

A Online Appendix (Not For Publication)

Figure A1: Example of newspaper source - Rinascita, April 11, 1924

La vita del Circondario Come votò il Circondario I risultati elettorali per Comune e per Mandamento													
	Inscritti	Votanti	Schede nulle	Socialisti unitari	Scudo crociato	Stella	Stella ed aquila	De noi	Ghiattani	Falso martello e spighe	Fascio littorio	Falso martello e libro	
Mandamento di Arbore													
Arbore	607	419	22	1	41	3	7	3	5	14	246	77	
Albano	293	240	17	11	2	0	0	0	2	11	120	76	
Balocco	447	181	11	7	14	3	0	1	11	31	77	26	
Buronzo	639	325	21	17	47	0	1	0	2	2	59	62	
Caschie S. Giacomo	297	193	2	6	57	1	0	0	4	44	186	115	
Ghiarango	306	230	18	0	5	1	0	1	0	2	15	99	
Greggio	239	172	18	12	3	1	2	2	2	15	73	52	
Odenico	238	187	16	18	11	1	0	0	6	10	75	18	
Rosanda	248	190	26	29	14	1	0	1	15	14	121	43	
Villarholt	327	285	25	1	4	2	0	1	9	19	121	43	
Totale del Mandamento	3641	2362	176	99	198	18	10	9	56	128	1750	433	
Mandamento di Crescentino													
Crescentino	2560	1194	143	43	148	13	2	22	95	199	469	60	
Pontanetto Po	790	501	58	30	66	7	10	24	140	179	47	6	
Lamporo	419	222	16	3	17	5	1	0	17	32	132	6	
Totale del Mandamento	3769	2007	217	76	231	25	10	32	190	371	780	113	
Mandamento di Cigliano													
Cigliano	2138	1060	68	51	157	4	3	25	32	175	438	74	
Borgo d'Ale	1520	587	44	10	43	1	2	15	10	33	308	19	
Moncrivello	228	489	64	21	130	21	0	7	22	70	167	26	
Totale del Mandamento	4497	2136	176	82	330	26	5	47	64	298	973	110	
Mandamento di Desana													
Desana	711	509	43	14	17	3	11	3	19	127	224	38	
Asigliano	1236	668	46	35	75	2	5	17	31	243	149	65	
Costanana	824	512	21	9	79	2	2	2	7	19	369	22	
Lignana	472	335	27	6	5	1	0	0	10	19	156	111	
Roussico	733	531	39	115	70	3	3	0	5	62	292	37	
Sali	215	159	7	1	1	0	1	6	4	5	112	19	
Tricerro	698	523	45	10	51	1	4	1	19	137	203	53	
Totale del Mandamento	4888	3233	228	184	289	12	26	23	95	612	1425	339	
Mandamento di Gattinara													
Gattinara	2179	1083	73	36	86	16	16	70	100	70	581	57	
Leota	463	239	16	15	16	1	0	19	5	165	8	1	
Lozzolo	331	209	9	6	28	0	0	25	9	3	127	1	
Rosio	1061	306	31	7	50	2	0	14	9	3	199	9	
Villa del Bosco	258	115	9	5	19	0	0	5	2	17	48	10	
Totale del Mandamento	4291	1952	136	65	190	19	17	114	132	98	1050	85	
Mandamento di Livorno													
Livorno	1828	1012	107	33	23	13	2	5	53	149	580	44	
Bianze	1137	738	57	21	80	6	2	4	26	140	188	215	
Saluggia	1281	702	108	34	104	8	3	36	37	86	264	22	
Totale del Mandamento	4246	2452	272	88	209	27	7	45	116	375	1832	281	
Mandamento di Sangemano													
Sangemano	1084	882	90	39	25	31	7	4	42	77	258	310	
Casanova Elvo	303	234	25	6	1	0	0	1	5	5	99	73	
Crova	480	339	47	46	19	2	0	0	14	40	114	57	
Fornipiana	236	185	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	178	2	
Olenengo	529	436	23	54	15	2	1	0	8	5	133	135	
Salasco	220	164	6	0	1	1	0	0	4	12	103	37	
Tronzano	1184	967	83	51	84	7	4	8	27	241	340	122	
Totale del Mandamento	4536	3295	275	190	146	43	12	13	100	380	1285	735	
Mandamento di Santhià													
Santhià	1926	1302	124	36	56	9	11	9	68	161	489	249	
Alice Castello	805	307	38	44	25	3	4	61	10	9	119	9	
Carisio	622	389	29	66	16	4	0	1	4	27	227	24	
Totale del Mandamento	3311	1998	175	146	97	16	15	71	82	190	828	282	
Mandamento di Stroppiana													
Stroppiana	1011	618	59	32	64	3	3	1	12	53	372	20	
Caresana	1163	769	78	61	97	3	5	2	23	60	441	99	
Motta dei Conti	679	491	48	13	22	33	13	10	6	102	195	47	
Perfengo	445	256	28	4	21	4	1	0	18	61	110	9	
Pezzana	1088	731	30	6	82	2	1	0	27	37	241	206	
Prarolo	442	372	36	11	0	1	3	1	14	6	220	74	
Rive	423	365	21	3	4	0	2	0	1	10	319	5	
Totale del Mandamento	5245	3563	299	130	301	46	28	14	182	329	1898	484	
Mandamento di Trino													
Trino	3865	2405	228	106	464	14	9	7	83	470	718	321	
Palazzolo	1025	656	52	11	24	2	1	2	10	90	406	44	
Totale del Mandamento	4890	3061	280	117	488	16	10	9	93	560	1124	365	
Mandamento di Vercelli													
Vercelli	10385	6844	641	299	236	67	56	10	526	1077	2789	1162	
Caresanablot	981	676	17	5	5	0	0	1	2	6	46	42	
Collobiano	113	94	6	9	7	0	0	0	3	3	91	35	
Quindio	232	161	13	12	0	5	1	0	0	14	116	13	
Totale del Mandamento	11711	7735	697	324	254	70	57	11	531	1100	2982	1252	

Figure A2: Examples of archival sources

Comuni	Numero delle strutture	Numero degli invercelli	Numero dei votanti							Nota
				81	5	3	19	23	10	
Barbani	275	567	626	291	34	31	21	24	5	
Candelara	197	684	459	180	100	75	26	26	5	29
Castelfrío	207	727	454	265	194	16	12	26	8	
	268	470	218	85	64	73	24	22	11	8
Fano	354	795	378	241	34	13	18	6	9	57
	255	797	448	214	63	31	16	22	22	40
	256	786	442	244	45	19	33	29	22	
	237	749	487	163	85	37	20	31	39	48
	238	791	515	185	15	16	25	20	15	19
	259	797	644	120	67	37	24	21	12	168
	260	543	335	127	70	34	17	20	8	17
	261	698	382	177	108	18	22	42	4	20
	262	746	488	154	126	35	25	42	7	68
	263	796	445	161	65	32	33	54	10	49
	264	611	338	166	48	22	26	44	5	17
	265	713	405	215	84	20	20	42	6	8
	266	432	294	199	30	3	8	11	1	42
Fiorenzuola d'Arda	196	574	376	263	17	24	15	19	4	31
Fiorenzuola	246	588	439	328	26	15	11	33	3	13
Griffone	197	433	304	181	13	32	20	18	1	28
Griffone	198	549	388	81	124	22	21	27	8	
Griffone	199	762	530	150	140	34	21	36	10	79

