

Supplemental Appendix

The Political Consequences of Mass Repatriation

Edoardo Cefalà

Appendices

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A Descriptive Statistics and Historical Background

A.1 Historical Pictures



Figure A.1: Repatriates departing from Algeria after the Algerian independence (Month of August 1962).
Source: Evans, [2011](#)



Figure A.2: Paris Match Cover 1962

A.2 Descriptive statistics

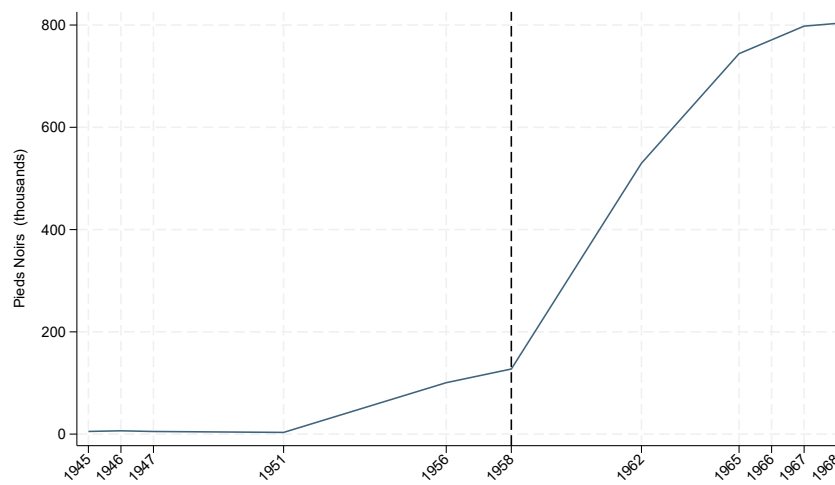


Figure A.3: Inflow of repatriates in France by year. Source: Insee (1968).

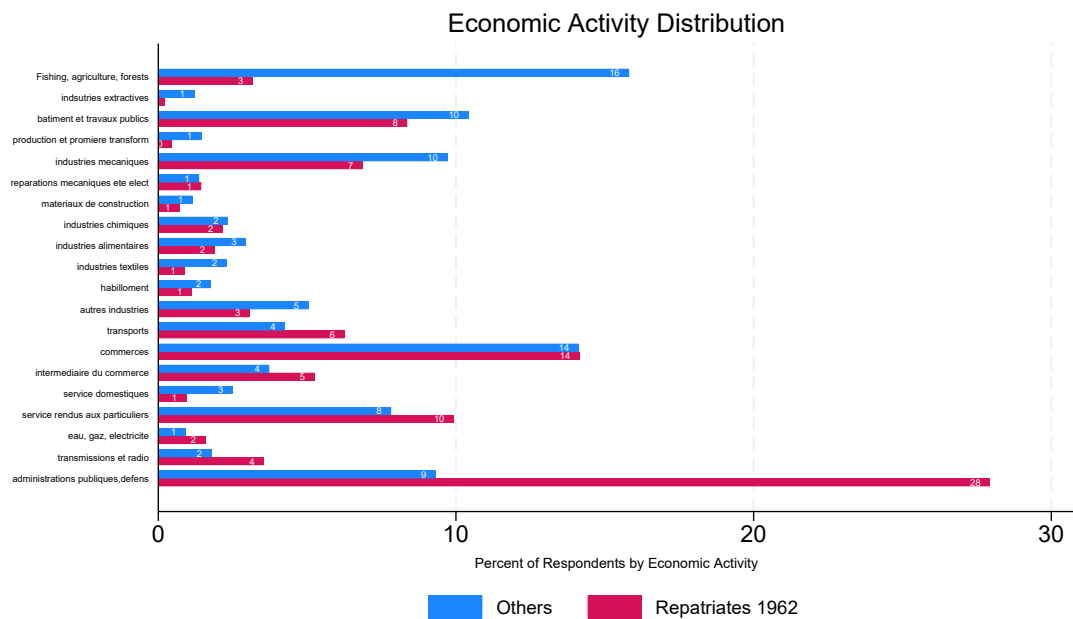


Figure A.4: Economic activities and repatriates. Source: Insee (1968).

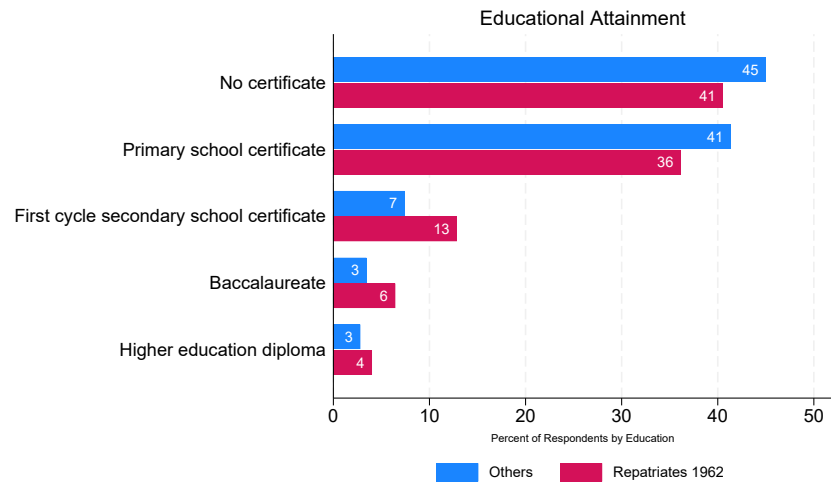


Figure A.5: Education level. Source: Insee (1968).

Table A.1: Summary statistics

	Mean	Std.Dev.	Obs	Min.	Max.
Control and explanatory Variables					
Immigrants 1962 share	0.03	0.05	345202	0.00	0.93
Unemployed 1962 share	0.00	0.01	343811	0.00	1.00
High school 1962 share	0.01	0.01	345358	0.00	0.25
Agricultural workers 1962 share	0.42	0.23	345306	0.00	1.00
Population 1968	1282.83	10105.32	345358	4.00	889464.00
Repatriates 1962 Dummy	0.07	0.25	345540	0.00	1.00
Repatriates 1962 share	0.00	0.01	345358	0.00	1.00
Election Variables					
Short Run					
Log of Registered voters	5.55	1.12	345094	1.10	13.04
Log of Voters	5.32	1.12	345079	0.69	12.76
Center right share	0.28	0.20	318568	0.00	1.00
Gaullists share	0.23	0.22	318507	0.00	1.00
Far right share	0.03	0.06	239066	0.00	0.80
Long Run					
Log of Registered voters	5.71	1.18	812282	0.69	13.17
Log of Voters	5.43	1.17	812263	0.00	12.86
Center right share	0.20	0.19	686194	0.00	1.00
Gaullists share	0.23	0.18	787857	0.00	1.00
Far right share	0.10	0.10	686205	0.00	0.87
Manifesto Variables					
Topic tf	0.00	0.00	10506	0.00	0.06
Sentiment	0.00	0.01	10506	-0.04	0.07
Ingroup	0.06	0.18	10506	-0.30	0.76
Care	0.00	0.04	10506	-0.35	0.71
Fairness	0.03	0.13	10506	-0.73	0.75
Policy	0.03	0.14	10506	0.00	0.80

Mean, standard deviation, number of observations , minimum and maximum values reported. All these variables are recorded at the municipality level, with the exception of the manifesto variables that are recorded at the electoral district level. For SDiD estimation I will generate a balanced version of the dataset for each outcome specifically.

B Additional Results and Different Outcomes

B.1 Difference-in-Differences

As a preliminary approach to estimate the political impact of the repatriates' arrival, I employ a Difference-in-Differences (DiD) strategy. The following equation is estimated:

$$y_{ct} = \sum_{t \neq 1958}^{1974} \beta_t [\text{Repatriates}_c \times I(e = t)] + \sum_{t \neq 1958}^{1974} \lambda_t [X_c \times I(e = t)] + \alpha_c + \gamma_d \times \delta_t + \epsilon_{ct} \quad (3)$$

Where y_{ct} is the outcome of interest in municipality c at election year t . Repatriates_c is the share of repatriates who arrived in 1962 in municipality c , expressed as a share of the 1968 population. X_c is a vector of control variables measured at their 1962 levels, including the share of workers in the agricultural sector, the share of people with higher education, the share of unemployed people, and the share of foreign-born people in municipality c . α_c represents municipality fixed effects, $\gamma_d \times \delta_t$ represents department-year fixed effects, and ϵ_{ct} is the error term. Standard errors are clustered at the municipality level. Results are weighted by the municipality population in 1968.

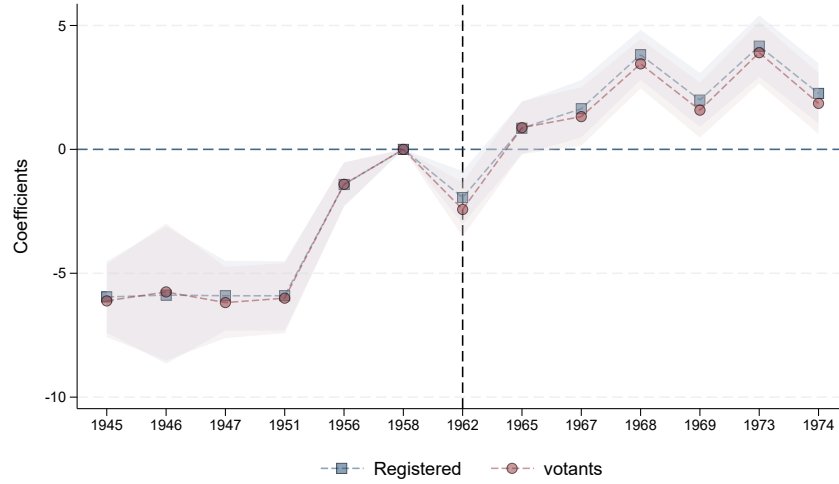


Figure B.1: DiD (Log) Political Participation

This Figure shows the result of estimation 3 on 35,916 municipalities using the number of repatriates who arrived in 1962 in each municipality as a share of the 1968 population. Standard errors are clustered at the municipality level and results are weighted by the municipality population in 1968. The areas show the 95% confidence intervals. The elections included are legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974. The dependent variable is the log of the number of registered and actual voters.

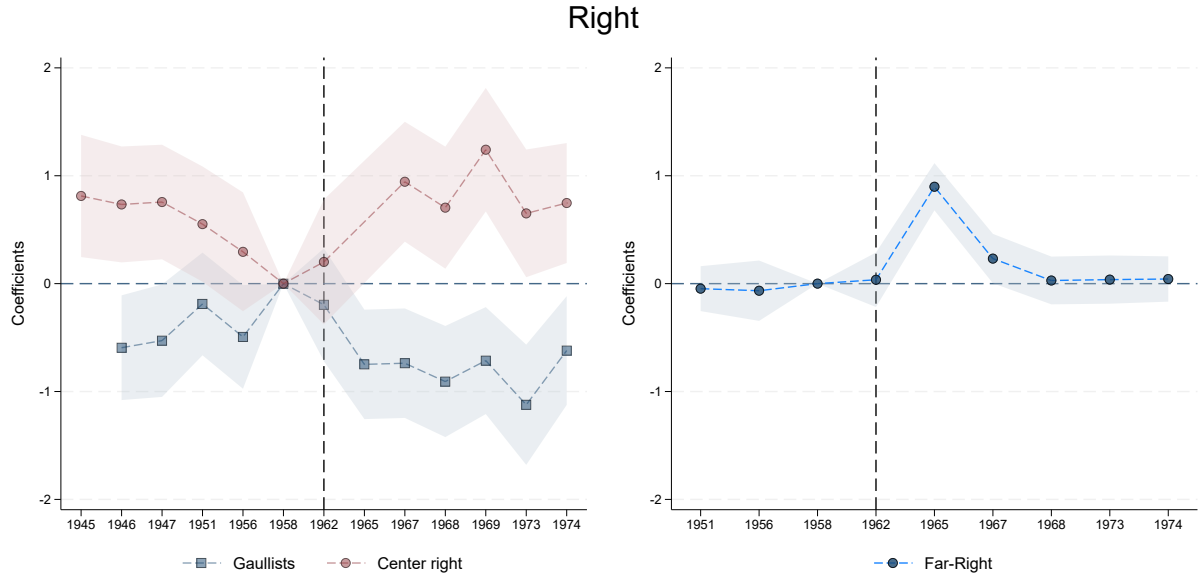


Figure B.2: DiD Political Parties

This Figure shows the result of estimation 3 on 35,916 municipalities using the number of repatriates who arrived in 1962 in each municipality as a share of the 1968 population. Standard errors are clustered at the municipality level. Results are weighted by the municipality population in 1968. The areas show the 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951. Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946; candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election. The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

B.2 Roll Call Votes

Given that compensation was an important topic of discussion in political manifestos when the issue of repatriates gained national prominence, it is crucial to analyze how elected members of the French National Assembly voted on the first significant compensation bill for repatriates. Specifically, I examine the roll-call vote on June 30, 1970. This outcome is of particular interest as it directly reveals the actual political stance of candidates and parties on this issue, contrasting with their potentially aspirational manifesto statements.

I utilize data on the roll-call vote cast in favor of repatriate compensation in the National Assembly on June 30, 1970. The final vote records, including the names of Members of Parliament (MPs) who voted for and against the law, are sourced from the archives of the French National Assembly. This data allows me to match the MPs who

participated in the vote with their respective electoral manifestos, enabling an assessment of whether their campaign promises influenced their subsequent behavior in the National Assembly.³⁰

On the day of the vote, the government was primarily composed of Gaullists and Center-Right parties, while the opposition mainly comprised Left and Far-Left parties. The final vote, originally scheduled for June 29, was postponed to the following day due to strong pressure from opposition forces (Scioldo-Zurcher, 2013).

The research interest here is twofold: first, to understand how MPs elected in areas with a higher concentration of repatriates voted, and second, to discern how MPs who expressed greater support for compensation in their electoral manifestos subsequently voted. I measure the degree of support for compensation by calculating the cosine similarity between the word “repatriates” and the word “compensation” for each electoral manifesto.

I estimate the probability of voting in favor of compensation using the following equation:

$$Y_d = \beta_1 \text{Repatriates}_d + \beta_2 \text{Pro-Compensation}_d + X_d + \omega_i + \epsilon_d \quad (4)$$

Where β_1 captures the effect of the repatriates’ arrival on the probability of voting in favor of compensation, and β_2 represents the effect of having a higher cosine similarity between the term repatriates and the term compensation in electoral manifestos on the probability of voting in favor of compensation. X_d is the standard set of control variables at the electoral district level, and ω_i controls for the political ideology of the MP. The main Gaullist party serves as the base category for ideological comparisons.

³⁰In instances where MPs became ministers or left their positions, I use the manifesto of the MP from the same party and area who replaced them in the Assembly. In several cases, the MP who became a minister had already mentioned their replacement, and the manifesto was co-signed with the future replacement.

Table B.1: Roll-call voting

	OLS			IV
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Repatriates 1962	-10.30 (2.97)	-10.98 (3.55)	-2.93 (1.60)	-2.15 (2.75)
Pro Compensation	-0.34 (0.13)	-0.29 (0.14)	-0.23 (0.09)	-0.23 (0.09)
Center-Left			-0.85 (0.04)	-0.85 (0.04)
Center-Right			-0.42 (0.09)	-0.42 (0.09)
Far-left			-0.97 (0.03)	-0.97 (0.03)
Gaullists			0.00 (.)	0.00 (.)
Observations	359	358	358	358
Controls	N	Y	Y	Y
Ideology FE	N	N	Y	Y
KP F-stat	.	.	.	48.8

Standard errors clustered at the district level in parentheses.
 $* p < .10$, $** p < .05$, $*** p < .01$. The first three columns show the OLS estimates of repatriates in 1962 and the effect of mentioning the compensation in the electoral manifesto on the probability of voting in favor of the compensation. The last column shows the IV estimates of the same equation using the predicted number of repatriates as shown in equation 5

The results indicate a negative effect of the repatriates' arrival on the vote for compensation. However, this effect is not statistically significant when examining the instrumental variable (IV) estimates. Furthermore, relative to Gaullist MPs, the probability of voting in favor of compensation is lower for all other MPs. The reduced probability even among Center-Right parties suggests that some MPs within the government coalition may have voted against the compensation.

The effect of mentioning compensation in the electoral manifesto is consistently significant and negative across all specifications. This implies that MPs who expressed more favorable stances towards compensation in their electoral manifestos were, paradoxically, less likely to vote in favor of compensation in the final roll-call vote. Therefore, it is important to provide an explanation for this behavior, especially considering manifestos that were seemingly more supportive of compensation.

The explanation for this seemingly counterintuitive behavior is evident from the debates preceding the law's passage. Left-wing parties, for instance, argued that the proposed compensation sum was insufficient for "True National reconciliation," and they claimed that some members of the majority shared these concerns. In response, the spokesperson for the main Gaullist party accused the opposition of supporting repatriates for "geographical reasons," suggesting they needed repatriate votes for re-election (see quote from Pierre-Charles Krieg in Appendix F), thereby highlighting the repatriates' importance as an electoral force.

B.3 Housing Construction

Cohen (1980) and Palacio (1969) argued that the repatriates contributed to a housing boom in the city of Avignon. It is plausible that their effect on house building in the short run may have been more generalized.

To estimate the effect of the repatriates on housing construction, I utilize data from the 1968 census, which collects information on houses by their year of construction. My focus is on the number of houses built after 1962. I create a measure of houses per capita by municipality, using the number of houses built after 1962. I then regress this measure on the share of repatriates who arrived in 1962, alongside additional control variables and department fixed effects. Both looking at the OLS and IV estimates it is possible to observe an increase in the number of houses built per capita in municipalities with a higher share of repatriates who arrived in 1962. This suggests that the repatriates' arrival had a positive impact on housing construction, which might have also mitigated possible housing shortages in the short run and subsequent clashes with the local population.

Table B.2: House Construction

	OLS			IV
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Repatriates 1962	3.54 (0.27)	4.50 (0.22)	2.82 (0.22)	4.17 (0.56)
Observations	32153	32153	31995	31995
Controls	no	no	yes	yes
Department FE	no	yes	yes	yes
KP F-stat	.	.	.	122.5

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. $*p < .10$, $**p < .05$, $***p < .01$. The first three columns show the OLS estimates of the impact of repatriates in 1962. In the last column, this is instrumented using the IV as discussed in Section C.1. The dependent variable is the number of houses per capita built between 1962 and 1968. Controls are used as in Equation 3, Department fixed effects are included, and results are weighted by the municipality population in 1968.

B.4 SDiD on other outcomes

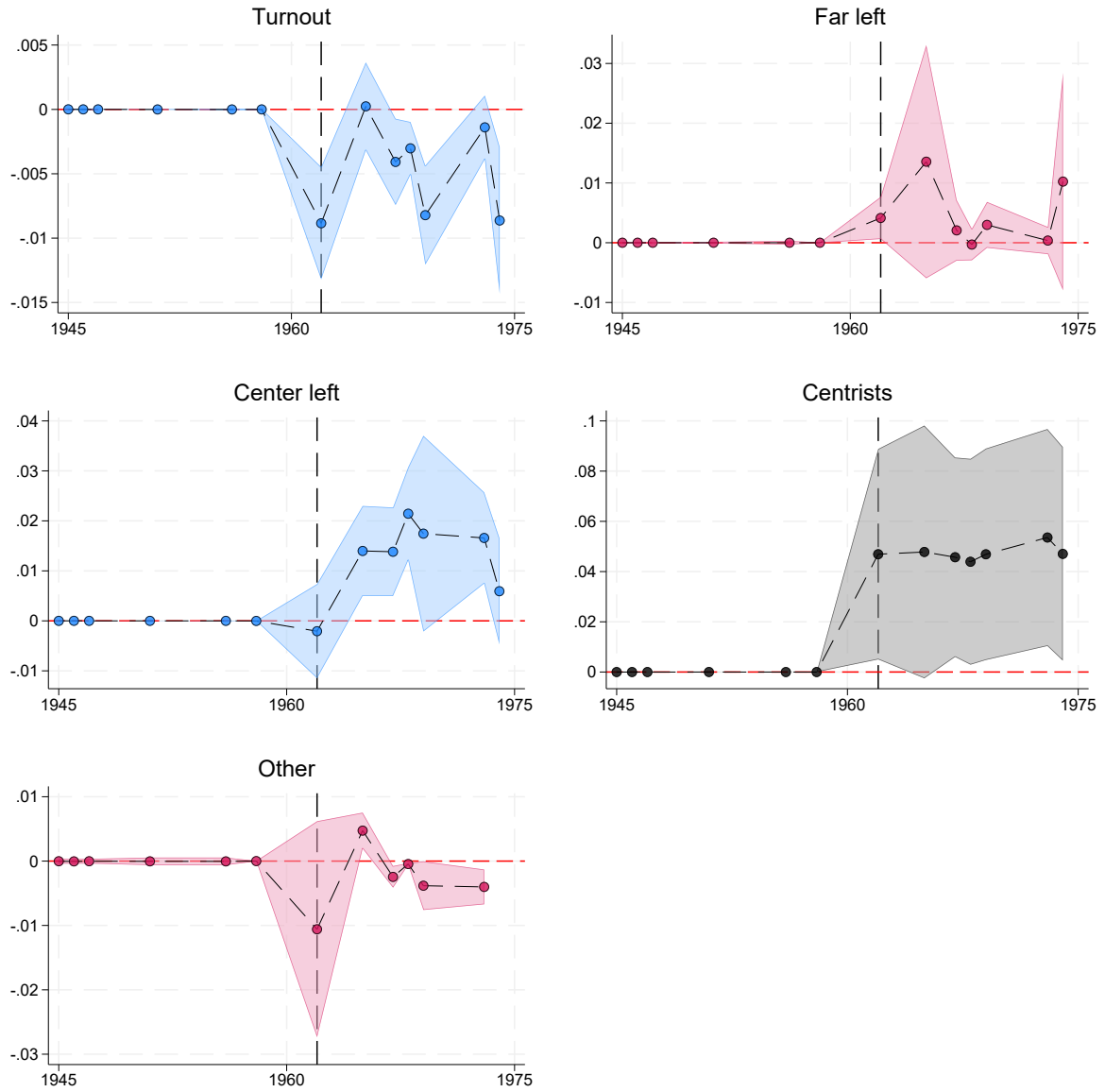


Figure B.3: SDiD Other parties, event study.

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Turnout (Obs: 338,143; ATT: -0.05) and Far Left, Center Left and Centrists (Obs: 338,065, ATT: 0.005, 0.01, 0.047) and Other parties (Obs: 317,232, ATT: -0.003) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

C Robustness

C.1 Using Predicted Repatriates Inflow

Instead of using the actual share of repatriates in 1962, I employ the predicted share of repatriates in 1962, which is based on their initial distribution in 1956. This approach aims to mitigate potential residual endogeneity concerns related to the specific distribution of repatriates across municipalities.

The predicted number of repatriates in 1962 is calculated using the following equation:

$$\text{Predicted Repatriates}_{c,1962} = \frac{\text{Repatriates}_{c,1956}}{\sum_c \text{Repatriates}_{c,1956}} \times \text{Total Inflow Repatriates}_{1962} \quad (5)$$

Subsequently, this $\text{Predicted Repatriates}_{c,1962}$ measure is divided by the municipality's total population in 1968. This variable is equivalent to a shift-share variable constructed using one group. The resulting predicted share of repatriates who entered in 1962 in each municipality is then used to construct a binary indicator. It is set to 1 for municipalities with an above-average predicted inflow of repatriates and 0 otherwise. This binary indicator is then used in the Synthetic Difference-in-Differences (SDiD) estimation, as detailed in Section IV.

I present the geographical distribution of the repatriates and their predicted distribution, along with the correlation between the actual and predicted share of repatriates.

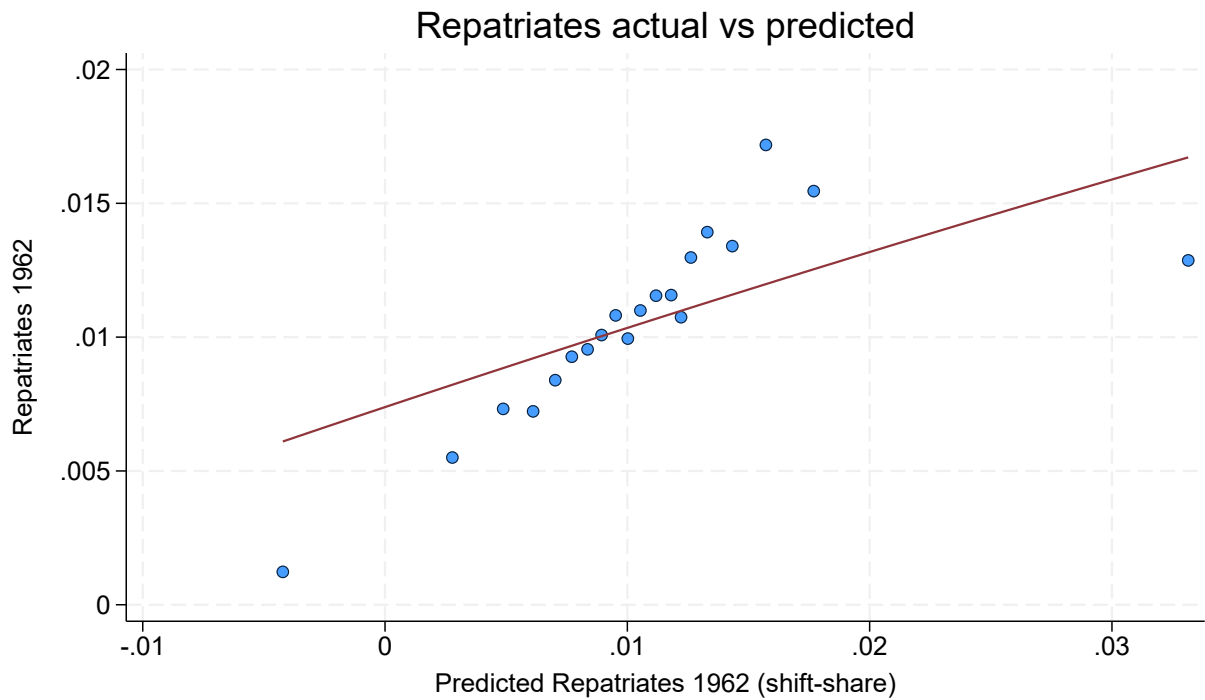


Figure C.1: IV relevance

This Figure is a binscatter plot between the share of repatriates in 1962 and the predicted share of repatriates in 1962 using the shift-share instrument constructed with the repatriates in France in 1956. The binscatter uses information on 35,731 municipalities, using the actual share of repatriates in 1962 as the dependent variable, the shift-share variable as the main explanatory variable and as controls the share of workers in the agricultural sector, the share of people with higher education, the share of unemployed people and the share of foreign-born people by municipality. I also use department fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the department level and the population in 1968 is used as weights.

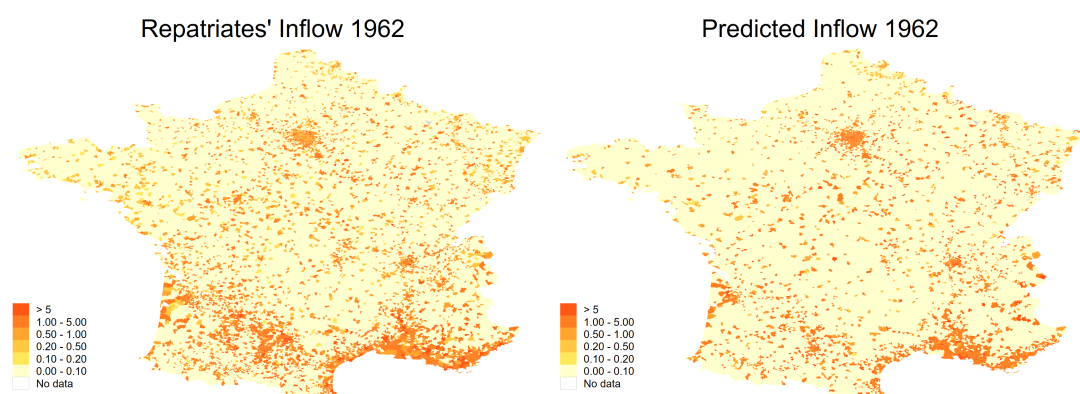


Figure C.2: Actual and predicted share of repatriates in 1962 using the shift-share instrument. Source: OpenStreetMap contributors (2020).



Figure C.3: SDiD Political Participation, using predicted repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The log of registered (Obs: 338,143; ATT: 0.073) and actual voters (Obs: 337,974; ATT: 0.07) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

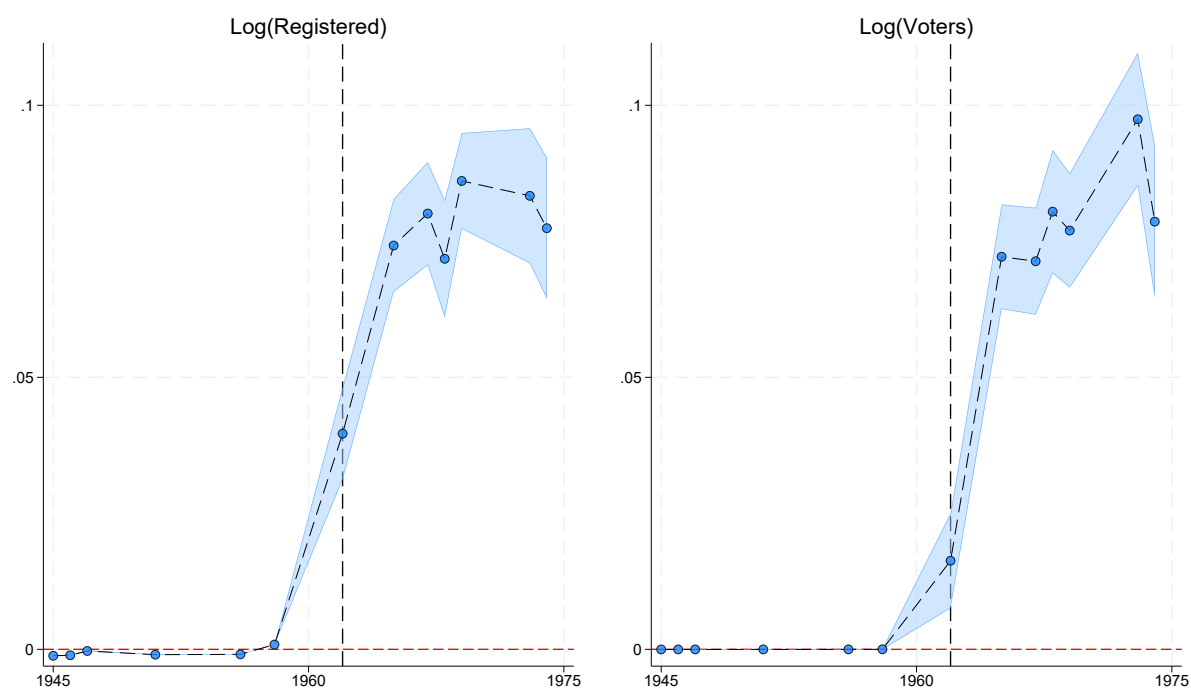


Figure C.4: SDiD Political Participation, event study using predicted repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 338,143; ATT: 0.073) and actual voters (Obs: 337,974; ATT: 0.07) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

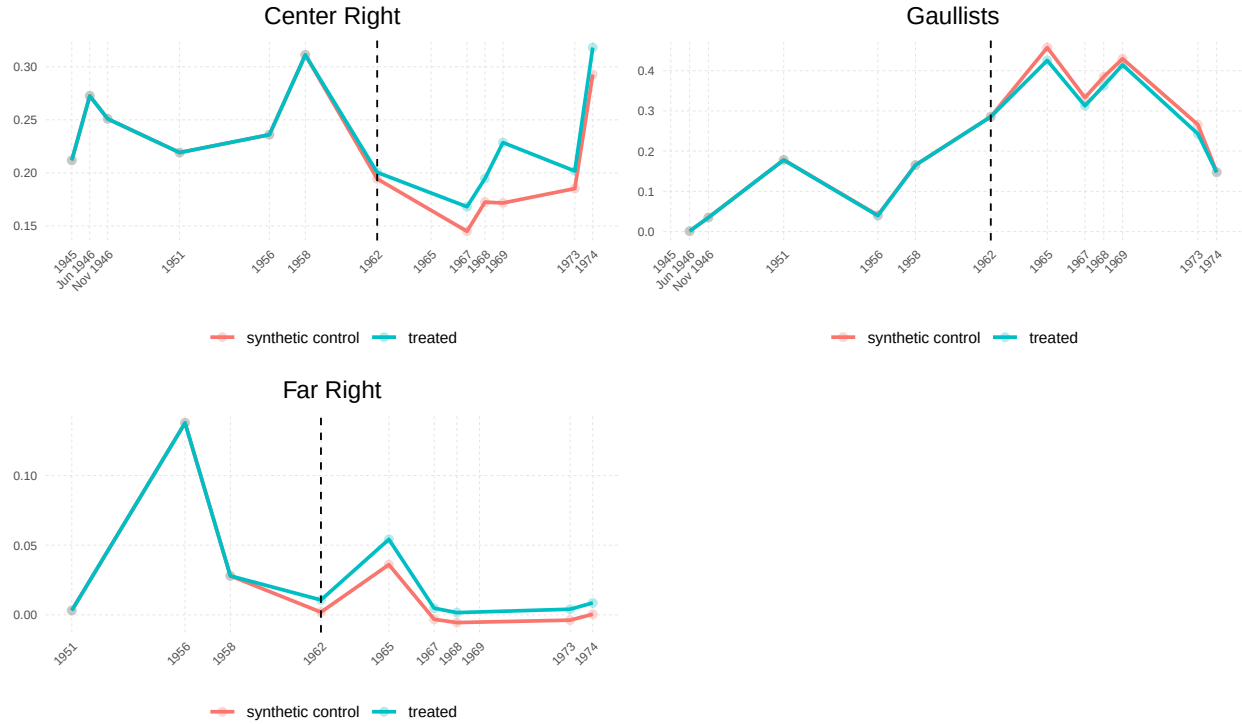


Figure C.5: SDiD Political Parties, using predicted repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.016); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.025). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

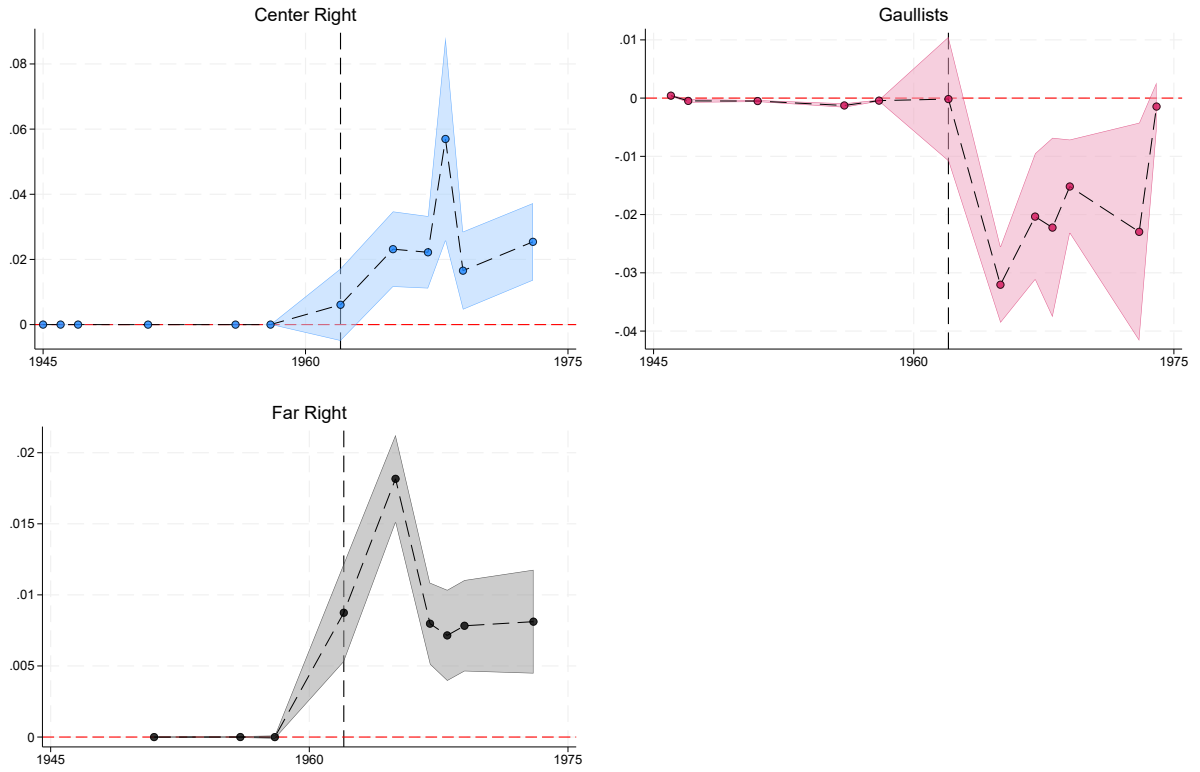


Figure C.6: SDiD Political Parties, event study using predicted repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.016); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.025). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

C.1.1 Placebo on Political Voting-Predicted Repatriates

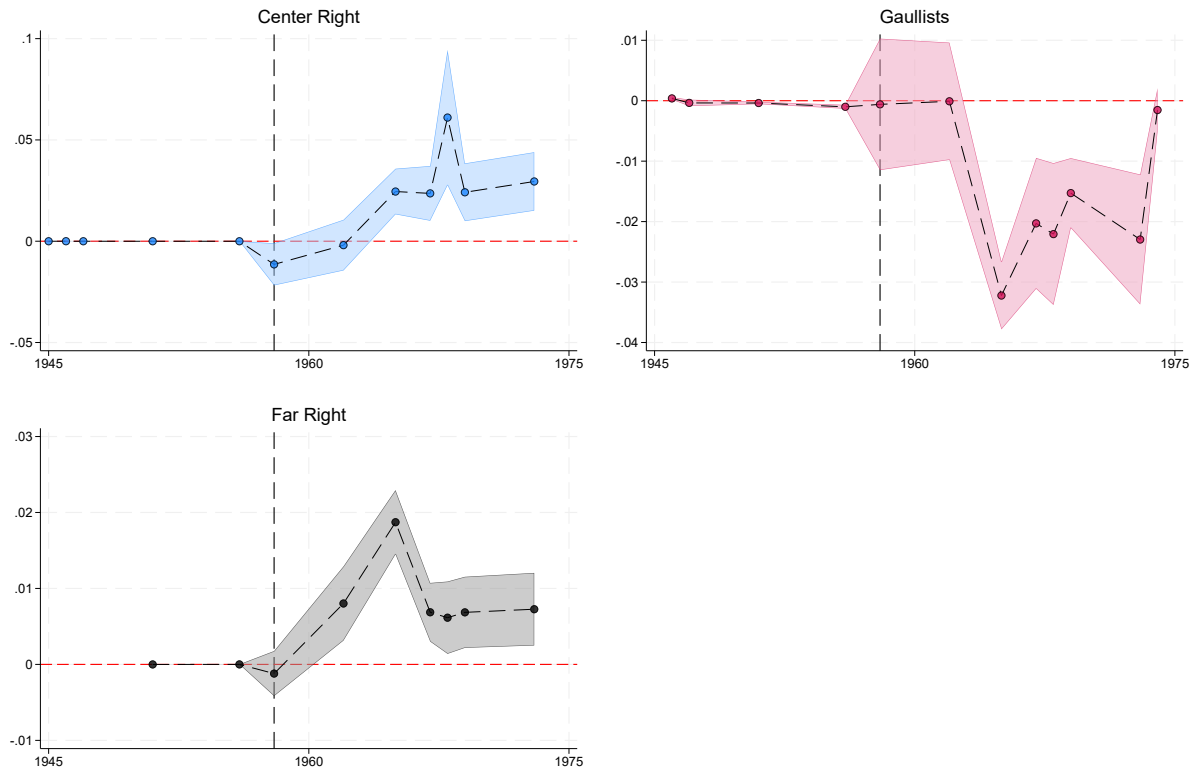


Figure C.7: Sdid votes for parties, event study placebo 1958 using predicted repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.007). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.014); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.021). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974. This estimate uses 1958 as the placebo treatment year, which is before the actual treatment year of 1962.

