Online Appendix
Interrupted Continuities: Local History and Support for the Radical Right

Table of Contents

A   Parliamentary Speeches 1989-2020

i. Extended civil-war dictionary (used for Figures A.3 and A.4): bolsevikoi (bolsheviks), zervas (leader of the National Republican Greek League - EDES), grammos (location of famous civil war battle), vitsi (location of famous civil war battle), eam-elas, eam, elas, stalin, lenin, velouchiotis (leader of ELAS and member of the Communist Party), meligalas (location of famous civil war battle), emfilios (civil war), paidomazoma (forced evacuation of children from communist-held areas), dekemvriana (civil war clashes in the centre of Athens in December 1944), makriyianni (battle during Dekemvriana), katochi (Nazi occupation), tsortsil (Churchill)

ii. Five dictionaries used for Figures A.1 and A.2:
Independence war dictionary: tourkokratia (ottoman occupation), ottoman, 1821
National schism dictionary: schism, venizlikos (pro-Venizelos, PM), anti-venizelikos (anti-Venizelos, PM)
Asia minor dictionary: mikrasiatiki (asia minor), smyrne, population exchange, 1922
Civil-war dictionary: eam-elas, emfilios, katochi
Dictatorship dictionary: junta, dictatorship, polytechnio (student uprising)

iii. Categorisation of the 21 political parties that have been in Parliament between 1989-2020 into Radical Left, Left, Right, Radical Right (used for Figure A.4):
Radical Right: Anexartitoi Ellines (Independent Greeks), Anexartitoi Ellines - Ethniki Patriotiki Dimokratiki Simmachia (Independent Greeks), Laikos Orthofoxos Synagermos (Populist Rally, LAOS), Laikos Sindesmos - Chrisi Avgi (Golden Dawn), Elliniki Lisi (Greek Solution)
Right: Nea Dimokratia (New Democracy), Dimokratiki Ananeosi (Democratic Renewal), Politiki Anoixi (Political Spring)
Radical Left: Kommounistiko Komma Elladas (Greek Communist Party), Laiki Enotita (Popular Unity)
Left: Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras (Coalition of the Radical Left, SYRIZA), Synaspismos tis Aristeras ton Kinimaton kai tis Oikologias (Coalition of the Left, of Movements and the Ecology, SYNASPISMOS), Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima (Panhellenic Socialist Movement, PASOK), Dimokratiki Aristera (Democratic Left, DIMAR), Dimokratiki Simparataxi (Democratic Alignment - PASOK and DIMAR), Kinima Allagis (Movement for Change), Metopo Europaikis Realistikis Anipakois (European Realistic Disobedience Front or MeRA25), Oikologoi Enallaktikoi (Alternative Ecologists), Enosi Kentroon (Union of Centrists), Potami (The River), Dimokratiko Koinoniko Kinima (Democratic Social Movement)
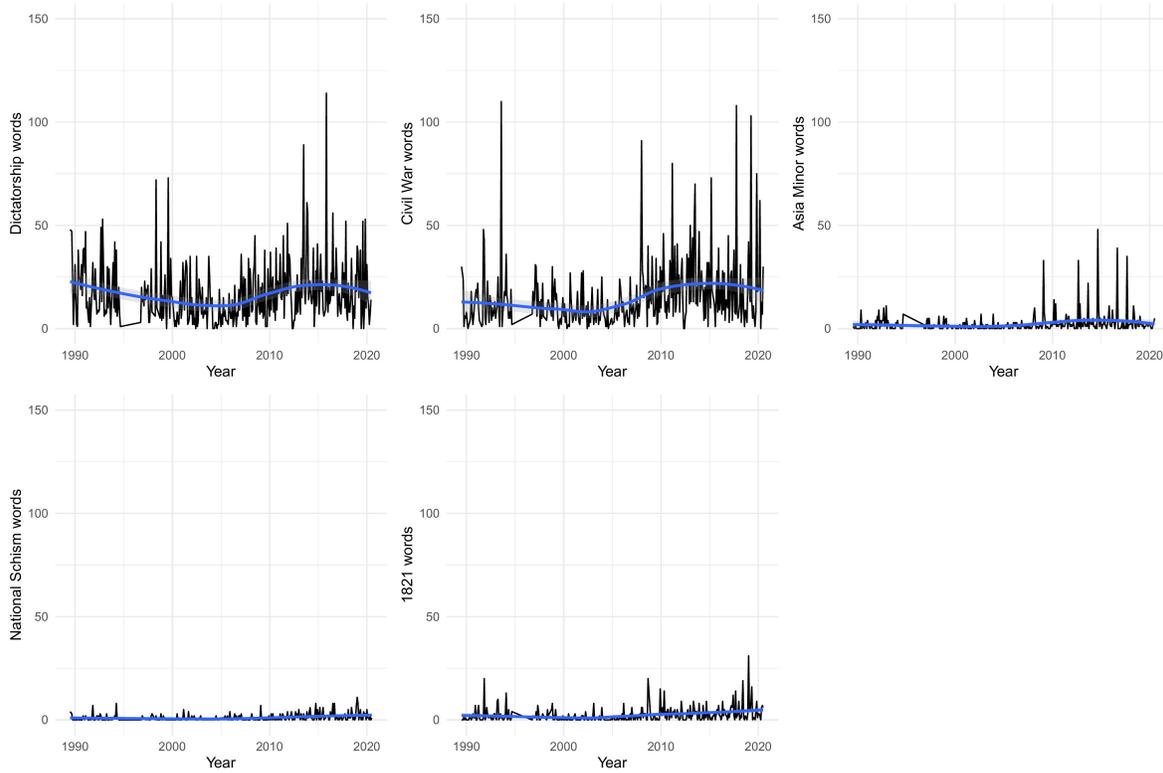
Figure A.1: **Yearly historical references in parliamentary speeches (1989-2020).** Dictionaries were created for each of the five major post-independence historical periods (i.e. the 1967-74 dictatorship, the 1943-49 civil war, the Asia Minor catastrophe 1922, the national schism 1915-17, and the Greek war of independence 1821-29). The figure shows the yearly frequency with which political parties referred to each of these episodes over a 30-year period.
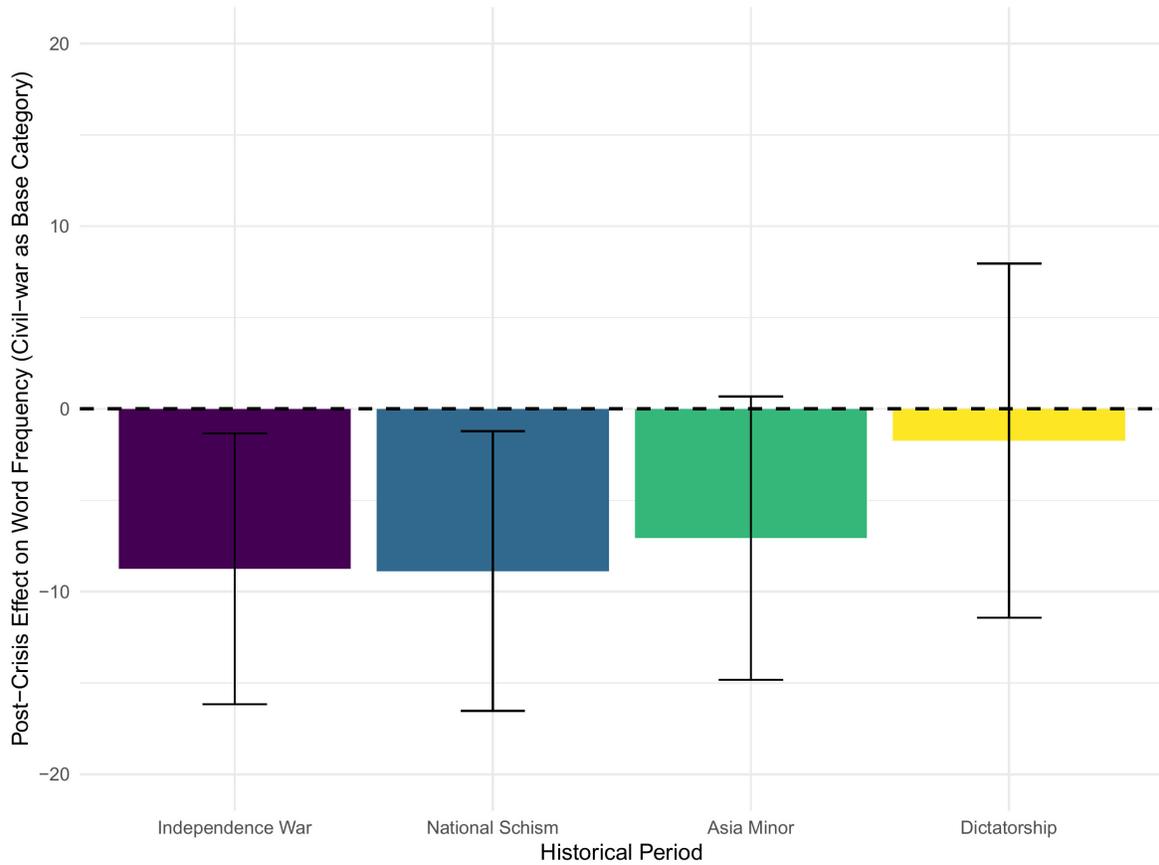
Figure A.2: **Panel Data Analysis: Comparing the pre- and post-crisis frequency of civil-war speeches to different historical periods.** Using the same dataset as above and controlling for a flexible function of time, we regress the sum of words referring to each of the five historical periods on the interaction between a post-crisis dummy and the historical period in question. Civil-war is the base category throughout this analysis. What we see here is that, following the crisis, references to each of the four historical periods decline when compared to references to the civil-war. While the comparison between civil-war and dictatorship falls short of statistical significance, it remains in the expected direction.
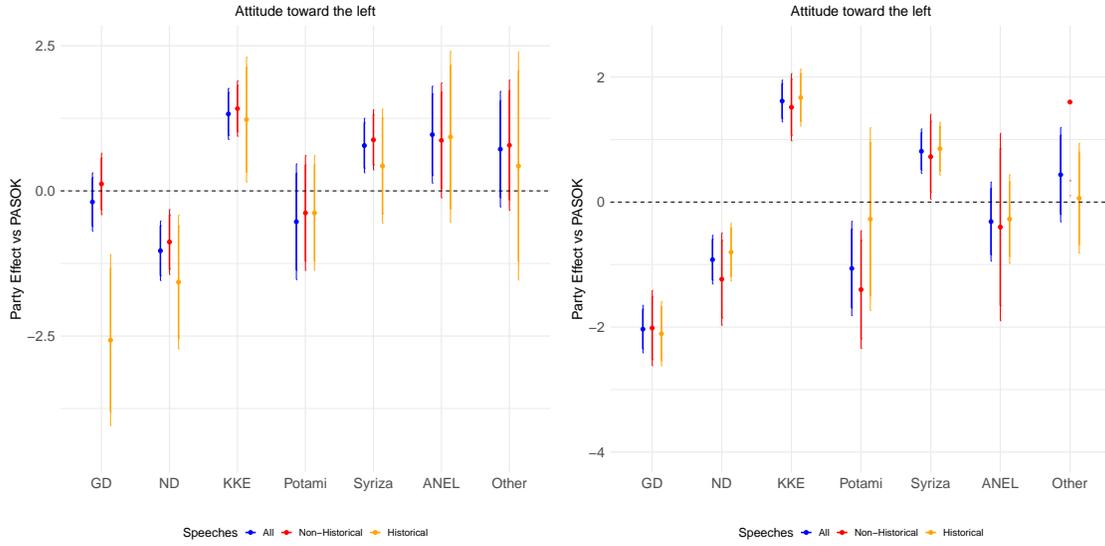
Figure A.3: **Replicating Panel (b) of Figure 2 using the scores of the other two independent coders.**

