Supplementary Appendix for "Traceability and Mass Policy Feedback Effects"

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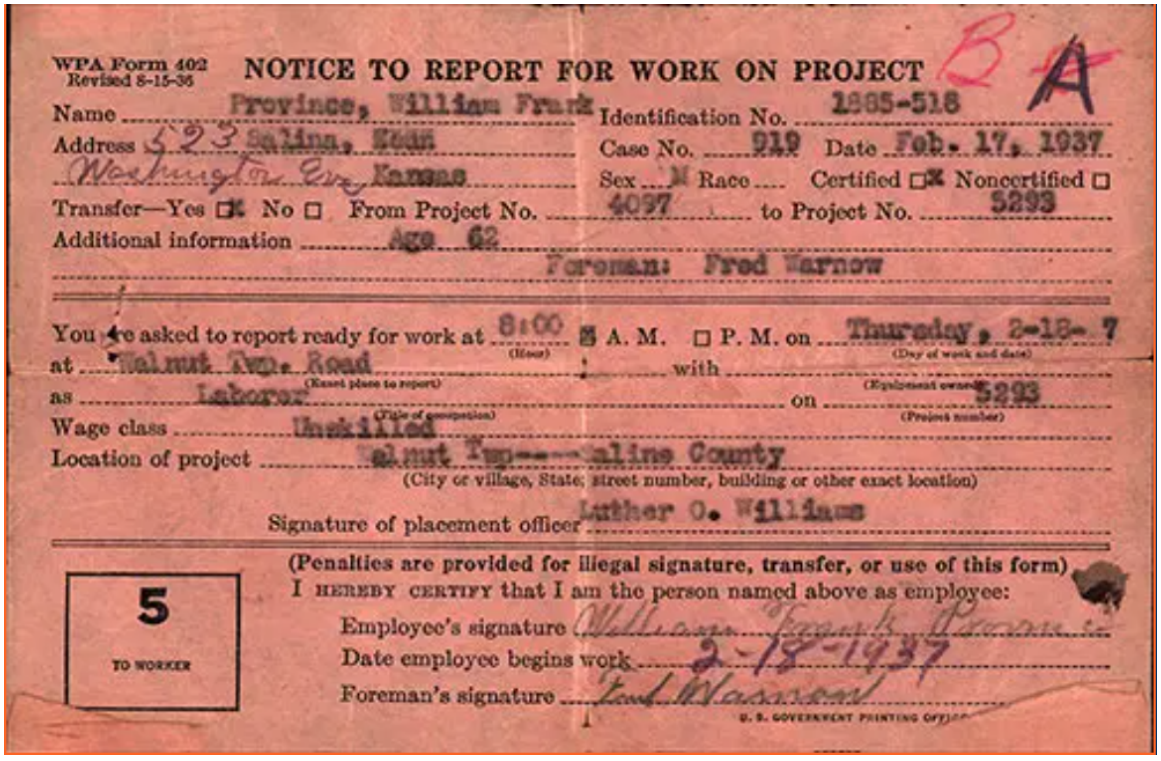
Figure A1: **Example of WPA Form 402**



WPA Form 402
Revised 8-15-36

NOTICE TO REPORT FOR WORK ON PROJECT

B A

Name Province, William Frank
Identification No. 1885-518
Address 523 Salina, Kans
Washington Co, Kansas
Case No. 919 Date Feb. 17, 1937
Sex M Race ... Certified ☒ Noncertified ☐
Transfer—Yes ☒ No ☐ From Project No. 4097 to Project No. 5293
Additional information Age 62
Foreman: Fred Warnow

You are asked to report ready for work at 8:00 (Hour) ☒ A. M. ☐ P. M. on Thursday, 2-18-7 (Day of week and date)
at Walnut Twp. Road (Exact place to report) with ...
as Laborer (Title of occupation) on ... (Employment cert. no.) 5293 (Project number)
Wage class Unskilled
Location of project Walnut Twp.—Saline County
(City or village, State, street number, building or other exact location)
Signature of placement officer Luther O. Williams

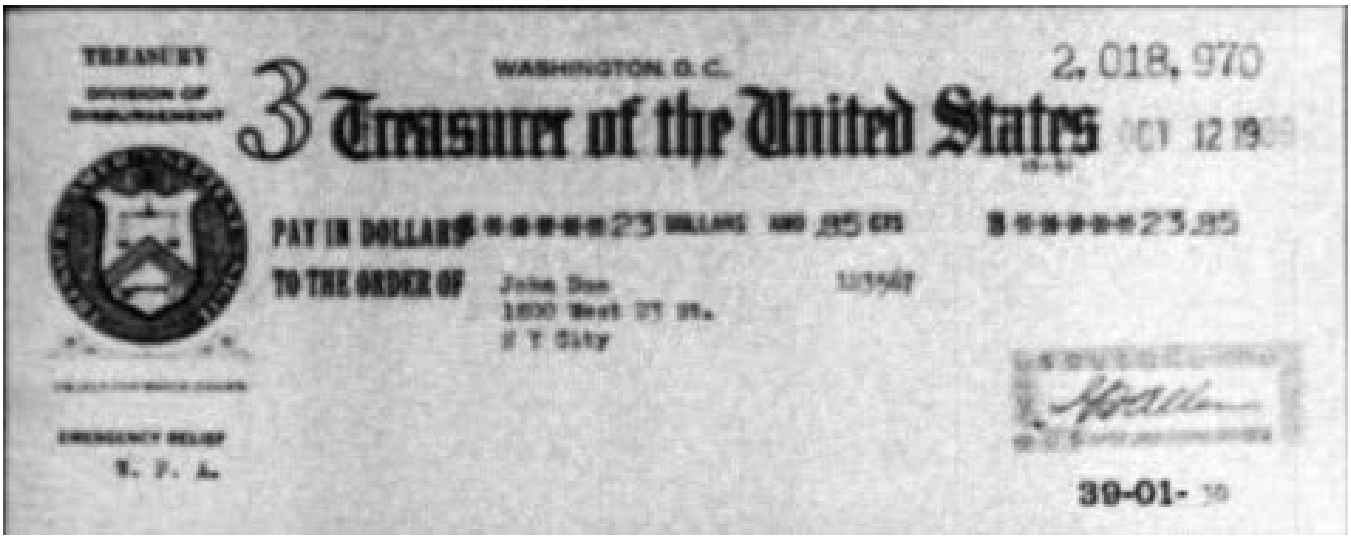
5
TO WORKER

(Penalties are provided for illegal signature, transfer, or use of this form)
I HEREBY CERTIFY that I am the person named above as employee:
Employee's signature William Frank Province Jr.
Date employee begins work 2-18-1937
Foreman's signature Fred Warnow

