Appendix: *Heroes and Villains*

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Note: Appendices denoted A are intended for posting on the journal and on the authors' websites. Appendices denoted B appear only on the authors' websites.

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Table A1: **References to Generals in Regimental Histories**

	Pétain			Nivelle			Mangin		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	1914 France	Verdun only	1914 France	1914 France	Verdun only	1914 France	1914 France	Verdun only	1914 France
Verdun under Pétain	0.292***	0.292***	0.257**	-0.060	-0.060	-0.150**	-0.097	-0.097	-0.132
	(0.097)	(0.097)	(0.115)	(0.061)	(0.061)	(0.068)	(0.106)	(0.106)	(0.120)
Verdun	0.240**		0.286**	0.172***		0.295***	0.370***		0.411***
	(0.108)		(0.138)	(0.062)		(0.093)	(0.121)		(0.155)
Marne			0.052			0.110**			-0.008
			(0.091)			(0.046)			(0.097)
Somme			0.047			0.161**			0.046
			(0.110)			(0.063)			(0.113)
Chemin des Dames			0.080			0.068			0.093
			(0.095)			(0.051)			(0.098)
R-squared	0.10	0.05	0.11	0.02	0.01	0.11	0.03	0.01	0.04
Observations	172	152	172	172	152	172	172	152	172
Mean DepVar	0.60	0.64	0.60	0.15	0.17	0.15	0.48	0.52	0.48
Sd DepVar	0.61	0.62	0.61	0.33	0.35	0.33	0.62	0.63	0.62

Notes: OLS estimates. An observation is a regiment. General Pétain was the commanding officer at Verdun between 26 February and May 1st, when he was replaced by Generals Nivelle and Mangin. The dependent variables are the (log +1) number of references to each General in the regimental history document of each line infantry regiment, excepted for one, the 97th Infantry Regiment, for which the source document is hand-written and cannot be systematically searched through. See Supplementary references for a full list of references. "Verdun under Pétain" is a dummy variable taking value one if the regiment was rotated at Verdun between 26 February and May 1st (no regiment left or arrived on these specific dates). "Verdun " is a dummy variable taking value one if the regiment was rotated at Verdun at any point of the battle. Similarly, "Marne", "Somme", and "Chemin des Dames" are dummy variables that take value one if the regiment was rotated at those other major strategic battles. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10).

Table A2: **Balance on 1872 Characteristics (Chef-lieux level)**

	Observations (chef-lieux)	Mean (sd)	Coeff (se)	p-value	Coeff (se)	p-value
Controls			None		Dept FE	
Demographics and Education (1872)						
Log population	400	9.151	-0.009	0.935	0.168	0.377
		(0.960)	(0.108)		(0.189)	
Share Men	400	48.476	0.186	0.640	-0.113	0.881
		(3.052)	(0.396)		(0.752)	
Share Women	400	51.524	-0.186	0.640	0.113	0.881
		(3.052)	(0.396)		(0.752)	
Share Foreigners	400	2.894	1.922	0.198	0.421	0.507
		(6.880)	(1.485)		(0.633)	
Share Illiterate	400	17.869	1.013	0.345	1.142	0.231
		(7.222)	(1.070)		(0.950)	
Religious Characteristics (1872)						
Catholic places of worship	400	97.343	0.829	0.352	-0.987	0.540
		(6.923)	(0.888)		(1.607)	
Protestant places of worship	400	1.692	-1.486	0.064	-0.553	0.511
		(5.462)	(0.795)		(0.838)	
Jewish places of worship	400	0.165	0.052	0.474	-0.006	0.887
		(0.607)	(0.072)		(0.041)	
Other places of worship	400	0.293	0.042	0.785	0.305	0.089
		(1.300)	(0.153)		(0.178)	
Occupation Shares (1872)						
Industrial workers	400	33.844	5.244	0.026	2.415	0.486
		(16.705)	(2.334)		(3.455)	
Farmers	400	18.421	-2.802	0.199	-4.734	0.101
		(15.261)	(2.169)		(2.871)	
Merchants	400	14.740	0.976	0.233	0.934	0.439
		(7.443)	(0.815)		(1.204)	
Liberal occupations	400	11.645	-0.620	0.424	-1.502	0.354
		(6.357)	(0.774)		(1.615)	
Unemployed	400	1.289	-0.072	0.812	1.904	0.035
		(2.565)	(0.304)		(0.896)	

Notes: This Table displays 1872 characteristics in chef-lieux (the main town in each of France's arrondissements). The second Column shows the number of observations. The third shows the mean and standard deviation for each variable. The fourth to seventh Columns show the coefficients, standard errors, and p-values of OLS regressions of each characteristic on the Verdun under Pétain variable (which includes partial assignments) conditional on rotation to Verdun with no controls (Columns 4 and 5) and with 90 Department Fixed Effects (Columns 6 and 7). Standard errors clustered at Regiment level are reported in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10).

Table A3: **Balance on Historical Characteristics from Squicciarini [16] at Canton level**

	Observations (Cantons)	Mean (sd)	Coeff (se)	p-value	Coeff (se)	p-value
Controls			None		Dept FE	
1873						
Number of schools	2,765	2.384 (1.400)	0.153 (0.055)	0.005	0.067 (0.079)	0.394
Share Catholic schools	2,765	0.212 (0.189)	0.010 (0.007)	0.161	-0.006 (0.010)	0.555
Share schools in bad condition	2,765	0.052 (0.083)	0.009 (0.003)	0.007	0.011 (0.005)	0.036
1894						
Number of schools	2,765	2.384 (1.543)	0.100 (0.060)	0.096	-0.037 (0.096)	0.702
Share Catholic schools	2,765	0.166 (0.151)	-0.006 (0.006)	0.332	-0.004 (0.009)	0.641
Share Catholic students	2,765	0.200 (0.185)	-0.006 (0.007)	0.435	-0.007 (0.011)	0.542
Share Male Catholic students	2,765	0.090 (0.138)	0.004 (0.005)	0.407	-0.007 (0.009)	0.438
Share Female Catholic students	2,765	0.311 (0.268)	-0.012 (0.010)	0.237	-0.006 (0.016)	0.685
1901						
Average HH expenditure	1,374	66.924 (6.675)	0.125 (0.371)	0.738	-0.923 (0.728)	0.205

Notes: This Table displays historical characteristics from Squicciarini [16] at the canton level. The variables shown in the table are the following: log number of schools in 1873 and 1894, share of Catholic schools in 1873 and 1894, share of schools' buildings in bad conditions in 1873, share of students in Catholic schools in 1894, share of male/female students in Catholic schools in 1894, average household expenditure in 1901. The second Column shows the number of observations. The third shows the mean and standard deviation for each variable. The fourth to seventh Columns show the coefficients, standard errors, and p-values of OLS regressions of each characteristic on the Verdun under Pétain variable (which includes partial assignments) conditional on rotation to Verdun with no controls (Columns 4 and 5) and with 90 Department Fixed Effects (Columns 6 and 7). Standard errors clustered at Regiment level are reported in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10). Source: Squicciarini [16].

Table A4: **Balance on Historical Characteristics from Squicciarini [16] at Baillage level**

	Observations (Baillages)	Mean (sd)	Coeff (se)	p-value	Coeff (se)	p-value
Controls			None		Dept FE	
Wheat suitability	533	2.623	-0.094	0.585	-0.049	0.632
		(1.910)	(0.172)		(0.103)	
Total plague outbreaks (1517-1786)	533	0.680	-0.162	0.327	-0.371	0.142
		(1.817)	(0.165)		(0.252)	
Share of refractory clergy (1791/1792)	533	0.317	-0.038	0.156	-0.016	0.363
		(0.297)	(0.027)		(0.018)	
Log average HH expenditure 1901	533	3.099	0.002	0.992	0.001	0.933
		(1.853)	(0.168)		(0.008)	
Subscribers Encyclopédie (1777-1780)	533	0.546	-0.096	0.425	-0.207	0.257
		(1.325)	(0.121)		(0.183)	
Log number of firms in 1800	533	0.603	0.198	0.013	-0.072	0.483
		(0.874)	(0.079)		(0.102)	

Notes: This Table displays historical characteristics (at the dates indicated) from Squicciarini [16] at the baillage or sénéchaussée (historical district) level. The variables shown in the table are the following: soil suitability for wheat, total plague outbreaks (district-level averages) between 1517 and 1786, share of refractory clergy in 1791/1792, log average of canton household expenditure weighted by pop in 1901 at the district level, number of subscribers to the Encyclopédie between 1777 and 1780, log number of firms around 1800 in each district in cotton spinning, metallurgy and paper milling. The second Column shows the number of observations. The third shows the mean and standard deviation for each variable. The fourth to seventh Columns show the coefficients, standard errors, and p-values of OLS regressions of each characteristic on the Verdun under Pétain variable (which includes partial assignments) conditional on rotation to Verdun with no controls (Columns 4 and 5) and with 90 Department Fixed Effects (Columns 6 and 7). Standard errors clustered at Regiment level are reported in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10). Source: Squicciarini [16].

Table A5: **Balance on Weather, Elevation and Presence of Natural Resources at Municipal Level**

	Observations (Municipalities)	Mean (sd)	Coeff (se)	p-value	Coeff (se)	p-value
Controls			None		Dept FE	
Precipitation rate (mm/day)	34,942	2.601	0.149	0.153	0.078	0.258
		(0.643)	(0.103)		(0.068)	
Average temperature (C°)	34,942	11.805	-1.150	0.000	-0.065	0.692
		(1.539)	(0.226)		(0.162)	
Elevation(m)	34,942	276.909	75.643	0.094	17.021	0.581
		(294.309)	(44.918)		(30.790)	
Coal	34,942	0.030	0.007	0.520	-0.017	0.129
		(0.170)	(0.011)		(0.011)	
Silver	34,942	0.034	0.009	0.439	0.004	0.705
		(0.182)	(0.011)		(0.010)	
Copper	34,942	0.027	0.004	0.625	0.004	0.634
		(0.163)	(0.009)		(0.009)	
Lead	34,942	0.036	0.011	0.342	0.012	0.293
		(0.185)	(0.011)		(0.011)	
Zinc	34,942	0.029	0.012	0.272	0.008	0.478
		(0.168)	(0.011)		(0.011)	
Iron	34,942	0.025	-0.004	0.531	-0.014	0.131
		(0.157)	(0.007)		(0.009)	
Hydrocarbon	34,942	0.019	0.002	0.863	0.008	0.216
		(0.138)	(0.010)		(0.007)	

Notes: This Table displays municipal-level data on weather, elevation, and presence of natural resources. The second Column shows the number of observations. The third shows the mean and standard deviation for each variable. The fourth to seventh Columns show the coefficients, standard errors, and p-values of OLS regressions of each characteristic on the Verdun under Pétain variable (which includes partial assignments) conditional on rotation to Verdun with no controls (Columns 4 and 5) and with 90 Department Fixed Effects (Columns 6 and 7). Standard errors clustered at Regiment level are reported in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10). Source: Data on weather and elevation is from Centre National de Recherches Météorologiques and is based on 8,602 data points between 1976 and 2005. Data on presence of natural resources is from the Open Mineral Cadastre, French Ministry for Ecological Transition (downloaded May 10, 2021).

Table A6: **Balance on Soil Characteristics at Grid-Cell Level**

	Observations (Square Grid 16km*16km)	Mean (sd)	Coeff (se)	p-value	Coeff (se)	p-value
Controls			None		Dept FE	
Clay	1,750	248.014	14.056	0.034	1.225	0.940
		(132.319)	(6.615)		(16.247)	
Silt	1,750	410.682	4.350	0.614	-2.392	0.902
		(172.730)	(8.622)		(19.386)	
Sand	1,750	341.304	-18.407	0.106	1.167	0.964
		(227.641)	(11.391)		(25.973)	
Organic carbon	1,750	26.087	4.081	0.000	-1.970	0.448
		(20.658)	(1.029)		(2.598)	
Nitrogen	1,750	2.206	0.378	0.000	-0.174	0.371
		(1.579)	(0.079)		(0.195)	
Calcium carbonates	1,750	57.067	-16.524	0.016	-9.707	0.552
		(137.543)	(6.881)		(16.303)	
pH	1,750	6.422	0.029	0.661	0.310	0.047
		(1.312)	(0.066)		(0.156)	

Notes: This Table displays soil characteristics: average clay, silt, sand, organic carbon, nitrogen, and calcium carbonates soil content (g.kg-1) as well as the pH measured in water (1 to 5 soil to water ratio) at the 16 km x 16 km grid-cell level. The second Column shows the number of observations. The third shows the mean and standard deviation for each variable. The fourth to seventh Columns show the coefficients, standard errors, and p-values of OLS regressions of each characteristic on the Verdun under Pétain variable (which includes partial assignments) conditional on rotation to Verdun with no controls (Columns 4 and 5) and with 90 Department Fixed Effects (Columns 6 and 7). Standard errors clustered at Regiment level are reported in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10).
Source: Data is from INRAE French Soil Quality Monitoring Network (RMQS) (downloaded May 10, 2021) and Karimi et al. [13]. The RMQS is based on the monitoring of 2240 sites representative of French soils and their land use. These sites are spread over the French territory along a systematic square grid of 16 km x 16 km cells. The network covers a broad spectrum of climatic, soil and land-use conditions (croplands, permanent grasslands, woodlands, orchards and vineyards, natural or scarcely anthropogenic land and urban parkland). The physical, chemical and biological properties of the soil are measured on each site. These soil analyses were carried out by the Soil Analysis Laboratory of INRAE (Arras, France). Analyses used in this study only concern the surface layer (generally 0–30 cm layer) of samplings between 2000 and 2009.