(a) Summary list from Pesaro-Urbino State Archive

Ricevuto il 17/10/93
Per circuito N. 87-Ricordo

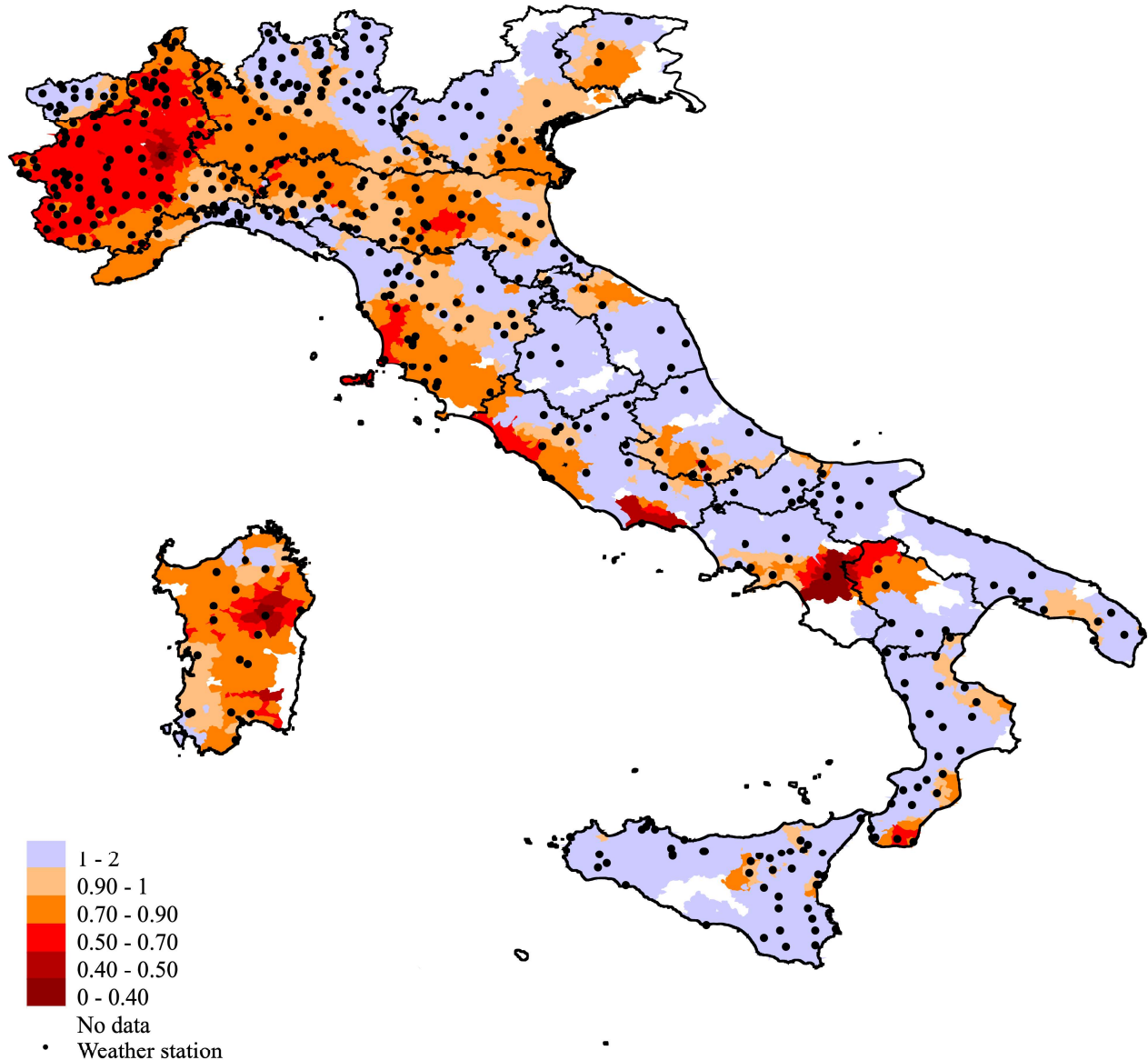
Le ore si contano sul meridiano corrispondente al tempo medio dell'Europa centrale, e per telegrammi interni e con vari paesi esteri di seguito da una mezzanotte all'altra.
Nei telegrammi impressi in caratteri romani il primo numero dopo il nome del luogo di origine rappresenta quello del telegramma, il secondo quello delle parole, gli altri in data, l'ora e i minuti della presentazione.

ORIGINALE	DESTINAZIONE	PROVENIENZA	NUM.	PAROLE	DATA DELLA PRESENTAZIONE	VIA E INDICAZIONI EVENTUALI D'UFFICIO
17/10/93	Novara	Camerino	4	17	17-18-19	

Secondo telegramma comune Casalino sezione prima lista sendo
crociato voti undici Balossini uno Marchisio tre Scalabrini
unitario due lista Giovanni tre tutti di preferenza lista evone
spinge voti quaranta Camerale ventuno Galeoni due Gambaretti
tantum Prunelli lista uno Volpi uno tutti di preferenza con tre voti
aggiunti per Gambaretti lista della voti quarantacinque Molina tre
- nove Bonini tre Rissini diciannove Alce tantum Belfanti due Gallant
12 tutti di preferenza con voti aggiunti uno per Rissini tre per Alce due
per Belfanti lista delle et marullo Belfanti due Volpi quattro Molina tre
Annunziata trecentocinquante (325) Bonini tre Prunelli legio Alce
17/10/93

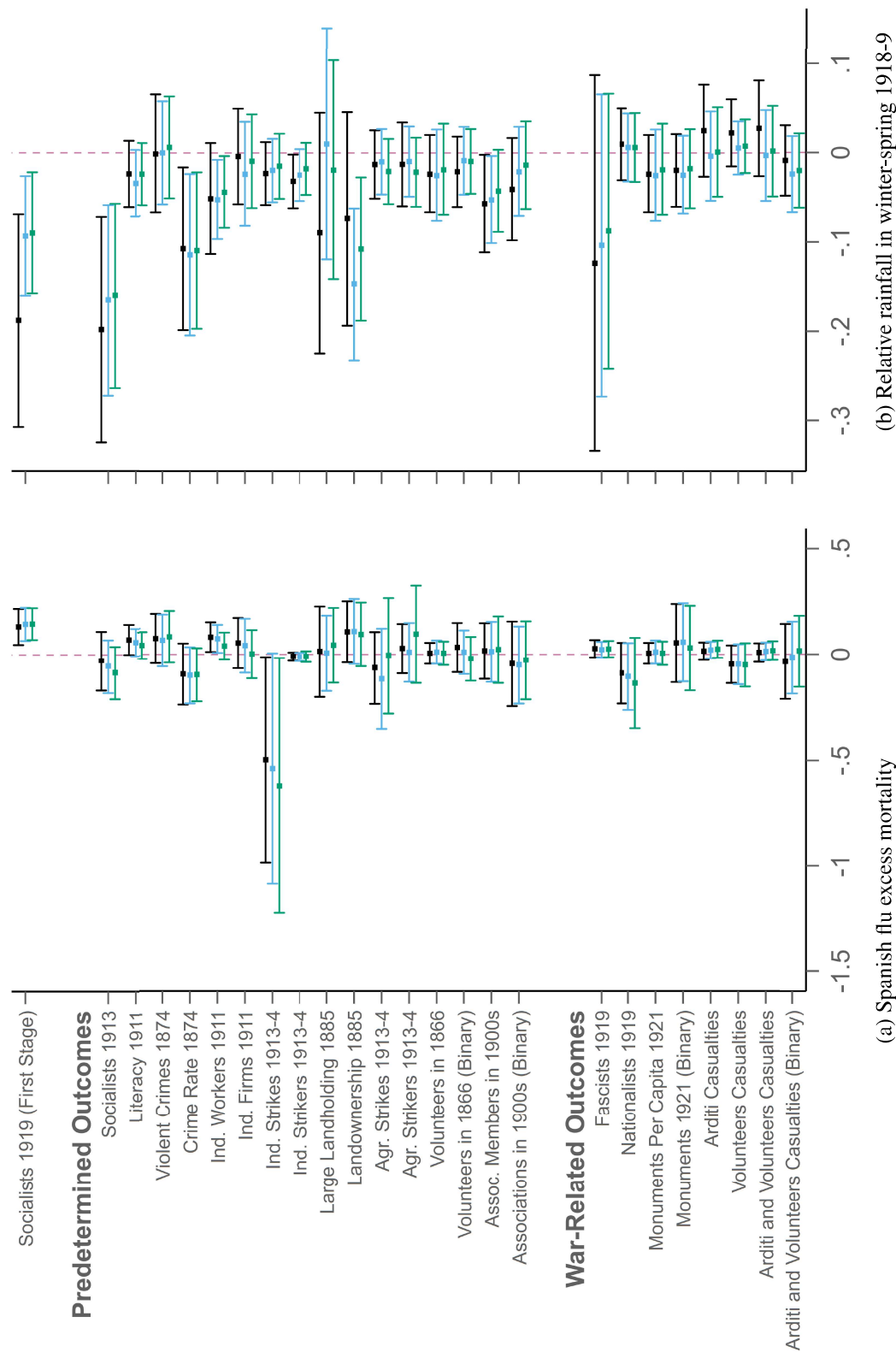
(b) Telegraphic communication from Novara State Archive

Figure A3: Relative rainfall in winter-spring 1918-9



Notes: Relative rainfall in winter-spring 1918-9 using data from 427 weather stations gathered from the Hydrographic Bulletins (1915-1979) for the 16 Italian hydrographic compartments. Relative rainfall is measured at the weather station level (aggregating rainfall from December 1918 to May 1919), using the average for the winter-spring months for the years 1915-1979 as denominator, and then interpolated at the municipality level using the inverse of the distances as weights with a cutoff of 30km. The blue shading identifies areas with more abundant rainfall in winter-spring 1918-9 as compared to their usual rainfall pattern. Orange, red, and brown shadings identify progressively lower rainfall in winter-spring 1918-9 as compared to their usual rainfall pattern. Black dots denote the location of weather stations.

Figure A4: Falsification tests for alternative instruments



Notes: The estimates correspond to the specifications from columns 1 (top-black), 4 (middle-light blue) and 6 (bottom-green) of Table 1. Please see notes of Table 1. Standardized coefficients and 95% confidence intervals are reported.

