

Online Appendix

Activated History: The Case of the Turkish Sieges of Vienna

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A Coding of Turkish atrocity records

Historical and contemporaneous books describe precisely the geopolitical background of the sieges of Vienna and provide a day-to-day sequence of these attacks from a Viennese perspective (e.g., Broucek *et al.* (1983); Stoye (2007)). The atrocities and pillages that occurred in the areas surrounding Vienna, by contrast, are of only minor interest in these books. Moreover, a comprehensive and complete dataset of Turkish atrocities for localities outside of Vienna is missing. Lacom (2009), for instance, notes that his dataset of affected municipalities in the federal state of Lower Austria during Siege II does not claim to be exhaustive. Comprehensive data on Turkish attacks in the federal state of Burgenland and for Siege I in 1529 and 1532 are even scarcer.

We therefore self-compiled our own dataset from various sources to identify whether a municipality has a record of 16th- or 17th-century Turkish atrocities. We use historical maps, local sources of information, *Wikipedia* entries and screened related books (incl. the *Google Book* search engine). We code a municipality as treated when we find an indication of Turkish attacks, pillages, murders, rapes, or kidnappings that directly relates to a locality within the present-day municipality border. We label a municipality as untreated when we find no references to Turkish attacks.

Table A.1 gives an overview of the sources of our dataset. First, we use (historical) maps from Siege II provided by Broucek *et al.* (1983) and Lacom (2009). Second, we rely on local sources that provide information about local history. These are municipality and church chronicles (printed or accessed online), a historical compilation of the museum of the federal state of Lower Austria (<http://www.museumnoe.at>), an encyclopedia of texts on local history launched by the federal ministry of education and edited by the University of Technology Graz (Forum-Austria; online access via: <https://austria-forum.org/>) and an atlas of the federal state of Burgenland (*Burgenland-Atlas*; online access via: <http://www.atlas-burgenland.at/>). Furthermore, some district administrations or regions within East Austria also provide an overview of the regional history. Note that these local sources often cite each other; i.e., printed municipality or church chronicles provide the same content as the municipality homepage and upper regional level sources like district homepages or federal state encyclopedia (e.g., the *Burgenland-Atlas* or the historical compilation of the museum of the federal state of Lower Austria). Third, we browsed all available municipality and church entries in *Wikipedia*. Fourth, we conducted

a book search based on the books cited in Section 2.1 in the main text: [Gerhartl \(1981\)](#); [Gerhartl \(1983\)](#); [Gutkas \(1973\)](#); [Hummelberger \(1983\)](#). Finally, we performed a *Google Books* search for all municipalities with no records of a Turkish atrocity in the other sources mentioned above. We retrieved all the online information between April 01, 2016, and August 20, 2016.

Columns (1) and (2) in Table A.1 document the number of pillaged municipalities in the course of Siege I and Siege II by the source of information. Column (3) depicts the number of municipalities that were pillaged at least once. Column (4) shows the number of pillaged municipalities with a single source documenting Turkish atrocities during Siege I or Siege II. The lower rows in Table A.1 show the number of affected municipalities and their share in our sample. We ultimately found 341 of 690 municipalities (49.4%) with a reference for Turkish atrocities and pillages. The coding for 143 of the 690 municipalities (20.4%) relies on only a single source of information. We conduct robustness checks and apply a fuzzy RDD, i.e., instrumental variable approach, to account for potential measurement and coding biases.

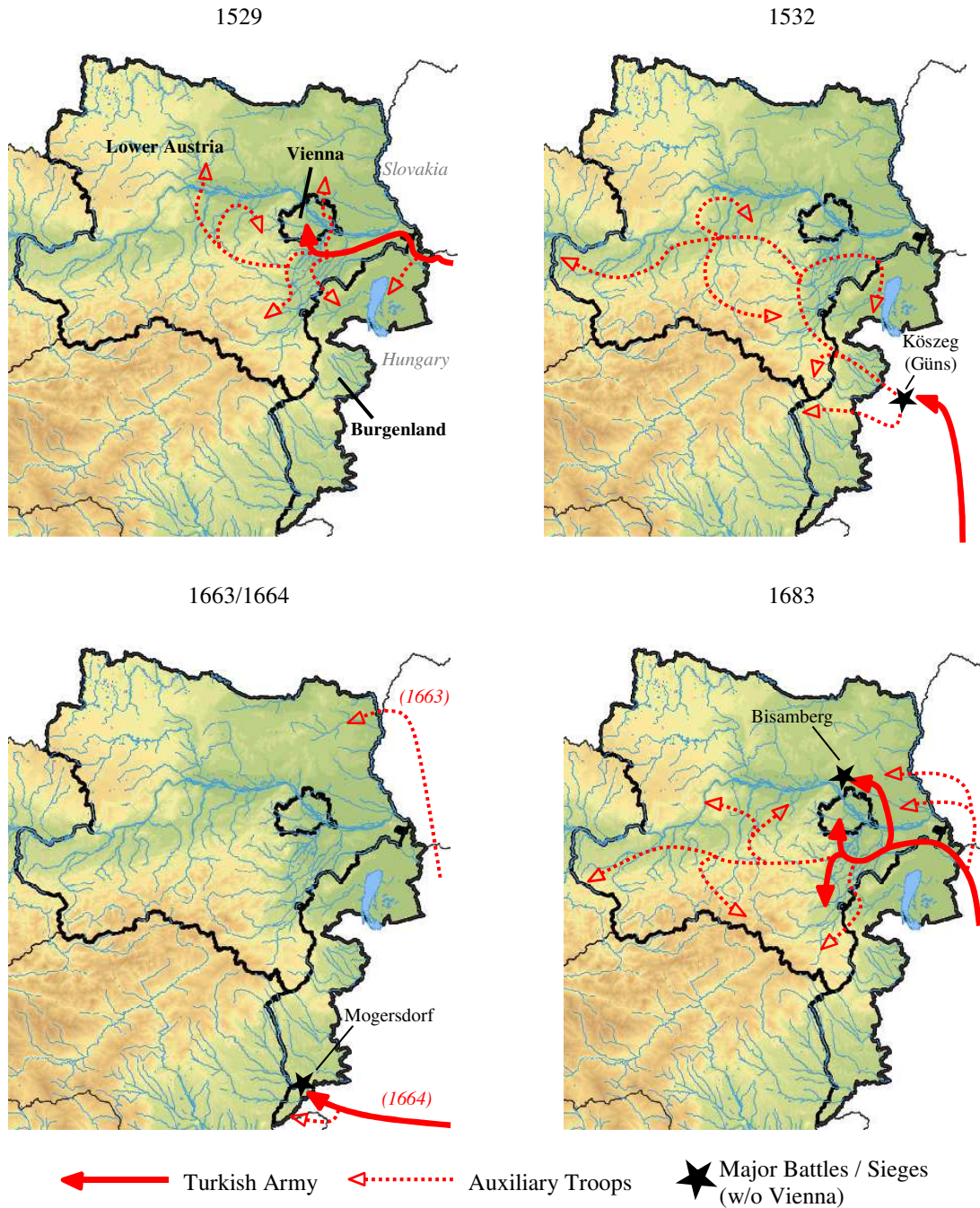
Table A.1: Documentation of pillaged municipalities by source

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

Notes: The table depicts the sources of municipal-level Turkish atrocity records. These are historical maps, regional sources (e.g., municipality and church chronicles), *Wikipedia* entries and a book search (incl. *Google Books* search). Columns (1) and (2) show pillaged municipalities in Siege I and II, separately. Column (3) indicates municipalities pillaged in either one or both sieges. Column (4) reports the number of municipalities for which we find pillaging information in only a single-source of information. For source of information, see text.

B Additional figures and tables

Figure B.1: Turkish military expeditions



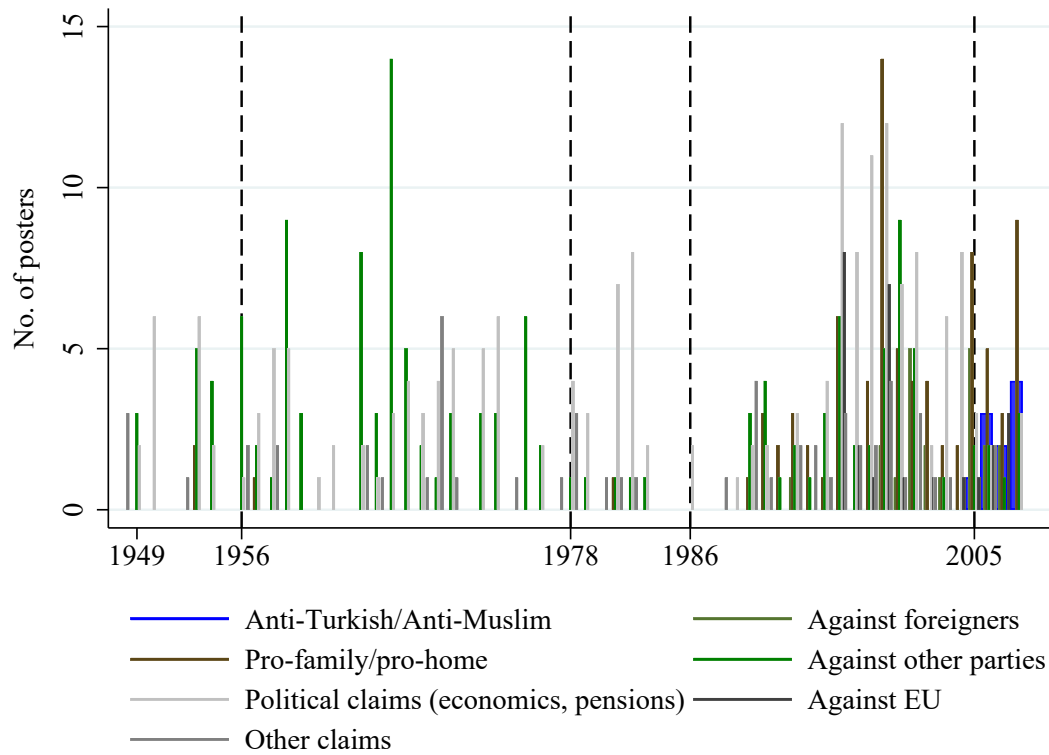
Notes: The maps show the invasions of the Turkish army and auxiliary troops (*Akıncı*, *Tatars*) in East Austria during the 16th and 17th century. Bold red lines show the route of the Turkish army on its way to Vienna. Dotted red lines show the route of the pillaging auxiliary troops through East Austria. Important battles and sieges (without the sieges of Vienna) are indicated with stars. The topographic map shows Austria. All internal and external borders represent the current territorial status. The graphical representation of information is based on Gutkas (1973), Gerhartl (1981, 1983), Hummelberger (1983), and Magocsi (2002).

