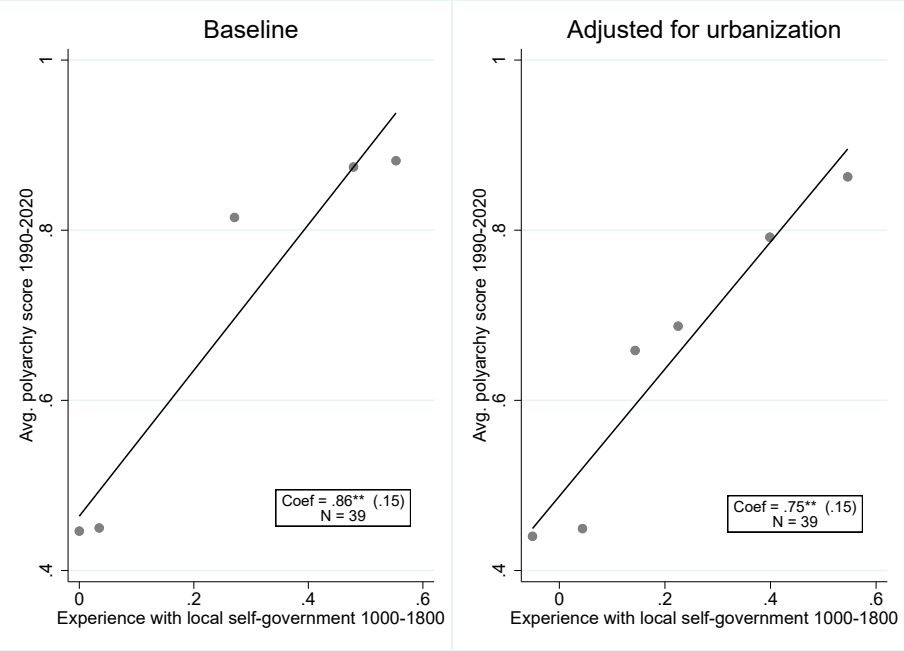
Online Appendix for "Pre-Modern Institutions and Later Support for Autocrats in Democratic Elections"

Contents

Self-Government and Democracy in Europe

Figure A1 finds a positive correlation between historical urban self-government and levels of democracy in Europe today.

Figure A1: Historical self-government and democracy today



Note: Y-axis depicts the average polyarchy level (from Coppedge et al. 2022) between 1990 and 2020 across the 39 countries in Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East that are covered by Bosker et al. (2013). X-axis shows the average share of centuries between 1000 and 1800 that cities in each country had self-government (weighed by city size in 1800). The scatter plot shows the average polyarchy level across 6 bins based on percentiles of experience with self-government. The linear fit is based on OLS. The left graph presents the baseline correlation, while the right graph shows the relationship adjusted for the degree of urbanization in 1800 (logged total urban population and logged urban pop. divided by logged area).

Data

Information on main variables

This section presents the spatial distribution of the variables used in the analyses. Figure A2 plots the vote share for the NSDAP across all towns in 1932 and the border of the Count

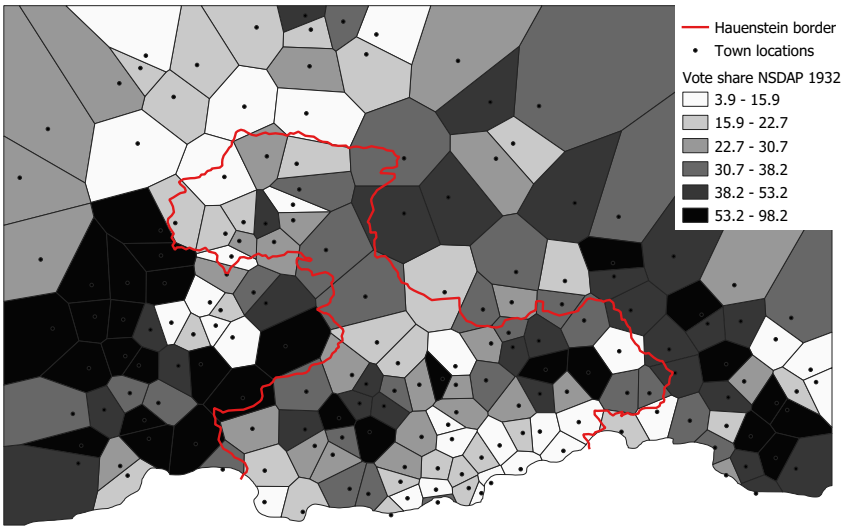
of Hauenstein. The discontinuity in NSDAP support along the border is visible. Darker shades indicate higher vote shares. Figure A3 presents the four geographic segments that are included as fixed effects in my models. Figure A4 shows the distribution of the first set of control variables. Graph (a) depicts the slope, darker shades implies more rugged terrain. Graph (b) presents the altitude, darker shades indicate higher elevation. Graph (c) shows the potential agricultural yield around each town, darker greens translate to higher yields. Darker reds in Graph (d) implies higher temperatures. Darker blues in Graph (e) implies additional rainfall and in Graph (f) it indicates access to a river.

Data on altitude and slope are from EEA (2019). Data on the soils caloric potential based on pre-1500 crops are taken from Galor and Özak (2016). Data on average (1970-2000) temperature and rainfall during the growing season is from WorldClim (2017). Data on historical river locations are from Euratlas (Nüssli and Nüssli 2008). As the Alemanni tribe settled in the areas surrounding the later County, I control for their presence based on a map of their settlements from Jänichen (1988). To capture pre-modern economic development, I follow earlier literature and construct three measures; one indicating whether a market was present in 1500 (based on Schaab 1988); and one indicating whether a town had at least 1000 inhabitants by 1500 (based on Bull 1988); and finally, first mentions of an agglomeration are taken from the *Historischer Atlas von Baden-Württemberg* (Schröder 1988).

Figure A5 presents the additional control variables. Darker purple indicates more variation in agricultural suitability in Graph (a). Graph (b) shows the towns that had at least 1000 inhabitants by 1500 (in dark). Graph (c) depicts the towns that had a market by 1500 (in dark). Graph (d) presents the first year each town is mentioned (dark indicates later mention). Graph (e) plots the towns that were located on a prior Alemannic settlement (in dark).

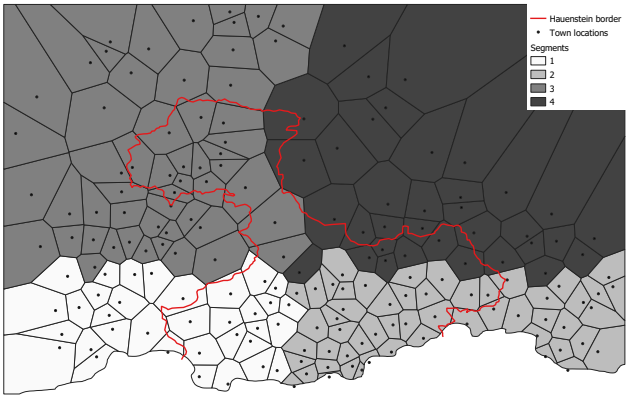
Protestantism data is from Franz 1988); rules of inheritance data from Huning and Wahl 2021; industrialization and modern economic growth (and crisis) data from Boelcke 1988; pre-1932 migration data on migrants between 1683-1811 from Scheuerbrandt 1988; warfare

Figure A2: Hauenstein border and NSDAP vote share in 1932



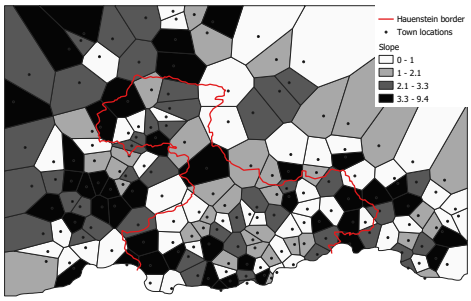
Note: Towns are presented as voronoi polygons where each town covers all territory that is closer to that town than to any other town. Darker hues indicate that towns had a higher NSDAP vote share in 1932. The red line demarcates the border of the County of Hauenstein.

Figure A3: Geographic segment fixed effects

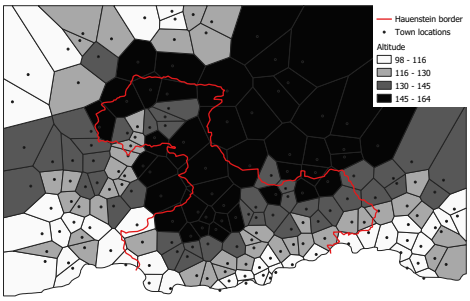


data from Niklaus 1988; data on distance from the nearest instance of pre-modern (1100-1800) Jewish persecution from Andersen et al. 2017), data on distance to the nearest Jewish settlement in 1925 from Sauer 1988. Figure A6 and A7 presents the spatial distribution of

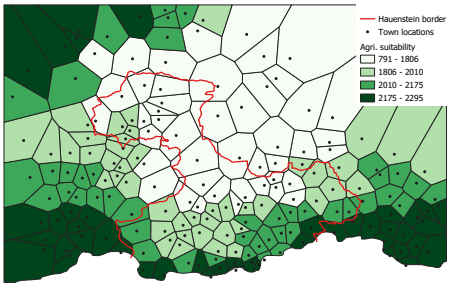
all potentially post-treatment control variables. In Figure A6 Graph (a) shows which towns had an inheritance rule that allowed only the eldest son to inherit (in dark). Graph (b) depicts towns with a majority of Protestant in 1820 (blue indicate Protestant). Graph (c) shows the towns that were engulfed in wars between 1600 and 1750 (in dark, primarily the thirty year war). Graph (d) presents the size of each town in 1933 (darker shades indicate larger towns). Graph (e) shows the number of migrants during the early modern period (darker green indicate additional migrants) In Figure A7, Graph (b) shows the change in population size between 1910 and 1933 (red colours indicate loss and dark colours indicate gain). Graph (c) shows the towns with at least one industry by 1895 (dark red indicates industry). Graph (d) depicts the distance to the nearest case of Jewish persecution between 1100 and 1800 (lighter shading indicates longer distance). Graph (e) shows the distance to the nearest Jewish settlement in 1925 (darker green indicates proximity).



