

## ***On-line Appendix. The Long Shadow of Agrarian Conflict***

Jordi Domènech<sup>1</sup> and Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca.\*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of Social Sciences, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid.

<sup>2</sup>Department of Social Sciences, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid.

## SUMMARY STATISTICS

TABLE A1: Summary statistics. Provincial and municipal levels

<i>PROVINCIAL</i>	Count	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max	Source
% Leftist vote	750	42.946	9.89	16.181	69.14	Ministry of Interior
% Unemployed	750	15.112	7.773	.09	39.04	EPA
% employed Industry	750	17.305	7.963	3.2	50.13	EPA
Education, average years	750	10.054	2.01	5.941	13.415	IVIE
Dummy Historical Region	750	.12	.325	0	1	
% landless, 1860	750	52.419	10.238	26.42	76.15	Census, 1860
% landless, 1920	750	74.046	16.546	43.49	97.72	Census, 1920
Rightist repression (hyperbolic inverse sine function)	750	8.245	.807	6.615	10.221	?
<i>MUNICIPAL</i>	Count	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max	Source
% Leftist vote	8,851	58.125	13.447	2.515	92.179	Ministry of Interior
% income large landowners, 1910s-20s	7,706	42.616	24.778	0	97.15	?
%landless peasants, 1787	8,018	15.07	8.766	0	95.942	?
Dummy, <i>Señorío</i> nobility	8,743	.429	0.495	0	1	?
Dummy, <i>Military order</i>	8,743	0.188	.391	0	1	?
Dummy, religious <i>Señorío</i>	8,743	.023	.149	0	1	?
Latitude	8,728	38.163	1.107	36.013	41.125	IGN
Longitude	8,728	-5.135	1.114	-7.281	-2.55	IGN
Altitude	8,728	438.45	253.04	3.765	1,229.57	IGN
% illiterate, 1930	8,624	56.917	11.035	15.991	93.789	Census, 1930
Population change 1930-1970	8,624	12.082	80.087	-69.123	602.986	Census, 1930, 1970
% Popular Front vote, 1936	2,333	44.315	16.49	6.245	99.33	?
						?

Notes:

EPA: Encuesta de la Población Activa.

IVIE: Human capital database, Instituto Valenciano de Investigaciones Económicas.

IGN: Instituto Geográfico Nacional 2012.

Census: Spain's Population Census, years 1860, 1920, 1930 and 1970.

## BASELINE REGRESSIONS, EACH ELECTION YEAR SEPARATELY

TABLE B 1: Baseline regressions, each election year, 1860 and 1920 agrarian inequality proxies

Election year	% landless, 1860 (1)	%agro workers/propr, 1920 (2)	%agro workers/propr, 1920 (3)
1977	.418*** (.146)	.249*** (.084)	.294*** (.092)
1979	.401*** (.112)	.178* (.095)	.279*** (.094)
1982	.580*** (.125)	.232** (.097)	.325*** (.092)
1986	.508*** (.127)	.173* (.091)	.257*** (.083)
1989	.515*** (.12)	.167* (.094)	.277*** (.079)
1993	.533*** (.128)	.193** (.081)	.274*** (.078)
1996	.406*** (.111)	.169** (.072)	.246*** (.067)
2000	.405*** (.124)	.208*** (.073)	.273*** (.074)
2004	.403*** (.109)	.175*** (.064)	.23*** (.061)
2008	.345*** (.103)	.138*** (.055)	.177*** (.058)
2011	.331*** (.093)	.095* (.055)	.15*** (.053)
2015	.396*** (.129)	.2*** (.065)	.212** (.079)
2016	.196*** (.071)	.098*** (.034)	.081*** (.037)
2019-1	.233*** (.067)	.095* (.05)	.095** (.047)
2019-2	.225*** (.076)	.119** (.054)	.127** (.053)
N	50	50	47
Basque country provinces	Included	Included	Excluded

Notes:

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Controls: Historical region dummy, altitude, longitude, latitude.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

## BASELINE REGRESSIONS, 1920 INEQUALITY

TABLE C1: Effects of historical agrarian inequality, 1920 inequality. OLS and IV regressions.

