The Role of Communities in the Transmission of Political Values: Evidence from Forced Population Transfers

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Online Appendix/Supplementary Information

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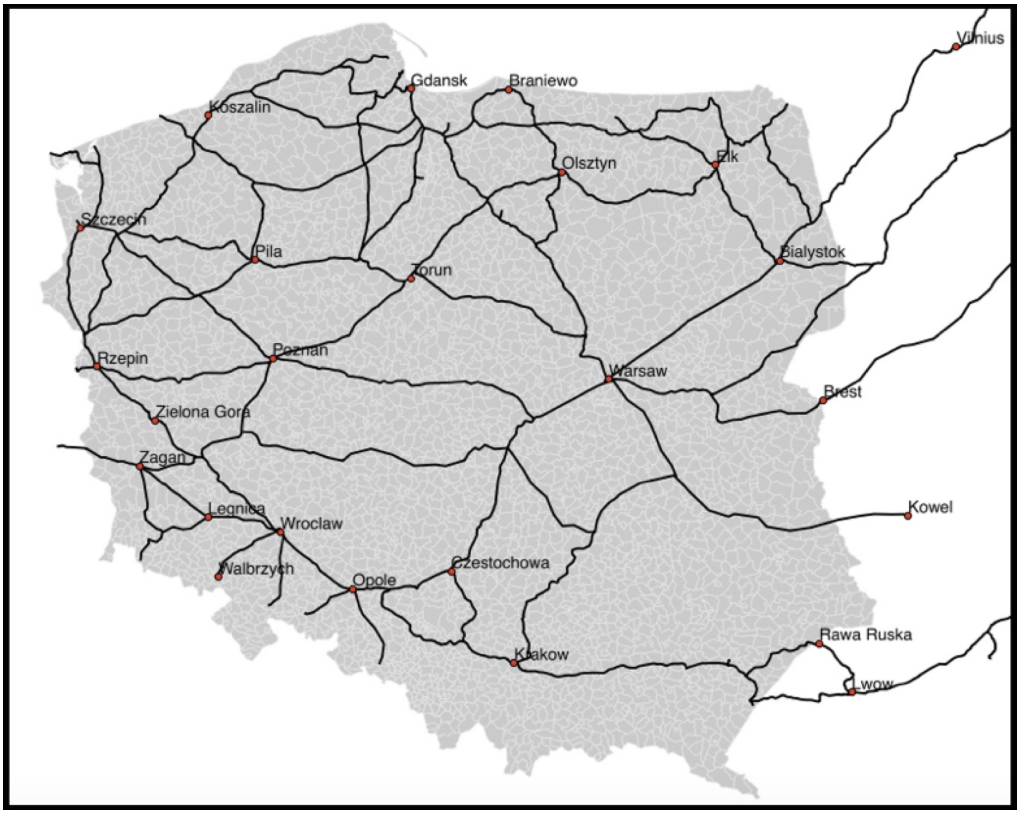

Figure A.1: Main railway routes used for population transfers from the USSR to the formerly German territories, 1945.

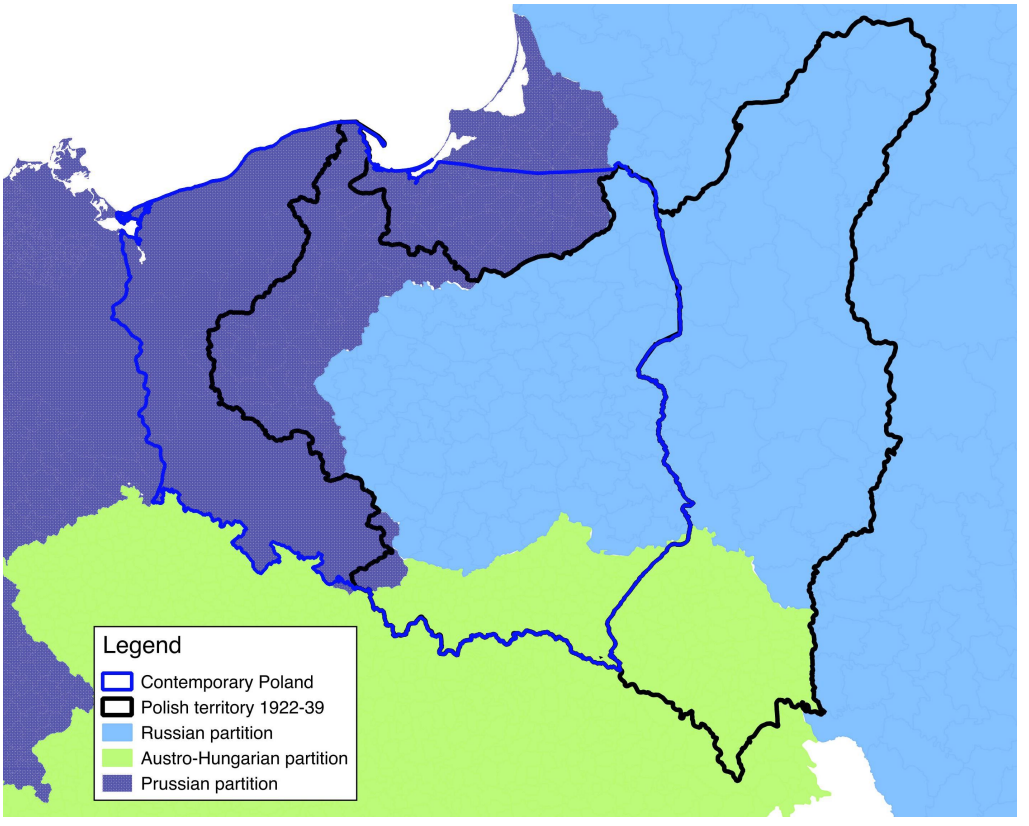

Figure A.2: Historical divisions of Poland.