Note: The analysis includes all parliamentary speeches in Greek parliament from May 2012 up until the end of 2015.
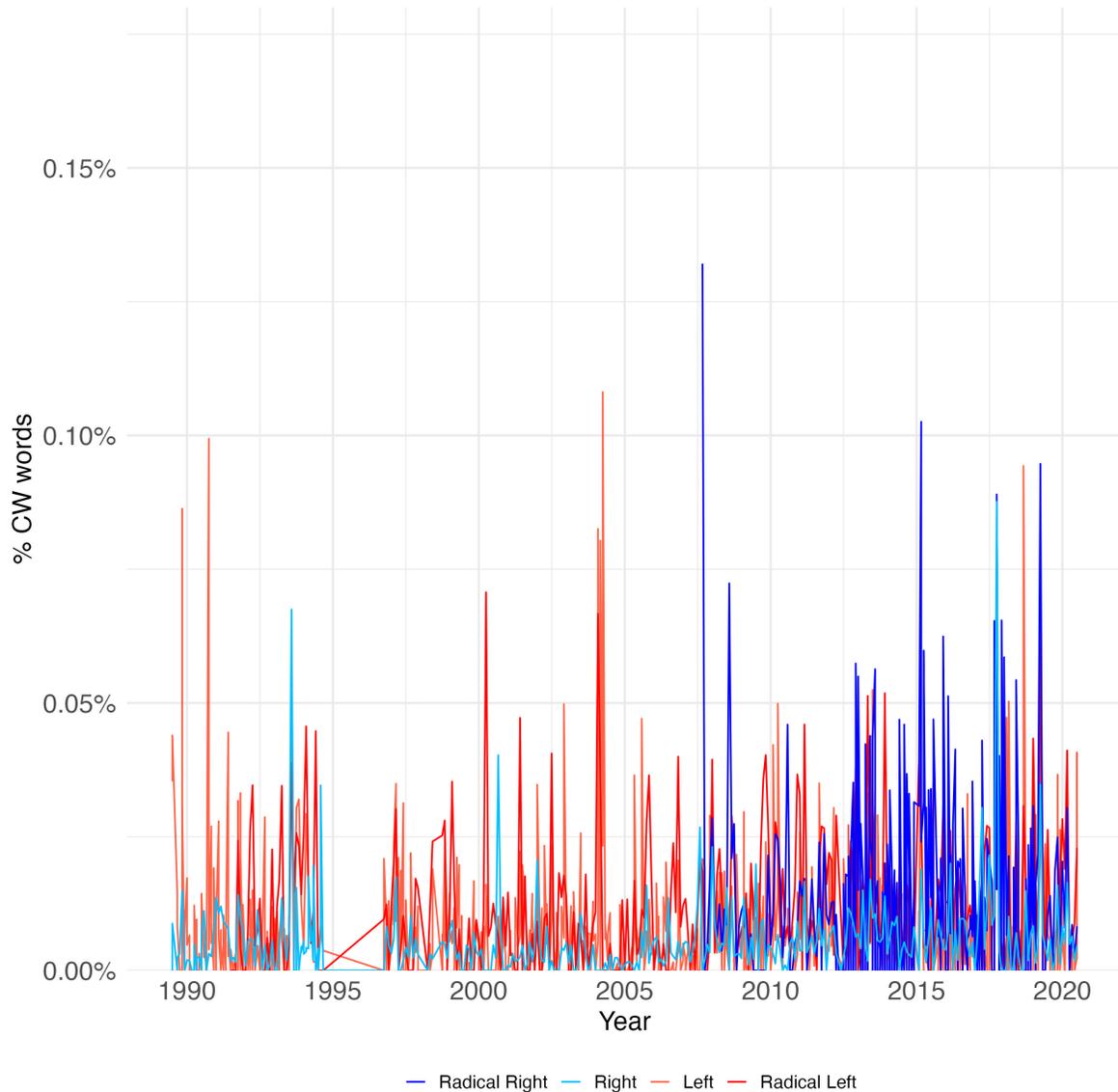
Figure A.4: **Civil-war word-frequency in parliamentary speeches (1989-2020), per ideology.**

B Golden Dawn's Anti-Communist Discourse

We provide a list with events and corresponding links documenting GD's anti-Communist profile. The list is far from comprehensive. Rather it tries to be indicative of GD's approach towards Communism and the Greek civil-war.

- MP Christos Pappas' speech to the commemoration of the victory of the Greek Army at Grammos village:

    "Yes! We do hold hate ceremonies because we hate everything anti-Hellenic, anything that will stand in the way of freedom of our homeland. We hate all those traitors and those are the ones that we want to exterminate. We hate all anti-Greeks, all red trash, who are either in the media, or in parliament, or in the government through the Democratic Left party (DIMAR) who insult us, and call us extremists, call us nationalists." [August 26th, 2012] [Source here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D9epNse88Dw [accessed April 29, 2021]]

- GD's leader, Nikos Michaloliakos, comments on a TV programme, on December 2012: "Aren't we still under a democratic regime? I do not talk to communists." [Source here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N4wyXMHdW7k [accessed April 29, 2021]]

- June 6th, 2016: Michaloliakos commenting on the attack against PM Kanelli on Sigmalive channel (Cyprus): "Communists call EOKA fighters fascists, and bandits. Their propaganda does not pass." [Source here: https://www.skai.gr/news/politics/n-mixaloliakos-gia-kanelli-dourou-thelane-isotita-video/amp [accessed April 29, 2021]]

- Golden Dawn's election campaign rally (2012): "Let them face it! The fight is not going to end that easily. If Marx's and Stalin's orphans, politicians like Kanelli, Dourou and Tsipras believe that they will cut the flow of the nationalist river, they did it once before, we buried them in Grammos and Vitsi and we won. This will happen again if they want it." [Source here: https://www.voria.gr/article/michaloliakos-tha-tous-thapsoume-opos-sto-grammo-ke-sto-vitsi [accessed April 29, 2021]]

- The regional administration of Western Macedonia of the Golden Dawn informs the members and the supporters of our movement that a group of fellow fighters will attend the annual memorial service for the Greek Army's fallen heroes, on Sunday September 1st, 2013 at mount Vitsi, along with MPs and GD's local organizations and Nuclei from all over Greece." [Source: here: https://www.neaptolemaidas.gr/2013/08/xrysh-augh-1949.html [accessed April 29, 2021]]

- Pappas at the commemoration of the victims of the Gramos: "Let's set the record straight! The heroes who fought in the Grammos battle against gangbangers didn't do so for Samaras [PM of Greece at the time]. Today, after 64 years we commemorate the heroic victims of our national army and the gendarmerie. We honour the brave men who resisted the communist rebellion and the Bolshevik anti-Hellenism. The 'aid' and 'contribution' of the Greek left culminated in the child snatching. All this destruction, this communist criminal action was attempted to be imposed on us as a civil war by some dead, allegedly right-wing as well as left-wing (politicians).All this in the context of a so-called reconciliation and oblivion. Be sure that it won't be long before the time comes when we will restore both history and national memory. We, the younger, the members of Golden Dawn and Greek people are not likely to relive many of the same events again. Therefore, we study the stateless, anti-Greek left-wings, those atheist abusers of all ideals. We will not give them the rope to hang us.As I mentioned before, what the communist gangbangers failed to achieve then, is what the memorandum gangbangers seek now." [Source: here: http://ioanninaxa.blogspot.com/2013/09/ [accessed April 29, 2021]]

- Memorial event in Meligalas (village that epitomizes ELAS-driven atrocities against Security Battalions and civilians in Peloponnese); speech by prominent GD member and MP, Ilias Panagiotaros: "So much hatred by anarcho-communist butchers. Their hatred is towards everything national and patriotic and we see this today 68 years later, where the new gang of right-wingers and left-wingers, all together, condemn Golden Dawn. We see hand-in-hand so-called right-wingers together with brutal leftists condemning the only nationalist voice that exists in this country, the Golden Dawn... [Source: here & here [accessed April 29, 2021]]

- Michaloliakos' speech to party members on March 3rd, 2012: "We are none of those things! We are the seed of those defeated back in 1945. That's who we are! Nationalists, national socialists, fascists!" [Source: here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Zj9zoj6L7k [accessed April 29, 2021]]

- Laying wreaths on the National Army Memorial in Vitsi, in 2011. GD members are shouting "Axe and fire to the red dogs" [...] "Glory and honour to Nikos Dertilis" [...] "Rigilis' tramps you are the first to commemorate Aris Velouchiotis"
  "The people do not forget, they hang the traitors" (Aris Velouchiotis: the most prominent ELAS leader and guerilla fighter in the mountains of Central Greece and Peloponnese; "Rigils" is the name of the building that hosts ND's headquarters; Nikos Dertilis: military officer who took part in the coup of April 21, 1967) [Source: here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CdrJkI52-tw [accessed April 29, 2021]]

- MP Giannis Lagos comments on recent events at the Perama shipbuilding zone (from a video of KKE on the action of the GD at minute: 10'): "The lackeys of the communist party and PAME, who have taken advantage of the existing status quo for so many years, will disappear from here!" [Source: here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LWxWBQztyDU [accessed April 29, 2021]]

- MP Elias Kasidiaris attacks MPs Kanelli and Dourou (2012). Just before the attack, Kasidiaris addressing Kanelli: "...you will obviously guard it (the Greek parliament)! The Bolsheviks will guard the summer palace along with the police," while he calls her "filthy communist" moments later (at 1:27" and at 3:32") [Source: here [accessed April 29, 2021]]

C   Ethnography

Our reading of the literature ended up identifying the following 40 villages in which there has been references to ELAS-driven intimidation or violence:
Triada [Serres], Skafi [Kozani], Paroxthio [Kilkis], Spourgitis [Kilkis], Theodoreio [Serres], Anatoli [Serres], Chimaros [Serres], Anavritos [Kilkis], Dibouno [Kilikis], Fiska [Kilkis], Diaselo [Trikala], Koukos [Pieria], Efkarpia [Serres], Pelargos [Florina], Spartos [Kozani], Komnina [Kozani], Agios Petros [Kilkis], Mesia [Kilkis], Aravissos [Pella], Sintiki [Serres], Maniaki [Florina], Aggelochori [Imathia], Eyropos [Kilkis], Meliki [Imathia], Sevasti [Pieria], Paranesti [Drama], Imera

[Kozani], Neraida [Kozani], Mesiani [Kozani], Roditis [Kozani], Lefkara [Kozani], Vathilakos [Kozani], Villages in Paggaio [Kavala], Agios Antonios [Kastoria], Dipotamia [Kastoria], Komninades [Kastoria], Koromileas [Kastoria], Oinoi [Kastoria], Melanthio [Kastoria], Xionato [Kastoria]

These villages were identified from the following sources:

Kalyvas, Stathis, and Nikos Marantzidis (2015). *Civil War Passions: 23 Questions about the Civil War [Emfilia Pathi: 23 Erotiseis kai Apantiseis gia ton Emfilio]* . Athens: Metaixmio.
Marantzidis, Nikos (2000). Ethnic identity, memory and political behaviour: The case of Turkish-speaking Pontian Greeks. South European Society and Politics, 5(3), 56-79.
Alvanos, Raimondos. "Post-civil-war political behavior and national identity in Kastoria Prefecture" [Metemfiliakes Politikes Symperifores kai Ethnotiki Taftotita sto Nomo Kastorias], Greek Political Science Review, 32: 121-51.