Table A7: **Robustness to Alternative Functional Form and Excluding Movers**

	Collaborators - IHS				Log collabos pc - w/o movers			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	1914 France		Verdun only		1914 France		Verdun only	
Verdun under Pétain	0.049*	0.049**	0.070**	0.070***	0.064	0.057***	0.138***	0.084***
	(0.028)	(0.024)	(0.031)	(0.027)	(0.043)	(0.015)	(0.044)	(0.024)
Fixed effects	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept
Verdun	✓	✓			✓	✓		
1911 pop		✓		✓		✓		✓
Pre-WWI vote shares		✓		✓		✓		✓
R-squared	0.47	0.48	0.47	0.47	0.24	0.67	0.24	0.67
Observations	34,942	34,942	32,412	32,412	34,942	34,942	32,412	32,412
Mean DepVar	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.41	-5.82	-5.82	-5.82	-5.82
Sd DepVar	0.87	0.87	0.87	0.87	0.86	0.86	0.86	0.86

Notes: Columns 1 to 4 replicate Columns 1 to 4 of Table IV using instead the inverse hyperbolic sine of the number of collaborators in each municipality as the dependent variable and controlling for 1936 municipal population. Columns 5 to 8 reproduces replicate Columns 1 to 4 of Table IV restricting the estimation sample to the subsample of collaborators whose residence in 1945 is not different from their municipality of birth (i.e. excluding movers from the estimation sample). All regressions are at the municipality level with department fixed effects and control for the Verdun rotation and the usual set of pre-WWI controls. Robust standard errors clustered at Regiment level in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10).

Table A8: **Regression Discontinuity across Regiment Catchment Borders: First Stage Estimates**

	Verdun under Pétain	
	(1)	(2)
Distance from military boundary	0.017***	0.016***
	(0.002)	(0.002)
Fixed effects	Dept	Dept
Verdun	✓	✓
Pop 1911	✓	✓
Pre-WWI vote shares	✓	✓
RD polynomial		✓
F-stat	48.54	49.29
R-squared	0.86	0.86
Observations	14,202	14,202
Mean DepVar	0.51	0.51
Sd DepVar	0.48	0.48

Notes: This table shows the results of the first stage of a fuzzy spatial regression discontinuity design across regiment catchment borders. The specifications only use observations that fall within the optimal Calonico et al. [5] bandwidth (17.5 km, or 10.87 miles, on the untreated side of the border and 22km, or 13.67 miles on the treated side). Columns 1 and 2 display the first stage estimates associated with Columns 1 and 2 of Table A9 (respectively). All regressions are at the municipality level with department fixed effects and control for the Verdun rotation and the usual set of pre-WWI controls (as in Column 2 of Table IV) as well as a quadratic polynomial in latitude and longitude of the municipality centroid, when indicated. Robust standard errors clustered at Regiment level in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10).

Table A9: **Regression Discontinuity across Regiment Catchment Borders: Second Stage Estimates**

	Log collabos pc		Log sh Left 1914		Log sh Right 1914		WWI death rate		Pop 1911	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Verdun under Pétain	0.103**	0.093*	0.163	0.292	-0.135	-0.131	-0.124	-0.013	-0.059	0.025
	(0.045)	(0.049)	(0.217)	(0.239)	(0.272)	(0.289)	(0.221)	(0.231)	(0.099)	(0.105)
Fixed effects	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept
Verdun	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pop 1911	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Pre-WWI vote shares	✓	✓								
RD polynomial		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
R-squared	0.60	0.60	0.48	0.49	0.51	0.51	0.10	0.11	0.30	0.30
Observations	14,201	14,201	13,693	13,693	13,693	13,693	14,038	14,038	14,177	14,177
Mean DepVar	-5.78	-5.78	1.72	1.72	3.13	3.13	3.80	3.80	6.27	6.27
Sd DepVar	0.82	0.82	1.19	1.19	1.46	1.46	2.14	2.14	0.99	0.99

Notes: This table shows the results of the second stage of a fuzzy spatial regression discontinuity design across regiment catchment borders. The specifications only use observations that fall within the optimal Calonico et al. [5] bandwidth (17.5 km, or 10.87 miles, on the untreated side of the border and 22km, or 13.67 miles on the treated side). All regressions are at the municipality level with department fixed effects and control for the Verdun rotation. Additional controls include pre-WWI population and pre-WWI vote shares (as in Column 2 of Table IV) as well as a quadratic polynomial in latitude and longitude of the municipality centroid, when indicated. First stage results for Columns 1 and 2 are displayed in Table A8. Robust standard errors clustered at Regiment level in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10).

Table A10: **Collaboration in WWII: Evidence from Alternative Data Sources**

	OSS + LVF		Paillole + OSS + LVF	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	1914 France	Verdun only	1914 France	Verdun only
Verdun under Pétain	0.053***	0.065***	0.059***	0.081***
	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.023)
Fixed effects	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept
Verdun	✓		✓	
1911 pop	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-WWI vote shares	✓	✓	✓	✓
R-squared	0.89	0.89	0.58	0.58
Observations	34,947	32,417	34,947	32,417
Mean DepVar	-6.00	-5.99	-5.72	-5.71
Sd DepVar	0.95	0.95	0.83	0.83

Notes: The Table reproduces Columns 2 and 4 of Table IV. The dependent variables in Columns 1 and 2 are the log of collaborators per (1936) capita computed from alternative data sources on collaboration: the OSS and independently collected data on volunteers to the LVF.The dependent variables in Columns 3 and 4 are the log of collaborators per (1936) capita computed from all three data sources on collaboration: Paillole, the OSS, and volunteers to the LVF who are not already on the Paillole list. Robust standard errors clustered at Regiment level in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10).

Table A11: **Accounting for Differences in Battle Experiences in 1916 and Excluding Fortress Regiments**

	Log collabos pc						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Verdun under Pétain (VuP)	0.067***	0.067***	0.067***	0.068***	0.070***	0.070***	0.061***
	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.016)
Verdun	0.034	0.034	0.034	0.028	0.000	0.000	0.009
	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.039)	(0.041)	(0.040)	(0.039)	(0.035)
WWI fatal. rate	-0.017***	-0.015*	-0.017***				
	(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.005)				
VuP*WWI fatal. rate		-0.006					
		(0.012)					
Combat days in 1940			0.000				
			(0.005)				
Log dist demarcation line			0.012				
			(0.008)				
Vichy France			-0.062**				
			(0.028)				
Somme				-0.017	-0.025	-0.025	
				(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)	
South Eastern Front					-0.060	-0.060	
					(0.041)	(0.043)	
Marne						0.000	
						(0.029)	
Sample	All	All	All	All	All	All	No Fortress
Fixed effects	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept
1911 pop	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-WWI vote shares	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
R-squared	0.61	0.61	0.61	0.60	0.60	0.60	0.60
Observations	34,942	34,942	34,942	34,942	34,942	34,942	33,332
Mean DepVar	-5.75	-5.75	-5.75	-5.75	-5.75	-5.75	-5.76
Sd DepVar	0.83	0.83	0.83	0.83	0.83	0.83	0.83

Notes: This table shows that the effect associated with Pétain's leadership at Verdun on collaboration in WWII is robust to accounting for other potential differences in WWI military fatality rate, war experience in WWII, battle experience in 1916, or before. In Column 1, we add a control for the log (+1) military fatality rate in WWI in the municipality of birth of soldiers based on individual data on $1,266,060$ military fatalities, 99.72% of which we are able to match to $34,782$ municipalities of birth. The mean rate is 4.03 ; and the mean log rate is 1.55. We standardize the log rate to have mean 0 and standard deviation of 1. In Column 2, we also include an interaction between Verdun-under-Pétain and the (standardized) log military fatality rate in WWI. In Column 3, we add controls for war experience in WWII (See Section B.4 of this Appendix for more detail). Columns 4 and 5 consider the influence of the other major theaters of operation for the French Army in 1916: the Battle of the Somme and the European South-Eastern front. Column 6 considers the potential influence of another major battle prior to 1916: the Battle of the Marne in 1914. Column 7 excludes fortress regiments (the regiments numbered 145 and above, which manned the eastern fortifications, including Verdun, before the start of the Battle) from the estimation sample. All regressions are at the municipality level with department fixed effects and control for the Verdun rotation as well as the usual set of pre-WWI controls (as in Column 2 of Table IV). Robust standard errors clustered at Regiment level in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10).

Table A12: **Effects by Collaborationist Organization**

	RNP	PPF	MSR	Franc	GC	SOL	Milice	LVF	Germ Int	Gestapo	Eco coll	AM
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Verdun under Pétain	0.075***	0.061***	0.052***	0.055***	0.056***	0.052***	0.043***	0.057***	0.058***	0.051***	0.056***	0.049***
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Fixed effects	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept
Verdun	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
1911 pop	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-WWI vote shares	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
R-squared	0.86	0.88	0.93	0.94	0.94	0.94	0.86	0.89	0.94	0.92	0.95	0.95
Observations	34,942	34,942	34,942	34,942	34,942	34,942	34,942	34,942	34,942	34,942	34,942	34,942
Mean DepVar	-5.98	-6.01	-6.05	-6.05	-6.06	-6.06	-5.98	-6.01	-6.05	-6.04	-6.06	-6.07
Sd DepVar	0.96	0.96	1.02	1.02	1.03	1.04	0.95	0.96	1.02	1.00	1.03	1.05

Notes: This table shows that exposure to Pétain at Verdun influences collaboration across all different types of collaboration. All regressions are at the municipality level with department fixed effects and control for the Verdun rotation and the usual set of pre-WWI controls (as in Column 2 of Table IV). Robust standard errors clustered at Regiment level in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10).
The organizations are ranked by decreasing absolute membership numbers. The dependent variables are the log number of members in each organization per capita. RNP: National Popular Rally; PPF: French Popular Party. The PPF and RNP are the two major collaborationist political parties. Secondary parties, inherited from the 1930s Fascist Leagues are: MSR: Revolutionary Social Movement; and Franc: Francism. GC: Groupe Collaboration is a collaborationist think- tank gathering many prominent intellectuals and members of the elite. SOL: Legionary Order Service is a para-military group grounded in WWI Veterans organizations. Milice is the primary para-military group after 1943. LVF: Legion of French Volunteers against Bolshevism: para-military group of volunteers to fight alongside the Wehrmacht on the Eastern Front. Germ Int: German Intelligence Service. Eco coll: Economic Collaboration. AM: "Amis du Maréchal": Friends of the Marshal [Pétain].

Table A13: **Collaboration among Movers in the Same Destination, as a Function of Treatment Status of the Municipality of Birth**

	Collabo V-u-P	Share V-u-P	Collabos Not V-u-P	Share Not V-u-P
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Verdun under Pétain	0.072***	0.010***	0.058***	0.000
	(0.016)	(0.003)	(0.016)	(0.004)
Fixed effects	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept
Verdun	✓	✓	✓	✓
1911 pop	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-WWI vote shares	✓	✓	✓	✓
R-squared	0.91	0.14	0.91	0.14
Observations	34,947	34,947	34,947	34,947
Mean DepVar	-6.03	0.02	-6.03	0.02
Sd DepVar	0.98	0.12	0.99	0.11

Notes: The unit of observation is a municipality of residence. "V-u-P" stands for "Verdun-under-Pétain". This table provides an OLS regression of the log number of collaborators per capita who were born elsewhere and migrated either from a "Verdun-under-Pétain" municipality (Col 1) or from another municipality (Col 3). In Col 2 (resp. 4), the dependent variable is the share of collaborators who migrated from a Verdun-under-Pétain (resp. not Verdun-under-Pétain) municipality among local collaborators who are internal migrants. All regressions are at the municipality level with department fixed effects and the usual set of pre-WWI controls at the municipality level (as in Column 2 of Table IV). Robust standard errors clustered at Regiment level in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10).

Table A14: **Exposure to Pétain and Vote in the Inter-war Period**

(a) 1919 elections

	Ext. Left	Left	Center Left	Right			Ext. Right
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Communistes	SFIO	PRRS	FR-URD	UNR	ERD	Action Francaise
Verdun under Pétain	0.022	-0.098	-0.082**	0.014	0.031	0.140**	0.028
	(0.032)	(0.062)	(0.038)	(0.028)	(0.035)	(0.058)	(0.032)
Fixed effects	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept
Verdun	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
1911 pop	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-WWI vote shares	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
R-squared	0.85	0.65	0.92	0.92	0.93	0.91	0.86
Observations	33,541	33,541	33,541	33,541	33,541	33,541	33,541
Mean DepVar	0.02	2.08	1.29	1.12	1.11	0.99	0.04
Sd DepVar	0.96	1.16	1.87	1.85	1.93	1.81	0.97

(b) 1924 elections

	Ext. Left	Left		Center Left		Center Right	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	BOP	SFIO	RAD-SOC	REP-RAD	RG	ERD	Conservateur
Verdun under Pétain	-0.095**	0.031	0.037	0.004	-0.055	0.088**	0.005
	(0.048)	(0.075)	(0.037)	(0.030)	(0.052)	(0.043)	(0.033)
Fixed effects	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept
Verdun	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
1911 pop	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-WWI vote shares	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
R-squared	0.58	0.85	0.90	0.90	0.89	0.90	0.87
Observations	32,624	32,624	32,624	32,624	32,624	32,624	32,624
Mean DepVar	1.29	2.41	1.15	0.13	1.47	2.85	0.11
Sd DepVar	1.05	1.66	1.88	1.27	1.81	1.69	1.21

Exposure to Pétain and Vote in the Inter-war Period (cont'd)