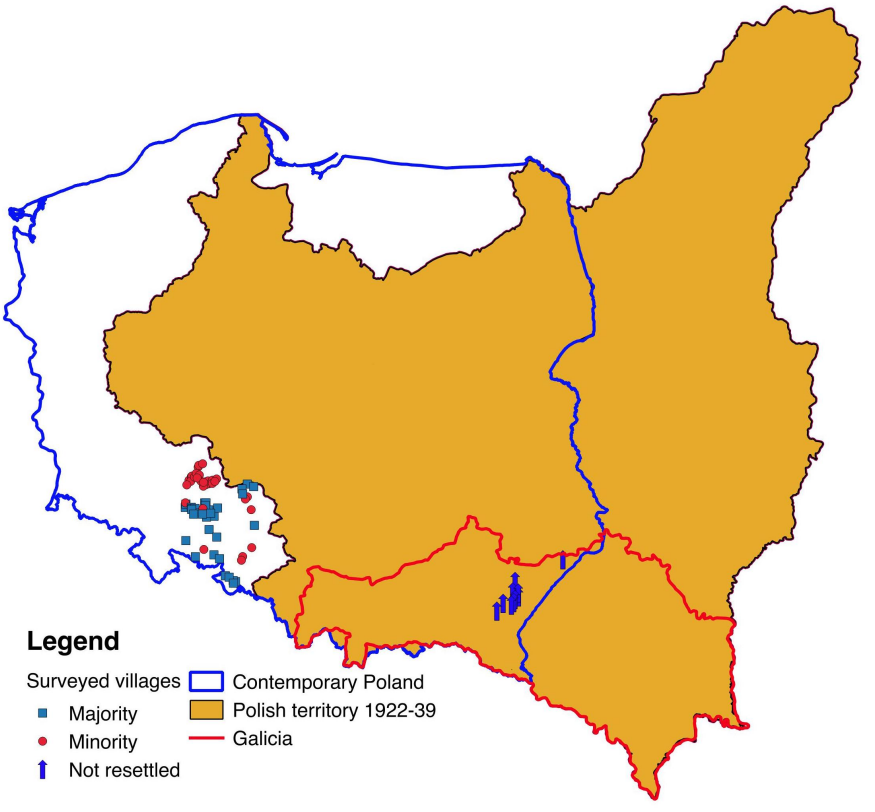

Figure A.3: Map of villages populated by Galician migrants (majority and minority) in western Poland and non-resettled villages west of the Curzon line.

Sources used for historical data at the village and municipality level

We digitized data on the pre-WWII population at the settlement level from following volumes of the Index of Polish Localities (*Skorowidz Miejscowości Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*) published by the Main Statistical Office of Poland (Główny Urząd Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, GUS) in Warsaw in 1923-24:

- Województwo Lwowskie: Volume XIII;
- Województwo Stanisławowskie: Volume XIV;
- Województwo Tarnopolskie: Volume XV;
- Województwo Poleskie: Volume VIII;
- Województwo Wołyńskie: Volume IX;
- Województwo Lubelskie: Volume IV;

The data on interwar elections was compiled from the following publications:

- GUS. 1926. *Statystyka Wyborow do Sejmu i Senaty odbytych w dniu 5 i 12 listopada 1922 roku.* Tom VIII. Główny Urząd Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej: Warszawa.
- GUS. 1930. *Statystyka Wyborow do Sejmu i Senaty odbytych w dniu 4 i 11 marca 1928 roku.* Tom X. Główny Urząd Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej: Warszawa.

The data on the share of migrants from the USSR and Central Poland in 1948 at the municipality level are based on the population survey in the resettled territories conducted in December 1948. See files of the Ministry for the Recovered Territories in Warsaw [1944] 1945-1949 (*Ministerztwo Ziem Odzyskanych (MZO) w Warszawie [1944] 1945-1949*) in the Polish Archive of Modern Records (*Archiwum Akt Nowych, AAN*). The status of population in Silesian voivodeship (*Ankieta Ludnościowa na 31 XII 1948. Stan Zaludnienia w Województwie Śląskim*) is contained in AAN/MZO/1515o.

The data on the pre-resettlement economic characteristics of the destination villages is based on the results of the 1939 German census, available at the settlement level in the files of the Ministry for the Recovered Territories in Warsaw (MZO) in Archiwum Akt Nowych. See AAN/MZO/1655. *Dane statystyczne dotyczace liczby ludności na Ziemiach Odzyskanych, stanu zatrudnienia i liczby czynnych zakładów przemysłowych.* 1945-1947. B-6875.

The data on the origin of migrants in resettled villages were obtained from Dworzac and Goc (2011) and Archiwum Państwowy in Wrocław and are discussed in more detail on pp. 12-13 of the Appendix.

Differences between partitions in contemporary Poland

The central assumption in the project is that the population of the former Austrian partition differs from other Poles in their higher religiosity, patriotism, and turnout. This pattern has been established by researchers who studied contemporary differences in communities that did not experience resettlement and are still located on the opposite sides of the partition boundaries within modern-day Poland(Grosfeld and Zhuravskaya 2015; Bukowski 2018). In this section, we replicate this work, demonstrating that the population of Galicia is indeed more religious and politically active than the population of the Russian partition using regression discontinuity design. This analysis identifies the causal effect of Austro-Hungarian rule, since the border between the two empires was imposed exogenously and did not follow preexisting socio-economic or geographic conditions (Grosfeld and Zhuravskaya 2015). Unfortunately, it is only possible to perform such analyses for the data available at the municipal level (religiosity, electoral and socio-economic outcomes), as existing surveys do not identify respodents' locations at the level below the province[26] and have limited sample sizes.

Perhaps the most distinct feature of Austro-Hungarian rule was cultural and religious freedom enjoyed by Poles and other ethnic groups (especially after 1867). Grosfeld and Zhuravskaya (2015) argue that differences in religiosity between Poles in the Austrian partition and other parts of Poland turned out to be the more persistent legacy, outweighing the differences in income (estimated using luminosity data), education, corruption, and trust in government institutions. To verify this pattern we use data on attendance at mass in 2015, purchased from the Institute of Statistics of the Polish Catholic Church (*Instytut Statystyki Kościoła Katolickiego*). As shown in Figure A.4, attendance at mass is much higher in the former Austrian partition.

The Austrian empire was the first to introduce representative institutions and to allow Poles to participate in state administration. Galicia had an elective legislature (*Sejm Krajowy*) where Poles predominated, as well as a provincial executive body. The persistent legacy of this early experience with quasi-democratic institutions is higher turnout on the Austrian side of the border. We use data from the first round of the 2015 presidential election as well as from the 2015 parliamentary election to the lower house (*Sejm*), which are closest to the outcomes measured in our survey, to evaluate this pattern.

There is some disagreement on how greater religiosity and patriotism, on the one hand, and pro-democracy attitudes, on the other hand, translate into electoral preferences. On average, voters in areas formally under Russian and Austrian control are more supportive of the religiously conservative Law and Justice Party (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, PiS*), whereas voters in the Prussian partition and in the formerly German territories are more supportive of the liberal Civic Platform (*Platforma Obywatelska, PO*), as shown in Figure A.5. These patterns are strongly entrenched, but the difference is causally identified only between the former Russian and Prussian partition, which share a longer border.[27] Differences between the Russian and Austrian partition are somewhat more muted, as seen from Figure A.5. Regression discontinuity analysis by Grosfeld and Zhuravskaya (2015) on differences between the Russian and Austrian partitions suggests that support for both the Law and Justice and the Civic Platform is higher on the Austrian side of the former border in four parliamentary elections (2001, 2005, 2007, and 2011), which they interpret

[26]There are 16 provinces (*województwa*) in contemporary Poland.

[27]The border between the Austrian and Prussian partition is very short, and the Prussian size of this border was affected by mass displacement, which makes the effects of imperial legacies difficult to establish conclusively using regression discontinuity methods.

as a legacy of (1) higher religiosity (relevant to support for the Law and Justice), on the one hand, and (2) more pro-democratic attitudes (relevant to support for the Civic Platform), on the other hand.

