The Political Legacy of Forced Migration: Evidence from Post-WWII Germany

Online Appendices/Supplementary Materials

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A Detailed notes

A.1 Analyses limited to West Germany

Analyses presented in the main text support the hypothesized relationship between expellee share and radical right support for the districts of West Germany. Does this relationship also exist across the districts of erstwhile East Germany? Contemporary support for the AfD is markedly higher among the states of erstwhile East Germany. Consequently, retrieving similar results for the East would increase the substantive importance of the findings reported in this paper. However, I have been unable to find district-level data on expellee allocation for the Soviet Occupation Zone, which later formed East Germany. A similar dearth of qualitative records concerning expellees within East German archives has been reported by other scholars (Ther 1996, 781). The Soviet administration, unlike in the West, did not allow expellees to assert their distinct identity and did not maintain demographic statistics that would allow researchers to differentiate expellees from the native population.

A.2 Tensions between natives and expellees

The process of accommodating millions of expellees during the immediate postwar years produced significant tensions between the native population and the newcomers (Connor 2018). The Allied administration's mandate requiring natives to house these strangers served to intensify their dislike of expellees (Schulze 1989). The natives' resulting cold reception of the newcomers during the immediate postwar years was acknowledged by the Allied military administration and is well documented (Schulze 1989, 332).

Schulze (1989) provides extensive documentation of native resentment and hostility toward expellees. Tensions arose from a variety of quarters, with natives perceiving expellees as unwelcome strangers introducing a deleterious foreign influence into their midst. "The original population perceived the newcomers as a threat to their way of life, their cultural traditions and the very fabric of rural society" (Connor 2018, 81). The police had to be called upon in many instances to ensure that expellees were allowed space within native households (Eberle 1987; U.S. House Judiciary Committee 1950). Expellees were often assigned to the smallest rooms (Connor 2018). Many expellees, who had owned homes in the East, found their entire families confined to a single room (Harris and Wülker 1953). Expellee homesickness and trauma-induced lethargy "reinforced the widespread prejudices of the native residents that expellees were lazy

and constituted a financial drain on the country" (Ther 1996, 791).

"Most refugees and expellees tried to tell their stories after they arrived in their new homes in the west, but especially in the rural regions most encountered the experience that the natives were not interested and did not want to know" (Schulze 2006, 374). Decades later, expellees recounted "being regarded as different and therefore inferior" (Schulze 2006, 373). The native population also expressed dissatisfaction with expellee entry into education and politics, fearing the detrimental effects of the latter's foreign influence (Schulze 2006). Lattimore (1974) provides a detailed account of the political tensions that arose between natives and expellees during the immediate postwar years.

Interviews conducted by Schulze (2006) reveal that such tense interactions in the early postwar years were felt acutely by the expellees and have not been forgotten even five decades later. Expellees reported "a lingering feeling that they have retained some of the qualities of a stranger, of an outsider, and do not totally 'belong"' (Schulze 2006, 372).

A.3 Addressing concerns of endogenous allocation

Analyses employing the 1950 expellee share might produce biased estimates if expellees could have situated themselves in areas better aligned with their vocational training and/or political predilections. Multiple pieces of qualitative and quantitative evidence help allay this concern.

First, the expulsion had stripped this community of most material resources, making them reliant on governmental assistance for survival (Connor 2018, Chapter 2). The Allied military administration in turn sought to minimize expellee incentives for relocation by making the latter's access to both food rations and administrative support contingent on their remaining in areas where they had been initially assigned (Grosser 2001, 83).

Second, the Allies enforced strict restrictions on expellee movement in the initial post-war period. Inter-state movement was deterred by the presence of military personnel along state boundaries (Draper 1946, 10). Though some expellees did manage to cross between the occupation zones, such movement was motivated by survival needs and not strategic calculus that might contribute to biased estimates (U.S. House Judiciary Committee 1950, 13). Meanwhile, emigration, though widely discussed as a potential

solution (Wander 1951) to the problem of expellee overcrowding, was never pursued in any meaningful capacity (Paikert 1962; Schoenberg 1970, 49).

Third, Braun and Mahmoud (2014, Appendix Table A1), Braun and Dwenger (2019, Appendix Table D1), and Peters (2022, Appendix Table A3) have shown that a wide range of economic outcomes are uncorrelated with expellee distribution in 1950 after accounting for housing damage, population density in 1939 (or 1933), distance from expulsion regions, and state fixed effects. Unless otherwise stated, all specifications in this paper account for these factors and pre-existing radical right sentiment (including controls for both the Nazi Party's vote share and the religious makeup of districts (Voigtländer and Voth 2012)). Taken together, this diverse body of evidence suggests that the residual variation in the expellee distribution, after accounting for the on the ground realities detailed above, is not correlated with pre-war economic and political outcomes.

A.4 Lack of individual level data

The Allied administration and early postwar governments of West Germany maintained detailed aggregate statistics on expellees. However, with the economic boom of the 1950s and the dissolution of the expellee party in 1961, popular opinion deemed the expellees integrated into West German society (Süssner 2004, 10). The dissolving of the Federal Ministry of Displaced Persons, Refugees and War Victims in 1969 also reflects this perceived success of expellee integration. Since 1970, publicly available surveys fielded in Germany have generally not collected systematic information on an individual's expellee background. This is also true of long-running surveys like the German General Social Survey (ALLBUS) and the German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP).

Moreover, to my knowledge, no publicly available survey has measured respondents' attachment to an expellee identity, the mechanism identified in this study as driving expellee support for the radical right. Even the early surveys that identified expellee respondents did not measure the strength of their expellee identity.

A.5 Other potential preexisting drivers of radical right sentiment

Voigtländer and Voth (2012, Table VI) also find that areas with higher shares of Jews in the interwar period experienced greater antisemitic behavior. Could the Third Reich's removal of its Jewish citizens to concentration camps have opened up housing stock, which in turn came to be occupied by expellees? If so, the observed association between

expellee share and support for the radical right might be driven by expellees being allocated to areas with greater levels of antisemitism. However, the relationship between expellee share and radical right support remains robust to including Jewish share of the population in 1925 and 1939 (Tables A1-A2).

Alternatively, it might be the case that the Nazi regime intensified local hostilities toward Jews through its pursuit of systemic antisemitism between 1933 and 1945. Could regional differences in the extent to which such efforts influenced communities be driving postwar regional variation in support for radical right parties? I account for this possibility by including measures for changes in the Jewish share of a district's population from 1925–1939, 1939–1945, and 1925–1945 as proxies for the depth of such antisemitism. First, a decline in the Jewish share of the population from 1925–39 is conceptualized as indicating a less welcoming environment for those of the Jewish faith. Second, a decline in the Jewish share of the population from 1939–1945 is conceptualized as indicating greater community compliance with the Nazi regime's goal of eradicating Jews. Third, a decline in the Jewish share of the population from 1925–1945 is an overall measure of increased antisemitism. The main results are robust to the inclusion of all three measures (Tables A3-A5).

Table A1: Federal and European Elections: 1969 – 2019 (Jewish share of population '25)

Elections 1969–1989							
	1969 (F)	**1972 (F)**	**1976 (F)**	**1983 (F)**	**1984 (E)**	**1987 (F)**	**1989 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.012	0.002	0.002	0.003***	0.011***	0.005**	0.111***
	(0.010)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.020)
Standardized coefficient	0.06	0.05	0.09	0.3	0.31	0.17	0.22
Elections 1990–2004							
	1990 (F)	**1994 (F)**	**1994 (E)**	**1998 (F)**	**1999 (E)**	**2002 (F)**	**2004 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.023**	0.019**	0.032**	0.032***	0.027***	0.003	0.017
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.021)
Standardized coefficient	0.12	0.19	0.14	0.23	0.25	0.07	0.13
Elections 2005–2019							
	2005 (F)	**2009 (F)**	**2009 (E)**	**2013 (F)**	**2014 (E)**	**2017 (F)**	**2019 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	–0.003	0.005	0.016	0.045***	0.080***	0.071**	0.049*
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.020)	(0.023)	(0.025)
Standardized coefficient	-0.03	0.06	0.2	0.37	0.39	0.23	0.23
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is the cumulative vote share across four radical right parties: NPD, DVU, REP, and AfD. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. All specifications include the 1925 Jewish share of population as an additional control. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table A2: Federal and European Elections: 1969 – 2019 (Jewish share of population '39)

