PERSISTENT ANTI-MARKET CULTURE:

A LEGACY OF THE PALE OF SETTLEMENT AFTER THE HOLOCAUST

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Not-for-publication Online Appendix

This appendix has two distinct parts: 1) Data appendix A describes the data and data sources; Auxiliary results appendix B presents results of robustness checks and additional evidence.

Data Appendix A
Appendix Table A1. Jews in the Pale of Settlement (1897 Census)

		Total		In large cities	
		Number of Jewish residents	% of population	Number of Jewish residents	% of population
The Pale of Settlement		**4 483 300**	**11.3%**	**2 083 668**	**37.0%**
	including provinces:				
1	Bessarabiya	228 168	11.8%	109 065	37.2%
2	Vilenskaya	202 374	12.7%	85 250	43.1%
3	Vitebskaya	174 240	11.7%	112 480	52.1%
4	Volynskaya	394 774	13.2%	118 727	50.8%
5	Grodnenskaya	278 542	17.4%	146 907	57.7%
6	Ekaterinoslavskaya	99 152	4.7%	62 602	26.0%
7	Kievskaya	430 489	12.1%	142 222	31.0%
8	Kovenskaya	212 028	13.7%	61 694	43.1%
9	Minskaya	343 466	16.0%	132 278	58.8%
10	Moghilevskaya	203 507	12.1%	77 082	52.4%
11	Podoliya	369 306	12.2%	102 204	46.1%
12	Poltavskaya	110 855	4.0%	80 994	29.5%
13	Taurida	55 418	3.8%	34 248	11.8%
14	Chernigovskaya	113 787	5.0%	54 401	26.0%
15	Congress of Poland	1 267 194	13.5%	763 514	34.3%

Source: Russian Empire Census 1897

Appendix Table A2. Sources of election data

Country	Source	Website
Latvia	The Central Election Commission of Latvia	http://www.cvk.lv/
Ukraine	The Ukraine Central Electoral Commission	http://www.cvk.gov.ua/
Russia	The Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation	http://www.cikrf.ru/
Lithuania	The Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania	http://www3.lrs.lt/
Poland	The State Electoral Commission of Poland	http://www.pkw.gov.pl/

Appendix Table A3. Coding of political parties as "liberal, pro-market" vs. "socialist, anti-market"

Election	Coding	Party name	Short description of ideology
Latvia, 1998	Pro-market	*People's Party (TP)*	conservative, right-wing, pro-market
	Pro-market	*Latvia's Way (LC)*	conservative-liberal, pro-market
	Anti-market	*National Harmony Party (TSP)*	left-wing, pro-government intervention
Latvia, 2002	Pro-market	*People's Party (TP)*	conservative, right-wing, pro-market
	Pro-market	*Latvia's Way (LC)*	conservative-liberal, pro-market
	Anti-market	*For Human Rights in United Latvia*	left-wing, pro-government intervention (union of *National Harmony Party*, *Latvian Socialist Party*, and *Equal Rights*)
Latvia, 2006	Pro-market	*People's Party (TP)*	conservative, right-wing, pro-market
	Pro-market	*Latvia's Way (LC)*	conservative-liberal, pro-market
	Anti-market	*National Harmony Party (TSP)*	left-wing, pro-government intervention
Ukraine, 1998	Pro-market	*People's Movement of Ukraine (Narodnyi Rukh)*	center-right, moderately pro-market
	Pro-market	*Our Ukraine*	center-right, pro-market, nationalist
	Anti-market	*Communist Party of Ukraine*	left-wing, program: social support of retired, headed by Petr Symonenko
	Anti-market	*Socialist Peasant Party of Ukraine*	left-wing, pro-government intervention, effectively merged with *Socialist Party of Ukraine* in 1998
Ukraine, 2002	Pro-market	*Our Ukraine*	center-right, pro-market, nationalist
	Pro-market	*Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc*	center-right, moderately pro-market
	Anti-market	*Communist Party of Ukraine*	left-wing, program: social support of retired, headed by Petr Symonenko
	Anti-market	*Socialist Party of Ukraine*	left-wing, pro-government intervention, headed by Alexander Moroz
Ukraine, 2006	Pro-market	*Our Ukraine*	center-right, pro-market, nationalist
	Pro-market	*Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc*	center-right, moderately pro-market
	Anti-market	*Communist Party of Ukraine*	left-wing, program: social support of retired, headed by Petr Symonenko
	Anti-market	*Socialist Party of Ukraine*	left-wing, pro-government intervention, headed by Alexander Moroz
Russia, 1995	Pro-market	*Yabloko*	socially liberal, pro-market
	Anti-market	*Communist Party of Russia*	left-wing, pro-government intervention, nationalist
Russia, 1999	Pro-market	*Yabloko*	socially liberal, pro-market
	Pro-market	*Union of Right Forces*	right-wing, economically liberal, pro-market
	Anti-market	*Communist Party of Russia*	left-wing, pro-government intervention, nationalist
Russia, 2003	Pro-market	*Yabloko*	socially liberal, pro-market
	Pro-market	*Union of Right Forces*	right-wing, economically liberal, pro-market
	Anti-market	*Communist Party of Russia*	left-wing, pro-government intervention, nationalist
Lithuania, 1996	Pro-market	*Lithuanian Liberal Union*	conservatively liberal, pro-market
	Anti-market	*Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party (LDDP)*	pro-government intervention, emerged out of the *Communist Party of Lithuania*;
	Anti-market	*Lithuanian Social Democratic Party (LSDP)*	pro-government intervention, socially-democratic
	Anti-market	*Lithuanian Socialist Party*	communist, socialist, pro-government intervention
Lithuania, 2000	Pro-market	*Lithuanian Liberal Union*	conservatively liberal, pro-market