To explore whether similar patterns exist in elections covered in our survey, we evaluate differences in support for candidates from the Law and Justice party (Andrzej Duda) and the Civic Platform (Bronisław Komorowski) using data from the first round of the 2015 presidential election. We also analyze results of the 2015 election to the lower house of the Polish Parliament (*Sejm*). We estimate the coefficient on the Habsburg "treatment" using the *rdrobust* package in R, developed by Calonico et al. (2015). We employ the MSE-optimal bandwidth selector and Uniform or Triangular kernel to construct the local-polynomial estimator, identical on both sides of the cutoff. The forcing variable is Euclidian distance to the border between Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires calculated from the centroid of each municipality. Models include controls for urban municipalities, latitude and longitude, and their interaction.

Results are presented in Tables A.1 and A.2 and illustrated graphically for religiosity and vote in the presidential election in Figure A.6. We find a nearly 11 per cent higher attendance at mass in the former Austrian partition, estimated using the MSE-optimal bandwidth of 23 kilometers around the border. We also find greater turnout (at 2.7 per cent for the presidential election and at 3.0 per cent for the parliamentary election) in the former Austrian partition, in comparison to the former Russian partition, estimated using the MSE-optimal bandiwdths that range from 32 to 39 kilometers around the former imperial border. The results from the analysis of political preferences are mixed: while support for both the Law and Justice and the Civic Platform presidential and parliamentary candidates is 2.5-2.7 per cent higher in the former Austrian partition, the coefficient reaches statistical significance only for the Civic Platform support. The results are similar when the Triangular kernel is used, as shown in Table A.2. Table A.3 also demonstrates that there are no significant differences in population density, urbanization, private entrepreneurship, or education levels between the Russian and Austrian partitions in contemporary Poland.[28]

TABLE A.1: The effects of Austro-Hungarian Rule (vs. Russian rule). Linear regression discontinuity regression at the municipal level.

	Religiosity	**Presidential election**			**Parliamentary election**		
	Mass attendance	**Turnout**	**Law and Justice**	**Civic Platform**	**Turnout**	**Law and Justice**	**Civic Platform**
Coefficient	10.76***	2.66*	2.57	2.68*	2.98*	1.94	2.65*
Standard error (conventional)	(2.29)	(1.10)	(1.93)	(1.14)	(1.21)	(1.91)	(1.11)
Robust bias-corrected CI	[5.09 , 16.13]	[-0.24 , 4.71]	[-2.00 , 7.22]	[-1.53, 5.33]	[-0.17 , 5.24]	[-3.12 , 5.83]	[0.10 , 5.35]
Observations	1393	1465	1465	1465	1465	1465	1465
Kernel type	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform
Polynomial	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth type	mserd	mserd	mserd	mserd	mserd	mserd	mserd
MSE-optimal bandwidth (km)	23.18	29.70	25.66	23.93	28.78	25.74	24.71
Effective # treated	112	150	128	121	144	128	124
Effective # untreated	99	129	115	104	126	115	107

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

We argue that these distinctive Galician values – greater religiosity and turnout – have been transmitted from one generation to another, persisting not only among the current residents of the

[28]For socio-economic outcomes we rely on municipality-level data from the 2002 census. Ideally we would also examine differences in interpersonal and institutional trust as well as prejudice toward Jews and Muslims, on which we present null results in the article, but these variables are not available at a fine-grained enough level for a regression discontinuity analysis.

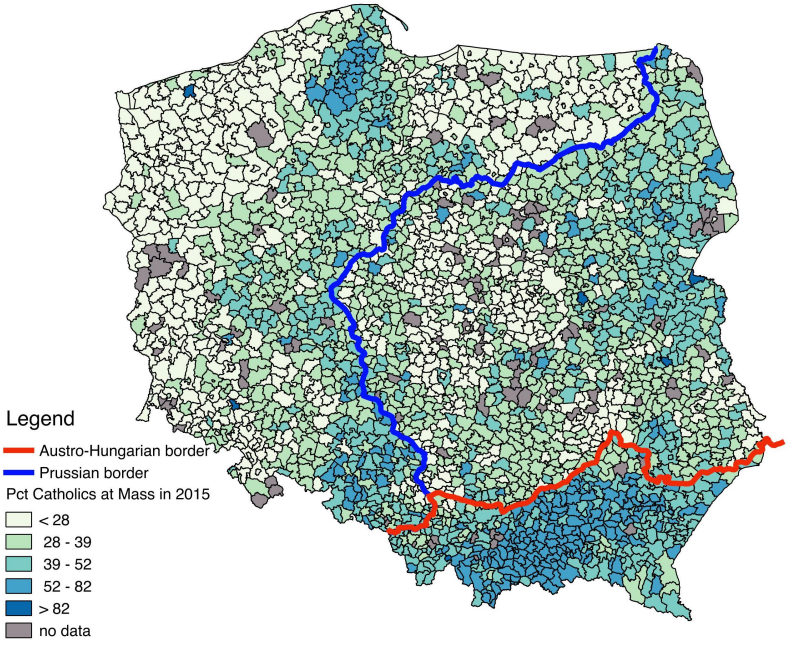

Figure A.4: The share of Catholic population attending mass in 2015.

TABLE A.2: The effects of Austro-Hungarian Rule (vs. Russian rule). Linear regression discontinuity regression at the municipal level, alternative specification with a triangular kernel.

	Religiosity	**Presidential election**			**Parliamentary election**		
	Mass attendance	**Turnout**	**Law and Justice**	**Civic Platform**	**Turnout**	**Law and Justice**	**Civic Platform**
Coefficient	12.47***	2.19*	2.34	2.94**	2.51*	2.28	2.31*
Standard error (conventional)	(2.45)	(1.05)	(1.72)	(1.05)	(1.20)	(1.69)	(1.07)
Robust bias-corrected CI	[7.53 , 19.33]	[-0.65 , 4.23]	[-2.06 , 6.14]	[0.56 , 5.63]	[-0.64 , 5.10]	[-2.28 , 5.58]	[-0.29 , 4.94]
Observations	1393	1465	1465	1465	1465	1465	1465
Kernel type	Triangular	Triangular	Triangular	Triangular	Triangular	Triangular	Triangular
Polynomial	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth type	mserd	mserd	mserd	mserd	mserd	mserd	mserd
MSE-optimal bandwidth	24.70	38.52	35.45	33.23	35.94	36.90	32.01
Effective # treated	118	188	176	165	178	181	156
Effective # untreated	106	160	148	137	152	158	134

