

Examining a Most Likely Case for Strong Campaign Effects: Hitler's Speeches and the Rise of the Nazi Party, 1927–1933

Appendix

Published in *The American Political Science Review*

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A Geocoding areal units

Linking electoral outcomes to Hitler's public appearances requires geographical information on the administrative units for which electoral data are available. To measure election outcomes, we use data that were collected and digitalized in an epic data collection effort by Jürgen Falter and collaborators ([Falter and Hänsch, 1990](#)). The dataset provides information on electoral outcomes at all Reichstag elections since 1920 at both the county and municipal level, with the important exception of the July and November 1932 elections for which the Statistical Office did not publish any figures at the municipal level (see [Hänsch, 1989](#), p.45). The dataset itself, however, does not contain any geographic identifiers. For that reason, John O'Loughlin and colleagues ([O'Loughlin, Flint and Anselin, 1994](#)) digitized county areal boundaries from a historical map of 1930.²⁰

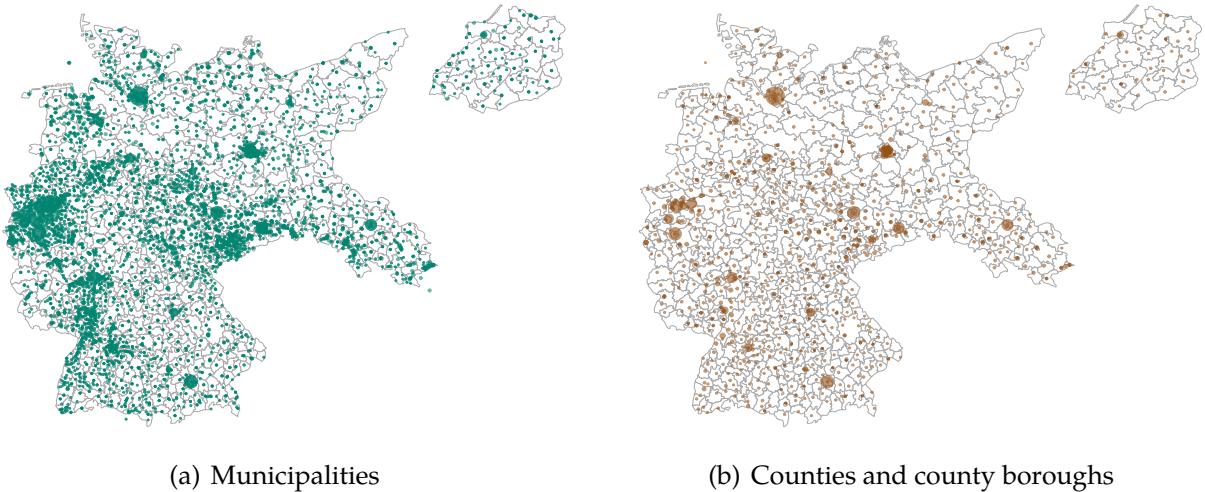
While this map in principle allows us to match public appearances—which are *de facto* spatial point data—with data on electoral outcomes, the geographic information is somewhat limited: First, it only covers 741 counties from 1930 and therefore does not take boundary changes or the creation of new and disbandment of old districts into account. Secondly, some counties (and county boroughs in particular) were completely missing from the shape file. This is not a minor problem. For instance, as documented in the Falter data, the voting eligible population at the May 1928 election sums up to about 62 million voters. However, after matching the O'Loughlin with the Falter data, we end up with valid information for only about 75% of the voting eligible population. That is, about a quarter of the voters would be missing in our analysis. Obviously, we cannot assume that the counties which get lost due to the matching process are completely missing at random on the variables of interest. Consequently, using these data would limit the generalizability of our findings. We tried to overcome these problems by manually enriching the original shape files with new boundaries of missing districts, but this resembled a drop in the bucket.²¹ Thirdly, the counties vary substantively in areal size, which makes any effort of discrete matching of spatial points data with county polygon data rather fuzzy. Finally—and this is probably the most serious limitation of the existing geographical data for our purposes—the data are only available at the aggregation level of counties, not municipalities. Using data on the available 1,172 counties and county boroughs (not to speak of the fact that we have geographic information for less than 900 of these counties) in the Falter data set would ignore the information that is available at the municipal level, which sums up to 4,197 municipalities and 311 county boroughs. These data are more fine-grained both in terms of electoral outcomes and geographic dispersion. In sum, these reasons call for new geocoding efforts.²²

²⁰The data are freely accessible at http://www.colorado.edu/ibs/pec/johno/pub/nazi_data/nazi_data.zip.

²¹In fact, the reported quarter of voters missing is based on our enhanced shape file, which already helped us gain a few million voters.

²²However, we still use the enhanced O'Loughlin polygon data for map-based visual displays of our results.

Figure A1: Geo-referenced municipalities ($n = 5,443$, left panel) and counties/county boroughs ($n = 1,246$, right panel) from the Falter data set. Dot size is proportional to municipality-level population estimates in 1932.



To link electoral outcomes in the Falter data set with information on the exposure variables, we employ the following strategy: In an own data collection effort, we use the names of the municipalities and county boroughs in the Falter data set and geocode them using location services provided by the Google Maps API ([Google Inc., 2015](#)), i.e., the same strategy we employ to geocode Hitler's public appearances. For this purpose, we have to replace German names for locations in Silesia, Pomerania and East Prussia with their Polish and Russian equivalents in the first place. Wikipedia serves as a reliable source for these adaptations. Next, the municipality and county borough names are sent to the Google API service, which returns geographic coordinates, i.e. latitudes and longitudes. If the service failed to resolve our query, we corrected the input (a common reason were typos and deprecated municipality names). To ensure that the correct coordinates were returned, we validated our efforts by comparing the retrieved point coordinates within a common county unit. The rationale is that municipal coordinates should not deviate very much from a county-level median longitude and latitude. This validation strategy turned out to be very successful, as it helped us correct a substantive number of wrongly coded administrative units. Overall, we were able to get precise spatial location information for all 6,304 municipalities and county boroughs in the Falter data set. Figure A1 provides maps of all geo-coded observations, weighted by 1932 population size. Municipality-level election results are not available for the 1932 elections. Therefore, we use two samples; the first at the municipality level but restricted to the 1930 election, the second at the county level covering the elections between 1930 and 1933.

B Geocoding campaign events

We use the location information from the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* editions to enrich the dataset with precise geographic information (latitudes and longitudes) for each of the appearances. To automate the process, we draw on the `ggmap` package ([Kahle and Wickham, 2013](#)) that helps tap the Google Maps API ([Google Inc., 2015](#)). The location name is sent to the service, which returns the geo-coordinates. To ensure that the API matches the locations with the correct locations, we conducted several validation checks and adapted the queries accordingly. In particular, we had to replace German names for locations in Silesia, Pomerania and East Prussia with their Polish and Russian equivalents. In addition, some places were misspelled in the original source or attributed to towns in Austria or Switzerland. We corrected for that, too. The results of our geocoding efforts are visualized in Figure [B1](#).

In order to test for the possibility of substitution mechanisms in the assignment of locations for public appearances among Nazi elites, we also collected data on later Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, who played a leading role in establishing propaganda tools for the NSDAP by founding the newspaper *Der Angriff* (*The Attack*) and coordinating and controlling all party outlets across the country, but also by taking the role as a public speaker at various events and locations. No source for his public speeches exists comparable to the volumes documenting Hitler's appearances. However, Goebbels himself bore witness to his actions by cultivating a personal diary ([Goebbels, 1992](#)). We draw on this source to assemble a dataset on Goebbels's public appearances between April 1928 and March 1933.²³ To do so, we collected data on speeches in a semi-automatic manner by first looking for speech-related keywords ("sprech", "gesprochen", "rede", "kundgebung", "ansprache", "veranstaltung", "vortrag") in the entire document and then manually encoding information on who spoke and when, whether the speech was held in public or in front of a private audience, and finally geo-coding the appearances using the Google Maps API ([Google Inc., 2015](#)). In total, we were able to collect data on 200 public speeches, an overwhelming majority of which (110) held in Berlin. More importantly, the allocation of these appearances did not seem to be complementary to Hitler's appearances—he held most of his speeches in places where Hitler had an appearance, too (see also Figure [B2](#)).

²³The manuscript lacks entries between October 30, 1926 and April 14, 1928.

Figure B1: Map of Hitler's public appearances between March 1927 to March 1933, by pre-election period.

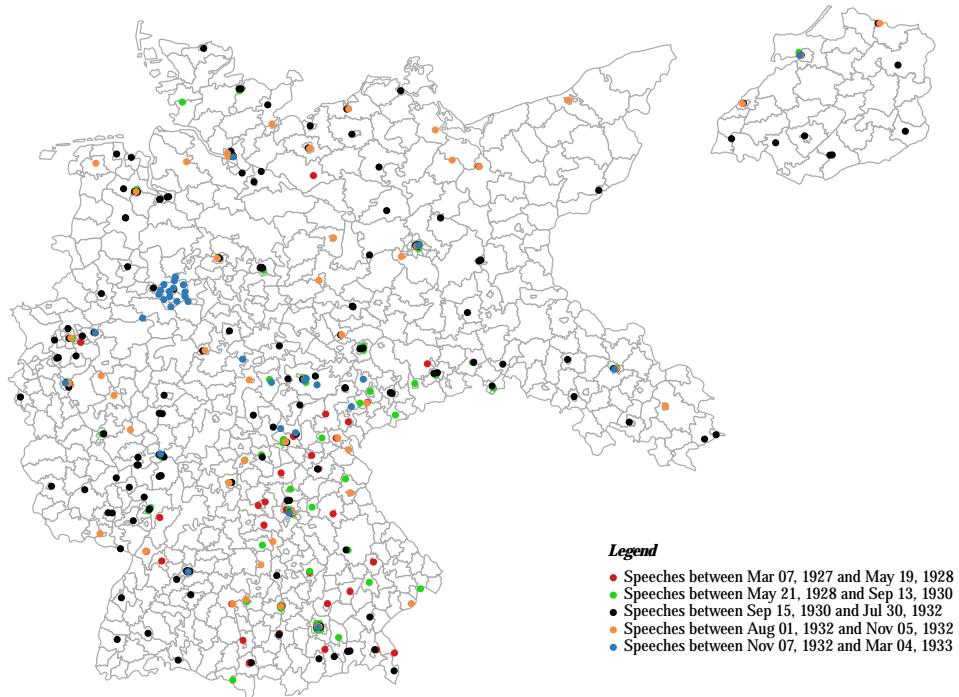
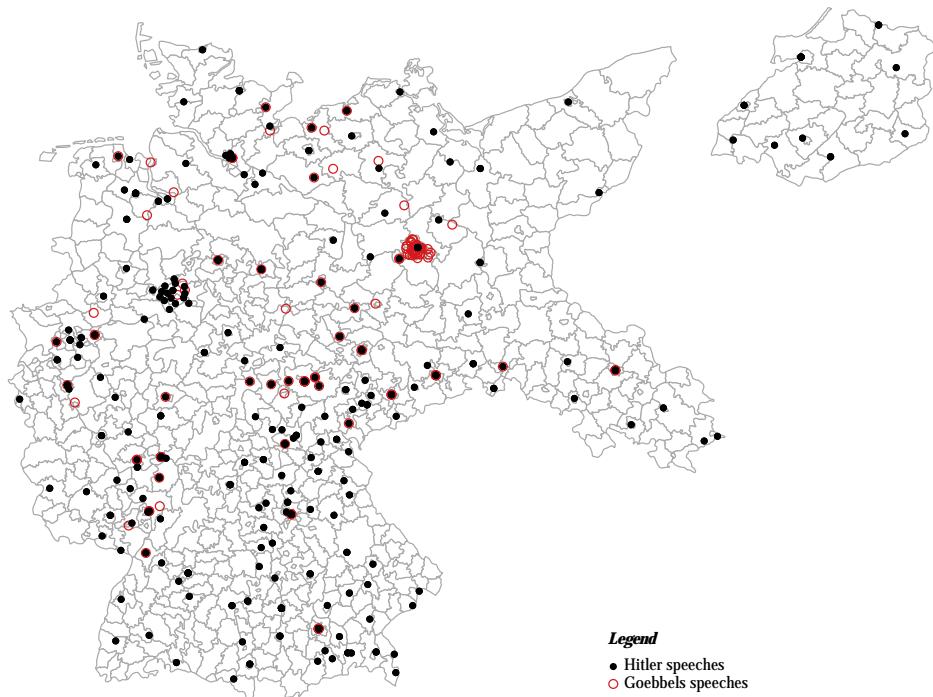


Figure B2: Map of Hitler's and Goebbels's public appearances between March 1927 to March 1933.



C Estimating the size of events

The documentation of speeches in the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* editions frequently provides information on the reported audience sizes are of particular importance, which give us a rough indicator of the event size as well as the potential for a local impact. The sources of reported audience sizes can be classified into three categories: police reports, common press, and Nazi press (most often, the *Völkischer Beobachter*). In rare cases, all of the sources are quoted with an estimated audience size, but most often just one or two sources are given. For $n = 93$ appearances, no estimates are reported at all. From the summary statistics for each of the sources (see Table C1) and a comparison of the density distributions (see Figure C1), we find the police reports to provide, on average, the most conservative estimates and the Nazi press to give the most optimistic ones. Reports by the press are, on average, somewhere in between.

In order to generate comparable estimates of audience size, we employ a simple model-based imputation approach. Our strategy starts with the observation that logs of the different reports are strongly correlated ($r \geq .90$; see Figure C2). That is, while the reported figures vary substantively, the NS press reports are based on a very consistent and simple mechanism of overreporting of the true (or more neutrally reported) audience sizes. While none of the figures reported from the Nazi press are smaller than reported figures from both the police and the common press, the systematic relationships allow us to correct for the bias and generate valid and reliable estimates even in the absence of police or common press information. To do so, we take the police reports as ground truth (they also show the lowest incidence rate of missings; see again Table C1) and estimate three log-log models based on the following specifications:

$$\log(N_{\text{police}}) \sim \beta_0 + \beta_1 \log(N_{\text{press}}) + \beta_2 \log(N_{\text{NS press}}) \quad (1)$$

$$\log(N_{\text{police}}) \sim \beta_0 + \beta_1 \log(N_{\text{press}}) \quad (2)$$

$$\log(N_{\text{police}}) \sim \beta_0 + \beta_2 \log(N_{\text{NS press}}) \quad (3)$$

The imputation proceeds as follows: If only the police report estimate is missing, we use Equation 1 to predict them with both press figures. If only the press estimate is available, we use the results from Equation 2 to impute the missing police estimate, otherwise, we fall back to Equation 3. Note that all regression models show a very high fit ($R^2 > .90$) and no suspicious outliers, which makes us confident that our imputation procedure produces generally plausible estimates. The last row of Table C1 reports summary statistics on the imputed variable. In comparison with the original variable, the imputed variable has a higher median and mean. According to the raw data, this is not due to the fact that we carry bias from the press variables into the imputed variable, but because missingness of police reports is systematically higher for larger events.

Figure C1: Distribution of reported audience sizes at public Hitler appearances, by source.

