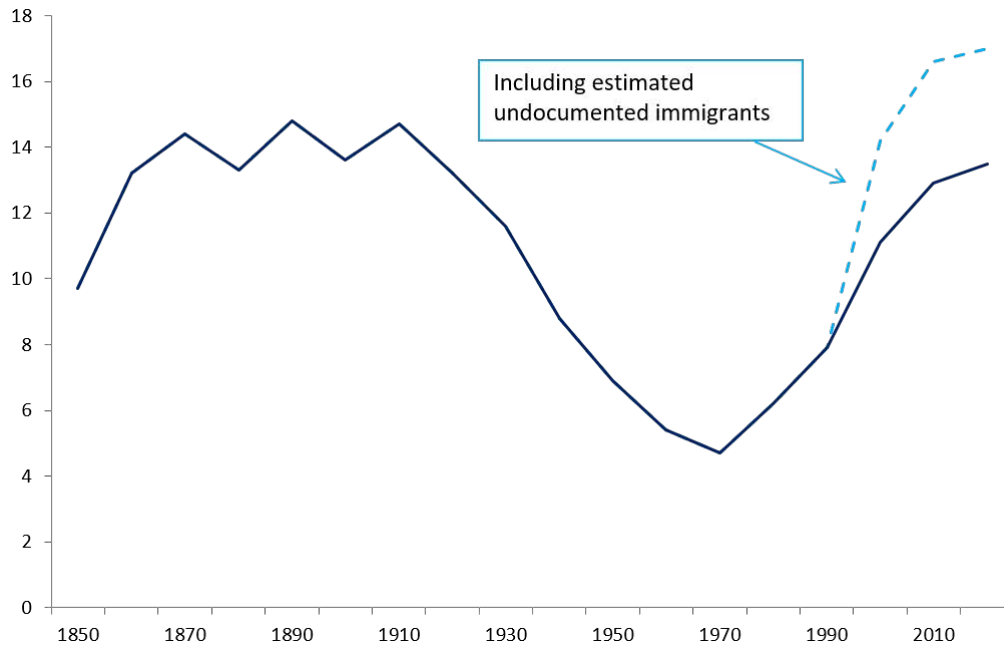


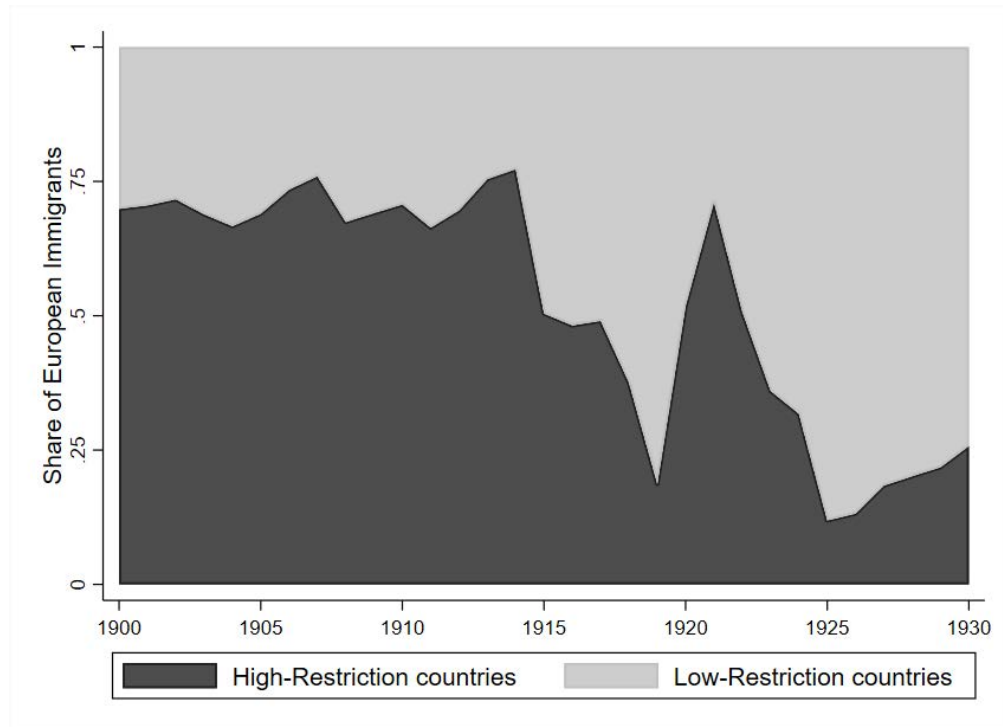
A Appendix – Additional Figures and Tables

Figure A.1. Immigrants as Percent of US Population



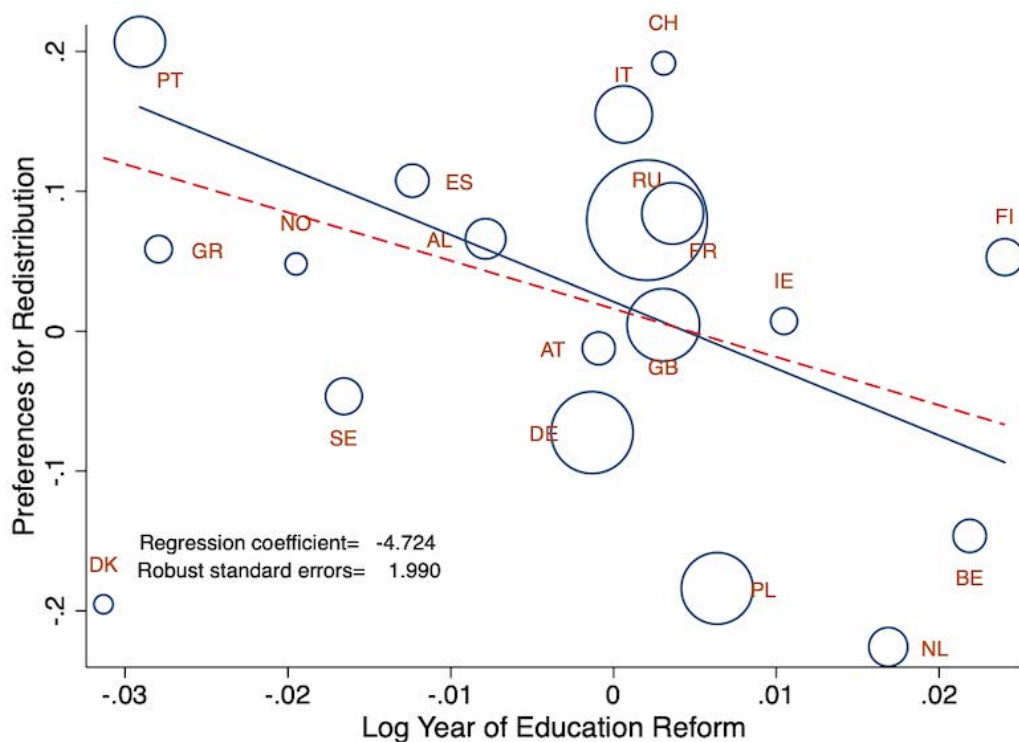
Notes: the solid line shows the number of legal immigrants as a percent of US population. The dashed line includes also the estimated number of illegal immigrants, available from 2000 onwards. Source: the number of legal immigrants comes from the Migration Policy Institute, while the number of illegal immigrants was taken from the Pew Research Center tabulations.

Figure A.2. Share of European Immigrants: “High” and “Low” Restrictions



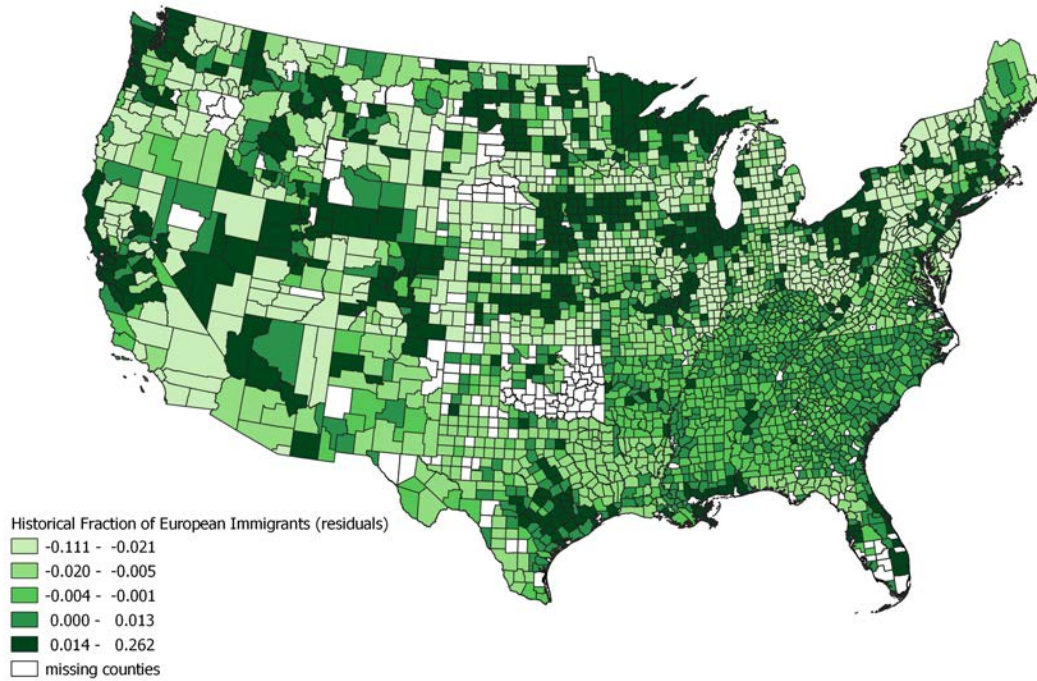
Notes: Share of European immigrants entering the US in each year between 1900 and 1930, classified as coming from countries exposed to “high” and “low” restrictions to immigration according to Abramitzky et al. (2019d). Source: Authors’ calculations from IPUMS sample of US Census (Ruggles et al. (2020))