Table A1: Descriptive statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Dependent variables:					
Fascist violence in 1920-2 (events per 1000 inhabitants)	5,775	0.04	0.16	0	2.22
Fascist local branches in Autumn 1921 (binary)	5,775	0.15	0.35	0	1
Fascist vote share in 1921	5,358	0.05	0.07	0	0.80
Fascist vote share in 1921 (restricted sample)	2,188	0.03	0.06	0	0.80
Fascist vote share in 1924	5,775	0.62	0.26	0	1
Jews deportations in 1943-45 (binary)	5,775	0.07	0.26	0	1
Deportations over Jewish population (capped at 1)	5,775	0.05	0.21	0	1
Deportations over Jewish population (capped at 1 - no camps)	5,736	0.04	0.20	0	1
Large donor dummy (1919-25)	5,775	0.02	0.15	0	1
Left vote share (1946-2018)	109,725	0.29	0.16	0	0.91
Centre-right vote share (1946-2018)	109,725	0.37	0.18	0	0.99
Extreme left vote share (1946-2018)	92,400	0.03	0.03	0	0.63
Extreme right vote share (1946-2018)	98,175	0.03	0.03	0	0.73
Main excluded instruments:					
Foot-soldier casualties over male population above 6	5,775	0.03	0.02	0	0.38
Excess mortality in 1918	207	0.90	0.40	-0.19	3.48
Relative winter-spring rainfall 1918-9 (capped at 1)	5,500	0.85	0.17	0.21	1
Socialist support:					
Socialist vote share in 1913	5,775	0.16	0.22	0	1
Socialist vote share in 1919	5,775	0.32	0.27	0	1
Socialist majority in 1920 (binary)	5,775	0.27	0.44	0	1
Socialist (+ Communist) vote share in 1921	5,172	0.30	0.23	0	1
Socialist (+ Communist) vote share in 1924	5,775	0.15	0.15	0	0.87
Agrarian Strikes in 1920	5,775	0.30	0.60	0	4
Red scare index	5,775	0	1	-1.05	4.56
Demographic controls:					
(log) Population in 1911	5,775	7.65	1.07	3.97	13.43
Share of population below the age of 6 in 1911	5,775	0.16	0.03	0.05	0.93
Geographic controls:					
(log) Municipality area	5,775	7.45	1.13	2.30	12.24
Elevation of the major centre	5,775	318.18	280.48	1	1,816
Maximum elevation	5,775	836.13	840.76	1	4,810
Military controls:					
Assault troops and volunteer casualties over male pop above 6	5,775	0.0003	0.0008	0	0.02
Presence of army supplying production plant (binary)	5,775	0.08	0.27	0	1
Casualties in deadly battles (binary)	5,775	0.96	0.20	0	1
Veterans (classes 1874-1895) over male pop above 6 in 1911	5,775	0.23	0.06	0.10	0.41
Veterans (classes 1896-1900) over male pop above 6 in 1911	5,775	0.14	0.02	0.07	0.20
Agriculture controls:					
Share of day laborers in 1921	5,775	0.21	0.12	0.01	0.68
Share of share-croppers in 1921	5,775	0.05	0.07	0	0.42
Presence of landowners' associations (binary)	5,775	0.05	0.22	0	1
Urban controls:					
Industrial workers over male population in 1911	5,775	0.12	0.22	0	6.03
Industry firms over male population in 1911	5,775	0.01	0.01	0	0.14
Male literacy in 1911	5,775	0.75	0.20	0.10	1
Share of elites (entrepreneurs and rentiers) in 1921	5,775	0.03	0.01	0	0.09
Share of bourgeoisie in 1921	5,775	0.09	0.03	0.03	0.24

Table A2: 2SLS estimates of the effects of Socialist vote share in 1919 on measures of Fascist support using spatially-corrected (Conley) standard errors

Dep variable:	Socialist vote share in 1919			Fascist violence in 1920-2		Fascist branches in 1921			Fascist vote share in 1921			Fascist vote share in 1924			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Share of footsoldier casualties	0.12 (0.02)	0.10 (0.01)	0.10 (0.01)												
Socialist vote share in 1919				0.38 (0.20)	0.53 (0.24)	0.50 (0.21)	0.39 (0.17)	0.50 (0.20)	0.50 (0.19)	0.30 (0.12)	0.36 (0.16)	0.34 (0.14)	0.40 (0.14)	0.54 (0.14)	0.51 (0.14)
Regiment/Province FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic controls		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socialist share in 1913		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Military controls		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Agriculture controls			✓			✓			✓			✓			✓
Urban controls			✓			✓			✓			✓			✓
1st stage F-stat	37.03	46.47	45.04												
Observations	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,358	5,358	5,358	5,775	5,775	5,775

Notes: 2SLS regressions of the Fascist violence between 1920 and 1922 (columns 4 – 6), Fascist branches in 1921 (columns 7 – 9), Fascist vote share in 1921 (columns 10 – 12), and in 1924 (columns 13 – 15) on the Socialist vote share in 1919. First stage results are reported in columns 1 – 3. The excluded instrument is the count of footsoldier casualties from a municipality divided by the total male population over the age of six in 1911. Standardized coefficients reported. The three specifications correspond to those from columns 1, 4 and 6 in Table 1. Column 1 includes regiment and province fixed effects and demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911). Column 4 additionally includes geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation), the Socialist vote share in 1913, and military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of army supplying production plants, and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles). Column 6 additionally includes agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations) and urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). Spatially-corrected (Conley) standard errors with cutoffs at 1.5 degrees for both latitude and longitude are in parentheses.

Table A3: 2SLS estimates of the effects of Socialist vote share in 1919 on measures of Fascist support - demographic controls only

Dep variable:	Socialist vote share in 1919 (1)	Fascist violence in 1920-2 (2)	Fascist branches in 1921 (3)	Fascist vote share in 1921 (4)	Fascist vote share in 1924 (5)
Share of footsoldier casualties	0.16 (0.04)				
Socialist vote share in 1919		0.47 (0.18)	0.19 (0.14)	0.30 (0.19)	0.63 (0.33)
Demographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,358	5,775
Number of clusters	181	181	181	175	181
1st stage F-stat		14.09	14.09	13.04	14.09

Notes: 2SLS regressions of the Fascist violence between 1920 and 1922 (column 2), Fascist branches in 1921 (column 3), Fascist vote share in 1921 (column 4) and in 1924 (column 5) on the Socialist vote share in 1919. First stage results are reported in column 1. The excluded instrument is the count of footsoldier casualties from a municipality divided by the total male population over the age of six in 1911. Standardized coefficients reported. All columns include demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911). Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parentheses.

Table A4: First-stage estimates using alternative definitions of our casualties instrument

Dep variable: Socialist vote share in 1919	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Casualties among reservist & drafted footsoldiers	0.12 (0.02)	0.10 (0.01)	0.10 (0.01)						
Casualties among drafted footsoldiers				0.07 (0.01)	0.06 (0.01)	0.05 (0.01)			
Casualties among all soldiers							0.09 (0.02)	0.10 (0.01)	0.09 (0.01)
Regiment/Province FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic controls		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Socialist share in 1913		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Military controls		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Agriculture controls			✓			✓			✓
Urban controls			✓			✓			✓
Observations	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775
R-squared	0.60	0.69	0.70	0.60	0.69	0.69	0.60	0.69	0.70
Number of clusters	181	181	181	181	181	181	181	181	181
1st stage F-stat	44.73	59.31	56.02	30.93	42.00	36.68	24.58	62.71	61.01

Notes: First-stage regressions using alternative measures of casualties. In columns 1 – 3 excluded instrument is defined using the number of casualties from men drafted and reservists. Columns 4 – 6 use only the number of casualties from men drafted to construct the excluded instrument while columns 7 – 9 use casualties from all soldiers. All versions of the instruments are computed in shares, dividing the number of casualties with the total male population over six years old in 1911. Standardized coefficients reported. The three specifications correspond to those from columns 1, 4 and 6 in Table 1. Column 1 includes regiment and province fixed effects and demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911). Column 4 additionally includes geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation), the Socialist vote share in 1913, and military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of army supplying production plants, and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles). Column 6 additionally includes agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations) and urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parentheses.

