Appendix to the Paper: Activism and the Electoral Participation of Women

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A Voting Rights in Local Elections

Whilst the pilgrims marched for parliamentary suffrage, some women have already secured the right to vote in local elections (Richardson 2013). By then, men who owned or rented property above a threshold value could vote; about 66% of adult men were enfranchised by 1910 (Wright 2002, p.60). Single and widowed women recovered historical right to vote in local elections with the Municipal Franchise Act 1869 (Heater 2006, p.123), and some married women with The Local Government Act of 1894. Property or rent qualifications were still required on all electors, but married women could not qualify on the same property as their husbands. Whilst it is hard to determine the exact composition of the eligible women electorate by class and marital status, married and working-class women certainly faced tighter conditions to register. On the one hand, married women needed to be in a household with more than one qualifying property (e.g. a rented house and shop) or have a husband who did not register as a local elector. On the other hand, single and widowed women of even relatively modest professions, such as laundresses, schoolmistresses or dressmakers frequently appeared on electoral registers (Richardson 2013). Over one million women had the local vote by 1900 (Hollis 1987, p.31).

B County Sample Selection

Table B.1: Comparing Sampled Counties with England

	England	**Sample**	**Gloucestershire**	**Surrey**	**Norfolk**	**Yorkshire (W. R.)**
Election 1910 (Dec)						
Entitled to vote	4,756,016	911,056	131,879	269,551	98,083	411,543
% Turnout	88.3	81.9	84.3	76.3	94.2	82.4
% Conservative Vote	48.5	45.5	47.3	53.3	36.0	41.4
% Liberal Vote	43.4	47.3	52.6	41.7	48.4	45.8
% Labour Vote	7.9	7.2	0.0	4.8	10.8	12.8
Census 1911						
Population	36,070,492	5,125,891	672,570	920,016	488,697	3,044,608
Pop. Density (sq.mi)	620.1	779.5	604.9	1272.8	243.4	1113.8
% pop. in Agric. sub-distr.	18.8	11.8	15.4	0.6	55.5	6.2
% pop. in Profes. sub-distr.	39.4	44.2	36.3	94.7	33.3	29.3
% pop. in Indust. sub-distr.	31.5	34.6	19.6	0.0	1.9	53.7

Notes: *Election data sourced from Eggers-Spirling data set. Election data excludes unopposed constituencies (N=72); Census data from 1911 Census, collected and geocoded by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (CAMPOP); CAMPOP defines registration sub-districts as Agricultural if more than 5% worked in agriculture and density was below 1 person per acre; otherwise as Textile if more than 25% worked in textiles, otherwise as Mining if more than 30% worked in mining or metals, otherwise as Professional and Semi-Professional if more than 7.5% worked in professions; otherwise as Transport if more than 15% worked in transport. Industrial combines units defined as textile, mining and transport. The Table shows that the four counties represent distinct electoral and occupational contexts across England. Surrey was densely populated, highly professional, leaned Conservative and had relatively lower turnout. Norfolk was scarcely populated, agricultural, leaned Liberal, and had above average turnout and support for Labour. West Riding of Yorkshire was densely populated, industrial, leaned Liberal and had above average support for Labour. Gloucestershire's electoral and occupation distribution was perhaps most closely representative of the entire England, although less industrial.*

C Data Sources, Description and Collection

Electoral registers.

Electoral registers were first produced under the Representation of the People Act 1832 and continue to be published today (see e.g. Carter and Grimshaw, 2016) Electoral registers are the lists of names of individuals entitled to vote in the polling district in which they are listed during the lifetime of the register. No one can vote elsewhere than where they are registered and anyone omitted from the register cannot vote at all. The electoral registers list registered electors for all elections that took place each year. Registration overseers worked on updating the electoral registers during the winter and spring of each year and the registers were finalized in the fall of a preceding year. Requests to be added to the register were to be sent during the summer until late August, a period well known to add missing electors who were typically those that had never registered before or were newly qualified (see Edward Davis, 1879, pp. lv-lvii; "The Registrations", The Observer, 25 Sep, 2, 9, 23 Oct 1881; 17, 24 Sep, 1,8 Oct 1882; 23, 30 Sep, 21 Oct 1883, or "Increase in Registration Claims", The Halifax Daily Guardian, August 1913).

The registers list three categories of voters: Division one voters are those who are entitled to vote as Parliamentary and local electors ('burgesses'). They represent the vast majority of voters and are all men. Division two voters are a small category of male voters who were entitled to vote as parliamentary electors but not as local electors (e.g. because of residence constraints). Division three voters are a category of voters entitled to vote in local elections, but not in Parliament. This is the only category that included women; but some men were also present (e.g. some registered as "Division two" voters in another location). We refer to these voters as "local electors only". A voter could only appear once in a given location (see Edward Davis, 1879, pp. 337).

We retrieve the regiters from Ancestry.com when available, and from local archives otherwise. We geolocate the registers using 1911 shapefiles from the historical statistical project "A Vision of Britain" (2017) . In order to proxy women's share of total registration, that is

the share of electors who registered for local elections only among all electors, we use data from 'summary pages' at the end of each register. The summary pages detail the number of electors registered within each voting category at the polling division level for the counties of Gloucestershire, Norfolk, Surrey, and at the parish levels for the West Riding of Yorkshire.

March path.

We recover major cities and towns intersected by the march using an original NUWSS map, published on July 11, 1913 in The Common Cause (Figure C.1). This map establishes the 'nodes' of the march, that is the major cities and towns intersected by the march. In our four sampled counties, we establish the full path of the march with historical roads that connect these 'nodes' , using the Ordnance Survey of England and Wales (1903-1906) that represents the closest publication to the first year in our sample (1910). Outside of the sample, we establish the path between the 'nodes' with a straight line for illustrative purposes only.

Demographic variables.

Our control variables come from 1911 census. These data were collected and geocoded by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (CAMPOP) (The Cambridge Group, 2018) The CAMPOP data also report proxy measures of broad social class categories defined by the standard historical international social class scheme, HISCLASS (see van Leeuwen and Maas 2011). Information of roads in the sample comes from the 1904 Ordnance Survey Maps of the UK, which we georeference and geocode. The location of cities, necessary to compute distance to cities, comes from the Urban Population Database (Bennett 2012).

Collecting Division-level data set.

A sample of all divisions in four selected counties contains division-level data from electoral registers in Gloucestershire, Norfolk, Surrey and the West Riding of Yorkshire.[1] Using the summary pages in these four counties that provide division-level data on registration, we extract the number of registered individuals per registration category (local only, par-

[1]West Riding Yorkshire is at a level of a smaller parish.

liamentary only, local and parliamentary) to construct our key division-level dependent variable, the share of local electors (the only category where women could register) among all electors. The four selected counties represent distinct electoral and occupational contexts across England, see Appendix Table B.1above. Summary of this data set (coverage, level and variables) is given in Appendix Figure C.3.

Collecting Individual-level data set.

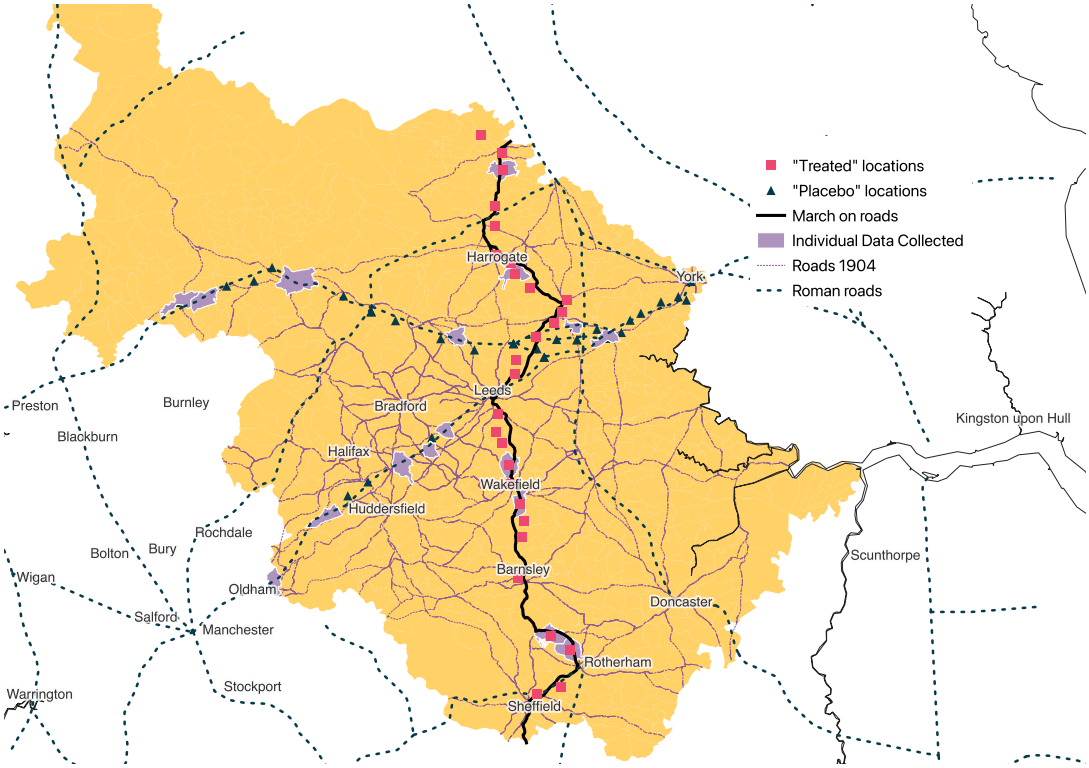
A sub-sample of 20 randomly selected parishes contains individual-level data from the electoral registers in West Riding of Yorkshire. Using the individual-level entries from electoral registers, we extract the names of all individuals registered to vote in the parish for each voting category. Summary of this data set (coverage, level and variables) is given in Appendix Figure C.3.