Elections 1969–1989							
	1969 (F)	**1972 (F)**	**1976 (F)**	**1983 (F)**	**1984 (E)**	**1987 (F)**	**1989 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.007	0.001	0.001	0.003***	0.010***	0.005**	0.120***
	(0.011)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.023)
Standardized coefficient	0.04	0.05	0.08	0.28	0.3	0.14	0.24
Elections 1990–2004							
	1990 (F)	**1994 (F)**	**1994 (E)**	**1998 (F)**	**1999 (E)**	**2002 (F)**	**2004 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.027**	0.020**	0.035***	0.031***	0.027***	0.003	0.013
	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.023)
Standardized coefficient	0.14	0.2	0.15	0.22	0.24	0.05	0.1
Elections 2005–2019							
	2005 (F)	**2009 (F)**	**2009 (E)**	**2013 (F)**	**2014 (E)**	**2017 (F)**	**2019 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	–0.005	0.005	0.015	0.044***	0.082***	0.078***	0.053*
	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.020)	(0.023)	(0.023)
Standardized coefficient	-0.05	0.06	0.2	0.36	0.41	0.26	0.25
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is the cumulative vote share across four radical right parties: NPD, DVU, REP, and AfD. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. All specifications include the 1939 Jewish share of population as an additional control. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table A3: Federal and European Elections: 1969 – 2019 (Δ Jewish Share 1925-1939)

Elections 1969–1989							
	1969 (F)	**1972 (F)**	**1976 (F)**	**1983 (F)**	**1984 (E)**	**1987 (F)**	**1989 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.005	0.001	0.001	0.003***	0.010***	0.005**	0.127***
	(0.010)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.023)
Standardized coefficient	0.03	0.04	0.07	0.27	0.29	0.14	0.25
Elections 1990–2004							
	1990 (F)	**1994 (F)**	**1994 (E)**	**1998 (F)**	**1999 (E)**	**2002 (F)**	**2004 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.030**	0.021***	0.037***	0.031***	0.027***	0.003	0.013
	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.024)
Standardized coefficient	0.15	0.21	0.16	0.22	0.24	0.05	0.1
Elections 2005–2019							
	2005 (F)	**2009 (F)**	**2009 (E)**	**2013 (F)**	**2014 (E)**	**2017 (F)**	**2019 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	–0.005	0.006	0.016	0.046***	0.087***	0.087***	0.059**
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.020)	(0.024)	(0.024)
Standardized coefficient	-0.05	0.07	0.21	0.38	0.43	0.29	0.28
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is the cumulative vote share across four radical right parties: NPD, DVU, REP, and AfD. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. All specifications include the change in Jewish share of population between 1925 and 1939 as an additional control. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table A4: Federal and European Elections: 1969 – 2019 (Δ Jewish Share 1939-1945)

Elections 1969–1989							
	1969 (F)	**1972 (F)**	**1976 (F)**	**1983 (F)**	**1984 (E)**	**1987 (F)**	**1989 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	−0.0001	0.001	0.001	0.003**	0.009***	0.005*	0.121***
	(0.011)	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.028)
Standardized coefficient	0	0.05	0.08	0.26	0.28	0.14	0.25
Elections 1990–2004							
	1990 (F)	**1994 (F)**	**1994 (E)**	**1998 (F)**	**1999 (E)**	**2002 (F)**	**2004 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.028**	0.021**	0.036**	0.029**	0.023***	0.003	0.014
	(0.012)	(0.007)	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.025)
Standardized coefficient	0.15	0.2	0.16	0.21	0.21	0.05	0.11
Elections 2005–2019							
	2005 (F)	**2009 (F)**	**2009 (E)**	**2013 (F)**	**2014 (E)**	**2017 (F)**	**2019 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	−0.006	0.005	0.017	0.046***	0.079***	0.072**	0.049
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.022)	(0.026)	(0.027)
Standardized coefficient	-0.07	0.07	0.23	0.38	0.39	0.24	0.23
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	533	533	533	533	533	533	533

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is the cumulative vote share across four radical right parties: NPD, DVU, REP, and AfD. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. All specifications include the change in Jewish share of population between 1939 and 1945 as an additional control. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table A5: Federal and European Elections: 1969 – 2019 (Δ Jewish Share 1925-1945)

Elections 1969–1989							
	1969 (F)	**1972 (F)**	**1976 (F)**	**1983 (F)**	**1984 (E)**	**1987 (F)**	**1989 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.009	0.002	0.002	0.003***	0.010**	0.006**	0.109***
	(0.011)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.025)
Standardized coefficient	0.05	0.06	0.1	0.29	0.3	0.17	0.22
Elections 1990–2004							
	1990 (F)	**1994 (F)**	**1994 (E)**	**1998 (F)**	**1999 (E)**	**2002 (F)**	**2004 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.022*	0.020**	0.033**	0.030**	0.023***	0.004	0.021
	(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.014)	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.022)
Standardized coefficient	0.11	0.19	0.15	0.21	0.21	0.08	0.15
Elections 2005–2019							
	2005 (F)	**2009 (F)**	**2009 (E)**	**2013 (F)**	**2014 (E)**	**2017 (F)**	**2019 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	–0.004	0.006	0.019	0.048***	0.076**	0.062*	0.046
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.023)	(0.028)	(0.029)
Standardized coefficient	-0.04	0.08	0.25	0.39	0.38	0.21	0.22
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	533	533	533	533	533	533	533

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is the cumulative vote share across four radical right parties: NPD, DVU, REP, and AfD. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. All specifications include the change in Jewish share of population between 1925 and 1945 as an additional control. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

A.6 On inter-generational transmission of expellee identity

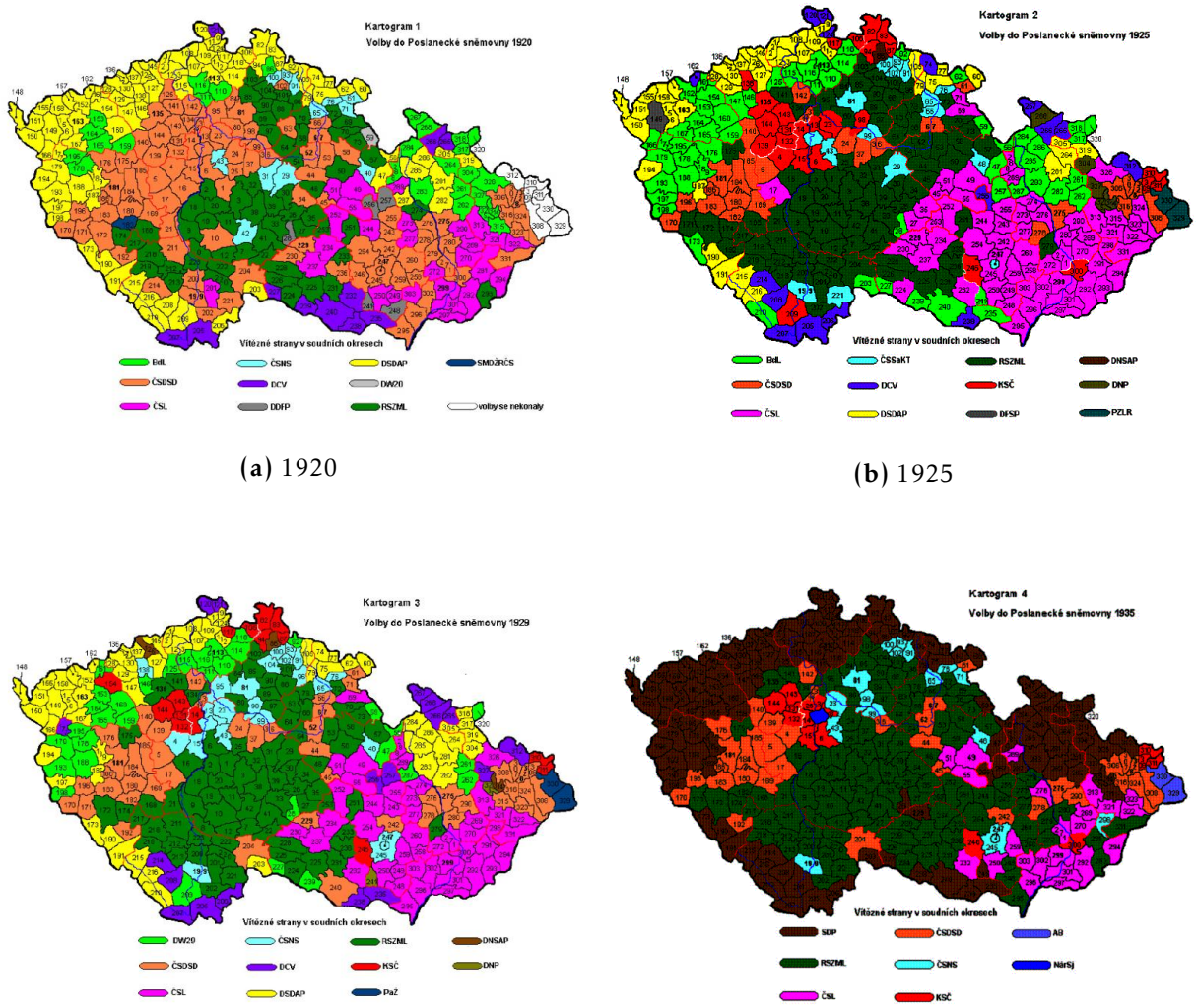
Many of the ethnic Germans who experienced forced migration between 1944 and 1952 are now dead. However, multiple sources provide evidence for the inter-generational transmission of an expellee identity. First, Ahonen (2016, 125) reports that the Federation of Expellees (BDV) had a membership of 500,000 as recently as 2010. Second, Süssner (2004) reports that expellee youth groups and their efforts to cultivate an expellee identity among younger generations continued at least into the 1990s. Third, Dinas et al. (2021a, 653) "examine the extent to which the memory of past forced displacement persists among children and grandchildren of the displaced by asking respondents to choose an event from the country's history that they consider most crucial for inclusion in history school textbooks." Based on evidence from a survey they conducted in August 2018, the authors conclude that there has been a "successful transmission of refugee identity to the second and third generations of descendants" Dinas et al. (2021a, 654).