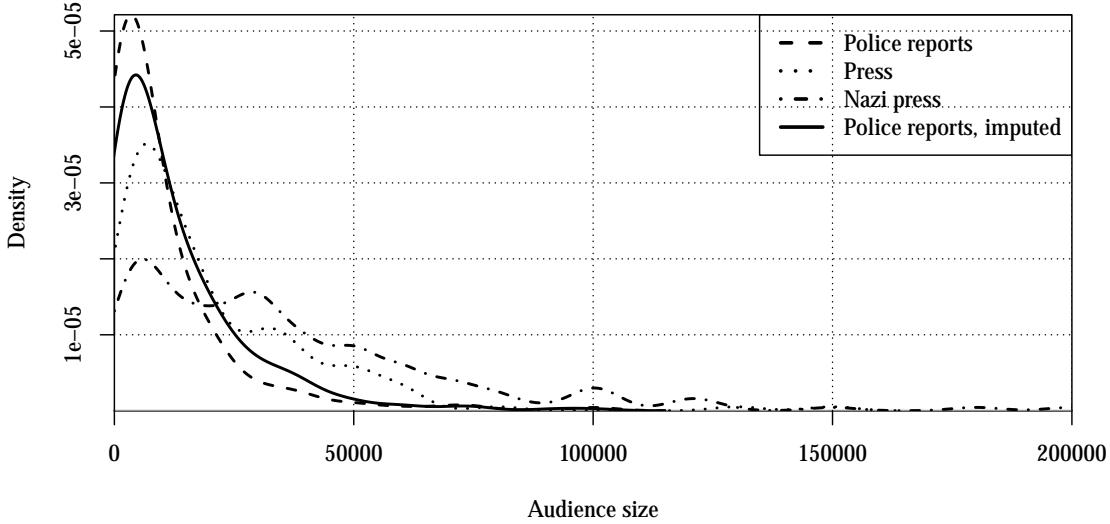


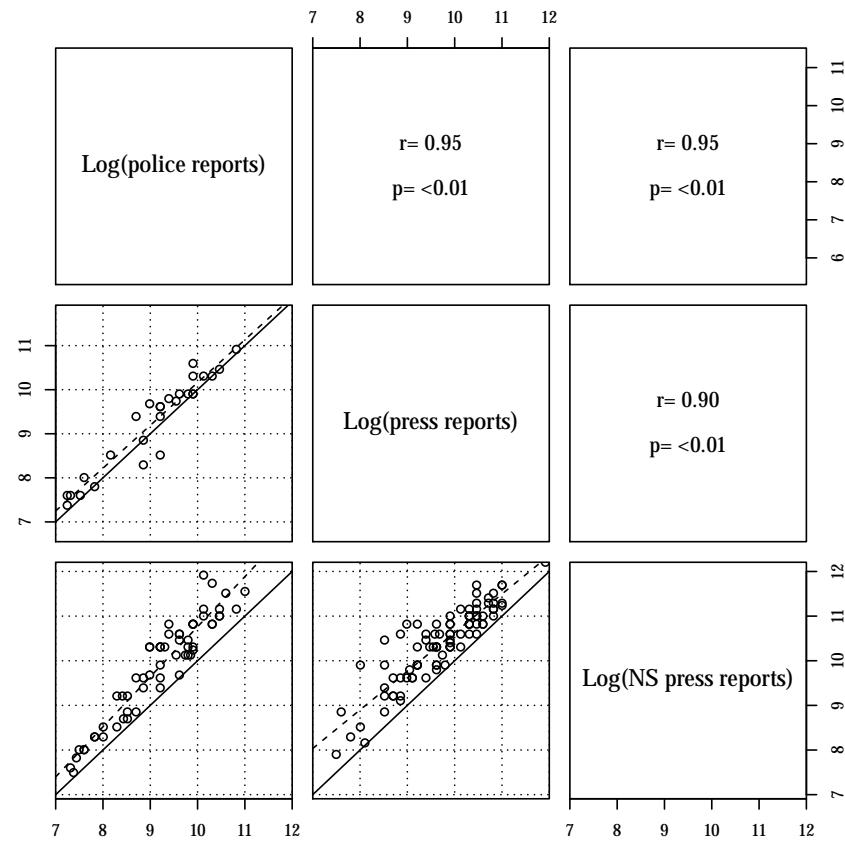
Table C1: Summary statistics of reported audience size, by source.

	Min.	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max.	NA's	Total
Police reports	200	2,000	4,550	9,671.068	11,000	100,000	265	1,837,503
Press	700	5,125	12,500	20,191.82	30,000	150,000	301	3,109,540
Nazi press	1,000	10,000	30,000	35,869.4	50,000	200,000	272	6,564,100
Police reports, imputed	200	2,700	7,000	12,471.53	17,627	100,000	93	4,514,693

Table C2: Summary statistics for public speeches and audience counts, by election period. The column N_{speeches}^* summarizes speeches for which an estimate of the audience count is available.

	N_{speeches}	N_{speeches}^*	$\text{Sum}_{\text{audience}}$	$\text{Mean}_{\text{audience}}$
May 1928	84	57	107,366	1,884
Sep 1930	92	62	304,794	4,916
Jul 1932	189	172	3,184,345	18,514
Nov 1932	54	49	789,810	16,119
May 1933	36	22	128,378	5,835
Total	455	362	4,514,693	12,472

Figure C2: Comparison of various reports on audience size at Hitler's public appearances.



D Specifying exposure

In order to determine which county and municipality units were exposed to a public appearances and which not, the geo-point data on Hitler’s appearances on the one hand and the municipality/county point data on the other have to be matched. Therefore, we draw radii of varying length around the places of appearance. Each administrative unit that falls within a radius is considered an exposed observation. We employ a set of four different radii—5km, 10km, 25km, and 50km—to be able to test for potential spillover effects and possible violations of the non-interference assumption.

While spillover effects certainly have a substantial component—we can plausibly hypothesize that speeches held at a particular place not only affected electoral outcomes, but also had an impact on neighboring units because voters in these neighboring units also were exposed to the appearance—they can also bear a methodological problem: We do not know anything about the existence and scope of spillover effects *a priori*. If we chose radii that are too narrow, units that contain exposed voters are wrongly used as control units and, if those units are compared to the exposed units, we would underestimate the true effect. Similarly, if we chose radii that are too large, we would assign exposure to factual control units, which would also lead to a downward bias. The crux of the matter is that, after all, the radius is an artificial criterion of exposure assignment and we cannot assume it to have strong implications for being exposed or not (compare this to recent advances in causal inference based on geographic natural experiments, e.g., [Keele, Titiunik and Zubizarreta, 2015](#); [Keele and Titiunik, 2016](#)). Rather, we try to approximate the propensity of voters in an administrative unit to being or not being exposed to one of Hitler’s speeches. We would not want to match municipalities or counties that are very close to each other, with one being just inside the radius and the other just outside of it, as both can be assumed to have roughly the same propensity of exposure. To guard against such interferences, we introduce an additional buffer zone between exposed and control units. Figure 2 in the paper illustrates our strategy. Red dots indicate places of appearance. Blue radii cover administrative units (blue dots) within a 10km radius of the event location. Green radii cover an area within 20km of the event. For other radius specifications, we add another 10km to determine the buffer zone. Observations that are outside of any exposure zone but inside the green radius (green dots) are neither considered exposed nor used as controls. Units outside of any no-matching buffer zone (black dots) are potential control units. We then perform exact matching on the no-matching buffer zone indicator to ensure that exposed units are only matched with control units that are outside of any no-matching buffer zone. For sure, this results in a reduction of available control units, but a potential increase in variance buys us a reduction in bias.

In addition to the spatial dimension, we also consider the timing of a public speech relative to an upcoming election. In the default specification, we employ the arguably naive assumption that timing plays a very limited role and every appearance between two elections has the same potential effect on electoral outcomes, regardless of whether it took place shortly after the previous election or just a few weeks before the election at which the outcome is measured. This assumption might seem overly simplistic, but given the

intensified campaigning efforts shortly before elections (see again Figure 1 in the paper), the sample of speeches considered under this rule is sometimes not too different from more restrictive specifications that only consider speeches held during the election campaign (see Tables D1 and D2). Nevertheless, to be able to account for possible extenuating effects, we also employ specifications of the exposure variable where only public speeches held within 12, 8, 4, or 2 weeks before the election are considered.

All in all, we employ $4 \times 5 = 20$ (number of radius times number of time periods) different specifications of the exposure variable per election. Tables D1 and D2 provide an overview of the number of exposed, buffer and control units, separated by election and exposure variable specification.

Table D1: Exposure, buffer, and control units, by election and exposure variable specification.

Election	Status	5km radius of exposure				10km radius of exposure					
		Full period	12 weeks	8 weeks	4 weeks	2 weeks	Full period	12 weeks	8 weeks	4 weeks	2 weeks
Sep 1930	Exposed	76	36	34	28	19	104	55	53	43	32
	Buffer	59	38	36	26	21	86	46	42	27	18
	Control	865	926	930	946	960	810	899	905	930	950
Jul 1932	Exposed	173	100	85	79	68	219	131	115	111	99
	Buffer	109	73	69	63	60	149	104	94	84	79
	Control	718	827	846	858	872	632	765	791	805	822
Nov 1932	Exposed	78	78	78	77	40	104	104	104	103	61
	Buffer	54	54	54	53	35	76	76	76	76	34
	Control	821	821	821	823	878	773	773	773	774	858
Mar 1933	Exposed	39	31	29	23	18	56	46	46	36	31
	Buffer	45	37	35	29	22	68	47	40	34	22
	Control	869	885	889	901	913	829	860	867	883	900

Table D2: Exposure, buffer, and control units, by election and exposure variable specification, *continued*.

Election	Status	25km radius of exposure				50km radius of exposure					
		Full period	12 weeks	8 weeks	4 weeks	2 weeks	Full period	12 weeks	8 weeks	4 weeks	2 weeks
Sep 1930	Exposed	259	131	118	85	57	537	291	273	198	127
	Buffer	130	63	54	32	22	83	70	60	52	28
	Control	611	806	828	883	921	380	639	667	750	845
Jul 1932	Exposed	465	318	290	269	245	857	682	634	622	574
	Buffer	196	156	144	144	136	77	118	119	117	121
	Control	339	526	566	587	619	66	200	247	261	305
Nov 1932	Exposed	249	249	249	248	137	572	572	572	569	314
	Buffer	136	136	136	137	64	94	94	94	96	63
	Control	568	568	568	568	752	287	287	287	288	576
Mar 1933	Exposed	156	116	110	87	57	342	263	261	209	127
	Buffer	76	60	64	49	25	84	78	74	55	38
	Control	721	777	779	817	871	527	612	618	689	788

E Measuring competitiveness

In this section, we detail the calculation of our competitiveness measures. The electoral system governing the election of the Reichstag, in combination with a strong presidency, has often been considered one of the main culprits responsible for the breakdown of the Weimar Republic (e.g., Myerson, 2004; Shugart and Carey, 1992). It divided the country into 35 primary districts that were nested in 16 secondary districts. Seats were allocated at the primary and secondary district level as well as the national level, which constituted the highest electoral tier. An 'automatic' apportionment method was used according to which a party list received one seat per 60,000 voters at the level of the primary districts. This implied that the size of the parliament was not fixed, but varied according to the number of voters turning out at an election. Surplus votes were pooled for list apparentments at the secondary district level, and eventually, at the national level, and once again, one seat was given to the strongest list within an apparentment for 60,000 surplus votes, provided that one of the constituent lists received at least 30,000 surplus votes at the level of the primary districts. Despite its compensational mechanisms, the electoral system thus provided mobilization incentives at the levels of the primary and secondary districts which we quantify in terms of the actual party vote shares at the previous election. At the primary district level, we measure the NSDAP's competitiveness in terms of the closeness to gaining an additional seat and to losing the current seat at the district level, respectively. To illustrate, imagine a primary electoral district where the NSDAP won 250'000 votes at the previous election. The NSDAP would have been initially allotted 4 seats at the district level, since $\lfloor 250,000/60,000 \rfloor = 4$, and the number of surplus votes would be 10,000, since $250,000 - 4 * 60,000 = 10,000$. With 10,000 surplus votes, the NSDAP would have been closer to losing its final seat than to winning another primary district seat since this would require an additional $5 * 60,000 - 250,000 = 50,000$ votes. The value of our index of competitiveness at the level of this particular primary district would then be $\max(250,000 - 4 * 60,000, 5 * 60,000 - 250,000)/60,000 = 0.83$. More generally, the calculation can be written as

$$\text{comp_1} = \max(n.\text{votes} - n.\text{seats} \times q, (n.\text{seats} + 1) \times q - n.\text{votes}) \times q^{-1}, \quad (4)$$

where $n.\text{votes}$ is the number of votes gained by the NSDAP in a primary district at the previous election, $n.\text{seats}$ is the number of seats won in that district, and $q = 60,000$ is the electoral quota. Competitiveness in the secondary districts is calculated as

$$\text{comp_2} = (q - \sum(n.\text{votes} - n.\text{seats} \times q) - \lfloor \sum(n.\text{votes} - n.\text{seats} \times q) \times q^{-1} \rfloor) \times q^{-1}, \quad (5)$$

where $\sum(n.\text{votes} - n.\text{seats} \times q)$ is the number of surplus votes summed over all the primary districts that belong to a given secondary district, and $\lfloor \sum(n.\text{votes} - n.\text{seats} \times q) \times q^{-1} \rfloor$ is the number of seats won at the secondary district level. If $\sum(n.\text{votes} - n.\text{seats} \times q) < q/2$ for all the primary districts, then $\text{comp_2} = 0$ according to the above rule.

F Estimating county-level NSDAP membership

We use two existing digitized samples from the original NSDAP membership indices archived at the Berlin Document Center to generate estimates of county-level NSDAP membership totals. The sampling procedure for each of these samples is described in more detail in [Schneider-Haase \(1991\)](#).

Both files are sorted alphabetically and stored in several thousand card boxes. In the early nineties, two research teams, one from Berlin, the other from Minneapolis, drew one sample each from both files, resulting in four different samples. Overall, about 40,000 observations were registered. The basic sampling design in all cases was based on a combination of cluster samples to (randomly) select a subset of card boxes. Next, about half of the cards were selected from each of these boxes. Depending on the year of interest, all members (for those who entered the party before 1930) or just the first five or six (depending on the research group; but in any case for observations between 1930 and 1933) cases entered the sample. This quota component was introduced to account for the fact that the total number of members was very small before 1930, and exploded in the years after.

To generate sampling weights that can be used to estimate NSDAP membership totals, we proceed as follows: First, we correct for the fact that the files contained cards not part of the population frame. Approximately 1.2 to 2.8% of the cards stemmed from a local (Franconian) register and about 6.5% referred to Austrian members ([Botz, 1980](#); [Schneider-Haase, 1991](#)). We account for this by subtracting the corresponding fractions (we take the average of 2% to account for the Franconian register) from the assumed total of card boxes, which defines our population size. Next, we use information on the overall number of master file card boxes and the number of randomly selected boxes for each sample to compute selection probabilities, the inverse of which give us our population weights. For instance, to generate weights for observations sampled from the blue boxes, by the Berlin team, we calculate:

$$\text{weight}_{\text{berlin}}^{\text{blue}} = \left(\frac{n_{\text{blue}\&\text{berlin}}}{N_{\text{blue}}} * 0.5 \right)^{-1} \quad (6)$$

The 0.5 factor accounts for the fact that two independent samples are considered. We proceed analogously for observations drawn from the green boxes and/or the Minneapolis team. For observations in the sample that entered NSDAP after 1929, we have to account for the quota component of the sample design. Recall that 5 to 6 cards for each of the years 1930 to 1933 were selected from each box, regardless of the overall number of cards. To still be able to generate sampling weights for these observations, we use information from a previous sample drawn by [Kater \(1980\)](#) to calculate year-specific drawing probabilities. The distribution of observations in the Kater sample by year is reported in Table F1. In these cases, we adapt the calculation of the weights accordingly:

$$\text{weight}_{\text{berlin}}^{\text{blue}} = \left(\frac{n_{\text{blue}\&\text{berlin}}}{N_{\text{blue}}} * 0.5 \right)^{-1} * \text{rel.share}_{\text{kater}}^{\text{blue}} * \frac{n_{\text{blue}}^*}{5} / 2 \quad (7)$$

That is, we multiply the original weight with the year-specific empirical share of memberships from the Kater sample ($\text{rel.share}^{\text{kater}}$, e.g. 0.02 for 1930; see again Table F1). The last term accounts for the fact that just five (as illustrated) or six cards were selected from the box, which hold an average size of n^* cards.