Table A5: Reduced-form estimates of the relationship between footsoldier casualties and measures of local Fascist support

Dep variable:	Fascist violence in 1920-2		Fascist branches in 1921			Fascist vote share in 1921		Fascist vote share in 1924				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Share of footsoldier casualties	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.06 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)
Regiment/Province FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic controls		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socialist share in 1913		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Military controls		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Agriculture controls			✓			✓			✓			✓
Urban controls			✓			✓			✓			✓
Observations	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,358	5,358	5,358	5,775	5,775	5,775
Number of clusters	181	181	181	181	181	181	175	175	175	181	181	181

Notes: Reduced-form regressions of the Fascist violence between 1920 and 1922 (columns 1 – 3), Fascist branches in 1921 (columns 4 – 6), Fascist vote share in 1921 (columns 7 – 9), and Fascist vote share in 1924 (columns 10 – 12) on the count of footsoldier casualties during WWI over male population over six years old in 1911. Standardized coefficients reported. The three specifications correspond to those from columns 1, 4 and 6 in Table 1. Column 1 includes regiment and province fixed effects and demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911). Column 4 additionally includes geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation), the Socialist vote share in 1913, and military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of army supplying production plants, and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles). Column 6 additionally includes agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations) and urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parentheses.

Table A6: The role of veterans, special troops, and army-related industries

Dep variable:	Socialist vote share in 1919 (1)	(2)	Fascist violence in 1920-22 (3)	(4)	Fascist local branches in 1921 (5)	(6)	Fascist vote share in 1921 (7)	(8)	Fascist vote share in 1924 (9)	(10)
Panel A: First and second stage effects										
Veterans (classes 1874-1895)	0.18 (0.07)	0.17 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.11 (0.07)	-0.21 (0.07)	-0.23 (0.07)	0.17 (0.10)	0.16 (0.11)	-0.19 (0.12)	-0.19 (0.11)
Veterans (classes 1896-1900)	-0.13 (0.05)	-0.12 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	0.10 (0.05)	0.11 (0.06)	-0.14 (0.08)	-0.15 (0.09)	0.33 (0.10)	0.31 (0.10)
Assault tr. + volunt. casualties	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Army supplying production plant	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.04 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.06 (0.02)	0.06 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
Panel B: Total effects										
Veterans (classes 1874-1895)			0.01 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.12 (0.05)	-0.15 (0.08)	0.23 (0.10)	0.22 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.12)	-0.10 (0.11)
Veterans (classes 1896-1900)			-0.09 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.06)	0.04 (0.03)	0.05 (0.06)	-0.18 (0.07)	-0.19 (0.08)	0.26 (0.09)	0.25 (0.08)
Assault tr. + volunt. casualties			-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Army supplying production plant			0.06 (0.02)	0.06 (0.02)	0.07 (0.02)	0.07 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
Regiment/Province FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socialist share in 1913	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Military controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Agriculture controls		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Urban controls		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓

Notes: First stage (columns 1 – 2), and 2SLS regressions (columns 3 – 10) of measure of the fascist support on the Socialist vote share in 1919. The table reports the standardized coefficients of selected military controls of interests: veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900, casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, and the presence of army supplying production plants. Panel B reports the total effects, combining the direct effect with the indirect effect working through Socialist vote share in 1919, computed based on the delta method. The two specifications correspond to those from columns 4 and 6 in Table 1. Column 4 includes includes regiment and province fixed effects and demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911), geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation), the Socialist vote share in 1913, and military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of army supplying production plants and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles). Column 6 additionally includes agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations) and urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parentheses.

Table A7: The impact of footsoldier casualties in WWI on the Socialist vote share in 1919. Sample for Fascist vote share in 1921

Dep variable: Socialist vote share in 1919						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Share of footsoldier casualties	0.13 (0.02)	0.12 (0.02)	0.11 (0.01)	0.11 (0.01)	0.10 (0.01)	0.10 (0.01)
Regiment/Province FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic controls		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socialist share in 1913			✓	✓	✓	✓
Military controls				✓	✓	✓
Agriculture controls					✓	✓
Urban controls						✓
Observations	5,358	5,358	5,358	5,358	5,358	5,358
R-squared	0.59	0.61	0.69	0.69	0.69	0.69
Number of clusters	175	175	175	175	175	175
1st stage F-stat	42.60	42.28	54.22	53.02	50.10	49.95

Notes: The footsoldier casualty variable is the count of WWI footsoldier casualties from a municipality divided by the total male population over the age of six in 1911. Standardized coefficients reported. Column 1 includes regiment and province fixed effects and demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911). Column 2 additionally includes geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation). Column 3 adds Socialist vote share in 1913. Column 4 adds military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of army supplying production plants, and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles). Column 5 additionally includes agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations). Finally column 6 adds urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parentheses.

Table A8: 2SLS estimates of the effects of Socialist vote share in 1919 on measures of fascist support excluding the South of Italy from the sample

Dep variable:	Socialist vote share in 1919			Fascist violence in 1920-2		Fascist branches in 1921			Fascist vote share in 1921			Fascist vote share in 1924			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Share of footsoldier casualties	0.15 (0.02)	0.13 (0.02)	0.12 (0.02)												
Socialist vote share in 1919				0.30 (0.16)	0.44 (0.19)	0.40 (0.19)	0.46 (0.18)	0.58 (0.22)	0.60 (0.22)	0.28 (0.16)	0.34 (0.19)	0.32 (0.18)	0.32 (0.15)	0.47 (0.15)	0.43 (0.15)
Regiment/Province FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic controls		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Socialist share in 1913		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Military controls		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Agriculture controls			✓			✓			✓			✓			✓
Urban controls			✓			✓			✓			✓			✓
Observations	4,571	4,571	4,571	4,571	4,571	4,571	4,571	4,571	4,571	4,374	4,374	4,374	4,571	4,571	4,571
Number of clusters	122	122	122	122	122	122	122	122	122	122	122	122	122	122	122
1st stage F-stat				53.26	63.39	55.75	53.26	63.39	55.75	52.10	59.36	53.26	53.26	63.39	55.75

Notes: 2SLS regressions of Fascist violence between 1920 and 1922 (columns 4 – 6), Fascist branches in 1921 (columns 7 – 9), Fascist vote share in 1921 (columns 10 – 12) and Fascist vote share in 1924 (columns 13 – 15) on the Socialist vote share in 1919. First stage results are reported in columns 1 – 3. The excluded instrument is the count of footsoldier casualties from a municipality divided by the total male population over the age of six in 1911. We exclude the South of Italy from the sample. Standardized coefficients reported. The three specifications correspond to those from columns 1, 4 and 6 in Table 1. Column 1 includes regiment and province fixed effects and demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911). Column 4 additionally includes geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation), the Socialist vote share in 1913, and military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of army supplying production plants, and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles). Column 6 additionally includes agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations) and urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parentheses.

Table A9: 2SLS estimates of the relationship between Socialist vote share in 1919 and fascist support using alternative measures of WWI casualties

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Panel A:									
Dep variable: Fascist violence in 1920-2									
Socialist vote share in 1919	0.36 (0.17)	0.50 (0.20)	0.46 (0.19)	0.37 (0.26)	0.50 (0.29)	0.49 (0.30)	0.40 (0.23)	0.57 (0.20)	0.55 (0.20)
Observations	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775
Number of clusters	181	181	181	181	181	181	181	181	181
Panel B:									
Dep variable: Fascist local branches in 1921									
Socialist vote share in 1919	0.40 (0.17)	0.51 (0.20)	0.50 (0.19)	0.70 (0.23)	0.85 (0.26)	0.89 (0.26)	0.38 (0.23)	0.47 (0.23)	0.49 (0.21)
Observations	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775
Number of clusters	181	181	181	181	181	181	181	181	181
Panel C:									
Dep variable: Fascist vote share in 1921									
Socialist vote share in 1919	0.29 (0.17)	0.35 (0.20)	0.32 (0.19)	0.47 (0.21)	0.57 (0.25)	0.59 (0.25)	0.53 (0.17)	0.52 (0.17)	0.51 (0.16)
Observations	5,358	5,358	5,358	5,358	5,358	5,358	5,358	5,358	5,358
Number of clusters	175	175	175	175	175	175	175	175	175
Panel D:									
Dep variable: Fascist vote share in 1924									
Socialist vote share in 1919	0.40 (0.19)	0.56 (0.19)	0.53 (0.19)	0.41 (0.24)	0.66 (0.25)	0.68 (0.27)	0.76 (0.23)	0.58 (0.17)	0.56 (0.17)
Observations	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775
Number of clusters	181	181	181	181	181	181	181	181	181
Casualties among reservist & drafted footsoldiers	✓	✓	✓						
Casualties among drafted footsoldiers				✓	✓	✓			
Casualties among all soldiers							✓	✓	✓
Regiment/Province FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic controls		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Socialist share in 1913		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Military controls		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Agriculture controls			✓			✓			✓
Urban controls			✓			✓			✓

Notes: 2SLS regressions of the Fascist violence in 1920-22 (Panel A), the presence of Fascist branches in 1921 (Panel B), the Fascist vote share in 1921 (Panel C), and the Fascist vote share in 1924 (Panel D) on the Socialist vote share in 1919. In columns 1 – 3 the excluded instrument is defined using the number of casualties from men drafted and reservists. Columns 4 – 6 use only the number of casualties from men drafted to construct the excluded instrument while columns 7 – 9 use casualties from all soldiers. All versions of the instrument are computed in shares, dividing the count of casualties by the total male population over six years old in 1911. Standardized coefficients reported. The three specifications correspond to those from columns 1, 4 and 6 in Table 1. Column 1 includes regiment and province fixed effects and demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911). Column 4 additionally includes geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation), the Socialist vote share in 1913, and military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of army supplying production plants, and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles). Column 6 additionally includes agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations) and urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parentheses.

