CERGE EI

Mobilizing history

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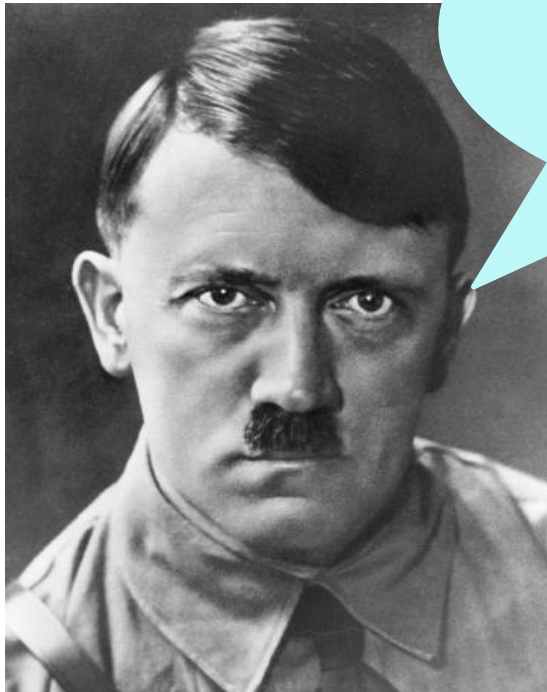## Historical narratives and historical analogies are widespread in politics

- Examples from mass murderers

Adolf Hitler

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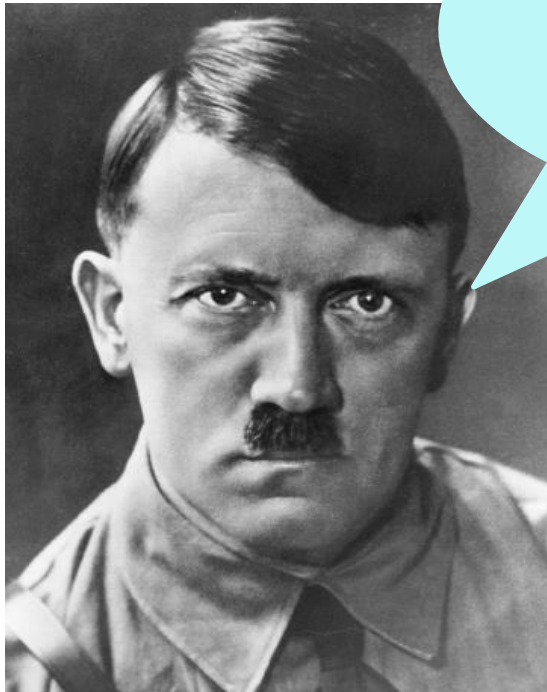
▪ Examples from mass murderers

«The superiority
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and
«The Jews in
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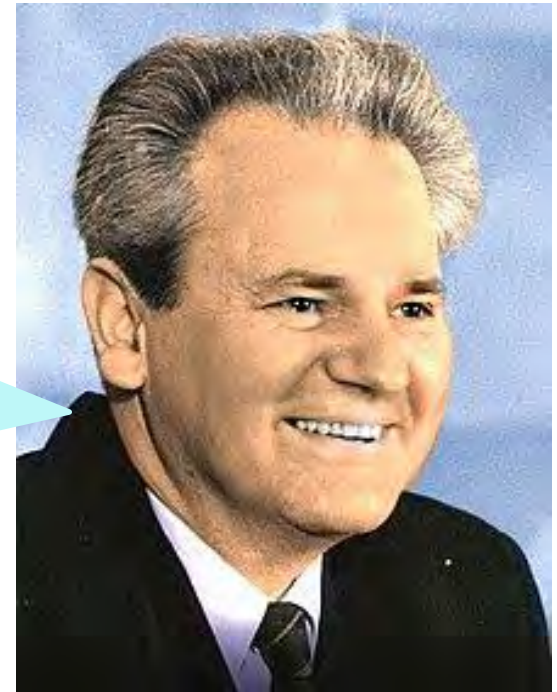# Historical narratives and historical analogies are widespread in politics

- Examples from mass murderers

«The superiority
of the Aryan race»
and
«The Jews in
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«The
Muslims
back in
1389…»

Adolf Hitler

Slobodan Milošević

Historical narratives and historical analogies are widespread in politics

- Example from populists

Matteo Salvini

Historical narratives and historical analogies are widespread in politics

- "Nostalgia" examples from the USA and UK:

«Make America
great again»

Donald J. Trump

Historical narratives and historical analogies are widespread in politics

▪ "Nostalgia" examples from the USA and UK:

«Take back control»

«Make America great again»

Donald J. Trump

Nigel Farage

We show that

- Salient history mobilized by populist campaigning creates new out-group sentiments and triggers political radicalization
- Historical precedents employed in campaigns can turn on and off beliefs and actions

What we do

- Use anti-Turkish / anti-Muslim political campaigns after 2005 of a xenophobic right-wing party (Freedom Party of Austria – FPÖ)
- Show that right-wing voting and anti-Muslim sentiments start to increase in municipalities that have been exposed to Turkish violence in the 16th and 17th century
- Apply various types of empirical strategies (Diff-in-Diff, fuzzy RD as IV) and a set of robustness checks to underpin that our results are likely to be causal
- Present one of the first empirical studies that shows that historical events are salient

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EVS 1999 and 2008: Anti-Muslim sentiments
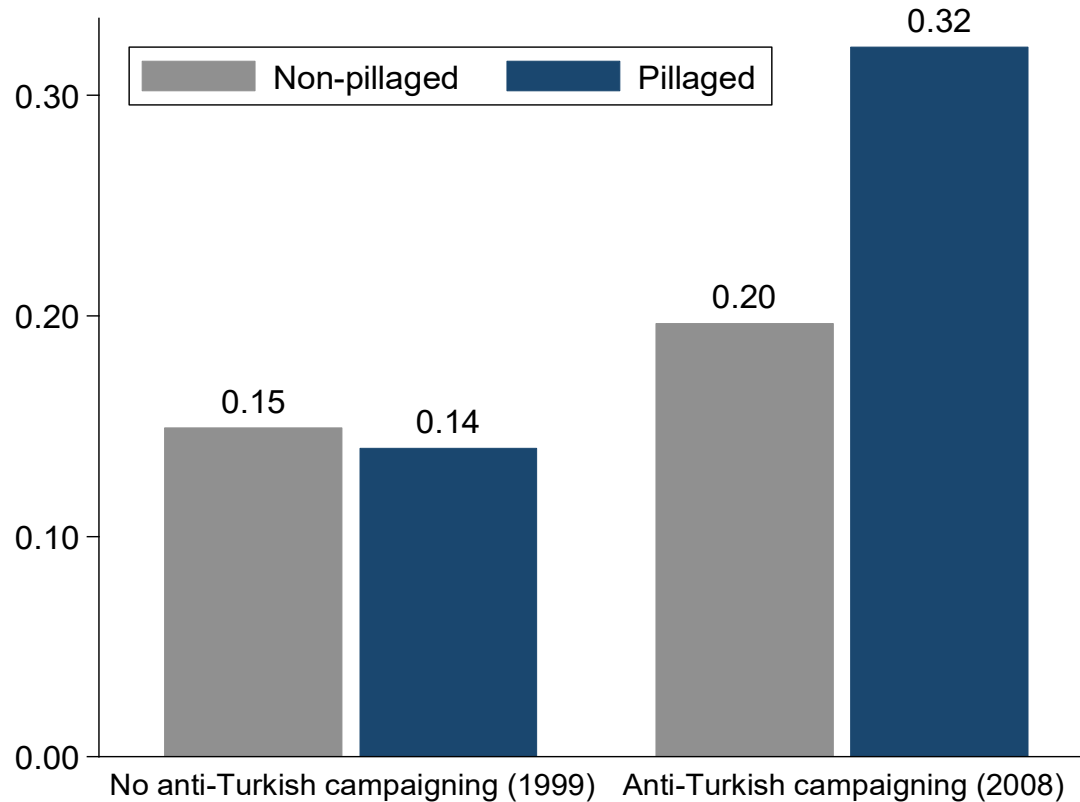
Original EVS question: "*On this list are various groups of people. Could you please sort out any that you would not like to have as neighbors? … Muslims*".

Divisive narratives matters when backed up with historical analogies

- Salience and individual behavior
    - Stereotypes: Bordalo et al. 2016, QJE; Gennaioli and Shleifer 2010, QJE
    - Experiences: Memories (Mullainathan 2002, QJE), recessions and (hyper-)inflation (Malmendier and Nagel 2011, 2016, QJE), experienced history (Alesina and Fuchs-Schündeln 2007, AER)
    - National history or collective memory?

- Real world effects: Shape interest politics (Mukand and Rodrik 2019, WP) or outgroup sentiments (Yanagizawa-Drott 2014, QJE; Bauer et al. 2018, PNAS)

Persistence

- Socio-economic variables are linked to events decades or centuries ago
    - Persistence of cultural attitudes (Tabellini 2010, JEEA; Voigtländer and Voth 2012, QJE; Becker et al. 2015, EJ), social capital (Nunn and Wantchekon 2011, AER; Guiso et al. 2016, JEEA)
    - Channels of persistence: Intergenerational transmisson, institutions, unknown

- (Re-)activation of historical events: mostly hidden persistence
    - WW2 Wehrmacht reprisals (Fouka and Voth 2016, WP); stock market (Fisman et al. 2014, RFS), voting (Cantoni et al. 2019, WP; Ochsner and Roesel 2019)

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Effects of political campaigning

- Link political campaigns to votes
  - Exposure to TV or newspapers (DellaVigna and Kaplan 2007, QJE; Gentzkow and Shapiro 2010, Econometrica), Exposure to political protest (Madestam et al. 2013, QJE), randomization of candidates' valance (Kendall et al. 2015, AER)

- Voters seem to be prone to an information bias
  - Limited recall of information: Kahneman and Tversky (1982), Gennaioli and Shleifer (2010, QJE)

Right-wing voting

- Most studies focus on contemporaneous economic or socio-demographic variables to explain political polarization and right-wing populist voting

  - Immigration: Dustman et al. 2018, RES; Halla et al. 2017, JEEA; Steinmayr 2016, WP
  - Foreign culture (Colussi et al. 2016, WP), globalization (Autor et al. 2016) WP, etc.