We then establish the gender of each individual in the sample based on their first names and using Chat-GTP, which we cross validate with the package "Genderize" in R and manually by going through the attributed genders one by one. Roughly 2% of names could not be coded as either women or men due to unisex or illegible first name. Note that whilst this approach provides the most precise indicator of women's share of registration, it is only feasible for a subset of locations and years. This procedure is extremely time consuming, in particular because the company that owns the picture's registers (Ancestry.com) does not allow researchers to access to their materials in bulk (through webscraping or an API), which could otherwise have been processed using OCR. Note too that Ancestry's digital records are fairly accurate regarding names, but are very noisy in their tagging of places, and do not tag the type of electors at all - but we need to separate local electors from the rest. For our research, we thus collected the information on place and type of elector manually form the PDFs. Although time-consuming compared to processing the PDFs with AI, this approach minimizes error which we consider to be a key objective to accurately summarize the characteristics of the divisions considered.

Figure C.1: The March Path

Notes: *This is a copy of the maps of the march printed in The Common Cause.*

Figure C.2: Map of randomly selected parishes for analysis at the individual level

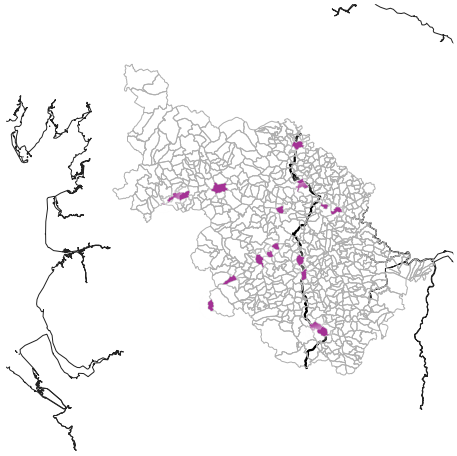


Notes: *March path in sample is along main roads connecting the scheduled stopping points (see Appendix Figure C.1. This map shows the location of the randomly selected parishes (in purple) along with the march path and the intersecting Roman road in West Riding of Yorkshire.*

Table C.1: Summary Statistics - Individual and Division-Level Data, with Controls

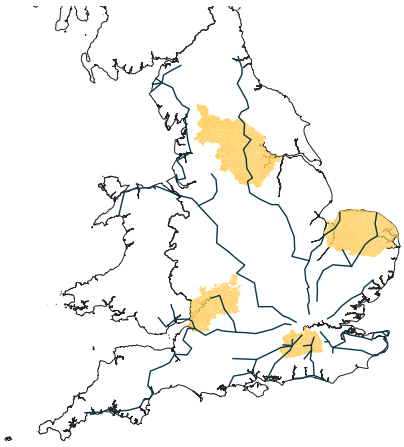
	Outside Path		On March Path			
	Mean (1)	Sd (2)	Mean (3)	Sd (4)	Diff (1)-(3) (5)	P-Val (6)
INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL DATA						
Electoral Registration Measures 1911:						
Total Electors (hundreds)	6.91	9.42	3.09	3.6	-3.82	0.22
Number of Women	90.73	123.03	35.43	31.26	-55.3	0.27
Share Local over Total Electors	0.23	0.04	0.13	0.06	-0.09	0
Electoral Registration Measures, 1914:						
Total Electors (hundreds)	6.99	9.64	3.17	3.79	-3.83	0.29
Number of Women	91.27	123.74	36.86	31.05	-54.42	0.28
Share Local over Total Electors	0.22	0.04	0.14	0.06	-0.08	0
Observations	10		10			
DIVISION-LEVEL DATA						
Electoral Registration Measures, pre-1913:						
Total Electors (hundreds)	6.224	18.162	13.327	18.162	-7.103	0
Local Electors (hundreds)	0.968	1.942	1.497	1.942	-0.529	0.006
Share Local over Total Electors	0.163	0.056	0.135	0.056	0.027	0.129
Electoral Registration Measures, post-1913:						
Total Electors (hundreds)	6.709	18.238	12.506	18.238	-5.797	0
Local Electors (hundreds)	1.042	2.069	1.631	2.069	-0.589	0.005
Share Local over Total Electors	0.161	0.057	0.148	0.057	0.014	0.487
Control Variables:						
Distance to City (km)	10.54	6.61	7.09	6.61	3.45	0
Population (thousands)	3.52	57.64	20.06	57.64	-16.53	0.02
Distance to Road (km)	1.26	0.97	0.49	0.97	0.77	0
Average Age	28.94	1.92	29.04	1.92	-0.09	0.71
Female Share of Population	0.5	0.04	0.52	0.04	-0.02	0
Single Person HouseHolds, pct	6.46	2.3	5.61	2.3	0.86	0
Total Fertility Rate (children per women)	3.09	0.79	2.84	0.79	0.24	0.02
Age at Marriage for Women	26.27	1.45	26.75	1.45	-0.48	0.01
Female Celibacy Rate	15.66	7.4	17.41	7.4	-1.75	0.07
Male Celibacy Rate	13.4	3.95	12.33	3.95	1.07	0.04
Married Women Working, pct	8.38	2.35	7.55	2.35	0.83	0.02
Child Mortality Rate, per thousand	42.58	22.94	43.61	22.94	-1.03	0.73
HISCLASS High Skill Non-Manual, pct	3.18	1.39	4.02	1.39	-0.85	0
HISCLASS High Skill Manual, pct	21.96	5.66	22.51	5.66	-0.55	0.46
HISCLASS Low Skill Skill Non-Manual, pct	12.82	6.11	16.86	6.11	-4.04	0
HISCLASS Low Skill Manual, pct	32.01	16.52	28.14	16.52	3.87	0.08
HISCLASS Unskilled	29.92	14.27	28.24	14.27	1.68	0.38
Observations	968		62			

Figure C.3: Individual and Division Data: Comparing Coverage, Level and Outcomes.



Individual-Level Data

Coverage: Parishes randomly selected inside the West Riding of Yorkshire
Level: Individual (≈20k individuals)
Outcomes: From electoral registers 1911 and 1914:
- Gender of voter registered as a local elector only



Division-Level Data

Coverage: Gloucestershire, Norfolk, Surrey, and West Riding of Yorkshire
Level: Parish (West Riding of Yorks); Division (all others) ~1k locations.
Outcomes: From electoral registers, 1911 to 1914:
- Share of local electors over total electors
- Share of parliamentary electors over total electors

D Supplementary Results

D.1. Baseline Results with all Control Variables.

Table D.1: Baseline Regression, All Control Variables Displayed

	Share of Local Electors				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
DPost X March	0.014**	0.015**	0.013**	0.015**	0.015***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)
DPost	−0.002	0.203	0.320	0.341	−0.384
	(0.005)	(0.476)	(0.509)	(0.556)	(0.692)
March	−0.020*	−0.025**	−0.023**	−0.025**	−0.018**
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.010)
Distance to City (log, km)		0.002	0.002	−0.000	0.002
		(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)
Population (log, thousands)		−0.003	−0.003	−0.004	−0.001
		(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Distance to Road (log, km)		−0.002	−0.002	−0.001	−0.020***
		(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.007)
Average Age		0.001	0.002	0.002	0.000
		(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)
Female Share of Population		0.284***	0.270***	0.291***	0.258**
		(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.067)	(0.133)
Share of Single Person Households, pct		0.006***	0.006***	0.006***	0.004*
		(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Total Fertility Rate (children per women)		−0.003	0.004	−0.004	−0.001
		(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Age at Marriage for Women		0.004*	0.005**	0.003	0.007**
		(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Female Celibacy Rate		0.002*	0.002***	0.002*	0.002
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Male Celibacy Rate		−0.001***	−0.001***	−0.001***	−0.001*
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Share of Married Women Working		0.001	0.001*	0.000	0.000
		(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
HISCLASS 1 (High Skill Non Manual, pct)		−0.015	−0.014	−0.014	−0.027**
		(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.013)
HISCLASS 2 (Lower Skill Non Manual, pct)		−0.005	−0.004	−0.003	−0.015
		(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)
HISCLASS 3 (High Skill Manual, pct)		−0.006	−0.005	−0.005	−0.016*
		(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.010)
HISCLASS 4 (Lower Skill Manual, pct)		−0.006	−0.005	−0.005	−0.017*
		(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)
HISCLASS 5 (Unskilled)		−0.008	−0.007	−0.006	−0.018*
		(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)
Early Child Mortality Rate (per 100,0000)		−0.023	−0.026	−0.021	−0.036
		(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.024)
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1913	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Incl. 1911	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pop under 15k	No	No	No	No	Yes
Within 2 km of roads	No	No	No	No	Yes
Mean dep. var.	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16
Sd dep. var.	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.08
Observations	3,494	3,488	1,766	2,713	2,938
R^2	0.048	0.257	0.263	0.250	0.286

