant	-2.60 (2.95)	26.16 (3.03)	11.44 (2.16)	-11.18 (1.84)	-14.33 (1.95)	-5.19 (2.57)	-23.92 (5.00)
N	848	848	848	848	848	847	847
R2	0.69	0.28	0.63	0.79	0.78	0.67	0.71

Notes: The table reports OLS estimates for 848 Moldovan communities. The dependent variables are the vote shares of the Communist Party in the parliamentary elections between 2001 and 2010 at the community level (in percent). These results correspond to the results in Table 2. The propensity score summarizes the role of all non-migration community characteristics in explaining average Communist vote shares over the period 2001–2010. To construct it, we first run a regression of the Communist vote share averaged over the period 2001–2010 on all covariates used in our baseline specification (column 3 of Table 1) except the prevalence of emigration to the West and East. We then define the propensity score as the prediction from this regression. Standard errors, clustered at the district level, are in parentheses.