	Anti-market	*Algirdas Brazauskas Social-Democratic Coalition*	left-wing, pro-government intervention, headed by former communist
Lithuania, 2004	Pro-market	*Liberal and Center Union*	liberal, pro-market, formed after merger of *Lith. Liberal Union* and *Lith. Center Union* in 2003
	Anti-market	*Algirdas Brazauskas Social-Democratic Coalition*	left-wing, pro-government intervention, headed by former communist
Poland, 2001	Pro-market	*Civic Platform*	center-right, liberal, pro-market
	Pro-market	*Freedom Union*	center, liberal, pro-market
	Anti-market	*Law and Justice*	right-wing, pro-government intervention
Poland, 2005	Pro-market	*Civic Platform*	center-right, liberal, pro-market
	Anti-market	*Law and Justice*	right-wing, pro-government intervention
Poland, 2007	Pro-market	*Civic Platform*	center-right, liberal, pro-market
	Anti-market	*Law and Justice*	right-wing, pro-government intervention

Appendix Table A4. Summary statistics, election data, sample of regions with within-region variation in each country.

% of total vote	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Latvia:					
Districts inside Pale:					
Anti-market	24	33.13	15.15	8.51	56.28
Pro-market	24	23.15	10.39	4.81	43.40
Districts outside Pale:					
Anti-market	66	7.17	6.13	1.24	27.35
Pro-market	66	33.45	8.92	13.51	55.43
Districts on the border:					
Anti-market	12	12.13	9.23	1.90	27.35
Pro-market	12	32.80	10.01	13.51	48.79
Russia:					
Districts inside Pale:					
Anti-market	45	37.14	16.52	11.19	96.61
Pro-market	45	3.33	2.19	0.64	12.02
Districts outside Pale:					
Anti-market	315	25.97	11.77	0.00	80.96
Pro-market	315	5.07	5.25	0.00	60.89
Districts on the border:					
Anti-market	51	30.94	10.96	14.87	54.46
Pro-market	51	2.91	1.36	0.91	7.09
Ukraine:					
Districts inside Pale:					
Anti-market	54	28.83	14.37	3.45	56.78
Pro-market	54	7.34	11.18	2.35	69.08
Districts outside Pale:					
Anti-market	131	24.65	17.33	0.99	63.35
Pro-market	131	20.35	24.56	1.54	90.98
Districts on the border:					
Anti-market	55	27.86	18.86	1.85	63.35
Pro-market	55	16.66	21.96	1.54	85.70
Poland:					
Districts in area with moved population:					
Anti-market	630	15.35	9.66	0	44.04
Pro-market	630	25.48	15.4	0	69.6
Districts outside area with moved population:					
Anti-market	1299	19.95	13.1	0	64.79
Pro-market	1299	24.09	13.64	0	64.73
Lithuania:					
Districts in area with moved population:					
Anti-market	36	18.14	5.92	5.31	30.94
Pro-market	36	13.07	10.27	0.48	30.11
Districts outside area with moved population:					
Anti-market	36	25.15	9.15	11.37	51.95
Pro-market	36	7.33	5.75	0.26	19.95
District on the border:					
Anti-market	18	23.71	10.83	11.37	51.95
Pro-market	18	7.66	5.36	0.26	17.39

