Historical Roots of Political Extremism: The Effects of Nazi Occupation of Italy*

Nicola Fontana†, Tommaso Nannicini‡and Guido Tabellini§

December 2016

Abstract

The Italian civil war and the Nazi occupation of Italy occurred at a critical juncture, just before the birth of a new democracy and when, for the first time in a generation, Italians were choosing political affiliations and forming political identities. In this paper we study how these traumatic events shaped the new political system. We exploit geographic heterogeneity in the intensity and duration of the civil war, and the persistence of the battlefront along the "Gothic line" cutting through Northern-Central Italy. We find that the Communist Party gained votes in the post-war elections where the Nazi occupation and the civil war lasted longer, mainly at the expense of the centrist and catholic parties. This effect persists until the early 1990s. Evidence also suggests that this is due to an effect on political attitudes. Thus, the foreign occupation and the civil war left a lasting legacy of political extremism and polarization on the newborn Italian democracy.

*We are grateful to Pauline Grosjean, Stepan Jurajda, Marco Manacorda, Giacomo Ponzetto, Joachim Voth, seminar participants at CERGE, CIFAR, EUI, LSE, Harvard and UPF for helpful comments, to Carlo Gentile for sharing with us the data on the location of the German troops, to Brunello Mantelli for sharing with us the data on Italians deported to Germany, to Riccardo Bianchi Vimercati, Igor Cerasa, Francesco Loiacono, and Giacomo Magistretti for excellent research assistance, and to ERC (grants 230088 and 648833) for financial support.

†London School of Economics.

‡Department of Economics and IGIER, Bocconi University; CEPR; IZA.

§Department of Economics and IGIER, Bocconi University; CIFAR; CEPR; Ces-Ifo.

1 Introduction

In any democracy there are key historical junctures, when new parties are born and young generations build new political identities breaking with the past. These special circumstances influence the goals and identities of the key political organizations, and shape the political attitudes of citizens for years to come, with lasting effects on the nature and intensity of political conflict. Wars, and in particular civil wars, are examples of such critical junctures. A democracy born out of a civil war inherits a legacy of polarization and conflict that puts it in a very different starting position, compared to one where political institutions evolved more gradually and peacefully.

How exactly do these violent circumstances affect the subsequent functioning of modern democracies? Do they exacerbate political conflict? Or do they leave such a scar that citizens and political leaders react in the opposite direction, so as to avoid future repetitions of violent conflict? More generally, how do external and civil wars impact on political attitudes and on political organizations? These are the general questions motivating this paper.

We study empirically the domestic political consequences of the Italian civil war and Nazi occupation during the final two years of World War II. From September 1943 until May 1945, Italy was a battleground between the Allied and the German forces. Italy itself was split, with troops loyal to Mussolini fighting alongside the Germans, and resistance fighters helping the Allies. The intensity of the war varied across Italy, since the Allies freed Southern and much of Central Italy almost immediately, while Northern-Central Italy remained under Nazi occupation for much longer. Our empirical strategy exploits the fact that the battlefront between Germans and Allies remained stuck for over six months near the so called "Gothic line", a line cutting Northern-Central Italy from West to East. We apply a (geographical) regression discontinuity design (RDD) to municipalities just below and just above the Gothic line, comparing their voting outcomes in the post-war national elections. The treatment is that, North of the line, the violent German occupation lasted longer and so did the civil war and the fighting by the resistance movement.

Our main result is that the vote share of the extreme left (communist) parties in the post-war elections is larger in the municipalities just North of the line. This effect is quantitatively important (about 9 percentage points or higher for the communists in the 1946 elections), and persists until the end of the so called "First Republic" in the early 1990s. The communist

gain above the line is mainly at the expense of the catholic vote share, although this finding is less robust, suggesting that the communists may also have gained votes from other moderate or center-left parties. Municipalities North of the line are also less likely to vote for the extreme right-wing parties linked with Mussolini supporters, but this effect occurs later in time and it is much smaller in magnitude than for the catholic vote. Finally, we find no difference in voters' turnout between municipalities North vs South of the line. Thus, a longer exposure to Nazi occupation and to civil war affected electoral outcomes, in the direction of more extremist left-wing votes. Although the moderate vote is smaller North of the line, the longer German occupation and civil war hurt the catholics more than the extreme right-wing parties, implying a shift to the extreme also amongst moderate voters. Thus, overall political polarization increased where the civil war and Nazi occupation lasted longer. This finding supports the general idea that the circumstances surrounding critical historical junctures are important determinants of the political identities of citizens and organizations, with a longer duration of civil war and violent foreign occupation breeding political extremism.

What are the mechanisms underlying these effects? The paper discusses two possible answers. First, a longer exposure to civil war and foreign occupation could directly affect voters' political attitudes, making them more willing to side with political forces that opposed the enemy (the Communist Party was more active in the resistance movement than the other parties). This mechanism is suggested by other studies which have shown that exposure to civil conflict reinforces group identification (see below). Second, a longer Nazi occupation could have affected post-war political organizations, since North of the line the resistance movement remained active for longer, and this may have given an advantage to the Communist Party in building grassroots organizations.

Although not conclusive, the evidence is more consistent with the first hypothesis, that the effect is on voters' attitudes rather than on political organizations. First, partisan brigades were equally widespread North and South of the line. Second, the treatment effect of a longer duration of the German occupation is not stronger in the areas with an active presence of partisan brigades. Third, the extreme right-wing parties, that were obviously more free to self-organize North of the line, did not benefit from this greater freedom, on the contrary they garnered more support South of the line.

We also collected data on the intensity of Nazi and Fascist violence against civilians and partisans (i.e., fighters and active supporters of the resistance

movement), as well as on the location of two particularly violent German divisions that left a "blood trail" behind them. Observed violence is not stronger North of the line, because several atrocities were committed by German troops while retreating behind the Gothic line. Nevertheless, exploiting variation in the intensity of violence throughout Italy and not just around the Gothic line, we find that violence against civilians is positively correlated with a stronger communist vote, and so is the location of the most violent German divisions. Although Nazi violence and the location of the troops are not entirely random, this evidence too is suggestive that the mechanism operates mainly through voters' attitudes, rather than through political organizations.

Finally, in November-December 2015 we conducted a random survey of about 2,500 individuals resident in 242 municipalities within 50 km from the Gothic line. Memory of the civil war is stronger North of the Gothic line and amongst individuals who have a left-wing political orientation. There is also some weak evidence of mildly more anti-German attitudes North of the line. These findings too are suggestive that the mechanism underlying the reduced form effects operates through political attitudes and the memory of the Nazi occupation.

Despite its importance, the rigorous empirical literature on these issues is not very large. A paper very close to ours is Costalli and Ruggeri (2015). They also study the effect of the Italian civil war on the immediate post-war election, and some of their findings are consistent with ours, although they only focus on the 1946 election and neglect subsequent outcomes. Contrary to us, they argue that the mechanism mainly operates through party organizations, because they find a positive correlation between communist votes and the location of partisan brigades. The main difference with their paper is the identification strategy: they estimate OLS and spatial matching regressions on most of Italy, relating voting outcomes to episodes of violence against civilians and to the presence of resistance brigades in the area. Their identification strategy is thus different, since they do not exploit any geographical discontinuity. This is an important difference, because the presence of resistance movements and the occurrence of violence cannot be taken as random. Resistance fighters were supported by the local population, and thus could be concentrated precisely where the local population was already more favorable to radical ideologies. Likewise, the occurrence of violence against the local population is not random, since the Nazis often retaliated against previous hostilities.

Two recent papers have applied spatial RDD to WWII data. Ochsner and Roesel (2016) study the demarcation between the Soviet and US occupation zones in Austria during 1945-1955. They show that there was a large scale Nazi migration away from the Soviet zone, that led to long lasting right-wing extremism into the US zone. Ferwerda and Miller (2014) study the demarcation between German and Vichy zones within France. They find a more active resistance movement in the German zone. These results are challenged by Kocher and Monteiro (2015), who argue that they are driven by the non-random location of the demarcation zone.

The idea that political realignments occur at critical junctures, such as external or civil wars, through the definition of new political identities and new political organizations, has been emphasized by Mayhew (2004). See also Sundquist (2011) on the long lasting legacy of the US civil war. The notion of political realignments also motivates Balcells (2011), who studies the political attitudes of war veterans in the Spanish civil war of 1936-38. Her results are consistent with ours, although she looks at opinion polls rather than actual behavior.

A few papers have studied the effects of civil wars in Africa, generally showing that such events reinforce ethnic identities and increase political participation (Blattman, 2009, Bellows and Miguel, 2009). Canetti and Lindner (2015) and Canetti-Nisim et al. (2009) study the effects of violence in the Israeli Palestinian conflict, through interviews and with a psychological approach. They show that the stress associated with prolonged exposure to the threat of violence leads to political radicalism and intolerance. Grosjean (2014) studies survey data concerning the legacy of civil wars in 35 countries in Europe and Central Asia (from World War II to more recent episodes); she finds that civil war is associated with an erosion of social and political trust. Miguel et al. (2011) find that football players from countries recently exposed to civil wars behave more violently (as measured by yellow and red cards). See also Bellows and Miguel (2009) for further references.

Finally, our paper is also related to a larger literature on the persistence of political attitudes and cultural traits. Acharya et al. (2015) document that contemporary differences in political attitudes across counties in the US South are correlated with the local prevalence of slavery around 1860, but this correlation is not present amongst second generation immigrants in those same counties. Voigtländer and Voth (2012) find strong persistence in anti-Semitism within Germany over more than five centuries. Fouka and Voth (2013) find evidence suggesting that Nazi occupation had persistent

cultural effects in Greece: during the recent Greek financial crisis, sales of German cars fell more in the areas where German troops committed war crimes against civilians. Avdeenko and Siedler (2016) study German longitudinal data and document the importance of intergenerational transmission of political extremism from fathers to sons.

The outline of the paper is as follows. The next section discusses the historical context. Section 3 defines the data sources and Section 4 explains our estimation strategy. The findings of the RDD are presented in Section 5, while the correlations with the intensity of violence are discussed in Section 6. Section 7 presents the results of the survey. Section 8 concludes.

2 The Birth of a New Democracy

This section summarizes the main political events that led to the birth of the post World War II Italian political system. Since we will compare the election outcome in the immediate post-war period to the latest free elections before the fascist dictatorship, we start with a brief account of the Italian political system before the advent of fascism. We then turn to the civil war period, and finally to the post-war Italian political system. A more detailed historical account of these periods is provided in Romanelli (1995), Leoni (2001), Baldissara et al. (2000), Collotti et al. (2000), Collotti et al. (2006), Gentile (2015), and Matta (1996).

2.1 The interwar period

At the end of World War I, the Italian government was supported by a majority of liberal-moderate political representatives elected in 1913 under semi-universal suffrage (women and illiterate males under the age of 30 could not vote, with some exceptions for young illiterate males who had done their military service). New socialist and catholic political forces were emerging, however. These new parties appealed to a mass of Italian voters who had only recently been enfranchised.

Three free elections were held before the consolidation of Mussolini's dictatorship: in 1919, in 1921, and in 1924. The 1919 and 1921 elections were held with a proportional electoral system, that however also allowed voters to cast a preference vote to candidates running in different lists (the so called panachage system). In 1924, the electoral system entailed a large majority

premium that gave two thirds of the seats to the party that gained a relative majority in a single national district, and assigned the remaining seats to the other parties according to proportional criteria. Thus, none of these electoral rules was identical to the pure proportional system with preference votes created after World War II, although all of them had important elements of proportionality. Throughout this period, suffrage remained semi-universal, as described above.

At the 1919 elections, the Italian political system was essentially split between three groups: a liberal-moderate coalition representing the political elites that had ruled Italy in the previous decades, and two emerging and antagonistic political groups, the catholics and the socialists. These new parties were on different positions on many issues, and were unable to form viable political alliances between them. In 1919 the liberal coalition retained a relative majority but, despite a large absenteeism, it lost many votes and seats to the socialist and catholic parties. This outcome led to a short period of instability, that resulted in new elections in 1921.

The main novelties in the 1921 elections were the gains obtained by the fascist candidates, who ran in the same lists as the traditional liberal bloc, and the fact that the Communist Party entered the ballot for the first time.[1] The votes and seats obtained by the catholic and socialists were roughly unchanged (or slightly lower) compared to 1919. After a period of political violence and instability, in 1922 Mussolini was asked by the King to form a government. He received a vote of confidence by a parliamentary majority that included the catholic party, while the socialists (and a small communist group) voted against. Mussolini soon changed the electoral law to a proportional system with a large majority premium for the party with a relative majority (see above). In 1924 new elections were held, and the fascist party obtained two thirds of the votes. Although formally free and regular, these elections were held in a climate of violence and intimidation. Within a few years Mussolini further consolidated his power into a dictatorship. As a result, elections in 1919, 1921, and 1924 are not easily comparable between each other, but each of them conveys information on the underlying political preferences of the (local) population.

[1]The Italian Communist Party was founded on January 21, 1919, with the Convention of Livorno, as a split from the socialist movement.

2.2 The civil war

2.2.1 The Gothic line

We can date the beginning of the Italian "civil war" Pavone (1991) in July 1943, when the allies landed in Sicily. Since then and until May 1945, Italy was ravaged by war. On one side were the Germans, supported by the forces that remained loyal to Mussolini. On the opposite side were the Allies, supported by the Italian resistance movements (many of them operating in the areas occupied by the Germans). Throughout this period, the overall estimated casualties were about 360,000, of which about 155,000 Italians. The Italian victims of German occupation and of the civil war were 70,000–80,000. Of these, at least 10,000 were civilians killed by Nazis or fascists in retaliation for other hostilities, about 30,000 were resistance fighters, and about as many were fascists (see Gentile, 2015, pp. 4–5). In addition, about 40,000 civilians were deported to Germany (of which 7,000 were Jews); 90% of these died (see Rochat, 2005, p. 443).

The battlefront moved overtime, but it remained stuck for several months near a defense line prepared by the Germans in central Italy, the so called Gothic line. Figure 1 illustrates the areas under German occupation, by number of days, as well as the Gothic line. Northern-Central Italy remained under German occupation for over two years, while the South for only two months. As can be seen from Figure 1, the Germans were able to stop the Allies for several months between Rome and Naples (along the so called Gustav Line, that was held by the Germans between December 1943 and May 1944). From there, the battlefront moved rapidly towards Northern-Central Italy, in an area between Florence and Bologna, where the Germans had prepared a strong line of defense. Preparation for the Gothic line had began well in advance, while the Germans were still trying to defend the area South of Rome.[2] This allowed the Germans to prepare an effective defense system, that stopped the Allies between the Summer of 1944 and the Spring of 1945. The Gothic line was conceived as the last defense for German retreat. The barrier extended from the coastal defenses between La Spezia and Massa to the Adriatic coast between Pesaro and Rimini.

As can be seen from Figure 1, the battlefront remained stuck in an area

[2]It is estimated that over 50,000 Italian forced workers were involved. Several villages in the vicinity of the Gothic line were evacuated by the Germans (Ronchetti, 2009). Passes and mountaintops were fortified with pillboxes and tank turrets, command posts were dug into the mountains, mines and barbed wire were laid throughout.

about 50 Km South of the Gothic line during the Summer of 1944. The continuous line in Figure 1 is the Gothic line, that was held by the Germans between November 1944 and April 1945. The Gothic line was finally overcome by the Allies in April 1945, when the Germans and fascists were forced to surrender control of all of Italy. The battles around the Gothic line brought much destruction to the area, with heavy casualties amongst Germans (around 48,000), Allies (32,000) and Italian fascists, partisans and civilians (altogether 30,000–40,000) (see Montemaggi, 1980).

Figure 2 zooms in the area around the Gothic line, illustrating the size and elevation of each municipality and how the battlefront moved during the summer of 1944. There are three demarcation lines. (i) The line labelled "Allies" is where the Allies stopped between August 1944 and mid-September 1944. (ii) The line labelled "Fall 1944"is the original Gothic line set up by the Germans. Between late August and mid-September 1944 the Allies succeeded in breaching this line (the so called operation "Olive"). (iii) The line labelled "Nov. 1944 - Apr. 1945"is where the Germans managed to contain the US-British offensive. From the end of October onwards, the Allies and the Germans were fighting along this line. It was finally breached in April 1945. Our RDD analysis is on the Northern-most line "Nov. 1944 - Apr. 1945,"which was held by the Germans for the longest period. Below we also describe some robustness checks on the other two lines.

2.2.2 The resistance movement

Throughout the civil war period, the resistance movement grew rapidly, from a few thousands fighters in the Fall of 1943, to several tens of thousands one year later. In addition, it is estimated that around 20,000 civilians were directly connected to a resistance movement, even if only few of them nested into a political coordination (see Bocca, 2012, p. 265). Although the grassroots movement was spontaneous and did not have strong party affiliations, the leaders of the various groups were active members of political parties that the fascist regime had disbanded. Three main political affiliations can be identified: the left-wing groups, linked with the communist and socialist parties; the catholic groups, linked with the Christian Democratic party; and other centrist groups, linked with liberals that had opposed Mussolini. In addition there were several other small groups with no explicit national political affiliation. The left-wing brigades, and to a smaller extent the catholics, were by far the largest and more active organizations.

According to historical accounts, the effects of German occupation on the civilian population were not evenly distributed in time and space. Gentile (2015), in particular, stresses two stylized facts. First, combat troops near the front line were much more intolerant and prone to hurt civilians than other troops in charge of logistics and administration. This reflected both the selection and composition of such troops, as well as the additional stress and danger that they faced. In the rear, the main German goal was to defend key industries and transportation nodes, and the troops were more careful not to alienate the resident population. Second, following hierarchical orders, the German attitudes and tactics changed over time, and became particularly aggressive towards resistance movements and their supporters from the Summer of 1944 onwards, when the danger posed by partisan brigades became more apparent. During this period, the battlefront reached Northern-Central Italy and fighting was particularly intense near the Gothic line. Indeed, this is the area with the highest and worst episodes of violence against civilians: over half of the civilian victims of German occupation died between the Summer of 1944 and the Winter of 1945, in the area near the Gothic line. We exploit this heterogeneity in the analysis below.

2.3 The post-war political system

During the civil war Italy had an official government appointed by the King. This government had no legitimacy, however, since the monarchy was implicated with the Mussolini regime. Hence, the resistance movement and the political parties to which it was linked played a key role in the immediate aftermath of the war. Several leaders of these partisan movements became prominent political figures and were represented in the post-war Parliament for several legislatures. The civil war contributed to shape the political identity of these parties and gave them a visibility and popularity that they had not enjoyed before, also due to the repression imposed by the fascist regime.

The first key decision of the new political leadership was to hold an election for a constitutional assembly. The election was held in 1946, simultaneously with a referendum on whether to abandon the monarchy. Suffrage became universal, thus for the first time women participated in the vote. The electoral rule for the constitutional assembly and for all subsequent elections until 1992 was proportional.

All the main political parties presented lists of candidates at the constitutional assembly, and the party system did not change significantly after

the constitutional vote. Hence, the election to the constitutional assembly is comparable to subsequent political elections. The first regular political election was held in 1948. The main difference in party lists is that in 1948 the communist and socialist parties ran together under the label of Popular Front, whereas they had run separately in the 1946 constitutional elections. In 1953 and in subsequent elections they split again. Monarchist parties progressively disappeared from the political scene, the last election in which they were present is in 1968. On the extreme right, a party close to the fascists, "Movimento Sociale Italiano" (MSI), was founded on December, 26 1946 and appeared on the ballot in the 1948 elections, but consolidated its vote share (around 5–7%) only from the 1953 elections onwards.