It is difficult to tell whether one or the other sample should be regarded as more representative of the unknown population. Therefore, we combine them by re-calibrating the weights according to the associated sample sizes. For instance, we would multiply the previously generated weight of an observation sampled from the blue box by the Berlin team with $\frac{n_{\text{blue}\&\text{berlin}}}{N_{\text{total}}}$.

To generate county estimates of NSDAP membership, we cumulate weighted county-level membership counts until election date (making the simplifying assumption that there are no resignations or deaths, as we do not have information about either of those).

Table F2 reports national-level estimates of NSDAP member totals prior to each election. We see a strong rise in memberships between the 1930 Reichstag and 1932 presidential elections. Note that these figures are substantively below those published by the NSDAP

Table F1: NSDAP membership sample as reported in [Kater \(1980\)](#); quoted in [Schneider-Haase \(1991, 117\)](#).

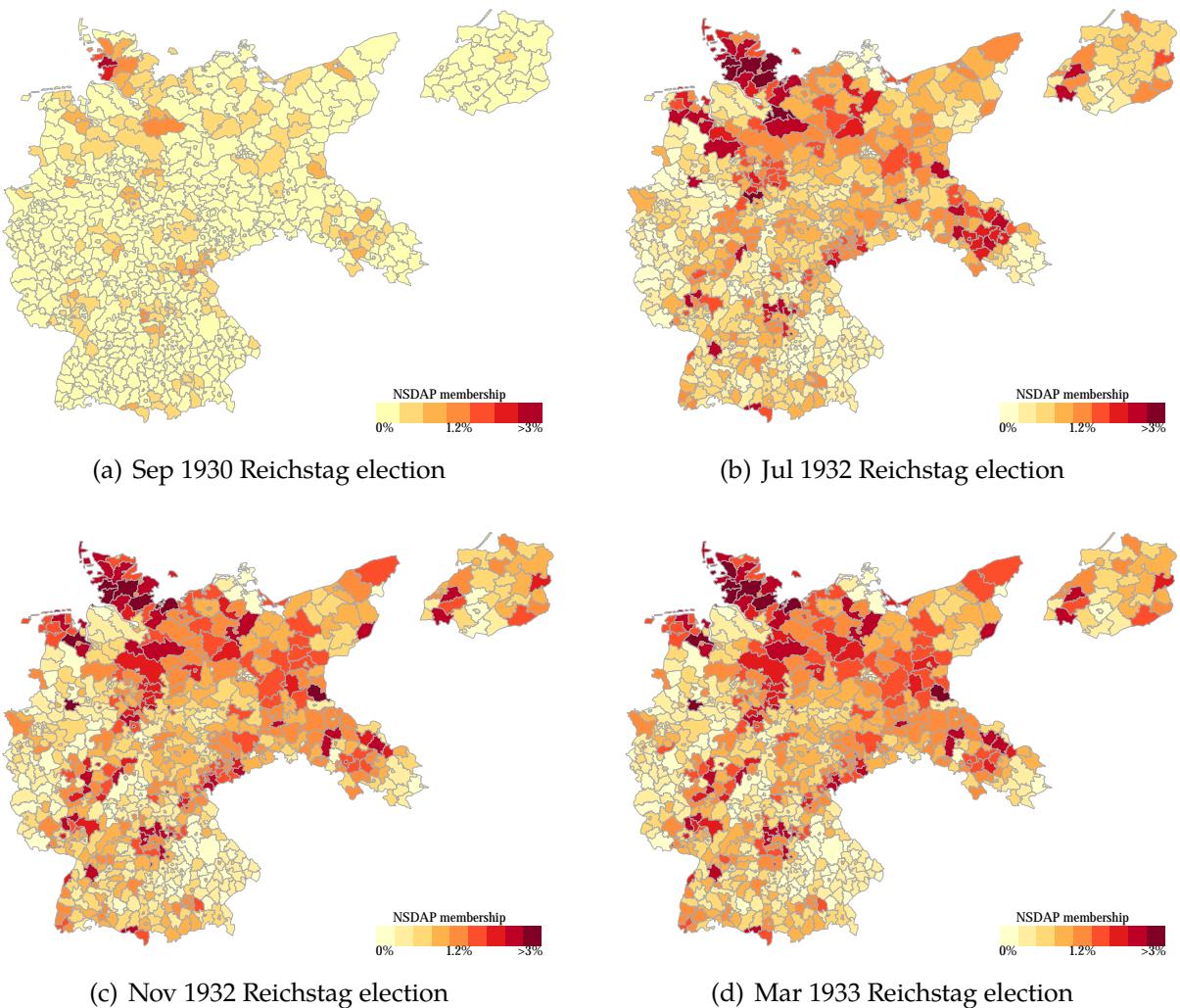
	Absolute	Relative	Cumulated	Cumulated share
1925	34	0.002	34	0.002
1926	32	0.002	66	0.004
1927	23	0.001	89	0.005
1928	43	0.002	132	0.007
1929	112	0.006	244	0.013
1930	361	0.020	605	0.033
1931	829	0.045	1434	0.079
1932	905	0.050	2339	0.128
1933	3502	0.192	5841	0.320
1934	37	0.002	5878	0.322
1935	223	0.012	6101	0.334
1936	190	0.010	6291	0.345
1937	4330	0.237	10621	0.582
1938	314	0.017	10935	0.599
1939	1231	0.067	12166	0.666
1940	2217	0.121	14383	0.788
1941	1054	0.058	15437	0.846
1942	872	0.048	16309	0.893
1943	749	0.041	17058	0.934
1944	1196	0.066	18254	1.000
1945	1	0.000	18255	1.000

Table F2: Estimate of aggregate number of NSDAP members before Reichstag/Presidential elections, 1928-1933.

Election	Estimate
1928-05-20	30056
1930-09-14	125225
1932-03-13	478948
1932-04-10	500242
1932-07-31	556161
1932-11-06	638674
1933-03-05	655216

itself, which amount to over a million at the time of the Nazi seizure of power in 1933 ([Volz, 1939](#)).

Figure F1: NSDAP membership estimates at the county level.



G Geocoding historical airfields

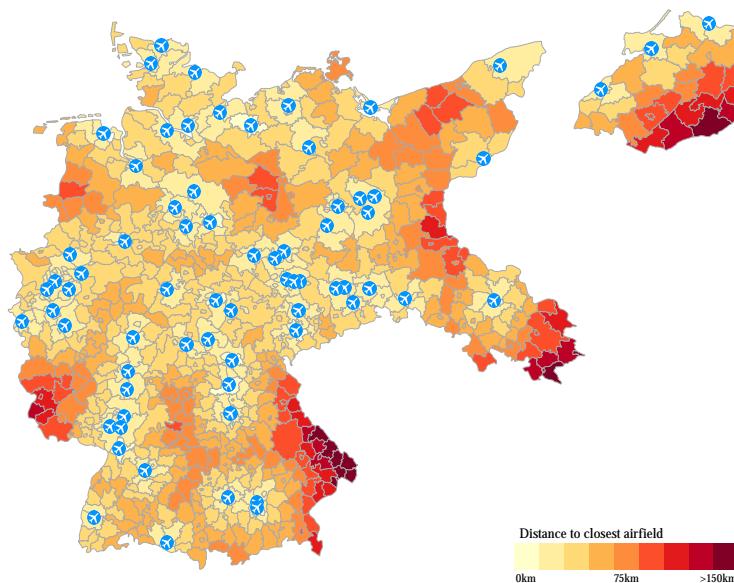
We consulted several online sources to identify civilian airfields that were operated in the German Empire at the time of Hitler's aircraft-supported campaign in 1932. In particular, we gathered information from the German Wikipedia, which provides several lists of still existing and former airfields under the following URLs:

- https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_der_Verkehrslandepl%C3%A4tze_mit_IFR-Zulassung
- https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_der_Verkehrs-_und_Sonderlandepl%C3%A4tze_in_Deutschland
- https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_der_ehemaligen_Verkehrsflugh%C3%A4fen_in_Deutschland
- https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kategorie:Ehemaliger_Flugplatz

Further, we crawled the website <http://www.forgottenairfields.com/>, which hosts a collection of former airfields in various countries.

We selected only those airfields and airports that were in operation in 1932 and located in the boarders of the German Empire. Further, we excluded airfields on small islands that were an unlikely target for campaign appearances (in fact, according to our data Hitler never spoke publicly on one of these islands) to prevent them from biasing our distance measure. Overall, we identified 70 airfields. See Figure G1 for a map of the respective locations.

Figure G1: Location of civilian airfields in the German Empire, 1932. Administrative counties are shaded according to their centroid's distance to the closest airfield.



H Descriptives

Table H1: Summary statistics, Sep 1930 election

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Appearance within 5km radius	1,000	0.076	0.265	0	1
Appearance within 10km radius	1,000	0.104	0.305	0	1
Appearance within 25km radius	1,000	0.259	0.438	0	1
Appearance within 50km radius	1,000	0.537	0.499	0	1
Previous NSDAP vote share	1,000	0.154	0.072	0.009	0.416
Turnout	1,000	0.809	0.064	0.567	0.950
Competitiveness 1	1,000	0.544	0.254	0.142	0.980
Competitiveness 2	1,000	0.404	0.314	0.039	0.924
Number of eligibles	1,000	0.410	0.604	0.015	8.554
Organizational strength	1,000	0.117	0.182	0.000	2.544
Distance to nearest airfield	1,000	0.424	0.302	0.003	1.694
Goebbels appearance	1,000	0.079	0.270	0	1

Table H2: Summary statistics, 1930 election (municipality-level data)

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Appearance within 5km radius	3,864	0.027	0.163	0	1
Appearance within 10km radius	3,864	0.070	0.255	0	1
Appearance within 25km radius	3,864	0.254	0.435	0	1
Appearance within 50km radius	3,864	0.538	0.499	0	1
Previous NSDAP vote share	3,864	0.150	0.087	0.003	0.678
Turnout	3,864	0.820	0.078	0.371	1.000
Competitiveness 1	3,864	0.545	0.259	0.142	0.980
Competitiveness 2	3,864	0.393	0.302	0.039	0.924
Number of eligibles	3,864	0.106	0.331	0.006	8.554
Organizational strength	3,864	0.131	0.159	0.000	2.544
Distance to nearest airfield	3,864	0.388	0.272	0.003	1.694
Goebbels appearance	3,864	0.060	0.237	0	1

Table H3: Summary statistics, 1932 Presidential election (2nd round)

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Appearance within 5km radius	685	0.028	0.164	0	1
Appearance within 10km radius	685	0.047	0.211	0	1
Appearance within 25km radius	685	0.127	0.333	0	1
Appearance within 50km radius	685	0.369	0.483	0	1
Previous NSDAP vote share	685	0.000	0.000	0	0
Turnout	685	0.839	0.051	0.646	0.946
Number of eligibles	685	0.398	0.565	0.019	8.742
Organizational strength	685	0.435	0.533	0.000	5.387
Distance to nearest airfield	685	0.446	0.302	0.003	1.694
Goebbels appearance	685	0.001	0.038	0	1

Table H4: Summary statistics, Jul 1932 election

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Appearance within 5km radius	1,000	0.173	0.378	0	1
Appearance within 10km radius	1,000	0.219	0.414	0	1
Appearance within 25km radius	1,000	0.465	0.499	0	1
Appearance within 50km radius	1,000	0.857	0.350	0	1
Previous NSDAP vote share	1,000	0.329	0.128	0.051	0.757
Turnout	1,000	0.836	0.061	0.542	0.951
Competitiveness 1	1,000	0.727	0.138	0.523	0.998
Competitiveness 2	1,000	0.532	0.304	0.077	0.970
Number of eligibles	1,000	0.435	0.612	0.019	8.447
Organizational strength	1,000	0.529	0.712	0.000	7.446
Distance to nearest airfield	1,000	0.423	0.303	0.003	1.694
Goebbels appearance	1,000	0.069	0.254	0	1

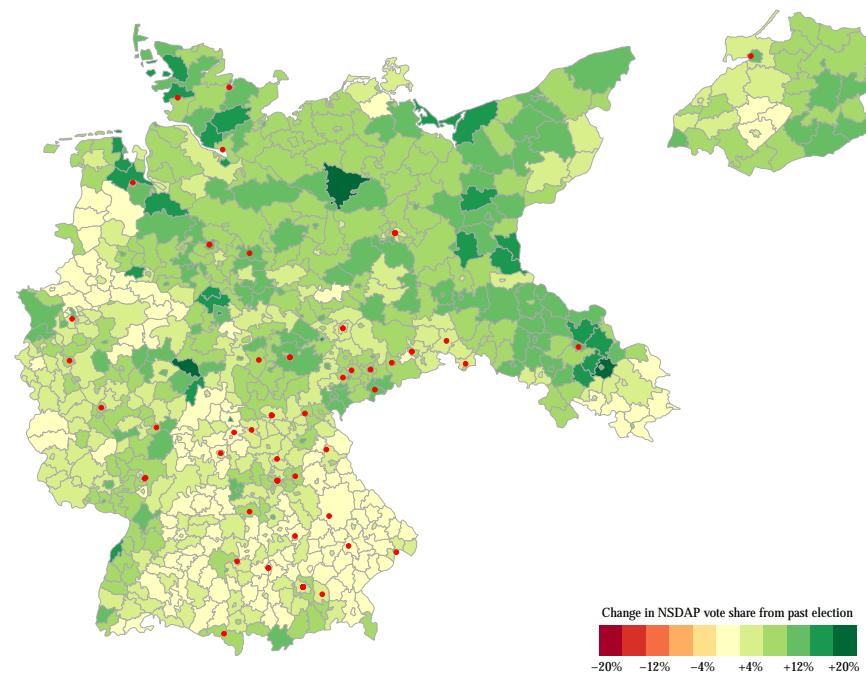
Table H5: Summary statistics, Nov 1932 election

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Appearance within 5km radius	953	0.082	0.274	0	1
Appearance within 10km radius	953	0.109	0.312	0	1
Appearance within 25km radius	953	0.261	0.440	0	1
Appearance within 50km radius	953	0.600	0.490	0	1
Previous NSDAP vote share	953	0.279	0.115	0.043	0.686
Turnout	953	0.799	0.070	0.492	0.983
Competitiveness 1	953	0.759	0.148	0.518	0.993
Competitiveness 2	953	0.416	0.318	0.002	0.979
Number of eligibles	953	0.459	0.648	0.019	8.689
Organizational strength	953	0.622	0.844	0.003	9.067
Distance to nearest airfield	953	0.423	0.307	0.003	1.694
Goebbels appearance	953	0.021	0.143	0	1

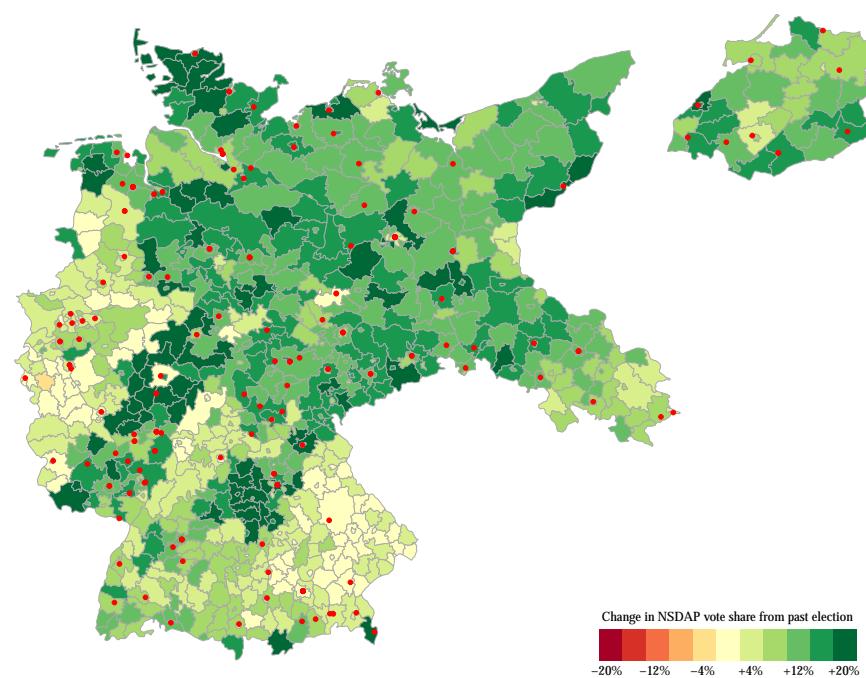
Table H6: Summary statistics, Mar 1933 election

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Appearance within 5km radius	953	0.041	0.198	0	1
Appearance within 10km radius	953	0.059	0.235	0	1
Appearance within 25km radius	953	0.164	0.370	0	1
Appearance within 50km radius	953	0.359	0.480	0	1
Previous NSDAP vote share	953	0.412	0.109	0.117	0.791
Turnout	953	0.886	0.037	0.697	0.960
Competitiveness 1	953	0.767	0.133	0.508	0.972
Competitiveness 2	953	0.534	0.302	0.049	0.852
Number of eligibles	953	0.463	0.653	0.019	8.718
Organizational strength	953	0.637	0.865	0.003	9.199
Distance to nearest airfield	953	0.423	0.307	0.003	1.694
Goebbels appearance	953	0.033	0.177	0	1

Figure H1: Change in county-level NSDAP vote shares from election to election. Red dots indicate Hitler appearances between elections.