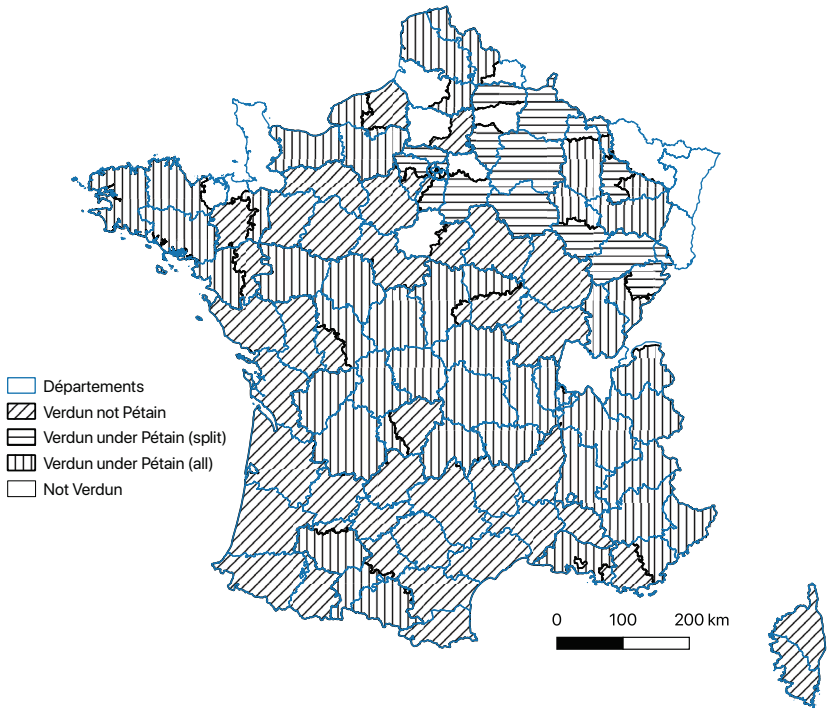
(c) 1932 elections

	Ext. Left	Left	Center Left		Center Right		Right	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	PCF	SFIO	REP-SOC	RAD-SOC	AD-RG	AD-IND	AD-PDP	FR-URD
Verdun under Pétain	-0.004	-0.070	0.003	0.058	0.156**	-0.038	-0.012	0.187***
	(0.063)	(0.095)	(0.031)	(0.099)	(0.070)	(0.101)	(0.059)	(0.047)
Fixed effects	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept
Verdun	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
1911 pop	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-WWI vote shares	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
R-squared	0.56	0.68	0.85	0.86	0.90	0.82	0.87	0.88
Observations	29,036	29,036	29,036	29,036	29,036	29,036	29,036	29,036
Mean DepVar	1.07	2.04	0.37	2.18	1.45	1.36	0.18	0.93
Sd DepVar	1.02	1.51	1.46	1.91	2.05	1.91	1.37	1.90

(d) 1936 elections

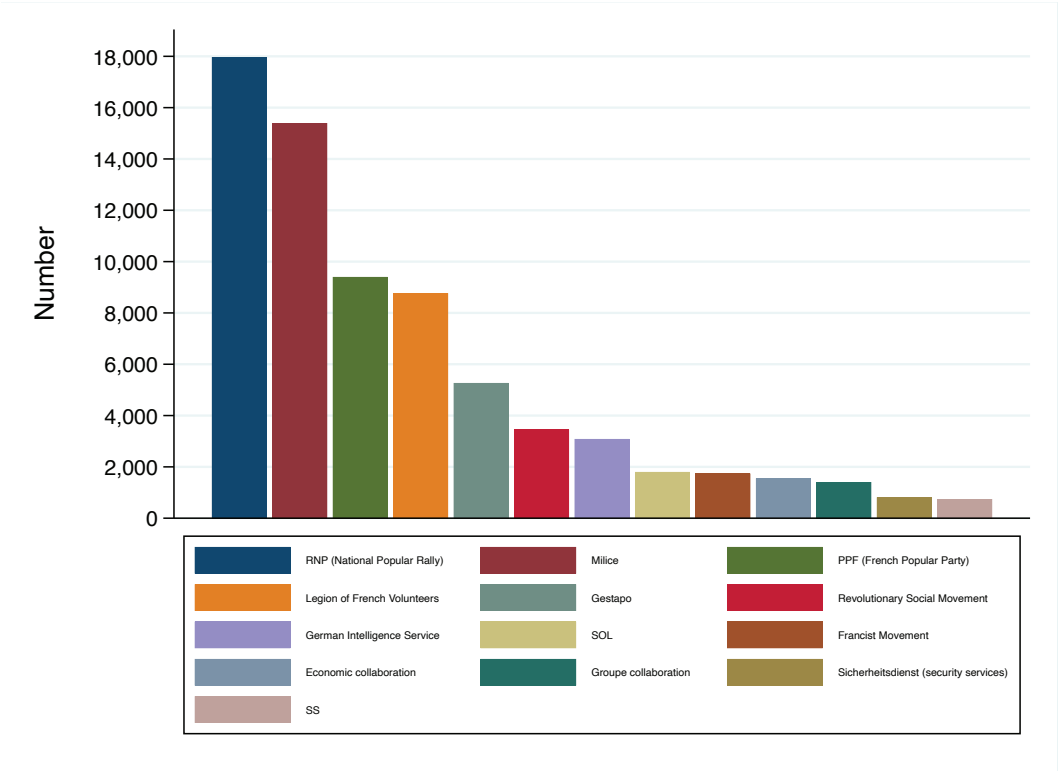
	Ext. Left	Left	Center Left		Center Right		Right	Ext. Right
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	PCF	SFIO	USR	RAD-SOC	AD	PRN	AGR	Franciste
Verdun under Pétain	-0.031	-0.026	-0.035	-0.015	-0.097	-0.076	0.080**	0.030***
	(0.056)	(0.086)	(0.063)	(0.075)	(0.114)	(0.072)	(0.036)	(0.009)
Fixed effects	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept	Dept
Verdun	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
1911 pop	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pre-WWI vote shares	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
R-squared	0.56	0.65	0.80	0.84	0.85	0.88	0.82	0.78
Observations	33,832	33,832	33,832	33,832	33,832	33,832	33,832	33,832
Mean DepVar	1.96	2.42	1.37	2.37	2.61	1.84	0.93	0.76
Sd DepVar	0.89	1.15	1.15	1.38	1.46	1.48	0.77	0.45

Notes: This table provides the results of an OLS estimation of equation (3). The dependent variable is the log of the vote share for different political parties in each legislative election of 1919, 1924, 1932, and 1936, as indicated. All regressions are at the municipality level with department fixed effects and control for the Verdun rotation and the usual set of pre-WWI controls (as in Column 2 of Table IV).
For 1919, due to the multitude of political parties running in this election (see more detail in Section B.3.2), we only display the results for parties that obtained at least 10% of the vote, except, for illustration purposes, the Communists (Extreme Left), which obtained 1.65% of the vote, and Action Française (Extreme Right), which obtained 1.71% of the vote. For the other elections, we display the results for parties that obtained at least 3% of the vote, except for the Francist party (Extreme Right), which obtained 1.4% of the vote in 1936.
Robust standard errors two-way clustered at Regiment level and at electoral district level are reported in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10).



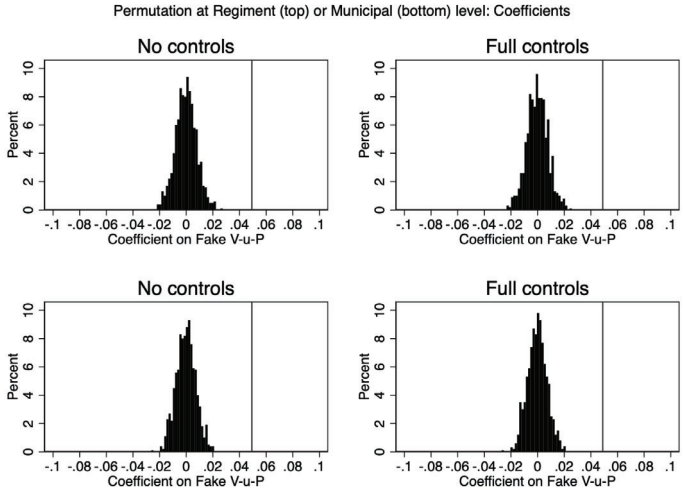
Notes: The figure displays whether all (vertical lines), some (horizontal lines) or none of the regiments from each municipality were rotated through Verdun. Thin blue lines indicate department boundaries and illustrate our within-department identifying variation. 92.76% of 1914 France's municipalities sent troops that served at Verdun. 56.86% sent troops that served at Verdun under Pétain.

Figure A1: Municipalities raising regiments under Pétain at Verdun



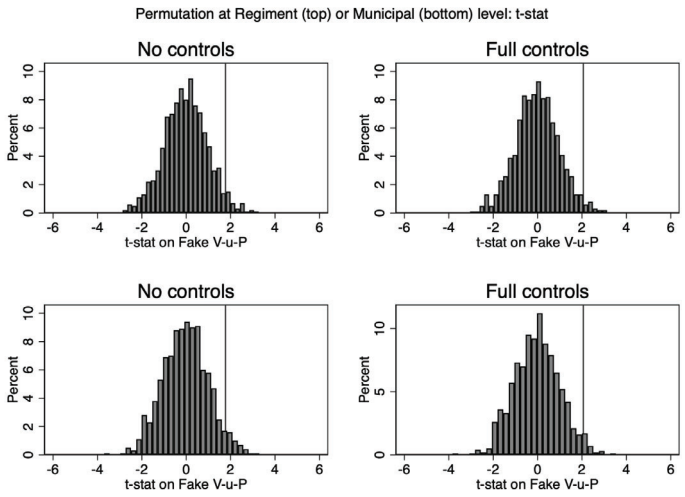
Notes: The figure plots the number of collaborators in the main groups, ordered by membership size. The main group by membership is the RNP (National Popular Rally, or *Rassemblement National Populaire*, a Fascist collaborationist political party created in 1941 by Marcel Déat, former number 2 of the socialist party SFIO together with former leaders of veteran organizations in the occupied zone). The other major Fascist collaborationist party, the PPF (French Popular Party, or *Parti Populaire Français*, created by the former number 2 of the communist party Jacques Doriot) comes third in total membership in our collaborators list. Secondary collaborationist parties are the MSR (the Revolutionary Social Movement) and the Francist Movement, two parties that were the direct continuation of Fascist right-wing leagues from the 1930s. Groupe Collaboration (11th on our list in terms of total membership) were a more elite and less violent political organization that supported collaboration with Nazi Germany for a new European order. The second major group in total membership in our list consists of the Milice, a para-military organization that succeeded to the SOL (the 8th group in total membership) in January 1943. While the SOL was firmly grounded in WWI Veterans organizations and wore its allegiance to Pétain, the Milice was younger and more disparate in membership. The second major paramilitary organization is the Legion of French Volunteers against Bolshevism (or LVF), created in July 1941 whose volunteers fought in the Wehrmacht uniform on the Eastern front. Other collaborators directly supported the Nazi occupation by joining the Gestapo (the 5th most predominant form of collaboration in our list), working for the German Intelligence Service (7th), the German security services (12th) or the SS (13th). Economic collaboration is also recorded in our list. $1,550$ (1.62% of the total) collaborators are listed as economic collaborators, and the vast majority of them are listed only for this reason (only 30 of them are also listed as members of a collaborationist political party, 18 as Nazi collaborators (Gestapo, SS, Intelligence or Security services), and 14 as Milice members). This suggests that these economic collaborators are distinct from the others, ideological collaborators, but that only serious cases of profiteering, as opposed to day-to-day exchange, are included.

Figure A2: Number of Collaborators by Category, Main Categories



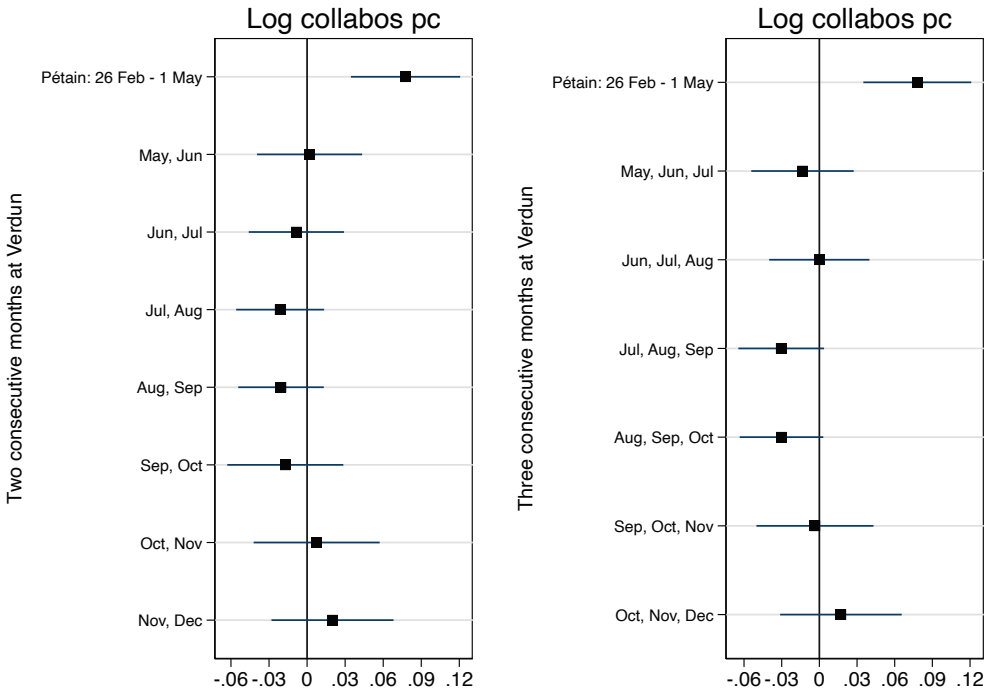
Notes: The histogram shows the distribution of coefficients obtained from permutation inference based on 1,000 replications. The distribution of t-statistics is shown in Figure A4. We perform permutation inference by reassigning treatment status, alternatively, at two different levels: 1) at the regiment level, keeping the allocation of each municipality to its regiment as the real allocation, 2) at the municipal level. The top panel displays results for the permutation inference at the regiment level conditional on the Verdun rotation and department fixed effect (left) (as in Column 1 of Table IV) and controlling additionally the usual set of pre-WWI controls (right) (as in Column 2 of Table IV). The bottom panel displays similar results for the permutation inference at the municipal level. The vertical bars indicate the coefficients obtained from the real assignment (see Columns 1 and 2 of Table IV).

