

Appendix (for Online Publication)

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A Additional analyses

A.1 Determinants of veterans per capita

The main determinants of individual WW1 participation were gender, age, physical condition and occupation. In peacetime, all men between 17 and 45 were liable to serve in the military but during WW1 men were not released from their duty upon turning 46. Hence, all male cohorts from 1869 to 1900 systematically served in the war (Nash, 1977). Potential recruits could be exempted for unfitness which was, however, rigorously checked because of the high need for manpower in WW1. Since September 1915, men judged unfit before the war were re-examined and, at least for Prussia, almost 60% of these were conscripted and 20% deemed fit for field duty (Jungblut, 1936). The cohorts 1896 to 1900 were also called up much earlier than usual in order to compensate the high number of casualties.

Beyond these predetermined factors, occupation was the main driver of war participation. This happened, for instance, through volunteers who were disproportionately academics, students, tradesmen and members of the middle class. The actual extent of volunteerism, however, was rather moderate and only amounted to about 185,000 individuals (Verhey, 2000). The foremost occupational driver of WW1 service were exemptions for employees in war-related industries. In January 1918, about 2.3m men – almost a third of the actual army size – were absorbed in such a way to work in factories and mines (Reichsarchiv, 1944). Some had served but were temporarily called back to work in factories and mines (*Reklamierte*) and are thus part of the measurement error discussed above. Others were never even drafted or served at all during the war (*Zurückgestellte*). The instrumental variable strategy in Section 5.3 exploits that such permanent exemptions were more likely in occupations where young male labour was more difficult to substitute.

Conditional on serving in WW1, the main driver of survival was age since it determined serving at the frontline. More than half the killed soldiers were aged between 19 and 25 and the average age at death declined even further during the course of the war due to ever younger soldiers being used at the front (Statistisches Reichsamts, 1922c). Death at the front was rarely heroic and mostly resulted from serving at the wrong time in the wrong place: about three quarters died from artillery fire rather direct combat and another 11% for non-battle reasons, mostly diseases. Deaths at the western front accounted for 43% of all German WW1 deaths but almost half of them occurred in the first and last 6 months of the war (Ziemann, 2009; Statistisches Reichsamts, 1923, 1926a). Assignments of military units to particular areas were not static and troops frequently moved between the western and eastern front. Conditional on demographics

and occupational structure, a systematic selection of draftees from particular areas into survival or death thus seems unlikely.³⁹

How much variation can the above factors explain? In Table A.1, I start by regressing veterans per capita on the share of draftable men born 1869 to 1900. The highly significant coefficient implies that a 1% increase in the draftable population raised the share of veterans by about 0.30. In specification 2, I add the differential growth between men and women 1910-19 as a proxy for internal gender-specific migration 1917-19 which could not be quantified with the aggregate data used above.⁴⁰ The new variable correlates positively with the veteran estimate, presumably via the migration component in the measurement error ϵ . Next, I control for the local male employment structure by including the 1907 share of males working in agriculture, blue-collar and white-collar occupations. Adding these three variables raises the R^2 to 0.30 and thus highlights the crucial role of occupation in determining individual war participation. Blue- and white-collar employment have the expected negative and positive impact on the share of veterans, respectively.

Column 4 adds drivers of volunteering and exemptions, namely the pre-war share of soldiers, male students as well as men working in trade and war-related industries.⁴¹ The first also picks up the presence of garrisons which already had a large amount of soldiers before the war and naturally returns a high and significant estimate. The coefficient for male students is quite large and presumably also captures the impact of male graduates. The coefficient on trade remains insignificant while war industries turn out as the driving force behind the initial negative impact of blue-collar employment. Specification 5 adds three politically relevant demographic factors: Catholics, women born before 1899 and male cohorts born 1893 to 1898. While the first controls for religion as one of the main political division lines, the last two essentially capture the two newly enfranchised population groups after WW1. The share of new male voters also captures the effect of the younger draft cohorts which had a higher likelihood to die during war. Out of these three new variables only the Catholic share has a significant effect which is likely picking up geographic differences in recruitment patterns. Column 6 contains the baseline set of covariates after dropping all insignificant factors. This parsimonious specification still explains almost half the variation in the data and constitutes the baseline set of covariates.⁴²

³⁹ Survival may depend on group cohesion and social capital as has been observed in the U.S. Civil War (Costa and Kahn, 2008). I provide evidence against this channel in Appendix Section A.2.

⁴⁰ The proxy used in Table A.1 is correlated at 0.93 with actual gender-specific migration 1910-19 available for Bavaria. The share of WW1-eligibles, which can only be calculated for Prussia, is also replaced with a highly correlated estimate (0.79) described in Appendix Section D. All data, apart from 1907 occupations, are normalised by the 1910 census population.

⁴¹ Kocka (1978) classifies war-industries as metal processing, engineering and chemical industry. Together with mining, they translate into occupation codes B1-B60 in the 1907 census.

⁴² Appendix Figure C.3 plots the geographic distribution of the residual in column 6. Appendix Table B.5 shows that my baseline results do not change qualitatively when keeping the five insignificant controls dropped in the last step.

TABLE A.1: DETERMINANTS OF VETERANS PER CAPITA

	Veterans p.c.									
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Male WW1-eligible p.c.	0.296*** (0.066)	0.387*** (0.079)	0.244*** (0.077)	0.123* (0.072)	0.166** (0.074)	0.316*** (0.064)	0.321*** (0.059)	0.391*** (0.071)	0.406*** (0.089)	0.467*** (0.166)
Δ Growth M-F 1910-19 p.c.		0.227*** (0.087)	0.260*** (0.074)	0.522*** (0.082)	0.496*** (0.083)	0.473*** (0.086)	0.513*** (0.083)	0.583*** (0.088)	0.606*** (0.098)	0.455* (0.234)
Male agriculture p.c.			-0.117 (0.080)	0.162* (0.088)	0.078 (0.109)					
Male bl-col (all) p.c.			-0.258*** (0.094)	0.518*** (0.114)	0.360** (0.144)	0.445*** (0.062)	0.348*** (0.056)	0.386*** (0.070)	0.429*** (0.092)	0.324* (0.165)
Male bl-col (war) p.c.				-0.546*** (0.093)	-0.503*** (0.099)	-0.718*** (0.094)	-0.355*** (0.107)	-0.355*** (0.107)	-0.331** (0.148)	-0.275 (0.191)
Male bl-col (low-draft) p.c.							-0.716*** (0.118)	-0.688*** (0.113)	-0.736*** (0.153)	-0.471 (0.298)
Male wh-col (all) p.c.			0.622*** (0.122)	0.551* (0.316)	0.355 (0.315)					
Male wh-col (trade) p.c.				0.216 (0.615)	0.231 (0.584)					
Military p.c.				0.665*** (0.144)	0.577*** (0.150)	0.530*** (0.118)	0.518*** (0.108)	0.521*** (0.123)	0.506*** (0.158)	0.422 (0.260)
Male students p.c.				1.464*** (0.361)	1.511*** (0.359)	1.692*** (0.383)	1.573*** (0.358)	1.118*** (0.365)	0.986** (0.411)	0.665 (0.896)
Catholics p.c.					-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.011*** (0.002)	-0.010*** (0.002)	-0.011*** (0.004)	-0.009* (0.005)	-0.011 (0.010)
New male voters p.c.					-0.252 (0.263)					
New female voters p.c.					0.028 (0.066)					
Corps FE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Brigade FE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Recruiting District FE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Observations	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362
Mean DV	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14
R ²	0.075	0.094	0.297	0.492	0.512	0.437	0.494	0.565	0.665	0.927

Notes: Observations are at the constituency-level. Robust standard errors in parentheses: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Regarding the identification strategies adopted later, I show that the residual variation in column 6 can be mainly attributed to two factors: 1) differences in war-related exemptions across occupations and 2) idiosyncrasies in recruitment and survival. Starting with the former, I establish that the average negative effect of war-related employment masks differences across occupations in the substitutability of adult male labour with that of older men or women. Employee demographics by occupation from the 1916 census for Bavaria illustrate this well: while draftable men made up 56% in iron mining, they only accounted for 11% in the manufacturing of lamps ([Bayerisches Statistisches Landesamt, 1919](#)). Based on this source, I calculate the 1907 share of men working in *low-draft* occupations, war-related occupations using a high share of draftable men (>45%) in 1916.⁴³ Including this variable in specification 7 strongly reduces the coefficient on war-related employment. As expected, there is a strong and highly significant negative impact of low-draft occupations. This captures workers never participating in WW1

⁴³ The seven occupations included are iron mining (occupational code B1), coal mining (B4), extraction of graphite, asphalt, oil and amber (B5), quarrymen (B7), shipbuilding (B44), manufacturing of non-rifle firearms (B46) and pharmacists (B56).

but also removes a substantial part of the measurement error discussed in Section 3.2. In Section 5.3, I explicitly use the prevalence of low-draft occupations, conditional on overall and war-related manufacturing, to instrument for the population share of veterans.

The last columns show that military factors can explain most of the remaining variation by adding fixed effects (FEs) for the tiers of pre-war military territorial organisation: corps, brigade and recruitment districts (*Landwehr-Bezirk*).⁴⁴ The corps and brigade tiers correspond to the wartime army units of the same name and capture the impact of allocation to a particular front based on geographic location. Including corps FEs and the even smaller brigade districts raises the R^2 to about 0.67 in column 9. Lastly, I control for the impact of 261 recruitment districts which were only in charge of the draft but not corresponding to actual army units (Nash, 1977). This increases the R^2 to 0.93, which indicates that the remaining variation is mainly driven by idiosyncratic differences in the draft rather than exposure to particular frontlines.⁴⁵ Importantly, most of the previous covariates become insignificant but roughly maintain their coefficient size while the high R^2 leaves little scope for additional local unobservables within recruitment districts.

⁴⁴ The highest level were the four state-based armies of Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg and Prussia (including all other states). Maps of all four tiers based on Deutsches Reich (1914) are provided in Appendix Figures C.4, C.5, C.6 and C.7. Overlapping constituencies were allocated to their main recruitment district based on the 1871 population distribution.

⁴⁵ Appendix Table B.2 shows that FEs for civilian administrative divisions explain less variation.

A.2 Further evidence on alternative channels

This section tests for social capital as a confounding factor and bolsters the conclusions in Section 5.2 against a direct role of the Red Menace by using alternative indicators of the far-left’s strength.

First, I include two different measures of social capital as potential confounders. This addresses the possibility that soldiers may be more likely to survive in areas with greater social cohesion which would mechanically increase the veteran share (Costa and Kahn, 2008). Satyanath, Voigtländer, and Voth (2017), in turn, have shown that social capital served as a vehicle for Nazis to infiltrate society. For my test, I take the city-level association density from Satyanath, Voigtländer, and Voth (2017), match it to constituencies and collapse multiple cities by forming a population-weighted average. Including this variable in the first specification of each party bloc in Table A.2 does not invalidate my results and, if anything, seems to have worked against my them. The previous variable, however, has the drawback of being potentially affected by WW1 since it is measured in the 1920s and not being available for more than half my sample. The proxy of association density in the 1860s which is used as an instrument in Satyanath, Voigtländer, and Voth (2017) could circumvent the endogeneity concern but not solve the second limitation. I thus use a close correlate of this instrument available for my entire sample: turnout in the 1871 elections.⁴⁶ Using this alternative indicator of social capital in the second specification of each party bloc has no impact on my findings.

Next, I check the robustness of my results in Table 2 to alternative measures of leftwing strength after WW1. The third columns of each camp use the share of the far-left USPD within the leftwing party camp in 1919 as a measure of the radical left rather than the plain USPD vote share as in Table 2. Also this alternative indicator has no impact on the baseline estimates. Since the 1919 election took place when most veterans had returned, its outcomes are potentially endogenous. As an alternative, less predetermined measure, I therefore use the political affiliation of local delegates sent to the first congress of soldiers’ and workers’ councils taking place in Berlin from the 16th to 21st of December 1918 provided in Zentralrat der sozialistischen Republik Deutschlands (1919). Delegates are matched via their place of residence to Weimar constituencies which is possible for 461 out of 525 individuals. I create two dummy variables: one for a sending a delegate associated with the USPD or the KPD (*Vereinigte revolutionäre Arbeiter und Soldaten*) and another one for sending a delegate at all to capture general compliance with the German Revolution. Adding an interaction of both dummy measures with $Post_t$ to the regression does again not lead to notable changes in the baseline estimates. The new variables both benefit the political centre and, similar to the 1919 USPD vote share in Table 2, having a far-left delegate is associated with losses for leftwing.

⁴⁶ The correlation between these two variables is 0.15 and consistently lower in subsequent elections.

TABLE A.2: ALTERNATIVE CHANNELS (ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE)

	Leftwing					Centre					Rightwing				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Veterans p.c.×Post	-1.524*** (0.316)	-1.290*** (0.234)	-1.291*** (0.240)	-1.219*** (0.241)	-1.296*** (0.237)	0.207 (0.590)	0.036 (0.478)	0.053 (0.472)	0.004 (0.475)	0.009 (0.462)	1.317** (0.623)	1.255*** (0.469)	1.238*** (0.465)	1.215*** (0.469)	1.287*** (0.453)
Assoc. density 1925×Post	1.156 (4.740)					-0.196 (7.769)					-0.963 (8.639)				
Turnout 1871×Post		0.047 (0.031)					-0.104* (0.053)					0.057 (0.053)			
Far-left/Leftwing 1919×Post			-0.036 (0.026)					0.053 (0.047)					-0.018 (0.050)		
(Far-left delegate 1918 = 1)×Post				-0.042*** (0.013)					0.036* (0.020)					0.006 (0.021)	
(Any delegate 1918 = 1)×Post					-0.009 (0.009)					0.042** (0.017)					-0.033* (0.018)
Constituency FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Election FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Constituencies	157	362	362	362	362	157	362	362	362	362	157	362	362	362	362
Observations	2,198	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	2,198	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	2,198	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068
Mean DV	0.33	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.44	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.24	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.29
R ²	0.928	0.926	0.926	0.927	0.926	0.876	0.875	0.875	0.875	0.876	0.793	0.820	0.820	0.820	0.821

Notes: Observations are at the constituency-level. The sample period is 1893 up to 1933 and includes 14 Reichstag elections. Standard errors clustered at the constituency-level in parentheses: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Included control variables are % Male WW1-eligible, % ΔGrowth M-F 1910-19, % Male blue-collar (all), % Male blue-collar (war), % Military, % Male students, % Catholics. All controls are interacted with Election FE.

A.3 Heterogeneity across leftwing support and social classes

This section discusses to what degree the veteran effect was driven by prior leftwing supporters, the working class or middle class voters as argued in the original Red Menace theory [Brustein and Berntson \(1999\)](#). First, I add an interaction of the treatment variable and a median dummy for leftwing support in 1912. These estimates reveal that the left's losses came entirely from previous leftwing strongholds and that the rightwing gains were also markedly higher there, too. Interestingly, the right also considerably gained in other areas but at the expense of centrist parties. Hence, whatever drove leftwing veterans to the right apparently also had some, albeit more limited, appeal to voters from other classes and parties.

Next, I add a similar indicator for the size of the working class to the previous specification in order to account for the strong correlation between political orientation and social class.⁴⁷ This does not notably change the interactions with the leftwing vote 1912 compared to the initial specification. In the third specification of each party bloc, I add interactions based on the size of the middle-class to the initial specification. Again, this does not change the coefficients using leftwing support 1912. In middle class areas, however, veterans shifted votes moderately from left to right while centrist parties were unaffected. This implies that middle class veterans may have also stopped voting leftwing but did not particularly benefit the right.

TABLE A.3: HETEROGENEITY ACROSS LEFTWING SUPPORT AND SOCIAL CLASSES

	Leftwing			Centre			Rightwing		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Veterans p.c.×Post	-0.105 (0.256)	0.265 (0.297)	0.187 (0.293)	-0.473 (0.687)	-0.810 (0.821)	-0.834 (0.673)	0.577 (0.670)	0.545 (0.791)	0.647 (0.668)
...×(Leftwing vote 1912>p50)	-1.176*** (0.319)	-1.054** (0.438)	-0.818** (0.397)	0.549 (0.739)	0.324 (0.784)	0.236 (0.913)	0.626 (0.733)	0.730 (0.768)	0.582 (0.904)
...×(Working class p.c.>p50)		-0.689 (0.459)			0.731 (0.768)			-0.042 (0.754)	
...×(Middle class p.c.>p50)			-0.811** (0.410)			0.880 (0.886)			-0.069 (0.921)
Constituency FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Election FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Constituencies	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362
Observations	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068
Mean DV	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.29	0.29	0.29
R ²	0.933	0.934	0.933	0.875	0.876	0.876	0.821	0.821	0.822

Notes: Observations are at the **constituency-level**. The **sample period** is 1893 up to 1933 and includes 14 Reichstag elections. **Standard errors** clustered at the constituency-level in parentheses: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Included **control variables** are % Male WW1-eligible, % ΔGrowth M-F 1910-19, % Male blue-collar (all), % Male blue-collar (war), % Military, % Male students, % Catholics. All controls are interacted with Election FE. All constituent terms of **interaction effects** are included in the estimation but only relevant ones are reported in the table.