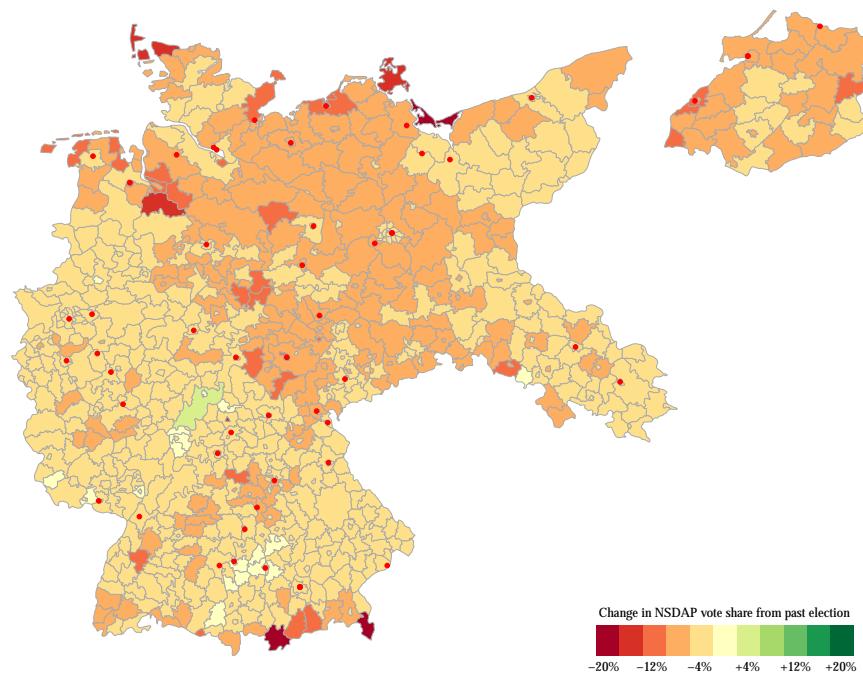


(a) May 1928 to Sep 1930 Reichstag election

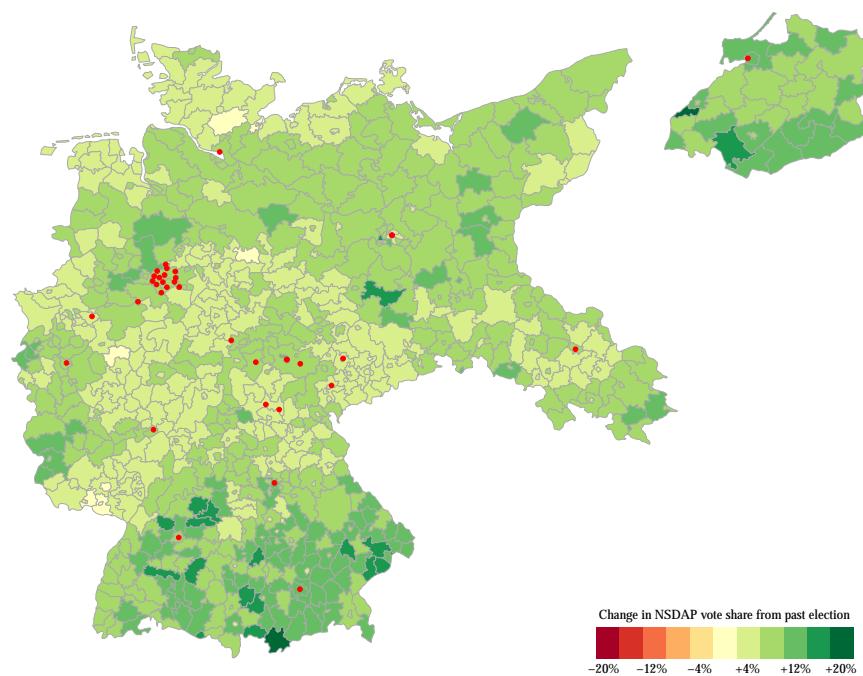


(b) Sep 1930 to Jul 1932 Reichstag election

Figure H2: Change in NSDAP vote shares from election to election, at county level. Red dots indicate Hitler's public speeches held between two elections.



(a) Jul 1932 to Nov 1932 Reichstag election



(b) Nov 1932 to Mar 1933 Reichstag election

I Supporting tables and figures

Table I1: Effects of exposure to Hitler appearance on NSDAP/Hitler vote share.

	Sep 1930		Sep 1930 (mun.)		Apr 1932 (P)		Jul 1932		Nov 1932		Mar 1933	
Time trend	0.132*** (0.002)	0.127*** (0.009)	0.132*** (0.002)	0.124*** (0.009)	0.047*** (0.001)	0.040*** (0.004)	0.180*** (0.003)	0.193*** (0.006)	-0.044*** (0.001)	-0.049*** (0.003)	0.122*** (0.002)	0.111*** (0.004)
Base rate difference	0.006* (0.003)	0.003 (0.004)	0.006* (0.003)	0.002 (0.005)	-0.071*** (0.014)	0.005 (0.018)	-0.008 (0.005)	-0.012* (0.007)	-0.046*** (0.012)	-0.005 (0.017)	-0.054*** (0.011)	0.033 (0.021)
Exposure, 10km	-0.008 (0.005)	0.004 (0.012)	-0.008 (0.005)	0.010 (0.013)	0.004 (0.003)	0.012** (0.005)	-0.038** (0.006)	-0.023** (0.009)	0.004 (0.003)	0.002 (0.004)	-0.013*** (0.004)	0.005 (0.007)
(Intercept)	0.018*** (0.001)	0.023*** (0.003)	0.018*** (0.001)	0.023*** (0.004)	0.273*** (0.005)	0.207*** (0.010)	0.153*** (0.003)	0.162*** (0.005)	0.322*** (0.004)	0.312*** (0.011)	0.277*** (0.004)	0.235*** (0.015)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	1000	150	3864	432	685	52	991	320	948	168	952	72
Adjusted R ²	0.656	0.647	0.608	0.628	0.099	0.107	0.468	0.527	0.072	0.066	0.308	0.380

Note:

Diff-in-diff models with number of actual voters as population weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I2: Effects of exposure to Hitler appearance on KPD/Thälmann vote share.

	Sep 1930		Sep 1930 (mun.)		Apr 1932 (P)		Jul 1932		Nov 1932		Mar 1933	
Time trend	0.029*** (0.001)	0.035*** (0.004)	0.029*** (0.001)	0.031*** (0.004)	-0.027*** (0.001)	-0.031*** (0.002)	0.016*** (0.001)	0.014*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.001)	0.017*** (0.002)	-0.025*** (0.001)	-0.027*** (0.002)
Base rate difference	0.062*** (0.011)	0.024* (0.014)	0.062*** (0.011)	0.011 (0.013)	0.087*** (0.016)	0.054*** (0.018)	0.055*** (0.008)	0.014 (0.009)	0.050*** (0.011)	-0.001 (0.013)	0.073*** (0.014)	-0.024 (0.017)
Exposure, 10km	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.008* (0.005)	-0.004* (0.002)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.012*** (0.004)	-0.008 (0.005)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.004 (0.002)	0.005* (0.003)	-0.006* (0.004)	-0.008*** (0.003)	0.004 (0.005)
(Intercept)	0.061*** (0.003)	0.079*** (0.009)	0.061*** (0.002)	0.076*** (0.009)	0.097*** (0.004)	0.120*** (0.010)	0.082*** (0.003)	0.092*** (0.006)	0.110*** (0.003)	0.128*** (0.009)	0.123*** (0.003)	0.169*** (0.013)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	1000	150	3864	432	685	52	991	320	948	168	952	72
Adjusted R ²	0.177	0.071	0.151	0.048	0.232	0.226	0.145	0.013	0.106	0.007	0.178	0.076

Note:

Diff-in-diff models with number of actual voters as population weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I3: Effects of exposure to Hitler appearance on turnout.

	Sep 1930		Sep 1930 (mun.)		Apr 1932 (P)		Jul 1932		Nov 1932		Mar 1933	
Time trend	0.066*** (0.002)	0.086*** (0.008)	0.061*** (0.002)	0.077*** (0.008)	-0.024*** (0.002)	-0.034*** (0.006)	0.028*** (0.002)	0.026*** (0.003)	-0.035*** (0.001)	-0.030*** (0.004)	0.083*** (0.001)	0.083*** (0.006)
Base rate difference	0.021** (0.010)	0.034** (0.014)	0.015* (0.009)	0.018 (0.014)	0.003 (0.014)	0.014 (0.007)	0.013** (0.014)	-0.0004 (0.005)	-0.010* (0.007)	-0.011 (0.006)	-0.003 (0.009)	0.011 (0.010)
Exposure, 10km	-0.009 (0.006)	-0.024** (0.010)	-0.008 (0.005)	-0.019** (0.009)	-0.014*** (0.004)	-0.003 (0.008)	-0.014*** (0.003)	-0.006 (0.005)	0.006 (0.005)	-0.009 (0.006)	-0.007 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.007)
(Intercept)	0.750*** (0.003)	0.739*** (0.011)	0.761*** (0.002)	0.752*** (0.011)	0.860*** (0.003)	0.855*** (0.013)	0.813*** (0.003)	0.823*** (0.005)	0.842*** (0.005)	0.853*** (0.002)	0.806*** (0.003)	0.803*** (0.006)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	1000	150	3864	432	685	52	991	320	948	168	952	72
Adjusted R ²	0.204	0.317	0.159	0.251	0.073	0.209	0.043	0.046	0.086	0.133	0.423	0.568

Note:

Diff-in-diff models with number of actual voters as population weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I4: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on NSDAP vote share at the 1930 national parliamentary election using community-level data with varying radius of exposure specifications.

	... 5km		... 10km		... 25km		... 50km	
Time trend	0.131*** (0.002)	0.106*** (0.012)	0.132*** (0.002)	0.124*** (0.009)	0.134*** (0.002)	0.138*** (0.006)	0.135*** (0.003)	0.136*** (0.005)
Base rate difference	0.009** (0.004)	0.004 (0.006)	0.006* (0.003)	0.002 (0.005)	0.008*** (0.002)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.010*** (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)
Exposure, radius of...	-0.004 (0.006)	0.024* (0.015)	-0.008 (0.005)	0.010 (0.013)	-0.009** (0.004)	-0.018** (0.007)	-0.009** (0.004)	-0.014** (0.007)
(Intercept)	0.018*** (0.001)	0.022*** (0.005)	0.018*** (0.001)	0.023*** (0.004)	0.017*** (0.001)	0.023*** (0.002)	0.014*** (0.001)	0.017*** (0.001)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	3864	178	3864	432	3864	1216	3864	1352
Adjusted R ²	0.608	0.641	0.608	0.628	0.608	0.588	0.609	0.595

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I5: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on KPD vote share at the 1930 national parliamentary election using community-level data with varying radius of exposure specifications.

	... 5km		... 10km		... 25km		... 50km	
Time trend	0.028*** (0.001)	0.036*** (0.006)	0.029*** (0.001)	0.031*** (0.004)	0.028*** (0.001)	0.026*** (0.001)	0.026*** (0.001)	0.024*** (0.001)
Base rate difference	0.042*** (0.011)	0.005 (0.018)	0.062*** (0.011)	0.011 (0.013)	0.054*** (0.008)	0.055*** (0.012)	0.048*** (0.006)	0.017** (0.007)
Exposure, radius of...	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.011* (0.006)	-0.004* (0.002)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)
(Intercept)	0.070*** (0.004)	0.084*** (0.012)	0.061*** (0.002)	0.076*** (0.009)	0.056*** (0.003)	0.052*** (0.004)	0.048*** (0.002)	0.050*** (0.004)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	3864	178	3864	432	3864	1216	3864	1352
Adjusted R ²	0.078	0.048	0.151	0.048	0.149	0.138	0.124	0.054

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I6: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on turnout at the 1930 national parliamentary election using community-level data with varying radius of exposure specifications.

	... 5km		... 10km		... 25km		... 50km	
Time trend	0.064*** (0.002)	0.080*** (0.012)	0.066*** (0.002)	0.077*** (0.008)	0.066*** (0.002)	0.076*** (0.005)	0.064*** (0.002)	0.071*** (0.004)
Base rate difference	0.011 (0.013)	0.024 (0.019)	0.021** (0.010)	0.018 (0.014)	0.022*** (0.007)	0.032*** (0.010)	0.019*** (0.006)	0.018** (0.008)
Exposure, radius of...	-0.004 (0.007)	-0.029** (0.013)	-0.010* (0.006)	-0.019** (0.009)	-0.007* (0.004)	-0.025*** (0.006)	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.010** (0.005)
(Intercept)	0.754*** (0.002)	0.749*** (0.016)	0.750*** (0.002)	0.752*** (0.011)	0.747*** (0.003)	0.738*** (0.008)	0.744*** (0.004)	0.734*** (0.007)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	3864	178	3864	432	3864	1216	3864	1352
Adjusted R ²	0.159	0.254	0.165	0.251	0.171	0.174	0.170	0.148

Note:

DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I7: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on NSDAP vote share at the 1930 national parliamentary election with varying time span specifications.