Notes: * *p<0.10*, ** *p<0.05*, *** *p<0.01. The Table reports OLS estimates. The unit of observation is polling division. Standard errors are clustered at the parliamentary division level. The outcome variable is the share of local electors over the total electors registered. All the controls described in the text are included in the regression, but the interactions with the DPost variables are not shown for the sake of saving space.*

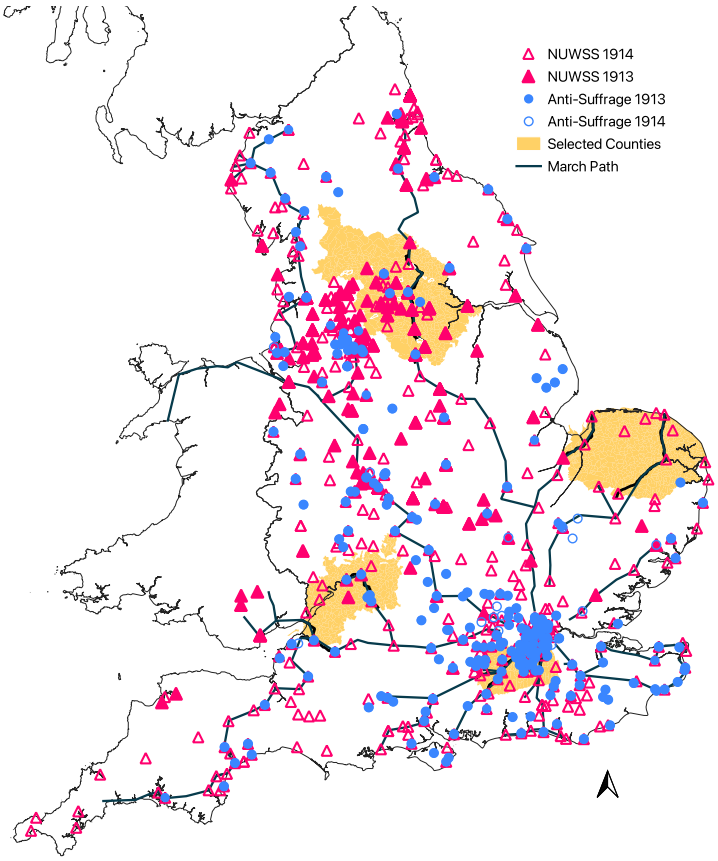
Table D.2: Pre-trends Regression, All Control Variables Displayed

	Share of Local Electors				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1914 X March	0.006	0.014*	0.013**	0.017***	0.017*
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.010)
1912 X March	−0.009	0.001		0.004	0.003
	(0.009)	(0.007)		(0.003)	(0.008)
1911 X March	−0.012	−0.002			−0.001
	(0.009)	(0.007)			(0.008)
1914	0.002	0.041	0.320	0.361	0.184
	(0.002)	(0.432)	(0.509)	(0.640)	(0.493)
1912	0.005	−0.285		0.035	0.747
	(0.007)	(0.426)		(0.297)	(0.881)
1911	0.007	−0.320			0.781
	(0.007)	(0.540)			(0.979)
March	−0.012	−0.025**	−0.023**	−0.027**	−0.019
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Distance to City (log, km)		0.007	0.002	−0.001	0.006
		(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Population (log, thousands)		0.000	−0.003	−0.005	0.002
		(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Distance to Road (log, km)		−0.006	−0.002	−0.001	−0.015**
		(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)
Average Age		0.002	0.002	0.003	0.002
		(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)
Female Share of Population		0.268***	0.270***	0.312***	0.294***
		(0.083)	(0.068)	(0.070)	(0.109)
Share of Single Person Households, pct		0.004**	0.006***	0.006***	0.003
		(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Total Fertility Rate (children per women)		−0.001	0.004	−0.011	0.001
		(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.018)	(0.013)
Age at Marriage for Women		0.006*	0.005**	0.001	0.007**
		(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Female Celibacy Rate		0.001	0.002***	0.001	0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Male Celibacy Rate		−0.001**	−0.001***	−0.001**	−0.001
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Share of Married Women Working		0.002**	0.001*	−0.000	0.001
		(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
HISCLASS 1 (High Skill Non Manual, pct)		−0.016*	−0.014	−0.013	−0.017*
		(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.010)
HISCLASS 2 (Lower Skill Non Manual, pct)		−0.007	−0.004	−0.003	−0.010
		(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
HISCLASS 3 (High Skill Manual, pct)		−0.009	−0.005	−0.004	−0.012
		(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.009)
HISCLASS 4 (Lower Skill Manual, pct)		−0.009	−0.005	−0.004	−0.012
		(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
HISCLASS 5 (Unskilled)		−0.010	−0.007	−0.006	−0.013
		(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Early Child Mortality Rate (per 100,0000)		−0.027	−0.026	−0.016	−0.029
		(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.027)	(0.025)
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1913	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Incl. 1911	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pop under 15k	No	No	No	No	Yes
Within 2 km of roads	No	No	No	No	Yes
Mean dep. var.	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16
Sd dep. var.	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.08
Observations	3,492	3,486	1,766	2,713	2,909
R^2	0.049	0.263	0.263	0.251	0.289

Notes: * *p<0.10,* ** *p<0.05,* *** *p<0.01. The Table reports OLS estimates. The unit of observation is polling division. Standard errors are clustered at the parliamentary division level. The outcome variable is the share of local electors over the total electors registered. All the controls described in the text are included in the regression, but the interactions with the year binary variables are not shown for the sake of saving space.*

D.2. Map of NUWSS Societies.

Figure D.1: Map of NUWSS and Anti-Suffrage Suffrage Societies



Notes: *This map shows the location of NUWSS and Anti-Suffrage societies in 1913 and 1914.*

D.3. Establishment of New NUWSS Societies.

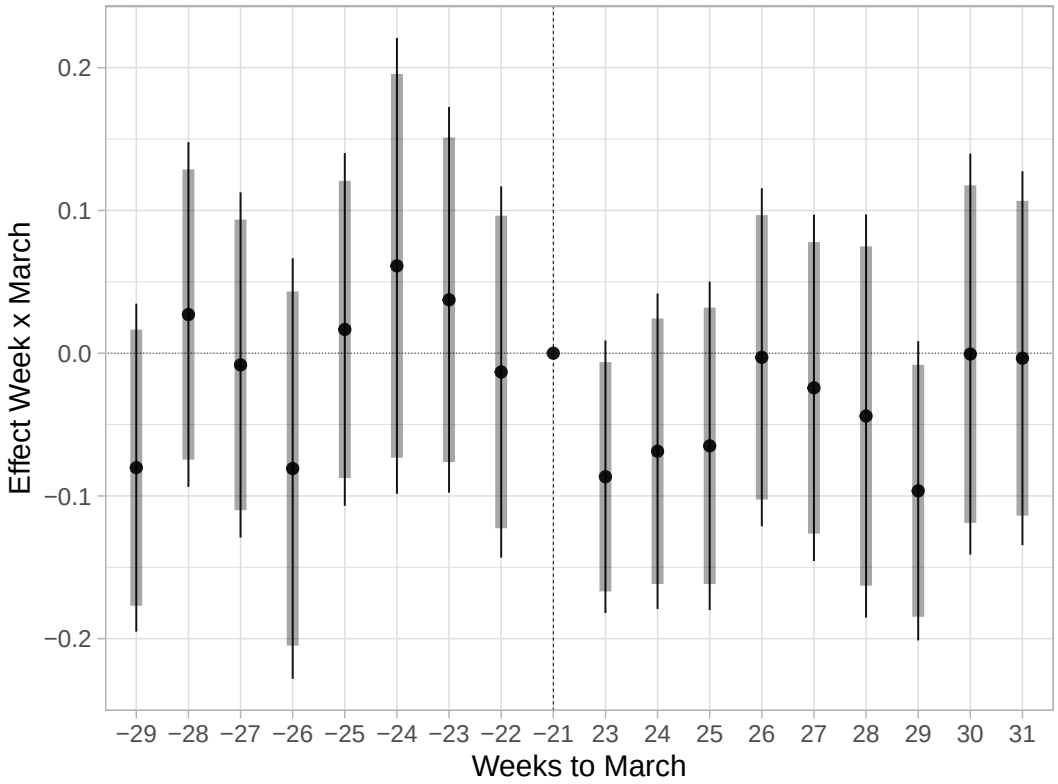
Table D.3: The Effect of the March on Establishment of New Pro- and Anti- Suffrage Societies

	Dependent variable:			
	NUWSS Branch		Anti-Suffrage Branch	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
DPost X March	0.023*	0.023*	0.005	0.005
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.006)	(0.006)
DPost	0.027***	0.027***	−0.001	−0.001
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.003)	(0.003)
March	0.119***	0.043***	0.034	0.076***
	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.025)	(0.029)
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Mean dep. var.	0.18	0.18	0.17	0.17
Sd dep. var.	0.38	0.38	0.38	0.38
Observations	5,390	5,390	5,840	5,840
R^2	0.076	0.231	0.405	0.318

Notes: * *p<0.10,* ** *p<0.05,* *** *p<0.01; OLS estimates; unit of observation is the divison; standard errors clustered the parliamentary division level; outcome is a presence of NUWSS and Anti-Suffrage Societies.*

D.4. Reinvigoration of Established NUWSS Societies.