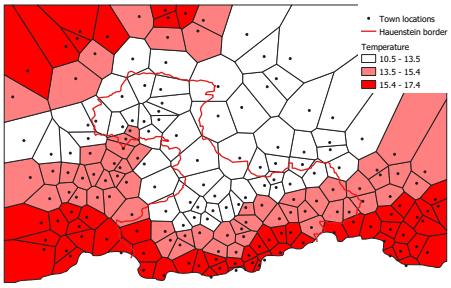
(a) Slope



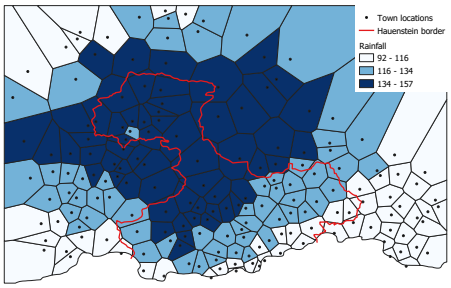
(b) Altitude



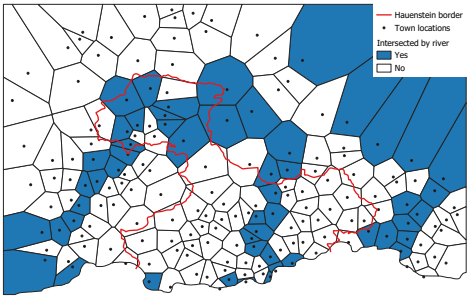
(c) Agri. suitability



(d) Temperature

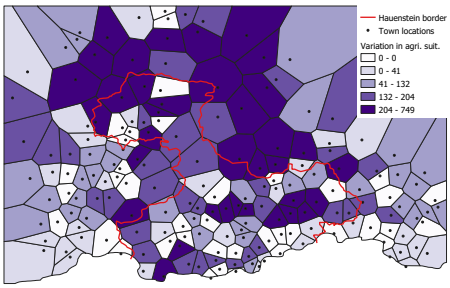


(e) Rainfall

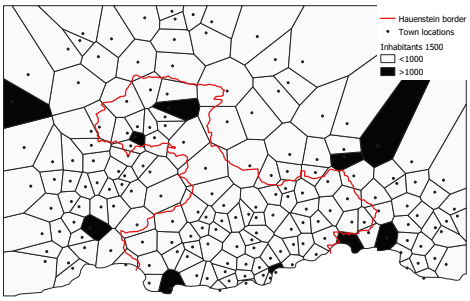


(f) River access

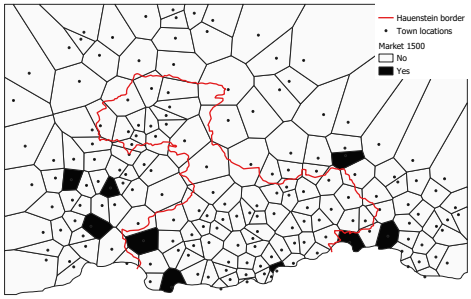
Figure A4: Pre-autonomy characteristics I



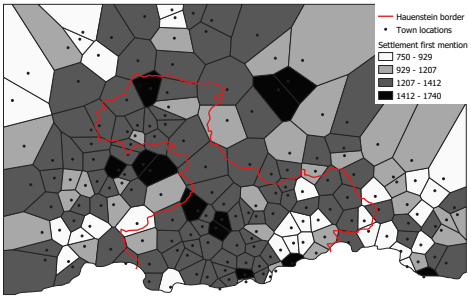
(a) Variation in agri. suit.



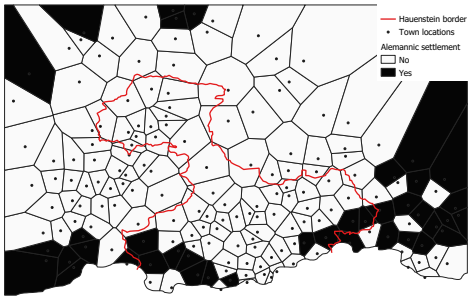
(b) >1000 inh. in 1500



(c) Market in 1500

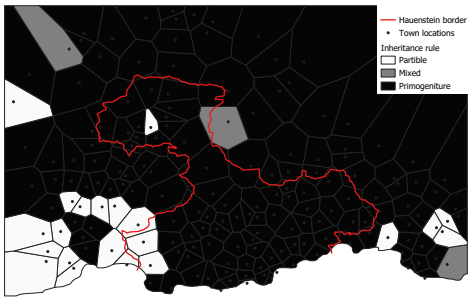


(d) Settlement year

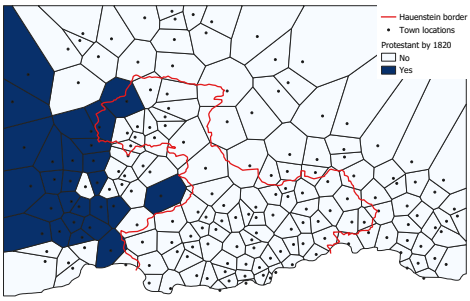


(e) Alemannic settlements

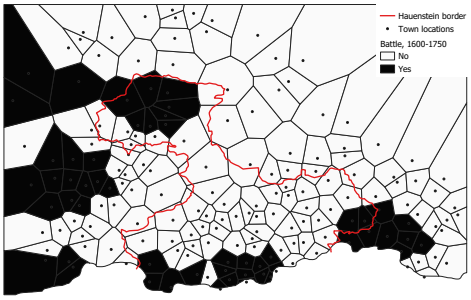
Figure A5: Pre-autonomy characteristics II



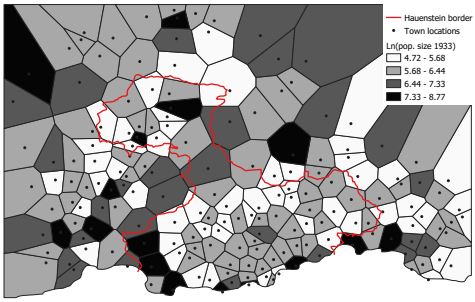
(a) Inheritance rule by the nineteenth century



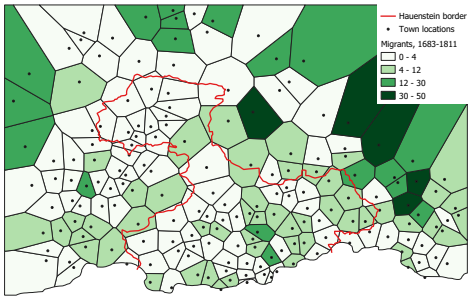
(b) Majority Protestant in 1820



(c) Towns that experienced battle, 1600-1750

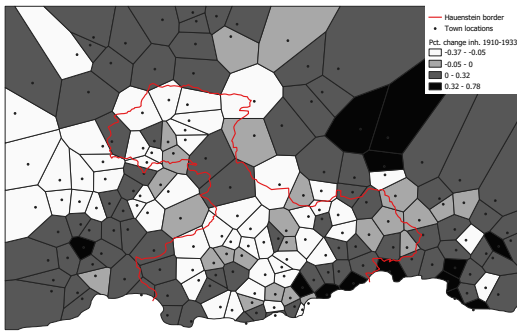


(d) Ln(population size in 1933)

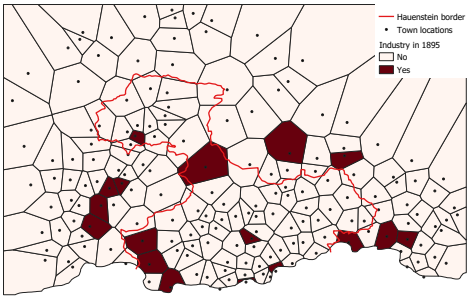


(e) Migrants, 1683-1811

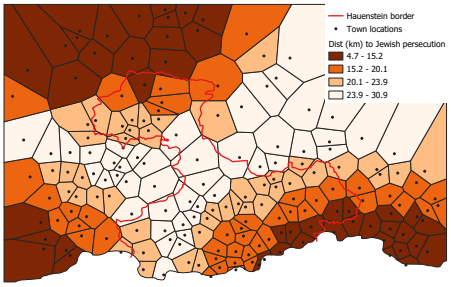
Figure A6: Post-treatment controls I



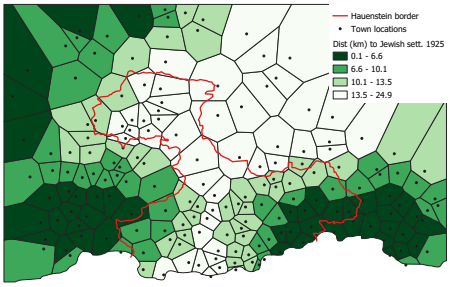
(a) Change in population size from 1910 to 1933



(b) Industry by 1895



(c) Dist. Jewish persecution, 1100-1800



(d) Dist. Jewish sett., 1925

Figure A7: Post-treatment controls II

Information on surrounding polities

To get a systematic overview of what polities that surrounded the County, I have coded the ownership of the 105 towns and villages in my sample that did not belong to Hauenstein (based on the *Historisches Ortslexikon Baden-Württemberg* 2020). Towns that had multiple owners are coded as belonging to the owner with the longest ownership between 1300 and 1800. The polities that owned the most towns were (Anterior) Austria (4 towns), Baden (8 towns), St. Blasien (21 towns), Hachberg (12 towns), Klettgau (8 towns), Fürstenberg (6 towns), Freiburg (7 towns), Stühlingen (6 towns), and Schonau (11 towns). There was a total of 24 different polities that owned towns adjacent to the County.

Did any of these towns experience self-government or inclusive institutions? To answer this, I code whether the inhabitants had a say in determining policy in any of the adjacent polities. When inhabitants could not influence policy, towns are scored at 0 (for instance, towns under the Abbey of St. Blasien). Towns that could influence policy via, for instance, an assembly or local council are scored as 1. The following polities are included in this category: Towns in Austria and Baden could send representatives to a general assembly in the pre-modern period; The Imperial and Free town of Rottweil also had council governance for a large share of the period; Finally, three additional towns were governed primarily via a local council (Horben, Tiengen, and Waldshut). Small lordships were generally coded as non-self-governing unless there were clear indications otherwise (see Quarthal 1991, 233). 85% of the control group towns had no experience with self-government during the pre-modern period. Coding is based on (Schröder 1988; Kohlhammer 2020f; Kohlhammer 2020d; Kohlhammer 2020c; Quarthal 1982; Kohlhammer 2020a; Kohlhammer 2020b; Kohlhammer 2020e; Köbler 2019; Bradler and Quarthal 1982; Quarthal 1991).