D   Descriptives

The 61 villages in the Argolid region are the following:
Aghia Triada, Argoliko, Aria, Ira, Ireo, Dalamanara, Kefalari, Nea Tirintha, Kourtaki, Laloukas, Nea Kios, Panariti, Pirghela, Poulakida, Anifi, Asini, Elliniko, Fichti, Mikines, Aghios Adrianos, Inachos, Kiveri, Koutsopodi, Lefkakia, Mili, Neo Ireo, Pirgiotika,, Monastiraki, Skafidaki, Amigdalitsa, Prosymna, Midea, Arachneo, Limnes, Manesis, Achladokambos, Borsas, Kaparelli, Lirkia, Malandreni, Skinochori, Dimena, Drepano, Iria, Nea Epidavros, Palia Epidavros, Ligourio, Tolo, Aghios Nikolaos, Aghios Stefanos, Alea, Douka Vrysi, Frousiouna, Gimno, Karia, Kefalovriso, Krioneri, Niochori, Skotini, Exochi, Vrousti.
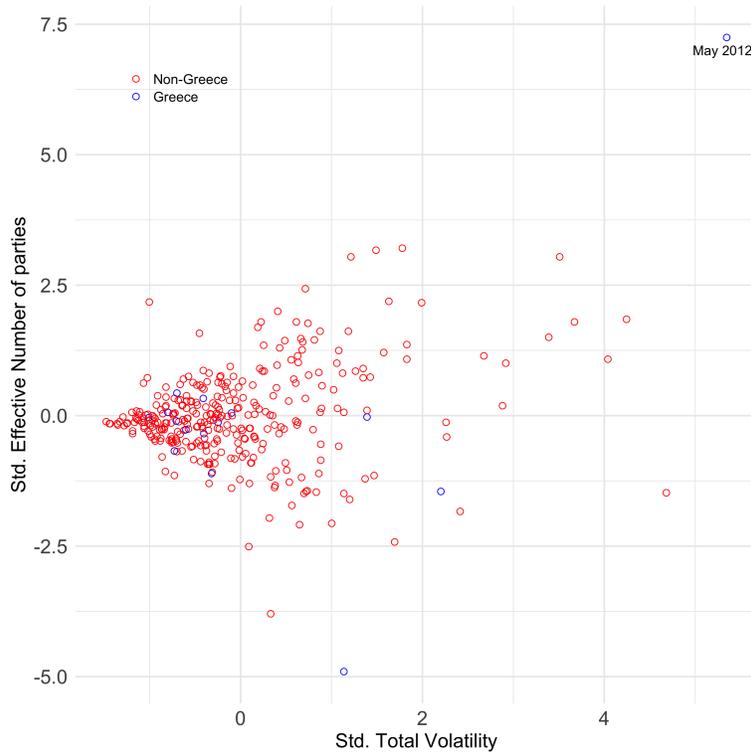
Figure D.1: **Putting the May 2012 Greek election into perspective.**
Note: Volatilty and Effective Number of Parties across elections in Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, Italy, Malta, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the UK, 1946-2018. Data adapted by Altiparmakis (2019).

Table D.1: **Levels of analysis and number of observations per level.**

	Municipalites	Municipal Units	Local Communities	Villages
Argolid	4	16	75	135
Corinth	6	15	123	188
Kilkis	2	12	84	166
Ilia	7	22	221	236
Pieria	3	13	63	65
Chania	7	25	165	169

E   Additional figures and tables

Table E.1: **Type of violence in the village during the Axis Occupation and estimated differential turnout in the 1946 election, adding covariates.**

	(1)	(2)
	$Turnout_{46}$	
$\log(Insurgents)$	0.0461*	0.0510**
	(0.0251)	(0.0246)
$\log(Incumbents)$	-0.0240	-0.0187
	(0.0208)	(0.0142)
Covariates	✔	✔
Pre-war left-wing vote		✔
Pre-war right-wing vote		✔
n	53	53
R-squared	0.591	0.708

Note: Covariates include the village's altitude; a categorical variable distinguishing between poor, median income, and rich villages; distance from city (in km); and a dummy for the "Nafplia" municipality, with the reference category being the "Argos" municipality. Pre-war left-wing vote comes from the vote share of the Communist Party in coalition with the Agrarian Party ("Pallaiko Metopo") in 1936, while the right-wing vote, combines the vote share of several right-wing parties from the same election. Entries are OLS coefficients with heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses.
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.2: **Argolid Main Results, using a difference-in-differences estimator.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	GD		ND		LAOS	
log($Insurgents$)	1.177**	1.161**	-2.040	-2.077	0.244	0.294
×2012	(0.529)	(0.551)	(2.351)	(2.379)	(0.363)	(0.338)
log($Incumbents$)	-0.427	-0.399	0.815	0.833	0.484	0.440
×2012	(0.496)	(0.501)	(1.956)	(2.039)	(0.337)	(0.335)
Covariates ×2012	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
Pre-WWII left-wing vote ×2012		✔		✔		✔
Pre-WWII right-wing vote ×2012		✔		✔		✔
Fixed Effects:						
Village	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
Election	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
n	112	112	112	112	112	112
R-quared	0.890	0.892	0.749	0.749	0.208	0.278

Note: All covariates are the same as in main text, interacted with a dummy that switches on for the 2012 election. The unit of analysis is village × election.
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.3: **Intensity of civil-war violence during the Axis Occupation and vote for the GD before and after the debt crisis, weighting observations by village population in 1940.**

	(1) ΔGD_{12-09}	(2) GD_{09}	(3) DG_{12}	(4) ΔGD_{12-09}	(5) GD_{09}	(6) DG_{12}
log($Insurgents$)	1.078*	-0.191	0.887*	1.049*	-0.193	0.856*
	(0.536)	(0.204)	(0.481)	(0.563)	(0.219)	(0.501)
log($Incumbents$)	-0.466	-0.114*	-0.580	-0.430	-0.116	-0.546
	(0.503)	(0.0659)	(0.498)	(0.515)	(0.0694)	(0.512)
Covariates	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
Pre-war left-wing vote				✔	✔	✔
Pre-war right-wing vote				✔	✔	✔
n	52	52	52	52	52	52
R-squared	0.222	0.144	0.205	0.236	0.145	0.219

Note: Covariates include the village's altitude; a categorical variable distinguishing between poor, median income, and rich villages; distance from city (in km); and a dummy for the "Nafplia" municipality, with the reference category being the "Argos" municipality. Pre-war left-wing vote comes from the vote share of the Communist Party in coalition with the Agrarian Party ("Pallaiko Metopo") in 1936, while the right-wing vote, combines the vote share of several right-wing parties from the same election. Entries are OLS coefficients with heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses, observations are given as weight the logged population of the village according to the 1940 census.
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.5: **Main results using the $Election_{46}$ data, heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	GD vote share			LAOS vote share			ND vote share		
$Turnout_{46}$	0.737***	0.823***	0.771***	0.0180	-0.0658	-0.183	-0.462*	-0.602**	-1.053***
	(0.174)	(0.198)	(0.289)	(0.248)	(0.236)	(0.344)	(0.239)	(0.264)	(0.330)
Fixed Effects:									
Region	✔			✔			✔		
Municipality		✔			✔			✔	
Locality			✔			✔			✔
n	194	194	194	194	194	194	194	194	194
R-squared	0.557	0.661	0.795	0.211	0.328	0.569	0.434	0.582	0.752

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.6: **Main results using the $Election_{46}$ data, municipality-clusters.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	GD vote share			LAOS vote share			ND vote share		
$Turnout_{46}$	0.737***	0.823***	0.771*	0.0180	-0.0658	-0.183	-0.462*	-0.602**	-1.053**
	(0.206)	(0.275)	(0.446)	(0.228)	(0.206)	(0.349)	(0.246)	(0.290)	(0.461)
Fixed Effects:									
Region	✔			✔			✔		
Municipality		✔			✔			✔	
Locality			✔			✔			✔
n	194	194	194	194	194	194	194	194	194
R-squared	0.557	0.661	0.795	0.211	0.328	0.569	0.434	0.582	0.752

Robust standard errors, clustered at the municipality level, in parentheses.
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.4: **Intensity of civil-war violence during the Axis Occupation and vote for the ND and LAOS before and after the debt crisis, weighting observations by village population in 1940.**

	(1) ΔND_{12-09}	(2) ND_{09}	(3) ND_{12}	(4) ΔND_{12-09}	(5) ND_{09}	(6) ND_{12}	(7) $\Delta LAOS_{12-09}$	(8) $LAOS_{09}$	(9) $LAOS_{12}$	(10) $\Delta LAOS_{12-09}$	(11) $LAOS_{09}$	(12) $LAOS_{12}$
log($Insurgents$)	-2.692	2.290	-0.403	-2.761	2.386	-0.375	0.280	0.195	0.475*	0.350	0.0911	0.441
	(2.326)	(1.858)	(0.983)	(2.398)	(1.914)	(1.027)	(0.375)	(0.278)	(0.274)	(0.351)	(0.288)	(0.265)
log($Incumbents$)	0.821	-3.053*	-2.232***	0.831	-2.987*	-2.156**	0.448	-0.624**	-0.177	0.401	-0.624**	-0.223
	(1.946)	(1.635)	(0.783)	(2.074)	(1.713)	(0.804)	(0.338)	(0.254)	(0.233)	(0.343)	(0.261)	(0.231)
Covariates	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
Pre-war left-wing vote				✔	✔	✔				✔	✔	✔
Pre-war right-wing vote				✔	✔	✔				✔	✔	✔
n	52	52	52	52	52	52	52	52	52	52	52	52
R-squared	0.174	0.234	0.275	0.175	0.238	0.288	0.128	0.161	0.144	0.207	0.221	0.275

Note: Covariates are the same as in Table 2. Entries are OLS coefficients with heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.7: **Main results using the $Election_{46}$ data, locality-clusters.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	GD vote share			LAOS vote share			ND vote share		
$Turnout_{46}$	0.737***	0.823***	0.771*	0.0180	-0.0658	-0.183	-0.462*	-0.602**	-1.053**
	(0.191)	(0.232)	(0.395)	(0.287)	(0.258)	(0.423)	(0.247)	(0.280)	(0.436)
Fixed Effects:									
Region	✔			✔			✔		
Municipality		✔			✔			✔	
Locality			✔			✔			✔
n	194	194	194	194	194	194	194	194	194
R-squared	0.557	0.661	0.795	0.211	0.328	0.569	0.434	0.582	0.752

Robust standard errors, clustered at the locality level, in parentheses.