Figure A3: Permutation Inference: Distribution of Coefficients



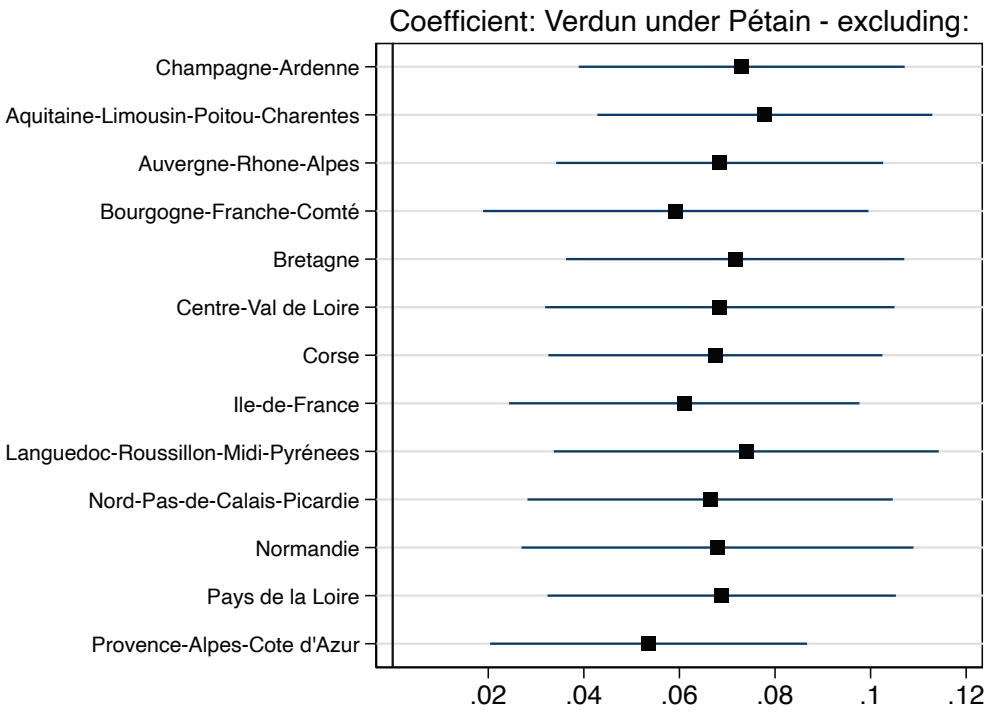
Notes: See notes to Table A3. The vertical bars indicate the t-statistics obtained from the real assignment (see Columns 1 and 2 of Table IV).

Figure A4: Permutation Inference: Distribution of t-statistics



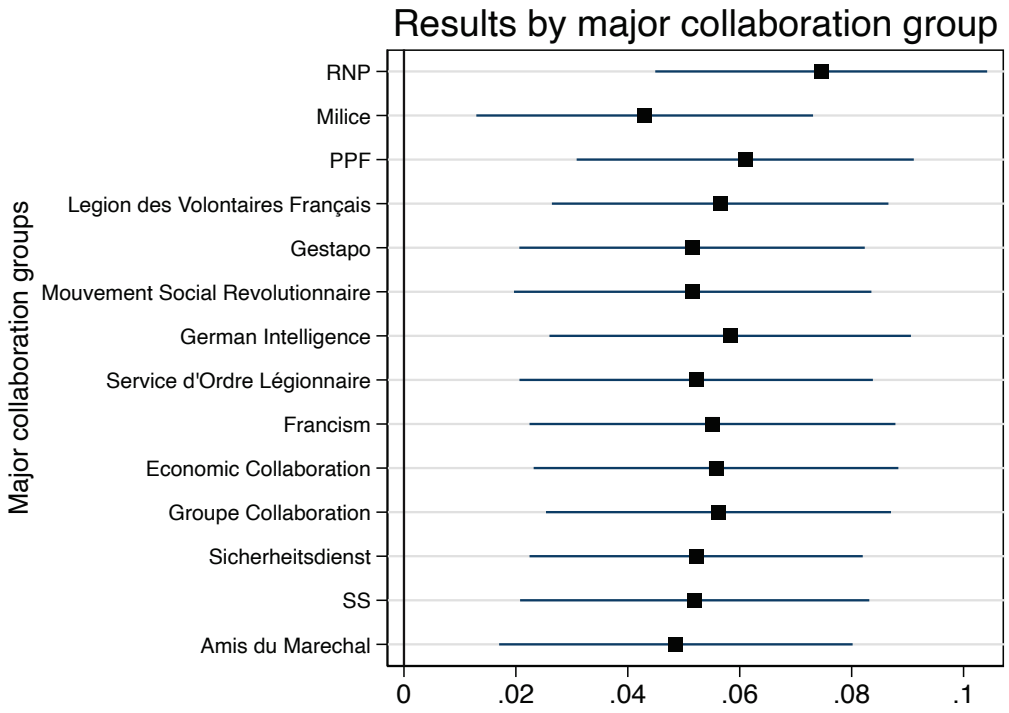
Notes: The figure shows coefficients and 95% confidence intervals obtained from separate regressions of the log share of collaborators in the municipality on consecutive months of fighting at Verdun, as indicated. All regressions are at the municipality level with department fixed effects and control for the Verdun rotation and the usual set of pre-WWI controls (as in Column 2 of Table IV). Standard errors are clustered at the regiment level. The figure shows that the positive and significant effect of fighting at Verdun on collaboration is only observed for the months during which Pétain was in command (i.e. February, March, April).

Figure A5: Estimated Effect of Fighting at Verdun in Different Months on the Share of Collaborators



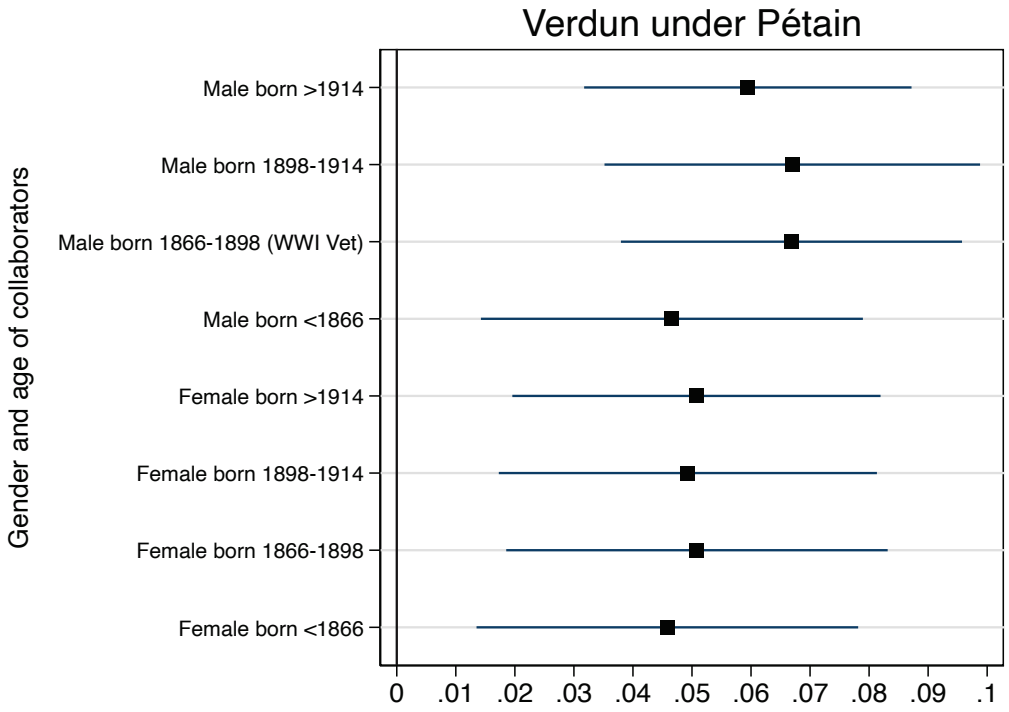
Notes: The figure shows coefficients and 95% confidence intervals in separate regressions in which we drop each region one by one, as indicated. All regressions are at the municipality level with department fixed effects and control for the Verdun rotation and the usual set of pre-WWI controls (as in Column 2 of Table IV). Standard errors are clustered at the regiment level.

Figure A6: Robustness to Dropping each Region One by One



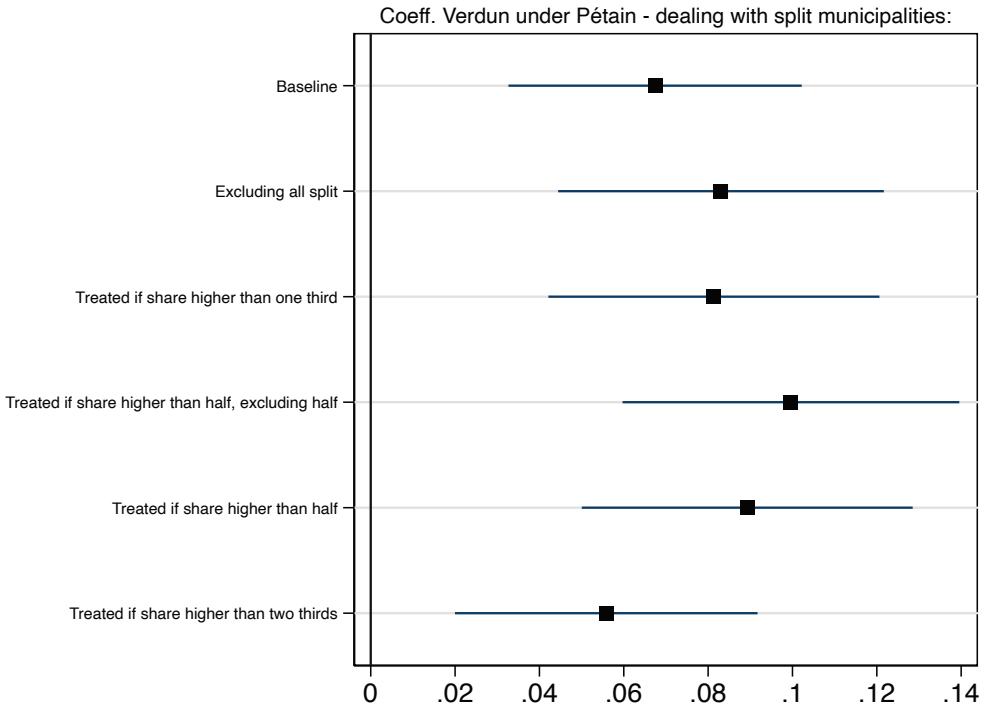
Notes: The figure shows coefficients and 95% confidence intervals obtained from a specification using the log of collaborators per capita, for each collaborationist group, as indicated, as the dependent variable. Groups are ordered by membership size. We present results for each major group by membership size (see Figure A2 in Appendix), as well as the "Amis du Maréchal" ("Friends of the Marshal"): a more marginal group with explicit allegiance to Marshal Pétain as its sole purpose. Each line is a separate regression. All regressions are at the municipality level with department fixed effects and control for the Verdun rotation and the usual set of pre-WWI controls (as in Column 2 of Table IV). Standard errors are clustered at the regiment level. Regression results are displayed in Table A12. The figure shows that the effect of combat exposure to Pétain at Verdun drives collaboration across the board, from membership to various collaborationist political parties, paramilitary groups, Nazi organizations, and economic collaboration. More detail on the different forms of collaboration can be found in Appendix B.1.

Figure A7: Effects on Membership in Each of the Main Collaborationist Organizations.



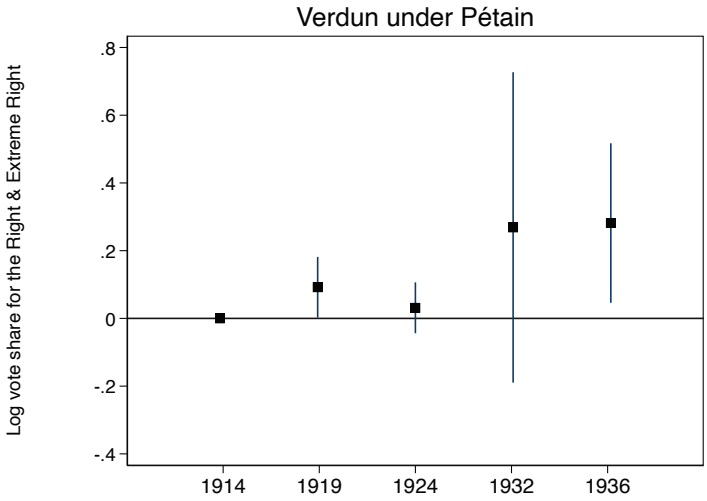
Notes: The figure plots coefficients and 95% confidence intervals obtained from estimating specification (3) using the log share of collaborators of each demographic as the dependent variable. "WWI Vet": those eligible to serve in the line regiments, reserves or territorial infantry (i.e. men aged 47-73 in 1945). Males born prior to 1866 were not eligible to serve in WWI. Note those men born in 1914 and after would have been eligible for drafting in the French army or forced labor in Germany. Each line is a separate regression. All regressions are at the municipality level with department fixed effects and control for the Verdun rotation and the usual set of pre-WWI controls (as in Column 2 of Table IV).

Figure A8: Differential Effects by Gender and Age among Collaborators.



Notes: The figure shows coefficients and 95% confidence intervals in separate regressions in which we redefine the treatment status of municipalities that raised more than one regiment, when the rotation history of these regiments at Verdun-under-Pétain is different from one another (henceforth "split municipalities"). Our baseline estimate (top estimate reproduced here for comparison purposes) relies on the share of regiments that was treated. The second estimate from the top is the estimate we obtain when we simply exclude from the estimation sample all split municipalities (reducing the estimation sample to 30,344 observations as a result, with mean value of Verdun-under-Pétain: 0.50). The third estimate from the top defines a treatment dummy for Verdun-under-Pétain that takes value one if the share rotated at Verdun under Pétain is higher than or equal to one third, and zero otherwise (mean value of Verdun-under-Pétain: 0.55). The fourth and fifth estimate from the top define instead such a treatment dummy to take value one if the share rotated at Verdun under Pétain is higher than one half, and zero otherwise, excluding those exactly at one half (fourth estimate) or considering them as treated (fifth) (mean values of Verdun-under-Pétain: 0.49 and 0.53 respectively). The last estimate defines the treatment dummy to take value one if the share rotated at Verdun under Pétain is higher than (or equal) to two-thirds (mean value of Verdun-under-Pétain: 0.44). All regressions are at the municipality level with department fixed effects and control for the Verdun rotation and the usual set of pre-WWI controls (as in Column 2 of Table IV). Standard errors are clustered at the regiment level. Horizontal bars indicate 95% CI.

Figure A9: Robustness to Redefining the Treatment Status of Municipalities That Raised More than One Regiment



Notes: The figure shows coefficients and 95% confidence intervals of regressing log. vote share for the Right and Extreme Right combined (with the Extreme Right only running in 1919 and 1936) in the elections of 1914, 1919, 1932 and 1936 on exposure to Verdun-under-Petain. All regressions are at the municipality level with department fixed effects and control for the Verdun rotation and the usual set of pre-WWI controls (as in Column 2 of Table IV). Standard errors are two-way clustered at the regiment and at the electoral district level.