	... 12 weeks		... 8 weeks		... 4 weeks		... 2 weeks	
Time trend	0.132*** (0.002)	0.118*** (0.013)	0.132*** (0.002)	0.125*** (0.013)	0.132*** (0.002)	0.134*** (0.014)	0.131*** (0.002)	0.087*** (0.015)
Base rate difference	0.004 (0.005)	-0.002 (0.007)	0.004 (0.005)	0.00004 (0.006)	0.004 (0.005)	0.005 (0.008)	0.005 (0.006)	-0.003 (0.009)
Exposure, time span of...	-0.013** (0.006)	0.001 (0.017)	-0.013** (0.006)	-0.005 (0.017)	-0.012* (0.007)	-0.017 (0.023)	-0.010 (0.008)	0.075*** (0.023)
(Intercept)	0.019*** (0.001)	0.026*** (0.006)	0.019*** (0.001)	0.023*** (0.005)	0.019*** (0.001)	0.020*** (0.005)	0.019*** (0.001)	0.019*** (0.006)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	1000	56	1000	52	1000	36	1000	16
Adjusted R ²	0.657	0.662	0.657	0.708	0.656	0.737	0.656	0.846

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I8: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on KPD vote share at the 1930 national parliamentary election with varying time span specifications.

	... 12 weeks		... 8 weeks		... 4 weeks		... 2 weeks	
Time trend	0.028*** (0.001)	0.032*** (0.003)	0.028*** (0.001)	0.026*** (0.003)	0.028*** (0.001)	0.036*** (0.006)	0.029*** (0.001)	0.036*** (0.010)
Base rate difference	0.070*** (0.014)	0.012 (0.015)	0.070*** (0.014)	0.045*** (0.015)	0.072*** (0.017)	0.037* (0.019)	0.080*** (0.019)	-0.008 (0.028)
Exposure, time span of...	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.004 (0.005)	-0.004* (0.002)	-0.003 (0.009)	-0.006** (0.002)	-0.008 (0.011)
(Intercept)	0.064*** (0.003)	0.081*** (0.010)	0.064*** (0.003)	0.048*** (0.009)	0.066*** (0.003)	0.055*** (0.010)	0.067*** (0.003)	0.092*** (0.013)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	1000	56	1000	52	1000	36	1000	16
Adjusted R ²	0.182	0.064	0.183	0.228	0.167	0.196	0.176	0.021

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I9: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on turnout at the 1930 national parliamentary election with varying time span specifications.

	... 12 weeks		... 8 weeks		... 4 weeks		... 2 weeks	
Time trend	0.062*** (0.002)	0.086*** (0.014)	0.062*** (0.002)	0.081*** (0.017)	0.063*** (0.002)	0.106*** (0.016)	0.064*** (0.002)	0.094*** (0.013)
Base rate difference	0.005 (0.012)	0.023 (0.024)	0.005 (0.012)	0.011 (0.028)	0.007 (0.013)	0.031 (0.026)	0.026*** (0.008)	0.019 (0.022)
Exposure, time span of...	-0.012* (0.007)	-0.024 (0.016)	-0.012* (0.007)	-0.018 (0.018)	-0.016** (0.007)	-0.043** (0.020)	-0.026*** (0.006)	-0.043*** (0.015)
(Intercept)	0.762*** (0.003)	0.730*** (0.019)	0.762*** (0.003)	0.742*** (0.024)	0.762*** (0.003)	0.712*** (0.021)	0.759*** (0.004)	0.746*** (0.018)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	1000	56	1000	52	1000	36	1000	16
Adjusted R ²	0.189	0.318	0.189	0.297	0.190	0.425	0.197	0.398

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I10: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on NSDAP vote share at the 1930 national parliamentary election, using municipal-level data, with varying time span specifications.

	... 12 weeks		... 8 weeks		... 4 weeks		... 2 weeks	
Time trend	0.132*** (0.002)	0.109*** (0.013)	0.132*** (0.002)	0.101*** (0.012)	0.132*** (0.002)	0.107*** (0.012)	0.131*** (0.002)	0.120*** (0.019)
Base rate difference	0.004 (0.005)	0.001 (0.005)	0.004 (0.005)	0.008* (0.004)	0.004 (0.005)	-0.007 (0.009)	0.005 (0.006)	0.013 (0.013)
Exposure, time span of...	-0.013** (0.006)	0.009 (0.017)	-0.013** (0.006)	0.021 (0.017)	-0.012* (0.007)	0.017 (0.018)	-0.010 (0.008)	0.027 (0.024)
(Intercept)	0.019*** (0.001)	0.020*** (0.004)	0.019*** (0.001)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.019*** (0.001)	0.031*** (0.008)	0.019*** (0.001)	0.018*** (0.003)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	3864	172	3864	160	3864	130	3864	68
Adjusted R ²	0.608	0.589	0.608	0.661	0.608	0.563	0.608	0.751

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I11: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on KPD vote share at the 1930 national parliamentary election, using municipal-level data, with varying time span specifications.

	... 12 weeks		... 8 weeks		... 4 weeks		... 2 weeks	
Time trend	0.028*** (0.001)	0.034*** (0.007)	0.028*** (0.001)	0.038*** (0.006)	0.029*** (0.001)	0.037*** (0.004)	0.029*** (0.001)	0.035*** (0.004)
Base rate difference	0.071*** (0.014)	0.006 (0.020)	0.071*** (0.014)	0.005 (0.018)	0.073*** (0.017)	0.009 (0.025)	0.081*** (0.018)	-0.020 (0.027)
Exposure, radius of...	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.005 (0.008)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.008 (0.008)	-0.004* (0.002)	-0.005 (0.006)	-0.005** (0.002)	-0.010** (0.005)
(Intercept)	0.064*** (0.003)	0.100*** (0.014)	0.064*** (0.003)	0.095*** (0.012)	0.066*** (0.003)	0.088*** (0.021)	0.067*** (0.003)	0.099*** (0.022)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	3864	172	3864	160	3864	130	3864	68
Adjusted R ²	0.161	0.048	0.162	0.067	0.149	0.069	0.156	0.107

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I12: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on turnout at the 1930 national parliamentary election, using municipal-level data, with varying time span specifications.

	... 12 weeks		... 8 weeks		... 4 weeks		... 2 weeks	
Time trend	0.062*** (0.001)	0.079*** (0.011)	0.062*** (0.001)	0.071*** (0.012)	0.062*** (0.001)	0.093*** (0.008)	0.063*** (0.002)	0.111*** (0.008)
Base rate difference	0.004 (0.011)	0.035* (0.018)	0.004 (0.011)	0.004 (0.021)	0.007 (0.013)	0.030 (0.019)	0.024*** (0.008)	0.052** (0.023)
Exposure, radius of...	-0.012* (0.006)	-0.028** (0.013)	-0.012* (0.007)	-0.016 (0.014)	-0.016** (0.007)	-0.039*** (0.011)	-0.025*** (0.006)	-0.060*** (0.010)
(Intercept)	0.764*** (0.002)	0.747*** (0.012)	0.764*** (0.002)	0.769*** (0.016)	0.764*** (0.002)	0.740*** (0.013)	0.761*** (0.003)	0.730*** (0.018)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	3864	172	3864	160	3864	130	3864	68
Adjusted R ²	0.155	0.322	0.155	0.291	0.156	0.317	0.160	0.410

Note:

DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I13: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on NSDAP vote share at the Jul 1932 national parliamentary election with varying time span specifications.

	... 12 weeks		... 8 weeks		... 4 weeks		... 2 weeks	
Time trend	0.174*** (0.003)	0.178*** (0.009)	0.175*** (0.003)	0.180*** (0.010)	0.175*** (0.003)	0.180*** (0.010)	0.175*** (0.003)	0.175*** (0.010)
Base rate difference	-0.005 (0.006)	-0.010 (0.009)	-0.007 (0.006)	-0.018* (0.010)	-0.007 (0.006)	-0.005 (0.011)	-0.009 (0.006)	-0.013 (0.012)
Exposure, time span of...	-0.035*** (0.008)	-0.008 (0.013)	-0.037*** (0.008)	-0.014 (0.014)	-0.041*** (0.008)	-0.025* (0.014)	-0.043*** (0.008)	-0.016 (0.014)
(Intercept)	0.151*** (0.003)	0.158*** (0.006)	0.151*** (0.003)	0.168*** (0.007)	0.152*** (0.003)	0.157*** (0.007)	0.152*** (0.003)	0.163*** (0.008)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	991	182	991	152	991	150	991	122
Adjusted R ²	0.461	0.512	0.463	0.513	0.466	0.481	0.468	0.511

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I14: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on KPD vote share at the Jul 1932 national parliamentary election with varying time span specifications.

	... 12 weeks		... 8 weeks		... 4 weeks		... 2 weeks	
Time trend	0.015*** (0.001)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.015*** (0.001)	0.012*** (0.003)	0.015*** (0.001)	0.014*** (0.002)	0.015*** (0.001)	0.012*** (0.003)
Base rate difference	0.054*** (0.010)	0.028** (0.012)	0.058*** (0.011)	0.032*** (0.012)	0.060*** (0.011)	0.051*** (0.012)	0.061*** (0.011)	0.036*** (0.014)
Exposure, time span of...	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.004)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.002 (0.004)	-0.0005 (0.004)	0.00001 (0.004)	0.0003 (0.004)	0.002 (0.004)
(Intercept)	0.090*** (0.004)	0.085*** (0.009)	0.089*** (0.004)	0.082*** (0.008)	0.089*** (0.004)	0.074*** (0.007)	0.089*** (0.004)	0.089*** (0.009)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	991	182	991	152	991	150	991	122
Adjusted R ²	0.123	0.039	0.137	0.062	0.146	0.146	0.149	0.069

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I15: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on turnout at the Jul 1932 national parliamentary election with varying time span specifications.

	... 12 weeks		... 8 weeks		... 4 weeks		... 2 weeks	
Time trend	0.025*** (0.002)	0.019*** (0.004)	0.025*** (0.002)	0.022*** (0.005)	0.025*** (0.002)	0.019*** (0.005)	0.025*** (0.002)	0.023*** (0.006)
Base rate difference	0.013** (0.007)	0.004 (0.010)	0.014** (0.007)	0.007 (0.011)	0.014** (0.007)	0.008 (0.012)	0.018** (0.007)	0.020 (0.012)
Exposure, time span of...	-0.013*** (0.003)	-0.003 (0.006)	-0.013*** (0.003)	-0.002 (0.006)	-0.015*** (0.003)	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.015*** (0.003)	-0.008 (0.007)
(Intercept)	0.819*** (0.002)	0.826*** (0.008)	0.819*** (0.002)	0.826*** (0.009)	0.819*** (0.002)	0.825*** (0.010)	0.818*** (0.002)	0.827*** (0.010)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	991	182	991	152	991	150	991	122
Adjusted R ²	0.043	0.023	0.043	0.032	0.044	0.016	0.048	0.046

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I16: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on NSDAP vote share at the Nov 1932 national parliamentary election with varying time span specifications.

	... 12 weeks		... 8 weeks		... 4 weeks		... 2 weeks	
Time trend	-0.044*** (0.001)	-0.042*** (0.003)	-0.044*** (0.001)	-0.046*** (0.003)	-0.044*** (0.001)	-0.046*** (0.003)	-0.045*** (0.001)	-0.053*** (0.005)
Base rate difference	-0.046*** (0.012)	0.003 (0.016)	-0.046*** (0.012)	-0.014 (0.019)	-0.047*** (0.012)	-0.007 (0.019)	-0.069*** (0.012)	-0.028 (0.025)
Exposure, time span of...	0.004 (0.003)	-0.004 (0.004)	0.004 (0.003)	0.001 (0.004)	0.004 (0.003)	0.001 (0.004)	0.008** (0.003)	0.011* (0.006)
(Intercept)	0.322*** (0.004)	0.310*** (0.010)	0.322*** (0.004)	0.315*** (0.012)	0.322*** (0.004)	0.310*** (0.012)	0.323*** (0.004)	0.317*** (0.017)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	948	168	948	168	948	166	948	84
Adjusted R ²	0.072	0.051	0.072	0.053	0.072	0.050	0.097	0.064

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I17: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on KPD vote share at the Nov 1932 national parliamentary election with varying time span specifications.

	... 12 weeks		... 8 weeks		... 4 weeks		... 2 weeks	
Time trend	0.013*** (0.001)	0.017*** (0.002)	0.013*** (0.001)	0.016*** (0.003)	0.013*** (0.001)	0.016*** (0.003)	0.012*** (0.001)	0.018*** (0.003)
Base rate difference	0.050*** (0.011)	-0.001 (0.012)	0.050*** (0.011)	0.012 (0.015)	0.050*** (0.011)	0.002 (0.015)	0.065*** (0.013)	0.014 (0.018)
Exposure, time span of...	0.005* (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	0.005* (0.003)	-0.004 (0.003)	0.005* (0.003)	-0.006 (0.004)	0.008** (0.003)	-0.007 (0.005)
(Intercept)	0.110*** (0.003)	0.119*** (0.008)	0.110*** (0.003)	0.118*** (0.009)	0.110*** (0.003)	0.124*** (0.010)	0.110*** (0.003)	0.119*** (0.011)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	948	168	948	168	948	166	948	84
Adjusted R ²	0.106	0.012	0.106	0.015	0.108	0.004	0.149	0.009

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I18: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on turnout at the Nov 1932 national parliamentary election with varying time span specifications.

	... 12 weeks		... 8 weeks		... 4 weeks		... 2 weeks	
Time trend	-0.034*** (0.001)	-0.027*** (0.004)	-0.034*** (0.001)	-0.030*** (0.005)	-0.034*** (0.001)	-0.030*** (0.005)	-0.034*** (0.001)	-0.032*** (0.003)
Base rate difference	-0.012** (0.006)	-0.001 (0.010)	-0.012** (0.006)	0.001 (0.010)	-0.012** (0.006)	0.001 (0.010)	-0.014** (0.007)	-0.006 (0.012)
Exposure, time span of...	0.006 (0.004)	-0.009 (0.005)	0.006 (0.004)	-0.006 (0.006)	0.006 (0.004)	-0.009 (0.006)	0.008 (0.005)	-0.008 (0.006)
(Intercept)	0.846*** (0.002)	0.851*** (0.007)	0.846*** (0.002)	0.845*** (0.007)	0.846*** (0.002)	0.849*** (0.007)	0.845*** (0.002)	0.850*** (0.008)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	948	168	948	168	948	166	948	84
Adjusted R ²	0.088	0.089	0.088	0.091	0.088	0.104	0.088	0.128

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I19: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on NSDAP vote share at the 1933 national parliamentary election with varying time span specifications.

	... 12 weeks		... 8 weeks		... 4 weeks		... 2 weeks	
Time trend	0.122*** (0.002)	0.105*** (0.006)	0.122*** (0.002)	0.106*** (0.006)	0.122*** (0.002)	0.117*** (0.007)	0.122*** (0.002)	0.100*** (0.006)
Base rate difference	-0.060*** (0.012)	-0.006 (0.024)	-0.060*** (0.012)	-0.005 (0.024)	-0.062*** (0.012)	0.029 (0.026)	-0.045*** (0.012)	-0.006 (0.027)
Exposure, time span of...	-0.012*** (0.005)	0.021** (0.008)	-0.012*** (0.005)	0.020** (0.008)	-0.014*** (0.005)	0.004 (0.010)	-0.014*** (0.005)	0.017** (0.008)
(Intercept)	0.278*** (0.004)	0.232*** (0.016)	0.278*** (0.004)	0.230*** (0.016)	0.278*** (0.004)	0.219*** (0.018)	0.274*** (0.005)	0.263*** (0.020)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	952	56	952	56	952	38	952	30
Adjusted R ²	0.313	0.386	0.313	0.393	0.317	0.448	0.291	0.459

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I20: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on KPD vote share at the 1933 national parliamentary election with varying time span specifications.