Figure B.2: Historical memorials



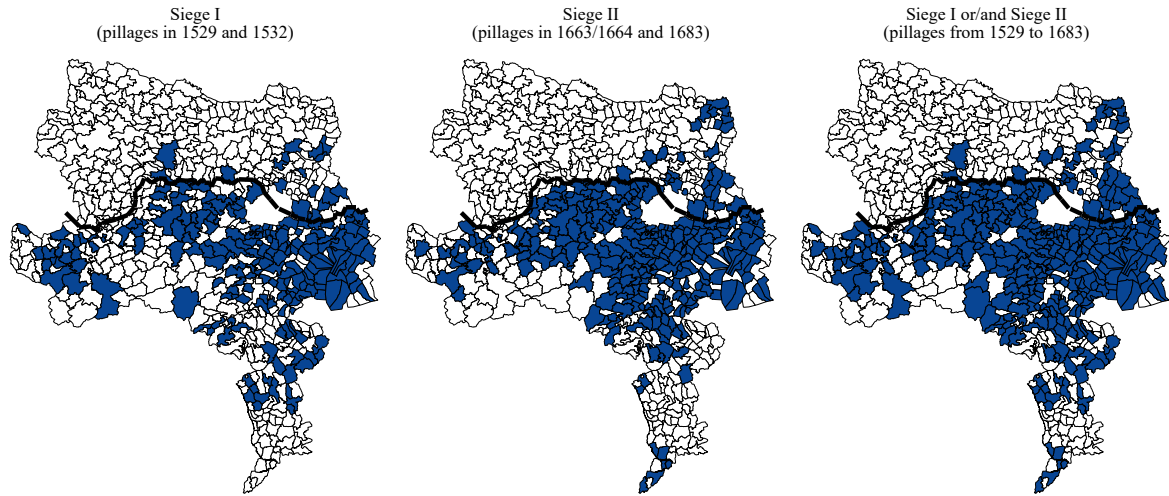
Notes: The pictures show examples of visual memories commemorating Turkish atrocities during the Sieges of Vienna. Picture A shows the municipality coat of arms of the municipality of Markt Piesting. The emblem contains two Turkish swords, a burning tower and the date 1529 (Siege I of Vienna). Picture B shows the municipality coat of arms of the municipality of Kottingbrunn with two Turkish swords and glowing flames that remind the Turkish attacks. Picture C shows the ruin of a church tower and the contours of the church nave in the present-day municipality of Kittsee. The tower is the only remaining building of the village of Lebarb, which was destroyed during Siege I. Picture D shows the "Türkenturm" (Turkish Tower) in the municipality of Pamhagen. The spire of the tower shows the Turkish crescent to commemorate the long-gone Turkish presence in this place. Picture E shows a wayside cross in the municipality of Inzersdorf ob der Traisen. The cross evokes the Turkish atrocities of 1683 (installation in 1687). The inscription reads, "Constructed by people who escaped the Turks." Picture F shows a church window in the municipality of Perchtoldsdorf. The window commemorates the pillages during Siege II. It depicts the Turkish attack, burning houses, escaping people and the massacre of the population. Picture G shows the commemorative plaque in the city of Hainburg an der Donau. The inscription reads, "In the memory of the inhabitants of the city of Hainburg who were massacred on July 12, 1683, by the Turks during the attack on the city." Pictures H shows an example of field and street names that are named after the Turkish invaders. The example of the "Türkenstrasse" (Turkish Street) is located in the municipality of Zeiselmauer-Wolfpassing. Photos: Christian Ochsner.

Figure B.3: Campaigning content by year



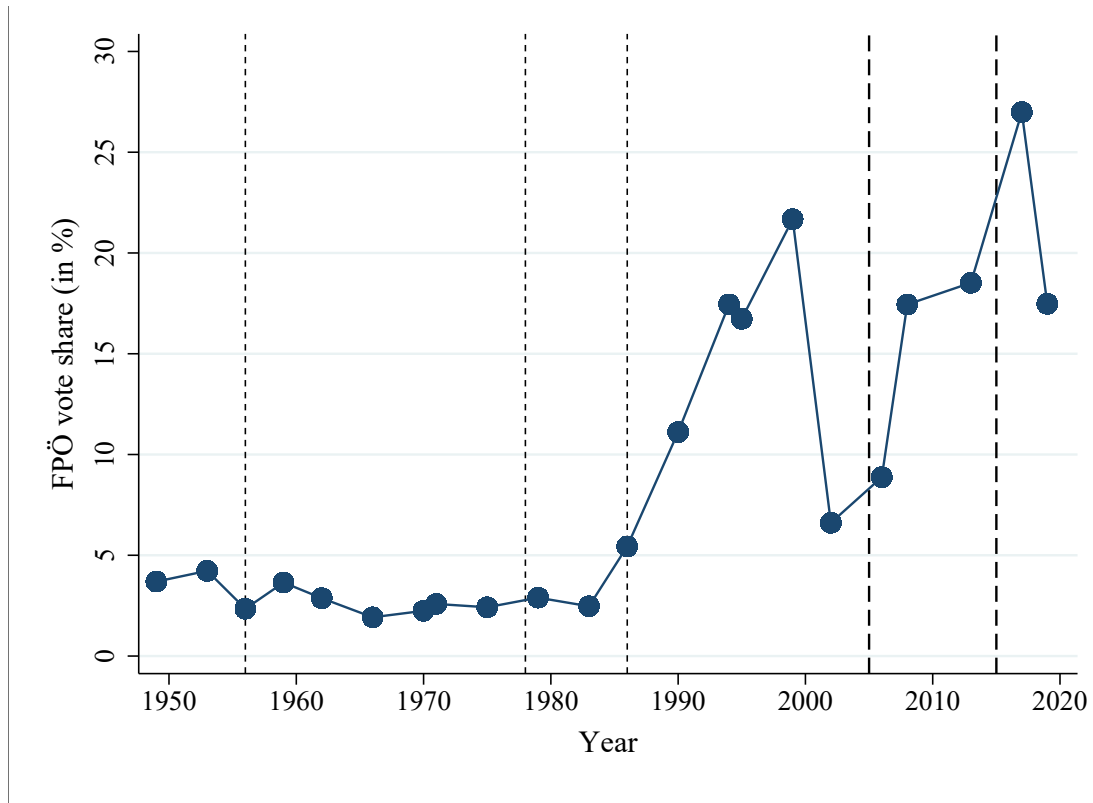
Notes: The figure shows the number of FPÖ campaigning posters per year and by content from 1949 to 2008. Dashed vertical lines represents years of party reorientation. Posters are based on either Austria-wide or East-Austrian political campaigns and were collected by the Austrian National Library. Other claims contain internal security (e.g., police, crime) and foreign policy (e.g., NATO, Schengen).

Figure B.4: Turkish pillages in East Austria



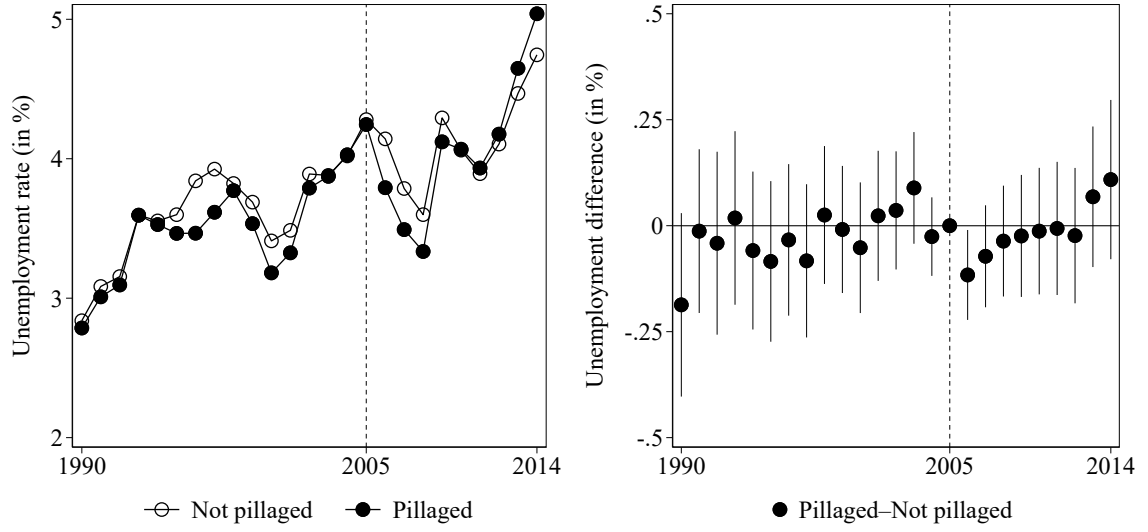
Notes: The maps show municipalities with a record of Turkish atrocities in East Austria during the 16th and 17th century. Pillages in 1529 and 1532 occurred in the course of Siege I of Vienna, pillages in 1663/1664 and 1683 are labelled as Siege II of Vienna (see Figure B.1 in the Online Appendix for pillages in East-Austrian regions in the respective years). Blue-shaded municipalities are localities that were exposed to Turkish pillages in the sieges. The bold line represents the Danube River. We exclude the city of Vienna (large white shaded area in the center) in all analyses. More details on data compilation and coding are available in the Online Appendix A.