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

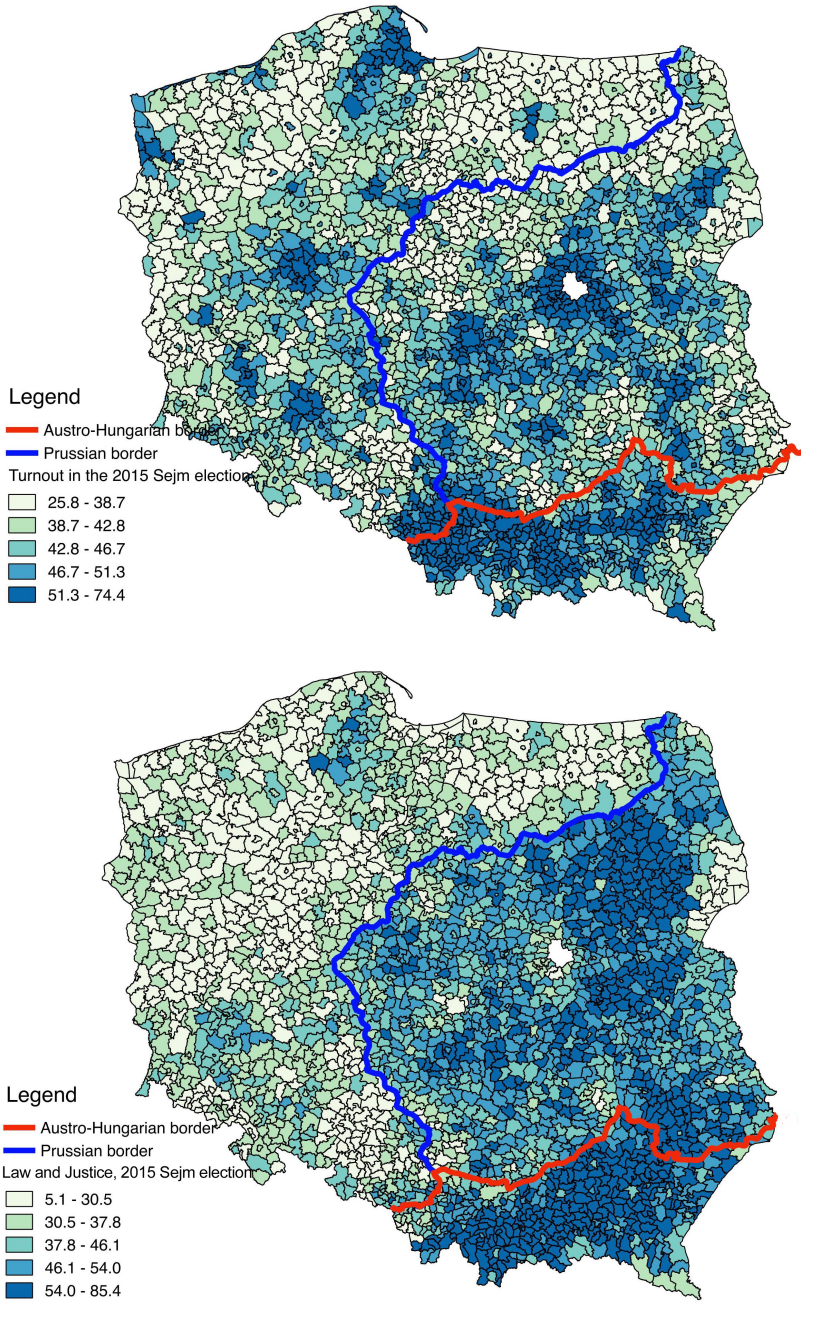

Figure A.5: Differences in outcomes in the 2015 parliamentary election across the partition boundaries.

TABLE A.3: Placebo test: testing for differences in socio-economic outcomes from the 2002 census around the former imperial border between the Austrian and Russian partitions. Linear regression discontinuity regression at the municipal level.

	Share with higher edu	**Share urban**	**Private enterprises per 1,000**	**Population per km^2**
Coefficient	0.92	7.45	-1.12	71.61
Standard error (conventional)	(0.50)	(5.16)	(4.33)	(56.91)
Robust bias-corrected CI	[-0.29 , 2.14]	[-3.43 , 20.80]	[-12.01 , 8.69]	[-71.29 , 194.28]
Observations	1465	1465	1465	1465
Kernel type	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform	Uniform
Polynomial	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth type	mserd	mserd	mserd	mserd
MSE-optimal bandwidth	25.86	29.28	24.85	38.40
Effective # treated	130	146	124	188
Effective # untreated	115	129	107	159

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

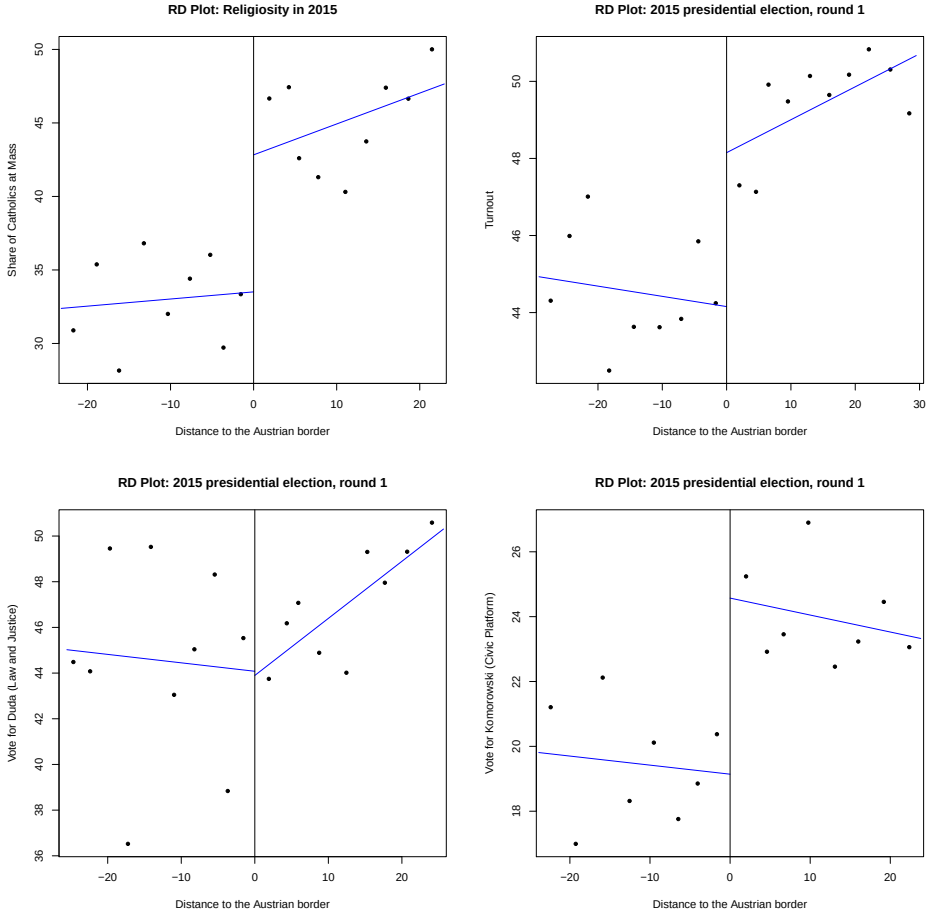

Figure A.6: Results from regression discontinuity analysis in Table A.1.

former Austrian partition, but also among residents in the resettled territories, to which migrants from the Galician territory east of the Curzon line were relocated after the war. In the main body of the article we compare the descendants of Galician migrants in majority and minority villages, but we do not measure the attitudes of other population groups in the resettled villages. Because the other migrant group is the same across majority and minority villages (Poles from the Russian partition), we assume that differences in religiosity, patriotism, and turnout are solely due to proportions of migrants from Galicia vis-a-vis other regions. One might argue that without evaluating political values of *all* population groups it is difficult to rule out the possibility that the differences we identify among the descendants of migrants from Galicia come from differences in intergenerational persistence rather than from differences in social relationships that arise when one finds herself in the majority or minority in a given community. By this logic, for instance, minority status itself may reduce church attendance, discourage displays of patriotic sentiment, or reduce political participation.