	... 12 weeks		... 8 weeks		... 4 weeks		... 2 weeks	
Time trend	-0.025*** (0.001)	-0.021*** (0.002)	-0.025*** (0.001)	-0.021*** (0.002)	-0.025*** (0.001)	-0.020*** (0.003)	-0.026*** (0.001)	-0.019*** (0.001)
Base rate difference	0.074*** (0.015)	-0.010 (0.013)	0.074*** (0.015)	-0.011 (0.013)	0.078*** (0.016)	-0.025 (0.017)	0.076*** (0.018)	0.026 (0.019)
Exposure, time span of...	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.010*** (0.003)	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.010*** (0.003)	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.008 (0.006)	-0.008** (0.004)	-0.004 (0.005)
(Intercept)	0.123*** (0.003)	0.162*** (0.011)	0.123*** (0.003)	0.163*** (0.011)	0.123*** (0.003)	0.170*** (0.014)	0.126*** (0.003)	0.127*** (0.008)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	952	56	952	56	952	38	952	30
Adjusted R ²	0.174	0.099	0.174	0.104	0.185	0.128	0.157	0.128

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I21: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on turnout at the 1933 national parliamentary election with varying time span specifications.

	... 12 weeks		... 8 weeks		... 4 weeks		... 2 weeks	
Time trend	0.080*** (0.001)	0.076*** (0.009)	0.080*** (0.001)	0.077*** (0.009)	0.080*** (0.001)	0.078*** (0.012)	0.080*** (0.001)	0.072*** (0.007)
Base rate difference	-0.008 (0.010)	-0.028 (0.024)	-0.008 (0.010)	-0.027 (0.024)	-0.008 (0.010)	-0.021 (0.024)	-0.000001 (0.008)	0.006 (0.014)
Exposure, time span of...	-0.004 (0.006)	0.020 (0.014)	-0.004 (0.006)	0.018 (0.014)	-0.005 (0.007)	0.011 (0.017)	-0.008 (0.007)	-0.003 (0.008)
(Intercept)	0.812*** (0.003)	0.816*** (0.015)	0.812*** (0.003)	0.815*** (0.015)	0.812*** (0.003)	0.822*** (0.021)	0.810*** (0.003)	0.814*** (0.011)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	952	56	952	56	952	38	952	30
Adjusted R ²	0.428	0.476	0.428	0.489	0.428	0.582	0.425	0.528

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I22: Diff-in-diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on NSDAP vote share with varying number of visits specifications (election-pair fixed effects included).

	One visit		Two visits		Three or more visits	
Time trend	0.001** (0.001)	0.011** (0.006)	0.001** (0.001)	0.013 (0.016)	0.005*** (0.001)	-0.0001 (0.022)
Base rate difference	-0.014 (0.009)	-0.012 (0.008)	-0.039*** (0.010)	0.011 (0.011)	-0.005 (0.005)	0.007 (0.017)
Number of visits: ...	-0.002 (0.004)	0.001 (0.005)	-0.006* (0.003)	-0.011 (0.015)	-0.039*** (0.005)	-0.022 (0.017)
(Intercept)	0.022*** (0.002)	0.027*** (0.005)	0.022*** (0.001)	0.014* (0.008)	0.021*** (0.001)	0.029* (0.015)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	3892	582	3892	94	3892	70
Adjusted R ²	0.594	0.558	0.599	0.665	0.596	0.740

Note:

Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I23: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on NSDAP vote share at the 1930 national parliamentary election with varying county size specifications.

	... less than 20k		... between 20k and 50k		... between 50k and 80k		... more than 80k	
Time trend	0.121*** (0.004)	0.134*** (0.016)	0.139*** (0.003)	0.139*** (0.014)	0.133*** (0.005)	0.130*** (0.013)	0.122*** (0.008)	0.108*** (0.016)
Base rate difference	0.034*** (0.012)	0.016 (0.016)	0.014** (0.006)	-0.002 (0.010)	0.008* (0.005)	-0.0003 (0.013)	0.007 (0.005)	0.001 (0.006)
Exposure, county size of...	0.002 (0.014)	-0.018 (0.024)	-0.017* (0.009)	-0.012 (0.019)	-0.011 (0.010)	-0.015 (0.015)	0.002 (0.010)	0.047** (0.021)
(Intercept)	0.027*** (0.002)	0.037*** (0.010)	0.017*** (0.001)	0.029*** (0.008)	0.017*** (0.002)	0.024** (0.012)	0.015*** (0.002)	0.016*** (0.004)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	326	36	479	40	102	22	68	20
Adjusted R ²	0.477	0.359	0.621	0.574	0.701	0.695	0.768	0.764

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table I24: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on KPD vote share at the 1930 national parliamentary election with varying county size specifications.

	... less than 20k		... between 20k and 50k		... between 50k and 80k		... more than 80k	
Time trend	0.016*** (0.001)	0.013*** (0.004)	0.025*** (0.001)	0.031*** (0.005)	0.029*** (0.003)	0.036*** (0.006)	0.043*** (0.006)	0.041*** (0.006)
Base rate difference	0.001 (0.007)	0.007 (0.009)	0.042** (0.017)	0.042* (0.023)	0.017 (0.017)	0.003 (0.030)	0.027* (0.016)	0.006 (0.024)
Exposure, county size of...	0.001 (0.003)	0.005 (0.006)	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.006 (0.006)	-0.0005 (0.004)	-0.005 (0.007)	-0.017** (0.007)	-0.015** (0.008)
(Intercept)	0.027*** (0.002)	0.024*** (0.004)	0.044*** (0.002)	0.050*** (0.010)	0.087*** (0.008)	0.091*** (0.023)	0.106*** (0.008)	0.097*** (0.014)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	326	36	479	40	102	22	68	20
Adjusted R ²	0.038	0.042	0.085	0.063	0.036	-0.013	0.045	0.061

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table I25: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on turnout at the 1930 national parliamentary election with varying county size specifications.

	... less than 20k		... between 20k and 50k		... between 50k and 80k		... more than 80k	
Time trend	0.053*** (0.003)	0.076*** (0.015)	0.054*** (0.002)	0.071*** (0.008)	0.066*** (0.004)	0.096*** (0.015)	0.079*** (0.009)	0.091*** (0.016)
Base rate difference	0.017 (0.013)	0.058** (0.029)	0.024* (0.014)	0.033 (0.024)	-0.003 (0.018)	0.027 (0.030)	0.022 (0.016)	0.039 (0.026)
Exposure, county size of...	-0.008 (0.010)	-0.036* (0.019)	0.0003 (0.009)	-0.015 (0.013)	0.001 (0.008)	-0.020 (0.016)	-0.025** (0.011)	-0.032* (0.019)
(Intercept)	0.746*** (0.005)	0.692*** (0.024)	0.757*** (0.004)	0.746*** (0.016)	0.779*** (0.007)	0.720*** (0.028)	0.753*** (0.011)	0.732*** (0.020)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	326	36	479	40	102	22	68	20
Adjusted R ²	0.108	0.182	0.141	0.196	0.265	0.385	0.286	0.392

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table I26: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on NSDAP vote share at the Jul 1932 national parliamentary election with varying county size specifications.

	... less than 20k		... between 20k and 50k		... between 50k and 80k		... more than 80k	
Time trend	0.181*** (0.007)	0.171*** (0.020)	0.190*** (0.004)	0.208*** (0.010)	0.173*** (0.009)	0.195*** (0.017)	0.148*** (0.011)	0.167*** (0.020)
Base rate difference	0.043** (0.019)	0.014 (0.024)	-0.004 (0.009)	-0.011 (0.012)	-0.009 (0.011)	0.002 (0.019)	-0.008 (0.012)	0.002 (0.020)
Exposure, county size of...	-0.009 (0.016)	-0.008 (0.026)	-0.006 (0.009)	-0.009 (0.014)	-0.010 (0.015)	-0.018 (0.023)	-0.022* (0.013)	-0.034 (0.025)
(Intercept)	0.144*** (0.005)	0.153*** (0.016)	0.157*** (0.004)	0.164*** (0.008)	0.153*** (0.007)	0.151*** (0.015)	0.151*** (0.010)	0.164*** (0.013)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	291	50	486	124	109	36	78	20
Adjusted R ²	0.368	0.377	0.444	0.518	0.523	0.609	0.555	0.543

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table I27: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on KPD vote share at the Jul 1932 national parliamentary election with varying county size specifications.

	... less than 20k		... between 20k and 50k		... between 50k and 80k		... more than 80k	
Time trend	0.015*** (0.001)	0.013*** (0.005)	0.014*** (0.001)	0.016*** (0.003)	0.007 (0.004)	0.017*** (0.005)	0.013* (0.007)	0.009* (0.005)
Base rate difference	0.006 (0.008)	-0.011 (0.015)	0.021*** (0.008)	0.016 (0.011)	-0.004 (0.015)	0.011 (0.023)	0.007 (0.019)	0.011 (0.025)
Exposure, county size of...	-0.007** (0.003)	-0.006 (0.006)	-0.006** (0.003)	-0.008** (0.004)	0.008 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.006)	0.002 (0.008)	-0.001 (0.009)
(Intercept)	0.044*** (0.003)	0.065*** (0.012)	0.067*** (0.003)	0.070*** (0.006)	0.120*** (0.009)	0.102*** (0.016)	0.149*** (0.016)	0.122*** (0.016)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	291	50	486	124	109	36	78	20
Adjusted R ²	0.019	0.006	0.031	0.014	-0.008	-0.030	-0.005	-0.065

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table I28: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on turnout at the Jul 1932 national parliamentary election with varying county size specifications.

	... less than 20k		... between 20k and 50k		... between 50k and 80k		... more than 80k	
Time trend	0.030*** (0.003)	0.029*** (0.009)	0.031*** (0.002)	0.033*** (0.006)	0.013*** (0.003)	0.017** (0.009)	0.018** (0.007)	0.018* (0.010)
Base rate difference	0.010 (0.012)	-0.005 (0.018)	0.006 (0.007)	0.002 (0.012)	-0.011 (0.009)	-0.005 (0.014)	-0.003 (0.013)	0.020 (0.025)
Exposure, county size of...	-0.001 (0.009)	-0.005 (0.013)	-0.006 (0.005)	-0.008 (0.009)	-0.001 (0.006)	0.005 (0.011)	-0.006 (0.008)	-0.009 (0.012)
(Intercept)	0.798*** (0.005)	0.808*** (0.013)	0.812*** (0.003)	0.810*** (0.009)	0.846*** (0.005)	0.837*** (0.011)	0.832*** (0.012)	0.826*** (0.022)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	291	50	486	124	109	36	78	20
Adjusted R ²	0.038	0.038	0.059	0.045	0.029	0.031	0.010	-0.032

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table I29: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on NSDAP vote share at the Nov 1932 national parliamentary election with varying county size specifications.

	... less than 20k	... between 20k and 50k	... between 50k and 80k	... more than 80k				
Time trend	-0.040*** (0.003)	-0.057*** (0.006)	-0.044*** (0.002)	-0.043*** (0.004)	-0.042*** (0.005)	-0.048*** (0.007)	-0.042*** (0.004)	-0.047*** (0.005)
Base rate difference	0.089*** (0.033)	-0.044 (0.043)	-0.006 (0.022)	-0.010 (0.030)	-0.021 (0.026)	0.001 (0.046)	-0.031* (0.016)	0.008 (0.025)
Exposure, county size of...	-0.009 (0.009)	0.005 (0.011)	0.006 (0.008)	0.0004 (0.009)	-0.001 (0.011)	-0.007 (0.012)	0.003 (0.005)	-0.002 (0.006)
(Intercept)	0.305*** (0.010)	0.455*** (0.033)	0.343*** (0.006)	0.339*** (0.020)	0.322*** (0.010)	0.336*** (0.032)	0.290*** (0.010)	0.294*** (0.018)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	257	30	459	61	120	18	87	32
Adjusted R ²	0.040	0.051	0.027	0.014	0.044	-0.002	0.106	0.085

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I30: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on KPD vote share at the Nov 1932 national parliamentary election with varying county size specifications.

	... less than 20k	... between 20k and 50k	... between 50k and 80k	... more than 80k				
Time trend	0.013*** (0.001)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.012*** (0.001)	0.016*** (0.002)	0.006** (0.003)	0.016*** (0.002)	0.011*** (0.003)	0.013*** (0.003)
Base rate difference	0.003 (0.014)	-0.001 (0.023)	0.027* (0.014)	0.016 (0.018)	-0.004 (0.016)	-0.024 (0.026)	0.011 (0.015)	-0.024 (0.018)
Exposure, county size of...	0.003 (0.003)	0.003 (0.003)	-0.009** (0.004)	-0.012*** (0.003)	0.003 (0.005)	-0.008** (0.004)	0.009** (0.004)	0.002 (0.004)
(Intercept)	0.059*** (0.003)	0.065*** (0.018)	0.083*** (0.002)	0.090*** (0.011)	0.130*** (0.007)	0.126*** (0.021)	0.163*** (0.008)	0.154*** (0.013)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	257	30	459	61	120	18	87	32
Adjusted R ²	0.013	-0.037	0.023	-0.009	-0.010	-0.006	0.014	0.038

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I31: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on turnout at the Nov 1932 national parliamentary election with varying county size specifications.

	... less than 20k	... between 20k and 50k	... between 50k and 80k	... more than 80k				
Time trend	-0.034*** (0.002)	-0.038*** (0.003)	-0.035*** (0.001)	-0.037*** (0.003)	-0.039*** (0.003)	-0.040*** (0.005)	-0.030*** (0.004)	-0.032*** (0.007)
Base rate difference	0.027** (0.014)	0.002 (0.022)	0.015* (0.009)	0.007 (0.014)	-0.019* (0.011)	-0.024 (0.016)	-0.026*** (0.009)	-0.018 (0.016)
Exposure, county size of...	0.006 (0.006)	0.012* (0.007)	-0.0003 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.005)	0.017** (0.007)	0.004 (0.009)	0.003 (0.006)	-0.006 (0.009)
(Intercept)	0.823*** (0.005)	0.847*** (0.016)	0.840*** (0.003)	0.843*** (0.010)	0.858*** (0.004)	0.853*** (0.006)	0.855*** (0.006)	0.857*** (0.010)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	257	30	459	61	120	18	87	32
Adjusted R ²	0.050	0.036	0.080	0.073	0.128	0.209	0.157	0.128

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I32: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on NSDAP vote share at the 1933 national parliamentary election with varying county size specifications.

	... less than 20k		... between 20k and 50k		... between 50k and 80k		... more than 80k	
Time trend	0.143*** (0.004)	0.102*** (0.017)	0.131*** (0.002)	0.133*** (0.010)	0.120*** (0.003)	0.108*** (0.009)	0.106*** (0.003)	0.100*** (0.002)
Base rate difference	0.066 (0.040)	0.168** (0.070)	-0.035* (0.020)	0.019 (0.041)	-0.001 (0.028)	-0.006 (0.048)	-0.035** (0.015)	0.027 (0.028)
Exposure, county size of...	-0.021** (0.009)	0.025 (0.017)	-0.014** (0.007)	-0.018 (0.013)	0.003 (0.012)	0.011 (0.019)	0.002 (0.006)	0.021** (0.009)
(Intercept)	0.268*** (0.008)	0.192*** (0.020)	0.300*** (0.006)	0.246*** (0.033)	0.276*** (0.008)	0.292*** (0.029)	0.249*** (0.009)	0.223*** (0.017)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	260	6	469	26	130	14	90	16
Adjusted R ²	0.274	0.576	0.238	0.244	0.311	0.235	0.442	0.588

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table I33: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on KPD vote share at the 1933 national parliamentary election with varying county size specifications.