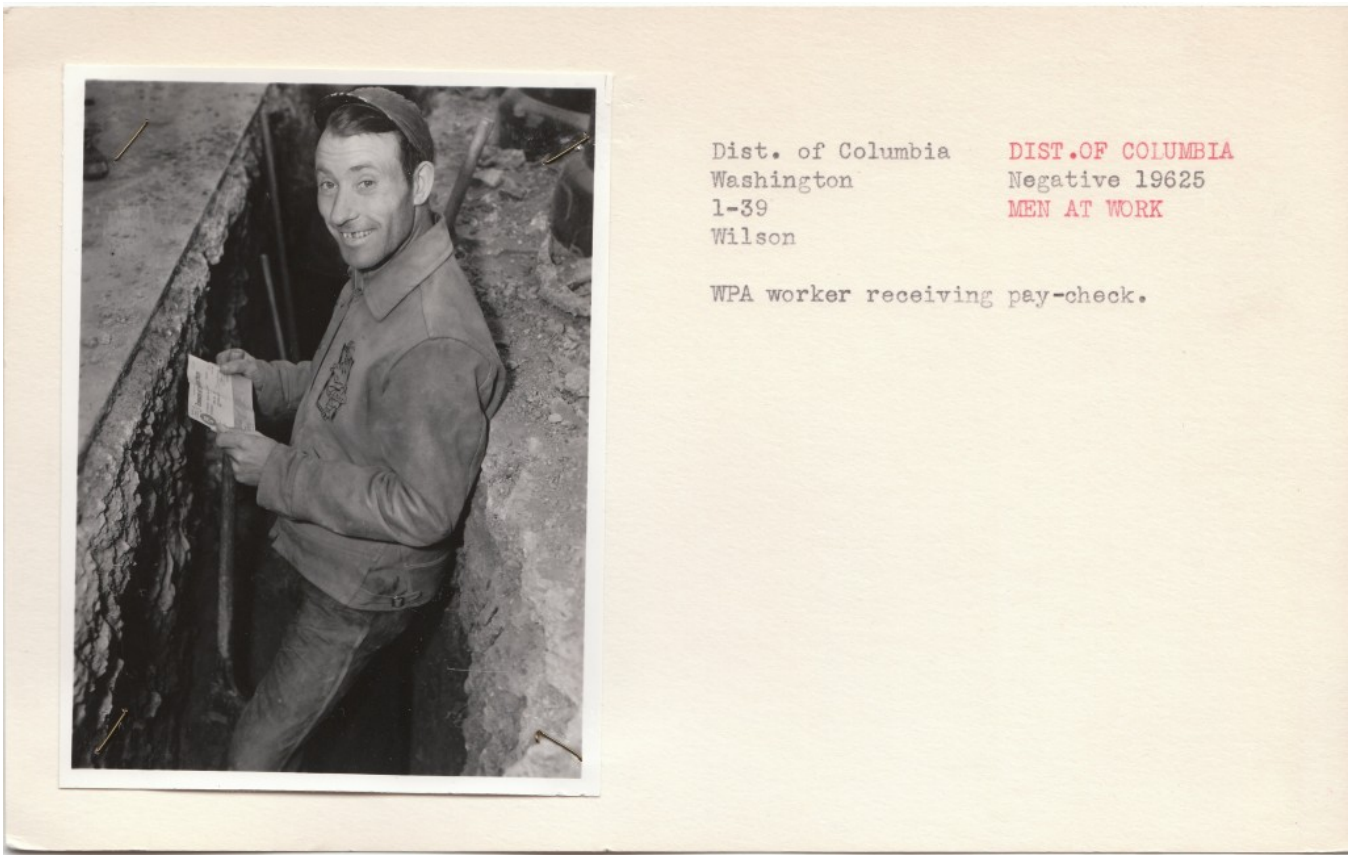
U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

Note: https://www.ggarchives.com/WPA/Reference/WPAForm402-ReassignmentSlips-1936.html

Figure A2: **Example of WPA Paycheck**



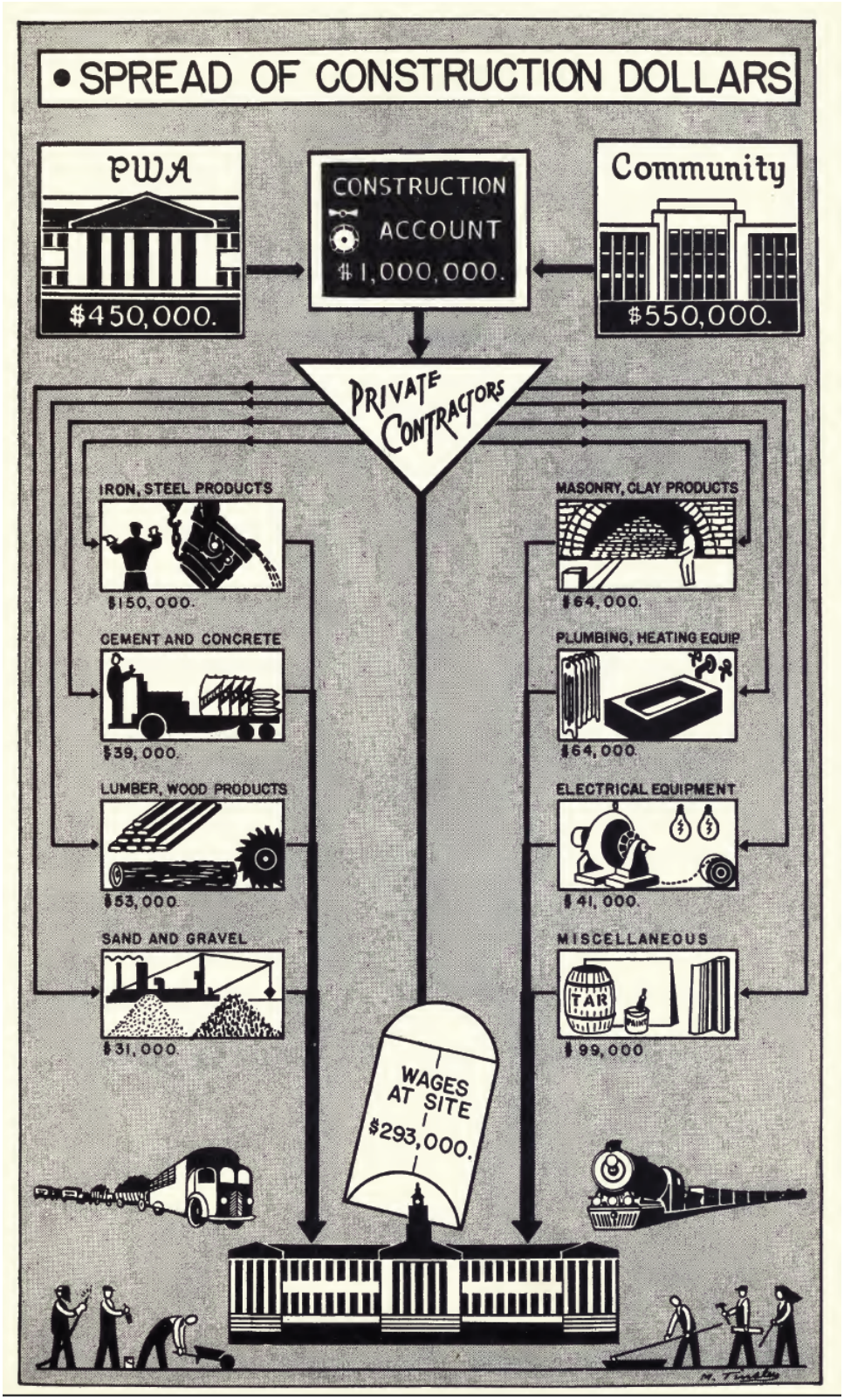
(a) Paycheck



(b) Employee Receiving Check

Note: https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/video/government-check-made-out-to-john-doe-wpa-employees-news-169581125?adppopup=true; https://livingnewdeal.org/new-deal-smiles/dc-133/

Figure A3: **PWA Policy Design Infographic**



Note: From Public Works Administration. 1939. *America Builds: The Record of the PWA.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. Page 29.

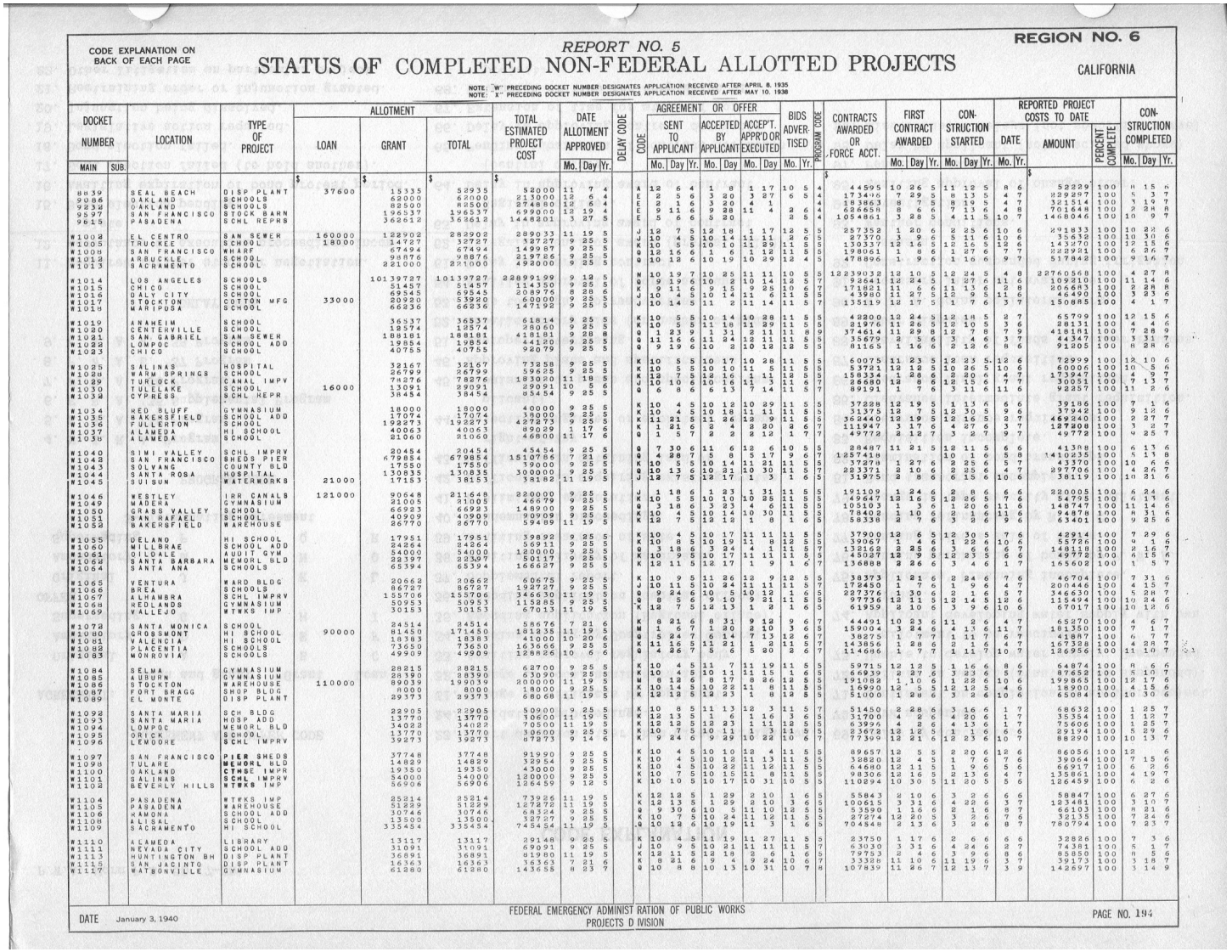
Figure A4: **Example of New Deal Spending Data Report: Cook County, IL**