To address this concern, we also look at aggregate outcomes at the municipal level in the same region where we conducted our survey (Opole/Oppeln and Wrocław/Breslau provinces). To approximate our survey design, we focus only on municipalities repopulated by migrants.[29] If the differences we observe between majority and minority villages arise due to differences in political values among the Galician and non-Galician populations, then we should observe that aggregate levels of religiosity and turnout will increase as the share of migrants from Galicia increases. To evaluate this expectation, we use the share of migrants from the USSR as our main explanatory variable.[30] In this sample, the share of USSR migrants ranges from 6 to 84 per cent. We condition on pretreatment covariates (distance to railway, share in agriculture, large farms, urban/rural status, and the natural logarithm of population). The results presented in Table A.4 show that attendance at mass and political participation increase with the share of migrants from Western Ukraine and thus decrease with the share of migrants from other regions (i.e., from the Russian and Prussian partitions).[31] The fact that aggregate (i.e. among all migrant groups combined) religiosity and turnout in the resettled municipalities covary with the share of the population from Western Ukraine is consistent with our argument that the population from other partitions is less religious and less likely to vote, even though the ecological inference problem prevents us from establishing differences on this variables for each migrant group separately. The results on political preferences (negative relationship between the share of migrants from the Austrian partition and support for the Civic Platform) are somewhat puzzling in view of the positive coefficient in the regression discontinuity analysis of support for the Civic Platform on the Austrian side of the partition border, but could be explained by the much higher support for the Civic Platform in the former Prussian partition, which was excluded from the regression discontinuity analysis and from which some migrants originated. They also fit findings from our survey, with the negative coefficient on *Majority communities* dummy for regressions of the Civic Platform vote (see Models 5 and 6 in Table 4).

[29]Those with the share of migrants above 80 per cent in the 1948 municipal census, excluding eastern municipalities of Opole province dominated by the Silesian minority.

[30]In this region, USSR migrants came predominantly from Western Ukraine, whereas in northwest Poland USSR migrants were originating from Lithuania and Belarus.

[31]In this case we cannot distinguish between migrants from the Russian and Prussian partition.

TABLE A.4: Religiosity and voting in the 2015 parliamentary election at the municipal level. Data from Opole and Wrocław districts (*Regierungsbezirke*) for municipalities with migrant population. OLS Regression.

	Reported in 2015		2015 presidential election, Round 1			
	Mass attendance		Turnout		Law and Justice vote	Civic Platform vote
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Share from USSR	0.12**	0.09*	0.08**	0.09**	0.03	−0.13***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Town	−1.23	2.55	4.33***	2.20	−0.67	2.07
	(1.65)	(2.29)	(1.20)	(1.69)	(1.85)	(1.75)
Share in Agriculture (1939)		9.50		−5.32	10.05*	−6.34
		(5.41)		(3.99)	(4.37)	(4.13)
Large Farms (1939)		−12.54		29.16	36.42	11.75
		(38.91)		(28.57)	(31.26)	(29.55)
Distance to Railway (1948)		−0.06		−0.06	0.12	0.05
		(0.21)		(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.16)
Ln(Population in 1948)		−1.16		0.31	−0.14	0.20
		(0.89)		(0.66)	(0.72)	(0.68)
Observations	109	109	109	109	109	109
Adjusted R^2	0.11	0.15	0.12	0.12	0.22	0.35

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Establishing historical composition of villages

Determining the historical composition of Silesian villages was a challenge. The search for historical data on post-WWII settlement patterns first took us to a highly detailed set of data on village histories in the contemporary province (*województwo*) of Opole, collected by Elżbieta Dworzak and Małgorzata Goc (2011). This study uses the origins of migrant families as reported in the protocols of property transfers (*protokoły przekazania gospodarstw*), detailing who took possession of German property that had become available, and from local registers of settlers (*rejestry osiedlonych*). The property protocols and settler registers ordinarily contain information on the place of origin prior to resettlement for each head of the household. We estimate population composition from these records, assuming no systematic bias in rates of issuance of property titles across populations of different origin and no differences in family size.

These data cover 625 villages, approximately two-thirds of all the settlements in Opole and almost all the villages with any migrants from anywhere outside of the voivodeship. We verified Dworzak and Goc's data against less-detailed ethnographic records from 1977 compiled by Rauziński and Zagórowska (Dworzak and Goc 2011; Rauziński and Zagórowska 2007). The latter source covers 938 villages in Opole voivodeship (99 per cent of the total) but contains data only on the share of migrants at the village level, essentially aggregating population into two groups: migrants (forced and voluntary) and indigenous residents (*autochtoni*). This source allowed us to verify that most of the villages missing from the dataset compiled by Dworzak and Goc contained no migrants from western Ukraine.

To locate additional minority villages, we supplemented the information from Dworzak and Goc with statistics on the composition of southernmost municipalities in Dolnośląskie voivodeship, also in Silesia. These data come from the records of Starostwa Powiatowe in 1948-1950, preserved in Archiwum Państwowy in Wrocław. These documents are not always complete but, to the best of our knowledge, they are the most detailed historical sources on post-WWII village composition in Silesia. To keep socio-economic factors as similar as possible, we focused on the historical counties of Oława and Oleśnica, which are adjacent to Opole province. The shares of repatriates from Kresy come from (a) Starostwo Powiatowe w Oleśnicy, Raporty statystyczne gmin 1948/50, No. 82/659/0/1/18; and (b) Starostwo Powiatowe w Oławie, Miesieczne Raporty statystyczno-sytuacyjne mc I-XII 1949, No. 82/660/0/1/16. The archival data contain a more precise estimate of total population at the end of the migration period but are aggregated at the gromada level and do not include detailed information on migrants' villages or counties of origin.

Using information on migrants' places of origin in these sources, we calculated the proportion of migrants in a given village who relocated from western Ukraine as opposed to other parts of Poland. We then narrowed our sample to the villages where migrants from Ukraine made up a clear majority (60 per cent or more) or minority (40 per cent or less) and where the rest of the population migrated from the territories of the Russian partition located in post-1945 Poland, to hold constant the identities of migrants' new neighbors. We then randomly sampled majority and minority villages from this dataset.

As shown in Figure 2 in the body of the article, there is a bit of clustering among minority communities, some of which are located slightly to the northwest of majority villages. This is because migration proceeded from east to west, so migrants from Galicia arrived to easternmost Silesian destinations first and continued to be settled there until housing capacity was exceeded, as well as because we focused on a small number of counties in Dolnośląskie for which archival data was available and which were closest to Opole province. As a result, there are more minority

Galician villages in Dolnośląskie province than in Opole province. However, the distance between the cluster of majority communities in Opole and a similar cluster of minority communities in Dolnośląskie is only about 40 km, and both sets of villages are located in very similar agricultural terrain. Given what we know about the process of resettlement, the relative proximity of the two sets of villages, and similarities between northern Opole and southern Dolnośląskie voivodeships – both in the historical region of Silesia – this type of clustering does not appear to present a major challenge for our research design.