The political system that emerged in the late 1940s reflected the legacy of the civil war in several respects. First, as already noted, most political leaders had played an important role in the resistance movement, at least in the period 1943–45. Second, the party system was highly polarized. On the left the largest party were the communists, that at the time had strong ideological links with the Soviet Union, while the extreme right remained loyal to the fascist regime.[3] Third, and partly as a result of such deep ideological polarization, one of the main goals of the Constitutional assembly was to create a very inclusive and consensual political system, to minimize the risk of violent opposition and the recurrence of civil war. This resulted in a strictly proportional electoral system, perfect bicameralism, and several checks and balances that diluted executive powers.

The main features of the Italian post-war political system remained roughly unchanged until the early 1990s, when several things changed. First, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Italian Communist Party made a credible and pronounced shift towards social democracy. Second, the Socialist and Christian Democratic parties that had governed Italy throughout the post-war period collapsed under the weight of corruption scandals, leaving room for new moderate forces led by Berlusconi. Third, the electoral system was changed to a semi-majoritarian rule. Our analysis ends with this transition.

[3]Until the early 1990s, the two biggest parties were the Christian Democrats, with average vote shares of 35–40%, and the Communist Party, whose vote share grew from 15–20% right after the war to almost 30% in 1976. The vote share of the Socialist Party was 10–15%.

3 The Data

This section describes the variables we have collected. A more detailed definition is in the Data Appendix, together with the sources. The unit of observation is the municipality.

3.1 Political outcomes

We measure political outcomes by the percentage of votes received by political parties at the 1946 election of the constitutional assembly, and in all subsequent 11 political elections for the Chamber of Deputies until 1992 included. We exclude the small region Aosta Valley from our sample because it always had a different electoral system. Moreover, due to its particular position and history, its political scene has always been dominated by local parties.

We consider three political groups. First the radical left, measured by the votes given to the Communist Party. We call this variable *Communist*. Since in 1948 the communist and the socialists formed a single electoral list, the Popular Front, we also consider the votes received by these two parties together, and we call it *Communist and Socialist*. The second group is the Christian Democratic party, that we call *Catholic*. The third group, called *Right wing*, consists of the MSI and smaller parties that supported the monarchy. The source of electoral data is the Italian Ministry of Interior. Since we are interested in how the German occupation shifted political preferences from a moderate to an extreme left vote, we also compute the difference between the vote to communist and the vote to catholic parties. This variable is called *Communist minus Catholic*. In the same spirit, we also use the variable *Communist and Socialist minus Catholic*.

We also collected data on political outcomes before the war, for the elections held in 1919, 1921, and 1924. Here the source is Corbetta and Piretti (2009), that carried out a serious and meticulous work of reconstruction for that period. The Communist Party was very small in the 1921 and 1924 elections (and it did not exist in 1919), so we lump together the socialist and communist vote in the pre-fascist period using Leoni (2001) as reference. The right-wing vote cannot be separately measured in 1921, since fascists were running together with the more traditional and moderate liberals in that election. Hence for the pre-fascist period we only collect the *Catholic* and *Communist and Socialist* variables. Of course, the long time interval

and the intervening dictatorship means that these variables are only imperfect proxies for the political preferences of each municipality just before the German occupation.

Since there are several missing observations, in our baseline analysis we fill the missing observations in each election exploiting the remaining two elections plus additional observables. Thus, to fill the missing observations in, say, vote shares for catholics in 1924 we impute predicted values of an OLS regression of the available vote shares on non-missing vote shares for catholics in 1919 and/or 1921 plus a few other observables[4]. This allows us to gain over 3,000 observations.

Unfortunately, even after filling in the missing observations in this way, we are still left with about 2,300 municipalities (out of 8,100) for which no information on pre-war political outcomes is available. Since we want to condition on pre-war outcomes in some of our analysis, our baseline sample consists of the about 5,700 municipalities for which we have both post-war and pre-war political outcomes. Below we verify the robustness of the results to the pattern of missing observations.

3.2 Other features of municipalities

From the Census we collected data on total resident population, population density, and literacy rates. We have data for 1911, 1921, and then 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, and 1991. Some of these variables have been particularly difficult to collect, since early on the Italian census was not completely digitalized. The source is the National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT).

As an indicator of economic development, from the 1951 Census we also collected data on the number of industrial plants per capita in each municipality. Finally, from ISTAT we collected data on city hall elevation, and on maximum and minimum elevation in the municipality.

3.3 War related variables

To explore the mechanisms that could affect political outcomes, we collected several variables related to the German occupation and the civil war.

First, we coded the presence of partisan brigades in the municipal area. Taking advantage of Baldissara et al. (2000), we coded the areas over which

[4]Population density in 1921, illiterate share in 1921, and regional fixed effects.

each partisan brigade mainly fought. We distinguish between left-wing brigades and other partisan brigades (lumping together catholic groups, liberals, and others).

The second set of variables codes episodes of violence by the fascists or the Germans. We define a dummy variable for municipalities that had at least one episode of violence, and we also distinguish between episodes where the majority of victims were civilians or partisans. The source is the "Atlas of Nazi and fascist massacres" (ANPI-INSMLI, 2016). This recent database describes all the massacres and the individual murders of civilians and resistance fighters killed in Italy after September 8, 1943 by Germans and by soldiers of the Italian Social Republic, outside of the armed fights. These range from the first murders in the South to the withdrawal massacres committed in the days after the Liberation. This database was constructed by more than 90 researchers under the supervision of a joint historical commission established by Italian and German governments in 2009. In a previous version, written before this database became publicly available, we had collected data on violence from a variety of primary sources. Although the two sets of data (the Atlas and our own database) largely overlap and the results are similar, here we only rely on the publicly available data. The appendix provides details on primary sources used in the previous version.

Third, we collect data on deportations to Germany. During World War II about 40,000 Italians were deported to Germany (about 7,500 were Jewish). Thanks to Mantelli and Tranfaglia (2013), we have data on the number of political deportations by municipality of capture (about 6,500 individuals) and by municipality of birth (around 14,000 individuals). We don't know the date of capture, however. Even though there are more missing observations, we rely on the municipality of capture, rather than of birth, because internal migration would introduce larger measurement error in the birth data.

Our fourth set of variables codes the location of specific troops, on both sides of the war. According to Gentile (2015), two specific German divisions were particularly violent and were responsible for a very large number of criminal episodes against civilians: the 16th SS-Panzer-Grenadier-Division "Reichsfuhrer-SS" and the "Hermann Goering" divisions. We restrict attention to those two specific divisions, discarding all the other SS or Luftwaffe divisions, since in the reconstruction made by our main source (Gentile, 2015) they were responsibile for the majority and most dramatic episodes (e.g., Sant'Anna di Stazzema and Marzabotto). According to the very detailed reconstruction in the book by Gentile, the "Reichsfuhrer-SS" division was

responsible for over 20% of all civilian casualties due to the German occupation. The "Hermann Goering" division was created in 1933 as a political police by Hermann Goering when he was Minister of Interior; it later became a regular combat force, but it maintained the tradition of an elite special unit. At the Norimberga Trial the "Hermann Goering" division was included in the group of "notable offenders" for having participated in a large number of criminal episodes. Both divisions were composed of highly ideological young men, loyal to Nazism, and with previous experience in the very violent war in Eastern Europe where German troops committed several atrocities against civilians. Based on the German Archives consulted by Gentile (2015), we have records of the precise location of these troops throughout the Italian civil war. From this we construct a dummy variable that equals 1 for municipalities within 15 km from the location of either one of these divisions (measured as distance between city halls). We call this dummy variable *Within 15 km of violent Nazi divisions* (results are equivalent if the distance threshold is 10 km).[5]

Moreover, to investigate whether the identity of the Allies troops also mattered, we coded the location of American vs Commonwealth troops South of the Gothic line. The source is Baldissara et al. (2000).

Finally, we coded the duration of the German occupation (measured in fraction or multiple of years) in each province, from the detailed maps in Baldissara et al. (2000). We were able to reconstruct the duration of the German occupation at the municipal level only near the Gothic and the Gustav lines, where the battlefront was more clearly defined. Throughout the rest of Italy, data on the duration of the German occupation are at the provincial level only (see the data appendix for more details and sources).

Table 1 reports summary statistics for the main variables of interest.

4 Empirical Strategy

4.1 Prior hypotheses

Did the German occupation leave a mark on the post-war Italian political system? In particular, did it impact on the support enjoyed by extremist political parties? A priori, there are many reasons to expect a lasting impact,

[5] We are grateful to Carlo Gentile for giving us the data on the location of these divisions, as well as data on crimes by these and other German troops.

some operating directly on citizens attitudes (the demand side of politics), others operating on political organizations (the supply side).

First, in the areas under German occupation, the civil war between fascists and their opponents lasted longer. This in turn could lead to more entrenched and radicalized positions on both sides, shaping political attitudes in favor of both the communists and the extreme right-wing parties at the expense of the moderates.

Second, the German occupation was actively opposed by the Italian resistance movement. To suppress it, Nazis often resorted to extreme forms of violence, not only against resistance fighters but also against civilians. This violence could leave a mark on political attitudes. A priori, the effect could go either way. On the one hand, Nazi violence (actual or threatened) could lead to more antagonistic attitudes against the enemy. This would favor the communists, who were more involved in the resistance movement and who stood up more forcefully against the Nazis. On the other hand, civilians could blame the partisan brigades (and hence mainly the communists) who were responsible for the German retaliation against civilians.

Third, the German occupation could affect political organizations. Right wing parties loyal to Mussolini were obviously more free to organize themselves in the areas under German occupation. But the presence of active partisan brigades could also matter, since the post-war party system grew out of the resistance movement, and partisan brigades could be also exploited to build grassroots organizations, as stressed by Costalli and Ruggeri (2015). Through these supply side channels, a longer German occupation could thus give an advantage to the Communist Party (since its partisan brigades were more active and better organized), as well as to the right-wing parties loyal to Mussolini.

Finally, the presence of the Allies is specular to that of the Germans. This too could matter, since the Allies (and the US commands in particular) favored the catholics over the communists. This bias could be reflected in the Allies propaganda or in their support of specific political organizations, thus affecting both the demand and the supply side of Italian post-war politics.

4.2 Estimation strategy

Our estimation strategy exploits geographic heterogeneity in the duration and nature of the German occupation. For military reasons, the German occupation was longer and more violent in some areas than in others. We

exploit this exogenous source of variation to estimate correlations with post-war election outcomes.

Our main analysis exploits variation in the *duration* of the German occupation. Through RDD, we compare post-war political outcomes in municipalities just above and below the Gothic line. As already explained, this line divided the battlefront for several months and the German troops remained North of the line between late October 1944 and late April 1945. The treatment for being North of the line, therefore, is a longer exposure to the Nazi occupation. This also means a longer duration of the civil war, of active resistance movements, and of exposure to (actual or threatened) Nazi violence.

The choice of the original Gothic line was done by the Germans according to military criteria. Political preferences of the local population had no role in this choice, and the presence of partisan brigades was similar on both sides of the line (see below). More importantly, as discussed in subsection 2.2.1 above, the final position of the Gothic line is not the one that was originally chosen by the German commands. The original Gothic line (labeled "Fall 1944" in Figure 2) was only held by the Germans until mid-September 1944, when it was breached by the Allies. Thereafter the Germans retreated North, to the line labeled "Nov.1944 - Apr.1945" in Figure 2. This last line of defense was fortified later on, and was held for the longest period. This is where we apply RDD.

The final position of this last line of defense was not only the outcome of a German decision. It was also largely due to random events, that forced the Allies to stop their offensive between late October 1944 and the Spring of 1945. In Mid August 1944, the Allies withdrew several divisions from the Italian front, to launch a new offensive in Southern France. This decision was highly controversial: it was supported by the Americans, who wanted to create a distraction for the Germans from the ongoning battles in the rest of France, but it was opposed by the British, who instead aimed to have a stronger offensive in Italy. In the end the American point of view prevailed, and this weakened the efforts of the Allies in Italy at a critical point in time (see Churchill, 1959). A second important random event was the weather, that deteriorated harshly in late October and seriously hampered the Allies initiative. These are the words used by Churchill to describe those critical moments in October 1944: "The weather was appalling. Heavy rains had swollen the numberless rivers and irrigation channels [....]. Off the roads movement was often impossible. It was with the greatest difficulty that the

troops toiled forward. [...] Not until the spring were the armies rewarded with the victory they had so well earned, and so nearly won, in the autumn." (see Churchill, 1959, p.839).

Our identifying assumption thus is that, after controlling for distance (or for latitude and longitude), being just North or South of the Gothic Line is a random event uncorrelated with other unobservable determinants of political outcomes. This assumption can be tested and cannot be rejected for a number of observables, with an exception discussed below. Any difference in political outcomes between municipalities North or South of the Gothic Line can thus be attributed to the difference in the duration of German occupation.[6]

Formally, we define d_i as the distance (in km) from the Gothic line with negative (positive) values identifying towns South (North) of the line, and we restrict the sample to towns in the interval $d_i \in [-\Delta, +\Delta]$ to estimate the model:

$$Y_i = \sum_{k=0}^{p} (\delta_k d_i^{*k}) + T_i \sum_{k=0}^{p} (\gamma_k d_i^{*k}) + \beta' X_i + \eta_i, \tag{1}$$

where T_i is a dummy identifying whether the municipality i is North or South of the Gothic line, Y_i any post-treatment outcome, X_i a vector of (time-invariant and pre-treatment) covariates including longitude and latitude, p the order of the (spline) polynomial regression, and η_i the usual error term. The bandwidth Δ is either a (multiple) discretionary threshold or an optimal bandwidth as in Calonico et al. (2016). As a result, γ_0 identifies the treatment effect of interest.

RDD allows us to estimate the causal effect of the German occupation on post-war elections, but does not uniquely identify a particular mechanism. To discriminate between alternative hypotheses, we also exploit variation in the *intensity of violence* of the Nazi occupation. If intensity of violence is

[6]In principle, similar estimates could be done around the Gustav line, where the Germans also stood for several months. A number of reasons discouraged us from doing so, however. First, the battle for the Gustav line occurred much earlier in time, when the Resistance movement was not yet organized. The civil war did not reach those areas, and the civilian population did not suffer as much damage and casualties as in Central Italy. This also reflected German orders, that became much more intolerant and aggressive against civilians only at a later stage (see Gentile, 2015). Second, pre-war voting outcomes are missing for a large number of municipalities around the Gustav. Third, for municipalities for which pre-war data are available, there is evidence of imbalance in pre-war votes around the Gustav line.

correlated with specific election outcomes, this suggests that the German occupation directly affected political attitudes of citizens, since there is no a priori reason why intensity of violence should affect political organizations.

We cannot estimate the treatment effect of German violence by RDD, however. In the RDD, the treatment (a longer duration of the German occupation) does not imply more violence above the Gothic line. In fact, as shown below, there was much war violence also South of the line, during the German retreat, since the resistance movements were also active in that area before the German retreat. Hence, when estimating the effect of the intensity of Nazi violence on election outcomes, we have to rely on different methods.

Specifically, we estimate a number of alternative specifications by OLS throughout Italy, with different indicators or proxies for Nazi violence. Our identifying assumptions are more restrictive, because variation in indicators of Nazi violence is not entirely exogenous. Hence, the evidence on the effect of the intensity of violence is suggestive of a mechanism, but cannot be taken as entirely causal.

In the next section we illustrate the RDD estimates on the effects of the duration of the Nazi occupation and discuss alternative interpretations of these findings. Section 6 presents the OLS estimates on the effect of the intensity of Nazi violence.

5 RDD on the Duration of the German Occupation

This section compares outcomes in municipalities just above and just below the Gothic line. Throughout we report five sets of RDD estimates. In the first four regressions, the forcing variable, distance from the Gothic line, is expressed as a first and second degree spline polynomial, and the sample is restricted to municipalities within 50 km and 100 km from the line. Following Gelman and Imbens (2014), we don't report polynomial specifications of higher degree. The fifth specification is a local linear regression, estimated as in Calonico et al. (2016). In subsection 5.4 we discuss additional estimates to assess the robustness of our results.

5.1 Balance tests

We start by reporting balance tests for the observables collected. Results are shown in Table 2. Very few estimated coefficients are statistically significant, and no consistent pattern emerges. In particular, female population is always balanced, which helps comparability between pre-war and post-war elections – Italy adopted universal suffrage only after World War II. Note that almost all of these variables have highly significant estimated coefficients in the OLS regressions estimated in Table 8 below (coefficients not reported), suggesting that they are relevant correlates of political outcomes. Overall, we infer that the sample is balanced above and below the line.

In Table 3, Panel A we consider pre-war political variables. Vote shares in 1919 and 1924 seem balanced. The 1921 election outcomes seem more unbalanced, with the socialist and communist parties having more votes above the line. To cope with this potential problem, in what follows we also report results of the post-war vote shares conditional on pre-war elections. Note however that the 1921 political variables are statistically different from zero in only some of the RDD specifications of Table 3, unlike what happens for the main post-war political outcomes discussed below.

A possible concern is that the slight unbalance in the 1921 vote could have grown larger during the fascist period. Unfortunately we don't observe political attitudes in the intervening years. Nevertheless, we can test whether the presence of partisan brigades, and in particular of communist brigades, is balanced above and below the line. The partisan brigades were a grassroots movement, and a significantly higher propensity to side with the communist during the fascist period could show up in a more diffused presence of partisan brigades. The results are displayed in Table 3, Panel B, where the outcome variable are the presence of a partisan brigade (any brigade or a communist brigade), and the minimum distance from partisan brigades (communist or any). Note that these variables do not measure the intensity nor the duration of partisan activities, but only whether partisan brigades were present in the area. The estimated coefficients on the dummy variable for the presence of a partisan brigade are generally statistically not significant and sometimes are negative, rejecting the hypothesis that partisan brigades were more diffuse North of the line. Likewise, distance from a partisan brigade does not exhibit a consistent pattern of significance, and if anything distance seems to be larger (i.e., with a positive coefficient) above the line. This is also suggested visually by Figure 3, that illustrates the presence of partisan brigades.

5.2 The 1946 and 1948 elections

We start by illustrating the difference between communist vs catholic votes in 1946. To remove possible effects of the slight imbalance in the 1921 elections, in Figure 4 we depict the difference in comunist and catholic vote in 1946, conditional on pre-war elections. Specifically, first we take the difference between the communist and catholic vote shares in 1946, and then we regress it on the vote shares of communist and socialist, and of the catholic, in all three pre-war elections (1919, 1921, and 1924); Figure 4 depicts the estimated residuals of the difference in communist vs catholic vote shares. Darker shades correspond to a larger communist vs catholic vote (black indicates a missing observation). Overall, the figure suggests that a longer German occupation is associated with left-wing radicalism, compared to what happens below the line.