	Leftist vote Vote (1)	Leftist Vote (2)	Leftist Vote (3)	Leftist Vote (4)
% agro workers/ proprietors, 1920	.173*** (.06)	.228*** (.059)	.918*** (.1)	.902*** (.089)
% illiterate, 1920			-.066 (.05)	-.18*** (.05)
Level	Province	Province	Province	Province
Provincial controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Elections	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019
Election year FE	✓	✓		
Basque provinces excluded		✓		✓
Method	OLS	OLS	IV	IV
N	750	705	750	705
R <sup>2</sup>	.41	.23		
First stage Reconquest			.735*** (.07)	.714*** (.27)
F stat First stage			25.57*** F(20,729)	31.01*** F(20,684)

Notes:

Provincial controls: latitude, longitude, capital altitude, historical region.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

## INSTRUMENTAL VARIABLE REGRESSIONS, ALL ELECTIONS

TABLE D1: 2nd Stage coefficients, IV regressions with “speed of reconquest”

Election year	% landless, 1860	% non-owners, 1920
	(1)	(2)
1977 (N=50)	.537** (.234)	.807*** (.342)
1979 (N=50)	.687*** (.24)	.762*** (.271)
1982 (N=50)	.988*** (.294)	1.246*** (.422)
1986 (N=50)	1.115*** (.295)	1.321*** (.446)
1989 (N=50)	1.087*** (.285)	1.208*** (.413)
1993 (N=50)	1.131*** (.281)	1.316*** (.451)
1996 (N=50)	.915*** (.251)	1.098*** (.379)
2000 (N=50)	.948*** (.254)	1.198*** (.4)
2004 (N=50)	.825*** (.252)	1.04*** (.399)
2008 (N=50)	.666*** (.236)	.798** (.365)
2011 (N=50)	.592*** (.22)	.664* (.342)
2015 (N=50)	.64** (.178)	.773** (.303)
2016 (N=50)	.57*** (.173)	.81** (.358)
2019-1 (N=50)	.333** (.139)	.361* (.208)
2019-2 (N=50)	.389*** (.132)	.482** (.194)

Notes:

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

## OTHER INSTRUMENTAL VARIABLES

TABLE E1: Instrumental variable estimates of effect of land inequality on elections. Instrument is average size of municipalities in each province in 1860.

	Percentage landless, 1860 First stage (1)	Leftist Vote (2)	1920 Agro Workers/Propr First stage (3)	Leftist Vote (4)
Average size municipalities, 1860	.075*** (.006)		.099*** (.01)	
Illiteracy	-.049 (.045)	-.148*** (.041)	-.024 (.062)	-.002 (.046)
<b>% landless, 1860</b>		<b>.91*** (.094)</b>		
<b>% agro workers/propr, 1920</b>				<b>.625*** (.09)</b>
Illiteracy year	1860	1860	1920	1920
Level	Province	Province	Province	Province
Provincial controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
✓				
Election year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Model	2SLS		2SLS	
N	750	750	750	750
F Stat First stage	37.07*** df(20, 729)		29.03*** df(20, 729)	

Notes:

Provincial controls: latitude, longitude, capital altitude, historical region.

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

TABLE E2: Instrumental variable estimates of effect of land inequality on elections, using two instruments (speed of Reconquest and average size of municipalities in each province).

	Percentage landless, 1860 First stage (1)	Leftist Vote (2)	1920 Agro Workers/Propr First stage (3)	Leftist Vote (4)
Speed of Reconquest	.788*** (.06)		.336*** (.109)	
Average size municipalities, 1860	.019 (.007)		.075*** (.015)	
Illiteracy	.067 (.041)	-.14*** (.038)	-.009 (.063)	.04 (.048)
<b>% landless, 1860</b>		<b>.784***</b> (.068)		
<b>% agro workers/propr, 1920</b>				<b>.713***</b> (.079)
Illiteracy year	1860	1860	1920	1920
Level	Province	Province	Province	Province
Provincial controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Election year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Model	2SLS		2SLS	
N	750	750	750	750
F Stat First stage	51.38*** df(21, 728)		28.65*** df(21, 728)	

Notes:

Provincial controls: latitude, longitude, capital altitude, historical region.

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

## PROVINCIAL MEDIATOR ANALYSIS, 1920 INEQUALITY

TABLE F1: Provincial mediator analysis. Provincial, using 1920 inequality.