The border of the County of Hauenstein

Understanding the factors that might be driving the establishment of the County's border is crucial for evaluating the validity of the design. In terms of population, the County of Hauenstein is a rather small political entity and thus its historical record is not extensive. It is therefore hard to say anything definitive about its origins (Luebke 1997, 31; Rumpf 2012, 53). However, there are a number of historical works that focus on the emergence of the county. This section describes the factors that might have affected why some towns were part of the County while others were not, and discusses whether these factors are behind my findings.

Geography: One perspective proposes that the region's hilly and varied terrain played a role in the emergence of the County. As the land required extensive work before they could be used for agriculture, it is hypothesized that lords and monasteries offered special privileges to people that would do the difficult work of preparing the land (Rumpf 2012, 53-55). Thus, the fragmented nature of agricultural production in the region increased the cost of direct control, which in turn made it easier for the inhabitants to achieve self-government. To ascertain whether this might be behind my findings, I include a number of covariates related to the geography of the region: the altitude of the town, the slope of its environs, the agricultural potential of its hinterlands, and variation in the agricultural potential of its hinterlands.

War: An alternative perspective focus on the role of conflict. Early in its history the County commanded a militia that was used for defense against invaders (it had disappeared by the eighteenth century). Some speculate that the political institutions were an outgrowth of an initial defensive military pact that allowed the citizens to protect themselves from predation (Luebke 1997, 31; Merk 1833). Thus, the presence of additional warfare in the region caused towns to band together and form a political entity.

Alemannic settlements: A final perspectives points to the presence of prior Aleman-

nic settlements. This argument goes that the location of the County overlaps with prior Alemannic political units (*huntare*), which then persisted and formed the basis for later self-governing institutions (Cramer 1899, 454). Thus, areas with Alemannic settlements were more incline to later see self-governing institutions.

Is there a discontinuity in geographic factors, war, and Alemannic settlements around the boundary? If there is a discontinuity in any of these hypothesized causes of County formation it could be problematic, as any found difference in Nazi support may then by driven pre-existing differences in the future County. I therefore check whether there are jumps at the County border for any of these characteristics. To capture geographic fragmentation, I examine the altitude, slope, agricultural potential and variation in potential of each town. I measure conflict using data on the towns exposed to warfare from Niklaus (1988). Note that there is only data on conflict for the period that is contemporaneous with the existence of self-government.[4] I measure an Alemannic heritage using a dummy for the presence of an Alemannic settlement on the same place as a town (data from Jänichen 1988). Table A1 shows that here is little discontinuity in any of these factors at the boundary (the coefficient on Hauenstein is insignificant in model (1)-(6)). This indicates that there is little jump in any of the variables near the border of the County. This is also supported in Figure A8, which presents the distribution of the variables graphically around the boundary of the County and finds no evidence of a discontinuity. Thus, it is unlikely that any of these factors could explain a discontinuity in voting for the Nazi party around the boundary of the County.

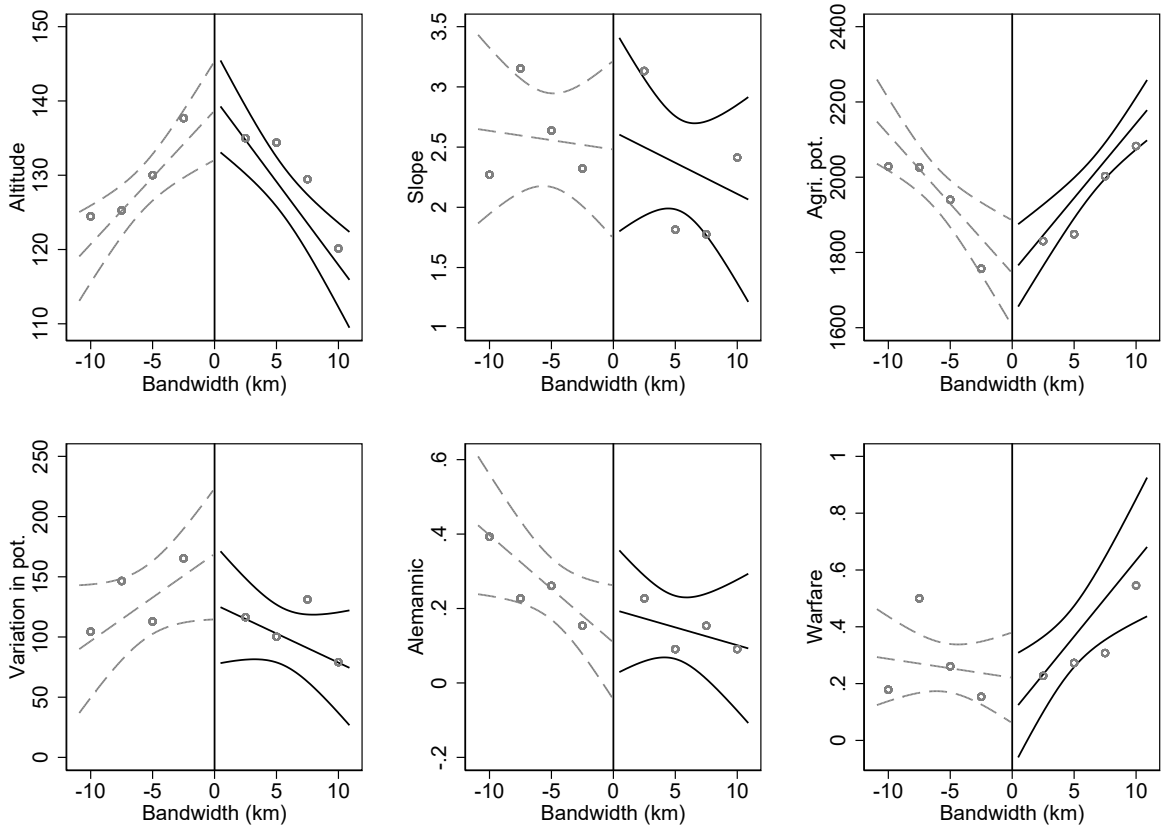
Table A1: Geography, war, alemannic settlements and belonging to the County of Hauenstein

	(1) Altitude	(2) Slope	(3) Agri. suit.	(4) Var. in suit.	(5) Alemannic	(6) Battle, 1600-1750
Hauenstein	1.649	0.149	1.401	-41.906	0.088	-0.122
	(4.715)	(0.571)	(83.468)	(37.055)	(0.117)	(0.128)
Distance to border	-1.798***	0.015	36.876***	-7.239+	0.029*	0.007
	(0.513)	(0.061)	(8.859)	(4.128)	(0.014)	(0.013)
Hauenstein × Distance to border	4.041***	0.036	-76.516***	12.076*	-0.019	-0.060**
	(0.729)	(0.093)	(14.361)	(5.690)	(0.021)	(0.022)
Observations	177.000	177.000	177.000	177.000	177.000	177.000

Note: Estimated using OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses
+ 0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

[4]Based on data from Kitamura 2021 there is no battle near any town in the data from 600 to 1370.

Figure A8: Geography, war, alemannic settlements around the boundary

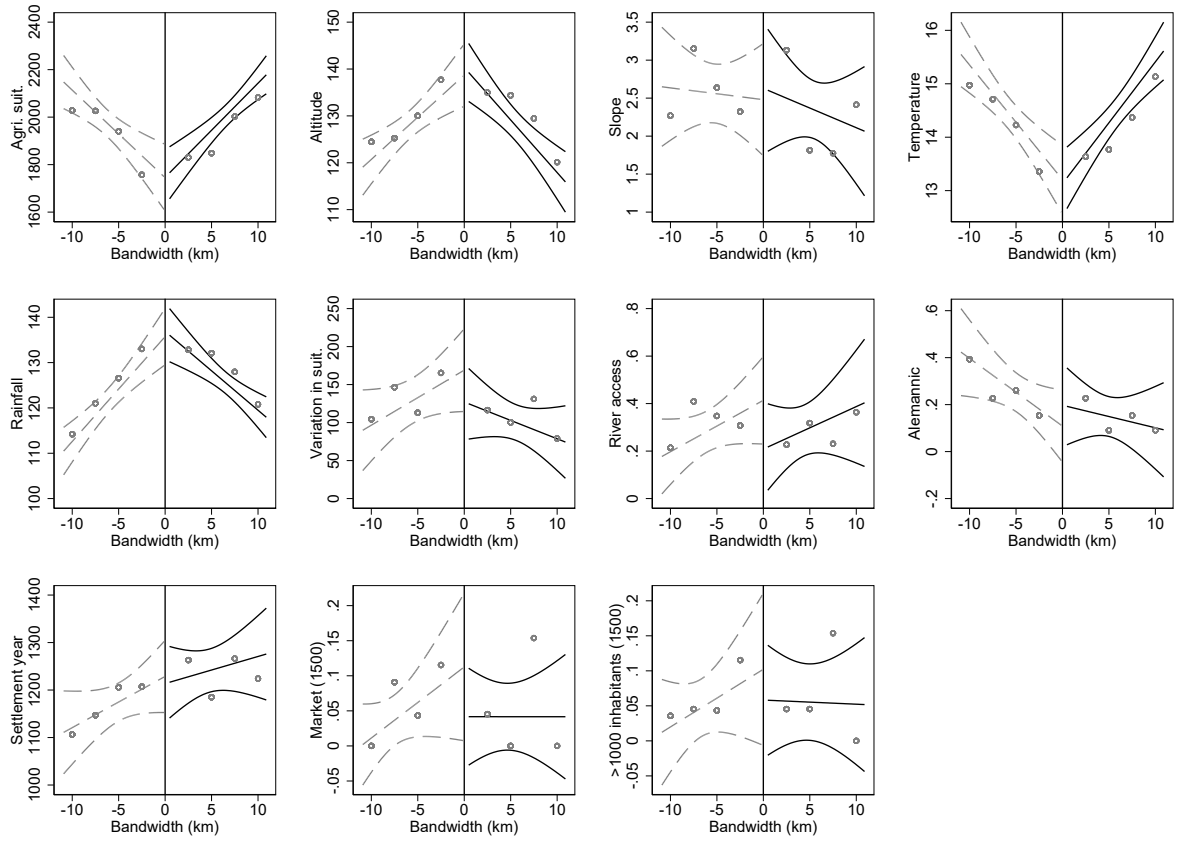


Note: Area to the right of the vertical line contains towns within the County. The black lines are towns within the County. The dashed gray lines are towns outside the County. Dots correspond to means for 2,5 km bins, while the lines are based on a linear fit for each side of the border. The surrounding lines are 95% confidence intervals.