Multiple pieces of evidence also suggest that descendants with such a forced migration identity might have been supportive of the radical right in the 2010s, when identity-based grievances were unresolved and politically salient. First, in a sample of German respondents, which oversampled descendants of German expellees (more than 95% of respondents with an expellee background were first- or second-generation descendants), (Dinas et al. 2021b) found substantial levels of competitive victimhood among expellee descendants. 71.14% percent of expellee descendants expressed agreement with the statement that "German expellees during WWII have suffered more than Syrians suffer now," while agreement with the statement that "No one outside Germany has paid attention to how much German expellees have suffered after the WWII." was 81.34%. Importantly, they found that individuals who expressed such sentiments were likely to hold substantively more negative attitudes toward contemporary refugees (Figure 2 of their paper). Second, consistent with lingering sentiments of competitive victimhood, I find that areas that received greater shares of expellees in 1950s were more likely to see increases in AfD support from 2013 to 2017 when the party transformed from a fiscally conservative Euroskeptic party to an anti-immigrant party (Table C7). This first-differences model (accounting for all time-invariant factors in each area), like all models reported in this paper, controls for historical radical right predilections (Nazi party vote share in the interwar period) in these areas, which preceded the arrival of expellees. Finally, recognizing expellee descendants as a potential voting bloc of interest, the AfD has created a "Working Group of Displaced Persons" in the late 2010s.

A.7 Pre-existing radical right sentiment among *Volksdeutsche*?

Two pieces of evidence mitigate the concern that the relationship between *Volksdeutsche* share and radical right support could be the product of political convictions forged at a much earlier date. First, electoral patterns across the four successive interwar elections in Czechoslovakia, whose expellees constituted 60% of the *Volksdeutsche*, do not support the notion that expellees were always predisposed to the radical right. The first three elections in 1920, 1925, and 1929 saw ethnic Germans support ethnic parties that sought to collaborate with other political actors in the Czechoslovakian nation (Glassheim 2000, 469). Moreover, the DSAP, a left-wing party, procured majorities in much of the ethnic German enclaves in these elections (Figure A1). The elections in 1935 saw a sudden reversal in this pattern, with the newly formed *Sudetendeutsche Partei* (SDP) dominating across predominantly ethnic German areas of the country. Lees (2015, 236) cautions against interpreting this change in the political landscape as indicative of overwhelming Nazi sympathies among the Czechoslovakian ethnic German population. Declining economic fortunes due to onset of the Great Depression help in part to explain these electoral dynamics (Glassheim 2000, 470).

Second, over time variation in the strength of this relationship during the postwar period follows the exact pattern hypothesized in Table 1 and reported under Figure 2, helping mitigate the concern that it reflects either a long-standing pre-expulsion preference for the radical right among *Volksdeutsche* or a sustained radical right conviction developed during the period of Nazi occupation. If either of these explanations were at work, we should not expect the relationship to fluctuate in response to over time changes in the political context in Germany. However, my findings reveal that this relationship diminishes with broader society's recognition of expellee suffering and strengthens when political developments make the narrative of German suffering during WWII salient (Table D10).



(a) 1920

(b) 1925

(c) 1929

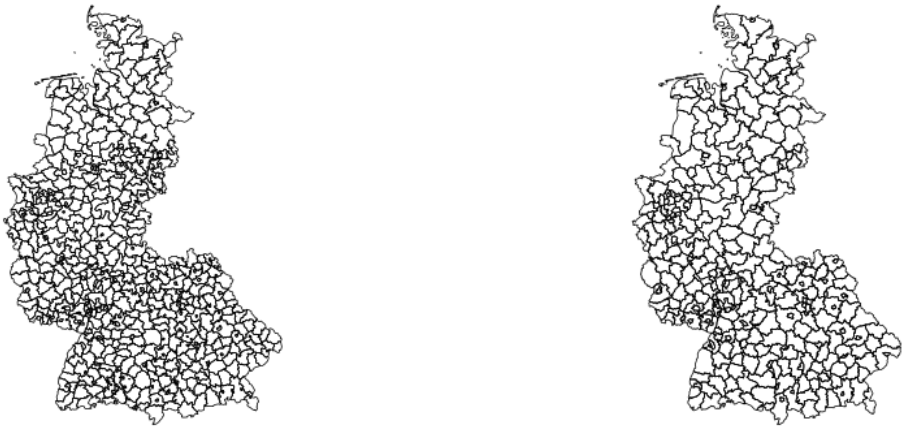
(d) 1935

Figure A1: The above maps capture district-level electoral returns from the four interwar elections held in Czechoslovakia. The first three elections in 1920, 1925, and 1929, saw ethnic Germans support ethnic parties that sought to collaborate with other political actors within the Czechoslovakian nation. Moreover, the DSAP, a left-wing party (yellow), procured majorities in much of the ethnic German enclaves in these elections. The elections in 1935 saw a drastic reversal in this pattern, with the newly formed *Sudetendeutsche Partei* (SDP) dominating across the predominantly ethnic German areas of the country.

B Spatial harmonization

B.1 Procedure

The harmonization process involved the following steps. I first mapped variables to their original spatial units. For instance, electoral returns from the May 1924 Weimar election were mapped to 1924 districts. I accomplished this by merging each variable with the district-level shape file of Germany from the year in which it was measured. The History GIS Collection from the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research contains shape files for the German Empire (1871–1945), the Federal Republic (1949–1989), and the reunified Federal Republic (1990–2009) (MPIDR 2011). This procedure resulted in 31 distinct data layers, which were superimposed on the 1949 base layer to create spatially weighted measures. Raw counts of relevant variables were retained to minimize any measurement error that might result from spatially weighting population shares. The final step, therefore, utilized these recomputed raw counts to produce share variables.