- Right-wing voting partially depends on historical circumstances

  - Studies with an historical component: Voigtländer and Voth 2012, QJE; Funke et al. 2016, EER; Ochsner and Roesel 2019, WP; Cantoni et al. 2010, WP

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1.) **Turkish pillages and its collective memory**

2.) **Anti-Turkish political campaigns**

3.) **Data**

4.) **Difference-in-Differences**

5.) **Spatial fuzzy RDD**

6.) **Robustness**

7.) **Channel discussion**

8.) **Conclusion**

Turkish pillages and its collective memory

The expansion of the Turkish (Ottoman) Empire towards Central Europe

▪ Pillages the in course of Siege I of Vienna (1529/32) and Siege II (1683)

▪ The Turkish attempts to conquest of Vienna always failed

▪ But: Turkish Army and their auxiliary troops pillaged in the surroundings

   ➢ Akıncı in Siege I are labeled as "Racer and Burner"

   ➢ Tartars in Siege II razed, kidnapped and raped in East Austria once again
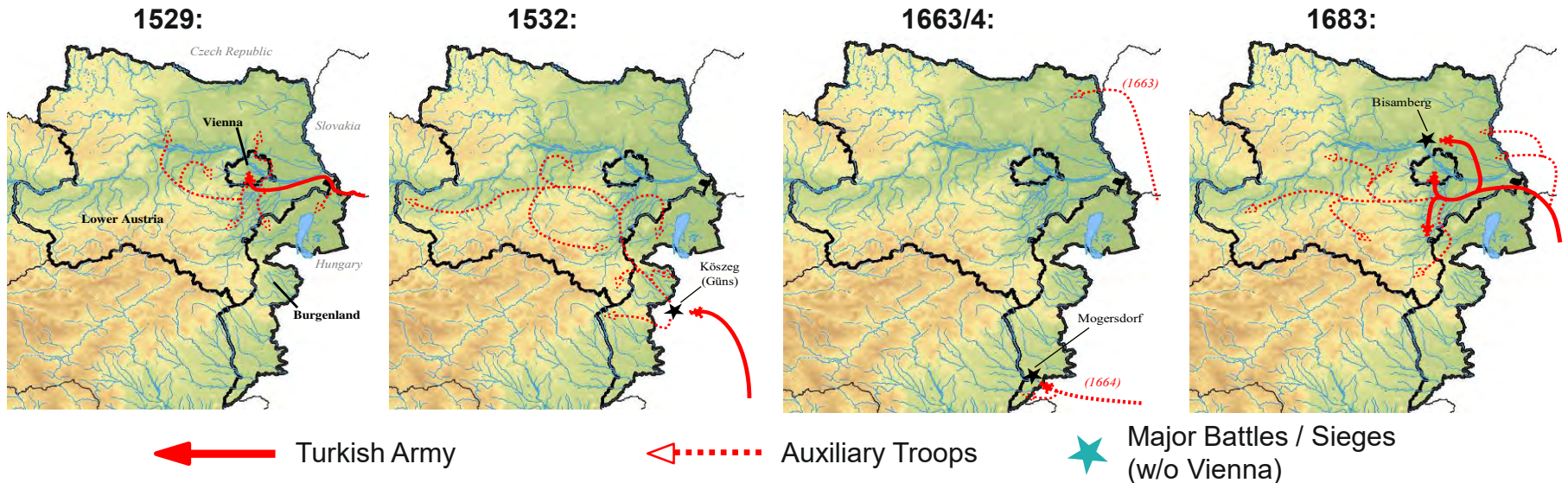
1529:   **1532:**   **1663/4:**   **1683:**

←—— Turkish Army   ◁······· Auxiliary Troops   ★ Major Battles / Sieges (w/o Vienna)

Turkish atrocities are embedded in the local collective memory

- Assmann (1988): The past is transmitted into the collective memory via
  - ➢ Cultural formation (historical monuments, memorials, pictures, texts, rituals, etc.)
  - ➢ Institutionalized communication (school curricula, anniversaries, etc.)
  - ➢ Examples of "vivid" history:

  "[...] The villagers escaped to the tower of the church. However, the last one 'forgot' to close the iron door, so that 'such a carnage arose on the bell tower', that their blood streamed over the wooden beams onto the lowest ground such that it could not be whitewashed and was visible even several years after."

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Municipal coat of arm: **Memorials:**   **Remaining buildings:**

More Memories

Anti-Turkish political campaigns

Anti-Turkish political campaigns after 2005

- H.C. Strache followed Jörg Haider as the party leader of the populist right-wing Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)

- He started FPÖ's anti-Turkish and anti-Muslim campaigns and refers to the "Third Siege of Vienna"
  - No anti-Turkish / anti-Muslim campaigns before 2005
  - Debate of Turkish immigration and the Turkish Sieges of Vienna (Church, articles)

Before 2005:

After 2005:

FPÖ slogans since WWII
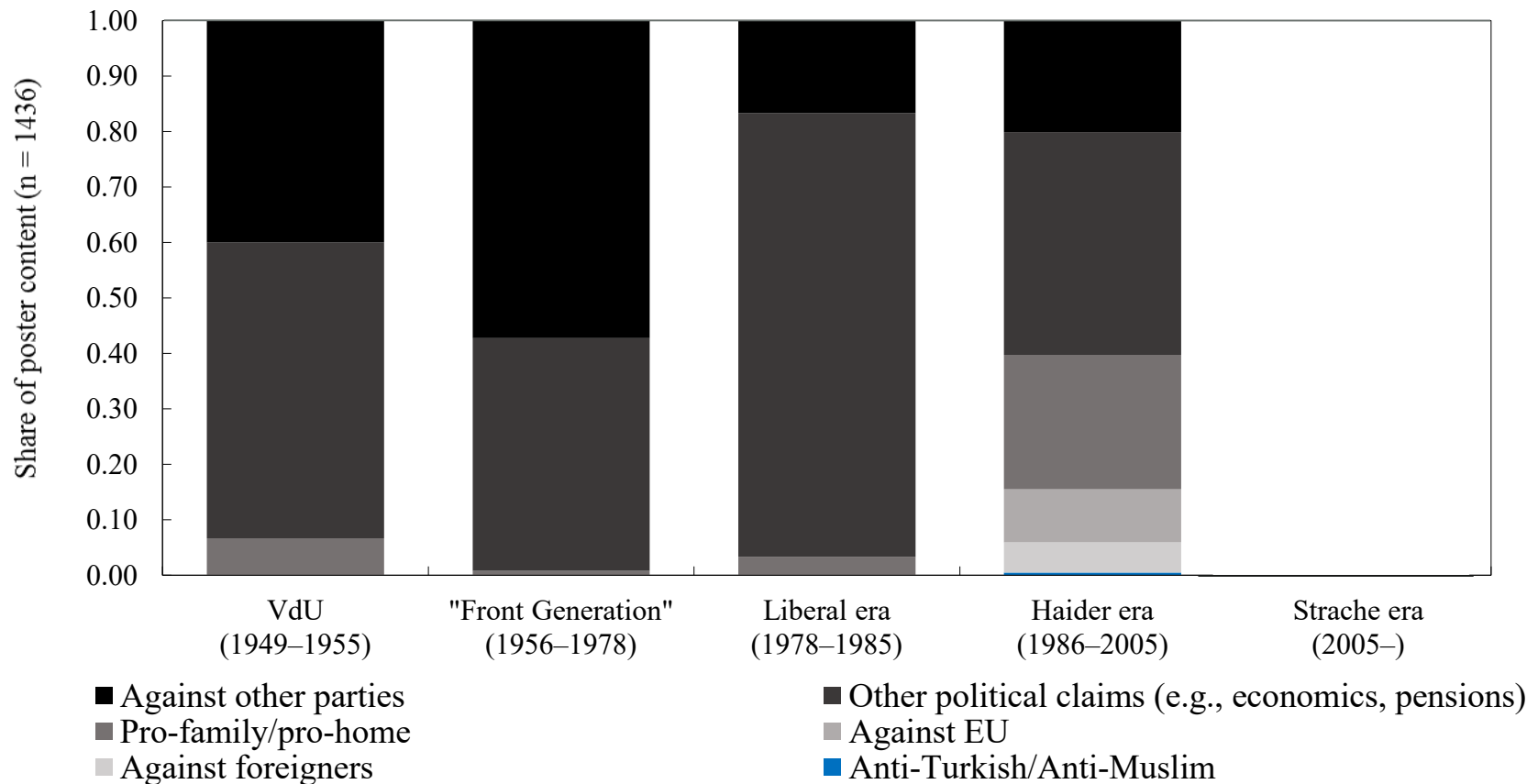
Source: ÖNB – Austrian National Library Vienna