Covariates around the boundary

Figure A9 visualizes the relationship between characteristics that are measured before the County adopted self-government and distance to its borders. Reassuringly, there is no clear discontinuity for any characteristic.

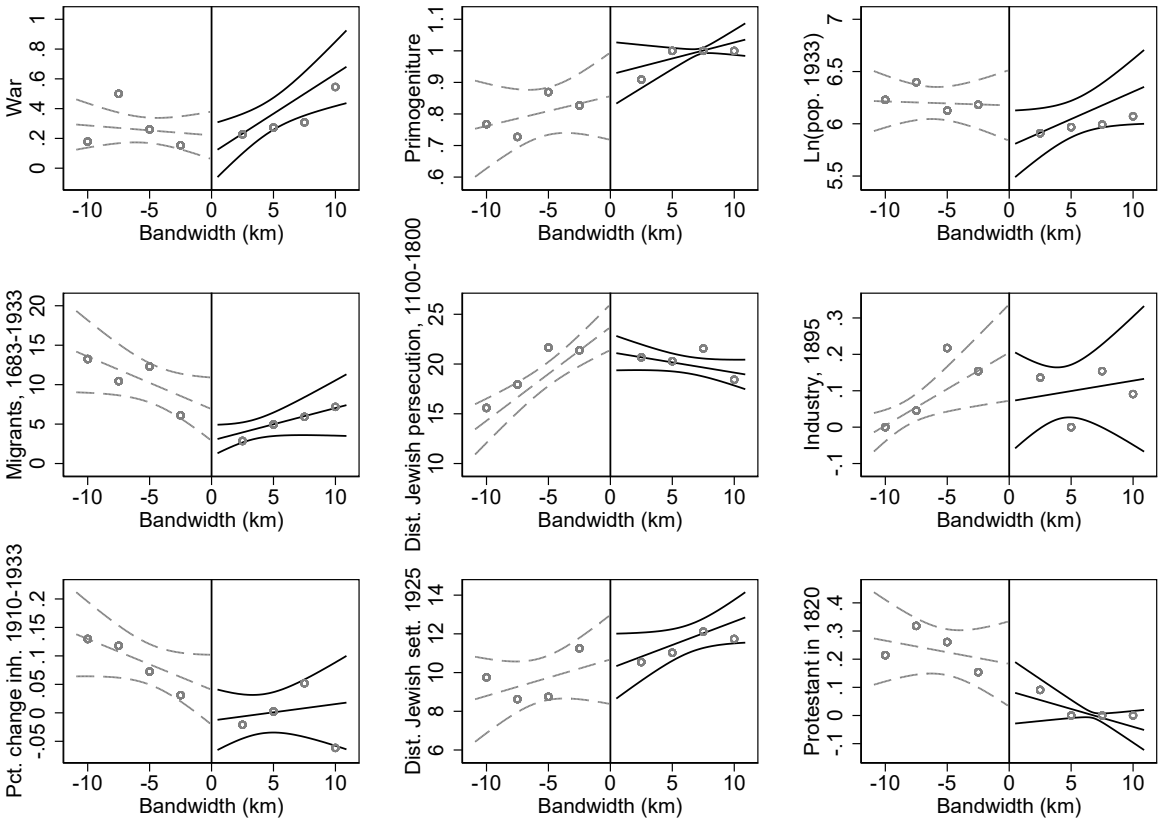
Figure A9: Do observables vary smoothly at the border?



Note: Area to the right of the vertical line contains towns within the County. The black lines are towns within the County. The dashed gray lines are towns outside the County. Dots correspond to means for 2,5 km bins, while the lines are based on a linear fit for each side of the border. The surrounding lines are 95% confidence intervals.

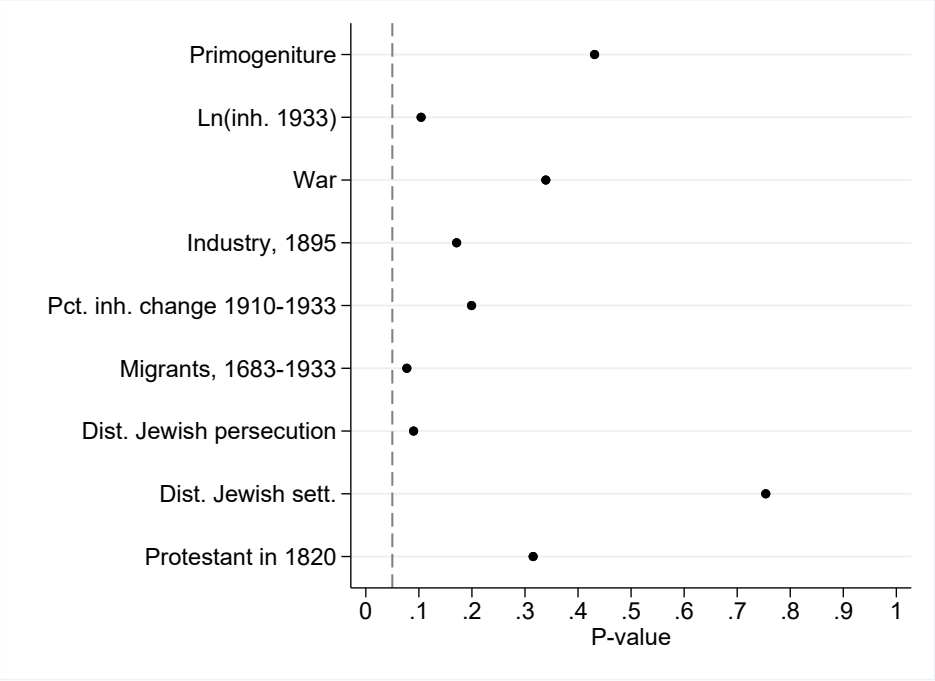
Post-adoption covariates around the boundary

Figure A10: Do post-adoption observables vary smoothly at the border? Graphically



Note: Area to the right of the vertical line contains towns within the County. The black lines are towns within the County. The dashed gray lines are towns outside the County. Dots correspond to means for 2,5 km bins, while the lines are based on a linear fit for each side of the border. The surrounding lines are 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A11: Do post-adoption observables vary smoothly at the border? Regression results



Note: The x-axis depicts p-values from regressions that estimate whether each covariate is discontinuous at the border. Specification is based on equation (2) (p-value for β). The dashed vertical line marks the conventional 0.05 level of significance.

Regression results

Table A2 shows the baseline results using the specification presented in equation (1) in the letter. Across model (1)-(4) I find substantially lower support for the NSDAP within the former County of Hauenstein. Table A3 presents results based on equation (2) where belonging to the County of Hauenstein is interacted with the running variable (using both a linear, quadratic, cubic, and fixed effects specification of the running variable). The results remain. The results also hold in Table A4 where equation (2) is estimated using varying control set-ups similar to Table A2.

Table A2: Support for the NSDAP based on equation (1)

	(1) NSDAP 1932	(2) NSDAP 1932	(3) NSDAP 1932	(4) NSDAP 1932
Hauenstein	-13.863***	-16.658***	-19.584***	-15.609***
	(2.776)	(3.293)	(3.667)	(4.126)
Latitude		-53.406*	-66.727*	-40.334
		(26.818)	(31.241)	(35.754)
Longitude		-17.627	-33.693+	13.254
		(15.687)	(20.044)	(24.788)
Altitude			0.505+	0.419+
			(0.258)	(0.248)
Slope			-1.395	-1.751+
			(0.877)	(0.893)
Agri. suit.			0.023*	0.026*
			(0.010)	(0.013)
Temperature			-8.163	-5.851
			(5.970)	(5.973)
Rainfall			-0.547	-0.366
			(0.515)	(0.529)
Settled year			-0.003	-0.004
			(0.008)	(0.009)
Alemannic			-1.656	-2.495
			(3.921)	(3.810)
River access			-6.820*	-10.001***
			(3.299)	(2.885)
Market in 1500			-5.815	3.210
			(9.835)	(8.852)
>1000 inh. in 1500			4.720	-0.487
			(7.650)	(7.579)
Variation ag. suit.			-0.015	-0.015
			(0.010)	(0.010)
Protestant in 1820				26.177***
				(7.150)
Primogeniture				-9.599+
				(5.698)
Ln(inh. 1933)				-3.319
				(2.191)
Battle, 1600-1750				8.822*
				(3.589)
Industry in 1895				-2.925
				(6.324)
Pct. change inh. 1910-1933				-14.087
				(9.772)
Migrants, 1683-1811				0.187
				(0.137)
Dist. Jewish persecution, 1100-1800				-0.485
				(0.511)
Dist. Jewish sett., 1925				1.085+
				(0.621)
Dist. to border FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Segment FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	177.000	177.000	177.000	177.000

Note: Estimated using OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses
+ 0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Table A3: Support for the NSDAP based on equation (2) – different specifications of running variable

	(1) NSDAP 1932	(2) NSDAP 1932	(3) NSDAP 1932	(4) NSDAP 1932
Hauenstein	-15.015**	-19.454**	-17.478+	-12.956+
	(5.052)	(7.184)	(9.497)	(7.156)
Altitude	0.504+	0.496+	0.479+	0.477+
	(0.259)	(0.264)	(0.264)	(0.277)
Slope	-1.315	-1.197	-1.154	-1.286
	(0.880)	(0.921)	(0.927)	(0.924)
Agri. suit.	0.022*	0.022*	0.023*	0.022*
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Temperature	-4.252	-4.335	-5.796	-6.208
	(5.742)	(5.754)	(5.746)	(6.509)
Rainfall	-0.152	-0.158	-0.304	-0.334
	(0.503)	(0.509)	(0.514)	(0.568)
Settled year	0.001	0.001	0.001	-0.003
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.009)
Alemannic	-2.429	-2.344	-2.522	-1.306
	(3.747)	(3.888)	(3.813)	(4.156)
Latitude	-72.126*	-78.496*	-83.647*	-75.162*
	(33.516)	(33.634)	(32.448)	(33.118)
Longitude	-24.456	-25.460	-29.841	-37.430+
	(18.426)	(18.572)	(18.629)	(21.174)
River access	-6.042+	-5.841+	-5.729+	-5.950+
	(3.297)	(3.350)	(3.324)	(3.498)
Market in 1500	-4.522	-4.626	-4.451	-6.129
	(10.481)	(10.605)	(10.953)	(10.890)
>1000 inh. in 1500	4.079	3.904	2.799	6.172
	(8.001)	(8.144)	(8.368)	(8.066)
Variation ag. suit.	-0.015	-0.013	-0.012	-0.011
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Segment FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Specification of running variable	Linear	Quadratic	Cubic	FE
Observations	177.000	177.000	177.000	177.000

Note: Estimated using OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses
+ 0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. For readability the coefficients for the running variable and its interactions are not shown.