Figure A10: Effects on Vote Shares for the Right and Extreme Right in the Interwar Period

B Supplementary Appendix: Not Intended for Publication

B.1 Forms of Collaboration in our Data

> *Les dates d'engagement des Francais qui ont choisi de servir dans la SS mèritent réflexion: très tard, en 1944, alors que l'Allemagne a déjà perdu évidemment la guerre.*[The dates of engagement of the French who chose to serve in the SS merits reflection: very late, in 1944, when it was clear that Germany had lost the war"- Jean François Deniau, "Memoire de trois vies", Plon, 1954, cited in Forbes [pg.viii 9].

Collaborationist political parties. A range of political parties and organizations in France provided opportunities for different forms and intensities of collaboration. This diversity was in sharp contrast with other European fascist regimes, which tended to impose a unique party; and with other occupied countries, where political parties were not tolerated by the German occupant. Collaborationist parties distributed newspapers, held meetings, and organized demonstrations. But they also engaged in spying, informing, denunciation, and violence against Jews and opponents, including the Resistance.

The two main collaborationist parties were the French Popular Party (PPF) and the National Popular Rally (RNP).[1] Both parties were created by two former prominent left-wing politicians (respectively former number two of the Communist and Socialist parties), both heroic veterans of the first World War: Jacques Doriot and Marcel Déat.[2] Alongside them were parties that were direct emanations of the right-wing fascist leagues of the 1930's, chief among which the Francist movement and the Revolutionary Social Movement.[3] More mainstream intellectuals joined the Groupe Collaboration, whose members promoted cultural exchanges with Germany and the advent of a New European order.

Such a wide political spectrum of collaborationist parties shows how people from all sides of the polarized and radicalized 1930s rallied behind collaboration. A common perspective was to be against the Republic, against Bolshevism, and against liberalism. Although critical of Vichy for what they judged a too tepid stance on collaboration, all the parties' leaders claimed Pétain's support [3, p.382], and some, such as the leader of the RNP, accepted positions at Vichy.[4]

Paramilitary Groups. Immediately after the signature of the Armistice, Xavier Vallat, the state secretary in charge of veteran affairs grouped all Great War veteran organizations under the single umbrella of the *Legion Française des Combattants* (The Legion). Its statutes

[1] Respectively in French: "Parti Populaire Français" and "Rassemblement National Populaire". In the absence of our data, many estimates have tended to use very round numbers, placing total membership at between 40,000 and 50,000 for the PPF [3, p. 417, 469], and between 20,000 [3, p. 393] and 30,000 [14, p. 253] for the RNP.

[2] An active combatant for the whole duration of the war, Déat had been awarded the highest French order of merit (the Legion d'Honneur) and received five bravery citations. Doriot, 4 years his junior, joined active combat in 1917 and was made prisoner. He was awarded the War Cross ["Croix de Guerre"] for valorous service. Doriot eventually joined the Eastern Front in the "Legion des Volontaires Français contre le Bolchevisme". He was killed by an Allied plane in Germany in 1945. After a short appointment in the Vichy government, Déat joined the SS, and fled to Germany and then Italy at the end of the War.

[3] Both movements had also been formed by WWI veterans, Marcel Bucard and Eugène Deloncle.

[4] As Burrin describes: "The Paris leaders were rivals, not opponents, extremists of Pétainism, not anti-Pétainists" [3, p.383].

plainly stipulated the Legion was to substitute for all existing associations of veterans (Journal Officiel, Art. 5, 30 August 1940, p.4845).The Legion swore its allegiance to Marshal Pétain and was officially charged with the implementation of Pétain's "National Revolution". The role of the Legion and the central influence of Pétain's prestige is clear: veterans "must form groups down up the uttermost village in order to have the wise counsels of their leader of Verdun heeded and carried out."[5] However, the Legion never engaged in violent actions. This became the prerogative of two other groups, the *Service d'Ordre de la Legion* (SOL) and, later on, of the *Milice*.

To provide shock troops for Pétain within the Legion, which was seen as too ideologically disparate and, given its anti-German sentiments, hard to mobilise, the SOL was constituted in January 1942. Elements of the SOL further formed into the Milice at Hitler's insistence by January 1943. The SOL and the Milice were paramilitary organizations as well as political movements.[6]

The "Legion des Volontaires Français contre le Bolchevisme" was created in 1941 by the collaborationist parties to raise volunteers to fight alongside the Wehrmacht on the Eastern front. Members could later directly also the German forces as part of the so-called "*Charlemagne*" division of the *Waffen-SS*.

Nazi collaboration An estimated total of $22,000$ French people directly served Germany in combat or auxiliary units [3, p.433]. They joined the Gestapo or the Waffen-SS or joined the Wehrmacht on the Eastern front under the "Legion des Volontaires Français contre le Bolchevisme" or the SS Charlemagne. Twice as many had volunteered but were not deemed fit for service, many of them veterans of the First World War who were too old. Pétain had actively encouraged them, by declaring in November 1941: "You are responsible for part of our military honour" [in 3, p.433].

Although this classification between political, paramilitary and Nazi collaboration was made by historians, in practice, the delimitations between these groups were porous and unclear. Political parties engaged in violent demonstrations and violent action, often alongside the SOL, the Milice, or French and German Gestapo members. The SOL and the Milice were originally intended as a unique political party, which would eventually absorb the collaborationist parties. They were armed by the SS. The "Legion des Volontaires Français contre le Bolchevisme" was created and controlled by collaborationist parties but fought under the Wehrmacht uniform.

B.2 An example: Joseph Darnand

Joseph Darnand provides a useful illustration. Born in 1897, in February 1916, he was assigned to the 35th regiment, which happened to be dispatched to Verdun shortly thereafter to serve under Pétain's command. Darnand received the *Médaille Militaire* from Pétain himself in 1918 and was further inducted into the *Légion d'Honneur* in 1925, with President Poincaré citing him as one of the "artisans of victory". Darnand actively invested his time and energies

[5] Xavier Vallat, quoted in *D'Ordre du maréchal Pétain. Documents officiels réunis et commentés par Jean Thouvenin* (Paris, n.d.1940 in Paxton [14], p.190).

[6] The political objectives of the SOL are set against: "bourgeois selfishness", "egalitarianism", "individualism", "global capitalism", "gaullist dissidence", "Bolshevism", "the Jewish plague", "free-masonry" and in favor of: "discipline", "authority", "truth", "nationalism", and "Christian civilization" (21 points of the SOL, in Germain [10]. The SOL and the Milice informed on, executed and helped deport Jews, free masons, anybody suspected of Resistance as well as those seeking to escape the order to work in Germany under the Compulsory Labour Service. Some historians believe $45,000$ people volunteered for the Milice and the SOL [14, p.298].

in various veterans organizations, including the *Croix de Feu* and particularly *La Cagoule*, between the wars. Darnand would reenlist and garner further combat decorations fighting the Germans in 1940. Escaping from a POW camp in August 1940, like other members of the *Legion française des combatants*, he swore revenge against the Nazis. Following Pétain's overt collaboration, Darnand instead forged a sub-group- the *SOL* loyal to Pétain and willing to follow him into cooperation with the Nazis. However, as late as 1943, Darnand was still in negotiations with the Resistance to fight the Germans. And yet, he became the leader of the main paramilitary organization, the Milice, and despite some misgivings, agreed to continue at Pétain's personal request. Despite the shifting natures of the war, he would later join the Waffen SS in 1943, swearing fealty to Adolf Hitler himself. He fled to Germany and Italy at the end of the war, soon to be captured, repatriated back to France and executed for his crimes [9, pg.32-42]. Darnand's remarkable reversal of loyalties was shared in varying degrees by many, in a manner consistent with the legitimization of previously-repugnant values by Pétain and the escalating commitment of the heroes who shared his heroic credentials at Verdun. As Darnand wrote to De Gaulle, just two days before his execution: "these men [*Miliciens*] are authentic Frenchmen ... Their only mistake is to have been faithful to a great soldier [Pétain]" [7, pg.257-258].

B.3 Electoral data

To study the effect of combat exposure to Pétain on political preferences and to control for pre-WWI political preferences, we collected, digitized, and consistently coded the results of 23 legislative elections in France since 1914. In this Section, we provide institutional details on elections and political parties over that period. The French political system is characterized by a lot of entries and exits of parties, and parties regularly change their name. One of the main empirical challenge is therefore to classify the different political parties from the Extreme Left to the Extreme Right over such a long period of time. To do so, we rely mainly on Agrikoliansky [1], Poirmeur [15], and Haegel [12] for the pre-WWII period; post-WWII data mainly come from Cagé [4] and Bekkouche and Cagé [2]. Here, we briefly describe the data for three crucial time periods in our analysis: 1914, in order to control for pre-WWI vote; the interwar, when an alignment in political preferences along Pétain's conservative right-wing agenda emerged; and the post World War II period, after the fall of the Vichy regime and the restoration of the French Republic.

Please note: the fact that there are more observations, for each of the elections, in the tables below than in the tables in the body of the paper, is due to the fact that for some large cities (such as Paris, but also Marseille, Lyon, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Nice, etc.), we collect the electoral data at the finest possible level we have and report the electoral results at a geographical level smaller than the municipality. However, to perform the regression analyses in the paper, we collapse the electoral data at the municipality level so as to match it with our other observables.

B.3.1 The 1914 Elections

Elections took place in April 1914, three months before the outbreak of WW1.[7] The voting system was the *"scrutin uninominal à deux tours par arrondissements"*, a two-round system. There were 586 electoral districts in Metropolitan France. 2,904 candidates ran in the first round of the elections.

[7] More precisely, the first round took place on April 26 1914 and the second round on May 10 1914.

We collect and digitize the 1914 electoral results at the municipality level (more than 34,000 municipalities) from the paper archives of the Interior Ministry.[8] Figure B1 shows an example of the data. As it appears on the picture, the Interior Ministry data only reports the name of the candidates but not their political party. To obtain information on the political party of all the candidates, we digitize the official results at the district level (see Figure B2 for an illustration) and manually match the candidates using the district where they run and their name.

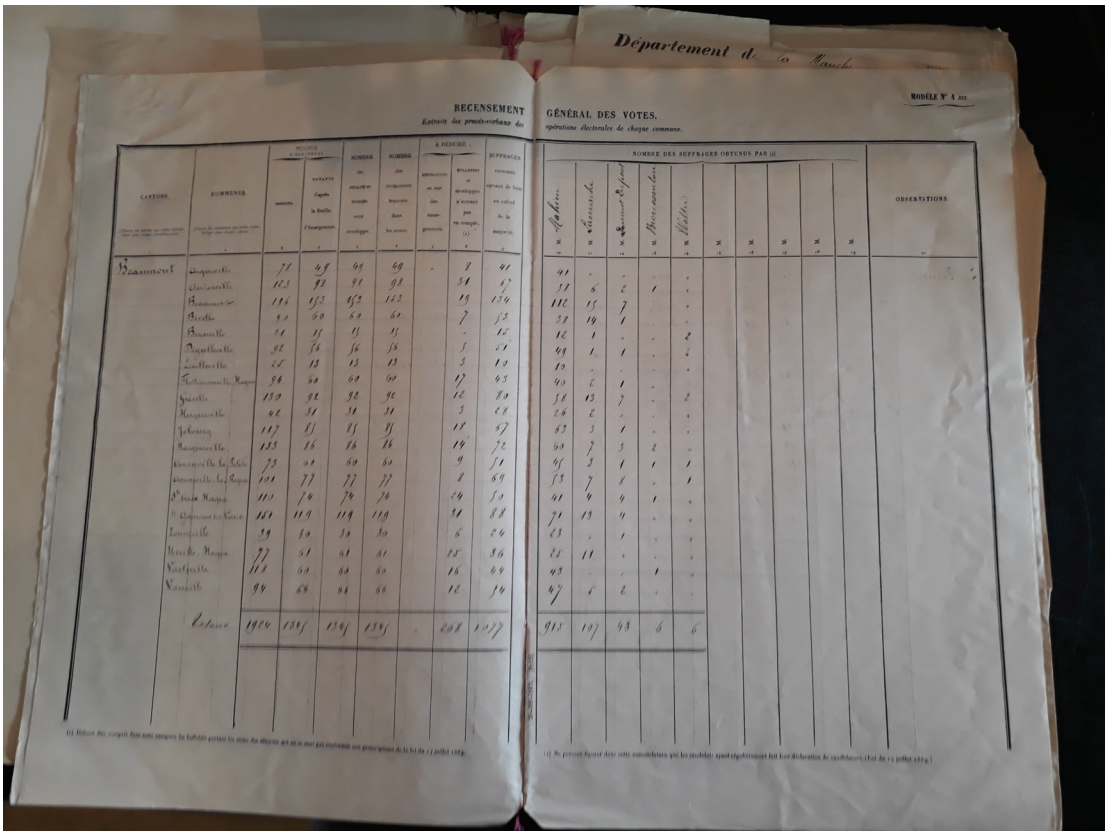


Figure B1: Example of the 1914 Municipal-level Election Data

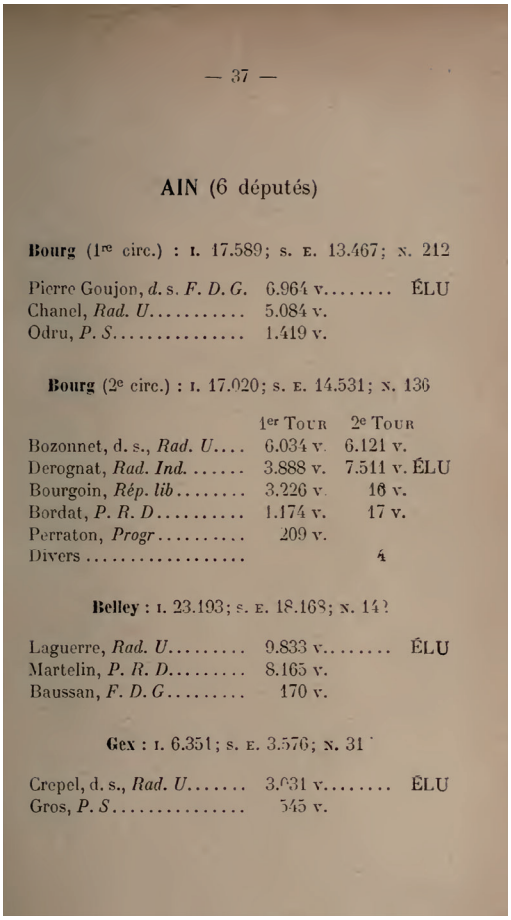
To classify the candidates, we mostly rely on Georges Lachapelle ("Les élections législatives des 26 avril et 10 mai 1914. Résultats officiels"), and rank the main parties on the Left-Right political spectrum as follows (from Left to Right) in 7 different categories:

1. Parti Socialiste Unifié (**SFIO**). It includes the Socialiste Unifiés and the Parti Ouvrier Révolutionnaire.

2. Républicain Socialiste (**REP-SOC**). It includes the Républicain Socialiste and the Socialistes indépendants.

3. Radical Unifié (**RAD-SOC**);

[8]These results are available in the boxes C//7241 to C//7254 at the National Archives. To the extent of our knowledge, we are the very first to digitize these data.