FPÖ vote shares

FPÖ slogans since WWII
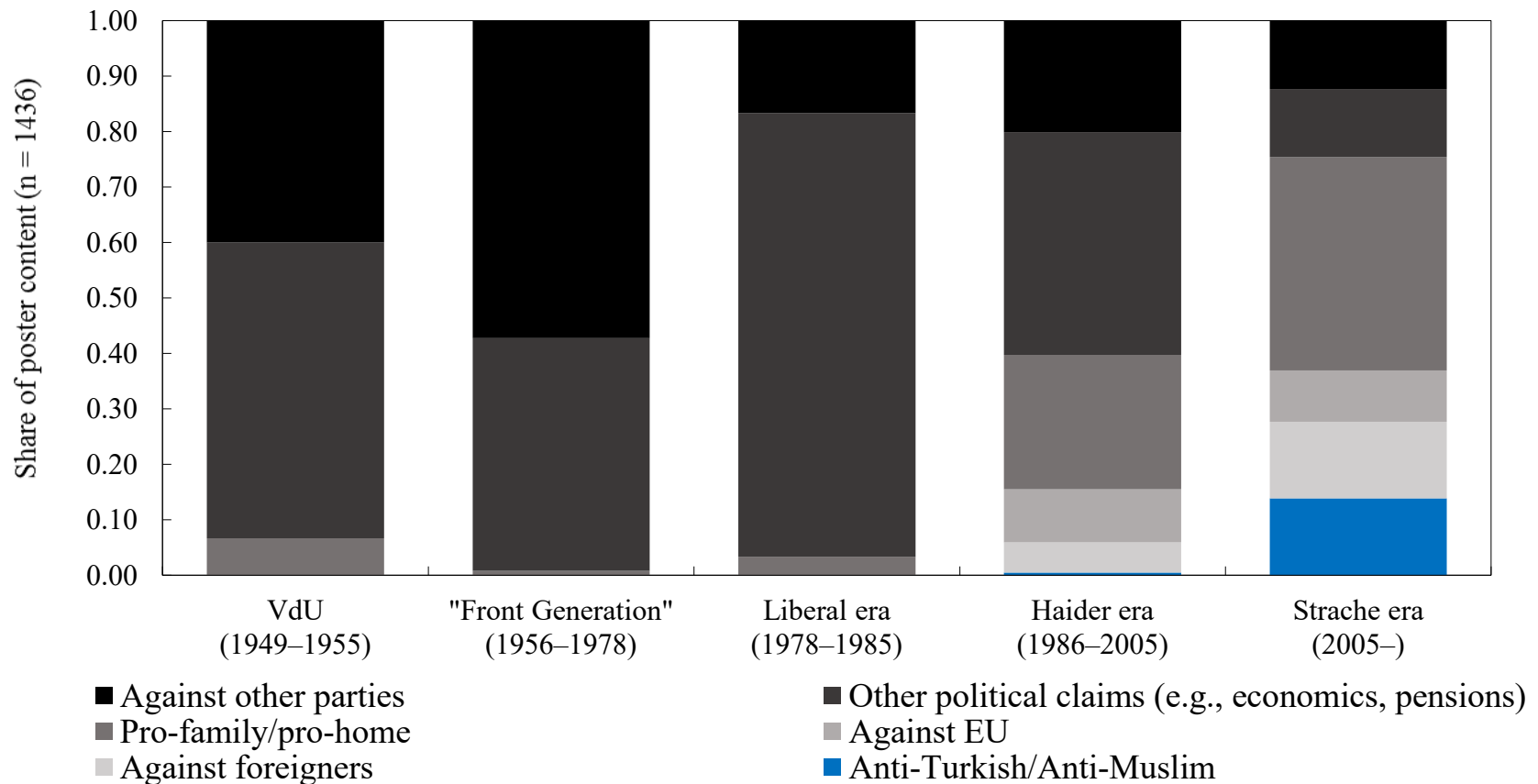
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FPÖ vote shares

Cultivation of anti-Turkish sentiments: Examples

Political campaigns

2010: Party newspaper

The distain of OeVP campaigns in Turkish

"…Turks are extremely coward […] except if they are in the superiority…"

Source: Freiheitlicher Gemeindekurier 3/2010

Cultivation of anti-Turkish sentiments: FPÖ comic "Saga from Vienna"

Strache fights against the Turkish invasion during the Siege II of Vienna

… the "hero" …   **… the "enemy" …**

Cultivation of anti-Turkish sentiments: FPÖ comic "Saga from Vienna"

Strache fights against the Turkish invasion during the Siege II of Vienna

… the "hero" …

… the "enemy" …

… will come over the open borders in a couple of hundred years …

Data

Pillages in Siege I and II:

Pillaged municipalities

- We collect data based on various types of sources (lack of a comprehensive source, see Lacom 2009)

  ➤ Historical maps, municipality and church chronicles (books and online), Wikipedia entries, books

  Map

  ➤ Whenever we find a direct historical record of Turkish violence, we label the municipality as "pillaged"

  Sources

Czech Republic

Slovakia

Hungary

■ Pillaged
□ Non-pillaged

Election results and Covariates

- Self-compiled voting results of 20 national elections since 1949 (and 1930)

- Municipal-level covariates based on (self-compiled) censuses and time-invariant municipal characteristics

- Additional variables: EVS data, other hostile forces, historical infrastructure

  ➤ Data are transformed to a balanced panel with 690 municipalities
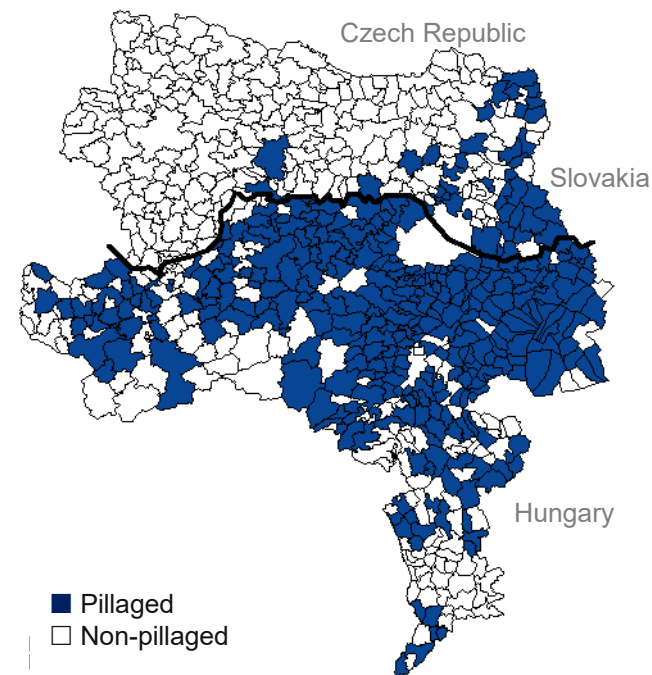
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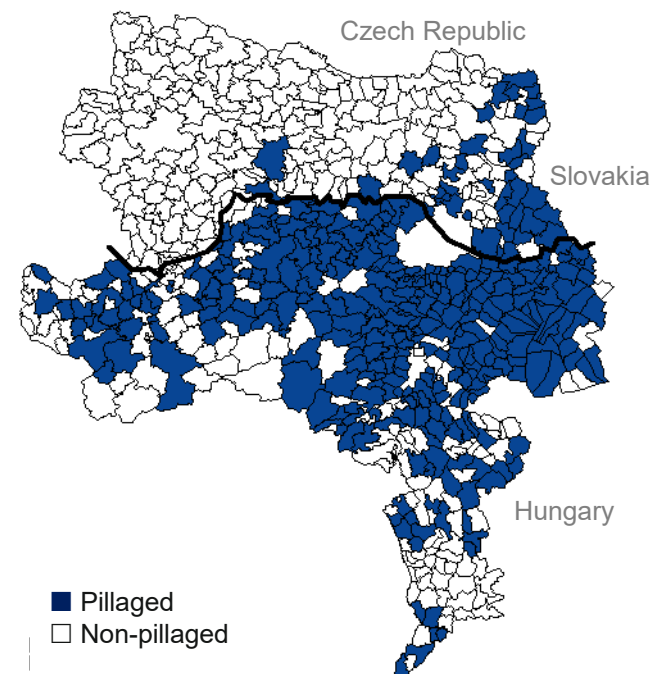## Election results and Covariates

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    Descriptives

Difference in Differences

Compare pillaged vs non-pillaged municipalities

- OLS difference-in-differences model (FE)

$$FPÖ_{it} = \alpha_i + \beta(Pillages_i \times Post2005_t) + X_{it}'\gamma + \delta_t + \varepsilon_{it}$$

$FPÖ_{it}$	Voting share for the *FPÖ* in municipality *i* in *t*
$Pillages_i$	Dummy = *1* when municipality is treated
$Post2005_t$	Dummy = *1* if *t* > 2005
α_i	Location FE
δ_t	Year FE
X_{it}	Vector of covariates: Log of electorate, socio-demographic variables (age cohorts, share of female, share of foreigner), work occupation of residents (share of industry, share of agriculture)
ε_{it}	Error term (spatial and temporal dependence; following Colella et al. 2019)

- Diff-in-Diff assumptions

  ➢ Common pre-campaigning trend in FPÖ vote shares

  ➢ Covariates should not show up any treatment effect   **Covariates in 2001/2011**

  ➢ Pillages should be orthogonal to observable characteristics prior to the Turkish invasions   **Historical infrastructure**

Pre campaigning vote trend

- FPÖ vote differences between pillaged and non-pillaged municipalities in East Austria since 1949 (conditioned on district vote shares)

− 95% Confidence interval ──●── Mean difference

	FPÖ vote shares			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	1.684***	1.777***	1.469***	1.138***
	(0.271)	(0.299)	(0.296)	(0.269)
Obs.	13,800	13,800	13,800	13,800
Municipalities	690	690	690	690
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year fixed effects × State fixed effects	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year fixed effects × Distance to Vienna	No	No	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	No	No	No	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.911	0.913	0.917	0.919

Spatial clustered (cutoff at 35 kilometers) and temporal clustered (time lag of 10 years) standard errors. Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

DiD – per year

DiD – Largest SE

Spatial fuzzy RDD (as IV)

Compare exposed vs. non-exposed regions

- Apply a spatial fuzzy regression discontinuity approach (RDD) to control for unobservable heterogeneity (Eugster et al. 2011, EJ; Basten and Betz 2013, AEJ)

  ➢ Endogeneity

  ➢ Spillovers

  ➢ Measurement errors

- Fuzzy RD is IV

  ➢ We instrument $Pillages_i$ with respect of a municipality's location

  ➢ In the West of Vienna, we use the Danube River as a fuzzy assignment variable whether a municipality was exposed to Turkish atrocities or not (historical place of the Battle of Bisamberg)

Compare exposed vs. non-exposed regions

- The Danube River in the West of Vienna serves as a fuzzy Turkish atrocity exposure threshold (but not in the east of Vienna)

History:

Pillaged municipalities:
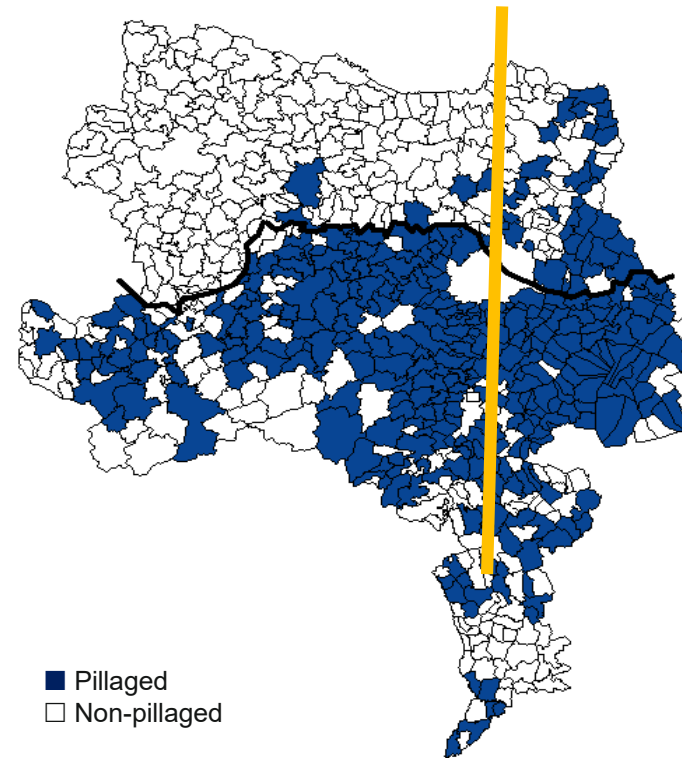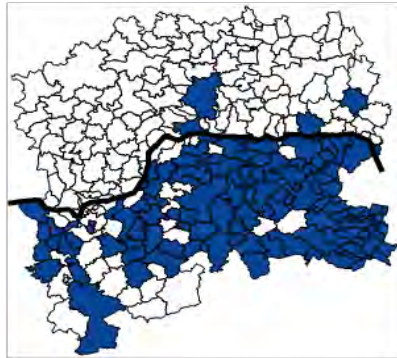
Bisamberg

■ Pillaged
□ Non-pillaged

Turkish pillages across the Danube River

Pillaged   Non-pillaged   —— Danube River

Turkish pillages across the Danube River

Pillaged ■ Non-pillaged □ —— Danube River

FPÖ vote shares across the Danube River

Before 2005 (no campaigning)

After 2005 (campaigning period)
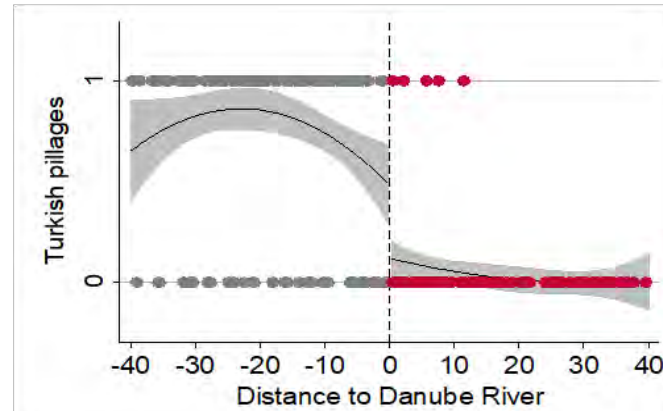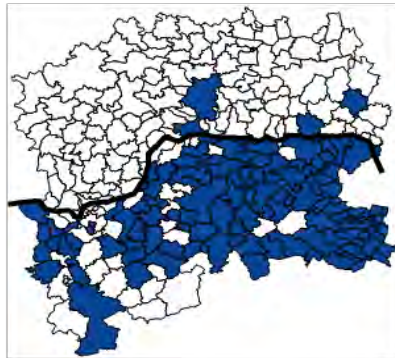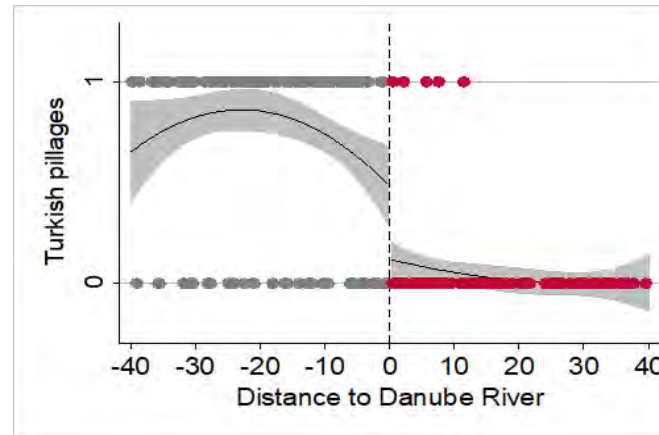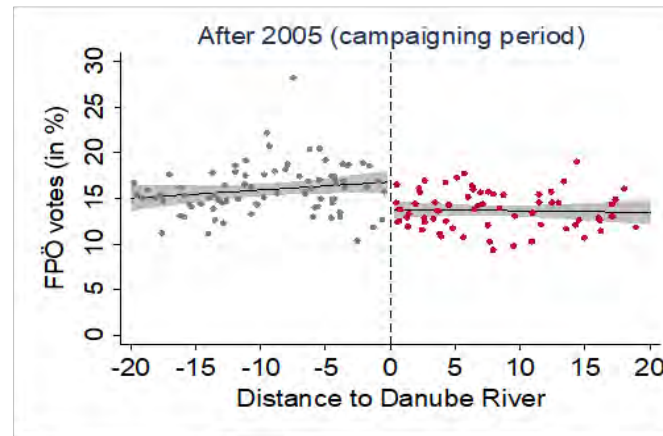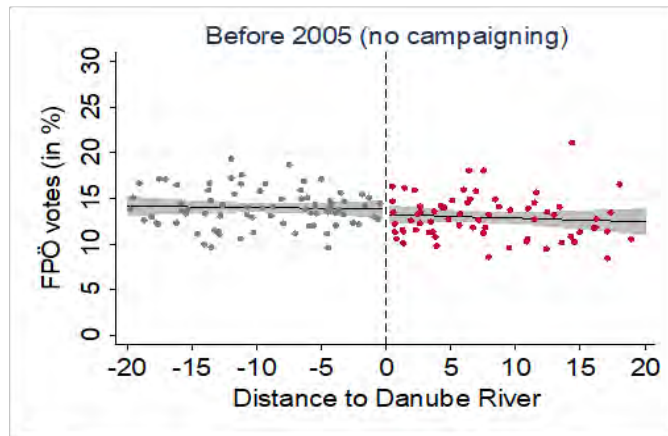
● South of Danube River ● North of Danube River —— Local fit ▦ 95% Confidence bands

East of Vienna

Covariates (RDD)

	FPÖ vote shares		
	Municipalities in the west of Vienna		
	Difference-in-Differences (OLS)	Fuzzy RDD (2SLS)	
	±40 km		
	(1)		
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	1.280***		
	(0.400)		
Obs.	5,240		
Municipalities	262		
Year fixed effects	Yes		
Municipality fixed effects	Yes		
Year FE × Geography FE	Yes		
Socio-demographic controls	Yes		
First stage (equivalent: Sharp RDD of Turkish pillages)			
South of Danube	–		
	–		
F stat. of excluded instrument	–		
Reduced form (equivalent: Sharp RDD of FPÖ vote shares)			
South of Danube × Post 2005	–		
	–		

Spatial clustered (cutoff at 35 kilometers) and temporal clustered (time lag of 10 years) standard errors. Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

	FPÖ vote shares				
	Municipalities in the west of Vienna				
	Difference-in-Differences (OLS)	Fuzzy RDD (2SLS)			
		Single-dimensional (Distance to Danube River)			
	±40 km	±40 km		±30 km	±20 km
		Linear	Quadratic	Linear	Linear
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	1.280***	2.340***	2.014***	2.242***	2.734***
	(0.400)	(0.649)	(0.630)	(0.698)	(0.732)
Obs.	5,240	5,240	5,240	4,280	3,020
Municipalities	262	262	262	214	151
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Geography FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
First stage (equivalent: Sharp RDD of Turkish pillages)					
South of Danube	–	0.558***	0.362***	0.500***	0.387***
	–	(0.015)	(0.049)	(0.037)	(0.089)
F stat. of excluded instrument	–	63.30	45.71	80.56	64.99
Reduced form (equivalent: Sharp RDD of FPÖ vote shares)					
South of Danube × Post 2005	–	2.476***	3.929***	3.170***	3.311***
	–	(0.672)	(0.760)	(0.657)	(0.675)

Spatial clustered (cutoff at 35 kilometers) and temporal clustered (time lag of 10 years) standard errors. Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

		FPÖ vote shares					
		Municipalities in the west of Vienna					
	Difference-in-Differences (OLS)	Fuzzy RDD (2SLS)					
		Single-dimensional (Distance to Danube River)				Multi-dimensional (longitude and latitude)	
	±40 km	±40 km		±30 km	±20 km	±40 km	
		Linear	Quadratic	Linear	Linear	Linear	Quadratic
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	1.280***	2.340***	2.014***	2.242***	2.734***	2.189***	2.178***
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Obs.	5,240	5,240	5,240	4,280	3,020	5,240	5,240
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South of Danube	–	0.558***	0.362***	0.500***	0.387***	0.656***	0.562***
	–	(0.015)	(0.049)	(0.037)	(0.089)	(0.032)	(0.011)
F stat. of excluded instrument	–	63.30	45.71	80.56	64.99	74.04	40.81
Reduced form (equivalent: Sharp RDD of FPÖ vote shares)							
South of Danube × Post 2005	–	2.476***	3.929***	3.170***	3.311***	2.142***	2.381***
	–	(0.672)	(0.760)	(0.657)	(0.675)	(0.412)	(0.380)

Spatial clustered (cutoff at 35 kilometers) and temporal clustered (time lag of 10 years) standard errors. Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Robustness

Recall:

$$FP\ddot{O}_{it} = \alpha_i + \beta(Pillages_i \times \textbf{\textit{Post2005}}_t) + X_{it}'\gamma + \delta_t + \varepsilon_{it}$$

Treatment Period

- Change treatment period
    - ➢ No effects for pre-2005 elections
    - ➢ No effects for post-1983 elections (300 anniversary and Jörg Haider)
    - ➢ Thus: increasing FPÖ vote shares per se do not drive our results