Table A4: Support for the NSDAP based on equation (2) – different specifications of controls

	(1) NSDAP 1932	(2) NSDAP 1932	(3) NSDAP 1932	(4) NSDAP 1932
Hauenstein	-13.602*	-11.562*	-15.015**	-14.379**
	(5.257)	(5.342)	(5.052)	(4.988)
Distance to border	-0.206	0.356	0.661	-0.487
	(0.728)	(0.723)	(0.795)	(0.783)
Hauenstein × Distance to border	0.505	0.522	0.053	1.251
	(0.840)	(0.881)	(0.957)	(1.301)
Latitude		-69.218*	-72.126*	-44.938
		(28.497)	(33.516)	(37.612)
Longitude		-17.803	-24.456	20.652
		(16.303)	(18.426)	(24.175)
Altitude			0.504+	0.478*
			(0.259)	(0.241)
Slope			-1.315	-1.688+
			(0.880)	(0.878)
Agri. suit.			0.022*	0.024+
			(0.010)	(0.013)
Temperature			-4.252	-2.412
			(5.742)	(5.925)
Rainfall			-0.152	-0.072
			(0.503)	(0.530)
Settled year			0.001	-0.001
			(0.008)	(0.008)
Alemannic			-2.429	-3.186
			(3.747)	(3.677)
River access			-6.042+	-9.468**
			(3.297)	(2.943)
Market in 1500			-4.522	3.305
			(10.481)	(9.277)
>1000 inh. in 1500			4.079	-0.033
			(8.001)	(8.274)
Variation ag. suit.			-0.015	-0.016+
			(0.010)	(0.009)
Protestant in 1820				25.560***
				(6.950)
Primogeniture				-9.266
				(5.632)
Ln(inh. 1933)				-3.660+
				(2.182)
Battle, 1600-1750				7.972*
				(3.392)
Industry in 1895				-1.267
				(6.402)
Pct. change inh. 1910-1933				-10.992
				(10.258)
Migrants, 1683-1811				0.255+
				(0.142)
Dist. Jewish persecution, 1100-1800				-0.478
				(0.509)
Dist. Jewish sett., 1925				1.030
				(0.654)
Segment FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Specification of running variable	Linear	Linear	Linear	Linear
Observations	177.000	177.000	177.000	177.000

Note: Estimated using OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses
+ 0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Robustness checks for GRD

Main robustness checks

This section presents a series of robustness checks for the GRD design. Table A5 checks whether the results change when the bandwidth is decreased in 1km increments. Reassuringly, the results remain across different bandwidths. Table A6 presents non-parametric models using the *rdrobust* package (Calonico et al. 2014) - the negative impact on NSDAP vote share persist across all approaches (conventional, bias-corrected, and robust). Table A7 presents estimates from a "Donut" RDD that excludes towns located right at the border (within 1km). I recover similar estimates. Table A8 investigates whether the findings are driven by a particular area, which could indicate that another polity in that area could be behind the findings. Specifically, I partition my sample into four equal sized geographical areas based on the latitude and longitude of each town (South-west, South-east, North-west, and North-east), and then I estimate my baseline model excluding each area in turn. Reassuringly, this does not alter the estimate for the impact of belonging to the County of Hauenstein substantially. Table A9 checks whether the findings are driven by election districts by including election district (*wahlkreis*) fixed effects (based on a map from Geobasis 2020). This does not influence the findings. Figure A12 shows that the discontinuity remains visible when using a quadratic fit and a local polynomial smooth fit on both sides of the border. Figure A13 plots the coefficients from placebo tests where I move the border west and east or north and south (Tables A10 and A11 presents the regression results). The discontinuity is sharpest at the actual borders of the County of Hauenstein. Table A12 checks whether the results might be driven by an influence of inclusive institutions in Switzerland on the southern part of my sample. Reassuringly, removing towns that are proximate to Swtizerland does not seem to change my findings.

Table A5: Different bandwidths

	(1) NSDAP 1932	(2) NSDAP 1932	(3) NSDAP 1932	(4) NSDAP 1932	(5) NSDAP 1932	(6) NSDAP 1932
Hauenstein	-13.863***	-14.217***	-12.787***	-11.775***	-12.753**	-14.366***
	(2.776)	(3.089)	(3.239)	(3.462)	(3.771)	(4.038)
Bandwidth	10km	9km	8km	7km	6km	5km
Observations	177.000	152.000	134.000	121.000	105.000	93.000

Note: Estimated using OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses
+ 0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Table A6: Results using "rdrobust" package

	(1) NSDAP 1932	(2) NSDAP 1932
Conventional	-18.194*	-18.355*
	(8.140)	(8.215)
Bias-corrected	-17.496*	-17.506*
	(8.140)	(8.215)
Robust	-17.496+	-17.506+
	(9.588)	(9.685)
Type	Sharp	Fuzzy
Observations	177.000	177.000

Note: Estimated using rdrobust package. Robust standard errors in parentheses
+ 0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Table A7: Donut regression

	(1) NSDAP 1932	(2) NSDAP 1932	(3) NSDAP 1932	(4) NSDAP 1932
Hauenstein	-13.807***	-16.923***	-20.582***	-13.803**
	(2.954)	(3.561)	(4.077)	(4.622)
Latitude		-54.920+	-65.204*	-50.630
		(28.045)	(31.902)	(36.829)
Longitude		-19.406	-34.558+	16.417
		(16.154)	(19.882)	(25.777)
Altitude			0.617*	0.656**
			(0.270)	(0.232)
Slope			-1.375	-1.676+
			(0.915)	(0.965)
Crop suit.			0.023*	0.034*
			(0.011)	(0.014)
Temperature			-6.705	-6.234
			(6.313)	(6.033)
Rainfall			-0.498	-0.423
			(0.545)	(0.547)
Settled year			-0.000	0.001
			(0.008)	(0.008)
Alemannic			-1.875	-0.341
			(4.057)	(3.800)
Variation in ag. suit.			-0.018+	-0.017+
			(0.011)	(0.010)
River access			-6.391+	-10.158**
			(3.530)	(3.116)
Market in 1500			-5.303	2.975
			(10.143)	(8.637)
>1000 inh. in 1500			5.551	-0.596
			(7.877)	(7.304)
Protestant in 1820				34.442***
				(7.314)
Battle, 1600-1750				9.838**
				(3.734)
Ln(inh. 1933)				-2.946
				(2.210)
Primogeniture				-7.825
				(5.723)
Pct. change inh. 1910-1933				-13.481
				(9.914)
Migrants, 1683-1811				0.214
				(0.149)
Industry in 1895				0.287
				(5.935)
Dist. Jewish persecution, 1100-1800				-1.061*
				(0.480)
Dist. Jewish sett., 1925				1.527*
				(0.616)
Dist. to border FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Segment FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	162.000	162.000	162.000	162.000

Note: Estimated using OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses
+ 0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Table A8: Are the results explained by a single area?

	(1) NSDAP 1932	(2) NSDAP 1932	(3) NSDAP 1932	(4) NSDAP 1932	(5) NSDAP 1932
Hauenstein	-13.863***	-13.377***	-12.545***	-14.363***	-15.096***
	(2.776)	(2.921)	(3.333)	(3.053)	(3.433)
Excluded area	None	South-West	South-East	North-West	North-East
Observations	177.000	143.000	123.000	123.000	142.000

Note: Estimated using OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses
+ 0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Table A9: Accounting for modern election districts

	(1) NSDAP 1932	(2) NSDAP 1932	(3) NSDAP 1932	(4) NSDAP 1932
Hauenstein	-12.798***	-13.537***	-15.386***	-14.686***
	(2.591)	(3.357)	(3.539)	(4.083)
Latitude		-21.513	-22.802	-34.169
		(29.041)	(36.053)	(38.156)
Longitude		-0.367	-3.698	23.000
		(17.822)	(22.947)	(27.309)
Altitude			0.596*	0.411
			(0.262)	(0.256)
Slope			-1.157	-1.703+
			(0.878)	(0.900)
Crop suit.			0.026**	0.026*
			(0.010)	(0.013)
Temperature			-4.172	-5.537
			(6.249)	(6.162)
Rainfall			-0.229	-0.297
			(0.530)	(0.547)
Settled year			-0.003	-0.004
			(0.008)	(0.009)
Alemannic			-1.797	-2.318
			(3.870)	(3.809)
River access			-8.061*	-10.508***
			(3.266)	(3.062)
Market in 1500			-3.006	3.680
			(10.175)	(8.830)
Variation in ag. suit.			-0.009	-0.013
			(0.010)	(0.011)
>1000 inh. in 1500			2.346	-1.324
			(7.603)	(7.246)
catholic_1820				25.360**
				(7.741)
Primogeniture				-8.659
				(5.815)
Ln(inh. 1933)				-3.198
				(2.212)
Battle, 1600-1750				8.976*
				(3.623)
Migrants, 1683-1811				0.211
				(0.140)
Industry in 1895				-2.525
				(6.502)
Pct. change inh. 1910-1933				-14.564
				(9.945)
Dist. Jewish persecution, 1100-1800				-0.445
				(0.536)
Dist. Jewish sett., 1925				1.072+
				(0.622)
Dist. to border FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Segment FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Modern border FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	177.000	177.000	177.000	177.000