Figure B.5: FPÖ vote shares in East Austria



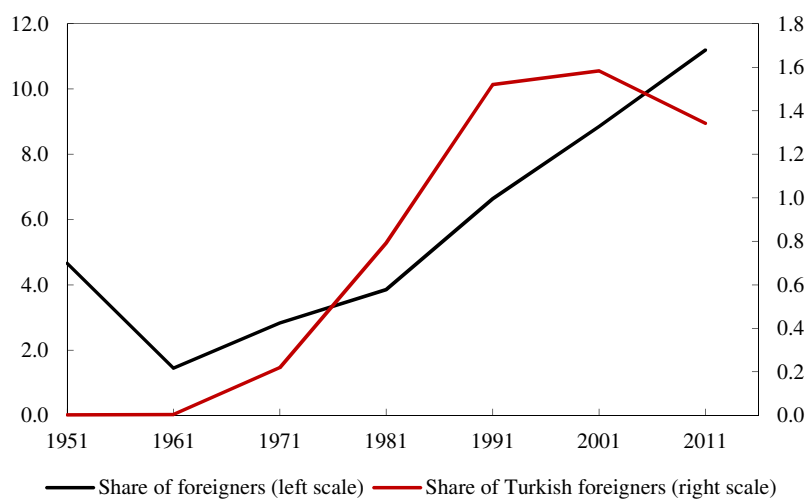
Notes: The figure shows the mean vote share of the FPÖ in 690 East-Austrian municipalities in 22 national elections from 1949 to 2019. Dashed vertical lines represent years of party reorientation in 1955, 1978, 1986 and 2005. Long dashed lines include the election of 2006, 2008 and 2013 when the FPÖ was the only party that campaigned on an anti-Turkish/anti-Muslim platform. The main analysis focuses on the election from 1949 to 2013. The vote shares for 1949 and 1953 are for the VdU (the predecessor of the FPÖ); the vote shares from 1956 to 2019 are for the FPÖ. National elections were in 1949, 1953, 1956, 1959, 1962, 1966, 1970, 1971, 1975, 1979, 1983, 1986, 1990, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2002, 2006, 2008, 2013, 2017 and 2019.

Figure B.6: Unemployment rate between pillaged and not pillaged places in East Austria



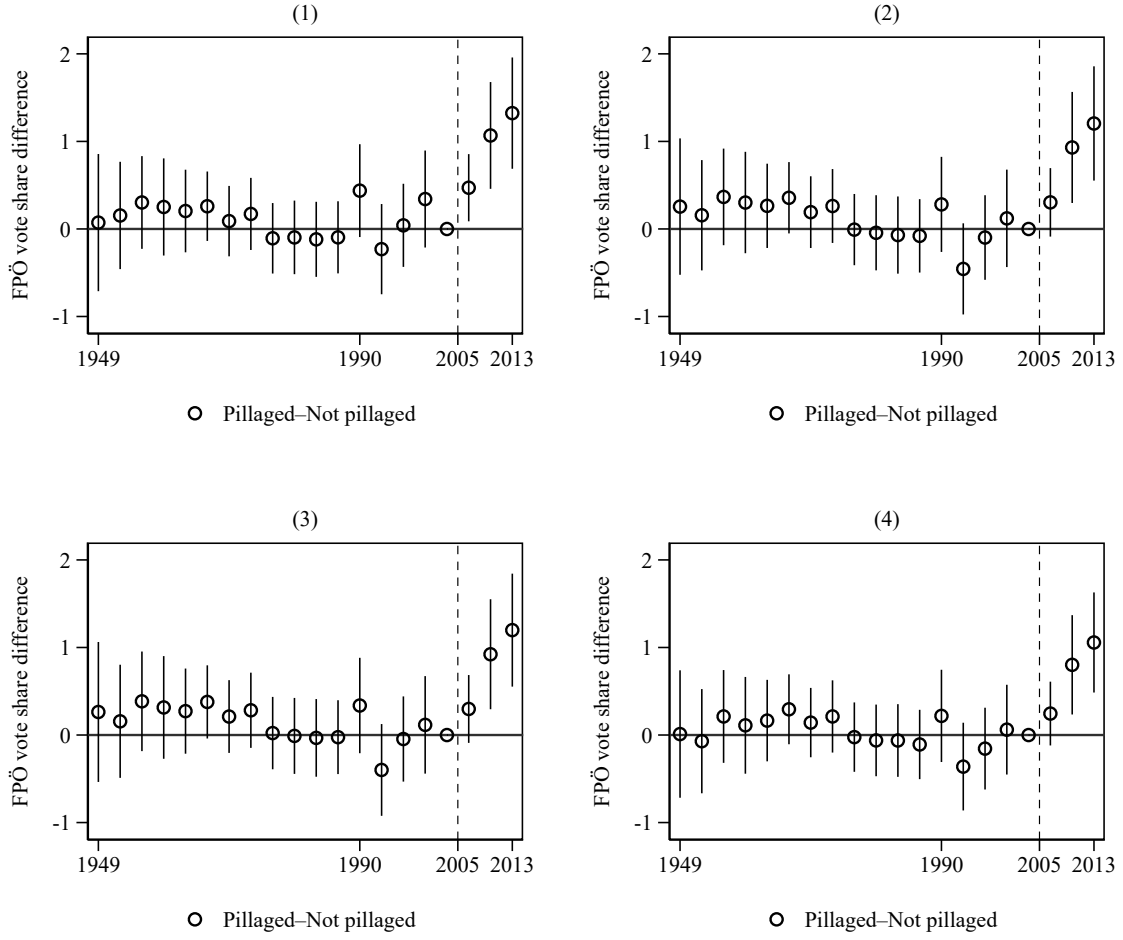
Notes: The figure on the left shows unemployment rates for 1990 to 2014 for pillaged and not pillaged municipalities in East Austria separately. Yearly unemployment rates are defined as the average number of unemployed per year divided by the working age population (aged between 20 and 65). The figure on the right shows the coefficients of an event-study regression of unemployment rate differences among pillaged and not pillaged municipalities. Unemployment rate differences are standardized to zero for 2005 (start of anti-Turkish/anti-Muslim campaigning) and are conditioned on district-election fixed effects. Dashed vertical lines in both graphs indicate the start of anti-Turkish/anti-Muslim campaigning. Vertical lines in the right-hand figure represent the 95% confidence intervals (standard errors clustered at the municipality level).

Figure B.7: Foreigners in Austria in %



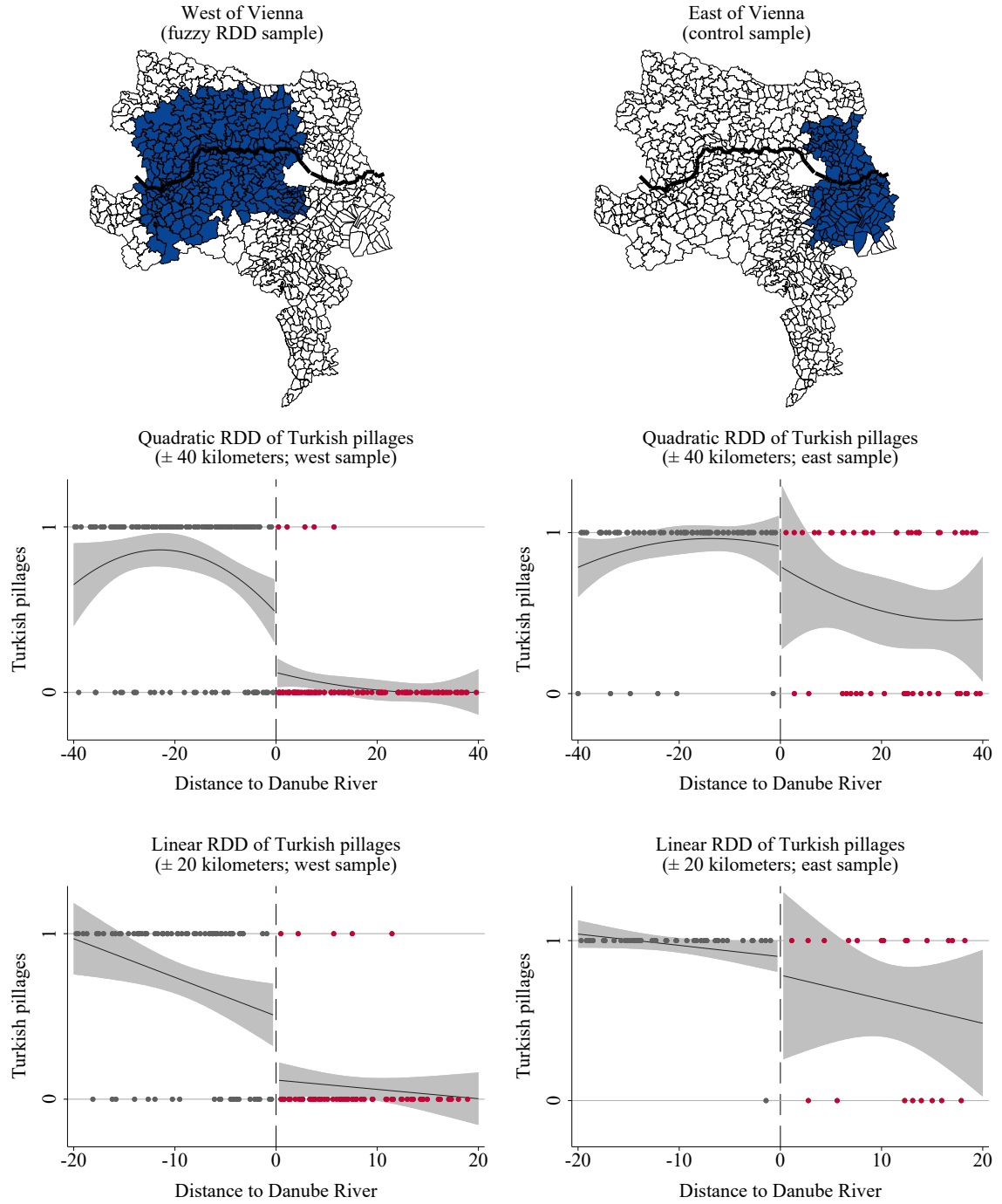
Notes: The figure shows the population share of total foreigners (left scale) and Turkish foreigners (right scale) in Austria since 1951.