Appendix Table A5. Description of variables used in the analysis of the LiTS survey data

Outcomes

Prefer market	Dummy equals 1 if the respondent prefers a market economy to any other form of economic system. The exact question asked was: "Which of the following statements do you agree with most? a/ A market economy is preferable to any other form of economic system. b/ Under some circumstances, a planned economy may be preferable to a market economy. c/ For people like me, it does not matter whether the economic system is organized as a market economy or as a planned economy."
Prefer democracy	Dummy equals 1 if the respondent prefers democracy over autocratic regimes. The exact question asked was: "Which of the following statements do you agree with most? a/ Democracy is preferable to any other form of political system. b/ Under some circumstances, an authoritarian government may be preferable to a democratic one. c/ For people like me, it does not matter whether the a government is democratic or authoritarian."
Entrepreneur or self-employed	Dummy equals 1 if the respondent moved to self-employment and entrepreneurship before 2006. We only refer to working-age respondents, i.e. respondents with an age between 18 and 60 years for any year.
Trust	Extent to which the respondent trusts others. The question asked was: "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? 1=complete distrust, 2=some distrust, 3=neither trust nor distrust, 4= some trust, 5=complete trust."

Individual level controls

Gender	Gender of the respondent (0=female, 1=male).
Age	Age of the respondent (with a quadratic term).
Ethnic minority	Dummy equals 1 if the respondent considers himself as a member of an ethnic minority in his country.
Religion	Dummies for the religion of the respondent: (1) atheistic / agnostic / none, (2) Jewish, (3) Christian, (5) Muslim, (6) other.
Consumption	Approximated by total household's annualized consumption expenditures per (equalized) household member. Children younger than 14 years enter with a weight of 0.3. The information on consumption expenditures is given by the head of household (or another knowledgeable household member).
Relative income	Subjective household's wealth ranking on an imaginary ten-step ladder (from the poorest to the richest). This information is given by the head of household (or another knowledgeable household member).The question asked was: "Please imagine a ten-step ladder where on the bottom, the first step, stand the poorest people and on the highest step, the tenth, stand the richest. On which step of the ten is you household today?"
Education	Dummies for highest educational degree obtained by the respondent: (1) no degree, (2) highest compulsory, (3) secondary education, (4) professional, vocational school/training, (5) higher professional degree (university, college), (6) Postgraduate degree.
Employment	Dummy equals 1 if the respondent had a job within the previous seven days at the time of the survey.
Retired	Dummy equals 1 if the respondent was retired at the time of the survey.
Unemployment	Dummy equals 1 if the respondent was actively looking for a job at the time of the survey.
Student	Dummy equals 1 if the respondent was a student at the time of the survey.

Settlement level controls

Religious fractionalization	An index calculated for each PSU = $1 - ((\text{Share of Christians})^2 + (\text{Share of Muslims})^2 + (\text{Share of Jews})^2 + (\text{Share of atheists})^2 + (\text{Share of other religions})^2)$
Location	Dummies for location of the interviewed household: (1) metropolitan, (2) rural, or (3) urban (excluding metropolitan) area.
Longitude	Coordinates measuring the position of the settlement on the Earth's surface (compared to the Prime Meridian which is the longitude that runs through Greenwich, England).

	Elevation	Elevation above sea level, in meters.
	Temperature	Mean temperature, in °C (1 decimal).
	Precipitation	Mean precipitation, in mm (0 decimal).
	Cloudiness	Mean sunshine or cloudiness, in % (0 decimal).
	Potential evaporation	The amount of water that could be evaporated and transpired if there were sufficient water available (mm, 0 decimal).
	Actual evaporation	The sum of evaporation and plant transpiration from the Earth's land surface to atmosphere (mm, 0 decimal).

Sources: For individual level controls, religious fractionalization, and location: Life in Transition Survey (LiTS), EBRD and World Bank, 2006. For the last six geographical variables: Global GIS dataset.