SURVEY

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE SURVEY

This face-to-face survey was fielded in September and October 2016. Field teams went out simultaneously in western and eastern Poland, in the regions of Opole and Podkarpackie respectively. The survey was administered by TNS Polska. The same set of enumerators did fieldwork in all the settlements in the Opole region; another group of enumerators carried out all the interviews in Podkarpackie. The survey was administered on pre-programmed tablets. The enumerators were asked to comply with quotas by age and gender, which were derived from the latest census information on the age and gender distribution in rural communities in southwestern Poland. Thirty-five percent of respondents were to come from the 18-39 age group (of these, half men), another 35 per cent from the 40-59 age bracket (of these, half men), and the remaining 30 per cent from those over the age of sixty (of these, 30 per cent men). In the Opole region where we were looking specifically for descendants of Galician Poles, snowball sampling was used to identify descendants of forced migrants from Galicia. In the Podkarpackie region in eastern Poland where the aim was to build a representative sample of the entire population of the settlement, respondents were selected using a random step procedure. Response rates were high at over 70 per cent.

The survey opened with questions about the respondent's family and their historical origins. It then posed a series of questions about contemporary attitudes and behaviors in the domains of economic, political, and social life. The survey closed with a section on basic demographic information. One concern with opening the survey with questions about the family's origins is that these questions might have primed the historical Galician identity. However, it bears noting that respondents in majority and minority settlements were asked the same set of questions and therefore were subject to the same set of primes.

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Female: "Respondent's gender." (0) Male; (1) Female.

Age: "What is the year of your birth?" Year of birth.

Education: "What is your education level?" (1) Incomplete primary; (2) Elementary, unfinished middle; (3) Gymnasium; (4) General middle (school or technical school); (5) Special middle (technical institute, college); (6) Professional technical; (7) Incomplete higher; (8) Higher.

Income, categorical: "How would you describe your household's economic situation over the past six months from the options below?" (1) We don't have enough money for food; (2) We have enough money for food and basic clothes; (3) We can afford food and clothes, but it would be difficult to buy a new electrical appliance, like a television; (4) We can afford all of the above and have enough money to travel abroad on vacation; (5) We can do all of the above but it would be difficult to buy a new car; (6) We do not experience any financial limitations.

Income, monetary: "Here is a list of incomes and we would like to know in what group your household is, counting all wages, salaries, pensions and other incomes that come in monthly. Just give the letter of the group your household falls into, after taxes and other deductions." (1) Less than 800 Zl; (2) 801- 1500 Zl; (3) 1501-2000 Zl; (4) 2,001 - 3,000 Zl; (5) 3,001 - 4,000 Zl; (6)

4,001 - 5,000 Zl; (7) More than 5,001 Zl.

Both parents from Galicia: "Where did the father's side of your family live before World War II? And where did the mother's side live before World War II? (a) Mother's side, (b) Father's side." (1) Kresy Wschodnie (Ukraina → Lwów, Tarnopol, Stanisławów); (2) Kresy Wschodnie (Ukraina → Wołyń); (3) ANY other region.

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Religiosity: "Please tell me how often you: (a) Pray, (b) Go to Church, (c) Listen to religious programs on the radio." (1) More than twice weekly; (2) Weekly; (3) On major holidays; (4) Never. Factored index.[32]

Patriotism: "Please tell me whether you AGREE or DISAGREE with each of these: One must support one's country irrespective of what the government does." (0) Disagree; (1) Agree. "Some people are very proud of being Polish; others less so. How proud are you of being a Pole on a 10-point scale where 0 is not at all proud and 10 is extremely proud?" (0) Not at all proud; (1); (2); (3); (4); (5) Neither proud, nor not; (6); (7); (8); (9); (10) Extremely proud. Factored index.[33]

Turnout: "Did you vote in the 2015 presidential election?" (0) No, I did not vote; (1) Yes, I voted. "If a parliamentary election took place this Sunday, would you vote?" (0) No; (1) Yes. Factored index.[34]

Relevance of religion: "I will now read a few statements. Please tell me whether you AGREE or DISAGREE with each of these: Politicians who do not believe in God are unfit for public office." (0) Disagree; (1) Agree. "Generally speaking, do you think that the Church in Poland is giving adequate answers to: (a) The moral problems and needs of the individual, (b) The problems of family life, (c) The social problems facing our country today." (0) No; (1) Yes. Factored index.[35]

Vote for PiS: "Whom did you vote for?" (1) Bronislaw Komorowski (PO); (2) Andrzej Duda (PiS); (3) Pawel Kukiz; (4) Magdalena Ogorek; (5) Janusz Korwin-Mikke; (6) Adam Jarubas; (7) Spoilt ballot. "Which political party would you vote for?" (1) PO; (2) PiS; (3) PSL; (4) SLD; (5) KORWiN; (6) Nowoczesna Ryszarda Petru; (7) Kukiz 15; (8) Partia Razem; (9) Stonoga Partia Polska. Factored index.[36]

Individualism: "On this card you see a number of opposite views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale?" (a) (1) Individuals should take more responsibility for providing for themselves; (2); (3); (4); (5); (6); (7); (8); (9); (10) The state should take more

[32]Eigenvalue = 2.13, Cronbach's alpha = 0.76. The factor loadings are Pray = 0.89, Church=0.89, Listen to religious program = 0.73.

[33]Eigenvalue = 1.27, Cronbach's alpha = 0.18. The factor loadings are Support=0.80, Proud=0.80.

[34]Eigenvalue = 1.69, Cronbach's alpha = 0.80. The factor loadings are Did you vote= 0.92, Would you vote =0.92.

[35]Eigenvalue = 2.48, Cronbach's alpha = 0.89. The factor loadings are Moral problem = 0.91, Family life problem =0.93, Social problem=0.88.

[36]Eigenvalue = 1.73, Cronbach's alpha = 0.80. The factor loadings are Whom did you vote for = 0.93, Would you vote for = 0.93.

responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for. (b) (1) Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas; (2); (3); (4); (5); (6); (7); (8); (9); (10) Competition is harmful. It brings out the worst in people. (c) (1) The state should give more freedom to firms; (2); (3); (4); (5); (6); (7); (8); (9); (10) The state should control firms more effectively. (d) (1) Private ownership of business and industry should be increased; (2); (3); (4); (5); (6); (7); (8); (9); (10) Government ownership of business and industry should be increased. Factored index.[37]

Integration in Village Life: "In the past twelve months, how often have you. . . (a) attended a meeting in your village to discuss local matters; (b) attended a club/choir or some other interest group meeting in your village; (c) had friends from the village over to your house; (d) worked with other people in your village to fix or improve something." Response options: (1) At least once a week; (2) At least once a month; (3) At least once a year; (4) Never. Factored Index.[38]

Interpersonal Trust: Question 1: "To what extent do you trust people from the following groups: (a) Your neighbors; (b) People you meet for the first time; (c) People of another religion; (d) People of another nationality." Options: Trust Completely (5); Trust Somewhat (4); Neither Trust nor Distrust (3); Distrust Somewhat (2); Distrust Completely (1). Question 2: "Do you think that most people would take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair? How would you place your view on the scale on this card?" Options: (1) Most people would try to take advantage of me; (2); (3); (4); (5); (6); (7); (8); (9); (10) Most people would try to be fair. Factored index.[39]

Trust in Domestic Institutions: "How much trust do you have in each of the following institutions and organizations? Is it a great deal (4), quite a lot (3), not very much (2), or none at all (1)?" List of institutions: (a) Church; (b) Police; (c) Parliament; (d) Government. Factored Index.[40]

Trust in Foreign States and Leaders: "How much trust do you have in each of the following institutions and organizations? Is it a great deal (4), quite a lot (3), not very much (2), or none at all (1)?" (a) the European Union; (b) German government (under Merkel); (c) Russian government (under Putin); (d) Ukrainian government (under Poroshenko). Factored index.[41]

Anti-Semitism: "Some say that Jews are still secretly in charge of Polish politics and economics. Others disagree. Do you agree or disagree with this statement?" Completely agree (4); Somewhat agree (3); Somewhat disagree (2); Completely disagree (1).