C.2 Using Received/Not received Repatriates 1962

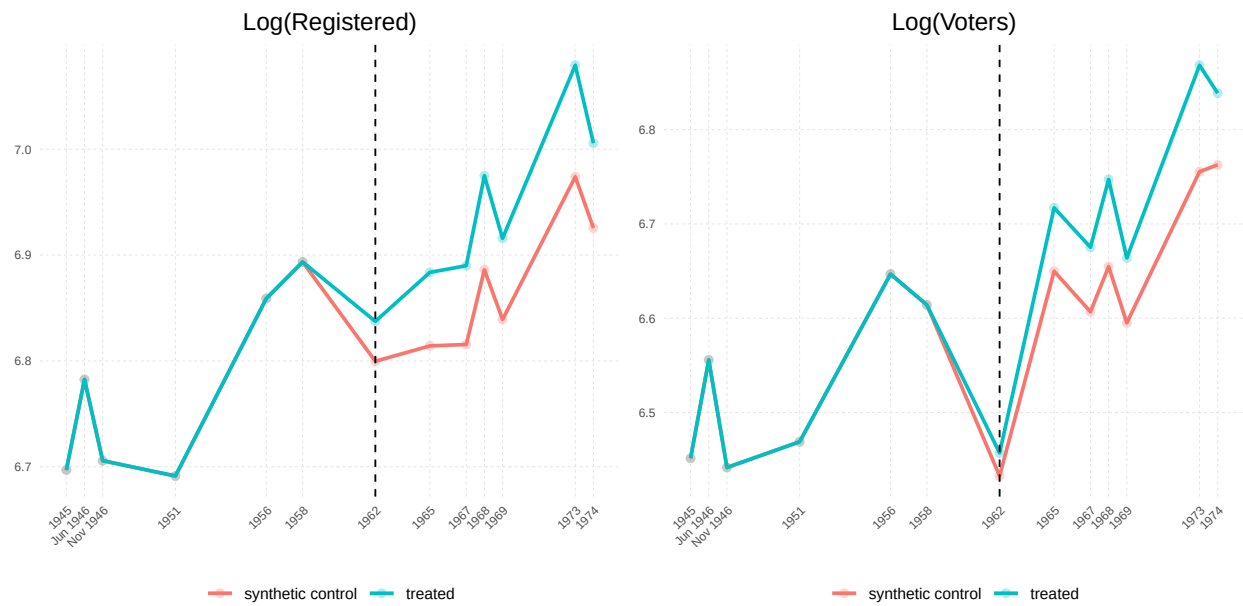


Figure C.8: SDiD Political Participation, using received/not received repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received at least a repatriate in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The log of registered (Obs: 338,143; ATT: 0.076) and actual voters (Obs: 337,974; ATT: 0.073) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

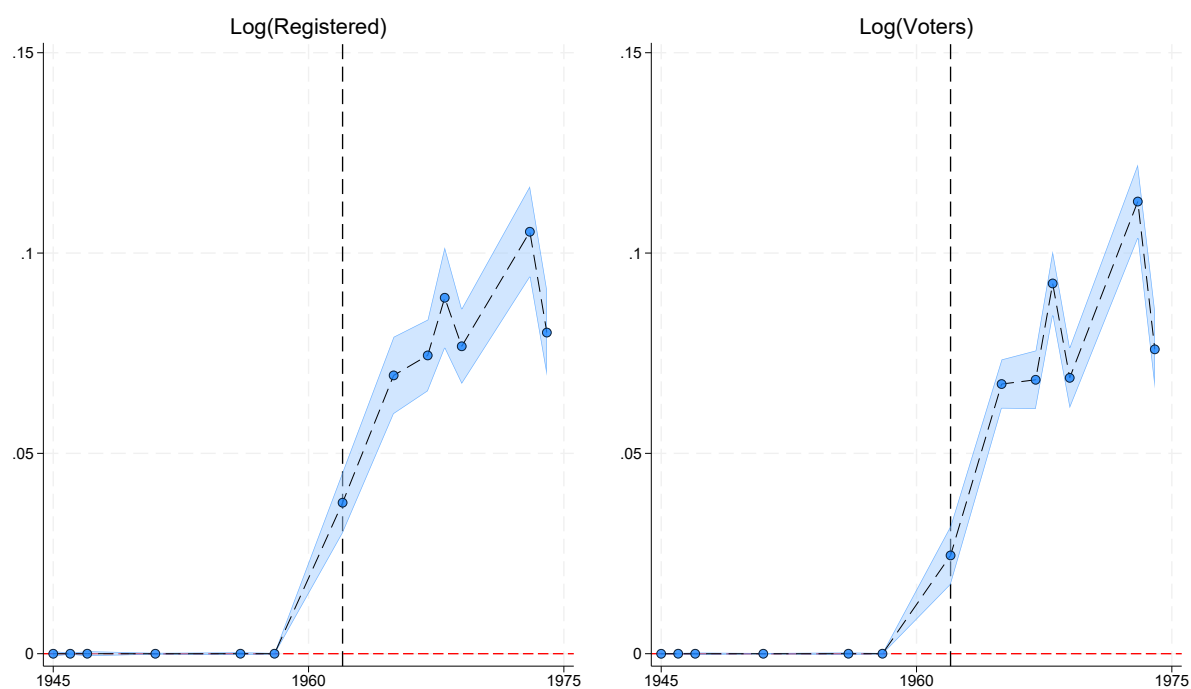


Figure C.9: SDiD Political Participation, event study using received/not received repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received at least a repatriate in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 338,143; ATT: 0.076) and actual voters (Obs: 337,974; ATT: 0.073) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

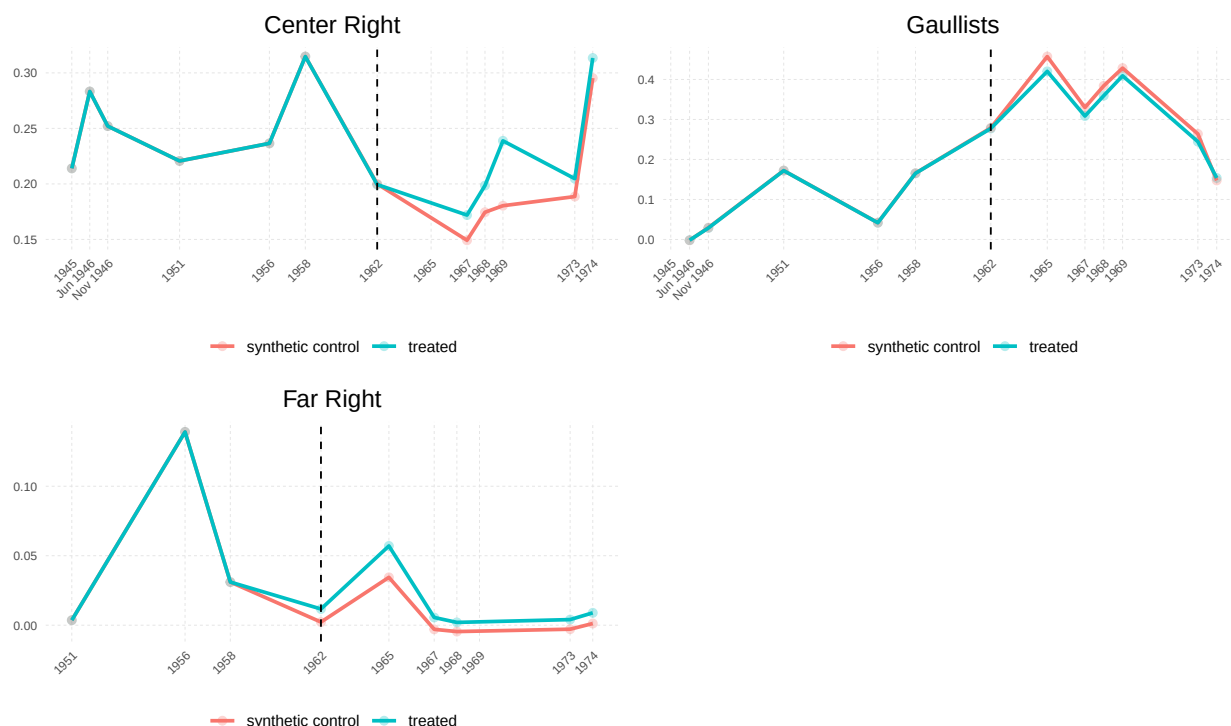


Figure C.10: SDiD Political Parties, using received/not received repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received at least a repatriate in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.017); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.023). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

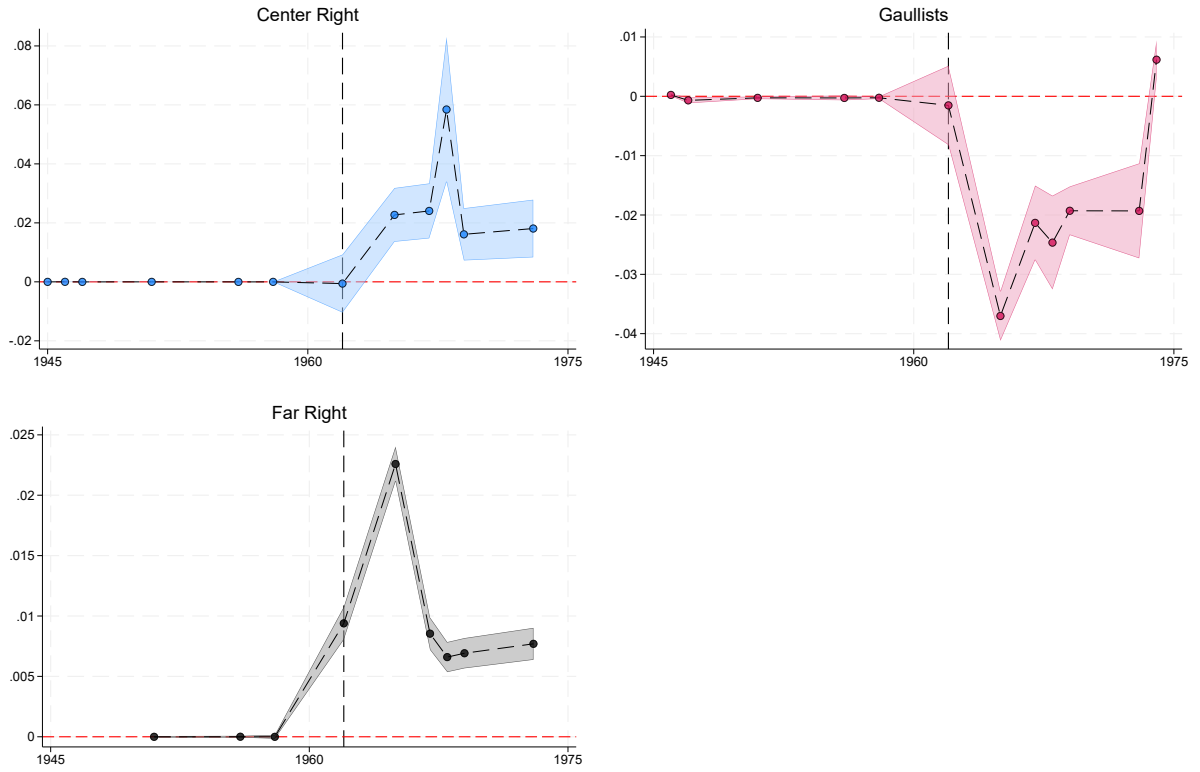


Figure C.11: SDiD Political Parties, event study using received/not received repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received at least a repatriate in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.017); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.023). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

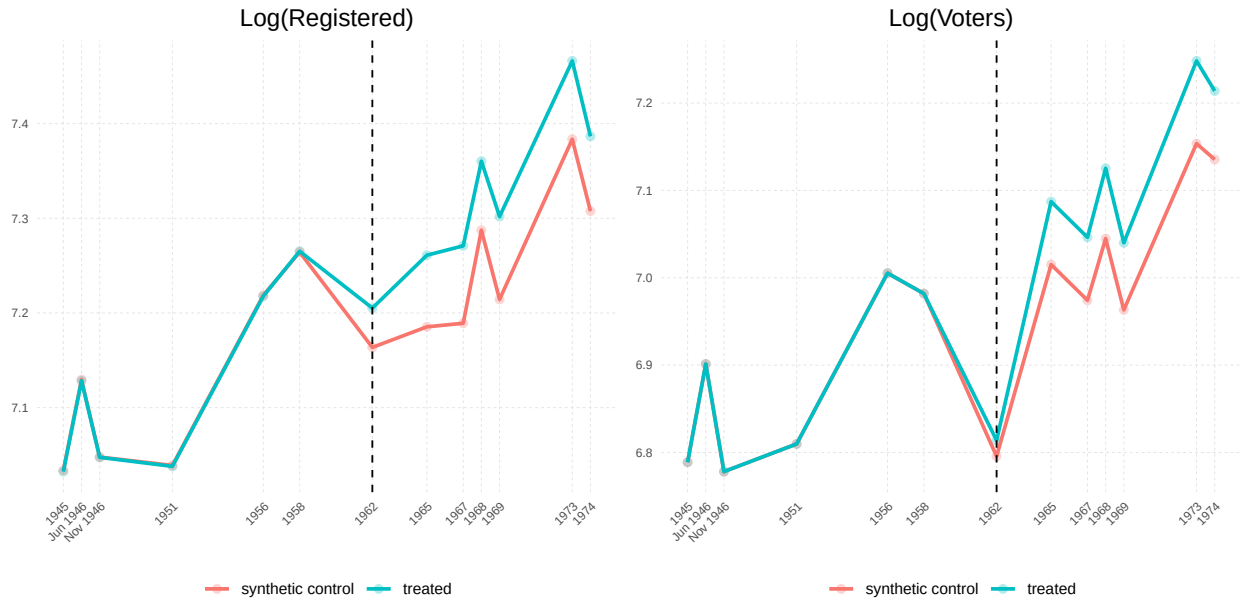


Figure C.12: SDiD Political Participation, using received/not received predicted repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received at least a repatriate in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The binary indicator is constructed from the predicted inflow of repatriates using their initial distribution by municipality in 1956. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The log of registered (Obs: 338,143; ATT: 0.074) and actual voters (Obs: 337,974; ATT: 0.07) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

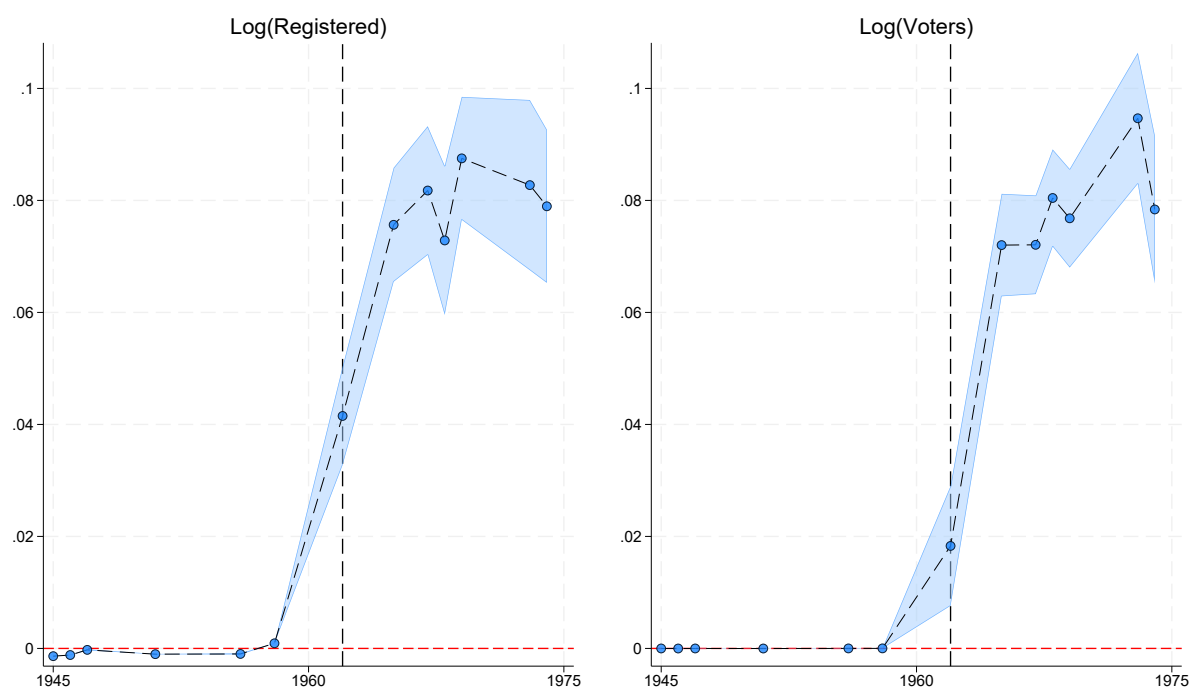


Figure C.13: SDiD Political Participation, event study using received/not received predicted repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received at least a repatriate in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The binary indicator is constructed from the predicted inflow of repatriates using their initial distribution by municipality in 1956. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 338,143; ATT: 0.074) and actual voters (Obs: 337,974; ATT: 0.07) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.



Figure C.14: SDiD Political Parties, using received/not received predicted repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received at least a repatriate in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The binary indicator is constructed from the predicted inflow of repatriates using their initial distribution by municipality in 1956. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: -0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.016); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.023). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

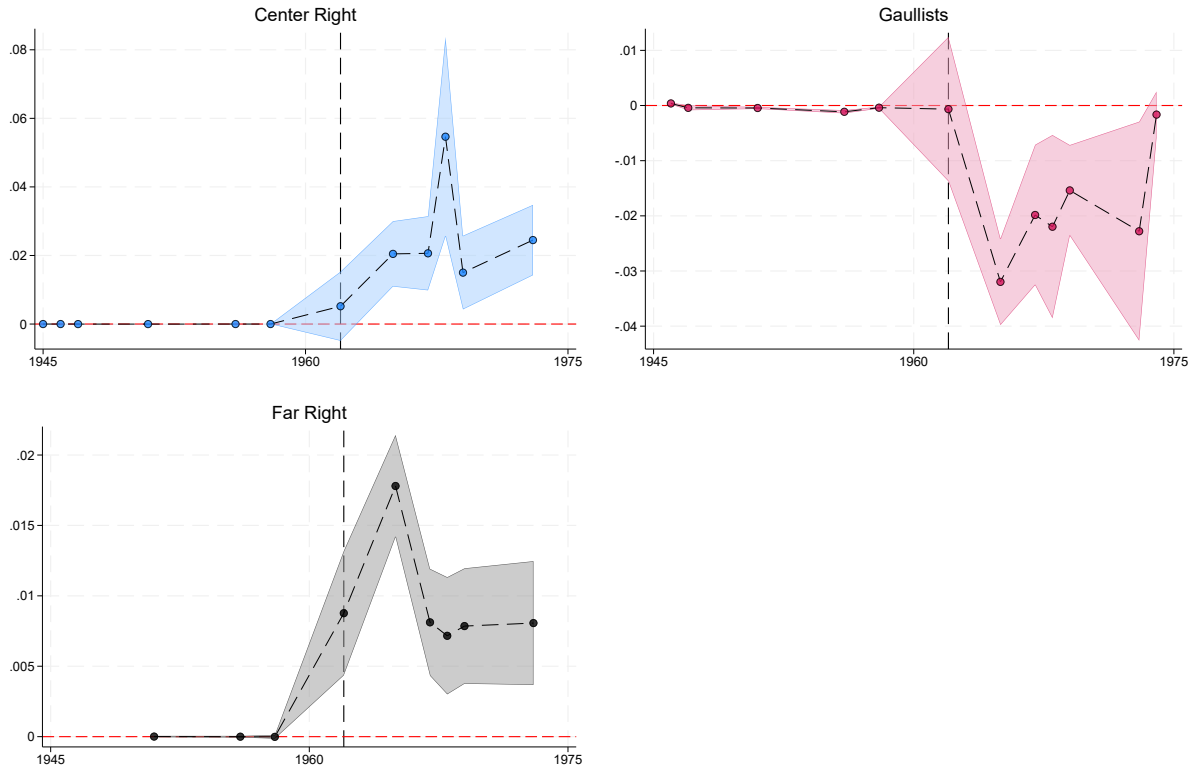


Figure C.15: SDiD Political Parties, event study using received/not received predicted repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received at least a repatriate in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The binary indicator is constructed from the predicted inflow of repatriates using their initial distribution by municipality in 1956. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: -0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.016); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.023). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

C.3 Top 10% Exposure to Repatriates

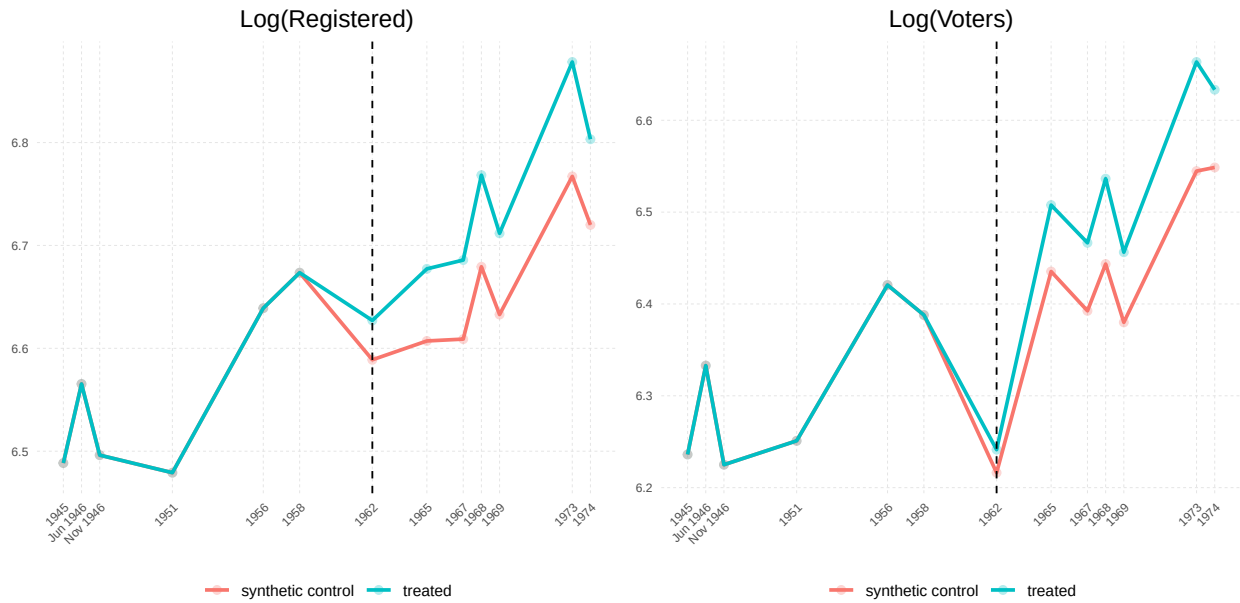


Figure C.16: SDiD Political Participation, using top 10% repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that are in the top 10% municipalities for exposure to the repatriates' arrival in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The log of registered (Obs: 338,143; ATT: 0.078) and actual voters (Obs: 337,974; ATT: 0.078) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

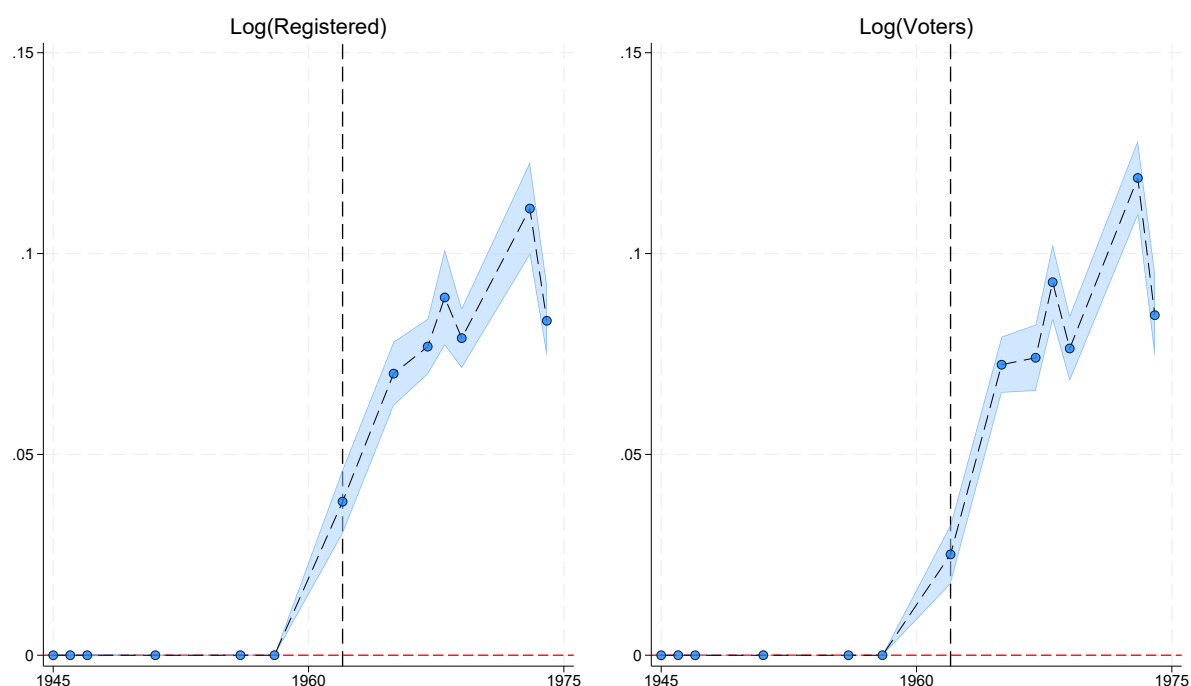


Figure C.17: SDiD Political Participation, event study using top 10% repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that are in the top 10% municipalities for exposure to the repatriates' arrival in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 338,143; ATT: 0.078) and actual voters (Obs: 337,974; ATT: 0.078) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.



Figure C.18: SDiD Political Parties, using top 10% repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that are in the top 10% municipalities for exposure to the repatriates' arrival in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.011). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.027); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.032). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

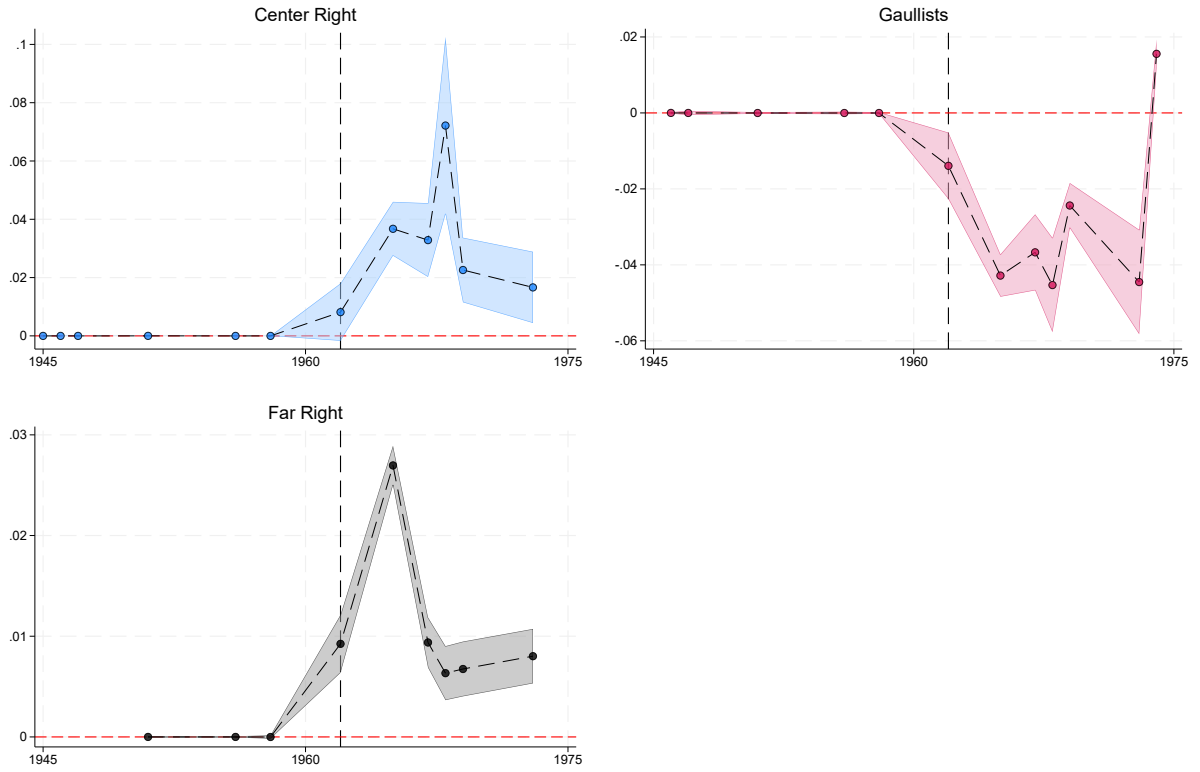


Figure C.19: SDiD Political Parties, event study using top 10% repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that are in the top 10% municipalities for exposure to the repatriates' arrival in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.011). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.027); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.032). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

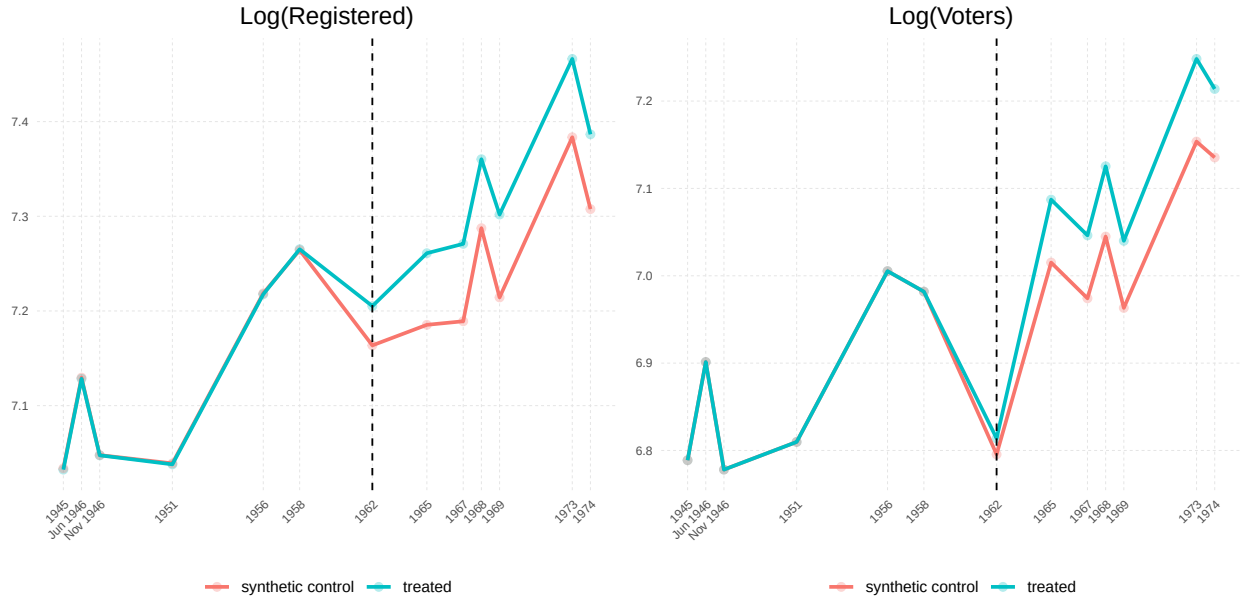


Figure C.20: SDiD Political Participation, using top 10% predicted repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that are in the top 10% municipalities for exposure to the predicted repatriates arrival in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The log of registered (Obs: 338,143; ATT: 0.074) and actual voters (Obs: 337,974; ATT: 0.070) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

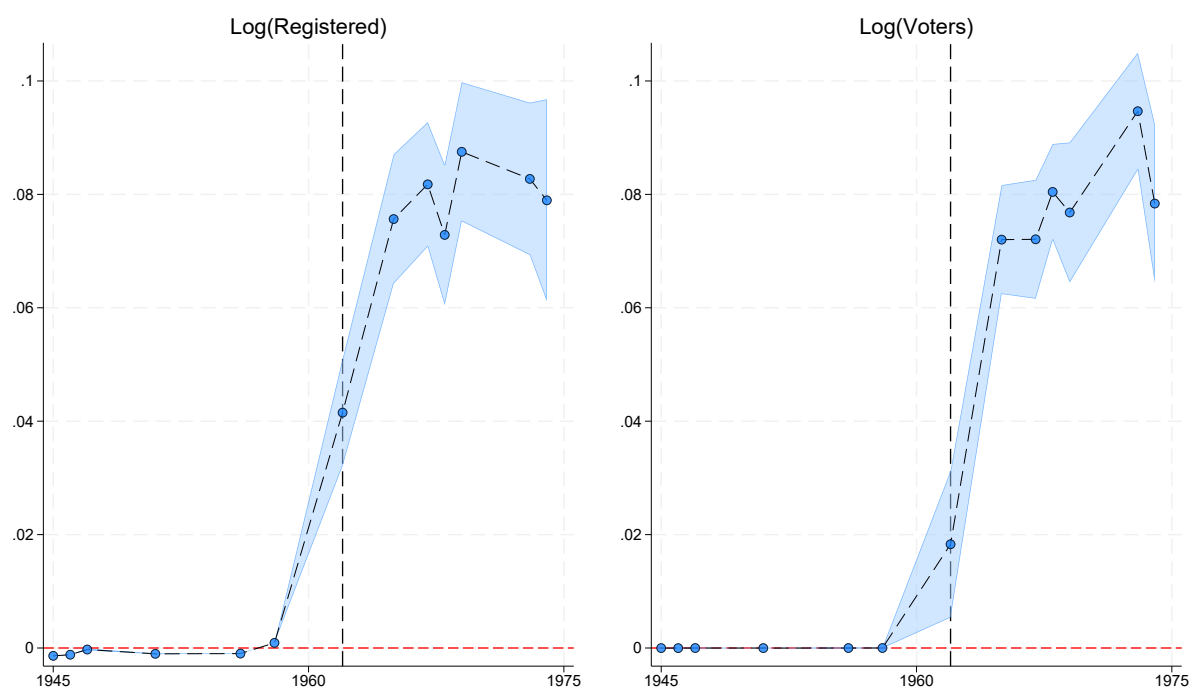


Figure C.21: SDiD Political Participation, event study using top 10% predicted repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that are in the top 10% municipalities for exposure to the predicted repatriates arrival in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 338,143; ATT: 0.074) and actual voters (Obs: 337,974; ATT: 0.070) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.



Figure C.22: SDiD Political Parties, using top 10% predicted repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that are in the top 10% municipalities for exposure to the predicted repatriates arrival in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.016); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.023). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

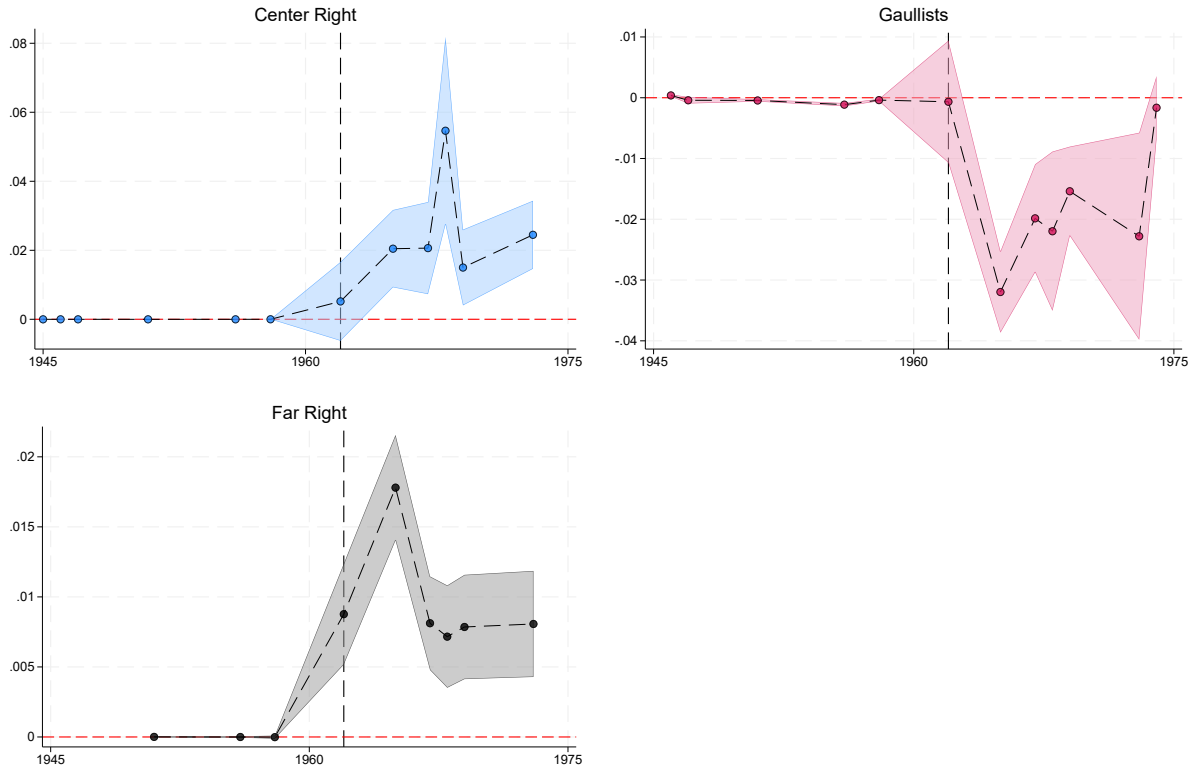


Figure C.23: SDiD Political Parties, event study using top 10% predicted repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of predicted repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.016); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.023). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

C.4 Top 5% Exposure to Repatriates

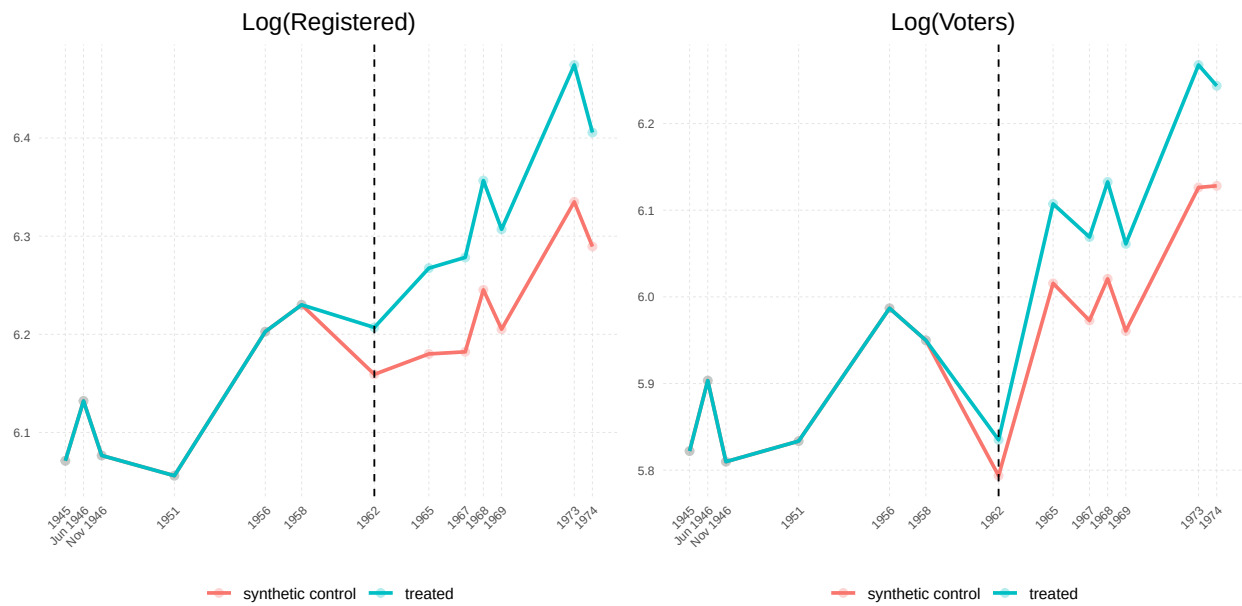


Figure C.24: SDiD Political Participation, using top 5% repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that are in the top 5% municipalities for exposure to the repatriates' arrival in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The log of registered (Obs: 338,143; ATT: 0.1) and actual voters (Obs: 337,974; ATT: 0.1) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

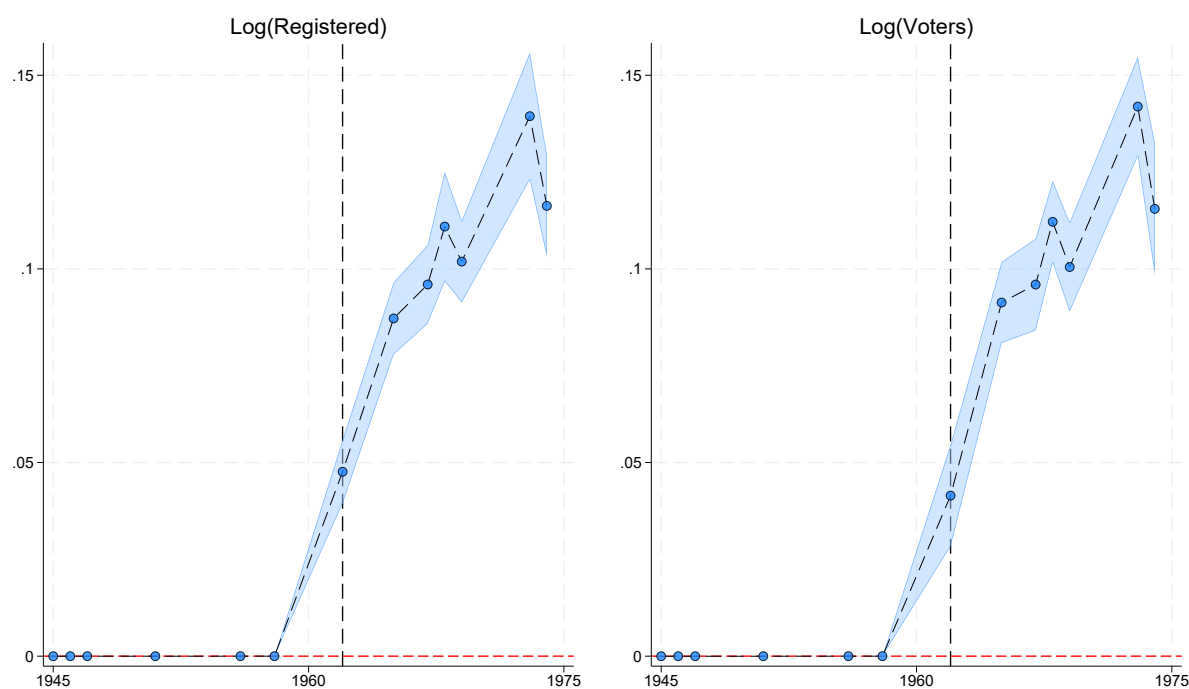


Figure C.25: SDiD Political Participation, event study using top 5% repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that are in the top 5% municipalities for exposure to the repatriates' arrival in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 338,143; ATT: 0.1) and actual voters (Obs: 337,974; ATT: 0.1) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.



Figure C.26: SDiD Political Parties, using top 5% repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that are in the top 5% municipalities for exposure to the repatriates' arrival in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.013). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.034); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.04). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

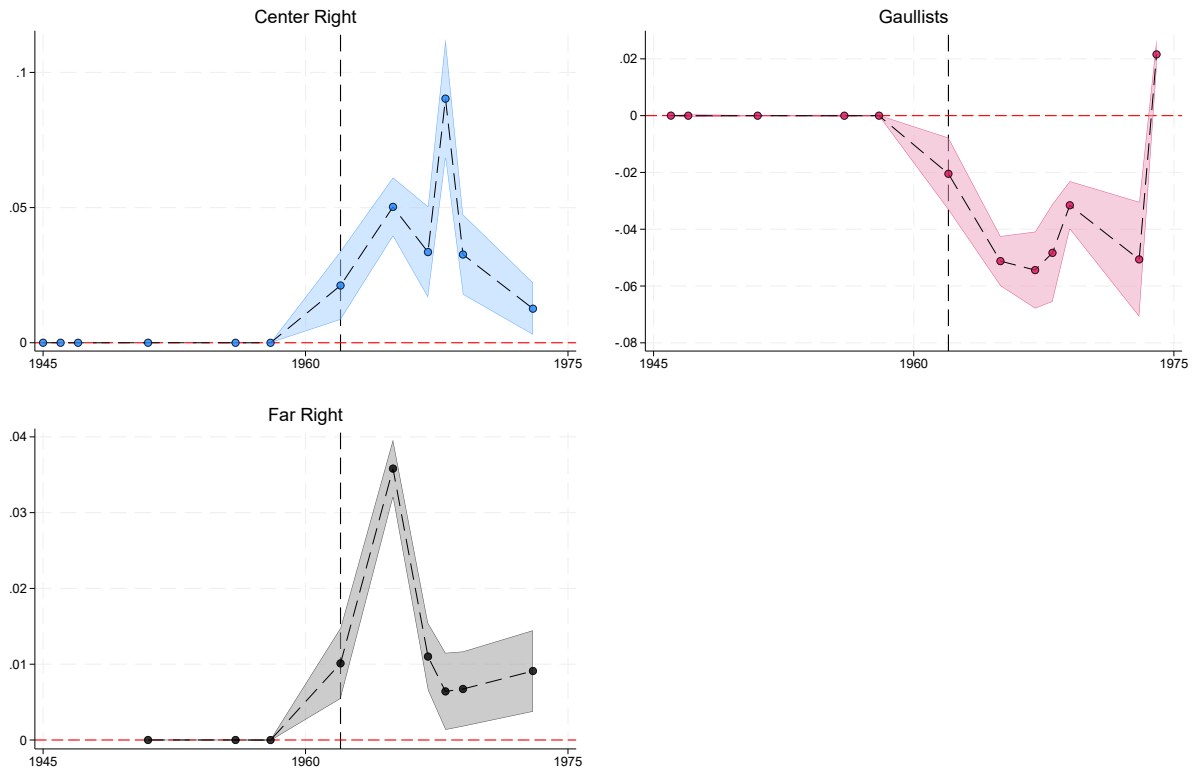


Figure C.27: SDiD Political Parties, event study using top 5% repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that are in the top 5% municipalities for exposure to the repatriates' arrival in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.013). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.034); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.04). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

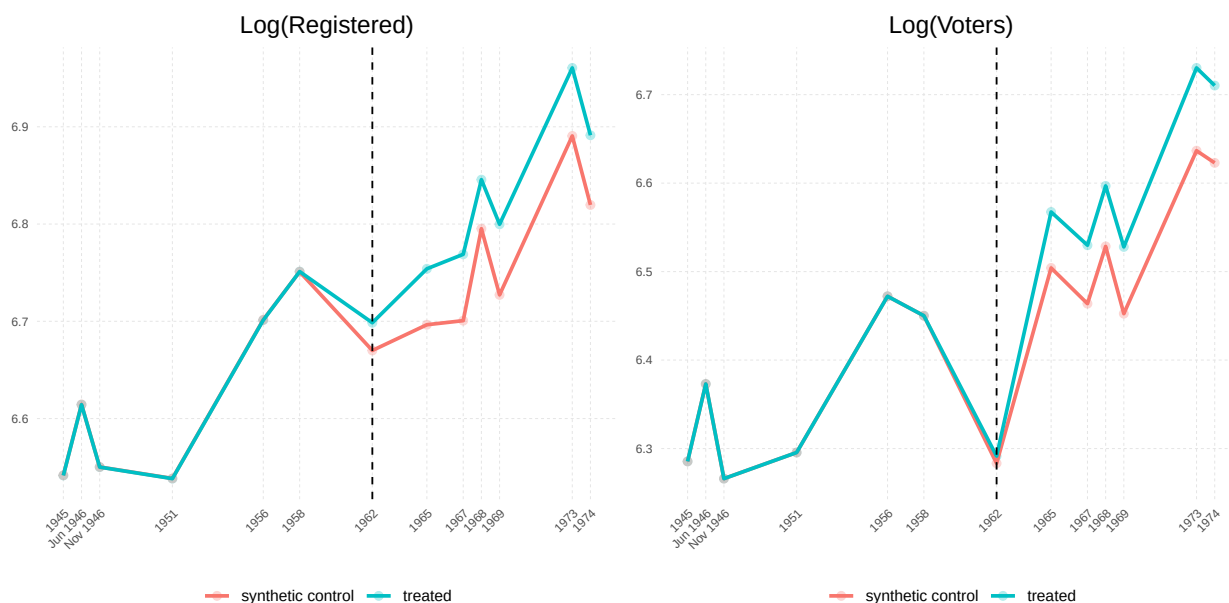


Figure C.28: SDiD Political Participation, using top 5% predicted repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that are in the top 5% municipalities for exposure to the predicted repatriates arrival in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The log of registered (Obs: 338,143; ATT: 0.06) and actual voters (Obs: 337,974; ATT: 0.067) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

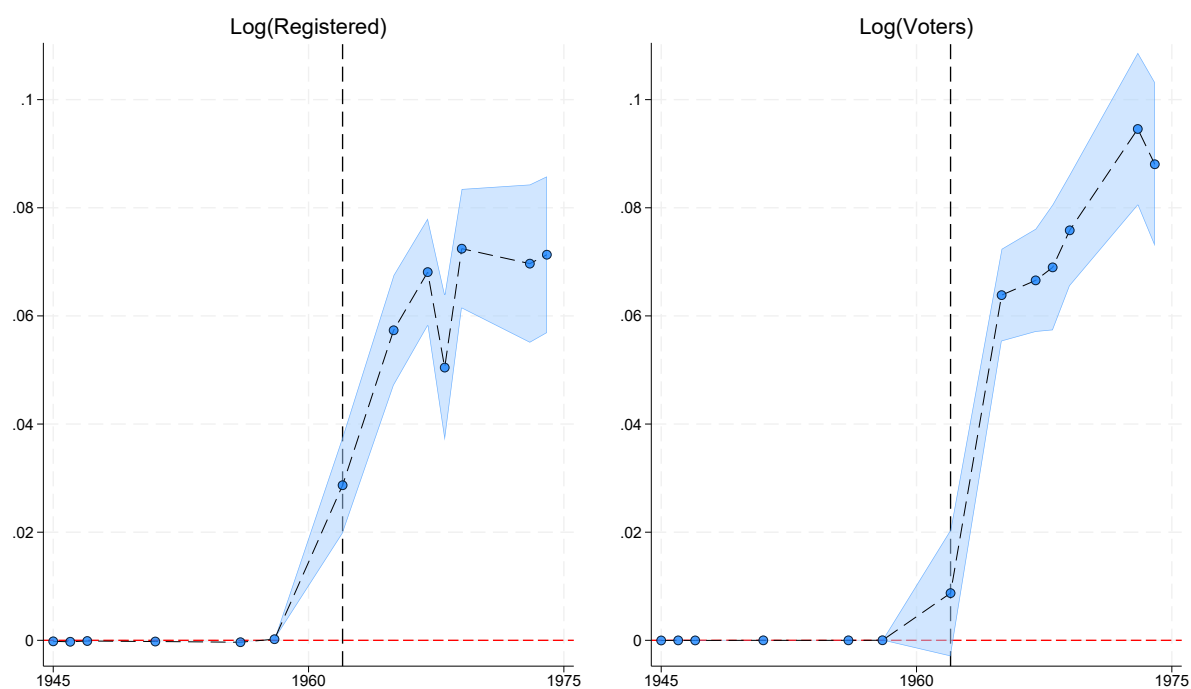


Figure C.29: SDiD Political Participation, event study using top 5% predicted repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that are in the top 5% municipalities for exposure to the predicted repatriates arrival in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 338,143; ATT: 0.06) and actual voters (Obs: 337,974; ATT: 0.067) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.