	... less than 20k		... between 20k and 50k		... between 50k and 80k		... more than 80k	
Time trend	-0.020*** (0.001)	-0.021*** (0.006)	-0.025*** (0.001)	-0.029*** (0.004)	-0.027*** (0.001)	-0.018*** (0.004)	-0.026*** (0.002)	-0.025*** (0.003)
Base rate difference	0.028* (0.016)	0.006 (0.047)	0.056*** (0.013)	0.019 (0.031)	0.027 (0.020)	-0.021 (0.037)	0.032* (0.018)	-0.044** (0.019)
Exposure, county size of...	-0.008* (0.004)	-0.010 (0.009)	-0.003 (0.005)	0.003 (0.006)	0.001 (0.003)	-0.005 (0.005)	-0.009** (0.004)	-0.003 (0.007)
(Intercept)	0.072*** (0.003)	0.083** (0.040)	0.095*** (0.003)	0.127*** (0.028)	0.133*** (0.006)	0.159*** (0.031)	0.172*** (0.007)	0.187*** (0.015)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	260	6	469	26	130	14	90	16
Adjusted R ²	0.047	-0.230	0.095	0.011	0.050	-0.054	0.084	0.356

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table I34: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on turnout at the 1933 national parliamentary election with varying county size specifications.

	... less than 20k		... between 20k and 50k		... between 50k and 80k		... more than 80k	
Time trend	0.092*** (0.003)	0.085*** (0.013)	0.082*** (0.002)	0.102*** (0.013)	0.079*** (0.003)	0.080*** (0.007)	0.075*** (0.004)	0.072*** (0.009)
Base rate difference	0.058*** (0.015)	0.045 (0.036)	0.019 (0.014)	0.048* (0.029)	0.002 (0.020)	0.010 (0.030)	-0.020 (0.013)	-0.025 (0.023)
Exposure, county size of...	-0.025*** (0.009)	-0.019 (0.022)	-0.011 (0.007)	-0.028* (0.016)	0.005 (0.012)	0.002 (0.019)	0.0003 (0.008)	0.020 (0.018)
(Intercept)	0.789*** (0.005)	0.813*** (0.027)	0.805*** (0.003)	0.773*** (0.022)	0.818*** (0.005)	0.816*** (0.011)	0.822*** (0.007)	0.821*** (0.018)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	260	6	469	26	130	14	90	16
Adjusted R ²	0.340	0.612	0.400	0.386	0.489	0.485	0.501	0.575

Note: DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table I35: Diff-in-diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on NSDAP vote share with varying number of visitors specifications (election-pair fixed effects included).

	Unknown		Less than 5,000		Between 5,000 and 20,000		20,000 or more	
Time trend	-0.002 (0.001)	0.009 (0.014)	0.001 (0.0003)	-0.012 (0.014)	0.002*** (0.001)	-0.012 (0.008)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.010 (0.011)
Base rate difference	-0.055*** (0.012)	0.005 (0.019)	0.014** (0.007)	-0.011 (0.010)	-0.011 (0.007)	-0.013 (0.011)	-0.013* (0.007)	-0.009 (0.014)
Number of visitors:	-0.014*** (0.005)	-0.003 (0.010)	0.013* (0.007)	0.013 (0.014)	-0.005 (0.004)	-0.007 (0.008)	-0.021*** (0.004)	-0.0001 (0.010)
(Intercept)	0.021*** (0.001)	0.045*** (0.013)	0.019*** (0.001)	0.034*** (0.007)	0.021*** (0.002)	0.025*** (0.008)	0.021*** (0.001)	0.031** (0.013)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	3892	90	3892	142	3892	314	3892	238
Adjusted R ²	0.602	0.636	0.593	0.716	0.594	0.597	0.597	0.499

Note:

DIDID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I36: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on NSDAP/Hitler vote share, discarding units with a previous Hitler visit.

	Sep 1930		Sep 1930 (mun.)		Jul 1932		Nov 1932		Mar 1933	
Time trend	0.127*** (0.009)	0.127*** (0.011)	0.124*** (0.009)	0.124*** (0.011)	0.193*** (0.006)	0.195*** (0.007)	-0.049*** (0.003)	-0.043*** (0.005)	0.111*** (0.004)	0.121*** (0.009)
Base rate difference	0.003 (0.004)	0.007** (0.003)	0.002 (0.005)	0.006 (0.004)	-0.012* (0.007)	0.0003 (0.008)	-0.005 (0.017)	0.024 (0.036)	0.033 (0.021)	0.002 (0.043)
Exposure, 10km	0.004 (0.012)	-0.004 (0.013)	0.010 (0.013)	0.016 (0.015)	-0.023** (0.009)	-0.017* (0.010)	0.002 (0.004)	0.001 (0.008)	0.005 (0.007)	-0.021* (0.013)
(Intercept)	0.023*** (0.003)	0.014*** (0.002)	0.023*** (0.004)	0.015*** (0.003)	0.162*** (0.005)	0.154*** (0.005)	0.312*** (0.011)	0.334*** (0.030)	0.235*** (0.015)	0.278*** (0.037)
Sample	included	excluded	included	excluded	included	excluded	included	excluded	included	excluded
Observations	150	106	432	273	320	221	168	49	72	27
Adjusted R ²	0.647	0.707	0.628	0.714	0.527	0.546	0.066	0.022	0.380	0.189

Note: Diff-in-diff models with number of actual voters as population weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I37: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on KPD/Thälmann vote share, discarding units with a previous Hitler visit.

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	Sep 1930		Sep 1930 (mun.)		Jul 1932		Nov 1932		Mar 1933	
Time trend	0.035*** (0.004)	0.037*** (0.005)	0.031*** (0.004)	0.033*** (0.006)	0.014*** (0.002)	0.014*** (0.002)	0.017*** (0.002)	0.016*** (0.003)	-0.027*** (0.002)	-0.029*** (0.004)
Base rate difference	0.024* (0.014)	0.017 (0.017)	0.011 (0.013)	0.002 (0.016)	0.014 (0.009)	0.011 (0.010)	-0.001 (0.013)	0.007 (0.014)	-0.024 (0.017)	-0.006 (0.022)
Exposure, 10km	-0.008* (0.005)	-0.010* (0.006)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.008 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.002)	-0.007** (0.003)	-0.006* (0.004)	-0.007* (0.004)	0.004 (0.005)	0.008 (0.006)
(Intercept)	0.079*** (0.009)	0.085*** (0.011)	0.076*** (0.009)	0.083*** (0.011)	0.092*** (0.006)	0.092*** (0.007)	0.128*** (0.009)	0.090*** (0.011)	0.169*** (0.013)	0.132*** (0.020)
Sample	included	excluded	included	excluded	included	excluded	included	excluded	included	excluded
Observations	150	106	432	273	320	221	168	49	72	27
Adjusted R ²	0.071	0.055	0.048	0.044	0.013	0.004	0.007	-0.012	0.076	-0.004

Note: Diff-in-diff models with number of actual voters as population weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I38: Diff-in-diff estimates of exposure effects on turnout, discarding units with a previous Hitler visit.

	Sep 1930		Sep 1930 (mun.)		Jul 1932		Nov 1932		Mar 1933	
Time trend	0.086*** (0.008)	0.080*** (0.009)	0.072*** (0.008)	0.065*** (0.009)	0.026*** (0.003)	0.028*** (0.004)	-0.030*** (0.004)	-0.040*** (0.005)	0.083*** (0.006)	0.068*** (0.008)
Base rate difference	0.034** (0.014)	0.024 (0.017)	0.015 (0.014)	0.0003 (0.016)	-0.0004 (0.007)	-0.005 (0.008)	-0.011 (0.009)	0.011 (0.018)	0.011 (0.011)	0.029 (0.021)
Exposure, 10km	-0.024** (0.010)	-0.026** (0.011)	-0.016* (0.009)	-0.010 (0.010)	-0.006 (0.005)	-0.007 (0.006)	-0.009 (0.006)	0.007 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.007)	-0.009 (0.013)
(Intercept)	0.739*** (0.011)	0.745*** (0.013)	0.759*** (0.011)	0.763*** (0.013)	0.823*** (0.005)	0.825*** (0.006)	0.853*** (0.006)	0.850*** (0.011)	0.803*** (0.006)	0.830*** (0.011)
Sample	included	excluded	included	excluded	included	excluded	included	excluded	included	excluded
Observations	150	106	432	273	320	221	168	49	72	27
Adjusted R ²	0.317	0.263	0.241	0.228	0.046	0.056	0.133	0.089	0.568	0.452

Note: Diff-in-diff models with number of actual voters as population weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table I39: Effects of exposure to Hitler appearance on NSDAP membership rates.

	Sep 1930		Jul 1932		Nov 1932		Mar 1933	
Time trend	0.002*** (0.0001)	0.002*** (0.0002)	0.010*** (0.0003)	0.011*** (0.001)	0.001*** (0.0001)	0.002*** (0.0002)	0.0001** (0.00004)	0.0001 (0.0001)
Base rate difference	0.0002 (0.0001)	0.00001 (0.0002)	-0.001*** (0.0002)	-0.0005 (0.0003)	-0.003*** (0.001)	0.0005 (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)	0.0003 (0.001)
Exposure, 10km	-0.001*** (0.0002)	-0.0001 (0.0003)	-0.002*** (0.0005)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.0004** (0.0002)	-0.0003 (0.0003)	0.0003*** (0.0001)	0.0005* (0.0003)
(Intercept)	0.001*** (0.00004)	0.001*** (0.0002)	0.003*** (0.0001)	0.003*** (0.0002)	0.013*** (0.0003)	0.012*** (0.001)	0.015*** (0.0003)	0.012*** (0.001)
Sample	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched	full	matched
Observations	1000	150	991	320	948	168	952	72
Adjusted R ²	0.215	0.206	0.401	0.463	0.040	0.010	0.049	-0.016

Note:

DID models with number of actual voters as pop weights. Clustered SEs shown. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Figure I1: Pre-exposure trends in vote shares for matched units. Exposure units in red, control units in black. Bold lines represent average trends.

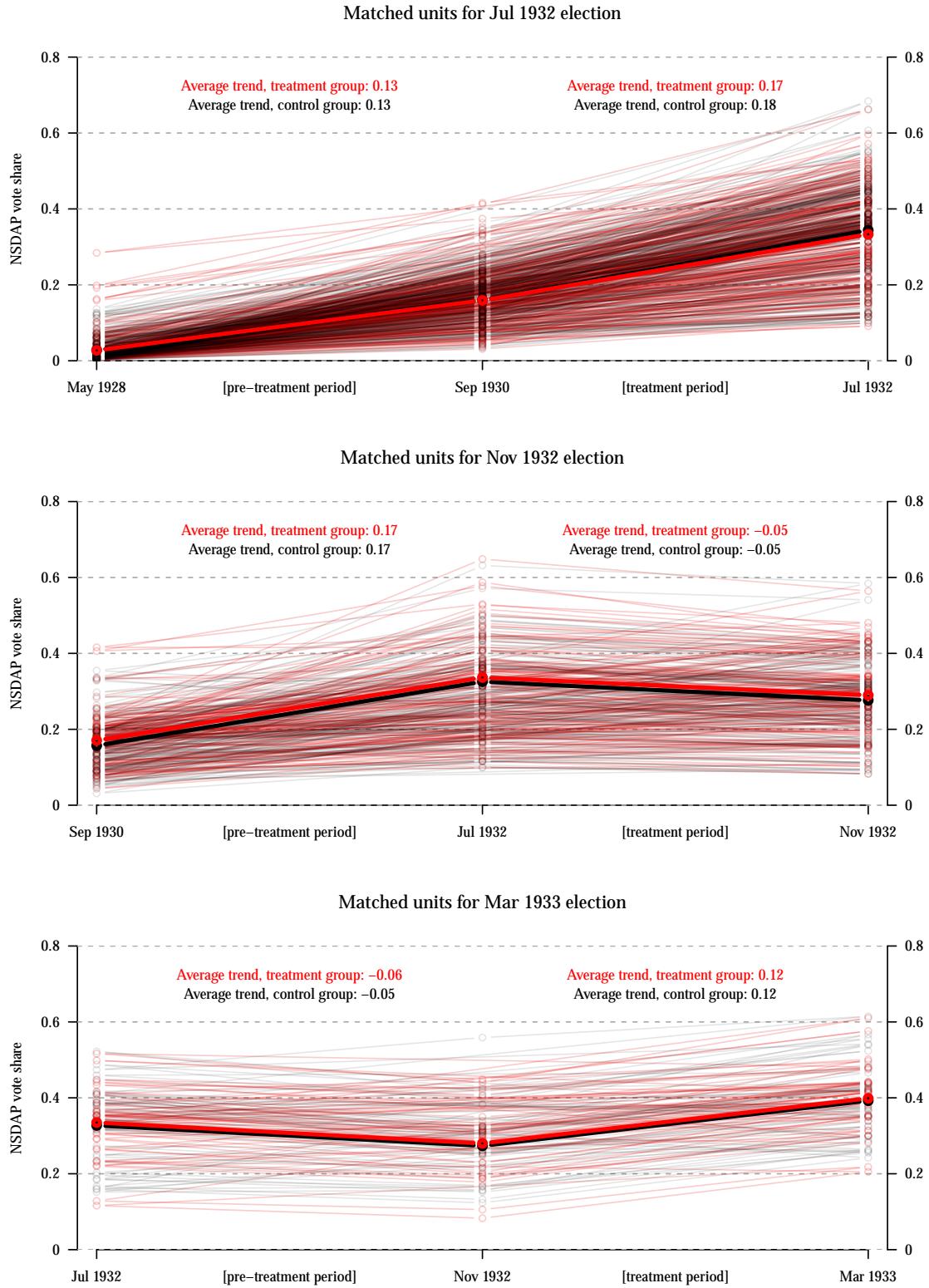


Figure I2: Replication of main results (Figures 3, 4, and 5) using 1:5 nearest neighbor matching without replacement and with 0.25 s.d. caliper constraint.