Appendix Table A6. Summary statistics by Pale dummy, LiTS data, urban PSUs in Latvia, Ukraine, and Russia

	Outside the Pale, urban PSUs					Inside the Pale, urban PSUs				
Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Fraction of Jews in settlement, 1897	1040	0.0439	0.0507	0	0.3039	560	0.3204	0.1886	0	0.6646
Fraction of Jews in county, 1897	1220	0.0239	0.0223	0	0.0647	620	0.1035	0.0624	0.0111	0.2306
Prefer market	1220	0.3721	0.4836	0	1	619	0.3893	0.488	0	1
Prefer democracy	1220	0.5082	0.5001	0	1	618	0.5356	0.4991	0	1
Self-employment	730	0.0644	0.2456	0	1	330	0.0576	0.2333	0	1
Trust	1204	2.7533	1.1746	1	5	605	2.9488	1.2135	1	5
Trust dummy	1204	0.3488	0.4768	0	1	605	0.443	0.4971	0	1
Polish-Lith. Commonwealth (PLC)	1220	0.4918	0.5001	0	1	620	0.7097	0.4543	0	1
Gender	1220	0.3492	0.4769	0	1	620	0.3903	0.4882	0	1
Age	1220	48.332	18.96	18	97	620	46.605	19.218	18	88
Age squared	1220	2695.2	1923.9	324	9409	620	2540.7	1919.1	324	7744
Christian	1220	0.7893	0.4079	0	1	620	0.8774	0.3282	0	1
Muslim	1220	0.0213	0.1445	0	1	620	0.0016	0.0402	0	1
Jewish	1220	0	0	0	0	620	0.0065	0.0801	0	1
Metropolitan area	1220	0.3934	0.4887	0	1	620	0.2258	0.4184	0	1
Elevation	1220	3.2383	1.5694	0	5.5134	620	4.6794	0.8536	1.7918	5.6802
Latvia	1220	0.4754	0.4996	0	1	620	0.1613	0.3681	0	1
Ukraine	1220	0.082	0.2744	0	1	620	0.8387	0.3681	0	1
Latitude	1220	55.261	3.4294	45.25	62.138	620	49.895	3.1852	44.948	56.55
Longitude	1220	33.58	11.825	21	73.39	620	31.197	3.7071	24.717	38.05
Rural	1220	0	0	0	0	620	0	0	0	0
Consumption	1219	7.8875	0.7538	4.8442	10.038	619	7.7061	0.7598	5.7961	9.9297
Relative income	1220	5.7893	2.8965	1	10	620	5.9419	2.8135	1	10
Education level (1 to 5)	1220	3.741	1.0617	1	6	619	3.8708	1.003	1	6
Higher education	1220	0.6164	0.4865	0	1	619	0.6704	0.4704	0	1
Employed in the last 7 days	1220	0.5418	0.4985	0	1	620	0.471	0.4996	0	1
Retired	1220	0.2574	0.4374	0	1	620	0.279	0.4489	0	1
Unemployed	1220	0.0451	0.2076	0	1	620	0.0581	0.2341	0	1
Religious fractionalization	1220	0.2888	0.1654	0	0.635	620	0.1926	0.1703	0	0.485
Middle class (based on relative income)	1220	0.3148	0.4646	0	1	620	0.3194	0.4666	0	1
Middle class (based on consumption)	1219	0.3093	0.4624	0	1	619	0.2892	0.4537	0	1
East Ukraine dummy	1220	0.0656	0.2476	0	1	620	0.4516	0.4981	0	1
Temperature	1220	5.3402	2.2796	-2.15	10.55	620	7.4823	1.485	4.95	10.9
Cloudiness	1220	32.295	4.9338	28	46	620	37.726	5.7377	28.5	49
Precipitation	1220	56.951	7.0383	41	79.5	620	53.153	8.6469	34.5	69.5
Potential evapotranspiration	1220	46.475	6.0028	26.5	56.5	620	45.048	9.5262	23	62.5
Actual evapotranspiration	1220	53.77	8.4352	43.5	80.5	620	64.21	9.2399	48.5	81

Appendix Table A7. Summary statistics by Pale dummy, LiTS data, rural PSUs, in Latvia, Ukraine, and Russia