Figure C.30: SDiD Political Parties, using top 5% predicted repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that are in the top 5% municipalities for exposure to the predicted repatriates arrival in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.025); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.035). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

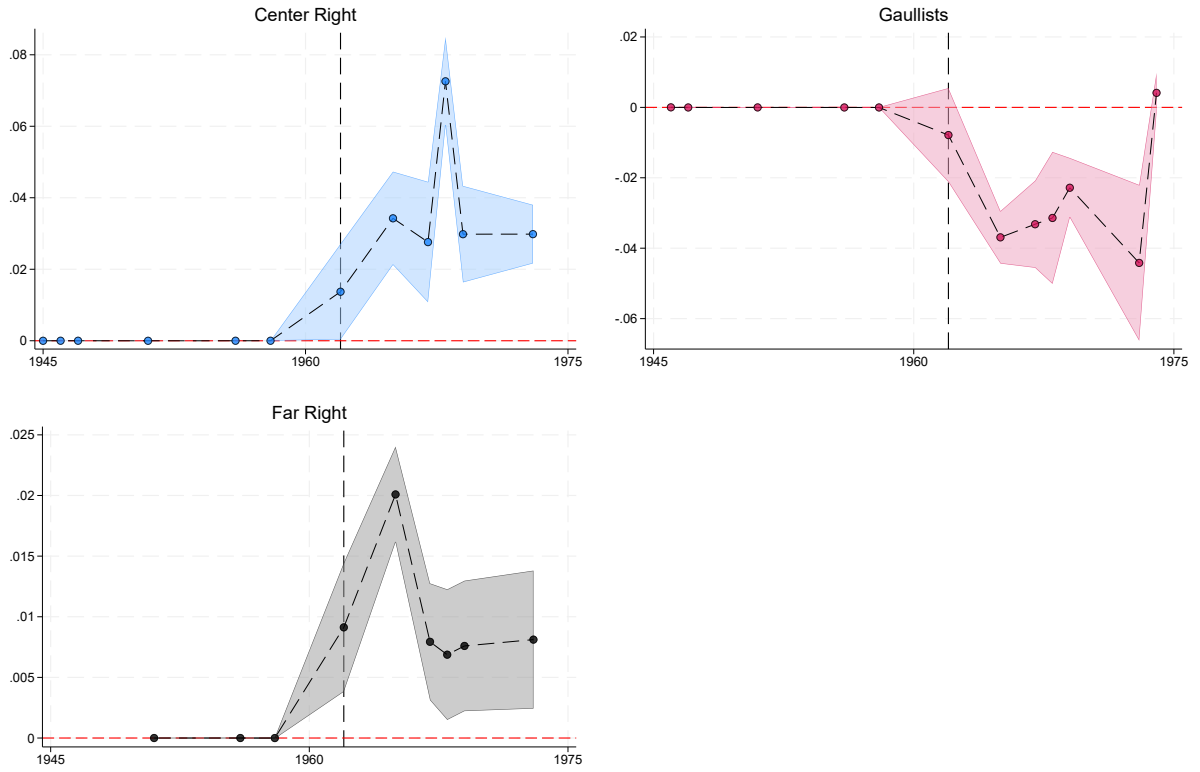


Figure C.31: SDiD Political Parties, event study using top 5% predicted repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that are in the top 5% municipalities for exposure to the predicted repatriates arrival in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.025); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.035). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

C.5 Using 1968 Inflow of Repatriates

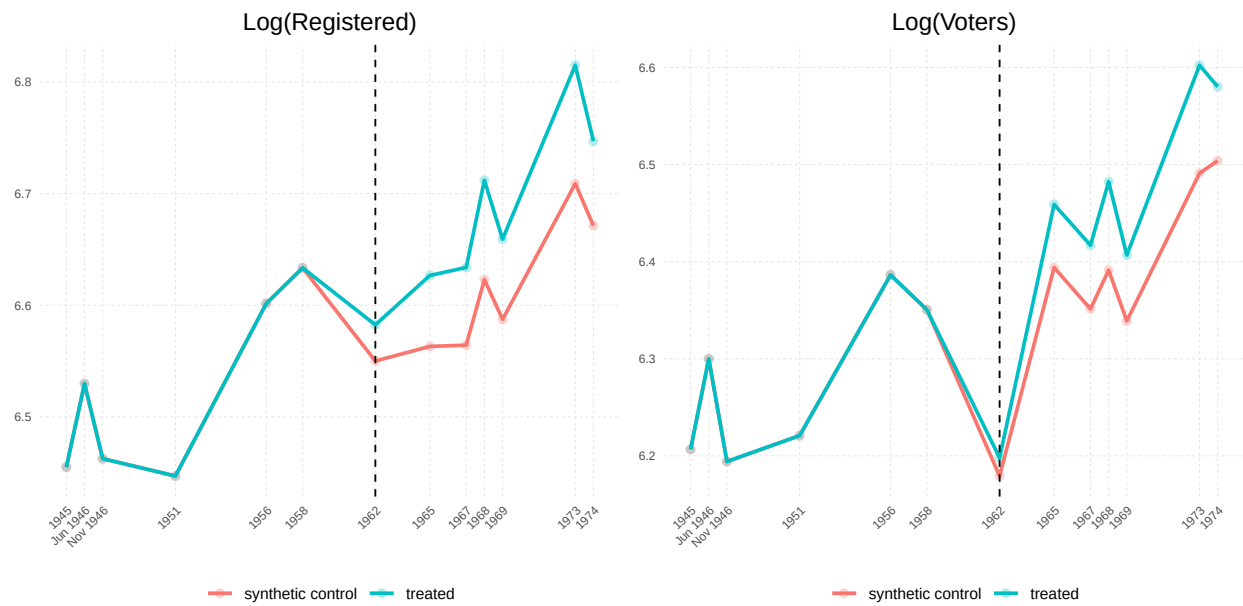


Figure C.32: SDiD Political Participation, using 1968 repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1968 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The log of registered (Obs: 338,143; ATT: 0.073) and actual voters (Obs: 337,974; ATT: 0.072) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

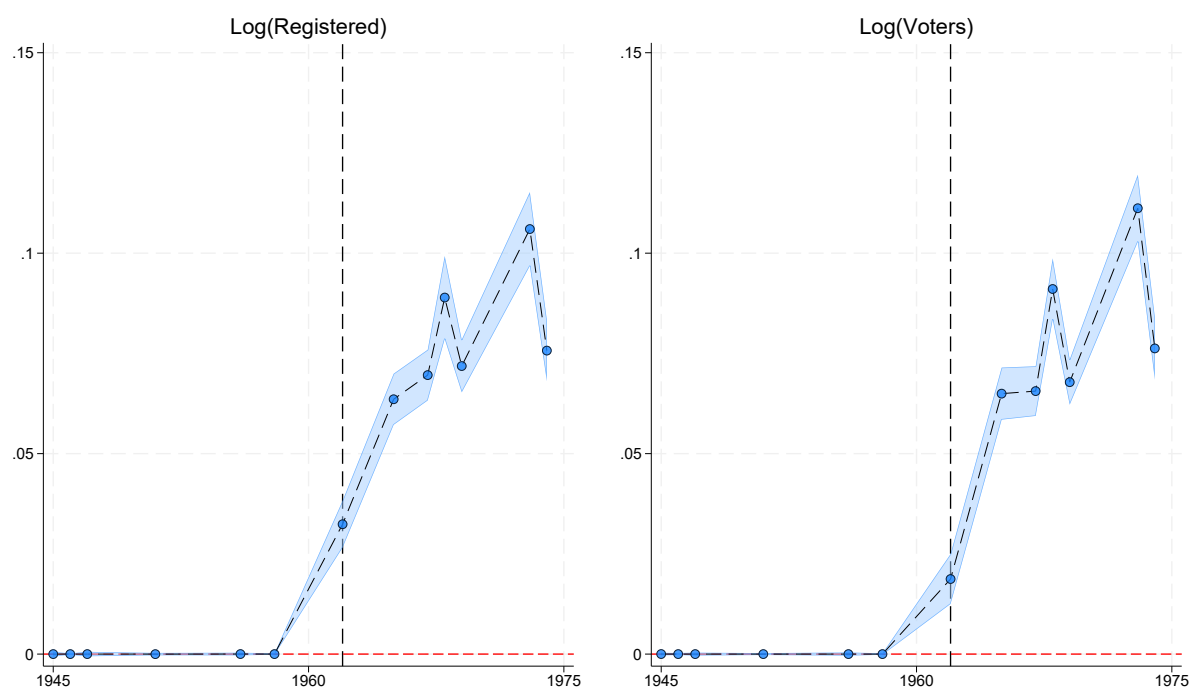


Figure C.33: SDiD Political Participation, event study using 1968 repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1968 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 338,143; ATT: 0.073) and actual voters (Obs: 337,974; ATT: 0.072) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

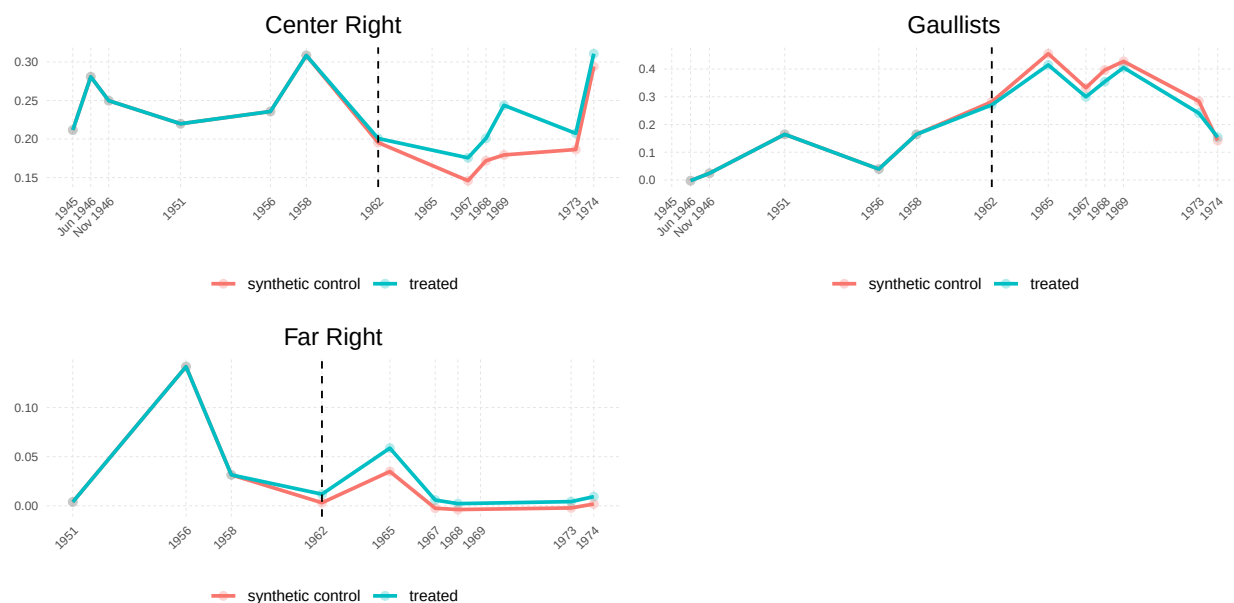


Figure C.34: SDiD Political Parties, using 1968 repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1968 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.026); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.028). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

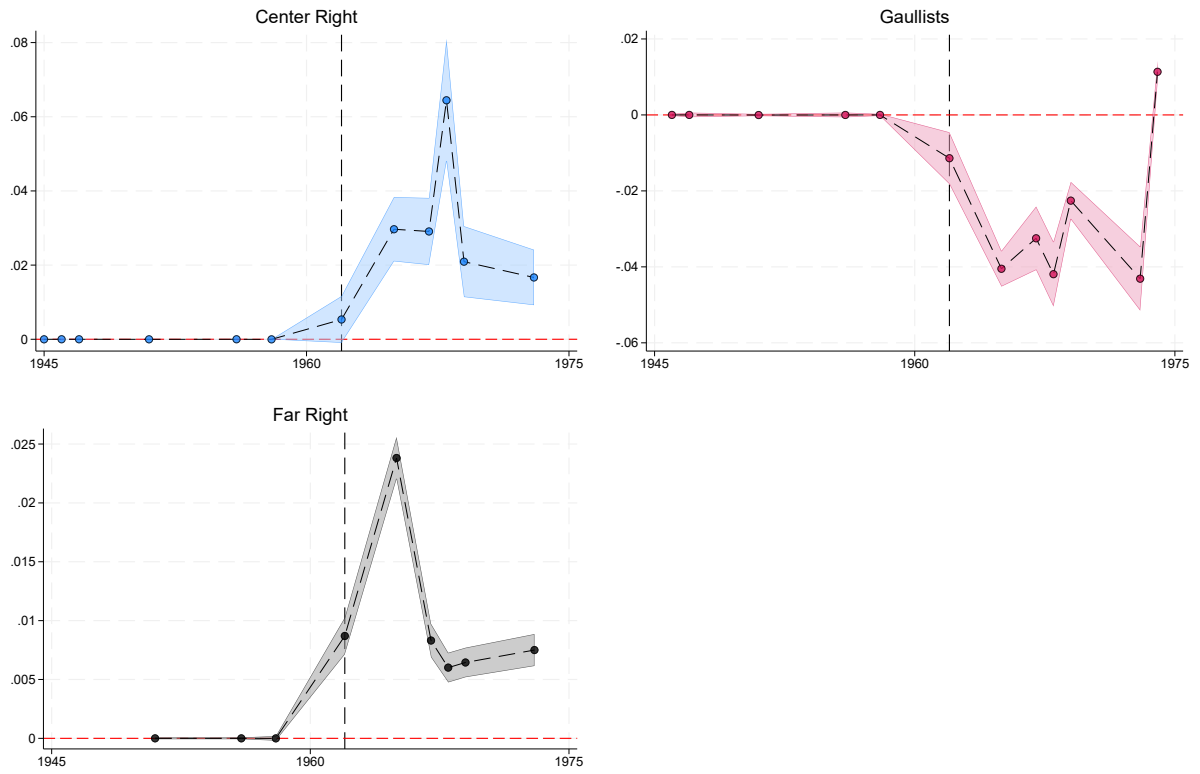


Figure C.35: SDiD Political Parties, event study using 1968 repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1968 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.026); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.028). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

C.6 Using 1962-Eligible Voters Repatriates

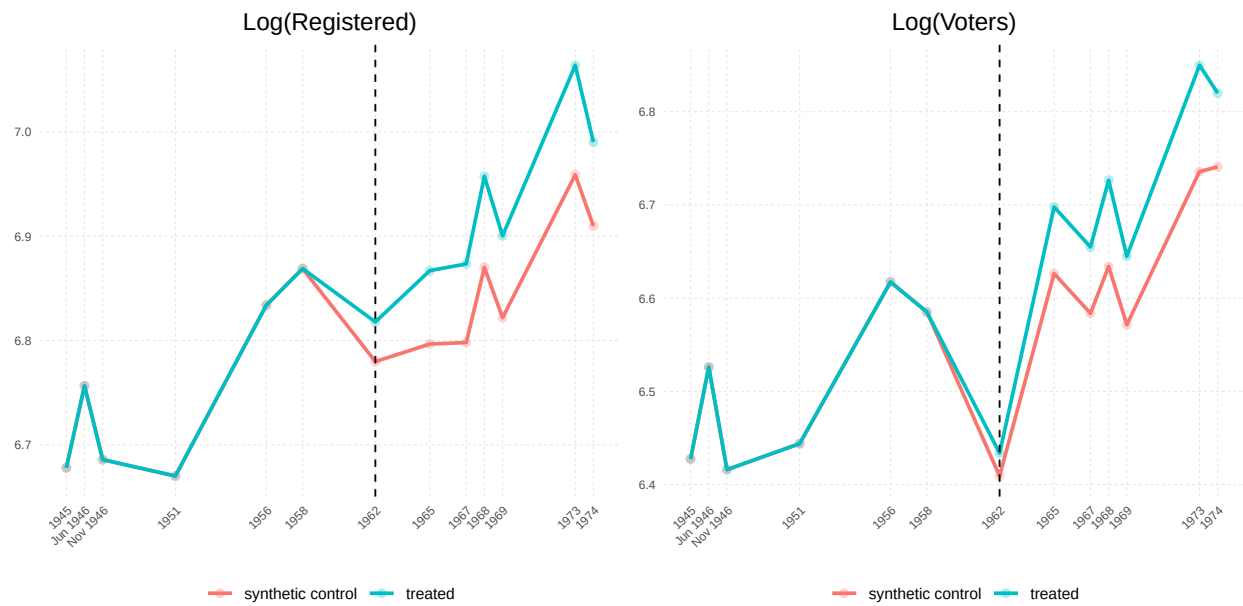


Figure C.36: SDiD Political Participation, using 1962 eligible repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of eligible voters repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The log of registered (Obs: 338,143; ATT: 0.076) and actual voters (Obs: 337,974; ATT: 0.075) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

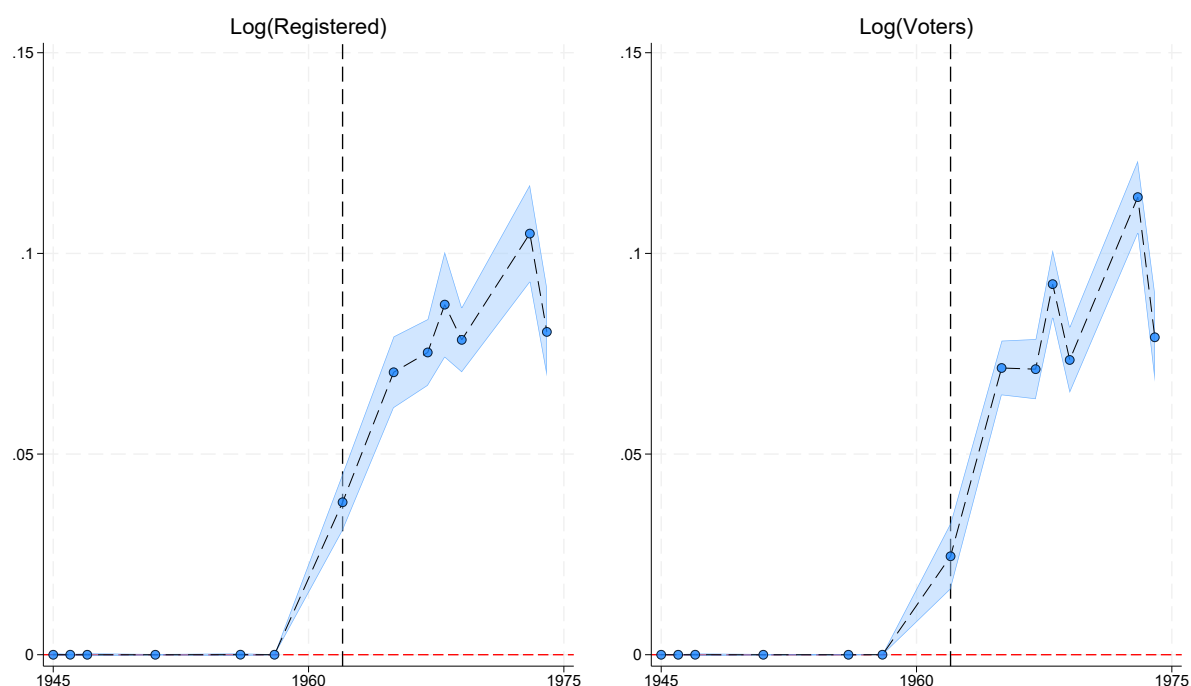


Figure C.37: SDiD Political Participation, event study using 1962 eligible repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of eligible voters repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 338,143; ATT: 0.076) and actual voters (Obs: 337,974; ATT: 0.075) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

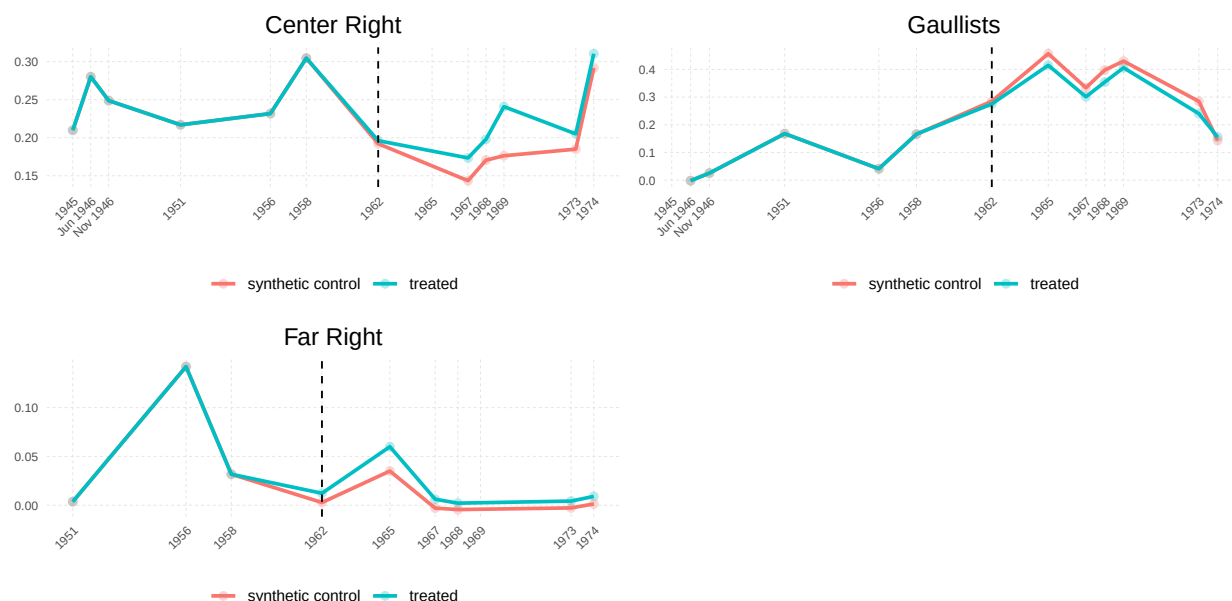


Figure C.38: SDiD Political Parties, using 1962 eligible repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of eligible voters repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.011). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.026); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.027). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

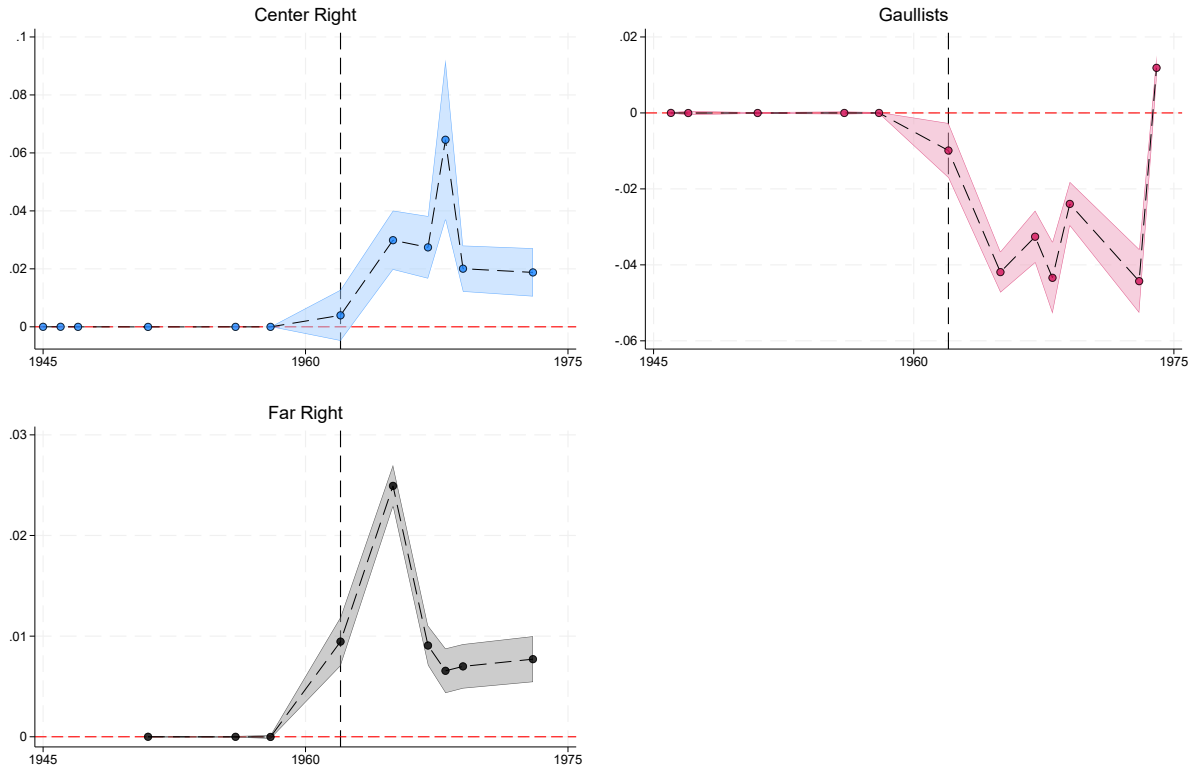


Figure C.39: SDiD Political Parties, event study using 1962 eligible repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of eligible voters repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.011). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.026); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.027). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

C.7 Removing Top 5% of Largest Municipalities

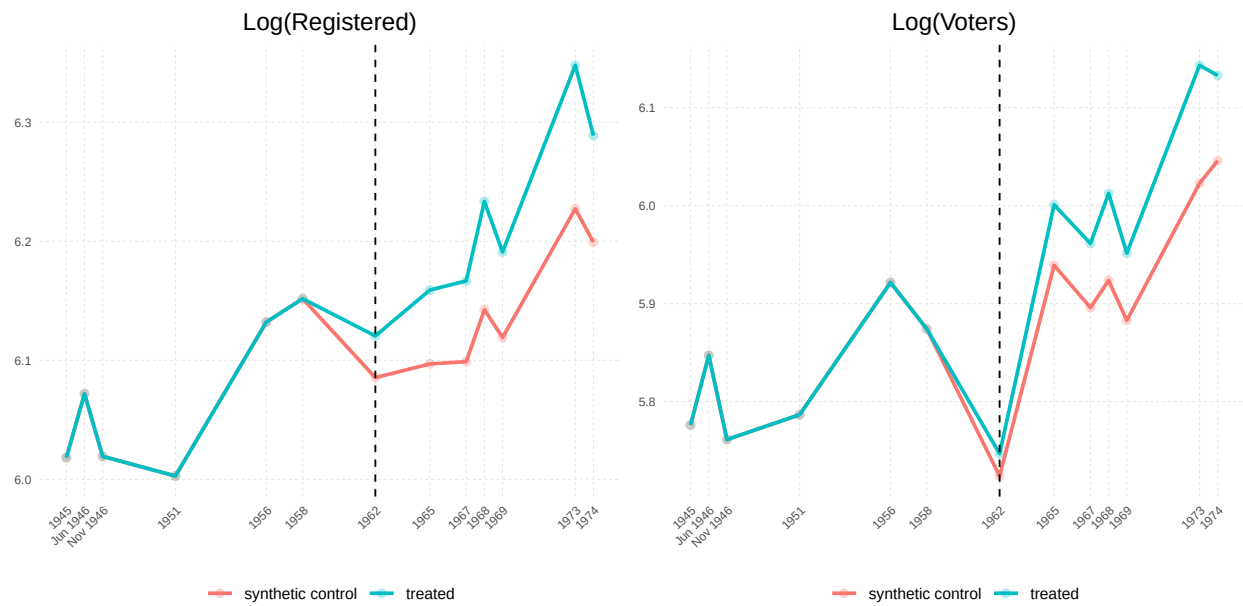


Figure C.40: SDiD Political Participation, removing top 5% largest municipalities

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The top 5% of the largest municipalities have been excluded from the sample. The log of registered (Obs: 337,857; ATT: 0.077) and actual voters (Obs: 337,779; ATT: 0.074) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

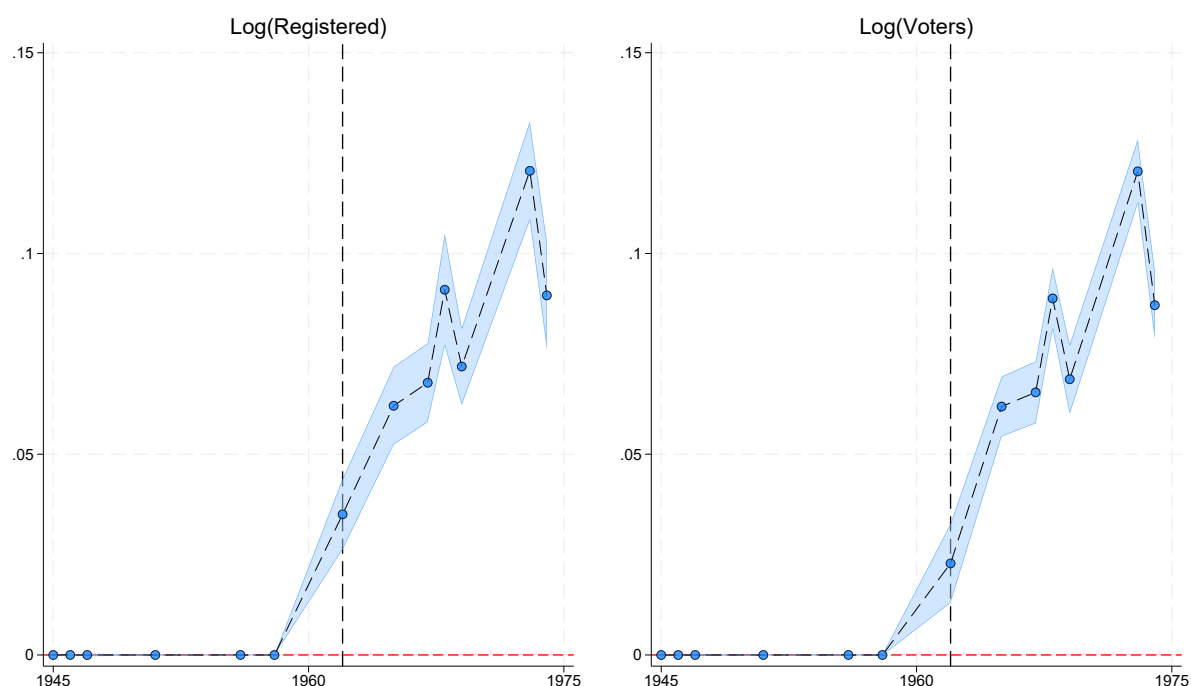


Figure C.41: SDiD Political Participation, event study removing top 5% largest municipalities

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The top 5% of the largest municipalities have been excluded from the sample. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 337,857; ATT: 0.077) and actual voters (Obs: 337,779; ATT: 0.074) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

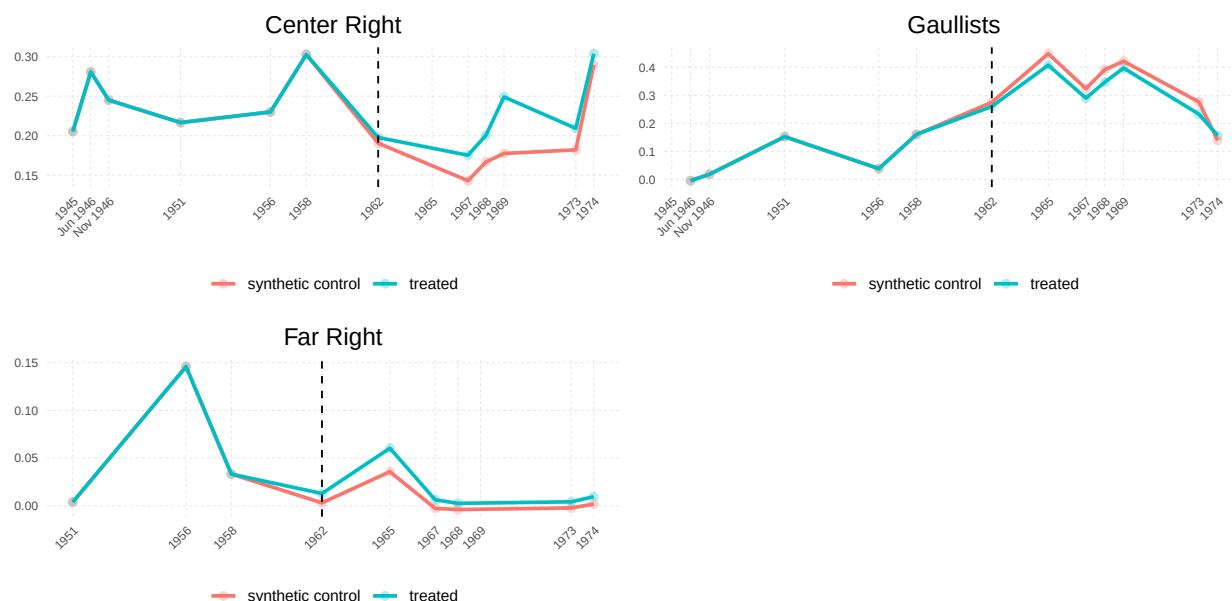


Figure C.42: SDiD Political Parties, removing top 5% largest municipalities

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The top 5% of the largest municipalities have been excluded from the sample. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,349; ATT: 0.011). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 311,796; ATT: -0.027); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,300; ATT: 0.031). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

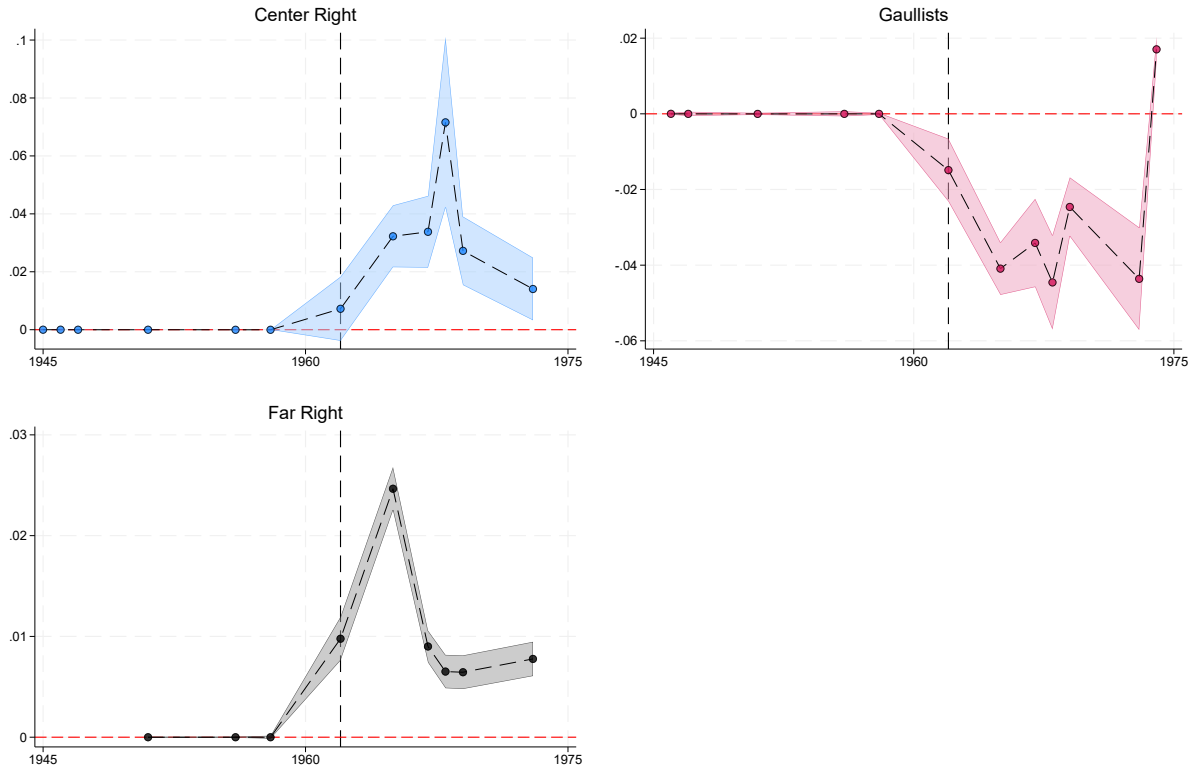


Figure C.43: SDiD Political Parties, event study removing top 5% largest municipalities

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The top 5% of the largest municipalities have been excluded from the sample. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,349; ATT: 0.011). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 311,796; ATT: -0.027); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,300; ATT: 0.031). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

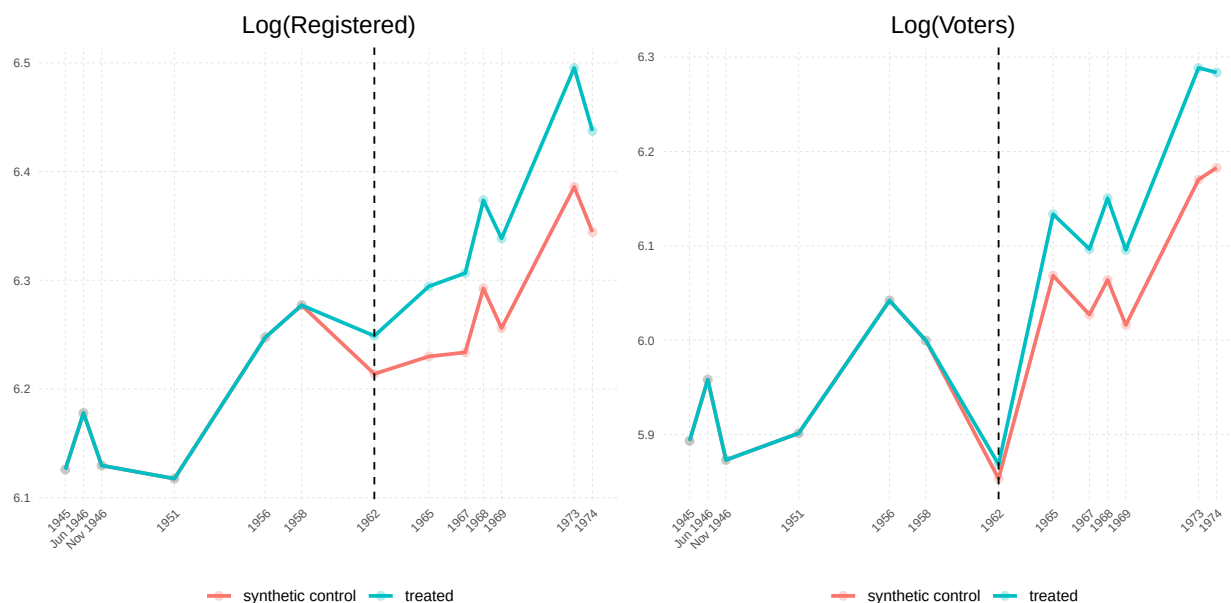


Figure C.44: SDiD Political Participation, using predicted repatriates and removing top 5% largest municipalities

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The top 5% of the largest municipalities have been excluded from the sample. The log of registered (Obs: 337,857; ATT: 0.077) and actual voters (Obs: 337,779; ATT: 0.076) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

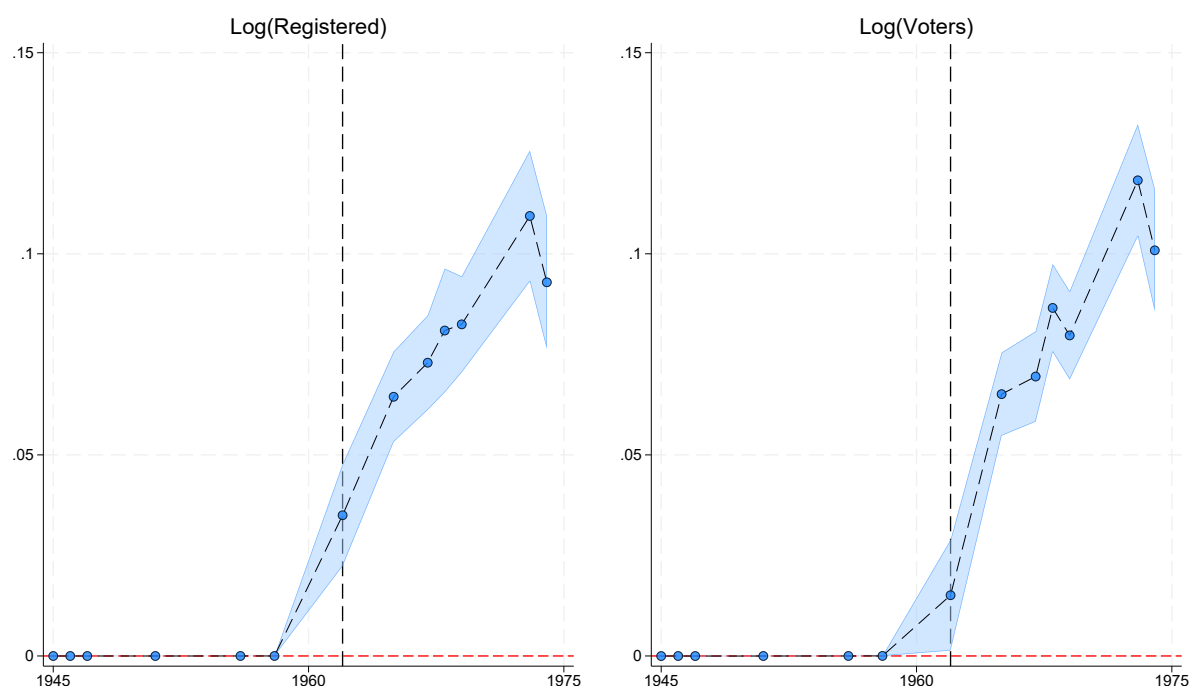


Figure C.45: SDiD Political Participation, event study using predicted repatriates and removing top 5% largest municipalities

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The top 5% of the largest municipalities have been excluded from the sample. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 337,857; ATT: 0.077) and actual voters (Obs: 337,779; ATT: 0.076) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

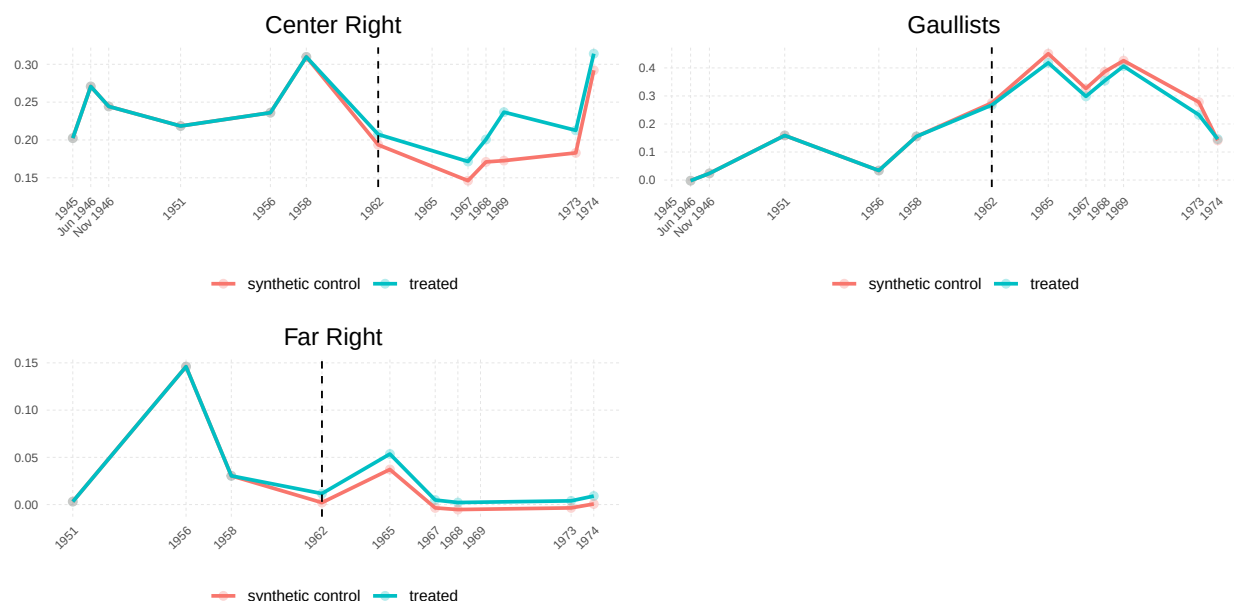


Figure C.46: SDiD Political Parties, using predicted repatriates and removing top 5% largest municipalities

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The top 5% of the largest municipalities have been excluded from the sample. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,349; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 311,796; ATT: -0.023); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,300; ATT: 0.031). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

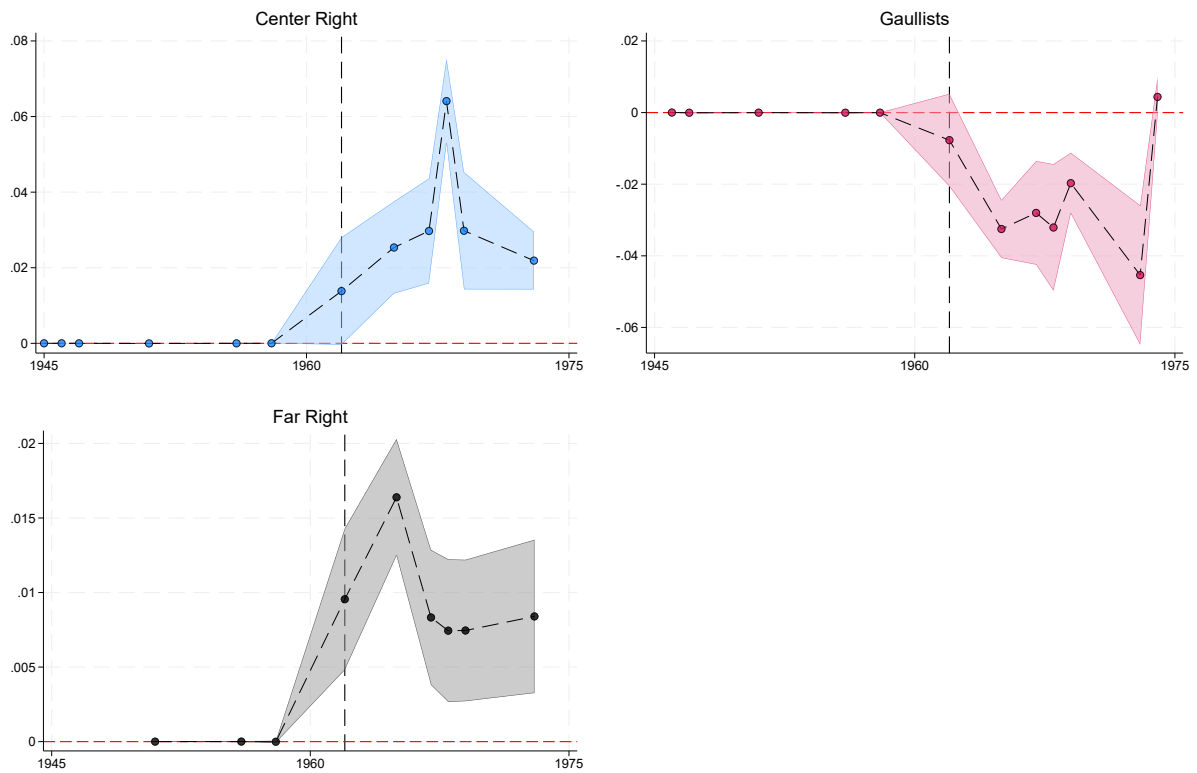


Figure C.47: SDiD Political Parties, event study using predicted repatriates and removing top 5% largest municipalities

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The top 5% of the largest municipalities have been excluded from the sample. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,349; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 311,796; ATT: -0.023); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,300; ATT: 0.031). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

C.8 Removing Bottom 5% of Smallest Municipalities

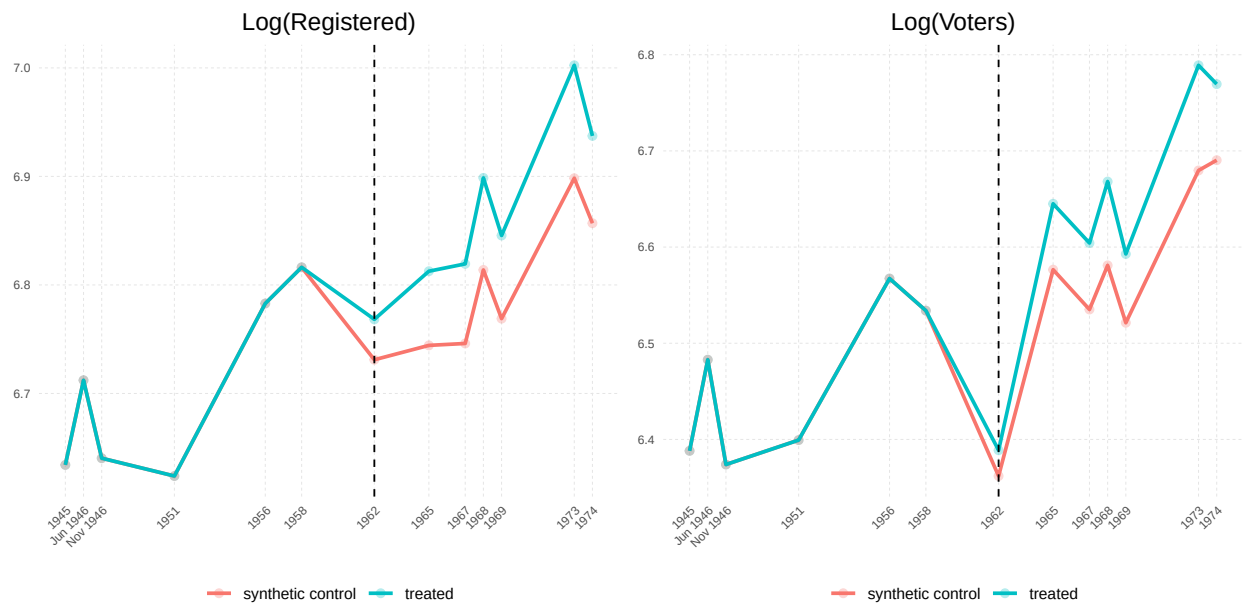


Figure C.48: SDiD Political Participation, removing bottom 5% smallest municipalities