Figure B.8: Event-study setup with step-wise inclusion of covariates



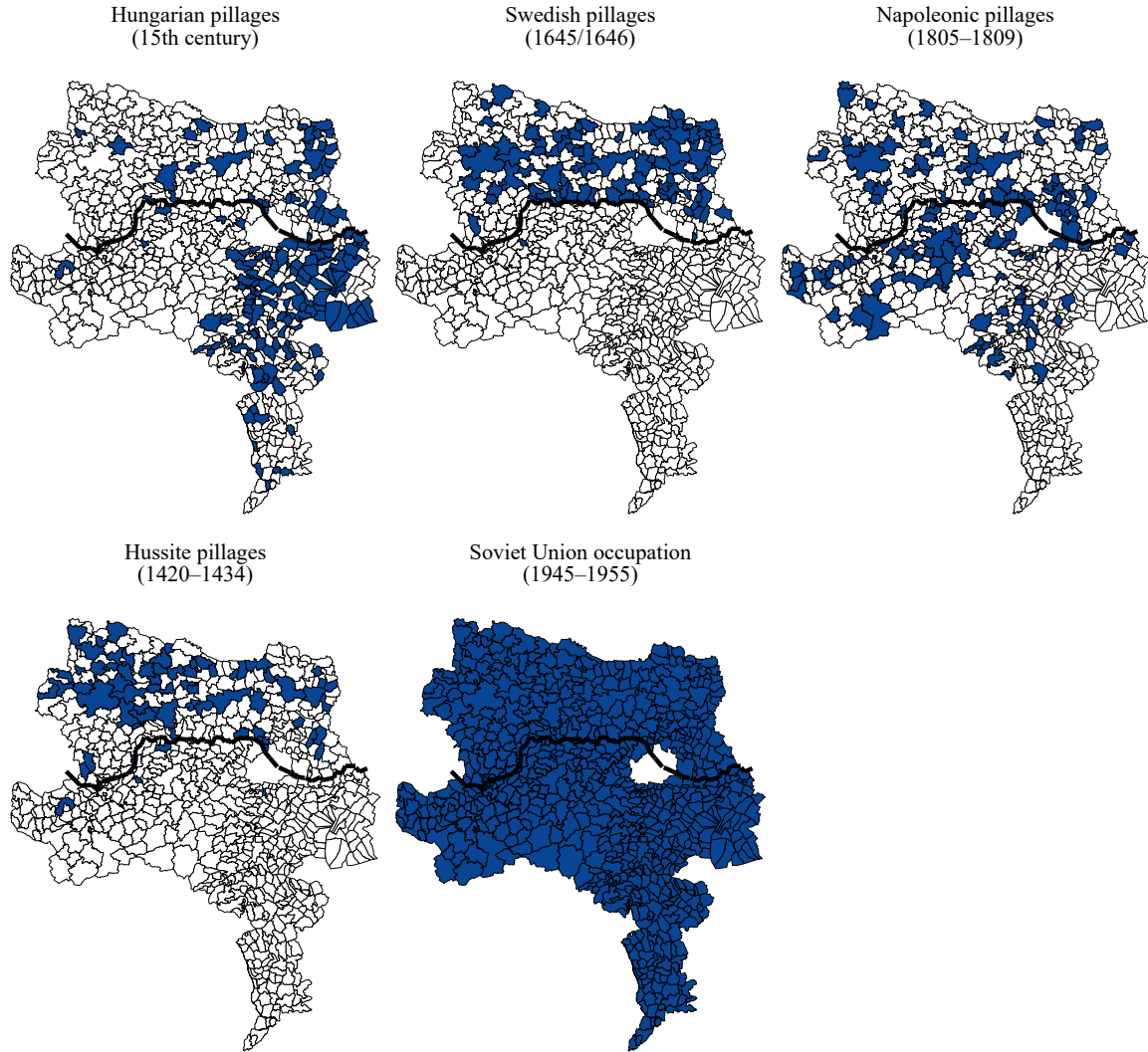
Notes: The figures show the coefficients of event-study regressions of FPÖ vote share differences among pillaged and not-pillaged municipalities. Vote share differences are standardized to zero for the election in 2002 (last pre-campaigning election). The plots show coefficients based on the step-wise inclusion of covariates. Figure (1) shows the baseline specification (with district-election fixed effects). Figure (2) adds geographic characteristics interacted with year fixed effects. Figure (3) adds the full set of covariates. Figure (4) adds the pre-treatment covariates interacted with year fixed effects. Dashed vertical lines indicate the start of anti-Turkish/anti-Muslim campaigning. Vertical lines represent the 95% confidence intervals (standard errors clustered at the municipality level).

Figure B.9: Fuzzy RDD samples and RDD plots of Turkish pillages



Notes: The figures show the location and the sharp RDD plots of Turkish pillages across the Danube River for the fuzzy RDD sample (left-hand graphs) and for the control sample (right-hand graphs). Municipalities included in the fuzzy RDD sample are located in the west of Vienna (longitude $< 16.37^\circ$ East) and municipalities in the control sample are located in the east of Vienna (longitude $> 16.37^\circ$ East). In the upper graphs, blue colored municipalities indicate the locations of municipalities within 40 kilometers to the Danube River in the respective sub-samples. Bold black lines indicate the Danube River. The graphs in the middle show sharp RDD plots of Turkish pillages within 40 kilometers to the Danube River (quadratic fit). The lower graphs show sharp RDD plots of Turkish pillages within 20 kilometers to the Danube River (linear fit). Negative (positive) distances in all sharp RDD plots represent municipalities in the south (north) of the Danube River. The respective bandwidths and RDD polynomials correspond with the varying bandwidths employed in Table 3 in the main text. Grey-shaded areas represent 95% confidence intervals (robust standard errors).

Figure B.10: Other foreign forces to East Austria



Notes: The maps show municipalities with a record of atrocities or occupation by foreign forces other than Turkish troops in East Austria at different times (from the 15th to 20th century). Blue colored municipalities indicate localities with atrocities or occupation. The bold line represents the Danube River. Data on Hussite' atrocities (1420 to 1434) stem from [Petrin \(1982\)](#), on Hungarians atrocities (late 15th century) from [Rázsó \(1973\)](#), from Swedish atrocities during the Thirty Years War (1645/46) from [Broucek \(1989\)](#), and Napoleonic atrocities (1805 to 1809) from [Rauchensteiner \(1994\)](#). Note that we label a municipality as treated by Hungarians if Hungarians are explicitly stated, independent of whether these were Hungarian troops in the 15th century or the *Kuruc* in the 17th century during Siege II.