	Leftist Vote (1)	Leftist Vote (2) Seq. g est Channel Poverty	Leftist Vote (3)	Leftist Vote (4) Seq g-est Channel Popular Front+ Civil War
<b>%agro workers/propr., 1920</b>	<b>.111***</b>	<b>.104***</b>	<b>.115***</b>	<b>.104***</b>
<b>Baseline: .173***</b>	<b>(.041)</b>	<b>(.0199)</b>	<b>(.051)</b>	<b>(.024)</b>
<i>Mediators</i>				
% Popular Front vote, 1936	.207*** (.51)			
Rightist repression	4.04*** (.74)			
<i>Intermediate confounders</i>				
Unemployment rate, %			.678*** (.142)	
% employed in industry			.123 (.099)	
Education			-.012 (1.351)	
Controls province	✓	✓	✓	✓
Elections	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019
Election-year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
De-meaned?		Popular Front + CW		Intermediate confounders
Clustered SEs	Province		Province	
Bootstrapped SEs		✓		✓
N	750	750	750	750
R <sup>2</sup>	.6		.5	

Notes:

Provincial controls: latitude, longitude, capital altitude, historical region.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .



MUNICIPAL MEDIATOR ANALYSIS WITH ALL MUNICIPALITIES

TABLE G 1: Municipal Mediator analysis, Popular Front channel augmented with civil war violence

	Leftist Vote (1)	Leftist Vote (2) Seq. g est Channel Poverty	Leftist Vote (3)	Leftist Vote (4) Seq g-est Channel Popular Front+ Civil War
<b>Largest landowners % income, 1920s (Baseline=-.067***)</b>	<b>.041*</b> (.022)	<b>.029***</b> (.014)	<b>.063**</b> (.025)	<b>.063***</b> (.015)
<i>Mediators</i>				
% vote Popular Front, 1936	.176*** (.035)			
Rightist repression CW	1.576*** (.416)			
<i>Intermediate confounders</i>				
Illiteracy Rate, 1930			.208*** (.077)	
Population growth, 1930-1970			.01 (.008)	
Number of voters			-.0002*** (.00003)	
Level	Municipal	Municipal	Municipal	Municipal
Munics. from provinces	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,2
Municipal controls	✓		✓	
Election	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019
Model	OLS	Seq g-est	OLS	Seq g-est
Clustered Std Errors	municipality		municipality	
Bootstrapped SEs		✓		✓
N	3,330	3,330	3,330	3,330
R <sup>2</sup>	.44		.39	

Notes:

Controls: altitude, latitude, longitude.

Provinces: Badajoz (1) and Cáceres (2).

Standard errors in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

MEDIATION ANALYSIS, SEPARATING THE EFFECTS OF POPULAR FRONT AND CIVIL  
WAR REPRESSION

TABLE H1: Mediator analysis, provincial level, 1860.

	Leftist Vote (1)	Leftist Vote (2) g-est channel Poverty	Leftist Vote (3)	Leftist Vote (4) g-est channel Pop Front	Leftist Vote (5)	Leftist Vote (6) g-est channel repression
<b>% landless, 1860</b> <b>(Baseline:.406***)</b>	<b>.107***</b> <b>(.067)</b>	<b>.105***</b> <b>(.04)</b>	<b>.153**</b> <b>(.069)</b>	<b>.146***</b> <b>(.036)</b>	<b>.178***</b> <b>(.076)</b>	<b>.161***</b> <b>(.039)</b>
<i>Mediator</i>						
% Popular Front, 1936	.19*** (.056)				.225*** (.063)	
Rightist repression	4.054*** (.824)		3.928*** (.944)			
<i>Intermediate confounders</i>						
Unemployment rate, %			.416*** (.12)		.528*** (.125)	
% employed in Industry			.13 (.109)		.182 (.08)	
Education			-.624 (1.033)		-.102 (1.044)	
Controls province	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Elections	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019
Election-year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
De-meaned				repression + Intermediate confounders		Pop Front + Intermediate confounders
Clustered SEs	Province		Province		Province	
Bootstrapped SEs		✓		✓		✓
N	750	750	750	750	750	750
R <sup>2</sup>	.58		.58		.57	

Notes:

Provincial controls: latitude, longitude, capital altitude, historical region.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

TABLE H2: Mediator analysis, municipal level. Extremadura only.