Table A10: 2SLS estimates of the relationship between Socialist vote share in 1919 and fascist support using alternative fixed effects specifications

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A: Fascist violence in 1920-2						
Socialist vote share in 1919	0.45 (0.20)	0.55 (0.22)	0.48 (0.20)	0.39 (0.19)	0.51 (0.22)	0.46 (0.20)
Observations	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775
Number of clusters	181	181	181	181	181	181
1st stage F-stat	28.79	42.01	41.93	31.44	38.93	37.10
Panel B: Fascist local branches in 1921						
Socialist vote share in 1919	0.44 (0.20)	0.57 (0.24)	0.53 (0.21)	0.41 (0.20)	0.52 (0.25)	0.51 (0.24)
Observations	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775
Number of clusters	181	181	181	181	181	181
1st stage F-stat	28.79	42.01	41.93	31.44	38.93	37.10
Panel C: Fascist vote share in 1921						
Socialist vote share in 1919	0.41 (0.21)	0.37 (0.22)	0.32 (0.20)	0.33 (0.19)	0.35 (0.21)	0.32 (0.20)
Observations	5,358	5,358	5,358	5,358	5,358	5,358
Number of clusters	175	175	175	175	175	175
1st stage F-stat	27.50	38.82	39.43	31.83	37.79	36.83
Panel D: Fascist vote share in 1924						
Socialist vote share in 1919	0.45 (0.22)	0.48 (0.18)	0.43 (0.18)	0.35 (0.19)	0.41 (0.17)	0.37 (0.17)
Observations	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775
Number of clusters	181	181	181	181	181	181
1st stage F-stat	28.79	42.01	41.93	31.44	38.93	37.10
Province FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic controls		✓	✓		✓	✓
Socialist share in 1913		✓	✓		✓	✓
Military controls		✓	✓		✓	✓
Agriculture controls			✓			✓
Urban controls			✓			✓
Front Semester FE	✓	✓	✓			
Front Month FE				✓	✓	✓

Notes: 2SLS regressions of Fascist violence in 1920-22 (Panel A), the presence of Fascist branches in 1921 (Panel B), the Fascist vote share in 1921 (Panel C), and the Fascist vote share in 1924 (Panel D) on the Socialist vote share in 1919. Excluded instrument is the count of footsoldier casualties from a municipality divided by the total male population over the age of six in 1911. Standardized coefficients reported. The three specifications correspond to those from columns 1, 4 and 6 in Table 1 except for regiment fixed effects replaced by either front-semester fixed effects (columns 1 – 3) or front-month fixed effects (columns 4 – 6). Column 1 includes province fixed effects and demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911). Column 4 additionally includes geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation), the Socialist vote share in 1913, and military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of army supplying production plants, and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles). Column 6 additionally includes agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations) and urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parentheses.

Table A11: 2SLS estimates of the relationship between Socialist vote share in 1919 and alternative definitions of fascist violence and fascist support

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Panel A:	Fascist killings			Political violence			Non-fascist violence		
Dep variable:	in 1920-22			in 1920-22			in 1920-22		
Socialist vote share in 1919	0.27 (0.14)	0.31 (0.16)	0.32 (0.16)	0.34 (0.17)	0.48 (0.20)	0.45 (0.19)	-0.03 (0.10)	-0.05 (0.12)	-0.06 (0.12)
Observations	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775
Number of clusters	181	181	181	181	181	181	181	181	181
1st Stage F-stat	41.68	55.24	50.59	41.68	55.24	50.59	41.68	55.24	50.59
Panel B:	Fascist vote share			only Fascist lists			only Fascist lists		
Dep variable:	in 1921 (restricted)			in 1921			in 1921 (binary)		
Socialist vote share in 1919	1.14 (0.61)	1.19 (0.57)	1.16 (0.54)	0.07 (0.05)	0.14 (0.08)	0.14 (0.08)	0.05 (0.03)	0.06 (0.03)	0.07 (0.04)
Observations	2,188	2,188	2,188	5,358	5,358	5,358	5,358	5,358	5,358
Number of clusters	112	112	112	175	175	175	175	175	175
1st stage F-stat	8.21	11.08	10.48	42.60	53.02	49.95	42.60	53.02	49.95
Panel C:	Fascist share in 1921			Fascist share in 1924			Fascist share in 1924		
Dep variable:	(controlling for 1919)			(controlling for 1919)			(official lists only)		
Socialist vote share in 1919	0.30 (0.17)	0.36 (0.19)	0.33 (0.18)	0.39 (0.17)	0.53 (0.16)	0.50 (0.16)	0.34 (0.18)	0.47 (0.18)	0.44 (0.18)
Observations	5,358	5,358	5,358	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775
Number of clusters	175	175	175	181	181	181	181	181	181
1st Stage F-stat	42.84	53.15	50.17	41.93	55.63	51.17	41.68	55.24	50.59
Regiment/Province FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic controls		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Socialist share in 1913		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Military controls		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
Agriculture controls			✓			✓			✓
Urban controls			✓			✓			✓

Notes: 2SLS regressions of alternative measures of fascist support and activities on Socialist vote share in 1919. In Panel A the dependent variables are: the number of killings per 1,000 inhabitants in 1920-2 perpetrated by Fascists (columns 1 – 3), the number of violent episodes per 1,000 inhabitants in 1920-2 by any perpetrator (columns 4 – 6), and the number of violent episodes excluding Fascist violence (columns 7 – 9). In Panel B the dependent variables are: the Fascist vote share in 1921 including only municipality where municipality-level data on fascist candidates are available (columns 1 – 3), the Fascist vote share in 1921 including only official Fascist lists (columns 4 – 6), and a dummy for Fascist official lists receiving a positive number of votes in 1921 (columns 7 – 9). In Panel C the dependent variables are: the Fascist vote shares in 1921 (columns 1 – 3) and 1924 (columns 4 – 6) as in Table 3, but controlling for Fascist vote share in 1919, and the Fascist vote share in 1924 when including only official lists (columns 7 – 9). Standardized coefficients reported. The three specifications correspond to those from columns 1, 4 and 6 in Table 1. Column 1 includes regiment and province fixed effects and demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911). Column 4 additionally includes geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation), the Socialist vote share in 1913, and military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of army supplying production plants, and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles). Column 6 additionally includes agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations) and urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parentheses.

Table A12: Estimates of the effects of alternative measures of Red Scare on measures of fascist support

Dep variable:	Socialist measure			Fascist violence in 1920-2			Fascist branches in 1921			Fascist vote share in 1921			Fascist vote share in 1924		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Panel A: 2SLS - Socialist majority dummy in 1920															
Share of footsoldier casualties		0.10	0.08												
		(0.02)	(0.02)												
Socialist majority dummy in 1920				0.46	0.69	0.66	0.48	0.65	0.66	0.39	0.50	0.47	0.48	0.70	0.68
				(0.22)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.21)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.20)	(0.25)	(0.24)	(0.19)	(0.23)	(0.24)
1st Stage F-stat				25.28	19.98	17.98	25.28	19.98	17.98	25.78	19.45	18.11	25.28	19.98	17.98
Panel B: 2SLS - Red scare index (combining Socialist 1919, 1920 and Strikes 1920)															
Share of footsoldier casualties		0.10	0.08												
		(0.02)	(0.01)												
Red scare index				0.45	0.65	0.62	0.46	0.61	0.61	0.37	0.45	0.42	0.47	0.66	0.63
				(0.22)	(0.26)	(0.25)	(0.22)	(0.28)	(0.27)	(0.20)	(0.24)	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.21)
1st Stage F-stat				35.50	31.85	28.05	35.50	31.85	28.05	37.54	32.08	29.03	35.50	31.85	28.05
Panel C: 2SLS - Socialist vote share in 1921															
Share of footsoldier casualties		0.11	0.08												
		(0.02)	(0.02)												
Socialist vote share in 1921				0.41	0.62	0.55	0.45	0.62	0.60	0.37	0.46	0.42	0.52	0.75	0.70
				(0.21)	(0.26)	(0.25)	(0.20)	(0.27)	(0.25)	(0.21)	(0.27)	(0.25)	(0.21)	(0.26)	(0.24)
1st Stage F-stat				32.10	27.25	27.69	32.10	27.25	27.69	32.10	27.25	27.69	32.10	27.25	27.69
Regiment/Province FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic controls		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socialist share in 1913		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Military controls		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Agriculture controls			✓			✓			✓			✓		✓	✓
Urban controls			✓			✓			✓			✓		✓	✓