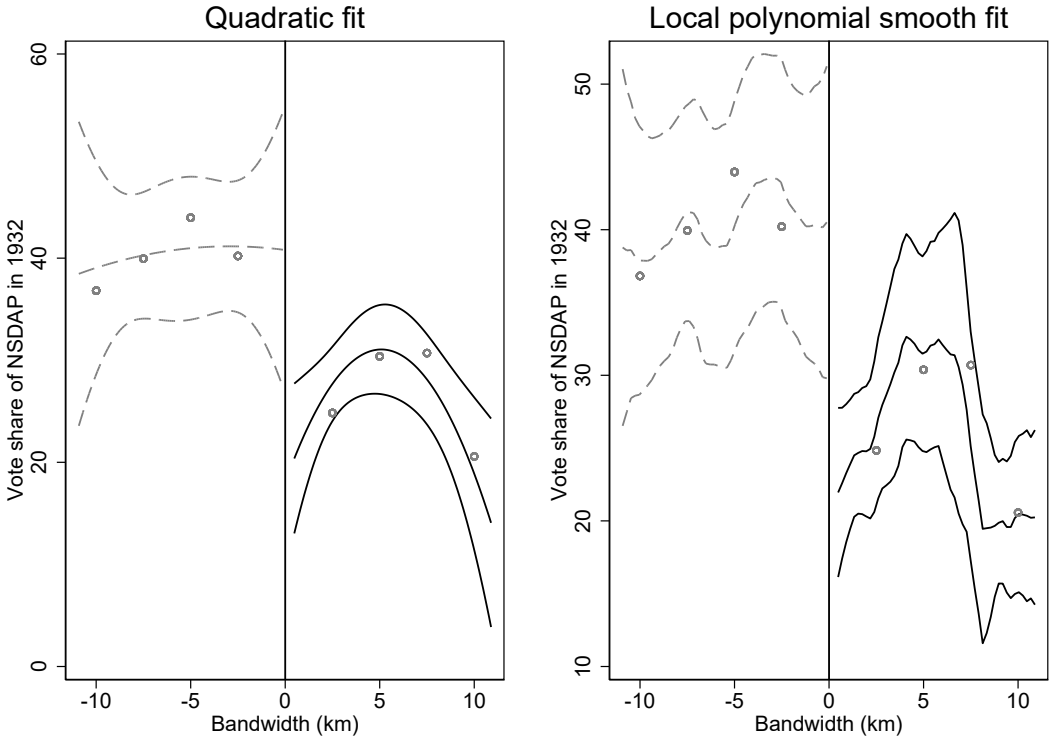
Note: Estimated using OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses
+ 0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Table A10: Placebo borders (West/East)

	(1) NSDAP 1932	(2) NSDAP 1932	(3) NSDAP 1932	(4) NSDAP 1932	(5) NSDAP 1932
10km West	-5.996+				
	(3.178)				
5km West		-3.198			
		(2.886)			
Hauenstein			-13.670***		
			(2.475)		
5km East				-7.361**	
				(2.657)	
10km East					-1.718
					(2.830)
Border move	10km W	5km W	None	5km E	10km E
Observations	177.000	177.000	177.000	177.000	177.000

Note: Estimated using OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses
+ 0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Figure A12: Quadratic and local polynomial smooth fit



Note: Area to the right of the vertical line contains towns within the County. The black lines are towns within the County. The dashed gray lines are towns outside the County. Dots correspond to means for 2,5 km bins, while the lines are based on a linear fit for each side of the border. The surrounding lines are 95% confidence intervals.

Table A11: Placebo borders (North/South)

	(1) NSDAP 1932	(2) NSDAP 1932	(3) NSDAP 1932	(4) NSDAP 1932	(5) NSDAP 1932
10km North	-1.997				
	(2.834)				
5km North		-3.837			
		(3.065)			
Hauenstein			-13.670***		
			(2.475)		
5km South				-15.462***	
				(2.378)	
10km South					-5.824
					(3.702)
Border move	10km N	5km N	None	5km S	10km S
Observations	177.000	177.000	177.000	177.000	177.000

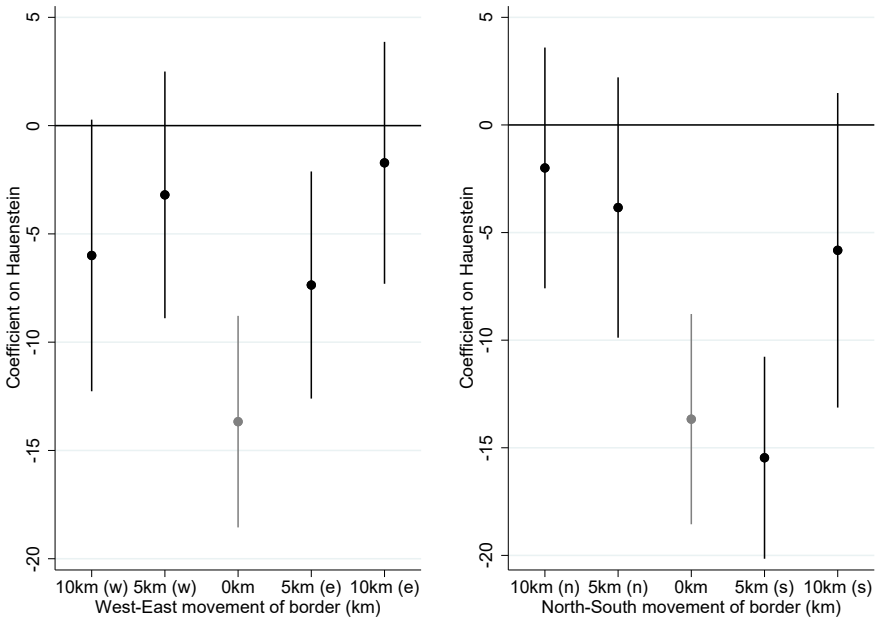
Note: Estimated using OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses
+ 0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Table A12: Influence of Switzerland

	(1) NSDAP 1932	(2) NSDAP 1932	(3) NSDAP 1932	(4) NSDAP 1932	(5) NSDAP 1932
Hauenstein	-13.863***	-13.698***	-12.746***	-10.849**	-12.175**
	(2.776)	(3.500)	(3.033)	(3.332)	(3.806)
Excluded from sample	None	Southern segments	Within 2.5km of Switz.	Within 5km of Switz.	Within 10km of Switz.
Observations	177.000	89.000	151.000	128.000	93.000

Note: Estimated using OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses
+ 0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Figure A13: Placebo borders



Note: Estimated using OLS and 10km bandwidth. 95% confidence intervals based on robust standard errors. Based on Model 3 from Table A2.

Residual analyses

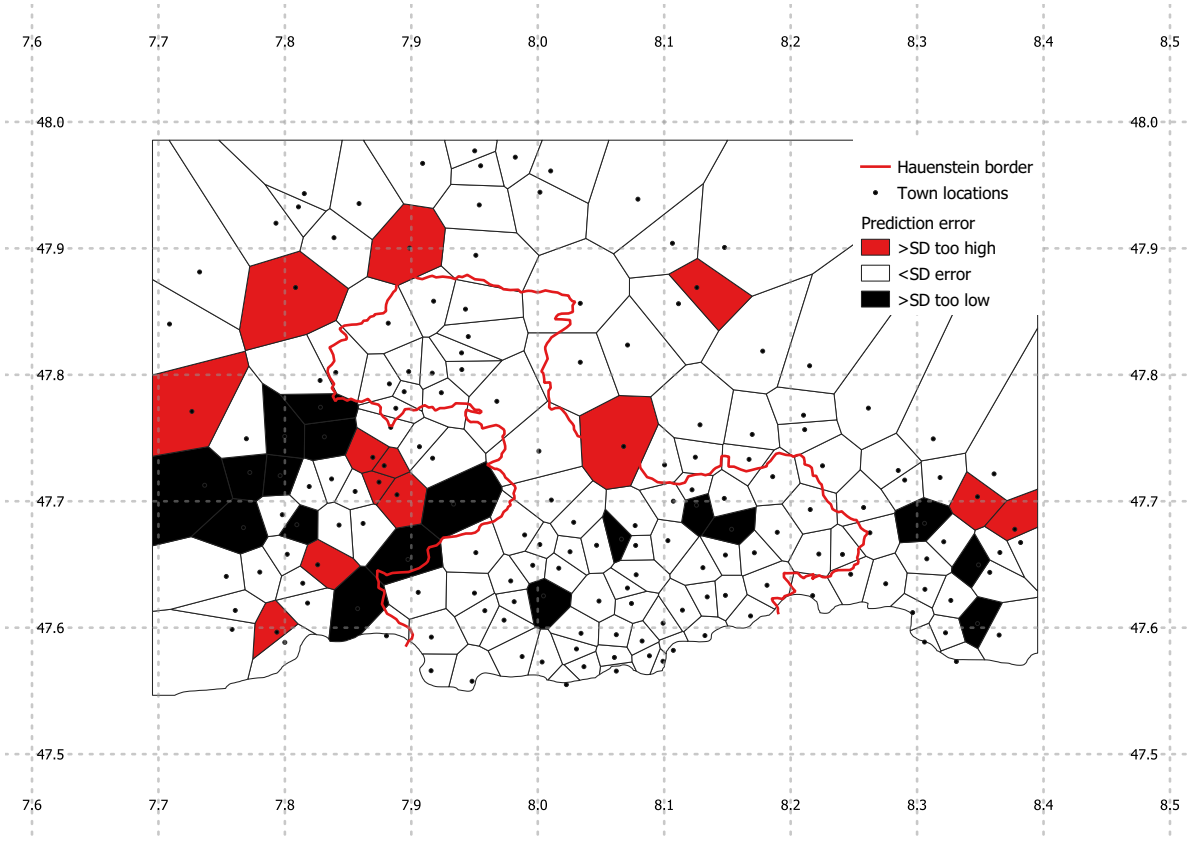
It is potentially problematic if a specific area is poorly predicted, as it could indicate a) that another factor might be behind my findings, or b) that the results are simply an artefact of spatial trends. I assess whether this is the case by first plotting the difference between the actual outcome and the predicted outcome in Model 3 from Table A2. Reassuringly, there is little clustering in prediction error with the exception of an area in the Western part of the control group (between latitude 47,65 and 47,8 and longitude 7,7 and 7,9). This cluster has, however, little influence on my findings. If I exclude all towns within the cluster and rerun Model 3 from Table A2, the coefficient on belonging to the County of Hauenstein is -14.7*** (compared to -19.6*** in the original model) - see Table A13.