⁴⁷ The size of the working and middle class is defined as the population share associated with blue- and white-collar occupations in the 1907 census, respectively, either by own employment or that of the household head.

A.4 Role of misogyny

Another potential mechanism could be misogyny, namely that veterans supported the right as a result of the significant changes of women’s role in German society. First, women started playing a much more active part in the economy and in great numbers replaced male workers absorbed by the army. This was particularly true for agriculture but also for manufacturing jobs to some degree. Returning male veterans may have thus felt challenged in their economic standing (Feldman, 1966). Second, the reforms of 1918 introduced female suffrage and thus greatly increased women’s importance in politics. Prior to 1918, only Socialist and left-liberal parties favoured extending women’s political rights while the right was fiercely opposed (Evans, 1976). The conservative DNVP continued to propagate a more traditional role of women but did not seek to revert female suffrage as it fared rather well with bourgeois women (Ohnezeit, 2011). In spite of that, rightwing parties were still likely perceived as the ones seeking to preserve male dominance in society.

I investigate this potential explanation with a triple-diff design as in Section A.3. To measure women’s importance, I use two variables: the first is the growth of female per capita between 1910 and 1917. This intends to capture women relocating into areas where they could easily replace male labour. The second proxy is the share of new female voters after WW1. The results in Table A.4 show that veterans’ negative impact on leftwing votes is, insignificantly, more pronounced in constituencies where both proxies are above the median. The same, however, also holds true for the rightwing which rules against misogyny as likely channel behind my results.

TABLE A.4: HETEROGENEITY ACROSS PROXIES OF WOMEN’S IMPORTANCE

	Leftwing			Centre			Rightwing		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Veterans p.c.×Post	-1.312*** (0.238)	-1.211*** (0.371)	-0.999*** (0.280)	0.084 (0.471)	-0.528 (0.692)	-0.535 (0.691)	1.228*** (0.462)	1.739** (0.705)	1.534** (0.686)
...×(Growth fem. 1910-17>p50)		-0.286 (0.395)			1.007 (0.737)			-0.721 (0.752)	
...×(New fem. voters p.c.>p50)			-0.558 (0.360)			1.128 (0.777)			-0.571 (0.794)
Constituency FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Election FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Constituencies	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362
Observations	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068
Mean DV	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.29	0.29	0.29
R ²	0.926	0.926	0.927	0.875	0.875	0.876	0.820	0.820	0.820

Notes: Observations are at the **constituency-level**. The **sample period** is 1893 up to 1933 and includes 14 Reichstag elections. **Standard errors** clustered at the constituency-level in parentheses: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Included **control variables** are % Male WW1-eligible, % ΔGrowth M-F 1910-19, % Male blue-collar (all), % Male blue-collar (war), % Military, % Male students, % Catholics. All controls are interacted with Election FE. All constituent terms of **interaction effects** are included in the estimation but only relevant ones are reported in the table.

B Tables

TABLE B.1: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

	Obs	Mean	Std.Dev.	Min	Max
<u>Voting (parliamentary)</u>					
% Vote Leftwing	5,068	0.30	0.16	0.00	0.82
% Vote Centre	5,068	0.41	0.26	0.00	1.00
% Vote Left-Liberal	5,068	0.08	0.11	0.00	0.64
% Vote Catholic-Minority	5,068	0.25	0.27	0.00	1.00
% Vote Right-Liberal	5,068	0.08	0.12	0.00	1.00
% Vote Rightwing	5,068	0.29	0.22	0.00	0.98
% Vote Conservative	5,068	0.16	0.17	0.00	0.95
% Vote Antisemite	4,706	0.14	0.18	0.00	0.79
% Turnout	4,706	0.79	0.09	0.33	0.95
% Turnout 1871	362	0.51	0.14	0.18	0.93
% Vote Leftwing 1912	362	0.29	0.19	0.01	0.82
% Vote Conservative 1912	362	0.15	0.20	0.00	0.88
% Vote Antisemite 1912	362	0.04	0.10	0.00	0.57
% Vote Far-left 1919	362	0.05	0.11	0.00	0.63
Far-left/leftwing 1919	362	0.10	0.18	0.00	0.91
<u>Voting (referenda & presidential)</u>					
% Turnout Referendum 1926	362	0.33	0.15	0.06	0.65
% Yes Referendum 1926	362	0.96	0.01	0.89	0.98
% Turnout Referendum 1929	362	0.19	0.13	0.01	0.57
% Yes Referendum 1929	362	0.94	0.02	0.76	0.98
% Vote Leftwing Pres. 1925 (1st round)	362	0.31	0.13	0.04	0.57
% Vote Centre Pres. 1925 (1st round)	362	0.28	0.25	0.03	0.88
% Vote Rightwing Pres. 1925 (1st round)	362	0.41	0.18	0.06	0.80
% Vote Leftwing Pres. 1925 (2nd round)	362	0.05	0.05	0.00	0.27
% Vote Centre Pres. 1925 (2nd round)	362	0.44	0.17	0.11	0.88
% Vote Rightwing Pres. 1925 (2nd round)	362	0.51	0.17	0.09	0.89
% Vote Leftwing Pres. 1932 (1st round)	362	0.11	0.06	0.01	0.35
% Vote Centre Pres. 1932 (1st round)	362	0.50	0.13	0.19	0.84
% Vote Rightwing Pres. 1932 (1st round)	362	0.40	0.13	0.11	0.81
% Vote Leftwing Pres. 1932 (2nd round)	362	0.08	0.05	0.00	0.30
% Vote Centre Pres. 1932 (2nd round)	362	0.53	0.13	0.21	0.85
% Vote Rightwing Pres. 1932 (2nd round)	362	0.39	0.12	0.12	0.78
<u>Treatment</u>					
Veterans per cap.	362	0.14	0.02	0.06	0.20
Male WW1-eligible p.c.	362	0.25	0.02	0.20	0.32
Δ Growth M-F 1910-19 p.c.	362	-0.03	0.01	-0.11	0.03
<u>Occupation</u>					
Male agriculture p.c.	362	0.06	0.03	0.00	0.13
Male blue-collar (all) p.c.	362	0.08	0.02	0.03	0.14
Male blue-collar (war) p.c.	362	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.11
Male blue-collar (low draft) p.c.	362	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.08
Male blue-collar (low draft 2) p.c.	362	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.08
Male white-collar (all) p.c.	362	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.10
Male white-collar (trade) p.c.	362	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.05
Male students p.c.	362	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02
Military p.c.	362	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.10

Notes: Observations are at the **constituency-level**. Panel and cross-sectional variables are reported according to their time-dimension. Note that % Turnout is not available for the 1919 election and % WW1 deaths only for Bavaria and a few states or districts which perfectly coincide with particular constituencies.

TABLE B.1: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS (CONTINUED)

	Obs	Mean	Std.Dev.	Min	Max
<u>Demographics</u>					
Catholics p.c.	362	0.34	0.35	0.01	1.00
Protestants p.c.	362	0.64	0.35	0.00	0.99
Working class p.c.	362	0.22	0.08	0.07	0.40
Middle class p.c.	362	0.10	0.04	0.05	0.28
New male voters p.c.	362	0.06	0.01	0.04	0.08
New female voters p.c.	362	0.37	0.02	0.28	0.43
<u>Other</u>					
% WW1 casualties	362	0.13	0.04	0.00	0.36
% WW1 deaths	66	0.03	0.00	0.02	0.03
1889-1900/Draftable	362	0.57	0.08	0.34	0.80
% benefit-elig. WW1	362	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.03
Any delegate 1918 = 1	362	0.55	0.50	0.00	1.00
Far-left delegate 1918 = 1	362	0.17	0.37	0.00	1.00
Kriegerverein members 1913 p.c.	362	0.05	0.02	0.01	0.09
DHV chapters 1914 p.c. × 1000	362	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.08
Clubs p.c. 1920s × 1000	157	2.52	1.47	0.02	8.40

Notes: Observations are at the **constituency-level**. Panel and cross-sectional variables are reported according to their time-dimension. Note that % Turnout is not available for the 1919 election and % WW1 deaths only for Bavaria and a few states or districts which perfectly coincide with particular constituencies.

TABLE B.2: DETERMINANTS OF VETERANS PER CAPITA (WITH ADMINISTRATIVE FES)

	Veterans p.c.							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Male WW1-eligible p.c.	0.513*** (0.083)	0.537*** (0.084)	0.583*** (0.088)	0.606*** (0.098)	0.455* (0.234)	0.602*** (0.090)	0.613*** (0.094)	0.616*** (0.095)
Δ Growth M-F 1910-19 p.c.	0.321*** (0.059)	0.333*** (0.059)	0.391*** (0.071)	0.406*** (0.089)	0.467*** (0.166)	0.386*** (0.064)	0.386*** (0.077)	0.376*** (0.081)
Male bl-col (all) p.c.	0.348*** (0.056)	0.389*** (0.060)	0.386*** (0.070)	0.429*** (0.092)	0.324* (0.165)	0.322*** (0.064)	0.310*** (0.077)	0.461*** (0.093)
Male bl-col (war) p.c.	-0.355*** (0.107)	-0.380*** (0.107)	-0.355*** (0.107)	-0.331** (0.148)	-0.275 (0.191)	-0.342*** (0.107)	-0.295*** (0.108)	-0.408*** (0.126)
Male bl-col (low-draft) p.c.	-0.716*** (0.118)	-0.699*** (0.117)	-0.688*** (0.113)	-0.736*** (0.153)	-0.471 (0.298)	-0.691*** (0.117)	-0.712*** (0.118)	-0.643*** (0.118)
Military p.c.	0.518*** (0.108)	0.520*** (0.105)	0.521*** (0.123)	0.506*** (0.158)	0.422 (0.260)	0.529*** (0.105)	0.539*** (0.126)	0.553*** (0.118)
Male students p.c.	1.573*** (0.358)	1.571*** (0.327)	1.118*** (0.365)	0.986** (0.411)	0.665 (0.896)	1.340*** (0.355)	1.232*** (0.381)	1.075** (0.417)
Catholics p.c.	-0.010*** (0.002)	-0.014*** (0.003)	-0.011*** (0.004)	-0.009* (0.005)	-0.011 (0.010)	-0.015*** (0.003)	-0.011*** (0.003)	-0.016*** (0.005)
Army FE	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Corps FE	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Brigade FE	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
Recruiting District FE	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
State FE	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Province FE	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
AdminDistrict FE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Observations	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362
Mean DV	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14
R ²	0.494	0.520	0.565	0.665	0.927	0.585	0.604	0.668

Notes: Observations are at the **constituency-level**. Robust **standard errors** in parentheses: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

TABLE B.3: DID ESTIMATES USING EXTENDED SAMPLE STARTING IN 1871

	Leftwing		Centre		Rightwing	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Veterans p.c.×Post	-1.312*** (0.238)	-0.862*** (0.261)	0.084 (0.471)	-0.329 (0.512)	1.228*** (0.462)	1.190** (0.516)
Constituency FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Election FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sample	Baseline	Extended	Baseline	Extended	Baseline	Extended
Constituencies	362	362	362	362	362	362
Observations	5,068	7,964	5,068	7,964	5,068	7,964
Mean DV	0.3	0.22	0.41	0.51	0.29	0.27
R ²	0.926	0.903	0.875	0.800	0.820	0.715

Notes: Observations are at the **constituency-level**. The **baseline sample period** is 1893 up to 1933 and includes 14 Reichstag elections. The **extended sample period** starts in 1871 and includes 22 Reichstag elections. **Standard errors** clustered at the constituency-level in parentheses: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Included **control variables** are % Male WW1-eligible, % Δ Growth M-F 1910-19, % Male blue-collar (all), % Male blue-collar (war), % Military, % Male students, % Catholics. All controls are interacted with Election FE.

TABLE B.4: BASELINE RESULTS AND DIFFERENT FE SPECIFICATIONS

	Leftwing							Centre							Rightwing						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)
Veterans p.c.×Post	-1.312*** (0.238)	1.215*** (0.249)	1.056*** (0.235)	0.848*** (0.274)	1.037*** (0.264)	0.924*** (0.254)	0.783*** (0.281)	0.084 (0.471)	0.097 (0.484)	0.274 (0.431)	0.168 (0.486)	0.243 (0.546)	0.255 (0.498)	0.257 (0.517)	1.228*** (0.462)	1.118** (0.470)	0.783* (0.410)	0.679 (0.496)	0.794 (0.524)	0.669 (0.474)	0.527 (0.456)
Army×Elec FE	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Corps×Elec FE	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
Brigade×Elec FE	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
State×Elec FE	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Province×Elec FE	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
District×Elec FE	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Constituencies	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362
Observations	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068
Mean DV	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.29
R ²	0.926	0.930	0.944	0.960	0.937	0.947	0.959	0.875	0.890	0.907	0.932	0.901	0.912	0.933	0.820	0.839	0.868	0.904	0.857	0.876	0.908

Notes: Observations are at the **constituency-level**. The **sample period** is 1893 up to 1933 and includes 14 Reichstag elections. **Standard errors** clustered at the constituency-level in parentheses: * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01. Included **control variables** are % Male WW1-eligible, % ΔGrowth M-F 1910-19, % Male blue-collar (all), % Male blue-collar (war), % Military, % Male students, % Catholics. All controls are interacted with Election FE.

TABLE B.5: DiD ESTIMATES INCLUDING ADDITIONAL CONTROL VARIABLES

	Leftwing						Centre						Rightwing					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
Veterans p.c.×Post	-1.312*** (0.238)	1.128*** (0.228)	-0.742*** (0.227)	-0.889*** (0.231)	-1.005*** (0.233)	-0.631*** (0.223)	0.084 (0.471)	0.013 (0.478)	-0.088 (0.524)	0.080 (0.511)	-0.212 (0.489)	-0.106 (0.536)	1.228*** (0.462)	1.115** (0.477)	0.830 (0.514)	0.809 (0.507)	1.216** (0.485)	0.736 (0.526)
Constituency FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Election FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Baseline controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Male agriculture	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Male wh-col (all)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Male wh-col (trade)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
New male voters	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
New female voters	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Constituencies	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362
Observations	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068
Mean DV	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.29
R ²	0.926	0.928	0.932	0.931	0.930	0.936	0.875	0.876	0.876	0.875	0.876	0.879	0.820	0.822	0.823	0.824	0.821	0.828

Notes: Observations are at the **constituency-level**. The **baseline sample period** is 1893 up to 1933 and includes 14 Reichstag elections. The **extended sample period** starts in 1871 and includes 22 Reichstag elections. **Standard errors** clustered at the constituency-level in parentheses: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Included **control variables** are % Male WW1-eligible, % ΔGrowth M-F 1910-19, % Male blue-collar (all), % Male blue-collar (war), % Military, % Male students, % Catholics. All controls are interacted with Election FE.

TABLE B.6: IV ESTIMATES USING ONLY LOW-DRAFT OCCUPATIONS DETERMINED BY GEOGRAPHY

	Vet. p.c. ×Post	Leftwing		Centre			Rightwing			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Veterans p.c.×Post		-1.312*** (0.238)		-2.771*** (0.884)	0.084 (0.471)		0.453 (1.206)	1.228*** (0.462)		2.318** (1.172)
Male low draft 2 p.c.×Post	-0.725*** (0.120)		2.008*** (0.599)			-0.328 (0.869)			-1.680** (0.854)	
Constituency FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Election FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Constituencies	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362
Observations	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068
Mean DV	0.088	0.299	0.299	0.299	0.412	0.412	0.412	0.288	0.288	0.288
R ²	0.989	0.926	0.924	0.921	0.875	0.875	0.875	0.820	0.819	0.819
IV F-stat.	36.77									

Notes: Observations are at the **constituency-level**. The **sample period** is 1893 up to 1933 and includes 14 Reichstag elections. **Standard errors** clustered at the constituency-level in parentheses: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Included **control variables** are % Male WW1-eligible, % ΔGrowth M-F 1910-19, % Male blue-collar (all), % Male blue-collar (war), % Military, % Male students, % Catholics. All controls are interacted with Election FE.

TABLE B.7: ROLE OF PROPAGANDA INTENSITY (ALTERNATIVE MEASURES)

Factor =	Conservative vote 1912		Antisemite vote 1912		Protestants p.c. 1910		Kriegerverein members 1913 p.c.	
	Left	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Veterans p.c.×Post	-1.357*** (0.276)	0.834* (0.499)	-1.085*** (0.258)	1.189** (0.530)	-1.176*** (0.277)	1.344*** (0.483)	-1.428*** (0.271)	1.222** (0.510)
...×(Factor>p50)	0.154 (0.379)	0.367 (0.713)	-0.695* (0.400)	0.172 (0.719)	-0.307 (0.396)	-0.267 (0.820)	0.531 (0.347)	0.133 (0.821)
Constituency FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Election FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Constituencies	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362
Observations	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068	5,068
Mean DV	0.3	0.29	0.3	0.29	0.3	0.29	0.3	0.29
R ²	0.926	0.824	0.926	0.820	0.926	0.820	0.927	0.820

Notes: Observations are at the **constituency-level**. The **sample period** is 1893 up to 1933 and includes 14 Reichstag elections. **Standard errors** clustered at the constituency-level in parentheses: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Included **control variables** are % Male WW1-eligible, % ΔGrowth M-F 1910-19, % Male blue-collar (all), % Male blue-collar (war), % Military, % Male students, % Catholics. All controls are interacted with Election FE. All constituent terms of **interaction effects** are included in the estimation but only relevant ones are reported in the table.