Figure A.3. Preferences for Redistribution and Exposure to Education Reform



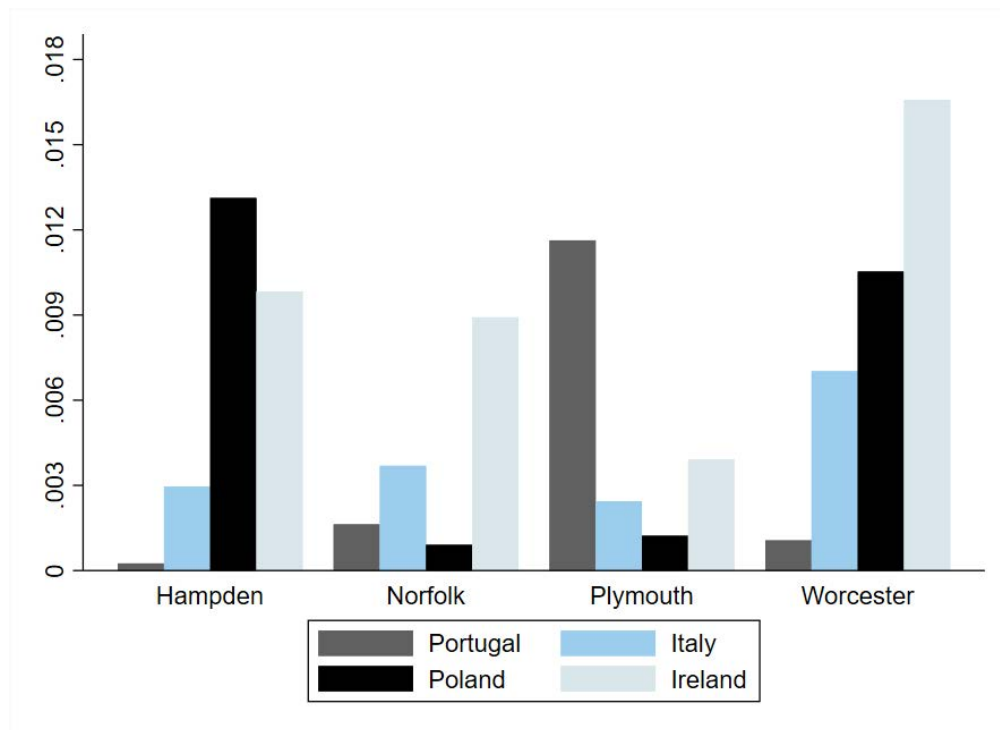
Notes: : The figure plots the preferences for redistribution for the first-generation immigrants by country of origin, over the logarithm of the year of the Education Reform. Both y-axis and x-axis report the residuals of the specific variable obtained after partialling out the logarithm of the GDP for each country. The observations are weighted according to the number of observations for each country of origin. The blue solid line shows the relationship between the two variables when we do not include Denmark in the sample. The dashed red line shows the relationship including Denmark. The coefficient for the regression including Denmark is -3.450 with robust standard errors equal to 2.315.

Figure A.4. Fraction of European Immigrants: Partialling Out State fixed effects



Notes: the map plots the quintiles of the average share of European Immigrants (over county population) in the period 1910-1930 in our sample after partialling out State fixed effect. Source: Authors' calculations from IPUMS sample of US Census (Ruggles et al. (2020)).

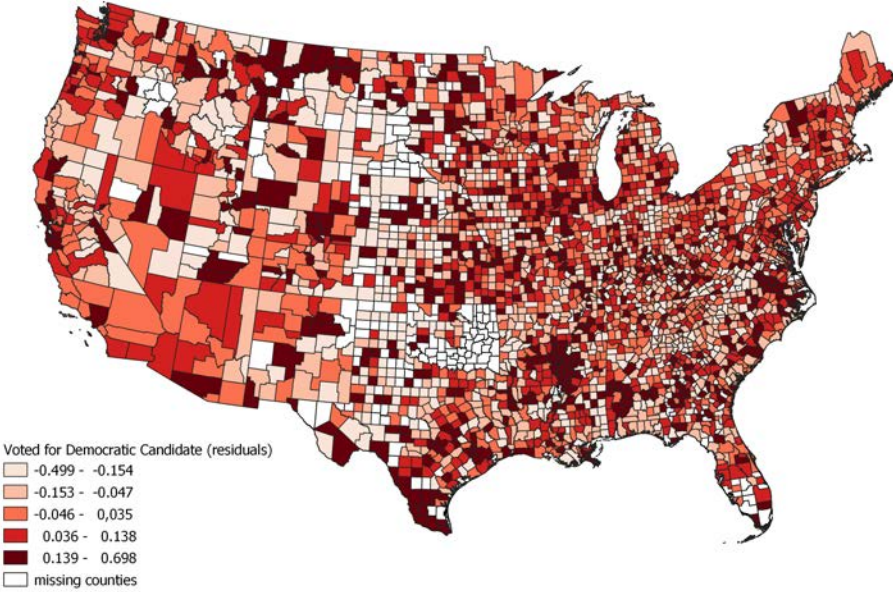
Figure A.5. Share of Immigrants from Selected Countries in Massachusetts, 1900



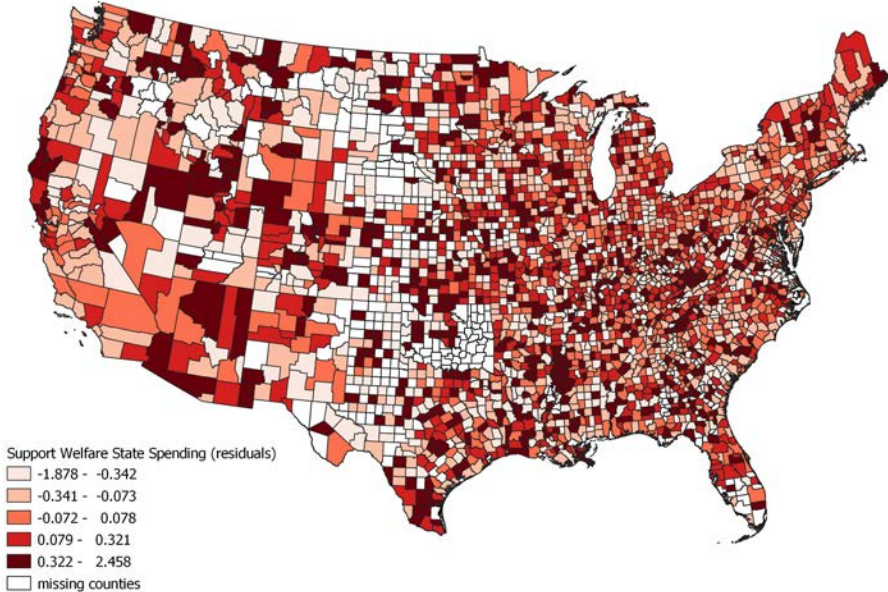
Notes: share of individuals of European ancestry living in Massachusetts counties in 1900, for selected ethnic groups. Source: Authors' calculations using IPUMS data

Figure A.6. Ideology and Preferences for Redistribution: Partialling Out State fixed effects

Panel A: Voted Democratic Candidate

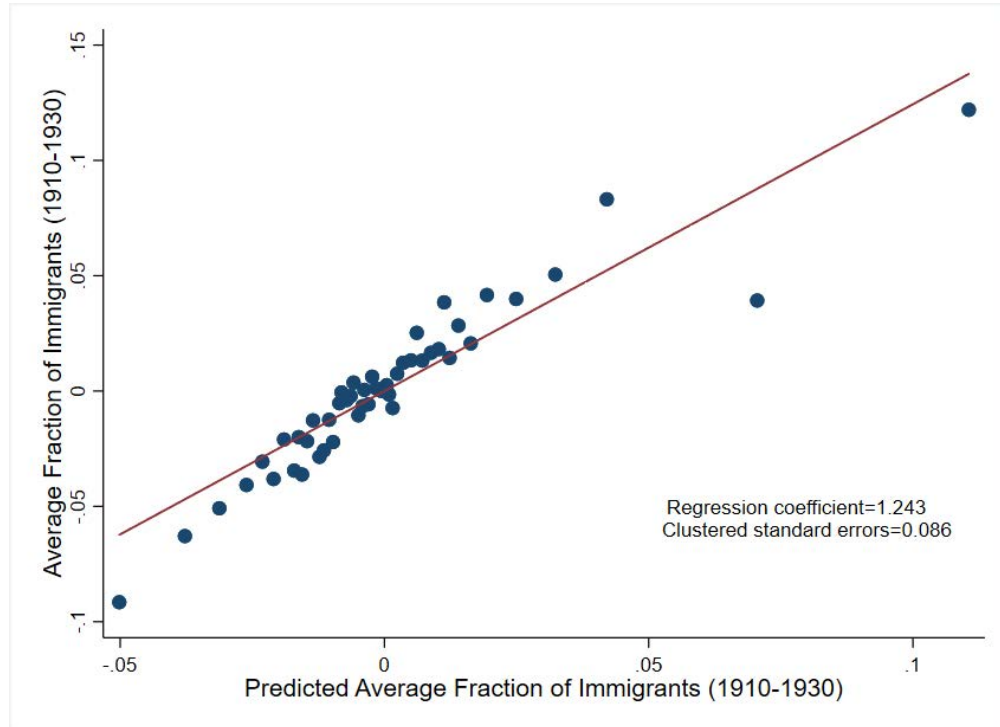


Panel B: Support Welfare Spending



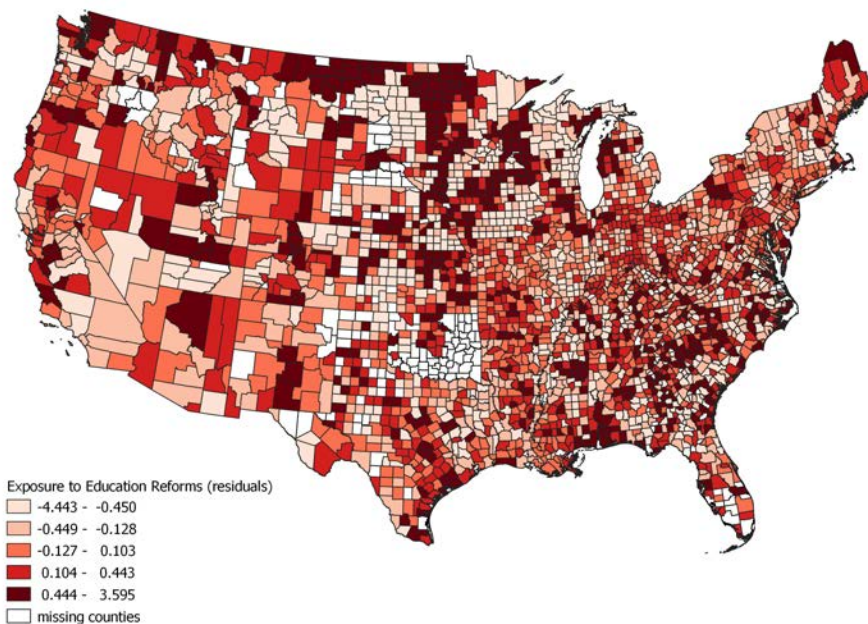
Notes: the map plots the quintiles of two outcomes: voted for Democratic candidate at Presidential Elections and support State welfare spending after partialling out State fixed effect.