Table A13: Regression with and without cluster

	(1) NSDAP 1932	(2) NSDAP 1932
Hauenstein	-19.584***	-14.665***
	(3.667)	(3.835)
Altitude	0.505+	0.424*
	(0.258)	(0.193)
Slope	-1.395	-1.067
	(0.877)	(0.874)
Crop suit.	0.023*	0.007
	(0.010)	(0.008)
Temperature	-8.163	-5.048
	(5.970)	(4.960)
Rainfall	-0.547	-0.548
	(0.515)	(0.439)
Settled year	-0.003	0.001
	(0.008)	(0.007)
Alemannic	-1.656	0.085
	(3.921)	(3.788)
Latitude	-66.727*	-56.675+
	(31.241)	(31.453)
Longitude	-33.693+	-4.797
	(20.044)	(18.630)
River access	-6.820*	-6.913*
	(3.299)	(2.719)
Market in 1500	-5.815	-11.447
	(9.835)	(7.030)
>1000 inh. in 1500	4.720	8.522
	(7.650)	(5.493)
Variation in ag. suit.	-0.015	-0.012
	(0.010)	(0.009)
Dist. to border FE	Yes	Yes
Segment FE	Yes	Yes
Sample	Baseline	Cluster removed
Observations	177.000	150.000

Note: Estimated using OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses
+ 0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Figure A14: Prediction error based on Model 3 in Table A2



Note: The red line marks the boundary of the County of Hauenstein. White areas are towns that are well predicted by my model. Red dots are towns where the model predicts more than a standard deviation (in Y) too high compared to the actual NSDAP vote share, while black areas are towns where the model predicts more than a standard deviation too low.

Robustness checks for implication section

Table A15 tests whether my results are driven by the inclusion of another polity in the comparison group. Specifically, I exclude in turn the five polities that controlled the most towns in the area surrounding the County of Hauenstein: Hachberg, Baden, St. Blasien, Klettgau, and Schonau. Reassuringly, this does not substantially alter the estimate for belonging to the County of Hauenstein. Table A16 shows that the findings for my three implications remain across different model specifications.

Table A14: Regression results for Figure 4

	(1) NSDAP 1932	(2) NSDAP 1932
Reference (No experience)	0.000	0.000
	(.)	(.)
Some experience	-9.386	-4.697
	(5.710)	(6.705)
Hauenstein	-15.293***	-19.504***
	(2.978)	(3.788)
Altitude		0.488+
		(0.257)
Slope		-1.378
		(0.839)
Crop suit.		0.025*
		(0.010)
Temperature		-6.045
		(5.079)
Rainfall		-0.392
		(0.431)
Settled year		-0.001
		(0.008)
river		-7.368*
		(3.178)
Latitude		-80.747***
		(18.406)
Alemannic		0.204
		(3.459)
Longitude		-43.700*
		(17.033)
Market in 1500		-6.589
		(9.364)
>1000 inh. in 1500		7.012
		(7.235)
Dist. to border FE	No	Yes
Observations	177.000	177.000

Note: Estimated using OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses
+ 0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Table A15: Are the results explained by another polity

	(1) NSDAP 1932	(2) NSDAP 1932	(3) NSDAP 1932	(4) NSDAP 1932	(5) NSDAP 1932	(6) NSDAP 1932
Hauenstein	-13.863***	-9.667***	-13.791***	-14.541***	-13.650***	-14.713***
	(2.776)	(2.597)	(2.850)	(3.091)	(2.875)	(2.865)
Excluded polity	None	Hachberg	Baden	St Blasien	Klettgau	Schonau
Observations	177.000	165.000	169.000	156.000	169.000	166.000

Note: Estimated using OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses
+ 0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Table A16: Regression results for Figure 5

	(1) DNVP 1919	(2) DNVP 1919	(3) DNVP 1919	(4) DNVP 1919	(5) Turnout 1969	(6) Turnout 1969	(7) Turnout 1969	(8) Turnout 1969	(9) Imp. rule 1250	(10) Imp. rule 1250	(11) Imp. rule 1250	(12) Imp. rule 1250
Hauenstein	-4.106***	-5.152***	-6.072***	-3.084*	3.600***	4.067***	5.542***	4.966***	-0.013	-0.010	-0.011	-0.044
	(0.971)	(1.334)	(1.633)	(1.514)	(0.919)	(1.046)	(1.082)	(1.251)	(0.049)	(0.057)	(0.068)	(0.088)
Latitude		-4.766	0.242	31.841+		24.981**	25.030**	17.661		0.309	0.469	0.213
		(8.114)	(13.166)	(16.902)		(8.166)	(8.739)	(11.267)		(0.409)	(0.467)	(0.588)
Longitude		-20.645**	-15.870+	4.167		20.285***	19.720***	9.898+		-0.365	-0.046	-0.325
		(6.718)	(8.590)	(8.836)		(4.546)	(4.748)	(5.555)		(0.270)	(0.306)	(0.379)
Altitude			-0.024	-0.085			-0.137+	-0.174*			0.010*	0.009
			(0.122)	(0.135)			(0.070)	(0.077)			(0.005)	(0.006)
Slope			0.598	0.370			-0.066	0.024			0.024+	0.025
			(0.542)	(0.494)			(0.253)	(0.254)			(0.014)	(0.015)
Crop suit.			0.003	-0.004			-0.009*	-0.010*			-0.000	-0.000
			(0.003)	(0.004)			(0.004)	(0.005)			(0.000)	(0.000)
Temperature			-0.766	1.058			0.974	1.021			0.180	0.173
			(3.138)	(3.577)			(1.605)	(1.851)			(0.121)	(0.127)
Rainfall			0.061	0.187			-0.053	-0.092			0.006	0.004
			(0.214)	(0.227)			(0.150)	(0.161)			(0.009)	(0.009)
Settled year			-0.003	-0.003			0.001	-0.000			-0.000	-0.000
			(0.002)	(0.002)			(0.002)	(0.002)			(0.000)	(0.000)
Alemannic			-2.984+	-2.854*			0.575	0.779			-0.130*	-0.121+
			(1.544)	(1.235)			(0.998)	(1.086)			(0.059)	(0.063)
River access			-0.448	-0.905			2.171*	2.608*			0.142*	0.152*
			(1.050)	(1.102)			(0.922)	(1.006)			(0.066)	(0.070)
Market in 1500			-2.592	-3.663			3.661	3.930			0.057	0.019
			(2.383)	(3.334)			(2.297)	(2.983)			(0.112)	(0.137)
>1000 inh. in 1500			0.933	-0.859			-1.956	-0.634			-0.023	0.002
			(1.568)	(2.350)			(2.010)	(2.371)			(0.108)	(0.114)
Variation in ag. suit.			-0.002	-0.001			0.001	0.002			0.000	0.000
			(0.003)	(0.003)			(0.004)	(0.004)			(0.000)	(0.000)
Protestant in 1820				8.675***				-2.887				-0.089
				(2.547)				(2.121)				(0.088)
Primogeniture				-0.250				0.888				0.146
				(4.449)				(1.523)				(0.107)
Ln(inh. 1933)				-0.952				-1.186+				0.017
				(0.736)				(0.640)				(0.044)
Battle, 1600-1750				3.980+				-3.198*				-0.071
				(2.382)				(1.290)				(0.087)
Industry in 1895				1.342				1.284				0.012
				(1.735)				(1.914)				(0.110)
Pct. change inh. 1910-1933				0.802				3.159				0.007
				(2.734)				(2.354)				(0.227)
Migrants, 1683-1811				-0.021				0.020				0.001
				(0.052)				(0.044)				(0.003)
Dist. Jewish persecution, 1100-1800				0.384*				0.127				0.002
				(0.156)				(0.157)				(0.010)
Dist. Jewish sett., 1925				-0.481*				0.051				-0.005
				(0.220)				(0.236)				(0.012)
Dist. to border FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Segment FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	176.000	176.000	176.000	176.000	177.000	177.000	177.000	177.000	177.000	177.000	177.000	177.000

Note: Estimated using OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses
+ 0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001.

Additional implications

1871 Election

This difference in support for inclusive institutions was present already at the first federal election. Gingerich and Vogler (2021) provides data on the vote share of the Conservative Party in the 1871 Imperial German election at the election-district level. The party promoted a hierarchical organization of society and opposed democratization efforts, and thus support for it indicates lower support for inclusive institutions (Gingerich and Vogler 2021, 411). The district Waldshut-Schopfheim includes most of the former County and some of the surrounding towns. It had no votes for the Conservative Party in 1871. In contrast, the average vote share of the party in 1871 was 0.107 for all of Germany, and 0.031 for Baden-Württemberg. In fact, the National Liberal Party got 100% of the vote in the district in 1871.