COOK County, ILLINOIS (16)

March 4, 1933 through June 30, 1939

LOANS	Number		Amount
Current Programs			
1. Reconstruction Finance Corp. (From Feb. 2, 1932)		1.	$256,015,152
2. Farm Credit Admin. - - Land Bank Commissioner	87	2.	250,100 2/
3. Farm Credit Admin. - - Emergency Crop and Feed	148	3.	13,780 2/
4. Farm Security Admin. - - Rural Rehabilitation		4.	27,925
5. Farm Security Admin. - - Farm Tenant Purchase		5.	---
6. Public Works Admin. - - Non-Federal projects		6.	52,674,442 3/
7. U.S. Housing Authority - Loan Contracts Signed	1,708 Units	7.	8,674,000
8. Rural Electrification Admin. - (Total project cost divided by No. of counties participating)		8.	---
9. Disaster Loan Corporation	4	9.	1,400
Completed Programs			
10. Farm Credit Admin. - 1934-1935 Drought Relief	1	10.	50
11. Home Owners' Loan Corporation - - - 1933-1936	45,984	11.	212,716,567
Total Repayable			$ 530,373,416
EXPENDITURES			
Current Programs			
1. A.A.A. Conservation Programs			
1936 $ 62,501			
1937 43,900		1.	$ 106,401
2. Farm Security Admin. - - Rural Rehabilitation		2.	10,655
3. Public Works Admin. - - Non-Federal projects		3.	75,130,850
4. Public Works Admin. - - - - Federal projects		4.	5,758,160
5. U.S.H.A. - Housing (Former PWA Housing only) (4)	2414 Units	5.	15,425,656
6. Public Buildings Admin. - - Federal buildings		6.	6,352,777
7. Public Roads Admin. - - - Completed projects		7.	13,656,974
8. Work Projects Administration		8.	273,705,121
9. Other Projects under Works Program	7	9.	660,674
10. Social Security Board			
Old Age Assistance $13,163,944	44,415		
Aid to the Blind ---			
Aid to Dependent Children ---		10.	13,163,944
Completed Programs			
11. Federal Emergency Relief Administration		11.	156,770,075
12. Civil Works Administration		12.	33,235,984
13. A.A.A. Rental and Benefit Payments		13.	186,159
Total Non-Repayable			$594,163,430
GRAND TOTAL REPAYABLE AND NON-REPAYABLE			$1,124,536,846

Figure A5: **Example of PWA Project Report in California**



CODE EXPLANATION ON BACK OF EACH PAGE

REPORT NO. 5

STATUS OF COMPLETED NON-FEDERAL ALLOTTED PROJECTS

REGION NO. 6

CALIFORNIA

NOTE: "W" PRECEDING DOCKET NUMBER DESIGNATES APPLICATION RECEIVED AFTER APRIL 8, 1935
NOTE: "X" PRECEDING DOCKET NUMBER DESIGNATES APPLICATION RECEIVED AFTER MAY 10, 1938