Figure D.2: The Effect of the March on Reinvigoration of Established Suffrage Societies

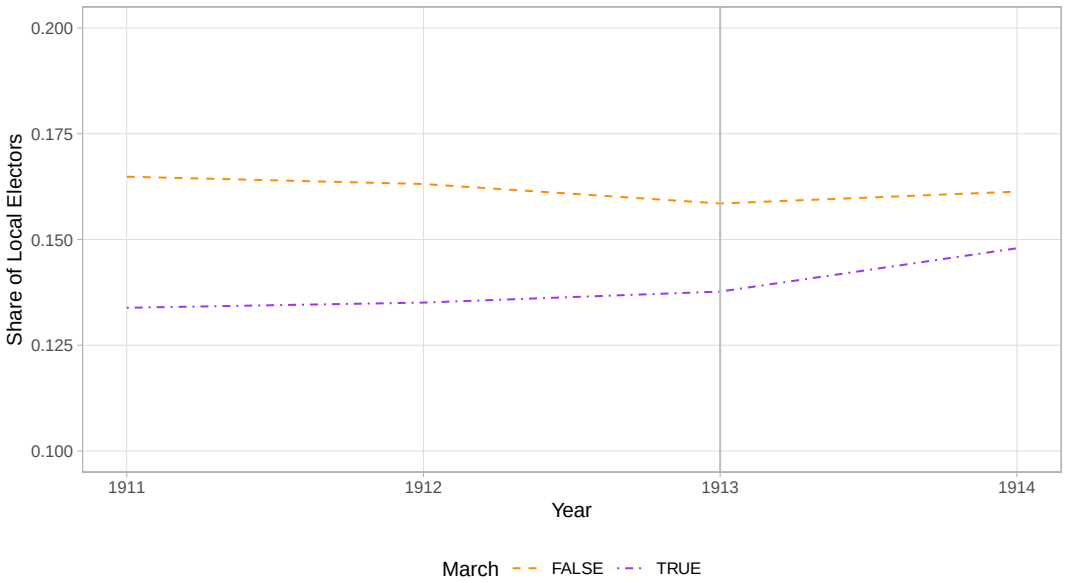


Notes: *The plots shows the coefficient for an event study locations where the outcome is the number of NUWSS meetings in the division in a given week. The event study compares locations marched-on and others using the same controls as in the baseline specification. The results show that no significant and robust pattern appears: the effect is unlikely to be driven by the strengthening of pre-existing societies.*

E Threats to Inference

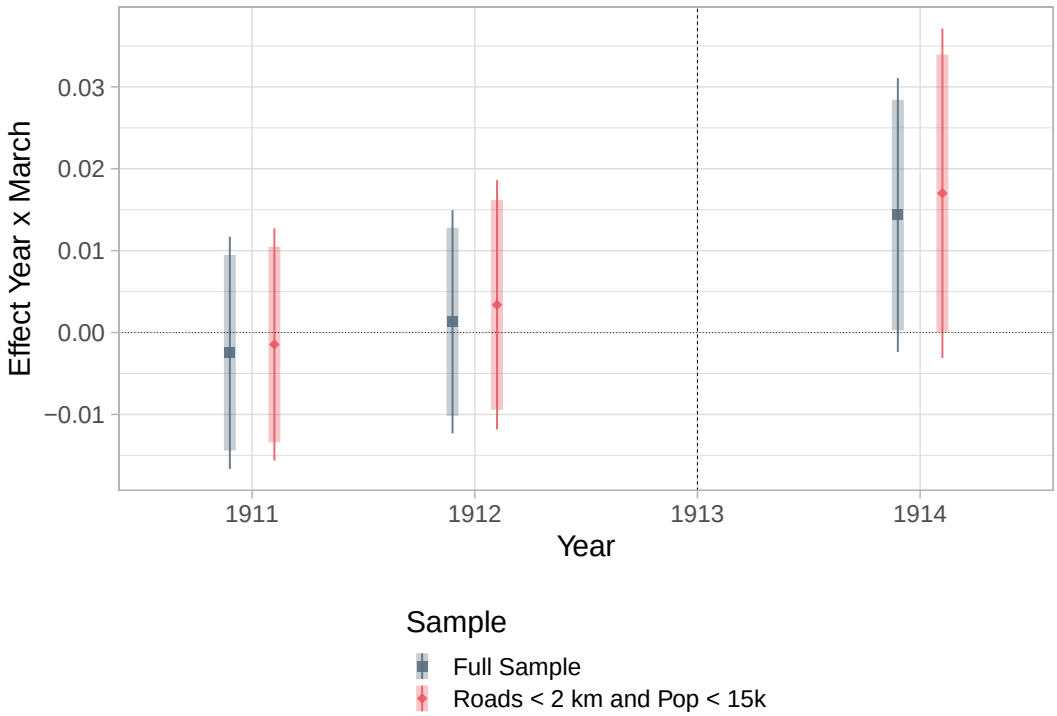
E.1. Parallel Trends Assumption.

Figure E.1: Average Share of Local Electors, 1911-1914



Notes: *The figure presents the average share of local electors between 1911 and 1914 in the control (outsid eof march path) and treated (on the march path) divisions.*

Figure E.2: Pre-Trends Analysis



Notes: *Plots the coefficient of the treatment* ($March_p$) *interacted with year FE; 1913 is taken as a reference; 95% and 90% CIs; standard errors clustered at the parliamentary division level; models run separately for full sample and a restricted sample* (<15k *and within 2 km of a road*). *Appendix Table D.2 shows the estimates for all the control variables.*

E.2. Urban Character of Marched-On Localities.

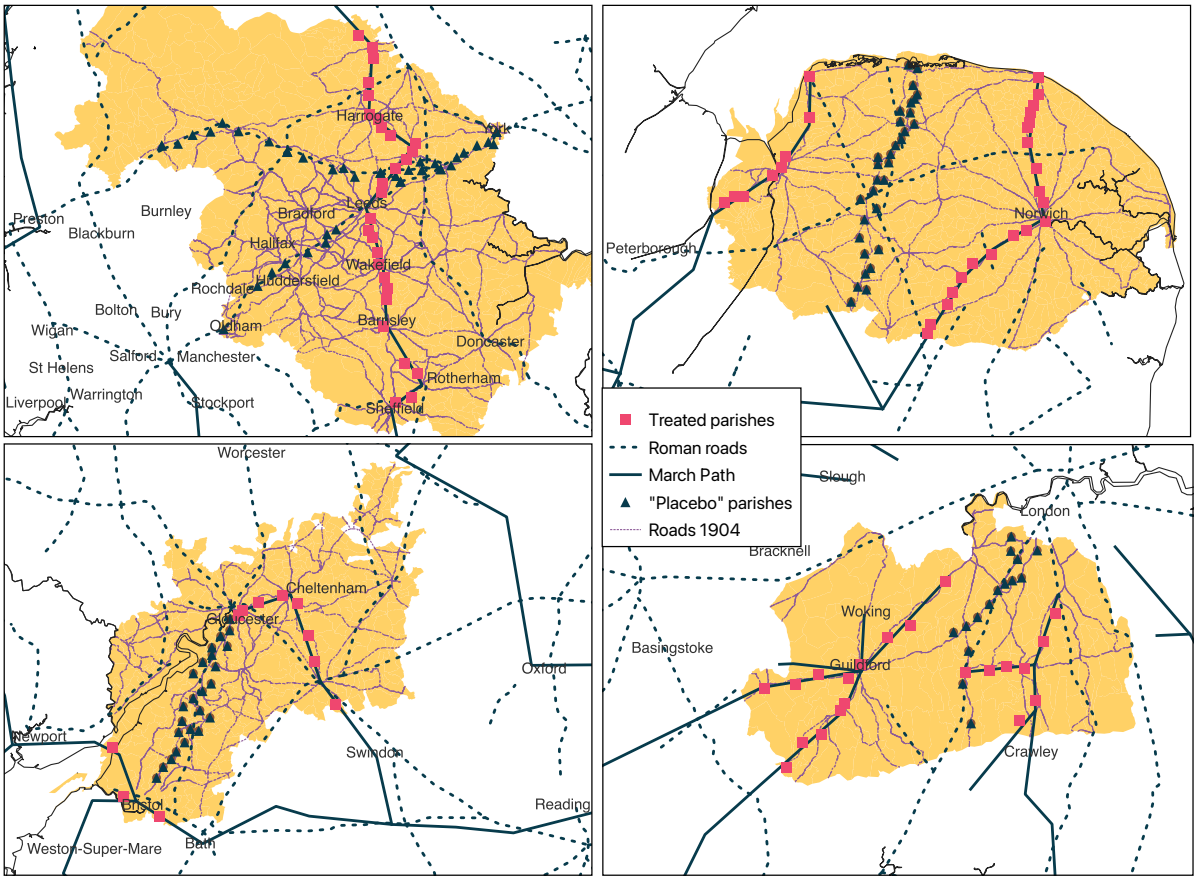
Table E.1: Heterogeneity of the March on Registration: Effects by Urbanization

	Share of Local Electors				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
DPost X March	0.016**	0.015**	0.014**	0.016***	0.015***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)
DPost X March X Urban	−0.024	−0.010	−0.022	−0.016	−0.004
	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.026)	(0.023)	(0.021)
DPost X Urban	−0.002	−0.222	−0.171	−0.174	−0.458
	(0.005)	(0.643)	(0.717)	(0.768)	(0.769)
Urban X March	−0.003	−0.016	−0.011	−0.015	−0.012
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
DPost	−0.045	−0.074*	−0.061	−0.067	−0.079*
	(0.047)	(0.046)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.047)
March	−0.014	−0.018*	−0.017*	−0.019*	−0.019**
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Urban	−0.014	0.005	−0.000	0.004	0.004
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.014)
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1913	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1911	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pop under 15k	No	No	No	No	No
Within 2 km of roads	No	No	No	No	Yes
Mean dep. var.	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16
Sd dep. var.	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.08
Observations	3,490	3,488	1,766	2,713	2,985
R^2	0.051	0.262	0.267	0.254	0.284

Notes: * *p<0.10*, ** *p<0.05*, *** *p<0.01. The Table reports OLS estimates. The unit of observation is the polling division. Standard errors are clustered at the parliamentary division level. The outcome variable is the share of local electors over the total electors registered. Controls are described in the text.*

E.3. Connected Character of Marched-On Localities.