Table B.1: Full summary statistics

	Full sample					Pillaging status (means)	
	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	Pillaged (n=341)	Not pillaged (n=349)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
<i>Foreign forces in East Austria^a</i>							
Turkish pillages (Siege I or II)	690	0.49	0.50	0	1	1.00	0.00
Turkish pillages (Siege I)	690	0.32	0.47	0	1	0.64	0.00
Turkish pillages (Siege II)	690	0.42	0.49	0	1	0.84	0.00
Hungarians (15th century)	690	0.23	0.42	0	1	0.37	0.09
Swedes (1645/1646)	690	0.13	0.34	0	1	0.08	0.18
Napoleonic troops (1805–1809)	690	0.19	0.39	0	1	0.23	0.15
Hussites (1420–1434)	690	0.10	0.30	0	1	0.04	0.15
<i>Vote shares</i>							
FPÖ (Right-wing populist)	13,800	7.76	7.18	0	35.80	8.10	7.43
ÖVP (Conservative)	13,800	48.72	17.73	5.80	97.62	43.94	53.40
SPÖ (Left-wing)	13,800	38.26	15.15	0	88.59	41.86	34.74
Green Party (Left-wing)	13,800	2.18	2.96	0	21.34	2.49	1.88
Other parties	13,800	3.08	3.99	0	64.16	3.61	2.56
<i>Socio-demographic variables</i>							
Electorate (log)	13,800	7.15	0.73	4.06	10.63	7.28	7.03
Population share female ^b	13,800	51.60	1.67	41.43	61.93	51.63	51.56
Population share < 20 years ^b	13,800	27.13	5.68	11.27	47.84	26.63	27.63
Population share > 65 years ^b	13,800	14.97	3.63	0	32.51	14.63	15.31
Population share foreigners ^b	13,800	2.79	3.15	0	35.84	3.47	2.13
Pop share Turkish foreigners ^c	1,380	0.67	1.19	0	12.80	0.91	0.44
Share Catholics ^d	2,070	90.99	13.36	6.56	100.00	88.42	93.49
Share Protestants ^d	2,070	4.61	11.36	0	93.27	5.75	3.48
Share Muslims ^d	2,070	0.68	1.73	0	18.82	0.87	0.49
<i>Socio-economic variables</i>							
Share unemployed ^e	5,517	3.67	1.47	0	15.79	3.61	3.72
Share agriculture ^b	13,800	18.14	16.87	0.12	84.91	14.59	21.61
Share industry ^b	13,800	30.35	10.47	6.15	74.77	32.04	28.69
Share service ^b	13,800	51.51	17.15	8.52	88.64	53.37	49.69
<i>Geography</i>							
Burgenland (yes = 1)	690	0.20	0.40	0	1	0.23	0.17
Distance to Vienna	690	65.54	33.24	10.33	151.34	52.61	78.17
Distance to external border	690	30.82	22.28	0.40	88.70	33.16	28.54
Distance to highway ^f	690	13.56	14.10	0.52	78.88	7.95	19.04
South of Danube (yes = 1)	690	0.65	0.48	0	1	0.88	0.42

Notes: The table shows the summary statistics for 690 municipalities in East Austria. Data cover 20 national elections from 1949 to 2013 (time span of the main analysis). Socio-demographic and socio-economic variables are based on census and register data at ten-year intervals. Columns (6) and (7) show the respective means for pillaged and not-pillaged municipalities separately. a) Self-compiled pillaging information is described in Online Appendix A. Pillages by foreign forces other than Turkish troops are retrieved similar to Turkish pillaging information. b) Socio-demographic and socio-economic variables are based on the census in 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and register data in 2011 and are matched to the election closest to the respective census/register data. Sector shares are according to the head of the family for 1951 to 2001, and individual counts in 2011. c) Available in the census 2001 and 2011. d) Available in the census 1951, 1961 and 2001. e) Data from AMS (Local labor market agency) for the period from 1990 to 2013. The number of unemployed is divided by the number of working age population (age 20 to 65) of the respective closest census or register data. f) Distance to highway is the distance to the nearest highway slip road in 2016.

Table B.2: Determinants of Turkish pillages

	Turkish pillages	No pillages	Difference
	(1)	(2)	(3) = (1)-(2)
<i>Land quality and historical infrastructure</i>			
Fertile land (Share of total surface, in %)	67.47	65.35	2.12
Own fortress in 1500	0.12	0.13	-0.01
Own monastery in 1500	0.06	0.04	0.02
Distance to nearest fortress in 1500	8.69	8.95	-0.25
Distance to nearest monastery in 1500	12.41	14.69	-2.29***
<i>Geography (for 2SLS identification strategy)</i>			
Distance to Vienna	52.61	78.17	-25.56***
South of Danube River (yes = 1)	0.88	0.42	0.46***
Obs.	341	349	690

Notes: Columns (1) and (2) show the means (share fertile land, own fortress or monastery) and the mean distances to historical infrastructure and to geographic variables separately for pillaged and not pillaged municipalities. Column (3) shows the mean difference tests between pillaged and not pillaged municipalities. Significance levels (robust standard errors): *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.3: Difference-in-differences results with individual election years

	<i>FPÖ vote shares (in %)</i>			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Turkish pillages × Election 2002	0.048 (0.171)	0.025 (0.149)	-0.212 (0.162)	0.037 (0.161)
Turkish pillages × Election 2006	1.152*** (0.260)	0.820*** (0.308)	0.524* (0.269)	0.376 (0.230)
Turkish pillages × Election 2008	1.967*** (0.478)	1.709*** (0.493)	1.407*** (0.459)	0.857*** (0.314)
Turkish pillages × Election 2013	1.940*** (0.409)	1.882*** (0.394)	1.565*** (0.386)	1.105*** (0.311)
Obs.	13,800	13,800	13,800	13,800
Municipalities	690	690	690	690
Mean of Dep. Var.	7.760	7.760	7.760	7.760
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Geography FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Pre-treatment Cov.	No	No	No	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.911	0.917	0.919	0.931

Notes: The dependent variable is the FPÖ vote share at the level of 690 East-Austrian municipalities for the years 1949 to 2013. The table shows the interaction term of *Turkish Pillages* with the national elections in 2002 (last pre-campaigning election), 2006, 2008 and 2013 separately. Column (1) shows the baseline difference-in-differences estimates. Column (2) includes geography fixed effects (federal state and distance to Vienna) interacted with year fixed effects. Column (3) includes socio-economic controls at the municipality level (log of the electorate, share of foreigners, share of female, shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors). Pre-campaign covariates interacted with year fixed effects in column (4) include log of electorate, unemployment rate, share of foreigners and Turkish foreigners, share of denomination (Catholics, Protestants, Muslims), shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Inferences are based on spatial and temporal clustered standard errors. Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.4: Inference with spatial and temporal clustered standard errors

	<i>FPÖ vote shares (in %)</i>			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Turkish pillages \times Post 2005	1.684***	1.469***	1.180***	-0.777***
<i>Spatial correlated standard errors</i>				
Spatial cutoff 0 km	(0.134)	(0.141)	(0.139)	(0.132)
Spatial cutoff 5 km	(0.163)	(0.153)	(0.147)	(0.133)
Spatial cutoff 10 km	(0.212)	(0.189)	(0.179)	(0.153)
Spatial cutoff 15 km	(0.235)	(0.210)	(0.194)	(0.160)
Spatial cutoff 20 km	(0.244)	(0.225)	(0.205)	(0.166)
Spatial cutoff 25 km	(0.245)	(0.236)	(0.215)	(0.161)
Spatial cutoff 30 km	(0.246)	(0.253)	(0.233)	(0.181)
Spatial cutoff 35 km	(0.228)	(0.257)	(0.234)	(0.179)
Spatial cutoff 40 km	(0.211)	(0.253)	(0.228)	(0.173)
<i>Temporal and spatial correlated standard errors (spatial cutoff at 30 km)</i>				
Time lag 0 years	(0.246)	(0.253)	(0.233)	(0.181)
Time lag 5 years	(0.280)	(0.286)	(0.266)	(0.218)
Time lag 10 years	(0.286)	(0.292)	(0.272)	(0.223)
Time lag 15 years	(0.283)	(0.290)	(0.269)	(0.219)
Time lag 20 years	(0.282)	(0.290)	(0.269)	(0.218)
<i>“Conventional” clustered standard errors</i>				
Clustered at municipality level	(0.228)	(0.232)	(0.222)	(0.211)
Clustered at district level (n=28)	(0.408)	(0.341)	(0.294)	(0.223)
Obs.	13,800	13,800	13,800	13,800
Municipalities	690	690	690	690
Mean of Dep. Var.	7.760	7.760	7.760	7.760
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE \times Geography FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
Year FE \times Pre-treatment Cov.	No	No	No	Yes

Notes: The dependent variable is the FPÖ vote share at the level of 690 East-Austrian municipalities for 1949 to 2013. The table shows different standard errors based on different spatial cutoffs, different temporal time lags and “conventional” standard errors. Numbers in bold depict the largest standard errors in the respective model. We use the most conservative clustering given at a spatial cutoff of 30 kilometers and a time lag of 10 years (see column (4)) whenever feasible in all regressions throughout the paper. Geography FE includes federal state and distance to Vienna. Socio-demographic controls include the log of the electorate, share of foreigners, share of females, shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Pre-campaign covariates interacted with year fixed effects in column (4) include log of electorate, unemployment rate, share of foreigners and Turkish foreigners, share of denomination (Catholics, Protestants, Muslims), shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Significance levels (see the table for the respective level of clustered standard errors): *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.5: Local-linear RDD with subperiods

	<i>FPÖ vote shares (in %)</i>					
	Sharp RDD			Fuzzy RDD		
	before campaigning		Campaigning period (2005-2013)	Before campaigning		Campaigning period (2005-2013)
	Entire period (1949-2002)	Haider period (1986-2002)		Entire period (1949-2002)	Haider period (1986-2002)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
South of Danube River	-0.119 (0.558)	0.687 (0.576)	3.070*** (0.719)	-1.001 (1.392)	1.413 (1.064)	7.376*** (1.929)
First Stage (Sharp RDD of Turkish pillages) South of Danube River				0.390*** (0.124)	0.454*** (0.101)	0.455*** (0.102)
No. of obs.	6,732	2,376	1,188	6,732	2,376	1,188
Effective No. of obs. (left)	1,037	408	207	1,173	516	255
Effective No. of obs. (right)	1,173	468	243	1,360	666	330
Opt. bandwidth in km (est.)	15.550	18.280	19.584	19.226	26.628	26.069

Notes: The table shows the spatial discontinuities in FPÖ vote shares across the Danube River (fuzzy threshold of historical Turkish atrocities) in the West of Vienna employing the optimal bandwidth selection criteria for robust RDD estimates based on [Calonico et al. \(2014\)](#) and [Calonico et al. \(2017\)](#). Columns (1) to (3) show sharp RDD estimates, i.e., spatial discontinuity in FPÖ vote shares by crossing the Danube River from the south to the north (from the heavily affected region to the almost non-affected one). Columns (4) to (6) show fuzzy RDD estimates where the first-stage estimates predict spatial discontinuities in Turkish pillages across the Danube River. Discontinuities in FPÖ vote shares across the Danube River are shown for the following subperiods: Columns (1) and (4) for the entire pre-campaigning period (1949-2002); Columns (2) and (5) for the pre-campaigning period under Haider (1986 to 2002); Columns (3) and (6) for the campaigning period under Strache (2005 to 2013). Estimates are based on a local-linear polynomial fit, use equal optimal bandwidths on both sides of the threshold and employ standard errors clustered at the municipality level. Optimal bandwidths vary between 15.5 and 26.6 kilometers in distance to the Danube River depending on the respective subsample. The optimal bandwidths in estimates in larger samples (and in the fuzzy RDD setup) are close to 20 kilometers in average. We thus restrict our main fuzzy RDD model where we interact the fuzzy treatment variable across the Danube River with the campaigning period to 20 kilometers.