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

Table E.8: **Main results using the $Election_{46}$ data and controlling for pre-WWII electoral patterns, heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	GD vote share			LAOS vote share			ND vote share		
$Turnout_{46}$	0.692***	0.800***	0.776***	-0.0494	-0.147	-0.262	-0.461*	-0.613**	-1.064***
	(0.179)	(0.203)	(0.279)	(0.241)	(0.233)	(0.329)	(0.240)	(0.268)	(0.329)
Pre-WWII:									
Nationalist vote	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
Communist vote	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
Fixed Effects:									
Region	✔			✔			✔		
Municipality		✔			✔			✔	
Locality			✔			✔			✔
n	194	194	194	194	194	194	194	194	194
R-squared	0.559	0.662	0.805	0.219	0.343	0.605	0.435	0.582	0.756

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses

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

Table E.9: **Main results using the $Election_{46}$ data and controlling for pre-WWII electoral patterns, standard errors clustered at the municipality level.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	GD vote share			LAOS vote share			ND vote share		
$Turnout_{46}$	0.692***	0.800***	0.776*	-0.0494	-0.147	-0.262	-0.461*	-0.613**	-1.064**
	(0.202)	(0.265)	(0.416)	(0.244)	(0.201)	(0.333)	(0.244)	(0.293)	(0.453)
Pre-WWII:									
Nationalist vote	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
Communist vote	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
Fixed Effects:									
Region	✔			✔			✔		
Municipality		✔			✔			✔	
Locality			✔			✔			✔
n	194	194	194	194	194	194	194	194	194
R-squared	0.559	0.662	0.805	0.219	0.343	0.605	0.435	0.582	0.756

Standard errors, clustered at the municipality level, in parentheses.

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

Table E.10: **Main results using the $Election_{46}$ data and controlling for pre-WWII electoral patterns, standard errors clustered at the locality level.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	GD vote share			LAOS vote share			ND vote share		
$Turnout_{46}$	0.692***	0.800***	0.776*	-0.0494	-0.147	-0.262	-0.461*	-0.613**	-1.064**
	(0.187)	(0.224)	(0.362)	(0.279)	(0.260)	(0.386)	(0.248)	(0.287)	(0.438)
Pre-WWII:									
Nationalist vote	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
Communist vote	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
Fixed Effects:									
Region	✔			✔			✔		
Municipality		✔			✔			✔	
Locality			✔			✔			✔
n	194	194	194	194	194	194	194	194	194
R-squared	0.559	0.662	0.805	0.219	0.343	0.605	0.435	0.582	0.756

Standard errors, clustered at the locality level, in parentheses.

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

Table E.11: **Main results using the $Election_{46}$ data and the difference-in-differences estimator.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	GD vote share			ND vote share			LAOS vote share		
$Turnout_{46}$	0.0283***	0.0316***	0.0296***	-0.0321*	-0.0419**	-0.0732***	0.0012	0.00037	0.00029
×2012	(0.0067)	(0.0073)	(0.0093)	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.0043)	(0.0040)	(0.0054)
Fixed Effects ×2012:									
Region	✔			✔			✔		
Municipality		✔			✔			✔	
Locality			✔			✔			✔
n	392	392	392	389	389	389	389	389	389
R-squared	0.918	0.937	0.962	0.895	0.922	0.954	0.453	0.535	0.682

Enrties are OLS coefficients, standard errors, clustered at the village-level, in parentheses.

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

Table E.12: **Main results using the $Election_{46}$ data and the difference-in-differences estimator, controlling for pre-WWII voting patterns.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	GD vote share			ND vote share			LAOS vote share		
$Turnout_{46}$	0.0266***	0.0307***	0.0298***	-0.032*	-0.043**	-0.074***	0.0001	-0.001	-0.0008
$\times 2012$	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.0089)	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.005)
Pre-WWII $\times 2012$:									
Nationalist vote	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
Communist vote	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
Fixed Effects $\times 2012$:									
Region	✔			✔			✔		
Municipality		✔			✔			✔	
Locality			✔			✔			✔
n	392	392	392	389	389	389	389	389	389
R-squared	0.918	0.937	0.964	0.895	0.922	0.954	0.461	0.550	0.702

Enrries are OLS coefficients, standard errors, clustered at the village-level, in parentheses.

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

Table E.13: **Does civil violence predict a drop in population density through selective migration?**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	$\Delta Population_{40-51}$				$\Delta \log(Population_{40-51})$			
$\log(Insurgents)$	-81.72	-55.02	-85.27	-59.19	-0.0346	-0.0000574	-0.0356	-0.00216
	(61.78)	(46.29)	(65.63)	(49.09)	(0.0726)	(0.0682)	(0.0755)	(0.0703)
$\log(Incumbents)$		-76.24		-75.47		-0.0986*		-0.0967
		(55.40)		(57.29)		(0.0583)		(0.0605)
n	53	53	53	53	53	53	53	53
R^2	0.231	0.299	0.242	0.309	0.332	0.376	0.339	0.380

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses.

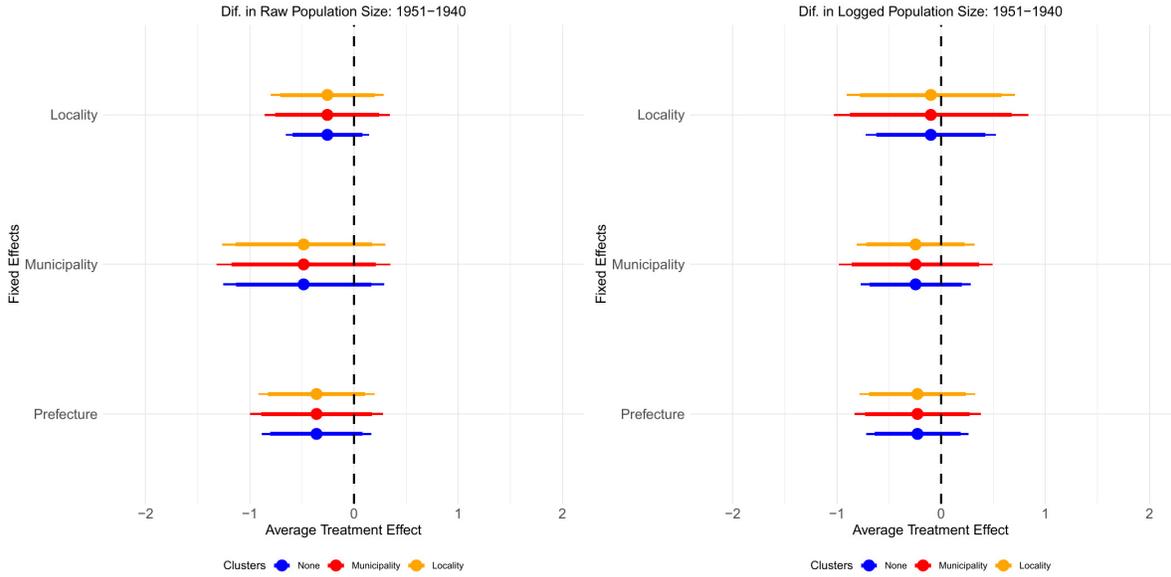* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Figure E.2: **Does $Turnout_{46}$ predict a change in population size of the village by the end of the civil war?**

Note: Entries are OLS estimates, accompanied by 90% (thin spikes) and 95% (thick spikes) confidence intervals. Outcomes are standardized to a mean zero and standard deviation one. n: 197.

Table E.14: **Heterogeneity in left-wing insurgency effects according to population movement during the 1940's.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
log(Insurgents)	1.165	1.066	1.181	1.061	1.120	1.068	1.135	1.065
	(0.715)	(0.764)	(0.764)	(0.822)	(0.719)	(0.774)	(0.777)	(0.832)
$\Delta Population_{51-40}$	0.000960	-0.000828	0.0000780	-0.00229				
	(0.00624)	(0.00760)	(0.00644)	(0.00810)				
log(Insurgents) × $\Delta Population_{51-40}$	-0.000243	-0.00116	0.0000555	-0.00107				
	(0.00230)	(0.00320)	(0.00238)	(0.00325)				
log(Incumbents)	-0.409	-0.313	-0.380	-0.255	-0.542	-0.488	-0.512	-0.435
	(0.567)	(0.616)	(0.587)	(0.656)	(0.599)	(0.631)	(0.620)	(0.658)
log(Incumbents) × $\Delta Population_{51-40}$		0.00161		0.00204				
		(0.00357)		(0.00376)				
Δlog($Population_{51-40}$)					-0.620	-1.083	-1.104	-1.776
					(3.190)	(3.455)	(3.353)	(3.652)
log(Insurgents) × Δlog($Population_{51-40}$)					-0.229	-0.548	-0.0547	-0.483
					(1.662)	(2.051)	(1.759)	(2.100)
log(Incumbents) × Δlog($Population_{51-40}$)						0.516		0.713
						(1.515)		(1.523)
Covariates	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
Pre-war left-wing vote			✔	✔			✔	✔
Pre-war right-wing vote			✔	✔			✔	✔
n	52	52	52	52	52	52	52	52
R-squared	0.237	0.241	0.248	0.253	0.243	0.245	0.256	0.259

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses.

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

Table E.15: **Heterogeneity in $Turnout_{46}$ effects according to (raw) population movement during the 1940's.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
$Turnout_{46}$	0.0297***	0.0297***	0.0297***	0.0329***	0.0329***	0.0329***	0.0280**	0.0280	0.0280*
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.012)	(0.017)	(0.015)
$\Delta Population_{51-40}$	-0.009	-0.009	-0.009	-0.021**	-0.021**	-0.021**	-0.009	-0.009	-0.009
	(0.0088)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.0087)	(0.0085)	(0.0096)	(0.026)	(0.032)	(0.034)
$Turnout_{46} \times$	0.011	0.011	0.011	0.022*	0.022*	0.022*	0.0027	0.0027	0.0027
$\Delta Population_{51-40}$	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.037)	(0.044)	(0.047)
Fixed Effects:									
Region	✔	✔	✔						
Municipality				✔	✔	✔			
Locality							✔	✔	✔
Clustering:									
None	✔	✔	✔						
Municipality				✔	✔	✔			
Locality							✔	✔	✔
n	194	194	194	194	194	194	194	194	194
R-squared	0.558	0.558	0.558	0.669	0.669	0.669	0.800	0.800	0.800

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.16: **Heterogeneity in $Turnout_{46}$ effects according to (logged) population movement during the 1940's.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
$Turnout_{46}$	0.0310***	0.0310***	0.0310***	0.0317***	0.0317***	0.0317***	0.0278**	0.0278*	0.0278*
	(0.00723)	(0.00773)	(0.00659)	(0.00874)	(0.0100)	(0.00857)	(0.0134)	(0.0161)	(0.0145)
$\Delta \log(Population_{51-40})$	-0.0409	-0.0409	-0.0409	-0.0226	-0.0226	-0.0226	-0.0133	-0.0133	-0.0133
	(0.0351)	(0.0332)	(0.0344)	(0.0304)	(0.0237)	(0.0289)	(0.0489)	(0.0492)	(0.0578)
$Turnout_{46} \times$	0.0341	0.0341	0.0341	0.00697	0.00697	0.00697	-0.0150	-0.0150	-0.0150
$\Delta \log(Population_{51-40})$	(0.0459)	(0.0405)	(0.0449)	(0.0450)	(0.0387)	(0.0450)	(0.0845)	(0.0999)	(0.104)
Fixed Effects:									
Region	✔	✔	✔						
Municipality				✔	✔	✔			
Locality							✔	✔	✔
Clustering:									
None	✔	✔	✔						
Municipality				✔	✔	✔			
Locality							✔	✔	✔
n	194	194	194	194	194	194	194	194	194
R-squared	0.563	0.563	0.563	0.665	0.665	0.665	0.800	0.800	0.800