The formal RDD tests reported in Table 4 confirm this visual impression. Electoral outcomes refer to the 1946 election to the Constitutional assembly and the 1948 political elections. In 1946 the Communist Party ran alone, while in 1948 it merged with the Socialist Party in the so called Popular Front (*Communist and Socialist* in the Table). For comparison we also report the sum of socialist and communist votes in 1946. Panel A reports unconditional election outcomes. Panel B refers to conditional outcomes, namely the regressors also include the vote shares of communist and socialist, and of the catholic, in all three pre-war elections (1919, 1921 and 1924). This same conditioning method is used in all the analysis reported below. Conditioning on pre-war political outcomes takes care of the concern raised in the previous subsection, that municipalities above the line seemed already more likely to vote left in the 1921 election.

The results are very stark: for all estimation methods and for all indicators, the average vote share of the Communist Party (or of communist and socialist together) is significantly larger above the Gothic line. The size of the estimated coefficient is also very large, generally about 9 percentage points or higher, depending on the estimation method and the outcome measure. Within 100 Km of the Gothic line, the Communist Party obtained on average about 32% of the votes, thus the effect of being above the line corresponds to about 28% of the average vote share. In the conditional regressions and in some of the robustness checks discussed below, the effect of being above the line is stronger on the communist vote alone than on the communist and socialist combined, suggesting that the effect is mainly a shift to the extreme

left.

The stronger communist vote is largely at the expenses of the moderate catholic party. The catholic vote share is systematically lower above the Gothic line, by about 5 percentage points in the conditional estimates (about 16% of the average vote obtained by the catholics within 100 km of the Gothic line). The vote share for the extreme right (MSI plus other right-wing parties) is balanced around the Gothic line in 1946, but it is smaller North of the line in the 1948 election, by about 1/2 a percentage point in the conditional estimates. Note that the gain in the communist vote is generally estimated to be larger than the catholic (plus right-wing) loss, implying that other parties (the Socialist Party or other centrist parties) lost votes to the communists North of the line. Moreover, the composition of the moderate vote North of the line shifted towards the extreme right, since the catholic party lost many more votes than the extreme right-wing parties. Thus, overall the longer Nazi occupation and civil war induced a shift to the extreme left in the immediate post-war elections, and increased the polarization of the electorate.

Finally, we also estimated these same RDD regressions with voters' turnout as the dependent variable, but found no significant discontinuity (results available upon request).

Figures 5 and 6 illustrate graphically the main polynomial regressions reported in the tables above, using a second order polynomial to fit the data. Each dot in the figures represents the average vote share in municipalities within 10 km intervals North/South of the Gothic line (distance measured from the city hall). A statistically significant discontinuity is clearly visible, and it is particularly strong for the communist vote in 1946 (conditional or unconditional on pre-war elections).

5.3 Persistence

Were these political effects a short lived reaction to the events associated with the war, or did they persist over time? The answer is that they lasted for several decades, until the end of the First Republic in 1992. Figure 7 illustrates the pattern of RDD coefficients and confidence intervals for all elections between 1946 and 1992, estimated by local linear regressions conditioning on pre-war election outcomes (the last column in Panel B of Table 4). The left-wing parties retained a gain above the Gothic line, that shrinks from about 9 towards 5 percentage points in the early 1990s and remains statistically significant. The catholic party bears a loss of votes of 4-5 percentage

points, also declining slightly in absolute value and statistically significant throughout the period. Interestingly, the extreme right-wing parties also lose votes above the line, but only from the 1950s onwards, and this effect too is quite persistent. Overall, the political effects of being exposed to a longer German occupation North of the Gothic line are very large and persistent.

This persistence has two alternative interpretations. First, there was a lasting effect on voters' attitudes. This would be consistent with existing evidence that political attitudes are transmitted within the family and are highly persistent (e.g. Avdeenko and Siedler, 2016, Ojeda and Hatemi, 2015). The survey discussed in Section 7 supports this explanation, since we find that left-wing orientation today is correlated with a stronger memory of the civil war and with more congruence of the individual vote with that of the father. The second possibility is that there was a short term effect on political outcomes (due to a temporary effect on voters' attitudes or on political organizations) and this persisted over time due to a local incumbency advantage that enabled the Communist Party to preserve its gains over time. Although we cannot rule it out, this explanation is not very plausible, however, because municipal governments had very few policy tools at their disposal before 1993.

Finally, we also explored whether being North of the Gothic line alters the dynamics of election outcomes, by estimating an AR(1) process of the vote shares above and below the line, and by estimating the correlation of vote shares in all subsequent dates with the vote shares in 1946 or 1948. The answer is that there is no significant difference in these statistics just above and just below the line. Thus, the historical events associated with the German occupation had persistent political effects, but it did not alter the dynamic correlations of electoral outcomes.

5.4 Robustness

In this subsection we discuss the robustness of these inferences. Figure 8 reports placebo tests for the main variables of interest. We shifted the location of the Gothic line North or South of its true position by 10 km at a time, up to a distance of plus or minus 100 km, and by 50 km at a time, up to a distance of 250 km. Estimation is by local linear regression as in the last column of Table 4. The results indicate a clear discontinuity in the estimated coefficient at the location of the Gothic line. The catholic vote also displays a clear discontinuity, though the pattern is perhaps more ambiguous. Note that, North of the true position, the estimated coefficients of the comunist

vote change gradually with the distance from the true Gothic line, consistently with the idea that the effect of the German occupation tends to be stronger for all municipalities above the line, and not just for those located very close to the line.

As a further check of the hypothesis that our results don't reflect pre-existing differences around the Gothic line, we also estimated the same placebo tests on pre-war electoral outcomes. No clear pattern is evident, and the true location of the Gothic line generally does not stand out relative to the other positions—see Figures B.1 and B.2 in the Appendix.

We also performed the same RDD analysis of Table 4 on the other two lines depicted in Figure 2 South of the final battlefront, namely the original Gothic line (labeled "Fall 1944") and the Southern-most line (labeled "Allies") where the Allies initially stopped in the Summer of 1944. No robust discontinuity on political outcomes is estimated around these two lines.

It is particularly reassuring that the more local we get with our RDD estimation methods, the more robust the results are, exactly the opposite of what happens with the balance tests on pre-war political variables discussed above.

As apparent from Figure 4, voting outcomes also exhibit some patterns in the East-West direction. We thus want to be sure that the RDD estimates only reflect the impact of being North vs South of the line, without being contaminated by other geographic patterns in the data. For this purpose, we performed a number of robustness checks.

First, we estimate the same regressions with a first and second degree spline polynomial in distance that also includes as regressors a first and second degree polynomial in latitude and longitude, as well as the interaction of latitude and longitude and the same interaction squared. The local linear regressions are estimated on the residuals of an OLS regression on the relevant independent variables. Thus, the unconditional estimates are run on the residuals of a regression of the vote shares on the latitude and longitude terms; and the conditional estimates are run on the residuals of a regression that, besides the latitude and longitude terms, also includes the pre-war election outcomes. All results remain very similar to those reported above and are shown in Table B.1 in the Appendix.

Second, we split the Gothic line in 25 Km intervals and we test our hypothesis (again with spline polynomials and local linear regressions) including fixed effects (FE) for each interval. In the spline polynomials they are included amongst the regressors. The local linear regressions are estimated

on the residuals of an OLS regression on the relevant independent variables. Thus, the unconditional estimates are run on the residuals of a regression of the vote shares on these 25 Km intervals FE; and the conditional estimates are run on the residuals of a regression that, besides the 25 Km intervals FE, also includes the pre-war election outcomes. This is equivalent to comparing municipalities above and below the line within each of these 25 Km intervals. Table B.2 in the Appendix display the results. All estimates are robust in terms of significance and magnitude. Results are very similar if we also include a first degree polynomial in latitude and longitude in the same FE regressions estimated with a spline polynomial in distance from the line. As a further check, we also included fixed effects for the electoral districts in the main regressions of Table 4 (there are 6 electoral districts within 50 Km of the Gothic line, and the line cuts through 3 of them). The results (available upon requests) are unaffected.

Third, and as a further robustness check on the estimation method, we estimate the coefficients of interest with a nearest neighborhood matching estimator based on Euclidean distance (with replacement). In the conditional estimates, the dependent variable is the residual of post-war outcomes on all pre-war vote shares. We report two sets of matching estimates: one where we match based on latitude and longitude only, the other based on latitude, longitude and pre-war electoral outcomes. These estimators thus compare political outcomes for any municipality above the line with the closest municipality below the line (according to the selected measures of distance). As discussed by Keele and Titiunik (2014), this estimation method thus avoids the pitfall of giving more weight to comparisons of municipalities that have a similar distance from the line, but that are very far apart from each other in a spatial (or other) dimension. The results, shown in Table B.3 in the Appendix, remain statistically significant for municipalities up to a distance of 50 Km from the line for the left-wing parties, although the estimates are somewhat smaller, while the results on catholic vote shares are weaker. At a distance of 100 Km most estimated coefficients loose statistical significance, but this is less worrying because identification is sharper closer to the line.

Finally, we assessed the robustness of the results to the method of dealing with missing observations. Table B.4 in the Appendix reports the (unconditional) RDD estimates on the full sample that also includes municipalities for which all pre-war elections data are missing. The communist vote share in 1946 remains significantly higher above the line (by about 7 percentage

points) in some though not all specifications, but in this sample the loss of votes of the catholic party and the gains in communits plus socialist votes are no longer statistically significant. Thus the results are weaker in the full sample, though we have no way of assessing whether this is due to some pre-existing imbalance in the vote shares of the 1920s. Table B.5 in the Appendix restricts the sample in the opposite direction, namely we only include municipalities for which we have data on all three pre-war elections (thus avoiding any imputation). Here the RDD estimates (conditional and unconditional) reveal even stronger effects than in the default sample, for both communist and catholic vote shares.[7]

Overall these robustness checks confirm that the positive effect on the communist vote share is very robust, while the inference that the increase in the communist vote is only at the expense of the catholic vote (rather than also at the expense of the socialists or of other moderate parties) is more sensitive to the sample and to the estimation method.

5.5 Discussion

How could the prolonged German occupation and associated civil war in Northern and Central Italy have such important political effects? As already mentioned, there are several potential channels, some operating on the supply side, others on the demand side of the political system.

Supply side effects. On the supply side, the Gothic line could make a difference for the ability of the new political parties to establish and consolidate their new organizations. Costalli and Ruggeri (2015) in particular argue that the partisan brigades could be exploited to build grassroots party organizations, and this favored the communist party that was more active in the partisan movement.

We have already seen that the presence of partisan brigades is balanced above and below the line, however, which seems to contradict this explanation. Moreover, the right-wing parties were free to act as they wished North of the line, and yet they had no significant advantage above the line in the 1946 election, and actually lost votes from 1948 onwards relative to

[7]With this smaller sample of observations, and unlike in the last column of Table 4, here the local linear regressions have to be estimated on the residuals of the vote shares on pre-war voting outcomes.

municipalities below the line (see Figure 7).

Nevertheless, the Gothic line could have made a difference on political organizations even with a balanced partisan presence. South of the line, all parties were free to organize themselves openly and transparently from the Fall of 1944 onwards. North of the line, on the other hand, party organizations had to remain hidden for longer and could emerge only once the war ended; but the Communist Party had more time than its political rivals to consolidate its organization, because it could exploit its stronger links with the partisan brigades. If so, this would imply that the treatment effect of a longer German occupation is stronger in the areas with active partisan brigades, compared to the areas with no brigades. This hypothesis too is rejected by the data, however. Table 5 splits the sample according to whether a left-wing partisan brigade was (or wasn't) active in the municipality. The treatment effect of a longer German occupation on the communist vote is not stronger (if anything it is weaker) in the areas with active left-wing partisan brigades, contradicting the idea that the brigades gave the Communist Party an advantage North of the line. We also estimate the spline polynomial regressions (including the dummy variable for being North of the line) on the unified sample, but adding to the RHS a dummy variable for the presence of left-wing partisan brigades as well as its interaction with being North of the line. The estimated coefficient on the interaction variable always has a negative coefficient, which sometimes is statistically significant, suggesting that the presence of left-wing partisan brigades, if anything, dampens the treatment effect of a longer German occupation (results not shown). Similar results hold for the catholic vote if we split the sample according to the presence of any partisan brigade (results not shown).

Demand side effects. The alternative explanation is that the Gothic line made a difference on the demand side, namely on political attitudes.

Note first of all that the data reject the hypothesis that a longer lasting civil war led to more political radicalization on both sides: the extreme right is weaker, not stronger, North of the line. We don't observe a radicalization of political conflict, but a shift to the extreme left.

This points to another explanation: a longer exposure to the Nazi occupation led to more antagonistic attitudes towards the enemy, and this favored the Communist Party who was a stronger and more visible opponent of Nazism and Fascism. The Catholics too opposed the fascist regime

and the German occupation, but they did so with less determination and supported Mussolini at the inception of the regime. In this explanation, persistence in political attitudes can account for why the effects are so long lasting. Indeed, anecdotal evidence and the survey discussed below suggest that the values and traditions of the resistance movements and the memory of the Nazi crimes are a key and long lasting component of left-wing post-war political culture in central Italy (see Spriano, 1975).

The plausibility of this explanation would be strengthened if, where the Nazi occupation lasts longer, there is also more violence. This is not the case, however. German troops also committed much violence while retreating behind the Gothic line. This can be seen from Table 6, which reports the RDD estimates for the occurrence of at least one episode of German or fascist violence in the municipality. We also disaggregate episodes of violence by whether a majority of the victims were partisans or civilians, and by whether they occurred before or after the end of October 1944, the date when the Allies stopped South of the Gothic line. The occurrence of at least one episode of violence is roughly balanced around the Gothic line (or if anything higher below the line), although there is more violence against partisans and less violence against civilians North of the line. As expected, episodes of violence dated after October 1944 are more widespread above the line, but episodes dated October 1944 or earlier occur more frequently below the line. The left hand panel in Figure B.3 in the Appendix depicts the negative discontinuity estimated in column 4 of Table 6. Note that violence surges as one approaches the Gothic line, on both sides, in accordance with historical accounts on the behavior of German troops in the proximity to the battlefront (e.g., Gentile, 2015)[8].

Some caveats are in order in interpreting these results, however. First, the recorded episodes only capture some of the violence actually born by civilians. In particular, forced labor, evacuations of villages, deportations, are not included in the classification of episodes of violence. These other forms of violence were probably more diffuse North of the line, where the occupation lasted longer. Second, even where the violence did not actually occur, the threat of being hurt and the stress of the foreign occupation lasted

[8]Results are similar if the outcome is the number of violent episodes or the number of victims in each municipality, rather than the occurrence of at least one episode. We also performed robustness checks on the sources, combining or replacing our main source (i.e., "Atlas of Nazi and fascist massacres" ANPI-INSMLI, 2016) with other sources mentioned in the Appendix, and the results were very similar.

longer North of the line, and this too could be reflected in political attitudes.

To capture some of these other forms of violence, we collected data on the number of individuals deported for political reasons to Germany and arrested in the municipality. This outcome is reported in the last line of Table 6 and in the right hand panel of Figure B.3 in the Appendix. Here too the estimated coefficient is generally not statistically significant, although the coefficient is often positive. This variable is measured with great error, however, since we have data on only 6,500 deported individuals, out of a total of over 40,000 actually deported.

The Germans or the Allies? The Gothic line separated the German troops from the Allies. There is thus another possible interpretation of our findings: that they reflect the presence of the Allies South of the line, rather than the longer German occupation North of the line. The Allies favored the catholics and opposed the communists. This could facilitate the catholics in building their party organizations, or in spreading their ideas and shaping political attitudes.

To evaluate this interpretation, we exploit the heterogeneity in the composition and location of the Allies troops. US forces were located in the Western part of the Gothic line, while Commonwealth troops were located in the Eastern part (see Figure 9 that exploits data in Baldissara et al., 2000). Arguably the US commands were more concerned about post-war political outcomes than their Commonwealth counterparts (that besides the British divisions also included Canadian, South-African, and Indian divisions). If so, we should find a stronger RDD estimate in the Western part of the Gothic line, compared to the Eastern part.[9]To test this hypothesis, we estimated the spline polynomials (including the dummy variable for being North of the line) on the whole sample, but adding to the RHS a dummy variable for the location of US troops as well as its interaction with being North of the line. Table 7 reports the estimated coefficient of the interaction. This estimate thus reports the differential effect of being above vs below the Gothic line in the area of operation of US vs Commonwealth troops. If the coefficient is zero, there is no heterogeneity in the treatment effect. If it is positive, the

[9]We can split the municipalities South of the line according as to whether they were located in the US vs Commonwealth areas, but we cannot do so North of the line. For this purpose, we split the sample North of the line based on longitude, to match the Southern split (see Figure 9).

treatment effect is stronger in the US area, and vice versa if it is negative.

In the unconditional estimates, the interaction has a negative sign (sometimes significantly different from zero) on the communist and communist plus socialist vote, and a positive or negative sign (also sometimes significant) on the catholic vote. In other words, the treatment effect of being above the line is generally weaker in the US areas of operation, contradicting the interpretation that the estimates reflect the presence of anti-communist troops South of the line.

When considering outcomes conditional on the pre-war votes, however, the results are somewhat different. The interaction with the location of US troops continues to have no effect (in 1946) or a negative effect (in 1948) on the left-wing vote. But now the estimated coefficient on the catholic vote becomes consistently negative and sometimes it is significantly different from zero, suggesting that the treatment effect of more catholic votes South of the line is stronger in the US areas of operation.

Overall, we conclude from these estimates that the composition of the Allies troops South of the line did not matter for the positive treatment effect on the Communist vote, while the negative treatment effect on the catholic vote seems heterogeneous and may have been enhanced by the presence of US troops South of the line[10].

6 Correlation with the Intensity of Violence

In the previous section we show that the treatment of a longer German occupation increases the communist vote. We also provide evidence against the hypothesis that this is due to an effect on political organizations. This leaves us with the hypothesis that the mechanism operates through political attitudes. The RDD results do not rule out this explanation, but they provide no direct evidence supporting it either. This section and the next

[10]There is a caveat, however. Inferences about heterogeneous effects along the East-West direction are complicated by the geographic patterns of pre-war votes. Although on average the 1921 vote is approximately balanced, this is not the case in the split subsamples: the catholics were already stronger in 1921 in the North-Western part of the line, while communist and socialist received more votes in 1921 in the North-Eastern part of the line. This imbalance in the two subsamples makes it difficult to draw robust inferences from the split samples and explains why conditional and unconditional estimates of the heterogeneous effects are different.

one evaluate other evidence suggestive that the mechanism indeed operates through the demand side of politics.

We exploit geographic variation in the intensity of violence of the Nazi occupation throughout Italy and not just above vs below the Gothic line. A more violent and repressive occupation is likely to leave a stronger impression on the attitudes of the civilian population, but there is no reason why it should affect political organizations. Thus, we estimate correlations between election outcomes and variables capturing the intensity of Nazi violence. To infer causality we need stronger identifying assumptions than in the RDD, because violence is not entirely random. Nevertheless, these correlations can shed light on the underlying mechanism.

Throughout the section we estimate OLS regressions where the dependent variable is the vote share of the Communist Party in 1946 and in subsequent post-war elections (except 1948 when the communists did not present their own list). The main RHS variables of interest are different indicators of Nazi violence discussed below. We always control for the duration of the German occupation, the presence of partisan brigades, latitude, longitude, the share of illiterates and the population (in logs) both in 1951, altitude (maximum and at the city hall) and the vote shares of communists and socialists and of catholics in the 1919, 1921 and 1924 elections, as well as region (or province) fixed effects. We report robust standard errors (second row of each independent variable) and standard errors corrected for spatial correlation (third row) using Conley (1996).