Table B.6: Spatial discontinuities across the Danube River

West of Vienna (Sharp RDD)	<i>Vote shares and covariates (in %)</i>		
	Before campaigning	Campaigning period	Difference-in-discontinuities
	(1)	(2)	(3)
<i>Vote shares (in %)</i>			
FPÖ vote share (far right populist)	0.691 (0.516)	3.159*** (1.056)	2.468** (1.176)
ÖVP vote share (Conservative)	-1.640 (3.349)	-2.528 (3.033)	-0.888 (4.519)
SPÖ vote share (left wing)	1.573 (2.615)	0.629 (1.826)	-0.944 (3.189)
<i>Socio-economic variables</i>			
Electorate (log)	-0.014 (0.211)	-0.018 (0.220)	-0.004 (0.305)
Population share female	-0.072 (0.401)	0.036 (0.273)	0.109 (0.485)
Population share < 20 years	0.350 (0.714)	0.045 (0.603)	-0.305 (0.935)
Population share > 65 years	0.039 (0.843)	0.060 (0.928)	0.021 (1.254)
Population share foreigners	1.696 (1.029)	0.768 (1.195)	-0.928 (1.577)
Population share Turkish foreigners	1.426*** (0.472)	0.596* (0.312)	-0.831 (0.565)
Population share unemployed	0.329* (0.175)	0.287 (0.236)	-0.042 (0.294)
Share agriculture	-0.926 (1.244)	-1.314 (1.692)	-0.388 (2.100)
Share industry	4.361** (1.738)	2.968 (1.990)	-1.393 (2.642)
Population share Catholics	-0.804 (3.307)	N/A	–
Population share Protestants	-0.176 (0.430)	N/A	–
Population share Muslims	1.621** (0.680)	N/A	–
<i>Geography</i>			
Distance to Vienna (in km)	7.510 (12.865)	7.510 (12.865)	–
Distance to external border (in km)	-0.541 (2.833)	-0.541 (2.833)	–
Distance to highway (in km)	1.805 (2.176)	1.805 (2.176)	–

Notes: Columns (1) and (2) show the spatial discontinuities in the pre-campaigning and during the campaigning period, and column (3) depicts the respective difference-in-discontinuity estimates across the Danube River. Pre-campaigning data stem from the population census in 2001 and from the national election in 2002. Data from the campaigning period stem from the population census in 2011 and the national election in 2013. Discontinuities estimates are based on a linear-interacted RDD polynomial in distance to the Danube River. The estimates include municipalities in the west of Vienna and a bandwidth of 20 kilometers to the Danube River. Inferences are based on spatial clustered standard errors (cutoff at 10 kilometers to achieve feasible standard errors). Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.7: Matching on pre-campaigning covariates

Panel A	<i>FPÖ vote shares (in %)</i>					
	Propensity score matching					
	Baseline	Population size	Demography	Foreigner	Religion	Local economy
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	0.777*** (0.211)	0.592*** (0.221)	0.616** (0.241)	0.659*** (0.231)	0.465* (0.244)	0.665*** (0.229)
No. of obs.	13,800	13,780	13,560	13,800	13,800	13,800
Municipalities	690	689	678	690	690	690
Mean of dep. var.	7.760	7.903	7.944	7.920	8.119	7.892
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Geography FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Pre-treatment covariates	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.926	0.929	0.928	0.930	0.925	0.927
Panel B	Entropy balancing					
	Baseline	Population size	Demography	Foreigner	Religion	Local economy
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	0.777*** (0.211)	0.620*** (0.219)	0.594** (0.236)	0.762*** (0.219)	0.658*** (0.227)	0.677*** (0.232)
No. of obs.	13,800	13,800	13,800	13,800	13,800	13,800
Municipalities	690	690	690	690	690	690
Mean of dep. var.	7.760	7.876	7.967	7.913	8.047	7.908
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Geography FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Pre-treatment covariates	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.926	0.930	0.930	0.930	0.928	0.927

Notes: The dependent variable is the FPÖ vote share (in %) at the level of 690 East-Austrian municipalities for the years 1949 to 2013. The upper panel (Panel A) use propensity score matching and the lower panel (Panel B) applies entropy balancing to balance pre-campaign covariates. Column (1) repeats the baseline specification with the full set of control variables and geography and pre-campaigning covariates interacted with year fixed effects. Columns (2) to (6) balance pillaged and not pillaged municipalities in terms of population size (electorate), demographic characteristics (share of female, share of age cohorts), foreigners (share of foreigners, share of Turkish foreigners), religious denomination (share of Protestants, share of Muslims) and local economic conditions (share unemployed, share industry, share agriculture). Standard errors are clustered at the municipality level. Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.8: Timing of campaigning

	<i>FPÖ vote shares (in %)</i>			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005 (2005–2013)	0.777*** (0.223)			0.859*** (0.228)
Turkish pillages × Post 1995 (1995–2004)		0.029 (0.199)		0.226 (0.214)
Turkish pillages × Post 1986 (1986–1994)			0.031 (0.175)	0.226 (0.185)
Obs.	13,800	13,800	13,800	13,800
Municipalities	690	690	690	690
Mean of Dep. Var.	7.760	7.760	7.760	7.760
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Geography FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Pre-treatment Cov.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.931	0.931	0.931	0.931

Notes: The dependent variable is the FPÖ vote share at the level of 690 East-Austrian municipalities for 1949 to 2013. Column (1) replicates the baseline results from Column (4) in Table 2 in the main text. Columns (2) and (3) use different pseudo-campaign periods of three consecutive elections. Column (4) shows the combined estimation with three subsequent (pseudo-)campaign periods from 1986 onward. Geography FE includes federal state and distance to Vienna. Socio-economic controls include the log of the electorate, share of foreigners, share of females, shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Pre-campaign covariates include the log of electorate, unemployment rate, share of foreigners and Turkish foreigners, share of denomination (Catholics, Protestants, Muslims), shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Inferences are based on spatial and temporal clustered standard errors. Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.9: Alternative measure of Turkish pillages (Buildings in 1590 and 1720)

	<i>FPÖ vote shares (in %)</i>					
	Extensive margin				Intensive margin	
	Building information		Building sample		Pillaged municipalities only	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Affectedness \times Post 2005	0.280** (0.134)	0.271** (0.135)	0.308** (0.138)	0.265* (0.139)	0.502*** (0.163)	0.425*** (0.135)
Obs.	13,080	13,080	11,960	11,960	6,080	6,080
Municipalities	654	654	598	598	304	304
Mean of Dep. Var.	7.749	7.749	7.791	7.791	8.106	8.106
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE \times Geography FE	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Socio-demographic Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Year FE \times Pre-treat. Cov.	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.910	0.932	0.911	0.933	0.916	0.941

Notes: The dependent variable is the FPÖ vote share (in %) at the level of East-Austrian municipalities for 1949 to 2013. We drop municipalities in our analysis with missing building data in one or in both of the respective years. The variable $Affectedness_i$ is defined as the ratio of the number of buildings in municipality i in 1590 and the number of buildings in 1720, multiplied by negative one. The extensive margins in columns (1) to (4) contain both pillaged and not pillaged municipalities. The “building information” sample in columns (1) and (2) consists of municipalities in East Austria where building data for 1590 and 1720 are available for either the entire municipality or some villages within a municipality ($n = 654$). The “building sample” in columns (3) and (4) drops municipalities where building data are only available for some villages or town of a certain municipality but not for the entire municipality ($n = 598$). The intensive margin in columns (5) and (6) examines the activated history effects only within pillaged municipalities ($n=304$), i.e. the “building sample” without not pillaged municipalities. Socio-economic controls include the log of the electorate, share of foreigners, share of females, shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Pre-campaign covariates interacted with year fixed effects include log of electorate, unemployment rate, share of foreigners and Turkish foreigners, share of denomination (Catholics, Protestants, Muslims), shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Geography FE includes federal state and distance to Vienna. Inferences are based on spatial and temporal clustered standard errors. Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.10: Definition of pillages