Variable	Outside the Pale, rural PSUs					Inside the Pale, rural PSUs				
	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Prefer market	560	0.3089	0.4625	0	1	300	0.31	0.4633	0	1
Prefer democracy	560	0.4714	0.4996	0	1	300	0.5167	0.5006	0	1
Self-employment	298	0.0503	0.219	0	1	124	0.0403	0.1975	0	1
Trust	547	2.6124	1.2461	1	5	297	2.8215	1.2018	1	5
Trust dummy	547	0.3035	0.4602	0	1	297	0.4108	0.4928	0	1
Polish-Lith. Commonwealth (PLC)	560	0.5	0.5004	0	1	300	0.8	0.4007	0	1
Gender	560	0.4071	0.4917	0	1	300	0.3233	0.4685	0	1
Age	560	48.745	17.523	18	89	300	51.613	17.906	18	91
Age squared	560	2682.6	1765.6	324	7921	300	2983.5	1865.6	324	8281
Christian	560	0.7214	0.4487	0	1	300	0.9033	0.296	0	1
Muslim	560	0.0143	0.1188	0	1	300	0.0133	0.1149	0	1
Jewish	560	0	0	0	0	300	0	0	0	0
Elevation	560	4.3319	1.0179	0.4055	5.7699	300	4.219	1.1939	1.0647	5.5413
Latvia	560	0.5	0.5004	0	1	300	0.1333	0.3405	0	1
Ukraine	560	0.0357	0.1857	0	1	300	0.8	0.4007	0	1
Latitude	560	55.776	4.041	44.728	67.577	300	50.011	3.5111	45.517	56.5
Longitude	560	35.23	12.854	21.192	65.51	300	31.146	2.6713	26.533	34.6
Consumption	559	7.7074	0.7411	4.6728	10.218	300	7.1994	0.7752	4.6151	9.8174
Relative income	560	5.0321	2.8609	1	10	300	4.1367	2.6498	1	10
Education level (1 to 5)	560	3.4089	1.0337	1	5	300	3.3433	1.0845	1	5
Higher education	560	0.5107	0.5003	0	1	300	0.4967	0.5008	0	1
Employed in the last 7 days	560	0.4786	0.5	0	1	300	0.3367	0.4734	0	1
Retired	560	0.2786	0.4487	0	1	300	0.4067	0.492	0	1
Unemployed	560	0.0518	0.2218	0	1	300	0.08	0.2717	0	1
Religious fractionalization	560	0.332	0.1677	0	0.58	300	0.1608	0.1528	0	0.465
Middle class (based on relative income)	560	0.275	0.4469	0	1	300	0.2167	0.4127	0	1
Middle class (based on consumption)	559	0	0	0	0	300	0	0	0	0
East Ukraine dummy	560	0.0357	0.1857	0	1	300	0.3333	0.4722	0	1
Temperature	560	4.75	2.8136	-5.3	9.9	300	7.3433	1.757	4.45	10.35
Cloudiness	560	32.554	5.0496	28	42.5	300	37.767	5.846	29	47
Precipitation	560	59.125	10.218	36.5	72.5	300	52	8.7055	34.5	67.5
Potential evapotranspiration	560	45.25	5.738	27.5	52.5	300	43.167	10.106	23	58
Actual evapotranspiration	560	52.589	8.4708	34	72	300	64.367	9.7793	49.5	80

Appendix Table A8. Sources of data on ethnic composition of PSUs.

Country	Year	Source
Belarus	1897:	http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/pril.php
Belarus	1999:	http://babylon.iatp.by/nationalRegistry/1/index.html
Moldova	1897:	http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/pril.php
Moldova	2004:	http://www.statistica.md/
Poland	1897:	http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/pril.php
Poland	1900:	http://verwaltungsgeschichte.de/
Poland	2002:	http://www.stat.gov.pl/gus/6647_4520_PLK_HTML.htm
Ukraine	1897:	http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/pril.php
Ukraine	2001:	http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/results/general/nationality/
Latvia	1897:	http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/pril.php
Latvia	2000:	http://data.csb.gov.lv/
Lithuania	1897:	http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/pril.php
Lithuania	1900:	http://verwaltungsgeschichte.de/
Lithuania	2001:	http://www.stat.gov.lt
Russia	1897:	http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/pril.php
Russia	2002:	http://www.perepis2002.ru/

Note: See also Kozauer (1979), p. 136. We proxied ethnic composition at the end of 19th and 20th century by the data for the closest available year.