Figure A.7. First Stage (Residual Bin-Scatterplot)



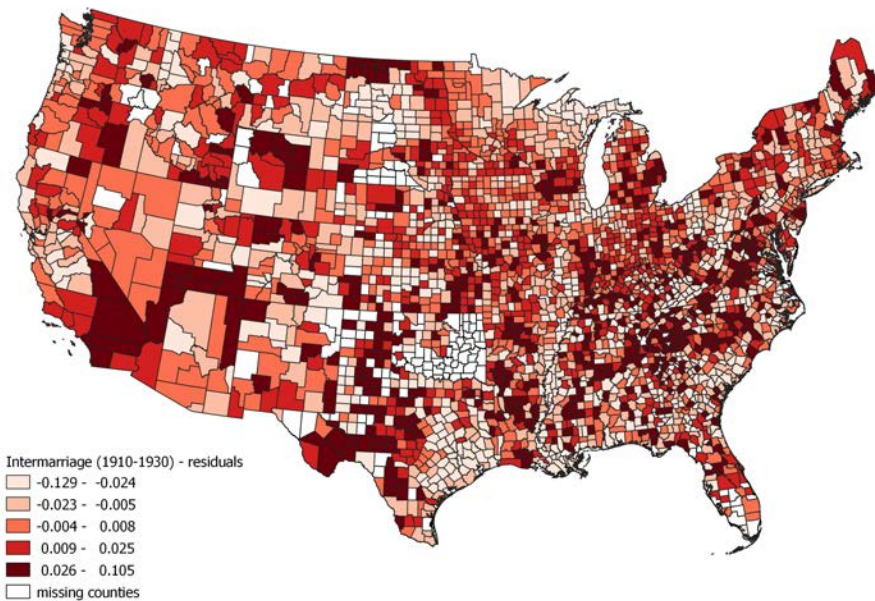
Notes: The y-axis (resp. x-axis) reports the actual (resp. predicted) average fraction of European immigrants over county population between 1910 and 1930. The scatterplot pools observations into 50 bins. Each point in the scatter diagram represents the residuals of the two variables, after partialling out State fixed effects, and 1900 historical controls. Historical controls include: 1900 black and urban share of the county population, 1900 share of men 15-64 in the labor force, 1900 log occupational score, 1900 employment share in manufacturing (men 15-64), county geographic coordinates, railroad connectivity from Sequeira et al. (2020), and an index of predicted industry growth (1910-1930) as in Tabellini (2020). The red, solid line refers to the slope of the first stage coefficient, which is also reported in the main diagram (with associated clustered standard errors at the county level).

Figure A.8. Exposure to Education Reforms: Partialling Out State fixed effects



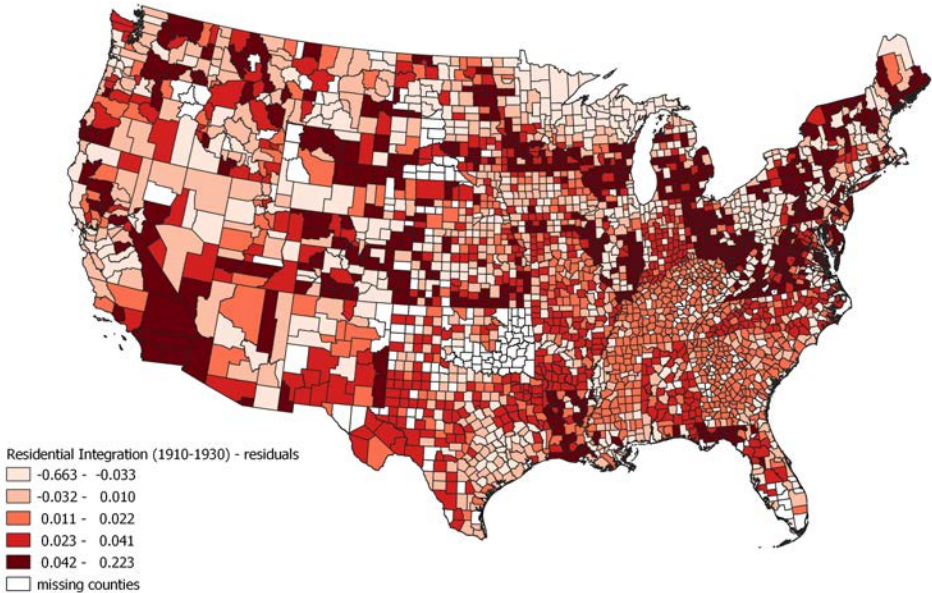
Notes: the map plots the quintiles of the exposure to education reforms after partialling out State fixed effect.

Figure A.9. Intermarriage (1910-1930): Partialling Out State fixed effects



Notes: the map plots the quintiles of the average intermarriage rate between 1910 and 1930 after partialling out State fixed effect.

Figure A.10. Residential Integration (1910-1930): Partialling Out State fixed effects



Notes: the map plots the quintiles of the index of residential segregation computed in the period 1910-1930 after partialling out State fixed effect.

Table A.1. Immigrants and Exposure to Education Reform

| Countries | Education Reform (Year of Introduction) |
|--------------------|--|
| Albania | 1928 |
| Austria | 1869 |
| Belgium | 1914 |
| Bulgaria | n/a |
| Czechoslovakia | n/a |
| Denmark | 1814 |
| Estonia | n/a |
| Finland | 1921 |
| France | 1882 |
| Germany | 1871 |
| Greece | 1834 |
| Hungary | n/a |
| Ireland | 1892 |
| Italy | 1877 |
| Latvia | n/a |
| Lithuania | n/a |
| Netherlands | 1900 |
| Norway | 1827 |
| Poland | 1918 |
| Portugal | 1835 |
| Romania | n/a |
| Russia (Jewish) | n/a |
| Russia (No Jewish) | 1918 |
| Spain | 1857 |
| Sweden | 1842 |
| Switzerland | 1874 |
| United Kingdom | 1880 |
| Yugoslavia | n/a |

Notes: the table presents the list of European countries included in our analysis, together with the year in which education reforms were introduced (column 2). The date reported for Education Reform is based on Bandiera et al. (2018), except for Austria and Germany. In the latter case, we follow the definition in Flora (1983).

Table A.2. Independent Variables: Definition and Construction

| Variable | Description | Source |
|--|--|--|
| Fraction of immigrants (1910-1930) | Average across decades of European Immigrant share over decade county population | Authors' calculations from Ruggles et al. (2020) |
| Predicted fraction of immigrants (1910-1930) | Average across decades of predicted European Immigrant share over 1900 county population (Leave-out instrument adapted from Tabellini, 2020) | Authors' calculations from Ruggles et al. (2020) |
| Urban share (1900) | People in places with +2,500 inhabitants over county population | ICPSR Study 2896, Haines et al. (2010) |
| Black share (1900) | Black share over county population | ICPSR Study 2896, Haines et al. (2010) |
| Labore Force Share (1900) | Men in labor force over men aged 15-64 | Ruggles et al. (2020) |
| Employment share in manufacturing share (1900) | Share of men employed in manufacturing, relative to men in the labor force | Ruggles et al. (2020) |
| Occupational score (1900) | Average of $\log(1+\text{occupational score})$ for men in the labor force | Ruggles et al. (2020) |
| Connectivity to the Railroad (1850-1900) | Years of connection to the Railroad in the period 1850-1900 | Sequeira, Nunn, and Qian (2020) |
| Industry Growth Index | Share of employment in different industries in each county in 1900 interacted with the national growth rate of each industry for each decade between 1900 and 1930. | Data from Ruggles et al. (2020), adapted from Tabellini (2020) |
| County Geographic Coordinates | Latitude and longitude of the county centroid. | Manson et al. (2017) |
| Exposure to education reforms | Weighted average of the number of years between 1910 and the year of introduction of education reform for each immigrant group, weighted by the relative share of immigrants from each country in the county between 1910 and 1930. If no reform was introduced in the country of origin prior to 1910, we assign a value of 0 to the immigrant-specific exposure to education reform. | Bandiera et al (2018); for Germany and Austria-Hungary, Flora (1987) |
| Intermarriage (1910-1930) | Average across decades of the share of immigrants being married with native (with native parents) over all married immigrants. Sample is both men and women | Authors' calculations from Ruggles et al. (2020) |
| Share of English-speaking immigrants (1910-1930) | Average across decades of the share of English-speaker immigrants over all immigrants. Sample restricted to men aged 15-64 | Authors' calculations from Ruggles et al. (2020) |
| Immigrants' income score (1910-1930) | Average across decades of the average on labor force of $\log(1+\text{occupational score})$. Labor force restricted to immigrant men aged 15-64 | Authors' calculations from Ruggles et al. (2020) |
| Immigrants working in manufacturing (1910-1930) | Average across decades of the share of immigrants (men aged 15-64) employed in manufacture over immigrants in labor force | Authors' calculations from Ruggles et al. (2020) |
| Share of literate immigrants (1910-1930) | Average across decades of the share of literate immigrants over all immigrants. Sample restricted to men aged 15-64 | Authors' calculations from Ruggles et al. (2020) |

Table A.3. Immigrants' Preferences for Redistribution and Year of Introduction of Education Reforms in the Countries of Origin, European Social Survey

| Dep. Variable | Preferences for Redistribution | |
|---|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | <i>Denmark Included</i> | <i>Denmark NOT Included</i> |
| | (1) | (2) |
| Log Year of Introduction of Education Reforms | -3.534* (1.730) | -4.574*** (1.559) |
| Observations | 11,489 | 11,305 |
| Cluster | Y | Y |
| N. Clusters | 19 | 18 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 3.835 (1.048) | 3.839 (1.048) |
| Individual Controls | Y | Y |

Notes: Each regression controls for gender, a quadratic in age, logarithm of years of education, employment and marital status, income and logarithm of GDP from the immigrants' countries of origin. Regressions also include round fixed effects and standard errors are clustered at the country of origin level. Regressions use data from the European Social Survey, including rounds from 1 to 8. Significance levels: *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1.