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The bottom 5% of the smallest municipalities have been excluded from the sample. The log of registered (Obs: 324,259; ATT: 0.075) and actual voters (Obs: 324,259; ATT: 0.073) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

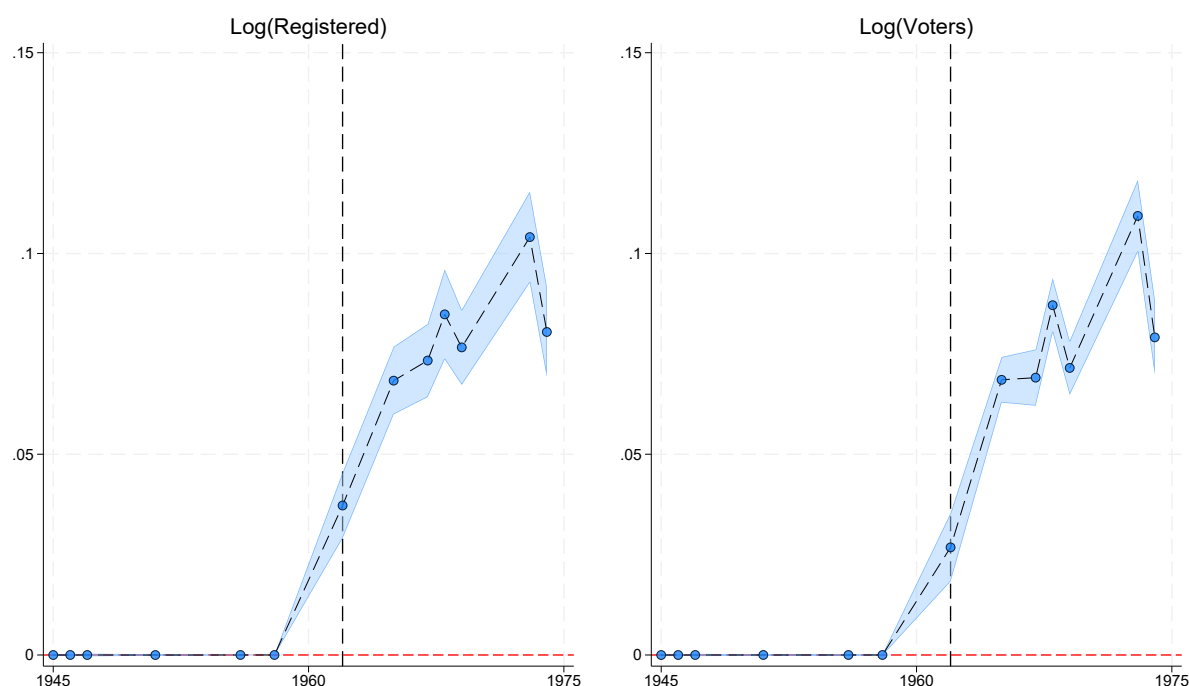


Figure C.49: SDiD Political Participation, event study removing bottom 5% smallest municipalities

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The bottom 5% of the smallest municipalities have been excluded from the sample. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 324,259; ATT: 0.075) and actual voters (Obs: 324,259; ATT: 0.073) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

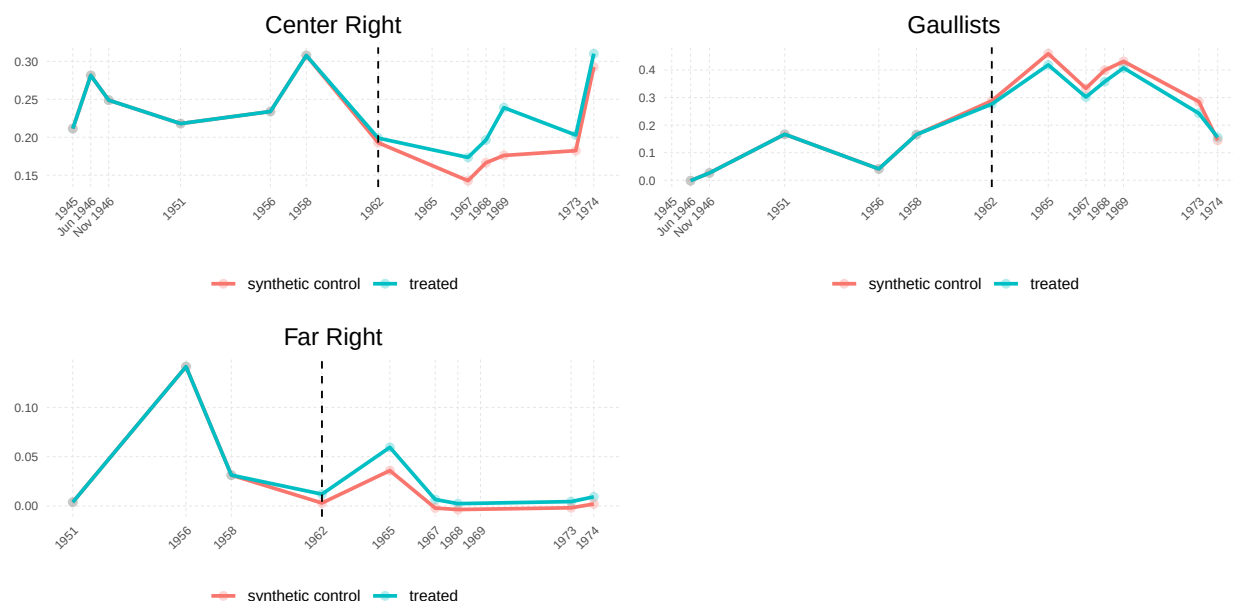


Figure C.50: SDiD Political Parties, removing bottom 5% smallest municipalities

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The bottom 5% of the smallest municipalities have been excluded from the sample. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 226,935; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 299,280; ATT: -0.026); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 299,784; ATT: 0.028). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

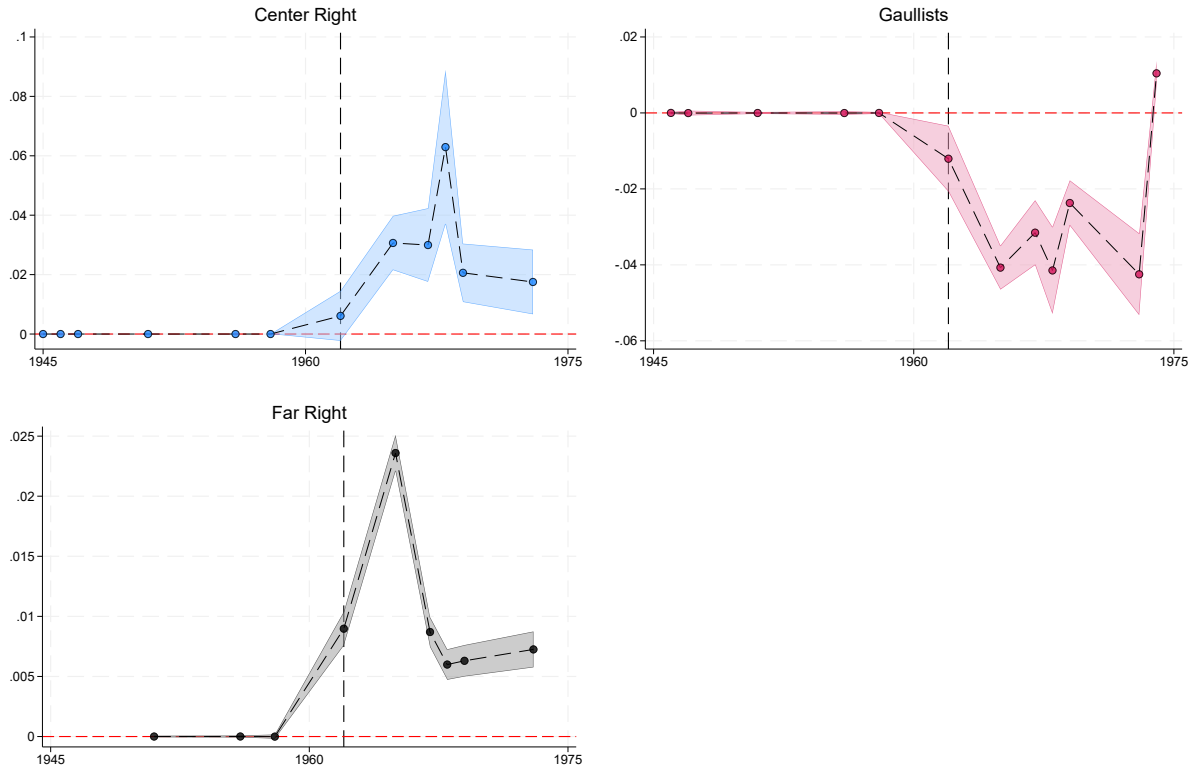


Figure C.51: SDiD Political Parties, event study removing bottom 5% smallest municipalities

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The bottom 5% of the smallest municipalities have been excluded from the sample. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 226,935; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 299,280; ATT: -0.01); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 299,784; ATT: 0.028). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

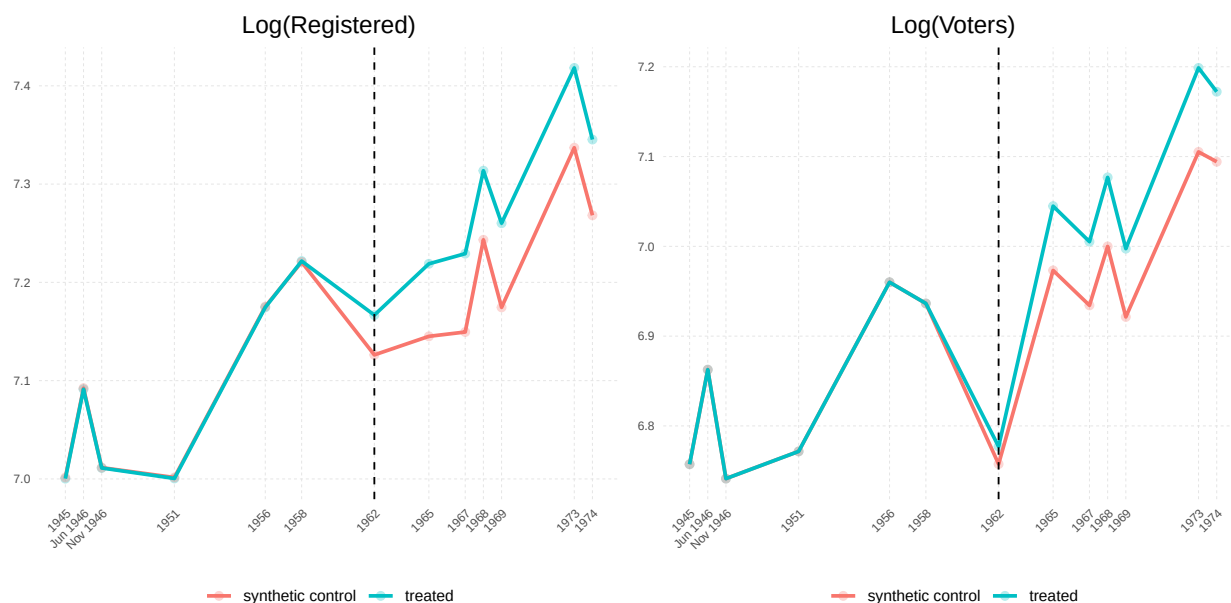


Figure C.52: SDiD Political Participation, using predicted repatriates and removing bottom 5% smallest municipalities

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The bottom 5% of the smallest municipalities have been excluded from the sample. The log of registered (Obs: 324,259; ATT: 0.073) and actual voters (Obs: 324,259; ATT: 0.07) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

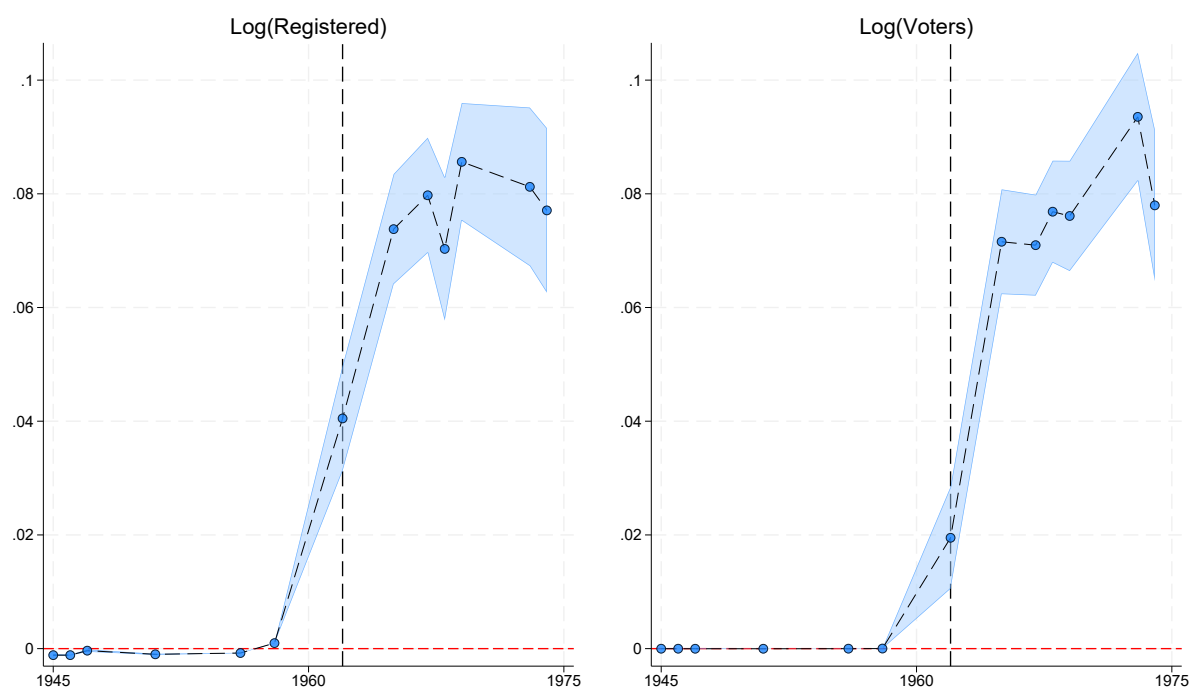


Figure C.53: SDiD Political Participation, event study using predicted repatriates and removing bottom 5% smallest municipalities

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The bottom 5% of the smallest municipalities have been excluded from the sample. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 324,259; ATT: 0.07) and actual voters (Obs: 324,259; ATT: 0.073) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

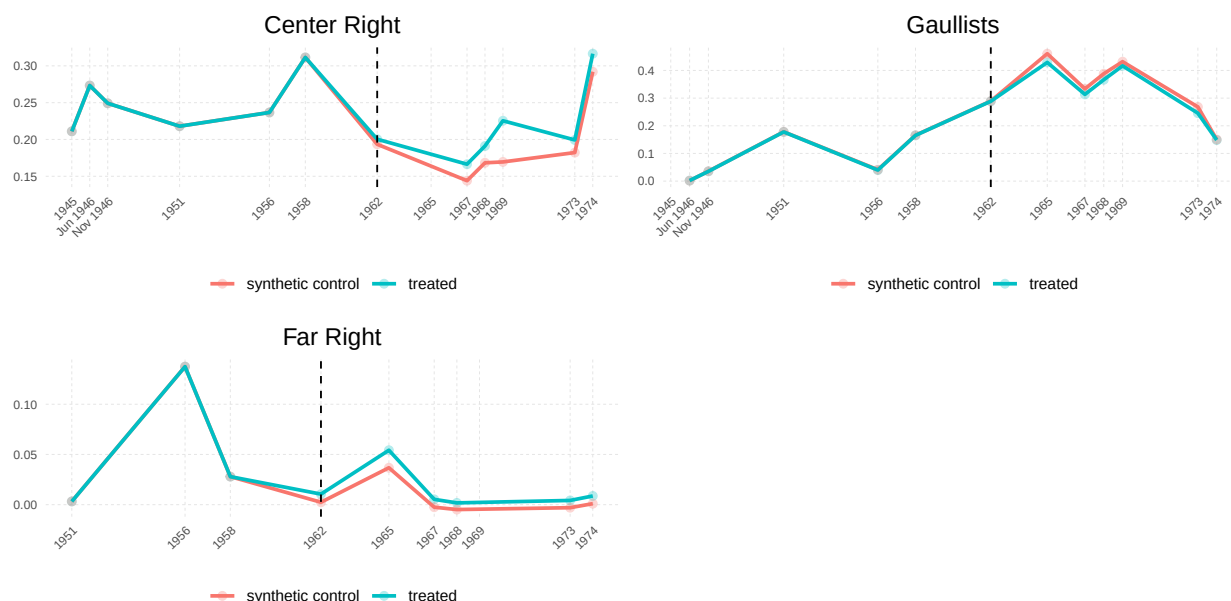


Figure C.54: SDiD Political Parties, using predicted repatriates and removing bottom 5% smallest municipalities

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The bottom 5% of the smallest municipalities have been excluded from the sample. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 226,935; ATT: 0.009). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 299,280; ATT: -0.16); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 299,784; ATT: 0.025). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

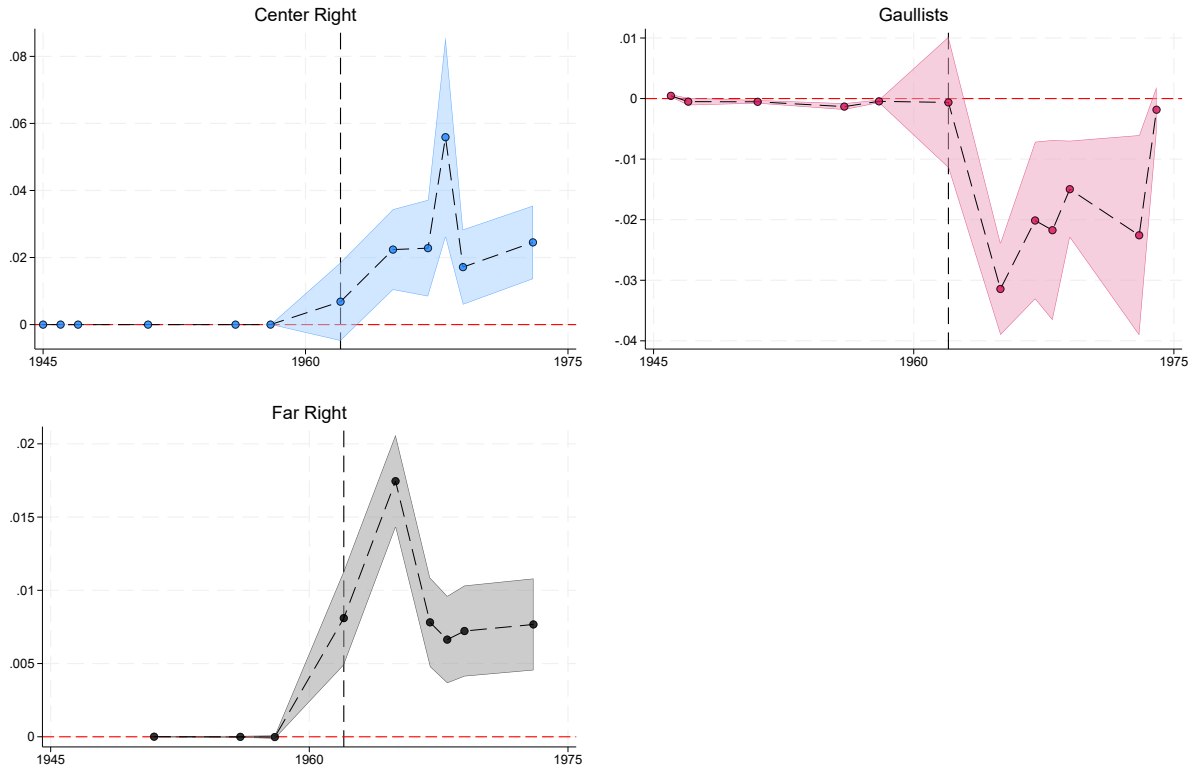


Figure C.55: SDiD Political Parties, event study using predicted repatriates and removing bottom 5% smallest municipalities

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The bottom 5% of the smallest municipalities have been excluded from the sample. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 226,935; ATT: 0.009). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 299,280; ATT: -0.016); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 299,784; ATT: 0.025). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

C.9 Accounting for Repatriates' Pre-existing Political Preferences

The repatriates arrived in France already endowed with pre-existing political preferences. To capture these specific preferences, I utilize electoral results from before the Algerian Civil War. It is important to note that no general election was held in 1956, and the party landscape in 1958 did not fully represent the political affiliations prevalent in mainland

France.

For each municipality c in France, I know the total number of repatriates who were eligible to vote in 1962. However, I do not possess information on their specific individual political preferences, nor do I know their precise department of origin among the three different Algerian departments. The electoral results across these three Algerian departments also varied significantly.

To address these data limitations, I first report the aggregated difference in vote share between Algeria and mainland France in the 1951 election. Following this, I present the disaggregated electoral results for each of the three different Algerian departments.

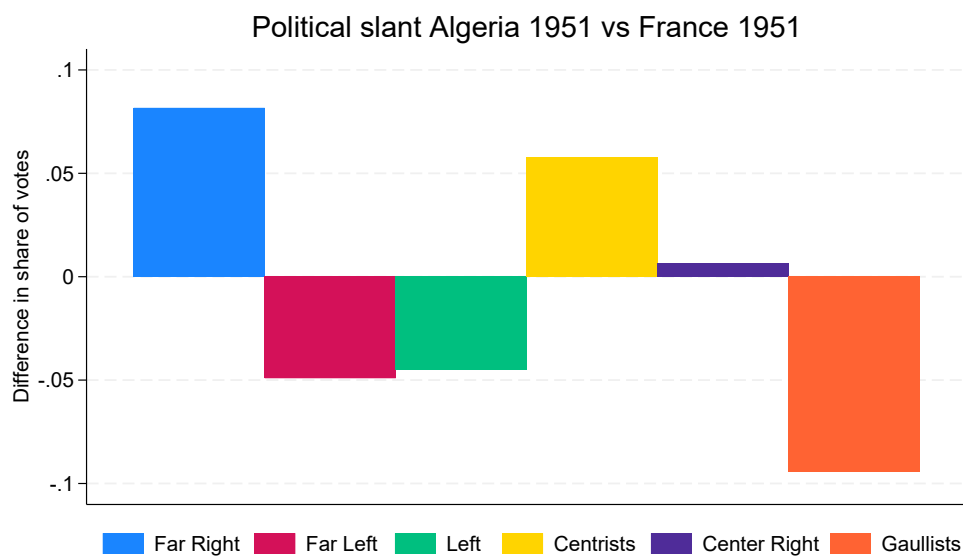


Figure C.56: Algeria-France 1951 vote share difference

Table C.1: Voter distribution by political affiliation across three areas.

Area	Voters	Far-Left (%)	Left (%)	Centrists (%)	Center-Right (%)	Gaullists (%)	Far-Right (%)	Others (%)
Alger	153,017	20.73	5.79	0.00	47.19	0.00	6.01	26.08
Constantine	83,749	12.38	11.14	55.51	0.00	17.06	0.00	15.06
Oran	133,684	26.58	14.62	1.26	17.30	22.88	17.36	14.62

Source: Sternberger, D., Vogel, B., Nohlen, D., and Landfried, K. *Afrika: Politische Organisation und Repräsentation in Afrika*. De Gruyter, 2019.

To account for the repatriates' pre-existing political preferences, I perform a simulation exercise, replicating the process 1000 times. I begin by simulating the number of repatriates entering each municipality c in France using a multinomial distribution. For this simulation, I assume that the probability of a repatriate settling in municipality c is

proportional to the number of voters in each of the three Algerian departments. This implicitly assumes that more populated areas in Algeria are also more likely to send more repatriates to municipality c .

Furthermore, I assume that the probability of a repatriate voting for a specific party is equal to that party's vote share in their respective Algerian department of origin. This implies that a repatriate originating from a particular Algerian department is more likely to vote for the party that received more votes in that department in 1951.

In the simulation, I randomly allocate repatriates to parties based on these party preferences in their areas of origin, and then allocate them to specific municipalities in France based on the proportional distribution of voters in each Algerian department. By averaging the simulated number of repatriates who would vote for each party in each municipality, this exercise generates a counterfactual distribution of repatriates' political preferences in each municipality c , informed by the 1951 Algerian election results.

Specifically, this exercise yields, for each municipality c , the simulated number of repatriates who would vote for each party p according to their preferences in 1951. I then add this simulated number to the actual number of voters for each party in municipality c in 1958 to calculate a counterfactual voting share for each party in 1958. By incorporating this counterfactual number into the 1958 baseline (my pre-treatment year for the Difference-in-Differences analysis), I aim to estimate the effect of the repatriates' arrival in 1962 net of their 1951 specific political preferences. If significant results persist after 1958 in this adjusted model, it would suggest that the repatriates' voting behavior in France was not driven solely by their 1951 political preferences, but also by other factors that emerged after their arrival in France.

Thus, I construct the counterfactual voting in 1958 in each municipality c for party p as:

$$\text{Counterfactual voting}_{c,1958,p} = \frac{\text{Voters}_{c,1958,p} + \text{Repatriates}_c \times \delta_{c,p}}{\text{Repatriates}_c + \text{Voters}_{c,1958}} \quad (6)$$

Where $\delta_{c,p}$ represents the simulated proportion of repatriates who would vote for party p in municipality c , and Repatriates_c is the total number of repatriates who settled

in municipality c . These counterfactual voting values, by municipality and party, replace the actual values for 1958 in my baseline SDiD estimation, allowing me to isolate the effect of repatriates' arrival in 1962 net of their imputed 1951 political preferences.

A robust result, even with the inclusion of the 1951 political preference counterfactual, would suggest that the observed effects are significant even when accounting for a pre-existing potential bias in the repatriates' voting. This finding would support the possibility of:

- A change in political preferences that may have occurred during the Algerian War and their forced repatriation.
- A change in political preferences that may have occurred after their arrival in France as a result of the evolving political discourse and the strategic actions of French political parties.

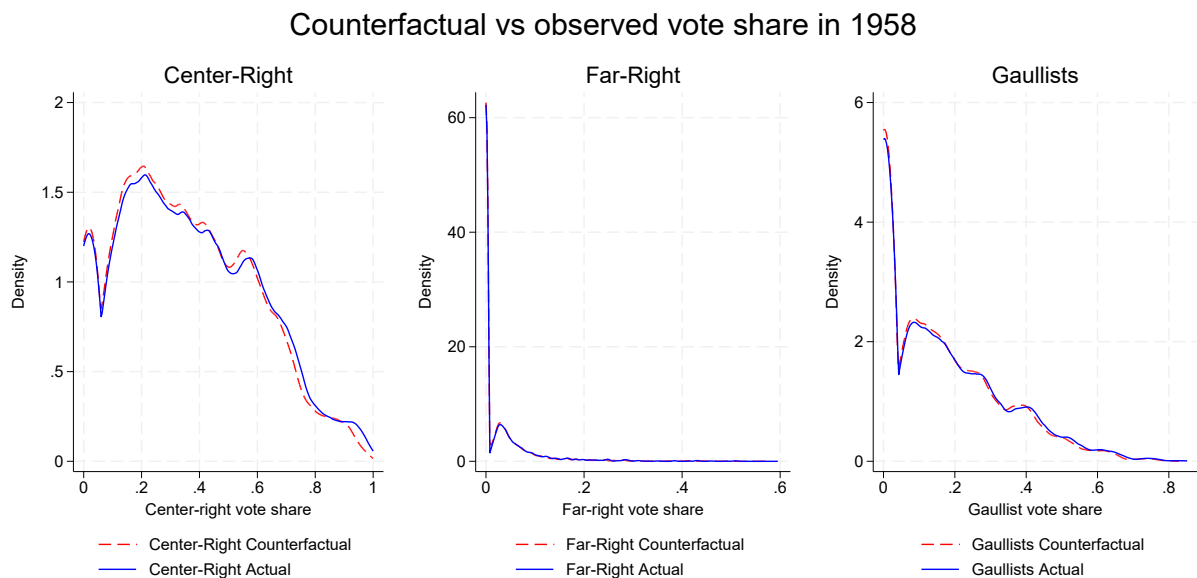


Figure C.57: Counterfactual voting 1958

This plot shows the counterfactual electoral result for right-wing parties in 1958 is the repatriates had arrived in 1958 and voted according to the 1951 election in Algeria.



Figure C.58: SDiD Political Parties, using counterfactual voting shares in 1958

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.011). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,06; ATT: -0.026); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.028). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974. The 1958 election uses the counterfactual voting shares.

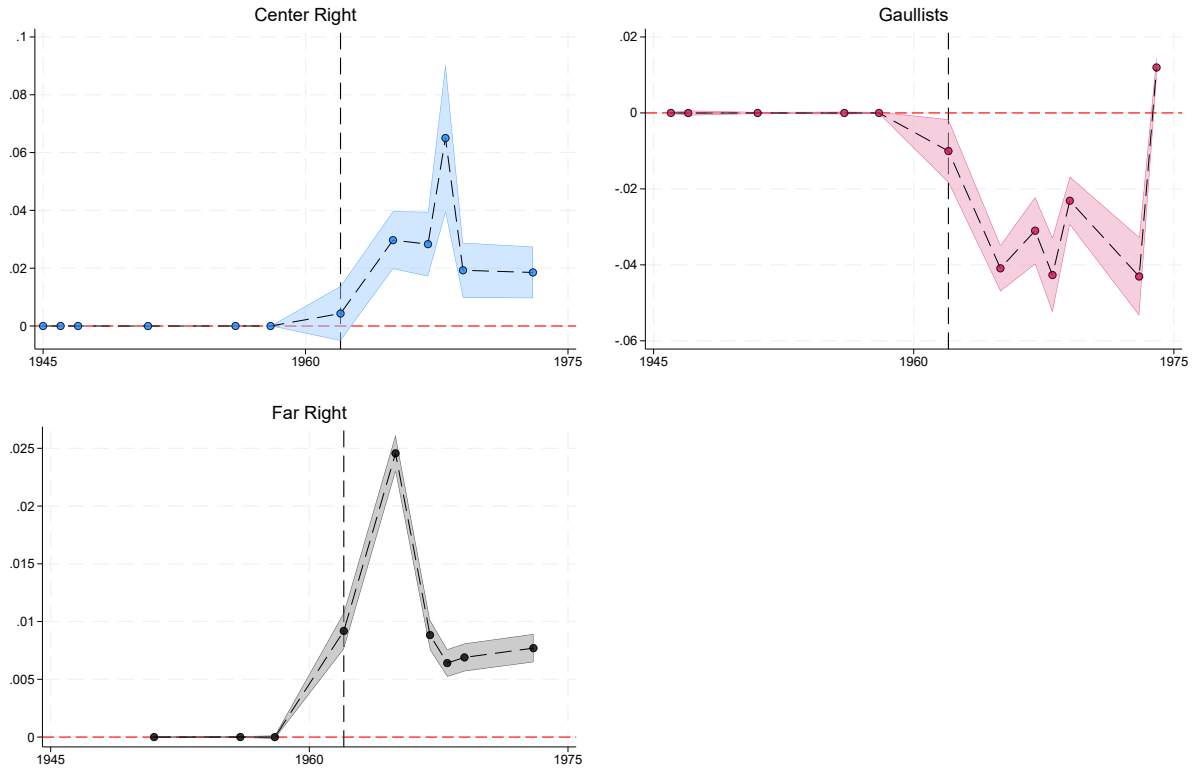


Figure C.59: SDiD Political Parties, event study using counterfactual voting shares in 1958

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.011). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.026); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.028). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974. The 1958 election uses the counterfactual voting shares.



Figure C.60: SDiD Political Parties, using predicted repatriates and counterfactual voting shares in 1958

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.016); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.025). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974. The 1958 election uses the counterfactual voting shares.

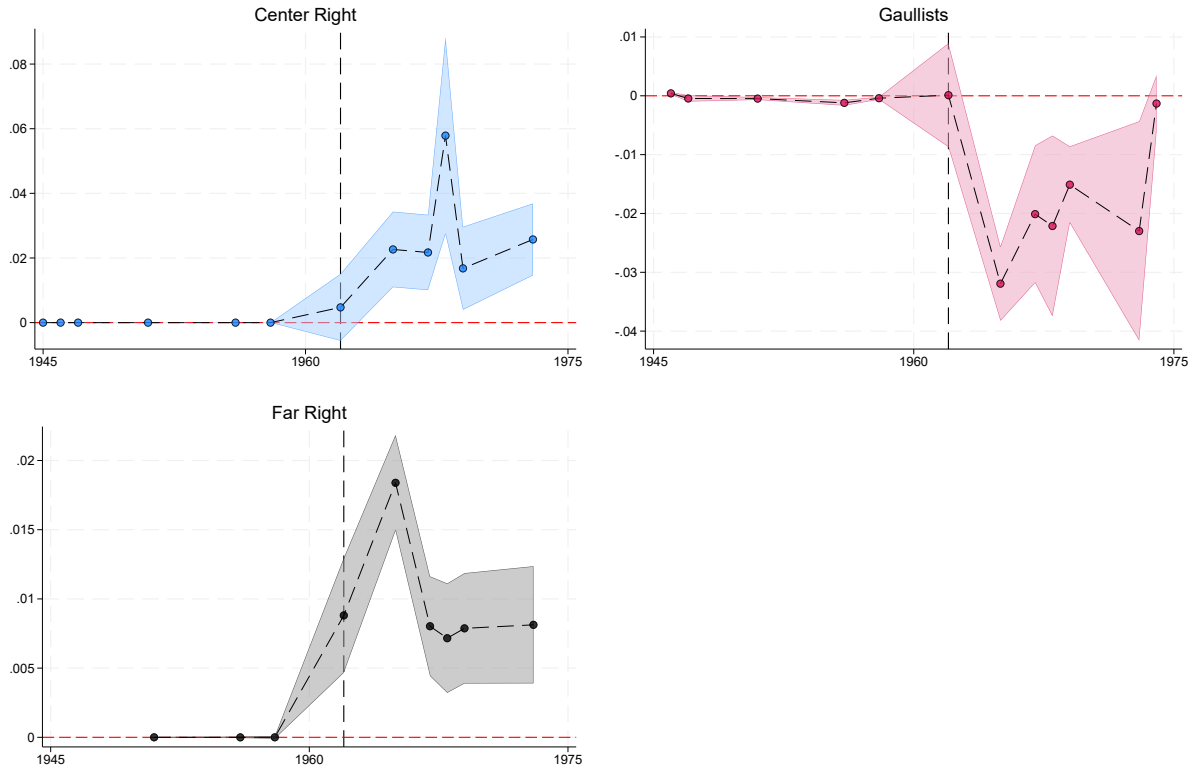


Figure C.61: SDiD Political Parties, event study using predicted repatriates and counterfactual voting shares in 1958

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,547; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 312,060; ATT: -0.016); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,564; ATT: 0.025). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974. The 1958 election uses the counterfactual voting shares.

C.10 No Controls

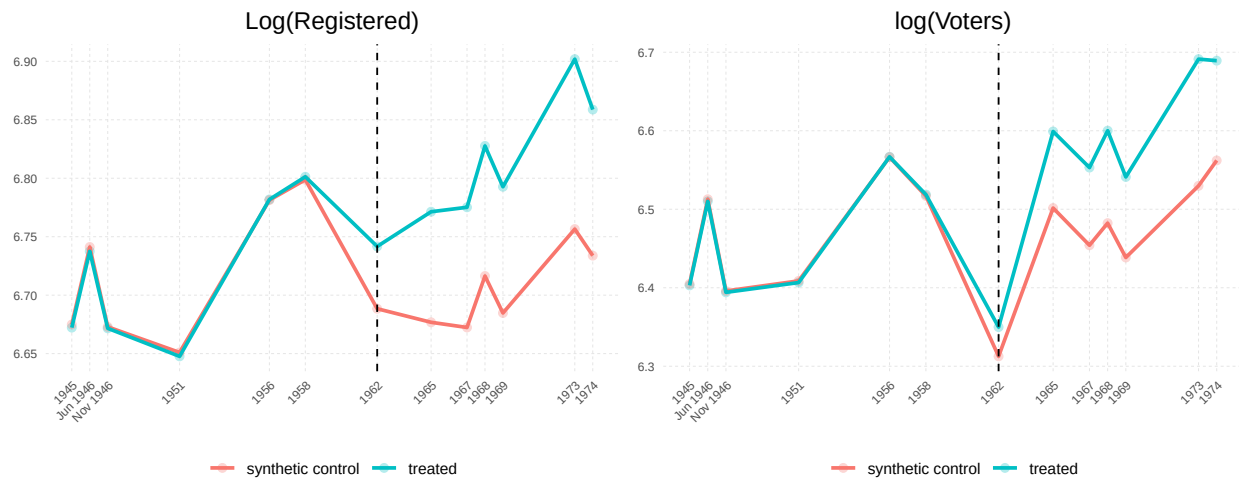


Figure C.62: SDiD Political Participation, no controls

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The log of registered (Obs: 340,002; ATT: 0.104) and actual voters (Obs: 339,820; ATT: 0.104) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

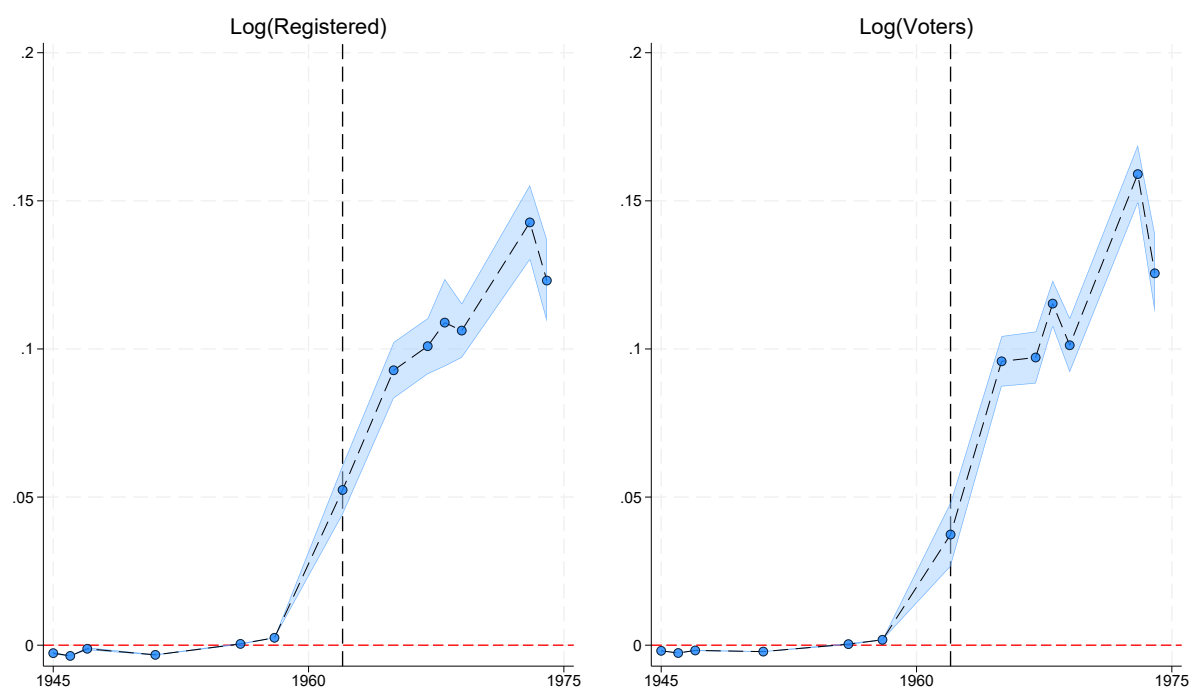


Figure C.63: SDiD Political Participation, event study no controls

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 340,002; ATT: 0.104) and actual voters (Obs: 339,820; ATT: 0.104) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

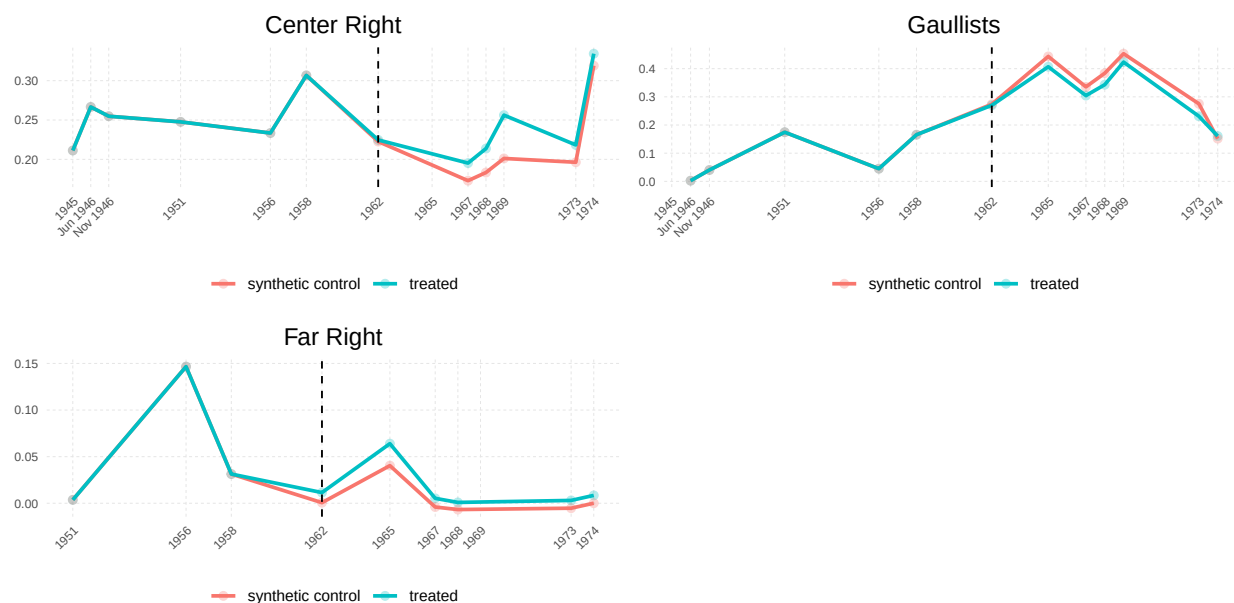


Figure C.64: SDiD Political Parties no controls

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 237,834; ATT: 0.011). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 313,776; ATT: -0.026); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 314,268; ATT: 0.025). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

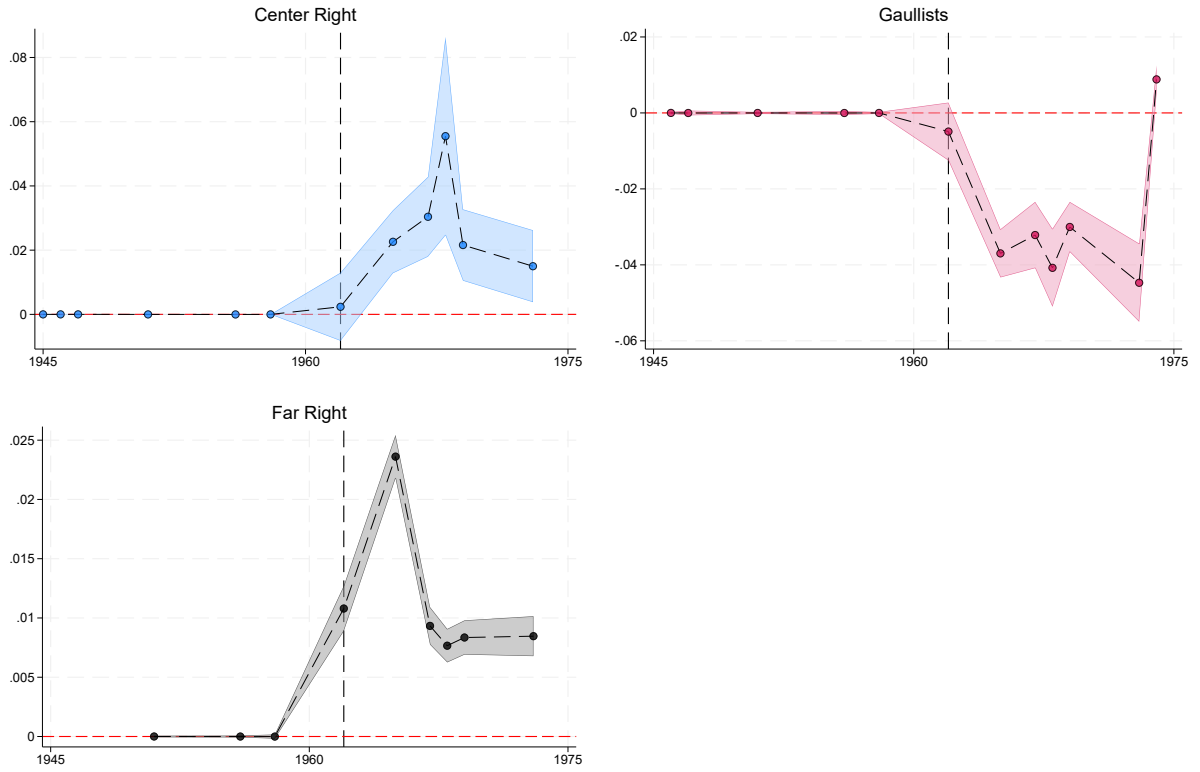


Figure C.65: SDiD Political Parties, event study no controls

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 237,834; ATT: 0.011). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 313,776; ATT: -0.026); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 314,268; ATT: 0.025). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

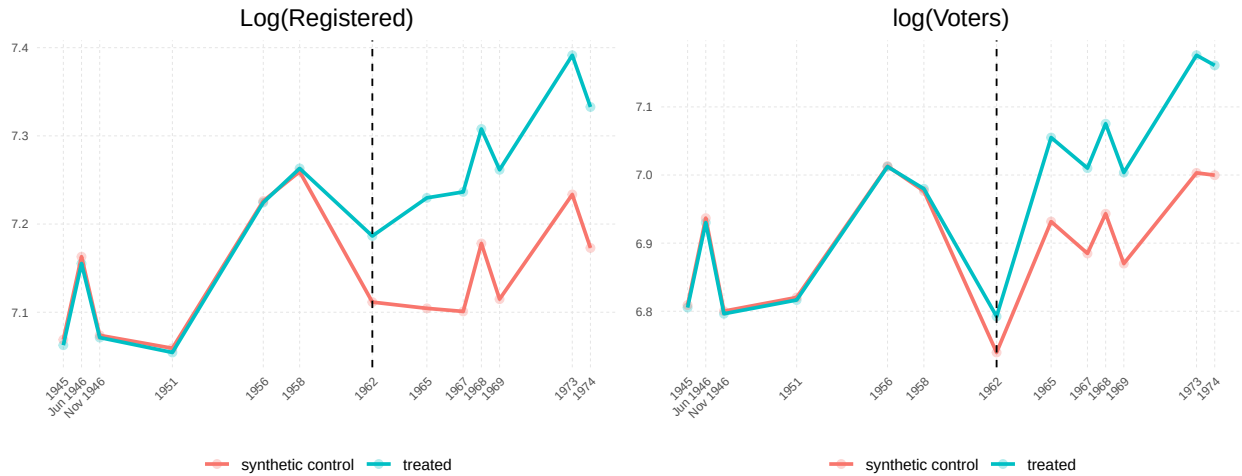


Figure C.66: SDiD Political Participation, using predicted repatriates and no controls