(a) 1949 **(b)** 2019

Figure B1: Changes to administrative units within West Germany over time

B.2 Contemporary administrative units

Table B1: Federal and European Elections: 1969 – 2019 (Contemporary administrative districts)

				Elections 1969–1989			
	1969 (F)	**1972 (F)**	**1976 (F)**	**1983 (F)**	**1984 (E)**	**1987 (F)**	**1989 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.009	0.004	0.003	0.005***	0.017***	0.007**	0.187***
	(0.019)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.035)
Standardized coefficient	0.05	0.12	0.14	0.4	0.51	0.21	0.38
				Elections 1990–2004			
	1990 (F)	**1994 (F)**	**1994 (E)**	**1998 (F)**	**1999 (E)**	**2002 (F)**	**2004 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.046***	0.030***	0.056***	0.037***	0.035***	0.005	0.036
	(0.012)	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.004)	(0.007)	(0.033)
Standardized coefficient	0.24	0.29	0.24	0.26	0.3	0.09	0.25
				Elections 2005–2019			
	2005 (F)	**2009 (F)**	**2009 (E)**	**2013 (F)**	**2014 (E)**	**2017 (F)**	**2019 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	−0.003	0.010	0.026	0.068***	0.125***	0.135***	0.104**
	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.014)	(0.026)	(0.034)
Standardized coefficient	-0.03	0.12	0.31	0.55	0.61	0.45	0.46
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	321	321	321	321	321	321	321

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 2020 districts. Dependent variable is the cumulative vote share across four radical right parties: NPD, DVU, REP, and AfD. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

C Robustness checks and additional analyses

C.1 Tables referenced

Table C1: Summary Statistics

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Pctl(75)	Max
DNVP – June 1920	556	0.107	0.137	0.000	0.007	0.156	0.798
DNVP – May 1924	556	0.129	0.113	0.006	0.046	0.175	0.691
DNVP – Dec 1924	556	0.146	0.124	0.007	0.057	0.202	0.771
NSDAP – May 1928	556	0.039	0.043	0.002	0.012	0.049	0.343
NSDAP – Sep 1930	556	0.176	0.087	0.024	0.108	0.232	0.559
NSDAP – July 1932	556	0.354	0.153	0.085	0.231	0.465	0.793
NSDAP – Nov 1932	556	0.323	0.144	0.061	0.208	0.421	0.728
NSDAP – Mar 1933	556	0.443	0.123	0.137	0.353	0.529	0.801
BHE – 1953	556	0.071	0.046	0.006	0.033	0.103	0.200
BHE – 1957	556	0.058	0.033	0.007	0.032	0.083	0.201
GDP – 1961	556	0.036	0.031	0.001	0.014	0.048	0.267
Radical right – 1969	556	0.048	0.018	0.016	0.035	0.056	0.119
Radical right – 1972	556	0.006	0.003	0.002	0.004	0.008	0.019
Radical right – 1976	556	0.004	0.002	0.001	0.002	0.004	0.016
Radical right – 1983	556	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.002	0.003	0.007
Radical right – 1984	556	0.009	0.003	0.003	0.006	0.010	0.023
Radical right – 1987	556	0.006	0.003	0.002	0.004	0.008	0.024
Radical right – 1989	556	0.101	0.047	0.023	0.061	0.137	0.230
Radical right – 1990	556	0.032	0.018	0.005	0.015	0.046	0.101
Radical right – 1994 (F)	556	0.022	0.010	0.005	0.013	0.029	0.051
Radical right – 1994 (E)	556	0.049	0.022	0.012	0.029	0.064	0.118
Radical right – 1998	556	0.031	0.013	0.007	0.020	0.038	0.087
Radical right – 1999	556	0.020	0.010	0.005	0.013	0.026	0.070
Radical right – 2002	556	0.010	0.005	0.003	0.006	0.012	0.044
Radical right – 2004	556	0.029	0.013	0.009	0.019	0.037	0.112
Radical right – 2005	556	0.021	0.009	0.005	0.013	0.027	0.070
Radical right – 2009 (F)	556	0.019	0.007	0.005	0.014	0.025	0.049
Radical right – 2009 (E)	556	0.018	0.007	0.005	0.013	0.021	0.064
Radical right – 2013	556	0.058	0.011	0.029	0.050	0.066	0.101
Radical right – 2014	556	0.085	0.019	0.033	0.071	0.096	0.161
Radical right – 2017	556	0.118	0.028	0.051	0.097	0.137	0.210
Radical right – 2019	556	0.094	0.020	0.040	0.081	0.105	0.177
Reichsdeutsche share 1950	556	0.091	0.075	0.008	0.042	0.111	0.320
Volksdeutsche share 1950	556	0.095	0.072	0.010	0.030	0.153	0.319
Expellee share 1950	556	0.186	0.094	0.018	0.102	0.253	0.441
Expellee share 1960	556	0.183	0.088	0.025	0.129	0.236	0.486
Proportion housing stock damaged	556	0.179	0.205	0.000	0.037	0.247	0.879
Mean rooms per house	556	4.405	0.504	3.053	4.027	4.818	5.654
log(Population density 1939)	556	5.141	1.220	3.530	4.201	5.881	8.229
log(Expulsion distance)	556	18.420	0.143	18.101	18.311	18.537	18.711
log(Distance to nearest concentration camp)	556	11.502	0.595	8.983	11.198	11.956	12.400
Percentage Protestant 1925	556	0.462	0.359	0.003	0.087	0.851	0.984
Percentage Protestant 1946	533	0.454	0.301	0.012	0.146	0.763	0.933
Percentage Protestant 1950	556	0.456	0.299	0.020	0.153	0.756	0.935
Percentage Catholic 1925	556	0.517	0.369	0.004	0.116	0.900	0.997
Percentage Catholic 1946	533	0.518	0.312	0.051	0.209	0.840	0.987
Percentage Catholic 1950	556	0.521	0.310	0.037	0.217	0.836	0.979
Percentage Jewish 1925	556	0.006	0.007	0.000	0.001	0.008	0.054
Percentage Jewish 1939	556	0.002	0.002	0.000	0.0002	0.002	0.026
Percentage Jewish 1946	533	0.001	0.002	0.000	0.0001	0.0004	0.016
Percentage Jewish 1950	556	0.0003	0.001	0.000	0.00003	0.0002	0.013

Note: See text for variable descriptions and data sources.

Table C2: Federal and European Elections: 1969 – 2019

	1969 (F)	1972 (F)	1976 (F)	1983 (F)	1984 (E)	1987 (F)	1989 (E)
Elections 1969–1989							
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.005	0.001	0.001	0.003***	0.010***	0.004**	0.128***
	(0.010)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.024)
Standardized coefficient	0.03	0.05	0.07	0.27	0.29	0.14	0.25
Moran's-I two-sided p	0.46	0.66	0.33	0.22	0.38	0.12	0.3

	1990 (F)	1994 (F)	1994 (E)	1998 (F)	1999 (E)	2002 (F)	2004 (E)
Elections 1990–2004							
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.030**	0.021***	0.037***	0.031***	0.027***	0.003	0.013
	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.024)
Standardized coefficient	0.15	0.21	0.16	0.22	0.24	0.05	0.09
Moran's-I two-sided p	0.71	0.79	0.81	0.79	0.51	0.86	0.9

	2005 (F)	2009 (F)	2009 (E)	2013 (F)	2014 (E)	2017 (F)	2019 (E)
Elections 2005–2019							
Share of Expellees – 1950	–0.005	0.006	0.016	0.046***	0.087***	0.087***	0.060**
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.020)	(0.023)	(0.023)
Standardized coefficient	-0.05	0.07	0.21	0.38	0.43	0.29	0.28
Moran's-I two-sided p	0.68	0.27	0.64	0.6	0.71	0.82	0.59
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is the cumulative vote share across four radical right parties: NPD, DVU, REP, and AfD. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. Also reported are p-values from Moran's I tests for residual spatial autocorrelation. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table C3: Federal and European Elections: 1969 – 2019 (CDU/CSU (Union) vote share)

Elections 1969–1989

	1969 (F) Union	**1972 (F) Union**	**1976 (F) Union**	**1983 (F) Union**	**1984 (E) Union**	**1987 (F) Union**	**1989 (E) Union**
Share of Expellees – 1950	−0.203**	−0.161**	−0.123*	−0.064	−0.073	−0.014	−0.101**
	(0.080)	(0.068)	(0.056)	(0.041)	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.035)
Standardized coefficient	-0.16	-0.13	-0.1	-0.06	-0.06	-0.01	-0.11

Elections 1990–2004

	1990 (F) Union	**1994 (F) Union**	**1994 (E) Union**	**1998 (F) Union**	**1999 (E) Union**	**2002 (F) Union**	**2004 (E) Union**
Share of Expellees – 1950	−0.053	0.003	−0.067	−0.028	0.034	−0.015	−0.049
	(0.039)	(0.053)	(0.043)	(0.080)	(0.109)	(0.116)	(0.116)
Standardized coefficient	-0.06	0	-0.08	-0.03	0.03	-0.01	-0.05

Elections 2005–2019

	2005 (F) Union	**2009 (F) Union**	**2009 (E) Union**	**2013 (F) Union**	**2014 (E) Union**	**2017 (F) Union**	**2019 (E) Union**
Share of Expellees – 1950	−0.025	−0.010	−0.002	−0.012	−0.094	−0.096	−0.079
	(0.112)	(0.091)	(0.105)	(0.102)	(0.078)	(0.062)	(0.085)
Standardized coefficient	-0.02	-0.01	0	-0.02	-0.11	-0.16	-0.08
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is CDU/CSU vote share. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table C4: Federal and European Elections: 1969 – 2019 (FDP vote share)