TABLE B.8: VETERAN EFFECT ON REFERENDA AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS (FULL RESULTS)

	Referenda				Presidential election 1925						Presidential election 1932							
	Expropriate (1926)		Reject Young plan (1929)		1 st round			2 nd round			1 st round			2 nd round				
	Turn-out	% Yes	Turn-out	% Yes	Left (Braun, Thälmann)	Centre (Marx, Held, others)	Right (Jarres)	Right (Ludendorff)	Left (Thälmann)	Centre (Marx)	Right (Hindenburg)	Left (Thälmann)	Centre (Hindenburg, Winter)	Right (Duesterberg)	Right (Hitler)	Left (Thälmann)	Centre (Hindenburg)	Right (Hitler)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	
Veterans p.c.	-0.549** (0.229)	0.011 (0.036)	0.659*** (0.236)	0.310*** (0.063)	-1.082*** (0.117)	-0.058 (0.212)	1.045*** (0.219)	0.094*** (0.035)	0.008 (0.064)	-0.984** (0.396)	0.978** (0.380)	0.015 (0.072)	-0.713*** (0.231)	0.420*** (0.115)	0.279 (0.206)	0.053 (0.054)	-0.735*** (0.214)	0.681*** (0.212)
Party strengths	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362	362
Mean DV	0.33	0.96	0.19	0.94	0.31	0.28	0.4	0.01	0.05	0.44	0.51	0.11	0.5	0.08	0.32	0.08	0.53	0.39
R ²	0.871	0.209	0.806	0.345	0.944	0.959	0.917	0.204	0.860	0.623	0.638	0.904	0.829	0.690	0.740	0.919	0.841	0.843

Notes: Observations are at the **constituency-level**. Robust **standard errors** in parentheses: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Included **control variables** are % Male WW1-eligible, % ΔGrowth M-F 1910-19, % Male blue-collar (all), % Male blue-collar (war), % Military, % Male students, % Catholics.

C Figures

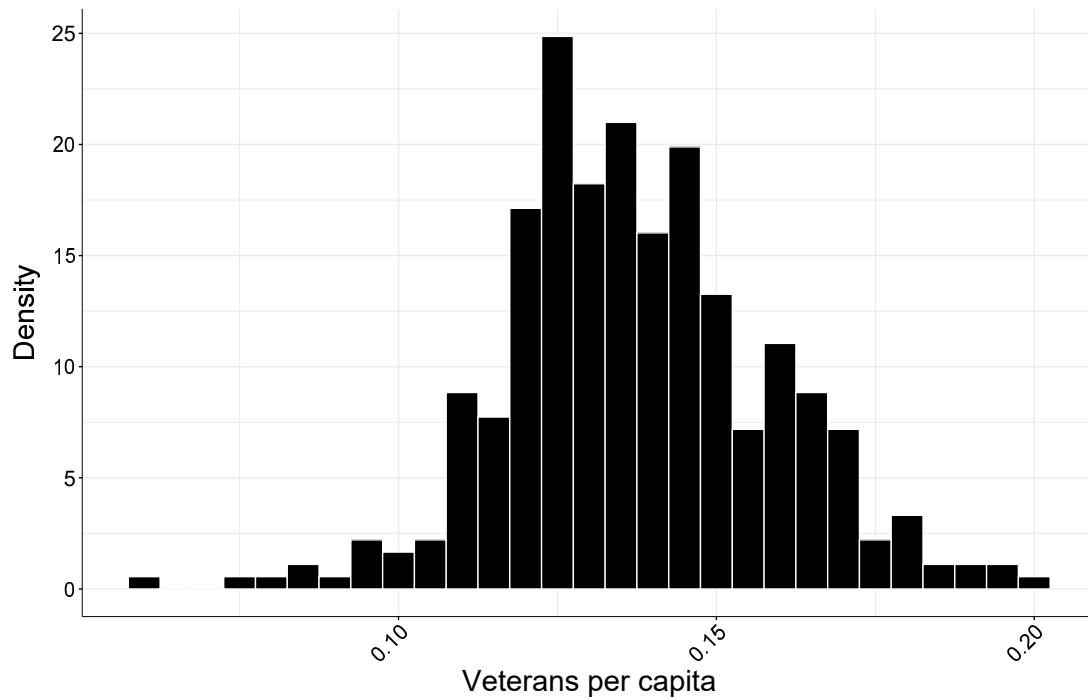


FIGURE C.1: HISTOGRAM OF VETERANS PER CAPITA

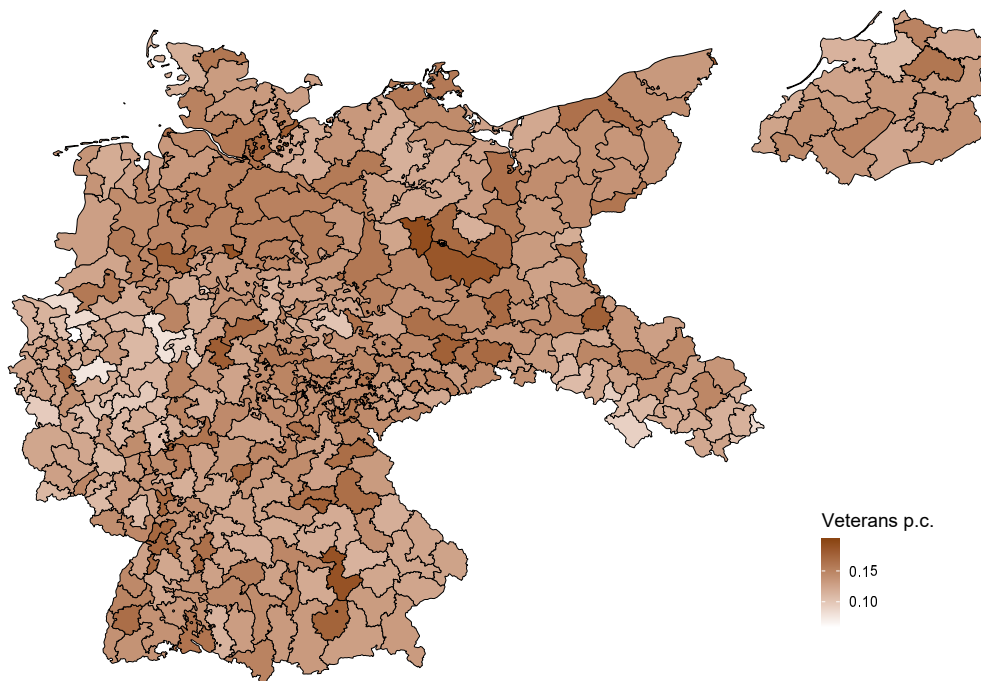


FIGURE C.2: VETERANS PER CAPITA ACROSS WEIMAR GERMANY BY CONSTITUENCIES (CONTINUOUS)

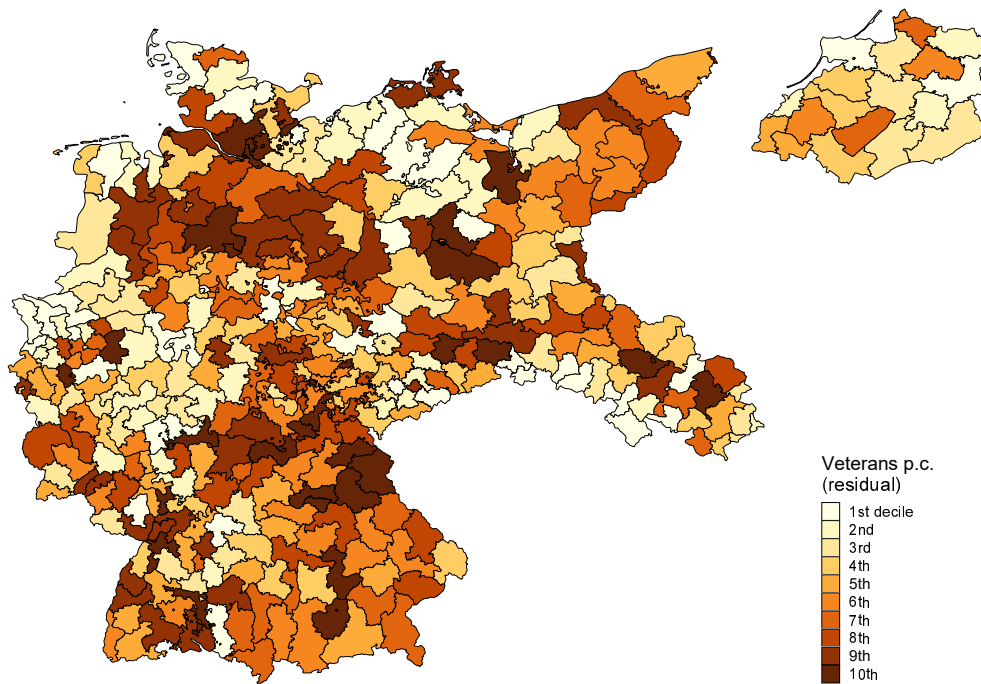


FIGURE C.3: VETERANS PER CAPITA ACROSS WEIMAR GERMANY BY CONSTITUENCIES
(RESIDUAL AFTER BASELINE CONTROLS)