Table A.4. Dependent Variables: Definition and Construction

| Variable | Question | Answers coded as | Years |
|--|--|---|-----------------------|
| Panel A. CCES Ideology | | | |
| Ideology | In general, how would you describe your own political viewpoint? | From 1=very conservative to 5=very liberal | 2006-2018 |
| Party Affiliation Scale (R to D) | Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as: Strong democrat, not very strong democrat, lean democrat, independent, lean republican, not very strong republican, strong republican. | From 1=strong republican to 7=strong democrat | 2006-2018 |
| Democratic Party Indicator | Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a: democrat, republican, independent. | Indicator equal 1 for Democrat, 0 for Republican or Independent | 2006-2018 |
| Voted Democratic Candidate | For whom did you vote for President of the United States? | Indicator equal 1 if voted Democrat and 0 for Independent or Republican | 2006-2018 |
| Panel B. CCES Preferences for Redistribution | | | |
| Oppose spending cuts | The federal budget deficit is approximately XXX trillion this year. If the Congress were to balance the budget it would have to consider cutting defense spending, cutting domestic spending (such as Medicare and Social Security), or raising taxes to cover the deficit. What would you most prefer that Congress do - cut domestic spending, cut defense spending, or raise taxes? | Indicator equal 1 if preferred option is not to cut spending | 2006, 2008, 2010-2018 |
| Support welfare spending | State legislatures must make choices when making spending decisions on important state programs. Would you like your legislature to increase or decrease spending on the five areas below? Welfare spending. | From 1=most decrease to 5=most increase | 2014, 2016, 2018 |
| Support minimum wage increase | Do you favor or oppose raising the minimum wage to \$X an hour over the next two years, or not? OR If your state put the following questions for a vote on the ballot, would you vote FOR or AGAINST? Raise the minimum wage to \$X/hour? | Indicator equal 1 if in favor | 2006-2008, 2016, 2018 |
| Finance deficit with taxes | If your state were to have a budget deficit this year it would have to raise taxes on income and sales or cut spending, such as on education, health care, welfare, and road construction. What would you prefer more, raising taxes or cutting spending? Choose a point along the scale from 0 to 100 | Normalize range to 0-1, where 1=100% taxes and 0% cuts | 2006-2017 |

Table A.5. Summary Statistics, CCES - Individual Characteristics

| Variables | Mean | St. Dev. | Min | Max | Obs |
|-----------------------|-------|----------|-----|-----|---------|
| Age | 49.51 | 16.14 | 18 | 99 | 374,603 |
| Female | 0.53 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| Male | 0.47 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| Black | 0.11 | 0.31 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| White | 0.75 | 0.43 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| Other | 0.14 | 0.34 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| Single | 0.27 | 0.44 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| Married | 0.56 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| Widowed | 0.05 | 0.21 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| Separated | 0.13 | 0.34 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| No High School | 0.03 | 0.17 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| High School | 0.27 | 0.45 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| More than High School | 0.70 | 0.46 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| Employed | 0.54 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| Unemployed | 0.06 | 0.24 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| Out of Labor Force | 0.41 | 0.49 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| Income < 10K | 0.04 | 0.20 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| 10K < Income < 20K | 0.08 | 0.27 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| 20K < Income < 30K | 0.11 | 0.32 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| 30K < Income < 40K | 0.12 | 0.32 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| 40K < Income < 50K | 0.10 | 0.31 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| 50K < Income < 60K | 0.10 | 0.30 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| 60K < Income < 70K | 0.08 | 0.26 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| 70K < Income < 80K | 0.08 | 0.27 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| 80K < Income < 100K | 0.10 | 0.29 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| 100K < Income < 120K | 0.07 | 0.25 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| 120K < Income < 150K | 0.05 | 0.23 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |
| Income > 150K | 0.06 | 0.24 | 0 | 1 | 374,603 |

Table A.6. Baseline Specification with Individual Controls Coefficients

| Dep. Variables | Ideology | Party Scale (R to D) | Democratic Party | Voted Democratic Candidate | Oppose Spending Cuts | Support State Welfare Spending | Support Minimum Wage Increase | Taxes to Pay State Deficit |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|--------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.706*** (0.133) [0.0512] | 2.062*** (0.250) [0.0787] | 0.507*** (0.0455) [0.0854] | 0.384*** (0.0625) [0.0683] | 0.223*** (0.0515) [0.0386] | 1.031*** (0.244) [0.0857] | 0.294*** (0.0507) [0.057] | 0.0950*** (0.0285) [0.0329] |
| Age | -0.0052*** (0.0007) [-0.074] | 0.0203*** (0.0013) [0.148] | 0.0023*** (0.0003) [0.0758] | -0.0007* (0.0004) [-0.0216] | 0.0043*** (0.0003) [0.142] | -0.0059*** (0.0012) [-0.080] | 0.0024*** (0.0004) [0.085] | -0.0016*** (0.0002) [-0.0960] |
| Age squared | -7.01e-06 (7.28e-06) [-0.0098] | -0.0002*** (1.35e-05) [-0.1627] | -2.05e-05*** (3.06e-06) [-0.067] | -7.09e-06** (3.54e-06) [-0.0227] | -5.35e-05*** (3.30e-06) [-0.174] | -1.45e-05 (1.24e-05) [-0.0199] | -3.18e-05*** (4.21e-06) [-0.114] | 1.31e-05*** (2.12e-06) [0.077] |
| Female | 0.207*** (0.004) [0.0895] | 0.394*** (0.007) [0.1186] | 0.116*** (0.0016) [0.0922] | 0.0922*** (0.0018) [0.0789] | 0.0775*** (0.0017) [0.030] | 0.0731*** (0.0066) [0.1185] | 0.106*** (0.0022) [0.0792] | 0.0417*** (0.001) |
| Black | 0.239*** (0.0063) [0.0649] | 1.686*** (0.0115) [0.241] | 0.367*** (0.0026) [0.236] | 0.409*** (0.003) [0.257] | 0.126*** (0.0028) [0.081] | 0.421*** (0.0113) [0.1046] | 0.189*** (0.0038) [0.1262] | 0.0548*** (0.0019) [0.0585] |
| Other Race | 0.0661*** (0.006) [0.0199] | 0.458*** (0.0104) [0.0717] | 0.0823*** (0.002) [0.0579] | 0.0925*** (0.0028) [0.061] | 0.0266*** (0.0025) [0.0188] | 0.0621*** (0.0098) [0.0178] | 0.0559*** (0.003) [0.0433] | -0.00616*** (0.0016) [-0.0078] |
| Married | -0.381*** (0.005) [-0.165] | -0.595*** (0.009) [-0.134] | -0.0981*** (0.002) [-0.0999] | -0.139*** (0.0024) [-0.138] | -0.114*** (0.0023) [-0.115] | -0.153*** (0.0085) [-0.0636] | -0.0661*** (0.0029) [-0.0735] | -0.0604*** (0.0014) [-0.113] |
| Widowed | -0.278*** (0.010) [-0.051] | -0.417*** (0.0186) [-0.0395] | -0.0727*** (0.0042) [-0.031] | -0.115*** (0.0047) [-0.0496] | -0.0647*** (0.0046) [-0.027] | -0.0869*** (0.0168) [-0.016] | -0.0349*** (0.006) [-0.016] | -0.0455*** (0.0029) [-0.0356] |