DOCKET NUMBER MAIN	DOCKET NUMBER SUB.	LOCATION	TYPE OF PROJECT	ALLOTMENT LOAN	ALLOTMENT GRANT	ALLOTMENT TOTAL	TOTAL ESTIMATED PROJECT COST	DATE ALLOTMENT APPROVED Mo.	Day	Yr.	DELAY CODE	AGREEMENT OR OFFER CODE	SENT TO APPLICANT Mo.	Day	Yr.	ACCEPTED BY APPLICANT Mo.	Day	Yr.	ACCEPT. APPR'D OR EXECUTED Mo.	Day	Yr.	BIDS ADVERTISED Mo.	Yr.	PROGRAM CODE	CONTRACTS AWARDED OR FORCE ACCT.	FIRST CONTRACT AWARDED Mo.	Day	Yr.	CONSTRUCTION STARTED Mo.	Day	Yr.	REPORTED PROJECT COSTS TO DATE DATE Mo.	Yr.	AMOUNT	PERCENT COMPLETE	CONSTRUCTION COMPLETED Mo.	Day	Yr.
8839		SEAL BEACH	DISP PLANT	37600	15335	52935	52000	11	7	4		A	12	6	4	1	8	1	17	10	5	4			44595	10	26	5	11	12	5	8	6	52229	100	8	15	6
9086		OAKLAND	SCHOOLS		62000	62000	213000	12	6	4		E	2	5	6	3	20	3	27		6	5	4			173496	7	29	5	8	13	5	4	7	229297	100	5	3	7
9234		OAKLAND	SCHOOLS		82500	82500	274880	12	6	4		E	2	1	6	3	20	4	1							183863	8	7	5	8	19	5	4	7	321514	100	3	19	7
9597		SAN FRANCISCO	STOCK BARN		196537	196537	699000	12	19	4		E	9	11	6	9	28	11	4	2	6	4			626659	8	6	6	7	13	6	4	8	701648	100	2	28	8
9615		PASADENA	SCHL REPRS		362612	362612	1448201	3	27	5		E	5	6	6	5	20			2	5	4			1054861	3	28	5	4	11	5	10	7	1460046	100	10	9	7
W1008		EL CENTRO	SAN SEWER	160000	122902	282902	289033	11	19	5		J	12	7	5	12	18	1	17	12	5	5			257352	1	20	6	2	25	6	10	6	291833	100	10	22	6
W1005		TRUCKEE	SCHOOL	18000	14727	32727	32727	9	25	5		J	10	4	5	10	14	11	11	2	6	5			27370	3	9	6	5	11	6	10	6	35638	100	10	30	6
W1004		SAN FRANCISCO	WHARF		67494	67494	149987	9	25	5		K	10	5	5	10	10	11	29	11	5	5			130337	12	16	5	12	16	5	12	6	142720	100	12	15	6
W1018		ARBUCKLE	SCHOOL		98876	98876	219786	9	25	5		Q	12	16	6	1	6	1	12	11	5	5			198061	1	8	6	1	27	6	7	7	222921	100	6	26	7
W1013		SACRAMENTO	SCHOOL		221000	221000	492000	9	25	5		Q	10	12	6	10	19	10	29	12	4	5			478896	1	9	6	1	16	6	9	7	517842	100	9	16	7
W1014		LOS ANGELES	SCHOOLS		10139727	10139727	22899199	9	12	5		N	10	19	7	10	25	11	11	10	5	5			12239032	12	10	5	12	24	5	4	8	22760568	100	4	27	8
W1015		CHICO	SCHOOL		51457	51457	114350	9	25	5		Q	9	19	6	10	2	10	14	12	5	7			92641	12	24	5	1	27	6	11	6	109210	100	11	14	6
W1016		DALY CITY	SCHOOL		69545	69545	208976	8	28	6		K	9	11	6	9	15	9	25	10	6	7			171821	11	6	6	11	13	6	2	8	206461	100	2	28	8
W1017		STOCKTON	COTTON MFG	33000	53920	60000	60000	9	25	5		J	10	4	5	10	14	11	6	11	5	7			43980	11	27	5	12	9	5	11	6	46490	100	3	23	6
W1019		MARIPOSA	SCHOOL		66236	66236	147192	9	25	5		J	10	14	5	11	2	11	14	11	5	7			135119	12	17	5	1	7	6	3	7	150885	100	4	1	7
W1019		ANAHEIM	SCHOOL		36537	36537	61814	9	25	5		K	10	5	5	10	14	10	28	11	5	5			42200	12	24	5	12	18	5	2	7	65709	100	12	15	6
W1020		CENTERVILLE	SCHOOL		18574	18574	28060	9	25	5		K	10	5	5	11	18	11	29	11	5	5			21976	11	26	5	12	10	5	3	6	28133	100	4	4	6
W1021		SAN GABRIEL	SAN SEWER		188181	188181	421181	9	28	8		Q	1	23	9	1	31	2	11	11	8	9			374614	11	29	8	12	7	8	7	9	418181	100	7	28	9
W1022		LOMPOC	SCHOOL ADD		19854	19854	44120	9	25	5		Q	11	16	6	11	24	12	11	11	5	5			35679	2	5	6	3	6		5	7	44347	100	5	31	7
W1023		CHICO	SCHOOL		40755		92679	9	25	5		Q	1	19	6	10	12	12	5	11	5	5			81165	1	16	6	2	12	6	8	6	91205	100	8	28	6
W1025		SALINAS	HOSPITAL		32167	32167	73258	9	25	5		K	10	5	5	10	17	10	28	11	5	5			60075	11	23	5	12	23	5	12	6	72999	100	12	10	6
W1024		WARM SPRINGS	SCHOOL		26799	26799	59625	9	25	5		K	10	5	5	10	10	11	5	11	5	5			53721	12	12	5	10	26	5	10	6	60006	100	10	5	6
W1029		TURLOCK	CANAL IMPV		74276	78276	183020	11	18	5		K	12	7	5	12	16	1	11	12	5	5			158334	1	28	6	1	20	6	4	7	173947	100	4	9	7
W1030		TULELAKE	SCHOOL	16000	13091	29091	29091	10	5	6		J	10	10	6	10	16	11	3	11	6	7			26680	12	8	6	12	15	6	7	7	30051	100	7	13	7
W1034		CYPRESS	SCHL REPR		38454		85454	9	25	5		Q	6	8	6	6	13	7	14	11	5	7			89191	1	7	6	3	11	6	11	6	92257	100	11	2	6
W1034		RED BLUFF	GYMNASIUM		18000	18000	40000	9	25	5		K	10	4	5	10	12	10	29	11	5	5			37228	12	19	5	1	13	6	6	6	39186	100	7	1	6
W1035		BAKERSFIELD	SCHOOL ADD		17074	17074	38000	9	25	5		K	10	4	5	10	18	11	11	11	5	5			31375	12	7	5	12	30	5	9	6	37942	100	9	12	6
W1036		FULLERTON	SCHOOL		192273	192273	427273	9	25	5		K	12	21	5	11	26	12	9	11	5	5			362440	12	19	5	12	16	5	2	7	469240	100	2	27	7
W1037		ALAMEDA	HI SCHOOL		40063		89029	1	17	6		K	1	21	6	2	4	2	20	2	6	7			111947	3	17	6	4	27	6	3	7	127208	100	3	2	7
W1038		ALAMEDA	SCHOOL		21060	21060	46800	11	17	6		Q	1	5	7	2	2	2	12	1	7	7			49772	2	12	7	3	2	7	9	7	49772	100	9	25	7
W1040		SIMI VALLEY	SCHL IMPRV		20454	20454	45454	9	25	5		Q	7	30	6	11	6	12	6	10	5	5			28487	11	21	5	12	11	5	6	6	41308	100	6	13	6
W1042		SAN FRANCISCO	SHEDS PIER		679854	679854	1510768	7	21	6		Q	4	28	7	5	8	5	17	9	6	7			1257418				10	1	6	5	8	1410235	100	11	1	7
W1043		SOLVANG	COUNTY BLD		17550	17550	39000	9	25	5		K	10	5	5	10	14	11	21	11	5	5			37279	1	27	6	2	25	6	5	7	43370	100	10	6	6
W1044		SANTA ROSA	HOSPITAL		130835	130835	300000	9	25	5		Q	10	13	6	10	21	10	30	11	5	7			281371	2	10	6	2	25	6	4	7	297706	100	4	26	7
W1045		SUISUN	WATERWORKS	21000	17153	38153	38182	11	19	5		J	12	7	5	12	17	1	3	1	6	5			31975	2	8	6	6	15	6	10	6	38119	100	10	31	6
W1046		WESTLEY	IRR CANALS	121000	90648	211648	220000	9	25	5		J	1	18	6	1	23	1	31	11	5	5			191109	1	24	6	2	8	6	6	6	220005	100	6	24	6
W1049		MADERA	GYMNASIUM		21005	21005	46679	9	25	5		K	10	5	5	10	10	10	26	11	5	5			49647	12	16	5	12	26	5	7	6	54795	100	6	13	6
W1050		GRASS VALLEY	SCHOOL		66923	66923	148900	9	25	5		Q	3	18	6	3	23	4	6	11	5	5			105103	1	3	6	1	20	6	11	6	148747	100	11	14	6
W1051		SAN RAFAEL	SCHOOL		43909	43909	90909	9	25	5		K	10	4	5	10	14	10	30	11	5	5			78402	1	10	6	2	1	6	11	6	94878	100	9	31	6
W1058		BAKERSFIELD	WAREHOUSE		26770		59489	11	19	5		K	12	7	5	12	12	1	8	1	6	5			58338	2	7	6	3	2	6	9	6	63401	100	9	25	6
W1055		DELANO	HI SCHOOL		17951	17951	39892	9	25	5		K	10	4	5	10	17	11	11	11	5	5			37900	12	6	5	12	30	5	7	6	42914	100	7	29	6
W1060		MILLBRAE	SCHOOL ADD		24264	24264	56911	9	25	5		K	10	8	5	10	19	11	8	12	5	5			39067	1	4	6	1	22	6	10	6	55726	100	9	1	6
W1061		OILDALE	AUDIT GYM		54000	54000	120000	9	25	5		Q	3	18	6	3	24	4	1	11	5	5			132162	2	25	6	3	6		2	7	140318	100	9	16	7
W1064		SANTA BARBARA	MEMORL BLD		22397	22397	50117	9	25	5		K	10	9	5	10	17	11	11	11	5	5			45027	12	9	5	12	23	5	6	6	49772	100	6	15	6
W1064		SANTA ANA	SCHOOLS		65394		166627	9	25	5		K	12	11	5	12	17	1	9	1	6	7			136888	2	26	6	3	4	6	1	7	165602	100	1	5	7
W1065		VENTURA	WARD BLDG		20662	20662	60675	9	25	5		K	10	9	5	11	26	12	9	12	5	5			38373	1	21	6	2	24	6	7	6	46704	100	7	31	6
W1066		BREA	SCHOOLS		86727		192727	9	25	5		J	10	11	5	10	24	11	11	11	5	7			172450	1	7	6	1	9	6	4	7	200446	100	4	15	7
W1067		ALHAMBRA	SCHL IMPRV		155706	155706	346630	11	19	5		Q	9	24	6	10	5	10	12	1	6	5			227376	1	30	6	2	1	6	5	7	346530	100	5	28	7
W1068		REDLANDS	GYMNASIUM		50953	50953	115285	9	25	5		Q	8	5	6	9	10	9	21	11	5	5			97736	12	11	5	12	14	5	12	6	115494	100	12	4	6
W1069		VALLEJO	WTWKS IMP		30153	30153	67013	11	19	5		K	12	7	5	12	13	1	2	1	6	5			61959	2	10	6	3	9	6	10	6	67017	100	10	12	6
W1072		SANTA MONICA	SCHOOL		24514	24514	58676	7	21	6		K	8	21	6	8	31	9	12	9	6	7			44491	10	23	6	11	2	6	4	7	65270	100	4	6	7
W1080		GROSSMONT	HI SCHOOL	90000	81450	171450	181835	11	19	5		M	1	6	7	1	20	2	10	3	6	7			159004	3	24	6	4	13	6	11	7	161350	100	7	1	7
W1081		VALENCIA	HI SCHOOL		18383	18383	41000	10	20	6		Q	5	24	7	6	14	7	13	12	6	7			38275	1	7	7	1	11	7	6	7	41887	100	6	7	7
W1082		PLACENTIA	SCHOOLS		73650	73650	163566	9	25	5		Q	11	16	5	11	21	1	2	11	5	7			143856	1	20	6	2	1	6	4	7	167328	100	4	28	7
W1083		MONROVIA	SCHOOLS		49909	49909	128826	10	6	6		Q	4	26	7	5	6	5	20	12	6	7			114686	1	7	7	1	11	7	10	7	126956	100	11	10	7
W1084		SELMA	GYMNASIUM		28215	28215	62700	9	25	5		K	10	4	5	11	7	11	19	11	5	5			59715	12	13	5	1	16	6	8	6	64874	100	8	6	6
W1085		AUBURN	GYMNASIUM		28390	28390	63090	9	25	5		K	10	4	5	10	11	11	15	1	6	5			66939	2	27	6	3	23	6	5	7	87652	100	5	10	7
W1086		STOCKTON	WAREHOUSE	110000	89039	199039	400000	11	19	5		M	8	12	6	8	17	8	26	12	5	5			191082	1	10	6	1	22	6	11	6	199865	100	12	17	6
W1087		FORT BRAGG	SHOP BLDG		8000	8000	18000	9	25	5		K	10	14	5	10	22	11	8	11	5	5			16990	12	5	5	12	12	5	4	6	18900	100	4	15	6
W1089		EL MONTE	DISP PLANT		29373	29373	68068	11	19	5		K	12	12	5	12	23	1	8	12	5	5			51000	1	28	6	3	2	6	10	6	65084	100	10	30	6
W1092		SANTA MARIA	SCH BLDG		22905	22905	50900	9	25	5		K	10	8	5	11	13	12	3	11	5	5			51450	2	28	6	3	16	6	1	7	68632	100	1	25	7
W1093		SANTA MARIA	HOSP ADD		13770	13770	30600	11	19	5		K	12	13	5	1	6	1	16	3	6	5			31700	4	2	6	4	20	6	1	7	35354	100	1	12	7
W1094		LOMPOC	MEMORL BLD		34022	34022	70500	11	19	5		K	12	12	5	12	23	1	11	12	5	5			63996	4	2	6	4	13	6	1	7	75606	100	1	25	7
W1095		ORICK	SCHOOL		13770	13770	30600	9	25	5		K	10	7	5	10	11	1	3	11	5	5			29672	12	12	5	1	1	6	6	6	29134	100	5	29	6
W1096		LEMOORE	SCHL IMPRV		39273	39273	87273	9	14	6		K	9	24	6	9	29	10	22	10	6	7			77399	12	21	6	12	23	6	10	7	88290	100	10	13	7
W1097		SAN FRANCISCO	PIER SHEDS		37748	37748	91990	9	25	5		K	10	4	5	10	10	12	4	11	5	5			89657	12	5	5	2	20	6	12	6	86056	100	12		6
W1098		TULARE	MEMORL BLD		14829	14829	32954	9	25	5		K	10	4	5	10	22	11	13	11	5	5			32820	12	4	5	1	7	6	7	6	39064	100	7	15	6
W1100		OAKLAND	CTHSE IMPR		19350	19350	43000	9	25	5		K	10	4	5	10	22	11	12	11	5	5			64680	12	11	5	1	9	6	5	6	66917	100	6	2	6
W1101		SALINAS	SCHL IMPRV		54000	54000	120000	9	25	5		K	10	7	5	10	15	11	8	11	5	5			98306	12	16	5	2	13	6	4	7	135861	100	4	19	7
W1102		BEVERLY HILLS	WTWKS IMP		56906	56906	126459	9	12	5		K	10	10	5	10	17	10	31	10	5	5			110294	10	30	5	11	20	5	5	6	126459	100	6	2	6
W1104		PASADENA	WTWKS IMP		35214	35214	73926	11	19	5		K	12	12	5	1	29	2	10	1	6	5			55843	2	10	6	3	2	6	6	6	58847	100	6	27	6
W1105		PASADENA	WAREHOUSE		51229	51229	127272	11	19	5		K	12	13	5	1	29	2	10	2	10	5			100615	3	31	6	4	22	6	3	7	123481	100	3	7	7
W1106		RAMONA	SCHOOL ADD		30746	30746	68324	9	25	5		K	9	30	6	10	5	10	12	12	5	5			53590	1	16	6	1	5	6	8	6	66103	100	8	21	6
W1108		ALISAL	SCHOOL		13500	13500	32727	9	25	5		K	10	7	5	10	24	11	12	11	5	5			27274	12	20	5	3	2	6	7	6	32135	100	7	24	6
W1109		SACRAMENTO	HI SCHOOL		335454	745454	11	19	5		K	10	12	6	10	19	11	3	11	6	5			704548	2	13	6	3	2	6	8	7	760794	100	7	23	7
W1110		ALAMEDA	LIBRARY		13117	13117	29148	9	25	5		K	10	4	5	11	19	11	27	11	5	5			23750	1	17	6	2	6	6	6	7	32826	100	7	3	6
W1111		NEVADA CITY	SCHOOL ADD		31091	31091	69091	9	25	5		J	10	9	5	10	21	11	11	11	5	7			63030	3	31	6	4	24	6	2	7	74381	100	5	1	7
W1113		HUNTINGTON BH	DISP PLANT		36891	36891	81980	11	19	5		K	12	11	5	12	18	2	6	1	6	7			79753	2	4	6	3	9	6	8	6	85850	100	8	5	6
W1115		SAN JACINTO	DISP PLANT		16363	16363	36363	7	21	6		Q	9	21	6	9	4	9	24	10	6	7			33338	11	10	6	11	19	6	3	7	39173	100	3	19	7
W1117		WATSONVILLE	GYMNASIUM		61280	61280	143655	8	23	7		Q	10	8	8	10	13	10	31	10	7	8			107839	11	26	7	12	13	7	3	9	142697	100	3	14	9