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. The log of registered (Obs: 340,002; ATT: 0.127) and actual voters (Obs: 339,820; ATT: 0.124) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

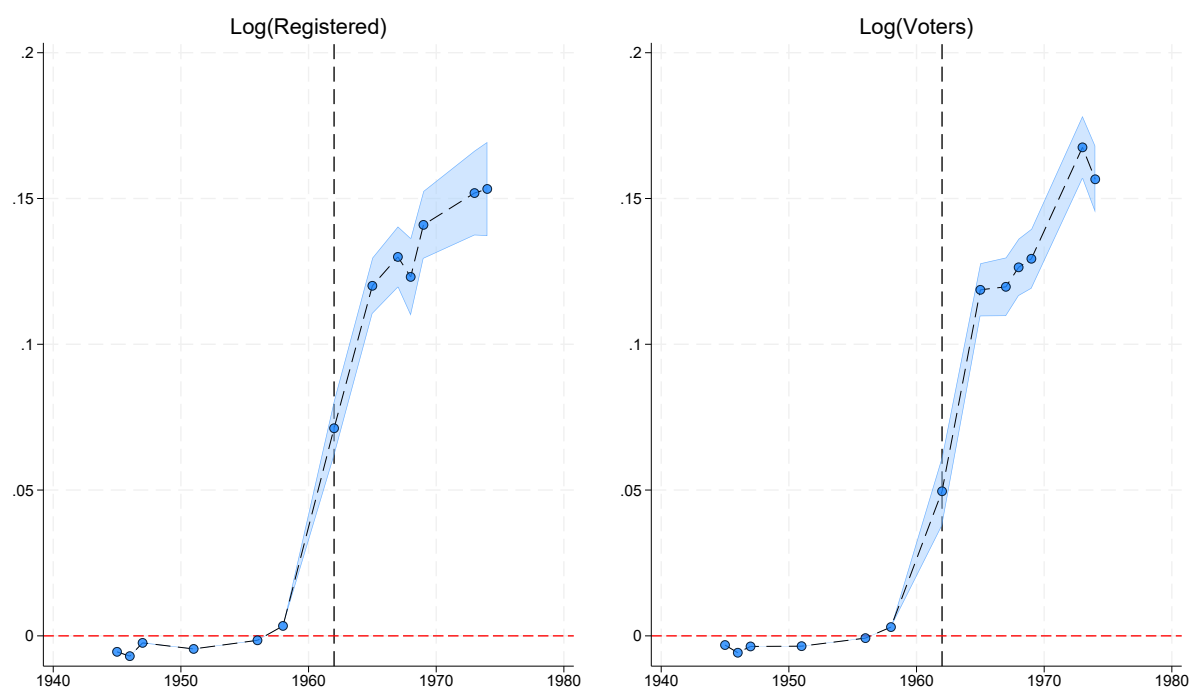


Figure C.67: SDiD Political Participation, event study using predicted repatriates and no controls

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 340,002; ATT: 0.127) and actual voters (Obs: 339,820; ATT: 0.124) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

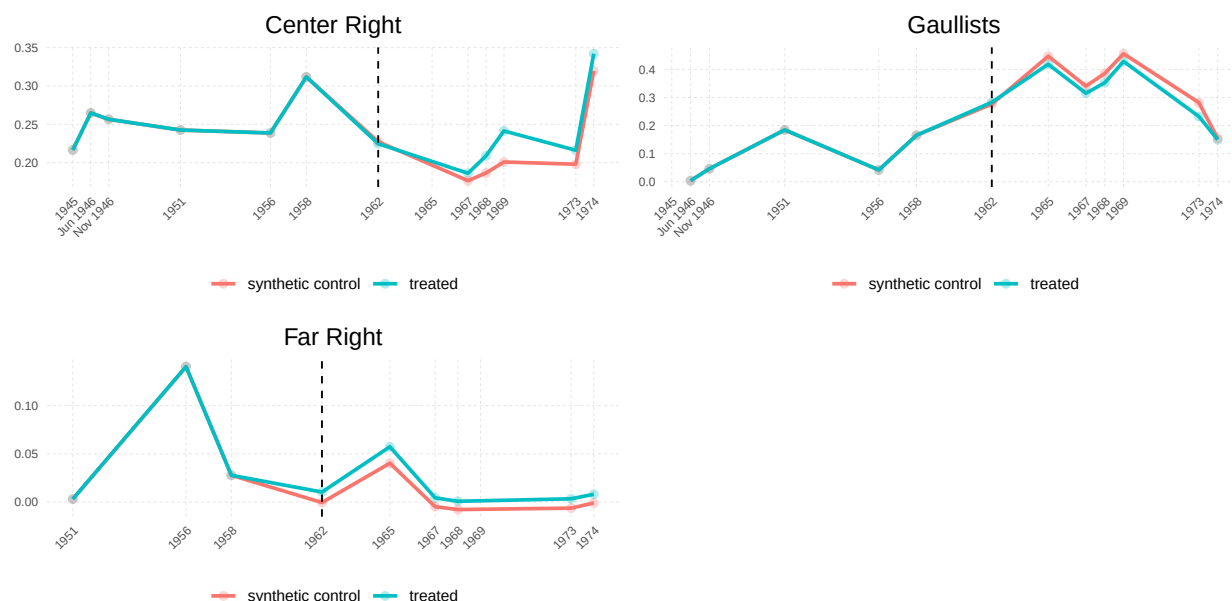


Figure C.68: SDiD Political Parties, using predicted repatriates and no controls

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 237,834; ATT: 0.011). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 313,776; ATT: -0.024); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 314,268; ATT: 0.020). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

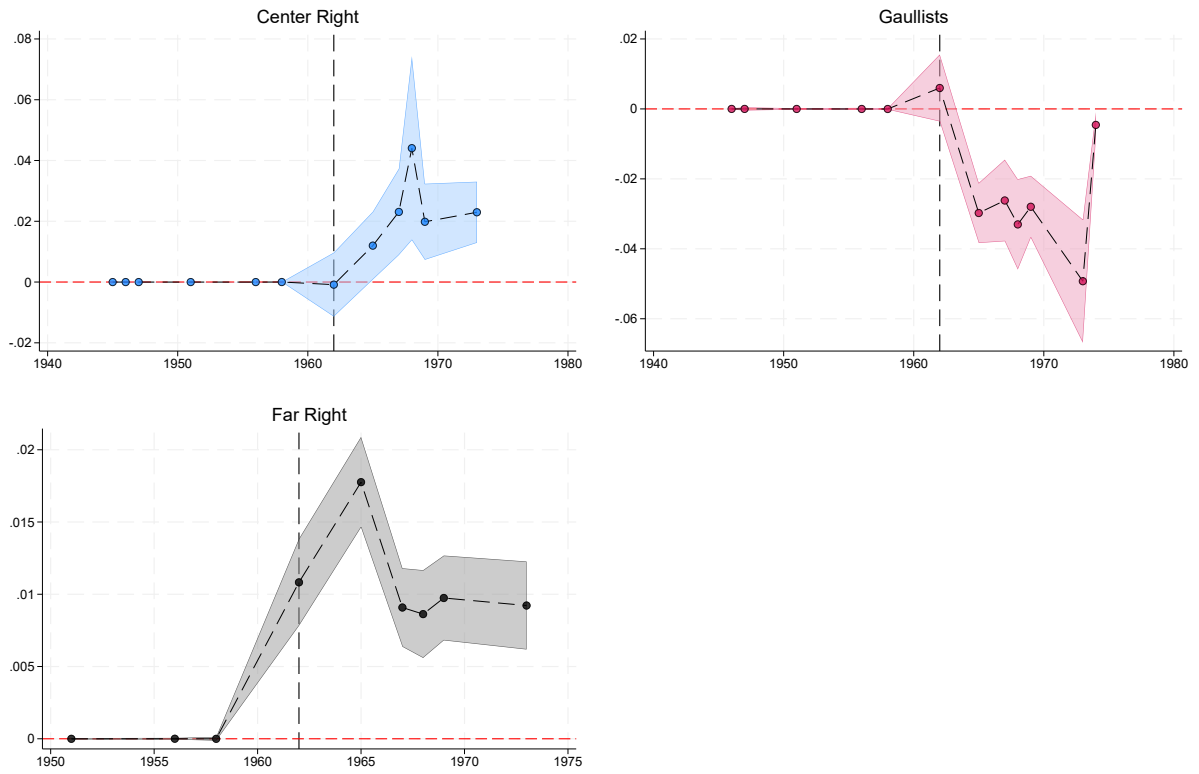


Figure C.69: SDiD Political Parties, event study using predicted repatriates and no controls

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 237,834; ATT: 0.011). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 313,776; ATT: -0.024); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 314,268; ATT: 0.020). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

C.11 Controlling for the Change in Unemployment rate

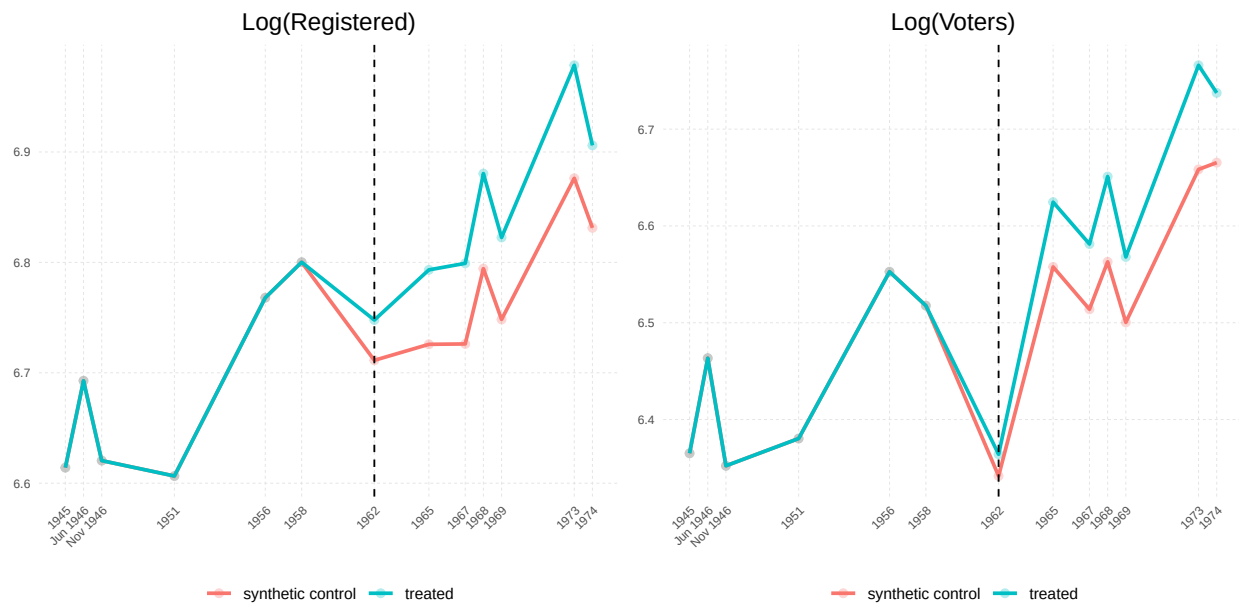


Figure C.70: SDiD Political Participation, controlling for change in unemployment

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls the change in the share of unemployed between 1962 and 1975 is added interacted with year dummies. The log of registered (Obs: 337,571; ATT: 0.073) and actual voters (Obs: 337,402; ATT: 0.07) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

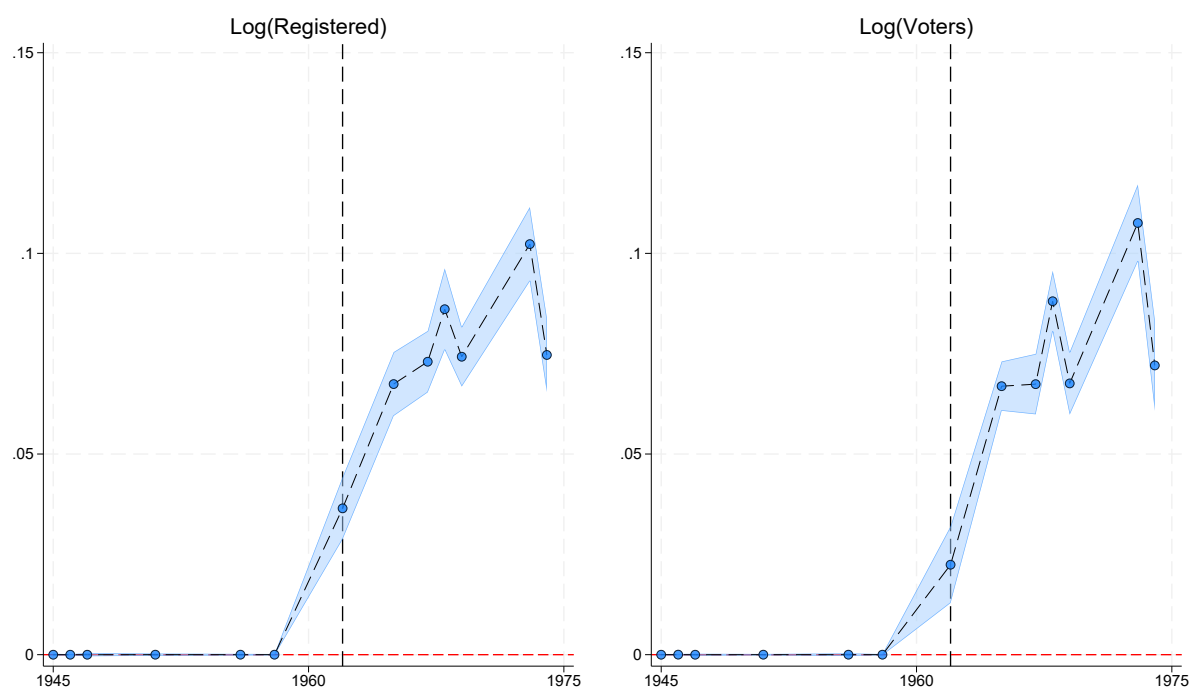


Figure C.71: SDiD Political Participation, event study controlling for change in unemployment

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls the change in the share of unemployed between 1962 and 1975 is added interacted with year dummies. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 337,571; ATT: -0.073) and actual voters (Obs: 337,402; ATT: 0.07) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

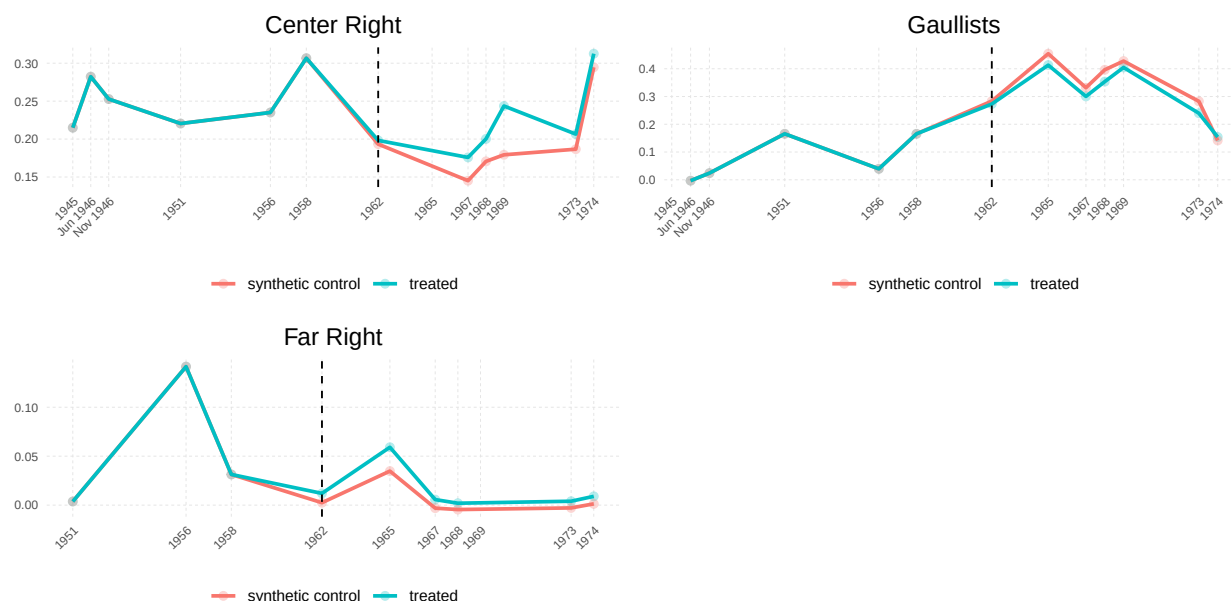


Figure C.72: SDiD Political Parties, controlling for change in unemployment

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls the change in the share of unemployed between 1962 and 1975 is added interacted with year dummies. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,151; ATT: 0.011). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 311,532; ATT: -0.026); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,036; ATT: 0.028). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

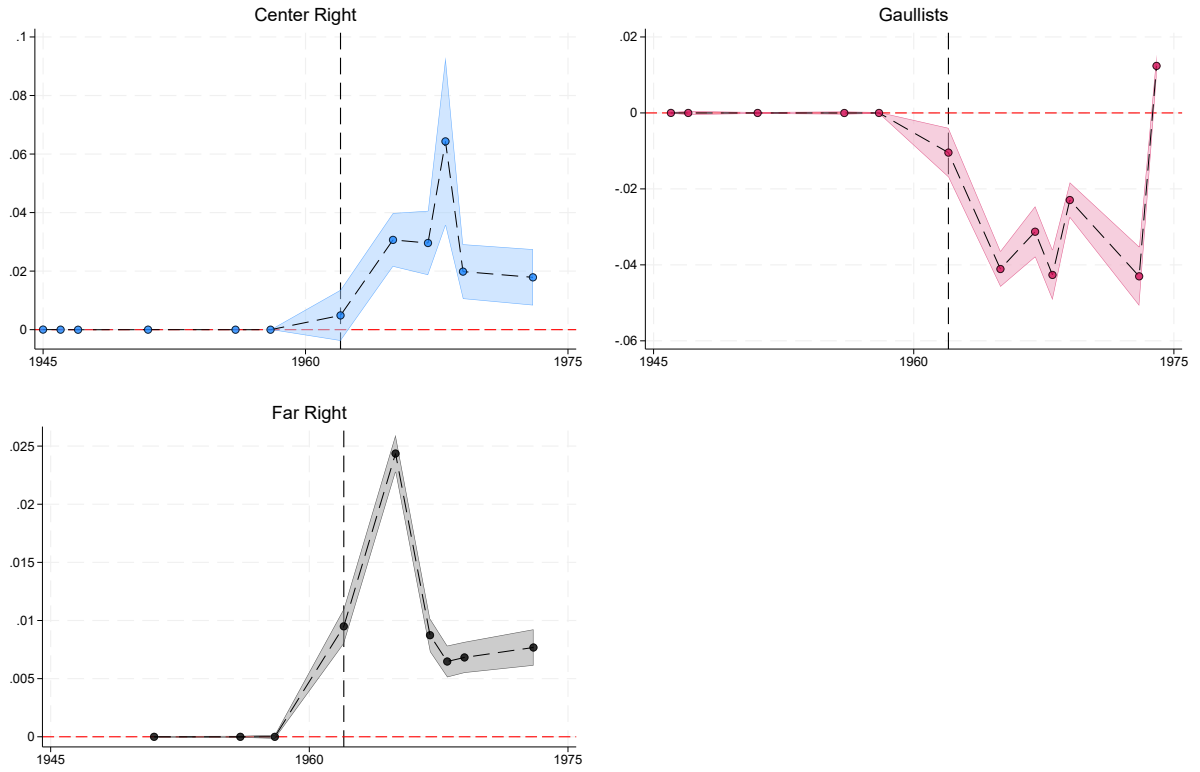


Figure C.73: SDiD Political Parties, event study controlling for change in unemployment

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls the change in the share of unemployed between 1962 and 1975 is added interacted with year dummies. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,151; ATT: 0.011). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 311,532; ATT: -0.026); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,036; ATT: 0.028). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

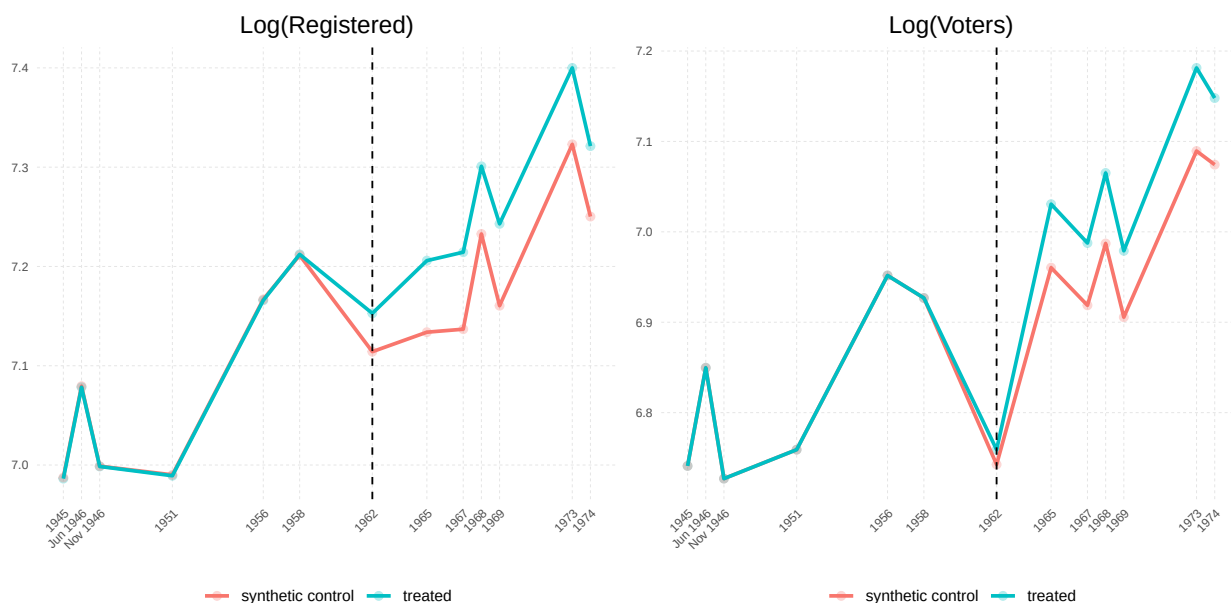


Figure C.74: SDiD Political Participation, using predicted repatriates and controlling for change in unemployment

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls the change in the share of unemployed between 1962 and 1975 is added interacted with year dummies. The log of registered (Obs: 337,571; ATT: 0.07) and actual voters (Obs: 337,402; ATT: 0.068) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

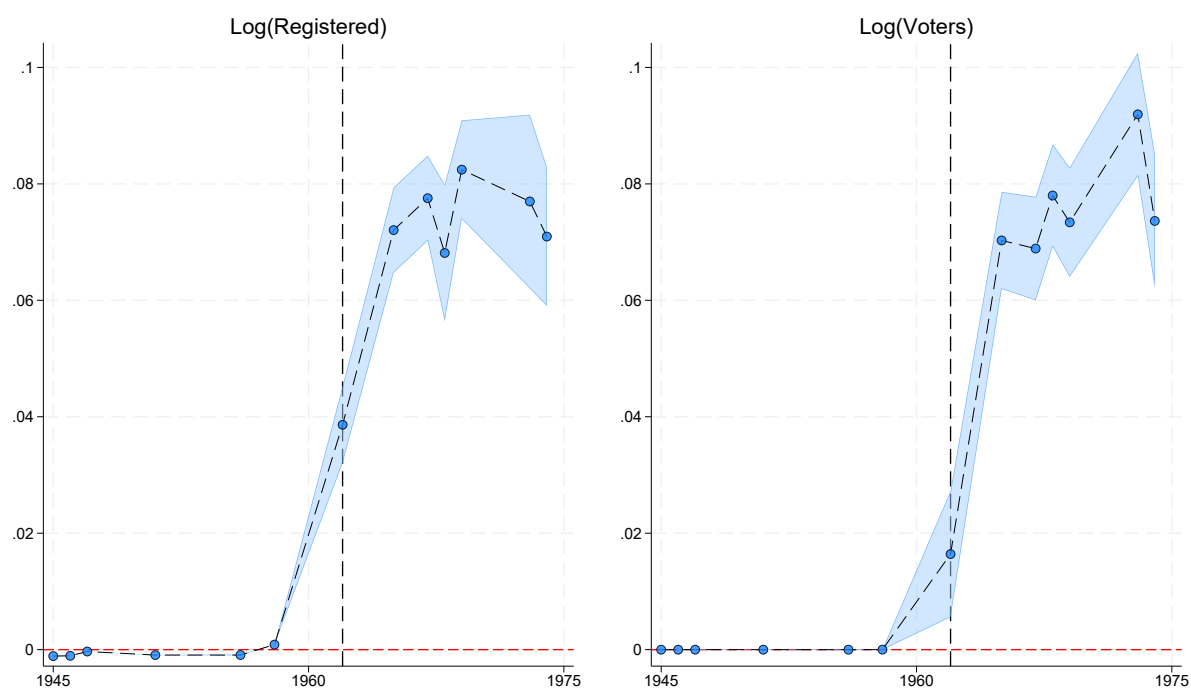


Figure C.75: SDiD Political Participation, event study using predicted repatriates and controlling for change in unemployment

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls the change in the share of unemployed between 1962 and 1975 is added interacted with year dummies. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 337,571; ATT: 0.07) and actual voters (Obs: 337,402; ATT: 0.068) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

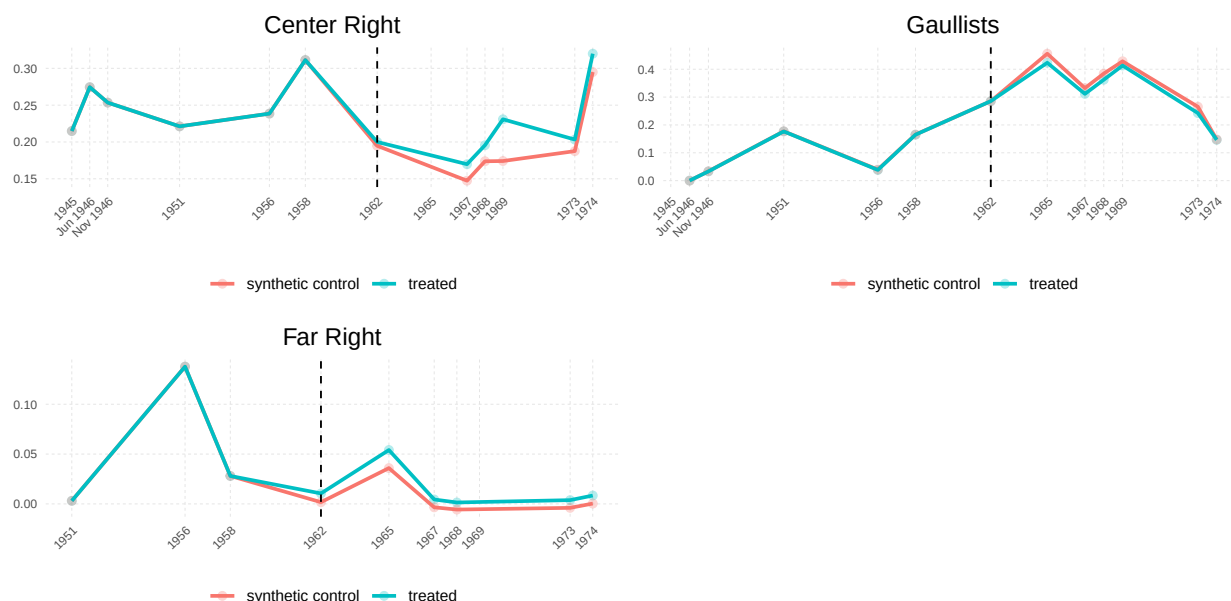


Figure C.76: SDiD Political Parties, using predicted repatriates and controlling for change in unemployment

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls the change in the share of unemployed between 1962 and 1975 is added interacted with year dummies. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,151; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 311,532; ATT: -0.016); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,036; ATT: 0.024). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

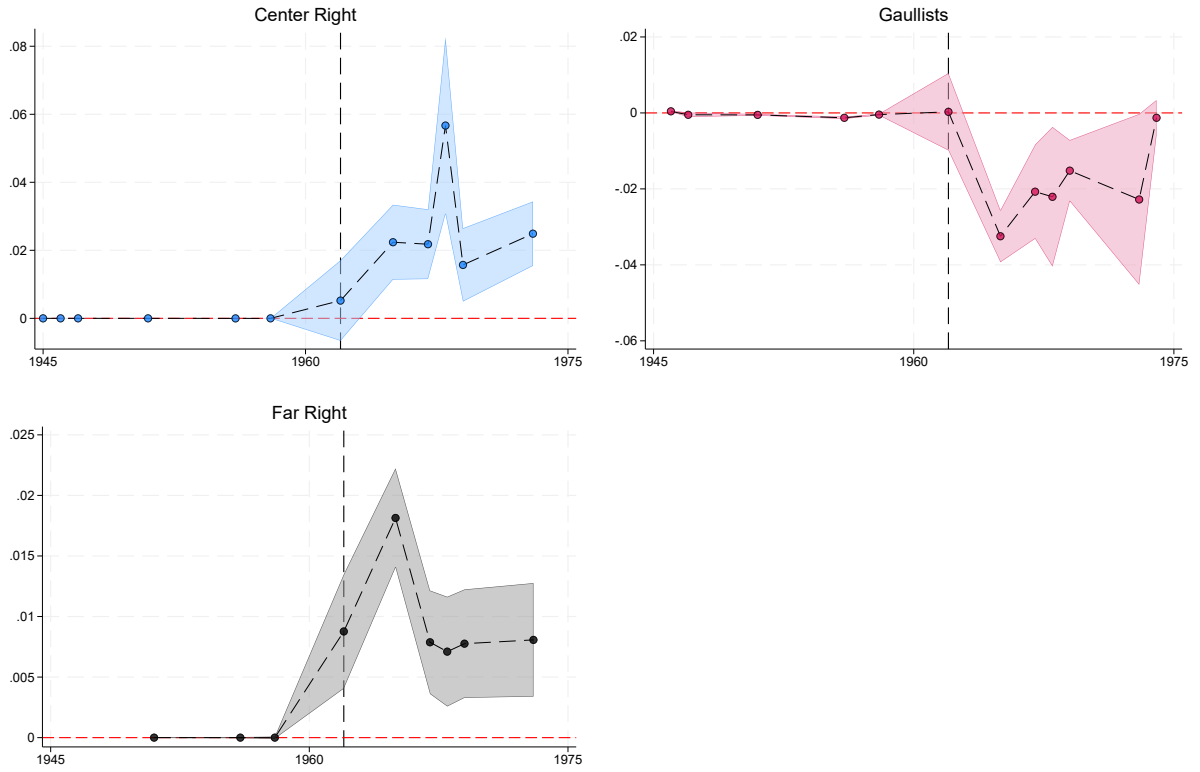


Figure C.77: SDiD Political Parties, event study using predicted repatriates and controlling for change in unemployment

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls the change in the share of unemployed between 1962 and 1975 is added interacted with year dummies. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,151; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 311,532; ATT: -0.016); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,036; ATT: 0.024). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

C.12 Controlling for Immigration Inflow

In addition to the initial controls, I constructed a time varying measure of immigration calculated as the share of immigrants relative to the municipality population in each election year. This variable is then interacted with year dummies.

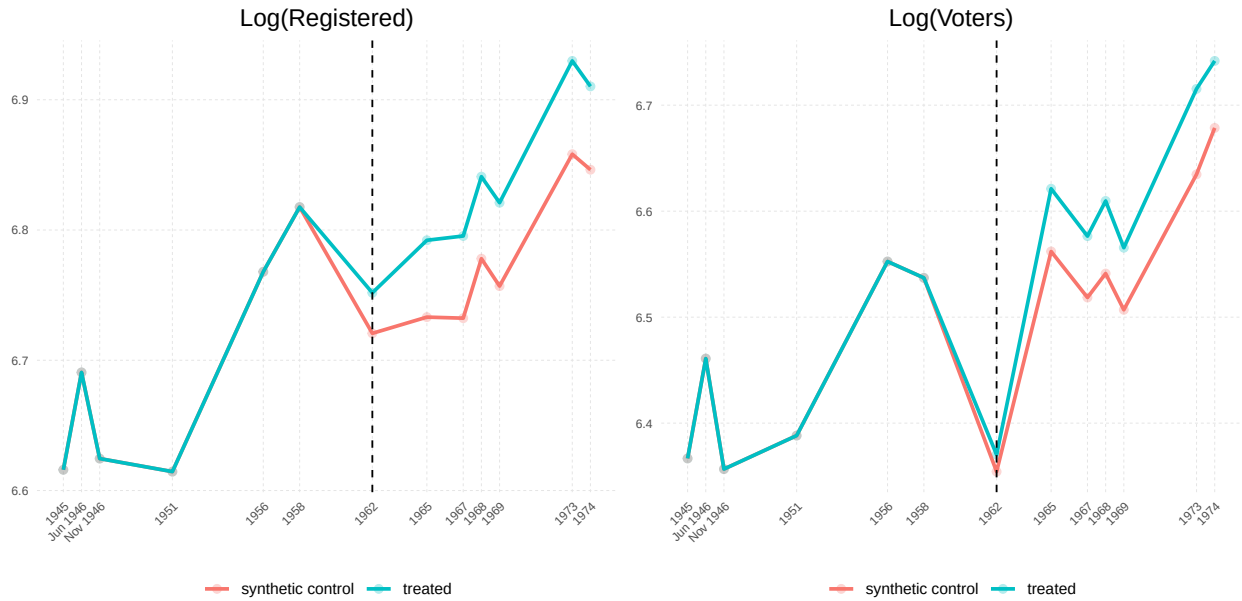


Figure C.78: SDiD Political Participation, controlling for immigration inflow

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls, a time-varying measure of immigration has been included and interacted with year dummies. The log of registered (Obs: 337,623; ATT: 0.059) and actual voters (Obs: 337,454; ATT: 0.058) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

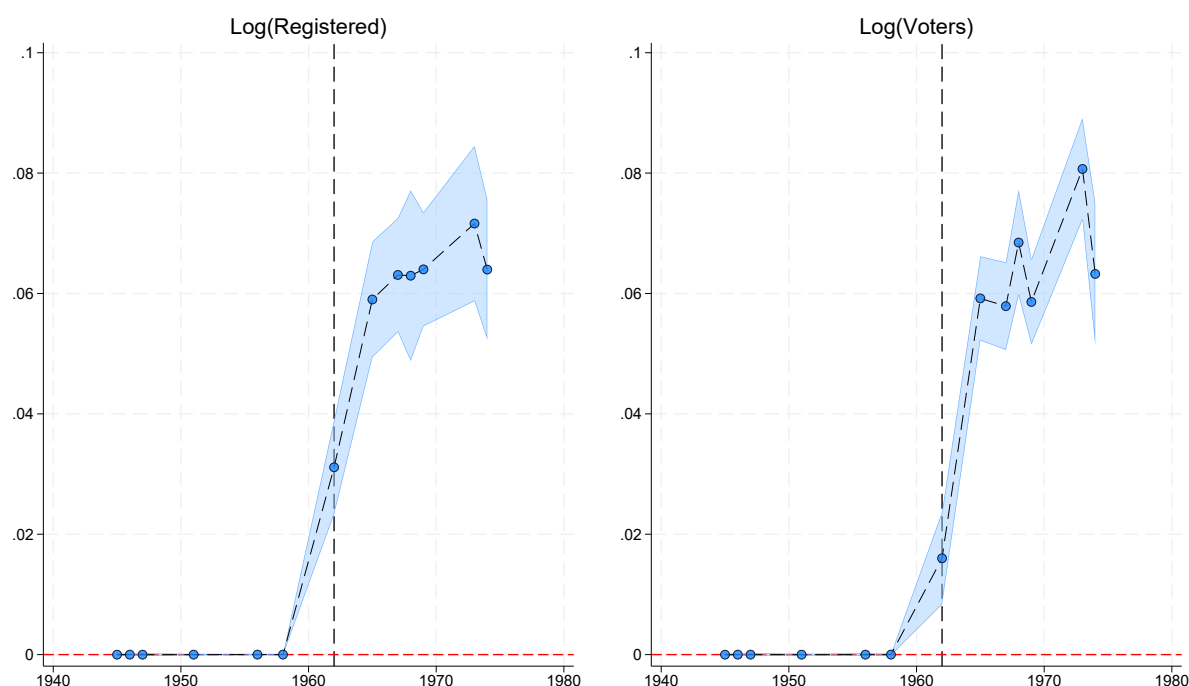


Figure C.79: SDiD Political Participation, event study controlling for immigration inflow

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls, a time-varying measure of immigration has been included and interacted with year dummies. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 337,623; ATT: 0.059) and actual voters (Obs: 337,454; ATT: 0.058) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

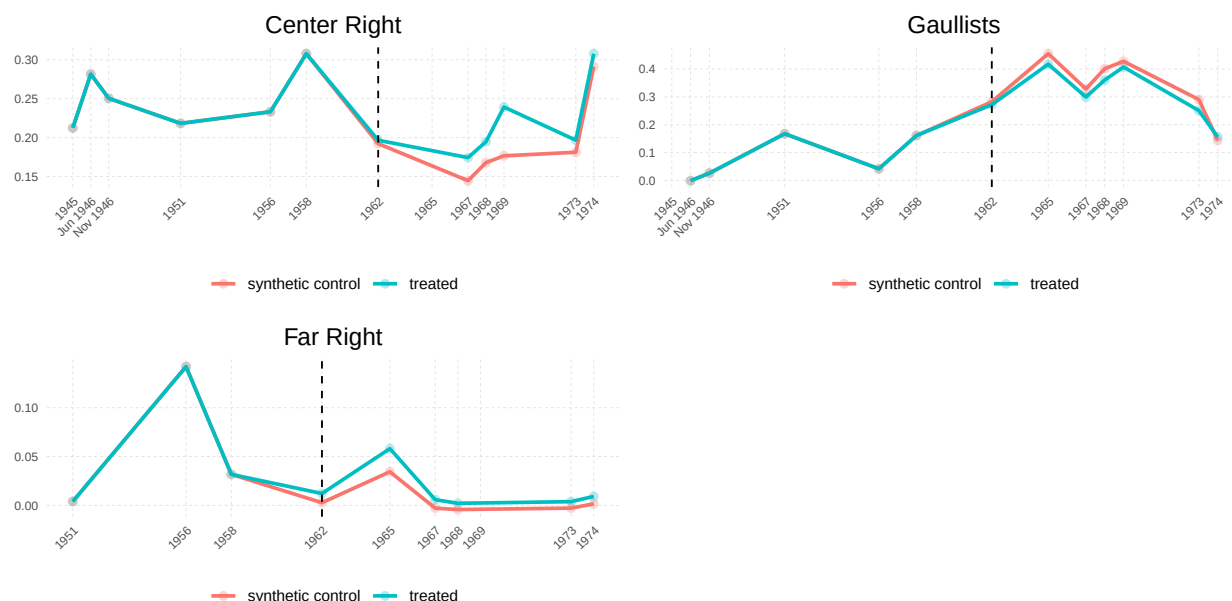


Figure C.80: SDiD Political Parties, controlling for immigration inflow

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls, a time-varying measure of immigration has been included and interacted with year dummies. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,187; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 311,580; ATT: -0.024); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,084; ATT: 0.026). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

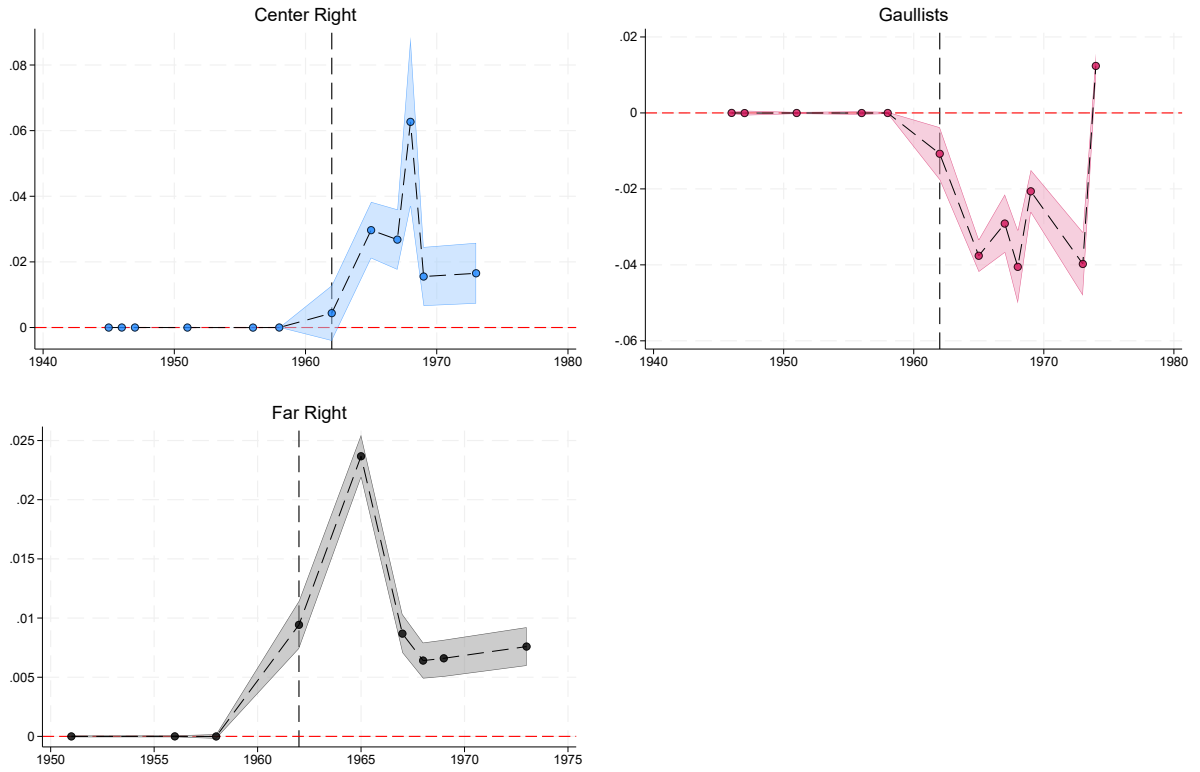


Figure C.81: SDiD Political Parties, event study controlling for immigration inflow

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls, a time-varying measure of immigration has been included and interacted with year dummies. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,187; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 311,580; ATT: -0.024); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,084; ATT: 0.026). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

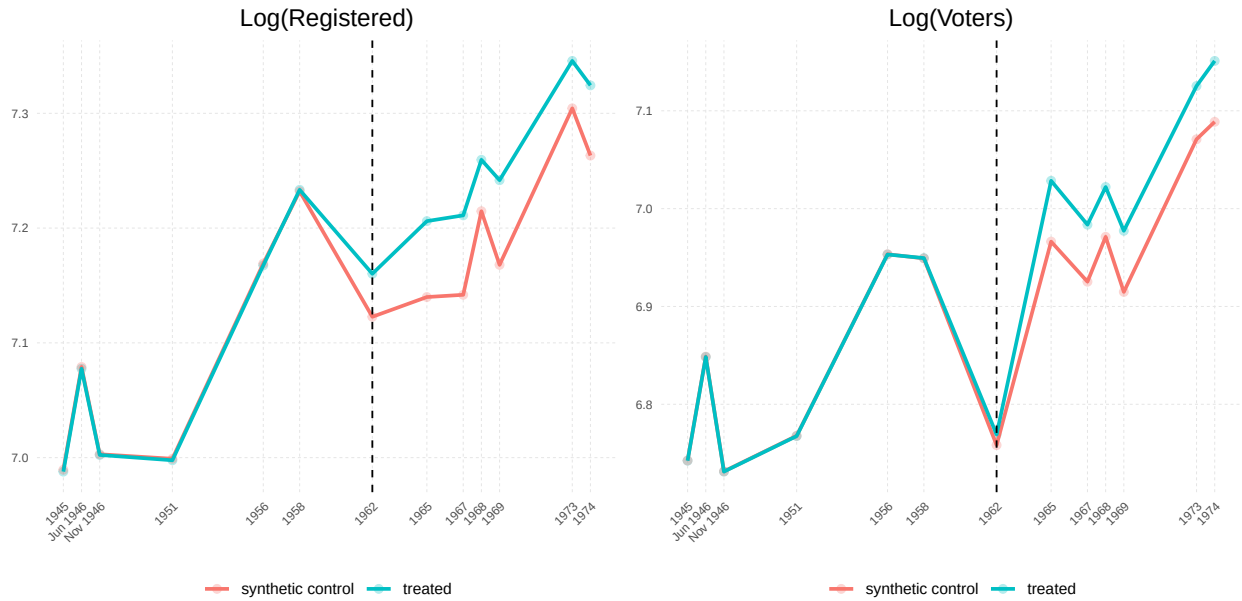


Figure C.82: SDiD Political Participation, using predicted repatriates and controlling for immigration inflow

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls, a time-varying measure of immigration has been included and interacted with year dummies. The log of registered (Obs: 337,623; ATT: 0.056) and actual voters (Obs: 337,454; ATT: 0.052) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

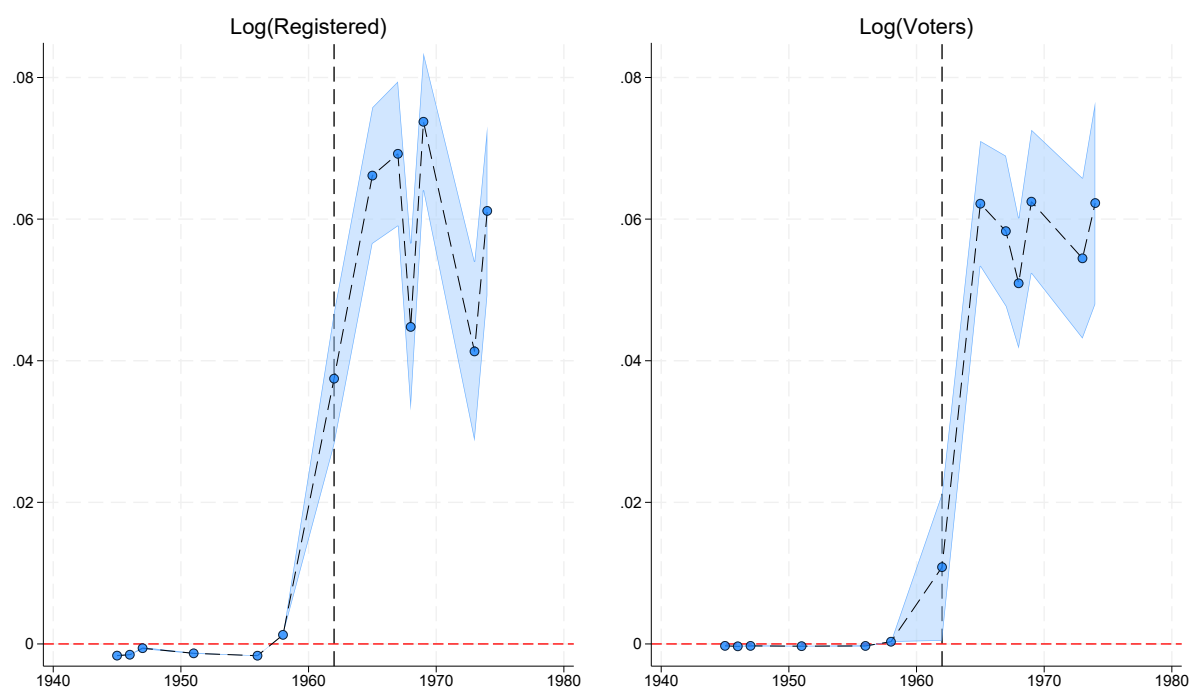


Figure C.83: SDiD Political Participation, event study using predicted repatriates and controlling for immigration inflow

