When are Junctures Critical?
The Legacies and Non-Legacies of
Interruptions in Local Self-Government

(Working Paper*)

Daniel W. Gingerich, University of Virginia (dwg4c@virginia.edu)

Jan P. Vogler, University of Konstanz (jan.vogler@uni-konstanz.de)

June 6, 2023

Abstract

Interruptions in local self-government are a common feature of imperial rule and centralized authoritarianism. Extant scholarship considers interruptions in both contexts as *potentially* legacy-producing. But under which circumstances do these denials of political autonomy lead to sustained changes in political behavior? We develop a novel framework that elucidates when interruptions in local self-rule will or will not produce political legacies. Two factors are crucial: the duration of an interruption and the scope of repression. Enduring interruptions characterized by encompassing repression are the most likely to generate persistent changes. Contrariwise, transient interruptions characterized by limited repressiveness are unlikely to produce legacies. Given our theory's broad character, we conduct empirical analyses in two markedly different settings: Poland, which was split between three major empires, and Brazil, where a military regime installed appointed mayors in certain cities. Our results demonstrate that interruptions in local self-government have varying potential to create legacies.

*Comments are welcome.

The most recent version of this paper may be obtained at the following URL:
Download the most recent version of the paper at this link.

Acknowledgments

Introduction

Can contemporary support for illiberal political forces—such as anti-system parties and authoritarian successor parties (ASPs)—be traced to historical events? A growing literature in political economy responds in the affirmative. The central insight of this work is that political institutions and values evolve *jointly* over time and are complementary to one another (Besley and Persson, 2019; Bisin, Rubin, Seror and Verdier, 2021; Persson and Tabellini, 2021; Tabellini, 2008*a*; Ticchi, Verdier and Vindigni, 2013). Consequently, plausibly exogenous shocks—such as external interventions—that impose changes in regime types can have long-lasting legacies if they induce sustainable change in both dimensions. At the local level, such regime shifts can take place because of either imperialism or centralized authoritarian rule (Simpser, Slater and Wittenberg, 2018).

Interventions of this kind may generate patterns of socialization and behavioral adjustment that conform with the character of the imposed regime, producing greater numbers of citizens with authoritarian mindsets in a society once dominated by democrats and vice versa (Acemoglu, Egorov and Sonin, 2021). Accordingly, instances of externally imposed institutional change may constitute *critical junctures* that kickstart path-dependent feedback loops between initial institutions and political culture.[1] Thus, to understand contemporary support for or rejection of antidemocratic actors, it is imperative to identify critical junctures associated with lasting cultural and institutional change.

Yet when an externally imposed change in regime type constitutes a critical juncture, and when it does not, is not at all obvious ex ante. The US-led post-World War II reconstruction efforts in West Germany and Japan—characterized by the external imposition of democracy—clearly represented critical junctures in that they catalyzed the establishment of democratic political cultures in societies where authoritarian values were previously dominant (Haddad, 2012; Puaca, 2009). On the other hand, recent US-led reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq, which also featured the crafting of domestic institutions by external actors, have not had similar effects (Coburn and Larson, 2014; Waldner, 2009). So while

---

[1]Following Collier (2022), we conceptualize "critical junctures" as episodes of innovation that generate enduring legacies. From this perspective, the existence of a legacy is what determines if a juncture is critical: "No legacy, no critical juncture" (Collier, 2022, 34).

the existence of a complementarity between democratic institutions and values points to the *possibility* that external interventions might generate lasting legacies for political behavior, understanding whether or not they are likely to do so in any particular instance requires further theoretical and empirical analysis.

The current paper develops a novel argument about when interruptions of self-government (either through empires or centralized authoritarianism) will lead to sustained changes in attitudes and behavior. It emphasizes two factors: the duration of interruption ("transient" or "enduring") and the character of repression ("limited" or "encompassing"). Interruptions that are enduring and characterized by encompassing repression, restricting myriad aspects of political life, are the most likely to generate persistent changes in political behavior. Contrariwise, interruptions that are transient and characterized by narrowly targeted repression are the least likely to produce legacies.

Given our theory's broad applicability, we illustrate the utility of our approach via empirical analyses of interventions in two markedly different settings: Poland, which was historically split between three empires, and Brazil, where a military regime externally installed appointed mayors in a large number of cities. In the former case, we show that the long-lasting and highly coercive rule of Russia generated a cultural preference for illiberal political actors, manifested in the present day by support for the authoritarian-populist Law and Justice party (PiS). With respect to Brazil, we show that the relatively transient and narrower repression implemented by the military regime failed to generate lasting political preferences in favor of illiberal authoritarian successor parties.

In both of our cases, we examine outcomes of local elections. Critical for our inferential strategy is the fact that interventions were geographically non-uniform. This allows us to infer the existence (or non-existence) of legacies by comparing areas that experienced different types of interventions.

Our paper falls within the rubric of what has come to be known as "persistence studies," a body of scholarship that locates its causal variables in the (often distant) past and its outcomes in the present day or more recent past.[2] Yet we adopt an approach that departs

---

[2]Comprehensive reviews of this literature are provided in Abad and Maurer (2021), Acharya, Blackwell and Sen (2023), Cirone and Pepinsky (2022), Voth (2021), and Simpser, Slater and Wittenberg (2018). For an overview that focuses on colonial legacies in particular, see De Juan and Pierskalla (2017).

from most previous investigations. At the risk of oversimplification, the modal persistence study seeks to demonstrate that a particular historical event has had a lasting legacy, and it advances an explanation for why the event produced the legacy. In contrast, our agenda here is to: (1) demonstrate empirically that events in a similar class (e.g., interruptions of local self-government) which could plausibly constitute the basis of a legacy do not always do so, and; (2) explain why some events in the class generate legacies while others do not.

In adopting this approach, we respond to mounting disquiet among historically oriented social scientists about the absence of attention given to failed or non-existent legacies of past events that could have plausibly constituted a legacy (Abad and Maurer, 2021; Acharya, Blackwell and Sen, 2023; Collier, 2022; Voth, 2021). Incorporating such cases into the literature offers two important benefits. First, consideration of failed or non-existent legacies is necessary to obtain an accurate view of how frequently contemporary political outcomes can be meaningfully explained by past events. Published persistence studies offer no variation in this respect, as they are currently almost exclusively stories of "success." Consequently, the literature may give readers an exaggerated impression of the role of historical persistence in contemporary political life.[3]

Second, cases of failed or non-existent legacies introduce a contrast space that promotes theory building and inference through the comparative method. At any given moment in history, many events have the potential to generate legacies—disease outbreaks, wars, and unforeseen economic collapse are among these. Yet characterizing the likelihood that a legacy will emerge is only possible if there are theoretical frameworks to draw upon that have been assessed using cases that vary on the dependent variable (Geddes, 1990; King, Keohane and Verba, 1994).[4] In this regard, a key contribution of our paper is that it provides a framework that is assessed in precisely such a manner.

Our paper is related to, but departs from, a literature in comparative historical analysis on the formation and logic of critical junctures (Collier and Munck, 2017; Collier and

---

[3]One exception are studies that examine how contextual factors moderate the strength of communist legacies (Pop-Eleches and Tucker, 2017; Wittenberg, 2006). In contrast to this work, our study focuses on the characteristics of the intervention itself. In the conclusion, we discuss how future studies could integrate both perspectives.

[4]Our point here is not that *individual* studies of historical persistence suffer from selection on the dependent variable (a claim that would be demonstrably false), but rather that the literature as a whole—perhaps due to publication bias or other factors—does in fact have this shortcoming.

Collier, 1991; Soifer, 2012). Contributions therein have also highlighted the importance of incorporating negative cases into comparative research on legacies (Capoccia, 2015; Capoccia and Kelemen, 2007). Yet the emphasis in this scholarship differs from ours in that it concentrates primarily on decisions taken by elites (Capoccia and Kelemen, 2007; Mahoney, 2001; Rinscheid, Eberlein, Emmenegger and Schneider, 2020). While an elite-centered approach illuminates processes of institutional adoption in many contexts, it is less helpful in addressing the legacies of *externally imposed* regime change. The relevant issue in this context is whether or not there will be take-up, in terms of values and behavior, by the broader population upon whom the new regime has been imposed. Consequently, our focus is on everyday citizens' responses to institutional change.

Since the specific type of comparative persistence scholarship that we pursue here represents a novel research strategy, we recognize that the evaluation of the theory we propose will be far from dispositive. We do not intend it to be. Rather, our goal is to provide conceptual insight into the set of factors likely to distinguish events that produce legacies and those that do not. Given the breadth and complexity of this question, we necessarily address it in a limited fashion. We do so by focusing on the specific repercussions of interruptions of local self-government in two cases whose experiences lend themselves to rigorous empirical evaluations of the presence and absence of legacies. Our hope is that the combination of our theory and the suggestive—but strong—evidence from Poland and Brazil helps inspire a much-needed research program on why and under which conditions legacies emerge.

Perspectives on Interruptions of Local Self-Government

Interruptions of local self-government materialize in a wide variety of forms. They may emerge after foreign conquest, as when a colonizing power installs officials from the metropole to directly administer a conquered territory (De Juan and Pierskalla, 2017). They may also be the consequence of conflict dynamics internal to a nation-state, as in post-civil war settings when a victor installs overseers to rule over the territories of vanquished foes (Liu, 2022). More quotidianly, they often occur in the wake of transitions from democratic to authoritarian rule, as when newly empowered authoritarian elites eliminate or abridge the

capacity of particular communities to select their local political officials. In all these cases, interruptions of self-government are synonymous with "alien rule" (Hechter, 2013, 2): rule by authorities in a given territory who do not themselves come from said territory. Given their similarities, the persistence literature has investigated both kinds of interruptions (Simpser, Slater and Wittenberg, 2018).

Our argument—that the legacy-generating potential of an interruption of self-government varies as a function of longevity and repressive scope—helps reconcile key disputes within the literature. On the one hand, an extensive body of laboratory research has shown that self-governance is important for the formation of pro-social attitudes and behaviors. This implies that the forced abandonment of local self-government due to the actions of an external actor could plausibly constitute the basis for a detrimental legacy.[5]

On the other hand, empirical research based on the historical record is split on the extent to which contemporary political behaviors are attributable to self-governance (or its absence) in the past. Studies examining contemporary differences across Italian regions strongly suggest that extended experiences with self-government—even if in the highly distant past—are relevant for outcomes such as civic engagement (Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti, 1993, 121–162), the belief that one's actions can meaningfully shape life prospects (Guiso, Sapienza and Zingales, 2016), and economic development (Di Liberto and Sideri, 2015). Research on local interventions under authoritarianism paints a similar picture, tying autocratic interventions to persistent anti-democratic attitudes and poor governance outcomes in countries including Chile (González, Muñoz and Prem, 2021), Indonesia (Martinez-Bravo, 2014; Martinez-Bravo, Mukherjee and Stegmann, 2017), Romania (Vogler, 2022), and Vietnam (Dell, Lane and Querubin, 2018). Also conforming with this perspective is scholarship on Soviet intervention in Eastern Europe, which it links to attitudes hostile to democracy (Besley and Persson, 2019; Neundorf, 2010; Pop-Eleches and Tucker, 2017).

Other strands in the literature reach different conclusions. The scholarship on colonialism and imperial rule reports many legacies of self-governance, but these often point in contra-

---

[5]Kamei (2016), for instance, shows that subjects initially permitted to choose policies through democratic procedures exhibit high levels of cooperative behavior even when policies are subsequently externally imposed upon them. See also Dal Bó, Foster and Putterman (2010), Grossman and Baldassarri (2012), and Markussen, Putterman and Tyran (2014).

dictory directions.[6] Moreover, research on foreign military intervention casts doubt on the premise that externally imposed changes in regime type are generally effective in producing stable institutions of the kind promoted by the foreign power (see, for instance, De Mesquita and Downs, 2006; Downes and Monten, 2013). Long-run shifts in democratic values and practice of the kind observed in postwar Germany and Japan, while notable, appear to be exceptions to an otherwise disappointing rule.

From the vantage point of our theory, the heterogenous findings about the existence of legacies associated with interruptions of self-government are not surprising. Sometimes legacies will emerge, and sometimes they will not, with the ultimate outcome primarily determined by the characteristics of the intervention itself. Below, we flesh out the mechanisms responsible for determining if a legacy of an intervention emerges, doing so based on a framework that concentrates on the evolution of political culture over time.

When do Interruptions of Local Self-Government Create Legacies?

According to theories of dynamic complementarity between institutions and political culture, institutional interventions (such as the introduction of formal elections) matter because they gradually increase the proportion of citizens who embrace compatible values (Besley and Persson, 2019; Persson and Tabellini, 2021). Whether or not such interventions ultimately create sustained legacies depends on the societal reaction to the initial change in institutions. If the characteristics of an intervention are such that a sufficiently large proportion of citizens adopts a political culture compatible with the new institution, then a legacy can be said to have come into existence. Due to the stickiness of political culture, the attitudes and behavior associated with the imposed institutional arrangement will persist even after it has been abandoned or the polity has reverted to the pre-intervention status quo.

---

[6]Some studies link direct colonial rule and/or longer exposure to colonial rule, both of which imply weaker local self-governance, to positive long-run outcomes such as enhanced prospects for democracy (Hariri, 2012; Lange, 2004), less corruption (Lange, 2004), and stronger norms of cooperation (Chaudhary, Rubin, Iyer and Shrivastava, 2020). Others tie indirect rule and/or colonial neglect, both of which imply stronger local self-governance, to improved public good provision (Iyer, 2010) and higher levels of economic development (Mahoney, 2010).

In contemplating the consequences of interruptions of local self-government, we focus here on two key elements of political culture that may be affected by interruptions: skills and values. By skills we refer to forms of expertise or learned capabilities—consciously adopted—that are tailored to the specifics of the institutional environment. These might be professional capabilities, such as a vote broker's expertise in bureaucratic intermediation or a pollster's competence in fielding opinion polls. More commonly, they are capabilities relevant for the everyday political life of citizens, such as knowing how to lobby municipal officials to fix a pothole or impress party apparatchiks with one's mastery of the official regime ideology. By values, we refer to citizens' core preferences over institutions and procedures, such as the degree to which they intrinsically prefer deliberative processes over top-down forms of decision making. The acquisition of political skills and the propagation of values have different timelines, with the former adjusting more quickly to institutional change than the latter. Thus, values propagation may to some degree be conditional on shifts in the adoption of political skills. Our contention is that the characteristics of interruptions relevant to the formation of legacies are ones that play an important role in shifting these aspects of political culture.[7]

Two such characteristics of interruptions in self-government are their (1) duration and (2) scope of repression. In terms of the former, one can conceptualize interruptions as *transient* or *enduring*. For reasons we will explicate below, we categorize interruptions shorter than a human generation (roughly thirty years) as transient, and longer interruptions as enduring. In terms of the latter, restrictions on self-government imposed during a period of external intervention can either be *limited* or *encompassing*. An interruption with a limited scope of repression curtails only certain clearly delineated forms of self-government, while maintaining residual opportunities for meaningful political participation. By contrast, an interruption with an encompassing scope of repression extinguishes self-government almost entirely, with a nearly universal prohibition on forms of political participation that serve any purpose besides venerating the regime.

Consider first how an interruption of local self-government affects the adoption of polit-

---

[7]By incorporating skill formation within our notion of political culture, we follow Nunn (2021), who articulates a broad view of culture that incorporates knowledge acquisition and innovation.

ical skills. Following the welfare state literature (Estevez-Abe, Iversen and Soskice, 2001; Iversen and Soskice, 2001), one can think of political skills as investments in human capital whose returns depend upon the institutional environment. Many political skills are regime-specific, offering different payoffs under a system of self-government than under authoritarian rule. In the absence of self-rule, outward manifestations of regime loyalty may be central to professional advancement and personal wellbeing (Egorov and Sonin, 2011). For instance, in China's well-studied cadre system, so called "party spirit" and a history of 'correct' political action are explicitly assessed for individuals seeking bureaucratic promotion (Manion, 1985; Tsai and Kou, 2015). In such an environment, investing in one's capacity to be an ideological thought leader and in cultivating ties to party factions pays large dividends (Liu, 2019; Shih, Adolph and Liu, 2012). However, under self-government the same investments might prove virtually worthless, as avenues to advancement would likely shift in favor of those with different assets, such as expertise in law and finance or ties to private capital.

Conceptualized in this manner, changes in individual investments in political skills following an intervention should be sensitive to the intervention's duration and its scope of repression. Duration matters because it shapes perceptions of the intervention's long-term viability. Should citizens in the intervened community come to perceive the interruption as likely to persist throughout their professional lives, many will begin to invest in the political skills that allow them to succeed in their new environment. As the number of citizens making such investments grows, a bandwagon effect is likely to emerge, increasing the pressure on remaining holdouts to adopt a similar skill set. Although late adopters are not necessarily true believers in the regime, they are destined to become at least tacit supporters, since they fear losses in the value of their regime-specific capabilities due to institutional change. However, if the population perceives the likelihood of an institutional reversion in the future as high, then most citizens will be disinclined to acquire new political skills in response to the interruption. To the contrary, in this case it would be preferable to maintain a skill set appropriate to self-government and await its return.

The scope of repression matters because it reduces the degree of regime-specificity of political skills in the first place. The greater the number of arenas for participation and/or electoral contestation during the interruption, the greater the opportunities for citizens to

take advantage of previously acquired skills related to self-government. By the same token, the greater the continuity in the set of relevant political elites, the less need citizens will feel to develop new talents or invest in new social networks. Encompassing repression, as we have defined it, incentivizes large aggregate changes in political skills, whereas limited repression reduces the extent to which an interruption will lead to changes in skills.

After citizens have made decisions about changing or maintaining their skill set, many will have to decide on the values they will bequeath to their children. As recognized by seminal contributions in evolutionary anthropology (e.g., Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman, 1981) and modern treatments of cultural change (e.g., Bisin and Verdier, 2001; Tabellini, 2008b), parents play a critical role in socializing their children. Indeed, numerous empirical studies indicate that intergenerational socialization from parent to child is particularly important for the development of political values (e.g., Beck and Jennings, 1991; Dinas, Fouka and Schläpfer, 2021). Such socialization takes hold at specific impressionable age ranges, including late childhood and adolescence (Neundorf and Smets, 2017). Value change is thus a slow moving process, instigated by actions taken by parents in the home and accumulating across multiple generations.

Why might parental strategies of socialization change in response to an interruption of local self-government? If self-rule is perceived as unlikely to reemerge in the foreseeable future, parents may wish to instill outlooks and orientations that will maximize their children's ability to achieve social (and economic) success given the new institutional environment. Extolling the virtues of popular deliberation and principled dissent, for example, would hinder their children's ability to navigate social, economic, or political groups that are critical under the current (more authoritarian) regime; better, in this context, to inculcate a pride in obedience to authority and satisfaction with political disengagement. Note, however, that the credibility of the institutional change is essential to this calculus. If self-government is expected to reemerge shortly, then maintaining the old value system would be preferable. For this reason, the longevity of the interruption is critical for the transmission of values: longer interruptions eventually convince parents that the absence of self-government today will continue on indefinitely, whereas shorter interruptions often leave open the possibility of a reversion to the old order.

The aforementioned dynamics will be compounded by parents' prior choices about skill investments. According to the logic of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1962), parents who have chosen to invest in skills that conform with the nature of the new regime will likely find it less costly to bequeath regime-compatible values to their children than to attempt to bequeath values at odds with their public identity and behavior. Consequently, a regime-conforming skill shift may be a harbinger of a more durable attitudinal shift among the descendants of those who tied their professional masts to the new regime. Since a greater perceived longevity of an intervention leads more citizens to adopt regime conforming skills, it can potentially produce a substantial long-run value shift.