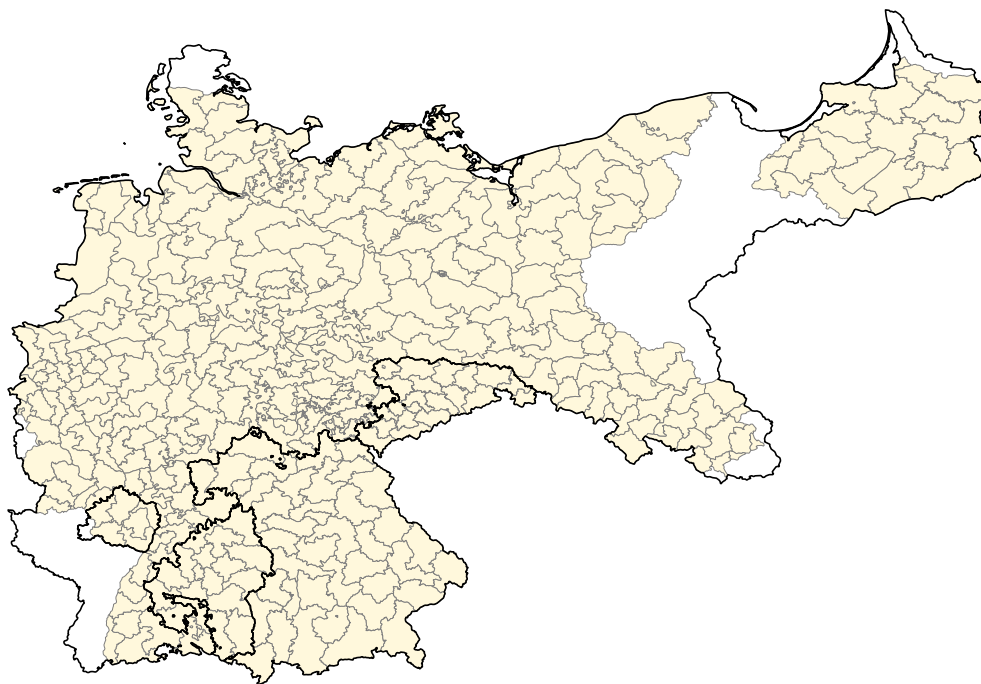


FIGURE C.4: ARMY DISTRICTS OF GERMAN EMPIRE OVERLAID WITH CONSTITUENCIES OF WEIMAR GERMANY

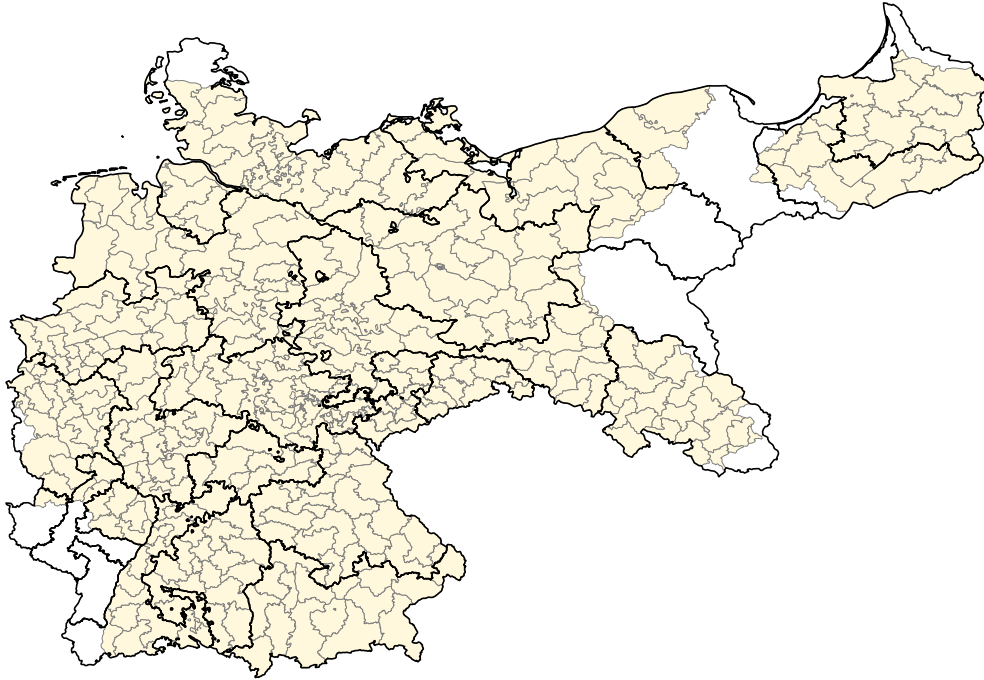


FIGURE C.5: CORPS DISTRICTS OF GERMAN EMPIRE OVERLAID WITH CONSTITUENCIES OF WEIMAR GERMANY

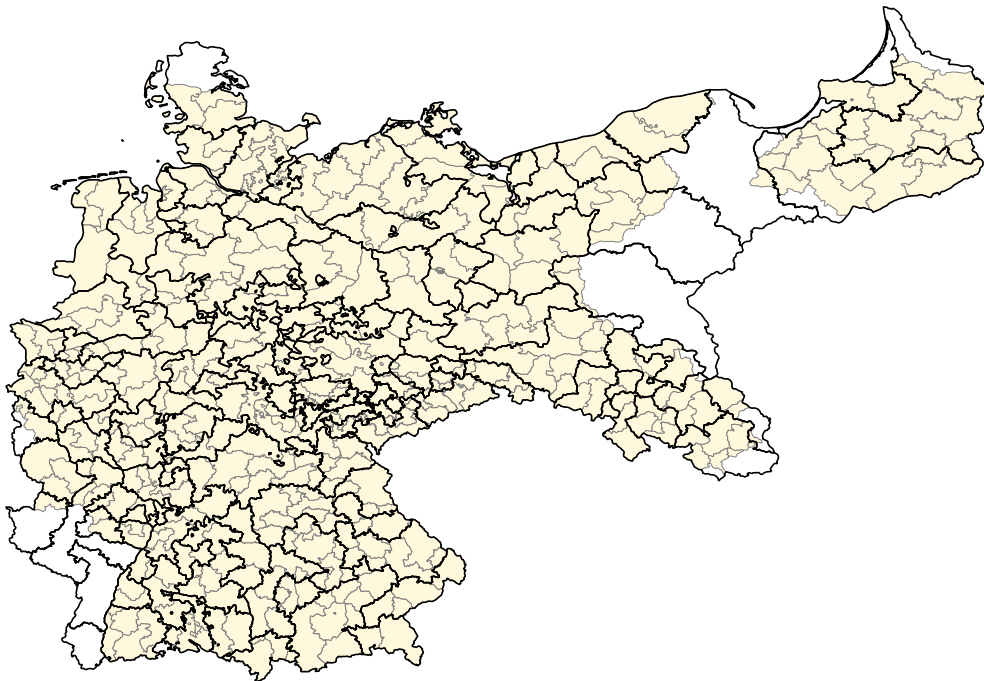


FIGURE C.6: BRIGADE DISTRICTS OF GERMAN EMPIRE OVERLAID WITH CONSTITUENCIES OF WEIMAR GERMANY

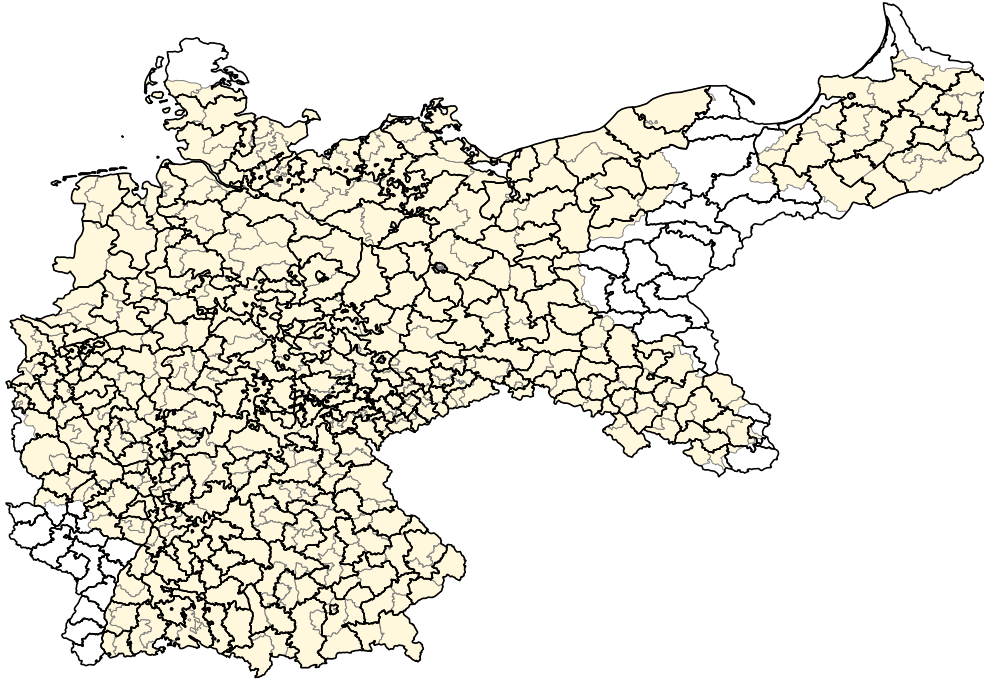


FIGURE C.7: RECRUITMENT DISTRICTS OF GERMAN EMPIRE OVERLAID WITH CONSTITUENCIES OF WEIMAR GERMANY

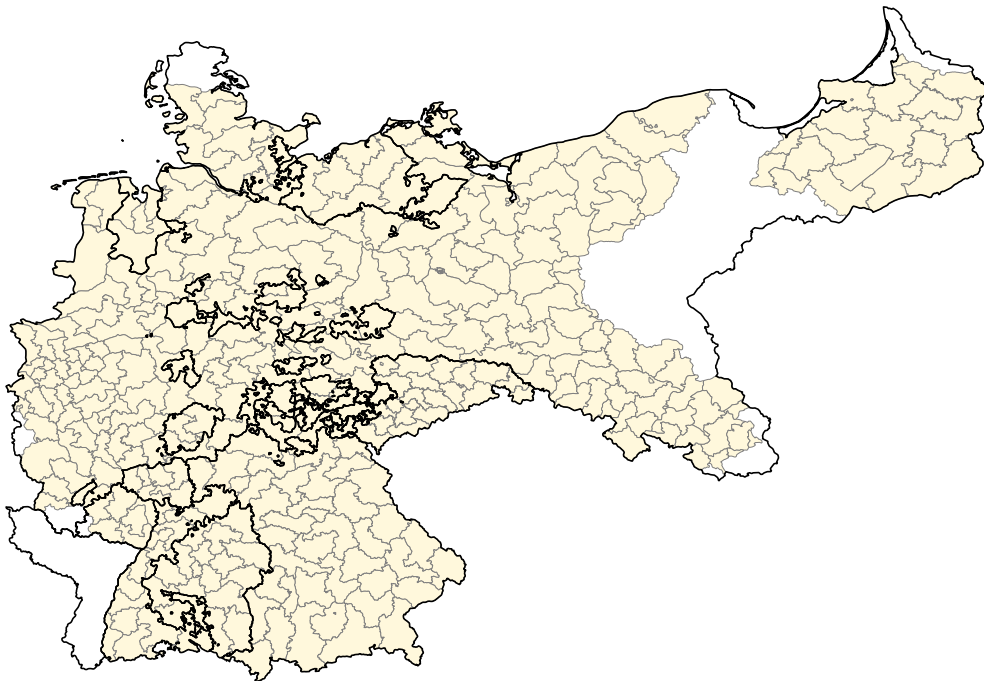


FIGURE C.8: STATE BORDERS OF GERMAN EMPIRE OVERLAID WITH CONSTITUENCIES OF WEIMAR GERMANY

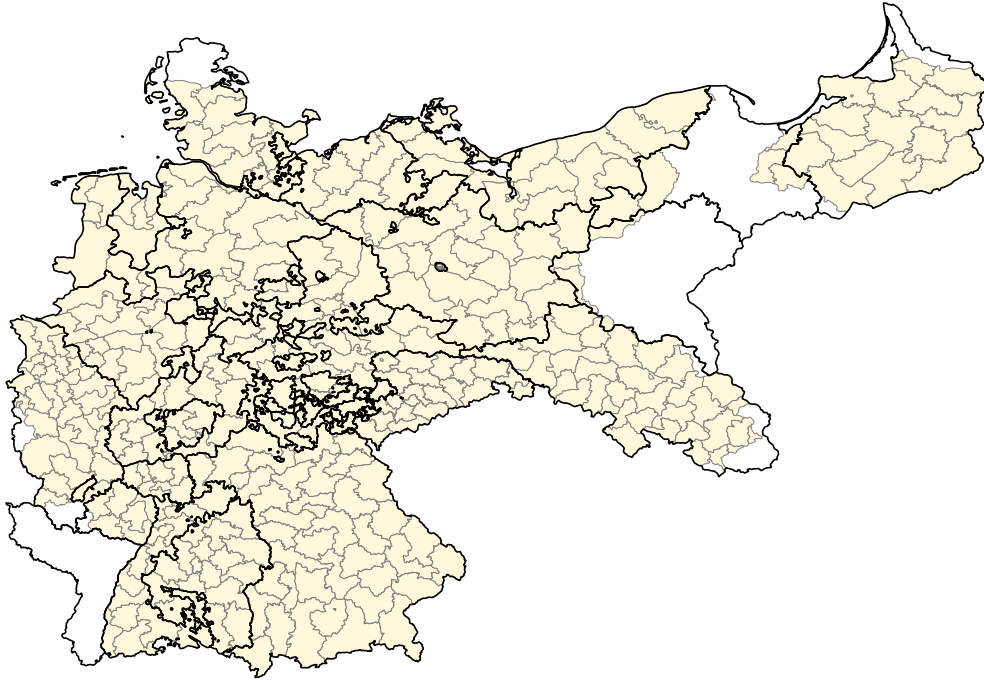


FIGURE C.9: PROVINCE BORDERS OF GERMAN EMPIRE OVERLAID WITH CONSTITUENCIES OF WEIMAR GERMANY

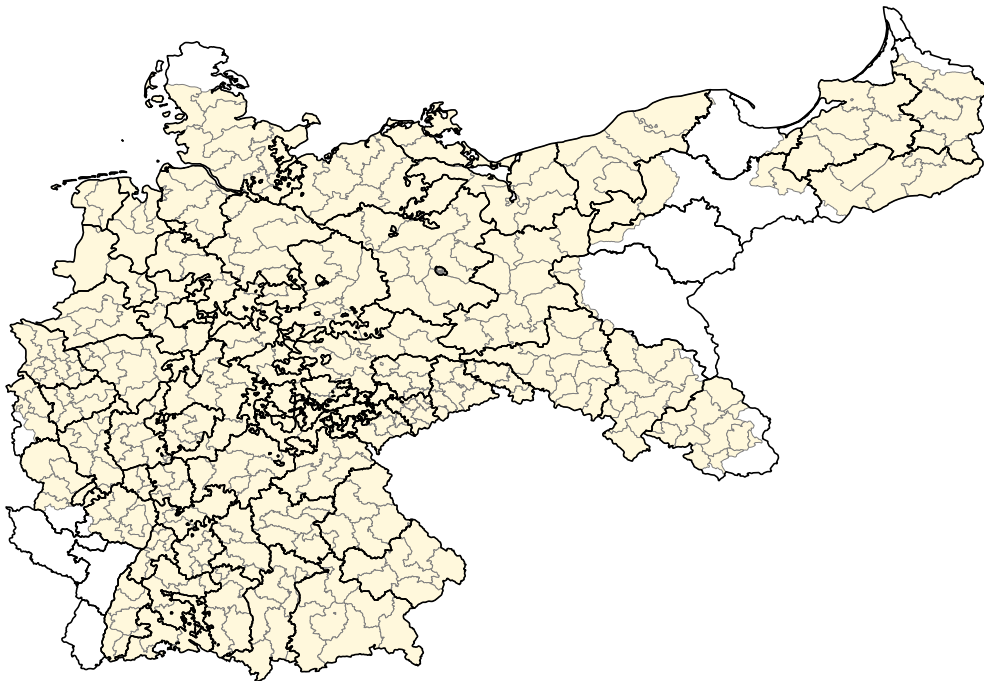
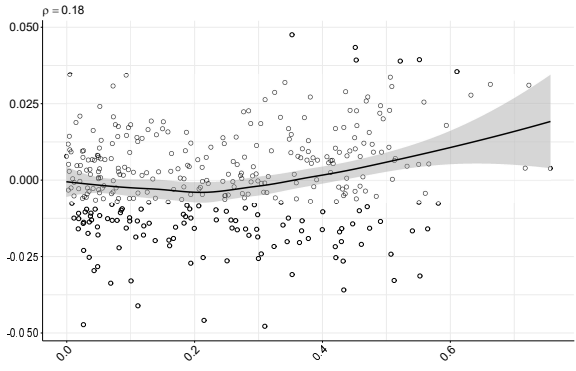
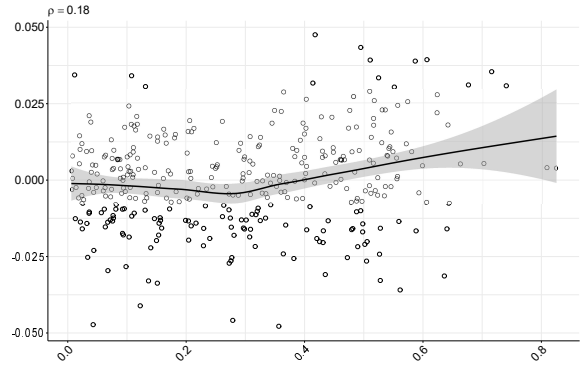


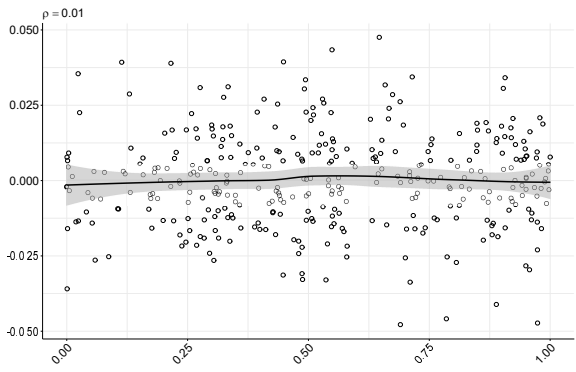
FIGURE C.10: ADMIN. DISTRICT BORDERS GERMAN EMPIRE OVERLAID WITH CONSTITUENCIES OF WEIMAR GERMANY



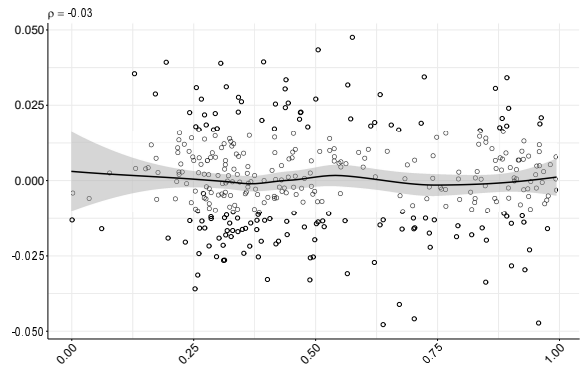
A. Leftwing 1907



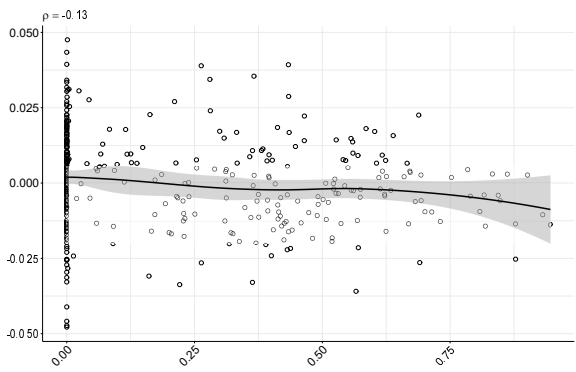
B. Leftwing 1912



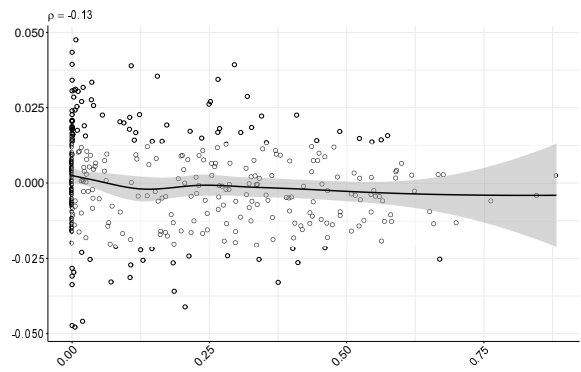
C. Centre 1907



D. Centre 1912



E. Rightwing 1907



F. Rightwing 1912

FIGURE C.11: CORRELATION BETWEEN UNEXPLAINED VETERAN SHARE AND PRE-WAR VOTE SHARES

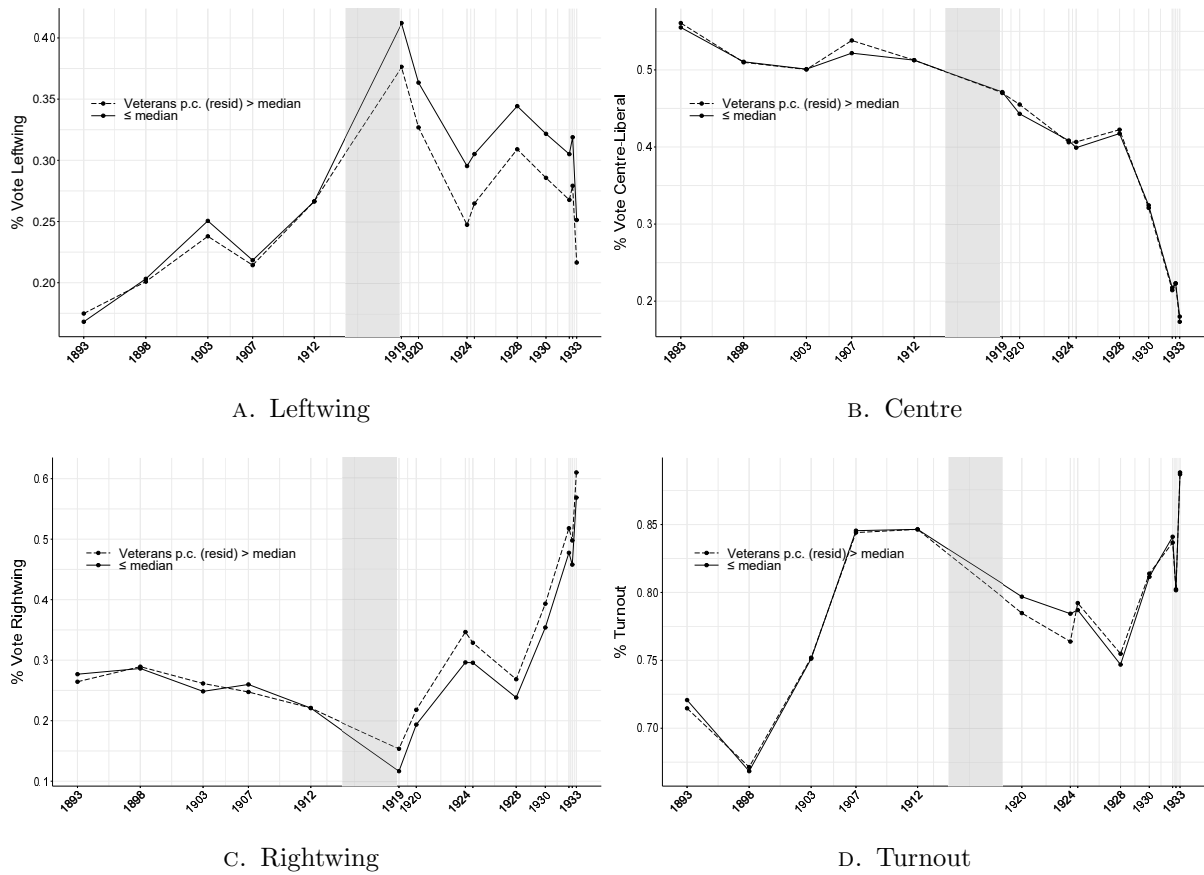


FIGURE C.12: ELECTION OUTCOMES PRE/POST-WW1 AND RESIDUALISED VETERANS PC

Notes: Plot of variable means over time in constituencies with above (dotted line) or below (solid line) median share of residualised veterans per capita. The light grey-shaded area marks the WW1 period. For better visibility, the dotted line has been re-scaled to coincide with the solid line for the last value before WW1. Turnout is not available for 1919.