Figure E.3: Map of a 'Placebo' March Along Roman Roads



Notes: *This map shows the location of the treated divisions, those along the actual Pilgrimage route, and those along the 'placebo' march path. The 'placebo' march path is constricted by following divisions located along the largest roads connecting the largest urban hubs in the region, but that are not located along the path of the Pilgrimage. In the West Riding of Yorkshire, we use the road from York to Manchester crossing through Leeds, in Gloucestershire we choose the road from Gloucester to Bristol. In Surrey and Norfolk, the major axis go in the direction of London so we chose a path in the direction of London but that is an alternative routes to the suffragists' way, along roads that the direction of historical Roman roads. The Roman roads shape files are from McCormick et al. (2008)", Harvard University (2008).*

Table E.2: The Placebo March Along Roman Roads

	Share of Local Electors				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
DPost X 'Placebo' March	−0.012*	−0.012	−0.007	−0.016	−0.012
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.008)
DPost	−0.001	0.162	0.282	0.215	−0.404
	(0.005)	(0.546)	(0.607)	(0.654)	(0.728)
'Placebo' March	0.018	−0.001	−0.005	0.003	−0.000
	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.009)
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1913	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Incl. 1912	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pop under 15k	No	No	No	No	Yes
Within 2 km of roads	No	No	No	No	Yes
Mean dep. var.	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16
Sd dep. var.	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.08
Observations	3,311	3,305	1,672	2,568	2,752
R^2	0.051	0.267	0.273	0.258	0.284

Notes: * *p<0.10,* ** *p<0.05,* *** *p<0.01. The Table reports OLS estimates. The unit of observation is polling division. The outcome variable is the share of local electors over the total electors registered. The variable of interest is a binary variable equal to one if the division intersects the path of the placebo march. The placebo march runs along main roads that connected the largest urban centers in the county without following the path of the march.*

Table E.3: The Baseline Effects of the March on the Share of Local Electors Among Registered, with Robustness to Selected Control Group Along Roman Roads.

	Share of Local Electors					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
DPost X March	0.014**	0.015**	0.013**	0.015**	0.015***	0.039***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.012)
DPost	−0.002	0.203	0.320	0.341	−0.384	0.703
	(0.005)	(0.476)	(0.509)	(0.556)	(0.692)	(2.239)
March	−0.020*	−0.025**	−0.023**	−0.025**	−0.018**	−0.040**
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.010)	(0.019)
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1913	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1911	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pop under 15k	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
Along Roman Roads	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Within 2 km of roads	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Mean dep. var.	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16
Sd dep. var.	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.07
Observations	3,494	3,488	1,766	2,713	2,938	387
R^2	0.048	0.257	0.263	0.250	0.286	0.305

Notes: ** p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01; OLS estimates; unit of observation is polling division; standard errors clustered at the parliamentary division level; outcome is share of local electors over total electors registered. Model 6 uses only divisions along Roman Roads as control divisions.*

F Alternative Explanations

F.1. Did Registration Increase Because of Counter-Mobilization?

Table F.1: Comparing Two Treatments: March and Anti-Suffrage Society.

	Share of Local Electors					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
DPost X March	0.013*	0.014**	0.013**	0.015**	0.017***	0.014***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)
DPost X Society-Anti	0.007	0.003	0.003	0.002	0.009	0.006
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.008)
Society-Anti	0.004	0.002	0.002	0.002	−0.000	−0.001
	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.010)
DPost	−0.002	0.213	0.331	0.355	0.287	−0.408
	(0.005)	(0.471)	(0.507)	(0.550)	(0.492)	(0.703)
March	−0.020*	−0.025**	−0.023**	−0.025**	−0.026**	−0.018*
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.010)
DPost X March X Society-Anti					−0.018**	
					(0.009)	
March X Society-Anti					0.006	
					(0.022)	
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1913	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1911	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pop under 15k	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Within 2 km of roads	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Mean dep. var.	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16
Sd dep. var.	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.08
Observations	3,494	3,488	1,766	2,713	3,488	2,916
R^2	0.048	0.257	0.263	0.250	0.257	0.283

Notes: * *p<0.10,* ** *p<0.05,* *** *p<0.01. The Table reports OLS estimates. The unit of observation is polling division. The outcome variable is a presence of an Anti-Suffrage Society.*

F.2. Did Registration Increase Because of Activation of Workers' Organizations?

Table F.2: Comparing Two Treatments: March and Strikes

	Share of Local Electors					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
DPost X March	0.014**	0.015**	0.013**	0.015**	0.015**	0.015***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)
DPost X Strike	−0.010	−0.013*	−0.016**	−0.017**	−0.007	−0.006
	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.011)
Strike	0.006	−0.008	−0.005	−0.004	0.012	−0.002
	(0.032)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.008)	(0.010)
DPost	−0.002	0.185	0.299	0.319	0.233	−0.418
	(0.005)	(0.472)	(0.507)	(0.550)	(0.468)	(0.707)
March	−0.020*	−0.025**	−0.023**	−0.025**	−0.023**	−0.018**
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.010)
DPost X March X Strike					−0.001	
					(0.013)	
March X Strike					−0.101***	
					(0.018)	
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1913	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1911	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pop under 15k	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Within 2 km of roads	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Mean dep. var.	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16
Sd dep. var.	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.08
Observations	3,494	3,488	1,766	2,713	3,488	2,916
R^2	0.048	0.257	0.263	0.250	0.259	0.283

Notes: * *p<0.10,* ** *p<0.05,* *** *p<0.01. The Table reports OLS estimates. The unit of observation is polling division. The outcome variable is a presence of a strike event.*

F.3. Did Registration Increase Because of Politicians' Election Campaigns?

In this section, we address the concern that those standing for council elections may have exploited the march to campaign for upcoming election, potentially driving the increase in women's registration following the march. Whilst this seems unlikely given that local elections were often non-partisan and uncontested, we nonetheless examine the election calendar (as stipulated by the Local Government Act 1894).

There were no nationwide parliamentary elections held during the period of the study (1911-1914) that could contaminate our results. County and parish council elections took place on or before April 15 1913. County and parish elections took place every three years, with the 1913 elections being the only elections held during the period we study (1911-1914). This election took place several months before the suffragists march in the summer of the same year. Given registration for these elections would have to be completed in the fall of 1912, it would not have been possible for politicians to exploit the summer march of 1913 to mobilize for the local spring elections of the same year.

Municipal boroughs, and rural and urban district council elections took place annually (November and March/April respectively). These elections elected a third of councillors each year. We demonstrate above that our results are robust to excluding urban areas and therefore municipal boroughs and urban districts (see Table **??** in the paper). It is reassuring that our results are stronger in rural, previously uncontacted places, where campaigning for council elections may be weakest.

The only elections of concern are therefore off-year (not coinciding with the 1913 election year) rural district elections held in 1914. Women could have registered for this elections following the march.