Longevity also matters for a mechanical reason. Since value change occurs intergenerationally, and since at any given time the number of parents with children in the impressionable age range is limited, a significant amount of time under an interruption must pass in order for a critical mass of newly socialized citizens to emerge. Even if most parents were disposed to bequeath authoritarian-compatible values to their offspring, multiple waves of children in the relevant age range would need to be socialized before a large aggregate shift in values could take place. A timespan of roughly a human generation is the minimum in which this could occur. Accordingly, a shorter intervention is unlikely to leave a marked attitudinal legacy. The first generation that lives under an intervention may consist of many individuals who adopt regime conforming skills in an attempt to go-along-to-get-along. While invested in the regime, these citizens' attitudes were shaped under the prior (more democratic) institutional context. It is the subsequent generations—socialized to have regime conforming values—who ultimately carry the legacy of the regime.

Sustained value change also depends on the *scope of repression*. Scope matters because it determines the degree of mismatch between values that produce self-fulfillment under self-government and the realities of life under external intervention. Interruptions characterized by limited repression, which offer real, albeit abridged, opportunities for political participation, present a much smaller mismatch than do interruptions characterized by encompassing repression. Consequently, some parents may find it attractive to bequeath democratic values to their children when repression is limited, as they anticipate their offspring may at least experience true opportunities for political participation in the arenas of politics that remain

open. Naturally, this limits the magnitude of value change.

Figure 1: When do interruptions in self-government create legacies?

	Limited Repression	Encompassing Repression
Transient Intervention	*Minimal* potential for long-term legacies	Moderate potential for long-term legacies
Enduring Intervention	Moderate potential for long-term legacies	*Highest* potential for long-term legacies

Our argument is summarized by Figure 1. An interruption of self-government that is both enduring and characterized by encompassing repression has the greatest potential to generate a long-term legacy, as we expect considerable shifts in political skills and values. In contrast, an interruption that is transient and which has a limited scope of repression has the least potential to generate a long-term legacy, as neither political skills nor values are likely to shift much. Interruptions that are either (1) enduring but limited in their scope of repression or (2) transient but encompassing in their repression represent intermediate cases. In these instances, shifts in political culture among some segments of the population may take place, creating evidence of a legacy in the short to intermediate run. However, since the shifts are likely to fall short of the critical mass needed create a new equilibrium, any legacies are likely to have a high "decay rate" (Acharya, Blackwell and Sen, 2023).

The Cases: Interruptions of Self-Government in Poland and Brazil

We illustrate our argument through the analysis of the imperial partition of Poland and centralized military rule in Brazil. We selected these cases for three reasons: (1) our argument

is broadly applicable to interruptions of local self-government under various circumstances; (2) they have distinct potentialities for legacies in our framework; (3) the interruptions they experienced facilitate empirically rigorous assessments of legacies.

With respect to demonstrating our framework's applicability, our case selection partly builds on Simpser, Slater and Wittenberg (2018), who emphasize the similarities between imperial and authoritarian rule and advocate for analyses that incorporate both. According to expectations generated by the literature, *both* Poland and Brazil are plausible candidates for legacies. The literature on imperialism would suggest a high likelihood of a legacy in Poland (Grosfeld and Zhuravskaya, 2015; Vogler, 2019), whereas the literature on authoritarianism regimes would suggest a high likelihood of a legacy in Brazil (González, Muñoz and Prem, 2021; Martinez-Bravo, 2014). Yet our framework predicts a legacy in Poland but not in Brazil. Here we elaborate on why that is so.

The Polish Case

In Poland, different areas of the country are associated with varying prospects for legacies based on the characteristics of past imperial rule. Major European powers began to partition the Polish lands in the late eighteenth century. In 1815, after the Napoleonic Wars, Poland's fate was again decided by multiple empires: At the Congress of Vienna, the territories inhabited by the Poles were split between Austria, Russia, and Prussia. These partitions lasted until Polish independence in 1918. A map of the historical boundaries can be found in the Appendix (Figure A1).

The duration of the interruption of self-government was long lasting by any criterion: 123 years if dated to the third partition (1795) and 103 years if dated to the fourth (1815). This represented sufficient time for Poles living under foreign occupation to adapt their values in response to the character of intervention, be it through a shift in political skills, political values, or both. However, while the intervention's duration was (roughly) constant across the three territories, the scope of repression differed markedly.

The scope of repression was most encompassing under Russian rule. Russia governed its Polish territories in a top-down fashion and with a high level of coercion, precluding opportunities for meaningful political participation (Davies, 2005, ch. 2; Vogler, 2019, 814–

815). Attempts by Poles to advocate for their rights were quashed through the relentless use of military power, demonstrating that there was no alternative to submission to the imperial hierarchy (Davies, 2005).

By contrast, the scope of repression was relatively limited under Prussian rule (Davies, 2005, 85; Vogler, 2019, 812–813). While the Prussian state denied full self-government to the Poles, it was relatively reliable and restrained. It also provided meaningful channels of participation, including, as of 1849, the right to limited political representation in a Prussian representative assembly. Moreover, in the period of Imperial Germany (1871–1914), Poles were given full voting rights in federal parliamentary elections and were permitted to establish parties that represented their interests. Thus, we can most clearly distinguish between the character of foreign rule of Prussia and Russia. Although comparable in duration, Russian rule remained highly repressive throughout the entire period, while Prussia's state had a *Rechtsstaat* character and permitted meaningful political participation for several decades.[8]

Compared to Prussia and Russia, the character of Austrian rule was uneven. The early years of Austrian occupation featured strict censoring of the Polish press and severe oppression of Polish attempts at self-government, both indicative of encompassing repression. In later years, however (especially after 1867), Poles were given the opportunity to participate in the Austrian bureaucracy. Yet political rights—including voting rights—remained severely restricted until the last few years of foreign rule (Davies, 2005; Vushko, 2015).

In terms of our theory outlined in Figure 1, the Russian-ruled territory of Poland is located in the lower righthand quadrant, indicating a high potential for a legacy. The area ruled by Prussia is located in the lower lefthand quadrant, indicating a moderate potential for a legacy. Finally, the location of the Austrian-ruled territory is ambiguous given the shifting character of Austrian rule over time, which makes categorization difficult.

---

[8]Given this clear distinction between Prussia and Russia specifically, our empirical analysis primarily focuses on this comparison. We include the comparisons with Austria in the Appendix, but as elaborated below, this case is ambiguous in light of our framework.

The Brazilian Case

In the case of the Brazilian military government, local interruptions of self-government were much shorter and much less encompassing. The entire interlude of military rule lasted only twenty-one years (1964–1985). Moreover, political restrictions, while certainly severe relative to previous periods, nevertheless still allowed for various forms of participation.

Specifically, unlike contemporary military regimes in the region, Brazil's rulers permitted open competition among (pre-approved) political actors for many offices. Although the military was critical of previous practices of party competition, it neither extinguished party politics altogether nor organized society into a single-party system. Rather, in its second institutional act (AI-2) of 1965, it dissolved the existing system, substituting in its place an officially sanctioned two-party system. The parties in this system were the Brazilian Renewal Alliance (ARENA) and the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB). ARENA was the authoritarian government's official support party. The MDB was the officially tolerated opposition party.

In addition to creating the foundations of the new party system, AI-2 created a system for the selection of political officeholders. The president and vice-president were chosen by the Chamber of Deputies and governors by their state legislatures. This ensured that high-level executive officeholders would either be military officers (the president) or their clients (governors). However, state, federal, and municipal legislative offices were contested at regular intervals through popular elections. Thus, while the highest-level executive offices were removed from democratic contention, most formerly elected offices remained subject to a popular vote.[9]

The interruptions of local self-government that we focus on took place within this larger institutional context. Due to AI-2 and subsequent decrees promulgated by the government, (1) state capitals, (2) municipalities designated as areas of strategic interest, (3) municipalities with hydromineral wealth, and (4) municipalities within federal territories were prohibited from selecting their mayors through elections. Rather, these mayors were appointed by the governor (a military loyalist), in concordance with the state assembly or the President.

---

[9] However, some politicians—especially those suspected of communist sympathies—were prohibited from running for office (Klein and Luna, 2017; Skidmore, 1988).

In total, 180 different municipalities (out of more than 4000) had appointed mayors.

Where it occurred, this was a potentially impactful intervention, especially given the traditional importance of Brazilian mayors. During the prior democratic period, mayors routinely operated as vote brokers, mobilizing voters in elections (Gingerich, 2020). They often did this in exchanges called *dobradinhas*, which entailed receiving campaign donations from high-level legislative candidates to simultaneously mobilize voters on behalf of their candidacies and the candidacies of their patrons (Gingerich, 2020, 1090–1092). Mayors also played a key role in registering rural voters (Carvalho, 1958; Limongi, Cheibub and Figueiredo, 2019). Thus, by eliminating some mayoral elections, the military government was potentially refashioning one of the central linkages in the Brazilian electoral process.

Yet the location of the Brazilian case in our framework (Figure 1) is nevertheless clear: it belongs in the upper left-hand quadrant, indicating a minimal potential for a legacy. The interruptions in municipal self-government (most less than twenty years) were likely too brief to catalyze major shifts in political value systems. Moreover, the continued use of elections for various offices implies that the skills and values acquired under the prior democratic regime would still basically conform to the realities of life in affected municipalities.[10]

The Benefits of Analyzing the Polish and Brazilian Cases

In addition to capturing variation in our theory, these cases also facilitate the measurement of our outcome (the presence or absence of a legacy). To properly assess whether or not an interruption has generated a legacy, its dynamics need to have unfolded in such a way as to permit causal inference. Ideally, there would either be some quasi-random element to the interruption or exact knowledge of the conditions that generated it. The interruptions in both Poland and Brazil share this rare virtue, thereby permitting us to categorize the cases according to the presence or absence of a legacy with a high degree of confidence. For the case of Poland, multiple studies have confirmed that imperial border placement was quasi-random, with no significant differences in geography or pretreatment characteristics (Grosfeld and Zhuravskaya, 2015, 56–60; Vogler, 2019). Moreover, historians describe the conditions on the ground as not influencing border placement (Hoensch, 1990, 180). Thus,

---

[10]We provide an extended discussion of the historical background of both cases in the Appendix.

we have a strong claim of quasi-randomness. For the case of Brazil, we have exact knowledge of the conditions that led to the appointment of mayors. Additionally, we can measure these factors directly, thereby accounting for selection into intervention. This buttresses our claim of being able to match on all relevant determinants of intervention.

In the empirical analyses, we seek to discern if geographical variation in external intervention can explain, in the present-day or recent past, preferences for authoritarianism among the electorate. We operationalize such preferences by utilizing the success of populist anti-system parties and/or authoritarian successor parties. Studies have shown that cultural attributes associated with interruptions of self-government—such as low social capital and trust—are linked to these outcomes.[11] For our purposes, a legacy exists if the evidence indicates that the external intervention, after it has formally ended, remains causally related to the success of the aforementioned types of parties. If the evidence indicates no such link is present, then we conclude that there is no legacy.

A Lasting Legacy of Interruptions of Self-Government: Evidence from Poland

For the case of Poland, we examine the electoral success of the party "Law and Justice" (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc*, PiS) in mayoral elections. In the 2000s and 2010s, this major populist party with strong illiberal tendencies had growing electoral success at all levels of government (Charnysh, 2017). The PiS utilized its power to dismantle Poland's constitutional system of checks and balances, leading observers to characterize it as a danger to democracy (Markowski, 2019; Sadurski, 2018). Given the party's anti-system orientation, we consider its success as reflecting authoritarianism-compatible values among the electorate.

As previously discussed, we expect that municipalities in the formerly Russian territory will be more likely to have mayors that are affiliated with this party than municipalities in the Prussian territory. Due to the more ambiguous character of Austrian rule, we abstain from making strong predictions about this case and relegate the relevant results to the Appendix

---

[11]For relevant studies on Europe, see Coffé, Heyndels and Vermeir (2007) and Berning and Ziller (2017). For relevant studies on Latin America, see Doyle (2011) and Keefer, Scartascini and Vlaicu (2019).

(section A.8). In order to conduct our analysis, we primarily use data by Charasz and Vogler (2021), which is mainly based on data by Statistics Poland (2021).

Dependent Variables

We employ two measures of the PiS's electoral success:

1. **Mayor PiS:** This variable is equal to 1 if the mayor elected in a municipality belonged to the party Law and Justice (PiS) for the time period indicated (2010–2014, 2014–2018); 0 otherwise.

2. **Mayor PiS (Broad Definition):** This variable is equal to 1 if the mayor elected in a municipality belonged to the PiS or was supported by its electoral committee in 2014–2018; 0 otherwise.

Independent Variables

Our theory points to the importance of sustained and encompassing interruptions in self-government as determinants of citizens' electoral behavior. Using "Prussia" as our baseline category, we use the following key independent variables:

1. **Russia:** This dummy variable indicates if a municipality historically belonged to the Russian partition (1815–1914). This is our primary variable as Russian rule was both highly repressive and enduring, generating the highest potential for legacies.

2. **Austria:** This dummy variable indicates if a municipality historically belonged to the Austrian partition (1815–1914). Results are mostly in the Appendix (section A.8).

3. **Interwar Germany:** This dummy variable indicates if a municipality historically belonged to Interwar Germany (1918–1939). These territories experienced significant population transfers from the formerly Russian partition and from eastern Galicia after World War II (Charnysh, 2019). Thus, they need to be distinguished from other parts of the Prussian partition.[12]

Covariates

To account for the possibility that our results merely reflect cross-regional socioeconomic differences, we also present models with municipal-level control variables. These include the level of elevation, population density, the share of the population that lives in urban areas,

---

[12]As shown in the Appendix (Figure A2), these observations are excluded in our geographic regression discontinuity models.

the unemployment rate, the average monthly salary (as a percentage of the national average of the county to which a municipality belongs), the share of the "working age" population (ages 18–64 for men, 18–59 for women), the share of the "elderly" population (ages 65+ for men, 60+ for women), and the logarithm of population size.

Descriptive statistics for our Polish data are presented in the Appendix (Table A1).

Models

Simple Dummy Variables: Our first empirical test is based on simple dummy variable analyses. They have the following format:

$$y_i = \beta_0 + \sum_{j=1}^{n} \beta_j \ EMP_{ji} + \beta_{n+1} ELV_i + \mathbf{x_i'} \ \boldsymbol{\beta} + \varepsilon_\mathbf{i} \tag{1}$$

where y_i is the dependent variable for municipality i. β_j represents the difference in the value of the dependent variable between municipalities that belonged to empire (EMP) j and those that belonged to the baseline category. When multiple empires are compared, the baseline category is Prussian municipalities that did not belong to interwar Germany. β_{j+1} is the coefficient for elevation (ELV). Control variables are contained in vector $\mathbf{x}$.

Geographic Regression Discontinuity Design: In utilizing the GRDD approach, we treat the imperial borders as quasi-random cutoffs and use the distance to the border (in km) as forcing variable. The regressions have the following format:

$$y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \ EMP_{ji} + \beta_2 \ ELV_i + \mathbf{x_i'} \ \boldsymbol{\beta} + f(geographic \ location) + \varepsilon \tag{2}$$

The key difference with the previous regression is the addition of a new component: $f(geographic \ location)$. There are three variants of this function. The first expresses geographical location as a linear function of distance to the border and the interaction of distance with the relevant empire dummy. The second expresses location as above but uses a second-order polynomial for distance. The third expresses location as a linear function of distance, but also includes latitude and longitude. Details are presented in the Appendix (section A.5).

Results

Table 1 shows the results of the dummy variable regressions. In the Appendix (Table A2 and Table A3), we also add control variables. While this introduces the possibility of post-treatment bias, said variables might also have an important independent influence.

In general, the results confirm that there are significant differences across the partitions in accordance with our expectations. This is most evident for the Prussia–Russia comparison, where we consistently find evidence that the divergence between more limited repression (Prussian partition) and more encompassing repression (Russian partition) produces long-term political differences.

Importantly, as shown in the Appendix, the initial finding that Austria is more likely to have PiS mayors does not hold in some of the more rigorous GRDD regressions. This indicates that underlying geographic patterns and their possible effects on social organization could play a role in explaining the discrepancy.

Table 1: Local Political Leadership Outcomes

	Dependent variable:		
	Mayor PIS	Mayor PIS (Broad)	Mayor PIS (2010)
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Russia	0.080***	0.087***	0.065***
	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.012)
Interwar Germany	0.006	0.008	0.005
	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.014)
Austria	0.112***	0.123***	0.053***
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.015)
Constant	0.016	0.016	0.008
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.011)
Observations	2,445	2,445	2,448
R^2	0.028	0.031	0.020
Adjusted R^2	0.027	0.030	0.019

Note: OLS $^*p<0.1$; $^{**}p<0.05$; $^{***}p<0.01$

Figure 2 illustrates our GRDD approach for the comparison of the Prussian and Russian partitions. It depicts the change in the proportion of mayors belonging to the PiS in the 2014 elections as one crosses the geographic boundary (at $x = 0$). In addition, Figure 3 provides an alternative visualization of the discontinuity. It shows that the distribution of

mayors belonging to the PiS in the 2014 elections is concentrated in the partition previously controlled by Russia.[13]

Figure 2: Impact of Prussia vs. Russia Partition on Having a PiS Mayor

Prussia/Russia Comparison: PIS Mayor (2014 Elect.)

Distance to Border: Prussia (Left) / Russia (Right) (Vert. Dash. Lines = Opt. Bandw.)

---
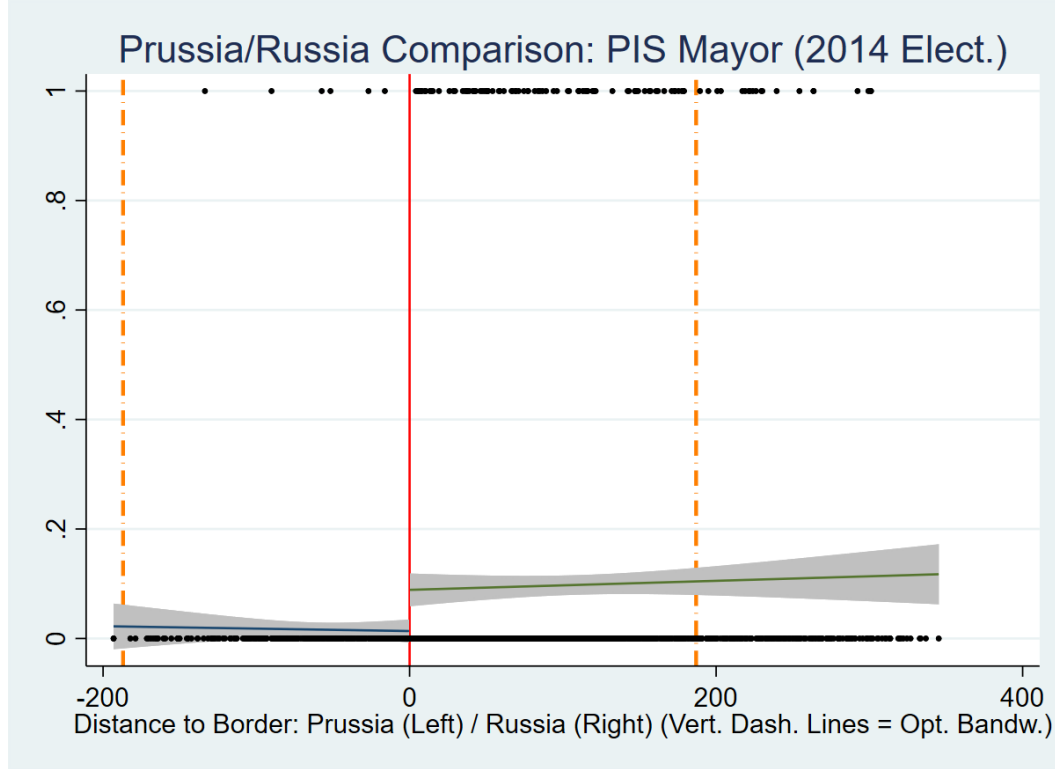
[13]The Appendix contains additional figures and maps (Figure A3 – Figure A6) that present the findings for our alternative dependent variables.