	Leftist Vote (1)	Leftist Vote (2) g-est channel poverty	Leftist Vote (3)	Leftist Vote (4) g-est channel Pop Front	Leftist Vote (5)	Leftist Vote (6) g-est channel repression
<b>% income, 1920s</b>	<b>.059**</b>	<b>.037***</b>	<b>.075***</b>	<b>.075***</b>	<b>.063***</b>	<b>.063***</b>
<b>(Baseline:.081***)</b>	<b>(.027)</b>	<b>(.013)</b>	<b>(.028)</b>	<b>(.012)</b>	<b>(.028)</b>	<b>(.012)</b>
<i>Mediators</i>						
% vote Pop Front	.252*** (.051)				.256*** (.05)	
Rightist repression CW	1.145*** (.668)		.985*** (.028)			
<i>Intermediate confounders</i>						
Illiteracy rate, 1930			.211** (.096)		.212*** (.095)	
Population growth, 1930-1970			-.003 (.006)		-.0064 (.009)	
Total number of voters			-.0002*** (.00006)		-.0002*** (.00004)	
Munics. from provinces	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,2
Elections	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019
Election year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
De-meaned		PopFront+ Repression		Repression+ poverty		PopFront+ poverty
Clustered SEs	mun		mun		mun	
Bootstrapped SEs		✓		✓		✓
N	1,668	1,668	1,653	1,653	1,677	1,677
R <sup>2</sup>	.53		.47		.54	

Notes:

Controls: altitude, latitude, longitude.

Provinces: Badajoz (1), Cáceres (2).

Standard errors in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

## MEDIATION ANALYSIS WITH PRE-TREATMENT CONFOUNDERS

TABLE 11: Mediator analysis, provincial level, 1860. With pre-treatment variable.

	Leftist Vote (1)	Leftist Vote (2)	Leftist Vote (3)	Leftist Vote (4)
		Seq. g-est Channel Poverty		Seq g-est Channel PF+CW
<b>% landless, 1860</b>	<b>.011</b>	<b>.014</b>	<b>.21**</b>	<b>.208***</b>
<b>(Baseline:.255**)</b>	<b>(.085)</b>	<b>.041</b>	<b>(.077)</b>	<b>(.042)</b>
<i>Mediator</i>				
% vote Popular Front, 1936	.196*** (.052)			
Rightist repression CW	3.572*** (.939)			
<i>Intermediate confounders</i>				
Unemployment rate, %			.522*** (.164)	
% employed in Industry			.115 (.1)	
Education			.603 (1.098)	
Level	Province	Province	Province	Province
Controls province	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-treatment variable	✓	✓	✓	✓
Elections	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019
Election-year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Model	Pooled OLS	Pooled OLS	Seq g-est	Seq g-est
De-meaned		Popular Front + CW		Intermediate confounders
Clustered SEs	Province		Province	
Bootstrapped SEs			✓	✓
N	750	750	750	750
R <sup>2</sup>	.6		.53	

Notes:

Provincial controls: latitude, longitude, capital altitude, historical region.

Pre-treatment variable: speed of Reconquest.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

TABLE I2: Mediator analysis, municipal level. Extremadura only, municipalities with more than 1,000 voters. With pre-treatment variables.

	Leftist Vote (1) Baseline	Leftist Vote (2)	Leftist Vote (3) Seq. g-est Channel Poverty	Leftist Vote (4)	Leftist Vote (5) Seq g-est Channel PF +CW
<b>% income, 1920s</b>	<b>.074***</b> (.028)	<b>.04***</b> (.029)	<b>.041***</b> (.013)	<b>.069**</b> (.031)	<b>.069***</b> (.013)
<i>Mediator</i>					
vote Popular Front, 1936		.281*** (.059)			
Rightist repression CW		-.021 (.732)			
<i>Intermediate confounders</i>					
Illiteracy rate, 1930				.236*** (.103)	
Population growth, 1930-1970				-.004 (.005)	
Total number of voters				-.0002*** (.00004)	
Level	Municipal	Municipal	Municipal	Municipal	Municipal
Munics. from provinces	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,2
Municipal controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-treatment variables	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Election	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019
Model	Pooled OLS	Pooled OLS	Seq g-est	Pooled OLS	Seq g-est
De-meanded			Popular Front + CW repression		Intermediate Confounders
Bootstrapped SEs			✓		✓
N	1,617	1,593	1,593	1,602	1,602
R <sup>2</sup>	.45	.50		.47	

Notes:

Controls: altitude, latitude, longitude.