Table - Period

Period of political radicalization

- We use the 1930 election results to test whether "ethnic" political radicalization is spatially persistent
    - ➢ No differences in votes for all parties

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Different measures of Turkish exposure

- Divide 1st and 2nd Siege; add non-exposed municipalities with visual memories
  - ➢ Drop municipalities with only one single source of reports

  Table - Pillages

Alternative measure of pillages based on municipal building data

- The relative decline in the number of buildings from 1590 to 1720 as a measure for the scope of pillages in Siege II
  - ➢ Higher affectedness increases FPÖ vote shares after 2005

Other hostile forces

- Other forces might have taken the same way on their way through Austria
  - ➢ Other forces since the 15th century: Hungarians, Hussite, Swedes, Napoleon
  - ➢ No increase in FPÖ vote shares

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Recall:

$$FPÖ_{it} = \alpha_i + \beta(Pillages_i \times Post2005_t) + X_{it}'\gamma + \delta_t + \varepsilon_{it}$$

Exclude right-wing populism: The BZÖ

- 2005: The right-wing camp divides into Strache's FPÖ and Haider's BZÖ
  - ➢ The BZÖ did not run anti-Turkish/anti-Muslim campaigns
  - ➢ No differences in BZÖ votes in 2006, 2008 and 2013(the BZÖ did not run anti-Turkish campaigns)
  - ➢ Also no difference in vote shares for Team Stronach in 2013   **Table – BZÖ**

Unobservable historical variables

- Location of monasteries and fortresses in the 16th century

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Unobservable historical variables

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Channel discussion

Salient history vs persistent anti-Muslim sentiments?

- Geo-coded EVS data from 1999 (pre-campaigning) and from 2008 (campaigning period) confirms salient history

  ➢ "Do you want to have a Muslim as your neighbor?"

	Probit estimations		
	I would not like to have as neighbors …		
	… Muslims = 1		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	0.43*	0.48**	0.50**
	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.24)
Turkish pillages	-0.04	-0.01	-0.03
	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Post 2005	0.19	0.33	0.30
	(0.15)	(0.22)	(0.22)
Obs.	697	690	690
Socio-economic controls	No	Yes	Yes
Geographical controls	No	No	Yes
Pseudo R²	0.03	0.06	0.07

Note: Significance levels (Robust standard errors in brackets): *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

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  ➢ "Do you want to have a Muslim as your neighbor?"

	Probit estimations				
	I would not like to have as neighbors …				
	… Muslims = 1			*… Jews = 1*	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	0.43*	0.48**	0.50**	0.35	0.28
	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.28)	(0.29)
Turkish pillages	-0.04	-0.01	-0.03	-0.08	0.04
	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.21)
Post 2005	0.19	0.33	0.30	0.62**	0.63**
	(0.15)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.28)	(0.29)
Obs.	697	690	690	673	673
Socio-economic controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Geographical controls	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Pseudo R²	0.03	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.09

Note: Significance levels (Robust standard errors in brackets): *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Turkish settlement response

- Turkish minority started to leave pillaged municipalities
  - ➤ Salient history has thus real world effect
  - ➤ Other minorities (e.g. Ex-Yugoslavian) are not affected

Table – Citizens

Table – Place of birth
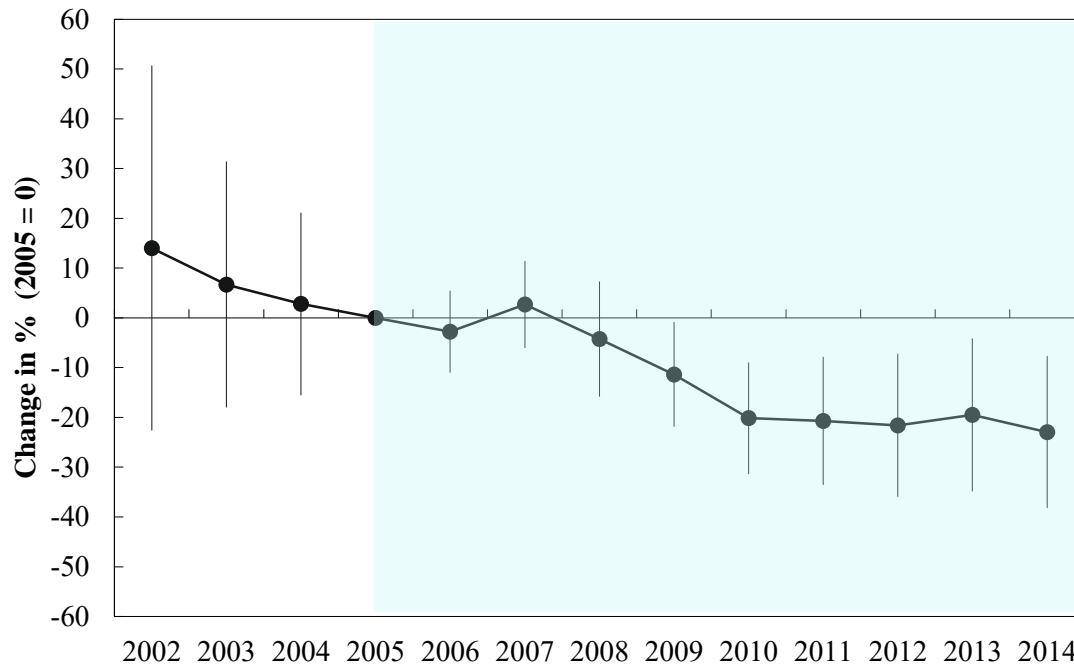
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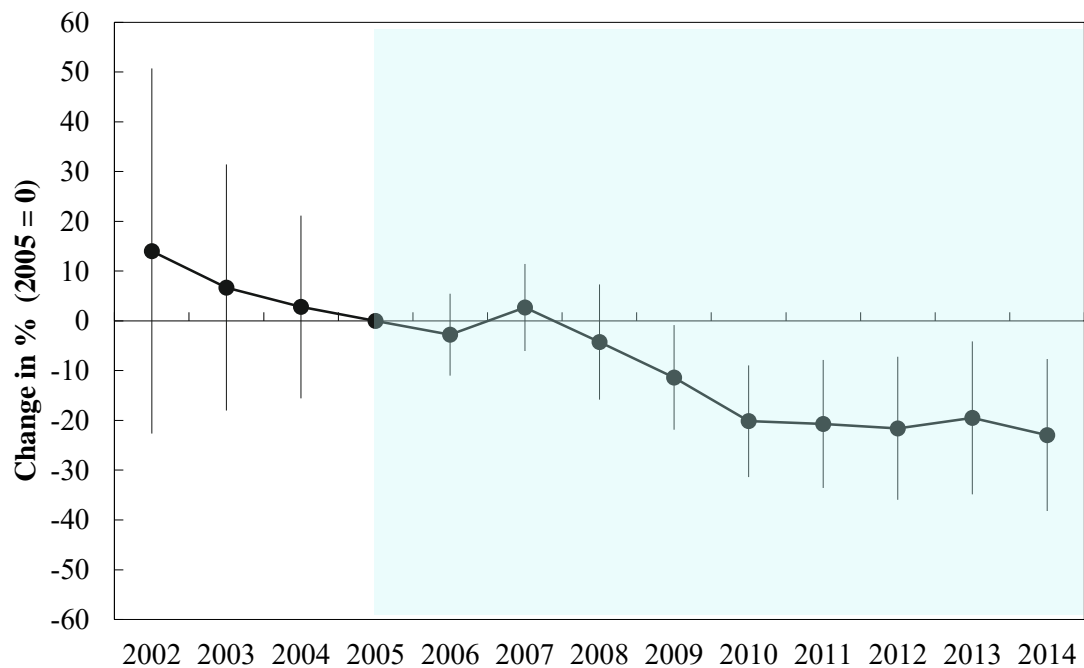
All foreigners:
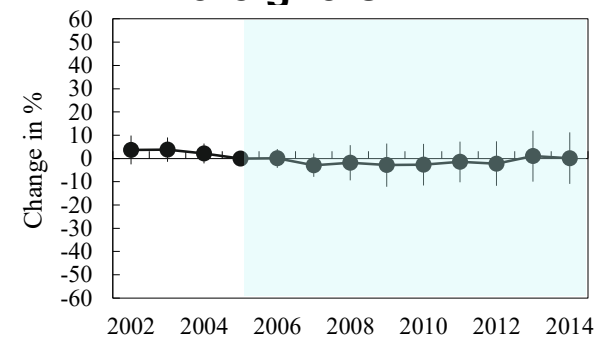
Ex-Yugoslavians:

Strategic campaigning?

- No differences in local FPÖ campaign capacity
  - ➢ Look on the existence, formation and dissolution of local party branches

Table – Party branches

Table – Probit model

Heterogeneous effects

- Divide the sample according to municipal characteristics
  - ➢ Salient history is more pronounced in remote and rural municipalities

Effects on other parties

- The surge of FPÖ vote shares corresponds to an one-to-one decline in vote share for the left wing camp (SPÖ and Greens)
  - ➢ The conservative ÖVP is less affected
  - ➢ No effects on voter turnout

Elections in 2017 and 2019

- The conservative ÖVP under Sebastian Kurz started also to campaign on an anti-Turkish/anti-Muslim platform
  - ➢ Losses of the FPÖ; gains of the ÖVP; no effects for the left-wing camp
  - ➢ Higher voter turnout in pillaged municipalities

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<div style="text-align: right;">**Table – 2017 and 2019**</div>

History matters

- The arguably irrelevant past is able to shape individual behavior
    - ➢ 1 out of 10 votes for the far-right is caused by activated history
    - ➢ We find a persuasion rate of 8 – 12 % (Diff-in-Diff) and up to 20% (fuzzy RD)
    - ➢ Anit-Muslim sentiments are also shaped in formerly pillaged municipalities
    - ➢ The targeted minority group faces real world effects
    - ➢ Voters are prone to a information bias which causes an overreaction

- Persistence is not a once-and-for-all shift in behavior
    - ➢ Instead: The collective memory is a key factor for creating persistence
    - ➢ History can pop up from time to time

- Populist campaigns attract voters
    - ➢ Campaigning uncover local history and shape voting behavior
    - ➢ Political campaigns that use stereotypes help to gain vote shares and shape outgroup sentiments

Political / populist campaigns refer to history
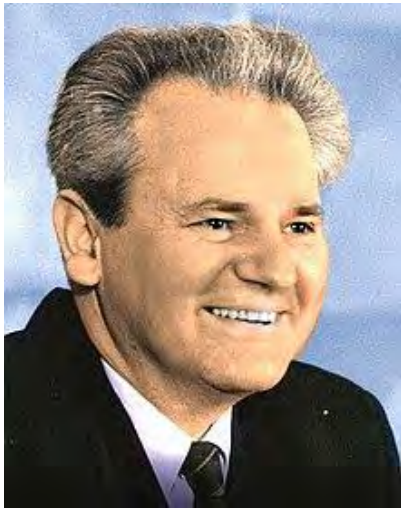
Slobodan Milošević

"Six centuries later, now, we are being again engaged in battles and are facing battles […]. [These battles] cannot be won without the noble qualities that were present here in the field of Kosovo in the days past.