Although the electoral calendar makes it unlikely that elections would have completely driven our results, we gauge empirically the intensity of election campaigning around the timing of the march to rule out this concern empirically. To this end, we examine mentions of council elections in local newspapers, using the keywords "council" and "elections" on

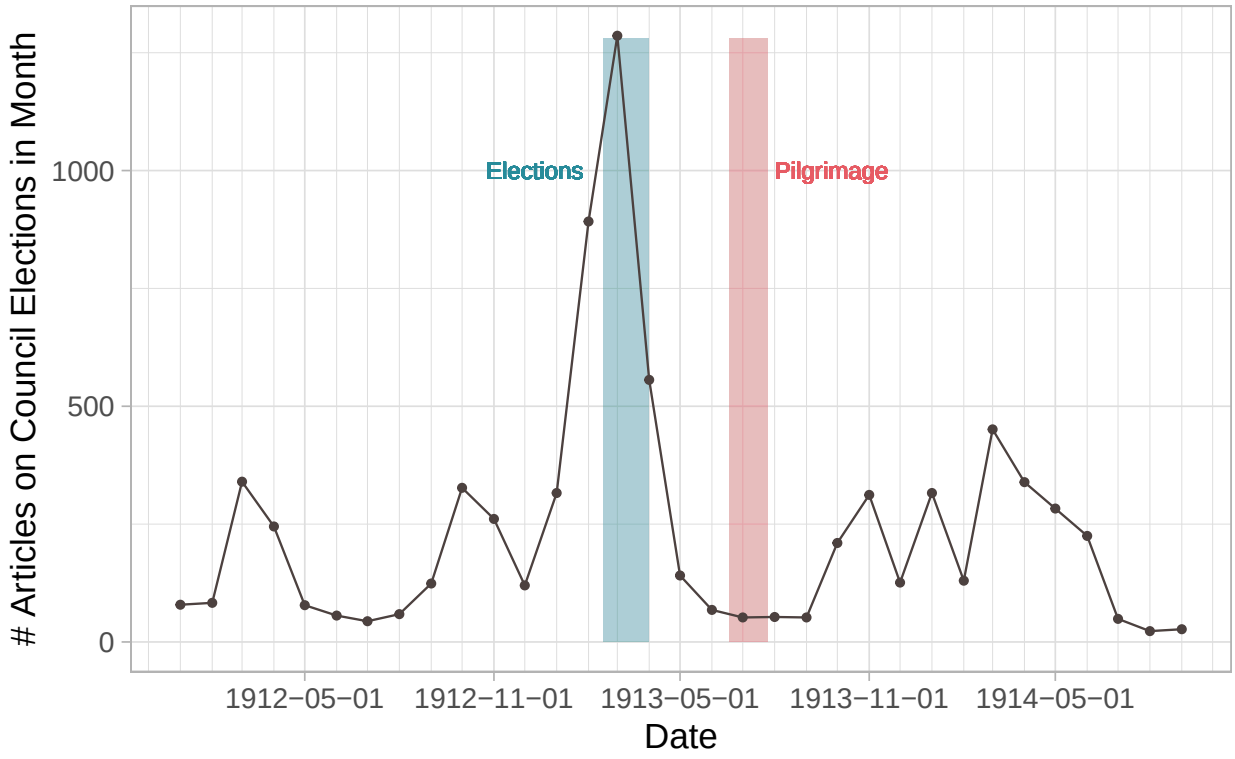
the British Newspaper Archive.

First, we validate the election calendar and intensity of media attention to council elections by plotting the frequencies of articles found per month during the period Jan 1st 1912 to September 31st 1914 (Figure F.1). We confirm that public debate of local elections predominantly occurred in March and April 1913, with smaller annual 'spikes' in November and March/April each year. Whilst the exact date of local elections often varied within and across counties, this analysis confirms that any deviations from the electoral calendar would have been minor. Importantly, it also shows that the summer (when the march took place) is always be a period with the lowest media attention to any local elections. This is consistent with a weak campaigning at the time of the march and cast doubts on the possibility that local candidates run robust media campaigns to boost their support for upcoming elections.

Second, we validate that media 'spike' in 1913 by ensuring that it is not driven by few important elections, such as London County elections that took place on March 5th 1913. Mapping the place of publication of the newspapers discussing council elections, we show a geographically widespread discussion of local elections (Figure F.2).

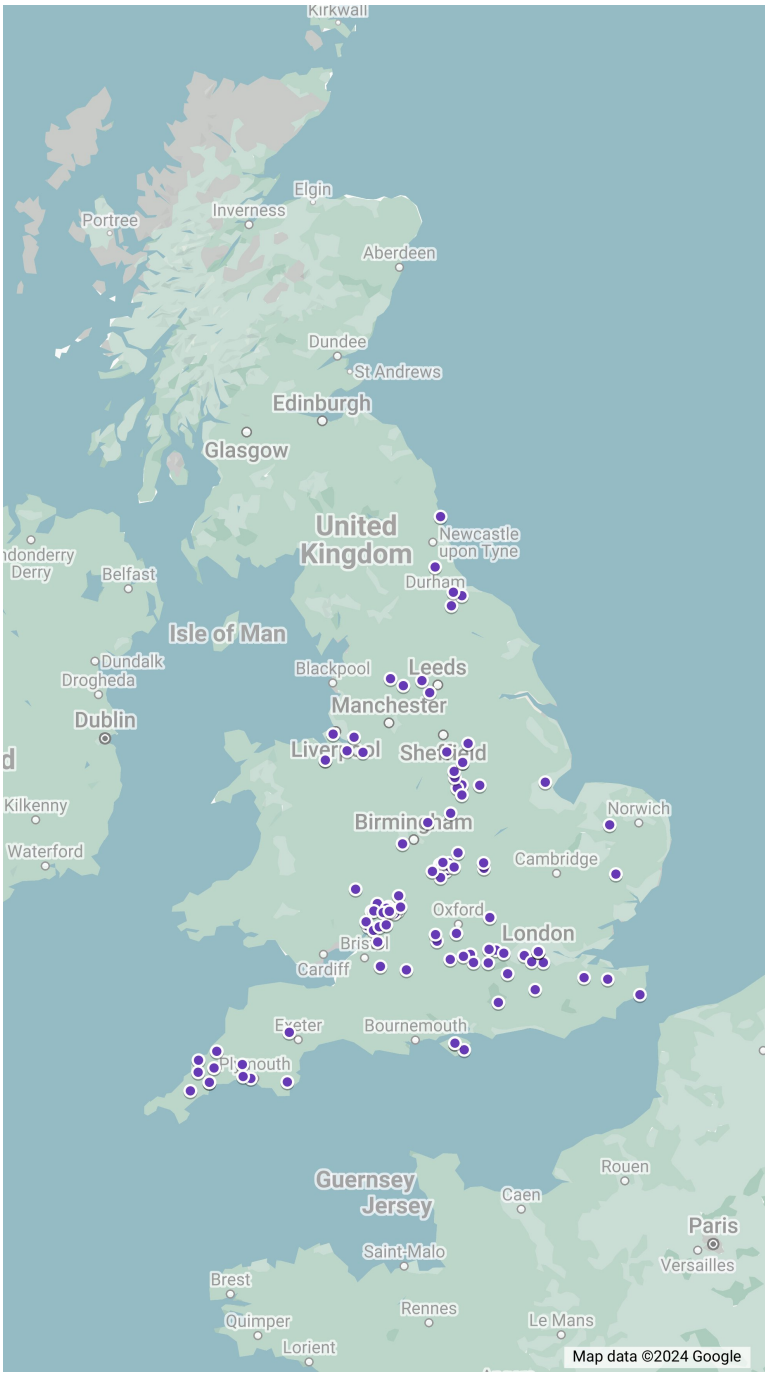
Third, we validate our findings qualitatively. Randomly selecting 60 newspapers out of the 1,286 covering elections in March and read through the collected articles. The articles were a mix of opinion pieces on elections, election results and information on where and when to vote in upcoming election. This is consistent with weak campaigning by local councilors. The absence of election ads as such is also consistent with the non-partisan, noncompetitive elections in most cases, especially in rural areas. Mapping the location of all elections covered (approximately 100, with a mix of parish and council elections), we conform that the elections were widespread across the country (Figure F.3).

Figure F.1: Frequency of Election Mentions in Newspapers



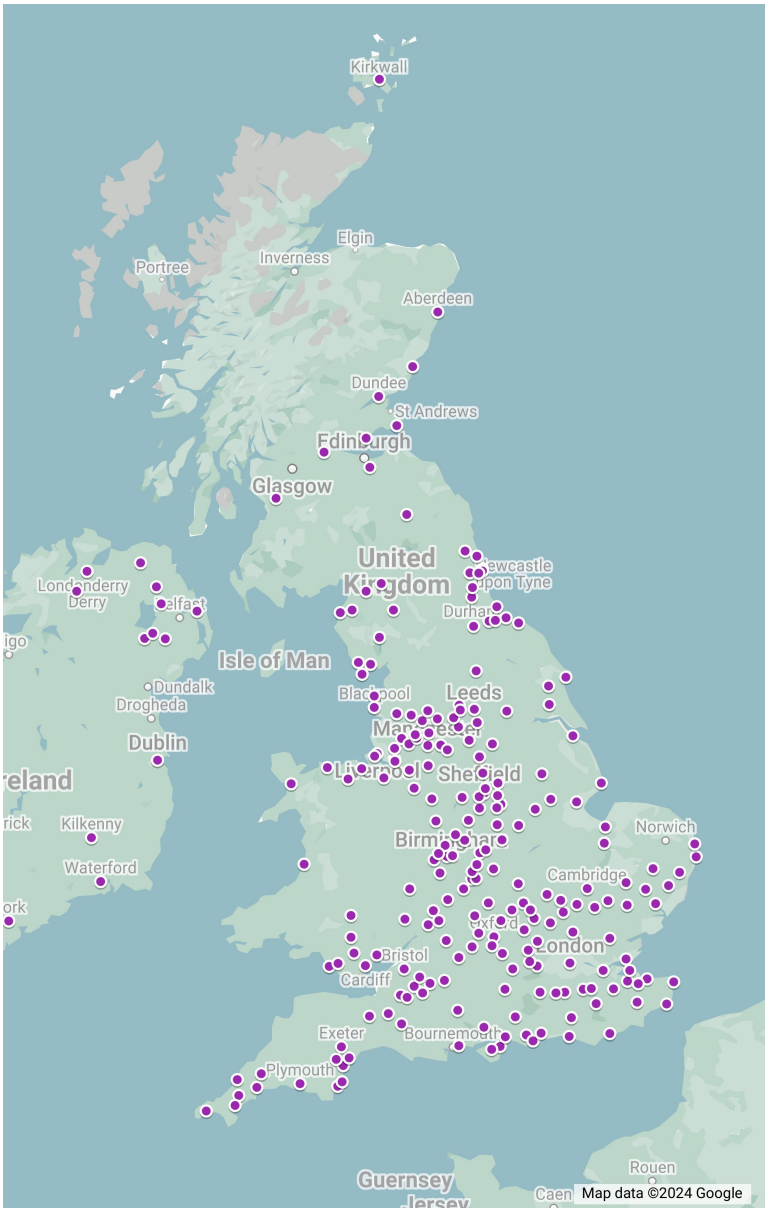
Notes: *This figure shows the number of articles on council elections (using the search words 'council' and 'election') found in the British Newspaper Archive database by month between Jan 1st 1912 to September 31st 1914.*