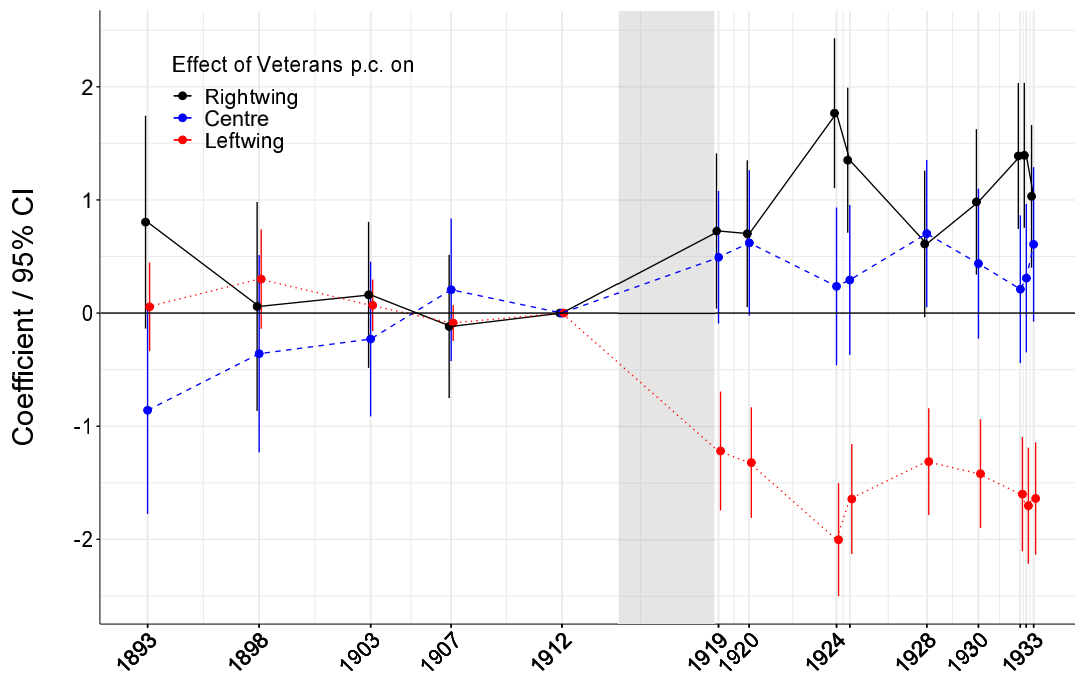


FIGURE C.13: EVENT STUDY GRAPH FOR THE THREE PARTY CAMPS (WITHOUT CONTROLS)

Notes: Coefficients and 95% confidence intervals for the effect of veterans per capita on election results for each election between 1893 and 1933, normalised to the effect in 1912. The right-hand side of the regression specification is equivalent to column 1 of Table 1. The light grey-shaded area marks the WW1 period.

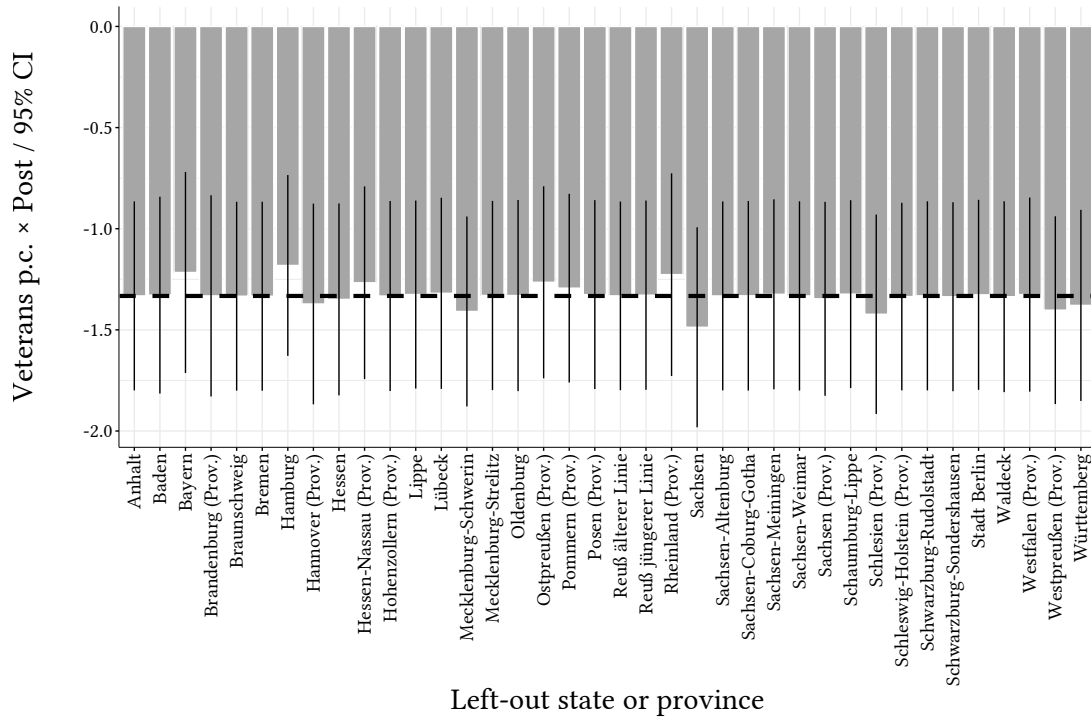


FIGURE C.14: ROBUSTNESS OF BASELINE RESULTS ON LEFTWING VOTE SHARE TO LEAVING OUT SINGLE STATES AND PRUSSIAN PROVINCES

Notes: Bars represent coefficients for leftwing vote share after removing a single state or (Prussian) province (denoted on the x-axis) from the sample and corresponding 95% confidence intervals. The dashed line indicates the baseline estimate when excluding no state or province.

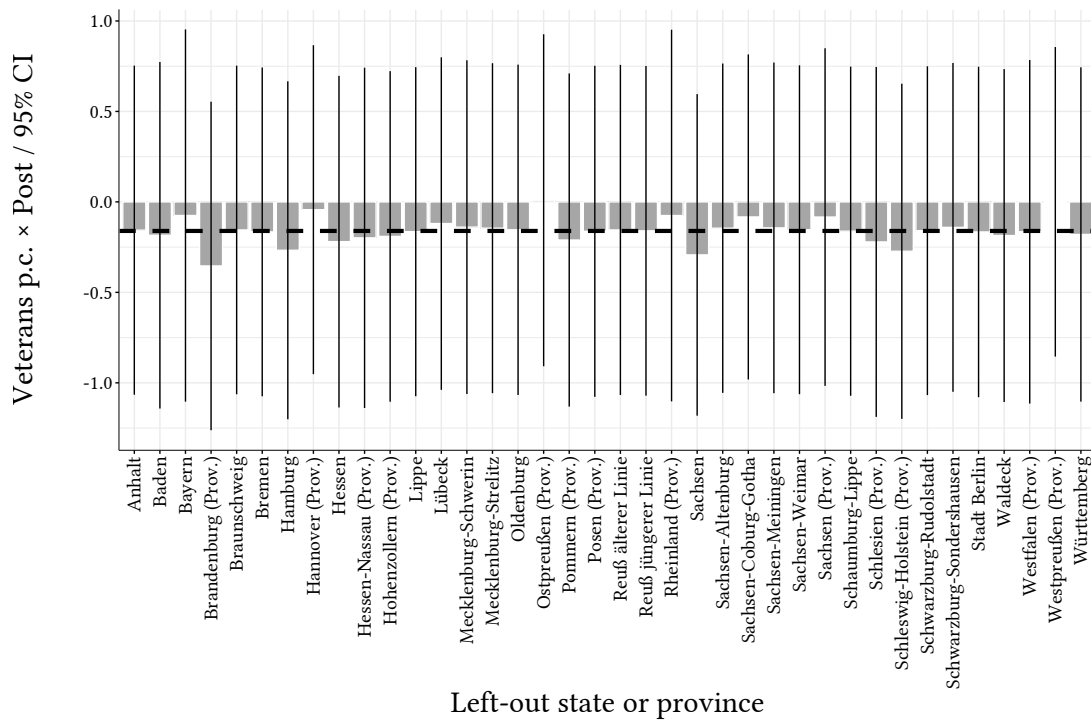


FIGURE C.15: ROBUSTNESS OF BASELINE RESULTS ON CENTRE VOTE SHARE TO LEAVING OUT SINGLE STATES AND PRUSSIAN PROVINCES

Notes: Bars represent coefficients for centre vote share after removing a single state or (Prussian) province (denoted on the x-axis) from the sample and corresponding 95% confidence intervals. The dashed line indicates the baseline estimate when excluding no state or province.

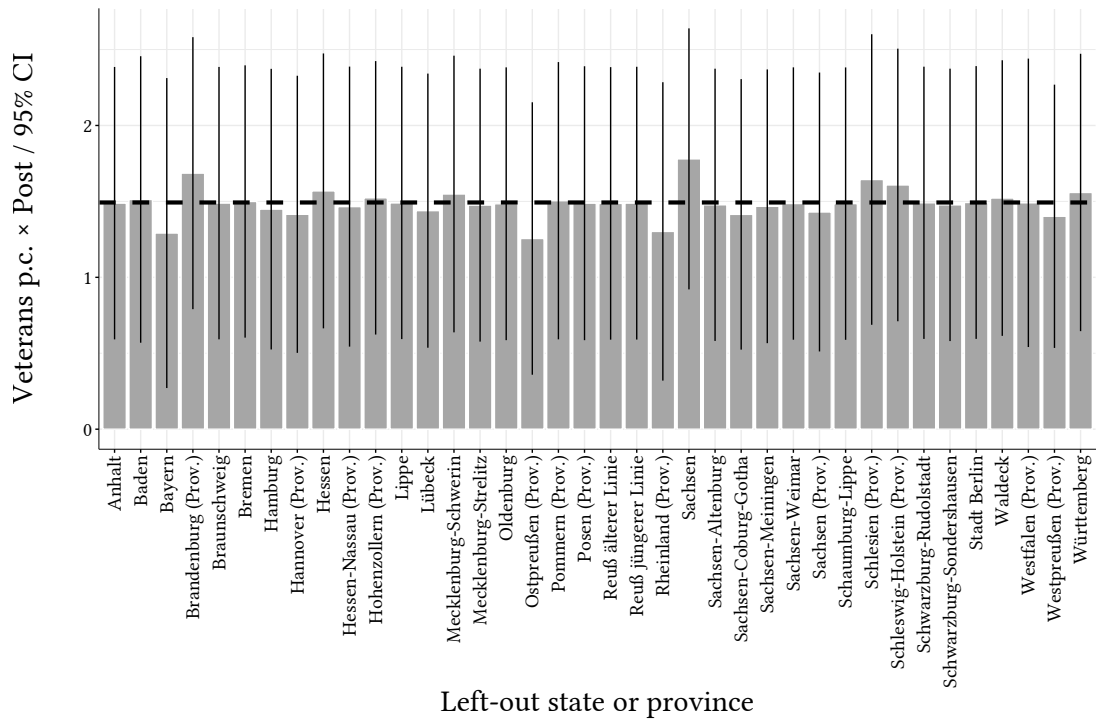


FIGURE C.16: ROBUSTNESS OF BASELINE RESULTS ON RIGHTWING VOTE SHARE TO LEAVING OUT SINGLE STATES AND PRUSSIAN PROVINCES

Notes: Bars represent coefficients for rightwing vote share after removing a single state or (Prussian) province (denoted on the x-axis) from the sample and corresponding 95% confidence intervals. The dashed line indicates the baseline estimate when excluding no state or province.