Notes: 2SLS regressions of the Fascist violence between 1920 and 1922 (columns 4 – 6), Fascist branches in 1921 (columns 7 – 9) and Fascist vote share in 1921 (columns 10 – 12) and Fascist vote share in 1924 (columns 13 – 15) on the Socialist majority dummy in 1920 (Panel A), on a Red scare index combining the standardized versions of Socialist vote share in 1919, Socialist municipality dummy in 1920 and Agrarian strikes in 1920 (Panel B), and on the Socialist vote share in 1921 (Panel C). First stage results are reported in columns 1 – 3. The excluded instrument is the count of footsoldier casualties from a municipality divided by the total male population over the age of six in 1911. Standardized coefficients are reported. The three specifications correspond to those from columns 1, 4 and 6 in Table 1. Column 1 includes regiment and province fixed effects and demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911). Column 4 additionally includes geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation), the Socialist vote share in 1913, and military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of an army supplying production plant, and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles). Column 6 additionally includes agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations) and urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parentheses.

Table A13: Reduced form estimates of the relationship between footsoldier casualties and measure of local Fascist support. Comparison of coefficients between never-taker municipalities and the full sample

Dep variable:	Fascist violence in 1920-2			Fascist branches in 1921			Fascist vote share in 1921			Fascist vote share in 1924		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Panel A: Full sample												
Share of footsoldier casualties	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.06 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)
FWER adjusted p-value à la Holm	0.06	0.03	0.03	0.06	0.03	0.03	0.07	0.06	0.07	0.05	0.00	0.01
Panel B: Predicted Socialist in 1919 in Q1												
Share of footsoldier casualties	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)
p-value for difference from full sample	0.095	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.05	0.08	0.09	0.17	0.08	0.03	0.05
FWER adjusted p-value à la Holm	0.51	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Panel C: No Socialist candidate in 1913												
Share of footsoldier casualties	-0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
p-value for difference from full sample	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.26	0.36	0.39	0.28	0.28	0.20
FWER adjusted p-value à la Holm	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Regiment/Province FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic controls		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socialist share in 1913		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Military controls		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Agriculture controls			✓			✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
Urban controls			✓			✓			✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: Reduced form estimates using three separate samples (full sample; municipalities where predicted Socialist vote share in 1919 from the first-stage – using specification in column 1 of Table 1 – is in the bottom quartile; and municipalities where the Socialist Party did not field a candidate in 1913) for the three specifications as in columns 1, 4 and 6 of Table 1. Please see notes in Table 1. Below each point estimates and standard error, we report Chow tests for the significance of the difference of reported coefficient from the same coefficient estimated in the full sample. In addition, we report p-values adjusted using the Holm-Bonferroni method to account for the family wise error (FWER) when performing multiple hypothesis testing. The Holm-Bonferroni method adjusts the rejection criteria for each individual hypothesis by sorting the individual p-values from lowest to highest and comparing them to nominal alpha levels from α/m to $\alpha/1$ respectively (where m goes from the total number of hypotheses tested to 1). The method can be easily adapted to find adjusted p-value using the following standard formula after having sorted the unadjusted p-values $p_{(j)}$ from smallest to largest: $p_{(j)}^{adj} = \max_{j \leq i} \{(m - j - 1)p_{(i)}\}$, where $\{x\}1 = \min\{x, 1\}$. We also perform additional corrections to control for the FWER and find similar results. When using Hochberg or Hommel methods in the full sample we obtain p-values that are always lower than the reported Holm method. In the two samples of “never-takers” we find again lower p-values than when using the Holm correction but never below 0.57 and never below our baseline uncorrected p-values.

Table A14: Testing the selection effect in OLS and IV.

Dependent variables:	OLS	IV	ρ_{FCu}	α
Fascist violence in 1920-22 ($n = 5,775$) (κ, ρ_{SVSu}) $\in (0.5, 1] \times [-0.1, -0.9]$	0.07 (0.02)	0.50 (0.17)	-0.04 [-0.10, 0.02]	1.17 [0.24, 2.78]
Fascist branches in 1921 ($n = 5,775$) (κ, ρ_{SVSu}) $\in (0.5, 1] \times [-0.1, -0.9]$	0.06 (0.02)	0.50 (0.18)	-0.03 [-0.10, 0.03]	0.98 [0.21, 2.35]
Fascist vote share in 1921 ($n = 5,358$) (κ, ρ_{SVSu}) $\in (0.5, 1] \times [-0.1, -0.9]$	0.00 (0.02)	0.33 (0.12)	-0.04 [-0.10, 0.02]	0.79 [0.12, 1.98]
Fascist vote share in 1924 ($n = 5,775$) (κ, ρ_{SVSu}) $\in (0.5, 1] \times [-0.1, -0.9]$	0.02 (0.02)	0.51 (0.18)	-0.03 [-0.09, 0.03]	0.86 [0.15, 2.10]

Notes: This table reports the fully Bayesian estimates using the methodology developed by DiTraglia and Garcia-Jimeno (2021) to investigate the difference between OLS and IV estimates of the effect of the Socialist vote share in 1919 on measures of fascist activity. Standardized coefficients reported. The first two columns report our OLS and IV estimates from the specification including the full set of controls which are regiment and province fixed effects and demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911), geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation), the Socialist vote share in 1913, military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of army supplying production plants, and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles), agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations) and urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). For all measures of fascist activity, we assume that the signal-to-noise ratio in the endogenous regressor is in the range $\kappa \in (0.5, 1]$, while the correlation coefficient between the same endogenous regressor and the error term in the second-stage equation, ρ_{SVSu} , is in the interval $[-0.1, -0.9]$, consistent with the idea that more left-wing municipalities have lower level of fascist activity and presence. The third column reports the Bayesian estimate of the correlation between the instrument and the error term in the second-stage equation, ρ_{FCu} , while the fourth column gives the Bayesian estimate of our coefficient of interest, α . See subsection VI.C and DiTraglia and García-Jimeno (2021) for details.

Table A15: Estimates of the effects of Socialist vote share in 1919 and footsoldier casualties on the vote share of Catholic and Traditional parties in 1921 and 1924 controlling for their 1919 vote shares

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Dep variable:	Popular (Catholic) vote share in 1921			Traditional parties' vote share in 1921		
Panel A: 2SLS						
Socialist vote share in 1919	-0.40 (0.18)	-0.39 (0.21)	-0.34 (0.18)	-0.11 (0.14)	-0.07 (0.16)	-0.12 (0.16)
Vote share in 1919	0.48 (0.08)	0.49 (0.08)	0.50 (0.07)	0.39 (0.08)	0.39 (0.07)	0.36 (0.07)
1st stage F-stat	24.09	28.53	30.42	32.56	41.95	39.31
Panel B: Reduced form						
Share of footsoldier casualties	-0.04 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Vote share in 1919	0.65 (0.02)	0.63 (0.02)	0.63 (0.02)	0.44 (0.03)	0.41 (0.03)	0.41 (0.03)
Observations	5,038	5,038	5,038	5,038	5,038	5,038
Number of clusters	172	172	172	172	172	172
Dep variable:	Popular (Catholic) vote share in 1924			Traditional parties' vote share in 1924		
Panel C: 2SLS						
Socialist vote share in 1919	-0.19 (0.22)	-0.28 (0.23)	-0.22 (0.22)	-0.46 (0.21)	-0.54 (0.22)	-0.58 (0.24)
Vote share in 1919	0.38 (0.11)	0.34 (0.10)	0.36 (0.10)	-0.11 (0.10)	-0.09 (0.09)	-0.11 (0.09)
1st stage F-stat	25.01	32.14	33.44	33.54	46.30	43.03
Panel D: Reduced form						
Share of footsoldier casualties	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.02)
Vote share in 1919	0.46 (0.04)	0.45 (0.04)	0.44 (0.04)	0.09 (0.03)	0.11 (0.03)	0.10 (0.03)
Observations	5,515	5,515	5,515	5,515	5,515	5,515
Number of clusters	178	178	178	178	178	178
Regiment/Province FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic controls		✓	✓		✓	✓
Socialist share in 1913		✓	✓		✓	✓
Military controls		✓	✓		✓	✓
Agriculture controls			✓			✓
Urban controls			✓			✓

Notes: 2SLS (Panels A and C) and reduced form (Panels B and D) regressions of the Popular Party (columns 1 – 3) and of the traditional parties (columns 4 – 6) vote share in 1921 (Panels A and B) and in 1924 (Panels C and D) controlling for their vote share in 1919. Excluded instrument in Panel A is the count of WWI footsoldier casualties from a municipality divided by the total male population over the age of six in 1911. Standardized coefficients reported. The three specifications correspond to those from columns 1, 4 and 6 in Table 1. Column 1 includes regiment and province fixed effects and demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911). Column 4 additionally includes geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation), the Socialist vote share in 1913, and military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of army supplying production plants, and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles). Column 6 additionally includes agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations) and urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parentheses.