Let the memory of Kosovo heroism live forever! Long live Serbia! […]"

—— Gazimestan speech in 1989 ——
(Evoking Serbian nationalism and outgroup tensions against Yugoslavian Muslims)

Donald J. Trump

"Make America great agian"

—— Winning election campaign slogan in 2016 ——

Return

A: Official symbols
(municipal coat of arms)

B: Remaining church towers of
destroyed municipalities

C: Buildings with a direct link to
the Turkish invasions

D: Plaques that commemorate
Turkish atrocities

E: Place names (streets, squares,
fields)

F: Place names (cont.)
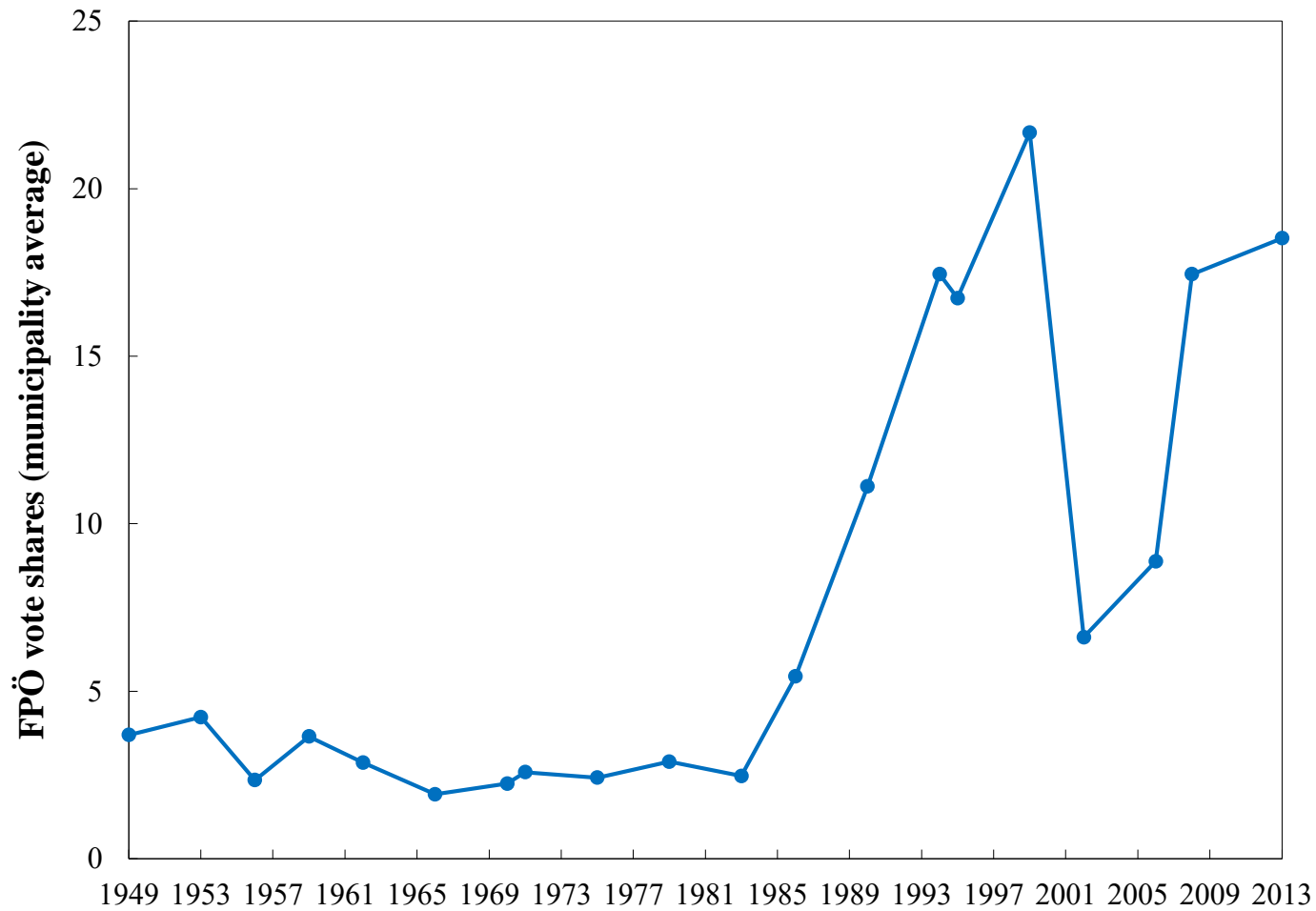
Return

Return
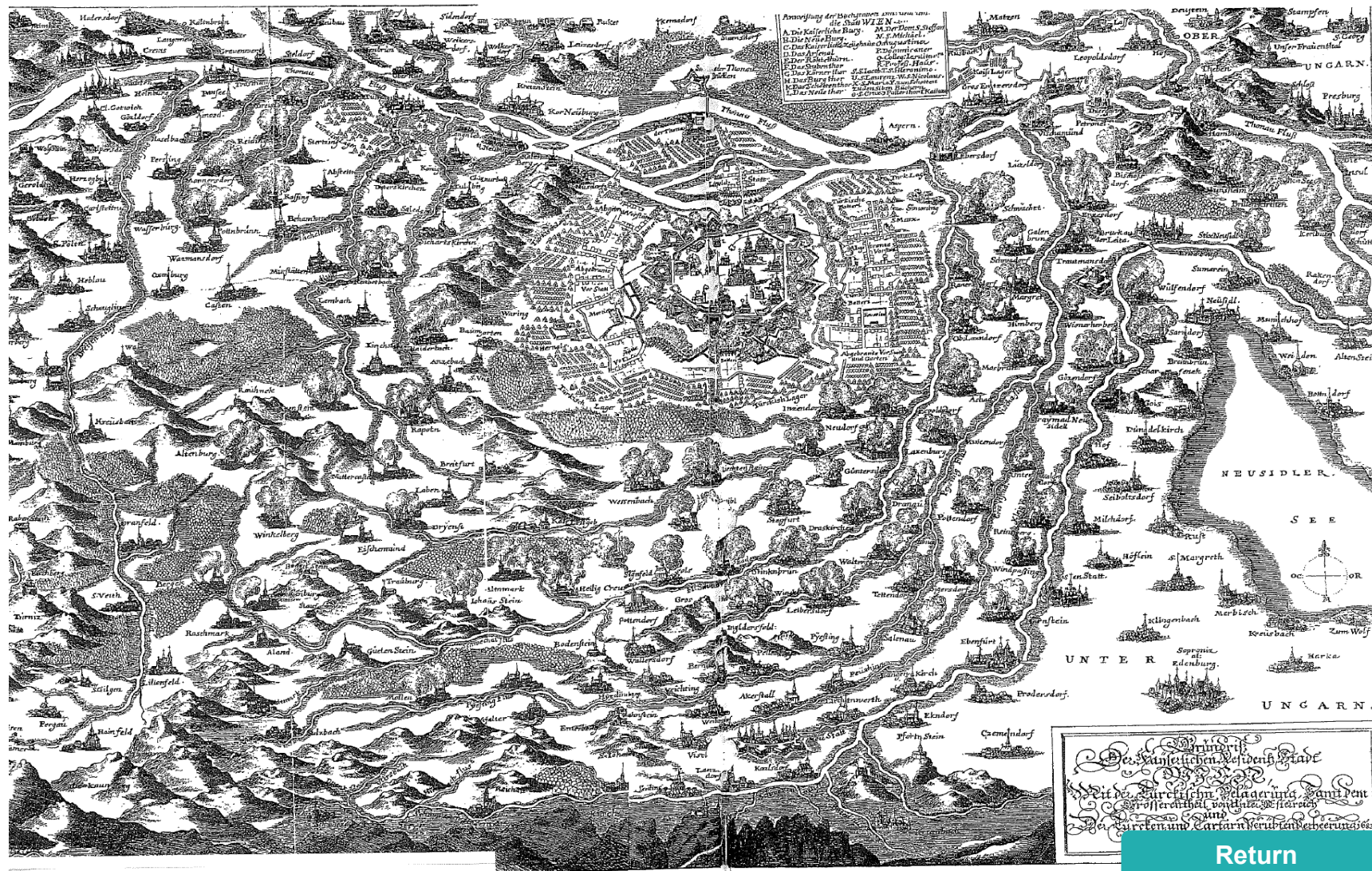
Source of information	Siege I	Siege II	(Siege I and/or Siege II)	Single Source
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Historical maps	–	167	167	30
Local sources (e.g., chronicles)	185	211	274	94
Wikipedia	91	90	131	9
Book search	15	17	31	10
Number of pillaged municipalities	222	287	341	143
Share of total municipalities	0.316	0.416	0.494	0.207