Observed violence. We start by measuring Nazi violence by a dummy variable taking a value of one if in the municipality there was at least one episode of violence by Germans or fascists, as in Table 6 above. The sample is all of Italy, namely almost 5,700 municipalities on which data are available, or municipalities where the German occupation lasted at least one year (i.e., above the Gustav line depicted in Figure 1).

The OLS estimates are displayed in Table 8. In column (1) the sample is all of Italy, in the remaining columns it is restricted to municipalities were the German occupation lasted at least one year. As can be seen from columns (1) and (2), the occurrence of violence is associated with an increase in the communist vote share by over 1 percentage point. In the restricted sample above the Gustav line, half a year of additional German occupation is associated with an increase in the communist vote share of about 6 percentage points

(about 0,12 for the whole year), slightly below the RDD estimates reported above (but here estimated on a much larger sample). When considering spatially corrected standard errors, years of occupation lose significance (except in column 6 when province fixed effects are also included). This is not surprising, given that here (unlike in the RDD estimates) years of occupation are mainly measured at the provincial level. The presence of partisan brigades is not correlated with the communist vote, confirming the RDD analysis.

Not all Nazi violence was immotivated or directed against civilians. Some of it was in retaliation for previous partisan attacks, or to prevent future attacks. Indeed, anecdotal evidence suggests that often local residents also blamed the partisans for the German retaliation. If so, we should find that unmotivated violence was more likely to shift votes towards the communists. To evaluate this hypothesis, column (3) adds the interaction between violence and the presence of any partisan brigade in the municipality. Its estimated coefficient is negative and has a p-value of 0.052 (with robust standard errors), and the estimated coefficient on violence alone increases. Thus, as expected, the occurrence of Nazi violence is associated with a shift towards the Communist Party mainly or only if partisans are not active in the area. This finding is reassuring also because it reduces identification concerns about omitted variables possibly correlated with the propensity to resist German troops and the communist vote. We also have information on whether the majority of the victims of violence were civilians or partisans. Violence against civilians is more strongly correlated with the communist vote, although violence against partisans also has a negative point estimate (results not shown).

Location of violent Nazi troops. As documented in the detailed reconstruction by Gentile (2015), much of the German violence against civilians was due to two special divisions, the 16th SS-Panzer-Grenadier-Division "Reichsfuhrer-SS" and the "Hermann Goering" division. This can be seen in Figure B.4 in the Appendix, that traces the location of these two divisions with a dot. The shaded areas refer to the number of recorded violent episodes against civilians (darker areas denote a higher number of episodes). Clearly the location of these two divisions is associated with a higher density of criminal episodes, particularly in central Italy. Even when no violence was recorded in historical sources, these special troops are more likely to have scared or harassed the local population, compared to other German troops.

We thus explore the correlation between voting outcomes and the location of these special divisions.

In columns (4) to (6) of Table 8, we add to the previous specifications a dummy variable for the presence of the "Reichsfuhrer-SS" or the "Hermann Goering" divisions within 15 km from the city hall.[11] Column (6) replaces region with province fixed effects. The estimated coefficients on the remaining variables remain largely unaffected, and the new dummy variable has a positive and highly significant estimated coefficient. In the municipalities affected by the passage of these violent troops, the Communist Party receives between 1.9 to 2.7 percentage points more votes, depending on the specification.

Persistence. Finally, and like in the RDD analysis, the correlations between these two indicators of violence and political outcomes are highly persistent. We estimated column (5) in Table 8 for the elections between 1953 and 1992. Figure 10 depicts the estimated coefficients and (robust) confidence intervals of the dummy variables for at least one episode of violence and for proximity to the violent German divisions. The estimates remain significantly different from zero and drop only marginally in value. Exposure to violence during WWII is associated with a persistent increase in the communist vote share that varies between 1 and 3 percentage points depending on the proxy for violence and on the election year.

These estimates cannot be taken as entirely causal. Some (though not all) of the German violence was in retaliation against previous attacks by partisan troops, or induced by local hostility, so that there could be some relevant omitted variables. Similarly, it is possible that elite troops were deliberately sent in areas with stauncher Italian opposition and more local communist support. According to the description by Gentile (2015), however, this does not seem likely. The location of these special divisions was generally driven by military or logistical concerns (the war against the Allies, or the need to rest and train new conscripts). Moreover, the specification controls for the presence of partisan brigades (alone and interacted with observed violence) and for pre-war voting outcomes. Although not conclusive, therefore, these

[11] Interacting this new dummy variable with the presence of partisan brigades in the municipality does not affect any of the results, and the estimated coefficient on the interaction variable is not significantly different from zero. Results are similar if the dummy variable is redefined to capture municipalities within 10 km (rather than 15 km) from these two German divisions.

estimates support the idea that Nazi violence induced citizens to identify with radical political forces willing to resist the enemy, namely the communists.

7 Survey

Why did a longer lasting German occupation lead to a shift towards left-wing political extremism? Although not conclusive, the evidence discussed above suggests that the answer has to do with how individual attitudes reacted to a prolonged exposure to the violent Nazi occupation and to the civil war.

To further corroborate this interpretation, in November-December 2015 we conducted a survey of residents near the Gothic line. Our goal was to assess whether the memory of the Nazi occupation and of the civil war is stronger North of the Gothic line; whether anti-German sentiments are stronger today North of the line; and whether left-wing political preferences are correlated with the memory of the Nazi occupation.

We conducted telephone interviews of 2,525 individuals, with at least 20 years of residency in their current municipality and above 40 years of age. The survey was conducted in 242 municipalities within 50 km from the Gothic line (137 above and 105 below the line). All municipalities had a population of less than 25,000 inhabitants in 2011, and at least 7 individuals were interviewed in each municipality. The telephone interview lasted on average about 10 minutes, and contained about 30 questions, including questions about current socio-economic status. Table B.6 in the Appendix provides the summary statistics of the main variables of interest. Note that the sample of (phone) respondents is not representative of the voting population: it is older, since we imposed the requirement that age is above 40, and women are over-represented—they are about 70% in our sample.

Table 9 reports the balance test around the Gothic line for a number of socio-demographic variables and for political preferences. A more definition is in Table B.7 in the Appendix, together with the specific questions asked. Political preferences are elicited by asking: "How would you define your political position with a single word?" Possible answers are: left, center-left, center right, right, independent, no answer. All variables are balanced, except perhaps for age, that seems slightly younger North of the line. There is also no evidence that today respondents North of the line are more likely to vote left, compared to those South of the line. This difference between our Survey and the historical voting outcomes is likely to reflect the evolution of

the Italian political system in the Second Republic (the Communist Party no longer exists, and its current re-incarnation, the Democratic Party, is a social democratic party).

A more protracted and intense civil war should leave a stronger mark in the memory of citizens and on local traditions. Our survey thus included a number of questions to explore whether this is so. Specifically we asked: "Do you remember or were you told whether a member of your family: was a victim of violence during WWII / took part in the civil war / as a partisan or as a supporter of Mussolini?" We also asked whether the municipality ever organized events to commemorate the resistance movement and whether the respondent ever participated in such events. Table 10, Panel A displays the RDD estimates around the Gothic line. As expected, the memory of the civil war is stronger North of the line: except for having a family member who was victim of violence, all other estimated coefficients in Table 10, Panel A are positive, and several of them are statistically significant.

In the same spirit, we attempted to elicit anti-German sentiments, by asking the following questions. First, we asked whether the respondent agreed with the statements that the Euro had been beneficial for Italy, and that the Euro increased the risk of an excessive predominance of Germany. Since the Euro has been extensively criticized in the Italian press for being a straitjacket imposed by Germany, disagreement with the first statement and agreement with the second one can be interpreted as reflecting an unsympathetic attitude towards Germany. Second, after a preliminary question suggesting that a wedding within the same nationality was more likely to be successful, we asked to rank the preferred nationality for the spouse of a close relative, choosing between German, Polish, British, and French. Table 10, Panel B presents the RDD estimates, after recoding all the variables so that a positive coefficient indicates anti-German sentiment North of the line. All estimates have the expected positive sign, except for wedding preferences of French vs German, and (in one column) British vs German. Only a few of these estimates are statistically significant, however, suggesting only weak evidence of more anti-German sentiments North of the Gothic line.[12]

[12]Besides the questions discussed above, the survey also included three questions that we did not use. First, a question on trust, that asked to rank different nationalities in terms trustworthiness. This question was added later once the survey had already started, however, and as a result it was available only for a selected subsample of respondents. Second, we asked whether the respondent was surprised by the Volkswagen emission scandal. Interpreting this question was difficult however, and we ended up not using it. Third, we

Finally, we explore the correlations between individual political positions and the memory of the civil war, in the whole sample of respondents. The results are shown in Table 11 for different specifications. In columns 1 and 2, the dependent variable is a dummy variable that equals one if the individual political position is left or center-left, and estimation is by OLS [13]. In columns 3 and 4 estimation is by ordered probit, and the dependent variable equals 2 if the political position is left, 1 if it is center-left, and 0 otherwise. Throughout we control for gender, age, years of education, and dummy variables for home ownership, college education, having children, vital record and being North of the Gothic line. As expected, individuals with a family member who took part in the civil war, or who suffered from WWII violence, or living in a municipality that commemorated the resistance are more likely be on the left, irrespective of the specification. A left-wing position is also more likely if political attitudes when young were congruent with their father's position (congruence is defined as casting a vote similar to that of the father in their first election). Altogether these results suggest that a left-wing position is indeed more likely for individuals who retain a stronger memory of the civil war, and indirectly support the idea that a stronger exposure to the civil war left a persistent mark on political attitudes in favor of the Communist Party.[14]

8 Concluding Remarks

The civil war and the Nazi occupation occurred at a critical historical juncture, just before the birth of a new democracy and the establishment of a new party system. For the first time in a generation Italian citizens were choosing political affiliations and forming political identities. In this paper we exploit the geographic heterogeneity in the duration and intensity of the Nazi occupation and of the civil war, to study how these traumatic events

asked who had greater responsibility for the Greek crisis, whether Greece, Germany or the European Union. Answers to all these questions were balanced around the Gothic line.

[13] results are almost identical if we estimate by probit, results available upon request

[14] We also estimated the above regressions including the two indicators of anti-Euro sentiments (whether harmful for Italy or whether at risk of an excessive German influence). The estimated coefficients on these variables are negative and significant. This is not surprising, because right-wing parties in Italy have taken a much more critical stance against the Euro, while the left is credited (or criticized) for having brought Italy in the Euro area under the Prodi government.

shaped the newly born political system.

Our main finding is that, where the foreign occupation and the civil war lasted longer and were more intense, the radical left emerged as a much stronger political force. This effect was not just a temporary reaction to the war traumas, but persisted until the early Nineties, leaving a legacy of left-wing political extremism in the Italian political system. The communist gain was mainly (but not only) at the expense of the catholic party.

What accounts for this large effect? And why is it so persistent? We discussed two alternative explanations. They both revolve around the fact that the Communist Party was more active in the civil war and in the resistance movement. The first explanation stresses individual political attitudes: in reaction to a longer and more intense exposure to the violent Nazi occupation, voters identified with the radical political forces that stood up most forcefully against the enemy, and that in the end won the civil war. The second explanation emphasizes party organizations, and was also discussed by Costalli and Ruggeri (2015): the partisan brigades gave the communists an advantage in building a grassroots political organization in the areas where the resistance movement was active for longer.

Although we do not have a definitive answer, we provided several empirical arguments against the second explanation, on political organizations. First, there is no correlation between the presence of partisan brigades and voting outcomes; this is true both in the OLS regressions and in the RDD estimates. Second, the pro-Mussolini right-wing parties turned out to be slightly weaker, not stronger, in the areas under Nazi occupation (although the extreme right lost fewer votes than the catholics in the areas under longer German occupation).

On the other hand, several pieces of evidence support the first explanation, based on voters' attitudes. First, in the sample of all Italian municipalities, there is a strong and robust correlation between the communist vote and two indicators of Nazi violence, namely the occurrence of episodes of violence by Germans or fascists, and the location of two very violent elite German divisions or by proximity to the Gothic line. These correlations too are very persistent in the post-war period. Recorded episodes of violence are not more frequent above the Gothic line, however. Second, a survey conducted in 2015 in municipalities around the Gothic line reveals that individuals with a stronger memory of the civil war are more likely to lean to the left. Moreover, there is a stronger memory of the civil war in the municipalities above the line, that endured a longer Nazi occupation.

References

Acharya, A., Blackwell, M., and Sen, M. (2015). Explaining attittudes from behavior: A cognitive dissonance approach.

ANPI-INSMLI (2016). Atlante delle stragi naziste e fasciste in italia. `http://www.straginazifasciste.it/?lang=en`, visited on April 28, 2016.

Avdeenko, A. and Siedler, T. (2016). Intergenerational correlations of extreme right-wing party preferences and attitudes toward immigration. *The Scandinavian Journal of Economics*.

Balcells, L. (2011). Continuation of politics by two means: Direct and indirect violence in civil war. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 55(3):397–422.

Baldissara, L. et al. (2000). *Atlante storico della Resistenza italiana*. B. Mondadori.

Bellows, J. and Miguel, E. (2009). War and local collective action in Sierra Leone. *Journal of Public Economics*, 93(11):1144–1157.

Blattman, C. (2009). From violence to voting: War and political participation in Uganda. *American Political Science Review*, 103(02):231–247.

Bocca, G. (2012). *Storia dell'Italia partigiana*. Feltrinelli Editore.

Calonico, S., Cattaneo, M. D., Farrell, M. H., and Titiunik, R. (2016). rdrobust: Software for regression discontinuity designs. Working paper, University of Michigan.

Calonico, S., Cattaneo, M. D., and Titiunik, R. (2014). Robust nonparametric confidence intervals for regression-discontinuity designs. *Econometrica*, 82(6):2295–2326.

Canetti, D. and Lindner, M. (2015). Exposure to political violence and political behavior. *Psychology of Change: Life Contexts, Experiences, and Identities, ed. Katherine Reynolds and Nyla Branscombe. New York: Psychology Press*, pages 77–95.

Canetti-Nisim, D., Halperin, E., Sharvit, K., and Hobfoll, S. E. (2009). A new stress-based model of political extremism personal exposure to terrorism, psychological distress, and exclusionist political attitudes. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 53(3):363–389.

Churchill, W. (1959). *Memoirs of the Second World War: An Abridgement of the Six Volumes of The Second World War*. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston.

Collotti, E., Sandri, R., and Sessi, F. (2000). *Dizionario della resistenza*. G. Einaudi.

Collotti, E., Sandri, R., and Sessi, F. (2006). *Dizionario della resistenza*. G. Einaudi.

Commissione storica italo-tedesca, . (2012). Banca dati delle violenze nazi-fasciste denunciate dai Carabinieri (1944-1946). Giugno 2012.

Conley, T. G. (1996). *Econometric modelling of cross-sectional dependence*. PhD thesis, Department of Economics, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL.

Corbetta, P. and Piretti, M. S. (2009). *Atlante storico-elettorale d'Italia: 1861-2008*. Zanichelli.

Costalli, S. and Ruggeri, A. (2015). Forging political entrepreneurs: Civil war effects on post-conflict politics in Italy. *Political Geography*, 44:40–49.

Ferwerda, J. and Miller, N. L. (2014). Political devolution and resistance to foreign rule: A natural experiment. *American Political Science Review*, 108(03):642–660.

Fouka, V. and Voth, H.-J. (2013). Reprisals remembered: German-Greek conflict and car sales during the Euro crisis.

Gelman, A. and Imbens, G. (2014). Why high-order polynomials should not be used in regression discontinuity designs. Technical report, National Bureau of Economic Research.

Gentile, C. (2015). *I crimini di guerra tedeschi in Italia (1943-1945)*. Einaudi.

Grosjean, P. (2014). Conflict and social and political preferences: Evidence from World War ii and civil conflict in 35 European countries. *Comparative Economic Studies*, 56(3):424–451.

Keele, L. J. and Titiunik, R. (2014). Geographic boundaries as regression discontinuities. *Political Analysis*, page mpu014.

Kocher, M. A. and Monteiro, N. P. (2015). What's in a line? natural experiments and the line of demarcation in wwii occupied france. Available at SSRN: http://ssrn.com/abstract=2555716 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2555716.

Leoni, F. (2001). *Storia dei partiti politici italiani*. Guida editori.

Mantelli, B. and Tranfaglia, N. (2013). *Il libro dei deportati*, volume 3. Ugo Mursia Editore.

Matta, T. (1996). *Un percorso della memoria: guida ai luoghi della violenza nazista e fascista in Italia*. Mondadori Electa.

Mayhew, D. R. (2004). *Electoral realignments: A critique of an American genre*. Yale University Press.

Miguel, E., Saiegh, S. M., and Satyanath, S. (2011). Civil war exposure and violence. *Economics & Politics*, 23(1):59–73.

Montemaggi, A. (1980). *L'offensiva della linea gotica: Autunno 1944*. Giudicini e Rosa.

Ochsner, C. and Roesel, F. (2016). Migrating extremists. *CESifo Working Paper No. 5799*.

Ojeda, C. and Hatemi, P. K. (2015). Accounting for the child in the transmission of party identification. *American Sociological Review*, 80(6):11501174.

Pavone, C. (1991). *Una guerra civile. Saggio storico sulla moralit nella Resistenza*. Bollati Boringhieri, Torino.

Rochat, G. (2005). *Le guerre italiane 1935-1943: dall'impero d'Etiopia alla disfatta*. G. Einaudi.

Romanelli, R. (1995). *Storia dello Stato italiano dallUnità a oggi*. Donzelli Editore, Roma.

Ronchetti, G. (2009). *La linea gotica: i luoghi dell'ultimo fronte di guerra in Italia*. Mattioli 1885.

Spriano, P. (1967-1975). *Storia del Partito comunista italiano*. Einaudi Editore, Torino.

Sundquist, J. L. (2011). *Dynamics of the party system: Alignment and realignment of political parties in the United States*. Brookings Institution Press.

Voigtländer, N. and Voth, H.-J. (2012). Persecution perpetuated: the medieval origins of anti-Semitic violence in Nazi Germany. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 127(3):1339–1392.