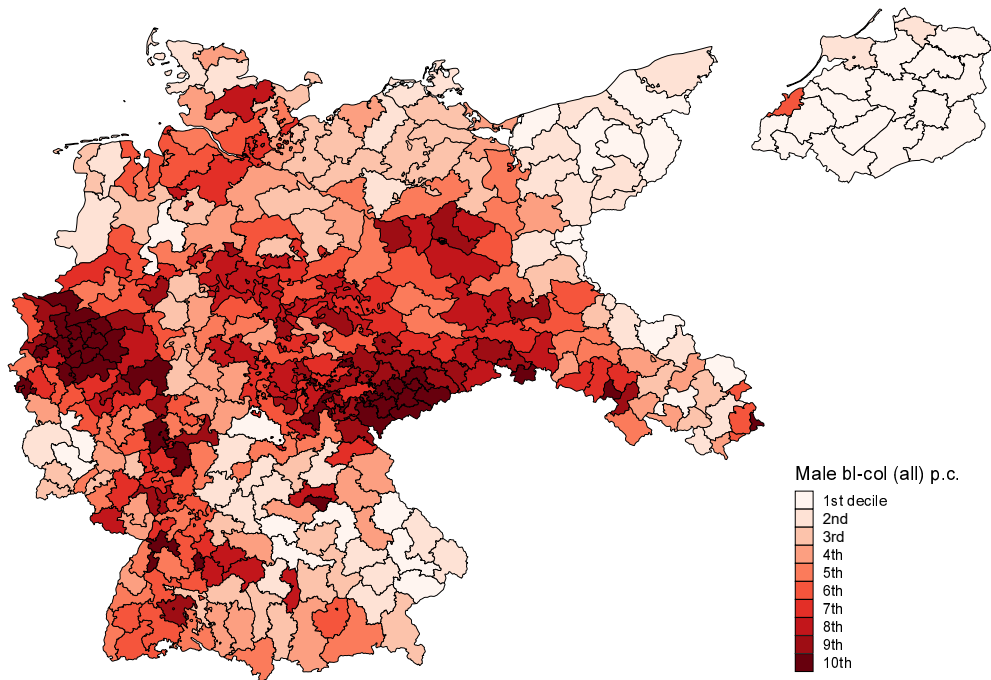


FIGURE C.17: MEN IN INDUSTRIAL OCCUPATIONS ACROSS WEIMAR GERMANY BY CONSTITUENCIES

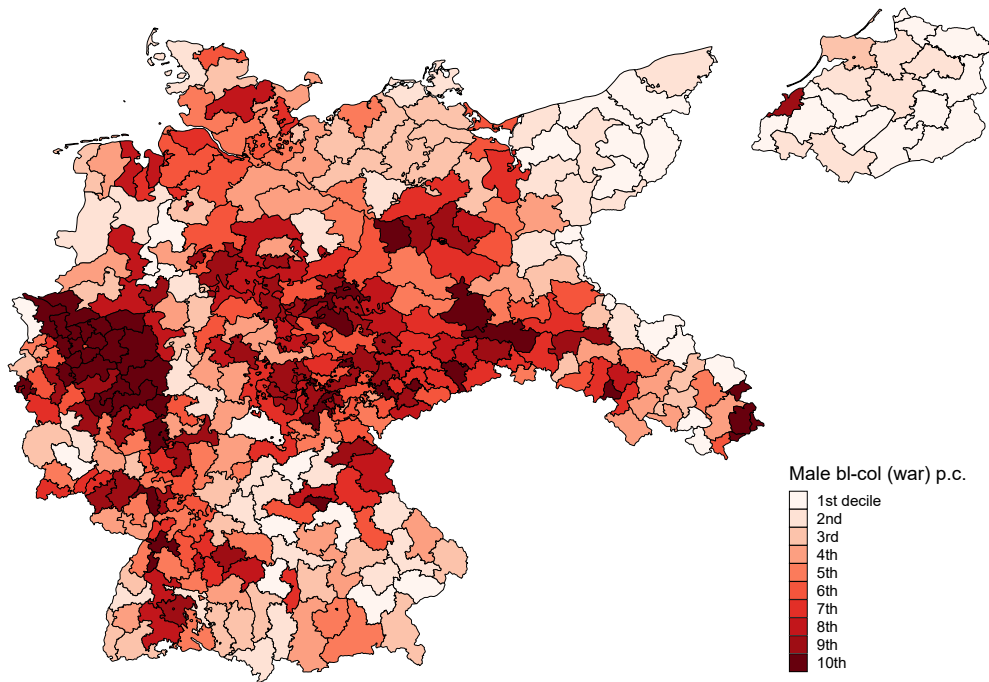


FIGURE C.18: MEN IN WAR-RELATED OCCUPATIONS ACROSS WEIMAR GERMANY BY CONSTITUENCIES

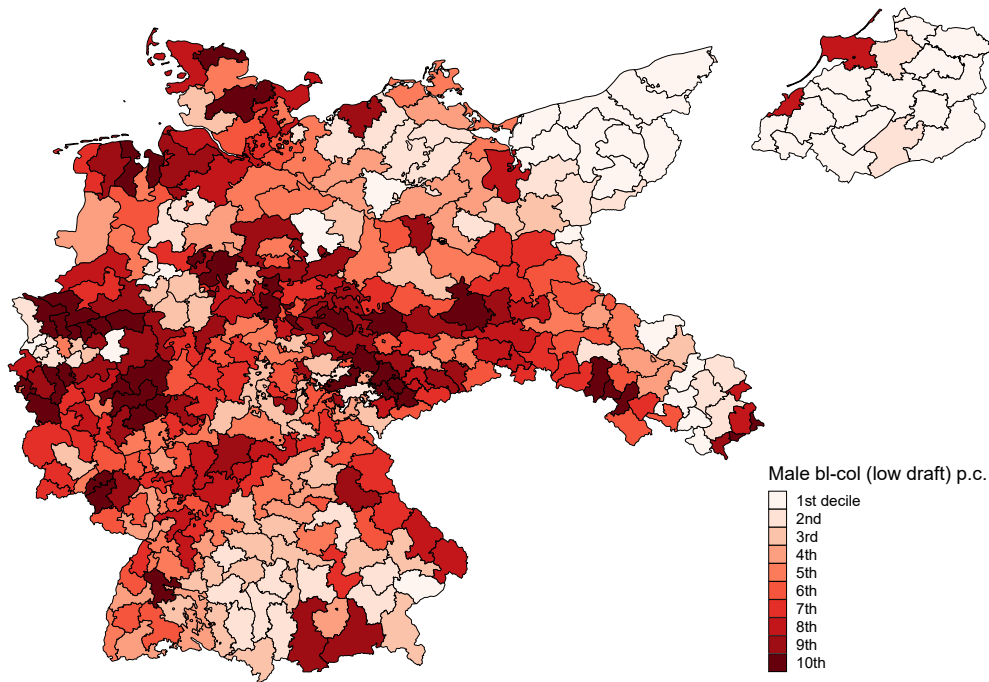
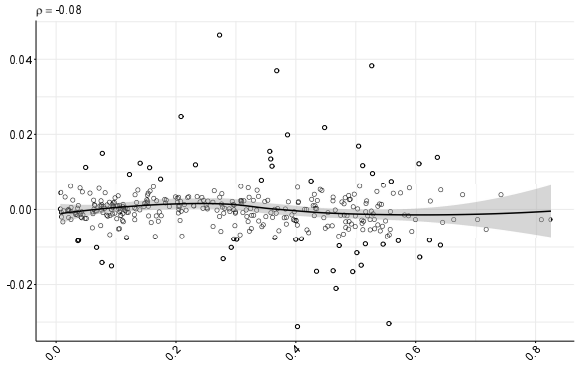
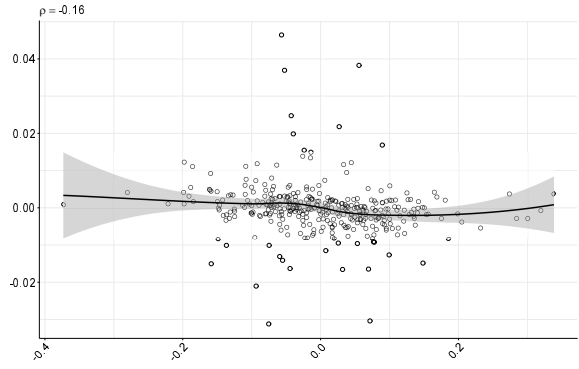


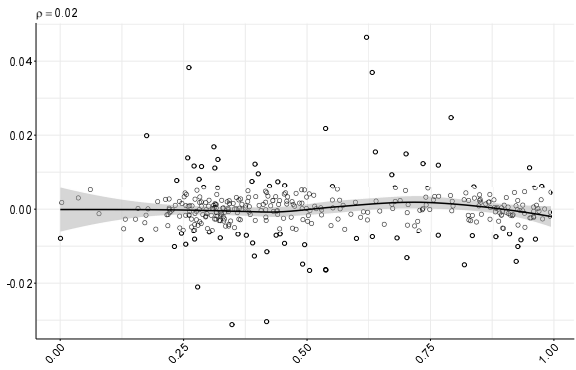
FIGURE C.19: MEN IN LOW-DRAFT OCCUPATIONS ACROSS WEIMAR GERMANY BY CONSTITUENCIES



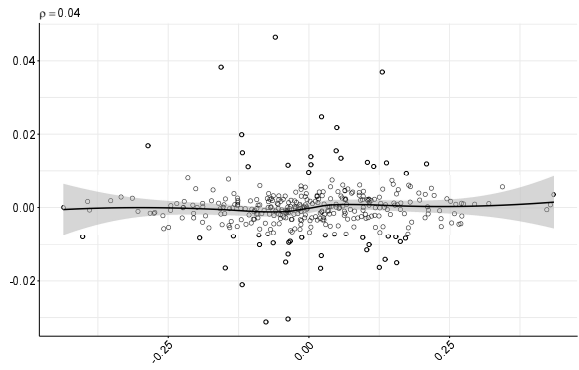
A. Leftwing 1912



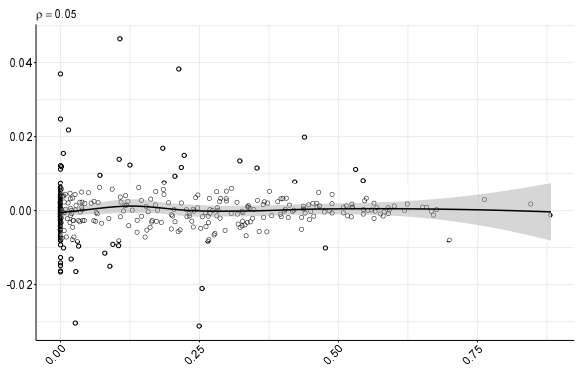
B. Leftwing 1912 (residual)



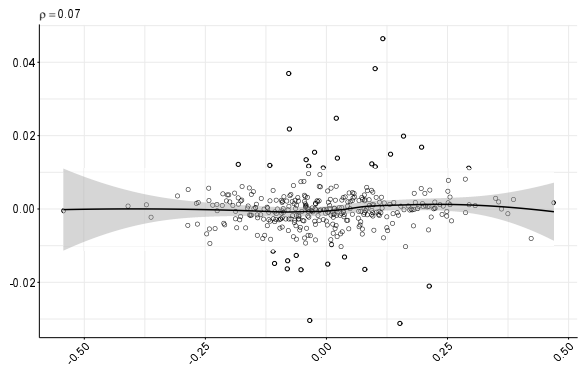
C. Centre 1912



D. Centre 1912 (residual)

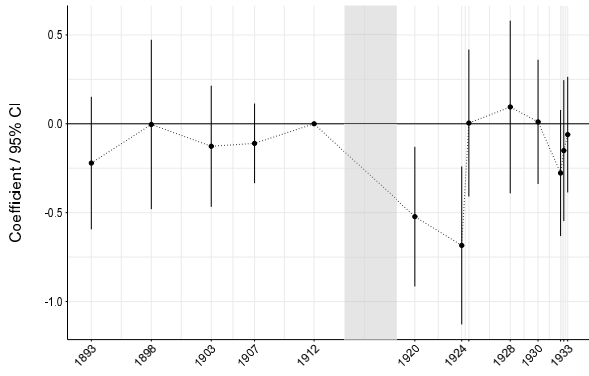


E. Rightwing 1912

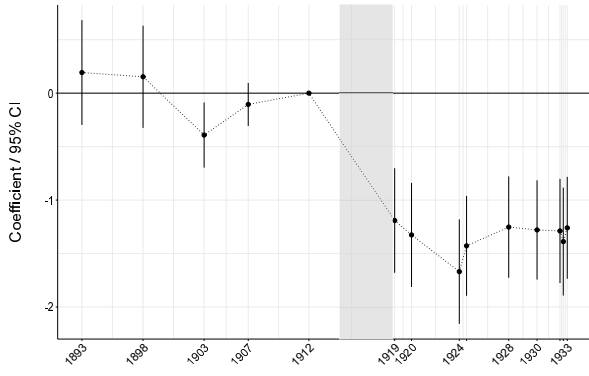


F. Rightwing 1912 (residual)

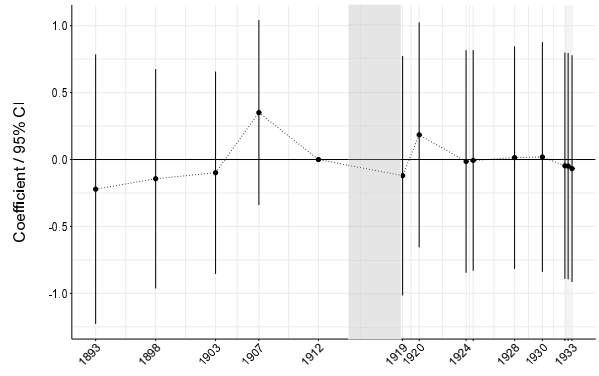
FIGURE C.20: CORRELATION BETWEEN RESIDUALISED LOW-DRAFT OCCUPATIONS AND 1912 VOTE SHARES



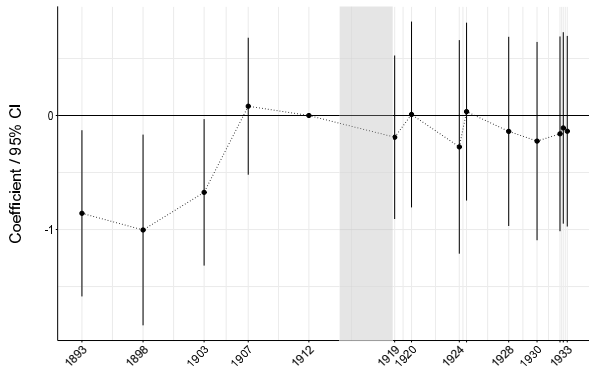
A. Turnout



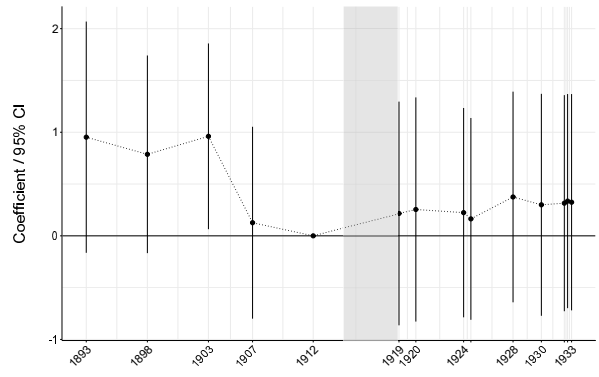
B. Socialist/Leftwing



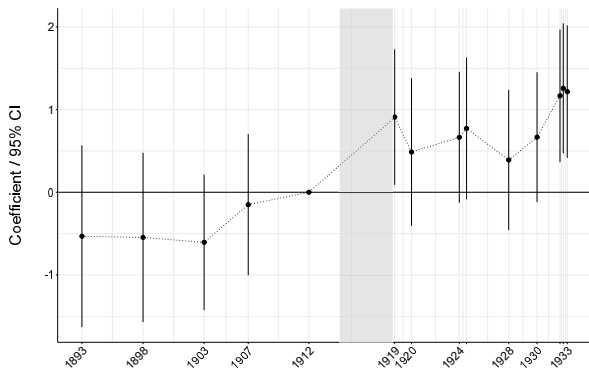
C. Left-Liberal



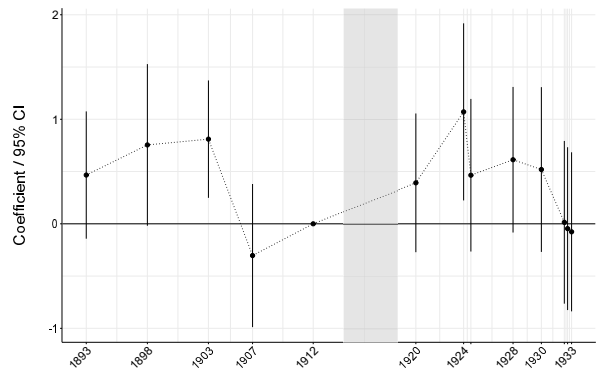
D. Catholic-Minority



E. Right-Liberal



F. Conservative



G. Antisemite

FIGURE C.21: EVENT STUDY GRAPHS FOR PARTY GROUPS AND TURNOUT

Notes: Coefficients and 95% confidence intervals for the effect of voters per capita on election results for each election between 1893 and 1933, normalised to the effect in 1912. The right-hand side of the regression specification is equivalent to the preferred baseline: column 2 of Table 1. The light grey-shaded area marks the WWI period. Turnout and Antisemite votes are not available for 1919.

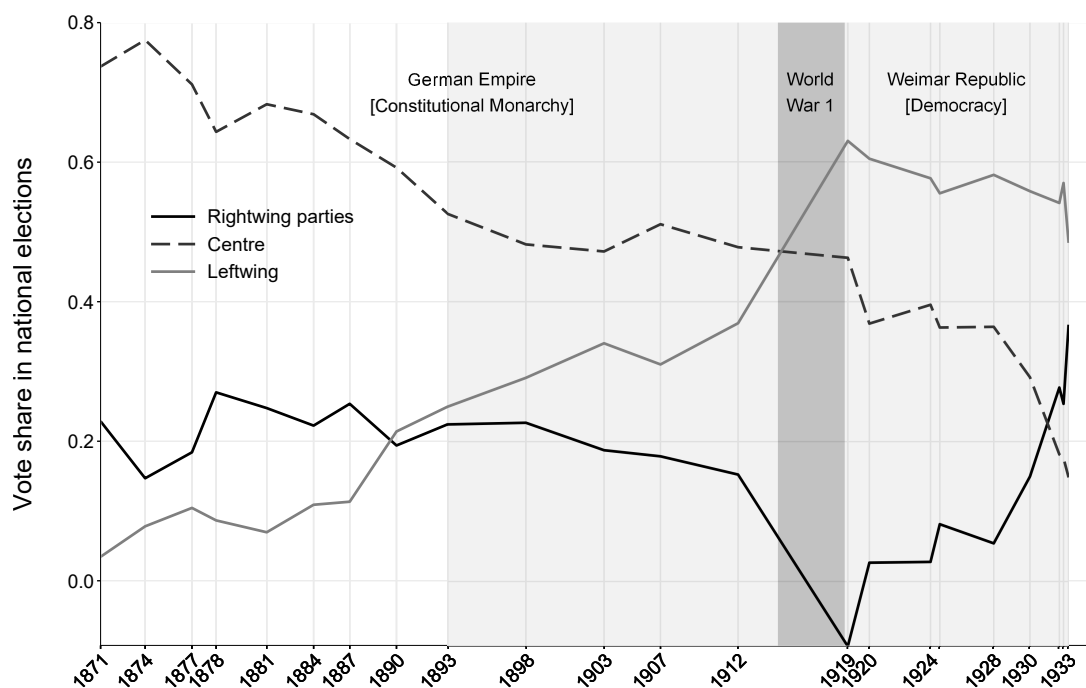


FIGURE C.22: COUNTERFACTUAL EVOLUTION OF NATIONAL ELECTION RESULTS ASSUMING NO VETERAN EFFECT AFTER WW1 (COUNTER-FACTUAL ONLY, ALL PARTY CAMPS)

Notes: The light grey-shaded area marks the sample period from 1893 to 1933 and the dark grey-shaded area marks the WW1 period. The vertical lines denote the last pre-WW1 and the first post-WW1 election. Data covers only the area contained in Weimar Germany's borders and therefore may differ from official national aggregates for elections prior to 1922.

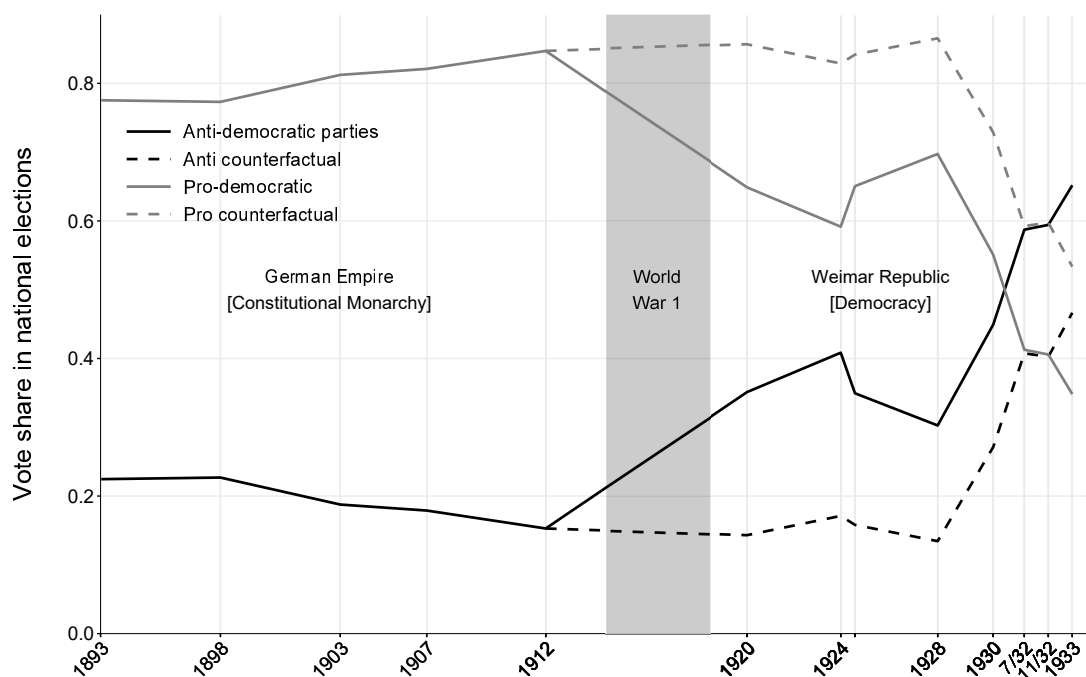


FIGURE C.23: COUNTERFACTUAL EVOLUTION OF NATIONAL ELECTION RESULTS ASSUMING NO VETERAN EFFECT AFTER WW1 (ANTI- VS PRO-DEMOCRATIC)

Notes: The dark grey-shaded area marks the WW1 period. The vertical lines denote the last pre-WW1 and the first post-WW1 election. Data covers only the area contained in Weimar Germany's borders and therefore may differ from official national aggregates for elections prior to 1922. For better visibility, the distance between elections in 1932 and 1933 has been artificially stretched.