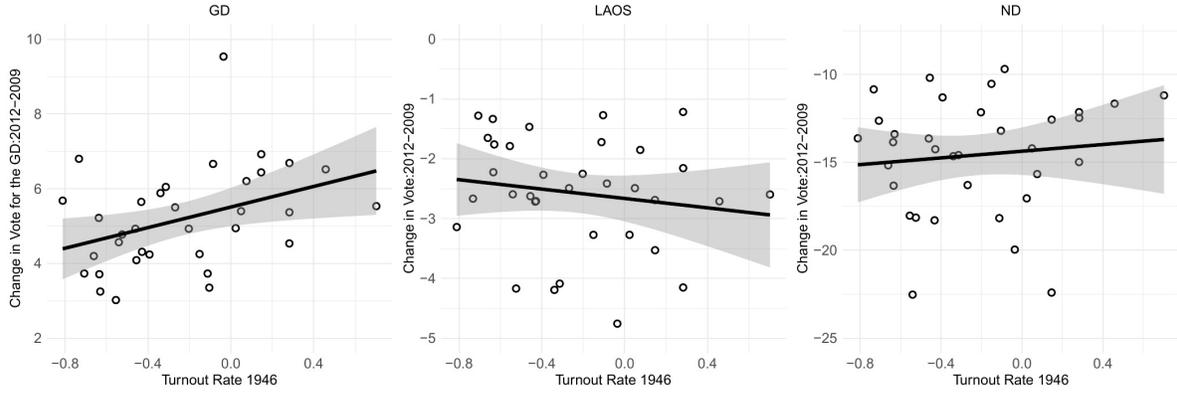Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Figure E.3: **Turnout in 1946 and change in vote share for the three right-wing parties, analysis at the regional-level, using non-resident voters.**
Note: The OLS coefficient is 1.37 (p<0.05); -0.952 (p=0.488), and -0.392 (p=0.308) in the first, second and third panel respectively.

Table E.17: **Does $Turnout_{46}$ predict immigration, unemployment and growth?**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Immigration	$Unemployment_{2012}$	GDP_{2011}	$\Delta Unemployment_{12-08}$	$\Delta GDP_{2011-2008}$
$Turnout_{46}$	-0.0158	5.026**	-1234.6	5.985**	619.6
	(0.0168)	(2.450)	(1045.6)	(2.516)	(463.8)
n	34	33	34	33	34

Entries are OLS coefficients, heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses.
* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.19: **Intensity of civil- war violence during the Axis Occupation and vote for the GD before and after the debt crisis, controlling for population flows from 1940 to 1950.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		ΔGD_{12-09}		
$\log(Insurgents)$	1.197**	1.174*	1.170**	1.148**
	(0.572)	(0.608)	(0.536)	(0.563)
$\log(Incumbents)$	-0.400	-0.383	-0.521	-0.507
	(0.531)	(0.548)	(0.527)	(0.543)
Covariates	✔	✔	✔	✔
Pre-war left-wing vote		✔		✔
Pre-war right-wing vote		✔		✔
Population Flows 1940-50	✔	✔	✔	✔
n	52	52	52	52
R-squared	0.237	0.248	0.243	0.256

Note: Entries are OLS coefficients, heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses.
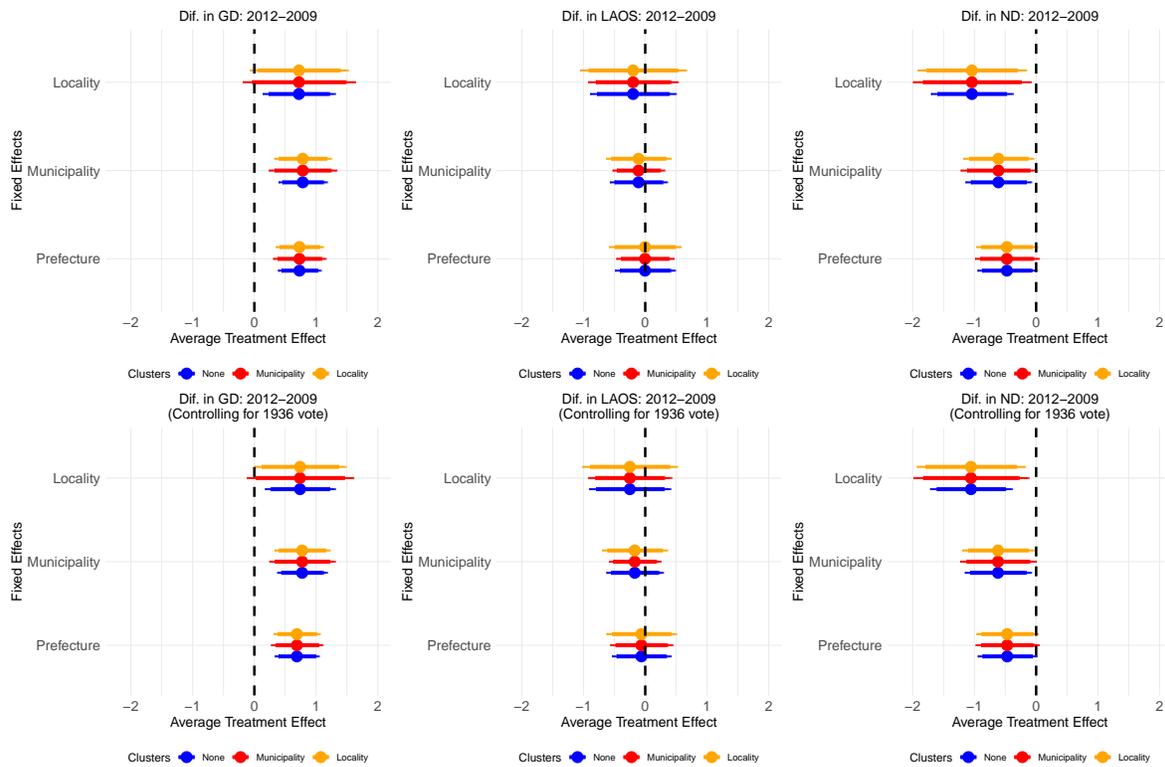* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Figure E.4: **Higher turnout in 1946 predicts an increase in the GD vote after the crisis even after controlling for change in (raw) population from 1940 to 1951.**

Note: Entries are OLS estimates, accompanied by 90% and 95% CIs. Outcomes are standardized to a mean zero and a standard deviation one. n: 194; $n_{municipality}$: 27; $n_{locality}$: 90.
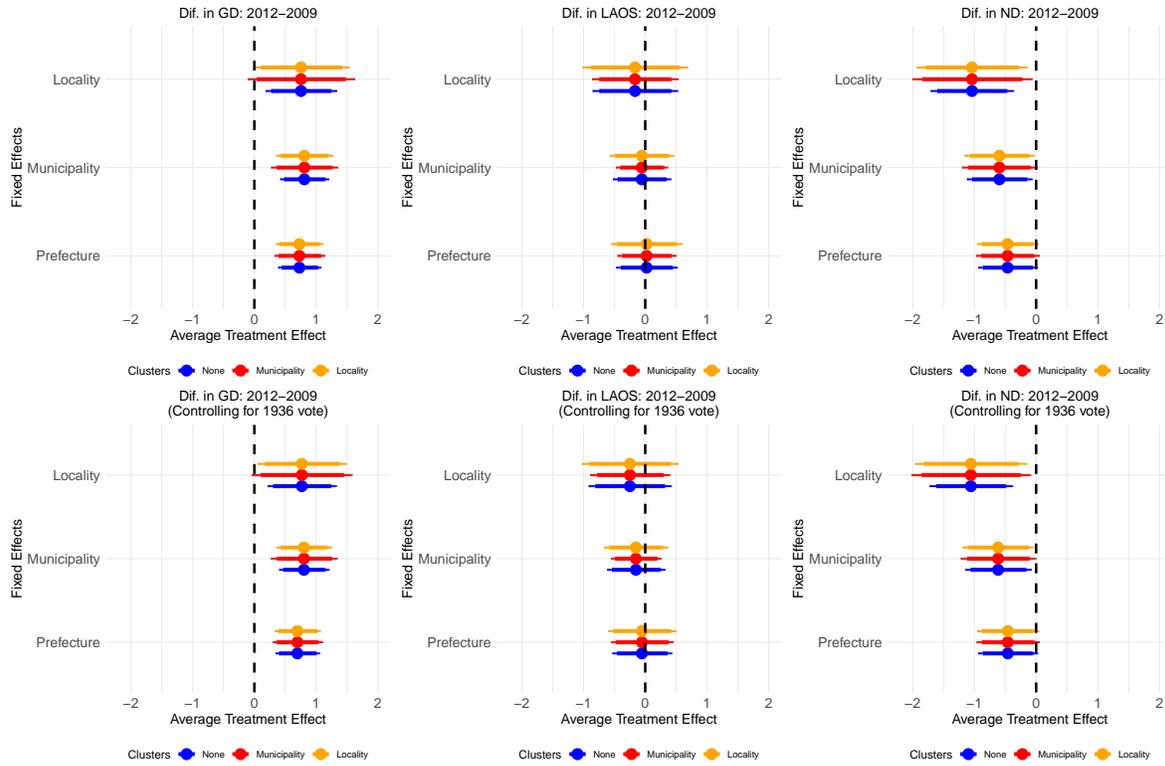
Figure E.5: **Higher turnout in 1946 predicts an increase in the GD vote after the crisis even after controlling for change in (logged) population from 1940 to 1951 and pre-war political allegiances.**

Note: Entries are OLS estimates, accompanied by 90% and 95% CIs. Outcomes are standardized to a mean zero and a standard deviation one. n: 194; $n_{municipality}$: 27; $n_{locality}$: 90.