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls, a time-varying measure of immigration has been included and interacted with year dummies. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 337,623; ATT: 0.056) and actual voters (Obs: 337,454; ATT: 0.052) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

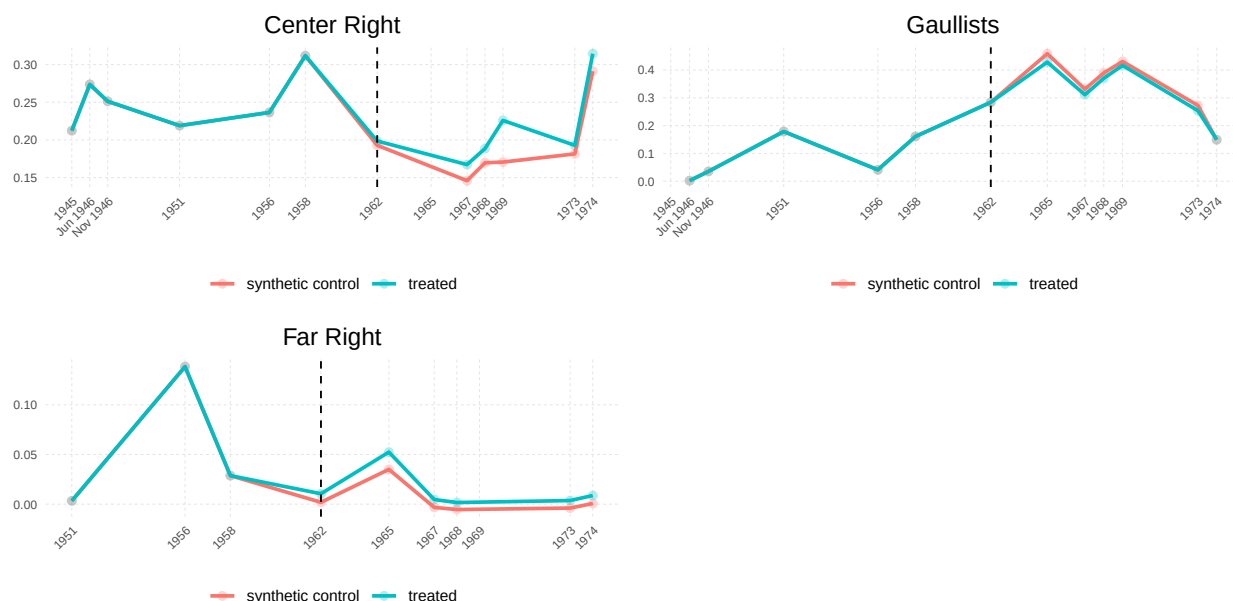


Figure C.84: SDiD Political Parties, using predicted repatriates and controlling for immigration inflow

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls, a time-varying measure of immigration has been included and interacted with year dummies. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,187; ATT: 0.009). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 311,580; ATT: -0.015); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,084; ATT: 0.023). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

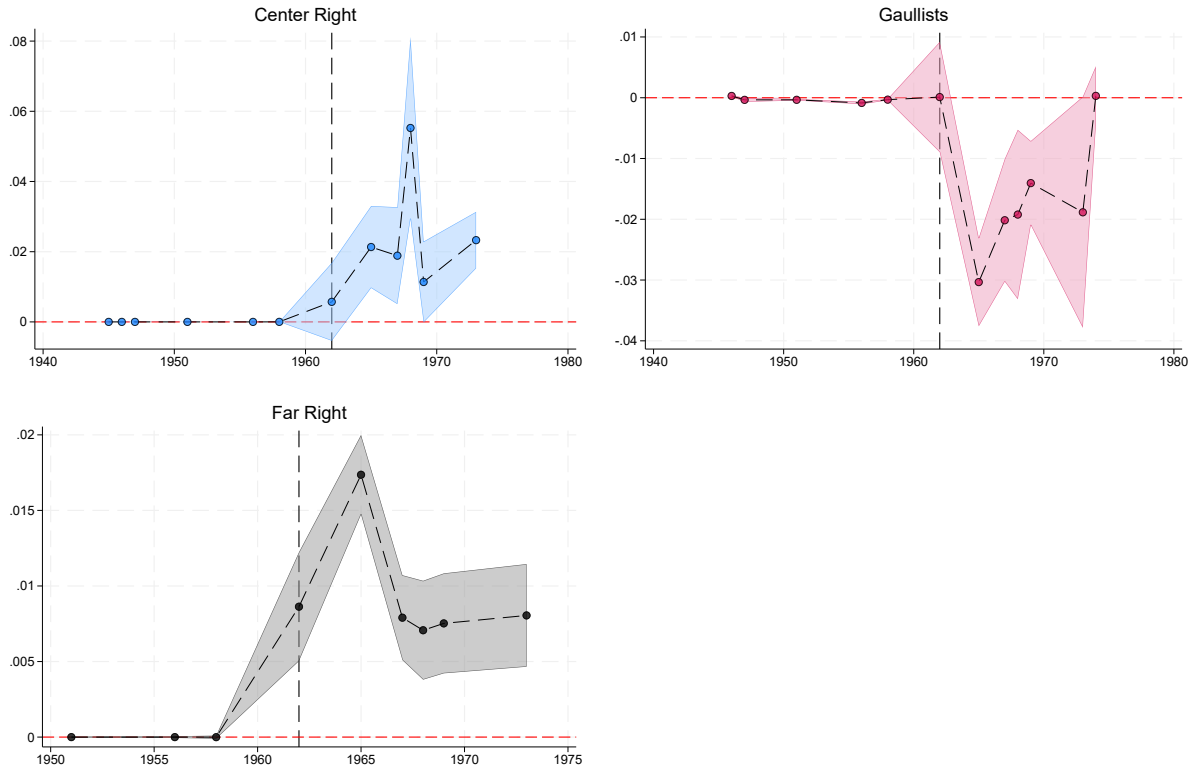


Figure C.85: SDiD Political Parties, event study using predicted repatriates and controlling for immigration inflow

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls, a time-varying measure of immigration has been included and interacted with year dummies. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were present since 1951 and absent in the 1969 presidential election (Obs: 236,187; ATT: 0.009). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 311,580; ATT: -0.015); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965 presidential election (Obs: 312,084; ATT: 0.023). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

C.12.1 Immigration Inflow and voting DiD

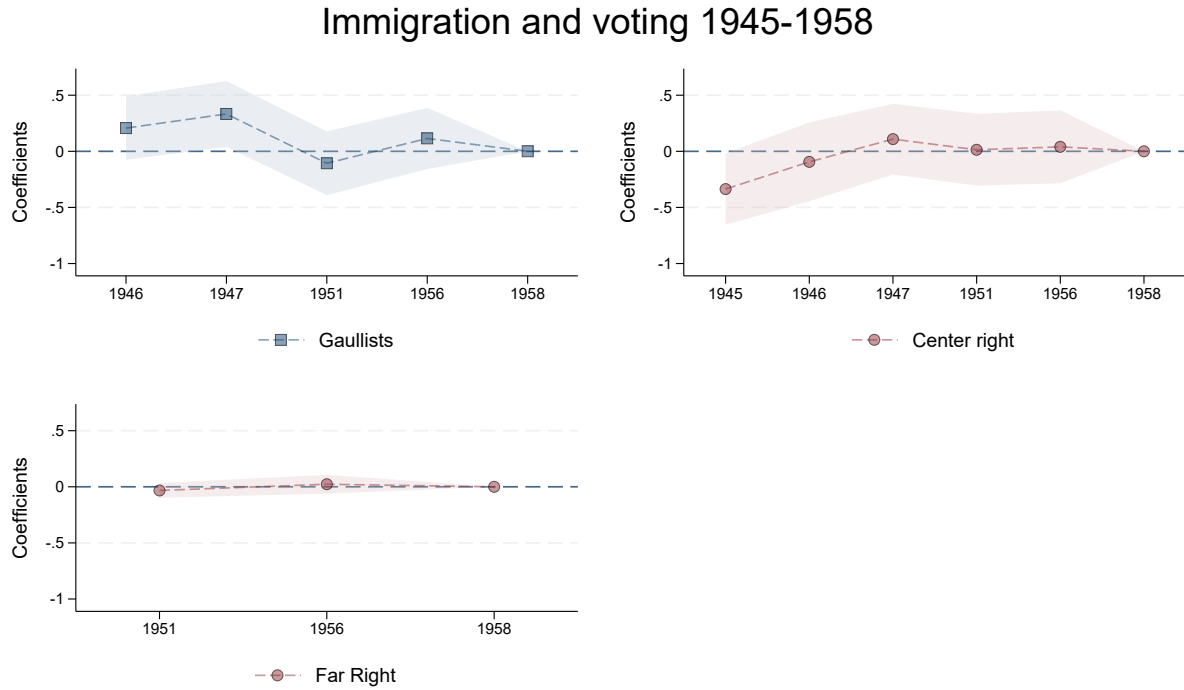


Figure C.86: DID Immigration inflow and votes for parties

This Figure shows the results of estimation equation 3 on 35,916 municipalities using, instead of the share of repatriates in 1962, a time varying measure of the share of immigrants in each municipality interacted with year dummies. Controls included are: the share of workers in the agricultural sector, the share of people with higher education, the share of unemployed people, and the share of foreign-born people in municipality measured at their 1962 level. Standard errors are clustered at the municipality level and results are weighted by the municipality population in 1968. The areas show the 95% confidence intervals. The elections included are legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

C.13 Changing Regularization Parameters

Here I show that changing the regularization parameters that are used to find the optimal parameters of $\hat{\omega}_i^{\text{sdid}}$ and $\hat{\lambda}_t^{\text{sdid}}$ does provide similar results to the ones presented in the paper.

Table C.2: Average Treatment Effect on the Treated (ATT) Statistics by Outcome and Scenario

Party	ATT	Std. Error	95% CI	Parameters
Panel A: Baseline Scenario				
Log(Registered Voters)	0.076	0.003	(0.069, 0.082)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-6}, \zeta_\omega \approx 12$
Log(Voters)	0.073	0.003	(0.066, 0.079)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-6}, \zeta_\omega \approx 12$
Center-Right	0.028	0.003	(0.023, 0.033)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-6}, \zeta_\omega \approx 12$
Far-Right	0.0011	0.001	(0.009, 0.012)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-6}, \zeta_\omega \approx 12$
Gaullists	-0.026	0.004	(-0.033, -0.019)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-6}, \zeta_\omega \approx 12$
Panel B: High Regularization Scenario 1				
Log(Registered Voters)	0.076	0.004	(0.069, 0.083)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-5}, 1.5\zeta_\omega = 18$
Log(Voters)	0.073	0.003	(0.067, 0.079)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-5}, 1.5\zeta_\omega = 18$
Center-Right	0.028	0.004	(0.020, 0.035)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-5}, 1.5\zeta_\omega = 18$
Far-Right	0.011	0.001	(0.008, 0.013)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-5}, 1.5\zeta_\omega = 18$
Gaullists	-0.019	0.003	(-0.026, -0.013)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-5}, 1.5\zeta_\omega = 18$
Panel C: High Regularization Scenario 2				
Log(Registered Voters)	0.075	0.004	(0.068, 0.083)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-4}, 2\zeta_\omega = 24$
Log(Voters)	0.073	0.003	(0.066, 0.079)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-4}, 2\zeta_\omega = 24$
Center-Right	0.028	0.003	(0.023, 0.033)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-4}, 2\zeta_\omega = 24$
Far-Right	0.010	0.001	(0.009, 0.012)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-4}, 2\zeta_\omega = 24$
Gaullists	-0.019	0.002	(-0.024, -0.015)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-4}, 2\zeta_\omega = 24$
Panel D: Low Regularization Scenario 1				
Log(Registered Voters)	0.075	0.004	(0.068, 0.082)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-7}, \frac{1}{2}\zeta_\omega = 6$
Log(Voters)	0.072	0.003	(0.066, 0.079)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-7}, \frac{1}{2}\zeta_\omega = 6$
Center-Right	0.028	0.003	(0.022, 0.033)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-7}, \frac{1}{2}\zeta_\omega = 6$
Far-Right	0.011	0.001	(0.009, 0.012)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-7}, \frac{1}{2}\zeta_\omega = 6$
Gaullists	-0.026	0.002	(-0.031, -0.022)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-7}, \frac{1}{2}\zeta_\omega = 6$
Panel E: Low Regularization Scenario 2				
Log(Registered Voters)	0.073	0.004	(0.066, 0.081)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-8}, \frac{1}{4}\zeta_\omega = 3$
Log(Voters)	0.073	0.003	(0.067, 0.079)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-8}, \frac{1}{4}\zeta_\omega = 3$
Center-Right	0.027	0.003	(0.021, 0.032)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-8}, \frac{1}{4}\zeta_\omega = 3$
Far-Right	0.011	0.001	(0.009, 0.012)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-8}, \frac{1}{4}\zeta_\omega = 3$
Gaullists	-0.027	0.002	(-0.031, -0.022)	$\zeta_\lambda = 10^{-8}, \frac{1}{4}\zeta_\omega = 3$

The regularization parameters ζ_ω is calculated as $(N_{tr}T_{tr})^{(1/4)}$ where N_{tr} is the number of treated units and T_{tr} is the number of time periods for the treated units. The value of the formula is approximately 12 in my default scenario. The parameter ζ_λ is equal to 10^{-6} in the default scenario.

C.14 Fit Out-of-Sample

In this robustness section I provide some evidence in favor of the good pre-treatment fit of SDiD. I show that SDiD can reach good out-of-sample fit in the last pre-treatment year.

I focused on the political participation outcomes, as these offer a larger number of observations and the full set of pre-treatment years required for this check. Specifically, I dropped the 1958 data from the estimation sample and ran the SDiD estimation on the dataset. The resulting unit (ω) and time (λ) weights, estimated without 1958, were then applied to the full dataset, including 1958. This implies that for 1958, the combined weight ($\omega \times \lambda$) is solely determined by the unit weight (ω) for each unit, as the λ for that year was not estimated from the primary sample. I have plotted the weighted treated versus control lines, relative to the initial year (i.e., 1945), to provide a clearer visualization of the pre-treatment fit. As shown in Figure C.87, the difference between the treated and control lines in 1958 is very small, indicating a robust pre-treatment fit even for 1958, which was excluded from the optimal weight computation.

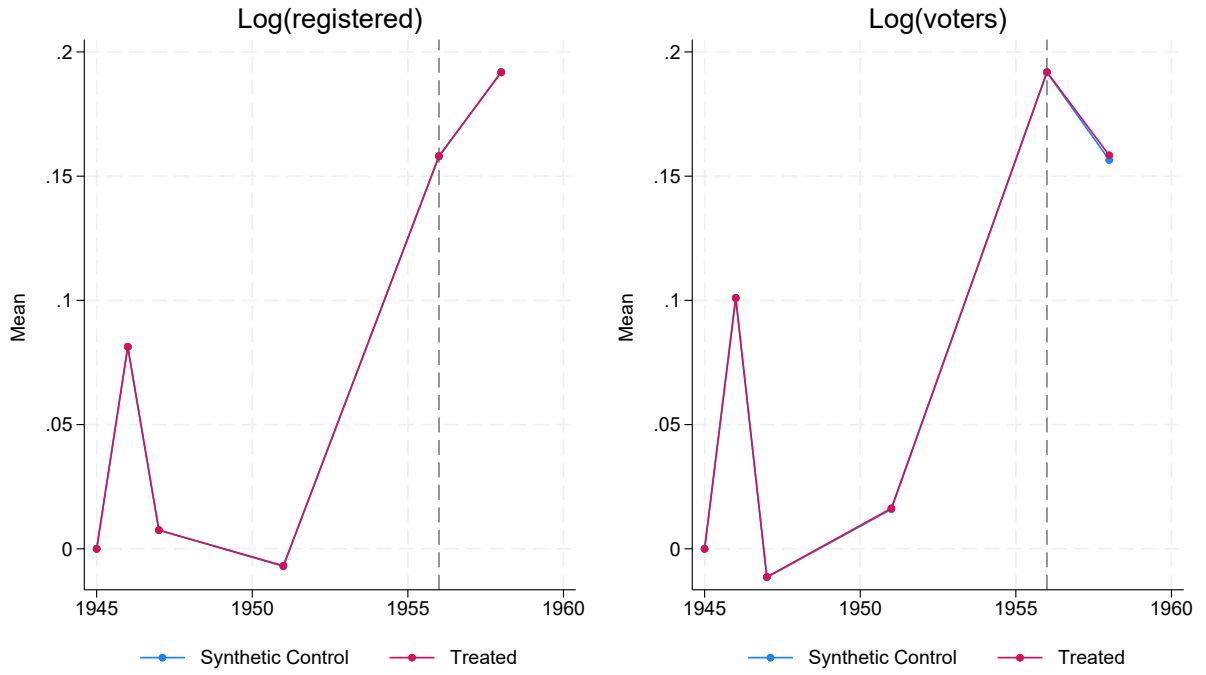


Figure C.87: Treated vs synthetic control, 1958 out of sample

This figure plots the Treated vs synthetic control values, relative to 1945, for the pre-treatment years. The weight used has been estimated using SDiD excluding 1958 from the pre-treatment years.

Additionally, I ran a simple regression to formally test the pre-treatment fit:

$$y_{ct} = \sum_{t \neq 1958}^{1974} \beta_t [\text{Not-yet-treated}_c \times I(e = t)] + \delta_t + \epsilon_{ct} \quad (7)$$

where Not-yet-treated is a dummy equal to 1 for municipalities that will be in the treatment group from 1962 onward and 0 otherwise. The coefficients β_t are plotted in Figure C.88 and illustrate, relative to the initial year (i.e., 1945), whether there are significant differences in trends between the treated and control groups over time. The key focus here is on the coefficient for 1958. This coefficient is not statistically significant and is very close to zero, further confirming that the treated and control municipalities followed similar trends in 1958, even when applying weights estimated without 1958.

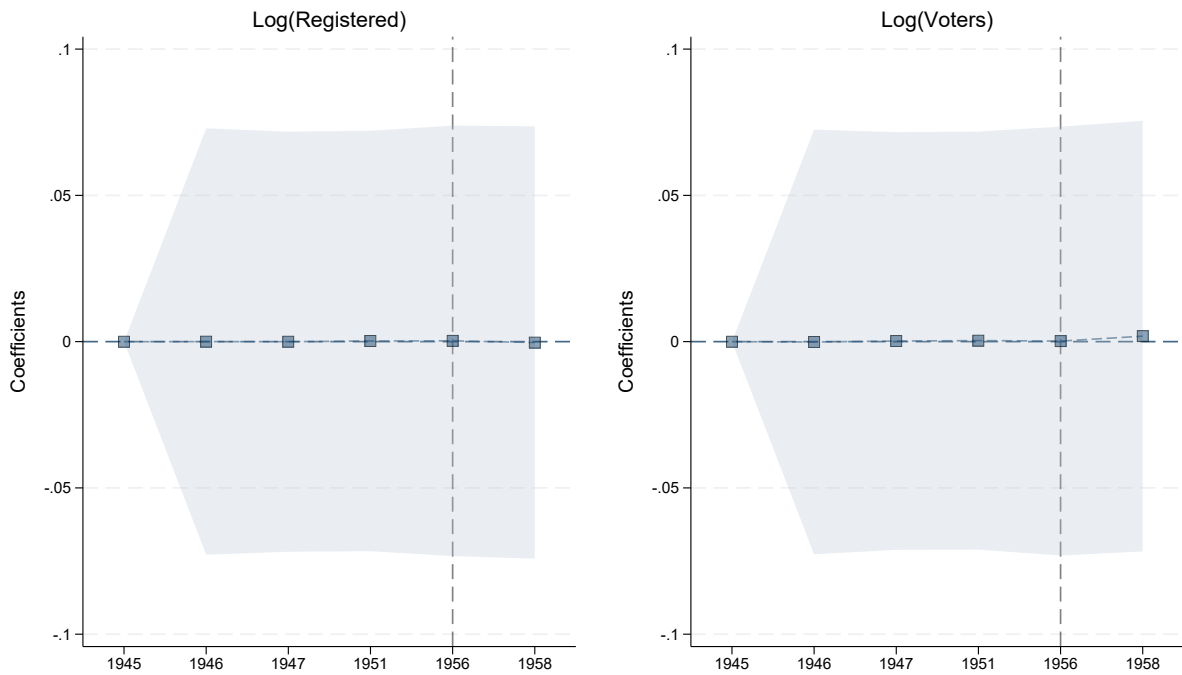


Figure C.88: T-stat for 1958 coefficient

This figure plots the coefficient from regression 7. The plotted coefficients illustrate the difference, relative to 1945, between the treated and control municipalities over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals.

Furthermore, I performed an additional robustness check by randomly removing 10% of the units from the donor pool. I followed the same procedure as before (i.e., removing 1958 and estimating SDiD), and then estimated regression 7. This entire process was replicated 50 times, and the distribution of the T-statistics for the 1958 coefficient is plotted in Figure C.89. The distribution of these T-statistics is notably far from the conventional critical value of 1.96, reinforcing that the treated and control municipalities maintained similar trends in 1958, even after randomly excluding a portion of the donor pool.

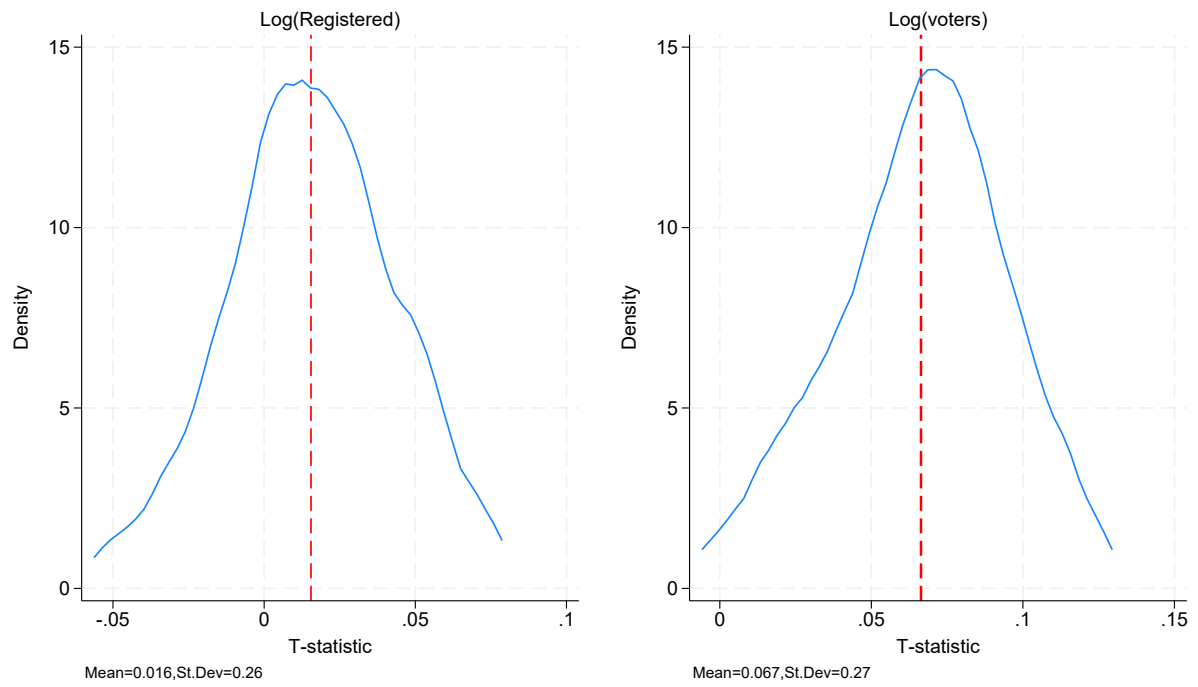


Figure C.89: T-stat for 1958 coefficient

This figure plots the t-statistics for the 1958 coefficient from regression 7. The regression has been weighted using the estimated weight from the SDiD model, excluding 1958 as a pre-treatment year. In addition 10% of the donor units has been randomly removed at each repetition of the regression (50 times)

C.15 Long Run

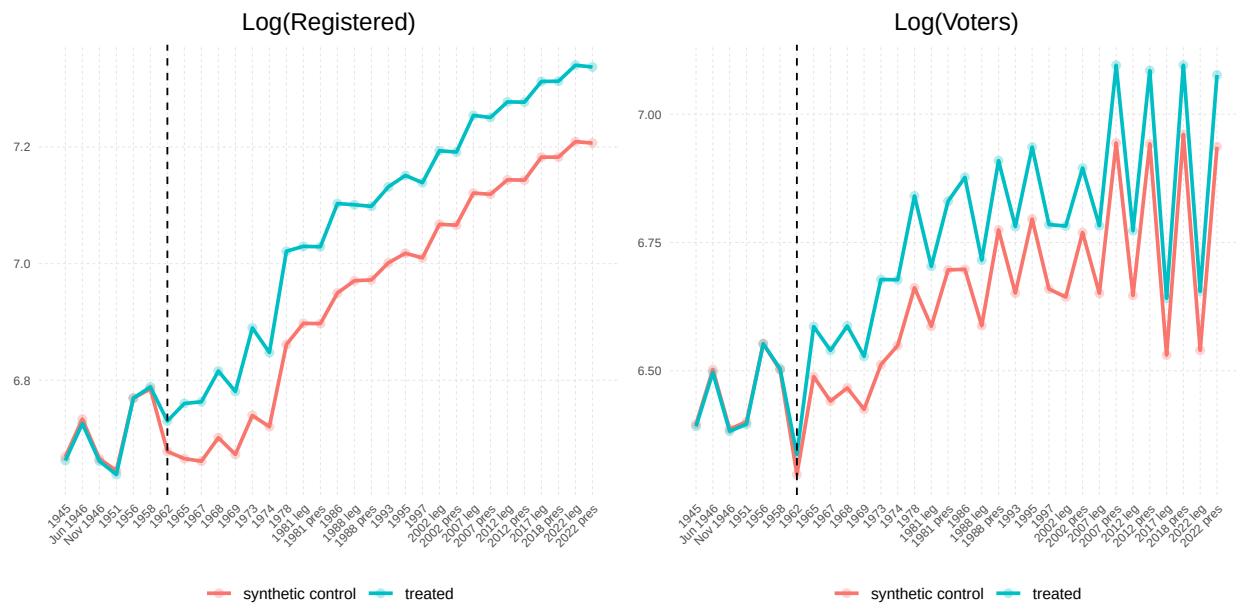


Figure C.90: SDiD Political Participation, long-run

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The log of registered (Obs: 781,920; ATT: 0.125) and actual voters (Obs: 781,344; ATT: 0.128) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.



Figure C.91: SDiD Political Parties, long run

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. Candidates for the Far-Right were absent in the 1945, 1946, 1969 elections (Obs: 686,205; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 787,617; ATT: -0.018); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017 and 2022 presidential elections (Obs: 685,908; ATT: 0.039). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 2022.

C.15.1 No Control

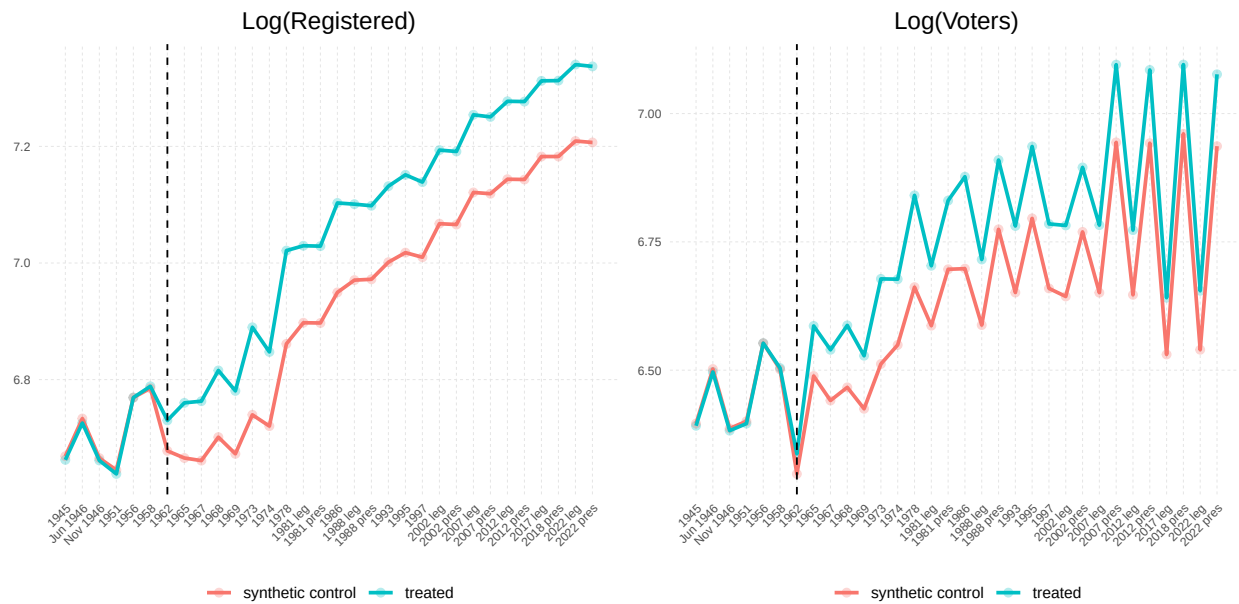


Figure C.92: SDiD Political Participation, long-run no control

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The log of registered (Obs: 781,920; ATT: 0.125) and actual voters (Obs: 781,344; ATT: 0.127) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

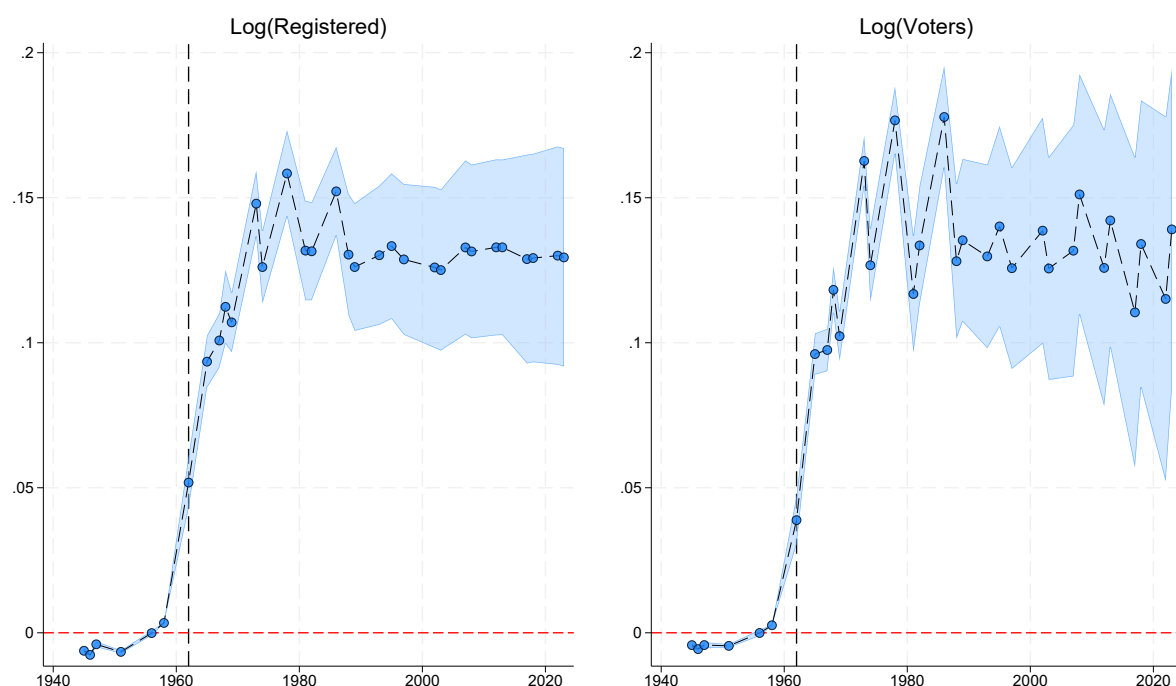


Figure C.93: SDiD Political Participation, long-run event study no control

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 781,920; ATT: 0.125) and actual voters (Obs: 781,344; ATT: 0.127) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

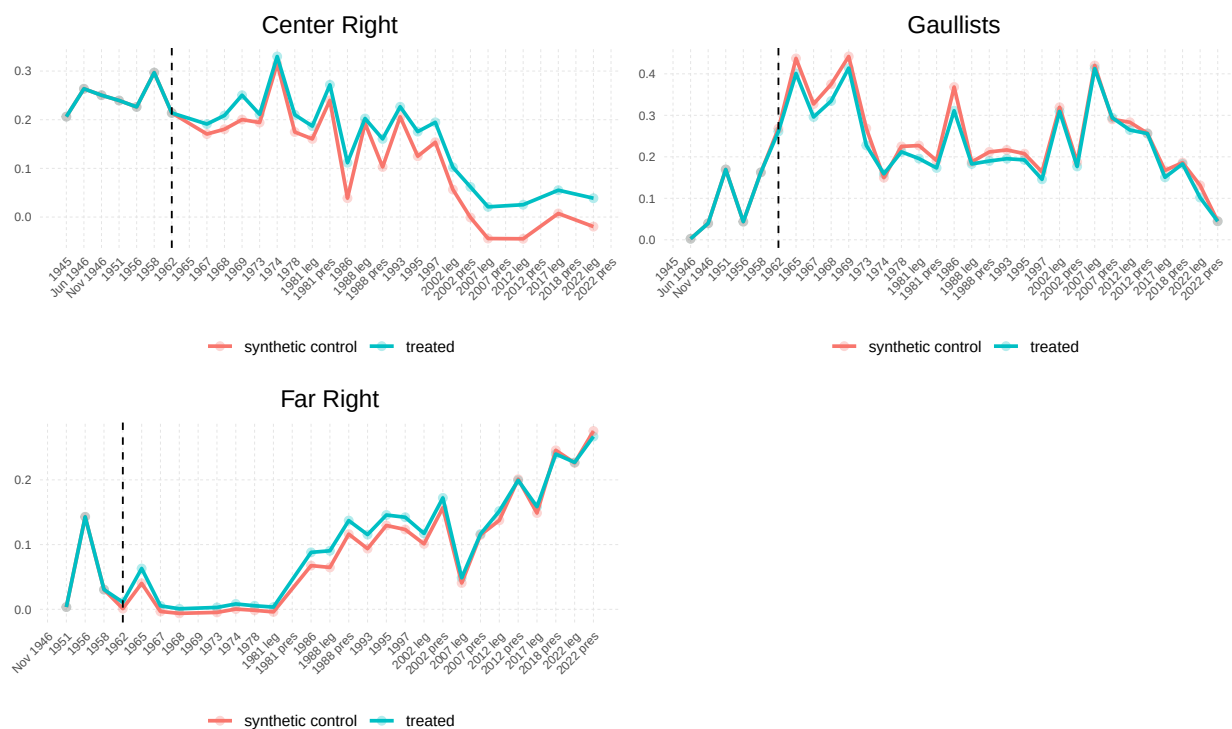


Figure C.94: SDiD Political Parties, long-run no control

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. Candidates for the Far-Right were absent in the 1945, 1946, 1969 elections (Obs: 686,205; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 787,617; ATT: -0.022); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017 and 2022 presidential elections (Obs: 685,908; ATT: 0.038). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 2022.

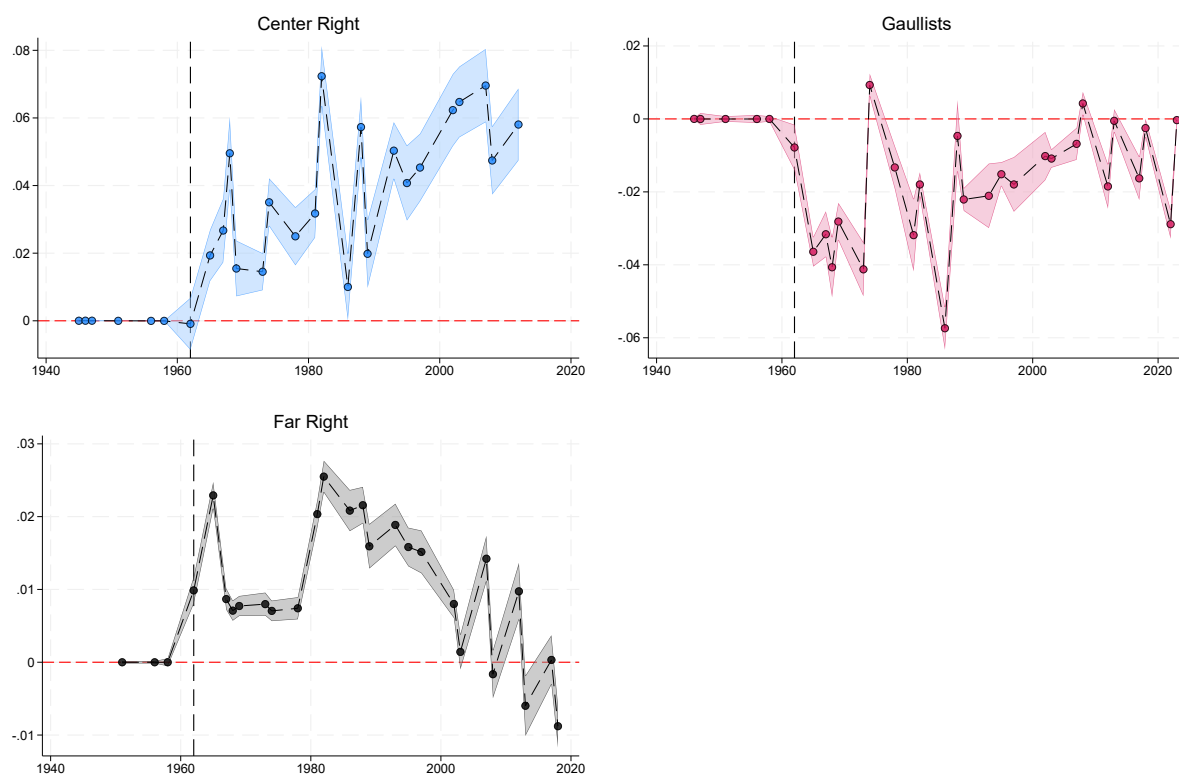


Figure C.95: SDiD Political Parties, long-run event study no control

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were absent in the 1945, 1946, 1969 elections (Obs: 686,205; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 787,617; ATT: -0.022); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017 and 2022 presidential elections (Obs: 685,908; ATT: 0.038). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 2022.

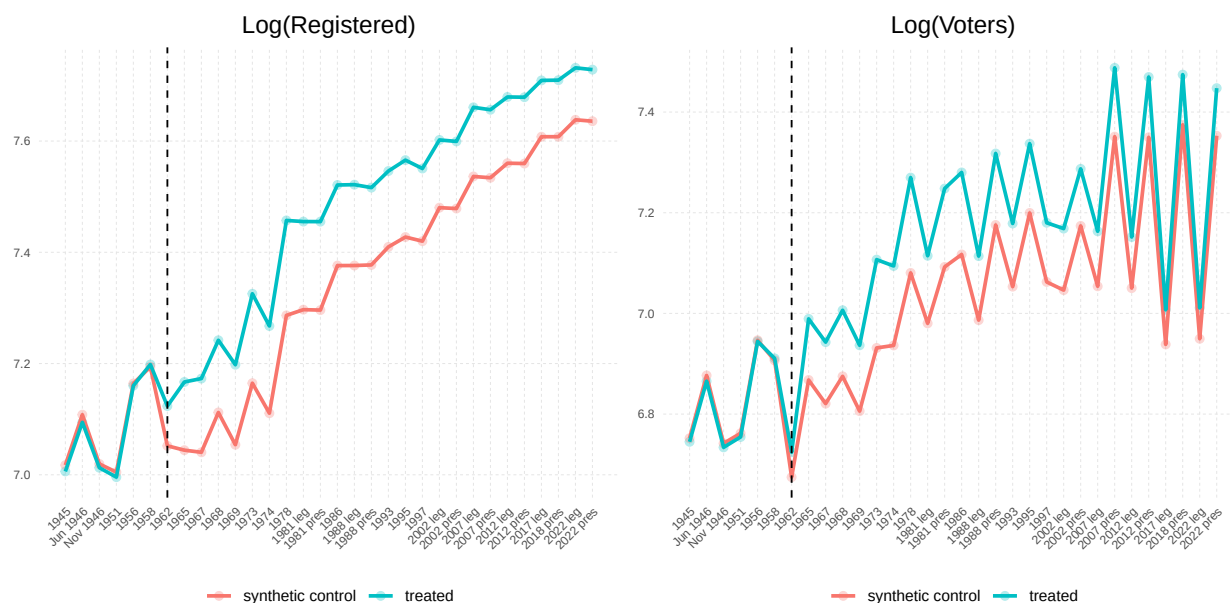


Figure C.96: SDiD Political Participation, long-run using predicted repatriates and no control

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. The log of registered (Obs: 781,920; ATT: 0.128) and actual voters (Obs: 781,344; ATT: 0.123) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

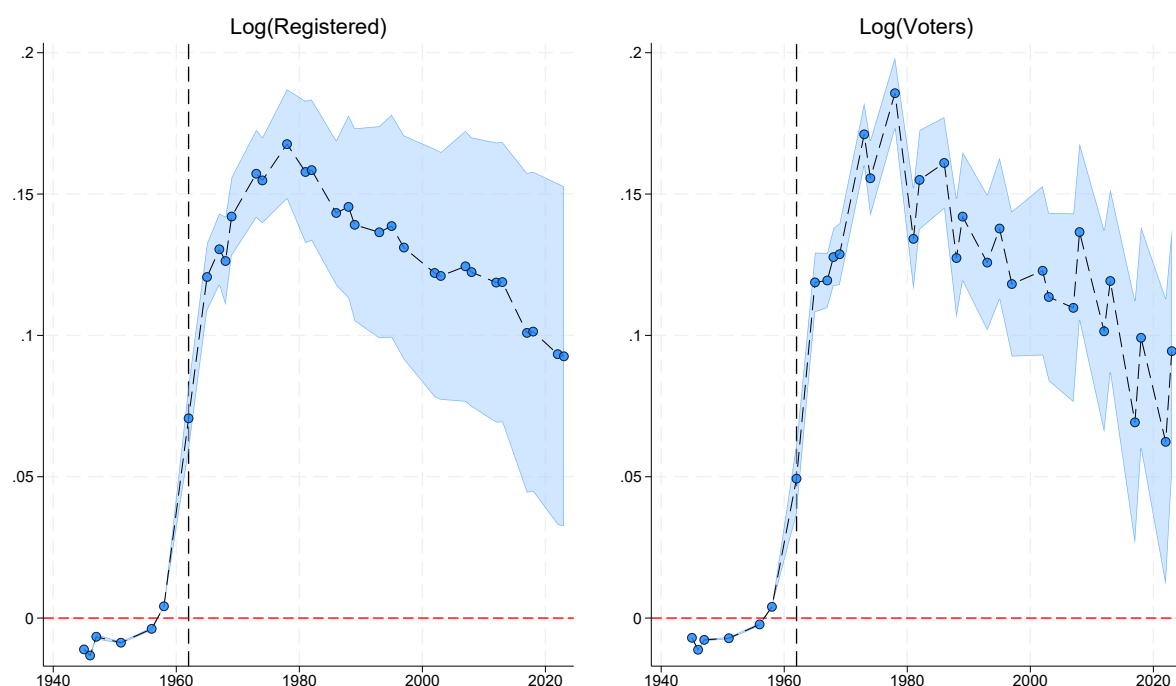


Figure C.97: SDiD Political Participation, long-run event study using predicted repatriates and no control

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 781,920; ATT: 0.128) and actual voters (Obs: 781,344; ATT: 0.123) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.



Figure C.98: SDiD Political Parties, long-run using predicted repatriates and no control

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. Candidates for the Far-Right were absent in the 1945, 1946, 1969 elections (Obs: 686,205; ATT: 0.014). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 onwards (Obs: 787,617; ATT: -0.018); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017 and 2022 presidential elections (Obs: 685,908; ATT: 0.04). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 2022.

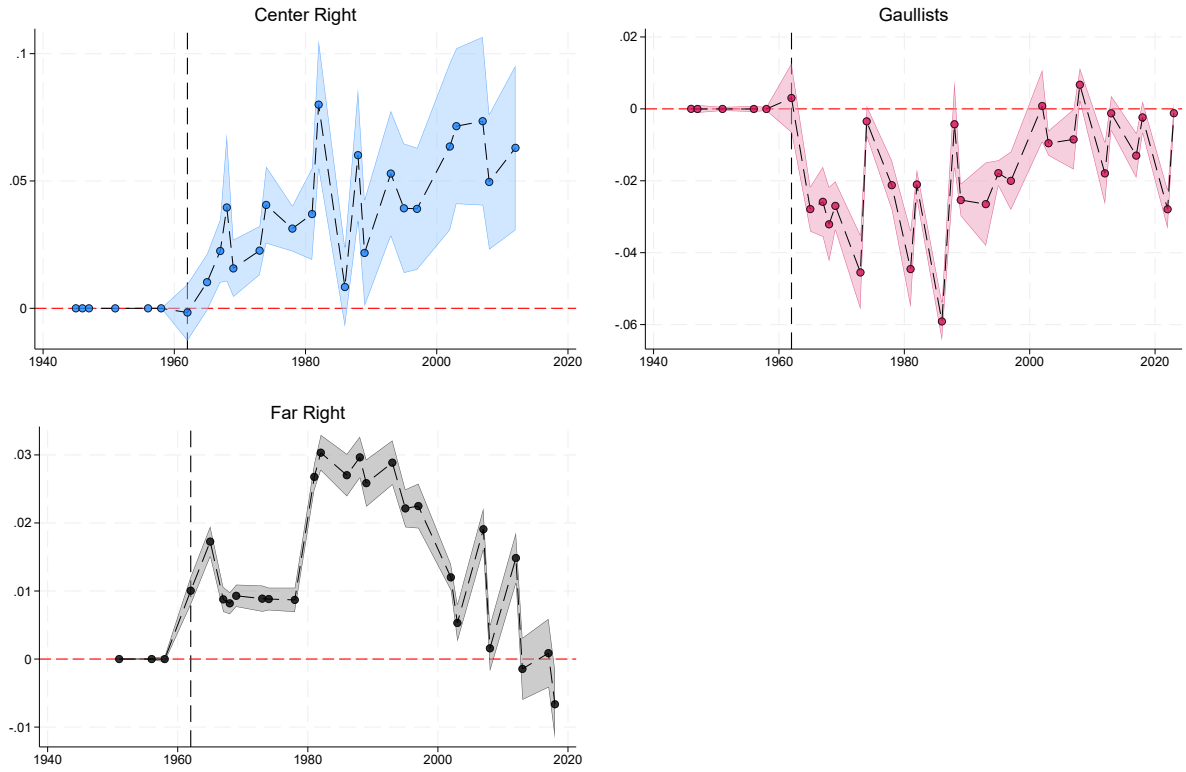


Figure C.99: SDiD Political Parties, long-run event study using predicted repatriates and no control

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were absent in the 1945, 1946, 1969 elections (Obs: 686,205; ATT: 0.014). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 787,617; ATT: -0.018); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017 and 2022 presidential elections (Obs: 685,908; ATT: 0.04). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 2022.