Table A16: Heterogeneous effects of Socialist vote share in 1919 on the presence of large donors for the Fascist party

Dep variable: Large donor dummy (1919-25)						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Socialist vote share in 1919	0.02 (0.14)	-0.00 (0.17)	0.03 (0.17)	-0.01 (0.15)	-0.03 (0.19)	0.01 (0.19)
Socialists x elite variable	0.45 (0.21)	0.45 (0.22)	0.43 (0.21)	0.19 (0.15)	0.28 (0.17)	0.35 (0.20)
Elite variable	Landowner ass. dummy			Share of elites		
Regiment/Province FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic controls		✓	✓		✓	✓
Socialist share in 1913		✓	✓		✓	✓
Military controls		✓	✓		✓	✓
Agriculture controls			✓			✓
Urban controls			✓			✓
Observations	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775
Number of clusters	181	181	181	181	181	181
Kleibergen-Paap F-stat	19.71	26.01	24.61	16.16	16.61	13.50

Notes: 2SLS regressions of the heterogeneous effect of the Socialist vote share in 1919 on a dummy for the presence of large donors to the Fascist Party in the period 1919-1925 in the presence of landowners' associations (columns 1 – 3) and the share of elites (columns 4 – 6). The endogenous variables are Socialist vote share in 1919 and its interaction with the measure of elite organization. Excluded instruments are the count of WWI footsoldier casualties from a municipality divided by the total male population over the age of six in 1911 and its interaction with the elite variables. Standardized coefficients reported. The three specifications correspond to those from columns 1, 4 and 6 in Table 1. Column 1 includes regiment and province fixed effects and demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911). Column 4 additionally includes geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation), the Socialist vote share in 1913, and military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of army supplying production plants, and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles). Column 6 additionally includes agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations) and urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parentheses.

Table A17: Results with alternative instruments: Spanish flu excess mortality in 1918 and relative rainfall in 1918-19

Dep variable:	Socialist vote share in 1919			Fascist violence in 1920-22		Fascist branches in 1921			Fascist vote share in 1921			Fascist vote share in 1924			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Panel A: Using excess mortality in 1918 as instrument															
Excess mortality in 1918	0.13 (0.04)	0.14 (0.04)	0.15 (0.04)												
Socialist vote share in 1919				0.45 (0.43)	0.35 (0.38)	0.13 (0.36)	1.18 (0.71)	0.79 (0.51)	0.29 (0.52)	0.03 (0.59)	-0.04 (0.51)	0.15 (0.49)	0.69 (0.38)	0.62 (0.39)	0.77 (0.42)
1st stage F-stat				9.46	13.29	14.65	9.46	13.29	14.65	9.08	11.91	12.72	9.46	13.29	14.65
Observations	207	207	207	207	207	207	207	207	207	200	200	200	207	207	207
Number of clusters	159	159	159	159	159	159	159	159	159	155	155	155	159	159	159
Panel B: Using rainfall in winter and spring 1818-1919 as instrument															
Relative winter-spring rainfall	-0.19 (0.06)	-0.09 (0.03)	-0.09 (0.03)												
Socialist vote share in 1919				0.07 (0.11)	-0.05 (0.23)	0.06 (0.26)	-0.07 (0.09)	-0.23 (0.22)	-0.19 (0.22)	-0.00 (0.15)	-0.10 (0.29)	-0.07 (0.29)	0.28 (0.28)	0.78 (0.40)	0.85 (0.42)
1st stage F-stat				8.81	6.79	6.13	8.81	6.79	6.13	11.36	6.61	6.25	8.81	6.79	6.13
Rainfall variance	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Regiment FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	5,500	5,500	5,500	5,500	5,500	5,500	5,500	5,500	5,500	5,119	5,119	5,119	5,500	5,500	5,500
Number of district clusters	178	178	178	178	178	178	178	178	178	172	172	172	178	178	178
Number of station clusters	427	427	427	427	427	427	427	427	427	418	418	418	427	427	427
Province FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic controls		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socialist share in 1913		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Military controls		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Agriculture controls			✓			✓			✓			✓			✓
Urban controls			✓			✓			✓			✓			✓

Notes: 2SLS regressions of the Fascist violence between 1920 and 1922 (columns 4 – 6), Fascist branches in 1921 (columns 7 – 9), Fascist vote share in 1921 (columns 10 – 12) and Fascist vote share in 1924 (columns 13 – 15) on the Socialist vote share in 1919. First stage results are reported in columns 1 – 3. In Panel A the excluded instrument is excess mortality due to the Spanish Flu in 1918. Excess mortality is defined as the excess mortality in 1918 from the pre-war mortality computed between 1911 and 1914. In Panel B the excluded instrument is the relative rainfall in winter-spring 1918-1919 (from December 1918 to May 1919). Relative rainfall is measured at weather station level, using the average for the winter-spring months for the years 1915-1979 as denominator, and then interpolated at municipality level using the inverse of the distances as weights with a cutoff of 30km. The relative rainfall measure is then capped at 1 in order to consider only negative deviations from the long term average. Standardized coefficients reported. The three specifications correspond to those from columns 1, 4 and 6 in Table 1. Column 1 includes province fixed effects (and regiment fixed effects in Panel B) and demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911). Column 4 additionally includes geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation), the Socialist vote share in 1913, and military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of army supplying production plants, and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles). Column 6 additionally includes agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations) and urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). Additionally, in Panel B we control throughout for rainfall variance across 1915-79. We report in parentheses standard errors clustered at the district level (Panel A) and clustered over district and closest weather station (Panel B).

Table A18: Falsification exercise - Reduced-form relationship between winter-spring rainfall and Fascist vote share in 1924 between 1917-18 and 1927-28

Dep variable: Fascist vote share in 1924											
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Relative winter-spring rainfall	-0.08 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.04)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.01)
Rainfall variance	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Full set of controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year	1918-9	1917-8	1919-20	1920-1	1921-2	1922-3	1923-4	1924-5	1925-6	1926-7	1927-8
Observations	5,500	3,809	5,333	5,286	5,407	5,441	5,407	5,426	5,429	5,415	5,412
Number of district clusters	178	104	176	177	178	176	175	177	178	178	178
Number of station clusters	427	282	403	399	406	408	400	405	407	404	394

Notes: Reduced-form regressions of Fascist vote share in 1924 on the relative rainfall in winter-spring 1918-9 and other 10 years, used as a falsification exercise. Relative rainfall is measured at weather station level, using the average for the winter-spring months for the years 1915-1979 as denominator, and then interpolated at municipality level using the inverse of the distances as weights with a cutoff of 30km. The relative rainfall measure is then capped at 1 in order to consider only negative deviations from the long term average. Standardized coefficients reported. In Column (1) we report the coefficient of the reduced-form regression of the relative rainfall in winter-spring 1918-9 on Fascist vote share in 1924. In columns 2 – 11 we report the coefficients of the falsification exercise using the relative rainfall in winter-spring for the years 1917-8 and from 1919-20 to 1927-8. In all columns we include the full set of controls which are regiment and province fixed effects and demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911), geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation), the Socialist vote share in 1913, military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of army supplying production plants, and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles), agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations) and urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). We control throughout for rainfall variance across 1915-79. Standard errors reported in parentheses are clustered over two dimensions: the administrative district and the closest weather station.

Table A19: 2SLS estimates of the effect of Fascism index 1920-24 on Jewish deportations 1943-45

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A: Jews deportation dummy (1943-45)						
Fascism index 1920-24	0.60 (0.26)	0.58 (0.26)	0.60 (0.26)	0.54 (0.24)	0.58 (0.25)	0.56 (0.25)
Panel B: Deportations over Jewish population (capped at 1)						
Fascism index 1920-24	0.73 (0.28)	0.71 (0.27)	0.72 (0.27)	0.64 (0.24)	0.69 (0.26)	0.67 (0.26)
: Deportations over Jewish population (capped at 1 – no camps)						
Fascism index 1920-24	0.65 (0.26)	0.64 (0.25)	0.64 (0.26)	0.56 (0.23)	0.61 (0.25)	0.59 (0.25)
Regiment/Province FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Share of Jewish pop in 1911	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Days of German occupation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic controls		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socialist share in 1913			✓	✓	✓	✓
Military controls				✓	✓	✓
Agriculture controls					✓	✓
Urban controls						✓
Observations	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775
Number of clusters	181	181	181	181	181	181
1st stage F-stat	11.22	13.27	13.07	15.05	14.72	17.26

Notes: 2SLS regressions of: a dummy for the occurrence of Jews deportation in 1943-45 (Panel A); the number of deported Jews in 1943-45 over 1911 Jewish population, capped at 1 (Panel B); the number of deported Jews in 1943-45 over 1911 Jewish population, capped at 1 and excluding 39 municipalities with concentration camps (Panel C) on the Fascism index 1920-24. Excluded instrument is the count of WWI footsoldier casualties from a municipality divided by the total male population over the age of six in 1911. Standardized coefficients reported. Column 1 includes regiment and province fixed effects, demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911), the share of Jewish population in 1911, and days of German occupation in the period 1943-45. Column 2 additionally includes geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation). Column 3 adds Socialist vote share in 1913. Column 4 adds military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of army supplying production plants, and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles). Column 5 additionally includes agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations). Finally column 6 adds urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parentheses.