Tables and Figures

Table 1: Summary Statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	Sd	Min	Max
Communist 1946 (%)	5559	0.151	0.142	0	0.768
Communist and Socialist 1948 (%)	5383	0.267	0.191	0	0.809
Catholic 1946 (%)	4945	0.416	0.169	0.005	0.950
Catholic 1948 (%)	5383	0.540	0.172	0.021	0.974
Right Wing 1946 (%)	2879	0.027	0.063	0	0.788
Right Wing 1948 (%)	5383	0.032	0.061	0	0.732
Communist and Socialist 1919 (%)	5698	0.298	0.251	0	1
Communist and Socialist 1921 (%)	5698	0.270	0.213	0	1
Communist and Socialist 1924 (%)	5698	0.140	0.128	0	1
Catholics 1919 (%)	5698	0.277	0.213	0	1
Catholics 1921 (%)	5698	0.276	0.212	0	1
Catholics 1924 (%)	5698	0.138	0.153	0	1
Years of occupation	5698	1.514	0.663	0.173	1.984
Presence of left wing brigades	5698	0.269	0.444	0	1
Presence of other brigades	5698	0.091	0.288	0	1
At least one episode (Jan. 1943-Oct. 1945)	5698	0.277	0.448	0	1
Number of deported people arrested in the municipality	5698	0.990	12.472	0	560
Within 15 km of violent Nazi divisions	5698	0.183	0.387	0	1
Maximum elevation of the municipality	5698	789.374	796.054	2	4554
Elevation of the city hall	5698	316.936	290.279	0	2035
Log of total population in 1921	5698	7.776	1.024	4.431	13.561
Log of total population in 1951	5698	8.045	1.050	4.304	14.317
Share of illiterates in 1921	5698	0.236	0.201	0	0.857
Share of illiterates in 1951	5698	0.090	0.086	0	0.457
Industrial Plants per capita in 1951	5401	0.035	0.065	0.004	4.746

Table 2: Balance Tests (1)

	Polynomial Regression				Local RDD
	First order		Second order		
	50 Km	100 Km	50 Km	100 Km	
Share of illiterates 1921	-0.017	0.001	0.035	-0.008	-0.006
	(0.023)	(0.017)	(0.035)	(0.024)	(0.020)
	275	742	275	742	518
Share of illiterates 1951	-0.013	0	0.011	-0.012	-0.008
	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.012)	(0.009)	(0.008)
	275	742	275	742	413
Total population 1921	-1165	-2279	1544	-691	-1911
	(4227)	(3083)	(3634)	(4055)	(2875)
	254	702	254	702	984
Total population 1951	-192	-3164	1730	2761	1262
	(6356)	(4830)	(4860)	(6462)	(5201)
	266	729	266	729	442
Population density 1921	73.293	-116	-15.642	80.821	15.444
	(49.112)	(42.911)***	(58.389)	(50.013)	(31.767)
	275	742	275	742	188
Population density 1951	106	-107	-68.395	124	17.404
	(74.035)	(57.938)*	(80.422)	(72.687)*	(48.898)
	275	742	275	742	251
Female population 1921	-666	-1260	840	-435	-1050
	(2167)	(1580)	(1828)	(2078)	(1484)
	254	702	254	702	968
Female population 1951	-112	-1726	903	1440	732
	(3349)	(2551)	(2504)	(3413)	(2757)
	266	729	266	729	430
Plants/population in 1951	0	-0.004	0.002	0	-0.001
	(0.003)	(0.002)**	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.003)
	266	724	266	724	405
Maximum elevation	-213	-121	-174	-78.010	-100
	(164)	(101)	(248)	(169)	(120)
	275	742	275	742	742
Elevation city hall	2.267	96.470	-96.962	74.569	85.556
	(78.508)	(48.444)**	(115)	(81.763)	(56.332)
	275	742	275	742	805

Note: Coefficients presented display the difference among mean above the line minus mean below the line. Robust standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for polynomial regressions. Conventional standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for local RDD. Significance level: ***<0.01, **<0.05, *<0.1. Number of observations combined in each third row.

Table 3: Balance Tests (2)

	Polynomial Regression				Local RDD
	First order		Second order		
	50 Km	100 Km	50 Km	100 Km	
Panel A: Pre-war Election Outcomes					
Communist and Socialist 1919	0.093	0.209	-0.008	0.051	0.054
	(0.046)**	(0.034)***	(0.060)	(0.048)	(0.050)
	275	742	275	742	283
Catholics 1919	0.018	-0.065	-0.001	0.055	0.014
	(0.036)	(0.026)**	(0.050)	(0.038)	(0.037)
	275	742	275	742	354
Communist and Socialist 1921	0.087	-0.005	0.031	0.141	0.084
	(0.039)**	(0.030)	(0.052)	(0.042)***	(0.038)**
	275	742	275	742	358
Catholics 1921	-0.027	-0.023	-0.047	-0.009	-0.017
	(0.041)	(0.031)	(0.053)	(0.043)	(0.033)
	275	742	275	742	724
Communist and Socialist 1924	0.035	0.004	0.040	0.051	0.016
	(0.024)	(0.018)	(0.034)	(0.024)**	(0.018)
	275	742	275	742	927
Catholics 1924	0.024	-0.016	0.004	0.040	0.019
	(0.020)	(0.015)	(0.029)	(0.021)*	(0.019)
	275	742	275	742	368
Panel B: Partisan Brigades					
Presence of any brigade	-0.171	0.066	-0.293	-0.217	-0.229
	(0.121)	(0.088)	(0.182)	(0.127)*	(0.128)*
	275	742	275	742	256
Presence of left wing brigades	-0.019	0.146	-0.149	-0.018	-0.082
	(0.125)	(0.089)	(0.185)	(0.131)	(0.134)
	275	742	275	742	251
Min. distance from any brigade	4.681	-3.675	3.732	4.445	-1.282
	(1.892)**	(1.457)**	(2.826)	(1.986)**	(1.344)
	275	742	275	742	888
Min. distance from left wing brigade	3.687	-5.522	3.782	2.796	3.438
	(1.927)*	(1.584)***	(2.879)	(1.989)	(2.323)
	275	742	275	742	192

Note: Coefficients presented display the difference among mean above the line minus mean below the line. Robust standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for polynomial regressions. Conventional standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for local RDD. Significance level: ***<0.01, **<0.05, *<0.1. Number of observations combined in each third row.
Parties in the pre-fascist period have been lumped using as reference Leoni (2001). Distance from partisan brigades measured from the city hall to the nearest point of the area in which the brigade operated.

Table 4: Election Outcomes

	Polynomial Regression				Local RDD
	First order		Second order		
	50 Km	100 Km	50 Km	100 Km	
Panel A: Unconditional Estimates					
Communist 1946 (a)	0.132	0.165	0.097	0.106	0.124
	(0.033)***	(0.023)***	(0.046)**	(0.035)***	(0.031)***
	275	742	275	742	493
Communist and Socialist 1946 (b)	0.128	0.210	0.055	0.111	0.105
	(0.038)***	(0.026)***	(0.053)	(0.040)***	(0.042)**
	275	742	275	742	309
Communist and Socialist 1948 (b)	0.128	0.191	0.089	0.100	0.115
	(0.038)***	(0.026)***	(0.052)*	(0.039)**	(0.041)***
	275	742	275	742	309
Catholic 1946 (c)	-0.061	-0.119	-0.047	-0.056	-0.104
	(0.030)**	(0.022)***	(0.041)	(0.032)*	(0.022)***
	265	712	265	712	844
Catholic 1948 (c)	-0.091	-0.167	-0.081	-0.076	-0.088
	(0.033)***	(0.023)***	(0.045)*	(0.034)**	(0.034)***
	275	742	275	742	313
Right Wing 1946 (d)	0	-0.007	0.015	0.001	-0.007
	(0.008)	(0.004)*	(0.014)	(0.008)	(0.004)*
	93	262	93	262	429
Right Wing 1948 (d)	-0.008	-0.009	-0.002	-0.007	-0.008
	(0.003)***	(0.002)***	(0.004)	(0.003)***	(0.002)***
	275	742	275	742	829
Panel B: Estimates Conditional on Pre-war Elections					
Communist 1946 (e)	0.102	0.100	0.100	0.087	0.094
	(0.025)***	(0.020)***	(0.033)***	(0.027)***	(0.024)***
	275	742	275	742	314
Communist and Socialist 1946 (e)	0.085	0.131	0.058	0.093	0.072
	(0.028)***	(0.021)***	(0.036)	(0.031)***	(0.025)***
	275	742	275	742	342
Communist and Socialist 1948 (e)	0.092	0.108	0.089	0.080	0.082
	(0.028)***	(0.021)***	(0.037)**	(0.029)***	(0.024)***
	275	742	275	742	352
Catholic 1946 (e)	-0.035	-0.060	-0.036	-0.052	-0.047
	(0.024)	(0.016)***	(0.032)	(0.025)**	(0.019)**
	275	742	275	742	603
Catholic 1948 (e)	-0.067	-0.097	-0.078	-0.067	-0.065
	(0.026)**	(0.018)***	(0.035)**	(0.027)**	(0.023)***
	275	742	275	742	372
Right Wing 1946 (e)	-0.003	-0.008	0.013	0.001	0.009
	(0.007)	(0.004)*	(0.012)	(0.008)	(0.006)
	93	262	93	262	38
Right Wing 1948 (e)	-0.006	-0.007	-0.002	-0.006	-0.005
	(0.002)**	(0.002)***	(0.003)	(0.002)**	(0.002)***
	275	742	275	742	606

Note: Coefficients presented display the difference among mean above the line minus mean below the line. Robust standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for polynomial regressions. Conventional standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for local RDD. Significance level: ***<0.01, **<0.05, *<0.1. Number of observations combined in each third row.

(a) Communist corresponds to Italian Communist Party (PCI); (b) Communist and Socialist corresponds to Popular Front (FP) in 1948, for comparison we compute also Communist and Socialist in 1946 as Italian Communist Party (PCI) + Italian Socialist Party (PSI); (c) Catholics corresponds to Christian Democrats (DC); (d) Right Wing corresponds to Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) plus smaller parties supporting monarchy; (e) Conditional on 1919, 1921 and 1924 Catholics and Communist and Socialist vote shares.

Table 5: Election Outcomes – Presence of Partisan Brigades

	Polynomial Regression				Local RDD
	First order		Second order		
	50 Km	100 Km	50 Km	100 Km	
Panel A: Presence of left wing brigades					
Communist 1946 (a)	0.114	0.145	0.017	0.100	0.084
	(0.047)**	(0.035)***	(0.063)	(0.049)**	(0.051)*
	110	317	110	317	124
Communist and Socialist 1948 (b)	0.090	0.149	0.018	0.059	0.070
	(0.055)	(0.040)***	(0.074)	(0.055)	(0.060)
	110	317	110	317	129
Communist 1946 cond. (c)	0.107	0.101	0.044	0.106	0.080
	(0.034)***	(0.027)***	(0.045)	(0.036)***	(0.031)**
	110	317	110	317	112
Communist and Socialist 1948 cond. (c)	0.076	0.091	0.049	0.063	0.066
	(0.037)**	(0.030)***	(0.049)	(0.037)*	(0.034)*
	110	317	110	317	152
Panel B: No presence of left wing brigades					
Communist 1946 (a)	0.158	0.196	0.202	0.136	0.159
	(0.045)***	(0.032)***	(0.063)***	(0.052)***	(0.048)***
	165	425	165	425	214
Communist and Socialist 1948 (b)	0.184	0.244	0.207	0.174	0.191
	(0.048)***	(0.034)***	(0.066)***	(0.054)***	(0.053)***
	165	425	165	425	186
Communist 1946 cond. (c)	0.094	0.116	0.157	0.061	0.138
	(0.037)**	(0.027)***	(0.053)***	(0.044)	(0.041)***
	165	425	165	425	126
Communist and Socialist 1948 cond. (c)	0.091	0.134	0.137	0.063	0.144
	(0.037)**	(0.027)***	(0.052)***	(0.042)	(0.039)***
	165	425	165	425	139

Note: Coefficients presented display the difference among mean above the line minus mean below the line. Robust standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for polynomial regressions. Conventional standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for local RDD. Significance level: ***<0.01, **<0.05, *<0.1. Number of observations combined in each third row.
(a) Communist corresponds to Italian Communist Party (PCI); (b) Communist and Socialist corresponds to Popular Front (FP) in 1948, for comparison we compute also Communist and Socialist in 1946 as Italian Communist Party (PCI) + Italian Socialist Party (PSI); (c) Conditional on 1919, 1921 and 1924 Catholics and Communist and Socialist vote shares.

Table 6: Episodes of violence

	Polynomial Regression				Local RDD
	First order		Second order		
	50km	100km	50km	100km	
Panel A. At least one violence episode					
Entire Period (Jan. 1943-Aug. 1945)	-0.132	-0.050	-0.034	-0.217	-0.099
	(0.094)	(0.073)	(0.124)	(0.097)**	(0.089)
	275	742	275	742	353
Jan. 1943-Oct. 1944	-0.221	-0.151	-0.191	-0.300	-0.214
	(0.110)**	(0.077)*	(0.161)	(0.113)***	(0.093)**
	275	742	275	742	433
Nov. 1944-Aug. 1945	0.258	0.312	0.182	0.224	0.274
	(0.115)**	(0.071)***	(0.174)	(0.119)*	(0.100)***
	275	742	275	742	539
Panel B. At least one episode against civilians					
Entire Period (Jan. 1943-Aug. 1945)	-0.146	-0.175	-0.148	-0.222	-0.157
	(0.106)	(0.078)**	(0.142)	(0.108)**	(0.095)*
	275	742	275	742	395
Jan. 1943-Oct. 1944	-0.272	-0.244	-0.264	-0.329	-0.274
	(0.116)**	(0.079)***	(0.169)	(0.118)***	(0.096)***
	275	742	275	742	514
Nov. 1944-Aug. 1945	0.202	0.179	0.184	0.190	0.189
	(0.111)*	(0.064)***	(0.171)	(0.115)*	(0.084)**
	275	742	275	742	659
Panel C. At least one episode against partisans					
Entire Period (Jan. 1943-Aug. 1945)	0.244	0.319	0.164	0.184	0.242
	(0.126)*	(0.083)***	(0.186)	(0.129)	(0.117)**
	275	742	275	742	454
Jan. 1943-Oct. 1944	0.195	0.171	0.086	0.129	0.151
	(0.124)	(0.081)**	(0.185)	(0.128)	(0.110)
	275	742	275	742	512
Nov. 1944-Aug. 1945	0.152	0.268	0.061	0.135	0.253
	(0.083)*	(0.054)***	(0.112)	(0.083)	(0.050)***
	275	742	275	742	1186
Panel D. Number of deported people arrested in the municipality					
Entire Period	1.983	-0.201	-0.427	2.508	0.440
	(1.182)*	(1.899)	(2.620)	(1.401)*	(1.299)
	275	742	275	742	238

Note: Coefficients presented display the difference among mean above the line minus mean below the line. Robust standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for polynomial regressions. Conventional standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for local RDD. Significance level: ***<0.01, **<0.05, *<0.1. Number of observations combined in each third row.

At least one episode: dummy equal to 1 if records report at least one episode of violence. *At least one episode against civilians*: dummy equal to 1 if records report at least one episode of violence in which the majority of victims were civilians. *At least one episode against partisans*: dummy equal to 1 if records report at least one episode of violence in which the majority of victims were partisans.

January 1943-October 1945 is the entire period for which we have episodes recorded. January 1943-October 1944 is the period before the settlmenet around Gothic line. November 1944-October 1945 is the period of conflict around Gothic line and the months after.

Table 7: Heterogeneity – RDD estimates and US Vs Commonwealth troops

	Polynomial Regression			
	First order		Second order	
	50 Km	100 Km	50 Km	100 Km
Panel A - Uncoditional Estimates				
Communist 1946 (a)	-0.083	-0.018	-0.089	-0.020
	(0.030)***	(0.021)	(0.030)***	(0.022)
	275	742	275	742
Communist and Socialist 1948 (b)	-0.185	-0.082	-0.194	-0.085
	(0.031)***	(0.023)***	(0.030)***	(0.023)***
	275	742	275	742
Catholic 1946	0.070	-0.039	0.075	-0.037
	(0.024)***	(0.020)*	(0.024)***	(0.020)*
	275	742	275	742
Catholic 1948	0.092	0	0.098	0.002
	(0.029)***	(0.022)	(0.029)***	(0.022)
	275	742	275	742
Panel B: Estimates Conditional on Pre-war Elections				
Communist 1946 (a)	-0.049	-0.006	-0.053	-0.007
	(0.027)*	(0.018)	(0.027)*	(0.019)
	275	742	275	742
Communist and Socialist 1948 (b)	-0.125	-0.057	-0.132	-0.059
	(0.029)***	(0.018)***	(0.029)***	(0.018)***
	275	742	275	742
Catholic 1946	-0.015	-0.069	-0.013	-0.069
	(0.023)	(0.014)***	(0.024)	(0.014)***
	275	742	275	742
Catholic 1948	0.012	-0.029	0.016	-0.028
	(0.029)	(0.016)*	(0.029)	(0.017)*
	275	742	275	742

Note: Coefficients presented display the interaction between and indicator for being above the line and a dummy variable equal to 1 if the municipality is in the US area of operation. Robust standard errors are displayed in parenthesis. Significance level: ***<0.01, **<0.05, *<0.1. Number of observations combined in each third row.
(a) Communist corresponds to Italian Communist Party (PCI); (b) Communist and Socialist corresponds to Popular Front (FP) in 1948; (c) Catholics corresponds to Christian Democrats (DC). *Panel B*: estimates conditional on 1919, 1921 and 1924 Catholics and Communist and Socialist vote shares.

Table 8: Intensity of Violence

	Communist 1946					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
At least one violence episode	0.011	0.012	0.018	0.010	0.017	0.012
	(0.003)***	(0.004)***	(0.005)***	(0.004)***	(0.005)***	(0.005)***
	(0.005)**	(0.005)**	(0.008)**	(0.005)**	(0.008)**	(0.007)*
Years of occupation	0.076	0.118	0.117	0.104	0.103	0.116
	(0.027)***	(0.031)***	(0.031)***	(0.030)***	(0.030)***	(0.038)***
	(0.066)	(0.077)	(0.077)	(0.072)	(0.071)	(0.038)***
Presence of left wing brigades	0.000	0.002	0.006	0.001	0.005	0.003
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.006)
Presence of other brigades	-0.005	-0.005	-0.001	-0.005	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)
	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.008)
Violence * Brigade			-0.012		-0.013	-0.012
			(0.006)*		(0.006)**	(0.006)**
			(0.009)		(0.009)	(0.007)*
Within 15 km of violent Nazi divisions				0.027	0.027	0.019
				(0.006)***	(0.006)***	(0.006)***
				(0.015)*	(0.015)*	(0.014)
Observations	5559	4376	4376	4376	4376	4376
R-squared	0.573	0.570	0.570	0.572	0.573	0.653
FE	Region	Region	Region	Region	Region	Province
Sample Restriction	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

Note: Robust standard errors are displayed in each second row. Standard errors corrected for spatial correlation are displayed in each third row. Significance level: ***<0.01, **<0.05, *<0.1.
Communist corresponds to Italian Communist Party (PCI). *At least one episode*: dummy equal to 1 if records report at least one episode of violence in the period January 1943-October 1945 (the entire period for which violence episodes are observed). *Within 15 km of violent Nazi divisions*: dummy equal to 1 if the minimum distance of the municipality from one occupied by either RFSS or HG Division is less than 15 km (using city halls as reference points). Other regressors include: share of illiterate 1951, logarithm of population 1951, latitude, longitude, maximum altitude in the municipality, elevation city hall, vote shares of Communist-Socialist and Catholic in 1919, 1921 and 1924 elections. Sample Restriction considers only municipalities with at least one year of occupation.