[37]Eigenvalue = 2.32, Cronbach's alpha = 0.74. The factor loadings are Responsibility=0.72, Competition=0.79, Freedom = 0.77, Private ownership = 0.76.

[38]Eigenvalue = 2.24, Cronbach's alpha = 0.71. The factor loadings are Meetings = 0.78, Interest groups = 0.82, Friends over = 0.57, Worked with others = 0.79.

[39]Eigenvalue = 2.75, Cronbach's alpha = 0.67. The factor loadings are Neighbors = 0.58, People met first time = 0.82, People of different religion = 0.88, People of other nationality = 0.86, Trust in others scale = 0.48.

[40]Eigenvalue = 2.09, Cronbach's alpha = 0.67. The factor loadings are Church = 0.58, Police = 0.60, Parliament = 0.84, Government = 0.83.

[41]Eigenvalue = 2.32, Cronbach's alpha = 0.72. The factor loadings are EU = 0.63, Germany = 0.82, Russia = 0.77, Ukraine = 0.82.

Attitudes toward Communism: "We are now moving on to life under Communism after World War II. Some say that, on balance, life under Communism was good; others disagree. What is your view based on what you know?" Life under Communism was good (1); Life under Communism was bad (2).

Attitudes toward Muslims: "Let's talk about [...] Muslim migrants from the Middle East. Which of the following should the government do in their case?" Let any Muslims come who want to (4); Let Muslims come as long as there are jobs available (3); Put strict limits on the number of Muslims who can come here (2); Prohibit Muslims from coming here completely (1).

Village Institutions:[42] "Does your village have any of the following organizations? PLEASE SELECT ALL ANSWER OPTIONS THAT APPLY: (a) Church; (b) Club; (c) Volunteer Fire Brigade (OSP); (d) Agricultural circle; (e) A sports group (football team, etc.); (f) A hobby group (association of hunters, etc.); (g) Other [WRITE IN]." Additive index.

[42]Only village elites were asked this question.

Pre-treatment balance with weights

TABLE A.5: Balance on pre-resettlement covariates in settlements of origin. Two-tailed t-tests with weights based on the frequency of mentions for each birthplace; differences in means are presented as absolute values.

	Majority migration	*Minority migration*	*Difference of means*	*Standard error*
Population census (1921)				
Population	10014.28	17718.99	7704.7	(5847.06)
Share Male	0.48	0.48	0.00	(0.00)
Share Catholic	0.58	0.56	0.02	(0.04)
Share Jewish	0.12	0.19	0.07	(0.03)*
Share Polish	0.70	0.67	0.02	(0.04)
Share Ukrainian	0.21	0.17	0.04	(0.03)
N	712	618		
Election results in 1928	*(lower house)*			
Turnout	0.77	0.75	0.02	(0.02)
Share BBWR	0.35	0.34	0.01	(0.03)
Share PPS	0.04	0.10	0.05	(0.02)**
Share BNM	0.15	0.11	0.03	(0.02)
Share Katol. Narod	0.13	0.14	0.01	(0.03)
Share Lewica	0.02	0.01	0.01	(0.01)
N (maximum)	567	535		
Election results in 1922	*(lower house)*			
Turnout	0.60	0.62	0.02	(0.03)
Share Share PSL "Piast"	0.50	0.42	0.07	(0.05)
Share PPS	0.03	0.04	0.01	(0.01)
Share Bund	0	0.01	0.01	(0.00)
Share Christian Union	0.23	0.27	0.04	(0.03)
N (maximum)	576	537		

Note: We provide data for all the major parties that ran candidates across multiple districts in the region of Galicia. N is lower for electoral data because voting results were only reported for settlements with over 500 voters and because parties did not run in all districts. Bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses. $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$.

Post-treatment balance

TABLE A.6: Balance on post-resettlement covariates in destination communities. Two-tailed t-tests; differences in means are presented as absolute values.

	Majority	*Minority*	*Difference of means*
From the 1948 Polish census:	mean (sd)	mean (sd)	diff (se)
Indigenous, %	0.12	0.14	0.02
	(0.20)	(0.30)	(0.07)
Migrants from Central Poland, %	0.26	0.57	0.31**
	(0.15)	(0.27)	(0.06)
Number of inhabitants in 2011	424.50	595.14	170.64
	(270.73)	(544.18)	(110.44)
Institutional density in 2016	3.44	3.22	0.22
(index: 0-6)	(1.50)	(1.78)	(0.44)
N (settlements)	32	23-28	
From the 1988 census:			
Population *not* living from birth,% [a]	0.51	0.49	0.02
	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.02)
Population arriving in 1971-78, %	0.09	0.08	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.004)
Population arriving in 1979-88, %	0.15	0.16	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.01)
N (settlements)	32	28	
From the 2016 survey:			
Female, %	0.57	0.59	0.03
	(0.50)	(0.49)	(0.04)
Age, yrs.	53.00	52.44	0.56
	(17.97)	(17.65)	(1.46)
Education (index: 1-8)	4.65	4.61	0.04
	(1.64)	(1.76)	(0.14)
Income, categorical (index: 1-6)	2.76	3.06	0.29**
	(1.07)	(1.17)	(0.10)
Income, monetary (index: 1-7)	2.77	2.68	0.09
	(1.19)	(1.47)	(0.13)
Both parents from Galicia, %	0.61	0.57	0.04
	(0.49)	(0.50)	(0.04)
N (respondents)	233-310	206-283	

Note: Standard deviations/errors are in parentheses. Number of respondents varies by survey question.
[a] At the time of the census approximately half of the population was *not* indigenous because we focus on villages created through mass resettlement four decades earlier. $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$.

Robustness checks and additional regression analyses

TABLE A.7: Hierarchical models replicating analyses in Tables 3 and 4 in the main text. Individual-level variables are *Female* and *Age*.