Table E.20: **Civil-war violence and long-term population shifts.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	$\Delta Population_{2001-1940}$				$\Delta \log\left(Population_{2001-1940}\right)$			
$\log(Insurgents)$	-81.72	-55.02	-85.27	-59.19	-0.109	-0.0774	-0.127	-0.0948
	(61.78)	(46.29)	(65.63)	(49.09)	(0.0729)	(0.0699)	(0.0783)	(0.0752)
$\log(Incumbents)$		-76.24		-75.47		-0.0889		-0.0915
		(55.40)		(57.29)		(0.0712)		(0.0709)
Covariates	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
Pre-war left-wing vote			✔	✔			✔	✔
Pre-war right-wing vote			✔	✔			✔	✔
n	53	53	53	53	52	52	52	52
R-squared	0.231	0.299	0.242	0.309	0.643	0.653	0.655	0.666

Note: Entries are OLS coefficients with heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses.
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.21: **Civil-war violence and ΔGD_{12-09}, controlling for long-term population shifts.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
$\log(Insurgents)$	1.197**	1.123*	1.174*	1.091*
	(0.572)	(0.566)	(0.608)	(0.604)
$\log(Incumbents)$	-0.400	-0.490	-0.383	-0.467
	(0.531)	(0.516)	(0.548)	(0.532)
$\Delta Population_{2001-1940}$	✔		✔	
$\Delta \log\left(Population_{2001-1940}\right)$		✔		✔
Covariates	✔	✔	✔	✔
Pre-war left-wing vote			✔	✔
Pre-war right-wing vote			✔	✔
n	52	52	52	52
R-squared	0.237	0.245	0.248	0.256

Note: Entries are OLS coefficients with heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses.
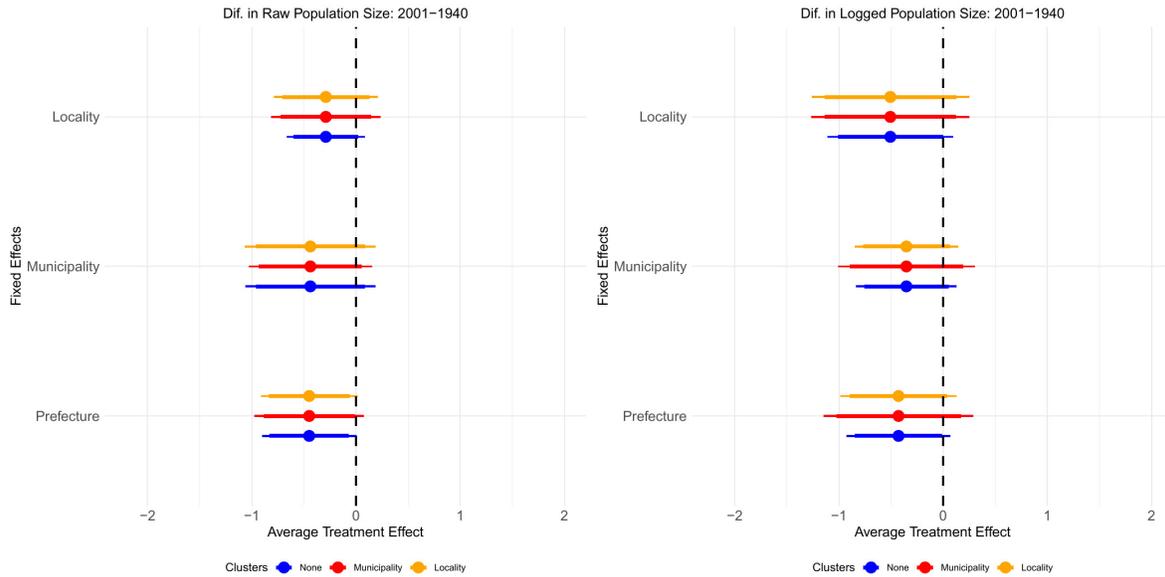* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Figure E.6: **Turnout in 1946 and change in village population between 1940 and 2001.**

Note: Entries are OLS estimates, accompanied by 90% and 95% CIs. Outcomes are standardized to a mean zero and a standard deviation one. n: 197; $n_{municipality}$: 27; $n_{locality}$: 90.

Figure E.7: **Higher turnout in 1946 predicts an increase in the GD vote after the crisis even after controlling for change in population from 1940 to 2001.**
Note: Entries are OLS estimates, accompanied by 90% and 95% CIs. Outcomes are standardized to a mean zero and a standard deviation one. n: 194; $n_{municipality}$: 27; $n_{locality}$: 90. Th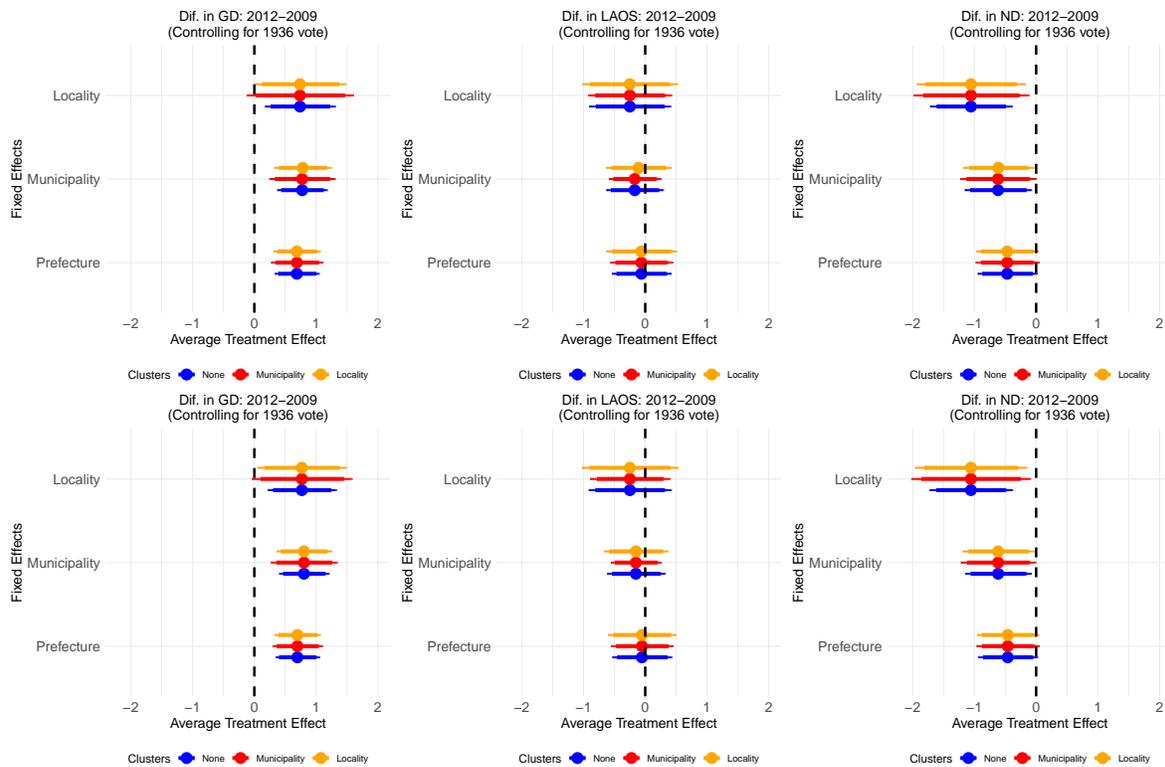e first row uses unadjusted population shifts, while the second uses the difference between logged populations of 1940 and 2001.

Table E.22: **Red violence and vote for the Independent Greeks (ANEL) in Argolid.**

	(1)	(2)
	ANEL, May 2012	
$\log(Insurgents)$	-0.114	-0.212
	(0.275)	(0.279)
$\log(Incumbents)$	-0.647***	-0.620***
	(0.226)	(0.223)
n	104	104
R-squared	0.140	0.200
Covariates	✔	✔
Pre-war left-wing vote		✔
Pre-war right-wing vote		✔

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses.

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

Table E.23: **Turnout in 1946 and vote for the Independent Greeks in 2012.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
$Turnout_{46}$	-0.00298	-0.00298	-0.00298	-0.000540	-0.000540	-0.000540	0.0192	0.0192	0.0192
	(0.00966)	(0.0105)	(0.0101)	(0.0122)	(0.0110)	(0.0111)	(0.0124)	(0.0135)	(0.0139)
Fixed Effects:									
Region	✔	✔	✔						
Municipality				✔	✔	✔			
Locality							✔	✔	✔
Clustering:									
None	✔			✔			✔		
Municipality		✔			✔			✔	
Locality			✔			✔			✔
n	197	197	197	197	197	197	197	197	197
R^2	0.118	0.118	0.118	0.349	0.349	0.349	0.684	0.684	0.684

Standard errors in parentheses

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

Table E.24: **Partitioning the effects of left-wing civil-war violence on the GD vote share, between votes coming from the right versus other votes.**

	(1)	(2)
ND_{09}	0.00727	0.00580
	(0.0468)	(0.0474)
$LAOS_{09}$	0.107	0.0856
	(0.251)	(0.240)
$\log(Insurgents)$	1.142**	1.140*
	(0.560)	(0.601)
$\log(Incumbents)$	-0.335	-0.326
	(0.604)	(0.618)
Covariates	✔	✔
Pre-war left-wing vote		✔
Pre-war right-wing vote		✔
n	52	52
R-squared	0.240	0.250

Note: Covariates are same as in previous tables. Entries are OLS coefficients with heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses.
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.25: **Partitioning the $Turnout_{46}$ effects on the GD vote share, between votes coming from the right versus other votes.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
$Turnout_{46}$	0.737***	0.641***	0.823***	0.695***	0.771***	0.604*
	(0.174)	(0.181)	(0.198)	(0.206)	(0.289)	(0.323)
ND_{09}		0.162***		0.162**		0.150
		(0.0569)		(0.0657)		(0.0905)
$LAOS_{09}$		0.124		0.0954		0.110
		(0.0887)		(0.0807)		(0.133)
Fixed-Effects:						
Region	✔	✔				
Municipality			✔	✔		
Locality					✔	✔
n	194	194	194	194	194	194
R-squared	0.557	0.580	0.661	0.678	0.795	0.805

Note: Entries are OLS coefficients with heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses.
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.26: **Partioning the $Turnout_{46}$ effects on the GD vote share, between votes coming from the right versus other votes, clustering errors at the municipality level.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
$Turnout_{46}$	0.737***	0.641***	0.823***	0.695**	0.771*	0.604
	(0.206)	(0.220)	(0.275)	(0.302)	(0.446)	(0.490)
ND_{09}		0.162***		0.162**		0.150
		(0.0534)		(0.0684)		(0.0772)
$LAOS_{09}$		0.124		0.0954		0.110
		(0.0764)		(0.0948)		(0.165)
Fixed-Effects:						
Region	✔	✔				
Municipality			✔	✔		
Locality					✔	✔
n	194	194	194	194	194	194
R-squared	0.557	0.580	0.661	0.678	0.795	0.805

Note: Entries are OLS coefficients with standard errors, clustered at the municipality level, in parentheses.
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.27: **Partioning the $Turnout_{46}$ effects on the GD vote share, between votes coming from the right versus other votes, clustering errors at the locality level.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
$Turnout_{46}$	0.737***	0.641***	0.823***	0.695***	0.771***	0.604*
	(0.191)	(0.200)	(0.232)	(0.246)	(0.395)	(0.459)
ND_{09}		0.162***		0.162**		0.150
		(0.0581)		(0.0659)		(0.101)
$LAOS_{09}$		0.124		0.0954		0.110
		(0.0988)		(0.0937)		(0.198)
Fixed-Effects:						
Region	✔	✔				
Municipality			✔	✔		
Locality					✔	✔
n	194	194	194	194	194	194
R-squared	0.557	0.580	0.661	0.678	0.795	0.805

Note: Entries are OLS coefficients with standard errors clustered at the locality level, in parentheses.
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.28: Institutional trust predicted by a polynomial time trend, interacted with the direction of personal economic conditions.