Table 9: Survey data – Balance tests

	Polynomial Regression		Local RDD
	First order	Second order	
Panel A: socio-demographic variables			
Male	0.045	0.017	0.141
	(0.040)	(0.057)	(0.071)**
	2491	2491	558
Years of age	-0.500	-0.202	-3.396
	(1.001)	(1.431)	(1.807)*
	2467	2467	599
College level education	0.035	0.034	0.041
	(0.028)	(0.041)	(0.053)
	2119	2119	600
Married, widow(er), separated or divorced	-0.014	-0.026	-0.069
	(0.029)	(0.043)	(0.048)
	2112	2112	694
One or more children	-0.039	-0.069	-0.065
	(0.034)	(0.049)	(0.051)
	2098	2098	826
House ownership	0.008	-0.021	-0.031
	(0.026)	(0.040)	(0.053)
	2029	2029	638
Panel B: political preferences			
Left wing political preferences	0.060	-0.037	0.003
	(0.048)	(0.068)	(0.065)
	1970	1970	918
Center political preferences	-0.011	-0.008	-0.017
	(0.025)	(0.036)	(0.035)
	1970	1970	1011
Right wing political preferences	-0.026	0.008	0.006
	(0.032)	(0.044)	(0.042)
	1970	1970	1017
Independent political preferences	-0.023	0.037	0.008
	(0.048)	(0.069)	(0.065)
	1970	1970	918

Note: Coefficients presented display the difference among mean above the line minus mean below the line. Robust standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for polynomial regressions. Conventional standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for local RDD. Significance level: ***<0.01, **<0.05, *<0.1. Number of observations combined in each third row.

Table 10: Survey data – Historical Memory, Civil War and Germany

	Polynomial Regression		Local RDD
	First order	Second order	
Panel A: Historical Memory and Civil War			
Family member was victim of violence during WWII	-0.018	0.019	-0.017
	(0.043)	(0.062)	(0.064)
	2270	2270	741
Family member took part in the civil war	0.110	0.092	0.142
	(0.038)***	(0.053)*	(0.057)**
	2252	2252	689
Family member took part in the civil war as a partisan	0.123	0.127	0.151
	(0.036)***	(0.052)**	(0.056)***
	2252	2252	702
The municipality organized an event to commemorate the Resistance	0.021	0.034	0.022
	(0.040)	(0.055)	(0.052)
	2226	2226	994
Participation to an event organized to commemorate the Resistance	0.047	0.048	0.082
	(0.044)	(0.063)	(0.070)
	2226	2226	696
Panel B: Sentiment toward Germany			
Excessive German predominance	0.029	0.108	0.058
	(0.046)	(0.063)*	(0.068)
	1940	1940	632
The Euro was harmful for Italy	0.003	0.117	0.043
	(0.041)	(0.058)**	(0.068)
	2279	2279	693
Wedding preference, Poland over Germany	0.047	0.163	0.169
	(0.059)	(0.086)*	(0.105)
	1054	1054	232
Wedding preference, UK over Germany	0.019	0.074	-0.023
	(0.067)	(0.099)	(0.116)
	1066	1066	339
Wedding preference, France over Germany	-0.096	-0.107	-0.144
	(0.065)	(0.096)	(0.115)
	1064	1064	304
Wedding preference, Germany ranked last	0.033	0.101	0.074
	(0.051)	(0.075)	(0.082)
	1081	1081	383

Note: Coefficients presented display the difference among mean above the line minus mean below the line. Robust standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for polynomial regressions. Conventional standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for local RDD. Significance level: ***<0.01, **<0.05, *<0.1. Number of observations combined in each third row.

Table 11: Survey data – Left-wing political preferences

	Left-wing preferences (a)		Left-wing preferences (b)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Family member was victim of violence during WWII	0.055	0.057	0.129	0.145
	(0.027)**	(0.027)**	(0.065)**	(0.065)**
Family member took part in the civil war	0.068	0.083	0.166	0.204
	(0.030)**	(0.030)***	(0.071)**	(0.072)***
Congruence with father's political preferences	0.086	0.074	0.254	0.227
	(0.030)***	(0.030)**	(0.074)***	(0.075)***
The municipality organized an event	0.185	0.174	0.443	0.448
to commemorate the Resistance	(0.029)***	(0.029)***	(0.077)***	(0.078)***
Observations	1,481	1,481	1,481	1,481
R-squared	0.042	0.066		
F	18.06	10.07		
Wald			61.44	94.98
Other covariates	NO	YES	NO	YES

Note: Coefficients are estimated with OLS regressions in columns (1) and (2), with ordered probit regressions in columns (3) and (4). Robust standard errors are displayed in parenthesis. Significance level: ***<0.01, **<0.05, *<0.1.
Dependent variables: (a) dummy variable equal to 1 if the individual declared Left or Center-Left political preferences; (b) Categorical variable equal to 2 if the individual declared Left political preferences, to 1 if Center-Left preferences, to 0 otherwise. Other covariates incude: age, sex, years of education, and dummies for house ownership, college education, children, vital record, and position with respect to the Gothic line.

Figure 1: Italy under German occupation



Figure 2: Gothic line evolution

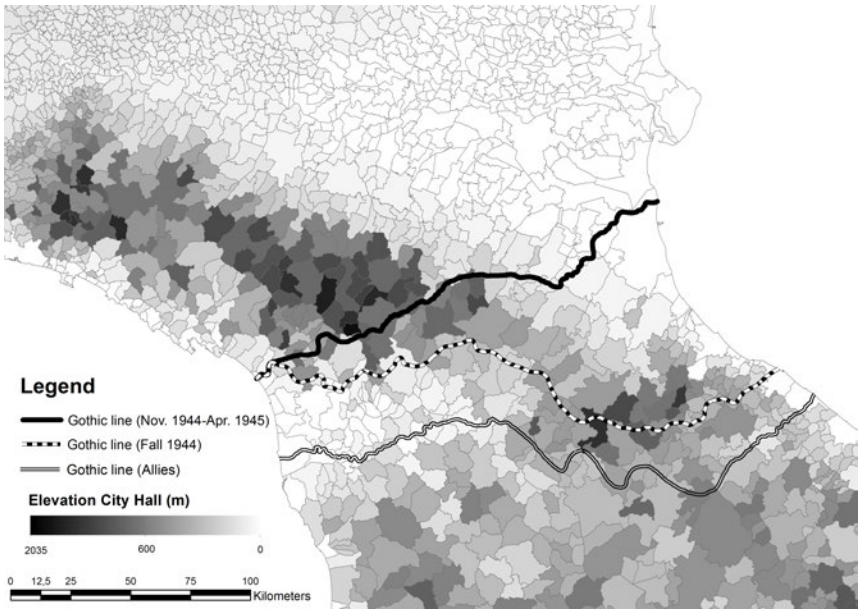
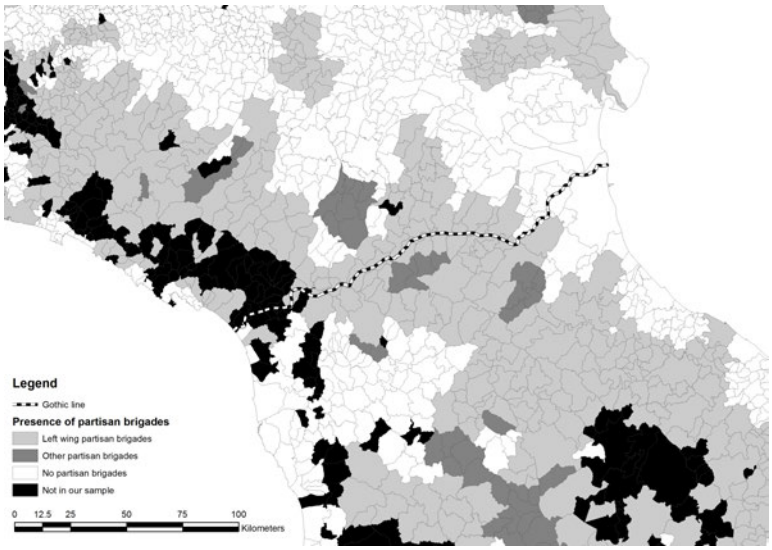
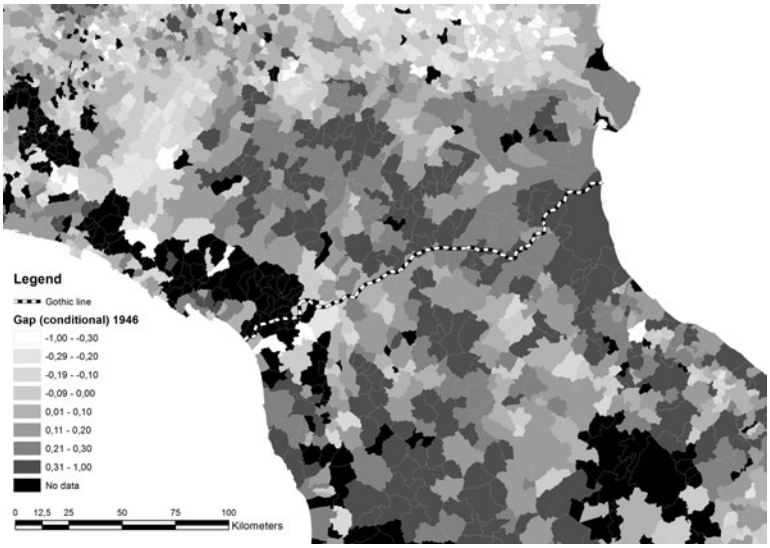


Figure 3: Presence of Partisan Brigades



Note: This figure displays the presence of partisan brigades in Italian municipalities. A partisan brigade is defined to be present in the area if the territory of the municipality partly overlaps with the area in which a partisan brigade was active

Figure 4: Communist - Catholic in 1946



Note: "Gap (conditional) 1946" represents the residuals of variable *Communist minus Catholic 1946* regressed on pre-war electoral outcomes

Figure 5: Discontinuity

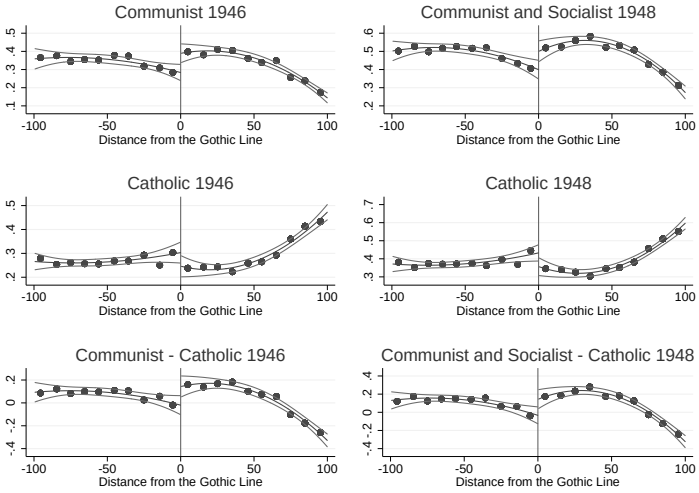
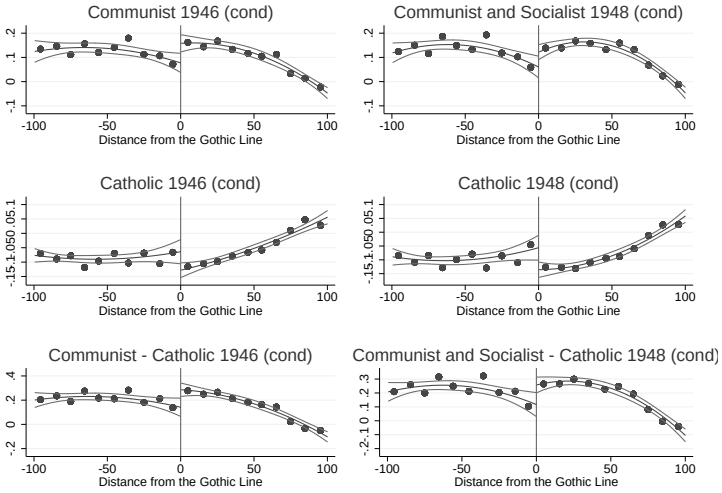
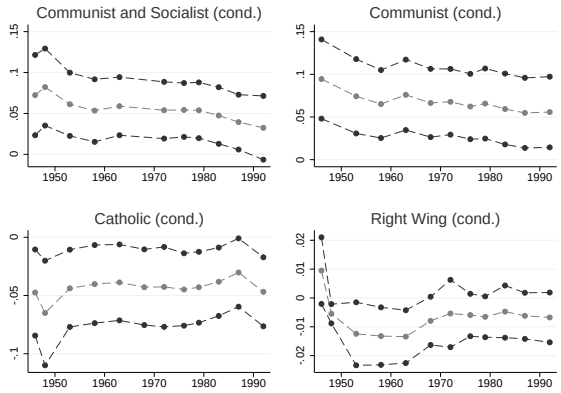


Figure 6: Discontinuity (conditional)



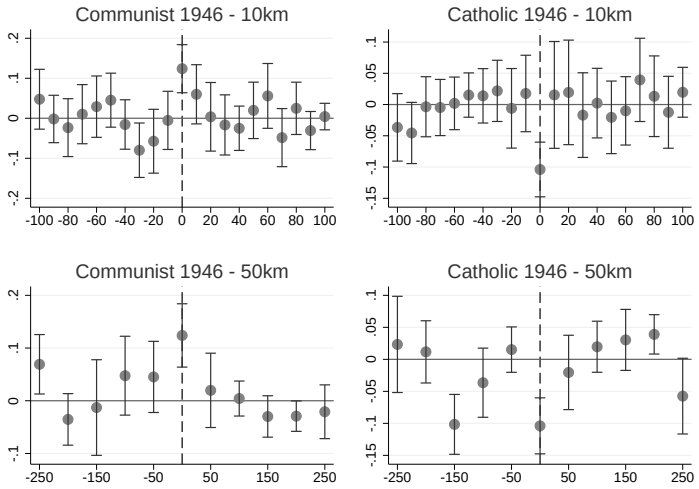
Note: The figures displays the second order polynomial regressions at the 100 km bandwidth shown in the fourth column of Table 4. Each dot corresponds to the average vote share for all municipalities within the corresponding 10 km interval

Figure 7: Persistence



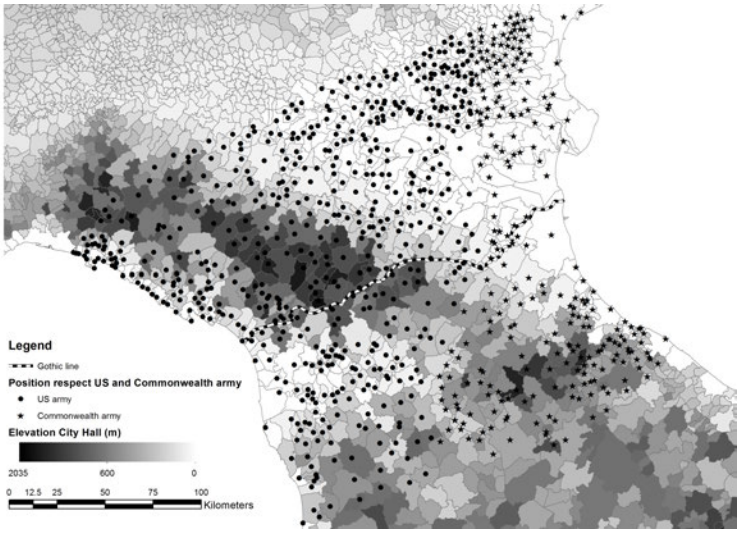
Note: This figure displays coefficients and 95% confidence intervals, estimated by local linear regression as in the last column of Table 4, for all national elections up to 1992 and controlling for pre-war electoral results. Data for the communist party is missing in the 1948 elections as it ran with the socialists.

Figure 8: Placebo coefficients



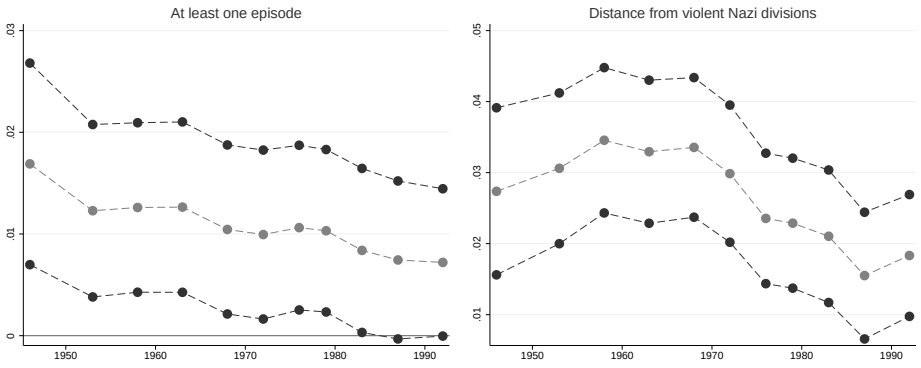
Note: This figure displays coefficients and 95% confidence intervals, estimated by local linear regression as in the last column of Table 4, shifting the position of the Gothic line North or South of its true position by 10 km at a time up to plus or minus 100 km (first row), and by 50 km at a time up to plus or minus 250 km (second row)

Figure 9: Allies Occupation



Note: Municipalities South of the Gothic line are split according to Baldissara et al. (2000), while North of the line they are split based on longitude, matching the Southern split

Figure 10: Intensity of violence – Persistence



Note: This figure displays coefficients and 95% confidence intervals of the dummy variable *At least one violence episode* (left) and *Within 15 km of violent Nazi divisions* (right), estimated in a specification as in column 5 of Table 8, for all national elections up to 1992. Data for the communist party is missing in the 1948 elections as it ran with the socialists.

A Appendix - Data sources and description

The unit of observation is the municipality. We exclude the small region Aosta Valley from our sample, because it always had a different electoral system. Moreover, due to its particular position and history, its political scene has always been dominated by local parties. Geographic analysis used the Geographical Information Software (GIS) on Italian 2001 administrative division map (Source: ISTAT).

A.1 War related variables

Allies troops: Below the Gothic line we rely on the information in Baldissara et al. (2000) (figures 4 and 23) to assign municipalities to US vs Commonwealth influence. We can split the municipalities South of the line according to whether they were located in the US vs Commonwealth area, but we cannot do so North of the line. For this purpose, we split the sample North of the line based on longitude, to match the Southern split. Above the line we consider under US influence all the municipality on the left of Riolo Terme while the rest are assigned to Commonwealth troops (see Figure 9).

Deported: Number of political deportations to Germany by municipality of capture. Source: Mantelli and Tranfaglia (2013). We have data on only 6500 individuals, out of about 40,000 deported.

Episodes of violence: We collected data on the number of episodes in each municipality, the date, and the number and kind of victims. The full data set includes: the number of violent episodes in each municipality (this is the variable used in Figure B.4); date and municipality; total number of victims by status (civilian, partisan, soldier). Although the meticulous work done by the authors of "Atlas of Nazi and fascist massacres" since combining multiple sources entails the risk of double counting, and since counting the number of victims entails likely measurement error, our preferred measure is a dummy variable, that equals 1 if in the municipality (and interval of time where applicable) there was at least one episode of violence. We also consider dummy variables for whether the majority of victims were partisans or civilians.