	1969 (F) FDP	1972 (F) FDP	1976 (F) FDP	1983 (F) FDP	1984 (E) FDP	1987 (F) FDP	1989 (E) FDP
Elections 1969–1989							
Share of Expellees – 1950	−0.035***	−0.002	0.028	0.019	0.015	0.036	0.014
	(0.009)	(0.018)	(0.022)	(0.017)	(0.011)	(0.021)	(0.020)
Standardized coefficient	-0.14	-0.01	0.11	0.1	0.09	0.15	0.07

	1990 (F) FDP	1994 (F) FDP	1994 (E) FDP	1998 (F) FDP	1999 (E) FDP	2002 (F) FDP	2004 (E) FDP
Elections 1990–2004							
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.048	0.014	0.004	0.005	−0.004	−0.017	−0.005
	(0.031)	(0.021)	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.012)	(0.018)	(0.026)
Standardized coefficient	0.18	0.07	0.03	0.02	-0.03	-0.07	-0.02

	2005 (F) FDP	2009 (F) FDP	2009 (E) FDP	2013 (F) FDP	2014 (E) FDP	2017 (F) FDP	2019 (E) FDP
Elections 2005–2019							
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.018	0.020	0.002	−0.004	0.0004	0.049*	0.002
	(0.031)	(0.029)	(0.033)	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.023)	(0.012)
Standardized coefficient	0.08	0.07	0.01	-0.04	0	0.21	0.01
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is FDP vote share. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table C5: Federal and European Elections: 1969 – 2019 (SPD vote share)

Elections 1969–1989							
	1969 (F) SPD	**1972 (F) SPD**	**1976 (F) SPD**	**1983 (F) SPD**	**1984 (E) SPD**	**1987 (F) SPD**	**1989 (E) SPD**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.219**	0.162**	0.099*	0.055	0.048	−0.021	−0.066
	(0.071)	(0.061)	(0.051)	(0.047)	(0.051)	(0.054)	(0.042)
Standardized coefficient	0.19	0.15	0.09	0.05	0.04	-0.02	-0.06
Elections 1990–2004							
	1990 (F) SPD	**1994 (F) SPD**	**1994 (E) SPD**	**1998 (F) SPD**	**1999 (E) SPD**	**2002 (F) SPD**	**2004 (E) SPD**
Share of Expellees – 1950	−0.035	−0.056	−0.042	−0.019	−0.057	0.002	−0.011
	(0.056)	(0.059)	(0.050)	(0.068)	(0.073)	(0.074)	(0.040)
Standardized coefficient	-0.04	-0.06	-0.04	-0.02	-0.05	0	-0.01
Elections 2005–2019							
	2005 (F) SPD	**2009 (F) SPD**	**2009 (E) SPD**	**2013 (F) SPD**	**2014 (E) SPD**	**2017 (F) SPD**	**2019 (E) SPD**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.006	−0.005	−0.008	−0.025	−0.040	−0.056	−0.019
	(0.069)	(0.050)	(0.043)	(0.054)	(0.043)	(0.035)	(0.026)
Standardized coefficient	0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.03	-0.05	-0.09	-0.03
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is SPD vote share. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table C6: Federal and European Elections: 1969 – 2019 (Greens vote share)

	1969 (F) Greens	1972 (F) Greens	1976 (F) Greens	1983 (F) Greens	1984 (E) Greens	1987 (F) Greens	1989 (E) Greens
Elections 1969–1989							
Share of Expellees – 1950	Party founded in 1980			−0.011	−0.007	−0.010	0.014
				(0.010)	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Standardized coefficient				-0.07	-0.03	-0.04	0.05

	1990 (F) Greens	1994 (F) Greens	1994 (E) Greens	1998 (F) Greens	1999 (E) Greens	2002 (F) Greens	2004 (E) Greens
Elections 1990–2004							
Share of Expellees – 1950	−0.005	−0.007	−0.005	−0.009	−0.010	0.014	0.019
	(0.007)	(0.020)	(0.027)	(0.021)	(0.027)	(0.036)	(0.058)
Standardized coefficient	-0.04	-0.03	-0.01	-0.04	-0.04	0.04	0.04

	2005 (F) Greens	2009 (F) Greens	2009 (E) Greens	2013 (F) Greens	2014 (E) Greens	2017 (F) Greens	2019 (E) Greens
Elections 2005–2019							
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.014	−0.006	0.026	−0.005	0.019	0.005	−0.004
	(0.035)	(0.039)	(0.049)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.034)	(0.071)
Standardized coefficient	0.05	-0.02	0.06	-0.02	0.05	0.01	-0.01
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is Greens vote share. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table C7: First-difference estimator: AFD 2017 - AFD 2013 vote share

	AFD **Δ(2017 - 2013)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.046**
	(0.019)
Covariates	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES
Observations	556

Note: Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is the difference in AfD's vote share in each district between the 2017 and 2013 Federal elections. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table C8: Federal and European Elections: 1953 – 2019 (time series)

	All postwar elections	**All non-BHE postwar elections**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.064***	0.029***
	(0.007)	(0.006)
Standardized coefficient	0.16	0.07
Covariates	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES
Election Fixed Effect	YES	YES
Observations	13,344	11,676

Note: Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable in column 1 is the radical right vote share in each election for all elections in the post-war period. Dependent variable in column 2 is the radical right vote share in each election for all non-BHE elections in the post-war period. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table C9: Federal and European Elections: 1953 – 2019 (linear time trend)

	All postwar elections	**All non-BHE postwar elections**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.247***	0.073***
	(0.024)	(0.011)
Linear Time Trend	0.001***	0.001***
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Share Expellees * Time Trend	−0.004***	−0.001***
	(0.0004)	(0.0002)
Covariates	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES
Election Fixed Effect	YES	YES
Observations	13,344	11,676

Note: Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable in column 1 is the radical right vote share in each election for all elections in the post-war period. Dependent variable in column 2 is the radical right vote share in each election for all non-BHE elections in the post-war period. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. The linear time trend starts in 1950. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table C10: Federal and European Elections: 1969 – 2019 (npCBGPS matching weights)

Elections 1969–1989							
	1969 (F)	**1972 (F)**	**1976 (F)**	**1983 (F)**	**1984 (E)**	**1987 (F)**	**1989 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.011	0.005*	0.002	0.003***	0.010***	0.006***	0.139**
	(0.009)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.043)
Elections 1990–2004							
	1990 (F)	**1994 (F)**	**1994 (E)**	**1998 (F)**	**1999 (E)**	**2002 (F)**	**2004 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.038*	0.020**	0.034*	0.027***	0.019***	−0.002	−0.002
	(0.020)	(0.007)	(0.018)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.008)
Elections 2005–2019							
	2005 (F)	**2009 (F)**	**2009 (E)**	**2013 (F)**	**2014 (E)**	**2017 (F)**	**2019 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	−0.009***	−0.003	−0.00002	0.035**	0.073**	0.058	0.012
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.007)	(0.012)	(0.023)	(0.042)	(0.023)
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is the cumulative vote share across four radical right parties: NPD, DVU, REP, and AfD. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table C11: Federal and European Elections: 1969 – 2019 (Instrumental variable analysis)

Elections 1969–1989							
	1969 (F)	**1972 (F)**	**1976 (F)**	**1983 (F)**	**1984 (E)**	**1987 (F)**	**1989 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.009	0.005**	0.003***	0.003***	0.007***	0.004*	0.125***
	(0.024)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.037)
Elections 1990–2004							
	1990 (F)	**1994 (F)**	**1994 (E)**	**1998 (F)**	**1999 (E)**	**2002 (F)**	**2004 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.036**	0.023***	0.046***	0.029**	0.015	0.001	0.010
	(0.017)	(0.008)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.028)
Elections 2005–2019							
	2005 (F)	**2009 (F)**	**2009 (E)**	**2013 (F)**	**2014 (E)**	**2017 (F)**	**2019 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	−0.002	0.012*	0.016	0.048***	0.081***	0.113***	0.081***
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.026)	(0.034)	(0.024)
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	443	443	443	443	443	443	443

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is 2SLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is the cumulative vote share across four radical right parties: NPD, DVU, REP, and AfD. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Instrument is expellee share of district's 1946 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table C12: Federal and European Elections: 1969 – 2019 (Distance to concentration camps)