Figure F.2: Mapping the Location of Election Mentions in Newspapers



Notes: *This map shows the publication location of articles on council elections (using the search words 'council' and 'election') found in the British Newspaper Archive database by month between Jan 1st 1912 to September 31st 1914.*

Figure F.3: Mapping the Location of Election Mentions in Newspapers; Random Sample



Notes: *This map shows the publication location of 60 randomly selected articles on council elections (using the search words 'council' and 'election') that took place in March 1913, as found in the British Newspaper Archive database.*

F.4. Did Registration Increase Because of Heightened Newspaper Coverage of the March?

Figure F.4: Total Newspaper Mentions of The March in Control and Treated Divisions over Time

Notes: *The graph shows the total number of articles with positive hits for the keyword search (Women AND March) across the country, comparing locations on and outside the march path. Data from newspaper records across the country from the British Newspaper Archive (23,331 total articles). The figure shows that, outside the time of the march at the national level, treated and untreated locations have similar news exposure to reports of the march. The larger spike in exposure for treated localities in the month of the march is consistent with the march being a salient and newsworthy occasion.*

Table F.3: Heterogeneity of the March on Registration: Effects by Media Coverage

	Share of Local Electors					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
DPost X March	0.015**	0.015**	0.013**	0.015**	0.014**	0.015***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)
DPost X News Exposure	−0.002	−0.000	0.000	−0.000	0.002	0.011
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.005)	(0.013)
News Exposure	−0.003	−0.008***	−0.009***	−0.008***	0.001	−0.003
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.022)
DPost	−0.002	−0.044	−0.018	0.005	−0.059	−0.285
	(0.005)	(0.526)	(0.560)	(0.624)	(0.544)	(0.625)
March	−0.018*	−0.021**	−0.019*	−0.021**	−0.021**	−0.018*
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
DPost X March X News Exposure					−0.011**	
					(0.005)	
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1913	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1911	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pop under 15k	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Within 2 km of roads	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Mean dep. var.	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16
Sd dep. var.	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.08
Observations	3,494	3,488	1,766	2,713	3,488	2,916
R^2	0.049	0.265	0.271	0.258	0.268	0.283

Notes: * *p<0.10,* ** *p<0.05,* *** *p<0.01; OLS estimates; unit of observation is the division; standard errors clustered the parliamentary division level; outcome is share of local electors. News exposure captures the total number of publications around each division prior to the march, weighted by the inverse distance of between the division and the place of publication. Given that newspaper publication is in the cities and market towns of each county, this allows to construct a measure of news exposure for each location in the sample.*

G Robustness Checks

G.1. Dependent Variable

Table G.1: Interaction with High Share of Female Celibacy

	Share of Local Electors				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
DPost X March	−0.002	−0.004	−0.011	−0.006	−0.005
	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)
DPost X March X High Female Celibacy	0.024*	0.026**	0.033***	0.028**	0.028***
	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.012)
DPost	0.003	0.154	0.176	0.271	−0.461
	(0.003)	(0.402)	(0.461)	(0.483)	(0.737)
March	−0.023	−0.033**	−0.026*	−0.031**	−0.028*
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.015)
High Single Female Share	0.045***	0.005	0.012	0.006	0.008
	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1913	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1911	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pop under 15k	No	No	No	No	Yes
Within 2 km of roads	No	No	No	No	Yes
Mean dep. var.	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16
Sd dep. var.	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.08
Observations	3,494	3,488	1,766	2,713	2,916
R^2	0.116	0.255	0.260	0.248	0.283

Notes: * *p<0.10*, ** *p<0.05*, *** *p<0.01. The Table reports OLS estimates. The unit of observation is polling division. Standard errors are clustered at the division level. The outcome variable is the total number of registered electors. High Female Celibacy and High Class is defined as a binary variable equal to one if the locality has a share of female celibacy (which excludes widows) above the sample median.*

Table G.2: Interaction with High Share of Female Celibacy and High Share of High Class

	Share of Local Electors				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
DPost X March	0.003	−0.001	−0.006	−0.002	−0.002
	(0.012)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.010)
DPost X March X High Female Celibacy and High Class	0.019	0.026***	0.030***	0.028**	0.027***
	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.010)
DPost	0.000	0.160	0.225	0.255	−0.364
	(0.005)	(0.379)	(0.406)	(0.461)	(0.723)
March	−0.031**	−0.028**	−0.022	−0.026*	−0.023*
	(0.016)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.013)
High Female Celibacy	0.022**	−0.006	−0.004	−0.004	−0.012*
	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.007)
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1913	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1911	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pop under 15k	No	No	No	No	Yes
Within 2 km of roads	No	No	No	No	Yes
Mean dep. var.	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16
Sd dep. var.	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.08
Observations	3,494	3,488	1,766	2,713	2,916
R^2	0.061	0.251	0.259	0.245	0.284

Notes: * *p<0.10,* ** *p<0.05,* *** *p<0.01. The Table reports OLS estimates. The unit of observation is polling division. Standard errors are clustered at the division level. The outcome variable is the total number of registered electors. High Female Celibacy and High Class is defined as a binary variable equal to one if the locality has a share of female celibacy (which excludes widows) and a share of high class households that are both above the sample median*

Table G.3: Interaction with High Share of Single Person Households

	Share of Local Electors				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
DPost X March	0.003	0.001	−0.000	0.002	0.001
	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
DPost X March X High Single HH Share	0.029***	0.033***	0.033***	0.032***	0.034***
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.010)
DPost	−0.001	0.096	0.256	0.238	−0.500
	(0.005)	(0.505)	(0.548)	(0.578)	(0.779)
March	−0.010	−0.015	−0.014	−0.016	−0.012
	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.010)
High Single HH Share	0.026***	0.019**	0.017**	0.019**	0.016**
	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1913	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1911	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pop under 15k	No	No	No	No	Yes
Within 2 km of roads	No	No	No	No	Yes
Mean dep. var.	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16
Sd dep. var.	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.08
Observations	3,494	3,488	1,766	2,713	2,916
R^2	0.070	0.256	0.261	0.248	0.285

Notes: * *p<0.10,* ** *p<0.05,* *** *p<0.01. The Table reports OLS estimates. The unit of observation is polling division. Standard errors are clustered at the division level. The outcome variable is the total number of registered electors. High Single HH Share ais defined as a binary variable equal to one if the locality has a share of single households above the sample median.*

Table G.4: Interaction with High Share of Single Person Households and High Share of High Class

	Share of Local Electors				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
DPost X March	0.005	0.004	0.001	0.003	0.004
	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)
DPost X March X High Single HH Share and High Class	0.029***	0.035***	0.038***	0.038***	0.034***
	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.008)
DPost	−0.001	−0.053	−0.015	−0.058	−0.453
	(0.005)	(0.403)	(0.438)	(0.490)	(0.674)
March	−0.014	−0.017*	−0.014*	−0.016*	−0.014*
	(0.012)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
High Single HH Share and High Class	0.015*	0.009	0.010	0.013	0.000
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.008)
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1913	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1911	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pop under 15k	No	No	No	No	Yes
Within 2 km of roads	No	No	No	No	Yes
Mean dep. var.	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16
Sd dep. var.	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.08
Observations	3,494	3,488	1,766	2,713	2,916
R^2	0.054	0.252	0.259	0.246	0.282

Notes: * *p<0.10,* ** *p<0.05,* *** *p<0.01. The Table reports OLS estimates. The unit of observation is polling division. Standard errors are clustered at the division level. The outcome variable is the total number of registered electors. High Single HH Share is defined as a binary variable equal to one if the locality has a share of single households and a share of high class households that are both above the sample median.*

G.2. Specification

Table G.5: Unit Fixed Effects

	Share of Local Electors			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
DPost X March	0.008*	0.007	0.009*	0.008*
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
DPost	0.003**	0.003***	0.002*	0.003**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Parish FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1913	Yes	No	No	Yes
Incl. 1911	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	No	No	No
Pop under 15k	No	No	No	No
Within 2 km of roads	No	No	No	No
Mean dep. var.	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16
Sd dep. var.	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.08
Observations	3,494	1,769	2,718	2,916
R^2	0.896	0.951	0.899	0.887

Notes: * *p<0.10,* ** *p<0.05,* *** *p<0.01. The Table reports OLS estimates. The unit of observation is polling division. The outcome variable is the share of local electors over the total electors registered. Regressions include division-level fixed effects.*