Our source is the "Atlas of Nazi and fascist massacres" (ANPI-INSMLI, 2016). This database lists all the massacres and the individual murders of civilians and resistance fighters killed in Italy during Second World War (mainly after September 8, 1943) both by German soldiers and soldiers of

the Italian Social Republic outside of the armed fights. These range from the first murders in the South to the withdrawal massacres committed in the days after the Liberation. The historical inquiry was conducted locally by more than ninety researchers under the supervision of a joint historical commission established by Italian and German governments in 2009. The commission used the results of previous studies of the same kind made in Apulia, Campania, Tuscany, Emilia Romagna and Piedmont and used three main national common sources: (i) The data base of violent crimes perpetrated against civilians during the German occupation of Italy, established by the Joint Historical Italian-German Commission and based on police reports stored in the Archives of the Historical Office of Army General Staff and the Historical Archives of the Carabinieri of Rome. (ii) The General Repository of war crime reports collected from 1945 by the Army Prosecutors office in Rome; this report was illegally dismissed in 1960 and was later recovered by the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry while investigating on the reasons for the concealment of some files about Nazi-fascist crimes (14th Parliamentary term). (iii) The rulings and files of the judiciary proceedings debated in the Military courts during the last trial season (from 1994 until now).

This source was not immediately available to us, however. In a previous version we had started from a composite dataset that mainly relied on record of charges pressed to Carabinieri (Italian Police, Commissione storica italo-tedesca (2012)), for violence episodes and massacres against Italian citizens and Allied personnel committed by Nazi-fascists forces in the period 1943-1945. We then integrated this source with the following additional sources: Collotti et al. (2000) and Collotti et al. (2006) and Gentile (2015)[15]. This last source is particularly rich and detailed, since besides the Italian sources, it also incorporates episodes of violence reported in the German War Archives. Since Commissione storica italo-tedesca (2012) (and partially also the other sources) reports single murders we had assumed that two murders happening in the same municipality at no more than three days of distance are part of the same episodes. In order to avoid bias due to the same event counted twice we manually eliminate double episodes reported by Commissione storica italo-tedesca (2012) or any other sources with meticulous checks on possible discrepancies on the location, the date or the number of victims involved in each episode.

[15]We also consider Matta (1996) for robustness checks, however since he reported only partial information for each episode we excluded it from the main analysis

Once we got access to the "Atlas of Nazi and fascist massacres" we recognized that this new source was more uniform and coherent than our first composite dataset, and thus in the current draft we only rely on the new source, the Atlas. Nevertheless, to assess robustness to possible measurement error, we merged the two data sets (our old composite data set and the new data from the Atlas), trying to avoid double counting. The results reported in the paper are very similar to those obtained in the replications with this merged data set.

Line of conflict: Based on Baldissara et al. (2000) (figure 23), we have reconstructed the evolution of the battlefront around two main lines of conflicts, georeferencing the corresponding maps: the Gustav line and the Gothic line. In both cases, a few months of adjustments before the final settlement of the battlefront have been necessary. Figure 2 illustrates the evolution of the battlefront around the Gothic line. There are three demarcation lines. (i) The line labelled "Allies" is where the Allies stopped between August 1944 and mid-September 1944. (ii) The line labelled "Fall 1944"is the original Gothic line set up by the Germans. Between late August and mid-September 1944 the Allies succeeded in breaching this line (the so called operation "Olive"). (iii) The line labelled "Nov. 1944 - Apr. 1945"is where the Germans managed to contain the US-British offensive. From the end of October onwards, the Allies and the Germans were fighting along this line. It was finally breached in April 1945. Our RDD analysis is on the Northernmost line "Nov. 1944 - Apr. 1945,"which was held by the Germans for the longest period.

Years of occupation: Fraction (or multiples) of years of occupation by German troops. Data refer to provinces (all the municipalities in the same province have the same number of years of occupation), except for the provinces cut by a line of conflict (both for Gothic and Gustav line), where provincial data have been corrected as follows:

- for the municipalities above the line of conflict belonging to a province below the line, we assign the years of occupation of the closest province above the line.
- for the municipalities below the line of conflict belonging to a province above the line, we assign the years of occupation of the closest province below the line.

Definition of occupation: physical presence of Nazi troops on the Ital-

ian territory, for military control or for defense against the Allies (for what concerns events after the Armistice of Cassibile). The starting date is the planning and constitution of the first Nazi troops of the Operation Achse (9 May 1943), after the end of the campaign of Tunisi. The aim of this operation is to react to the possible desertion of the Italian ally. Sources: mainly Baldissara et al. (2000). Minor adjustments have been made using province specific references.

Partisan Brigades: We georeferenced the maps of Baldissara et al. (2000) (figures 8, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19) that report the area of activity of partisan brigades during II World War. We created a dummy variable for the presence of partisan brigades equal to one if the municipality partly overlaps with the area in which a partisan brigade was active during the conflict. We also consider the minimum distance of each municipality city hall from the area of activity of each brigade. The brigades considered are:

- left wing brigades: brigade Garibaldi (Italian Communist Party), brigade Giustizia e Libertà (Partito d'Azione) and brigade Matteotti (Italian Socialist Party).
- other brigades: brigade Fiamme Verdi (Christian Democrats) and residual autonomous brigades.

These four brigades were the more active in the resistance and they relied on a good coordination and political support.

16th SS-Panzer-Grenadier-Division "Reichsfuhrer-SS" and "Hermann Goering" divisions location: We coded the location of these two specific German divisions, particularly violent and responsible for a very large number of criminal episodes against civilians. We have records of the precise location of these troops throughout the Italian civil war. From this we construct a dummy variable that takes a value of 1 for the municipalities that are within 15 km or 10 Km from where either of these divisions have been located (measured as distance between city halls). We restrict attention to those two specific division, discarding all the other SS or Luftwaffe divisions, since in the reconstruction made by our main source (Gentile (2015)) those are the troops responsibile for the majority and most dramatic episodes (e.g., Sant'Anna di Stazzema, Marzabotto, ...).

A.2 Political outcomes

Pre-war political variables: We collected data on political outcomes before the war, for the elections held in 1919, 1921 and 1924. Here the source is Corbetta and Piretti (2009), that carried out a serious and meticulous work of reconstruction for that period. The communist party was very small in the 1921 and 1924 elections (and it did not exist in 1919), so we lump together the socialist and communist vote in the pre-fascist period using Leoni (2001) as reference. The right-wing vote cannot be separately measured in 1921, since fascists were running together with the more traditional and moderate liberals in that election. Hence for the pre-fascist period we only collect the *Catholic* and *Communist and Socialist* variables. Since there are several missing observations, in our baseline analysis we fill the missing observations in each election exploiting the remaining two elections plus additional observables. Thus, to fill the missing observations in, say, vote shares for catholics in 1924 we impute predicted values of an OLS regression of the available vote shares on non-missing vote shares for catholics in 1919 and/or 1921 plus the following observables: population density in 1921, illiterate share in 1921 and regional fixed effect. And similarly for 1919 and 1921 and when communists-socialits vote shares are missing. The parties in the *Catholic* definition are: in 1919 Partito Popolare Italiano; in 1921 Partito Cristiano del Lavoro, Partito Popolare Dissidente, Partito Popolare Italiano and Popolari Dissidenti; in 1924 Partito Popolare Italiano. The parties in the *Communist and Socialist* definition are: in 1919 Blocco Socialista, Riformista, Repubblicano, Partito Radicale-Socialista-Repubblicano, Partito Sindacalista, Partito Socialista Indipendente, Partito Socialista Indipendente, Partito Socialista Italiano, Partito Socialista Riformista, Partito Socialista Ufficiale, Partito del Lavoro, Sindacato dell'Impiego, Socialisti Autonomi and Unione Socialista Italiana; in 1921 Partito Socialista Autonomo, Partito Socialista Indipendente, Partito Socialista Riformista, Partito Socialista Ufficiale, Partito Comunista and Partito Comunista d'Italia; in 1924 Partito Socialista Massimalista, Partito Socialista Ufficiale, Partito Socialista Unitario, Partito Comunista and Partito Comunista d'Italia.

Post-war political variables: We measure political outcomes by the percentage of votes received by political parties at the 1946 election of the constitutional assembly, and in all subsequent 11 political elections for the Chamber of Deputies until 1992 (namely 1948, 1953, 1958, 1963, 1968, 1972, 1976, 1979, 1983, 1987 and 1992). Source: Italian Ministry of Interior. We

consider three political groups. First the radical left, measured by the votes given to the Communist Party (Partito Communista Italiano). We call this variable *Communist*. Since in 1946 the communist and the socialists (Partito Socialista Italiano) formed a single electoral list, the Popular Front, we also consider the votes received by these two parties together, and we call it *Communist and Socialist*. The second groups is the Christian Democrats (Democrazia Cristiana), that we call *Catholic*. The third group, called *Right wing*, consists of the Movimento Sociale Italiano (a party close to the fascists) and of smaller parties that supported the monarchy (namely: in 1946 Blocco Nazionale della Libertà, 1948 and 1953 Partito Nazionale Monarchico, in 1958 Partito Nazionale Monarchico and Partito Monarchico Popolare, in 1963 and 1968 Partito Democratico Italiano di Unità Monarchica). Since we are interested in how the German occupation shifted political preferences from a moderate to an extreme left vote, we also compute the difference between the vote to communist and the vote to catholic parties. This variable is called *Communist minus Catholic*. In some analysis we also use the variable *Communist and Socialist minus Catholic*.

A.3 Other feature of municipalities

Geographic variables: We collect data on city hall elevation, and on maximum and minimum elevation in the municipality. Source: ISTAT. We also create a grid of 25 km width covering all the Italian territory.

Industrial plants per capita: We collected data on the number of industrial plants per capita in each municipality from 1951 Census. Source: ISTAT.

Population and illiterate share: We collected data on total resident population, population density and literacy rates (1911, 1921, and then 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991). Census were easily available only from 1971 onwards. For all the other Census we manually digitalized the data. Source: National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT).

A.4 Structure of Italian municipalities

The administrative structure in Italy changed over the years. In 1948 there were 7392 municipalities, in 2001 the number had increased to 8100. In order to build a time consistent panel we took 2001 as the reference year. For all the years different from 2001 it has been necessary to:

- adjust the names: some municipalities changed their names, the main reason was to avoid confusion within the country; names must be mapped in order to have a complete series for each municipality. One example is Madesimo in province of Sondrio that before 1983 was called Isolato.

- consider aggregations *(i)*: some municipalities merged into a single entity. For instance, at date t we observe municipalities A and B, but at date $t' > t$, we observe municipality C corresponding to the merger of A and B. In 2001 we only observe municipality C. Then only municipality C is included in the sample. For date t when C did not exist yet, we impute to C the data of $A + B$.

- consider partial aggregations *(ii)*: it may be that some municipalities absorb a municipality that no longer exists. For instance at date t we observe A, B and X, but at date $t' > t$, we observe municipality A and B while territory of X has been split (not necessarily equally) between A and B. In 2001 we only observe municipality A and B. Then only municipalities A and B are included in the sample. For date t when also X existed, we impute data of X to both A and B; that is, at date t, we impute $A = A + X$ and $B = B + X$

- consider disaggregations *(i)*: some municipalities split their territory in two or more municipalities. This situation is quite common in Italy, since Fascism tried to reduce the administrative centres, while the number of municipalities increased in the post-war period. For instance, suppose that at date t we observe only municipality C, but at date $t' > t$, we observe municipalities A and B corresponding to the separation of C. In 2001 we observe A and B, but not C. Then we include in the sample both A and B. For date t, when A and B did not exist yet, we impute to both of them the data of C; that is, at date t, we impute $A = C$ and $B = C$.

- consider partial disaggregations *(ii)*: We also track the case where C still exists in 2001 but at $t' > t$ parts of C where dismembered to give birth to A and B, with C still existing today. In this case, for all date prior to t we impute $A = C$ and $B = C$.

We neglect changes in the boundaries that do not determine the end of a

municipality or the birth of a new one, since they do not alter municipalities structures and since our variables mainly refer to shares.

All these adjustments used records in ISTAT and Italian Agency of Revenue, tracking changes in the period of interest. The only exception are municipalities born from municipalities that still exist: in this case we had to manually check each split. These adjustments were made for all data at the municipality level (census and electoral data, but also episodes of violence). When a municipality has data imputed as described above, we retain only the shares (e.g., illiterate share) and we discard absolute values (e.g., total number of illiterate).

B Appendix - Additional Robustness Checks

Table B.1: Controlling for Latitude and Longitude

	Polynomial Regression with controls				Local RDD
	First order		Second order		
	50 Km	100 Km	50 Km	100 Km	
Panel A: Unconditional Estimates					
Communist 1946 (a)	0.111	0.140	0.101	0.107	0.143
	(0.029)***	(0.023)***	(0.041)**	(0.033)***	(0.028)***
	275	742	275	742	717
Communist and Socialist 1946 (b)	0.111	0.191	0.038	0.111	0.125
	(0.032)***	(0.024)***	(0.043)	(0.035)***	(0.039)***
	275	742	275	742	398
Communist and Socialist 1948 (b)	0.109	0.175	0.084	0.109	0.119
	(0.033)***	(0.025)***	(0.046)*	(0.037)***	(0.042)***
	275	742	275	742	317
Catholic 1946 (c)	-0.035	-0.100	-0.030	-0.051	-0.091
	(0.025)	(0.021)***	(0.032)	(0.029)*	(0.026)***
	275	742	275	742	659
Catholic 1948 (c)	-0.065	-0.148	-0.074	-0.076	-0.091
	(0.027)**	(0.024)***	(0.036)**	(0.033)**	(0.036)**
	275	742	275	742	317
Right Wing 1946 (d)	0.004	0	0.015	0.004	-0.004
	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.006)
	93	262	93	262	245
Right Wing 1948 (d)	-0.008	-0.008	-0.001	-0.007	-0.008
	(0.003)***	(0.002)***	(0.004)	(0.003)***	(0.002)***
	275	742	275	742	794
Panel B: Estimates Conditional on Pre-war Elections					
Communist 1946 (e)	0.105	0.097	0.103	0.085	0.095
	(0.025)***	(0.019)***	(0.033)***	(0.027)***	(0.024)***
	275	742	275	742	442
Communist and Socialist 1946 (e)	0.093	0.139	0.043	0.088	0.074
	(0.027)***	(0.020)***	(0.033)	(0.029)***	(0.029)**
	275	742	275	742	309
Communist and Socialist 1948 (e)	0.095	0.121	0.086	0.087	0.080
	(0.028)***	(0.020)***	(0.037)**	(0.030)***	(0.026)***
	275	742	275	742	328
Catholic 1946 (e)	-0.032	-0.056	-0.031	-0.039	-0.058
	(0.022)	(0.016)***	(0.027)	(0.024)	(0.018)***
	275	742	275	742	790
Catholic 1948 (e)	-0.065	-0.102	-0.073	-0.064	-0.064
	(0.024)***	(0.018)***	(0.031)**	(0.027)**	(0.024)***
	275	742	275	742	380
Right Wing 1946 (e)	0.002	-0.002	0.011	0.003	-0.011
	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.004)**
	93	262	93	262	405
Right Wing 1948 (e)	-0.007	-0.007	-0.001	-0.006	-0.004
	(0.002)***	(0.002)***	(0.003)	(0.003)**	(0.002)**
	275	742	275	742	789

Note: Coefficients presented display the difference among mean above the line minus mean below the line. Robust standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for polynomial regressions. Conventional standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for local RDD. Significance level: ***<0.01, **<0.05, *<0.1. Number of observations combined in each third row.
Local RDD uses residuals from OLS regressions on geographical variables (panel A) and also on prewar electoral results (panel B) as dependent variables. (a) Communist corresponds to Italian Communist Party (PCI); (b) Communist and Socialist corresponds to Popular Front (FP) in 1948, for comparison we compute also Communist and Socialist in 1946 as Italian Communist Party (PCI) + Italian Socialist Party (PSI); (c) Catholics corresponds to Christian Democrats (DC); (d) Right Wing corresponds to Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) plus smaller parties supporting monarchy; (e) Conditional on 1919, 1921 and 1924 Catholics and Communist and Socialist vote shares. Other regressors include: latitude, longitude, latitude squared, longitude squared, latitude*longitude, latitude*longitude squared.

Table B.2: Robustness w/ 25 km FE

	Polynomial Regression				Local RDD
	First order		Second order		
	50 Km	100 Km	50 Km	100 Km	
Panel A: Unconditional Estimates					
Communist 1946 (a)	0.131	0.181	0.111	0.124	0.142
	(0.028)***	(0.024)***	(0.040)***	(0.038)***	(0.028)***
	275	742	275	742	670
Communist and Socialist 1946 (b)	0.132	0.234	0.056	0.129	0.108
	(0.028)***	(0.026)***	(0.038)	(0.039)***	(0.045)**
	275	742	275	742	290
Communist and Socialist 1948 (b)	0.125	0.214	0.090	0.121	0.126
	(0.031)***	(0.027)***	(0.043)**	(0.041)***	(0.048)***
	275	742	275	742	310
Catholic 1946 (c)	-0.051	-0.138	-0.034	-0.060	-0.086
	(0.023)**	(0.022)***	(0.031)	(0.033)*	(0.026)***
	275	742	275	742	670
Catholic 1948 (c)	-0.083	-0.182	-0.077	-0.087	-0.094
	(0.026)***	(0.025)***	(0.035)**	(0.037)**	(0.041)**
	275	742	275	742	313
Right Wing 1946 (d)	0.006	0.003	0.009	0.008	-0.010
	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.003)***
	93	262	93	262	642
Right Wing 1948 (d)	-0.009	-0.009	-0.002	-0.008	-0.010
	(0.003)***	(0.002)***	(0.004)	(0.003)***	(0.002)***
	275	742	275	742	780
Panel B: Estimates Conditional on Pre-war Elections					
Communist 1946 (e)	0.118	0.107	0.104	0.101	0.096
	(0.025)***	(0.021)***	(0.033)***	(0.031)***	(0.024)***
	275	742	275	742	368
Communist and Socialist 1946 (e)	0.114	0.141	0.059	0.104	0.079
	(0.027)***	(0.022)***	(0.032)*	(0.034)***	(0.027)***
	275	742	275	742	328
Communist and Socialist 1948 (e)	0.109	0.119	0.089	0.096	0.099
	(0.028)***	(0.022)***	(0.036)**	(0.033)***	(0.030)***
	275	742	275	742	384
Catholic 1946 (e)	-0.044	-0.058	-0.032	-0.048	-0.036
	(0.021)**	(0.018)***	(0.027)	(0.028)*	(0.022)*
	275	742	275	742	535
Catholic 1948 (e)	-0.077	-0.097	-0.074	-0.074	-0.085
	(0.024)***	(0.020)***	(0.032)**	(0.031)**	(0.027)***
	275	742	275	742	480
Right Wing 1946 (e)	0.003	0.002	0.008	0.007	0.010
	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.006)*
	93	262	93	262	32
Right Wing 1948 (e)	-0.008	-0.008	-0.001	-0.007	-0.008
	(0.002)***	(0.002)***	(0.003)	(0.003)**	(0.002)***
	275	742	275	742	708

Note: Coefficients presented display the difference among mean above the line minus mean below the line. Robust standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for polynomial regressions. Conventional standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for local RDD. Significance level: ***<0.01, **<0.05, *<0.1. Number of observations combined in each third row.

Local RDD uses residuals from OLS regressions on the 25km interval FE (panel A) and also on prewar electoral results (panel B) as dependent variables. (a) Communist corresponds to Italian Communist Party (PCI); (b) Communist and Socialist corresponds to Popular Front (FP) in 1948, for comparison we compute also Communist and Socialist in 1946 as Italian Communist Party (PCI) + Italian Socialist Party (PSI); (c) Catholics corresponds to Christian Democrats (DC); (d) Right Wing corresponds to Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) plus smaller parties supporting monarchy; (e) Conditional on 1919, 1921 and 1924 Catholics and Communist and Socialist vote shares.