Return

	Full sample					Pillaging status (means)	
	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	Pillaged (n=341)	Not pillaged (n=349)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Foreign forces in East Austria							
Turkish pillages (Siege I or II)	690	0.49	0.50	0	1	1.00	0.00
Turkish pillages (Siege I)	690	0.32	0.47	0	1	0.64	0.00
Turkish pillages (Siege II)	690	0.42	0.49	0	1	0.84	0.00
Hungarians (15th century)	690	0.23	0.42	0	1	0.37	0.09
Swedes (1645/1646)	690	0.13	0.34	0	1	0.08	0.18
Napoleonic troops (1805–1809)	690	0.19	0.39	0	1	0.23	0.15
Hussites (1420–1434)	690	0.10	0.30	0	1	0.04	0.15
Vote shares							
FPÖ (Right-wing populist)	13,800	7.76	7.18	0	35.80	8.10	7.43
ÖVP (Conservative)	13,800	48.72	17.73	5.80	97.62	43.94	53.40
SPÖ/Green Party (Left-wing)	13,800	40.44	14.93	0	88.59	44.35	36.62
Socio-demographics							
Electorate (log)	13,800	7.15	0.73	4.06	10.63	7.28	7.03
Population share female	13,800	51.60	1.67	41.43	61.93	51.63	51.56
Population share foreigners	13,800	2.79	3.15	0	35.84	3.47	2.13
Population share < 20 years	13,800	27.13	5.68	11.27	47.84	26.63	27.63
Population share > 65 years	13,800	14.97	3.63	0	32.51	14.63	15.31
Share agriculture	13,800	17.63	17.14	0.12	84.91	14.21	20.97
Share industry	13,800	28.50	11.97	3.89	74.77	30.26	26.77
Geography							
Burgenland (yes = 1)	690	0.20	0.40	0	1	0.23	0.17
Distance to Vienna	690	65.55	33.23	10.33	151.34	52.61	78.17
Distance to external border	690	30.82	22.28	0.40	88.70	33.16	28.54
Distance to highway	690	13.56	14.10	0.52	78.88	7.95	19.04
South of Danube (yes = 1)	690	0.65	0.48	0	1	0.88	0.42

Return

	Difference pillages vs. no pillages		
	2001	2011	Difference-in-differences 2001–2011
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Variable of interest			
FPÖ vote shares[a]	-0.138	1.185***	1.323**
	(0.191)	(0.376)	(0.521)
Socio-demographics			
Electorate (log)	0.267***	0.279***	0.012
	(0.097)	(0.098)	(0.206)
Population share female	0.230	0.194	-0.036
	(0.144)	(0.129)	(0.260)
Population share foreigners	0.519	0.452	-0.067
	(0.421)	(0.430)	(0.905)
Population share < 20 years	0.107	0.331*	0.225
	(0.243)	(0.190)	(0.297)
Population share > 65 years	-0.264	-0.522*	-0.258
	(0.284)	(0.281)	(0.358)
Share agriculture	-1.067**	-0.720***	0.347
	(0.417)	(0.262)	(0.721)
Share industry	0.377	0.121	-0.257
	(0.421)	(0.230)	(0.495)
Population share unemployed	0.135*	0.149	0.014
	(0.072)	(0.097)	(0.159)
Population share Catholics	-2.329*	n/a	–
	(1.328)		
Population share Protestants	0.942	n/a	–
	(0.884)		
Population share Muslims	0.263	n/a	–
	(0.340)		
Geography			
Distance to Vienna	-4.498***	-4.498***	–
	(1.417)	(1.417)	
Distance to external border	1.041	1.041	–
	(1.001)	(1.001)	
Distance to highway	-1.062	-1.062	–
	(0.800)	(0.800)	

Return

Orthogonality of observable characteristics around 1500

- Soil and Historical infrastructure (operating fortresses, monasteries)
- Geography (Distance to Vienna, Danube River)

	Turkish pillages	No pillages	Difference
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Land quality and historical infrastructure			
Fertile land (Share of total surface, in %)	67.47	65.35	-2.12
Own fortress in 1500	0.12	0.13	0.01
Own monastery in 1500	0.06	0.04	-0.02
Distance to nearest fortress in 1500	8.69	8.95	0.25
Distance to nearest monastery in 1500	12.41	14.69	2.29***
Geography (for 2SLS identification strategy)			
Distance to Vienna	52.61	78.19	25.58***
South of Danube River (yes = 1)	0.88	0.42	-0.46***
Obs.	341	349	690

Return

	FPÖ vote share (in %)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Turkish pillages × Election2002	0.048	0.075	0.025	-0.233
	(0.150)	(0.148)	(0.132)	(0.147)
Turkish pillages × Election2006	1.152***	1.205***	0.820**	0.481*
	(0.256)	(0.260)	(0.320)	(0.268)
Turkish pillages × Election2008	1.967***	2.096***	1.709***	1.364***
	(0.440)	(0.526)	(0.499)	(0.444)
Turkish pillages × Election2013	1.940***	2.045***	1.882***	1.522***
	(0.339)	(0.420)	(0.383)	(0.363)
Obs.	13,800	13,800	13,800	13,800
Municipalities	690	690	690	690
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year fixed effects × State fixed effects	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year fixed effects × Distance to Vienna	No	No	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	No	No	No	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.911	0.914	0.917	0.919

Return

|	FPÖ vote shares			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	1.684***	1.777***	1.469***	1.138***
Spatial correlated standard errors:				
Spatial cutoff 0 km	(0.134)	(0.133)	(0.141)	(0.138)
Spatial cutoff 5 km	(0.163)	(0.162)	(0.153)	(0.146)
Spatial cutoff 10 km	(0.212)	(0.213)	(0.189)	(0.177)
Spatial cutoff 15 km	(0.235)	(0.235)	(0.210)	(0.191)
Spatial cutoff 20 km	(0.244)	(0.246)	(0.225)	(0.202)
Spatial cutoff 25 km	(0.245)	(0.253)	(0.236)	(0.211)
Spatial cutoff 30 km	**(0.246)**	**(0.267)**	(0.253)	(0.229)
Spatial cutoff 35 km	(0.228)	(0.262)	**(0.257)**	**(0.230)**
Spatial cutoff 40 km	(0.211)	(0.254)	(0.253)	(0.224)
Temporal and spatial correlated standard errors (spatial cutoff at 35 km):				
Time lag 0 years	(0.228)	(0.262)	(0.257)	(0.230)
Time lag 5 years	(0.264)	(0.293)	(0.290)	(0.263)
Time lag 10 years	**(0.271)**	**(0.299)**	**(0.296)**	**(0.269)**
Time lag 15 years	(0.268)	(0.296)	(0.294)	(0.266)
Time lag 20 years	(0.267)	(0.296)	(0.294)	(0.266)
"Conventional" clustered standard errors:				
Clustered at municipality level	(0.228)	(0.224)	(0.232)	(0.221)
Clustered at district level (n=28)	(0.408)	(0.402)	(0.341)	(0.282)
Obs.	13,800	13,800	13,800	13,800
Municipalities	690	690	690	690
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year fixed effects × State fixed effects	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year fixed effects × Distance to Vienna	No	No	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	No	No	No	Yes

Return

Turkish pillages across the Danube River

Pillaged   Non-pillaged   —— Danube River
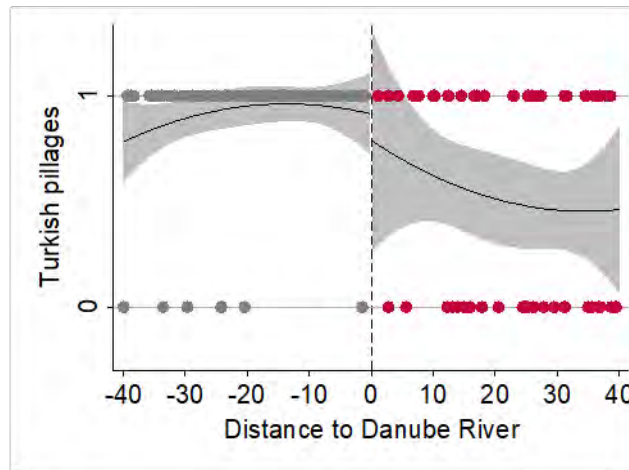
FPÖ vote shares across the Danube River
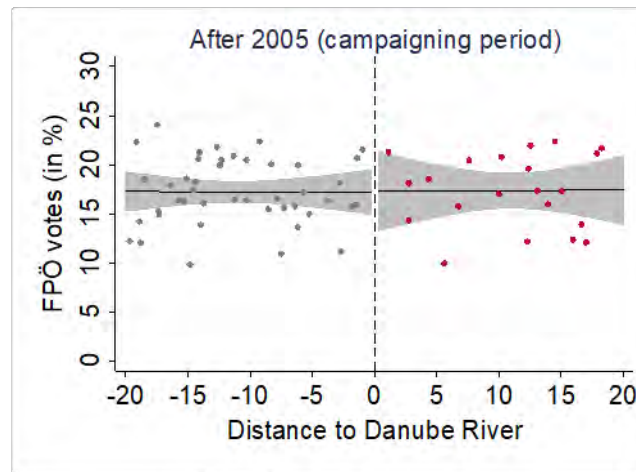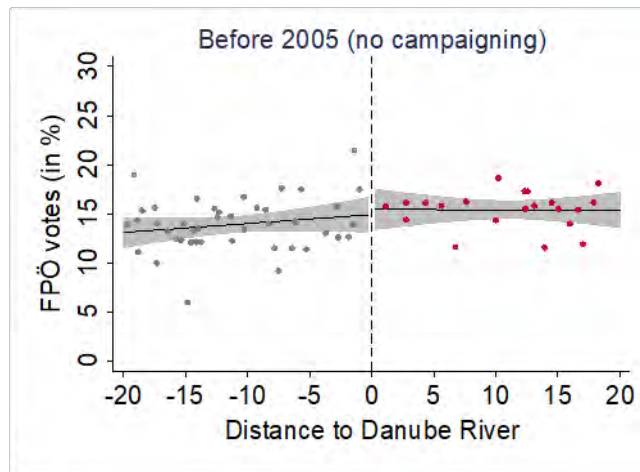
South of Danube River   • North of Danube River   —— Local fit   95% Confidence bands