Persistence

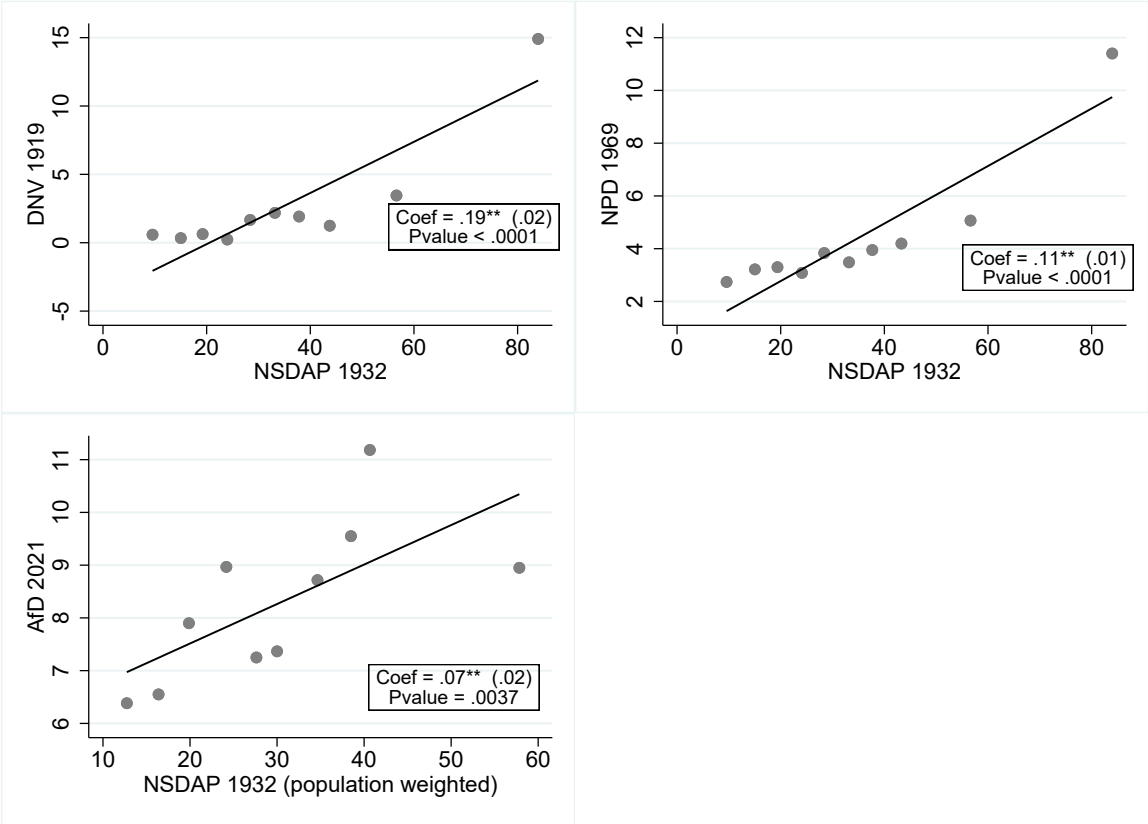
The main models of the letter examines the relationship between belonging to the County of Hauenstein and later support for the Nazi party. Given that the impact of historical institutions persist, I should observe a similar relationship for other later (and earlier) autocratic parties. For instance, Cantoni, Hagemeister and Westcott (2019) finds that areas with high support for the Nazi party in 1933 were more inclined to vote for the Alternative for Germany (AfD) today. As a first step, I therefore examine whether areas in my sample that historically supported autocratic parties were also more likely to support later autocratic parties. Using the *Historischer Atlas von Baden-Württemberg* (1988), I have coded a measure of the vote share of the National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD)[5] at the 1969 election. The party has been referred to as the most significant neo-Nazi party to emerge after 1945, and it aimed to dismantle the democratic institutions in place (Davies and Lynch 2002, 176). In addition, I have collected data on the vote share of the AfD at the 2021 election at the municipality (*gemeinde*) level from die Zeit (the data was collected from state and local level official repositories, see Blickle et al. 2021). Unfortunately, this data is at a higher level of aggregation, and thus I have matched all historical towns to the municipality that they are part of today. Next, I calculated the historical vote share of the Nazi party in each municipality based on population weighing using all historical towns located within the municipality.[6] The sample is reduced from 177 towns to 60 municipalities. Figure A15 plots the associations between Nazi vote share and support for other autocratic parties. There is evidence for a persistent pattern of support for (right-wing) autocratic parties over time in the area under study. Towns that voted for the NSDAP in 1932 were more inclined to support the DNV earlier in 1919 (Pearson's r of 0.51). In addition, areas with high support for the NSDAP also exhibit higher support for the NPD in 1969 (Pearson's r of 0.65) and

[5]Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands

[6]Specifically, I calculate the total population in each municipality in 1971 (the last year I have population data for each historical town). Next, I give each town a weight equal to its share of the total population in the municipality, and this is then used to calculate the weighted Nazi vote share.

for the Afd in 2021 (Pearson's r of 0.37).

Figure A15: Persistence of autocratic party support

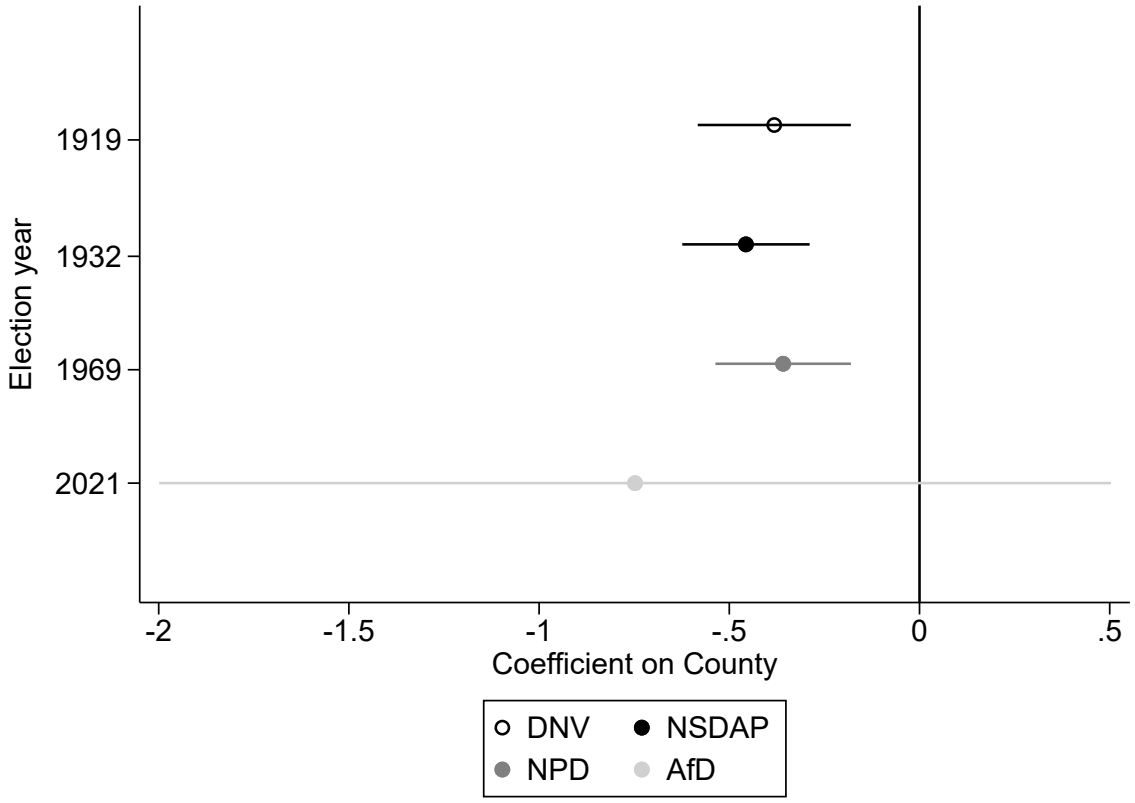


Note: Black lines are linear fit between Nazi support in 1932 and support for other autocratic parties. The gray circles are average support for the other autocratic party within percentiles of Nazi support. Estimated using *binscatterhist* (Pinna 2022).

As a second step, I examine whether belonging to the County of Hauenstein is related to support for these parties. Figure A16 presents the results. As shown in Figures 3 and 5, towns that were part of the County had lower support for the DNV in 1919 and the NSDAP in 1932. Former County towns were also less inclined to vote for NPD in 1969. The relationship is slightly (but not significantly) weaker compared to 1919 and 1932. There is also a negative but imprecisely estimated relationship between belonging to the County and support for the AfD in 2021. The lack of precision likely reflects i) that the relationship weakens over time, ii) the loss of data due to aggregation, and/or iii) the lumping together of County and non-county towns within the same municipalities (this occurs in around 15%

of the municipalities).

Figure A16: The impact of belonging to the County on support for autocratic parties over time



Note: Estimated using OLS and 10km bandwidth. 95% confidence intervals based on robust standard errors. Based on Model 3 from Table A2. Estimates are standardized for comparability.

Support for KPD

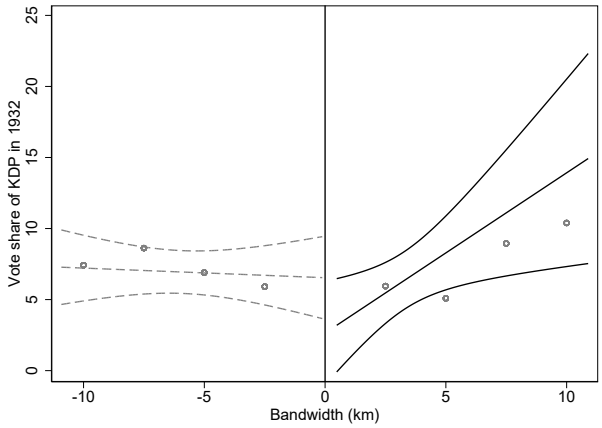
There is a strong negative relationship between being part of the historical County of Hauenstein and support for the Nazi party. This is argued to reflect a historical legacy of self-government. However, what parts of the party program were rejected by former County towns? One way to interrogate this, is by examining the association between belonging to the County and support for the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) in the same election. To do this, I have collected data on the vote share of the KPD in 1932 using the *Historischer Atlas von Baden-Württemberg* (mean=7 and SD=9, 1988). The KPD worked to overturn

democratic elections via revolutionary means (e.g. Winkler 1990). The relationship between belonging to the former County and support for KPD has implications for the theoretical mechanism. In scenario one former County areas exhibit high support for the KPD. Here it is plausible that the results in the letter reflect a higher support for left-wing parties in former County areas rather than lower support for anti-democratic parties. Thus, votes are driven by the County's impact on later attitudes towards economic policy. In scenario two former County areas exhibit lower support for the KPD. This would suggest that a historical legacy of self-government is related to lower support for all types of anti-democratic parties. Thus, votes are driven by the County's impact on later attitudes towards regime. In scenario three former County areas exhibit no difference in support for the KPD. The implications are less clear in scenario three, as it could reflect i) that historical self-government is only related to right-wing authoritarianism, and/or ii) that votes for the KPD are mostly driven by economic rather than regime considerations.

Figure A17 finds support for scenario three. Towns within the County have similar levels of support for the KPD compared to non-county towns. Why is this the case? To get a suggestive answer for this, I investigate which of the covariates in Model 3 from Table A2 that determine KPD support. The strongest predictors are altitude (Pearson's R of -0.41, p-value=0.000), rainfall (Pearson's R of -0.34, p-value=0.000), population change during the depression (Pearson's R of 0.36, p-value=0.000), and the presence of industry in 1895 (Pearson's R of 0.34, p-value=0.000) – for comparison belonging to the County has a Person's R of 0.05 (p-value=0.489). There is thus some evidence for the importance of economic conditions for KPD support. Qualitative evidence on KPD in Baden also provides some support for this interpretation. While the party's core members participated readily in political violence, the vast majority of its local members appears to have joined due to a lack of economic opportunities, and they did not participate in the party's organizational or violent activities – causing frequent complaints among the party leadership. In comparison, the NSDAP in Baden managed to recruit voters across economic divides (Watts 1988).

Thus, economic considerations may have crowded out other factors in determining whether one voted for the KPD. However, future research might fruitfully explore these differences further.

Figure A17: Self-government and support for the KPD



Note: Area to the right of the vertical line contains towns within the County. The black lines are towns within the County. The dashed gray lines are towns outside the County. Dots correspond to means for 2,5 km bins, while the lines are based on a linear fit for each side of the border. The surrounding lines are 95% confidence intervals.

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