Table B.3: Robustness – Nearest Neighbor Matching

	Nearest Neighbor Matching					
	Latitude and Longitude			Lat., Long., Pre War Elections		
	25 Km	50 Km	100 Km	25 Km	50 Km	100 Km
Panel A: Unconditional Estimates						
Communist 1946 (a)	0.076	0.052	0.006	0.063	0.039	-0.004
	(0.023)***	(0.021)**	(0.023)	(0.021)***	(0.018)**	(0.017)
	115	275	742	115	275	742
Communist and Socialist 1946 (b)	0.067	0.064	0.031	0.077	0.069	0.034
	(0.025)***	(0.023)***	(0.026)	(0.025)***	(0.022)***	(0.020)*
	115	275	742	115	275	742
Communist and Socialist 1948 (b)	0.065	0.049	0.007	0.064	0.042	0.005
	(0.026)**	(0.022)**	(0.024)	(0.025)***	(0.022)*	(0.018)
	115	275	742	115	275	742
Catholic 1946 (c)	-0.034	-0.018	0.028	-0.040	-0.026	0.022
	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.024)	(0.021)**	(0.018)	(0.018)
	114	265	712	114	265	712
Catholic 1948 (c)	-0.051	-0.039	0.009	-0.058	-0.037	0.008
	(0.023)**	(0.022)*	(0.025)	(0.021)***	(0.019)**	(0.019)
	115	275	742	115	275	742
Right Wing 1946 (d)	0.019	0.023	0.020	0.021	0.024	0.020
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.011)*	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.012)*
	32	90	253	32	90	253
Right Wing 1948 (d)	-0.003	-0.002	-0.001	-0.005	-0.003	-0.002
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.003)*	(0.002)	(0.001)*
	115	275	742	115	275	742
Panel B: Estimates Conditional on Pre-war Elections						
Communist 1946 (e)	0.062	0.038	-0.002	0.058	0.030	-0.009
	(0.021)***	(0.020)*	(0.023)	(0.019)***	(0.017)*	(0.017)
	115	275	742	115	275	742
Communist and Socialist 1946 (e)	0.037	0.036	0.011	0.062	0.049	0.021
	(0.020)*	(0.020)*	(0.021)	(0.021)***	(0.019)***	(0.018)
	115	275	742	115	275	742
Communist and Socialist 1948 (e)	0.044	0.029	-0.004	0.058	0.030	-0.001
	(0.018)**	(0.017)*	(0.018)	(0.021)***	(0.019)	(0.016)
	115	275	742	115	275	742
Catholic 1946 (e)	-0.027	-0.012	0.031	-0.042	-0.023	0.022
	(0.018)	(0.020)	(0.024)	(0.019)**	(0.017)	(0.019)
	114	265	712	114	265	712
Catholic 1948 (e)	-0.045	-0.029	0.013	-0.060	-0.031	0.010
	(0.020)**	(0.020)	(0.026)	(0.021)***	(0.018)*	(0.020)
	115	275	742	115	275	742
Right Wing 1946 (e)	0.006	0.008	0.012	0.008	0.010	0.010
	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.011)
	32	90	253	32	90	253
Right Wing 1948 (e)	0.003	0.003	0.002	-0.001	0.001	0.001
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)
	115	275	742	115	275	742

Note: Coefficients presented display the difference among mean above the line minus mean below the line. Robust standard errors are displayed in parenthesis. Significance level: ***<0.01, **<0.05, *<0.1. Number of observations combined in each third row.

Matching based on Latitude and Longitude (left) and on Latitude, Longitude, Pre War Elections (right). Metric Used: Euclidean distance with replacement. In the conditional estimates, the dependent variable is the residual of the vote share on pre-war election outcomes.

(a) Communist corresponds to Italian Communist Party (PCI); (b) Communist and Socialist corresponds to Popular Front (FP) in 1948, for comparison we compute also Communist and Socialist in 1946 as Italian Communist Party (PCI) + Italian Socialist Party (PSI); (c) Catholics corresponds to Christian Democrats (DC); (d) Right Wing corresponds to Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) plus smaller parties supporting monarchy; (e) Conditional on 1919, 1921 and 1924 Catholics and Communist and Socialist vote shares.

Table B.4: Full Sample Analysis

	Polynomial Regression				Local RDD
	First order		Second order		
	50 Km	100 Km	50 Km	100 Km	
Communist 1946 (a)	0.080	0.112	0.040	0.055	0.069
	(0.035)**	(0.025)***	(0.050)	(0.037)	(0.035)*
	329	829	329	829	453
Communist and Socialist 1946 (b)	0.069	0.148	-0.009	0.053	0.045
	(0.046)	(0.030)***	(0.066)	(0.048)	(0.049)
	329	829	329	829	371
Communist and Socialist 1948 (b)	0.075	0.134	0.033	0.050	0.063
	(0.042)*	(0.029)***	(0.060)	(0.044)	(0.044)
	329	829	329	829	389
Catholic 1946 (c)	-0.006	-0.071	0.022	-0.001	-0.038
	(0.037)	(0.024)***	(0.051)	(0.038)	(0.030)
	319	799	319	799	747
Catholic 1948 (c)	-0.040	-0.113	-0.023	-0.023	-0.035
	(0.038)	(0.026)***	(0.055)	(0.040)	(0.041)
	329	829	329	829	402
Right Wing 1946 (d)	0.006	0.001	0.011	0.008	0.006
	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.005)
	143	337	143	337	218
Right Wing 1948 (d)	-0.002	-0.004	0.003	-0.002	-0.004
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.003)
	329	829	329	829	1031

Note: Coefficients presented display the difference among mean above the line minus mean below the line. Robust standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for polynomial regressions. Conventional standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for local RDD. Significance level: ***<0.01, **<0.05, *<0.1. Number of observations combined in each third row.

(a) Communist corresponds to Italian Communist Party (PCI); (b) Communist and Socialist corresponds to Popular Front (FP) in 1948, for comparison we compute also Communist and Socialist in 1946 as Italian Communist Party (PCI) + Italian Socialist Party (PSI); (c) Catholics corresponds to Christian Democrats (DC); (d) Right Wing corresponds to Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) plus smaller parties supporting monarchy.

Table B.5: Non missing pre-war elections

	Polynomial Regression				Local RDD
	First order		Second order		
	50km	100km	50km	100km	
Panel A. Unconditional Estimates					
Communist 1946 (a)	0.182	0.220	0.118	0.157	0.168
	(0.048)***	(0.032)***	(0.079)	(0.052)***	(0.057)***
	142	438	142	438	178
Communist and Socialist 1946 (b)	0.167	0.278	0.026	0.140	0.116
	(0.053)***	(0.036)***	(0.082)	(0.056)**	(0.069)*
	142	438	142	438	150
Communist and Socialist 1948 (b)	0.180	0.267	0.081	0.136	0.142
	(0.053)***	(0.036)***	(0.083)	(0.056)**	(0.068)**
	142	438	142	438	147
Catholic 1946 (c)	-0.107	-0.192	-0.055	-0.108	-0.099
	(0.039)***	(0.027)***	(0.060)	(0.041)***	(0.043)**
	142	438	142	438	185
Catholic 1948 (c)	-0.133	-0.233	-0.092	-0.115	-0.117
	(0.044)***	(0.031)***	(0.070)	(0.047)**	(0.055)**
	142	438	142	438	150
Right Wing 1946 (d)	0.015	0	0.050	0.012	0.002
	(0.018)	(0.010)	(0.025)*	(0.014)	(0.006)
	39	118	39	118	500
Right Wing 1948 (d)	-0.006	-0.007	0.001	-0.005	-0.005
	(0.003)*	(0.002)***	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.003)*
	142	438	142	438	209
Panel B. Estimates conditional on Pre-war Elections					
Communist 1946 (e)	0.107	0.127	0.133	0.096	0.105
	(0.035)***	(0.030)***	(0.046)***	(0.040)**	(0.043)**
	142	438	142	438	113
Communist and Socialist 1946 (e)	0.061	0.147	0.038	0.065	0.016
	(0.038)	(0.032)***	(0.049)	(0.043)	(0.032)
	142	438	142	438	113
Communist and Socialist 1948 (e)	0.086	0.125	0.098	0.049	0.053
	(0.039)**	(0.030)***	(0.050)*	(0.039)	(0.038)
	142	438	142	438	92
Catholic 1946 (e)	-0.051	-0.093	-0.054	-0.057	-0.050
	(0.031)*	(0.024)***	(0.043)	(0.032)*	(0.030)*
	142	438	142	438	140
Catholic 1948 (e)	-0.078	-0.122	-0.098	-0.058	-0.071
	(0.036)**	(0.027)***	(0.049)**	(0.036)	(0.034)**
	142	438	142	438	159
Right Wing 1946 (e)	0.012	0	0.045	0.012	-0.006
	(0.016)	(0.010)	(0.023)*	(0.015)	(0.011)
	39	118	39	118	165
Right Wing 1948 (e)	-0.003	-0.004	-0.001	-0.004	0.003
	(0.003)	(0.002)**	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.006)
	142	438	142	438	70

Note: Coefficients presented display the difference among mean above the line minus mean below the line. Robust standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for polynomial regressions. Conventional standard errors are displayed in parenthesis for local RDD. Significance level: ***<0.01, **<0.05, *<0.1. Sample restricted to municipalities with full information on prewar electoral results. Number of observations combined in each third row.

Local RDD in panel B uses residuals from OLS regressions on the prewar electoral outcomes as dependent variable. (a) Communist corresponds to Italian Communist Party (PCI); (b) Communist and Socialist corresponds to Popular Front (FP) in 1948, for comparison we compute also Communist and Socialist in 1946 as Italian Communist Party (PCI) + Italian Socialist Party (PSI); (c) Catholics corresponds to Christian Democrats (DC); (d) Right Wing corresponds to Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) plus smaller parties supporting monarchy; (e) Conditional on 1919, 1921 and 1924 Catholics and Communist and Socialist vote shares.

Table B.6: Survey data – Summary statistics

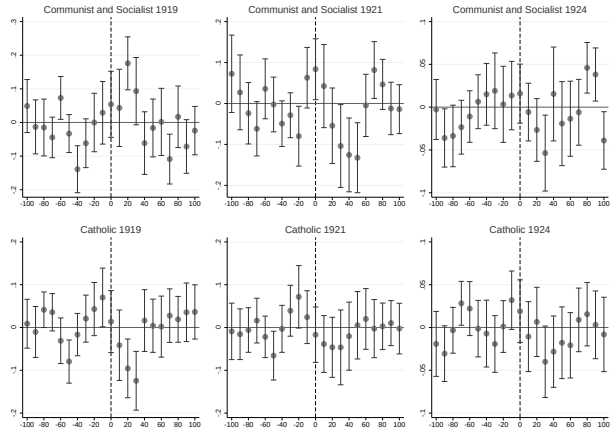
Variable	Obs	Mean	Sd	Min	Max
Male	2491	0.299	0.458	0	1
Years of age	2467	66.136	11.245	41	95
Years of residency	2444	52.452	17.610	20	95
College level education	2119	0.088	0.283	0	1
Years of education	2119	9.683	4.241	0	21
Married, widow(er), separated or divorced	2112	0.911	0.286	0	1
One or more children	2098	0.865	0.342	0	1
House ownership	2029	0.934	0.248	0	1
Left wing political preferences	1970	0.424	0.494	0	1
Center political preferences	1970	0.072	0.258	0	1
Right wing political preferences	1970	0.123	0.328	0	1
Independent political preferences	1970	0.381	0.486	0	1
Congruence with father's political preferences	1713	0.779	0.415	0	1
One family member took part in the civil war	2270	0.320	0.467	0	1
One family member was victim of violence during WWII	2252	0.226	0.419	0	1
One family member took part in the civil war as a partisan	2252	0.191	0.393	0	1
The municipality organized an event to commemorate the Resistance	2226	0.704	0.456	0	1
Participation to an event organized to commemorate the Resistance	2226	0.330	0.470	0	1
Excessive German predominance	1940	0.308	0.462	0	1
The Euro was harmful for Italy	2279	0.259	0.438	0	1
Wedding preference, Poland over Germany	1054	0.275	0.447	0	1
Wedding preference, UK over Germany	1066	0.604	0.489	0	1
Wedding preference, France over Germany	1064	0.647	0.478	0	1
Wedding preference, Germany ranked last	1081	0.189	0.391	0	1

Table B.7: Survey data – Variables Description

Variable	Definition	Question	Answers
Male	Dummy for male respondent		
Years of age	Age of the respondent		
Years of residency	Duration of the residency in the municipality		
College level education	Dummy equal to 1 if highest educational attainment is at least college (answers 1 or 2)	What is the highest educational degree you obtained?	1 - Phd/Master – 2 - College – 3 - Senior High School – 4 - Junior High School – 5 - Primary School – 6 - Primary School not finished
Years of education	Number of years spent at school (inferred from the answer to the previous question)		
Married, widow(er), separated or divorced	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent is married, widow(er), separated or divorced		
One or more children	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent has at least one child		
House ownership	Dummy for house ownership		
Left wing political preferences	Dummy for left wing political preferences (answers 1 or 2)	How would you define your political position with a single word?	1 - Left – 2 - Centre-Left – 3 - Center – 4 - Centre-Right – 5 - Right – 6 - Independent
Center political preferences	Dummy for center political preferences (answer 3)		
Right wing political preferences	Dummy for right wing political preferences (answer 4 or 5)		
Independent political preferences	Dummy for independent political preferences (answer 6)		
Congruence with father's political preferences	Dummy for congruence with father's political preferences (answers 1 or 2)	How close were your vote to that of your father the first time you voted?	1 - Very close – 2 - Quite close – 3 - Not that close – 4 - Not close
One family member took part in the civil war	Dummy for the presence of a family member who took part in the civil war (answer 1 or 2)	Do you remember, or were you told whether any member of your family took part in the civil war in the period 1943-1945? If so, as a partisan or as a Mussolini's supporter?	1 - Yes, as a partisan – 2 - Yes, as Mussolini's supporter – 3 - No
One family member took part in the civil war as a partisan	Dummy for the presence of a family member who took part in the civil war as a partisan (answer 1)		
One family member was victim of violence during WWII	Dummy for the presence of a family member who was victim of violence during WWII (answer 1)	Do you remember, or were you told whether a member of your family was a victim of violence or deprivations during WWII? If so, from whom?	1 - Yes (add description) – 2 - No
The municipality organized an event to commemorate the Resistance	Dummy for the organisation of commemorating events in the municipality (answers 1 or 2)	Do you remember whether your municipality has ever organized an event to commemorate the Resistance and the Partisan war? If so, did you attend?	1 - Yes, but I did not attend – 2 - Yes, and I attended – 3 - No
Participation to an event organized to commemorate the Resistance	Dummy for the participation to commemorating events in the municipality (answer 2)		
Excessive German predominance	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent agrees with excessive German predominance in Europe (answers 1 or 2)	How strongly do you agree with the statement "The Euro introduction has worsened the risk of an excessive German predominance in Europe"?	1 - Strongly Agree – 2 - Agree – 3 - Disagree – 4 - Strongly Disagree
The Euro was harmful for Italy	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent believes that the introduction of Euro has been harmful to Italy (answers 1 or 2)	How strongly do you agree with the statement "The introduction of Euro in Italy has been positive for our country"?	1 - Strongly Agree – 2 - Agree – 3 - Disagree – 4 - Strongly Disagree
Wedding preference, Poland over Germany	Dummy for Poland ranked over Germany	I am going to present different nationalities. Would you tell, in order, for which ones of them you wouldn't be particularly happy in the event of the wedding of a relative with a person of that nationality.	1 - Poland – 2 - Uk – 3 - Germany – 4 - France
Wedding preference, UK over Germany	Dummy for UK ranked over Germany		
Wedding preference, France over Germany	Dummy for France ranked over Germany		
Wedding preference, Germany ranked last	Dummy for Germany ranked last		

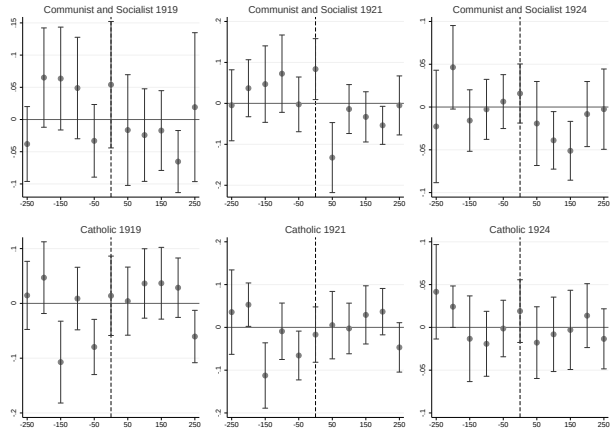
Note: The first column indicates the name of the variable used in the analysis. The second includes a brief description and, when appropriate, columns 3 and 4 contain the relevant survey question with possible answers. The original questionnaire was administered in Italian, the content has been translated to the benefit of non-Italian speakers.

Figure B.1: Placebo coefficients 10km – Pre-war elections



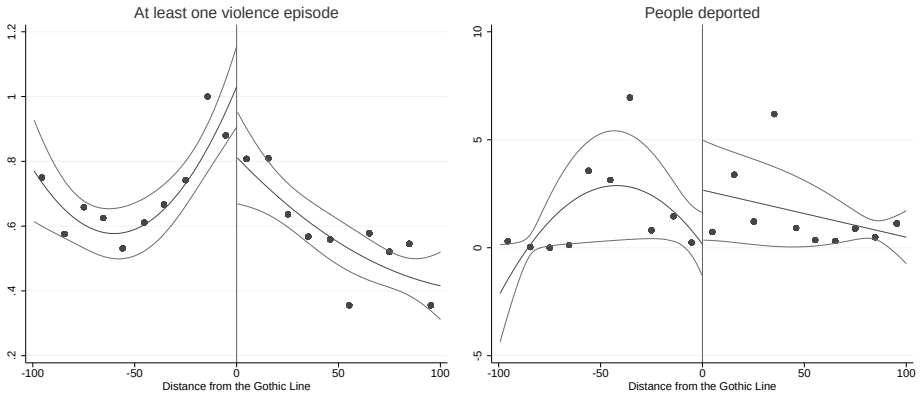
Note: This figure displays coefficients and 95% confidence intervals, estimated by local linear regression as in the last column of Table 3, Panel A, shifting the position of the Gothic line North or South of its true position by 10 km at a time up to plus or minus 100 km

Figure B.2: Placebo coefficients 50km – Pre-war elections



Note: This figure displays coefficients and 95% confidence intervals, estimated by local linear regression as in the last column of Table 3, Panel A, shifting the position of the Gothic line North or South of its true position by 50 km at a time up to plus or minus 250 km

Figure B.3: Discontinuity – Violence



Note: This figure displays the second order polynomial regressions at the 100 km bandwidth shown in Table 6. Each dot corresponds to the within bin average for all municipalities in the corresponding 10 km interval.

Figure B.4: Violence episodes and municipalities occupied by "HG-RFSS"