DATE January 3, 1940

FEDERAL EMERGENCY ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC WORKS
PROJECTS DIVISION

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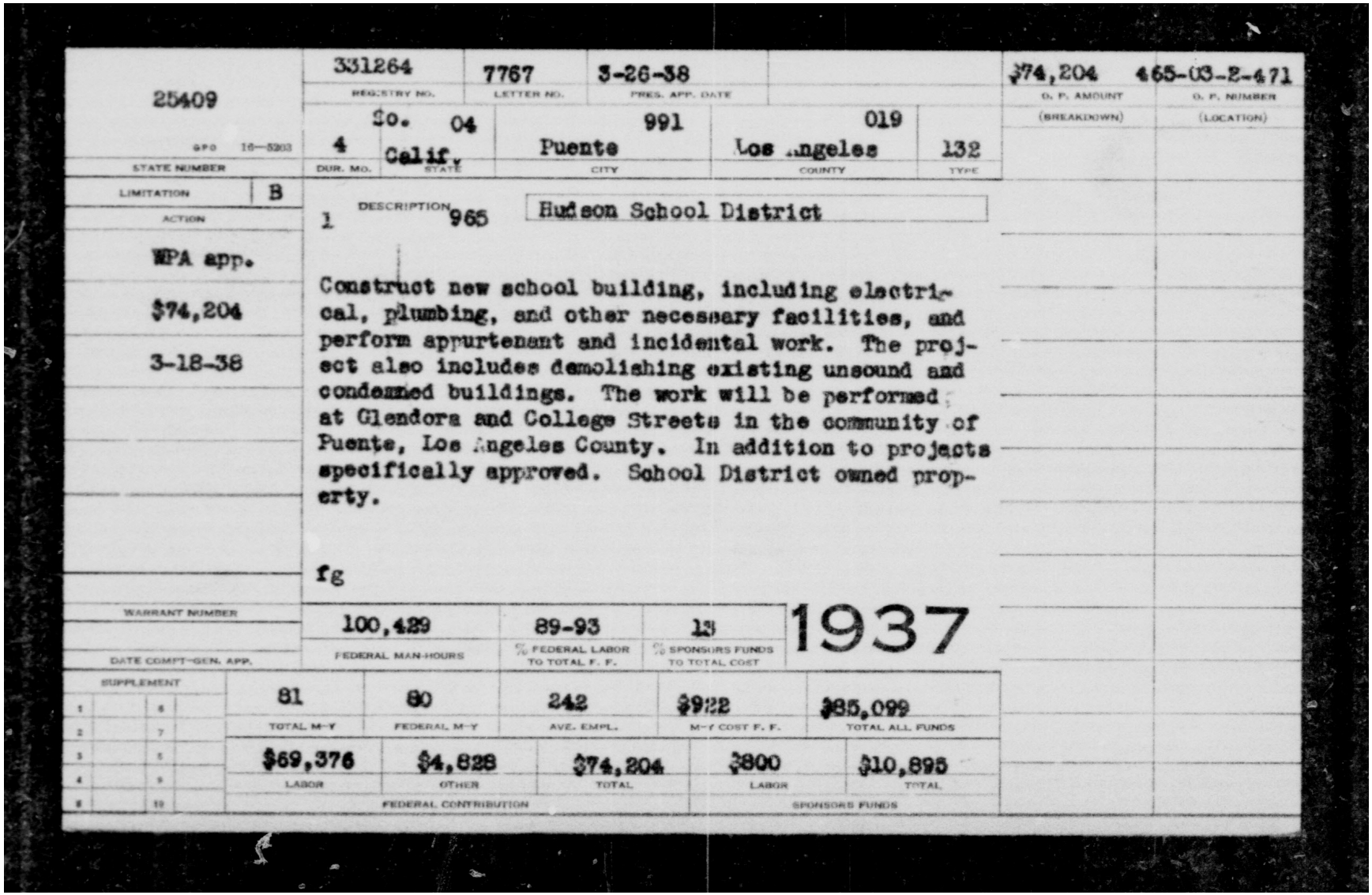
Figure A6: **Example of CA WPA School Construction Project**