Figure 3: Map of PIS-affiliated Mayors in the 2014 Elections

Table 2 presents the GRDD results for the Prussia/Russia comparison without control variables. They show that municipalities in the former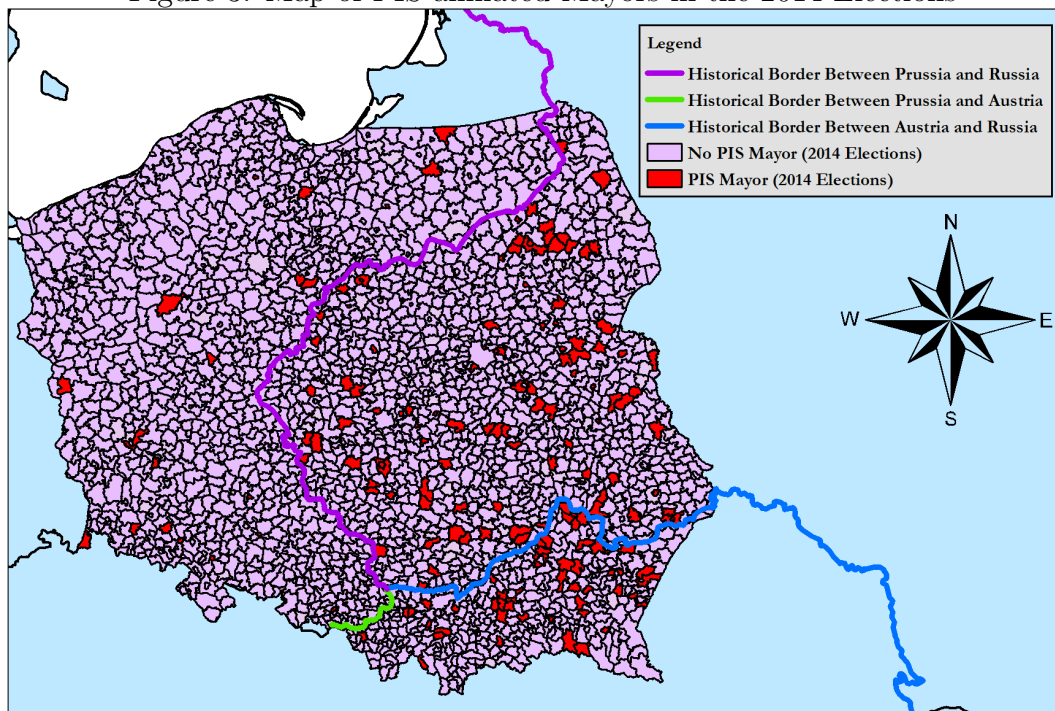ly Russian partition are significantly more likely to have a PiS-affiliated mayor. These findings are robust to the adoption of the latitude/longitude specification and the inclusion of controls (as shown in the Appendix).

In accordance with our theory, the PiS is systematically stronger in local elections in the formerly Russian partition. While Prussia's rule allowed limited political organization after 1849 and the German Empire allowed for broad electoral participation, Russian rule was highly militarized, repressive, and extractive. In the long run, this absence of participatory traditions contributes the higher success rate of mayors affiliated with the populist right-wing party PiS.

Additional comparisons between Austria/Russia and Prussia/Austria included in the Appendix show some initially significant results, but these are not present in the GRDD models once controls are included. We believe the ambiguous findings in this respect reflect nuances in these broader comparisons due to the shifting character of Austrian rule.

Table 2: Local Political Leadership Outcomes (Prussia/Russia Comparison)

	Dependent variable:					
	Mayor PIS	Mayor PIS (Br.)	Mayor PIS (2010)	Mayor PIS	Mayor PIS (Br.)	Mayor PIS (2010)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Russia	0.075***	0.081***	0.056**	0.066*	0.075**	0.029
	(0.026)	(0.027)	(0.023)	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.031)
Elevation	0.00003	0.00004	0.0002	0.00005	0.0001	0.0002*
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Dist. PR-RU	−0.0001	−0.0001	0.0001	−0.0004	−0.0004	0.00001
	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Dist. PR-RU Sq.				0.00000	0.00000	0.00000
				(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)
Russia*Dist.	0.0001	0.0001	−0.0001	0.001	0.001	0.001
	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Russia*Dist. Sq.				−0.00000	−0.00000	−0.00000
				(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)
Constant	0.010	0.007	−0.007	−0.0001	−0.002	−0.013
	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.025)	(0.036)	(0.037)	(0.031)
Observations	1,435	1,435	1,437	1,435	1,435	1,437
R^2	0.019	0.021	0.018	0.020	0.021	0.022
Adjusted R^2	0.016	0.018	0.015	0.016	0.017	0.018

Note: OLS *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

An Interruption of Self-Government _without_ a Legacy: Evidence from Brazil

For the case of Brazil, we examine the success of the country's two authoritarian successor parties during the 1988 and 1992 mayoral elections. These two parties were the Social Democratic Party (_Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira_, PDS) and the Liberal Front (_Partido da Frente Liberal_, PFL).[14] Given previous findings about the legacies of dictatorship-era mayors in the region (González, Muñoz and Prem, 2021), it is possible that the PDS and PFL might have had a higher chance of winning mayoral elections as a consequence of the appointment of mayors during the authoritarian period. However, our framework classifies this intervention as both transient and limited. Thus, we deem the likelihood of a legacy as being low. To assess if a legacy existed, municipal-level electoral data on mayoral elections held by each of Brazil's twenty six state-level electoral tribunals were collected and coded specifically for this study (excluding the federal district).[15]

---

[14]The PDS was the direct descendent of the official authoritarian party, ARENA: ARENA was simply renamed as the PDS in 1980. The PFL was composed of leading figures from the PDS who split with the party over its nomination of Paulo Maluf as the PDS's presidential nominee in 1985 (Power, 2018).

[15]In the majority of cases where the data were not in electronic format, this entailed coding the data from PDFs of the original electoral acts.

Dependent Variables

We examine two dependent variables in our analysis:

1. **PDS Mayor:** This variable is equal to 1 if the mayor elected in a given municipality belonged to the PDS or was elected by a coalition of parties that included the PDS; 0 otherwise.

2. **PFL Mayor:** This variable is equal to 1 if the mayor elected in a given municipality belonged to the PFL or was elected by a coalition of parties that included the PFL; 0 otherwise.

Treatment Variable

Our treatment variable is **Intervened**, equal to 1 for municipalities that had an appointed mayor during military rule; 0 otherwise. This variable is coded from the Supreme Electoral Tribunal's compilation of electoral statistics for the 1972 elections, which includes a list of all municipalities that had appointed mayors (Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (TSE), 1988). That list was then supplemented using the information contained in decree laws dealing with national security areas promulgated after the election (1973–1981), which listed additional municipalities with appointed mayors.[16] Municipalities that were newly created in the post-authoritarian period and located within the previous boundaries of a municipality with an appointed mayor were also coded as having been intervened.[17]

Covariates

In selecting the covariates, we exploit knowledge about the factors considered by the military government in deciding which municipalities to prohibit from having elections. Specifically, we make use of the fact that the features that made municipalities of national security interest were clearly defined, as were the characteristics that made them sites of hydromineral wealth.

---

[16]The aforementioned laws were Decree Law Nº 1.272 of May 29, 1973, Decree Law Nº 1.273 of May 29, 1973, Decree Law Nº 1.284 of August 28, 1973, Decree Law Nº 1.316 of March 12, 1974, Decree Law Nº 1.480 of September 9, 1976, Decree Law Nº 1.481 of September 9, 1976, and Complementary Law Nº 41 of December 22, 1981.

[17]The coding for these cases is based on the municipal administrative histories provided by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) in its *Cidades* website (cidades.ibge.gov.br).

We also exploit knowledge about the dimensions upon which state capitals differ from other municipalities.

When using the language of national security in reference to municipalities, the military government was typically referring to concerns about controlling its interior border zones. These concerns were manifested in efforts like the National Integration Scheme in 1970, which brought colonists from more populated areas of Brazil to settle in the Amazon (Flynn, 1978, 452), and the promulgation of Law N⁰. 6.634 (May 2, 1979), which prevented foreigners from acquiring land in border areas. Thus, a municipality's degree of national security concern was a function of its distance to the border.

In targeting sites of hydromineral wealth for intervention, the actions of the military government reflected a long-term preoccupation in Brazil with the therapeutic and medicinal value of mineral water, one dating back to the early/mid-nineteenth century (Marrichi, 2017). Such sites also played an important role in the growth of the hotel and tourism industries (Franco, 2017). Thus, the decision of the military government to prohibit elections in locations with hydromineral wealth can be interpreted as an attempt to shield these valued resources from the perceived risks of political mismanagement.

As stated earlier, a third major rationale for intervention was that a municipality was a state capital. Of course, Brazilian state capitals are *sui generis*, so structuring relatively pure as-if-random comparisons based on these units is infeasible. However, we do know some of the major ways they differ from other municipalities. Besides the fact that they are the seats of government, state capitals tend to be more populous than most other municipalities and have higher levels of human development.

Given these considerations, we employ a select set of covariates in order to maximize the credibility of our causal inferences based on (conditional) differences between municipalities that experienced an intervention and those that did not. Our covariate set is as follows:

1. ***Distance to Border (Log.):*** This is the logarithm of the distance (in kilometers) from the center of a municipality to the nearest land border. Municipalities close to a land border should have been more likely to experience interventions in self-government than municipalities distant from a border given the territorial nature of the military government's national security concerns.[18]

---

[18]Distances were constructed using shape files for Brazilian municipalities (for the year 1991) compiled

2. ***Mineral Water:*** This variable is equal to 1 if a municipality was listed as having a concession to extract mineral water according to a study commissioned by the Ministry of Mines and Energy on the distribution of mineral water (Queiroz, 2004); 0 otherwise. Municipalities which contain mineral water should have been more likely to be assessed as valuable, thereby being more likely targets for intervention.

3. ***Population (Log.):*** This variable is equal to the logarithm of the population size of the municipality (measured in 1996). State capitals are typically much larger than non-state capitals, so the military government's decision to impose appointed mayors in these areas may have created an overrepresentation of populous municipalities among those that were intervened. Data come from the Institute for Applied Economic Research (IPEA; www.ipeadata.gov.br).

4. ***Human Development:*** This variable is the municipal human development index (measured in 1991). It is a composite indicator of well-being based on municipal-level outcomes in the dimensions of health, education, and economic prosperity. State capitals tend to have higher human development than other municipalities, so intervention in these locales may have created an overrepresentation of municipalities with high human development. On the other hand, municipalities near Brazil's land border tend to be poorer than average, so the military government's geographical targeting strategy may have resulted in an overrepresentation of municipalities with low human development. Data come from the Institute for Applied Economic Research (IPEA; www.ipeadata.gov.br).

Descriptive statistics for our Brazilian data are presented in the Appendix (Table A8).

Design

We adopt a research design that maximizes comparisons across municipalities with similar characteristics. In particular, we focus on within-state variation between municipalities that experienced interventions and those that did not, holding constant the covariates described above. In this regard, we employ two functionally similar estimation strategies. First, we estimate the impact of intervention by utilizing a linear probability regression model with fixed effects by state. Second, we estimate the impact of intervention by utilizing exact matching on state and the presence of mineral water in conjunction with coarsened exact matching on distance to the nearest land border, population, and human development.[19]

---

by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) (IBGE, 2011), as well as data on latitude and longitude compiled from the IBGE by Kelvin S. do Prado (http://github.com/kelvins/Municipios -Brasileiros).

[19]To implement coarsened exact matching (Iacus, King and Porro, 2012), we discretized the distance to the nearest land border into the following categories: ≤250km, [250km,500km), [500km,1000km),≥ 1000km.

The underlying identification strategy that motivates these estimation procedures is as follows. For municipalities within a given state, once one holds constant security concerns associated with distance from the nearest land border, the presence of mineral water, and levels of population and development, whether or not intervention actually occurred is idiosyncratic, that is, functionally a coin toss. Thus, conditional comparisons of outcomes across intervention status should be informative about causal effects. Of course, we recognize that this logic runs into challenges with the inclusion of state capitals, since they differ from non-state capitals along many dimensions beyond population size and human development and may in some respects be incomparable to other municipalities in their states. For this reason, we present all our results both with state capitals included as well as excluded.
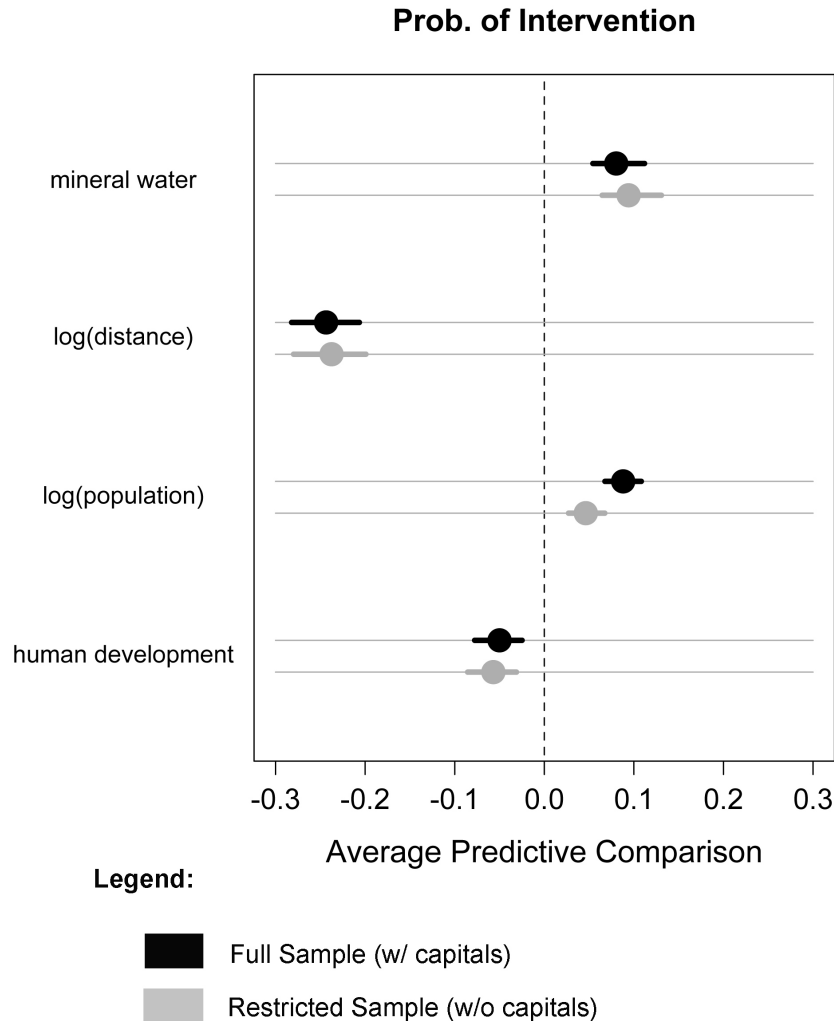
Drivers of Intervention

Since our empirical strategy is based on knowledge of the factors that drove the military government's mayoral appointments, here we provide evidence that these factors were indeed strongly associated with interruptions of local self-rule. To that end, we estimate a logistic regression in which we regress *Intervened* onto the four covariates described above. We then plot average predictive comparisons (APCs) (Gelman and Pardoe, 2007) for the covariates to depict the influence of each on the likelihood of intervention.

Figure 4 presents the findings. For *Mineral Water*, the APC was calculated as the average predicted change in the probability of intervention due to all municipalities being assigned a value of 1 instead of 0 on this variable. For the remaining covariates (which are continuous), the APCs were calculated as the average predicted changes in the probability of intervention due to all municipalities being assigned a value equal to the 95th percentile on a given covariate instead of the 5th percentile. As seen in the figure, in all cases the APCs were statistically significant. Most striking was the influence of *Distance to Border (Log.)*: A change from the 5th percentile of this variable to the 95th percentile leads to an increase in the likelihood of intervention of approximately 24 percentage points. The impact of *Mineral Water* was also substantial, leading to a 8–9 percentage point increase in the likelihood of

---

Population size was discretized into categories defined by the quartiles of that variable. Human development was discretized into categories defined its terciles. The R package **cem** was utilized to conduct the analysis.

intervention. The associations of population and human development with intervention were generally weaker, with the former being positively associated with intervention and the latter negatively associated with it.

Figure 4: Impact of Covariates on the Likelihood of Intervention (Logistic Regression)

Prob. of Intervention

Note: Shown are average predictive comparisons (APCs) (Gelman and Pardoe, 2007). For the binary covariate (*Mineral Water*), the APC shown is the average predicted change in the probability of intervention due to all municipalities being assigned a value of 1 instead of 0. For the continuous covariates, the APCs shown are the average predicted changes in probability due to all municipalities being assigned a value equal to the 95th percentile on a given covariate instead of the 5th percentile.

Ruling Out Ideological Selection

One potential source of concern about the empirical strategy described above is ideological selection. It is possible that the military government was more likely to impose appointed mayors in municipalities that exhibited support for Leftist candidates in the years leading up to the intervention in 1964. If this was the case, then our estimates of the effect of interruptions in local self-rule could suffer from omitted variable bias, since the ideological leanings of municipalities before military rule are likely correlated with support for the two authoritarian successor parties.

To address this possibility, we examine support for Brazil's most prominent left-wing politician of the era: João Goulart. Goulart was the sitting president deposed by the military. His support for broad social reforms and his perceived sympathy with communist regimes was used by military and civilian actors to justify the coup. Goulart came to the presidency by way of the vice-presidency, an office to which he was independently elected in 1960. (Presidents and vice-presidents ran for office separately at that time.) Thus, if the Brazilian military was engaged in ideological selection when choosing where to impose appointed mayors, one would expect that this would be evident in vote patterns for Goulart in the 1960 vice-presidential election. Figure A9 in the Appendix presents the data using box-and-whisker plots. As shown therein, there is no evidence for ideological selection: The distribution of vote shares for Goulart in municipalities that were assigned appointed mayors was nearly identical to that encountered municipalities that were allowed to continue electing their mayors. This is true examining the full sample, including state capitals, as well as in a restricted sample with state capitals excluded.[20]

Results

Our key findings with respect to interruptions of self-government in Brazil are presented in Figure 5 (based on a linear probability model, LPM) and Figure 6 (based on coarsened exact

---

[20]Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests confirmed the similarity of the distributions. P-values for said tests were equal to 0.125 and 0.220 in the full and restricted samples, respectively.

matching, CEM). The underlying conclusions from both sets of estimations are very similar: We detect no appreciable effect of a legacy of intervention on electoral support for ASPs. Figure 5 presents the point estimates and 95%-confidence intervals of the impact of having had an appointed mayor for sixteen different specifications of the LPM.