Table A20: Reduced-form estimates of the relationship between WWI footsoldier casualties and Jews deportation

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A: Jews deportation dummy (1943-45)						
Share of footsoldier casualties	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
Panel B: Deportations over Jewish population (capped at 1)						
Share of footsoldier casualties	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)
Panel C: Deportations over Jewish population (capped at 1 – no camps)						
Share of footsoldier casualties	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
Regiment/Province FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Share of Jewish pop in 1911	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Days of German occupation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic controls		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socialist share in 1913			✓	✓	✓	✓
Military controls				✓	✓	✓
Agriculture controls					✓	✓
Urban controls						✓
Observations	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775
Number of clusters	181	181	181	181	181	181

Notes: Reduced-form regressions of: a dummy for the occurrence of Jews deportation in 1943-45 (Panel A); the number of deported Jews in 1943-45 over 1911 Jewish population, capped at 1 (Panel B); the number of deported Jews in 1943-45 over 1911 Jewish population, capped at 1 and excluding 39 municipalities with concentration camps (Panel C) on the count of footsoldier casualties over the total male population over six years old in 1911. Standardized coefficients reported. Column 1 includes regiment and province fixed effects, demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911), the share of Jewish population in 1911, and days of German occupation in the period 1943-45. Column 2 additionally includes geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation). Column 3 adds Socialist vote share in 1913. Column 4 adds military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of army supplying production plants, and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles). Column 5 additionally includes agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations). Finally column 6 adds urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parentheses.

Table A21: 2SLS estimates of the relationship between Fascist vote share in 1924 and Jews deportation 1943-45 (Republic of Salò sample)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A: Jews deportation dummy (1943-45)						
Fascist vote share in 1924	0.97 (0.56)	0.89 (0.51)	0.90 (0.50)	0.83 (0.46)	0.91 (0.53)	0.91 (0.55)
Panel B: Deportations over Jewish population (capped at 1)						
Fascist vote share in 1924	1.11 (0.58)	1.02 (0.51)	1.02 (0.50)	0.93 (0.45)	1.03 (0.52)	1.01 (0.54)
Panel C: Deportations over Jewish population (capped at 1 – no camps)						
Fascist vote share in 1924	0.96 (0.53)	0.89 (0.48)	0.88 (0.47)	0.80 (0.42)	0.89 (0.49)	0.88 (0.50)
Regiment/Province FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Share of Jewish pop in 1911	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Days of German occupation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographic controls		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Socialist share in 1913			✓	✓	✓	✓
Military controls				✓	✓	✓
Agriculture controls					✓	✓
Urban controls						✓
Observations	4,788	4,788	4,788	4,788	4,788	4,788
Number of clusters	131	131	131	131	131	131
1st stage F-stat	5.43	8.45	9.03	10.34	8.28	8.64

Notes: 2SLS regressions of: a dummy for the occurrence of Jews deportation in 1943-45 (Panel A); the number of deported Jews in 1943-45 over 1911 Jewish population, capped at 1 (Panel B); the number of deported Jews in 1943-45 over 1911 Jewish population, capped at 1 and excluding 39 municipalities with concentration camps (Panel C) on the Fascist vote share in 1924. Sample of municipalities in the Republic of Salò only. Excluded instrument is the count of footsoldier casualties over the total male population over six years old in 1911. Standardized coefficients reported. Column 1 includes regiment and province fixed effects, demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911), the share of Jewish population in 1911, and days of German occupation in the period 1943-45. Column 2 additionally includes geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation). Column 3 adds Socialist vote share in 1913. Column 4 adds military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of army supplying production plants, and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles). Column 5 additionally includes agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations). Finally column 6 adds urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parentheses.

Table A22: 2SLS estimates of the effect of Fascism index 1920-24 on post-WWII party vote shares

Dep variable: Votes shares of	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Panel A:										
Left	0.47 (0.16)	0.89 (0.30)	0.72 (0.25)	0.86 (0.36)	0.67 (0.31)	0.59 (0.28)	0.46 (0.25)	0.56 (0.28)	0.78 (0.33)	0.66 (0.29)
Centre-right	-0.41 (0.13)	-0.78 (0.27)	-0.65 (0.28)	-0.88 (0.28)	-0.81 (0.25)	-0.57 (0.22)	-0.71 (0.25)	-0.69 (0.26)	-0.76 (0.30)	-0.59 (0.26)
Extreme left	0.20 (0.09)	0.17 (0.15)	0.20 (0.24)				0.76 (0.38)	0.71 (0.40)	-0.05 (0.27)	0.76 (0.33)
Extreme right	0.14 (0.11)		0.12 (0.23)	0.22 (0.24)	0.22 (0.19)	0.13 (0.21)	0.32 (0.24)	0.34 (0.19)	0.08 (0.21)	0.23 (0.24)
Election(s):	1946-2018	1946	1948	1953	1958	1963	1968	1972	1976	1979
Observations	109,725	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775
Number of clusters	5775	181	181	181	181	181	181	181	181	181
1st stage F-stat	30.50	17.62	17.62	17.62	17.62	17.62	17.62	17.62	17.62	17.62
Panel B:										
Left	0.55 (0.26)	0.62 (0.26)	0.32 (0.24)	0.30 (0.16)	0.16 (0.17)	0.28 (0.21)	0.46 (0.25)	0.32 (0.20)	0.39 (0.24)	0.52 (0.31)
Centre-right	-0.56 (0.27)	-0.50 (0.24)	-0.61 (0.27)	-0.44 (0.19)	-0.09 (0.25)	-0.34 (0.24)	-0.45 (0.30)	-0.54 (0.28)	-0.71 (0.43)	-0.06 (0.30)
Extreme left	-0.40 (0.24)	-0.32 (0.35)	0.40 (0.25)	0.41 (0.23)	0.45 (0.24)	0.30 (0.31)	0.53 (0.28)	0.46 (0.25)	0.04 (0.16)	-0.06 (0.21)
Extreme right	0.28 (0.29)	0.06 (0.32)	0.09 (0.25)		0.10 (0.20)	-0.02 (0.21)	-0.25 (0.29)	0.46 (0.26)	0.10 (0.27)	0.15 (0.22)
Election:	1983	1987	1992	1994	1996	2001	2006	2008	2013	2018
Observations	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775	5,775
Number of clusters	181	181	181	181	181	181	181	181	181	181
1st stage F-stat F-stat	17.62	17.62	17.62	17.62	17.62	17.62	17.62	17.62	17.62	17.62
Full set of controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: 2SLS regressions of the vote shares of post-WWII parties for the period 1946-2018 on Fascism index 1920-24. The left column identifies the party whose vote share is used as dependent variable in the regressions in each row. The heading *Election* identifies the election(s) included in the sample. The excluded instrument is the count of footsoldier casualties from a municipality divided by the total male population over the age of six in 1911. Standardized coefficients for Fascism index in 1920-24 reported. All specifications include our full set of controls. We include regiment and province fixed effects and demographic controls (quartic in log population and share of population below the age of six in 1911), geographic controls (log area, elevation of the main center, and maximum elevation), the Socialist vote share in 1913, military controls (veterans from classes 1874-1895 and from classes 1896-1900 as well as casualties among special assault troops and volunteers as a share of the male population above the age of 6 in 1911, a dummy for the presence of army supplying production plants, and a dummy for any casualties in the highest-mortality battles), agricultural controls (share of day laborers, share of sharecroppers and a dummy for the presence of local agrarian associations) and urban controls (industry workers and industrial firms over male population in 1911, literacy rate in 1911, the share of entrepreneurs and rentiers, and the share of the bourgeoisie). Standard errors clustered at the district level are in parenthesis. Column 1 of Panel A reports a pooled 2SLS regression for the period 1946-2018 where all controls are interacted with election dummies and standard errors are clustered at the municipality level.