Table A.6, Continued

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Divorced | -0.179*** (0.0067) [-0.052] | -0.308*** (0.012) [-0.0469] | -0.0611*** (0.0028) [-0.042] | -0.0696*** (0.0032) [-0.047] | -0.0402*** (0.00301) [-0.0276] | -0.0459*** (0.0114) [-0.013] | -0.0200*** (0.00395) [-0.0147] | -0.0300*** (0.0019) [-0.036] |
| Unemployed | 0.0068 (0.0083) [0.0014] | -0.0233 (0.015) [-0.003] | -0.0229*** (0.0035) [-0.011] | -0.0158*** (0.0041) [-0.007] | 0.0103*** (0.0036) [0.005] | 0.145*** (0.0152) [0.0265] | 0.0408*** (0.0054) [0.0187] | -0.00152 (0.0024) [-0.001] |
| Out Labor Force | 0.0213*** (0.0044) [0.0091] | 0.0575*** (0.0081) [0.0128] | 0.0035* (0.0019) [0.0035] | 0.0144*** (0.0021) [0.014] | 0.0436*** (0.00198) [0.0436] | 0.132*** (0.0077) [0.0545] | 0.0203*** (0.0026) [0.022] | 0.0249*** (0.0012) [0.046] |
| High School | -0.0238** (0.0119) [-0.009] | -0.120*** (0.0210) [-0.024] | -0.0081* (0.0048) [-0.007] | -0.0243*** (0.006) [-0.021] | -0.0123** (0.0051) [-0.011] | -0.181*** (0.0213) [-0.066] | -0.0274*** (0.0065) [-0.0275] | -0.0200*** (0.0036) [-0.033] |
| More than | 0.175*** (0.0117) [0.069] | 0.0965*** (0.0207) [0.0202] | 0.0099** (0.00476) [0.009] | 0.0388*** (0.0063) [0.034] | 0.0337*** (0.005) [0.031] | -0.0508** (0.021) [-0.019] | -0.0630*** (0.0064) [-0.065] | 0.0158*** (0.0035) [0.0269] |
| Income 10-20K | 0.0644*** (0.011) [0.0149] | 0.107*** (0.02) [0.013] | 0.0306*** (0.0046) [0.0169] | 0.0172*** (0.0057) [0.009] | 0.0424*** (0.0048) [0.236] | -0.0997*** (0.0189) [-0.022] | 0.0102 (0.0066) [0.005] | 0.00693** (0.0033) [0.007] |
| Income 20-30K | 0.0344*** (0.0109) [0.009] | 0.0487** (0.019) [0.007] | 0.0235*** (0.0044) [0.015] | 0.0019 (0.0055) [0.001] | 0.0115** (0.0046) [0.007] | -0.314*** (0.0181) [-0.082] | 0.00113 (0.0063) [0.0008] | -0.013*** (0.0032) [-0.016] |
| Income 30-40K | 0.0160 (0.0109) [0.004] | -0.0011 (0.0194) [-0.0002] | 0.0205*** (0.0045) [0.013] | -0.0014 (0.006) [-0.001] | -0.0031 (0.005) [-0.002] | -0.459*** (0.018) [-0.123] | -0.0227*** (0.0064) [-0.016] | -0.0218*** (0.003) [-0.026] |
| Income 40-50K | 0.0129 (0.011) [0.003] | -0.0604*** (0.0198) [-0.008] | 0.0119*** (0.0046) [0.007] | -0.00768 (0.0056) [-0.005] | -0.0197*** (0.0048) [-0.012] | -0.542*** (0.0186) [-0.136] | -0.0421*** (0.0065) [-0.0285] | -0.0309*** (0.0033) [-0.036] |

Table A.6, Continued

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Income 50-60K | 0.0013 (0.011) [0.0003] | -0.108*** (0.020) [-0.015] | 0.0061 (0.0046) [0.0038] | -0.0121** (0.0056) [-0.007] | -0.0337*** (0.0048) [-0.021] | -0.579*** (0.0188) [-0.145] | -0.0620*** (0.0065) [-0.0418] | -0.0353*** (0.0033) [-0.041] |
| Income 60-70K | 0.0065 (0.012) [0.0015] | -0.0907*** (0.0211) [-0.011] | 0.0075 (0.0048) [0.004] | -0.004 (0.0059) [-0.002] | -0.0295*** (0.0051) [-0.016] | -0.606*** (0.0196) [-0.136] | -0.0623*** (0.007) [-0.0378] | -0.0339*** (0.0034) [-0.0343] |
| Income 70-80K | 0.0230** (0.012) [0.006] | -0.0946*** (0.021) [-0.012] | 0.0103** (0.048) [0.0058] | -0.005 (0.0058) [-0.003] | -0.0389*** (0.005) [-0.0216] | -0.581*** (0.0196) [-0.132] | -0.0681*** (0.007) [-0.042] | -0.0333*** (0.003) [-0.035] |
| Income 80-100K | 0.0437*** (0.0115) [0.011] | -0.0870*** (0.021) [-0.012] | 0.0125*** (0.0047) [0.0075] | 0.00422 (0.0057) [0.003] | -0.0393*** (0.005) [-0.023] | -0.631*** (0.0193) [-0.156] | -0.0728*** (0.007) [-0.049] | -0.0314*** (0.0034) [-0.036] |
| Income 100-120K | 0.0477*** (0.012) [0.0108] | -0.0760*** (0.0218) [-0.009] | 0.0187*** (0.005) [0.0098] | 0.0133** (0.006) [0.007] | -0.0420*** (0.0053) [-0.022] | -0.603*** (0.0205) [-0.128] | -0.0889*** (0.0070) [-0.057] | -0.0262*** (0.0035) [-0.026] |
| Income 120-150K | 0.0540*** (0.0126) [0.011] | -0.0955*** (0.0228) [-0.0100] | 0.0106** (0.0052) [0.005] | 0.0160*** (0.0062) [0.008] | -0.0423*** (0.0055) [-0.0198] | -0.619*** (0.0211) [-0.123] | -0.0849*** (0.0073) [-0.045] | -0.0221*** (0.0036) [-0.0199] |
| Income > 150K | 0.0903*** (0.012) [0.0196] | -0.0743*** (0.022) [-0.008] | 0.0159*** (0.0051) [0.008] | 0.0323*** (0.0061) [0.016] | -0.0393*** (0.0054) [-0.019] | -0.608*** (0.021) [-0.128] | -0.0812*** (0.0072) [-0.046] | -0.0213*** (0.0036) [-0.0203] |
| Observations | 360,545 | 374,603 | 363,926 | 284,642 | 336,932 | 132,609 | 165,454 | 256,774 |
| KP F-Stat | 211.2 | 212 | 210.5 | 204 | 211.8 | 205.7 | 223 | 203.1 |

Notes: Dependent variables are taken from CCES surveys. See Table A.4 for the exact wording of the survey questions. This table reports all individual controls associated with the regressions reported in Table 3, Panel B. The regressor of interest is the average fraction of European immigrants over county population between 1910 and 1930. Its mean is 0.058 and its standard deviation is 0.068. The predicted fraction of immigrants is described in Section 4.2 of the paper. Square brackets report beta coefficients. KP F-Stat refers to the F-stat for weak instruments. Standard errors in parenthesis are robust and clustered at the county level. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A.7. Baseline Specification: Controlling for Intergenerational Mobility

| Dep. Variables | Ideology | Party Scale (R to D) | Democratic Party | Voted Democratic Candidate | Oppose Spending Cuts | Support State Welfare Spending | Support Minimum Wage Increase | Taxes to Pay State Deficit |
|--|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.673*** (0.174) | 1.982*** (0.341) | 0.483*** (0.0619) | 0.401*** (0.0830) | 0.213*** (0.0714) | 1.137*** (0.393) | 0.279*** (0.0679) | 0.101*** (0.0355) |
| Immigrants' Intergenerational Mobility Index | 0.0037 (0.0117) | 0.0119 (0.0226) | 0.0009 (0.0045) | -0.0007 (0.0055) | 0.0023 (0.0046) | 0.0161 (0.0122) | 0.0062 (0.0041) | 0.0008 (0.0023) |
| Observations | 360,545 | 374,603 | 363,926 | 284,642 | 336,932 | 132,609 | 165,454 | 256,774 |
| KP F-stat | 11.04 | 11.25 | 11.20 | 10.96 | 11.16 | 12.15 | 11.44 | 11.63 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 2.90 (1.14) | 4.31 (2.20) | 0.39 (0.49) | 0.52 (0.50) | 0.60 (0.49) | 2.84 (1.20) | 0.73 (0.45) | 0.41 (0.26) |
| Individual Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Historical Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |

Notes: Dependent variables are taken from CCES surveys. See Table A.4 for the exact wording of the survey questions. The regressor of interest is the average fraction of European immigrants over county population between 1910 and 1930. Its mean is 0.058 and its standard deviation is 0.068. The predicted fraction of immigrants is described in the main body of the paper. The measure of social mobility is built from Abramitzky et al (2019) and reflects, by nationality, the predict income rank of son whose immigrant father was in 25th income percentile; its mean and standard deviation are 0.411 and 0.028. KP F-Stat refers to the F-stat for weak instruments. Individual controls include the following respondents' characteristics: age, age squared, gender, race, marital status, educational attainment, employment status, income. Historical controls include: share of urban population and share of black population in 1900, labor force, log of occupational score manufacturing share, geographic coordinates, railroad connectivity, index of industry growth, average immigrant share in 1900 in each county. Standard errors in parenthesis are robust and clustered at the county level. Immigrants' characteristics are: English-speaking ability, literacy, income score and employment in manufacturing. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A.8. Sample Split around Exposure to Education Reforms Median

| Dep. Variables | Ideology | Party Scale (R to D) | Democratic Party | Voted Democratic Candidate | Oppose Spending Cuts | Support State Welfare Spending | Support Minimum Wage Increase | Taxes to Pay State Deficit |
|---|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| <i>Panel A: Education Reform Above Median</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 1.406*** (0.389) | 3.267*** (0.702) | 0.619*** (0.130) | 0.724*** (0.174) | 0.492*** (0.146) | 1.413*** (0.539) | 0.639*** (0.122) | 0.224*** (0.0710) |
| Observations | 172,736 | 178,786 | 173,738 | 136,669 | 160,738 | 62,596 | 78,684 | 124,327 |
| KP F-stat | 96.85 | 97.49 | 97.39 | 96.99 | 96.85 | 95.68 | 97.45 | 96.89 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 2.88(1.15) | 4.21(2.20) | 0.37(0.48) | 0.50(0.50) | 0.59(0.49) | 2.84(1.21) | 0.71(0.45) | 0.41(0.27) |
| Mean (s.d.) fraction of imm. | 0.10(0.08) | 0.10(0.08) | 0.10(0.08) | 0.10(0.08) | 0.10(0.08) | 0.10(0.08) | 0.10(0.08) | 0.10(0.08) |
| <i>Panel B: Education Reform Below Median</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.110 (0.154) | 1.029*** (0.344) | 0.330*** (0.0719) | 0.0628 (0.0742) | 0.0254 (0.0586) | 0.350** (0.178) | 0.0568 (0.0682) | -0.0467 (0.0335) |
| Observations | 187,808 | 195,816 | 190,187 | 147,972 | 176,193 | 70,013 | 86,768 | 132,446 |
| KP F-stat | 264.7 | 262.9 | 263.6 | 262.4 | 262.5 | 262.6 | 264.6 | 267.2 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 2.93(1.13) | 4.40(2.20) | 0.41(0.49) | 0.54(0.50) | 0.60(0.49) | 2.84(1.19) | 0.74(0.44) | 0.41(0.26) |
| Mean (s.d.) fraction of imm. | 0.09(0.09) | 0.09(0.09) | 0.09(0.09) | 0.09(0.09) | 0.09(0.09) | 0.09(0.09) | 0.09(0.09) | 0.09(0.09) |
| Individual Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Historical Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Immigrants' Characteristics | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N |
| T-test [p-value] | [0.007]*** | [0.009]*** | [0.075]* | [0.001]*** | [0.009]*** | [0.078]* | [0.000]*** | [0.005]*** |