Estimates are presented separately by outcome (PDS victory, PFL victory), electoral cycle (1988, 1992), inclusion of state capitals in the sample (included, excluded), and inclusion of control variables (included, excluded). Given the historical importance of geography for Brazilian voting behavior, state fixed effects were included in all analyses. As is evident in Figure 5, in none of the various specifications did the coefficient on *Intervened* reach conventional statistical significance. Moreover, the effects were consistently close to zero in magnitude (ranging from a reduction of three percentage points to a similar increase).
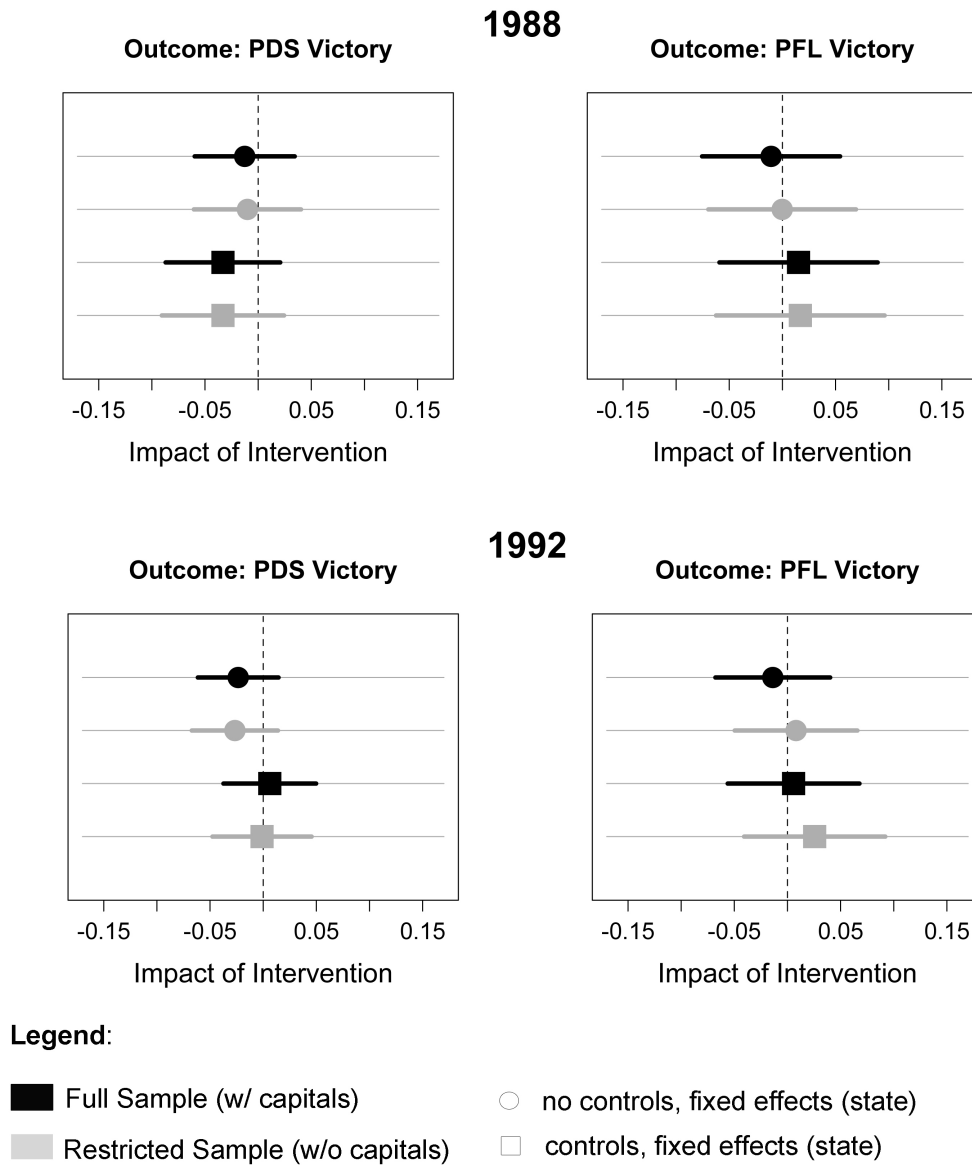
Focusing on the CEM results, Figure 6 presents the point estimates and 95%-confidence intervals depicting the average treatment for the treated (ATT) due to having had an appointed mayor. Estimates are broken down by outcome, electoral cycle, and inclusion of state capitals. Here again we find that estimates of the effect of *Intervened* were statistically indistinguishable from zero and had small magnitudes.

Comparative Discussion

Why might our findings in this respect differ so markedly from those encountered in Poland? First, the length of interruptions of self-rule under the Brazilian military government were short, typically lasting no more than twenty years. In light of our framework, this may not have been a sufficiently long timeframe to shape the intergenerational transmission of values. The comparison with Poland is striking: While Poland was under foreign rule for a total of approximately one hundred years (or even longer if the previous partitions of Poland are taken into consideration), the length of intervention in Brazil was only one-fifth of this time period. Importantly, this period is less than one generation, which we consider the crucial threshold at which the potential for legacies is created.

Second, the character of authoritarian rule in Brazil was very different from the character of imperial rule in Poland, especially in comparison with the strategies used in the Russian partition. The intervention in Brazil occurred in somewhat of a halfway fashion. In those

Figure 5: Linear Probability Model of Impact of Intervention on Support for Authoritarian Successor Parties in Brazil

1988

Outcome: PDS Victory — Outcome: PFL Victory
Impact of Intervention

1992

Outcome: PDS Victory — Outcome: PFL Victory
Impact of Intervention

Legend:

■ Full Sample (w/ capitals)   ○ no controls, fixed effects (state)

■ Restricted Sample (w/o capitals)   □ controls, fixed effects (state)

Note: Fixed effects for state included in all regressions.

municipalities suffering intervention in the mayor's office, traditional elites still had the option of maintaining political influence by pursuing other offices: state deputy, municipal councilman, or, for those sufficiently powerful, perhaps even federal deputy. Consequently, it is possible that intervention simply led to the displacement of local elites to other offices,

with the fundamental structure and influence of their political machines remaining intact.

Relatedly, the fact that municipalities experienced intervention on an individual/ geographically limited basis, as opposed to being part of a larger geographic cluster of adjacent municipalities simultaneously experiencing intervention, may have tempered the legacy of appointed mayors. Citizens and politicians in municipalities experiencing intervention would have had plentiful contact with those in non-intervened municipalities, potentially limiting the extent to which distinctive attitudes and values would emerge in the former. Here, again, the contrast with the Polish case is instructive, where the encompassing character of forceful repression across the entirety of the Russian partition generated a shared experience of intervention for many citizens contained within large geographic units.

Figure 6: Coarsened Exact Matching Estimates of Impact of Intervention on Support for Authoritarian Successor Parties in Brazil

1988
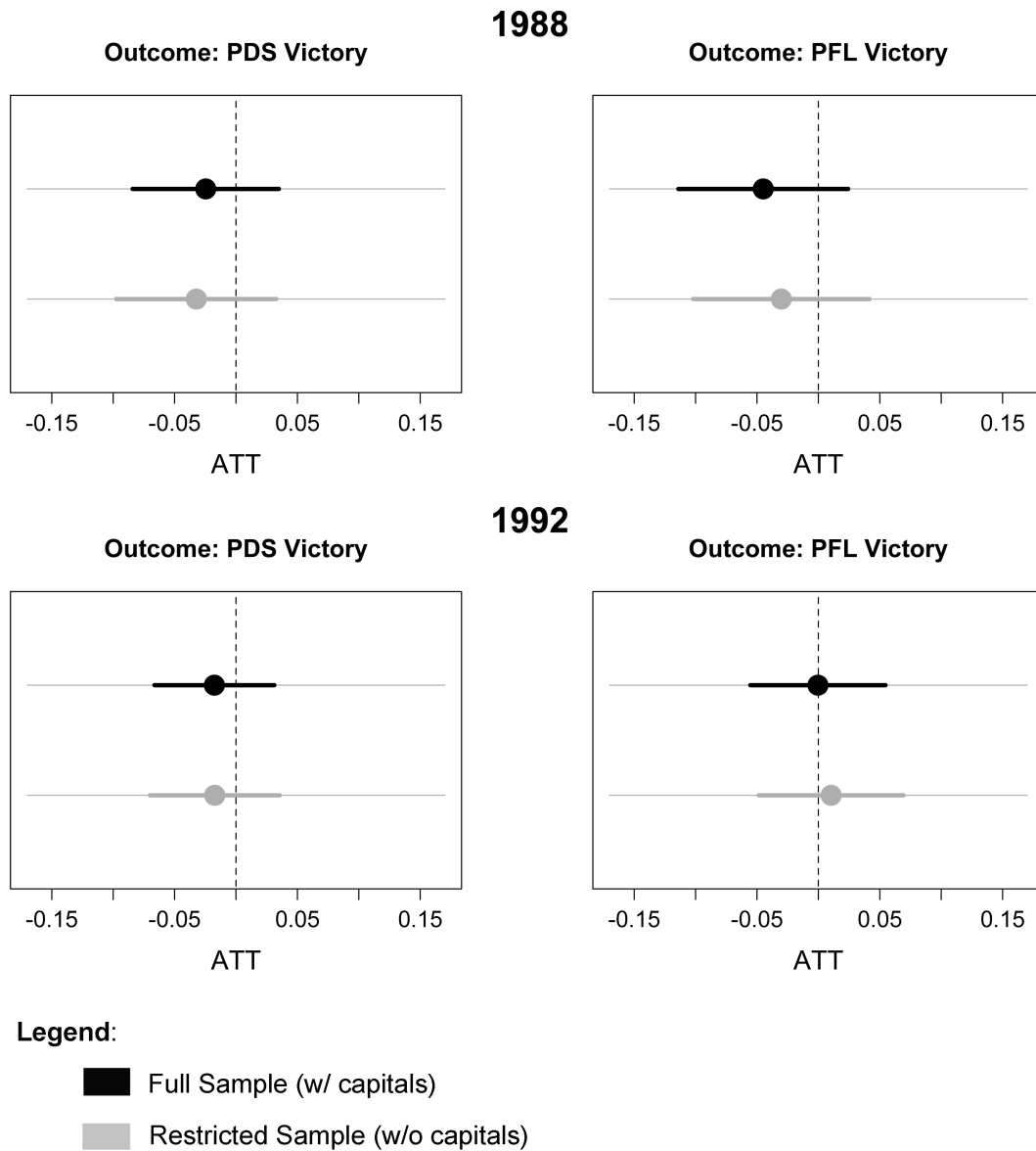
Conclusion

Historically, interruptions in local self-government by empires or centralized authoritarian regimes were common around the world (Simpser, Slater and Wittenberg, 2018). When can we expect such denials of local political autonomy to result in sustained legacies? We

argue that *enduring* interventions associated with *encompassing* repression have the highest potential to sustainably change political attitudes and behavior. In contrast, interventions that are *limited* in both duration and repression are the least likely to produce a legacy.[21]

To illustrate the broad applicability of our argument, we examine the vastly different interruptions that occurred in Brazil during the military regime and in Poland during its imperial partition. In Poland, there were crucial differences between the imperial powers that occupied it for more than a century: Prussia allowed for relatively broad political participation by the Poles, while Russia's rule remained highly repressive throughout. Moreover, in Brazil, the authoritarian regime installed its political allies as mayors of certain cities, but did so in a manner that was limited in both duration and repressiveness.

The study's results highlight that interruptions of self-government have *vastly* different potentials to create legacies depending on their characteristics. In Poland, citizens in the areas that were subject to more than a century of repressive and militarized foreign rule (through Russia) show a clear tendency to elect mayors that belong to the populist and antidemocratic right-wing party Law and Justice. In Brazil, on the other hand, the experience of externally appointed mayors imposed during the military regime did not appear to leave a legacy in terms of support for authoritarian successor parties. The shorter duration of the intervention and its relatively limited repressive scope help explain this outcome.

Our paper points to the importance of null findings as crucial empirical evidence for a theory about the conditions under which external rule has high or low potential to create legacies. One simply cannot theorize about the conditions under which legacies emerge without providing evidence about the contexts in which they fail to do so. To that end, we hope this paper encourages the growth of a broader research program that examines the conditions under which legacies materialize.

One possible extension to our framework for analyzing the legacy-inducing possibilities of interventions would be to consider the moderating influence of contextual factors at the local level. For instance, previous research on Eastern Europe found that preexisting characteristics of localities such as religion and literacy rates influenced the strength of communist lega-

---

[21]In the Appendix, we supplement our framework through a more in-depth discussion of specific mechanisms and explain why these mechanisms are conditional on the characteristics of intervention.

cies (Lankina, Libman and Obydenkova, 2016; Pop-Eleches and Tucker, 2017; Pop-Eleches and Tucker, 2020; Wittenberg, 2006). Developing an understanding how the characteristics of the intervention and the pre-existing social organization of local communities combine to shape the prospects for legacies strikes us as a rewarding avenue for future scholarship.

References

Abad, Leticia Arroyo and Noel Maurer. 2021. "History never really says goodbye: a critical review of the persistence literature." *Journal of Historical Political Economy* 1(1):31–68.

Acemoglu, Daron, Georgy Egorov and Konstantin Sonin. 2021. Institutional change and institutional persistence. In *The Handbook of Historical Economics*, ed. Alberto Bisin and Giovanni Federico. Elsevier pp. 365–389.

Acharya, Avidit, Matthew Blackwell and Maya Sen. 2023. Historical Persistence. In *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Political Economy*, ed. Jeffery A. Jenkins and Jared Rubin. Oxford University Press.

Beck, Paul Allen and M. Kent Jennings. 1991. "Family traditions, political periods, and the development of partisan orientations." *Journal of Politics* 53(3):742–763.

Berning, Carl C. and Conrad Ziller. 2017. "Social trust and radical right-wing populist party preferences." *Acta Politica* 52(2):198–217.

Besley, Timothy and Torsten Persson. 2019. "Democratic values and institutions." *American Economic Review: Insights* 1(1):59–76.

Bisin, Alberto, Jared Rubin, Avner Seror and Thierry Verdier. 2021. "Culture, institutions & the long divergence." National Bureau of Economic Research.

Bisin, Alberto and Thierry Verdier. 2001. "The economics of cultural transmission and the dynamics of preferences." *Journal of Economic Theory* 97(2):298–319.

Capoccia, Giovanni. 2015. Critical Junctures and Institutional Change. In *Advances in Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, ed. James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen. Cambridge University Press pp. 147–179.

Capoccia, Giovanni and R. Daniel Kelemen. 2007. "The study of critical junctures: Theory, narrative, and counterfactuals in historical institutionalism." *World Politics* 59(3):341–369.

Carvalho, Orlando M. 1958. *Ensaios de sociologia eleitoral*. Universidade de Minas Gerais. Revista Brasileira de Estudos Politicos.

Cavalli-Sforza, Luigi Luca and Marcus W. Feldman. 1981. *Cultural transmission and evolution: A quantitative approach*. Princeton University Press.

Charasz, Paweł and Jan P. Vogler. 2021. "Does EU funding improve local state capacity? Evidence from Polish municipalities." *European Union Politics* 22(3).

Charnysh, Volha. 2017. "The rise of Poland's far right: How extremism is going mainstream." *Foreign Affairs* .

Charnysh, Volha. 2019. "Diversity, institutions, and economic outcomes: Post-WWII displacement in Poland." *American Political Science Review* 113(2):423–441.

Chaudhary, Latika, Jared Rubin, Sriya Iyer and Anand Shrivastava. 2020. "Culture and colonial legacy: Evidence from public goods games." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 173:107–129.

Cirone, Alexandra and Thomas B. Pepinsky. 2022. "Historical persistence." *Annual Review of Political Science* 25:241–259.

Coburn, Noah and Anna Larson. 2014. *Derailing democracy in Afghanistan: Elections in an unstable political landscape*. Columbia University Press.

Coffé, Hilde, Bruno Heyndels and Jan Vermeir. 2007. "Fertile grounds for extreme right-wing parties: Explaining the Vlaams Blok's electoral success." *Electoral Studies* 26(1):142–155.

Collier, David. 2022. Critical juncture framework and the five-step template. In *Critical junctures and historical legacies*, ed. David Collier and Gerardo L. Munck. Rowman & Littlefield pp. 33–52.

Collier, David and Gerardo L. Munck. 2017. "Building Blocks and Methodological Challenges: A Framework for Studying Critical Junctures." *Qualitative & Multi-Method Research* 15(1):2–9.

Collier, Ruth Berins and David Collier. 1991. Framework: critical junctures and historical legacies. In *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America*. Princeton University Press pp. 27–39.

Dal Bó, Pedro, Andrew Foster and Louis Putterman. 2010. "Institutions and behavior: Experimental evidence on the effects of democracy." *American Economic Review* 100(5):2205–29.

Davies, Norman. 2005. *God's Playground A History of Poland: Volume II: 1795 to the Present*. Oxford University Press.

De Juan, Alexander and Jan Henryk Pierskalla. 2017. "The comparative politics of colonialism and its legacies: An introduction." *Politics & Society* 45(2):159–172.

De Mesquita, Bruce Bueno and George W. Downs. 2006. "Intervention and democracy." *International Organization* 60(3):627–649.

Dell, Melissa, Nathan Lane and Pablo Querubin. 2018. "The historical state, local collective action, and economic development in Vietnam." *Econometrica* 86(6):2083–2121.

Di Liberto, Adriana and Marco Sideri. 2015. "Past dominations, current institutions and the Italian regional economic performance." *European Journal of Political Economy* 38:12–41.

Dinas, Elias, Vasiliki Fouka and Alain Schläpfer. 2021. "Family history and attitudes toward out-groups: evidence from the European refugee crisis." *Journal of Politics* 83(2):647–661.

Downes, Alexander B. and Jonathan Monten. 2013. "Forced to be free?: Why foreign-imposed regime change rarely leads to democratization." *International Security* 37(4):90–131.

Doyle, David. 2011. "The legitimacy of political institutions: Explaining contemporary populism in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 44(11):1447–1473.

Egorov, Georgy and Konstantin Sonin. 2011. "Dictators and their viziers: Endogenizing the loyalty–competence trade-off." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 9(5):903–930.

Estevez-Abe, Margarita, Torben Iversen and David Soskice. 2001. Social protection and the formation of skills: A reinterpretation of the welfare state. In *Varieties of capitalism: The institutional foundations of comparative advantage*, ed. Peter A Hall and David Soskice. pp. 145–183.

Festinger, Leon. 1962. *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Stanford University Press.

Flynn, Peter. 1978. *Brazil: A Political Analysis*. Westview Press.

Franco, Amanda Cristina. 2017. Os primeiros registros do uso de águas termais e a formação das estâncias hidrominerais no Brasil. In *Termalismo e crenoterapia no Brasil e no*

mundo, ed. Fernando Hellmann and Daniel Maurício de Oliveira Rodrigues. Editora Unisul pp. 55–75.

Geddes, Barbara. 1990. "How the cases you choose affect the answers you get: Selection bias in comparative politics." *Political Analysis* 2:131–150.

Gelman, Andrew and Ian Pardoe. 2007. "Average predictive comparisons for models with nonlinearity, interactions, and variance components." *Sociological Methodology* 37(1):23–51.

Gingerich, Daniel W. 2020. "Buying Power: Electoral Strategy before the Secret Vote." *American Political Science Review* 114(4):1086–1102.

González, Felipe, Pablo Muñoz and Mounu Prem. 2021. "Lost in transition? The persistence of dictatorship mayors." *Journal of Development Economics* 151(1-15).

Grosfeld, Irena and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. 2015. "Cultural vs. economic legacies of empires: Evidence from the partition of Poland." *Journal of Comparative Economics* 43(1):55–75.

Grossman, Guy and Delia Baldassarri. 2012. "The impact of elections on cooperation: Evidence from a lab-in-the-field experiment in Uganda." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(4):964–985.

Guiso, Luigi, Paola Sapienza and Luigi Zingales. 2016. "Long-term persistence." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 14(6):1401–1436.