	<i>FPÖ vote shares (in %)</i>				
	Baseline	Baseline, and memorials	Siege I only	Siege II only	Single- source municip.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Turkish pillages \times Post 2005	0.777*** (0.223)	0.809*** (0.224)	1.100*** (0.370)	0.644** (0.266)	0.850*** (0.257)
Obs.	13,800	13,800	8,060	9,440	9,840
Municipalities	690	690	403	472	492
Share of pillaged municipalities	0.494	0.510	0.134	0.261	0.291
Mean of Dep. Var.	7.760	7.760	7.474	7.552	7.592
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE \times Geography FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE \times Pre-treatment Cov.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.931	0.931	0.925	0.930	0.926

Notes: The dependent variable is the FPÖ vote share of municipalities in East Austria for 1949 to 2013. Column (1) replicates the baseline results. In column (2), we add not pillaged municipalities with a “visual memory” that commemorates the sieges in those municipalities. In column (3), we compare municipalities that were pillaged only in Siege I to municipalities that were never pillaged. In column (4), we compare municipalities that were pillaged only in Siege II to municipalities that were never pillaged. In column (5), we compare pillaged municipalities with exposure to Turkish atrocities documented by a single sources of information to not pillaged municipalities. Geography FE includes federal state and distance to Vienna. Socio-economic controls include the log of the electorate, share of foreigners, share of females, shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Pre-campaign covariates include the log of electorate, unemployment rate, share of foreigners and Turkish foreigners, share of denomination (Catholics, Protestants, Muslims), shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Inferences are based on spatial and temporal clustered standard errors. Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.11: Historical determinants of Turkish pillages

	<i>FPÖ vote shares (in %)</i>			
	Baseline	Monasteries	Fortresses	Monasteries and Fortresses
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Turkish pillages \times Post 2005	0.777*** (0.223)	0.777*** (0.221)	0.772*** (0.223)	0.773*** (0.221)
Distance monasteries \times Post 2005		0.013 (0.014)		0.012 (0.013)
Distance fortresses \times Post 2005			0.010 (0.020)	0.008 (0.019)
Obs.	13,800	13,800	13,800	13,800
Municipalities	690	690	690	690
Mean of Dep. Var.	7.760	7.760	7.760	7.760
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE \times Geography FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE \times Pre-treatment Cov.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.931	0.931	0.931	0.931

Notes: The dependent variable is the FPÖ vote share at the level of 690 East-Austrian municipalities for the years 1949 to 2013. Column (1) replicates the baseline results. In columns (2) and (3), we add interaction terms of municipalities' distance to the nearest historical infrastructure (monastery and fortress respectively) with the campaigning period to the baseline specification. Column (4) shows the combined estimates. Geography FE includes federal state and distance to Vienna. Socio-economic controls include the log of the electorate, share of foreigners, share of female, shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Pre-campaign covariates include the log of electorate, unemployment rate, share of foreigners and Turkish foreigners, share of denomination (Catholics, Protestants, Muslims), shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Inferences are based on spatial and temporal clustered standard errors. Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.12: Pillages by other foreign forces

	<i>FPÖ vote shares (in %)</i>				
	Hungarians	Swedes	Hussite	Napoleon	All troops
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	0.729*** (0.218)	0.786*** (0.221)	0.736*** (0.224)	0.790*** (0.226)	0.710*** (0.220)
Hungarians × Post 2005	0.219 (0.233)				0.276 (0.235)
Swedes × Post 2005		0.097 (0.259)			0.391 (0.261)
Hussite × Post 2005			-0.515* (0.296)		-0.743** (0.313)
Napoleonic troops × Post 2005				-0.140 (0.209)	-0.167 (0.222)
Obs.	13,800	13,800	13,800	13,800	13,800
Municipalities	690	690	690	690	690
Mean of Dep. Var.	7.760	7.760	7.760	7.760	7.760
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Geography FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Pre-treatment Cov.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.931	0.931	0.931	0.931	0.931

Notes: The dependent variable is the FPÖ vote share at the level of 690 East-Austrian municipalities for 1949 to 2013. In columns (1) to (4), we extend our baseline specification and add separately interaction terms of municipalities with a record of atrocities from other foreign forces (Hungarian troops, Swedish troops, Hussite, Napoleonic troops) with the campaigning period. Column (5) includes all records of atrocities simultaneously. Geography FE includes federal state and distance to Vienna. Socio-economic controls include the log of the electorate, share of foreigners, share of female, shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Pre-campaign covariates include the log of electorate, unemployment rate, share of foreigners and Turkish foreigners, share of denomination (Catholics, Protestants, Muslims), shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. See Figure B.10 in this Online Appendix for a graphical representation of the respective atrocities, data sources and coding. Inferences are based on spatial and temporal clustered standard errors. Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.13: Other right-wing parties

	<i>Vote shares (in %)</i>						
	2006		2008		2013		
	FPÖ	BZÖ	FPÖ	BZÖ	FPÖ	BZÖ	TS
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Turkish pillages	0.057 (0.227)	0.019 (0.066)	0.522* (0.305)	-0.165 (0.163)	0.753** (0.315)	0.100 (0.069)	0.110 (0.088)
Obs.	690	690	690	690	690	690	690
Municipalities	690	690	690	690	690	690	690
Mean of Dep. Var.	8.876	2.101	17.445	6.087	18.520	2.424	3.688
District fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pre-treatment Cov.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (adjusted)	0.405	0.209	0.488	0.393	0.461	0.295	0.797

Notes: The dependent variable is the vote share for right-wing and populist parties at the level of 690 East-Austrian municipalities for the elections in 2006, 2008 and 2013. Pre-campaign covariates include the log of electorate, unemployment rate, share of foreigners and Turkish foreigners, share of denomination (Catholics, Protestants, Muslims), shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Inferences are based on spatial clustered standard errors (cutoff at 10 kilometers). Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.14: Other periods of radicalization

	<i>Vote shares in 1930 (in %)</i>			
	Far-right parties (FPÖ equivalent)		Catholic Conservatives	Social Democrats
	Entire camp	NSDAP	(\approx ÖVP)	(\approx SPÖ)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Turkish pillages	-0.744 (1.005)	-0.233 (0.310)	-1.475 (2.000)	2.104 (1.772)
Obs.	690	690	690	690
Municipalities	690	690	690	690
Mean of Dep. Var.	18.458	2.931	50.874	30.146
District fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (adjusted)	0.265	0.363	0.257	0.323

Notes: The dependent variable is the vote share in the national election of 1930 for the three political camps in Austria (right wing, Catholic Conservatives, and Social Democrats) at the level of 690 East-Austrian municipalities. Columns (1) and (2) show the vote share differences between pillaged and not pillaged municipalities for the entire right-wing camp and separately for the Nazi party NSDAP. Column (3) shows the vote share differences for the Catholic Conservatives, column (4) for the Social Democrats. Differences are conditioned on district fixed effects. Inferences are based on spatial clustered standard errors (cutoff at 10 kilometers). Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.15: Survey-data results on anti-minority sentiments

	I would <i>not</i> like to have as a neighbor...				
	Targeted minority			Not targeted minority	
	<i>...Guest workers</i>	<i>...Gypsies</i>	<i>...Criminals</i>	<i>...AIDS</i>	<i>...Large families</i>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	0.853*** (0.257)	0.500** (0.214)	0.486** (0.224)	0.254 (0.239)	0.052 (0.303)
Turkish pillages	0.115 (0.180)	0.070 (0.153)	-0.093 (0.156)	0.273 (0.168)	0.465* (0.245)
Post 2005	-0.399 (0.244)	0.247 (0.194)	-0.017 (0.207)	0.167 (0.227)	0.776*** (0.265)
Obs.	678	685	679	685	679
Socio-economic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Geographical controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pseudo R^2	0.108	0.058	0.038	0.068	0.170

Notes: The table reports marginal effects of probit estimations using geo-coded data of the 1999 and 2008 European Values Study (EVS, 2015; EVS GESIS, 2015). The dependent variable is a dummy variable taking the value of one if a respondent does not want to have a certain minority group as neighbors (zero otherwise). Columns (1) to (3) report dislike of minority groups that were also targeted by the FPÖ's political campaigns (guest workers, gypsies, criminals). Columns (4) and (5) report dislike of minority groups that were not negatively targeted by the FPÖ's political campaigns (people with AIDS, large families). The original EVS question: "On this list are various groups of people. Could you please sort out any that you would not like to have as neighbours? ... Guest workers, ... Gypsies, ...". Socio-economic controls are sex, age, marital status and education. Geographical controls are town size and the federal state. The analysis is based on Austrian citizens. Significance levels (robust standard errors): *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.16: Turkish settlement response after 2005

	<i>Share of foreign citizens</i>					
	Turkish		Ex-Yugoslavian		All foreigners	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Turkish pillages \times Post 2005	-0.197*** (0.039)		-0.039 (0.044)		0.136 (0.114)	
Turkish pillages \times Year 2006-2008		-0.148*** (0.034)		-0.046 (0.037)		-0.046 (0.098)
Turkish pillages \times Year 2009-2011		-0.204*** (0.042)		-0.042 (0.052)		0.085 (0.121)
Turkish pillages \times Year 2012-2014		-0.237*** (0.044)		-0.029 (0.052)		0.368** (0.173)
Obs.	8,970	8,970	8,970	8,970	8,970	8,970
Municipalities	690	690	690	690	690	690
Mean of Dep. Var. (in %)	0.585	0.585	1.263	1.263	4.793	4.793
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.939	0.939	0.942	0.942	0.930	0.930