25409	331264	7767	3-26-38		$74,204	465-03-2-471
	REGISTRY NO.	LETTER NO.	PRES. APP. DATE		O. P. AMOUNT (BREAKDOWN)	O. P. NUMBER (LOCATION)
GPO 16—5203	So. 04		991	019		
STATE NUMBER	4 DUR. MO.	Calif. STATE	Puente CITY	Los Angeles COUNTY	132 TYPE	

LIMITATION: B

ACTION: WPA app.

$74,204

3-18-38

DESCRIPTION 1 965 — Hudson School District

Construct new school building, including electrical, plumbing, and other necessary facilities, and perform appurtenant and incidental work. The project also includes demolishing existing unsound and condemned buildings. The work will be performed at Glendora and College Streets in the community of Puente, Los Angeles County. In addition to projects specifically approved. School District owned property.

fg

WARRANT NUMBER

DATE COMPT-GEN. APP.

1937

100,429	89-93	13
FEDERAL MAN-HOURS	% FEDERAL LABOR TO TOTAL F. F.	% SPONSORS FUNDS TO TOTAL COST

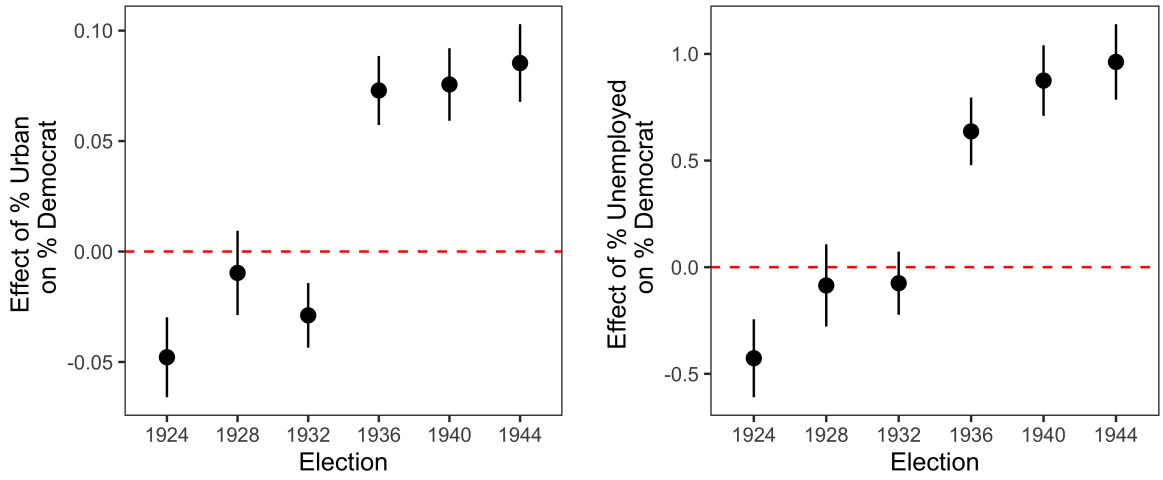
SUPPLEMENT

81	80	242	$922	$85,099
TOTAL M-Y	FEDERAL M-Y	AVE. EMPL.	M-Y COST F. F.	TOTAL ALL FUNDS

$69,376	$4,828	$74,204	$800	$10,895
LABOR	OTHER	TOTAL	LABOR	TOTAL
FEDERAL CONTRIBUTION			SPONSORS FUNDS	

Note: https://catalog.archives.gov/id/231987465?objectPage=5

Figure A7: **Time-Varying Effects of County Demographic Predictors of % Democrat**



(a) % Urban, 1930

(b) % Unemployed, 1930

Note: A7(a) and A7(b) plot the correlation between county % urban and county % unemployed as measured in 1930, respectively, and county Democratic voting in each election year from 1924 through 1944. Bars are 95% confidence intervals. Models include state fixed effects. Coefficients and model diagnostics are also presented in Tables A1 and A2 of the Dataverse Supplementary Appendix.

Table A1: **Correlations Between County Demographics and WPA/PWA Spending**

	Correlation
WPA	
% Urban	0.277
% Black	-0.372
% Foreign	0.254
% Unemployed	0.393
PWA	
% Urban	0.324
% Black	-0.119
% Foreign	0.227
% Unemployed	0.220

Note: Entries are Pearson correlation coefficient's.

Table A2: **Effect of WPA and PWA Spending on Democratic Voting: South vs. Non-South**

	DV: Democratic Vote Share (0-100)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
ln(WPA)	0.602*			0.407		
	(0.270)			(0.320)		
ln(WPA) × South	0.244			0.603		
	(0.605)			(0.602)		
ln(PWA)		-0.085			0.043	
		(0.126)			(0.142)	
ln(PWA) × South		0.321			0.221	
		(0.253)			(0.236)	
ln(PWA On-Site)			-0.095			0.053
			(0.158)			(0.176)
ln(PWA On-Site) × South			0.421			0.318
			(0.331)			(0.302)
County FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State-Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	24,403	24,403	24,403	12,264	12,264	12,264
R^2	0.963	0.963	0.963	0.979	0.979	0.979

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by county. *p<0.05

Table A3: **Effect of Above Average WPA and PWA Spending on Democratic Voting**

	DV: Democratic Vote Share (0-100)			
	1916-1944		**1932-1944**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Above Average WPA	0.679*		0.516	
	(0.314)		(0.329)	
Above Average PWA		0.257		0.426
		(0.369)		(0.405)
County FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
State-Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	24,403	24,403	12,264	12,264
R^2	0.963	0.963	0.979	0.979

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by county. *p<0.05

Table A4: **Effect of WPA and PWA Spending Quintiles on Democratic Voting**

	DV: Democratic Vote Share (0-100)			
	1916-1944		**1932-1944**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
WPA Q2 × Post	-0.098		0.218	
	(0.479)		(0.485)	
WPA Q3 × Post	0.249		0.773	
	(0.488)		(0.504)	
WPA Q4 × Post	0.383		0.778	
	(0.514)		(0.516)	
WPA Q5 × Post	1.349*		1.292*	
	(0.570)		(0.611)	
PWA Q2 × Post		-0.379		-0.095
		(0.365)		(0.379)
PWA Q3 × Post		0.083		0.341
		(0.402)		(0.410)
PWA Q4 × Post		0.154		0.348
		(0.416)		(0.423)
PWA Q5 × Post		0.308		0.643
		(0.453)		(0.481)
County FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
State-Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	24,403	24,403	12,264	12,264
R^2	0.963	0.963	0.979	0.979