Elections 1969–1989							
	1969 (F)	**1972 (F)**	**1976 (F)**	**1983 (F)**	**1984 (E)**	**1987 (F)**	**1989 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.009	0.001	0.002	0.003***	0.011***	0.006**	0.116***
	(0.014)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.021)
Standardized coefficient	0.05	0.04	0.08	0.28	0.32	0.19	0.23
Elections 1990–2004							
	1990 (F)	**1994 (F)**	**1994 (E)**	**1998 (F)**	**1999 (E)**	**2002 (F)**	**2004 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.030**	0.023***	0.041***	0.042***	0.032***	0.007	0.027
	(0.010)	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.016)
Standardized coefficient	0.16	0.23	0.18	0.3	0.29	0.14	0.2
Elections 2005–2019							
	2005 (F)	**2009 (F)**	**2009 (E)**	**2013 (F)**	**2014 (E)**	**2017 (F)**	**2019 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.005**	0.013***	0.022**	0.043***	0.076***	0.101***	0.067**
	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.009)	(0.012)	(0.018)	(0.027)	(0.024)
Standardized coefficient	0.05	0.17	0.29	0.35	0.37	0.33	0.32
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is the cumulative vote share across four radical right parties: NPD, DVU, REP, and AfD. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. All specifications include the distance to nearest concentration camp identified by Homola et al. (2020) as an additional control. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table C13: Federal and European Elections: 1969 – 2019 (NSDAP vote share '28)

Elections 1969–1989							
	1969 (F)	**1972 (F)**	**1976 (F)**	**1983 (F)**	**1984 (E)**	**1987 (F)**	**1989 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.005	0.001	0.001	0.003***	0.010***	0.004**	0.128***
	(0.011)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.024)
Standardized coefficient	0.03	0.04	0.07	0.27	0.29	0.14	0.25
Elections 1990–2004							
	1990 (F)	**1994 (F)**	**1994 (E)**	**1998 (F)**	**1999 (E)**	**2002 (F)**	**2004 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.030**	0.022***	0.038***	0.032***	0.027***	0.003	0.013
	(0.011)	(0.004)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.024)
Standardized coefficient	0.15	0.21	0.16	0.23	0.25	0.05	0.09
Elections 2005–2019							
	2005 (F)	**2009 (F)**	**2009 (E)**	**2013 (F)**	**2014 (E)**	**2017 (F)**	**2019 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1950	–0.005	0.006	0.016	0.046***	0.087***	0.088***	0.060**
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.019)	(0.022)	(0.022)
Standardized coefficient	-0.05	0.07	0.21	0.38	0.43	0.29	0.28
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is the cumulative vote share across four radical right parties: NPD, DVU, REP, and AfD. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. All specifications include NSDAP vote share from 1928 as an additional control. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table C14: Federal and European Elections: 1969 – 2019 (Expellee share 1960)

Elections 1969–1989							
	1969 (F)	**1972 (F)**	**1976 (F)**	**1983 (F)**	**1984 (E)**	**1987 (F)**	**1989 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1960	−0.014	0.001	0.002**	0.004***	0.016***	0.008**	0.130***
	(0.022)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.023)
Standardized coefficient	-0.07	0.02	0.11	0.34	0.44	0.22	0.24
Elections 1990–2004							
	1990 (F)	**1994 (F)**	**1994 (E)**	**1998 (F)**	**1999 (E)**	**2002 (F)**	**2004 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1960	0.010	0.014	0.018	0.022	0.029**	0.002	0.004
	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.025)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.034)
Standardized coefficient	0.05	0.13	0.07	0.14	0.25	0.03	0.03
Elections 2005–2019							
	2005 (F)	**2009 (F)**	**2009 (E)**	**2013 (F)**	**2014 (E)**	**2017 (F)**	**2019 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1960	−0.015	−0.003	0.014	0.061***	0.108***	0.029	0.038*
	(0.016)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.009)	(0.004)	(0.026)	(0.019)
Standardized coefficient	-0.15	-0.04	0.17	0.47	0.5	0.09	0.17
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is the cumulative vote share across four radical right parties: NPD, DVU, REP, and AfD. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1960 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table C15: Radical right support across postwar elections: 1969 – 2019 (election-year socioeconomic controls)

Elections 1998–2005					
	1998	**1999**	**2002**	**2004**	**2005**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.036***	0.027***	0.004	0.014	−0.003
	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.027)	(0.009)
Standardized coefficient	0.26	0.24	0.08	0.1	-0.03
Elections 2009–2017					
	2009	**2009**	**2013**	**2014**	**2017**
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.007	0.014	0.041***	0.070***	0.090**
	(0.008)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.019)	(0.027)
Standardized coefficient	0.09	0.17	0.33	0.35	0.29
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is the cumulative vote share across four radical right parties: NPD, DVU, REP, and AfD. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Only the unemployment rate is included as an additional control for the 1998 and 1999 elections. GDP per capita, unemployment rate, and log(private household income) are included as additional controls for elections from 2002 to 2014. The 2014 election specification also includes share of foreigners in the population as an additional control. The 2017 election specification only includes log(private household income) as an additional control. Please refer to the "Election year socioeconomic factors" subsection for details on election-year controls. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table C16: No association between expellee share and election-year unemployment rate

	1998	**1999**	**2002**	**2004**	**2005**	**2009**	**2013**	**2014**
Share of Expellees – 1950	−2.546	−1.822	−1.360	−0.958	0.034	0.998	2.154	2.502
	(2.281)	(2.238)	(2.402)	(2.175)	(2.121)	(1.762)	(2.035)	(1.952)
Standardized beta	-0.09	-0.07	-0.06	-0.04	0	0.04	0.09	0.1
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is unemployment rate. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table C17: No association between expellee share and election-year household income

	2002	2004	2005	2009	2013	2014	2017
Share of Expellees – 1950	0.466	0.453	0.417	0.354	0.374	0.375	0.375
	(0.879)	(0.848)	(0.840)	(0.814)	(0.809)	(0.814)	(0.821)
Standardized beta	0.07	0.07	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.05
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is log(private household income). Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

D Measures of district-level expellee identity

D.1 Expellee monuments

In 2008, the Federation of Expellees published a record of all known monuments dedicated to the expulsion and expellees across Germany (Bund der Vertriebenen – Vereinigte Landsmannschaften und Landesverbände 2008). At the time of its publication, they had identified 1,461 such monuments. Almost 95% (1383) of these monuments are located in West German districts. Figure D1 summarizes the timing of their construction. The over time variation in the frequency of their construction appears to follow the temporal expectations summarized under Table 1.

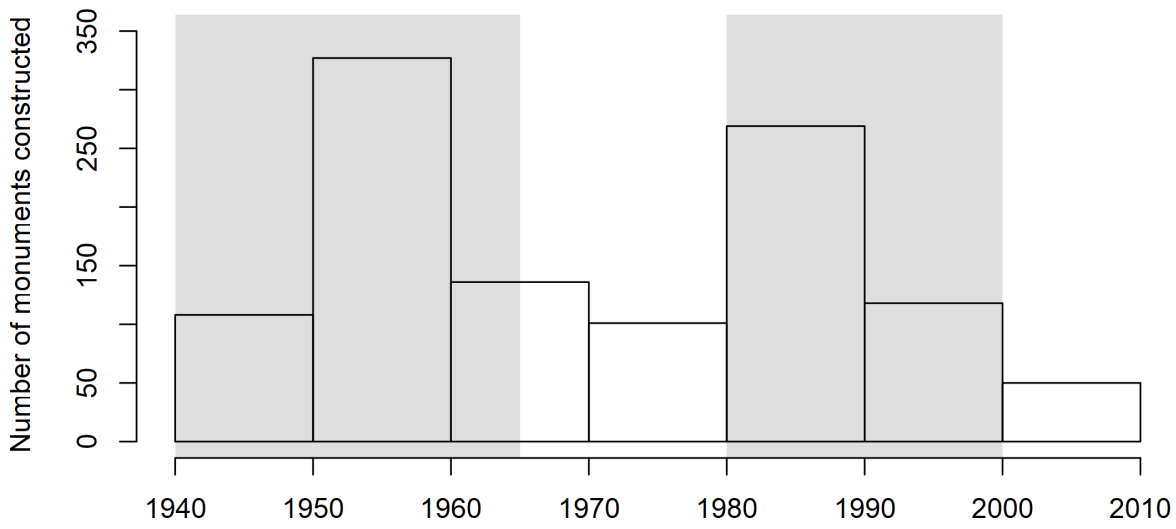


Figure D1: This figure depicts the number of expellee monuments constructed in West Germany in each decade, from the end of WWII until 2008. Shaded areas indicate periods where the political climate in Germany is expected to facilitate the hypothesized relationship between expellee share and support for the radical right. Please refer to the "Temporal expectations" subsection in the paper for details.