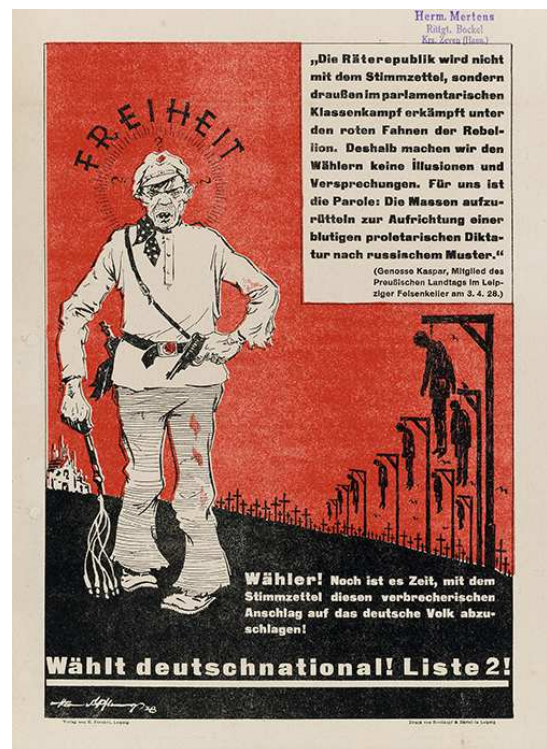
A. "Who stabbed our German army in the back during the World War?" Source: © Imperial War Museum

[Link to picture](#)

B. "Down with the red paint!" Source: © German Historic Museum (Inv.-Nr.: P74/3949)



C. "Who doesn't think like a Socialist votes the German Nationals!" Source: © Hoover Institution Archives



D. "Freedom?" Source: © Burkhard Sülzen, Berlin.

FIGURE C.24: ANTI-COMMUNISM IN DNVP ELECTION PROPAGANDA



A. "You too, fight against Marxism and enslavement!" *Source:* © International Institute of Social History



B. "Marxism is your death! Save yourselves!" *Source:* © International Institute of Social History

[Link to picture](#)



C. "You have to decide! There is no third option!" *Source:* © akgimages

D. "Free from Versailles! Loose from Jewish-Socialist drudgery!" *Source:* © International Institute of Social History



A. "Who helps?" Source: © International Institute of Social History



B. "Free from red chains!" Source: © International Institute of Social History



C. "Watch out! Red danger!" Source: © wahlplakatearchiv.de

[Link to picture](#)

D. "Down with it!" Source: © bpk-Bildagentur

FIGURE C.26: ANTI-COMMUNISM IN DVP ELECTION PROPAGANDA

D Data

D.1 Data sources

Election data

Parliamentary elections Information on election results comes from three sources. For the period of the German Empire 1871 to 1912, I rely on [ICPSR \(1991\)](#) which reports election results already at the constituency-level. Data on the 1919 election is reported at the same level and taken from [Statistisches Reichsamt \(1919\)](#). For elections 1920 until 1933, I used county-level results in the dataset compiled by [Falter \(1990\)](#).

Referenda and presidential elections Information on county-level referendum results comes from [Statistisches Reichsamt \(1926b\)](#) for 1926 and [Statistisches Reichsamt \(1931\)](#) for 1929. Results for presidential elections were collected from [Statistisches Reichsamt \(1925a\)](#) for 1925 and [Statistisches Reichsamt \(1932\)](#) for 1932.

Vote shares Individual parties or candidates are classified into party groups as described in Section [D.2](#). Votes are then aggregated for each party group by election and constituency. Vote shares (incl. those for referenda) are calculated by dividing votes through the number of valid votes.

Turnout Turnout is calculated by dividing the sum of valid and invalid votes by the number of eligible voters. Size of electorate and invalid votes were not reported in 1919 which prohibits calculating turnout for this election.

New male voters Formed as the sum of the male cohorts born 1893-1898 in the 1910 census described below.

New female voters Formed as the sum of the female cohorts born before 1899 in the 1910 census described below.

Population data

Census 1895 Reported in [Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt \(1897\)](#). Data used: Number of women and men by age cohorts <1878, 1878-1881, 1882-1883, >1883.

Census 1900 Reported in [Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt \(1903\)](#). Data used: Number of women and men by age cohorts <1883, 1883-1886, 1887-1888, >1888.

Census 1905 Reported in [Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt \(1907\)](#). Data used: Number of women and men by age cohorts <1888, 1888-1891, 1892-1893, >1893.

Census 1910 Reported in [Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt \(1915\)](#). Data used: Number of women and men by age cohorts <1893, 1893-1894, 1895-1896, 1897-1898, >1898. Number of Catholics, Protestants and military personnel.

Census 1910 (Prussia) Taken from [Galloway \(2007\)](#). Data used: Number of women and men by age cohorts <1831, 1831-1840, 1841-1850, 1851-1860, 1861-1865, 1866-1889, 1890-1892, 1893-1894, 1895, 1896, 1897-1898, 1899-1904, 1905-1909, 1910. Number of individuals living in cities.

Census 1916 Reported in [Volkswirtschaftliche Abteilung des Kriegsernährungsamtes \(1917\)](#). Data used: Number of women and men in total and men in age cohorts 1858-1868 and 1899-1902.

Census 1917 Reported in [Statistisches Reichsamt \(1918\)](#). Data used: Number of women and men, foreign prisoners of war, domestic military personnel.

Census 1919 Reported in [Statistisches Reichsamt \(1920\)](#). Data used: Population counts by gender.

Male WW1-eligible p.c. I first calculate the correct share of draftable men (cohorts 1869-1900) for Prussia. This share is then regressed on all male cohort census variables from 1895, 1900, 1905, 1910 and 1916 available for the entire sample as well as population growth between 1895, 1900, 1905 and 1910 and population size 1910. Using these estimates, I then predict the share of WW1-eligible men for all German constituencies. The correlation between actual and predicted values for Prussia is 0.79.

Normalisation All population data are normalised by the 1910 population.

Vitality data

Vital statistics 1911 Reported in [Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt \(1916\)](#). Data used: Number of live births and deaths.

Vital statistics 1912-1913 Reported in [Statistisches Reichsamt \(1918\)](#). Data used: Number of live births and deaths.

Vital statistics 1914-1919 Reported in [Statistisches Reichsamt \(1922a\)](#). Data used: Number of live births and deaths.

Vital statistics 1911-1912 (Bavaria) Reported in [Zahn \(1913\)](#). Data used: Number of live births and deaths by gender.

Vital statistics 1913 (Bavaria) Reported in [Zahn \(1914\)](#). Data used: Number of live births and deaths by gender.

Vital statistics 1914-1917 (Bavaria) Reported in [Burgdörfer \(1919\)](#). Data used: Number of live births by gender and deaths by gender and military status.

Vital statistics 1918 (Bavaria) Reported in [Conradt \(1920\)](#). Data used: Number of live births by gender and deaths by gender and military status.

Vital statistics 1919 (Bavaria) Reported in [Schwartz \(1921\)](#). Data used: Number of live births by gender and deaths by gender and military status.

Military deaths 1914-1919 (Prussia) Reported in [Preußisches Statistisches Landesamt \(1922b\)](#). Data used: Number of killed soldiers in WW1 by administrative districts.

Military deaths 1914-1919 (Germany) Reported in [Roesle \(1925\)](#). Data used: Number of killed soldiers in WW1 by states.

Normalisation All vitality data are normalised by the 1910 population. Where the level of aggregation is not the constituency, accurate population counts for the respective area were used.

Occupation data

Source All data comes from the occupational census 1907 reported in [Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt \(1910\)](#).

Male agriculture Number of men with primary occupation in codes A1-A6.

Male blue-collar (all) Number of men with primary occupation in codes B1-B166.

Male blue-collar (war) Number of men with primary occupation in codes B1-B60.

Male blue-collar (low-draft) Number of men with primary occupation in codes B1 (iron mining), B4 (coal mining), B5 (extraction of graphite, asphalt, oil and amber), B7 (quarrymen), B44 (shipbuilding), B46 (manufacturing of non-rifle firearms) and B56 (pharmacists).

Male blue-collar (low-draft 2) Number of men with primary occupation in codes B1 (iron mining), B4 (coal mining), B5 (extraction of graphite, asphalt, oil and amber), and B44 (shipbuilding).

Male white-collar (all) Number of men with primary occupation in codes C1-C27, D1-D2 and E2-E8 (E1 is military personnel).

Male white-collar (trade) Number of men with primary occupation in codes C1-C10.

Male students Number of men with primary occupation in code F3.

Middle class Number of women and men with primary occupation in codes C1-C27, D1-D2 and E2-E8 and their dependants.

Normalisation All variables are normalised by the 1907 population reported in this source.

Other data

Benefit recipients Reported in [Statistisches Reichsamt \(1925b\)](#). Data used: Number of male recipients of WW1-related disability benefits by insurance districts. Insurance districts were matched to counties using [Reichsarbeitsministerium \(1930\)](#).

WW1 casualties Taken from [Verein für Computergenealogie \(2014\)](#). Only records with longitude-latitude coordinates of the casualty's birthplace are kept. Using the constituency-shapefile described in Section [D.3](#), each record can be assigned to a constituency and aggregated up to that level. Coordinates were corrected by the author for the cities of Berlin, Hamburg and Breslau. For large cities containing several constituencies but only a unique casualty coordinate (Berlin, Breslau, Dresden, Hamburg, Munich), casualty counts are distributed proportionately according to the 1910 population split.

Delegates to the first congress of soldiers' and workers' councils 1918 Reported in [Zentralrat der sozialistischen Republik Deutschlands \(1919\)](#). Data used: Only delegates for with reported place of residence are kept. This information was then used to match them to constituencies. Reported party affiliation is then used to create constituency-level dummy for having a delegate of a particular affiliation or any at all.

Kriegervereine members 1913 Kindly shared by Felix Kersting. For further details, see [Kersting \(2017\)](#).

DHV chapters 1914 Reported in [Deutschnationaler Handlungsgehilfen-Verband \(1914\)](#). Data used: All chapters (*Ortsgruppen*) were assigned a longitude-latitude coordinate. For chapters encompassing several localities, I used a weighted average of individual coordinates. Using the constituency-shapefile described in Section [D.3](#), each chapter can be assigned to a constituency and aggregated up to that level. For large cities (incl. Berlin, Hamburg and Breslau), exact coordinates based on actual addresses were used.

Clubs p.c. 1920s Taken from official replication dataset for [Satyanath, Voigtländer, and Voth \(2017\)](#). Each city is assigned to a constituency via longitude and latitude. Constituency-level values are calculated by forming an average weighted by the 1925 city population provided in the same dataset.

Normalisation All population data are normalised by the 1910 population. Where the level of aggregation is not the constituency, accurate population counts for the respective area were used.

D.2 Party classification

TABLE D.1: PARTY CODING

Election/Party group	Party names (English)	Party names (German)
1871-03-03		
Communist	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	People's Party; Progress Party	Volkspartei; Fortschrittspartei
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party; Particularists; Poles; Protest Party; Unaffiliated candidates or splinter parties	Zentrum; Partikularisten; Polen; Protestpartei; Unbestimmt oder zersplittert
Right-Liberal	National-Liberals; Liberal Empire Party	Nationalliberale Partei; Liberale Reichspartei
Conservative	Conservatives; German Empire Party	Konservative; Deutsche Reichspartei
Antisemitic	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
1874-01-10		
Communist	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	People's Party; Progress Party	Volkspartei; Fortschrittspartei
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party; Particularists; Poles; Protest Party; Unaffiliated candidates or splinter parties	Zentrum; Partikularisten; Polen; Protestpartei; Unbestimmt oder zersplittert
Right-Liberal	National-Liberals; Liberal Empire Party	Nationalliberale Partei; Liberale Reichspartei
Conservative	Conservatives; German Empire Party	Konservative; Deutsche Reichspartei
Antisemitic	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
1877-01-10		
Communist	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	People's Party; German Progress Party	Volkspartei; Deutsche Fortschrittspartei
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party; Particularists; Poles; Protest Party; Unaffiliated candidates; Splinter parties	Zentrum; Partikularisten; Polen; Protestpartei; Unbestimmt; Zersplittert
Right-Liberal	National-Liberals; Other Liberals	Nationalliberale Partei; sonstige Liberale
Conservative	German Conservatives; German Empire Party	Deutschkonservative Partei; Deutsche Reichspartei
Antisemitic	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>

TABLE D.1: PARTY CODING (CONTINUED)

1878-07-30		
Communist	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	People's Party; German Progress Party	Volkspartei; Deutsche Fortschrittspartei
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party; Particularists; Poles; Protest Party; Unaffiliated candidates; Splinter parties	Zentrum; Partikularisten; Polen; Protestpartei; Unbestimmt; Zersplittert
Right-Liberal	National-Liberals; Other Liberals	Nationalliberale Partei; sonstige Liberale
Conservative	German Conservatives; German Empire Party	Deutschkonservative Partei; Deutsche Reichspartei
Antisemitic	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
1881-10-27		
Communist	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	People's Party; Liberal Union; German Progress Party	Volkspartei; Liberale Vereinigung; Deutsche Fortschrittspartei
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party; Welfen and Autonomists; Elsassens; Danes; Poles; Unaffiliated candidates; Splinter parties	Zentrum; Welfen und Autonomisten; Elsäßer; Dänen; Polen; Unbestimmt; Zersplittert
Right-Liberal	National-Liberals; Other Liberals	Nationalliberale Partei; sonstige Liberale
Conservative	German Conservatives; German Empire Party	Deutschkonservative Partei; Deutsche Reichspartei
Antisemitic	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
1884-10-28		
Communist	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	People's Party; Progressive Liberals and German Freethinkers	Volkspartei;
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party; Welfen; Danes and Elsassers; Poles; Unaffiliated candidates; Splinter parties	Zentrum; Welfen; Dänen und Elsäßer; Polen; Unbestimmt; Zersplittert
Right-Liberal	National-liberals and Moderate Liberals	Nationalliberale Partei und gemäßigte Liberale
Conservative	German Conservatives; German Empire Party	Deutschkonservative Partei; Deutsche Reichspartei
Antisemitic	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>

TABLE D.1: PARTY CODING (CONTINUED)

1887-02-21		
Communist	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	People's Party; Progressive Liberals and German Freethinkers	Volkspartei;
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party; Welfen; Danes and Elsasser; Poles; Unaffiliated candidates; Splinter parties	Zentrum; Welfen; Dänen und Elsässer; Polen; Unbestimmt; Zersplittert
Right-Liberal	National-Liberals	Nationalliberale Partei
Conservative	German Conservatives; German Empire Party	Deutschkonservative Partei; Deutsche Reichspartei
Antisemitic	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
1890-02-20		
Communist	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	People's Party; Progressive Liberals and German Freethinkers	Volkspartei;
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party; Welfen, Danes, or Elsasser; Poles; Unaffiliated candidates; Splinter parties	Zentrum; Welfen, Dänen oder Elsässer; Polen; Unbestimmt; Zersplittert
Right-Liberal	National-Liberals	Nationalliberale Partei
Conservative	German Conservatives; German Empire Party	Deutschkonservative Partei; Deutsche Reichspartei
Antisemitic	Antisemites	Antisemiten
1893-06-15		
Communist	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	South German People's Party; Free-thinking People's Party; Free Thinkers' Union	Süddeutsche Volkspartei; Freisinnige Volkspartei; Freisinnige Vereinigung
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party; Poles; Other parties; Unaffiliated candidates; Splinter parties	Zentrum; Polen; Andere Parteien; Unbestimmt; Zersplittert
Right-Liberal	National-Liberals	Nationalliberale Partei
Conservative	German Conservatives; German Empire Party	Deutschkonservative Partei; Deutsche Reichspartei
Antisemitic	German Reform Party and Antisemites	Deutsche Reformpartei und Antisemiten

TABLE D.1: PARTY CODING (CONTINUED)