C.15.2 Predicted Exposure to Repatriates

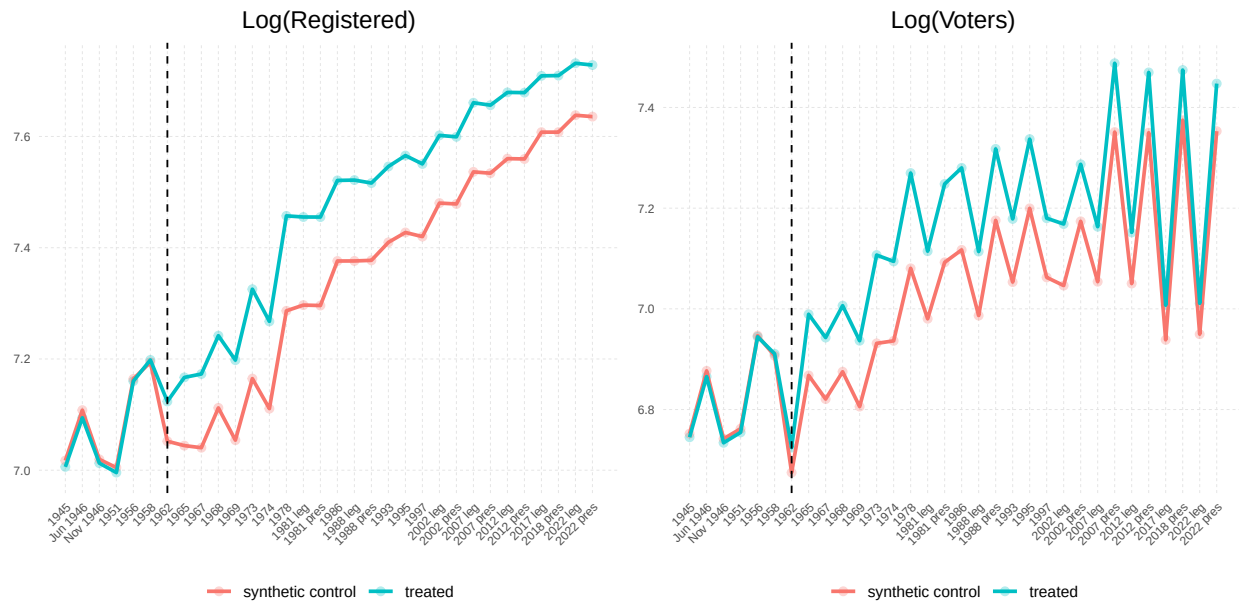


Figure C.100: SDiD Political Participation, long-run using predicted repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The log of registered (Obs: 781,920; ATT: 0.117) and actual voters (Obs: 781,344; ATT: 0.128) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

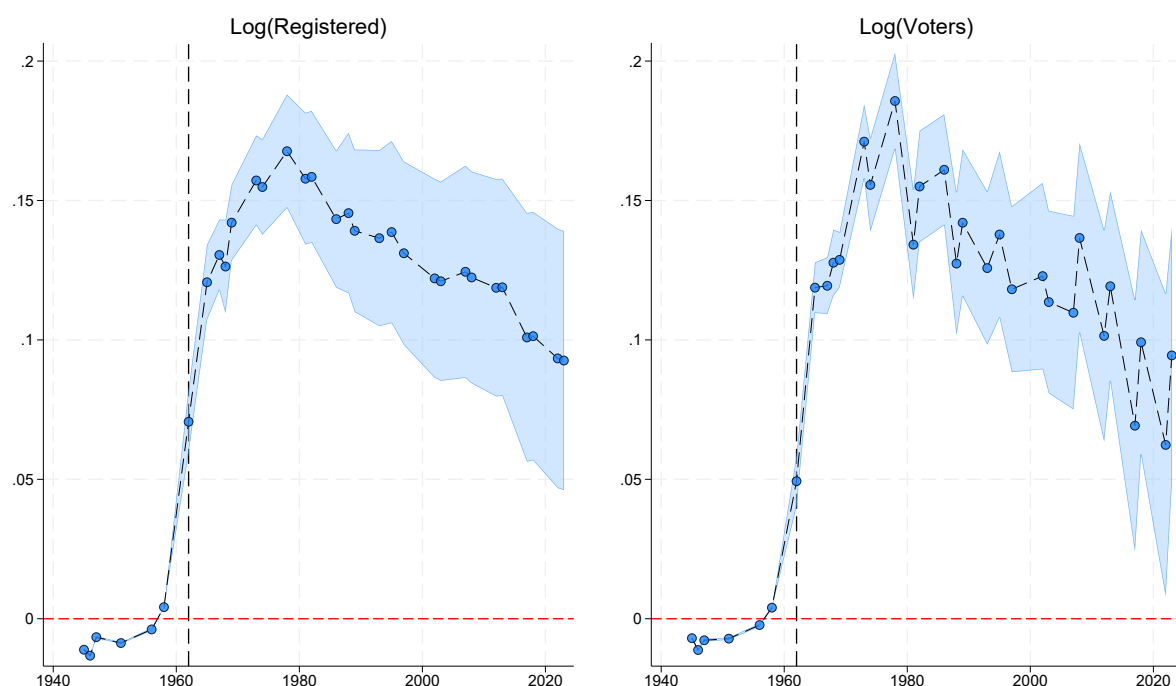


Figure C.101: SDiD Political Participation, long-run event study using predicted repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 781,920; ATT: 0.117) and actual voters (Obs: 781,344; ATT: 0.128) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.



Figure C.102: SDiD Political Parties, long-run using predicted repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. Candidates for the Far-Right were absent in the 1945, 1946, 1969 elections (Obs: 686,205; ATT: 0.014). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 onwards (Obs: 783,617; ATT: -0.18); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017 and 2022 presidential elections (Obs: 685,908; ATT: 0.04). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 2022.

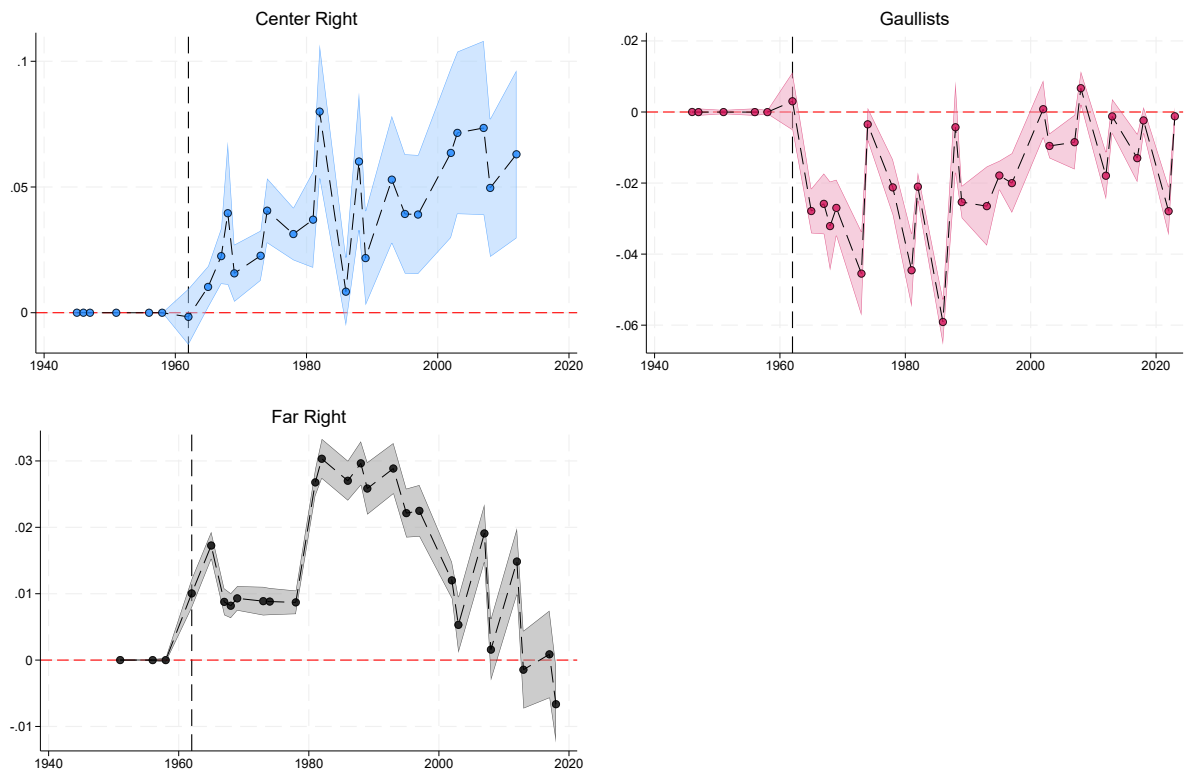


Figure C.103: SDiD Political Parties, long-run event study using predicted repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were absent in the 1945, 1946, 1969 elections (Obs: 686,205; ATT: 0.014). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 783,617; ATT: -0.018); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017 and 2022 presidential elections (Obs: 685,908; ATT: 0.04). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 2022.

C.15.3 Using Received/Not received repatriates

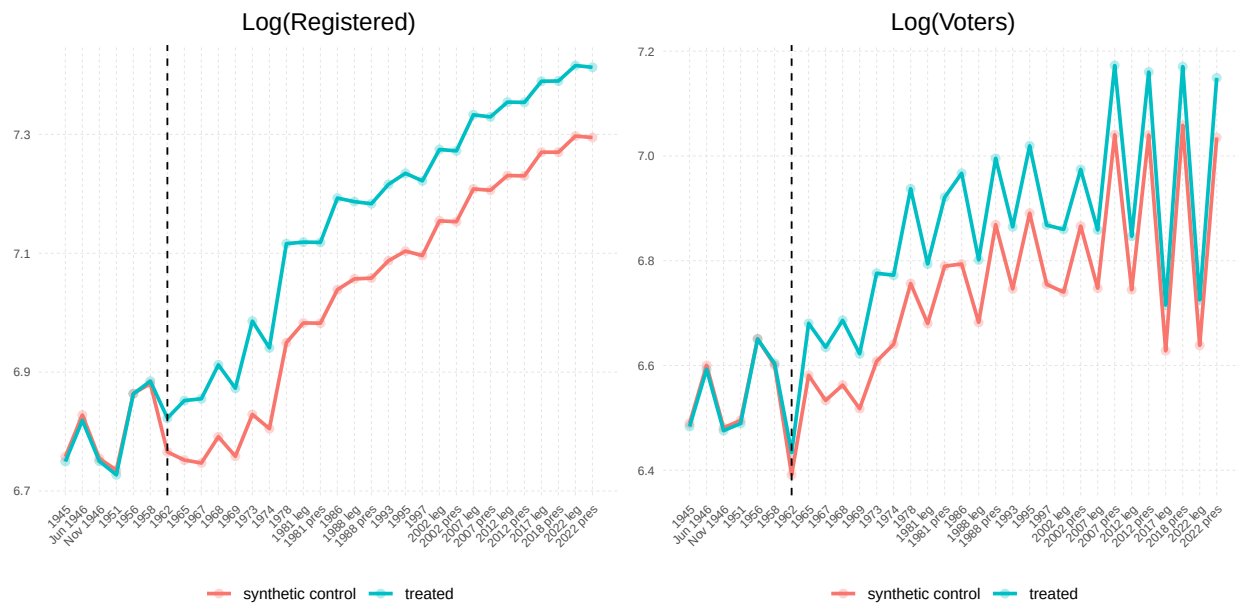


Figure C.104: SDiD Political Participation, long-run using received/Not received repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received at least a repatriate in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The log of registered (Obs: 781,920; ATT: 0.124) and actual voters (Obs: 781,344; ATT: 0.118) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

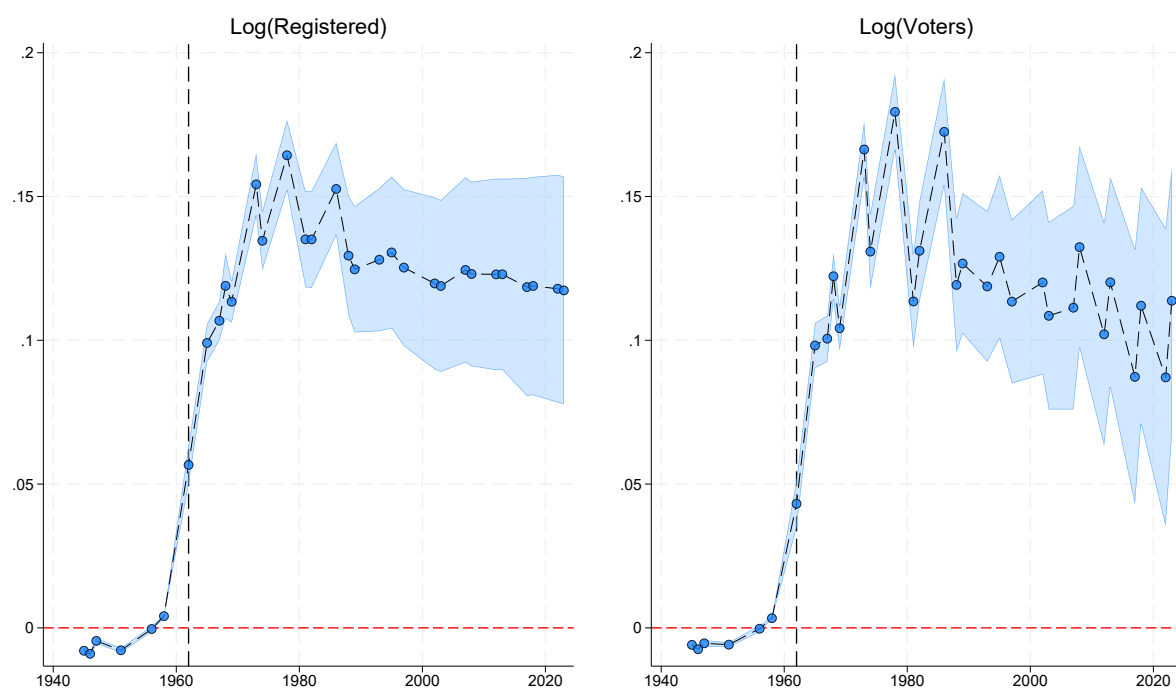


Figure C.105: SDiD Political Participation, long-run event study using received/Not received repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received at least a repatriate in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 781,920; ATT: 0.124) and actual voters (Obs: 781,344; ATT: 0.118) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.



Figure C.106: SDiD Political Parties, long-run using received/Not received repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received at least a repatriate in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. Candidates for the Far-Right were absent in the 1945, 1946, 1969 elections (Obs: 686,205; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 787,617; ATT: -0.018); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017 and 2022 presidential elections (Obs: 685,908; ATT: 0.035). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 2022.

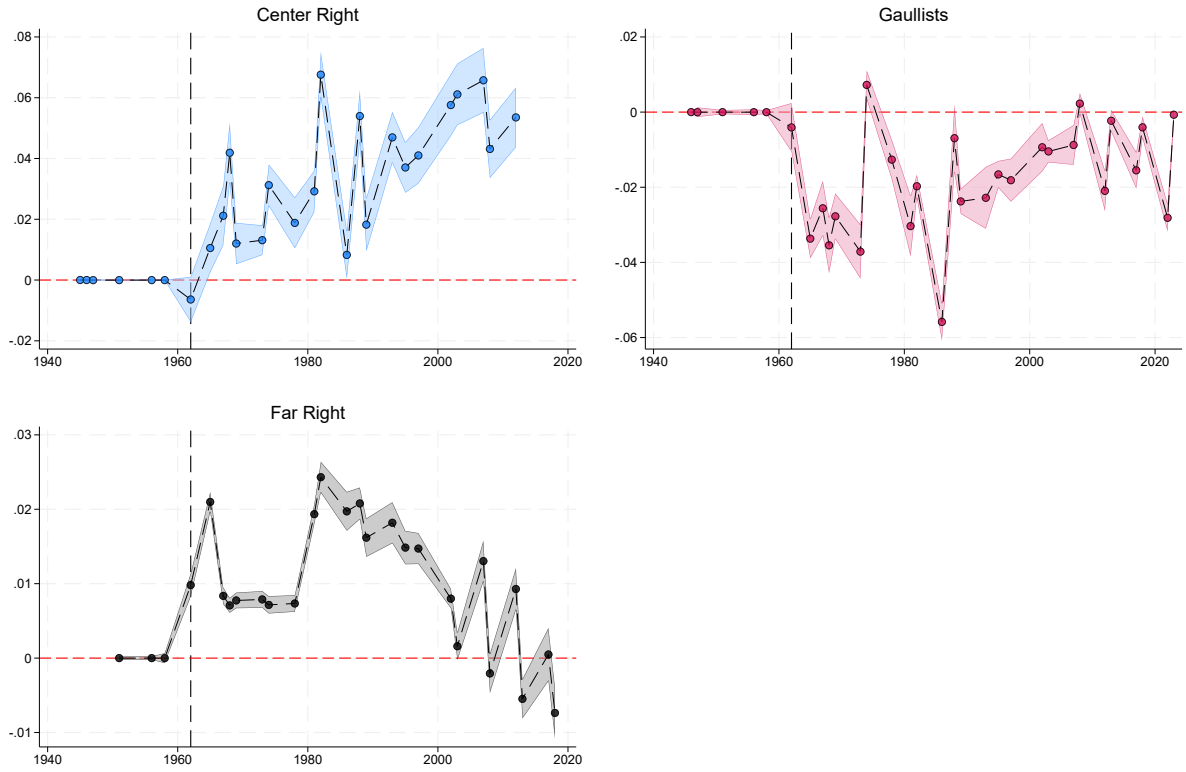


Figure C.107: SDiD Political Parties, long-run event study using received/Not received repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received at least a repatriate in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were absent in the 1945, 1946, 1969 elections (Obs: 686,205; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 787,617; ATT: -0.018); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017 and 2022 presidential elections (Obs: 685,908; ATT: 0.035). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 2022.

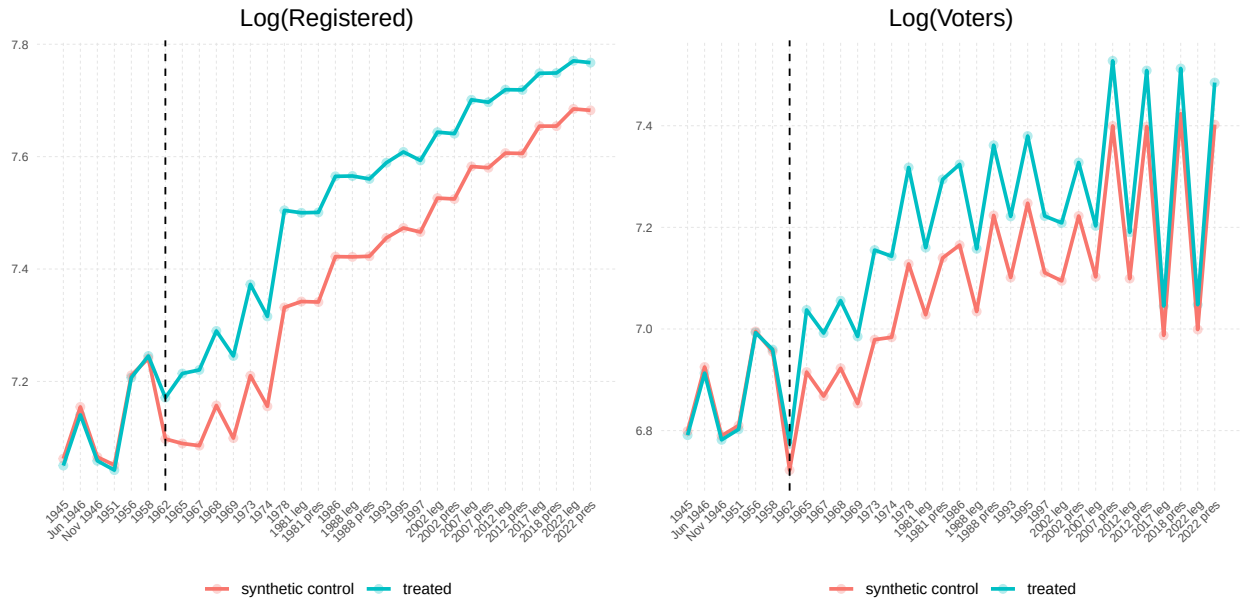


Figure C.108: SDiD Political Participation, long-run using received/Not received predicted repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received at least a predicted repatriate in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The log of registered (Obs: 781,920; ATT: 0.117) and actual voters (Obs: 781,344; ATT: 0.126) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

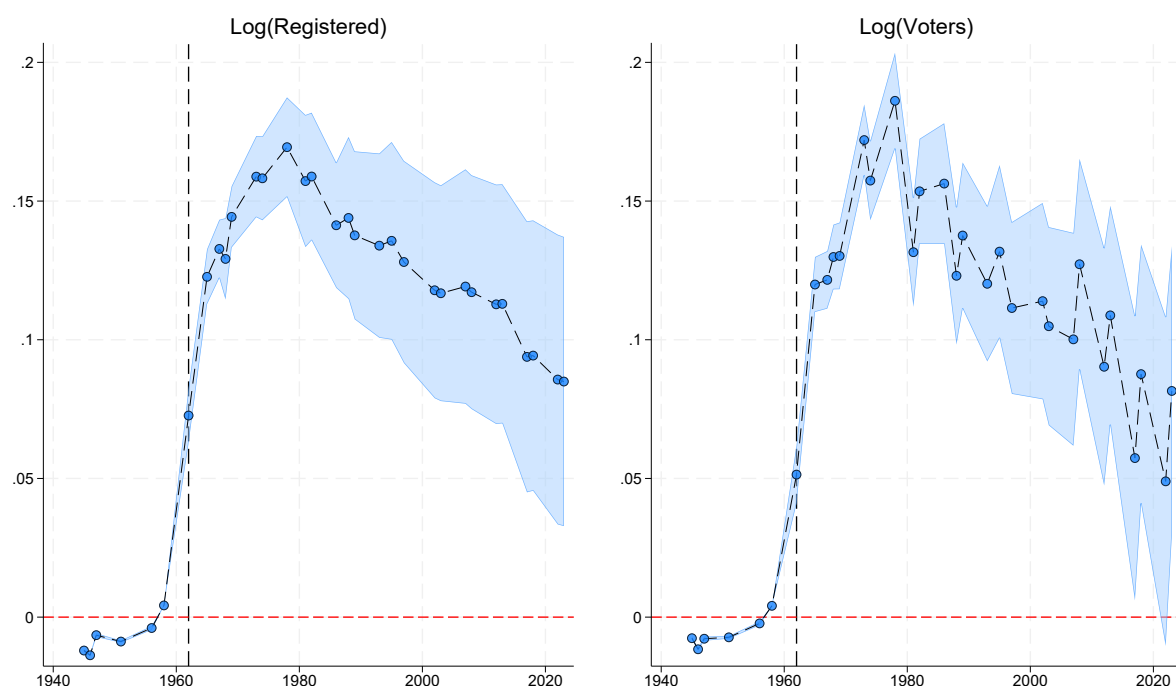


Figure C.109: SDiD Political Participation, long-run event study using received/Not received predicted repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received at least a predicted repatriate in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 781,920; ATT: 0.117) and actual voters (Obs: 781,344; ATT: 0.126) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.



Figure C.110: SDiD Political Parties, long-run using received/Not received predicted repatriates

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received at least a predicted repatriate in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. Candidates for the Far-Right were absent in the 1945, 1946, 1969 elections (Obs: 686,205; ATT: 0.014). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 783,617; ATT: -0.019); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017 and 2022 presidential elections (Obs: 685,908; ATT: 0.039). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 2022.

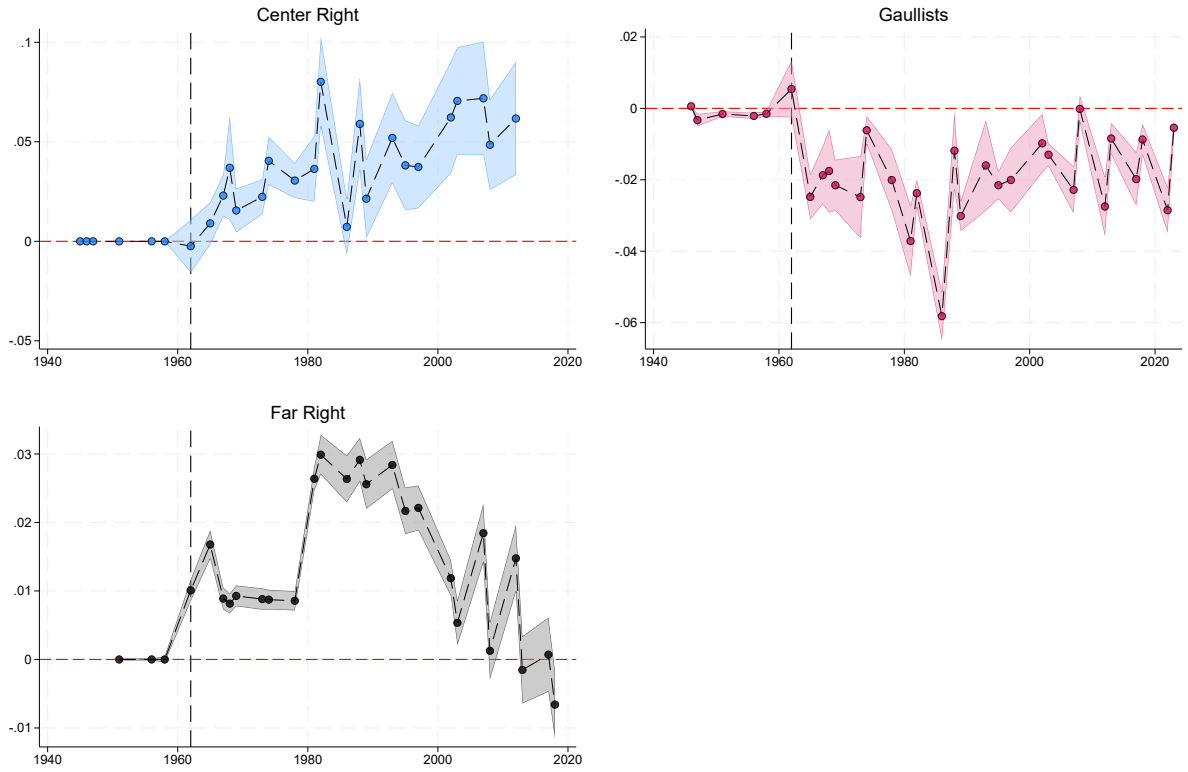


Figure C.111: SDiD Political Parties, long-run event study using received/Not received predicted repatriates

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received at least a predicted repatriate in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were absent in the 1945, 1946, 1969 elections (Obs: 686,205; ATT: 0.014). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 783,617; ATT: -0.019); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017 and 2022 presidential elections (Obs: 685,908; ATT: 0.039). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 2022.

C.15.4 Controlling for Immigration Inflow

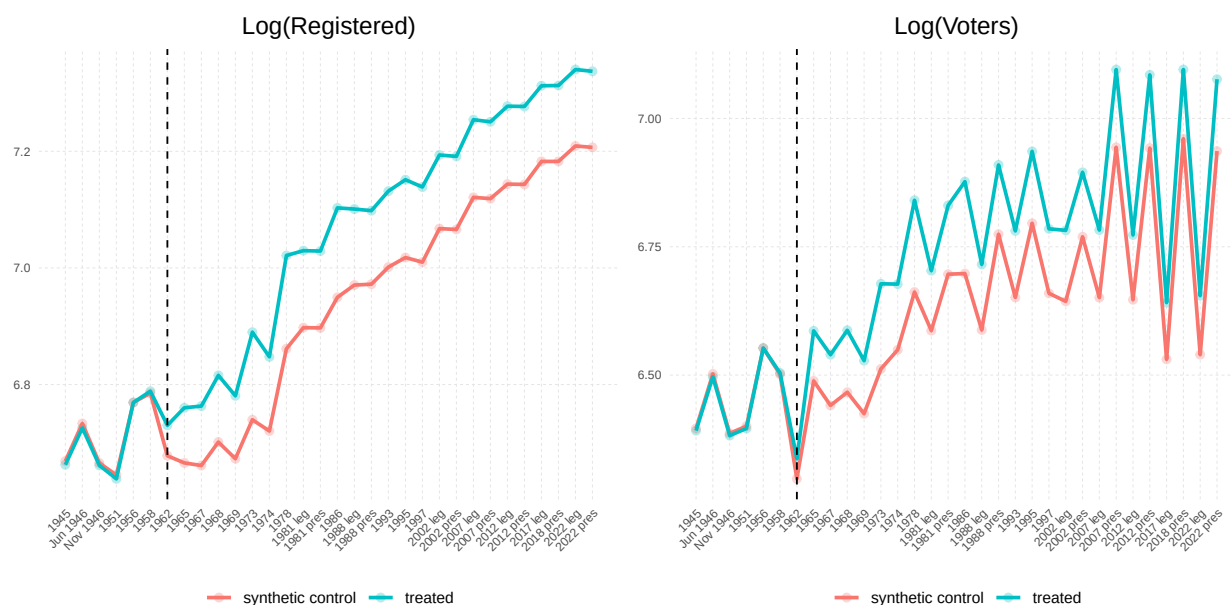


Figure C.112: SDiD Political Participation, long-run controlling for immigration inflow

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls, a time-varying measure of immigration has been included and interacted with year dummies. The log of registered (Obs: 781,920; ATT: 0.125) and actual voters (Obs: 781,344; ATT: 0.128) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

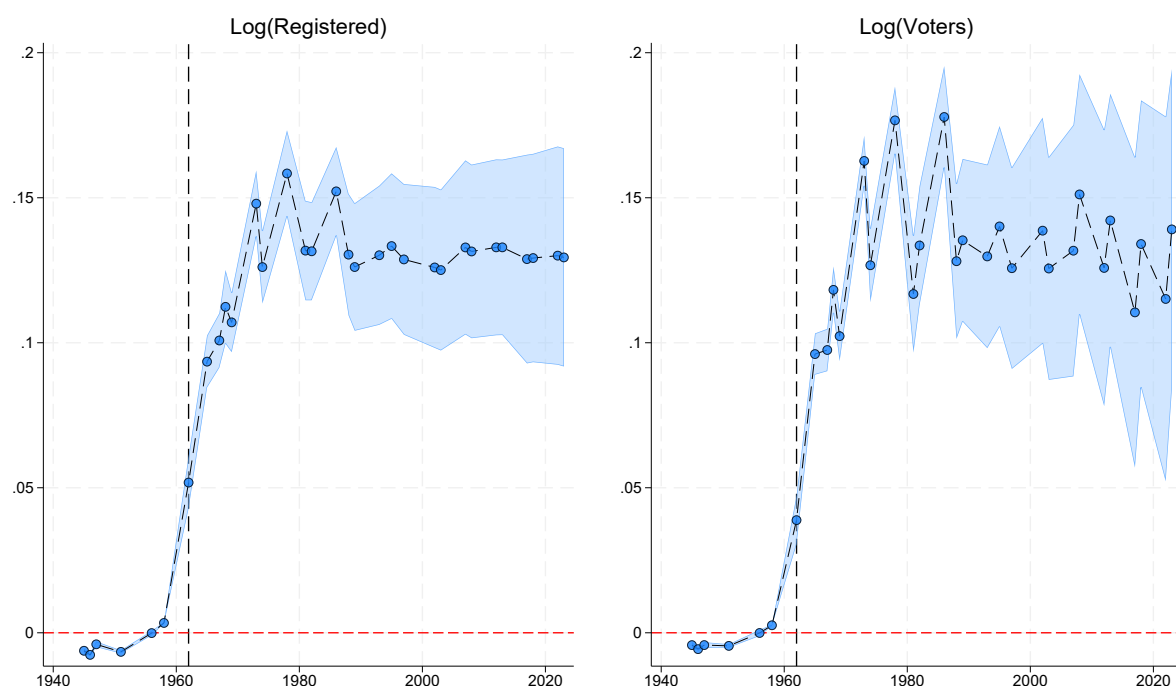


Figure C.113: SDiD Political Participation, long-run event study controlling for immigration inflow

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls, a time-varying measure of immigration has been included and interacted with year dummies. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 781,920; ATT: 0.125) and actual voters (Obs: 781,344; ATT: 0.128) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.



Figure C.114: SDiD Political Parties, long-run controlling for immigration inflow

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls, a time-varying measure of immigration has been included and interacted with year dummies. Candidates for the Far-Right were absent in the 1945, 1946, 1969 elections (Obs: 686,205; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 783,617; ATT: -0.18); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017 and 2022 presidential elections (Obs: 685,908; ATT: 0.039). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 2022.

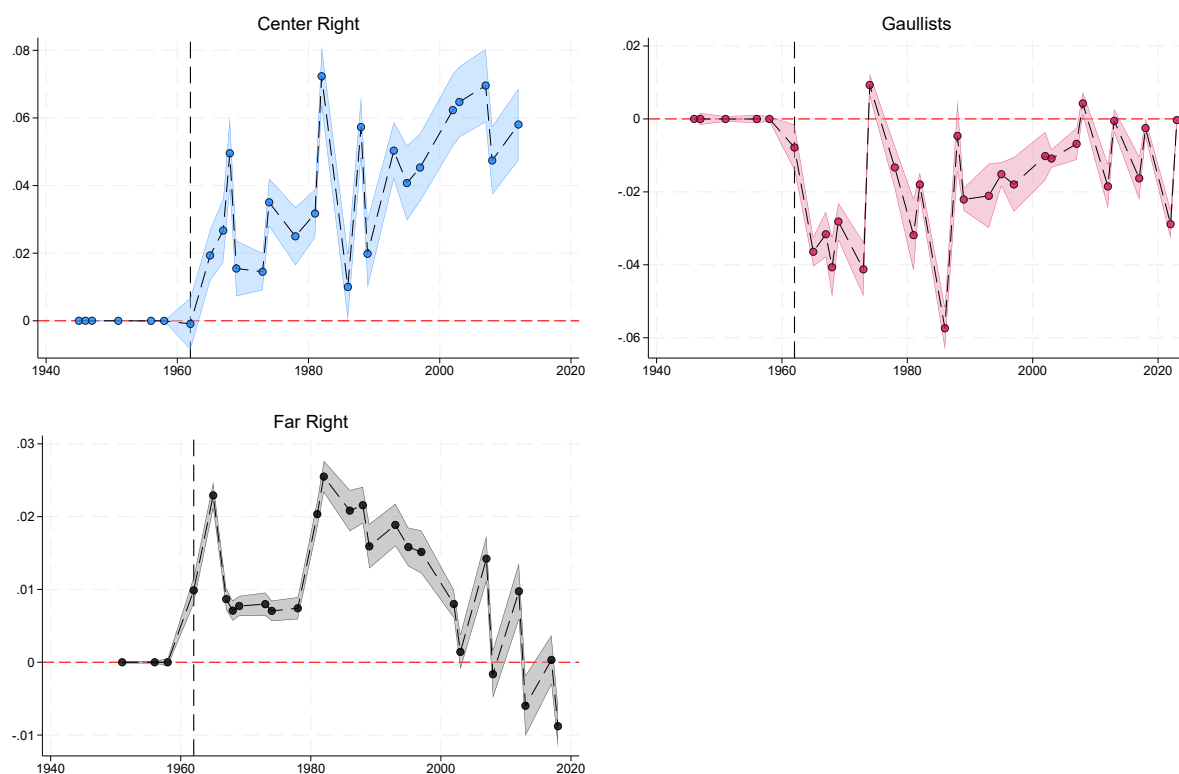


Figure C.115: SDiD Political Parties, long-run event study controlling for immigration inflow

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls, a time-varying measure of immigration has been included and interacted with year dummies. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were absent in the 1945, 1946, 1969 elections (Obs: 686,205; ATT: 0.01). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 783,617; ATT: -0.18); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017 and 2022 presidential elections (Obs: 685,908; ATT: 0.039). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 2022.

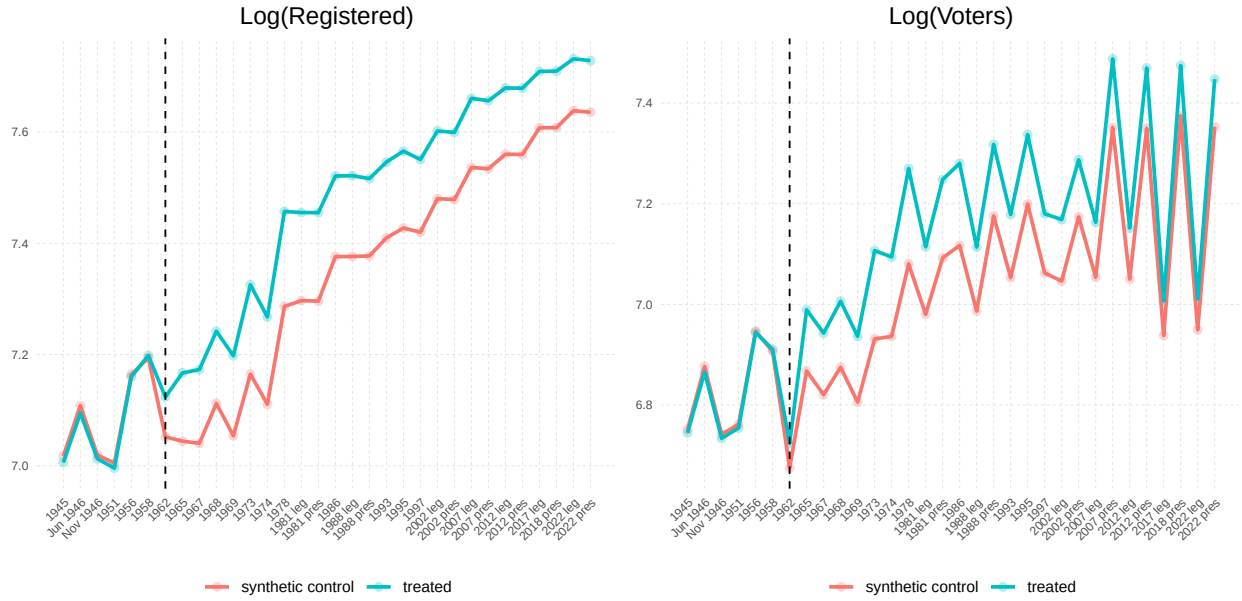


Figure C.116: SDiD Political Participation, long-run using predicted repatriates and controlling for immigration inflow

This figure plots the point estimates resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls, a time-varying measure of immigration has been included and interacted with year dummies. The log of registered (Obs: 781,920; ATT: 0.128) and actual voters (Obs: 781,344; ATT: 0.123) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.

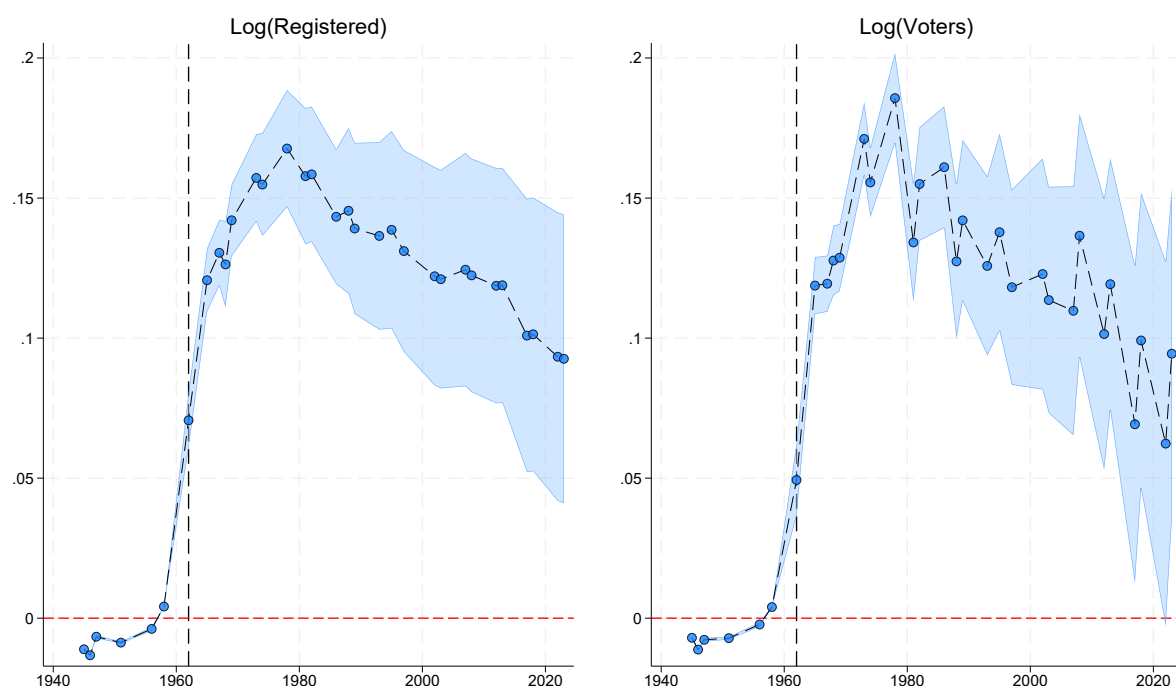


Figure C.117: SDiD Political Participation, long-run event study using predicted repatriates and controlling for immigration inflow

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls, a time-varying measure of immigration has been included and interacted with year dummies. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The log of registered (Obs: 781,920; ATT: 0.128) and actual voters (Obs: 781,344; ATT: 0.123) are relative to the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 1974.



Figure C.118: SDiD Political Parties, long-run using predicted repatriates and controlling for immigration inflow

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls, a time-varying measure of immigration has been included and interacted with year dummies. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were absent in the 1945, 1946, 1969 elections (Obs: 686,205; ATT: 0.014). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 783,617; ATT: -0.18); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017 and 2022 presidential elections (Obs: 685,908; ATT: 0.04). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 2022.

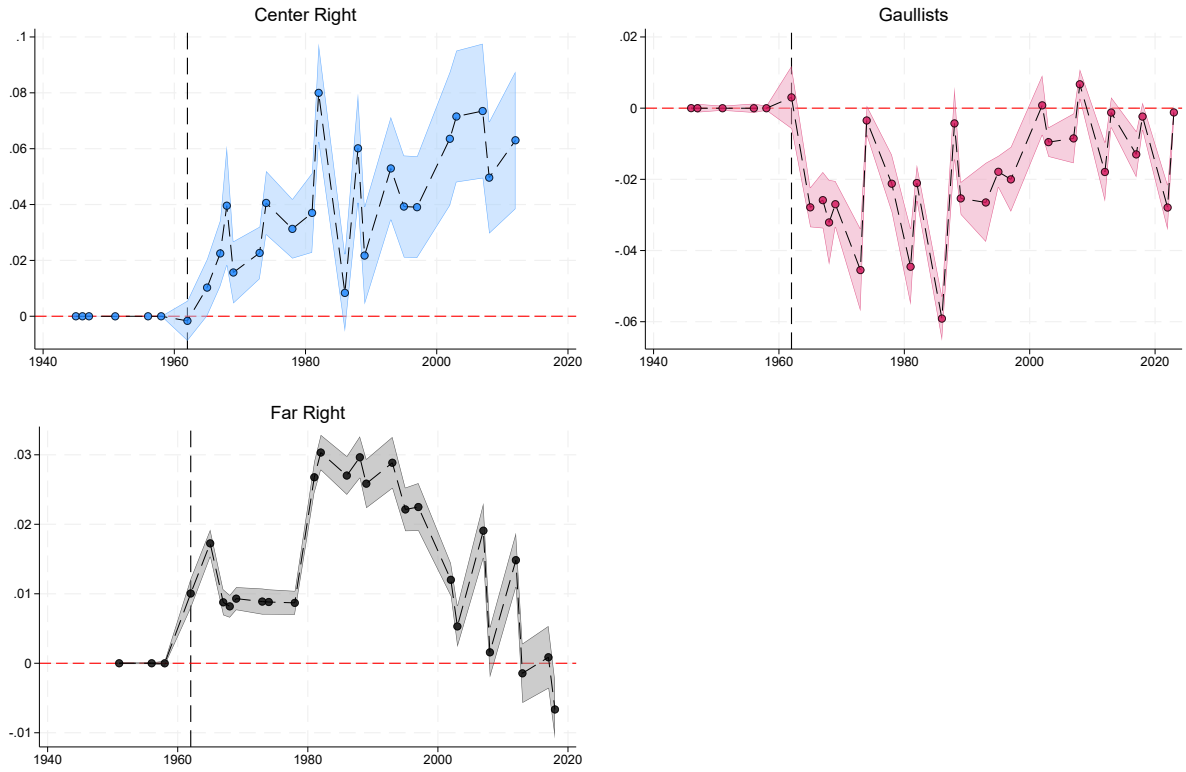


Figure C.119: SDiD Political Parties, long-run event study using predicted repatriates and controlling for immigration inflow

This figure plots the dynamic treatment effects resulting from the estimation of equation 1. The treatment is a binary indicator, set to 1 for municipalities that received an above-average predicted share of repatriates in 1962 and 0 otherwise. The predicted inflow of repatriates in 1962 is constructed according to equation 5. SDiD is estimated on the residuals of the outcome variable obtained with the projection method. In addition to the initial controls, a time-varying measure of immigration has been included and interacted with year dummies. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. Candidates for the Far-Right were absent in the 1945, 1946, 1969 elections (Obs: 686,205; ATT: 0.014). Candidates for Gaullist parties were present from 1946 (Obs: 783,617; ATT: -0.18); candidates for the Center-Right were absent in the 1965, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017 and 2022 presidential elections (Obs: 685,908; ATT: 0.04). The elections included are the legislative and presidential elections from 1945 to 2022.

D Manifesto

To analyze the content of the manifestos,³¹ I downloaded the '.txt' files of each manifesto from the *Archives Electorales du CEVIPOF*³² (Gaultier-Voituriez, 2015; O. Gaultier-Voituriez, 2016). Given that Optical Character Recognition (OCR) did not always extract the text correctly, I employed the 'SpellChecker' Python package to minimize the presence of typos and incorrect words.

Electoral manifestos are issued at the electoral district level. However, since 1967, the Paris area has been subdivided into several different departments. To maintain a consistent geographical unit of analysis across time, I aggregated the various departments within the Paris area into a single, larger unit. Consequently, the analysis is conducted on a total of 381 electoral districts.

D.1 Term Frequency Analysis

To calculate the term frequencies of specific topics within the political manifestos, I first performed several preprocessing steps. I removed boilerplate text ("sciences po fonds cevipof") that identifies the archive collecting the manifestos. Numbers and punctuation were dropped, and all text was converted to lowercase. French stop-words were subsequently removed using the "fr_core_news_sm" model from the 'SpaCy' library. Following this, I excluded terms that appeared fewer than 10 times in the entire corpus, words with fewer than 3 characters, and words falling into the 0.999 quantile of overall term frequency (i.e., extremely common words).