— 37 —

AIN (6 députés)

Bourg (1re circ.) : I. 17.589; S. E. 13.467; N. 212

Pierre Goujon, *d. s. F. D. G.*	6.964 v.....	ÉLU
Chanel, *Rad. U.*.....	5.084 v.	
Odru, *P. S.*.....	1.419 v.	

Bourg (2e circ.) : I. 17.020; S. E. 14.531; N. 136

	1er Tour	2e Tour	
Bozonnet, d. s., *Rad. U.*...	6.034 v.	6.121 v.	
Derognat, *Rad. Ind.*.....	3.888 v.	7.511 v.	ÉLU
Bourgoin, *Rép. lib*.....	3.226 v.	16 v.	
Bordat, *P. R. D*.....	1.174 v.	17 v.	
Perraton, *Progr*.....	209 v.		
Divers.....		4	

Belley : I. 23.193; S. E. 18.168; N. 142

Laguerre, *Rad. U*.....	9.833 v.....	ÉLU
Martelin, *P. R. D*.....	8.165 v.	
Baussan, *F. D. G*.....	170 v.	

Gex : I. 6.351; S. E. 3.576; N. 31

Crepel, d. s., *Rad. U*.....	3.031 v.....	ÉLU
Gros, *P. S*.....	545 v.	

Figure B2: Example of the 1914 District-level Electoral Results We Use to Recover the Political Parties of the Candidates

4. Radical Indépendant (**RAD-IND**). It includes the Radical Indépendant (ou Gauche Radicale)[9], the Républicains indépendants and Républicain de gauche.

5. Parti Républicain Démocratique et Social (**PRDS**).[10] It also includes the Alliance Républicaine and the Fédération des gauches.[11]

6. **Progressistes**. It includes the Progressites and the Fédération républicaine.

7. Action Libérale Populaire (**ALP**). It includes the Droite, the Action Libérale Populaire, and the Républicain Libéral.

The remaining candidates are classified in a "**Divers**" (Miscellaneous) category.

We classify the candidates into five different positions: Left, Center Left, Center Right, Right and Divers. The Right includes the PRDS, the ALP and the Progressistes. The Center

[9]The Radical Indépendant splintered from other "Radicals" over the alliance with the Socialists.

[10]The name is "Parti Républicain Démocratique" from 1911 to 1917 – i.e. in 1914 – and then "Parti Républicain Démocratique et Social" (PRDS) from 1920 to 1926. Hence here, for the sake of clarity, we will use the same name in 1914 and 1924: PRDS.

[11]The "Fédération des gauches", despite its name, was on the Right and later formally joins the PRDS.

Right consists of the RAD-IND . The Center Left includes the RAD-SOC and the REP-SOC. The SFIO is the Left. The remaining parties are classified in the "Divers" (Miscellaneous).

The *"Radical Unifié"* (RAD-SOC) came first in the 1914 elections. In Table B1 we report the vote share (popular vote) obtained by each party in the first round of the election, as well as summary statistics for the turnout rate.

Table B1: 1914 Legislative Elections: Summary Statistics

	Mean	St.Dev	Median	P75	Max
Vote share - Left					
SFIO	9.5	16.4	0.4	11.8	100
Vote share - Center left					
REP-SOC	3.6	13.3	0.0	0.0	100
RAD-SOC	28.6	29.7	24.0	51.6	100
Vote share - Center right					
RAD-IND	11.8	23.6	0.0	8.5	100
Vote share - Right					
PRDS	20.5	29.5	0.0	39.1	100
Progressistes	9.3	21.1	0.0	0.0	100
ALP	12.8	23.4	0.0	18.4	100
Vote share - Miscellaneous	3.8	14.3	0.0	0.0	100
Turnout	79.6	9.9	81.4	86.2	100
Observations	35285				

Notes: This table provides summary statistics on the 1914 legislative elections results. An observation is a municipality. The different political parties are described in the text.

B.3.2 The Interwar Period: the 1919, 1924, 1932, and 1936 Elections

The 1919 elections, which were the first post-war elections, resulted in a decisive victory for the right-wing *"Bloc National"*. On the contrary, the 1924, 1932 and 1936 elections also saw the victory of a left-wing coalition. The first *"Cartel des Gauches"*, an alliance between the Radical-Socialist Party and the SFIO (the French Socialist Party), as well as the independent radicals and the Socialist Republicans won the 1924 elections. The second *Cartel des gauches* won the 1932 elections.[12] The 1936 elections were won by a more radical left-wing alliance. For the first time, the communist party was included in the winning coalition. The victorious *"Front Populaire"* (Popular Front) consisted of the SFIO (Socialist Party), the Radical-Socialists, the Communist Party, as well as a number of other smaller parties on the Left.

The Right included a number of parties over that period. Although fascist and Extreme Right leagues were active during the interwar period, they rejected participation in elections,

[12]The main parties constituting this Cartel are, as in 1924, the *"Radicaux Indépendants"* (Independent Radicals), the *"Parti Républicain Socialiste"* (Republican-Socialist Party), the SFIO (the French Socialist Party), and the Radical Party.

until the 1936 elections. The Parti Franciste and the Jeunesses Patriotes ran in the 1936 elections, but obtained a very low electoral score.

Uniquely, as for the 1914 elections, we are the very first to have collected the electoral results for the 1919, 1924, 1932, and 1936 elections at the municipality level, directly from paper-format archival data.[13]

The 1919 elections Figure B3 shows an example of the data for the 1919 elections. The elections took place in November. The voting system was the *"scrutin mixte à un tour"*. [14] The *"scrutin mixte à un tour"* is a mixed-member voting system, combining multi-member majority and multi-member proportional ballot in only one election round, in the departmental framework. The department is the electoral district, with the election of one deputy for every 75,000 inhabitants; however, if there are more than 6 deputies to be elected, the department is divided into constituencies which must elect at least 3 deputies each. A minimum floor is also established: each department must have at least 3 deputies.

Candidates must organize themselves into lists. The number of candidates per list cannot exceed the number of deputies to be elected in the constituency. Isolated candidates are also allowed, if they have the support of 100 voters in the constituency. It is forbidden to stand for election in more than one constituency. In practice, majority voting takes precedence over proportional representation as any candidate who obtains an absolute majority is declared elected within the limit of the seats to be filled. The seats are, in each list, allocated to the candidates who have won the most votes. If seats remain to be filled, only then the ballot becomes proportional. The electoral quotient is determined by dividing the number of voters by that of the deputies to be elected; and the average of each list by dividing the total number of votes obtained by the number of candidates. Each list is allocated as many seats as its average contains the electoral quotient. For candidates to be elected, they must have won a number of votes greater than half the average number of votes on the list of which they are part. In the event of an equal number of votes, the oldest candidate wins.

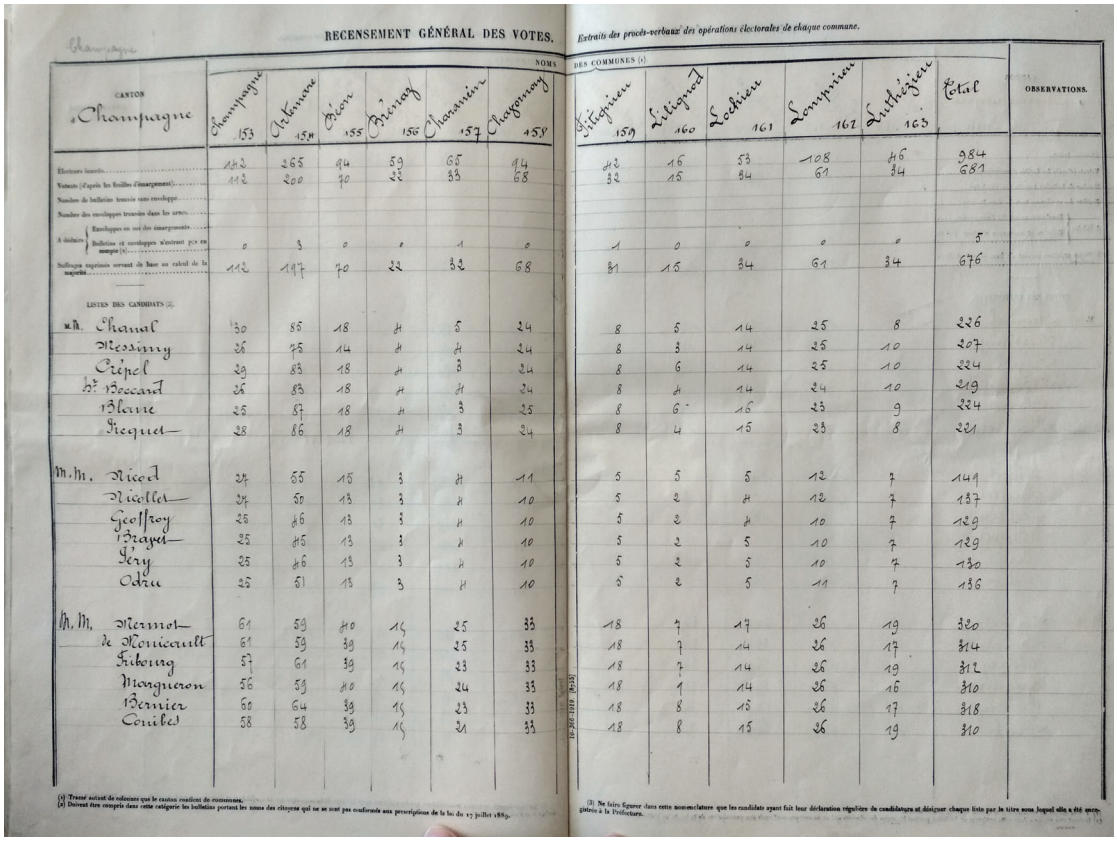
A number of different lists run during the 1919 elections. The archival data, as illustrated in Figure B3, only provides information on the name of the candidates running for each list. We collect the information on the name of each list as well as of the associated political party from Georges Lachapelle (*"Elections législatives du 16 Novembre 1919*, and complete when necessary this information with the *"Tableau des élections à la chambre des députés"* (the so-called *"Tableau Electoral"*.)

The main political forces running are (from Left to Right of the political spectrum):

- The **Communistes**.
- The Parti Socialiste (**SFIO**). It includes the Socialiste Unifiés.
- The Parti républicain radical et radical socialiste (**PRRS**).
- The Républicain Socialiste (**REP-SOC**).
- The Radical Indépendant (**RAD-IND**).
- The "**Gauche Radicale**", which is very close from the Radical Indépendant – they often sit together.

[13] These results are available in the boxes C//10001 to C//10009 at the National Archives for 1919; C//10010 to C//10019 for 1924; and in the boxes C//10030 to C//10041 for 1932.

[14] This voting system has been used only twice under the Third Republic (in 1919 and 1924) following the enactment of the law of July 12, 1919. To describe this system, we rely here on Chevallier and Mayeur [6].



RECENSEMENT GÉNÉRAL DES VOTES.

Extraits des procès-verbaux des opérations électorales de chaque commune.

CANTON de Champagne	Champagne 153	Artonne 154	Beon 155	Beinay 156	Charanier 157	Chagenay 158	Fitegrieux 159	Lisignol 160	Lochieu 161	Lemprieu 162	Luthezieu 163	Total	OBSERVATIONS.
Électeurs inscrits	182	265	94	59	65	94	42	16	53	108	46	984	
Votants (d'après les feuilles d'émargement)	112	200	70	22	33	68	32	15	34	61	34	681	
Nombre de bulletins trouvés sans enveloppe													
Nombre des enveloppes trouvées dans les urnes													
A déduire : Enveloppes en sus des émargements													
A déduire : Bulletins et enveloppes n'entrant pas en compte (1)	0	3	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	
Suffrages exprimés servant de base au calcul de la majorité	112	197	70	22	32	68	31	15	34	61	34	676	
LISTES DES CANDIDATS (2).													
M.M. Chanal	30	55	18	4	5	24	8	5	14	25	8	226	
Nessiny	26	75	14	4	4	24	8	3	14	25	10	207	
Crépel	29	83	18	4	3	24	8	6	14	25	10	224	
Bx Boccard	26	83	18	4	4	24	8	4	14	24	10	219	
Blanc	25	87	18	4	3	25	8	6	16	23	9	224	
Picquet	28	86	18	4	3	24	8	4	15	23	8	221	
M.M. Nicod	24	55	15	3	4	11	5	5	5	12	7	141	
Nicollet	24	50	13	3	4	10	5	2	4	12	7	137	
Geoffroy	25	46	13	3	4	10	5	2	4	10	7	129	
Braget	25	45	13	3	4	10	5	2	5	10	7	129	
Léry	25	46	13	3	4	10	5	2	5	10	7	130	
Odru	25	51	13	3	4	10	5	2	5	11	7	136	
M.M. Mermet	61	59	40	15	25	33	18	7	17	26	19	320	
de Monicault	61	59	39	15	25	33	18	7	14	26	17	314	
Fribourg	57	61	39	15	23	33	18	7	14	26	19	312	
Manguiron	56	59	40	15	24	33	18	7	14	26	16	310	
Bernier	60	64	39	15	23	33	18	8	13	26	17	318	
Corbes	58	58	39	15	21	33	18	8	15	26	19	310	

(1) Tracer autant de colonnes que le canton contient de communes.
(2) Doivent être compris dans cette catégorie les bulletins portant les noms des citoyens qui ne se sont pas conformés aux prescriptions de la loi du 17 juillet 1889.