Notes: The table uses the share of foreign citizens of total population as the dependent variable at the level of 690 East-Austrian municipalities for the years 2002 to 2014. Columns (1) and (2) use Turkish citizens, columns (3) and (4) citizens from former Yugoslavia, and columns (5) and (6) all foreign citizens. Columns (1), (3) and (5) report the relative change between pillaged and not pillaged municipalities during the period of anti-Turkish/anti-Muslim campaigning compared to pre-2005 trends. Columns (2), (4) and (6) divide the period of anti-Turkish/anti-Muslim campaigning into equal sub periods of three years (years 2006 to 2008, 2009 to 2011 and 2012 to 2014). Inferences are based on spatial and temporal clustered standard errors. Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.17: Settlement response after 2005 (born abroad)

	<i>Share of residents that are born abroad</i>					
	Turkey		Ex-Yugoslavia		Abroad	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	-0.061*** (0.023)		0.061 (0.038)		0.579*** (0.132)	
Turkish pillages × Year 2006-2008		-0.029* (0.017)		0.045 (0.029)		0.372*** (0.117)
Turkish pillages × Year 2009-2011		-0.064** (0.025)		0.054 (0.043)		0.561*** (0.141)
Turkish pillages × Year 2012-2014		-0.089*** (0.029)		0.082* (0.050)		0.805*** (0.179)
Obs.	8,970	8,970	8,970	8,970	8,970	8,970
Municipalities	690	690	690	690	690	690
Mean of Dep. Var (in %)	0.669	0.669	1.731	1.731	7.472	7.472
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.974	0.974	0.969	0.969	0.959	0.959

Notes: The table uses the share of foreign-born residents of total population as the dependent variable at the level of 690 East-Austrian municipalities. Columns (1) and (2) use residents born in Turkey, columns (3) and (4) use residents born in former Yugoslavia, and columns (5) and (6) use residents born abroad. Columns (1), (3) and (5) report the relative change between pillaged and not pillaged municipalities during the period of anti-Turkish/anti-Muslim campaigning compared to pre-2005 trends. Columns (2), (4) and (6) divide the period of anti-Turkish/anti-Muslim campaigning into equal sub periods of three years (years 2006 to 2008, 2009 to 2011 and 2012 to 2014). Inferences are based on spatial and temporal clustered standard errors. Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.18: Party formation and dissolution

	<i>FPÖ local party branch</i>			
	Probit estimates			
	Formation		Dissolution	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Turkish pillages	0.116 (0.179)	0.417* (0.223)	-0.168 (0.122)	-0.132 (0.135)
Obs.	690	690	690	690
Number of formed/dissolved branches	38	38	190	190
Mean of Dep. Var.	0.055	0.055	0.275	0.275
Geography controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Pre-treatment covariates	No	Yes	No	Yes
Pseudo R-squared	0.002	0.137	0.006	0.047

Notes: The table shows marginal effects of probit estimations on the formation and dissolution of local party branches at the level of 690 East-Austrian municipalities. The formation and dissolution is the change in the existence of a local party branch from the local council election before the start of anti-Turkish/anti-Muslim campaigning (Burgenland: 1997; Lower Austria: 2000) to local council elections after the launch of the campaigning (Burgenland: 2012; Lower Austria: 2010). Geography controls include federal state and distance to Vienna. Pre-campaign covariates include the log of electorate, unemployment rate, share of foreigners and Turkish foreigners, share of denomination (Catholics, Protestants, Muslims), shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Significance levels (standard errors clustered at the district level): *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.19: Change in local campaign capacity

	<i>FPÖ vote shares (in %)</i>	
	(1)	(2)
Turkish pillages × Post 2005	1.230*** (0.340)	0.517** (0.258)
Turkish pillages × Party formation × Post 2005	0.900 (0.916)	1.235* (0.679)
Turkish pillages × Party dissolution × Post 2005	0.429 (0.349)	0.503 (0.335)
Party formation × Post 2005	0.328 (0.684)	-0.518 ((0.513)
Party dissolution × Post 2005	-1.007*** (0.256)	-1.156*** (0.245)
Obs.	13,800	13,800
Municipalities	690	690
Mean of Dep. Var.	7.760	7.760
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Year FE × Geography FE	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	No	Yes
Year FE × Pre-treatment covariates	No	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.918	0.931

Notes: The dependent variable is the FPÖ vote share at the level of 690 East-Austrian municipalities for 1949 to 2013. The table controls for the effects of the change in local campaign capacity from the pre-campaigning period to the campaign period based on a triple difference-in-differences model. *Party formation* equals one for municipalities with a local party branch after 2005, but not before 2005 (zero otherwise). *Party dissolution* equals one for municipalities with a local party branch before 2005, but not after 2005 (zero otherwise). Geography FE includes federal state and distance to Vienna. Socio-economic controls include the log of the electorate, share of foreigners, share of female, shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Pre-campaign covariates include the log of electorate, unemployment rate, share of foreigners and Turkish foreigners, share of denomination (Catholics, Protestants, Muslims), shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Inferences are based on spatial and temporal clustered standard errors. Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.20: Heterogeneous effects

Turkish pillages \times Post 2005	<i>FPÖ vote shares (in %)</i>	
	< Median	\geq Median
	(1)	(2)
<i>Socio-demographics</i>		
Electorate (log)	0.934*** (0.301)	0.574** (0.265)
Population growth 1951–2001	1.361*** (0.277)	0.333 (0.266)
Settlement density	0.884*** (0.272)	0.729** (0.331)
Population share foreigners	0.790*** (0.290)	0.816*** (0.294)
Population share Turkish foreigners	0.559* (0.320)	0.818*** (0.283)
Population share Muslims	0.711** (0.307)	0.908*** (0.302)
Tertiary education	0.803*** (0.284)	0.618*** (0.297)
Share agriculture	0.790** (0.310)	0.822*** (0.278)
Share industry	0.448 (0.293)	0.723*** (0.263)
Population share unemployed	0.709*** (0.239)	0.767** (0.304)
Population share out-commuters	0.958*** (0.292)	0.577** (0.280)
<i>Geography</i>		
Distance to Vienna	0.139 (0.287)	1.221*** (0.267)
Distance to external border	1.042*** (0.321)	0.920*** (0.244)
No. of localities per municipality	0.786*** (0.321)	0.884*** (0.262)
Obs.	6,900	6,900
Municipalities	345	345
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Year FE \times Geography FE	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	Yes	Yes
Year FE \times Pre-treatment covariates	Yes	Yes

Notes: The dependent variable is the FPÖ vote share at the level of 690 East-Austrian municipalities for the years 1949 to 2013. In columns (1) and (2), we split the sample into municipalities below and above the median of the respective socio-demographic and geographic variable according to the census in 2001. Geography FE includes federal state and distance to Vienna. Socio-economic controls include the log of the electorate, share of foreigners, share of female, shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Pre-campaign covariates include the log of electorate, unemployment rate, share of foreigners and Turkish foreigners, share of denomination (Catholics, Protestants, Muslims), shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Inferences are based on spatial and temporal clustered standard errors. Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.21: Other parties and voter turnout

	<i>Vote shares and turnout (in %)</i>				
	FPÖ	ÖVP	SPÖ	Green Party	Voter turnout
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Turkish pillages \times Post 2005	0.777*** (0.223)	-0.429 (0.401)	-0.818** (0.369)	0.153 (0.094)	0.054 (0.217)
Obs.	13,800	13,800	13,800	6,900	13,800
Municipalities	690	690	690	690	690
Mean of Dep. Var.	7.760	48.721	38.257	4.363	90.597
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE \times Geography FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socio-demographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE \times Pre-treatment Cov.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.931	0.967	0.957	0.900	0.886

Notes: The dependent variable is the vote share for the respective party or voter turnout at the level of 690 East-Austrian municipalities for the years 1949 to 2013 and since 1983 for the Green Party. Column (1) replicates the baseline results for the FPÖ. Columns (2) to (4) show difference-in-differences estimates for the conservative ÖVP, for the social democrats SPÖ and for the Green Party respectively. Column (5) tests for differences in voter turnout. Geography FE includes federal state and distance to Vienna. Socio-economic controls include the log of the electorate, share of foreigners, share of female, shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Pre-campaign covariates include the log of electorate, unemployment rate, share of foreigners and Turkish foreigners, share of denomination (Catholics, Protestants, Muslims), shares of age cohorts, and shares of industrial sectors. Inferences are based on spatial and temporal clustered standard errors. Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

Table B.22: National elections in 2017 and 2019

	<i>Vote shares and turnout (in %)</i>				
	FPÖ	ÖVP	SPÖ	Green party	Voter turnout
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Turkish pillages \times Post 2017	-0.596** (0.302)	1.213*** (0.345)	-0.227 (0.411)	-0.066 (0.151)	0.424*** (0.168)
Obs.	3,450	3,450	3,450	3,450	3,450
Municipalities	690	690	690	690	690
Mean of Dep. Var.	17.862	39.272	28.335	6.680	77.326
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Municipality fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE \times Geography FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared (centered)	0.929	0.964	0.960	0.919	0.913

Notes: The dependent variable is the vote share for the respective parties or voter turnout at the level of 690 East-Austrian municipalities for the elections from 2006 to 2019 (period of anti-Turkish/anti-Muslim campaigning). The table examines the relative change in vote shares in the elections in 2017 and 2019, given the pre-2017 trend for the FPÖ (column (1)), for the conservative ÖVP (column (2)), for the social democrat SPÖ (column (3)) and the Green Party (column (4)). Column (5) examines the change in voter turnout. Geography FE includes federal state and distance to Vienna. Inferences are based on spatial and temporal clustered standard errors. Significance levels: *** 0.01, ** 0.05, * 0.10.

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