Provinces: Badajoz (1), Cáceres (2), Córdoba (3), Jaén (4).

Pre-treatment variables: Old Regime jurisdiction, percentage landless 1787.

Standard errors in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

TABLE I3: Mediator analysis, municipal level. Extremadura only. With pre-treatment variables.

	Leftist Vote (1) Baseline	Leftist Vote (2)	Leftist Vote (3) Seq. g-est Channel Poverty	Leftist Vote (4)	Leftist Vote (5) Seq g-est Channel PF +CW
<b>% income, 1920s</b>	<b>.057**</b> (.024)	<b>.04***</b> (.008)	<b>.041***</b> (.015)	<b>.052**</b> (.026)	<b>.0517***</b> (.015)
<i>Mediator</i>					
vote Popular Front, 1936		.163*** (.013)			
Rightist repression CW		1.74*** (.148)			
<i>Intermediate confounders</i>					
Illiteracy rate, 1930				.23*** (.083)	
Population growth, 1930-1970				.008 (.008)	
Total number of voters				-.0002*** (.00003)	
Level	Municipal	Municipal	Municipal	Municipal	Municipal
Munics. from provinces	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,2
Municipal controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-treatment variables	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Election	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019
Model	Pooled OLS	Pooled OLS	Seq g-est	Pooled OLS	Seq g-est
De-meaned			Popular Front + CW repression		Intermediate Confounders
Bootstrapped SEs			✓		✓
N	3,180	3,180	3,180	3,180	3,180
R <sup>2</sup>	.37	.44		.39	

Notes:

Controls: altitude, latitude, longitude.

Provinces: Badajoz (1), Cáceres (2), Córdoba (3), Jaén (4).

Pre-treatment variables: Old Regime jurisdiction, percentage landless 1787.

Standard errors in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

MEDIATION ANALYSIS WITH SPATIALLY CORRELATED ERRORS AND SPATIAL LAGS.  
RANDOM EFFECTS MODELS

TABLE J1: Mediator analysis, provincial level. 1860 agrarian inequality.

	Leftist Vote (1)	Leftist Vote (2)	Leftist Vote (3)	Leftist Vote (4)	Leftist Vote (5)	Leftist Vote (6)
<b>% landless, 1860</b>	<b>.377*** (.097)</b>	<b>.05 (.077)</b>	<b>.39*** (.089)</b>	<b>.362*** (.075)</b>	<b>.078 (.076)</b>	<b>.398*** (.085)</b>
<i>Mediator</i>						
% vote Popular Front, 1936		.22*** (.055)			.23*** (.054)	
Rightist Repression CW		3.766*** (.886)			2.816*** (.934)	
<i>Intermediate confounders</i>						
Unemployment rate, %			.042 (.056)			.042 (.056)
% employed in industry			.432*** (.047)			.429*** (.047)
Education			-.772 (.581)			-.823 (.584)
Level	Province	Province	Province	Province	Province	Province
Controls province	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Election-Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Random effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Spatially correlated errors	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Spatially lagged dep variable				✓	✓	✓
N	750	750	750	750	750	750
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	.44	.55	.36	.44	.56	.38

Notes:

Provincial controls: historical region.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

TABLE J2: Mediator analysis, provincial level. 1920 agrarian inequality.