Notes: Dependent variables are taken from CCES surveys. See Table A.4 for the exact wording of the survey questions. The regressor of interest is the average fraction of European immigrants over county population between 1910 and 1930. The predicted fraction of immigrants is described in the main body of the paper. The measure of exposure to education reforms is built from Bandiera et al (2018) and Flora (1987); the variable is standardized to have mean 0 and standard deviation 1. Here the sample is split around the median of this index in the estimation sample (-0.188). The last row reports the p-value of the t-test for equality between coefficients above and below the median. KP F-Stat refers to the F-stat for weak instruments. Individual controls include the following respondents' characteristics: age, age squared, gender, race, marital status, educational attainment, employment status, income. Historical controls include: 1900 black and urban share of the county population, 1900 share of men 15-64 in the labor force, 1900 log occupational score, 1900 employment share in manufacturing (men 15-64), county geographic coordinates, railroad connectivity from Sequeira et al. (2020), and an index of predicted industry growth (1910-1930) as in Tabellini (2020). Standard errors in parenthesis are robust and clustered at the county level. Significance levels: *** p< 0.01, ** p< 0.05, * p< 0.1.

Table A.9. Sample Split around Intermarriage (1910-1930)

| Dep. Variables | Ideology | Party Scale (R to D) | Democratic Party | Voted Democratic Candidate | Oppose Spending Cuts | Support State Welfare Spending | Support Minimum Wage Increase | Taxes to Pay State Deficit |
|--|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| <i>Panel A: Intermarriage Above Median</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 2.072*** (0.517) [0.155]*** | 4.406*** (0.931) [0.172]*** | 0.881*** (0.166) [0.156]*** | 1.045*** (0.225) [0.180]*** | 0.540*** (0.181) [0.0943]*** | 1.704*** (0.452) [0.122]*** | 0.687*** (0.168) [0.131]*** | 0.233** (0.0997) [0.0758]** |
| Observations | 180,352 | 187,154 | 181,837 | 142,110 | 168,006 | 65,751 | 82,630 | 129,465 |
| KP F-stat | 312.1 | 313.8 | 313.7 | 298.7 | 323.8 | 327.56 | 353 | 311.2 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 2.84(1.14) | 4.15(2.20) | 0.36(0.48) | 0.49(0.50) | 0.58(0.49) | 2.81(1.19) | 0.70(0.46) | 0.40(0.26) |
| Mean (s.d.) fraction of imm. | 0.05(0.05) | 0.05(0.05) | 0.05(0.05) | 0.05(0.05) | 0.05(0.05) | 0.05(0.05) | 0.05(0.05) | 0.05(0.05) |
| <i>Panel B: Intermarriage Below Median</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.383* (0.218) [0.0287]* | 1.537*** (0.441) [0.0601]*** | 0.420*** (0.0742) [0.0743]*** | 0.288*** (0.0975) [0.0495]*** | 0.134 (0.0880) [0.0234] | 1.158** (0.497) [0.0829]** | 0.198** (0.0797) [0.0378]** | 0.0461 (0.0417) [0.0150] |
| Observations | 180,193 | 187,449 | 182,089 | 142,532 | 168,926 | 66,858 | 82,824 | 127,309 |
| KP F-stat | 440.3 | 449.8 | 447.9 | 441.6 | 443.4 | 427.4 | 439 | 454.8 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 2.96(1.14) | 4.46(2.19) | 0.42(0.49) | 0.55(0.50) | 0.61(0.49) | 2.86(1.20) | 0.75(0.43) | 0.41(0.26) |
| Mean (s.d.) fraction of imm. | 0.13(0.09) | 0.13(0.09) | 0.13(0.09) | 0.13(0.09) | 0.13(0.09) | 0.13(0.09) | 0.13(0.09) | 0.13(0.09) |
| Individual Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Historical Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Immigrants' Characteristics | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N |
| T-test [p-value] | [0.009]*** | [0.078]* | [0.000]*** | [0.005]*** | [0.007]*** | [0.009]*** | [0.075]* | [0.001]*** |

Notes: Dependent variables are taken from CCES surveys. See Table A.4 for the exact wording of the survey questions. The regressor of interest is the average fraction of European immigrants over county population between 1910 and 1930. The predicted fraction of immigrants is described in the main body of the paper. The measure of intermarriage is the average share of intermarried over married immigrants in 1910-1930 period: we consider an immigrants to be intermarried if married with a native with both parents being native. Here the sample is split around the median of this measure in the estimation sample (0.1023). The last row reports the p-value of the t-test for equality between the coefficients above and below median. The coefficients in square brackets refer to beta coefficients. KP F-Stat refers to the F-stat for weak instruments. Individual controls include the following respondents' characteristics: age, age squared, gender, race, marital status, educational attainment, employment status, income. Historical controls include: 1900 black and urban share of the county population, 1900 share of men 15-64 in the labor force, 1900 log occupational score, 1900 employment share in manufacturing (men 15-64), county geographic coordinates, railroad connectivity from Sequeira et al. (2020), and an index of predicted industry growth (1910-1930) as in Tabellini (2020). Significance levels: *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1.

Table A.10. Sample Split around Residential Integration (1910-1930)

| Dep. Variables | Ideology | Party Scale (R to D) | Democratic Party | Voted Democratic Candidate | Oppose Spending Cuts | Support State Welfare Spending | Support Minimum Wage Increase | Taxes to Pay State Deficit |
|--|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| <i>Panel A: Residential Integration Above Median</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 2.781*** (0.707) [0.209]*** | 5.622*** (1.222) [0.220]*** | 1.060*** (0.224) [0.188]*** | 1.277*** (0.309) [0.219]*** | 0.795*** (0.247) [0.139]*** | 2.191*** (0.731) [0.157]*** | 1.060*** (0.233) [0.203]*** | 0.288** (0.130) [0.0936]** |
| Observations | 178,719 | 185,934 | 180,398 | 140,234 | 166,480 | 65,113 | 82,092 | 126,784 |
| KP F-stat | 100.7 | 101.6 | 101.9 | 100.3 | 99.43 | 93.13 | 98.15 | 97.98 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 2.80(1.14) | 4.12(2.22) | 0.36(0.48) | 0.48(0.50) | 0.57(0.50) | 2.81(1.20) | 0.70(0.46) | 0.40(0.26) |
| Mean (s.d.) fraction of imm. | 0.03(0.03) | 0.03(0.03) | 0.03(0.03) | 0.03(0.03) | 0.03(0.03) | 0.03(0.03) | 0.03(0.03) | 0.03(0.03) |
| <i>Panel B: Residential Integration Below Median</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.409* (0.210) [0.0307]* | 1.584*** (0.415) [0.0619]*** | 0.438*** (0.0697) [0.0774]*** | 0.324*** (0.0946) [0.0557]*** | 0.128 (0.0803) [0.0224] | 1.158** (0.479) [0.0830]** | 0.221*** (0.0775) [0.0423]*** | 0.0526 (0.0428) [0.0171] |
| Observations | 180,894 | 187,692 | 182,573 | 143,659 | 169,581 | 67,130 | 82,927 | 129,330 |
| KP F-stat | 485.3 | 488.4 | 487.2 | 476.8 | 483.6 | 469.6 | 488.9 | 482.3 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 3.01(1.14) | 4.50(2.17) | 0.42(0.50) | 0.56(0.50) | 0.63(0.48) | 2.87(1.20) | 0.75(0.43) | 0.41(0.27) |
| Mean (s.d.) fraction of imm. | 0.15(0.08) | 0.15(0.08) | 0.15(0.08) | 0.15(0.08) | 0.15(0.08) | 0.15(0.08) | 0.15(0.08) | 0.15(0.08) |
| Individual Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Historical Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Immigrants' Characteristics | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N |
| T-test [p-value] | [0.002]*** | [0.003]*** | [0.011]** | [0.004]*** | [0.012]** | [0.245] | [0.001]*** | [0.090]* |