Haddad, Mary Alice. 2012. *Building democracy in Japan.* Cambridge University Press.

Hariri, Jacob Gerner. 2012. "The autocratic legacy of early statehood." *American Political Science Review* 106(3):471–494.

Hechter, Michael. 2013. *Alien rule.* Cambridge University Press.

Hoensch, Jörg Konrad. 1990. *Geschichte Polens.* Verlag Eugen Ulmer.

Iacus, Stefano, Gary King and Giuseppe Porro. 2012. "Causal Inference Without Balance Checking: Coarsened Exact Matching." *Political Analysis* 20(1):1–24.

IBGE. 2011. *Evolução da divisão territorial do Brasil 1872 - 2010.* Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE).

Iversen, Torben and David Soskice. 2001. "An asset theory of social policy preferences." *American Political Science Review* 95(4):875–893.

Iyer, Lakshmi. 2010. "Direct versus indirect colonial rule in India: Long-term consequences." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 92(4):693–713.

Kamei, Kenju. 2016. "Democracy and resilient pro-social behavioral change: an experimental study." *Social Choice and Welfare* 47(2):359–378.

Keefer, Philip, Carlos Scartascini and Razvan Vlaicu. 2019. "Social Trust and Electoral Populism: Explaining the Quality of Government." *Available at SSRN* .

King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane and Sidney Verba. 1994. *Designing social inquiry: Scientific inference in qualitative research.* Princeton University Press.

Klein, Herbert S and Francisco Vidal Luna. 2017. *Brazil, 1964-1985: The Military Regimes of Latin America in the Cold War.* Yale University Press.

Lange, Matthew K. 2004. "British colonial legacies and political development." *World Development* 32(6):905–922.

Lankina, Tomila V., Alexander Libman and Anastassia Obydenkova. 2016. "Appropriation and subversion: Precommunist literacy, communist party saturation, and postcommunist democratic outcomes." *World Politics* 68(2):229–274.

Limongi, Fernando, José Antonio Cheibub and Argelina Figueiredo. 2019. Political Participation in Brazil. In *Paths of Inequality in Brazil: A Half-Century of Changes*, ed. Marta Arretche. Springer pp. 3–24.

Liu, Hanzhang. 2019. "The logic of authoritarian political selection: evidence from a conjoint experiment in China." *Political Science Research and Methods* 7(4):853–870.

Liu, Shelley X. 2022. "Control, coercion, and cooptation: How rebels govern after winning civil war." *World Politics* 74(1):37–76.

Mahoney, James. 2001. "Path-dependent explanations of regime change: Central America in comparative perspective." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36(1):111–141.

Mahoney, James. 2010. *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development.* Cambridge University Press.

Manion, Melanie. 1985. "The cadre management system, post-Mao: The appointment, promotion, transfer and removal of party and state leaders." *The China Quarterly* 102:203–233.

Markowski, Radoslaw. 2019. "Creating authoritarian clientelism: Poland after 2015." *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law* 11(1):111–132.

Markussen, Thomas, Louis Putterman and Jean-Robert Tyran. 2014. "Self-organization for collective action: An experimental study of voting on sanction regimes." *Review of Economic Studies* 81(1):301–324.

Marrichi, Jussara Marques Oliveira. 2017. O Termalismo no Brasil: história, ciência e memória entre 1839 e 1950. In *Termalismo e crenoterapia no Brasil e no mundo*, ed. Fernando Hellmann and Daniel Maurício de Oliveira Rodrigues. Editora Unisul pp. 76–100.

Martinez-Bravo, Monica. 2014. "The role of local officials in new democracies: Evidence from Indonesia." *American Economic Review* 104(4):1244–1287.

Martinez-Bravo, Monica, Priya Mukherjee and Andreas Stegmann. 2017. "The non-democratic roots of elite capture: Evidence from Soeharto mayors in Indonesia." *Econometrica* 85(6):1991–2010.

Neundorf, Anja. 2010. "Democracy in transition: A micro perspective on system change in post-socialist societies." *Journal of Politics* 72(4):1096–1108.

Neundorf, Anja and Kaat Smets. 2017. Political socialization and the making of citizens. In *Oxford Handbook Topics in Politics*. Oxford University Press.

Nunn, Nathan. 2021. History as evolution. In *The Handbook of Historical Economics*, ed. Alberto Bisin and Giovanni Federico. Elsevier pp. 41–91.

Persson, Torsten and Guido Tabellini. 2021. Culture, institutions, and policy. In *The Handbook of Historical Economics*, ed. Alberto Bisin and Giovanni Federico. Elsevier pp. 463–489.

Pop-Eleches, Grigore and Joshua A. Tucker. 2017. *Communism's shadow: Historical legacies and contemporary political attitudes.* Princeton University Press.

Pop-Eleches, Grigore and Joshua A. Tucker. 2020. "Communist legacies and left-authoritarianism." *Comparative Political Studies* 53(12):1861–1889.

Power, Timothy J. 2018. The Contrasting Trajectories of Brazil's Two Authoritarian Successor Parties. In *Life after dictatorship: authoritarian successor parties worldwide*, ed. James Loxton and Scott Mainwaring. Cambridge University Press pp. 229–253.

Puaca, Brian. 2009. *Learning Democracy: Education Reform in West Germany, 1945-1965*. Berghahn Books.

Putnam, Robert D., Robert Leonardi and Raffaella Nanetti. 1993. *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton University Press.

Queiroz, Emanuel Teixeira de. 2004. *Águas Minerais do Brasil: Distribuição, Classificação e Importância Econômica*. Departamento Nacional de Produção Mineral.

Rinscheid, Adrian, Burkard Eberlein, Patrick Emmenegger and Volker Schneider. 2020. "Why do junctures become critical? Political discourse, agency, and joint belief shifts in comparative perspective." *Regulation & Governance* 14(4):653–673.

Sadurski, Wojciech. 2018. "How democracy dies (in Poland): a case study of anti-constitutional populist backsliding." *Revista Forumul Judecatorilor* p. 104.

Shih, Victor, Christopher Adolph and Mingxing Liu. 2012. "Getting ahead in the communist party: explaining the advancement of central committee members in China." *American Political Science Review* 106(1):166–187.

Simpser, Alberto, Dan Slater and Jason Wittenberg. 2018. "Dead but not gone: Contemporary legacies of communism, imperialism, and authoritarianism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21:419–439.

Skidmore, Thomas E. 1988. *The politics of military rule in Brazil, 1964-1985*. Oxford University Press.

Soifer, Hillel. 2012. "The causal logic of critical junctures." *Comparative Political Studies* 45(12):1572–1597.

Statistics Poland. 2021. "Local Data Bank." https://stat.gov.pl/en/.

Tabellini, Guido. 2008*a*. "Institutions and culture." *Journal of the European Economic association* 6(2-3):255–294.

Tabellini, Guido. 2008*b*. "The scope of cooperation: Values and incentives." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123(3):905–950.

Ticchi, Davide, Thierry Verdier and Andrea Vindigni. 2013. "Democracy, dictatorship and the cultural transmission of political values." IZA discussion paper.

Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (TSE). 1988. *Dados estatísticos: eleições municipais realizadas em 1972 v. 10*. Brasília: Departamento de Imprensa Nacional.

Tsai, Wen-Hsuan and Chien-Wen Kou. 2015. "The party's disciples: CCP reserve cadres and the perpetuation of a resilient authoritarian regime." *The China Quarterly* 221:1–20.

Vogler, Jan P. 2019. "Imperial Rule, the Imposition of Bureaucratic Institutions, and their Long-Term Legacies." *World Politics* 71(4):806–863.

Vogler, Jan P. 2022. "The Complex Imprint of Foreign Rule: Tracking Differential Legacies along the Administrative Hierarchy." *Studies in Comparative International Development* .

Voth, Hans-Joachim. 2021. Persistence–myth and mystery. In *The Handbook of Historical Economics*, ed. Alberto Bisin and Giovanni Federico. Elsevier pp. 243–267.

Vushko, Iryna. 2015. *The Politics of Cultural Retreat: Imperial Bureaucracy in Austrian Galicia, 1772-1867*. Yale University Press.

Waldner, David. 2009. *The Limits of Institutional Engineering: Lessons from Iraq*. United States Institute of Peace.

Wittenberg, Jason. 2006. *Crucibles of political loyalty: Church institutions and electoral continuity in Hungary*. Cambridge University Press.

When are Junctures Critical?
The Legacies and Non-Legacies of
Interruptions in Local Self-Government

Online Appendix

Daniel W. Gingerich, University of Virginia (dwg4c@virginia.edu)

Jan P. Vogler, University of Konstanz (jan.vogler@uni-konstanz.de)

June 6, 2023

A   Appendix

This appendix includes additional empirical evidence and further discusses claims that were made in the main body of the paper. In subsection A.1, we complement our main theoretical framework through a more detailed look at the concrete underlying mechanisms that connect sustained and repressive forms of interruptions in self-government with long-term legacies. In subsection A.2, we present an extended discussion of the historical background of the Polish case. In subsection A.3, we provide additional information on the Polish party that we use as the primary outcome measure. In subsection A.4, we discuss the data we use for in our analysis of Poland and show which specific municipalities are included. In subsection A.5, we provide the exact mathematical formulas used for the different distance measures in our GRDD. In subsection A.6, we show descriptive statistics for the case of Poland. In subsection A.7 we provide additional tables and figures that complement the results in the main body of the study. In subsection A.8, we show the results with respect to the more ambiguous case of Austria (which evolved from using extremely high repression to less repression and ultimately permitted limited forms of political participation). In subsection A.9, we provide additional information about the Brazilian case, especially in the form of two maps of the municipalities that experienced intervention. Finally, in subsection A.10, we show descriptive statistics for the case of Brazil.

A.1 Theory Supplement: Extended Discussion of the Mechanisms

In the main body of our study, we elaborate on the conditions under which interruptions in self-government can be expected to result in long-term legacies. Therein, we also distinguish between the extent of repression and the duration of intervention as key factors that determine whether or not a political legacy will materialize. In this supplementary section, we provide additional detail on the specific mechanisms that we expect to lead to changes in political behavior as a consequence of the removal of local self-government. Importantly, as we describe below and in line with our main theory, all these mechanisms are most likely to apply to a case of *enduring* interventions with *encompassing repression* and least likely to apply in the case of *transient* interventions with *limited repression*.

In general, we consider two main types of external interventions as interruptions of local self-government: imperial conquest and rule (both of a direct and indirect character) and local political control through a centralized authoritarian state. The commonality between these two kinds of interventions is the denial of full local political autonomy by a non-local actor. When political autonomy is denied, the negative effects on affected communities are multifaceted.

A.1.1 An Overview of Relevant Mechanisms

What are the consequences of interruptions in local self-government? Especially if sustained over time, the inability of individuals to participate in and take responsibility for political leadership in their community may shape the manner in which they view their fellow citizens and even come to view themselves. The classic treatise by Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti (1993) was among the earliest and most influential works to make this point, tying regional variation in civic community in the present day to historical experiences of political autonomy or subjugation. An implication of Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti's argument is that in the long run self-government breeds interpersonal trust, which facilitates citizens' capacity to coordinate their electoral support around political leaders who provide better public goods and services. Sustained interruptions of self-government, by the same token, may undermine interpersonal trust and weaken electoral accountability.

Extant evidence from laboratory settings is consistent with the postulated link between experience with self-government and a cooperative disposition among citizens. Dal Bó, Foster and Putterman (2010) show that individuals are significantly more likely to engage in cooperative behavior if they are able to choose policies themselves (through voting) than if policies are imposed upon them. Grossman and Baldassarri (2012) demonstrate that cooperation depends on how leaders are chosen: Individuals able to choose their leaders themselves contribute more to public goods than individuals whose leaders are chosen by lottery. Similarly, Markussen, Putterman and Tyran (2014) report that formal and informal mechanisms of curbing free-riding are more effective when they have been democratically selected by subjects. Furthermore, Kamei (2016) finds evidence of legacy effects: Individuals who participate in a democratic policymaking process continue to exhibit high levels of cooperative behavior even when subsequently placed in undemocratic contexts. Sausgruber, Sonntag and Tyran (2021) show that individuals react more pro-socially to policies that are selected democratically than to those for which they have no input. Most recently, Haas, Hassan

and Morton (2020) provide evidence that interpersonal trust among subjects from established democracies is more resilient to negative shocks than is the case for subjects from new democracies. As indicated in our main theory section, if these effects can persist over long time periods, they are most likely to lead to sustained changes in political behavior—even after an external intervention has come to an end. Similarly, the many different highlighted pathways through which removal of local autonomy negatively affects political behavior indicate that forms of intervention that affect more dimensions (i.e., that are more extensive in their repressiveness) will have the most comprehensive consequences.

Moreover, all of these findings imply that interpersonal trust and cooperative attitudes spring from sustained experiences with self-government, and that they are likely to wither as a consequence of interruptions of self-government, especially if such interruptions are sustained over long periods of time. Yet a disposition towards cooperation is not the only aspect of citizens' worldviews that may be affected by interruptions of self-government. Guiso, Sapienza and Zingales (2016) suggest an additional channel of influence: individuals' beliefs about self-efficacy. Revisiting Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti's arguments about the legacies of communal government in Italy, the aforementioned study demonstrates that schoolchildren from the former communal republics in the North hold fundamentally different beliefs about the role of effort versus luck in shaping life outcomes than do schoolchildren in other areas. For the first group of children, effort trumps luck, whereas the opposite is the case for the second group. Thus, interruptions of self-government—by weakening a community's opportunity to fully develop a sense of self-efficacy and responsibility for governance—may mitigate the intergenerational transmission of the belief that one's actions can meaningfully shape life prospects. A key insight from these findings about potential long-term changes to culture and the intergenerational transmission of values is that the norms undergirding citizen participation and democratic governance can be influenced in ways such that the effects are visible long after self-government has resumed.

The implications of a sustained and repressive interruption in self-government for downstream political behavior follow largely from the norms and belief systems outlined above. We postulate that, depending on context, interruptions in self-government contribute to: (1) support for populist or anti-system politicians and parties; or (2) support for authoritarian successor parties (ASPs).

A.1.2 Specific Mechanisms Regarding Populist (Anti-System) Parties

Consider first support for populist or anti-system politicians and parties. A growing body of evidence links the electoral prospects of anti-system actors to low levels of social capital and trust. This is particularly well documented for European party systems, with the extant studies on Latin America similarly indicating the existence of such a relationship.[1]

Keefer, Scartascini and Vlaicu (2019) provide a theoretical framework that explains why this should be so. In polities characterized by low levels of interpersonal trust, voters can-

---

[1]For analyses tying low social capital and trust to support for anti-system parties in Europe, see Coffé, Heyndels and Vermeir (2007), Hooghe, Marien and Pauwels (2011), Berning and Ziller (2017), and Hooghe and Dassonneville (2018). For studies on Latin America tying low trust to voting for anti-system candidates and support for the policies advocated by such candidates, see Doyle (2011) and Keefer, Scartascini and Vlaicu (2019).

not count on one another to coordinate around responsible candidates with the skill and willpower to provide high-quality public goods and services. Rather, in the spirit of 'each voter for themselves,' a pattern of electoral free riding emerges where voters gravitate towards politicians offering immediate, simple, and often personalized solutions to complex policy problems (the hallmark of populist parties).

In such a context, political platforms that promise to dispossess (so-called) elites, that scapegoat immigrants or other out-groups, and/or that advocate the transfer of resources to 'virtuous' members of the polity are likely to draw in large segments of the electorate. Of course, such appeals are the 'bread and butter' of populist, anti-system politicians. Thus, by undermining interpersonal trust, interruptions in self-government may in the long-run prime the electorate in favor of anti-system actors.

Long-run changes in self-efficacy beliefs may likewise play a role in generating support for anti-system actors. Social psychological research has shown that reducing subjects' personal control in an experimental setting strengthens beliefs about the existence of powerful political and personal enemies (Sullivan, Landau and Rothschild, 2010) and leads to the perception of conspiracies (Whitson and Galinsky, 2008).[2] Anti-system politicians are in this way inherently advantaged by a polity characterized by a low sense of self-efficacy, since the use of conspiratorial language about elites operating as "enemies of the people" (to borrow a phrase frequently used by Joseph Stalin, and more recently by Donald Trump) is a nearly universal feature of their political rhetoric (cf. Hawkins, 2009; Mudde, 2007; Myers and Hawkins, 2011). Accordingly, the fact that interruptions of self-government may undermine collectively held beliefs about self-efficacy provides another reason to expect that they will favor anti-system political actors. As with the previous mechanism, this mechanism is more likely to apply when interruptions of self-government are sustained and associated with encompassing repression.

A.1.3 Specific Mechanisms Regarding Authoritarian Successor Parties

Now consider support for ASPs. Scholarship points to two factors that may play a role in shaping the relationship between a sustained interruption in self-government and support for these organizations: (1) ideology and (2) political organization. ASPs will be most successful when citizens internalize rather than reject the regime ideology (Neundorf and Pop-Eleches, 2020; Pop-Eleches and Tucker, 2017). Internalization clearly occurs in certain contexts, especially in societies where the authoritarian regime is able to heavily invest in indoctrination efforts over a long time period (Alesina and Fuchs-Schündeln, 2007; Cantoni, Chen, Yang, Yuchtman and Zhang, 2017; Pop-Eleches and Tucker, 2020). Where interruptions are most prolonged and/or comprehensive, the internalization of regime ideology will likely be greatest. Because a sustained absence of self-government undermines communal cohesiveness as well as citizens' collective sense of self-efficacy, authoritarian subjects in such contexts may not have the independence of mind nor social support necessary to resist the regime's indoctrination efforts. Consequently, if sustained for an extensive period, indoctrination takes root, creating an ideological bias in favor of authoritarian successor parties after self-government has resumed.

---

[2]Conspiracy beliefs, in turn, have been empirically linked with populist attitudes that drive support for anti-system politicians (Castanho Silva, Vegetti and Littvay, 2017).

Support for authoritarian successor parties also rests on organizational factors (Grzymala-Busse, 2002; Loxton, 2018; Miller, 2021; Serra, 2013). Possibly one of the most important among these is the capacity to mobilize voters. Generally speaking, authoritarian successor parties that have extensive clientelist networks and enjoy privileged access to state resources will be most successful on election day. Where interruptions of self-government are sustained over long periods of time, one would expect authoritarian successor parties to have these attributes. Indeed, examining a sample of political parties around the world, Kitschelt and Singer (2018) find evidence for precisely this link: Authoritarian successor parties emergent from interruptions of self-government lasting ten years or more have more extensive clientelist networks and expend more effort on clientelism than other parties. This is compatible with our expectations: Sustained and comprehensive interruptions of self-government may permit authoritarian elites to co-opt and/or subsume local notables and family dynasties within the official party, thereby giving the authoritarian successor party a significant advantage in its capacity to exploit practices such as vote brokerage for electoral gain.

A.1.4 Summary

In short, in this section we have proposed a variety of mechanisms that connect sustained and repressive interruptions in self-government to long-term changes in political behavior. For this reason, the applicability of each of these mechanisms is clearly moderated by the two factors discussed in our main framework. In general, there is ample evidence from a broad range of studies that any sustained denial of local political autonomy has the potential to negatively affect participatory behavior and bolster the efforts of parties that are explicitly anti-system (such as many populist parties and authoritarian successor parties).

A.2 First Case Supplement: Extended Discussion of the Historical Background

In this section, we provide additional discussion and information about the Polish case that complements and expands upon the historical background section in the main body of the study. We begin by providing a map of the historical borders and proceed by describing the character of imperial occupation through the three powers in more detail.