(3) Ne faire figurer dans cette nomenclature que les candidats ayant fait leur déclaration régulière de candidature et désigner chaque liste par le titre sous lequel elle a été enregistrée à la Préfecture.

Figure B3: Example of the 1919 Municipal-level Election Data

- The "Alliance Républicaine Démocratique" (**ARD**).
- The "Gauche republicaine democratique" (**GRD**), whose members sit together with the ARD.
- The "Républicains de gauche" (**RG**).
- The "Fédération Républicaine - Union Républicaine et Démocratique" (**FR-URD**).
- The "Union Nationale Républicaine" (**UNR**), which is part of the "Bloc National".
- The "Action républicaine et sociale" (**ARS**), also part of the "Bloc National".
- The ""Entente Républicaine Démocratique" (ERD), also part of the "Bloc National".
- The "**Bloc National**", which is made on different parties, but for which some candidates ran directly.
- A number of lists led by "**Anciens Combattants**" (veterans), which were part of the "Bloc National".
- The "**Action Française**", on the Extreme Right.

Table B2: 1919 Legislative Elections: Summary Statistics

	Mean	St.Dev	Median	P75	Max
Vote share - Extreme Left					
PCF	0.044	0.7	0.000	0.00	45
Vote share - Left					
SFIO	12.53	14.6	7.39	17.75	100
Miscellaneous left	0.72	5.2	0.00	0.00	94
Vote share - Center left					
PRRS	13.19	20.8	0.00	24.56	100
REP-SOC	3.39	11.6	0.00	0.00	100
Vote share - Center right					
RAD-IND (Bloc National)	1.00	6.8	0.00	0.00	98
Gauche Radicale	1.38	8.4	0.00	0.00	100
ARD (Bloc National)	3.95	16.2	0.00	0.00	100
GRD (Bloc National)	3.53	12.9	0.00	0.00	100
RG	2.03	10.2	0.00	0.00	100
Vote share - Right					
FR-URD (Bloc National)	12.32	22.2	0.00	19.42	100
UNR (Bloc National)	14.82	26.0	0.00	25.08	100
ARS (Bloc National)	4.13	15.1	0.00	0.00	100
ERD (Bloc National)	12.29	23.8	0.00	8.76	100
Bloc National (other)	1.03	8.4	0.00	0.00	100
Anciens Combattants (Veterans)	2.66	8.3	0.00	0.00	97
Miscellaneous right	1.70	8.9	0.00	0.00	92
Vote share - Extreme Right					
Action Francaise	0.11	1.1	0.00	0.00	47
Vote share - Miscellaneous	7.92	17.0	0.00	2.95	100
Turnout	72.57	11.3	73.91	79.67	100
Observations	35907				

Notes: This table provides summary statistics on the 1919 legislative elections results. An observation is a municipality. The different political parties are described in the text.

The 1924 elections The 1924 elections were held in May. Like for the 1919 elections, the voting system was the *"scrutin mixte à un tour"*. A number of different lists ran during the 1924 elections. The archival data, as illustrated in Figure B4, only provides information on the name of the list; given candidates from the same party gather together on different lists depending on the districts, to classify the lists, we complete the Interior Ministry information with information collected from Georges Lachapelle (*"Elections législatives du 11 Mai 1924*, illustrated in Figure B5).

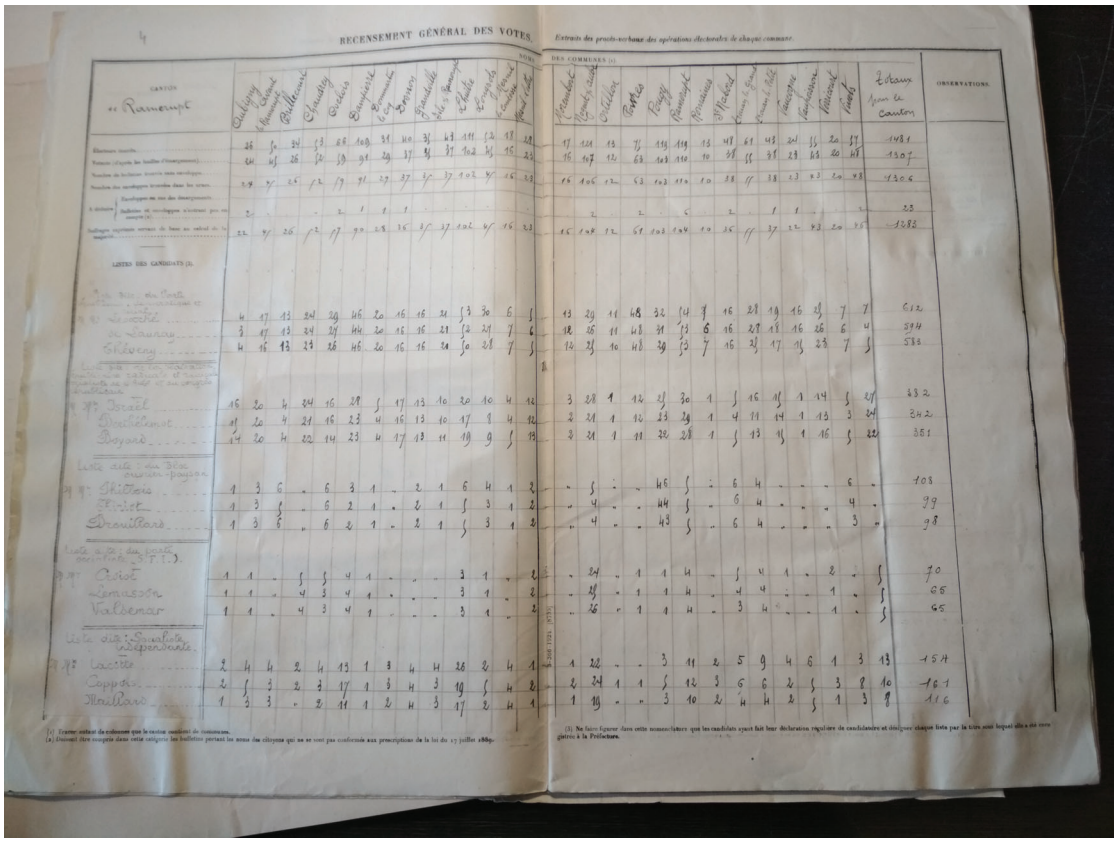


Figure B4: Example of the 1924 Municipal-level Election Data

The main political forces running are (from the Left to the Right):

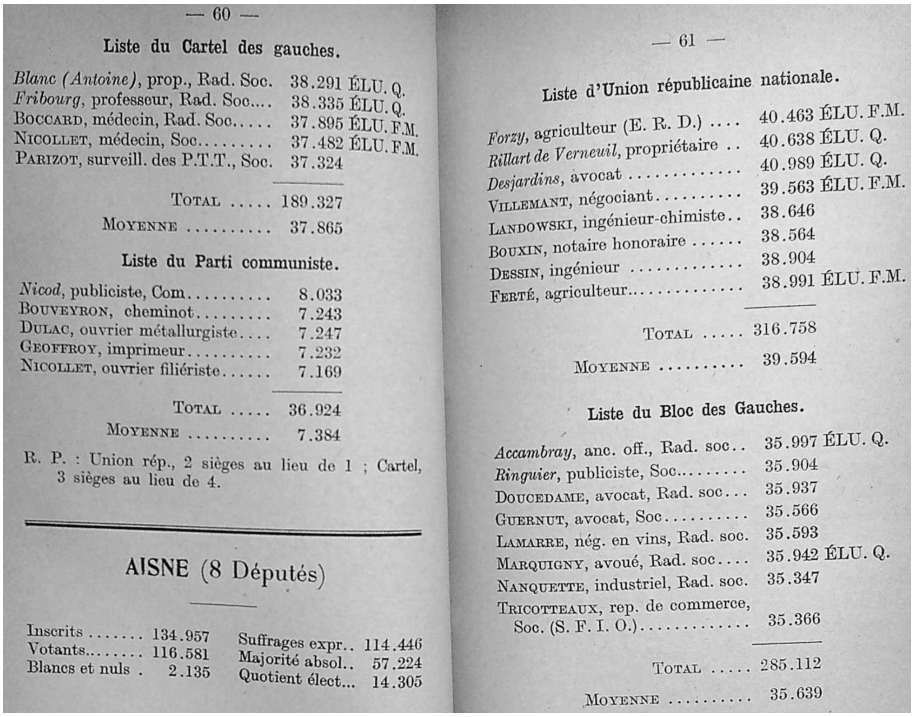
1. The "Liste du Bloc Ouvrier Paysan-Parti communiste" (**BOP**). This list is formed of the Communist Party and of some members of the Socialist Party.
2. The *"Liste du parti socialiste"* (**SFIO**) .
3. The *"Liste Républicaine Socialiste"* (**REP-SOC**).
4. The *"Liste radicale-socialiste"* (**RAD-SOC**).
5. The *"Républicains radicaux nationaux"* or dissidents (**REP-RAD**).
6. The *"Liste des républicains de gauche"* (**RG**).[15]

[15]This list is on the Right despite the name.

7. The *"Entente Républicaine Démocratique"* (**ERD**).

8. The **"Conservateurs"**.

Candidates from smaller parties on the Left are classified as "Miscellaneous Left". The remaining candidates are classified in a "**Divers**" category. Table B3 provides summary statistics at the municipal level on these elections.[16]



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Liste du Cartel des gauches.

Blanc (Antoine), prop., Rad. Soc.	38.291 ÉLU. Q.
Fribourg, professeur, Rad. Soc....	38.335 ÉLU. Q.
Boccard, médecin, Rad. Soc.....	37.895 ÉLU. F.M.
Nicollet, médecin, Soc.....	37.482 ÉLU. F.M.
Parizot, surveill. des P.T.T., Soc.	37.324
Total	189.327
Moyenne	37.865

Liste du Parti communiste.

Nicod, publiciste, Com.....	8.033
Bouveyron, cheminot.....	7.243
Dulac, ouvrier métallurgiste....	7.247
Geoffroy, imprimeur.....	7.232
Nicollet, ouvrier filiériste.....	7.169
Total	36.924
Moyenne	7.384

R. P. : Union rép., 2 sièges au lieu de 1 ; Cartel, 3 sièges au lieu de 4.

AISNE (8 Députés)

Inscrits	134.957	Suffrages expr..	114.446
Votants.....	116.581	Majorité absol..	57.224
Blancs et nuls .	2.135	Quotient élect...	14.305

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Liste d'Union républicaine nationale.

Forzy, agriculteur (E. R. D.)	40.463 ÉLU. F.M.
Rillart de Verneuil, propriétaire ..	40.638 ÉLU. Q.
Desjardins, avocat	40.989 ÉLU. Q.
Villemant, négociant.....	39.563 ÉLU. F.M.
Landowski, ingénieur-chimiste..	38.646
Bouxin, notaire honoraire	38.564
Dessin, ingénieur	38.904
Ferté, agriculteur.....	38.991 ÉLU. F.M.
Total	316.758
Moyenne	39.594

Liste du Bloc des Gauches.

Accambray, anc. off., Rad. soc..	35.997 ÉLU. Q.
Ringuier, publiciste, Soc.....	35.904
Doucedame, avocat, Rad. soc...	35.937
Guernut, avocat, Soc.....	35.566
Lamarre, nég. en vins, Rad. soc.	35.593
Marquigny, avoué, Rad. soc....	35.942 ÉLU. Q.
Nanquette, industriel, Rad. soc.	35.347
Tricotteaux, rep. de commerce, Soc. (S. F. I. O.).....	35.366
Total	285.112
Moyenne	35.639

Figure B5: Example of the 1924 District-level Electoral Results We Use to Recover the Political Parties of the Candidates

Just as for 1914, we also group the candidates into political positions, including for 1924 the Extreme Left category [we rely on 11, 8]. We include in the Right the ERD and the Conservateur. The REP-RAD and the RG are classified as Center Right. The Center Left includes the RAD-SOC and the REP-SOC; the Left the SFIO; and the Extreme Left the BOP.

The 1932 elections The 1932 (as well as the 1936 elections) took place with the *"scrutin uninominal majoritaire à deux tours"* (two-round system). The constituencies are single-member constituencies. If a candidate obtains the absolute majority in the first round, as well as a minimum of 25% of all the registered voters, then she is elected. If no candidate obtains the absolute majority in the first round, then there is a second round where the two

[16]Note that, given the electoral system used – the *"scrutin mixte à un tour"* where, as described above, citizens were given as many votes as there were MPs to elect, and where they could distribute those votes as they wished among the various candidates on all lists –, one cannot compute as usual the vote share obtained by each list using the number of votes cast.

Table B3: 1924 Legislative Elections: Summary Statistics

	Mean	St.Dev	Median	P75	Max
Vote share - Extreme left					
BOP	5.3	8.5	2.1	6.1	98
Vote share - Left					
SFIO	24.5	24.6	16.4	44.4	100
Miscellaneous left	0.2	1.7	0.0	0.0	89
Vote share - Center left					
RAD-SOC	12.2	20.5	0.0	18.7	100
REP-SOC	1.5	8.2	0.0	0.0	100
Vote share - Center right					
REP-RAD	2.0	8.6	0.0	0.0	100
RG	13.9	20.3	0.0	24.9	100
Vote share - Right					
ERD	35.9	26.9	35.0	54.9	100
Conservateur	1.8	8.9	0.0	0.0	100
Vote share - Miscellaneous	0.7	5.4	0.0	0.0	94
Turnout	84.4	8.0	85.5	89.5	100
Observations	35560				

Notes: This table provides summary statistics on the 1924 legislative elections results. An observation is a municipality. The different political parties are described in the text.

most-voted candidates and the candidates who obtained more than 12.5% of the registered voters can take part. The candidate who obtains most votes win.