I digitized this record and used the monument location data to create two proxies for expellee identity at the district level for each election year. The first set of proxy variables are binary measures. Each of these binary variables indicate whether at least one expellee monument is located in a given district at the time of a given election. The second set of proxy variables are count measures. Each of these count variables equals the total number of monuments located in each district at the time of a given election.

Table D1: Presence of expellee monument – by election year

Presence of expellee monuments: 1969–1990								
	1969	**1972**	**1976**	**1983**	**1984**	**1987**	**1989**	**1990**
Share of Expellees – 1950	9.929***	10.344***	10.081***	9.665***	9.743***	9.012***	9.728***	10.221***
	(2.502)	(2.512)	(2.503)	(2.491)	(2.496)	(2.487)	(2.521)	(2.528)
Presence of expellee monuments: 1994–2009								
	1994	**1998**	**1999**	**2002**	**2004**	**2005**	**2009**	
Share of Expellees – 1950	10.576***	10.858***	10.783***	10.991***	11.349***	11.349***	10.937***	
	(2.552)	(2.592)	(2.595)	(2.621)	(2.633)	(2.633)	(2.628)	
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: Estimation method is binomial logistic regression. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable for each specification is a binary measure, which is assgined a value 1 if there existed at least one expellee monument in a district by the election year indicated by the column header, 0 otherwise. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Standard errors are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Analyses utilizing these data reveal a consistent picture that corroborates the main results. First, the conditional association between expellee share in 1950 and both sets of proxy measures is positive and statistically significant throughout the postwar period (Table D1-D2). Second, this relationship is stronger among districts that received greater shares of the *Volksdeutsche* compared to the *Reichsdeutsche* (Table D8-D9). Third, the conditional association between both sets of proxy measures for expellee identity and radical right support is only positive and statistically significant during those periods in time when I hypothesized that those with an expellee identity might be drawn to radical right parties (Table D3-D4). Each of the specifications include the same covariates as the baseline specifications. Lastly, I do not analyze the relationship between the monument measures and elections in the 2010s as the monument data do not extend to this period.

Table D2: Number of expellee monuments – by election year

Number of expellee monuments: 1969–1990								
	1969	**1972**	**1976**	**1983**	**1984**	**1987**	**1989**	**1990**
Share of Expellees – 1950	5.930***	5.875***	6.134***	5.590***	5.811***	5.883***	6.021***	5.935***
	(1.150)	(1.129)	(1.094)	(0.985)	(0.971)	(0.918)	(0.890)	(0.882)

Number of expellee monuments: 1994–2009							
	1994	**1998**	**1999**	**2002**	**2004**	**2005**	**2009**
Share of Expellees – 1950	5.906***	5.443***	5.293***	5.124***	5.224***	5.228***	5.129***
	(0.862)	(0.838)	(0.833)	(0.821)	(0.818)	(0.817)	(0.810)
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: Estimation method is poisson regression. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable for each specification is a count measure, which equals the number of expellee monuments in each district by the election year indicated by the column header. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Standard errors are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table D3: Radical right support across postwar elections: 1969 – 2009

Elections 1969–1989							
	1969 (F)	**1972 (F)**	**1976 (F)**	**1983 (F)**	**1984 (E)**	**1987 (F)**	**1989 (E)**
Presence of expellee monument	0.002	0.0001	0.0001	0.0002**	0.001**	0.0004**	0.007**
	(0.002)	(0.0002)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.002)
Elections 1990–2004							
	1990 (F)	**1994 (F)**	**1994 (E)**	**1998 (F)**	**1999 (E)**	**2002 (F)**	**2004 (E)**
Presence of expellee monument	0.002*	0.001	0.002	−0.00003	−0.0002	−0.0004*	−0.002***
	(0.001)	(0.0003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.0005)	(0.0002)	(0.0005)
Elections 2005–2019							
	2005 (F)	**2009 (F)**	**2009 (E)**				
Presence of expellee monument	−0.001**	−0.001**	−0.001***	Monument data ends in 2008			
	(0.0005)	(0.001)	(0.0003)				
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is the cumulative vote share across four radical right parties: NPD, DVU, REP, and AfD. Variable of interest is a binary measure, which is assgined a value 1 if there existed at least one expellee monument in a district by the election year indicated by the column header, 0 otherwise. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table D4: Radical right support across postwar elections: 1969 – 2009

Elections 1969–1989							
	1969 (F)	**1972 (F)**	**1976 (F)**	**1983 (F)**	**1984 (E)**	**1987 (F)**	**1989 (E)**
Number of expellee monuments	0.0004	0.00004	0.00002	0.0001***	0.0002***	0.0001	0.002**
	(0.001)	(0.00004)	(0.00003)	(0.00001)	(0.00004)	(0.00004)	(0.001)
Elections 1990–2004							
	1990 (F)	**1994 (F)**	**1994 (E)**	**1998 (F)**	**1999 (E)**	**2002 (F)**	**2004 (E)**
Number of expellee monuments	0.001	0.0002***	0.001*	−0.00004	0.0001	−0.00003	−0.00005
	(0.0003)	(0.0001)	(0.0003)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0002)
Elections 2005–2019							
	2005 (F)	**2009 (F)**	**2009 (E)**				
Number of expellee monuments	−0.0001	−0.0001	−0.00001				
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	Monument data ends in 2008			
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is the cumulative vote share across four radical right parties: NPD, DVU, REP, and AfD. Variable of interest is a count measure, which equals the number of expellee monuments in each district by the election year indicated by the column header. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

D.2 Expellee district associations

I collected information on the location of all expellee district associations across West Germany that remained active in 2020 by visiting the state-level websites of the Federation of Expellees (Bund der Vertriebenen 2020). This information, however, was not available across all states. Indeed, there is a strong correlation (.83) between a state's *Volksdeutsche* share of the population in 1950 and the availability of information regarding expellee district associations. This could be the result of either an absence of district level expellee associations in the other states or a lack of website maintenance. Both these explanations are consistent with my expectation that the *Volksdeutsche* have been able to better maintain their expellee identity compared to the *Reichsdeutsche*.

Expellee websites for Baden Württemberg, Bayern, Hessen, and Niedersachsen contained information about district-level expellee associations. Consequently, analyses that explore expellee identity as measured through the presence of district expellee associations are limited to districts within these states. I operationalized district-level expellee identity as a binary measure, which takes the value 1 for districts that reported an active expellee association in 2020, 0 otherwise. Given that this variable was constructed with contemporary data, it is likely to measure the presence of district-level expellee associations with increasing noise for periods further back in time. However, given that the total number of expellee district associations existing today is likely to be a subset of all expellee associations to have existed, I expect the resulting noise in this measure to bias against my hypothesis.

Analyses utilizing these data reveal a consistent picture that corroborates the main results. First, the relationship between expellee share in 1950 and the expellee association measure is positive and statistically significant (Table D5). Second, this relationship is stronger among districts that received greater shares of the *Volksdeutsche* compared to the *Reichsdeutsche* (Table D5). Third, bearing in mind the above mentioned caveat that this proxy for expellee identity is likely to be more noisy for earlier periods in time, the relationship between the expellee association measure and radical right support is only positive and statistically significant during those periods in time when I hypothesized that those with an expellee identity might be drawn to radical right parties (Table D6). Each of the specifications include the same covariates as the baseline specifications. Given the lack of data on the exact coordinates for these expellee association offices (the websites in many cases only listed the names of contemporary districts that contained an expellee association office), these analyses use 2020 administrative districts as the unit of analysis.