A.2.1 The Historical Borders

Figure A1 shows both the historical borders of the imperial partitions of Poland in combination with the administrative boundaries of contemporary municipalities.

Figure A1: Map of the Historical Boundaries
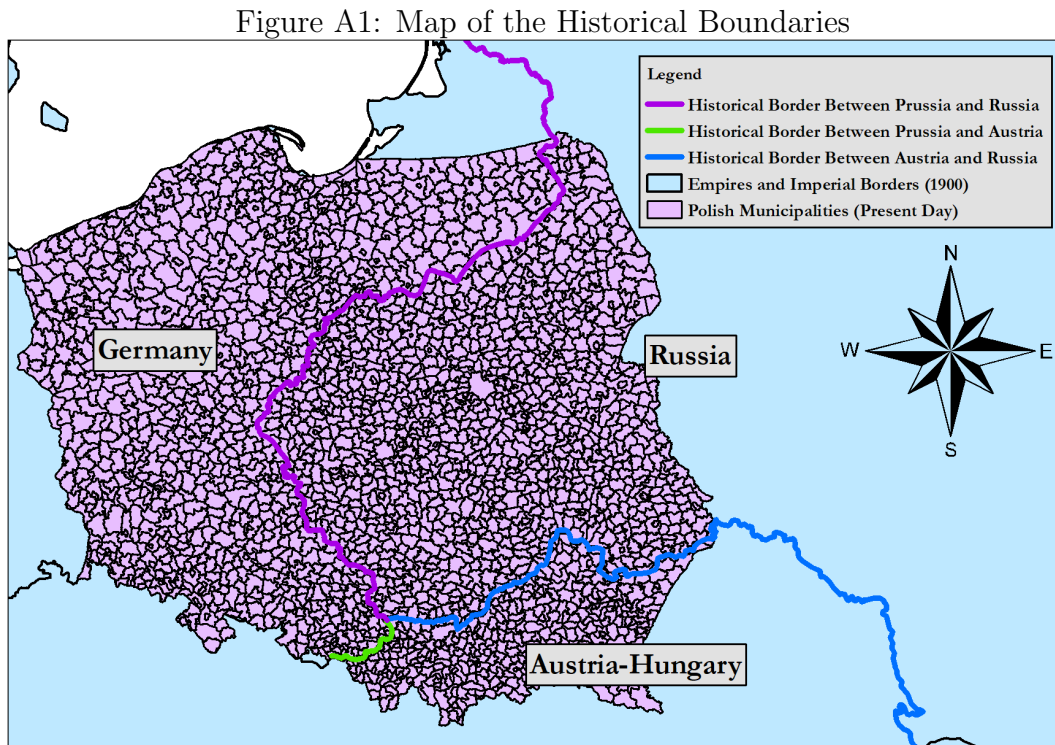
A.2.2 Interruption in Self-Government through Prussia

The first one among the imperial powers that ruled parts of the Polish lands was Prussia. Prussia began introducing its own legal-administrative system in the occupied Polish territories in the late eighteenth century (Hoensch, 1990, 181; Lukowski and Zawadzki, 2006, 137; Prazmowska, 2011, 131; Wandycz, 1975, 14–15; Vogler, 2019, 812–813).

After 1815, Prussia controlled large parts of Western Poland, including many territories with significant Polish population majorities. Even in those territories, the Polish people had to follow Prussian laws and accept the Prussian system of government. Accordingly, they were denied the right to fully self-govern.

While the Prussian state denied full self-government to the Poles, its institutions were highly reliable and effective, especially when compared to Russian rule in the eastern parts of Poland. Additionally, as of 1849, the Polish minority enjoyed limited political representation in the Prussian *Landtag* (an important representative assembly of the Prussian state), which provided some initial avenues for political participation. Particularly in comparison with early Austrian rule and the extremely coercive and militarized Russian rule throughout the entire period 1815–1914, Prussia's system was seen as relatively benign (Davies, 2005, 85; Vogler, 2019, 812–813).

Most importantly, in the period of Imperial Germany (1871–1914), the Poles were given full voting rights in federal parliamentary elections and were permitted to establish political parties that represented their minority interests. While self-government was inhibited when it came to the design of administrative and legal institutions, the fact that the Polish minority had the right to organize politically over several decades gave the Poles important and sustained experience with democratic processes and political participation.

A.2.3 Interruption in Self-Government through Russia

The second imperial power that ruled large parts of the Polish lands throughout the nineteenth century was Russia. Compared to Prussia, Russia's foreign rule was significantly more repressive, antagonistic, and militarized.

The Russian state was primarily seen as an oppressive force against the Polish people that used coercion and military force to maintain its rule. It governed the Polish territories with a high level of coercion and arbitrariness (Davies, 2005, ch. 2; Raphael, 2000, 67–71, 74–75; Vogler, 2019, 814–815). This state of affairs, taken in conjunction with the absence of any democratic forms of self-government and poor living standards, provoked several armed uprisings against the Russian state and military throughout the nineteenth century. Unsurprisingly, these uprisings were smashed by Russia through the relentless use of military power (Davies, 2005; Lukowski and Zawadzki, 2006; Prazmowska, 2011; Wandycz, 1975).

Accordingly, while the Poles in the western territories were forced to accept Prussian institutions but had the right to have their own political parties in the German parliament, in the east they were not only completely denied the right to self-govern, but also experienced a militarized suppression that lasted for decades. Any attempts at collective action against the suppressive Russian state were brutally put down and squashed hopes for an independent state with forms of democratic/inclusive self-government.

A.2.4 Interruption in Self-Government through Austria

The third imperial power that ruled some of the Polish territories was Austria. The lands of the Austrian partition are historically known as Galicia. With respect to Polish self-government, Austria had a more mixed history than Prussia and Russia. Even though it also acted as a highly oppressive state from 1815 to 1867, after 1867 it gradually began to give more rights to the Poles, including the hiring of Polish personnel in the regional/local bureaucracy and the use of the Polish language in administrative affairs (Davies, 2005; Lukowski and Zawadzki, 2006; Prazmowska, 2011; Vogler, 2019; Vushko, 2015).

Austrian rule also began with a very strict censoring of the Polish press and the oppression of all Polish attempts at self-government. Especially in the period 1849–1859, the so-called period of *neoabsolutism*—as a response to the failed 1848 revolution—the Austrian state intensified its attempts to control its entire territory, including through political repression in Galicia (Deak, 2015; Judson, 2016). Yet, after 1867, the Austrian state began to change its strategy of rule. Beginning in this year, Austria granted greater levels of administrative participation to the Poles. More Polish personnel were hired to work in the public administration and Poles were permitted to send representatives to Vienna.

At the same time, several social and political hierarchies persisted. First and most importantly, while administrative autonomy had been given to the province of Galicia, it was still subject to the general laws of the Austrian state, meaning that foreign rule persisted (albeit in less severe form). Moreover, unlike the German Empire in 1871, the Austrian state did not introduce full and equal voting rights to the Poles of Galicia. Instead, there was a class-based voting system that prevented many people from having any influence on political processes. Only for two elections (in 1907 and 1911) were full voting rights given to the Poles, meaning that the majority of inhabitants of the Austrian partition (like their counterparts in the Russian partition) gained little experience with democratic processes. Accordingly, the greater level of Polish participation in the bureaucracy of Galicia did not change the fact that the Austrian state did not allow for full democratic participation until 1907, a few years before the end of Austrian rule in the territory.

In short, when it comes to the interruption in self-government, the Austrian case is more ambiguous than the other two. At first, the Austrian state's rule in Poland was highly repressive. While it allowed for administrative decentralization after 1867, the introduction of fully democratic institutions happened so late in the Austrian Empire (1907) that it might not have had a sufficiently profound impact to shape long-term prospects for effective and sustained experience with self-government.

A.3 First Case Supplement: Expanded Discussion of the PiS (Outcome Measure in the Polish Case)

The Polish "Law and Justice" (PiS) party in the 2010s represents a perfect measure of the strength of populist, anti-system parties.[3] This is because both ideologically and practically its antidemocratic orientation was clear to observers of Polish politics. For instance, Charnysh (2017) describes how the party did not condemn—and thus often implicitly legitimized—extremist right-wing political positions. Among others, she also points to a growing radicalization of the PiS party elite in the late 2000s and early 2010s.

This radicalization of the PiS was not limited to rhetoric or superficial displays of antidemocratic positions. Instead, once the party had gained political power in the mid-2010s, it very actively sought to dismantle Poland's democratic system of checks and balances. Specifically, it not only disempowered the Constitutional Tribunal—one of Poland's most important judicial institutions at the federal level—to remove a possible (democratically and legitimately instituted) veto player to its legislative goals (Sadurski, 2019, chap. 3), but also shaped the entire rest of the justice system in accordance with its own partisan interests, concentrating an enormous amount of legal (and political) power (Sadurski, 2019, chap. 4). These actions were accompanied by assaults on a whole host of other institutions that are central to functioning democracies, including the Polish media system, a viable political opposition, and a neutral civil service (Sadurski, 2019, chap. 5).

Accordingly, the assessments of scholars have been extremely critical and indicate a severe form of democratic backsliding. Drinóczi and Bień-Kacała (2019) think of the developments in Poland at this time as the emergence of "illiberal constitutionalism"—a process that includes the relativization and undermining of democratic principles. Similarly, Markowski (2019) suggests that the PiS created a form of "authoritarian clientelism," which is at odds with the principles of liberal democracy and the rule of law. All of these arguments show that the PiS was not only a perceived, but a real threat to democracy.

Despite the aforementioned developments, Nalepa (2021) presents evidence that suggests that there was some degree of uncertainty on the part of many Polish citizens regarding the authoritarian tendencies of the PiS. Importantly, this argument and evidence does not represent a direct contradiction to our theory. After all, PiS was and is a fundamentally populist party (with the strength of populism being a key consequence of interruptions in self-government). Populist parties typically do not have a strong commitment to democratic and/or constitutional norms, making them at least a *potential* threat to democracy. In line with our framework, the inability of citizens to clearly recognize such a potential threat and to allow for its political leaders to rise to power can be seen to at least in part be related to previous (enduring) interruptions in self-government (via the mechanisms outlined by us above). Indeed, that using more aggressive political rhetoric and borrowing from extreme

---

[3]We chose the period of the 2010s (rather than the 1990s or early 2000s) as our main observation time because in the preceding two decades the Polish political system was still in a state of flux and the debate over whether to join the west or the east overshadowed most other discourses on political issues. Moreover, during these earlier decades, the viability of parties and party-citizen interactions were oscillating, implying that the Polish party system was not in a state of equilibrium. In the 2010s, however, the debate over the overall geopolitical orientation in terms of capitalism vs. communism had been settled and the Polish political system moved closer to a stable equilibrium.

agendas represent potential threats to democracy was known long before PiS received the opportunity to dismantle Poland's constitutional system (see, for instance, Rupnik, 2007, 24). In line with this anticipation, exclusionary identity politics (rhetoric) became a key component of (justifying) democratic backsliding in Poland (Sata and Karolewski, 2020).[4]

Based on our framework in the main body of the study and our comprehensive analysis of the historical background of the Polish case (see subsection A.2), we predict that Law and Justice (PiS) party should be strongest in areas that had the most severe interruptions of self-government and the least experience with democratic participation. In the comparison of Prussia and Russia, the Russian areas clearly were subject to more militarized, repressive foreign rule that also did not have any truly democratic components that could serve as the template for self-governance processes. While Prussian rule also had some repressive elements, it offered the Poles significantly more robust channels for political participation, including full voting rights for males above the age of 25 as of the year 1871.[5]

---

[4]On this issue, see also Charnysh (2017).

[5]Furthermore, as we discuss in more detail below, the Austrian case does not allow for a straightforward prediction due to the ambiguous/shifting character of Austrian rule over time.

A.4 Empirical Examination (Case 1) Supplement: Further Information on the Underlying Dataset—Relevant Polish Counties

With respect to Poland, for historical reasons, we exclude a number of municipalities from our analysis. Specifically, we exclude all territories that historically belonged to interwar Germany. The reason for us to remove this set of observations is that, after World War II, a massive population resettlement took place. Many Poles from the easternmost and southern parts of Poland were forced to relocate to the west. As a part of this process, they were resettled into the former territories of Germany (while the previous German inhabitants of these areas fled to the west or were forcibly removed). Given these massive population resettlements (Charnysh, 2019; Charnysh and Peisakhin, 2022), we cannot treat the areas of interwar Germany in the same way as the parts that belonged to interwar Prussia. Thus, we have excluded them from our geographic regression discontinuity analysis. This decision is visualized in Figure A2.

Figure A2: Map of the Data Used in Our Analysis

11
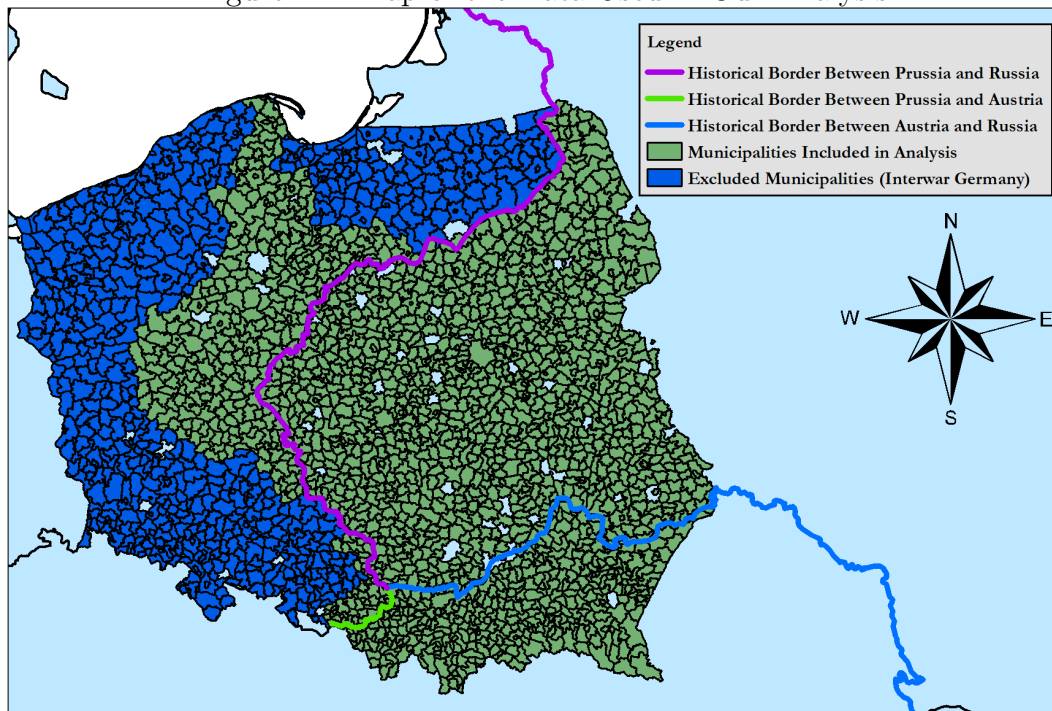
A.5 Empirical Examination (Case 1) Supplement: Further Information on the Underlying Dataset—Relevant Polish Counties

In this section, we provide the explicit mathematical functions that we use to measure the geographic location of Polish municipalities in the different versions of our GRDD.

Distance to Border:

$$f(geographic\ location) = \gamma_1\ distance\ to\ border_i + \gamma_2\ distance\ to\ border_i * EMP_{ji} \quad (1)$$

Distance to the border is measured in km, with negative values denoting one empire in a pairwise comparison, positive values denoting another one. Coefficients of the distance terms are represented by γ.

Distance to Border with Second-Order Polynomial:

$$f(geographic\ location) = \gamma_1\ distance\ to\ border_i + \gamma_2\ distance\ to\ border_i^2 +$$
$$\gamma_3\ distance\ to\ border_i * EMP_{ji} + \gamma_4\ distance\ to\ border_i^2 * EMP_{ji} \quad (2)$$

Distance to the border is again measured in km, with negative values denoting one empire in a pairwise comparison, positive values denoting another one. Coefficients of the distance terms are again represented by γ.

Distance to Border with Latitude and Longitude:

$$f(geographic\ location) = \gamma_1 x + \gamma_2 y + \gamma_3\ distance\ to\ border_i +$$
$$\gamma_4\ distance\ to\ border_i * EMP_{ji} \quad (3)$$

In this regression format, x stands for latitude and y stands for longitude. Coefficients are again represented by γ.

A.6 Descriptive Statistics: Poland

Table A1 shows descriptive statistics for the Polish case.

Variable	n	Min	q_1	$\bar{x}$	$\widetilde{x}$	q_3	Max	IQR
Mayor PiS (2014–2018)	2445	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Mayor PiS (Broad) (2014–2018)	2445	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Mayor PiS (2010–2014)	2448	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Russia	2448	0.00	0.00	0.44	0.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Interwar Germany	2448	0.00	0.00	0.26	0.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Austria	2448	0.00	0.00	0.15	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Elevation	2448	-2.49	105.49	186.25	155.57	228.27	1207.07	122.78
Pop. Density	2448	4.37	41.46	221.12	64.08	129.04	3991.21	87.58
Urban Share	2448	0.00	0.00	24.20	0.00	46.98	100.00	46.98
Unemployment Rate	2448	0.97	3.45	5.43	4.87	7.02	18.17	3.57
Avg. Monthly Salary (%)	2448	65.40	77.20	83.50	81.45	87.10	166.00	9.90
Working Age. Pop. Share	2448	46.90	61.00	62.08	62.10	63.20	68.60	2.20
Elderly Pop. Share	2448	10.80	17.10	19.25	19.10	21.10	40.70	4.00
Population (Log.) (2014)	2448	7.20	8.52	9.08	8.93	9.48	14.37	0.96
Population (Log.) (2010)	2448	7.22	8.53	9.09	8.93	9.47	14.35	0.94

Table A1: Descriptive Statistics: Poland

A.7 Empirical Examination (Case 1) Supplement: Additional Results

The following tables and figures complement the discussion of the results in the main body of the paper. Table A2 shows the results of the simple dummy variable regressions with covariates added. Table A3 shows the regression results of our Prussia/Russia comparison with a number of covariates included. Figure A3 and Figure A4 represent additional RDD graphs of the alternative outcome measures. Finally, Figure A5 and Figure A6 represent additional maps of the alternative outcome measures.