	Leftist Vote (1)	Leftist Vote (2)	Leftist Vote (3)	Leftist Vote (4)	Leftist Vote (5)	Leftist Vote (6)
<b>% agro workers/propr, 1920</b>	<b>.197***</b> (.051)	<b>.103***</b> (.037)	<b>.224***</b> (.055)	<b>.21***</b> (.047)	<b>.119***</b> (.035)	<b>.236***</b> (.052)
<i>Mediator</i>						
% vote Popular Front, 1936		.21*** (.047)			.229*** (.045)	
Rightist repression CW		3.628*** (.802)			2.656*** (.823)	
<i>Intermediate confounders</i>						
Unemployment rate, %			.048 (.056)			.049 (.056)
% employed in industry			.434*** (.047)			.43*** (.047)
Education			-.794 (.582)			-.865 (.584)
Level	Province	Province	Province	Province	Province	Province
Controls province	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Election-Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Random effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Spatially correlated errors	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Spatially lagged dep variable				✓	✓	✓
N	750	750	750	750	750	750
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	.38	.57	.34	.4	.59	.35

Notes:

Provincial controls: Historical region.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .



MUNICIPAL MEDIATOR ANALYSIS, ADDING YEARS OF EDUCATION IN THE 1990s AND ELECTIONS IN 1989 AND 1993.

TABLE K1: Mediator analysis, municipal level. Extremadura only. 1989 and 1993 elections.

	Leftist Vote (1)	Leftist Vote (2) Seq g-est Channel PF +CW
<b>% income, 1920s</b>	<b>.067**</b>	<b>.067***</b>
<b>(Baseline: .072***)</b>	<b>(.025)</b>	<b>(.019)</b>
<i>Intermediate confounders</i>		
Illiteracy rate, 1930	.147** (.074)	
Population growth, 1930-1970	.012* (.007)	
Total number of voters	-.0002*** (.00004)	
% with Secondary Education	-.119 (.125)	
Level	Municipal	Municipal
Munics. from provinces	1,2	1,2
Municipal controls	✓	✓
Pre-treatment variables	✓	✓
Election	1977-2019	1977-2019
Model	Pooled OLS	Seq g-est
De-meaned		Intermediate Confounders
Bootstrapped SEs		✓
N	444	444
R <sup>2</sup>	.13	

Notes:

Controls: altitude, latitude, longitude.

Provinces: Badajoz (1), Cáceres (2).

Standard errors in parentheses.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

MEDIATION ANALYSIS AT THE PROVINCIAL LEVEL, INCLUDING LEFTIST, REGIONALIST OR NATIONALIST PARTIES AS LEFTIST VOTES.

We only consider those parties that obtained at least one seat in the Spanish parliament. These are the following:

Euskadiko Ezkerra (EE, Basque Left)

Partido Socialista Andaluz (PSA, Andalusian Socialist Party) / Partido Andalucista (PA, Andalusian Party)

Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC, Catalan Republican Left)

Herri Batasuna (HB, Popular Unity) / Amaiur / Bildu

Bloque Nacionalista Galego (BNG, Galician Nationalist Bloc)

Chunta Aragonesista (Aragon Union)

Coalición Compromís (Commitment Coalition)

En Marea (the Tide)

Candidatura d'Unitat Popular (CUP, Popular Unitary Candidacy).

TABLE L1: Effects of historical agrarian inequality on contemporary voting for the Left, including Leftist nationalist and regionalist parties. Baseline and IV regressions

	Leftist Vote (1) Baseline OLS	Leftist Vote (2) IV	Leftist Vote (3) Baseline OLS	Leftist vote (4) IV
<b>% landless, 1860</b>	<b>.387***</b> (.082)	<b>.684***</b> (.075)		
<b>% landless, 1920</b>			<b>.186***</b> (.043)	<b>.873***</b> (.12)
First stage Reconquest		.797*** (.044)		.597*** (.065)
F stat First stage		53.67*** F(19, 730)		27.06*** F(19, 730)
Level	Province	Province	Province	Province
Provincial controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Elections	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019
Election year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Clustered Std Errors	province		province	
N	750	750	750	750
R <sup>2</sup>	.4		.38	

Notes:

Provincial controls: latitude, longitude, capital altitude.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

TABLE L2: Mediation Analysis. Effects of historical agrarian inequality on contemporary voting for the Left