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by county. *p<0.05

Table A5: **Effect of WPA and PWA Projects on Democratic Voting in CA**

	DV: Democratic Vote Share (0-100)			
	1916-1944		**1932-1944**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
ln(WPA)	1.557		2.050**	
	(1.145)		(0.751)	
ln(PWA)		0.166		0.670
		(1.029)		(0.843)
County FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
State-Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	464	464	232	232
R^2	0.968	0.967	0.947	0.943

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by county. **p<0.01

Table A6: **Effect of WPA and PWA Spending on Democratic Voting by % Urban**

	DV: Democratic Vote Share (0-100)			
	1916-1944		**1932-1944**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
ln(WPA)	0.623**		0.313	
	(0.218)		(0.228)	
ln(WPA) × % Urban	0.022***		0.027***	
	(0.001)		(0.001)	
ln(PWA)		-0.238*		-0.215+
		(0.112)		(0.116)
ln(PWA) × % Urban		0.027***		0.031***
		(0.002)		(0.002)
County FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
State-Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	24,403	24,403	12,264	12,264
R^2	0.938	0.938	0.967	0.966

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by county. +p<0.10; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table A7: **Effect of WPA and PWA Spending on Democratic Voting by % Unemployed**

	DV: Democratic Vote Share (0-100)			
	1916-1944		**1932-1944**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
ln(WPA)	0.188		0.041	
	(0.243)		(0.255)	
ln(WPA) × % Unemployed	0.199***		0.207***	
	(0.017)		(0.018)	
ln(PWA)		-0.551***		-0.416**
		(0.135)		(0.137)
ln(PWA) × % Unemployed		0.266***		0.268***
		(0.021)		(0.024)
County FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
State-Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	24,403	24,403	12,264	12,264
R^2	0.938	0.937	0.966	0.966

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by county. **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table A8: **Effect of WPA and PWA Spending on Democratic Voting by % Foreign Born**

	DV: Democratic Vote Share (0-100)			
	1916-1944		**1932-1944**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
ln(WPA)	0.602**		0.879***	
	(0.209)		(0.220)	
ln(WPA) × % Foreign	0.129***		0.084***	
	(0.009)		(0.011)	
ln(PWA)		-0.225*		0.126
		(0.113)		(0.116)
ln(PWA) × % Foreign		0.126***		0.092***
		(0.014)		(0.015)
County FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
State-Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	24,403	24,403	12,264	12,264
R^2	0.938	0.937	0.965	0.965

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by county. *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table A9: **Effect of WPA and PWA Spending on Democratic Voting by % Black**

	DV: Democratic Vote Share (0-100)			
	1916-1944		**1932-1944**	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
ln(WPA)	1.675***		1.508***	
	(0.209)		(0.221)	
ln(WPA) × % Black	0.004		0.031***	
	(0.004)		(0.003)	
ln(PWA)		0.529***		0.494***
		(0.114)		(0.115)
ln(PWA) × % Black		0.002		0.019***
		(0.004)		(0.004)
County FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
State-Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	24,403	24,403	12,264	12,264
R^2	0.936	0.936	0.965	0.965

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by county. ***p<0.001

Table A10: **Effect of Disapproved WPA Spending on Democratic Voting**

	DV: Democratic Vote Share (0-100)	
	1916-1944	**1932-1944**
	(1)	(2)
ln(Disapproved WPA)	0.192	0.335
	(0.619)	(0.681)
County FE	✓	✓
State-Year FE	✓	✓
Demographic FE	✓	✓
Observations	464	232
R^2	0.967	0.943

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by county.

Table A11: **Effect of WPA Spending on Ballots Cast**

	DV: ln(Ballots Cast)	
	1916-1944	**1932-1944**
	(1)	(2)
ln(WPA)	-0.005	0.009
	(0.010)	(0.008)
County FE	✓	✓
State-Year FE	✓	✓
Demographic FE	✓	✓
Observations	24,400	12,264
R^2	0.989	0.996

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by county.

Table A12: **Effect of WPA and PWA Spending on Democratic Voting in Gubernatorial Elections, 1916-1944**

	DV: Democratic Vote Share (0-100)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
ln(WPA)	0.815***	0.609*				
	(0.236)	(0.255)				
ln(WPA) × GOP		0.789*				
		(0.328)				
ln(PWA)			0.105	0.178		
			(0.118)	(0.122)		
ln(PWA) × GOP				-0.326+		
				(0.167)		
ln(PWA On-Site)					0.137	0.219
					(0.148)	(0.155)
ln(PWA On-Site) × GOP						-0.368+
						(0.206)
County FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State-Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographic FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	32,760	32,760	32,760	32,760	32,760	32,760
R^2	0.963	0.963	0.963	0.963	0.963	0.963

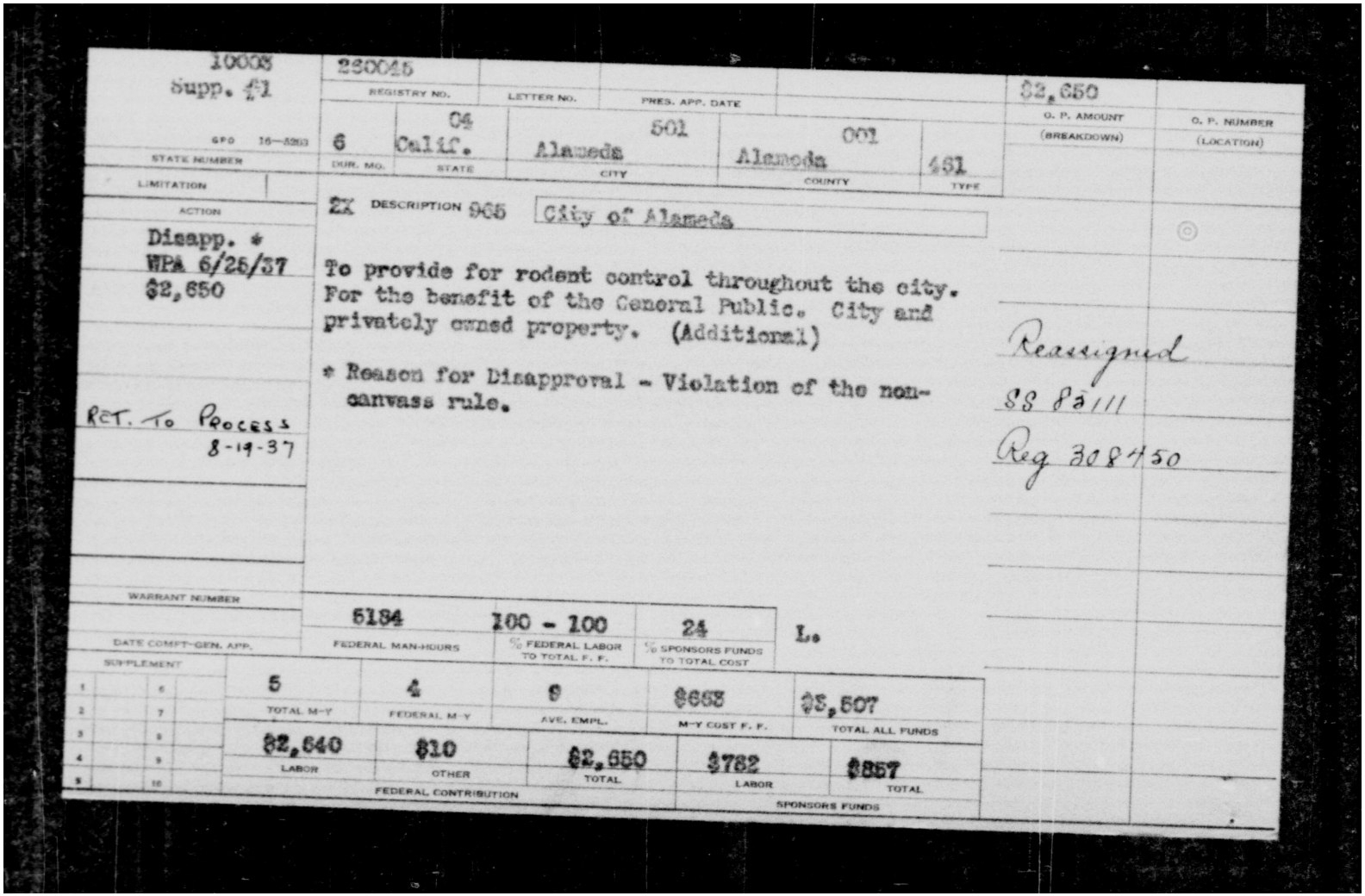
Notes: Standard errors are clustered by county. +p<0.10; *p<0.05; ***p<0.001