Appendix Table A9. Sources of data on ethnic composition of PSUs.

	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
All PSUs					
In area with moved population	391	0.14	0.35	0	1
Replacement of non-Jewish groups by other non-Jews	391	15.15%	15.38%	0.00%	68.05%
Replacement of Jews by non-Jews	391	8.04%	7.03%	-0.37%	24.95%
Urban PSUs					
In area with moved population	248	0.15	0.36	0	1
Replacement of non-Jewish groups by other non-Jews	248	16.14%	15.95%	0.00%	68.05%
Replacement of Jews by non-Jews	248	8.07%	7.35%	-0.37%	24.95%

Appendix A10. Definition and sources of pogrom data

We define pogroms as large-scale acts of violence against Jews in Eastern Europe and Russia, carried out and organized by the local non-Jewish population. We collected data on the coordinates of pogroms that took place within the former Russian Empire, covering contemporary Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, Russia, and Ukraine between 1821 (the first major pogrom in Odessa) and 1946 (a series of pogroms in Poland).

Firstly, we compiled the list of 598 pogroms in these territories. We used works of several prominent historians: Arad, Blobaum, Engel, Klier, Kopciowski, Lambroza, Miliakova, Sherman, Szymanska, and Zbikowski among others. In addition, we used the *American Jewish Yearbook* of 1906-1907, multiple online sources devoted to European Jewish history, and newspaper articles contemporary to the events that described riots against Jews in Ukraine and Russia. (We provide the complete list of sources below). Three most vivid pogrom waves are: 1) those which took place during the 19th century, especially after the assassination of tsar Alexander II, 2) those at the beginning of the 20th century, around the first Russian Revolution of 1905, and 3) those happening simultaneously with the Russian Revolution of 1917 and thereafter.

Secondly, we searched for geographic coordinates of every settlement or town where each of these pogroms took place using historical maps and digital information systems. Some relevant villages ceased to exist – mostly as a result of the Second World War (e.g., Justingrad) or due to other catastrophes, such as the Chernobyl disaster, which led to a dead zone with no apparent signs life within a radius of about 30km around the infamous power plant. Villages that used to exist there at the beginning of the 20th century, and where atrocities against Jews were perpetrated, are now simply gone. In such cases, either the historical location of the perished village is used, or the pogrom is dropped from the analysis. As a result we collected coordinates for 527 different pogroms in Eastern Europe. Figure A1 in this Appendix (below) presents the map of pogroms.

Printed sources for pogrom data:

American Jewish Year Book Vol. 8 (1906-1907)

Arad, Yitzak (2009), *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press and Jerusalem: Yad Vashem.

Blobaum, Robert (2005), *Antisemitism and Its opponents in modern Poland*, Cornell University Press, New York.

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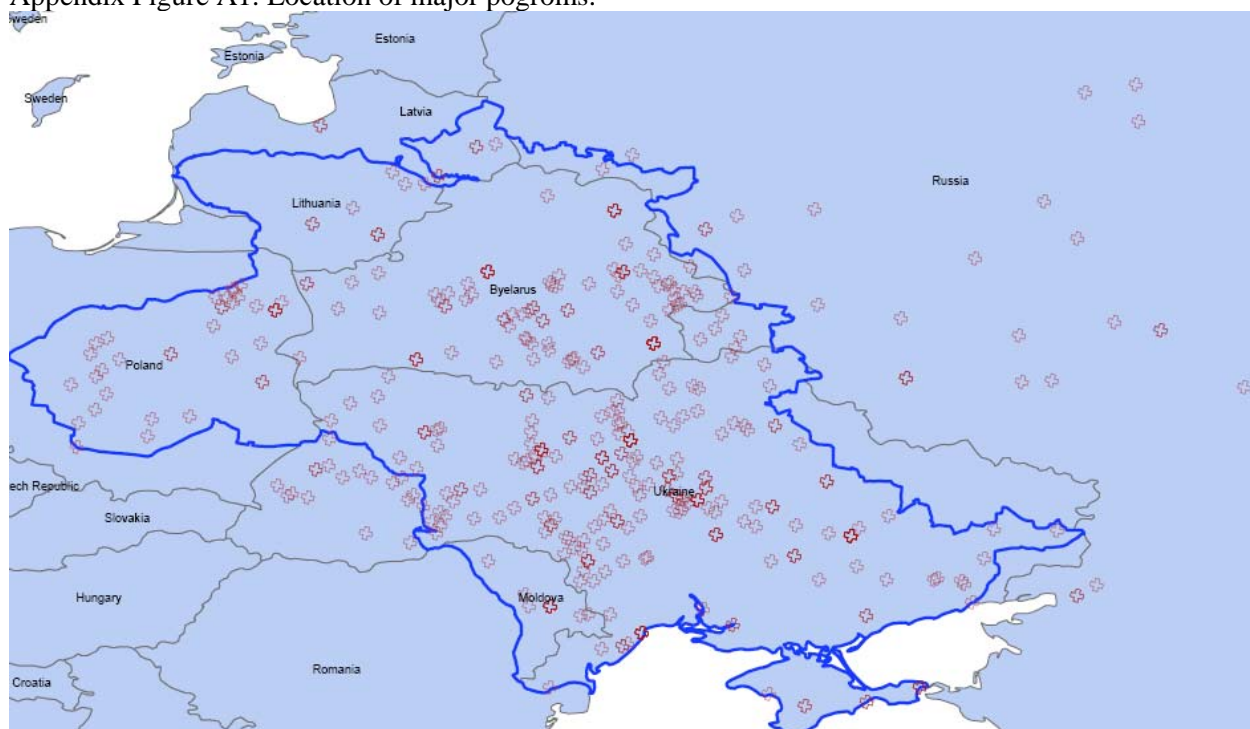
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Appendix Figure A1. Location of major pogroms.