Table D5: Presence of expellee association

	Presence of expellee association	
Share of Expellees – 1950	19.377***	
	(5.080)	
Share Volksdeutsche		23.035***
		(5.749)
Share Reichsdeutsche		11.234
		(7.095)
Covariates	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES
Observations	211	211

Note: Estimation method is binomial logistic regression. Unit of analysis is 2020 districts. Dependent variable is a binary measure, which is assgined a value 1 if there existed an expellee association in the district in 2020, 0 otherwise. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Standard errors are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table D6: Radical right support across postwar elections: 1969 – 2009 (expellee associations)

Elections 1969–1989							
	1969 (F)	**1972 (F)**	**1976 (F)**	**1983 (F)**	**1984 (E)**	**1987 (F)**	**1989 (E)**
Presence of expellee association	0.002	0.0003	0.0001	0.0003	0.001	0.0001	0.007**
	(0.002)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Elections 1990–2004							
	1990 (F)	**1994 (F)**	**1994 (E)**	**1998 (F)**	**1999 (E)**	**2002 (F)**	**2004 (E)**
Presence of expellee association	0.001	0.001*	0.003**	0.004**	0.002**	0.001	0.003
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.0004)	(0.001)
Elections 2005–2019							
	2005 (F)	**2009 (F)**	**2009 (E)**	**2013 (F)**	**2014 (E)**	**2017 (F)**	**2019 (E)**
Presence of expellee association	0.0001	0.001	0.001	0.002	0.005*	0.006**	0.005*
	(0.0005)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	211	211	211	211	211	211	211

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 2020 districts. Dependent variable is the cumulative vote share across four radical right parties: NPD, DVU, REP, and AfD. Variable of interest is a binary measure, which is assgined a value 1 if there existed an expellee association in the district in 2020, 0 otherwise. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table D7: Turnout across postwar elections: 1969 – 2009

Elections 1969–1989							
	1969 (F)	**1972 (F)**	**1976 (F)**	**1983 (F)**	**1984 (E)**	**1987 (F)**	**1989 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1960	0.176***	0.116***	0.089***	0.055***	0.054	0.053**	0.127**
	(0.018)	(0.006)	(0.014)	(0.005)	(0.045)	(0.016)	(0.041)
Standardized coefficient	0.53	0.52	0.4	0.25	0.05	0.16	0.2
Elections 1990–2004							
	1990 (F)	**1994 (F)**	**1994 (E)**	**1998 (F)**	**1999 (E)**	**2002 (F)**	**2004 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1960	0.120***	0.104***	0.139***	0.075***	0.105*	0.049*	0.209***
	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.041)	(0.015)	(0.053)	(0.024)	(0.059)
Standardized coefficient	0.27	0.28	0.19	0.22	0.13	0.18	0.25
Elections 2005–2019							
	2005 (F)	**2009 (F)**	**2009 (E)**	**2013 (F)**	**2014 (E)**	**2017 (F)**	**2019 (E)**
Share of Expellees – 1960	0.085**	0.111**	0.108**	0.110***	0.072	0.058	0.051
	(0.029)	(0.033)	(0.045)	(0.029)	(0.039)	(0.032)	(0.029)
Standardized coefficient	0.28	0.3	0.16	0.28	0.09	0.17	0.11
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is election turnout as a share of eligible voters. Variable of interest is expellee share of district's 1960 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table D8: Presence of expellee monument – by election year (expellee subgroups)

Presence of expellee monuments: 1969–1990

	1969	1972	1976	1983	1984	1987	1989	1990
Share Volksdeutsche	9.597***	9.643***	9.679***	9.871***	9.861***	10.318***	11.012***	11.631***
	(2.882)	(2.888)	(2.886)	(2.914)	(2.918)	(2.958)	(3.004)	(3.019)
Share Reichsdeutsche	10.539***	11.631***	10.812***	9.312***	9.540***	6.887*	7.667**	7.970**
	(3.642)	(3.664)	(3.639)	(3.587)	(3.597)	(3.548)	(3.582)	(3.588)

Presence of expellee monuments: 1994–2009

	1994	1998	1999	2002	2004	2005	2009	
Share Volksdeutsche	11.505***	11.708***	11.361***	11.323***	11.744***	11.744***	11.460***	
	(3.034)	(3.090)	(3.088)	(3.125)	(3.139)	(3.139)	(3.139)	
Share Reichsdeutsche	9.089**	9.517***	9.862***	10.469***	10.729***	10.729***	10.119***	
	(3.620)	(3.671)	(3.693)	(3.729)	(3.737)	(3.737)	(3.734)	
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: Estimation method is binomial logistic regression. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable for each specification is a binary measure, which is assgined a value 1 if there existed at least one expellee monument in a district by the election year indicated by the column header, 0 otherwise. Variables of interest are Volksdeutsche and Reichsdeutsche share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Standard errors are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table D9: Number of expellee monuments – by election year (expellee subgroups)

Number of expellee monuments: 1969–1990								
	1969	**1972**	**1976**	**1983**	**1984**	**1987**	**1989**	**1990**
Share Volksdeutsche	6.570***	6.445***	6.724***	6.594***	6.739***	6.699***	6.692***	6.599***
	(1.228)	(1.205)	(1.168)	(1.056)	(1.041)	(0.985)	(0.956)	(0.948)
Share Reichsdeutsche	3.849**	4.001**	4.180**	2.460	2.908*	3.345**	3.930***	3.881***
	(1.864)	(1.835)	(1.787)	(1.595)	(1.572)	(1.487)	(1.442)	(1.425)

Number of expellee monuments: 1994–2009							
	1994	**1998**	**1999**	**2002**	**2004**	**2005**	**2009**
Share Volksdeutsche	6.408***	6.021***	5.858***	5.538***	5.663***	5.650***	5.644***
	(0.928)	(0.904)	(0.899)	(0.887)	(0.883)	(0.882)	(0.873)
Share Reichsdeutsche	4.355***	3.706***	3.605***	3.880***	3.901***	3.952***	3.566***
	(1.396)	(1.344)	(1.332)	(1.317)	(1.311)	(1.310)	(1.297)
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: Estimation method is poisson regression. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable for each specification is a count measure, which equals the number of expellee monuments in each district by the election year indicated by the column header. Variables of interest are Volksdeutsche and Reichsdeutsche share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Standard errors are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

Table D10: Radical right support across postwar elections: 1969 – 2019 (*Reichsdeutsche* and *Volksdeutsche*)

Elections 1969–1989							
	1969 (F)	**1972 (F)**	**1976 (F)**	**1983 (F)**	**1984 (E)**	**1987 (F)**	**1989 (E)**
Share Volksdeutsche	0.015	0.002	0.001	0.004**	0.011***	0.006**	0.157***
	(0.013)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.019)
Share Reichsdeutsche	−0.014	−0.0003	0.001	0.002	0.008*	0.002	0.073**
	(0.024)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.028)
Standardized coefficient – Volks	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.24	0.24	0.13	0.24
Standardized coefficient – Reichs	-0.06	-0.01	0.06	0.14	0.19	0.05	0.12
Elections 1990–2004							
	1990 (F)	**1994 (F)**	**1994 (E)**	**1998 (F)**	**1999 (E)**	**2002 (F)**	**2004 (E)**
Share Volksdeutsche	0.039***	0.028***	0.054***	0.052***	0.041***	0.008	0.028
	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.009)	(0.030)
Share Reichsdeutsche	0.013	0.009	0.006	−0.007	0.001	−0.008	−0.016
	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.028)	(0.023)	(0.016)	(0.010)	(0.035)
Standardized coefficient – Volks	0.15	0.21	0.18	0.28	0.28	0.13	0.16
Standardized coefficient – Reichs	0.05	0.07	0.02	-0.04	0.01	-0.13	-0.1
Elections 2005–2019							
	2005 (F)	**2009 (F)**	**2009 (E)**	**2013 (F)**	**2014 (E)**	**2017 (F)**	**2019 (E)**
Share Volksdeutsche	0.004	0.014	0.025	0.057**	0.103***	0.131***	0.094**
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.017)	(0.020)	(0.026)	(0.034)	(0.035)
Share Reichsdeutsche	−0.021	−0.010	−0.001	0.024	0.056*	0.006	−0.005
	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.026)	(0.053)	(0.049)
Standardized coefficient – Volks	0.03	0.14	0.25	0.36	0.39	0.33	0.34
Standardized coefficient – Reichs	-0.18	-0.1	-0.01	0.16	0.22	0.02	-0.02
Covariates	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
State Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Allied Power Fixed Effect	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	556	556	556	556	556	556	556

Note: "**F**" refers to Federal elections and "**E**" refers to European elections. Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is 1950 districts. Dependent variable is the cumulative vote share across four radical right parties: NPD, DVU, REP, and AfD. Variables of interest are Volksdeutsche and Reichsdeutsche share of district's 1950 population. Please refer to the "Historical expellee data and covariates" subsection in the paper for details on pre-treatment covariates. Robust standard errors, clustered at the state level, are in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at 1%, 5%, and 10% level.

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