	Dependent variable: Trust in		
	Political Parties	Government	Parliament
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Year-Month	−19.031*	−48.885**	−51.682***
	(9.819)	(21.042)	(16.487)
Year-Month (Squared)	7.793	−13.036	−3.378
	(7.656)	(16.734)	(11.565)
Rather Bad	−3.628***	−9.146***	−11.003***
	(1.047)	(1.560)	(0.621)
Very Bad	−6.171***	−13.150***	−16.612***
	(1.098)	(2.109)	(1.099)
Year-Month:	−0.118	2.783	2.595
Rather Bad	(4.519)	(7.058)	(2.334)
Year-Month (Squared):	3.936	9.748	4.819*
Rather Bad	(4.570)	(6.397)	(2.836)
Year-Month:	7.929*	10.609	18.110***
Very Bad	(4.820)	(10.060)	(6.769)
Year-Month (Squared):	−5.155	18.118**	13.295**
Very Bad	(3.903)	(8.985)	(5.332)
Intercept	12.148***	25.161***	29.142***
	(2.135)	(3.487)	(2.926)
Observations	21	24	24
R²	0.700	0.694	0.800
Adjusted R²	0.500	0.530	0.693

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
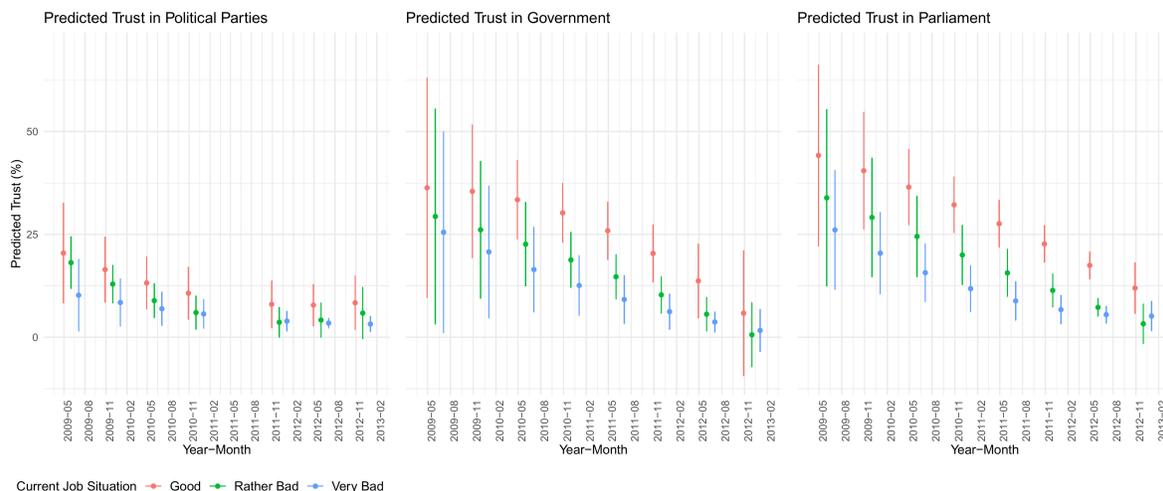*Clustered SEs in parentheses.*

Figure E.8: **Predicted trust in institutions, when regressing trust on the interaction of a polynomial time trend with the direction of personal economic conditions.**

Table E.29: **Exposure to Civil-war conflict and Royal vote in the 1974 referendum.**

	(1)	(2)
	Royal Vote in the 1974 Referendum	
$\log(Insurgents)$	0.0680**	0.0616**
	(0.0260)	(0.0258)
$\log(Incumbents)$	-0.0417**	-0.0449**
	(0.0182)	(0.0180)
Covariates	✔	✔
Pre-war left-wing vote		✔
Pre-war right-wing vote		✔
n	49	49
R-squared	0.457	0.405

Note: Covariates are same as in previous tables. Entries are OLS coefficients with heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses.
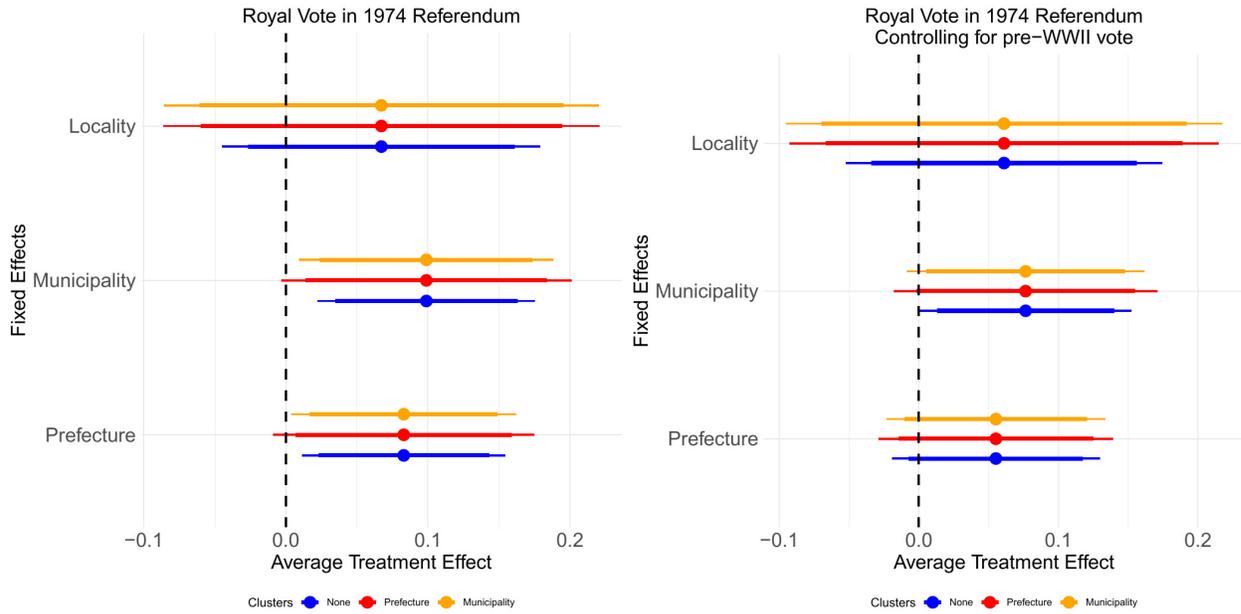* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Figure E.9: **Turnout in 1946 predicts Royal vote in the 1974 referendum.**
Note: Entries are OLS estimates, accompanied by 90% and 95% CIs. Outcomes are standardized to a mean zero and a standard deviation one. The second panel includes pre-WWII nationalism and communism. n: 196; $n_{province}$: 6; $n_{municipality}$: 27; $n_{locality}$: 90.
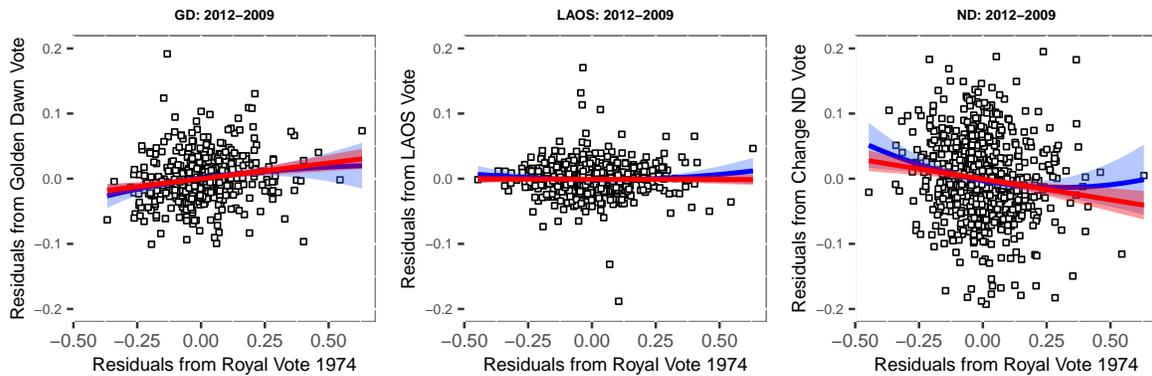

Figure E.10: **Residual-residual plot, showing the relationship between Royal vote in 1974 and change in support for GD, LAOS and ND between 2009 and 2012.**
Note: The blue line represents a local regression fit (span=0.8) with its associated 95% CIs. The red line denotes the linear fit with its associated 95% CIs.
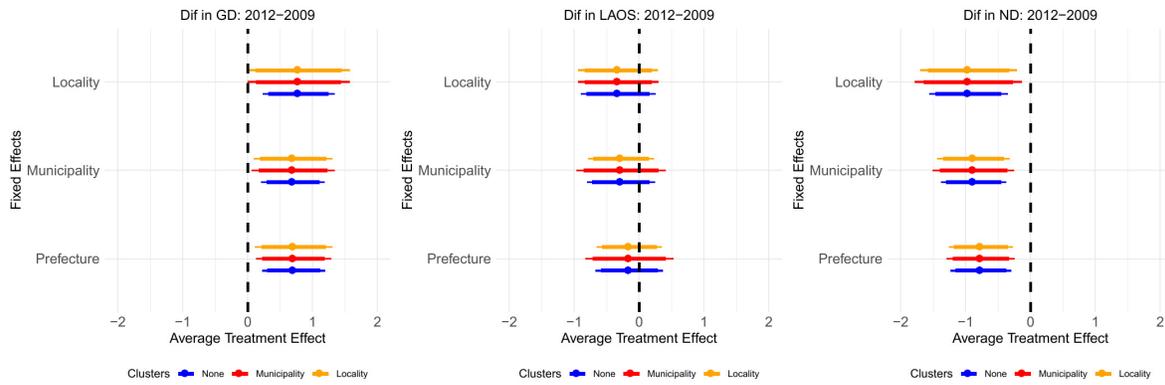
Figure E.11: **Royal vote predicts pro-GD vote after the crisis.**
Note: Entries are OLS estimates, accompanied by 90% (thin spikes) and 95% (thick spikes) CIs. Outcomes are standardized to a mean zero and a standard deviation one. n: 713; $n_{municipality}$: 29; $n_{locality}$: 102.
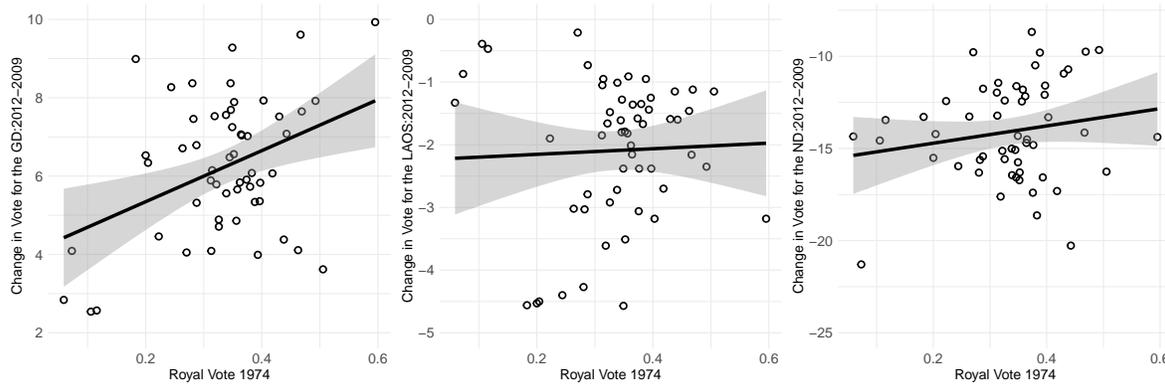

Figure E.12: **Royal vote in the 1974 referendum and change in vote share for the three right-wing parties, analysis at the regional-level.**
Note: Actual estimates are provided in Columns (1), (5) and (9) of Table E.30 respectively.