1898-06-16		
Communist	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	German People's Party; Free-thinking People's Party; Free Thinkers' Union	Deutsche Volkspartei; Freisinnige Volkspartei; Freisinnige Vereinigung
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party; Poles; Other parties; Unaffiliated candidates; Splinter parties	Zentrum; Polen; Andere Parteien; Unbestimmt; Zersplittert
Right-Liberal	National-Liberals	Nationalliberale Partei
Conservative	German Conservatives; German Empire Party	Deutschkonservative Partei; Deutsche Reichspartei
Antisemitic	Antisemites; Farmers Union; Peasants Union	Antisemiten; Bund der Landwirte; Bauernbund
1903-06-16		
Communist	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	German People's Party; Free-thinking People's Party; Free Thinkers' Union	Deutsche Volkspartei; Freisinnige Volkspartei; Freisinnige Vereinigung
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party; Poles; Other parties; Unaffiliated candidates; Splinter parties	Zentrum; Polen; Andere Parteien; Unbestimmt; Zersplittert
Right-Liberal	National-Liberals	Nationalliberale Partei
Conservative	German Conservatives; German Empire Party	Deutschkonservative Partei; Deutsche Reichspartei
Antisemitic	Antisemites; Farmers Union; Peasants Union	Antisemiten; Bund der Landwirte; Bauernbund
1907-01-25		
Communist	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	German People's Party; Free-thinking People's Party; Free Thinkers' Union	Deutsche Volkspartei; Freisinnige Volkspartei; Freisinnige Vereinigung
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party; Poles; Other parties; Unaffiliated candidates; Splinter parties	Zentrum; Polen; Andere Parteien; Unbestimmt; Zersplittert
Right-Liberal	National-Liberals	Nationalliberale Partei
Conservative	German Conservatives; German Empire Party	Deutschkonservative Partei; Deutsche Reichspartei
Antisemitic	Federation of Farmers and Economic Union; German Reform Party, Antisemites and German Social Party	Bund der Landwirte und Wirtschaftliche Vereinigung; Deutsche Reformpartei, Antisemiten und Deutschsoziale Partei

TABLE D.1: PARTY CODING (CONTINUED)

1912-01-12		
Communist	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	Progressive People's Party	Fortschrittliche Volkspartei
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party; Poles; Other parties; Unaffiliated candidates; Splinter parties	Zentrum; Polen; Andere Parteien; Unbestimmt; Zersplittert
Right-Liberal	National-Liberals	Nationalliberale Partei
Conservative	German Conservatives; German Empire Party	Deutschkonservative Partei; Deutsche Reichspartei
Antisemitic	German Reform Party; Economic Union	Deutsche Reformpartei; Wirtschaftliche Vereinigung
1919-01-19		
Communist	Independent Social Democratic Party	Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	German Democratic Party	Deutsche Demokratische Partei
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party; Other parties	Zentrum; Andere Parteien
Right-Liberal	German People's Party	Deutsche Volkspartei
Conservative	German National People's Party	Deutschnationale Volkspartei
Antisemitic	<i>Not running</i>	<i>Not running</i>
1920-06-06		
Communist	Communist Party of Germany; Independent Social Democratic Party	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands; Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	German Democratic Party	Deutsche Demokratische Partei
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party; Bavarian People's Party; Bavarian Peasants' League; Polish Catholic Party of Upper Silesia, Lusatian People's Party and National Democratic People's Party; Other parties	Zentrum; Bayrische Volkspartei; Bayerischer Bauernbund; Polnisch-Katholische Partei Oberschlesiens, Lausitzer Volkspartei und Nationaldemokratische Volkspartei; Andere Parteien
Right-Liberal	German People's Party	Deutsche Volkspartei
Conservative	German National People's Party	Deutschnationale Volkspartei
Antisemitic	German Middle Class Party	Deutsche Mittelstandspartei

TABLE D.1: PARTY CODING (CONTINUED)

1924-05-04		
Communist	Communist Party of Germany; Independent Social Democratic Party	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands; Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	German Democratic Party	Deutsche Demokratische Partei
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party; Bavarian People's Party; Economic Party of the German Middle Class; Other parties	Zentrum; Bayrische Volkspartei; Wirtschaftspartei des deutschen Mittelstandes; Andere Parteien
Right-Liberal	German People's Party	Deutsche Volkspartei
Conservative	German National People's Party	Deutschnationale Volkspartei
Antisemitic	German Social Party; German Völkisch Freedom Party	Deutschsoziale Partei; Deutschvölkische Freiheits-Partei
1924-12-07		
Communist	Communist Party of Germany; Independent Social Democratic Party	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands; Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	German Democratic Party	Deutsche Demokratische Partei
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party; Bavarian People's Party; Economic Party of the German Middle Class; Other parties	Zentrum; Bayrische Volkspartei; Wirtschaftspartei des deutschen Mittelstandes; Andere Parteien
Right-Liberal	German People's Party	Deutsche Volkspartei
Conservative	German National People's Party	Deutschnationale Volkspartei
Antisemitic	German Social Party; National Socialist Freedom Movement	Deutschsoziale Partei; Nationalsozialistische Freiheitsbewegung
1928-05-20		
Communist	Communist Party of Germany	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	German Democratic Party	Deutsche Demokratische Partei
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party and Bavarian People's Party; German Farmers' Party; Reich Party of the German Middle Class; Reich Party for Civil Rights and Deflation; Other parties	Zentrum und Bayrische Volkspartei; Deutsche Bauernpartei; Wirtschaftspartei; Volksrechtspartei; Andere Parteien
Right-Liberal	German People's Party	Deutsche Volkspartei
Conservative	German National People's Party; Christian-National Peasants' and Farmers' Party	Deutschnationale Volkspartei; Christlichnationale Bauern- und Landvolkpartei
Antisemitic	National Socialist German Workers' Party	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei

TABLE D.1: PARTY CODING (CONTINUED)

1930-09-14		
Communist	Communist Party of Germany	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	German State Party	Deutsche Staatspartei
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party and Bavarian People's Party; Reich Party of the German Middle Class; Other parties	Zentrum und Bayrische Volkspartei; Wirtschaftspartei; Andere Parteien
Right-Liberal	German People's Party	Deutsche Volkspartei
Conservative	German National People's Party; Christian-National Peasants' and Farmers' Party; Christian Social People's Service; Conservative People's Party	Deutschnationale Volkspartei; Christlichnationale Bauern- und Landvolkpartei; Christlich-Sozialer Volksdienst; Konservative Volkspartei
Antisemitic	National Socialist German Workers' Party	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei
1932-07-31		
Communist	Communist Party of Germany	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	German State Party	Deutsche Staatspartei
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party and Bavarian People's Party; Reich Party of the German Middle Class; Other parties	Zentrum und Bayrische Volkspartei; Wirtschaftspartei; Andere Parteien
Right-Liberal	German People's Party	Deutsche Volkspartei
Conservative	German National People's Party; Christian-National Peasants' and Farmers' Party; Christian Social People's Service	Deutschnationale Volkspartei; Christlichnationale Bauern- und Landvolkpartei; Christlich-Sozialer Volksdienst
Antisemitic	National Socialist German Workers' Party	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei
1932-11-06		
Communist	Communist Party of Germany	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	German State Party	Deutsche Staatspartei
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party and Bavarian People's Party; German Farmers' Party; Reich Party of the German Middle Class; Other parties	Zentrum und Bayrische Volkspartei; Deutsche Bauernpartei; Wirtschaftspartei; Andere Parteien
Right-Liberal	German People's Party	Deutsche Volkspartei
Conservative	German National People's Party; Christian Social People's Service	Deutschnationale Volkspartei; Christlich-Sozialer Volksdienst
Antisemitic	National Socialist German Workers' Party	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei

TABLE D.1: PARTY CODING (CONTINUED)

1933-03-05		
Communist	Communist Party of Germany	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands
Socialist	Social Democratic Party	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Left-Liberal	German State Party	Deutsche Staatspartei
Catholic-Minority	Centre Party and Bavarian People's Party; German Farmers' Party; German-Hanoverian Party; Other parties	Zentrum und Bayrische Volkspartei; Deutsche Bauernpartei; Deutsch-Hannoversche Partei; Andere Parteien
Right-Liberal	German People's Party	Deutsche Volkspartei
Conservative	Black-White-Red Struggle Front; Christian Social People's Service	Kampffront Schwarz-Weiß-Rot; Christlich-Sozialer Volksdienst
Antisemitic	National Socialist German Workers' Party	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei

D.3 Data harmonisation

The unit of analysis in this study are the 362 constituencies in place during the German Empire and still included in Weimar Germany. However, non-election data and voting results after 1919 were mainly published at the county-level which do not perfectly correspond to particular constituencies. Furthermore, there were numerous county border changes over time which need to be taken into account. In order to reconstruct this information back to the constituency-level, I apply a refined version of the approach proposed by [Hornbeck \(2010\)](#) for U.S. counties. My harmonisation makes use of the following primary sources:

- A. Laws outlining the extent of each constituency based on the county borders of 1871 ([Norddeutscher Bund, 1870](#); [Deutsches Reich, 1871, 1873](#))
- B. Municipality-level census records from 1871 for each county (exact sources listed in [Table D.2](#))
- C. Yearly county-shapefiles for the German Empire and Weimar Germany provided by the *Census Mosaic Project* ([MPIDR and CGG, 2011](#)) based on [Hubatsch and Klein \(1975\)](#)
- D. Municipality-level description of areas ceded by Germany after WW1 ([Preußisches Statistisches Landesamt, 1922a, 1924](#))

Using these sources, I create several further derivatives:

- E. Line-shapefiles for intersections of constituencies with 1871 county-boundaries (using sources A., B. and C.)
- F. County-constituency shapefile of Weimar Germany (after splitting the 1871 edition of C. with E. and the 1922 borders of Germany from C.)
- G. County-constituency population in 1871 (using sources A., B. and D.)

In a nutshell, the harmonisation projects raw non-constituency data onto the county-constituencies in 1871 and then aggregates across constituencies. The main difference to [Hornbeck \(2010\)](#) is that it does not assume a strictly equal distribution of data across areas but also weights by the 1871 population distribution across county-constituencies. This is particularly important to disentangle mergers where, say, a densely populated city county incorporates parts of a less populated adjacent county. Using simple area weights to project future population data back to past borders would then grossly understate the true population living within the past borders of the city county and overstate those of the adjacent county. Weighting additionally by the 1871 county-constituency population mitigates this problem to a large extent. This procedure has the drawback that it solely relies on population, assumes this to be fixed in 1871 and still relies on area weights to some extent. Incorporating population data from municipality directories after 1871

would allow abandoning area weights altogether and further reduce measurement error. However, this would require substantial additional data efforts which I leave to future work. The exact procedure to harmonise data to the constituency-level then goes as follows:

1. Pick closest fit for new data in source C., match both sources and aggregate counties to the data unit-level

This effectively creates a map at the data unit-level. In most cases, this only accounts for county splits and mergers not yet reflected in the data but is crucial for sources at higher levels of aggregation.

2. Overlay data units with source F.

Gives data-county-constituency units, i.e. the composition of each county-constituency in terms of data units

3. Calculate area for each data-county-constituency unit, multiply by source G. and normalise across data units

Gives weights to split data units across county-constituencies based on the area-weighted 1871 population.

4. Merge raw data to data units, multiply with weights and collapse data at the constituency-level

Note that pre-WW1 data is adjusted for area losses after WW1. Data from the post-war period will thus add up to 100% of the country-level, while pre-war data will only add up to 87.7%, i.e. the share of the 1871 population residing within the (future) borders of Weimar Germany.

TABLE D.2: SOURCES USED TO CONSTRUCT COUNTY-CONSTITUENCY INTERSECTIONS AND 1871 COUNTY-CONSTITUENCY POPULATION

State	Sources used (same for intersections, unless stated otherwise)
All	Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt (1876) <i>Notes:</i> All intersections created using www.openstreetmap.org
Prussia	Königliches Statistisches Bureau (1874) <i>Notes:</i> i) Population split 1871 for Berlin and Breslau inferred from 1875 data in Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt (1879) ; ii) Intersections for Berlin were kindly provided by Kalle Kappner; iii) Intersections for Breslau made use of Holzapfel (1937) ; iv) Intersections for province of Schleswig-Holstein made use of Schröder (1841, 1854) ; v) Intersections for province of Hannover made use of Harseim and Schlüter (1848)
Bavaria	Mayr (1873) <i>Notes:</i> Intersections for Munich made use of Ministerium des Innern (1855)
Saxony	Würzburger (1905) <i>Notes:</i> Intersections made use of Königlich Sächsisches Statistisches Bureau (1868)
Württemberg	Königlich Statistisches Landesamt (1898)
Baden	Handels-Ministerium (1868) and Handels-Ministerium (1874)
Hesse	Grossherzogliche Centralstelle für die Landes-Statistik (1875)
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	Grossherzoglich statistisches Bureau (1873)
Mecklenburg-Strelitz	Mecklenburg-Strelitzches Staatsministerium (1871)
Oldenburg	Großherzoglich Statistisches Bureau (1872)
Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach	Statistisches Bureau Vereinigter Thüringischer Staaten (1875)
Anhalt	Lange (1872)
Brunswick	Statistischen Bureau des Herzoglichen Staats-Ministeriums (1872)
Saxe-Altenburg	Statistisches Bureau Vereinigter Thüringischer Staaten (1875)
Saxe-Coburg and Gotha	Statistisches Bureau Vereinigter Thüringischer Staaten (1875)
Saxe-Meiningen	Statistisches Bureau des Herzoglichen Staatsministeriums (1875)
Lippe	—
Reuss-Junior Line	Statistisches Bureau Vereinigter Thüringischer Staaten (1875)
Reuss-Elder Line	Statistisches Bureau Vereinigter Thüringischer Staaten (1875)
Schaumburg-Lippe	Schaumburg-Lippe (1872)
Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt	Statistisches Bureau Vereinigter Thüringischer Staaten (1875)
Schwarzburg-Sondershausen	Statistisches Bureau Vereinigter Thüringischer Staaten (1875)
Waldeck and Pyrmont	Königliches Statistisches Bureau (1874)
Bremen	Bureau für Bremische Statistik (1875)
Hamburg	Statistisches Bureau der Steuerdeputation (1874) <i>Notes:</i> Intersections made use of Hamburg (1869) and Richter (1911)
Lübeck	—
Alsace-Lorraine	—

D.4 Further details on veteran measure

TABLE D.3: COMPARISON OF VETERAN ESTIMATES WITH OFFICIAL AGGREGATES

	Prussia	Bavaria	Saxony	Württemberg	Total
WW1 participants, official ¹	10,488,143	1,432,275	962,101	504,481	13,387,000
WW1 casualties, official ¹	-1,596,492	-214,016	-142,118	-84,373	-2,037,000
Veterans, official	8,891,651	1,218,259	819,983	420,108	11,350,000
as % of total	78.34%	10.73%	7.22%	3.70%	100.00%
Veterans, unadj. estimate ²	6,105,906	978,100	720,217	337,356	8,141,579
Population loss after WW1 ³	-13.93%	-0.95%	-0.00%	0.00%	-11.04%
Veterans, adj. estimate	7,094,517	987,448	720,217	337,356	9,151,499
as % of total	77.52%	10.79%	7.87%	3.69%	100.00%
Veterans, adj. estimate / official	79.79%	81.05%	87.83%	80.30%	80.63%
Veterans, official	8,891,651	1,218,259	819,983	420,108	11,350,000
Veterans, adj. estimate	-7,094,517	-987,448	-720,217	-337,356	-9,151,499
Veterans, unexplained	1,797,134	230,811	99,765	82,752	2,198,501
- ϵ GenderDiff. Births and Civ.Deaths ⁴	-68,297	-7,100	-9,716	-5,592	-90,705
- ϵ POW France 1919 ⁵	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	300,000
- ϵ POW Sov. Union 1919 ⁶	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	21,060
- ϵ Emigration ⁷	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	3,144
- ν Exemptions 1900 ⁸	-119,841	-16,023	-10,967	-5,717	-152,549
+ ξ Permanently disabled 1914-17 ⁹	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	527,084
+ ξ Unexplained (\approx Recalled soldiers)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1,590,466

Notes: ¹ Totals reported in [Jungblut \(1936\)](#) and [Overmans \(2009\)](#), respectively. Split across armies based on [von Altrock \(1922\)](#). ² Calculated as described in Section 3.2. ³ Calculated as the ratio between the male population 1910 in the dataset and the actual 1910 totals. ⁴ Uses [Statistisches Reichsamt \(1922a\)](#) to calculate female and male births and deaths, adjusted for area losses already reflected in this publication using the same method as for ³. Military deaths by war year are taken from [Roesle \(1925\)](#) and scaled up to match the official totals calculated in ¹. ⁵ Numbers taken from [Delpal \(2006\)](#). ⁶ Numbers taken from [Nachtigal \(2006\)](#). ⁷ Numbers taken from [Statistisches Reichsamt \(1922b\)](#). Captures only overseas emigration. ⁸ Calculated by multiplying 1900 cohort with the overall exemption rate, i.e. WW1 participants / size of cohorts 1869-1900. ⁹ Calculated as 3/4 of the total reported in [Müller \(1936\)](#).

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