The term frequency of a topic within a manifesto was then calculated as the count of relevant topic words divided by the total number of non-stop words in that manifesto. The topic words used are "Rapatrie," "Indemnisation," and "Amnistie," along with their possible morphological variations. If none of these words are present in a given manifesto, its term frequency for the topic is set to zero.

³¹Electoral law (R29) stipulates that manifestos cannot weigh more than 70 grams per square meter and cannot exceed dimensions of 210 mm × 297 mm.

³²<https://archive.org/details/archiveselectoralesducevipof/>

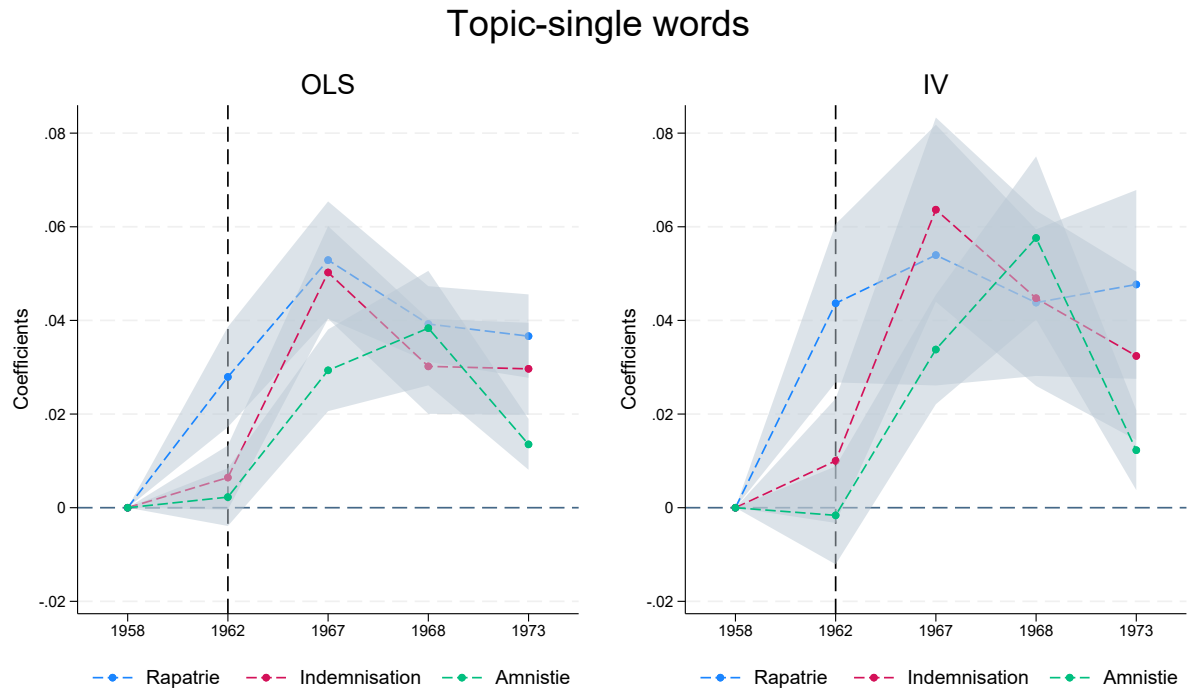


Figure D.1: Term Frequency of Individual Topic Words

This figure illustrates the robustness of the term frequency analysis when examining each topic word individually. The results are consistent with the main findings, with the notable distinction that the effect for the words “compensation” (Indemnisation) and “amnesty” (Amnistie) becomes salient from 1967 onwards, likely reflecting their increased prominence in the political debate during that period.

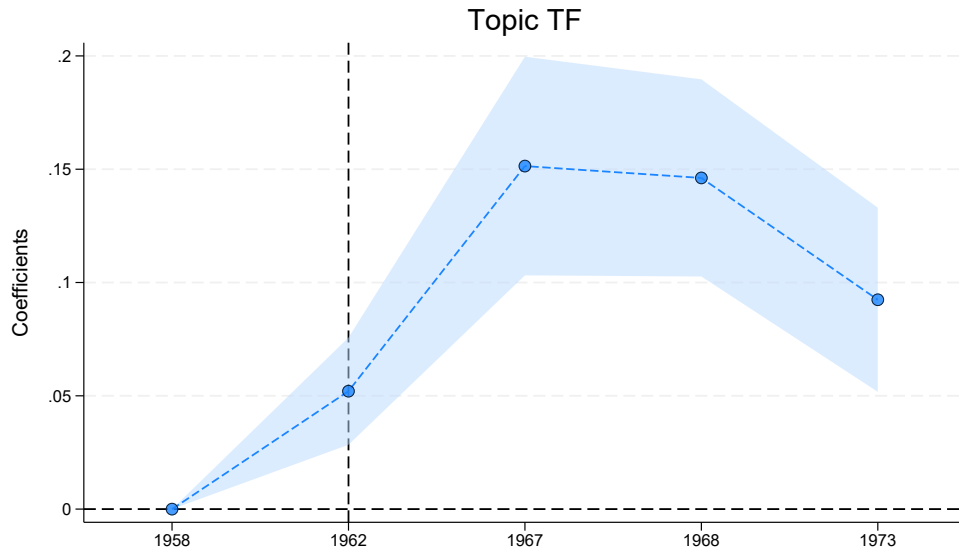


Figure D.2: Manifesto Term Frequencies: Instrumental Variable (IV) Estimation

This figure plots the estimated coefficients resulting from the estimation of Equation 2 using 10,481 electoral manifestos from 380 electoral districts. The analysis utilizes the share of repatriates who arrived in 1962 in each district as the primary explanatory variable. Standard errors are clustered at the electoral district level. The plotted coefficients illustrate the estimated impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. In this Instrumental Variable (IV) estimation, the 1962 repatriate share has been instrumented using Equation 5 with the instrument constructed at the electoral district level. The F-statistic of the first stage is 13.6. The included elections are legislative elections from 1958 to 1973.

D.1.1 Pre-trend Analysis for Manifestos

Unfortunately, a comprehensive dataset containing the text of all electoral manifestos prior to 1958 is unavailable. Consequently, I cannot directly test for pre-trends in the term frequency of the topic words using the full sample. However, the text of manifestos for candidates *elected to the National Assembly* in the 1956 legislative elections is accessible.³³ A crucial methodological consideration is that the electoral districts in 1956 were much fewer and cannot be directly matched to the districts in place from 1958 onwards. To address this, I aggregate the data at the department level, which reduces the number of observations to 83 available departments.

³³I consulted the following archival volumes: Paris: Impr. de l'Assemblée nationale VII-1875 p. Tome I, Ain à Lozère COL4°1192(1956-1) and Paris: Impr. de l'Assemblée nationale. 2 vol. (VII-1875 p.) ; 27 cm tome II, Maine-et-Loire à Yonne, Guyane à Réunion, Cameroun à Togo Cote: COL4°1192(1956-2).

It is important to acknowledge that in 1956, "repatriates" (as in those from Algeria) were not a prominent topic of discussion in political manifestos, given that Algeria was still a French colony. The issue of repatriates only gained significant political salience after the end of the Algerian War in 1962, coinciding with their mass arrival in France. Nevertheless, I do observe a higher use of the term "Rapatr*" (and its variations) in 1956 compared to 1958 in some manifestos. This seemingly counterintuitive finding stems from the fact that the Communist Party utilized this term in their manifestos to advocate for the repatriation of French soldiers from North Africa, as exemplified by the phrase: "Immediate repatriation of the recalled available and of the young soldiers currently in North Africa" (original French: "Rapatriement immédiat des disponibles rappelés et des jeunes soldats actuellement en Afrique du Nord."). Notably, the Communist Party employed this exact manifesto text uniformly across all areas where a Communist MP was elected in 1956.

Given that the term was used in a fundamentally different context prior to 1962, I do not expect its usage in 1956 to be correlated with the share of repatriates arriving in 1962. To empirically verify this, I present a binscatter plot of the change in the term frequency of "Rapatr*" between 1956 and 1958 against the share of repatriates arriving in 1962, while controlling for the presence of Communist candidates in the department. For comparison, I perform the same analysis for the change between 1958 and 1962, a period during which I do expect to observe a positive correlation, given the increasing importance of the topic in political discourse after the war and the actual arrival of repatriates in France.

The results, after standardizing the term frequencies, are displayed in Figure D.3. In the panel on the left (1956-1958 change), I observe a β coefficient of -14.2 with a p-value of > 0.1 for a one-standard-deviation increase in the number of repatriates. Conversely, in the panel on the right (1958-1962 change), I observe a β coefficient of 73.8 with a p-value of < 0.01 . This empirically confirms that the change in the term frequency of "Rapatr*" was not significantly correlated with the share of repatriates arriving in 1962 in the pre-treatment period (before 1958). In contrast, a significant positive correlation emerges in the post-treatment period (after 1958), aligning with the time when the topic became nationally salient and repatriates actually arrived in France.

This evidence serves two purposes: first, it corroborates that the term "Rapatr*" was indeed used in a distinct context from that of the repatriates from Algeria before 1962. Second, it demonstrates that the political manifestos' attention to the issue of repatriates was not increasing in areas that would subsequently receive more repatriates, prior to their actual arrival in 1962. I interpret this finding as evidence of the absence of pre-trends in the term frequency of "Rapatr*" in political manifestos.

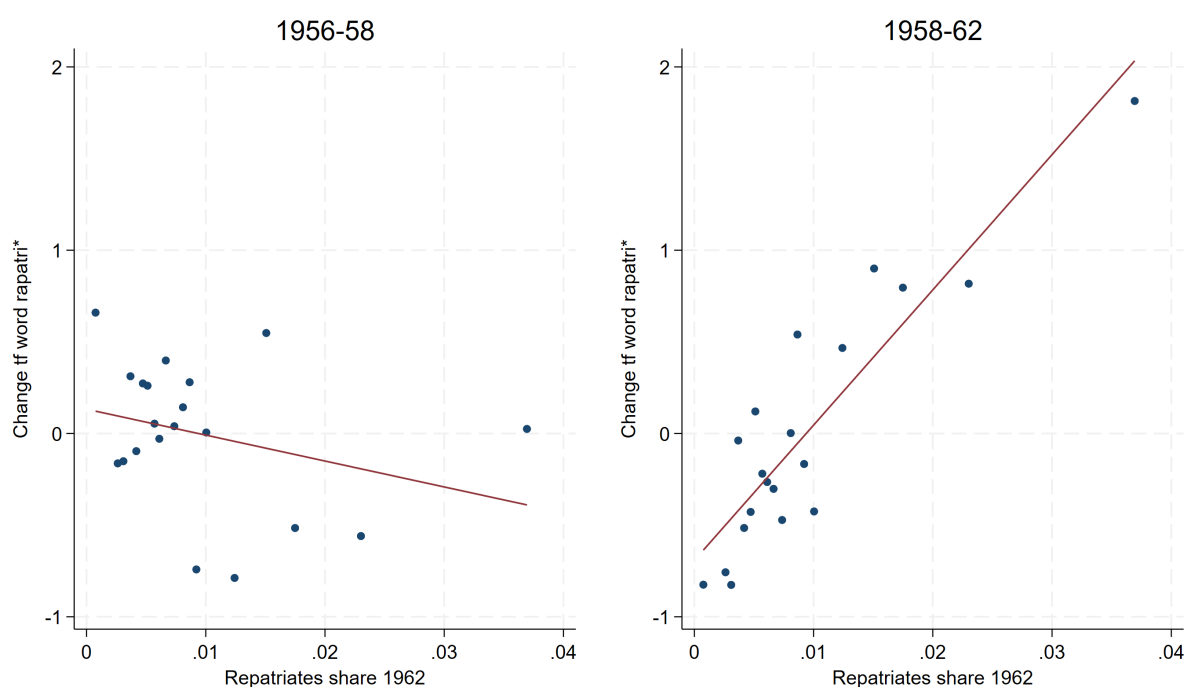


Figure D.3: Change in Term Frequency of "Rapatr*" (1956-58 and 1958-62) vs. Share of Repatriates Arriving in 1962.

This figure presents binscatter plots illustrating the relationship between the change in term frequency of the word "Rapatr*" and the share of repatriates arriving in 1962, controlling for the presence of Communist candidates in the department. Dependent variables have been standardized. The left panel shows the change between 1956 and 1958, while the right panel shows the change between 1958 and 1962. In the left panel, the estimated β is -14.2 with a p-value of > 0.1 for a one-standard-deviation increase in the share of repatriates arriving in 1962. In the right panel, the estimated β is 73.8 with a p-value of < 0.01 . The geographical unit of analysis is the department ($N = 83$).

D.2 Word Embeddings and Cosine Similarity

I now detail the process for generating word embeddings and calculating cosine similarity to quantify the sentiment or moral framing associated with the topic of repatriates in political manifestos. To generate these contextual word embeddings, I employed the CamemBERT model, which is a BERT-based transformer model specifically optimized for the French language. CamemBERT generates contextual embeddings, meaning that the vector representation of a word varies depending on the specific context in which it appears within a document. This feature is particularly advantageous for capturing the nuances of language and discerning the precise context in which key topic words are discussed in each political manifesto.

The CamemBERT model was applied to the minimally preprocessed texts of each political manifesto to preserve the original linguistic context of the words.³⁴ Given the narrow focus on specific topic words, the text was partitioned into smaller batches centered around these words of interest to effectively capture their local semantic context. Specifically, a context window of 128 tokens both before and after each instance of the topic words was created, resulting in batches typically comprising 256 tokens around the target word.³⁵

Each such batch from every political manifesto was processed through the CamemBERT model to obtain dense vector embeddings for the target tokens. I then extracted these batch-specific word embeddings for the designated topic words (e.g., "Rapatrie") and for other words of interest found in the pre-defined dictionaries (e.g., positive/negative words, virtue/vice words). The embeddings from all relevant batches were subsequently averaged to obtain a single, representative embedding for each target token within a given manifesto. This averaging approach ensures that the embeddings adequately capture the local context while mitigating the influence of possibly unrelated content.

For each manifesto, I then computed the cosine similarity between the averaged

³⁴The text used for embedding generation was the output from the 'SpellChecker' correction, with double spaces removed and conversion to letters and basic punctuation only.

³⁵CamemBERT, like other BERT models, utilizes the WordPiece Tokenization method, which breaks down words into smaller units (subwords) before processing.

embedding of the topic words (ω) and the embedding of each individual word in the pre-defined sentiment or moral foundation dictionaries. If a word from a dictionary was not present in a given manifesto, its similarity contribution was set to zero. To obtain a composite measure reflecting the overall context in which the topic was discussed, I averaged these cosine similarities. Specifically, I calculated the average cosine similarity between the embeddings of the words representing the repatriates' topic and the embeddings of words categorized as positive/virtue words from one dictionary, and separately, the average cosine similarity with negative/vice words from another. The final manifesto-specific score was then derived as the difference between these two averages. If no topic word was present in a manifesto, the score for that manifesto was set to zero.

The score is formally defined as:

$$\text{Score}_m = \left(\frac{1}{P} \sum_{p \in P} \frac{\omega_m \cdot \text{word}_{p,m}}{\|\omega_m\| \cdot \|\text{word}_{p,m}\|} \right) - \left(\frac{1}{N} \sum_{n \in N} \frac{\omega_m \cdot \text{word}_{n,m}}{\|\omega_m\| \cdot \|\text{word}_{n,m}\|} \right)$$

Where:

- Score_m denotes the sentiment/moral score for manifesto m .
- ω_m is the averaged embedding of the topic words ("Rapatrie", "Indemnisation", and "Amnistie") within manifesto m .
- P represents a dictionary of positive words or specific virtue words (e.g., Care, Fairness, or Loyalty). P is the number of words in this dictionary present in manifesto m .
- N represents a dictionary of negative words or specific vice words (e.g., Care, Fairness, or Loyalty vices). N is the number of words in this dictionary present in manifesto m .
- $\text{word}_{p,m}$ is the embedding of a positive/virtue word p as it appears in manifesto m .
- $\text{word}_{n,m}$ is the embedding of a negative/vice word n as it appears in manifesto m .

This measure can take values between -1 and 1. A positive score indicates that the topic is discussed in a context that is more semantically similar to the positive/virtue words, while a negative score indicates a context more similar to the negative/vice words.

The words in the general positive/negative dictionary are derived from the French version of the NRC Word-Emotion Association Lexicon (EmoLex) (Mohammad and Turney, 2013). For the Moral Foundations dictionaries, I utilize terms from Frimer et al., 2019, which were translated to French using DeepL.

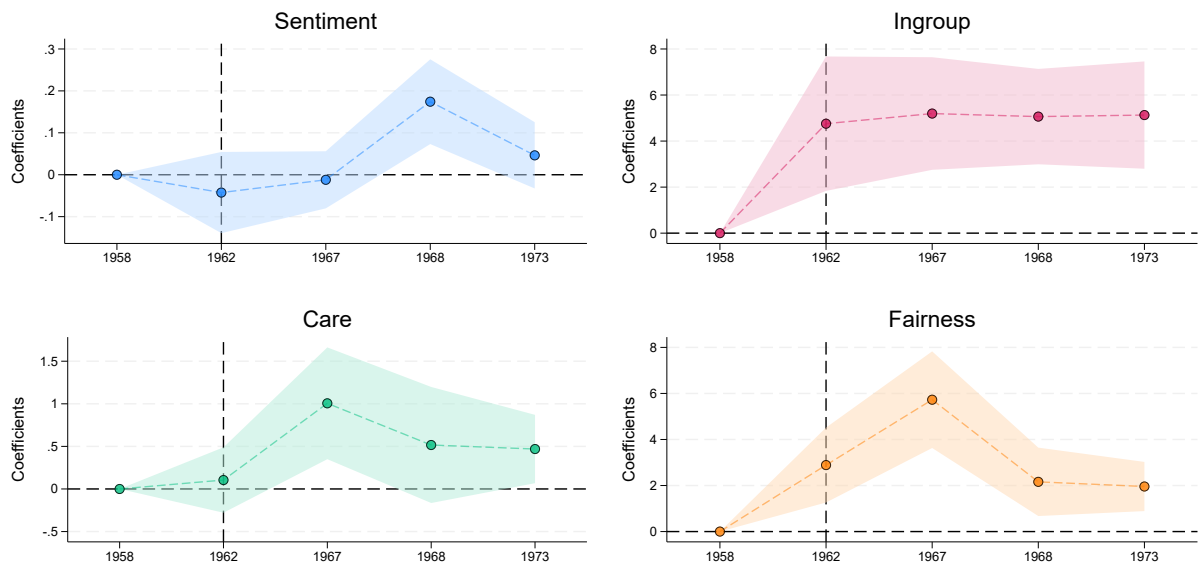


Figure D.4: Manifesto Cosine Similarities: Instrumental Variable (IV) Estimation

This figure plots the estimated coefficients resulting from the estimation of Equation 2 using 10,481 electoral manifestos from 380 electoral districts. The analysis utilizes the share of repatriates who arrived in 1962 in each district as the primary explanatory variable. Standard errors are clustered at the electoral district level. The plotted coefficients illustrate the estimated impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. In this Instrumental Variable (IV) estimation, the 1962 repatriate share has been instrumented using Equation 5 with the instrument constructed at the electoral district level. The F-statistic of the first stage is 13.6. The included elections are legislative elections from 1958 to 1973.

D.3 Topic Words Choice, Robustness

I create a placebo topic composed of the words related to the election ("elect*", "legisl*", "candidat*", "circonscri*"). I show that, differently from the words associated with the

repatriates which I define as "Policy" ("indemnisation" and "amnistie"), the placebo topic does not react to the share of repatriates in the area and does not increase over time in areas with a larger exposure to the repatriates' arrival.

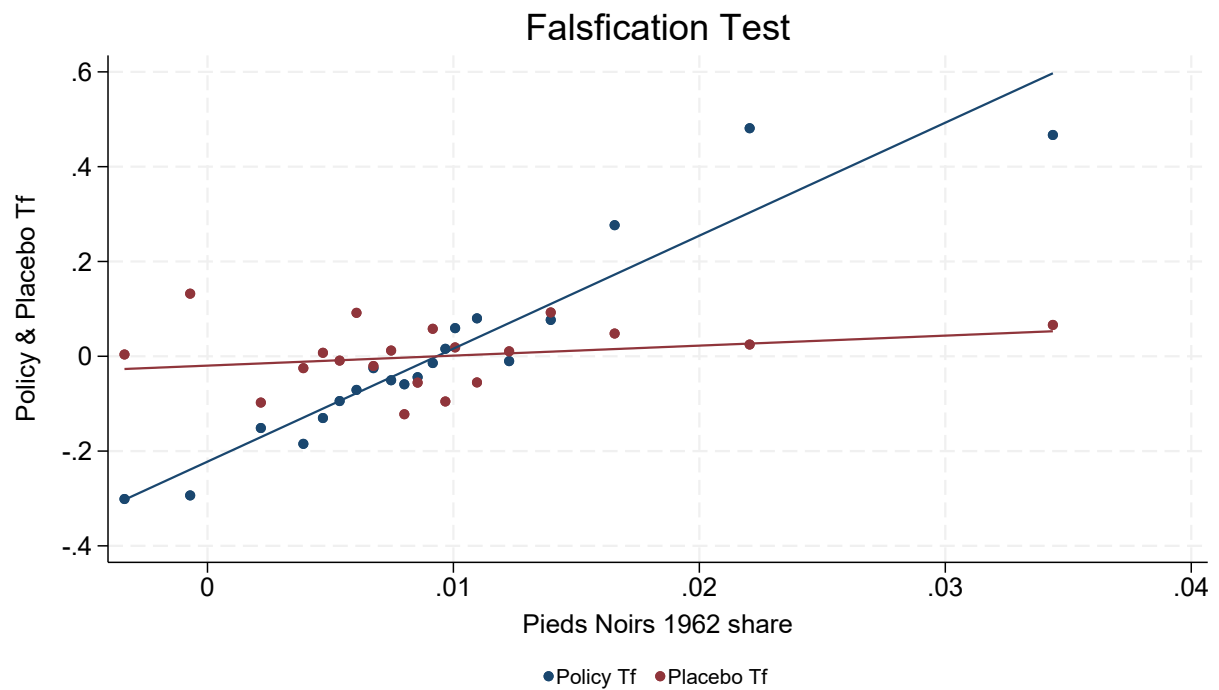


Figure D.5: Binscatter of placebo vs policy topic Term Frequency and repatriates

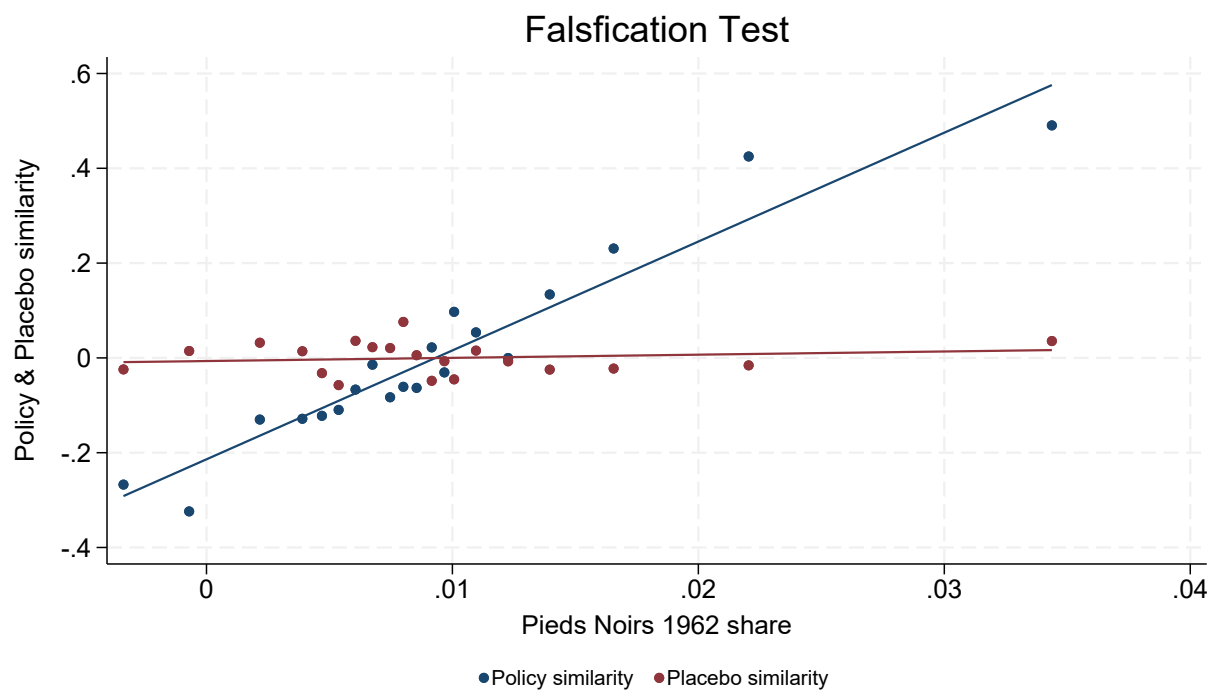


Figure D.6: Binscatter of placebo vs policy topic cosine similarity and repatriates

Term Frequency

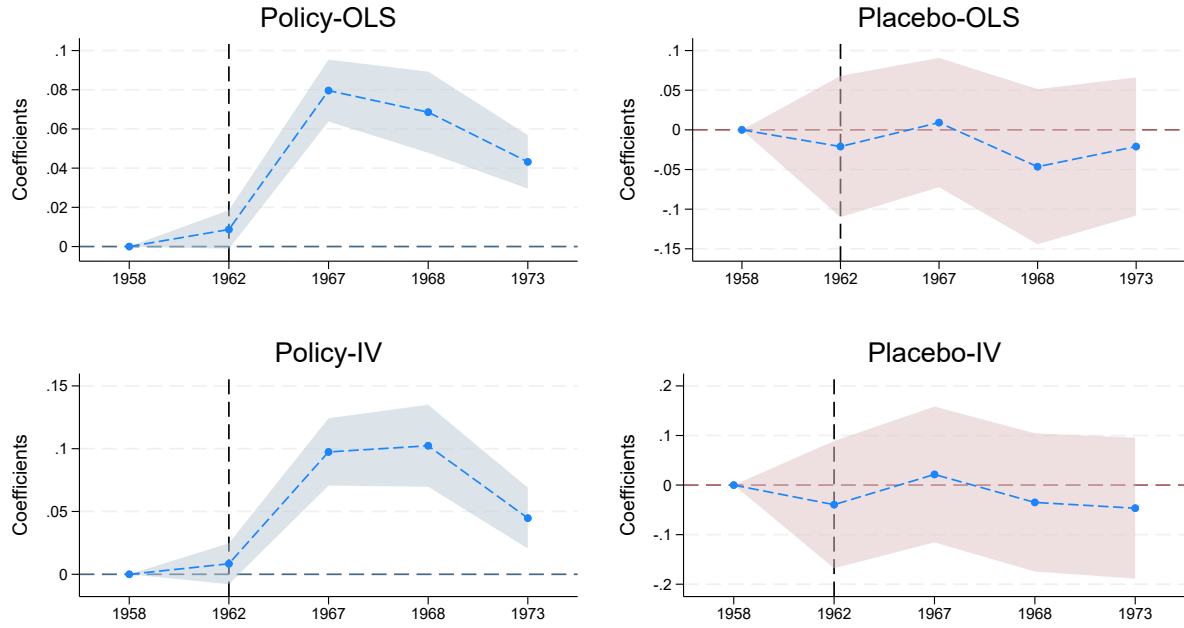


Figure D.7: Falsification test on term frequencies.

This figure plots the estimated coefficients resulting from the estimation of equation 2 on 10481 electoral manifestos in 380 electoral districts using the share of repatriates who arrived in 1962 in each district. Standard errors are clustered at the electoral district level. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. In the IV estimation, the repatriates in 1962 has been instrumented using equation 5 with the instrument constructed at the electoral district level. The F-stat of the first stage is 13.6. Two different outcomes are used: the term frequency of the repatriates' policy topic (tf of words "compensation" and "amnesty") and the one of the placebo topic. The elections included are legislative elections from 1958 to 1973.

Cosine Similarity

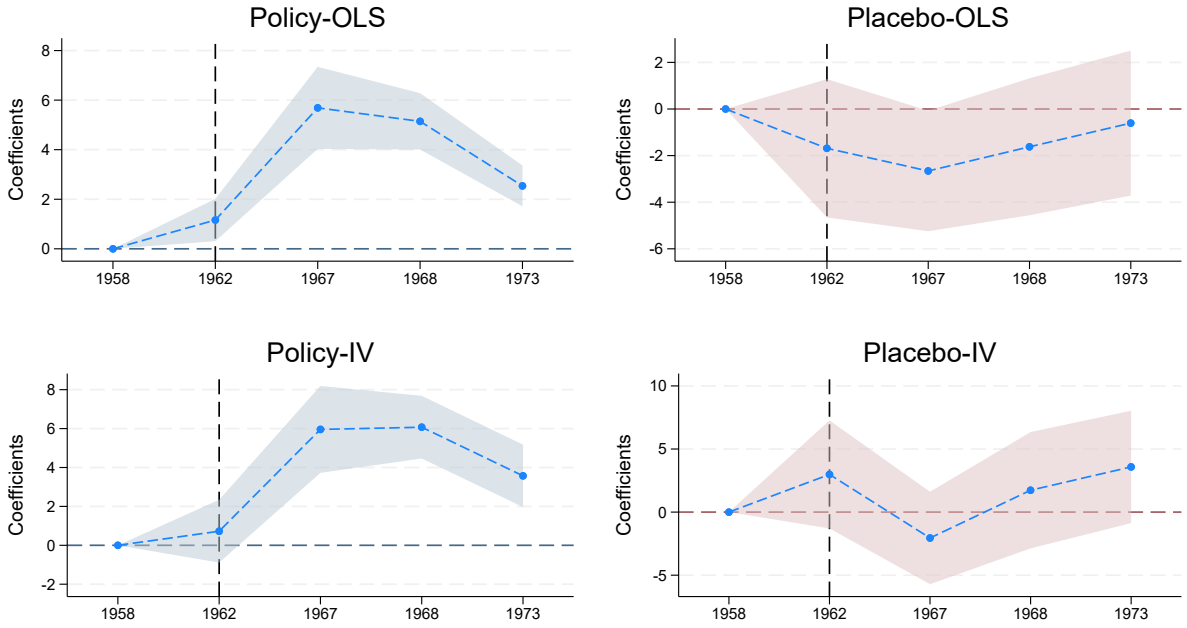


Figure D.8: Falsification test on cosine similarity.

This figure plots the estimated coefficients resulting from the estimation of equation 2 on 10481 electoral manifestos in 380 electoral districts using the share of repatriates who arrived in 1962 in each district. Standard errors are clustered at the electoral district level. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. In the IV estimation, the repatriates in 1962 has been instrumented using equation 5 with the instrument constructed at the electoral district level. The F-stat of the first stage is 13.6. Two different outcomes are used: the cosine similarity between the word "repatriate" and the words "compensation" and "amnesty" ("policy") and between the word "repatriate" and the words in the placebo topic. The elections included are legislative elections from 1958 to 1973.

D.4 Manifesto Content and Center/Far-Right Parties

This section compares the attention given to the repatriates' topic in the manifestos of Center-right and Far-right parties versus other political parties. I analyze this difference using two distinct measures: first, the overall term frequency of topic words within manifestos, and second, a measure based on cosine similarity that captures specific political demands. This latter measure quantifies the semantic proximity between the word "Rapatrie" (repatriate) and key demands such as "Indemnisation" (compensation) and "Amnistie" (amnesty).

To estimate how this difference evolves over time, I employ the following equation:

$$y_{cdt} = \sum_{t \neq 1958}^{1973} \beta_t [\text{Right Party}_d \times I(e = t)] + \sum_{t \neq 1958}^{1973} \delta_t [X_d \times I(e = t)] + \gamma_d + \epsilon_{dt} \quad (8)$$

Where:

- y_{cdt} represents the outcome variable, which is either the term frequency of the repatriates' topic or the "policy" cosine similarity score, for party type c in electoral district d at election year t .
- Right Party_d is a binary indicator equal to 1 if the manifesto belongs to a Center-right or Far-right party in electoral district d , and 0 otherwise.
- $I(e = t)$ is an indicator variable that equals 1 for election year t and 0 otherwise. The year 1958 serves as the baseline (omitted) year.
- X_d represents a vector of the usual controls, fixed at their 1962 values.
- γ_d represents electoral district fixed effects.
- ϵ_{dt} is the error term.

The primary parameters of interest are β_t . These coefficients capture the differential change in the outcome variable for Center-right and Far-right parties compared to other parties, relative to the baseline year of 1958. I hypothesize that a significant difference may be observed in the term frequency dedicated to the repatriates' topic in the manifestos of these right-leaning parties compared to other political groups. Similarly, I expect to observe a significant difference for the "policy" cosine similarity measure, indicating a distinct emphasis on specific demands such as compensation and amnesty within their discourse.

Center/Far Right Vs Others

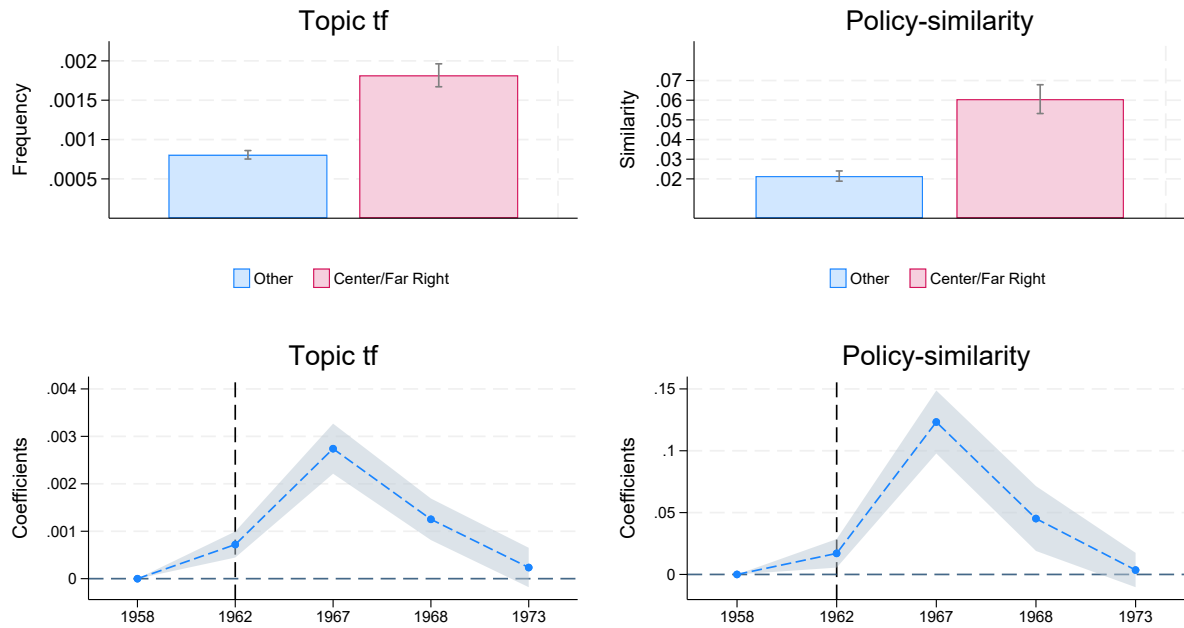


Figure D.9: Non Gaullist Right vs other parties

This figure plots the estimated coefficients resulting from the estimation of equation 2 on 10481 electoral manifestos in 380 electoral districts using a dummy variable that is equal to 1 for candidates of Far and Center Right parties. Standard errors are clustered at the electoral district level. The plotted coefficients illustrate the impact over time, with the shaded regions denoting 95% confidence intervals. The dependent variable "Topic" is the term frequency of the repatriates' topic in the manifestos. The dependent variable "Policy" is the cosine similarity between the word "Repatriate" and the words "Compensation" and "Amnesty". The elections included are legislative elections from 1958 to 1973.

E Parties and candidates definition

E.1 Construction of Party Vote Shares

To construct the vote shares for different party ideologies, I largely adopted the definitions established by Cagé and Piketty (2023). A key methodological distinction in my analysis is the explicit isolation of Gaullist parties from the broader Center-Right category, as I hypothesize that the repatriates may have had a distinct effect on their electoral performance. Consequently, after identifying Gaullist parties, their vote share was subtracted from the aggregate vote share of Center-Right parties in instances where Gaullist parties were included in the same electoral bloc.

For the definition of Center-Right parties, I use the "CD" classification as defined by Cagé and Piketty (2023). For Far-right parties, my focus was primarily on the most extreme parties in the short run, using the Front National as the dominant Far right party in the long run. This implies that the list might not be fully exhaustive, meaning that some parties might not have been included in the definition of any of the ideological blocs.³⁶

The specific parties used to construct the vote share for each ideological bloc, based on the classifications from Cagé and Piketty (2023), are reported below.

³⁶For example, parties in category "D" (5) in the Cagé and Piketty (2023) classification that do not belong to center right, far right or Gaullists are included in the "Other" category along with some other possible small parties. They are shown in Figure B.3

Table E.1: Political parties definition

Election	Center-Right	Gaullists	Far-right
1945	MRP		
1946-June	MRP	GAUL	
1946-nov	MRP	GAUL, GAULG	
1951	MRP RGRIF, UIPRN	RPF	UNIR
1956	MRP, CNI	RFGAUL	UFFUDCA,AUD
1958	CRR, MRP, CNI, MOD	DIVGAUL,UNR	POUJ,AUD
1962	MRP, CNI	UNRU DT	POUJ,AUD
1967	CDEM, REPIND, MOD	DIVGAUL,UD5UNR	AUDAR,AUD
1968	CPDM, REPIND, MOD	DIVGAUL,UDR	AUDAR
1973	MR, RIURP, CDPURP	UDRURP	AUD
1978	UDF	RPR	AUD
1981	UDF, DVD	RPR	AUD
1986	UDF, DVD	RPR,UDFRPR	FN
1988	UDF, DVD	RPR	FN
1993	UDF, DVD	RPR	FN
1997	UDF, DVD	RPR	FN
2002	UDF, DVD	RPR	FN
2007	DVD	UMP	FN
2012	DVD	UMP	FN
2017	DVD, UDI	LR	FN
2022	DVD	LR	RN

Table E.2: Political parties definition

Election	Far-Left	Center-Left	Centrists
1945	AUG, PCF	SFIO, DVG	RADSOC
1946 (June)	PCI, PCF	SFIO, DVG	RADSOC
1946 (Nov.)	PCF	SFIO	RGR, RADSOC
1951	PCF	SFIO, DVG	RADSOC, UDSR, RGR
1956	PCF	SFIO, DVG	RADSOC, FRREP, UDSR, RGR
1958	PCF	SFIO, RAD-SOC	UFDRAD, RADCENT, UDSRMIN
1962	PCF, AUG	SFIO, PSU, RAD-SOC	RADCENT
1967	PCF, AUG	PSU, FGDS	RAD-DROI
1968	PCF, AUG	PSU, FGDS, RAD-SOC	TED, MR, RADDROI
1973	PCF, LO, LCR	PSU, PS, MRG, DVG	RAD
1978	PCF, AUG	PS, DVG	
1981	PCF, AUG	PS, DVG	
1986	PCF, AUG	PSRDG	
1988	PCF, AUG	PS, RDG, MAJ, ECO	
1993	PCF, AUG	PS, RDG, VEC, GEC	
1997	PCF, AUG, LO, LCR	PS, RDG, DVG, ECO	
2002	PCF, LO, LCR	PS, PRGDVG, VEC, PREP, ECO	
2007	PCF, AUG	PS, RDG, DVG, VEC	
2012	PCF, AUG	PS, RDG, DVG, EELV, ECO	UDFD
2017	PCF, LFI, AUG	PS, RDGDVG, EELV	LREM, MDM
2022	NUP, AUG	DVG, ECO	ENS, UDI

Table E.3: Presidential candidates definition

Election	Center-Right	Gaullists	Far-right
1965		DGAU	
1969	POHE	POMP	TIXI
1974	GISC	CHAB	LEPEN
1981	LALO, GISC	CHIR	
1988	BARR, WAEC	CHIR	LEPEN
1995	BALL	CHIR	LEPEN
2002	SJOS, BAYR, MAD, BOUT	CHIR	LEPEN
2007		SARK	LEPEN
2012		SARK	LEPEN
2017		FILL	LEPEN
2022		PECR	LEPEN

Table E.4: Presidential candidates definition

Election	Far-Left	Center-Left	Centrists
1965	BARB	MITT	LECA
1969	KRIV, ROCA, DUCL	DEFF	DUC
1974	KRIV, LAGU, DUMO	MITT	MULL
1981	LAGU, MARC, BOUC	MITT, CREP	
1988	LAGU, BOUS, JOQUI, LAJOY	MITT	
1995	LAGU, HUE	VOYM, JOSP	
2002	LAGU, BESA, GLUC, HUE	MAME, TAUB, CHEV, JOSP	
2007	LAGU, BESA, SCHIV, BUFF, BOVE	VOYN, ROYA	BAYR
2012	ARTA, POUT, MELE	JOLY, HOLL	BAYR
2017	ARTA, POUT, MELE	HAMO	MACR
2022	ARTA, POUT, ROUS, MELE	JADO, HIDAL	MACR

Table E.5: Parties, manifesto (1958-1973)

Far left	Center left	Centrists	Gaullists	Center-Right	Far-right	Other
COM	RADSOC	UFD	UNR	MRP	POUJ	DIV
EXG	SFIO	RADUFD	DIVGAULL	CNIP	EXD	DVD
LO	CRR	RADCENT	UNRUdT	CRR	ALLREP	
LCR	PSU	UDSRMIN	UD5	MOD	RALLIE	
OCI	FGDS	RADDROIT	RIUDR	INDVREP		
	SOC	DIVREF	UDRURP	MRPVREP		
	MRG		UDR	CENTDEM		
	DVG		DIVURP	RI		
				CPDM		
				CDPURP		
				RIURP		
				CDP		

F Citations

I report here the main citations from Historians and Sociologists on the repatriates' political behaviour. I also report two quotes from the French National Assembly in 1970 when the law on the compensation of the repatriates was discussed.

F.1 Political Behaviour

The indemnity question provided a political focus for Pied-Noir discontent. In the first few years after their arrival in France segments of the Pied-Noir community were particularly sympathetic to right-wing parties. They were unanimously hostile to De Gaulle and the Gaullists whom they blamed for the independence of Algeria and their forced expatriation. On principle they voted anti-Gaullist . (Cohen, [1980](#))

Throughout the 1960s, the question of indemnities dominated the agenda of the pied-noir associations and associations used the question of reparations to mobilize a repatriate vote at the polls. Whether repatriates formed a voting bloc or not has been the subject of scholarly debate. The most recent study by Emmanuelle Comtat has concluded that since their arrival, there has been no consistent political affiliation to be found among the repatriates from North Africa. The political orientation of repatriates was, as with any other community, swayed largely by the particular timing of the election, issues in their local area, and the perceived profile of the candidates. In the 1960s when most pieds noirs were preoccupied with securing their livelihood, repatriates living along the Mediterranean littoral could be seen taking strong interest in candidates who expressed sympathies and interest in their situation. The slogan “anyone but de Gaulle” became popular with repatriate associations in the southern departments. (Choi, [2020](#))

Several years later the first experiences of organisations made up of activists from the Pied-noir and the repatriated group led to a series of concrete demands. These were, on the one hand, to obtain amnesty for former French Algerians who had participated in the actions carried out under the aegis of the OAS and, on the other hand to ask for material indemnities. (Savarese, [2006](#))

In contrast to the expellees in West Germany, then, the pieds-noirs' political integration was marked by a vigorous rejection of one of the major conservative options. This explains, on the one hand, why Pieds Noirs had been able to orient their votes towards the Rassemblement pour la République (RPR) and then the Union pour un mouvement populaire (UMP) only via a gradual distancing from the Gaullist-affiliated parties; and on the other hand, why many of them opted for the Union pour la démocratie Française (UDF), led by former president Giscard d'Estaing, and, more generally, for a Centre-Right orientation. (Savarese, [2016](#))

F.2 National Assembly 29-30 June 1970

At the beginning of this discussion, before the first reading, many of us — I did so personally — declared that the repatriates who had negotiated with the Government were disappointed, and that their disappointment was in danger of turning into bitterness and anger. Unfortunately, we now have clear proof that the repatriates are seriously disappointed by the vote taken by the majority of the National Assembly. My intention was to table a series of amendments, but I cannot do so, in accordance with Rule 114 of the Rules of Procedure and Article 45 of the Constitution. Our group will therefore be able, in order to demonstrate its opposition, to limit itself to voting against the text presented by the Government, once again, by recalling that this text does not allow for genuine compensation for repatriates and that, in our view, the repatriates' claim on the French State remains. The title of the bill, which suggests that repatriates will be able to apply to foreign states to obtain the supplement to what is called an advance, does not correspond to reality. In truth, if today the National Assembly adopts this text on third and final reading, it will not vote on a genuine law to compensate repatriates (Applause from the benches of the Socialist group.) Gaston Defferre, 29 June 1970, French National Assembly

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is not customary in this House to deliberate under any pressure whatsoever and the incidents that took place a few moments ago constitute, in this regard, an extremely unfortunate precedent. They would probably

not have happened if they had not been provoked — I will be excused for saying it as I think —by exaggerated statements by the spokesman of a group that appears to have only been interested in the repatriates for a relatively short time, because, finally, it is not useless to recall that there was a time when the eminent representatives of this same group were the least inclined to do anything in favour of the repatriates. Their position changed, for geographical reasons, from the day when certain repatriates came to settle in constituencies where they were elected. Mr. Pierre-Charles Krieg. 30 June 1970, French National Assembly

F.3 François Mitterrand, 4 April 1981

I still hear in my ears the words of Jacques Chirac, then Secretary of State for Finance, and those of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Minister of Finance, explaining that the country, then in full economic ascent, could do nothing more. I still hear in my ears the generous words of Gaston Defferre, Raoul Bayou, and so many others, fighting fiercely against the iniquitous text of 1969, but alas in vain, defeated by the majority. We witnessed, powerless, the completion of the spoliation of the repatriates by the decree of August 5, 1970, proposing scandalous compensation values. Mr François Mitterrand, proposals in favour of repatriates, Avignon, 4 April 1981³⁷

³⁷Original text: J'ai encore dans les oreilles les propos de Jacques Chirac, alors secrétaire d'État aux finances, et ceux de Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, ministre des finances, expliquant que le pays, alors en pleine ascension économique, ne pouvait rien faire de plus. J'ai encore dans les oreilles les propos généreux de Gaston Defferre, Raoul Bayou et tant d'autres, se battant avec acharnement contre le texte inique de 1969, mais hélas en vain, vaincus par le fait majoritaire. Nous avons assisté, impuissants, à l'achèvement de la spoliation des rapatriés par le décret du 5 août 1970, proposant des valeurs d'indemnisation scandaleuses.

G Software and Main Packages Used

Category	Package	Version
Python Packages	Python	3.12.3
	spaCy	3.7.5
	spaCy-transformers	1.3.5
	Unidecode	1.3.8
	pandas	2.2.2
	scikit-image	0.24.0
	scikit-learn	1.5.0
	transformers	4.36.2
	tokenizer	3.4.3
	tokenizers	0.15.2
	torch	2.3.1 + cu121
	nltk	3.8.1
	numpy	1.26.4
R Packages	synthdid	0.0.9
STATA Packages	STATA sdid	2.0.2 (June 28, 2024)
	STATA sdid_event	1.1.0 (February 15, 2025)

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