Table G.6: Dropping Individual Counties

	Share of Local Electors			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
DPost X March	0.018**	0.012	0.018*	0.010
	[0.05]	[0.17]	[0.11]	[0.11]
DPost	0.475	0.030	2.797	0.003
	[0.31]	[0.95]	[0.18]	[0.12]
March	−0.017	−0.027**	−0.037**	−0.013
	[0.13]	[0.05]	[0.05]	[0.42]
County Dropped	GLO	NFK	SUR	WRY
Mean dep. var.	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.17
Sd dep. var.	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.06
Observations	3016	2922	3121	1405
R^2	0.257	0.305	0.251	0.278

Notes: * *p<0.10,* ** *p<0.05,* *** *p<0.01. The Table reports OLS estimates. The unit of observation is polling division. The outcome variable is the share of local electors over the total electors registered. Wild cluster bootstrap with parliamentary divisions as clusters is used to estimate p-values (9999 bootstrap iterations), bootstrapped p-values are reported in square brackets. Dropping individual counties decreases the number of clusters, pushing the number under the minimum rule of thumb of 30. Wild Cluster Bootstrap helps diminish the risk of small cluster number bias.*

G.3. Standard Errors

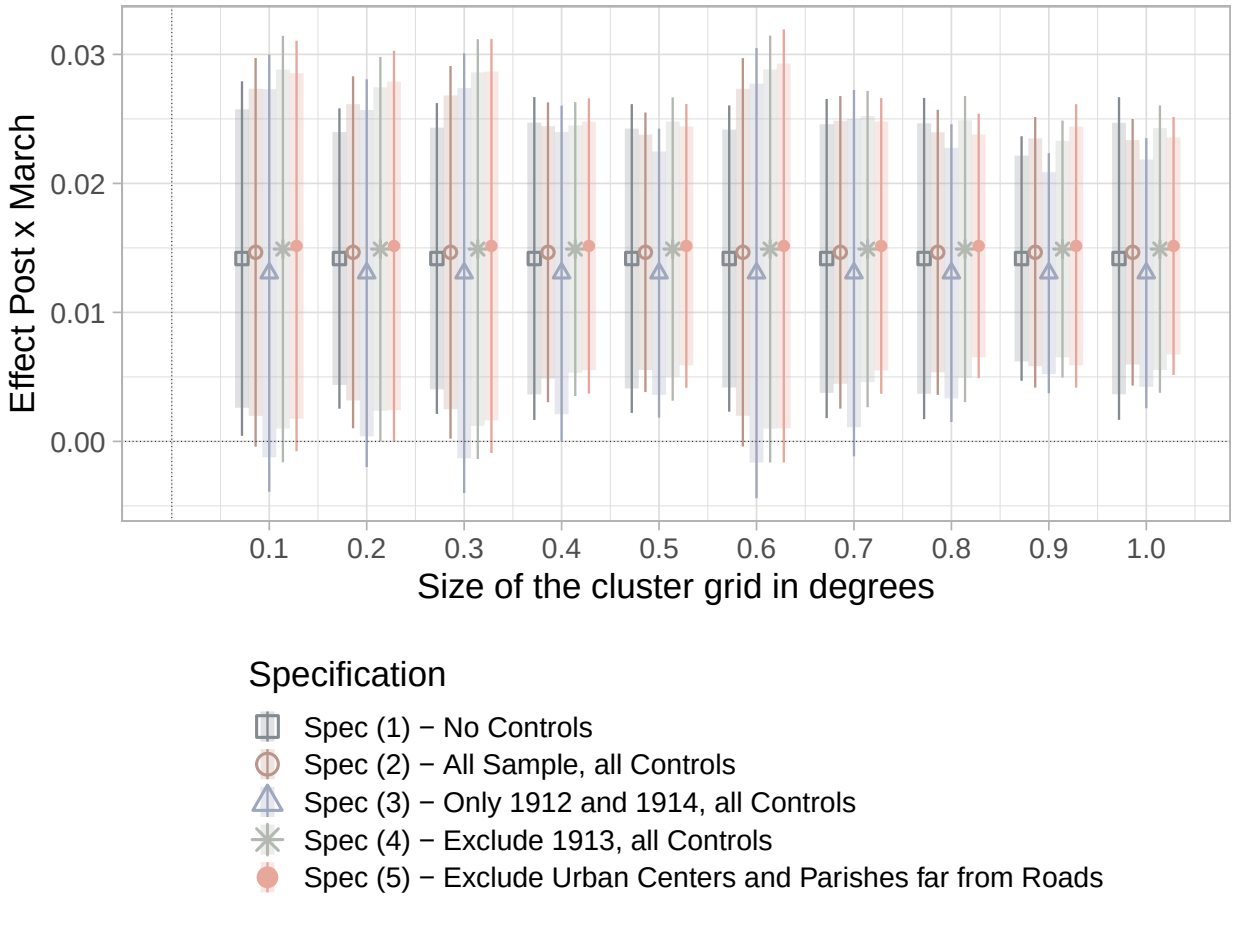
Table G.7: Wild Cluster Bootstrap

	Share of Local Electors				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
DPost X March	0.014^{**}	0.015^{*}	0.013^{*}	0.015^{*}	0.015^{**}
	[0.042]	[0.079]	[0.098]	[0.068]	[0.047]
DPost	-0.002	0.203	0.32	0.341	-0.412
	[0.91]	[0.67]	[0.51]	[0.53]	[0.6]
March	-0.02	-0.025^{**}	-0.023^{*}	-0.025^{**}	-0.018
	[0.13]	[0.05]	[0.06]	[0.05]	[0.11]
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1913	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Incl. 1911	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Pop under 15k	No	No	No	No	Yes
Within 2 km of roads	No	No	No	No	Yes
Mean dep. var.	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16
Sd dep. var.	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.08
Observations	3494	3488	1766	2713	2918
R^2	0.048	0.257	0.263	0.25	0.284

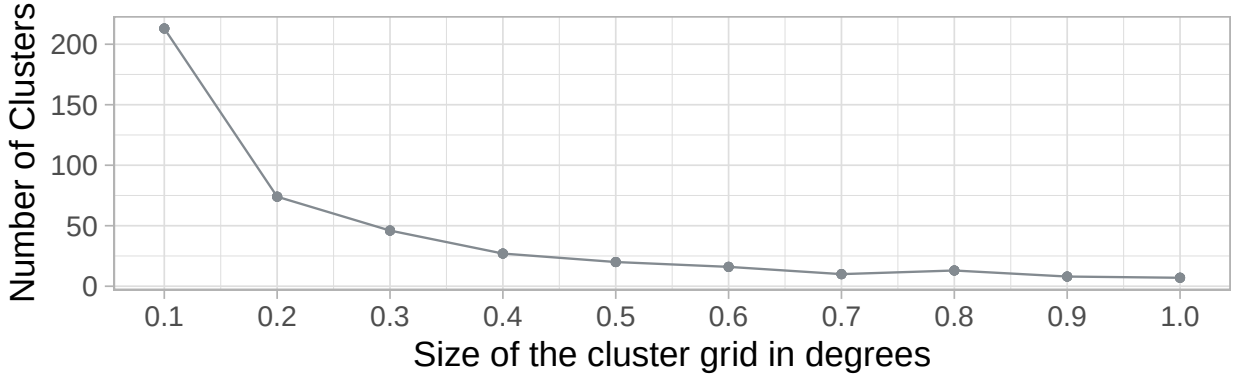
Notes: * *p<0.10,* ** *p<0.05,* *** *p<0.01. The Table reports OLS estimates. The unit of observation is polling division. The outcome variable is the share of local electors over the total electors registered. Wild cluster bootstrap with parliamentary divisions as clusters is used to estimate p-values* (*9999 bootstrap iterations*)*, bootstrapped* p*-values are reported in square brackets.*

Figure G.1: Different Cluster Sizes

(a) Baseline Regression with Different Grid Sizes for Clustering Standard Errors



(b) Number of Clusters



Notes: *Figure G.1a shows the OLS estimates of the baseline regression as a function of the size of the grid used to cluster standard errors. The grid is a fishnet of varying size, from* $0.1° \times 0.1°$ *to* $1° \times 1°$*. The default size throughout the paper is* $0.1° \times 0.1°$*. The vertical bars represent the 95% and 90% confidence intervals. The six specifications are also described in the text and in Table***??**.

Table G.8: Standard Errors Clustered at the Treatment Level

	Share of Local Electors				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
DPost X March	0.014**	0.015***	0.013**	0.015***	0.015***
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)
DPost	−0.002	0.203	0.320	0.341	−0.410
	(0.002)	(0.693)	(0.783)	(0.775)	(0.299)
March	−0.020*	−0.025**	−0.023**	−0.025**	−0.018**
	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.008)
County FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Incl. 1913	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Incl. 1911	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pop under 15k	No	No	No	No	Yes
Within 2 km of roads	No	No	No	No	Yes
Mean dep. var.	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16
Sd dep. var.	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.08
Observations	3,494	3,488	1,766	2,713	2,916
R^2	0.048	0.257	0.263	0.250	0.283

Notes: * *p<0.10,* ** *p<0.05,* *** *p<0.01. The Table reports OLS estimates. The unit of observation is polling division. The outcome variable is the share of local electors over the total electors registered. Standard Errors are clustered at the treatment × county level.*

H Appendix References

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