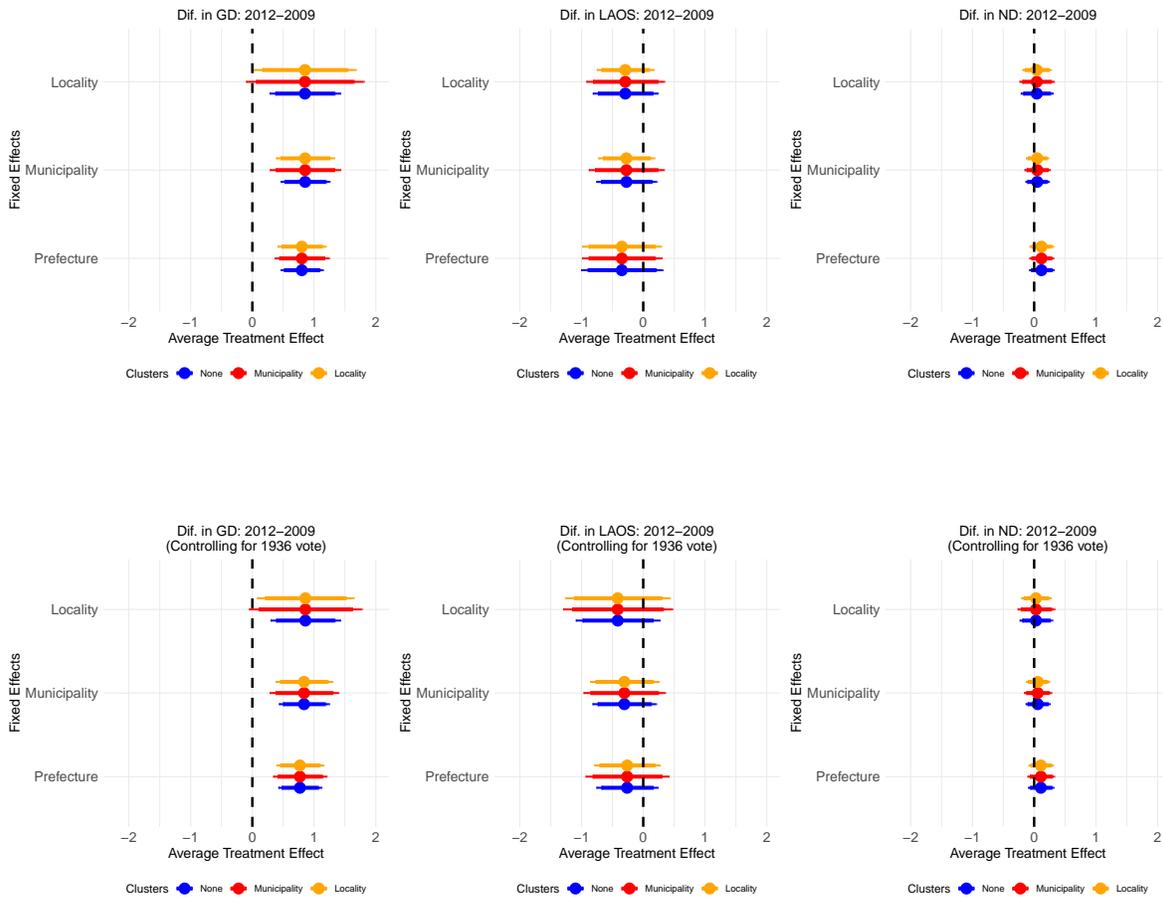Figure E.1: **Higher turnout in 1946 predicts an increase in the GD vote after the crisis (weighting observations by population size).**
Note: Entries are OLS estimates, accompanied by 90% and 95% CIs. Outcomes are standardized to a mean zero and a standard deviation one. n: 194; $n_{municipality}$: 27; $n_{locality}$: 90. Observations given as the weight the logged population of the village, according to the 1940 census.

Table E.18: **Direct Turnout in 1946 Effects controlling for immigration and the economy.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
		ΔDG_{12-09}				$\Delta LAOS_{12-09}$				ΔND_{12-09}		
$Turnout_{46}$	1.621*	1.788*	2.155*	2.083**	-0.0963	-0.0852	-0.256	-0.167	-0.319	-0.209	0.255	0.188
	(0.640)	(0.787)	(0.781)	(0.748)	(0.314)	(0.397)	(0.404)	(0.415)	(1.436)	(1.736)	(1.760)	(1.784)
$Immigration_{2011}$		14.22	8.590	19.01		-3.520	0.489	-4.358		-7.311	-8.785	3.025
		(13.45)	(12.66)	(14.35)		(4.747)	(5.734)	(5.286)		(25.25)	(19.90)	(24.68)
$Unemployment_{2012}$		-0.0160		0.131		0.00150		-0.0374		-0.0599		0.155
		(0.0719)		(0.135)		(0.0223)		(0.0516)		(0.134)		(0.237)
GDP_{11}		-0.000107		-0.000114		0.0000805*		0.0000850*		-0.000132		-0.000121
		(0.0000773)		(0.0000823)		(0.0000381)		(0.0000402)		(0.000190)		(0.000187)
$\Delta Unemployment_{12-08}$			-0.0646	-0.153			0.0213	0.0387			-0.130	-0.237
			(0.0558)	(0.112)			(0.0250)	(0.0539)			(0.108)	(0.233)
ΔGDP_{11-08}			-0.0000489	-0.0000904			0.0000387	0.0000759			0.000320	0.000278
			(0.000377)	(0.000345)			(0.000186)	(0.000164)			(0.000535)	(0.000512)
Constant	4.656***	5.433*	4.385***	3.660	-1.592***	-2.569**	-1.710**	-2.054*	-13.35***	-9.679*	-10.89***	-11.90*
	(0.612)	(1.967)	(1.092)	(2.301)	(0.311)	(0.782)	(0.570)	(0.862)	(1.251)	(3.717)	(2.352)	(4.312)
n	34	33	33	33	34	33	33	33	34	33	33	33

Entries are OLS coefficients, heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table E.30: **Does $Referendum_{1974}$ predict change in the vote share of the GD when accounting for immigration rates and the state of the economy?**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
		ΔGD_{12-09}				$\Delta LAOS_{12-09}$				ΔND_{12-09}		
$Referendum_{1974}$	6.880*	11.03***	11.12***	11.21***	0.448	-2.096	-2.230	-2.338	6.639	4.955	5.841	5.608
	(2.604)	(1.992)	(2.174)	(2.067)	(1.812)	(1.514)	(1.533)	(1.442)	(4.306)	(4.593)	(4.719)	(5.007)
$Immigration_{2012}$		22.78***	18.16**	22.09**		-9.623	-8.365*	-8.690		-13.85	-11.32	-16.57
		(6.246)	(5.581)	(6.894)		(4.976)	(3.770)	(5.114)		(13.88)	(12.38)	(15.93)
$Unemployment_{2012}$		0.0940*		0.135		-0.0640*		-0.0839		-0.0922		-0.261
		(0.0388)		(0.0698)		(0.0259)		(0.0518)		(0.0821)		(0.205)
GDP_{2011}		-0.00000654		-0.00000675		-0.0000309		-0.0000298		-0.0000163		-0.0000250
		(0.0000558)		(0.0000554)		(0.0000600)		(0.0000596)		(0.000111)		(0.000111)
$\Delta Unemployment_{12-08}$			0.0644*	-0.0413			-0.0532*	0.0188			-0.0267	0.185
			(0.0305)	(0.0551)			(0.0233)	(0.0422)			(0.0856)	(0.199)
ΔGDP_{11-08}			-0.000244	-0.000255			0.000234	0.000237			-0.0000179	-0.0000130
			(0.000215)	(0.000199)			(0.000150)	(0.000156)			(0.000507)	(0.000501)
Constant	4.015***	-1.135	-0.177	-1.974	-2.242**	1.279	0.506	1.917	-16.15***	-12.31***	-14.78***	-10.97**
	(0.890)	(1.375)	(1.044)	(1.499)	(0.699)	(1.030)	(0.857)	(1.141)	(1.387)	(2.501)	(2.564)	(3.234)
n	56	48	48	48	56	48	48	48	56	48	48	48

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table E.31: **Partitioning the effect of $Royal_{74}$ on the GD vote share, between votes coming from the right versus other votes.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
				ΔGD_{12-09}				
$Royal_{74}$	0.0792***	0.0686***	0.0320**	0.0201	0.0316**	0.0163	0.0355**	0.0152
	(0.00689)	(0.00690)	(0.0112)	(0.0119)	(0.0113)	(0.0116)	(0.0128)	(0.0133)
ND_{09}		0.0158		0.0263		0.0300		0.0345*
		(0.0148)		(0.0149)		(0.0154)		(0.0160)
$LAOS_{09}$		0.478***		0.458***		0.469***		0.494***
		(0.0980)		(0.105)		(0.107)		(0.114)
Fixed Effects								
Region			✓	✓				
Municipality					✓	✓		
Locality							✓	✓
n	713	713	713	713	713	713	713	713

Entries are OLS coefficients, heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.32: **Partitioning the effect of $Royal_{74}$ on the GD vote share, between votes coming from the right versus other votes (clustering errors by municipality).**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
				ΔGD_{12-09}				
$Royal_{74}$	0.0792***	0.0686***	0.0320*	0.0201	0.0316*	0.0163	0.0355	0.0152
	(0.0160)	(0.0150)	(0.0128)	(0.0131)	(0.0141)	(0.0136)	(0.0174)	(0.0156)
ND_{09}		0.0158		0.0263		0.0300		0.0345
		(0.0193)		(0.0212)		(0.0229)		(0.0237)
$LAOS_{09}$		0.478**		0.458***		0.469***		0.494***
		(0.135)		(0.113)		(0.116)		(0.132)
Fixed Effects								
Region			✓	✓				
Municipality					✓	✓		
Locality							✓	✓
n	713	713	713	713	713	713	713	713

Entries are OLS coefficients, SEs clustered at the municipality level, in parentheses.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.33: **Partitioning the effect of $Royal_{74}$ on the GD vote share, between votes coming from the right versus other votes (clustering errors by locality).**

$Royal_{74}$	0.0792***	0.0686***	0.0320*	0.0201	0.0316*	0.0163	0.0355	0.0152
	(0.0115)	(0.0102)	(0.0136)	(0.0125)	(0.0139)	(0.0121)	(0.0181)	(0.0160)
ND_{09}		0.0158		0.0263		0.0300		0.0345
		(0.0170)		(0.0167)		(0.0175)		(0.0197)
$LAOS_{09}$		0.478***		0.458***		0.469***		0.494***
		(0.128)		(0.111)		(0.111)		(0.131)
Fixed Effects:								
Region			✓	✓				
Municipality					✓	✓		
Locality							✓	✓
n	713	713	713	713	713	713	713	713

Entries are OLS coefficients, standard errors, clustered at the locality level, in parentheses.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$