Candidates in the legislative elections of 1932 are often difficult to classify, especially candidates from the Right half of the political spectrum, who are often characterized more by their opposition to the three major parties and the Left and Centre Left (PCF, SFIO, Radicals) than by their membership of a particular party, especially since the boundaries between the many right-wing parliamentary organizations and groups are often quite fluid and frequently change during the course of a legislature. Based on Lachapelle's classifications, the main parties are, from the Extreme Left to the Right:

- The Communist party (**PCF**);
- The Socialist party (**SFIO**);
- The Républicains Socialistes (**REP-SOC**);
- The Radicaux Socialistes (**RAD-SOC**);
- The Républicains de gauche (**AD-RG**) (that are part of the "Alliance Démocratique");
- The Radicaux Indépendants (**AD-IND**) (which also include candidates from the "gauche radicale", the "gauche sociale et radicale", and the "indépendants de gauche"), that are part of the "Alliance Démocratique";

- The Parti Démocrate Populaire (**AD-PDP**) (Christian-democrats), that is also part of the "Alliance Démocratique";
- The Union Républicaine Démocratique (**FR-URD**), that also includes candidates presented by the Fédération Républicaine.

Besides, there were also a number of "Miscellaneous Right" candidates, mostly under the label "Conservative", and as well as"Miscellaneous Left" candidates. Table B4 provides summary statistics at the municipal level on the 1932 elections.

Table B4: 1932 Legislative Elections: Summary Statistics

	Mean	St.Dev	Median	P75	Max
Vote share - Extreme left					
PCF	4.2	7.7	1.4	4.4	93
Vote share - Left					
SFIO	16.1	19.8	7.1	26.4	100
Miscellaneous left	0.2	2.4	0.0	0.0	68
Vote share - Center left					
REP-SOC	4.0	12.6	0.0	0.0	97
RAD-SOC	23.2	24.7	16.0	42.1	100
Vote share - Center right					
AD-RG	17.9	25.4	0.0	35.5	100
AD-IND	15.6	24.7	0.0	26.3	100
Vote share - Right					
AD-PDP	3.6	12.7	0.0	0.0	100
FR-URD	12.7	23.6	0.0	16.4	100
AGR	1.3	5.8	0.0	0.0	84
Miscellaneous right	0.8	6.2	0.0	0.0	99
Vote share - Miscellaneous	0.5	6.7	0.0	0.0	100
Turnout	85.0	8.1	86.3	90.1	100
Observations	31828				

Notes: This table provides summary statistics on the 1932 legislative elections results. An observation is a municipality. The different political parties are described in the text. The number of observations is lower for the 1932 elections than for the other legislatives elections. It is due to the fact that for that year, the national archives have lost the electoral results in the departments whose first letter is A and B (i.e. Ain , Aisne, Allier, Alpes Maritimes, Ardèche, Ardennes, Ariège, Aube, Aude, Aveyron, and Basses Alpes.

1936 Elections The 1936 legislative elections took place on 26 April and 3 May, to fill 618 seats in the Chamber of Deputies. There were won by the *"Front Populaire"* (Popular Front) composed of the SFIO, the RAD-SOC, the Communist Party (PCF), as well as a number of other smaller parties on the left. The voting system was similar to the one used in 1932 (single-member, two-round ballot). The *"Front Populaire"* fell in 1938, when the RAD-SOC forced the SFIO out of cabinet and the Communists broke with the coalition over the vote for the Munich agreement (which the Communists voted against). A general strike ensued

in 1938, which the RAD-SOC crushed, before joining a political alliance with conservative Right-wing parties, the AD and the URD.

In the continuation of 1932, candidates in the 1936 elections, particularly in the opposition, on the Right, are often difficult to classify. We adopt the following classification, from the Extreme Left to the Right:

- The Communist party (**PCF**);
- The Socialist party (**SFIO**);
- The Union Socialiste Républicaine (**USR**);
- The **RAD-SOC**;
- The Alliance Démocrate (**AD**);
- The Fédération Républicaine - Union Républicaine et Démocratique (**FR-URD**);
- The Parti épublicain National (**PRN**);
- The Parti **Franciste**.

Table B5 provides summary statistics at the municipal level on the 1936 elections.

B.3.3 The Post-World War 2 Legislative Elections

To investigate the long-run consequences of the exposure to Pétain, we gather the results of the post-WW2 legislative elections. Under the Fourth and the Fifth Republic, legislative elections in France were supposed to take place every five years. However, given the executive power to dissolve the National Assembly – which happened a number of times under the Fourth and the Fifth Republic – the time interval between two legislative elections in our sample can be shorter. Between 1945 and 2017, 18 legislative elections took place.[17] Data for these elections are from Cagé [4] and Bekkouche and Cagé [2].

The wartime period marks an almost wholly clean break with the prewar party system: in the aftermath of WW2, the political landscape is upside down and the ratio of power is completely modified, in particular regarding political parties on the Right. In striking contrast with the interwar period, the Right held a large electoral advantage until the 1980s. As for the Extreme Right, the history of the French Extreme Right is the one of splinter groupuscules that are marginal in the political life [1][18] until the first electoral success of the National Front in 1983.

B.4 World War 2 Combat Exposure and Resistance Data

We use several other datasets that capture the other dimensions of French history during WWII beyond collaboration, and in particular data on combat intensity in 1940 and 1944 and on the Resistance.

[17] In 1945, 1951, 1956, 1958, 1962, 1967, 1968, 1973, 1978, 1981, 1986, 1988, 1993, 1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, and 2017.

[18] The only success – the one of the "Poujadisme" in 1956 – is short-lived.

Table B5: 1936 Legislative Elections: Summary Statistics

	Mean	St.Dev	Median	P75	Max
Vote share - Extreme left					
PCF	8.56	11.4	4.23	11.36	90
Vote share - Left					
SFIO	16.66	18.6	9.14	28.11	100
Miscellaneous left	0.21	2.7	0.00	0.00	73
Vote share - Center left					
USR	6.62	15.1	0.00	1.57	100
RAD-SOC	19.14	21.2	12.37	34.63	100
Vote share - Center right					
AD	26.83	27.4	21.43	46.34	100
FR-URD	0.28	2.6	0.00	0.00	93
PRN	15.91	25.2	0.00	28.44	100
Vote share - Right					
AGR	1.95	8.4	0.00	0.00	100
Miscellaneous right	2.18	10.1	0.00	0.00	100
Vote share - Extreme right					
Franciste	0.04	0.8	0.00	0.00	53
Vote share - Miscellaneous	1.62	9.8	0.00	0.00	100
Turnout	84.85	7.3	85.83	89.47	100
Observations	36903				

Notes: This table provides summary statistics on the 1936 legislative elections results. An observation is a municipality. The different political parties are described in the text.

B.4.1 Combat in 1940

We digitized and geocoded data on the battles that took place in France from the maps of the *The West Point Atlas of American wars*. The so-called "Battle of France" only lasted six weeks (from May 1940 to June 1940). We construct measures of the days of combat at a given point, and we aggregate at the municipality level. Figure B6 below shows the resulting heat map of combat intensity across France. The mean number of days of combat in a given municipality in 1940 was 4.47 days, and the maximum 23 days. The delimitation of the demarcation line was, to some extent, determined by the advance of German troops, as well as by economic consideration, with major economic resources and railway lines in the occupied zone. Accordingly, the mean combat intensity is much higher in the occupied zone (6.39 days) compared to the Vichy-controlled area (1.27 days).

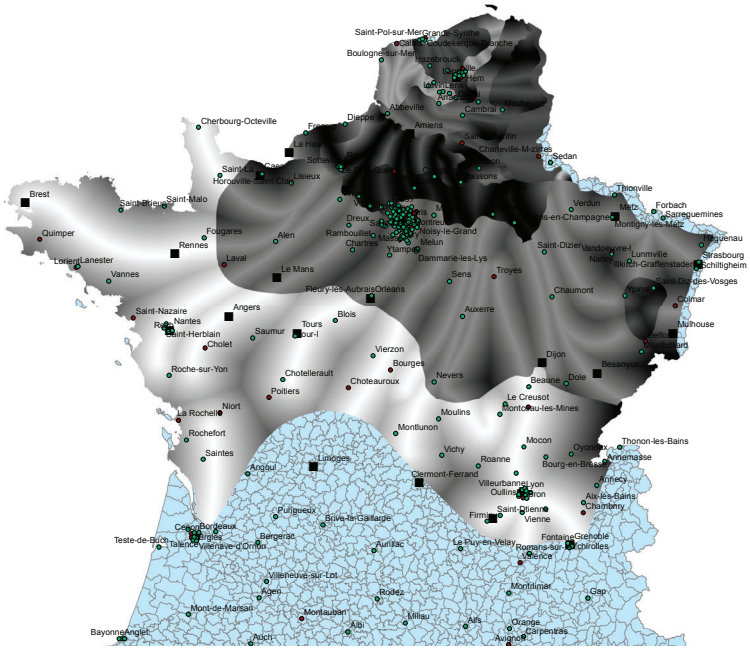

Figure B6: Heat Map of Combat Intensity in 1940. Own calculations based upon weekly German individual unit movements derived from the *The West Point atlas of American wars*.

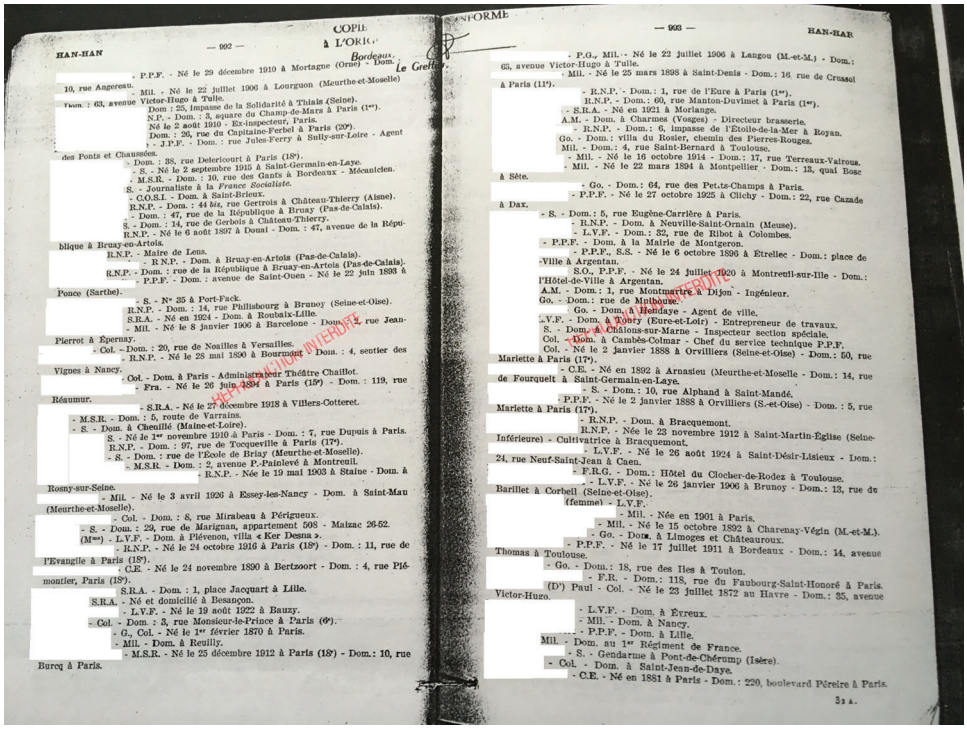

Figure B7: Example Page from the Secret List of Collaborators Collected in 1944 and 1945 under the Supervision of Colonel Paul Paillole, the Head of French Army Intelligence at the End of the War.

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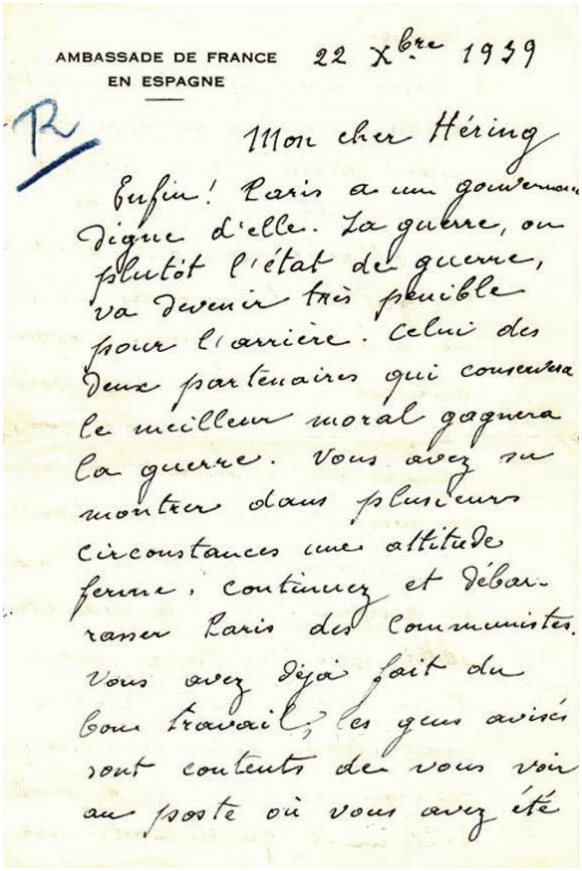
Figure B8: Referendum on "If France had to choose a dictator, who would you pick?" in the "Petit Journal" Newspaper, on 5 December 1934



AMBASSADE DE FRANCE
EN ESPAGNE

22 X^bre 1939

Mon cher Héring

Enfin! Paris a un gouverneur digne d'elle. La guerre, ou plutôt l'état de guerre, va devenir très pénible pour l'arrière. Celui des deux partenaires qui conservera le meilleur moral gagnera la guerre. Vous avez su montrer dans plusieurs circonstances une attitude ferme, continuez et débarrassez Paris des communistes. Vous avez déjà fait du bon travail, les gens avisés sont contents de vous voir au poste où vous avez été

Notes: Pétain writes: "My dear Héring, Finally! Paris has a governor who is worth her. The war, or rather the state of war, is about to become very uncomfortable for the back. The one of the two partners who keeps better morale will win the war. You have shown in several circumstances a firm attitude, go on and keep ridding Paris of the Communists. You already have done a good job, the people in the know are glad to see you in this position" (translation from the Authors).

Figure B9: Letter from Pétain, then Ambassador to Spain, to General Héring, upon Héring's Nomination as Military Commander of Paris, 22 December 1939.

.

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