Auxiliary Results Appendix B

Appendix Table B1. Election results for the Socialist Party of Ukraine

	Percent of vote for the socialist party in a district, Ukraine	
In Pale	2.754***	2.462**
	[0.867]	[0.962]
On the border	3.067***	2.977***
	[0.801]	[0.808]
Town	0.245	0.365
	[1.777]	[1.765]
Regional center	-1.781***	
	[0.489]	
Election & regional dummies	Yes	Yes
Observations	165	125
R-squared	0.737	0.711
Regional center excluded	No	Yes

Note: OLS. Robust standard errors are in parentheses, clustered by electoral district*** Significant at the 1 percent level. ** Significant at the 5 percent level. * Significant at the 10 percent level.

Appendix Table B2. RD and Fuzzy RD non-parametric estimates with varying bandwidth

Panel A	Non-parametric Local Linear RD, varying bandwidth			
	RD estimates of the jump at the Pale border, URBAN			
	Prefer market	Prefer democracy	Self-employment	Trust
Bandwidth 120	-0.245	-0.269	-0.06	0.257
	[0.077]***	[0.092]***	[0.037]	[0.071]***
Bandwidth 240	-0.242	-0.245	-0.054	0.269
	[0.066]***	[0.077]***	[0.027]**	[0.066]***
Observations	1,839	1,838	1,840	1,809
	RD estimates of the jump at the Pale border, RURAL			
	Prefer market	Prefer democracy	Self-employment	Trust
Bandwidth 120	-0.138	-0.063	-0.023	-0.118
	[0.096]	[0.111]	[0.032]	[0.111]
Bandwidth 240	-0.169	0.017	-0.005	-0.049
	[0.088]*	[0.110]	[0.031]	[0.113]
Observations	860	860	860	844

Panel B	Non-parametric fuzzy RD, varying bandwidth			
	RD estimates of the jump at the Pale border, URBAN			
	Prefer market	Prefer democracy	Self-employment	Trust
Bandwidth 120	-1.192	-1.186	-0.323	0.792
	[0.399]***	[0.589]**	[0.172]*	[0.365]**
Bandwidth 240	-1.182	-1.177	-0.261	0.834
	[0.346]***	[0.521]**	[0.132]**	[0.333]**
Observations	1599	1598	1600	1570

Note:

Reported specifications are exactly the same as in Tables 3 and 5, but with different bandwidth. Robust standard errors adjusted for clusters at PSU level are in brackets. *** Significant at the 1 percent level. ** Significant at the 5 percent level. * Significant at the 10 percent level.