Notes: Dependent variables are taken from CCES surveys. See Table A.4 for the exact wording of the survey questions. The regressor of interest is the average fraction of European immigrants over county population between 1910 and 1930. The predicted fraction of immigrants is described in the main body of the paper. Residential integration (1910-1930) is defined as the opposite of residential segregation in Logan and Parman (2017): the sample is split around the median of this measure in the estimation sample (0.9266). The coefficients in square brackets refer to beta coefficients. KP F-Stat refers to the F-stat for weak instruments. Individual controls include the following respondents' characteristics: age, age squared, gender, race, marital status, educational attainment, employment status, income. Historical controls include: 1900 black and urban share of the county population, 1900 share of men 15-64 in the labor force, 1900 log occupational score, 1900 employment share in manufacturing (men 15-64), county geographic coordinates, railroad connectivity from Sequeira et al. (2020), and an index of predicted industry growth (1910-1930) as in Tabellini (2020). Standard errors in parenthesis are robust and clustered at the county level. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A.11. Sample Split around Intermarriage (1900)

| Dep. Variables | Ideology | Party Scale (R to D) | Democratic Party | Voted Democratic Candidate | Oppose Spending Cuts | Support State Welfare Spending | Support Minimum Wage Increase | Taxes to Pay State Deficit |
|---|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| <i>Panel A: Intermarriage (1900) Above Median</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 1.756*** (0.588) [0.131]*** | 3.308*** (0.940) [0.129]*** | 0.597*** (0.170) [0.105]*** | 0.677*** (0.233) [0.116]*** | 0.420** (0.197) [0.0730]** | 1.149** (0.502) 0.0819]** | 0.686*** (0.155) [0.131]*** | 0.269** (0.115) [0.0868]** |
| Observations | 170,146 | 176,442 | 171,295 | 133,639 | 158,291 | 61,552 | 77,356 | 121,193 |
| KP F-stat | 183.8 | 179.7 | 182.6 | 202.1 | 177.6 | 186.1 | 174.7 | 179.6 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 2.88(1.15) | 4.25(2.21) | 0.38(0.49) | 0.51(0.50) | 0.59(0.49) | 2.85(1.20) | 0.72(0.45) | 0.41(0.26) |
| Mean (s.d.) fraction of imm. | 0.05(0.05) | 0.05(0.05) | 0.05(0.05) | 0.05(0.05) | 0.05(0.05) | 0.05(0.05) | 0.05(0.05) | 0.05(0.05) |
| <i>Panel B: Intermarriage (1900) Below Median</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.582*** (0.215) [0.0434]*** | 1.896*** (0.445) [0.0737]*** | 0.489*** (0.0752) [0.0858]*** | 0.392*** (0.0963) [0.0670]*** | 0.146 (0.0914) [0.0254] | 1.315*** (0.504) [0.0937]*** | 0.276*** (0.0834) [0.0527]*** | 0.0532 (0.0445) [0.0171] |
| Observations | 169,630 | 176,325 | 171,461 | 134,975 | 159,121 | 63,327 | 78,176 | 121,164 |
| KP F-stat | 313.1 | 314.8 | 314 | 309.4 | 313.1 | 311.9 | 321.8 | 306.2 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 2.96(1.14) | 4.42(2.18) | 0.41(0.49) | 0.54(0.50) | 0.61(0.49) | 2.85(1.20) | 0.74(0.44) | 0.41(0.26) |
| Mean (s.d.) fraction of imm. | 0.14(0.09) | 0.14(0.09) | 0.14(0.09) | 0.14(0.09) | 0.14(0.09) | 0.14(0.09) | 0.14(0.09) | 0.14(0.09) |
| Individual Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Historical Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Immigrants' Characteristics | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N |
| T-test [p-value] | [0.064]* | [0.179] | [0.577] | [0.263] | [0.204] | [0.818] | [0.015]** | [0.079]* |

Notes: Dependent variables are taken from CCES surveys. See Table A.4 for the exact wording of the survey questions. The regressor of interest is the average fraction of European immigrants over county population between 1910 and 1930. The predicted fraction of immigrants is described in the main body of the paper. The measure of intermarriage is the share of intermarried over married immigrants in 1900: we consider an immigrants to be intermarried if married with a native with both parents being native. Here the sample is split around the median of this measure in the estimation sample (0.0526). The last row reports the p-value of the t-test for equality between the coefficients above and below median. The coefficients in square brackets refer to beta coefficients. KP F-Stat refers to the F-stat for weak instruments. Individual controls include the following respondents' characteristics: age, age squared, gender, race, marital status, educational attainment, employment status, income. Historical controls include: 1900 black and urban share of the county population, 1900 share of men 15-64 in the labor force, 1900 log occupational score, 1900 employment share in manufacturing (men 15-64), county geographic coordinates, railroad connectivity from Sequeira et al. (2020), and an index of predicted industry growth (1910-1930) as in Tabellini (2020). Significance levels: *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1.

Table A.12. Sample Split around Residential Integration (1900)

| Dep. Variables | Ideology | Party Scale (R to D) | Democratic Party | Voted Democratic Candidate | Oppose Spending Cuts | Support State Welfare Spending | Support Minimum Wage Increase | Taxes to Pay State Deficit |
|---|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| <i>Panel A: Residential Integration (1900) Above Median</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 1.154* (0.619) [0.0865]* | 3.211*** (1.081) [0.125]*** | 0.621*** (0.219) [0.110]*** | 0.558** (0.269) [0.0958]** | 0.290 (0.182) [0.0506] | 1.089* (0.607) [0.0780]* | 0.573*** (0.180) [0.110]*** | 0.0985 (0.115) [0.0319] |
| Observations | 179,250 | 186,386 | 180,866 | 140,292 | 166,851 | 65,279 | 82,014 | 126,751 |
| KP F-stat | 270.5 | 272.3 | 272.2 | 259.8 | 269.3 | 266 | 278.6 | 267.9 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 2.82(1.14) | 4.16(2.22) | 0.36(0.48) | 0.48(0.50) | 0.57(0.50) | 2.81(1.20) | 0.70(0.46) | 0.340(0.26) |
| Mean (s.d.) fraction of imm. | 0.04(0.04) | 0.04(0.04) | 0.04(0.04) | 0.04(0.04) | 0.04(0.04) | 0.04(0.04) | 0.04(0.04) | 0.04(0.04) |
| <i>Panel B: Residential Integration (1900) Below Median</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.189 (0.237) [0.0141] | 1.231*** (0.455) [0.0481]*** | 0.376*** (0.0762) [0.0665]*** | 0.224** (0.107) [0.0385]** | 0.0386 (0.0881) [0.00673] | 1.020** (0.515) [0.0731]** | 0.136 (0.0850) [0.0259] | -0.00396 (0.0431) [-0.0012] |
| Observations | 179,226 | 186,047 | 180,949 | 142,753 | 168,140 | 66,562 | 82,487 | 128,548 |
| KP F-stat | 286.8 | 288.2 | 286.3 | 282.6 | 287.2 | 267 | 288.9 | 284.8 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 2.99(1.14) | 4.46(2.17) | 0.42(0.50) | 0.56(0.50) | 0.62(0.49) | 2.87(0.19) | 0.75(0.43) | 0.42(0.26) |
| Mean (s.d.) fraction of imm. | 0.15(0.08) | 0.15(0.08) | 0.15(0.08) | 0.15(0.08) | 0.15(0.08) | 0.15(0.08) | 0.15(0.08) | 0.15(0.08) |
| Individual Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Historical Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Immigrants' Characteristics | N | N | N | N | N | N | N | N |
| T-test [p-value] | [0.166] | [0.116] | [0.327] | [0.275] | [0.233] | [0.935] | [0.033]** | [0.413] |

Notes: Dependent variables are taken from CCES surveys. See Table A.44 for the exact wording of the survey questions. The regressor of interest is the average fraction of European immigrants over county population between 1910 and 1930. The predicted fraction of immigrants is described in the main body of the paper. Residential integration (1900) is defined as the opposite of residential segregation in Logan and Parman (2017): the sample is split around the median of this measure in the estimation sample (0.9066). The coefficients in square brackets refer to beta coefficients. KP F-Stat refers to the F-stat for weak instruments. Individual controls include the following respondents' characteristics: age, age squared, gender, race, marital status, educational attainment, employment status, income. Historical controls include: 1900 black and urban share of the county population, 1900 share of men 15-64 in the labor force, 1900 log occupational score, 1900 employment share in manufacturing (men 15-64), county geographic coordinates, railroad connectivity from Sequeira et al. (2020), and an index of predicted industry growth (1910-1930) as in Tabellini (2020). Standard errors in parenthesis are robust and clustered at the county level. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

B Appendix – Robustness Checks

In this section we present a variety of robustness checks. First, we start by addressing the possibility that immigrants settled in counties that, historically, were already more liberal and where support for the Democratic Party was stronger. If this were to be the case, and if such political preferences (of natives) persisted over time, our estimates may be biased by the spurious correlation between past ideology and European historical immigration. While our instrument should deal with this concern, one may be worried that the 1900 settlements of European immigrants were themselves correlated with political ideology of the native born.

In Table B.1, we augment our baseline specification (reported in Panel B of Table 3) by controlling for the county level Democratic vote share in presidential elections of 1900 and 1904. Reassuringly, results, reported in Panel B of Table B.1, show that all coefficients remain precisely estimated and quantitatively very close to those reported in the baseline specification of Table 3 and displayed in Panel A of Table B.1 to ease comparisons. Moreover, in unreported results, we replicated Table B.1 by varying the definition of “baseline” years (1900 or 1904 alone; including elections of 1908 and/or 1912; combining elections until 1912), and our estimates remained virtually unchanged.

Second, in Table B.2 we verify that our results are robust to extending the sample period used to define the average European immigrant share to 1850-1930. Since our instrument is constructed using the 1900 settlements of European immigrants, we cannot conduct this exercise with 2SLS. However, the similarity of OLS and 2SLS estimates in our main results (see Tables 2 and 3) bolsters our confidence in the OLS analysis for the 1850 to 1930 period.

Panel A of Table B.2 reports the baseline OLS results obtained for the 1910 to 1930 period (also shown in Panel A of Table 3), while Panel B replicates them for the 1850-1930 decades. As noted in Sequeira et al. (2020), when going back to pre-1900 decades, some counties are not available. For this reason, in Panel C, we repeat this exercise including only counties for which we have observations in all decades. Reassuringly, results are always quantitatively and qualitatively close to those reported in Panel A: in all cases, historical immigration is strongly and positively associated with liberal ideology and higher preferences for redistribution among American voters today.⁴⁸

Third, in Table B.3, we verify that our results are robust to excluding the US South, where identification with the Democratic Party and, more broadly, political preferences may have been greatly influenced by the history of race relations (Kuziemko and Washington, 2018; Schickler, 2016). Moreover, we show that our estimates are unchanged

⁴⁸Results (unreported) remain unchanged also when defining the period of interest from 1850 to 1920, as done for instance in Sequeira et al. (2020).

when defining the European immigrant share at the Community Zone (CZ) – rather than at the county – level (Table B.4). This exercise deals with the possibility that European immigration triggered selective “white flight”, inducing more conservative natives to emigrate in response to the arrival of European immigrants. If this were to be the case, our findings may be unduly affected by sample selection. However, Table B.4 documents that, even when aggregating the unit of analysis to CZs, all our results remain unchanged.⁴⁹

Fourth, we explore the relationship between political ideology, European immigration, and ethnic diversity. As noted in Section 6 in the main text of the paper, a large literature has documented a negative relationship between ethnic diversity and preferences for redistribution (Alesina et al., 1999; Alesina and Giuliano, 2011). As shown in Tabellini (2020), such relationship was evident also during the Age of Mass Migration: in US cities where (immigrant induced) ethnic diversity was higher, public spending and tax rates were lower. In light of these results, one may wonder if our positive estimates for the effects of immigration on preferences for redistribution are, at least partly, due to the fact that we are not accounting for ethnic diversity explicitly.