	Religiosity		Patriotism		Turnout		Church relevance	Law and Justice vote	Civic Platform vote
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Majority communities	0.26*	0.27**	0.62***	0.61***	0.22*	0.22*	0.39**	0.07	-0.21
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.15)
Female		0.25**		-0.11		-0.21*	-0.00	-0.35**	0.24
		(0.08)		(0.08)		(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.13)
Age, yrs.		0.03*		-0.01		0.03	0.01	0.02	0.02
		(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Age^2		-0.00		0.00		-0.00*	0.00	0.00	-0.00
		(0.00)		(0.00)		(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Distance to railway		-0.00		0.00		-0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.00
		(0.00)		(0.00)		(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Share in agriculture		0.59		-0.30		-0.39	0.33	0.54	0.29
		(0.45)		(0.71)		(0.52)	(0.61)	(0.76)	(0.71)
Share of large farms		-0.07		0.56		0.30	-0.61	0.50	-0.56
		(0.37)		(0.59)		(0.41)	(0.50)	(0.64)	(0.59)
Ln(Population)		-0.01		0.21		0.18	-0.18	0.07	-0.04
		(0.10)		(0.16)		(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.18)	(0.17)
Observations	557	557	499	499	512	512	448	244	244
Log Likelihood	-810.24	-722.99	-669.11	-655.96	-725.96	-716.43	-604.28	-330.32	-347.07
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1628.49	1467.99	1346.23	1333.91	1459.92	1454.87	1230.56	682.65	716.14
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	1645.78	1515.54	1363.08	1380.25	1476.88	1501.49	1275.71	721.12	754.61

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

TABLE A.8: Persistence of Galician political identities among the offspring of Galicia-only couples. OLS regression.

	Religiosity		Patriotism		Turnout	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Majority communities	0.32*	0.34*	0.88***	0.82***	0.31*	0.31*
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.12)
Female		0.31**		-0.11		-0.16
		(0.09)		(0.11)		(0.12)
Age, yrs.		0.02		-0.01		0.03
		(0.02)		(0.02)		(0.02)
Age^2		0.00		0.00		-0.00
		(0.00)		(0.00)		(0.00)
Distance to railway		-0.00		0.00		-0.00
		(0.00)		(0.00)		(0.00)
Share in agriculture		0.66		-0.82		-0.63
		(0.51)		(0.59)		(0.60)
Share of large farms		-0.21		0.12		0.17
		(0.48)		(0.69)		(0.39)
Ln(Population)		0.03		0.06		0.13
		(0.13)		(0.19)		(0.12)
Constant	-0.01	-2.06	-0.40*	-0.42	-0.20	-1.00
	(0.11)	(1.17)	(0.15)	(1.46)	(0.10)	(1.00)
Observations	335	335	288	288	306	306
Adjusted R^2	0.023	0.258	0.210	0.247	0.020	0.042

Note: Standard errors clustered at settlement level in parentheses.*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

TABLE A.9: Null results: Differences in interpersonal and institutional trust, trust in foreign leaders, attitudes toward Jews and Muslims, views on communism, and social capital (levels of village integration). OLS regression.

	Interpersonal Trust	Institutional Trust	Trust in Foreign Leaders	Anti-Semitic Prejudice	Pro Muslim Immigrants	Pro-Communist Attitudes	Village Integration
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Majority communities	0.09	-0.09	-0.10	-0.03	-0.11	-0.05	-0.01
	(0.15)	(0.10)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.13)
Female	-0.06	0.09	0.13	-0.19	-0.06	0.03	-0.10
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.07)
Age, yrs.	-0.04***	-0.00	-0.00	0.03	0.01	-0.01	0.02
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Age^2	0.00***	0.00	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	-0.00**
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Distance to railway	-0.00*	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Share in agriculture	0.78	0.72	0.18	0.84	-0.16	0.19	0.59
	(0.72)	(0.49)	(0.57)	(0.59)	(0.25)	(0.11)	(0.56)
Share of large farms	-0.89	0.06	0.42	0.08	0.13	0.19	1.61***
	(0.65)	(0.38)	(0.58)	(0.49)	(0.24)	(0.14)	(0.46)
Ln(Population)	0.12	0.05	0.06	0.01	-0.14*	0.05	0.09
	(0.14)	(0.09)	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.11)
Constant	0.19	-1.05	-0.13	0.95	1.13*	-0.16	-1.17
	(1.09)	(0.82)	(1.11)	(0.93)	(0.54)	(0.25)	(1.05)
Observations	554	492	438	326	447	563	552
Adjusted R^2	0.035	0.083	0.021	0.027	0.024	0.032	0.127

Note: Standard errors clustered at settlement level in parentheses.*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

TABLE A.10: Differences in political attitudes and voting behavior across different types of migrant communities with contemporary controls. OLS regression.

	Religiosity	Patriotism	Turnout	Church relevance	Law and Justice vote
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Majority communities	0.21	0.55**	0.19	0.28*	-0.12
	(0.12)	(0.17)	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.17)
Both parents from Galicia	0.25**	0.23	0.05	0.44***	0.20
	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.16)
Female	0.30***	-0.10	-0.18*	-0.03	-0.29*
	(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.13)
Age, yrs.	0.03**	-0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Age^2	-0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Income (index: 1-6)	-0.11*	-0.09	0.11	-0.23***	-0.12
	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.07)
Education (index: 1-8)	-0.00	0.10*	0.09*	0.03	0.06
	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Distance to railway	-0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Share in agriculture	0.55	-0.29	-0.28	0.37	0.37
	(0.43)	(0.70)	(0.55)	(0.62)	(0.88)
Share of large farms	0.05	0.67	0.12	-0.37	0.53
	(0.35)	(0.84)	(0.49)	(0.39)	(0.59)
Ln(Population)	0.01	0.15	0.18	-0.12	0.04
	(0.09)	(0.18)	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.18)
Constant	-1.80*	-1.54	-2.22**	0.25	-1.50
	(0.75)	(1.40)	(0.82)	(1.17)	(1.51)
Observations	506	443	459	408	222
Adjusted R^2	0.288	0.135	0.059	0.213	0.121

Note: Standard errors clustered at settlement level in parentheses. *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

TABLE A.11: Political preferences in majority communities: Responses "Don't know" and "Refuse to Answer" (RTA) in questions about elections. OLS regression.

	Law and Justice vote, with RTA		Refusal to answer		Refusal/Don't know	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Majority communities	0.16	0.16	0.12	0.13	0.13	0.11
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.11)
Female		−0.21*		−0.02		−0.05
		(0.09)		(0.09)		(0.10)
Age, yrs.		0.02		0.03*		0.04***
		(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.01)
Age^2		−0.00		−0.00*		−0.00***
		(0.00)		(0.00)		(0.00)
Distance to railway		−0.00		−0.00		0.00
		(0.00)		(0.00)		(0.00)
Share in agriculture		0.43		0.17		−0.38
		(0.56)		(0.42)		(0.44)
Share of large farms		0.12		0.38		0.33
		(0.35)		(0.39)		(0.35)
Ln(Population)		0.17		0.12		0.02
		(0.10)		(0.12)		(0.13)
Constant	−0.15	−1.97*	−0.02	−1.58	−0.02	−0.89
	(0.08)	(0.96)	(0.06)	(0.96)	(0.07)	(0.98)
Observations	593	593	593	593	593	593
Adjusted R^2	0.005	0.030	0.002	0.009	0.002	0.014

Note: Standard errors clustered at settlement level in parentheses. *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

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