Table A2: Local Political Leadership Outcomes (With Controls)

	Dependent variable:		
	Mayor PIS	Mayor PIS (Broad)	Mayor PIS (2010)
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Austria	0.111***	0.119***	0.088***
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.014)
Russia	0.017	0.020	0.018
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.015)
Interwar Germany	0.146***	0.157***	0.054***
	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.018)
Elevation	−0.0001**	−0.0001**	0.00004
	(0.00005)	(0.00005)	(0.00004)
Pop. Density	0.00004**	0.00004**	0.00003*
	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00001)
Urban Share	0.0005**	0.0004	0.0003
	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)
Unemply. Rate	−0.002	−0.002	−0.001
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Avg. Monthly Salary	−0.001*	−0.001**	−0.0005
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.0005)
Work. Age Pop. Share	0.005	0.005	−0.003
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)
Elderly Pop. Share	−0.003	−0.003	−0.006***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Pop. (Log) (2014)	0.001	0.009	
	(0.009)	(0.010)	
Pop. (Log) (2010)			0.001
			(0.008)
Constant	−0.155	−0.213	0.285
	(0.328)	(0.339)	(0.272)
Observations	2,445	2,445	2,448
R^2	0.044	0.047	0.029
Adjusted R^2	0.040	0.043	0.025

Note: OLS *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A3: Local Political Leadership Outcomes (Prussia/Russia Comparison) (With Controls)

	Dependent variable:					
	Mayor PIS	Mayor PIS (Broad)	Mayor PIS (2010)	Mayor PIS	Mayor PIS (Broad)	Mayor PIS (2010)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Russia	0.066**	0.072**	0.050**	0.092***	0.102***	0.053*
	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.024)	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.027)
Elevation	−0.00000	0.00001	0.0002	0.00001	0.00001	0.0002*
	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Lat.	−0.003	−0.003	0.004			
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.014)			
Long.	0.011	0.010	0.002			
	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.008)			
Pop. Density				0.00004	0.00004	0.00000
				(0.00003)	(0.00003)	(0.00002)
Urban Share				0.0001	0.0001	0.0001
				(0.0004)	(0.0004)	(0.0003)
Unemply. Rate				−0.002	−0.002	0.0003
				(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Avg. Monthly Salary				0.001	0.001	0.0002
				(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Work. Age Pop. Share				0.019**	0.022**	−0.006
				(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.008)
Elderly Pop. Share				0.002	0.002	−0.008
				(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Pop. (Log) (2014)				0.004	0.007	
				(0.015)	(0.015)	
Pop. (Log) (2010)						−0.001
						(0.013)
Dist. PR-RU	−0.0002	−0.0002	0.0001	−0.0002	−0.0003	0.0002
	(0.0004)	(0.0004)	(0.0004)	(0.0005)	(0.001)	(0.0004)
Russia * Dist. PR-RU	0.0001	0.0001	−0.0001	0.0004	0.0003	−0.0001
	(0.0003)	(0.0004)	(0.0003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	−0.003	0.002	−0.248	−1.339***	−1.535***	0.498
	(0.760)	(0.781)	(0.664)	(0.637)	(0.652)	(0.544)
Observations	1,435	1,435	1,437	867	867	868
R^2	0.020	0.022	0.018	0.037	0.040	0.022
Adjusted R^2	0.016	0.018	0.014	0.024	0.027	0.009

Note: OLS

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Figure A3: GRDD Graph 2: Mayor PIS (Broad)

Prussia/Russia Comparison: PIS Mayor (Broad Def.) (2014)

Distance to Border: Prussia (Left) / Russia (Right) (Vert. Dash. Lines = Opt. Bandw.)
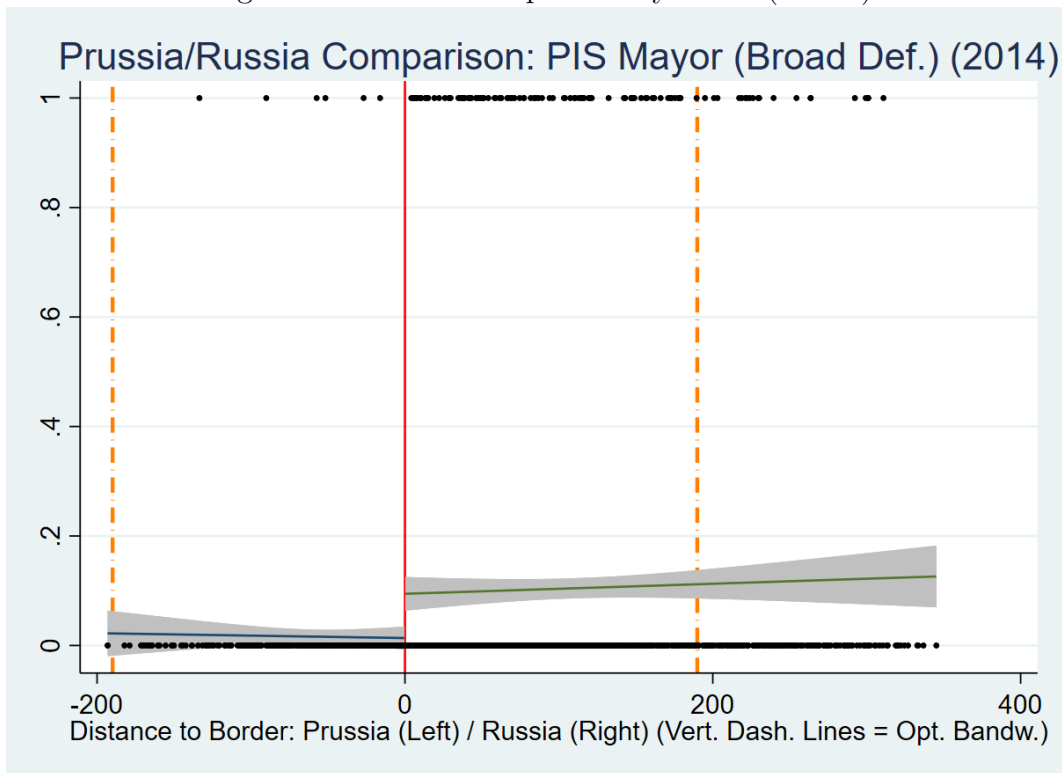
Figure A4: GRDD Graph 3: Mayor PIS (2010)

Prussia/Russia Comparison: PIS Mayor (2010 Elect.)

Distance to Border: Prussia (Left) / Russia (Right) (Vert. Dash. Lines = Opt. Bandw.)
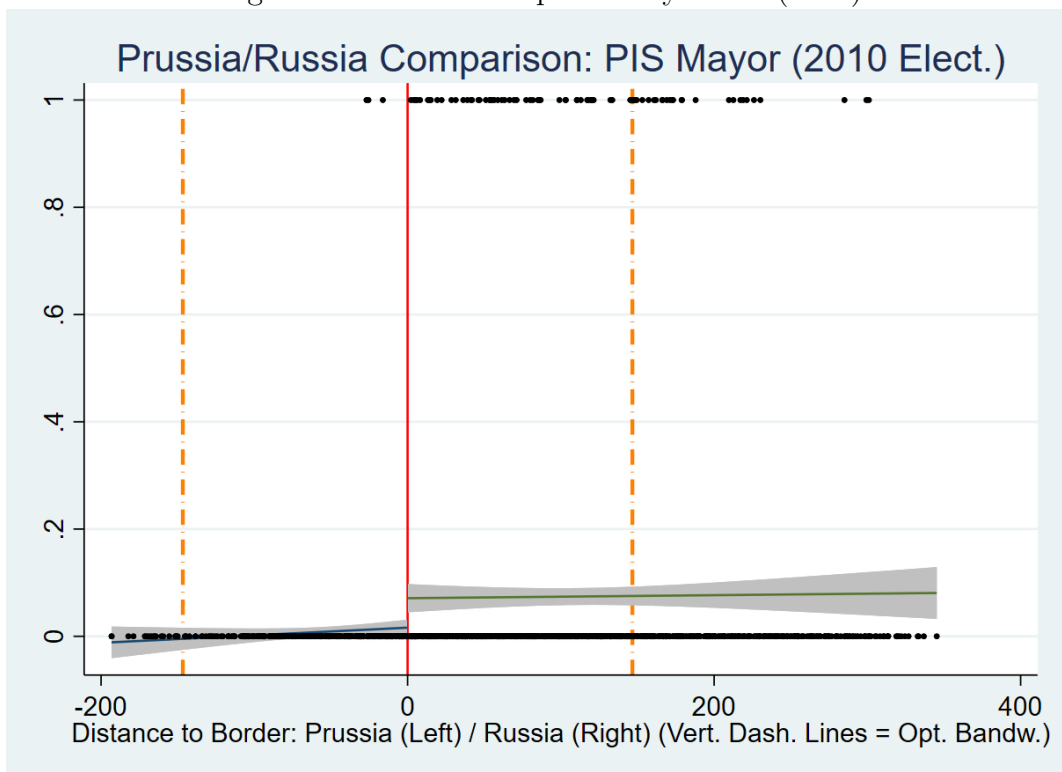
16

Figure A5: Map of PIS-affiliated Mayors (Broad Definition) in the 2014 Elections
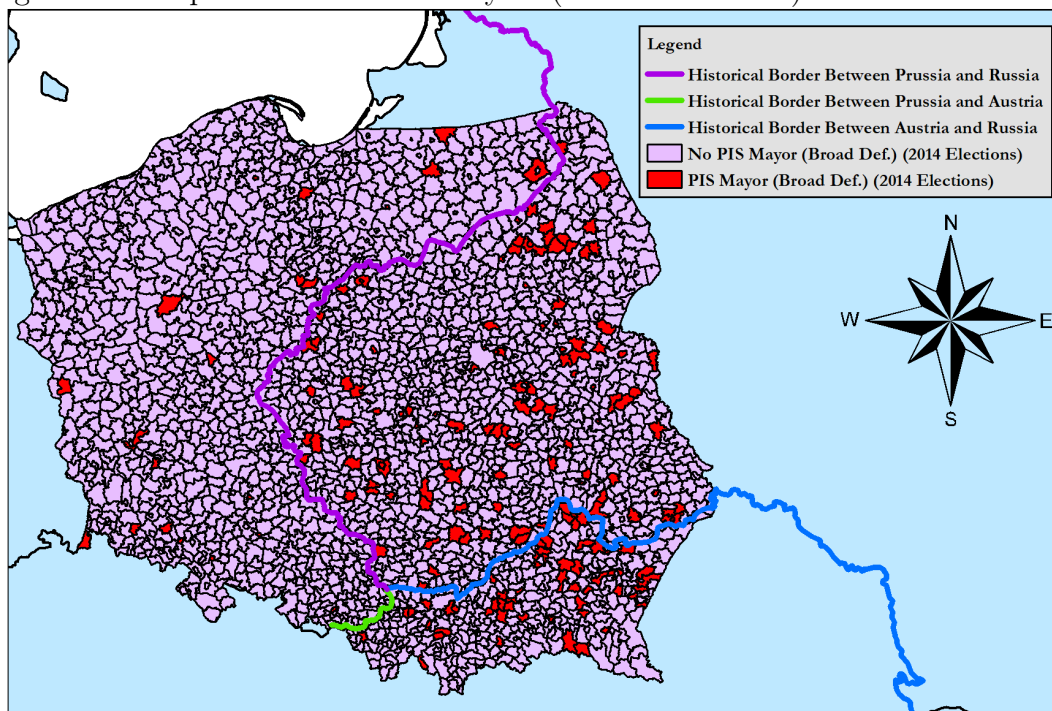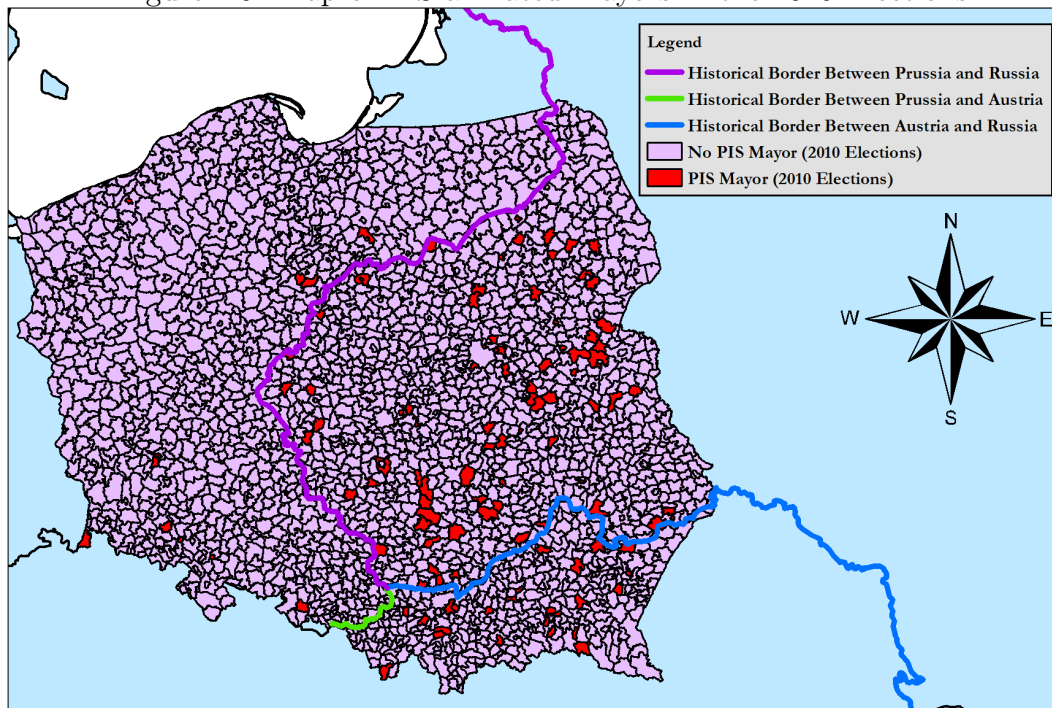

Figure A6: Map of PIS-affiliated Mayors in the 2010 Elections

A.8 Empirical Examination (Case 1) Supplement: Results of Comparisons with Austria

In the main body of the study we have omitted the comparison of Prussia/Austria and Austria/Russia. We have done this because the classification of the Austrian case is more ambiguous due to the shifting character of Austrian rule over time. As explained in some more detail above (subsection A.2), Austria's rule initially was highly oppressive, but later adopted a more participatory style in administrative affairs. Nevertheless, Austria only introduced full democratic participation in federal elections very late (in 1907), meaning that it might not have had a profound long-term impact on the dynamics discussed by us. Finally, socioeconomic structures and the urban landscape might differ to an extent in the Austrian partition that an effective comparison with Prussia and Russia is more difficult (Charasz, 2021). For these reasons, in the main body of the study we focus on the distinction between Prussia and Russia.

Despite these important points, we include the results of the additional comparisons for full transparency below.

A.8.1 Austria/Russia Comparison

Table A4 includes the main GRDD results for the Austria/Russia comparison without control variables. The results highly depend on specification and can therefore be classified as inconclusive. The initial results no longer show any level of significance when alternative DVs or second-order polynomials of distance are used.

Table A5 includes additional results for the Austria/Russia comparison with the latitude/longitude specification and control variables. In many cases, the significance of the key variable depends on model specification, making the initial results fragile.

Overall, these findings highlight the more ambiguous character of Austrian rule in the southern partition of Poland. Specifically, the results clearly show that this ambivalent character of Austrian rule did not produce a coherent legacy that differs from the long-term effects of Prussian or Russian rule in a consistent way.

Table A4: Local Political Leadership Outcomes (Austria/Russia Comparison)

	Dependent variable:					
	Mayor PIS	Mayor PIS (Broad)	Mayor PIS (2010)	Mayor PIS	Mayor PIS (Broad)	Mayor PIS (2010)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Russia	-0.075^{**}	-0.085^{**}	0.039	-0.102^{*}	-0.103^{*}	0.003
	(0.037)	(0.038)	(0.031)	(0.053)	(0.055)	(0.045)
Elevation	-0.0002^{**}	-0.0002^{**}	-0.00002	-0.0002^{**}	-0.0002^{**}	-0.00001
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Dist. AU-RU	0.001	0.001	-0.0002	0.002	0.002	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Dist. AU-RU Sq.				-0.00002	-0.00002	-0.00001
				(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)
Russia * Dist. AU-RU	-0.001	-0.001	0.00002	-0.003	-0.003	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Russia*Dist. AU-RU Sq.				0.00002	0.00002	0.00001
				(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)
Constant	0.230^{***}	0.253^{***}	0.062^{**}	0.265^{***}	0.281^{***}	0.084^{**}
	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.030)	(0.048)	(0.049)	(0.040)
Observations	1,420	1,420	1,422	1,420	1,420	1,422
R^2	0.009	0.011	0.002	0.010	0.012	0.003
Adjusted R^2	0.007	0.008	-0.0004	0.006	0.008	-0.001

Note: OLS *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A5: Local Political Leadership Outcomes (Austria/Russia Comparison) (With Controls)

	Dependent variable:					
	Mayor PIS	Mayor PIS (Broad)	Mayor PIS (2010)	Mayor HE	Mayor PIS	Mayor PIS (Broad)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Russia	−0.082**	−0.089**	0.031	−0.033	−0.051	0.069
	(0.038)	(0.039)	(0.032)	(0.051)	(0.053)	(0.043)
Elevation	−0.0002*	−0.0002*	0.00001	−0.0002**	−0.0003**	−0.00001
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Lat.	0.010	−0.015	0.053			
	(0.057)	(0.059)	(0.048)			
Long.	0.009	0.012	−0.003			
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.007)			
Pop. Density				0.00003	0.00000	0.0001**
				(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.00005)
Urban Share				0.00004	−0.0002	0.00005
				(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.0005)
Unempl. Rate				−0.001	−0.001	0.0003
				(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)
Avg. Monthly Salary				−0.002	−0.002	0.0001
				(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Work. Age Pop. Share				−0.004	−0.010	0.002
				(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.009)
Elderly Pop. Share				−0.010	−0.011	−0.008
				(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.005)
Pop. (Log) (2014)				0.029		
				(0.025)		
Pop. (Log) (2010)					0.050*	0.006
					(0.026)	(0.021)
Dist. AU-RU	0.001	0.001	−0.001	0.001	0.001	−0.00005
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Russia * Dist. AU-RU	−0.001	−0.001	−0.0001	−0.002*	−0.002*	−0.0003
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	−0.491	0.722	−2.524	0.553	0.833	−0.012
	(2.751)	(2.835)	(2.307)	(0.819)	(0.848)	(0.676)
Observations	1,420	1,420	1,422	710	710	711
R²	0.012	0.014	0.003	0.035	0.041	0.022
Adjusted R²	0.008	0.009	−0.001	0.020	0.026	0.006

Note: OLS

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

A.8.2 Prussia/Austria Comparison

Table A6 includes the main GRDD results for the Prussia/Austria comparison without control variables. Similar to the Austria/Russia comparison, the initial results are not confirmed by the more complex models.

Table A7 includes additional results for the Prussia/Austria comparison with the latitude/longitude specification and control variables. Once additional covariates are introduced, the results are no longer significant.

Similar to the previous Austria/Russia comparison, the results remain inconclusive. This may be partly related to the smaller sample size that is available to us (when it comes to the analysis of Austrian municipalities), but it may also be a long-term outcome of the more ambiguous and changing character of Austrian rule in Galicia (the southern partition of Poland).