	Leftist Vote (1) OLS	Leftist Vote (2) Seq. g-estimate Channel poverty	Leftist Vote (3) OLS	Leftist vote (4) Seq. g-estimate Channel Popular Front +CW
<b>% landless, 1860</b>	<b>.179***</b>	<b>.183***</b>	<b>.258***</b>	<b>.255***</b>
<b>Baseline: .387***</b>	<b>(.071)</b>	<b>(.041)</b>	<b>.064</b>	<b>(.04)</b>
<i>Mediators</i>				
Popular Front	.096 (.068)			
	(p-value=.16)			
Rightist repression CW	3.217*** (.809)			
<i>Intermediate confounders</i>				
Unemployment			.695*** (.128)	
% industry			.121 (.092)	
Education			1 (.89)	
Level	Province	Province	Province	Province
Provincial controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Elections	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019	1977-2019
Election year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Clustered Std Errors	province		province	
Bootstrapped std errors		✓		✓
N	750	750	750	750
R <sup>2</sup>	.48		.5	

Notes:

Provincial controls: latitude, longitude, capital altitude.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

DIFFERENCES OF MEANS, INTER-GENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF POLITICAL PREFERENCES.

TABLE M1: Test of difference in means, ideology attributed by sons to their mothers and fathers.

<b>Mother's ideology</b>			
<b>Group</b>	<b>Obs</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Error</b>
Other	1,248	5.457	(.057)
Republican family	775	3.761	(.058)
<b>Difference</b>		<b>1.696</b>	(.086)
<b>t-statistic</b>		<b>19.721***</b>	
<b>Father's ideology</b>			
<b>Group</b>	<b>Obs</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Error</b>
Other	1,301	5.53	(.06)
Republican family	802	3.672	(.061)
<b>Difference</b>		<b>1.857</b>	(.091)
<b>t-statistic</b>		<b>20.504***</b>	
<b>Mother's ideology</b>			
<b>Group</b>	<b>Obs</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Error</b>
Other	1,668	4.382	(.044)
Pro-rebel family	355	6.808	(.108)
<b>Difference</b>		<b>-2.427</b>	(.107)
<b>t-statistic</b>		<b>-22.631***</b>	
<b>Father's ideology</b>			
<b>Group</b>	<b>Obs</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Error</b>
Other	1,731	4.366	(.047)
Pro-rebel family	372	6.941	(.11)
<b>Difference</b>		<b>-2.575</b>	(.113)
<b>t-statistic</b>		<b>-22.76***</b>	

Notes:

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

Null hypothesis: difference of means is 0.

## INDIVIDUAL REGRESSIONS ATTRIBUTING PARENTS' IDEOLOGY.

TABLE N1: OLS coefficients, parents' ideology

	Parents' ideology (1)	Parents' ideology (2)
Land inequality, 1860	-.022** (.01)	-.009 (.007)
Unemployment	-.042** (.018)	-.036*** (.011)
Industry	-.027** (.01)	-.013* (.008)
Gender	-.185* (.106)	-.182* (.097)
Age	.002 (.004)	.003 (.003)
Education	.415*** (.096)	.284*** (.085)
Religion	.891*** (.145)	.368*** (.084)
" <i>Nacional</i> " family		1.772*** (.124)
Republican family		-1.344*** (.116)
Constant	5.66*** (.706)	5.377*** (.514)
N	1,920	1,920
R <sup>2</sup>	.11	.36

Notes:

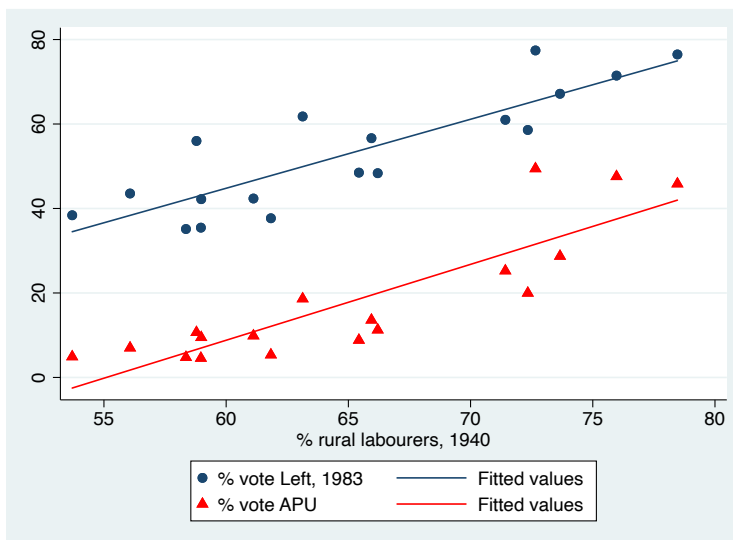
Standards errors clustered at the province level.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