Table A13: **Effect of WPA and PWA Spending on Democratic Voting in Gubernatorial Elections: South vs. Non-South, 1916-1944**

	DV: Democratic Vote Share (0-100)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
ln(WPA)	1.175***		
	(0.292)		
ln(WPA) × South	-0.922^{+}		
	(0.482)		
ln(PWA)		-0.127	
		(0.151)	
ln(PWA) × South		0.560*	
		(0.239)	
ln(PWA On-Site)			-0.129
			(0.188)
ln(PWA On-Site) × South			0.656*
			(0.304)
County FE	✓	✓	✓
State-Year FE	✓	✓	✓
Demographic FE	✓	✓	✓
Observations	32,760	32,760	32,760
R^2	0.963	0.963	0.963

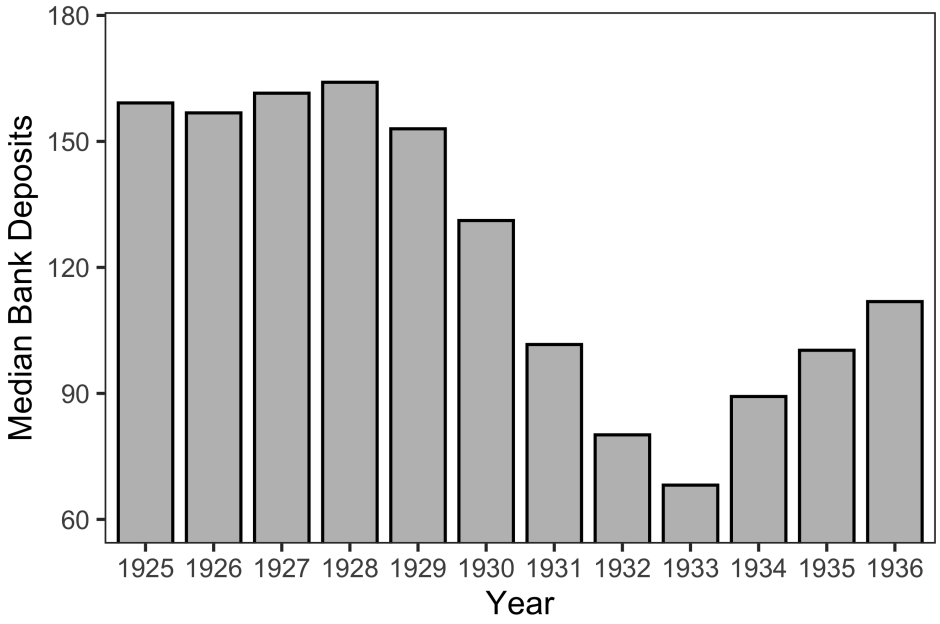
Notes: Standard errors are clustered by county. $^{+}$p<0.10; *p<0.05; ***p<0.001

Figure A8: **Example of Disapproved WPA Project in California**



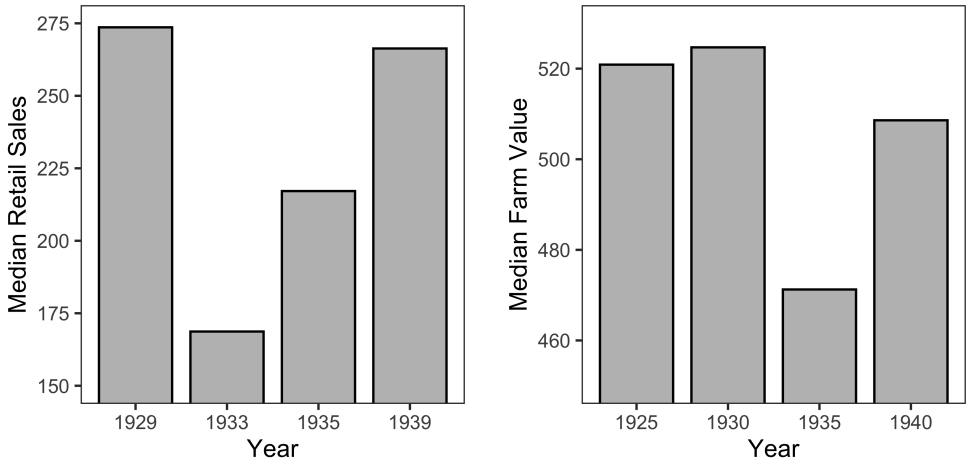
Note: https://catalog.archives.gov/id/231990467?objectPage=1233

Figure A9: **County Bank Deposits Before and After WPA and PWA Spending**



Note: Plots the median county per capita bank deposits value by year.

Figure A10: **County Retail Sales and Farm Values Before and After WPA and PWA Spending**



(a) Retail Sales (b) Farm Values

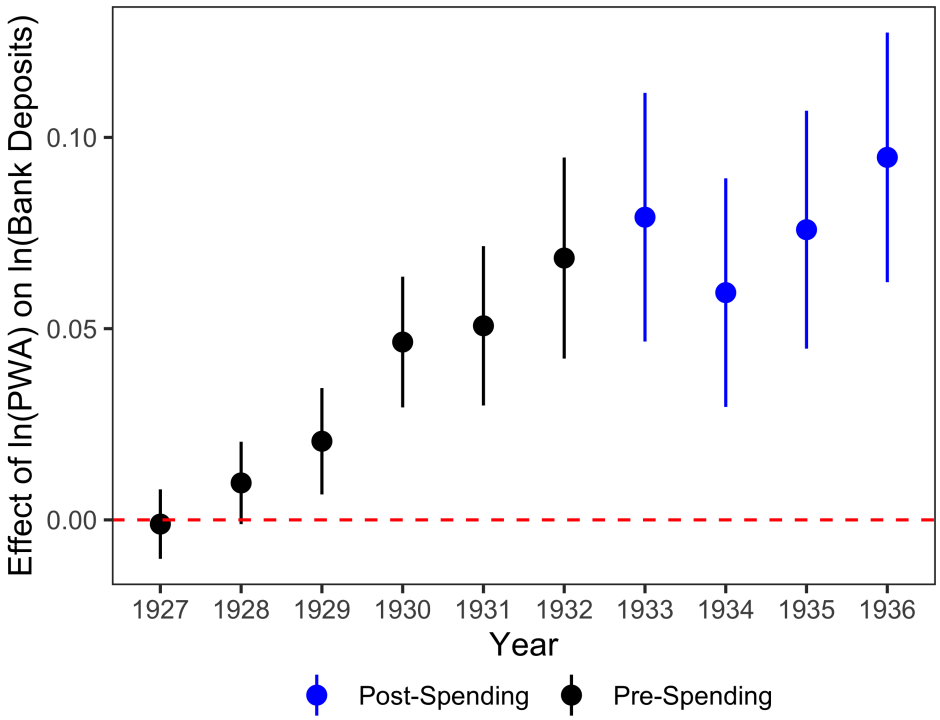
Note: A10(a), A10(b) and A9(c) plots the median county per capita retail sales and farm values, respectively, by year.

Table A14: **Effect of the WPA and PWA Spending on Retail Sales and Farm Values**

	DV: ln(Retail Sales)						*ln(Farm Values)*					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
ln(WPA)	-0.020**	-0.029***					-0.057***	-0.051**				
	(0.007)	(0.008)					(0.006)	(0.016)				
ln(PWA)			0.036***	0.011*					0.011**	-0.001		
			(0.004)	(0.005)					(0.004)	(0.006)		
ln(PWA On-Site)					0.047***	0.015*					0.015***	-0.000
					(0.005)	(0.007)					(0.005)	(0.008)
County FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State-Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
County Trends FE	✗	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓
Observations	12,259	12,259	12,259	12,259	12,259	12,259	12,215	12,215	12,215	12,215	12,215	12,215
R^2	0.957	0.980	0.958	0.980	0.958	0.980	0.976	0.989	0.976	0.989	0.976	0.989

Notes: Standard errors are clustered by county. *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Figure A11: **Event Study Estimates of PWA Spending on Bank Deposits: No County Time Trends**



Note: Event study estimates with 95% confidence intervals of the effects of PWA spending on bank deposits. Estimates are generated from a model including county and state-year fixed effects. Coefficients and model diagnostics are also presented in Table A5 of the Dataverse Supplementary Appendix.