Table A6: Local Political Leadership Outcomes (Prussia/Austria Comparison)

	Dependent variable:					
	Mayor PIS	Mayor PIS (Broad)	Mayor PIS (2010)	Mayor PIS	Mayor PIS (Broad)	Mayor PIS (2010)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Austria	0.116***	0.127***	0.062**	0.043	0.054	0.038
	(0.042)	(0.044)	(0.031)	(0.052)	(0.054)	(0.038)
Elevation	−0.0003***	−0.0003***	−0.00004	−0.0003***	−0.0003***	−0.00005
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Dist. PR-AU	0.0001	0.0001	−0.00001	0.0004	0.0005	−0.00004
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0002)
Dist. PR-AU Sq.				−0.00000	−0.00000	0.00000
				(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)
Austria * Dist. PR-AU	0.0002	0.0002	0.00005	0.001	0.001	0.001
	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Russia*Dist. PR-AU Sq.				−0.00000*	−0.00000	−0.00000
				(0.00000)	(0.00000)	(0.00000)
Constant	0.070**	0.077**	0.010	0.100**	0.108**	0.009
	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.025)	(0.042)	(0.044)	(0.031)
Observations	729	729	729	729	729	729
R^2	0.075	0.085	0.023	0.082	0.091	0.026
Adjusted R^2	0.070	0.079	0.018	0.074	0.084	0.018

Note: OLS

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

22

Table A7: Local Political Leadership Outcomes (Prussia/Austria Comparison) (With Controls)

	Dependent variable:					
	Mayor PIS	Mayor PIS (Broad)	Mayor PIS (2010)	Mayor HE	Mayor PIS	Mayor PIS (Broad)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Austria	0.113***	0.123***	0.050	0.092	0.099	0.045
	(0.044)	(0.045)	(0.032)	(0.065)	(0.068)	(0.056)
Elevation	−0.0001	−0.0002*	−0.0001	−0.00001	−0.00004	0.00000
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Lat.	0.129**	0.111*	−0.074			
	(0.065)	(0.066)	(0.047)			
Long.	−0.014	−0.010	0.027*			
	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.014)			
Pop. Density				0.00002	0.00001	−0.00001
				(0.00005)	(0.0001)	(0.00004)
Urban Share				0.0002	0.0001	−0.0001
				(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Unempl. Rate				−0.017	−0.015	−0.010
				(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.015)
Avg. Monthly Salary				0.0002	0.0003	0.0004
				(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Work. Age Pop. Share				−0.019	−0.021	0.008
				(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.015)
Elderly Pop. Share				−0.020*	−0.022*	0.00004
				(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.010)
Pop. (Log) (2014)				−0.015		
				(0.029)		
Pop. (Log) (2010)					0.00002	0.014
					(0.030)	(0.025)
Dist. PR-AU	0.001**	0.001*	−0.001	−0.001	−0.001	−0.0004
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.0004)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Austria * Dist. PR-AU	−0.001	−0.001	0.0003	−0.0001	0.0002	0.001
	(0.0005)	(0.0005)	(0.0003)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Constant	−6.144**	−5.317*	3.216	1.698	1.745	−0.609
	(3.006)	(3.096)	(2.185)	(1.260)	(1.318)	(1.074)
Observations	729	729	729	191	191	191
R²	0.081	0.089	0.028	0.051	0.051	0.026
Adjusted R²	0.073	0.082	0.020	−0.008	−0.007	−0.034

Note: OLS

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

A.9 Second Case Supplement: Extended Information on the Historical Background

In this section, we provide additional information about the Brazilian case that complements and expands upon the historical background section in the main body of the study. We begin by providing two maps of the municipalities that experienced intervention and proceed by describing our measure for left-wing vote share in more detail.

A.9.1 The Municipalities with Appointed Mayors

Figure A7 shows the municipalities of our 1988 sample and Figure A8 shows the municipalities of our 1992 sample. Please note that data availability was slightly higher for 1992 than 1988, which is the main reason for a minor divergence in the number of observations between the two time periods.

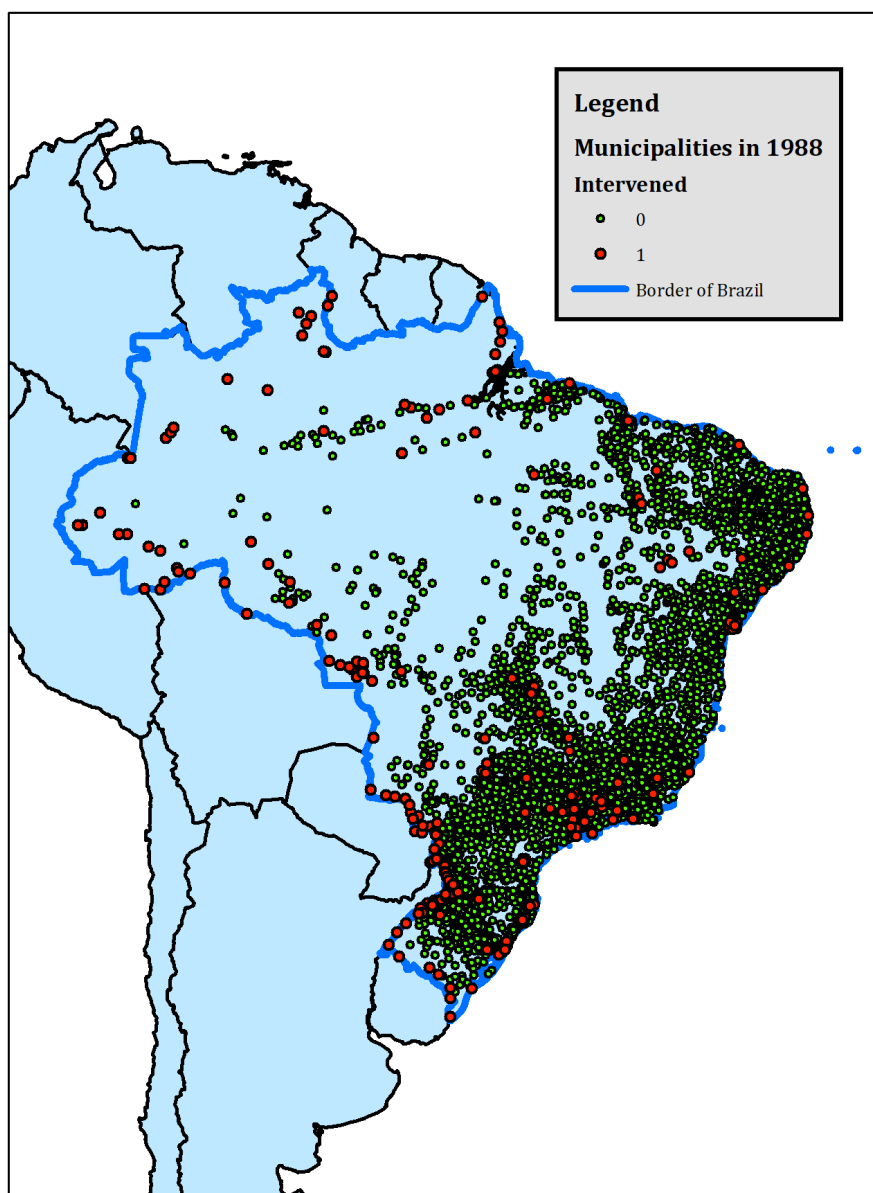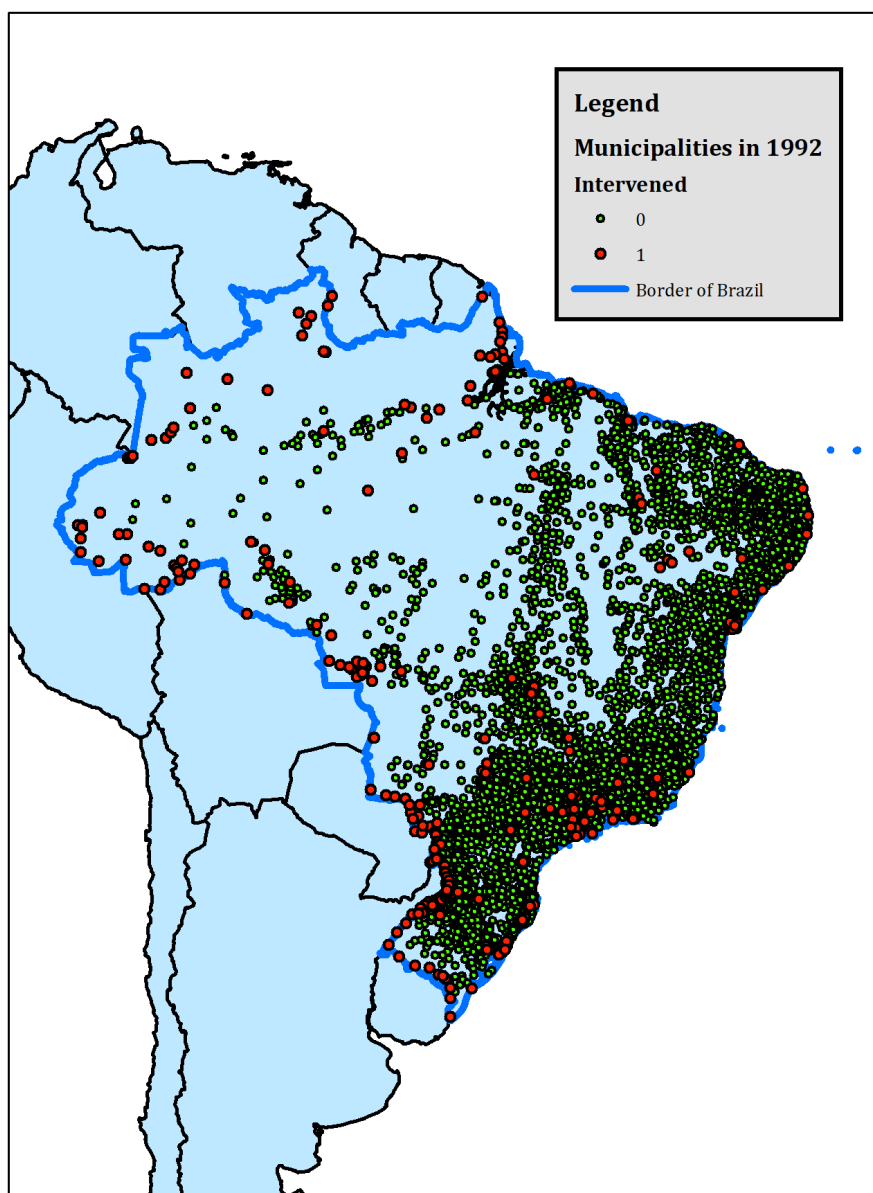Figure A7: Map of the Municipalities with Appointed Mayors (1988)

Figure A8: Map of the Municipalities with Appointed Mayors (1992)

A.9.2 Vote Shares for João Goulart in the 1960s

As discussed in the main body of the study, it is important for us to account for the political orientation of a municipality prior to the authoritarian regime (as this may influence the likelihood of intervention). In this respect we chose the vote share for João Goulart in the 1960 vice-presidential election as a strong proxy. Figure A9 shows its distribution between the two types of municipalities, indicating that this is not a strong explanatory factor for intervention.

Figure A9: Vote Shares for João Goulart in the 1960 Vice-Presidential Election
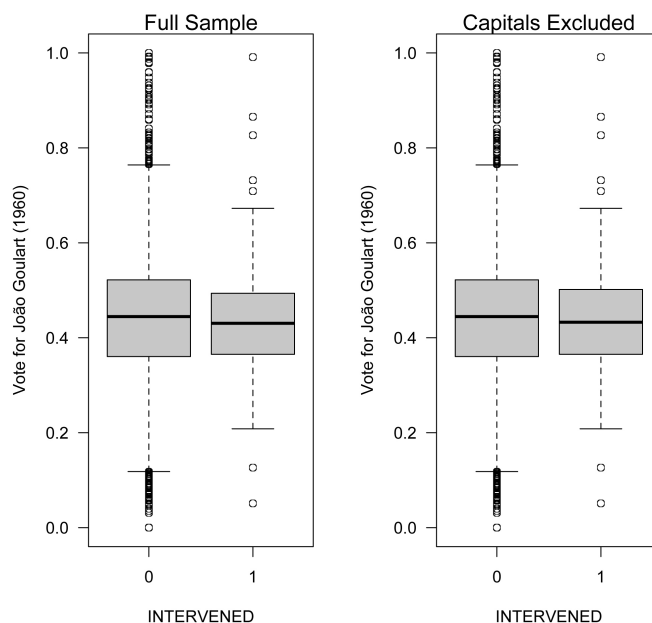
A.10 Descriptive Statistics: Brazil

Table A8 shows descriptive statistics for the case of Brazil.

Variable	n	Min	q_1	$\bar{x}$	$\widetilde{x}$	q_3	Max	IQR
PDS Mayor (1988)	4349	0.00	0.00	0.13	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
PDS Mayor (1992)	4923	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
PFL Mayor (1988)	4349	0.00	0.00	0.28	0.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
PFL Mayor (1992)	4923	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Intervention	4930	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Mineral Water	4930	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Distance (Log.)	4923	-0.92	6.07	6.55	6.87	7.39	7.74	1.32
Population (Log.) (1996)	4923	6.64	8.64	9.42	9.34	10.03	16.10	1.39
Human Development (1991)	4923	0.36	0.53	0.62	0.64	0.70	0.85	0.17

Table A8: Descriptive Statistics: Brazil

References

Alesina, Alberto and Nicola Fuchs-Schündeln. 2007. "Goodbye Lenin (or not?): The effect of communism on people's preferences." *American Economic Review* 97(4):1507–1528.

Berning, Carl C. and Conrad Ziller. 2017. "Social trust and radical right-wing populist party preferences." *Acta Politica* 52(2):198–217.

Cantoni, Davide, Yuyu Chen, David Y. Yang, Noam Yuchtman and Y. Jane Zhang. 2017. "Curriculum and ideology." *Journal of Political Economy* 125(2):338–392.

Castanho Silva, Bruno, Federico Vegetti and Levente Littvay. 2017. "The elite is up to something: Exploring the relation between populism and belief in conspiracy theories." *Swiss Political Science Review* 23(4):423–443.

Charasz, Paweł. 2021. "From Feudalism to Populism: Evidence from Poland." *Working Paper* .

Charnysh, Volha. 2017. "The rise of Poland's far right: How extremism is going mainstream." *Foreign Affairs* .

Charnysh, Volha. 2019. "Diversity, institutions, and economic outcomes: Post-WWII displacement in Poland." *American Political Science Review* 113(2):423–441.

Charnysh, Volha and Leonid Peisakhin. 2022. "The role of communities in the transmission of political values: Evidence from forced population transfers." *British Journal of Political Science* 52(1):238–258.

Coffé, Hilde, Bruno Heyndels and Jan Vermeir. 2007. "Fertile grounds for extreme right-wing parties: Explaining the Vlaams Blok's electoral success." *Electoral Studies* 26(1):142–155.

Dal Bó, Pedro, Andrew Foster and Louis Putterman. 2010. "Institutions and behavior: Experimental evidence on the effects of democracy." *American Economic Review* 100(5):2205–29.

Davies, Norman. 2005. *God's Playground A History of Poland: Volume II: 1795 to the Present.* Oxford University Press.

Deak, John. 2015. *Forging a Multinational State: State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War.* Stanford University Press.

Doyle, David. 2011. "The legitimacy of political institutions: Explaining contemporary populism in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 44(11):1447–1473.

Drinóczi, Tímea and Agnieszka Bień-Kacała. 2019. "Illiberal constitutionalism: The case of Hungary and Poland." *German Law Journal* 20(8):1140–1166.

Grossman, Guy and Delia Baldassarri. 2012. "The impact of elections on cooperation: Evidence from a lab-in-the-field experiment in Uganda." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(4):964–985.

Grzymala-Busse, Anna M. 2002. *Redeeming the communist past: The regeneration of communist parties in East Central Europe.* Cambridge University Press.

Guiso, Luigi, Paola Sapienza and Luigi Zingales. 2016. "Long-term persistence." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 14(6):1401–1436.

Haas, Nicholas, Mazen Hassan and Rebecca Morton. 2020. "Negative campaigns, interpersonal trust, and prosocial behavior: The mediating effect of democratic experience." *Electoral Studies* 63:102087.

Hawkins, Kirk A. 2009. "Is Chávez populist? Measuring populist discourse in comparative perspective." *Comparative Political Studies* 42(8):1040–1067.

Hoensch, Jörg Konrad. 1990. *Geschichte Polens.* Verlag Eugen Ulmer.

Hooghe, Marc and Ruth Dassonneville. 2018. "A spiral of distrust: A panel study on the relation between political distrust and protest voting in Belgium." *Government and Opposition* 53(1):104–130.

Hooghe, Marc, Sofie Marien and Teun Pauwels. 2011. "Where do distrusting voters turn if there is no viable exit or voice option? The impact of political trust on electoral behaviour in the Belgian regional elections of June 2009 1." *Government and opposition* 46(2):245–273.

Judson, Pieter M. 2016. *The Habsburg Empire: A New History.* The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Kamei, Kenju. 2016. "Democracy and resilient pro-social behavioral change: an experimental study." *Social Choice and Welfare* 47(2):359–378.

Keefer, Philip, Carlos Scartascini and Razvan Vlaicu. 2019. "Social Trust and Electoral Populism: Explaining the Quality of Government." *Available at SSRN* .

Kitschelt, Herbert and Matthew Singer. 2018. "Linkage strategies of authoritarian successor parties." *Life after Dictatorship: Authoritarian Successor Parties Worldwide* pp. 53–83.

Loxton, James. 2018. Introduction: Authoritarian Successor Parties Worldwide. In *Life after dictatorship: authoritarian successor parties worldwide*, ed. James Loxton and Scott Mainwaring. Cambridge University Press.

Lukowski, Jerzy and Hubert Zawadzki. 2006. *A concise history of Poland.* Cambridge University Press.

Markowski, Radoslaw. 2019. "Creating authoritarian clientelism: Poland after 2015." *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law* 11(1):111–132.

Markussen, Thomas, Louis Putterman and Jean-Robert Tyran. 2014. "Self-organization for collective action: An experimental study of voting on sanction regimes." *Review of Economic Studies* 81(1):301–324.

Miller, Michael K. 2021. "Don't Call It a Comeback: Autocratic Ruling Parties After Democratization." *British Journal of Political Science* 51(2):559–583.

Mudde, Cass. 2007. *Populist radical right parties in Europe.* Cambridge University Press.

Myers, David J and Kirk A Hawkins. 2011. "Venezuela's Chavismo and Populism in Comparative Perspective." *Perspectives on Politics* 9(3):741.

Nalepa, Monika. 2021. "Transitional justice and authoritarian backsliding." *Constitutional Political Economy* 32(3):278–300.

Neundorf, Anja and Grigore Pop-Eleches. 2020. "Dictators and Their Subjects: Authoritarian Attitudinal Effects and Legacies." *Comparative Political Studies* 53(12):1839–1860.

Pop-Eleches, Grigore and Joshua A. Tucker. 2017. *Communism's shadow: Historical legacies and contemporary political attitudes.* Princeton University Press.

Pop-Eleches, Grigore and Joshua A. Tucker. 2020. "Communist legacies and left-authoritarianism." *Comparative Political Studies* 53(12):1861–1889.

Prazmowska, Anita J. 2011. *A history of Poland.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Putnam, Robert D., Robert Leonardi and Raffaella Nanetti. 1993. *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy.* Princeton University Press.

Raphael, Lutz. 2000. *Recht und Ordnung: Herrschaft durch Verwaltung im 19. Jahrhundert.* Fischer.

Rupnik, Jacques. 2007. "Is East-Central Europe backsliding? From democracy fatigue to populist backlash." *Journal of Democracy* 18(4):17–25.

Sadurski, Wojciech. 2019. *Poland's Constitutional Breakdown.* Oxford University Press.

Sata, Robert and Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski. 2020. "Caesarean politics in Hungary and Poland." *East European Politics* 36(2):206–225.

Sausgruber, Rupert, Axel Sonntag and Jean-Robert Tyran. 2021. "Disincentives from redistribution: Evidence on a dividend of democracy." *European Economic Review* 136:103749.

Serra, Gilles. 2013. "Demise and resurrection of a dominant party: understanding the PRI's comeback in Mexico." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 5(3):133–154.

Sullivan, Daniel, Mark J. Landau and Zachary K. Rothschild. 2010. "An existential function of enemyship: Evidence that people attribute influence to personal and political enemies to compensate for threats to control." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 98(3):434.

Vogler, Jan P. 2019. "Imperial Rule, the Imposition of Bureaucratic Institutions, and their Long-Term Legacies." *World Politics* 71(4):806–863.

Vushko, Iryna. 2015. *The Politics of Cultural Retreat: Imperial Bureaucracy in Austrian Galicia, 1772-1867.* Yale University Press.

Wandycz, Piotr S. 1975. *The lands of partitioned Poland, 1795-1918.* University of Washington Press.

Whitson, Jennifer A. and Adam D. Galinsky. 2008. "Lacking control increases illusory pattern perception." *Science* 322(5898):115–117.