## PORTUGAL

We analyze the legacy of agrarian inequality on Leftist voting patterns in Portugal. We rely on the Population census of 1940 to extract the percentage of landless families among the total number of families employed in agriculture (*VIII Recenseamento Geral da População no Continente e Ilhas Adjacentes em 12 de Dezembro 1940*). This is the first Portuguese census that incorporates occupational data at district level, which we then match to electoral data from the 1983 legislative elections. In figure O1, we display the relationship between agrarian inequality in 1940 (before industrialization) and Leftist vote once the country had industrialized (Leftist vote includes both socialist and communist parties). In the same figure, we display the same relationship exclusively with the vote cast in favour of the Communist Party, which run in a coalition with the Leftist Movimento Democrático Português under the name of Aliança do Povo Unido (APU). In both cases, the geography of electoral support to Leftist parties closely matches the geography of agrarian inequality.

Figure O1: Relationship between agrarian inequality and the Leftist vote in Portugal.



THE LEFTIST VOTE IN ENGLAND AND RURAL INEQUALITY AND POVERTY

Figure P1: Relationship between agrarian inequality and the Leftist vote in English counties.

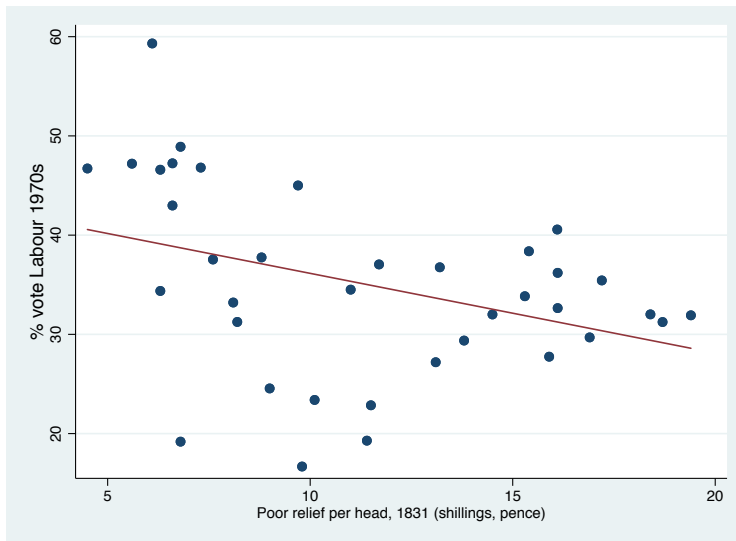




Figure P2: Relationship between agrarian inequality and the Leftist vote in English counties.

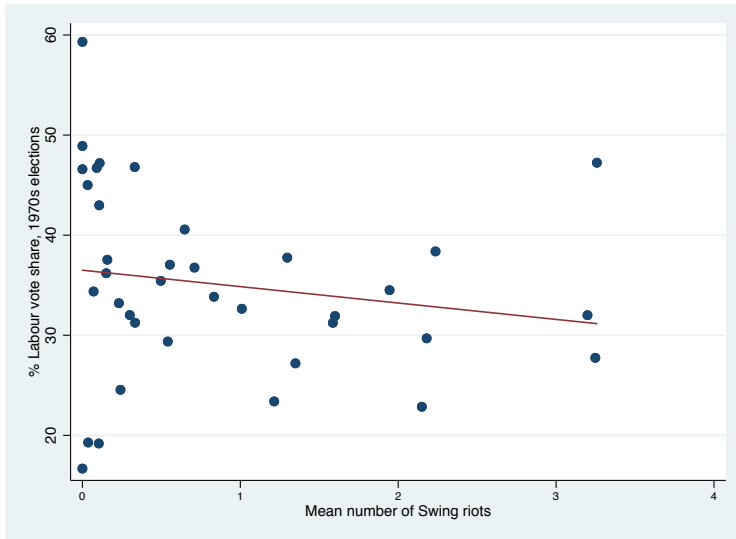


Figure P3: Relationship between agrarian inequality and the Leftist vote in English counties.