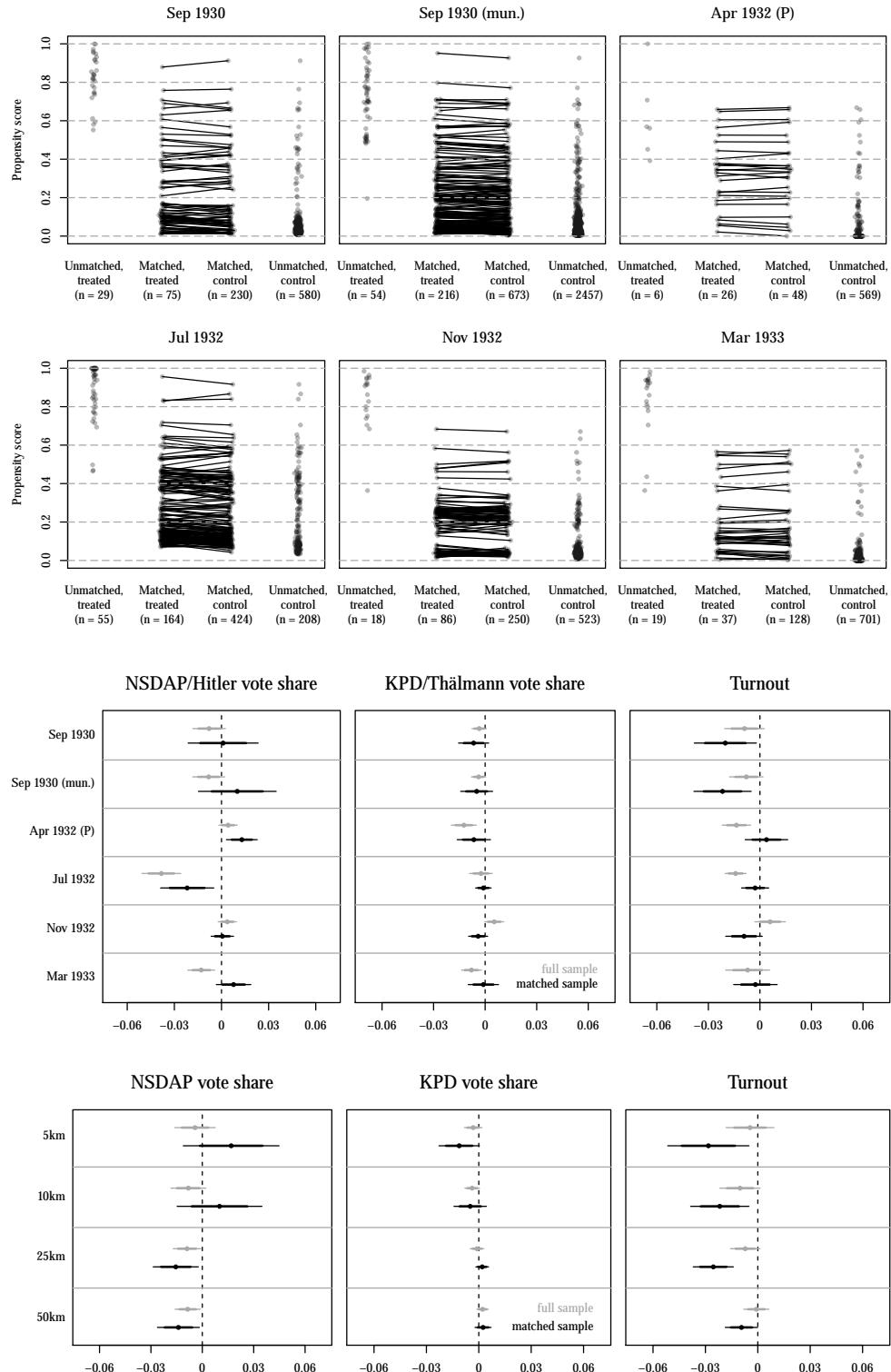


Figure I3: Replication of main results (Figures 3, 4, and 5) using 1:10 nearest neighbor matching without replacement and with 0.25 s.d. caliper constraint.

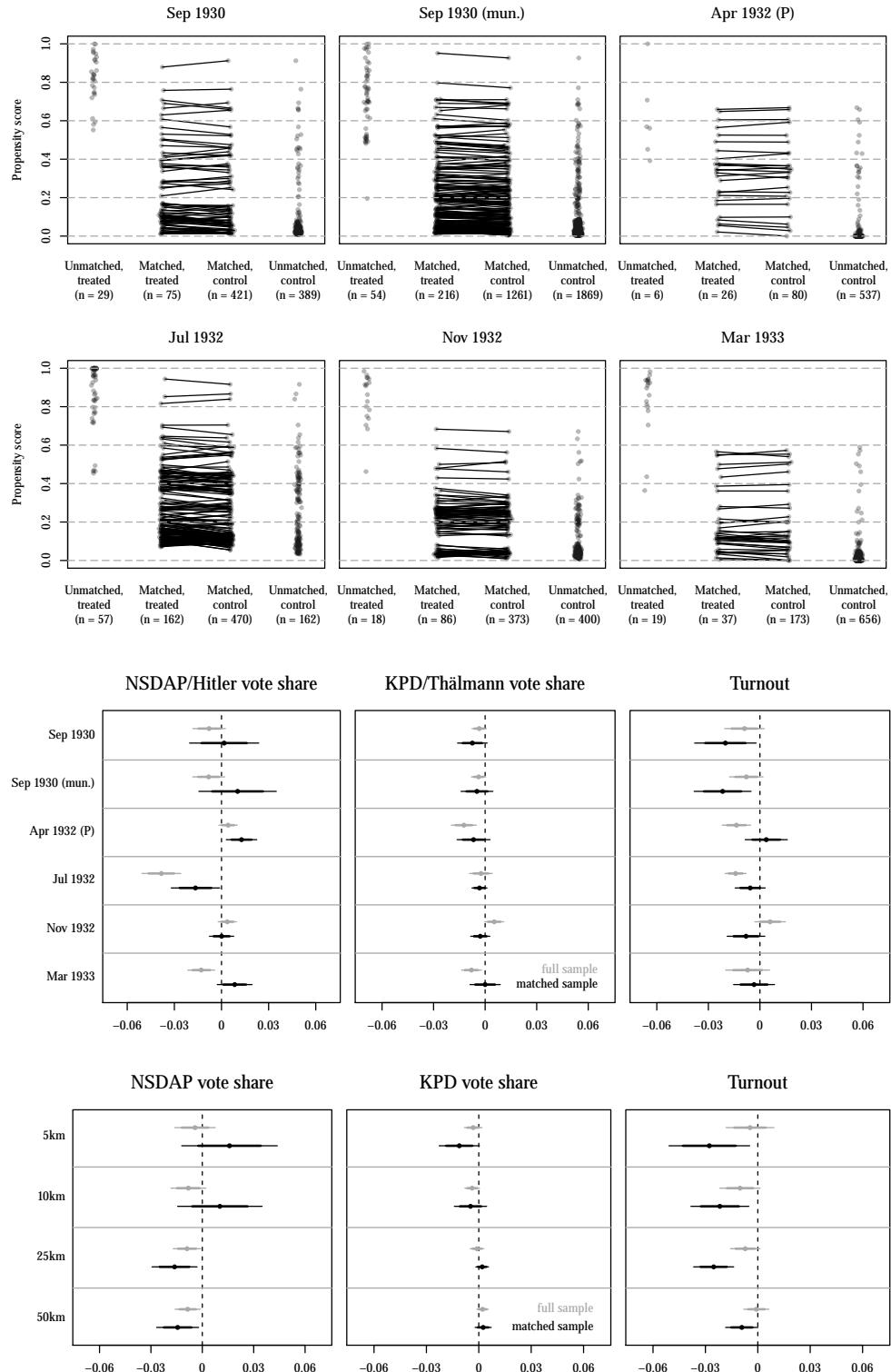


Figure I4: Replication of main results (Figures 3, 4, and 5) using 1:20 nearest neighbor matching without replacement and with 0.25 s.d. caliper constraint.

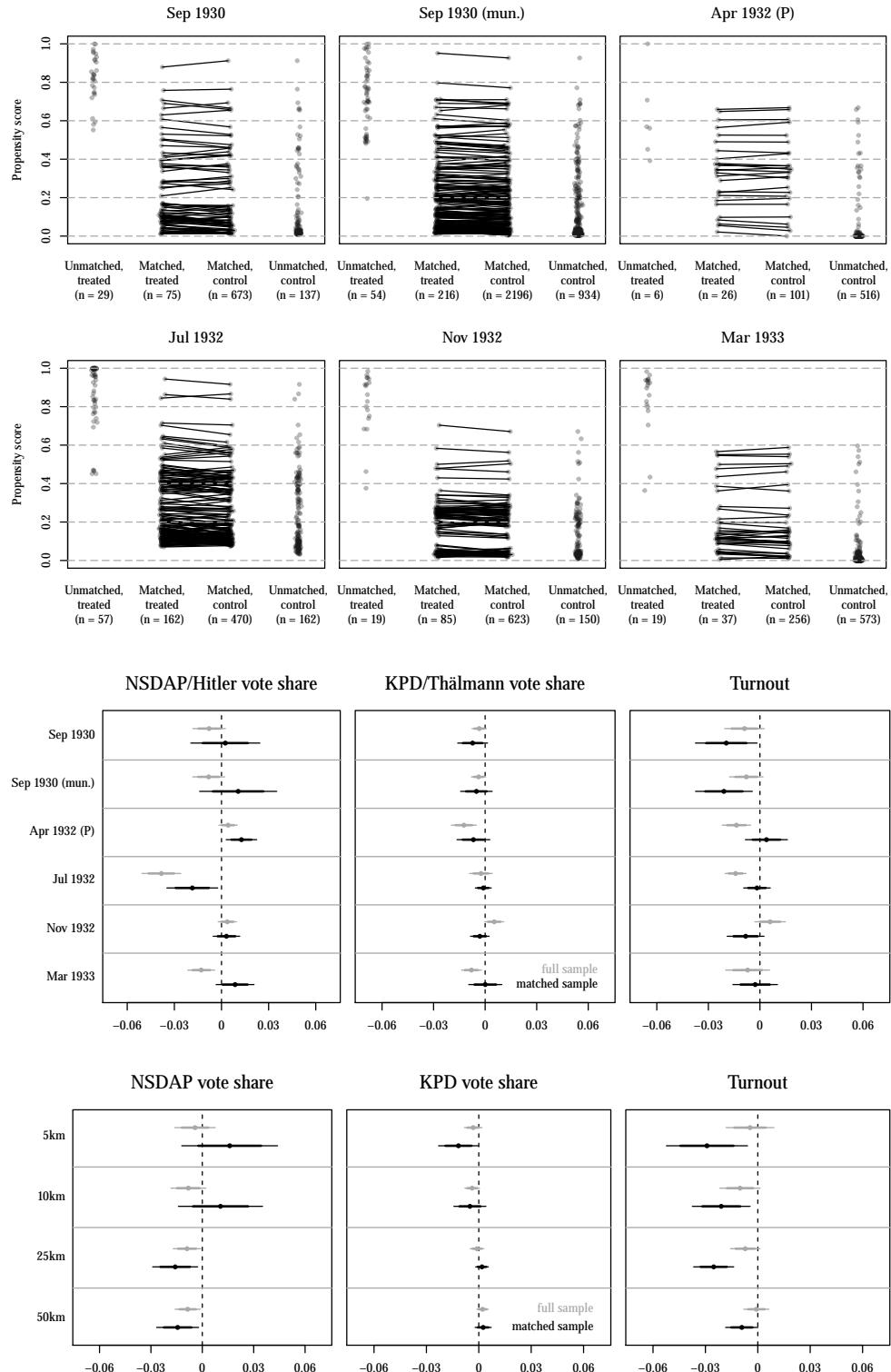
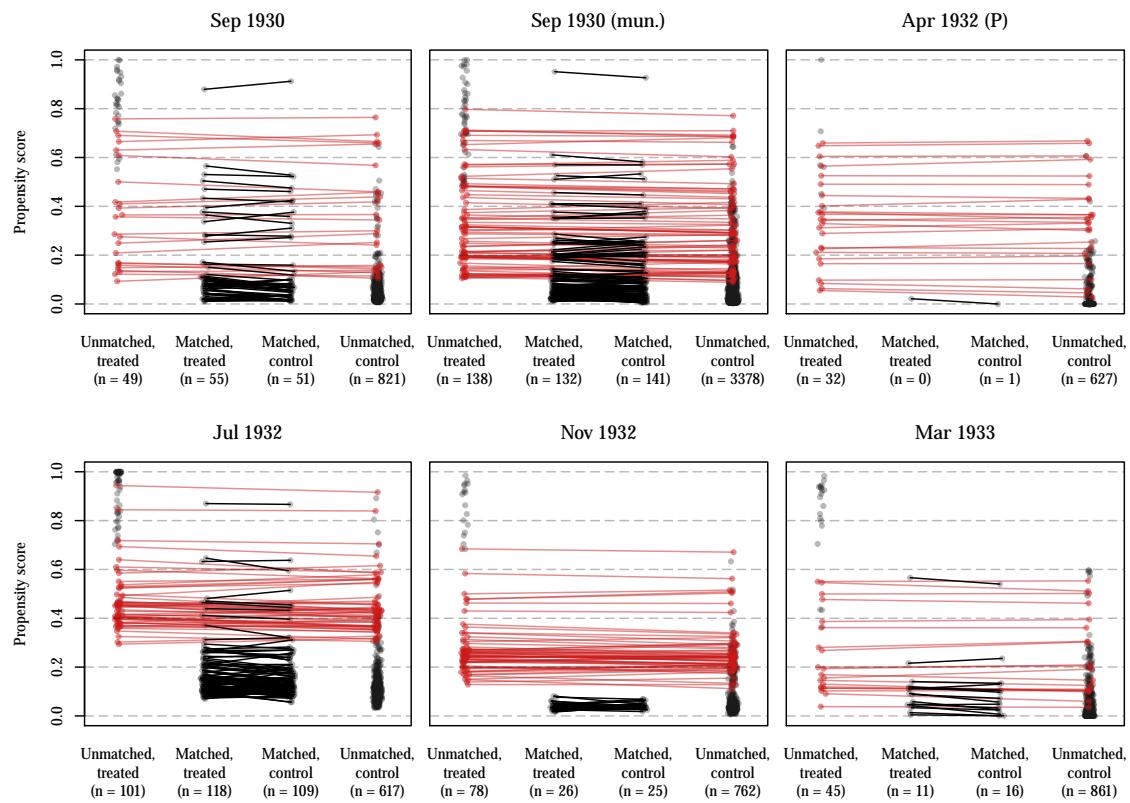


Figure I5: Predicted propensity scores by exposure and matching status. Black lines indicate matched pairs, red lines indicate pairs discarded due to previous Hitler visit.



J Software statement

The entire analysis was run under OS X 10.11.5 using R version 3.3.0 ([R Core Team, 2016](#)). In our empirical analysis, we made use of the following R software packages:

`AER` ([Kleiber and Zeileis, 2008](#)),
`broom` ([Robinson, 2015](#)),
`car` ([Fox and Weisberg, 2011](#)),
`clusterSEs` ([Esarey, 2015](#)),
`coefplot` ([Lander, 2013](#)),
`dplyr` ([Wickham, 2015a](#)),
`fields` ([Nychka et al., 2015](#)),
`FNN` ([Beygelzimer et al., 2013](#)),
`gdata` ([Warnes et al., 2015](#)),
`ggmap` ([Kahle and Wickham, 2013](#)),
`gpclib` ([Peng et al., 2013](#)),
`gridImport` ([Murrell, 2009](#)),
`haven` ([Wickham and Miller, 2016](#)),
`ivpack` ([Jiang and Small, 2014](#)),
`lubridate` ([Grolemund and Wickham, 2011](#)),
`magrittr` ([Bache and Wickham, 2014](#)),
`maptools` ([Bivand and Rundel, 2015](#)),
`MatchIt` ([Ho et al., 2011](#)),
`mi` ([Gelman and Hill, 2011](#)),
`pdfTools` ([Ooms, 2016](#)),
`plyr` ([Wickham, 2011](#)),
`png` ([Urbanek, 2013](#)),
`qlcMatrix` ([Cysouw, 2015](#)),
`RColorBrewer` ([Neuwirth, 2014](#)),
`rgdal` ([Bivand and Piras, 2015](#)),
`rgeos` ([Bivand and Lewin-Koh, 2015](#)),
`rowr` ([Varrichio, 2015](#)),
`rstudioapi` ([Wickham and Francois, 2015](#)),
`sp` ([Pebesma and Bivand, 2005](#)),
`spatstat` ([Baddeley and Turner, 2005](#)),
`spdep` ([Bivand, Keitt and Rowlingson, 2015](#)),
`stargazer` ([Hlavac, 2015](#)),
`stringr` ([Wickham, 2015b](#)),
`XLConnect` ([Mirai Solutions GmbH, 2015](#)),
`XML` ([Temple Lang, 2015](#)),
`xtable` ([Dahl, 2015](#)), and
`zoo` ([Zeileis and Grothendieck, 2005](#)).

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