Return

West of Vienna (longitude < 16.37°) (Fuzzy RDD sample)	Quadratic RDD estimate		
	2001	2011	Difference-in-discontinuities 2001–2011
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Turkish pillages	0.362**	0.362**	–
	(0.169)	(0.169)	
FPÖ vote share [a]	0.798	3.507***	2.709**
	(0.696)	(1.233)	(1.415)
Socio-demographics			
Electorate (log)	-0.026	-0.031	-0.005
	(0.221)	(0.232)	(0.321)
Population share female	-0.006	-0.045	-0.039
	(0.507)	(0.458)	(0.683)
Population share foreigners	2.443**	1.262	-1.180
	(0.972)	(1.214)	(1.555)
Population share < 20 years	0.449	-0.049	-0.498
	(1.009)	(0.630)	(1.189)
Population share > 65 years	0.742	0.156	-0.586
	(0.890)	(1.008)	(1.345)
Share agriculture	-0.451	-0.698	-0.247
	(1.607)	(1.157)	(1.980)
Share industry	5.339***	2.088	-3.250
	(2.019)	(1.543)	(2.541)
Population share unemployed	0.054	0.051	-0.003
	(0.131)	(0.139)	(0.191)
Population share Catholics	0.822	n/a	–
	(3.995)		
Population share Protestants	-0.029	n/a	–
	(0.847)		
Population share Muslims	2.202***	n/a	–
	(0.527)		
East of Vienna (longitude > 16.37°) (Control sample)	Quadratic RDD estimate		
	2001	2011	Difference-in-discontinuities 2001–2011
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Turkish pillages	0.026	0.026	–
	(0.127)	(0.127)	
FPÖ vote share [a]	-0.575	-0.565	0.010
	(1.040)	(1.625)	(1.724)

Return

	FPÖ vote shares			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005 (2005–2013)	1.138***			1.251***
	(0.269)			(0.276)
Turkish pillages × Post 1995 (1995–2004)		0.032		0.329
		(0.205)		(0.217)
Turkish pillages × Post 1986 (1986–1994)			-0.069	0.231
			(0.193)	(0.201)
Obs.	13,800	13,800	13,800	13,800
Municipalities	690	690	690	690
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Geography FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.919	0.919	0.919	0.919

Return

	Vote shares in 1930			
	Right-wing parties (*FPÖ equivalent*)		Catholic Conservatives (*ÖVP equivalent*)	Social Democrats (*SPÖ equivalent*)
	Entire camp	NSDAP		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Turkish pillages	-0.810	-0.232	-0.216	0.942
	(1.096)	(0.281)	(2.392)	(2.077)
Obs.	690	690	690	690
Municipalities	690	690	690	690
District fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Geography controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (adjusted)	0.266	0.363	0.273	0.339

Return

	FPÖ vote shares				
	Baseline	Baseline, and memorials	Siege I (only)	Siege II (only)	Baseline without "single-source municipalities"
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	1.138***	1.154***	1.121***	1.269***	0.988***
	(0.269)	(0.273)	(0.435)	(0.312)	(0.297)
Obs.	13,800	13,800	8,060	9,440	10,940
Municipalities	690	690	403	472	547
Share of pillaged municipalities	0.49	0.51	0.13	0.26	0.36
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Geography FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.919	0.919	0.913	0.920	0.920

Return

	FPÖ vote shares					
	Extensive margin				Intensive margin	
	Building information		Building sample of entire municipality		Building sample with pillaged municipalities only	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Affectedness × Post 2005	0.280**	0.290**	0.308**	0.297**	0.502***	0.561***
	(0.135)	(0.139)	(0.139)	(0.144)	(0.163)	(0.176)
Obs.	13,080	13,080	11,960	11,960	6,080	6,080
Municipalities	654	654	598	598	304	304
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Geography FE	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.910	0.920	0.911	0.920	0.916	0.926

Return

	FPÖ vote shares				
	Turks	Hungarians	Swedes	Hussite	Napoleon
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	1.138***	1.057***	1.098***	1.044***	1.186***
	(0.269)	(0.268)	(0.262)	(0.267)	(0.271)
Hungarians × Post 2005		0.394			
		(0.253)			
Swedes × Post 2005			-0.307		
			(0.361)		
Hussite × Post 2005				-0.947***	
				(0.353)	
Napoleonic troops × Post 2005					-0.487**
					(0.235)
Obs.	13,800	13,800	13,800	13,800	13,800
Municipalities	690	690	690	690	690
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Geography FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.919	0.919	0.919	0.919	0.919

Return

| | 2006 | | 2008 | | 2013 | | |
| | FPÖ | BZÖ | FPÖ | BZÖ | FPÖ | BZÖ | TS |
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Turkish pillages	0.104	0.018	0.746*	-0.083	1.005**	0.131	0.078
	(0.293)	(0.068)	(0.424)	(0.168)	(0.417)	(0.081)	(0.069)
Obs.	690	690	690	690	690	690	690
Municipalities	690	690	690	690	690	690	690
District fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Geography controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (adjusted)	0.288	0.181	0.359	0.348	0.322	0.247	0.786

Vote shares

Return

	Vote shares			
	Baseline	Monasteries	Fortresses	Monasteries and Fortresses
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	1.138***	1.146***	1.137***	1.146***
	(0.269)	(0.263)	(0.268)	(0.263)
Distance monasteries × Post 2005		0.032*		0.032*
		(0.018)		(0.018)
Distance fortresses × Post 2005			0.004	0.000
			(0.028)	(0.027)
Obs.	13,800	13,800	13,800	13,800
Municipalities	690	690	690	690
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Geography FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.919	0.919	0.919	0.919

Return

| | Share of foreign citizens | | | | | |
| | Turkish | | All foreigners | | Ex-Yugoslavian | |
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	-0.197***		0.136		-0.039	
	(0.038)		(0.115)		(0.041)	
Turkish pillages × Year 2006-2008		-0.148***		-0.046		-0.046
		(0.033)		(0.098)		(0.033)
Turkish pillages × Year 2009-2011		-0.204***		0.085		-0.042
		(0.041)		(0.121)		(0.049)
Turkish pillages × Year 2012-2014		-0.237***		0.368**		-0.029
		(0.043)		(0.177)		(0.048)
Obs.	8970	8970	8970	8970	8970	8970
Municipalities	690	690	690	690	690	690
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.939	0.939	0.930	0.930	0.942	0.942

Return

	Share of residents that are born abroad					
	Turkey		Abroad		Ex-Yugoslavia	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	-0.061***		0.579***		0.061*	
	(0.023)		(0.138)		(0.037)	
Turkish pillages × Year2006-2008		-0.029*		0.372***		0.045
		(0.017)		(0.123)		(0.028)
Turkish pillages × Year2009-2011		-0.064**		0.561***		0.054
		(0.025)		(0.148)		(0.042)
Turkish pillages × Year2012-2014		-0.089***		0.805***		0.082*
		(0.029)		(0.188)		(0.048)
Obs.	8970	8970	8970	8970	8970	8970
Municipalities	690	690	690	690	690	690
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.974	0.974	0.959	0.959	0.969	0.969

Return

	FPÖ vote shares	
	(1)	(2)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	1.685***	1.311**
	(0.607)	(0.550)
Turkish pillages × Party formation × Post 2005	0.629	0.559
	(1.086)	(1.000)
Turkish pillages × Party dissolution × Post 2005	0.222	0.070
	(0.632)	(0.573)
Turkish pillages × Party always in place × Post 2005	-0.538	-0.711
	(0.599)	(0.550)
Party formation × Post 2005	0.872	0.901
	(0.686)	(0.658)
Party dissolution × Post 2005	-0.478	-0.371
	(0.398)	(0.374)
Party always in place × Post 2005	1.038***	1.005***
	(0.379)	(0.374)
Obs.	13,800	13,800
Municipalities	690	690
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Geography FE	No	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	No	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.912	0.920

Return

	Local party branch = 1			
	Probit estimates			
	Formation		Dissolution	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Turkish pillages	0.074	0.184	-0.198*	-0.127
	(0.176)	(0.192)	(0.118)	(0.123)
Obs.	690	690	690	690
Number of formed/dissolved branches	38	38	190	190
Geography controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	No	Yes	No	Yes

Return

Turkish pillages × Post 2005	FPÖ vote share	
	Subsamples by medians	
	< Median	≥ Median
	(1)	(2)
Socio-demographics		
Electorate (log)	1.408***	0.769***
	(0.337)	(0.296)
Population growth 1951–2001	1.673***	0.277
	(0.339)	(0.298)
Settlement density	1.390***	0.658*
	(0.335)	(0.348)
Population share foreigners	0.956***	1.190***
	(0.307)	(0.339)
Population share Turkish foreigners	0.814**	1.053***
	(0.335)	(0.297)
Population share Muslims	0.991***	1.032***
	(0.335)	(0.329)
Tertiary education	1.222***	1.100***
	(0.325)	(0.328)
Share agriculture	0.729**	1.236***
	(0.349)	(0.310)
Share industry	1.046***	0.717***
	(0.402)	(0.260)
Population share unemployed	1.157***	1.225***
	(0.336)	(0.310)
Population share out-commuters	1.187***	1.010***
	(0.340)	(0.342)
Geography		
Distance to Vienna	0.863**	1.399***
	(0.368)	(0.288)
Distance to external border	1.283***	1.303***
	(0.395)	(0.307)
Distance to highway	0.854***	1.120***
	(0.305)	(0.355)
Obs.	6,900	6,900
Municipalities	345	345
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Geography FE	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	Yes	Yes

Return

	Vote shares and turnout			
	FPÖ	ÖVP	SPÖ/Greens	Voter turnout
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	1.138***	-0.747	-1.031*	-0.225
	(0.269)	(0.482)	(0.537)	(0.251)
Obs.	13,800	13,800	13,800	13,800
Municipalities	690	690	690	690
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Geography FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.919	0.961	0.943	0.872

Return

	Vote shares and turnout			
	FPÖ	ÖVP	SPÖ/Greens	Voter turnout
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Turkish pillages × Post 2017	-0.596*	1.213***	-0.293	0.424***
	(0.304)	(0.347)	(0.404)	(0.144)
Obs.	3,450	3,450	3,450	3,450
Municipalities	690	690	690	690
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Geography FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.929	0.964	0.961	0.913

Return