Appendix Table B3. Channels. Election results in the "area with moved population"

Country sample	Percent of vote for anti-market parties in a district			
	Lithuania	Lithuania	Poland	Poland
Area with moved population	-8.944***	-10.430***	-3.956***	-3.978***
	[2.523]	[2.689]	[0.851]	[0.854]
Border of area with moved population	-2.71	-3.043	0	0
	[1.994]	[2.173]	[0.000]	[0.000]
Town	0	0	-2.199**	-2.212**
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[1.064]	[1.066]
Regional center	6.832***		-2.358**	
	[1.574]		[1.186]	
Election & regional dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	72	39	1929	1917
R-squared	0.739	0.753	0.401	0.4
Regional center excluded	No	Yes	No	Yes
Regions with variation	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Country sample	Percent of vote for pro-market parties in a district			
	Lithuania	Lithuania	Poland	Poland
Area with moved population	-0.297	-2.198	1.496	1.5
	[1.858]	[1.765]	[2.210]	[2.215]
Border of area with moved population	1.38	0.955	0	0
	[1.074]	[1.135]	[0.000]	[0.000]
Town	0	0	6.850***	6.836***
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[1.621]	[1.625]
Regional center	8.231***		15.542***	
	[1.818]		[1.964]	
Election & regional dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	72	39	1929	1917
R-squared	0.733	0.556	0.518	0.512
Regional center excluded	No	Yes	No	Yes
Regions with variation	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: OLS. Area with moved population is a dummy for the Lithuanian districts belonging to the Second Polish Republic before the Second World War or for the Polish districts in the Western Territories today. Robust standard errors in parentheses. For Poland, they are clustered at the level of powiat (the 2nd-tier administrative division) as there are many electoral districts in each powiat.. *** Significant at the 1 percent level. ** Significant at the 5 percent level. * Significant at the 10 percent level.

Appendix Table B4. Robustness, distance to pogroms

	Prefer market						
	Whole sample					PSUs within Pale	
Log (distance to pogroms+10)	0.04					0.041	
	[0.015]**					[0.023]*	
Log (distance to pogroms+1)			0.019	0.021	0.015		0.017
			[0.009]**	[0.010]**	[0.010]		[0.012]
Distance to pogrom: <=2 km		-0.071					
		[0.038]*					
Distance to pogrom: 2-15 km		-0.01					
		[0.090]					
Distance to pogrom: 15-30 km		-0.021					
		[0.060]					
Percent of jews in uezd, 1897				0.251	0.475		
				[0.419]	[0.433]		
In Pale					-0.159		
					[0.067]**		
Observations	2,736	2,736	2,736	2,736	2,736	1,676	1,676
R-squared	0.093	0.091	0.092	0.092	0.096	0.088	0.087
	Trust						
	Whole sample					PSUs within Pale	
Log (distance to pogroms+10)	-0.132					-0.133	
	[0.044]***					[0.065]**	
Log (distance to pogroms+1)			-0.07	-0.06	-0.047		-0.053
			[0.023]***	[0.025]**	[0.026]*		[0.032]
Distance to pogrom: <=2 km		0.313					
		[0.100]***					
Distance to pogrom: 2-15 km		0.252					
		[0.153]					
Distance to pogrom: 15-30 km		0.171					
		[0.148]					
Percent of jews in uezd, 1897				1.318	0.821		
				[0.878]	[0.907]		
In Pale					0.348		
					[0.149]**		
Observations	2,666	2,666	2,666	2,666	2,666	1,627	1,627
R-squared	0.043	0.044	0.043	0.045	0.048	0.05	0.048

Note: OLS. The sample includes urban PSUs in all countries with data on pogroms: Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, Russia, and Ukraine inside the Russian Empire. The list of controls is as follows: country dummies, a metropolitan area dummy, longitude, latitude, elevation, a dummy for whether PSU was in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 1600s, gender, age (with a quadratic term), and religion dummies. Robust standard errors adjusted for clusters at PSU level are in brackets. *** Significant at the 1 percent level. ** Significant at the 5 percent level. * Significant at the 10 percent level.

Appendix Table B5. Latvia only (territory inside the PLC) Sample: urban PSUs

	Parametric linear RD, Latvia			
	Prefer market	Prefer democracy	Self-employment	Trust
RD estimate of the jump at the Pale border, URBAN	-0.21	-0.21	-0.04	0.45
	[0.09]**	[0.10]**	[0.06]	[0.21]**
Linear controls for distance to border on two sides of the Pale	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	680	680	379	678
R-squared	0.06	0.034	0.028	0.025