To examine this possibility, we augment our baseline specification by separately controlling for the (instrumented) ethnic diversity brought about by European immigrants. 2SLS results for this exercise are reported in Table B.5, which shows not only that the coefficient on the historical fraction of immigrants is unchanged, but also that ethnic diversity has a *positive* effect on both liberal ideology and preferences for redistribution, although its precision varies across outcomes.⁵⁰ We speculate that this, somewhat surprising, result is due to the fact that the diversity brought about European immigrants was relatively contained in size. On the one hand, when levels of diversity are not “too high”, at least in the medium to long run, social cohesion can be enhanced, consistent with recent work by Bazzi et al. (2019). On the other, although slowly and at varying rates, European immigrants eventually became fully integrated into the American society (Abramitzky et al., 2019a), in part helped by the arrival of new outsiders like African Americans from the US South, who looked even more different from white natives than European immigrants (Fouka et al., 2018).

Fifth, we verify that our results are robust to omitting counties with very large and

⁴⁹CZs are defined as clusters of counties that feature strong commuting ties within, and weak commuting ties across CZs. Importantly, the boundaries of CZs are time-invariant, and are defined on the basis of post 1960s migration patterns (Tolbert and Sizer, 1996). This implies that, for the early twentieth century, they represent a very large definition of “local” labor market, not to mention political jurisdiction. In unreported results, we also verified that our estimates are unchanged when aggregating counties to State Economic Areas (SEAs), as in Abramitzky et al. (2019d). SEAs are county aggregates that should correspond (roughly) to CZs for the early twentieth century.

⁵⁰Results reported in Table B.5 do not control for the (instrumented) economic characteristics of immigrants (e.g. Table 4). However, in unreported results, we verified that including these additional controls leaves results unchanged.

very low immigration, and that could be potential outliers. In Tables B.6 and B.7, we replicate our baseline results trimming observations in counties with average 1910-1930 European immigration below (resp. above) the 1st and the 5th (resp. the 99th and 95th) percentiles respectively. Reassuringly, in all cases coefficients are in line with those reported in Table 3 (Panel B).

Finally, we examine the possibility that the 1900 settlements of specific European groups across US counties might be correlated with both the long-run political ideology of Americans (or, with factors that determined them) and the migration patterns of that specific immigrant group in each decade between 1900 and 1930. As shown formally in Goldsmith-Pinkham et al. (2018), if this were to be the case, the validity of the instrument would be threatened. Following an approach similar to that used in Tabellini (2020), we replicate the analysis for each of our eight outcomes by adding – one by one – the share of each European group in the county in 1900 (relative to all immigrants from that group in the United States).

We plot 2SLS coefficients (with corresponding 95% intervals) for each of these separate regressions in Figures B.1 and B.2, reporting the point estimate associated with the baseline specification as the first dot from the left to ease comparisons. In all cases, coefficients remain quantitatively close to, and never statistically different from, our baseline estimates. Only for the 9th dot from the left, which plots results for the regressions that include the 1900 share of French immigrants, we note a slight drop in the magnitude of the coefficient. But, even in this case, results remain close to our baseline ones.

Figure B.1. 2SLS Coefficients, Controlling for Initial Shares: Political Ideology



Notes: The Figure plots the 2SLS point estimate (with corresponding 95% confidence intervals) for the effect of the historical fraction of immigrants augmenting the specification reported in Table 3 with the 1900 immigrant share from each sending country, separately. The first coefficient plotted in the figure corresponds to the baseline specification. The ninth coefficient refers to the specification that includes the 1900 share of French immigrants in the county (relative to all immigrants from France in the US as of 1900).

Figure B.2. 2SLS Coefficients, Controlling for Initial Shares: Preferences for Redistribution



Notes: The Figure plots the 2SLS point estimate (with corresponding 95% confidence intervals) for the effect of the historical fraction of immigrants augmenting the specification reported in Table 3 with the 1900 immigrant share from each sending country, separately. The first coefficient plotted in the figure corresponds to the baseline specification. The ninth coefficient refers to the specification that includes the 1900 share of French immigrants in the county (relative to all immigrants from France in the US as of 1900).

Table B.1. Baseline Specification Controlling for Democratic Share in Presidential Elections

| Dep. Variables | Ideology | Party Scale (R to D) | Democratic Party | Voted Democratic Candidate | Oppose Spending Cuts | Support State Welfare Spending | Support Minimum Wage Increase | Taxes to Pay State Deficit |
|---|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| <i>Panel A: 2SLS Baseline</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.684*** (0.174) | 2.018*** (0.346) | 0.486*** (0.0635) | 0.399*** (0.0850) | 0.220*** (0.0726) | 1.185*** (0.391) | 0.298*** (0.0679) | 0.103*** (0.0359) |
| KP F-stat | 211.2 | 212 | 210.5 | 204 | 211.8 | 205.7 | 223 | 203.1 |
| Observations | 360,545 | 374,603 | 363,926 | 284,642 | 336,932 | 132,609 | 165,454 | 256,774 |
| <i>Panel B: 2SLS Controlling for Democratic Share (1900-1904)</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.701*** (0.176) | 2.054*** (0.347) | 0.490*** (0.0628) | 0.406*** (0.0852) | 0.230*** (0.0724) | 1.205*** (0.388) | 0.305*** (0.0679) | 0.106*** (0.0367) |
| KP F-stat | 214.2 | 215 | 213.5 | 207.3 | 214.7 | 208.4 | 225.9 | 205.4 |
| Observations | 344,492 | 358,057 | 347,810 | 271,822 | 322,115 | 126,864 | 158,360 | 245,230 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 2.90(1.14) | 4.31(2.20) | 0.39(0.49) | 0.52(0.50) | 0.60(0.49) | 2.84(1.20) | 0.73(0.45) | 0.41(0.26) |
| Individual Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Historical Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |

Notes: Dependent variables are taken from CCES surveys. See Table A.4 for the exact wording of the survey questions. The regressor of interest is the average fraction of European immigrants over county population between 1910 and 1930. Its mean is 0.055 and its S.D. is 0.067. The predicted fraction of immigrants is described in the main body of the paper. In Panel B, we control for the (county-level) average Democratic vote share in Presidential Elections for 1900 and 1904. KP F-Stat refers to the F-stat for weak instruments. Individual controls include the following respondents' characteristics: age, age squared, gender, race, marital status, educational attainment, employment status, income. Historical controls include: 1900 black and urban share of the county population, 1900 share of men 15-64 in the labor force, 1900 log occupational score, 1900 employment share in manufacturing (men 15-64), county geographic coordinates, railroad connectivity from Sequeira et al. (2020), and an index of predicted industry growth (1910-1930) as in Tabellini (2020). Standard errors in parenthesis are robust and clustered at the county level. Significance levels: *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1.

Table B.2. Ideology, Preferences for Redistribution and Immigration (1850-1930) – OLS estimates

| Dep. Variables | Ideology | Party Scale (R to D) | Democratic Party | Voted Democratic Candidate | Oppose Spending Cuts | Support State Welfare Spending | Support Minimum Wage Increase | Taxes to Pay State Deficit |
|---|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| <i>Panel A: Baseline Specification</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.706*** (0.133) | 2.062*** (0.250) | 0.507*** (0.0455) | 0.384*** (0.0625) | 0.223*** (0.0515) | 1.031*** (0.244) | 0.294*** (0.0507) | 0.0950*** (0.0285) |
| <i>Panel B: All Counties (1850-1930) Baseline Specification</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.614*** (0.118) | 1.630*** (0.239) | 0.391*** (0.0467) | 0.327*** (0.0563) | 0.192*** (0.0450) | 0.830*** (0.205) | 0.252*** (0.0453) | 0.0804*** (0.0255) |
| Observations | 178,719 | 185,934 | 180,398 | 140,234 | 166,480 | 65,113 | 82,092 | 126,784 |
| KP F-stat | 100.7 | 101.6 | 101.9 | 100.3 | 99.43 | 93.13 | 98.15 | 97.98 |
| Observations | 360,545 | 374,603 | 363,926 | 284,642 | 336,932 | 132,609 | 165,454 | 256,774 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 2.90(1.14) | 4.31(2.20) | 0.39(0.49) | 0.52(0.50) | 0.60(0.49) | 2.84(1.20) | 0.73(0.45) | 0.41(0.26) |
| <i>Panel C: Counties with all decades (1850-1930)</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.657*** (0.128) | 1.694*** (0.270) | 0.403*** (0.0535) | 0.338*** (0.0639) | 0.178*** (0.0515) | 0.854*** (0.230) | 0.269*** (0.0506) | 0.0726*** (0.0279) |
| Observations | 288,463 | 300,146 | 291,487 | 227,177 | 269,957 | 107,037 | 132,876 | 203,906 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 2.91(1.14) | 4.35(2.20) | 0.40(0.49) | 0.53(0.50) | 0.60(0.49) | 2.83(2.20) | 0.73(0.44) | 0.40(0.26) |
| Individual Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Historical Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |

Notes: Dependent variables are taken from CCES surveys. See Table A.4 for the exact wording of the survey questions. Data are based on Authors' calculations from Ruggles et al. 2020. The regressor of interest is the average fraction of European immigrants over county population between 1910 and 1930. Its mean is 0.055 and its standard deviation is 0.067. Individual controls include the following respondents' characteristics: age, age squared, gender, race, marital status, educational attainment, employment status, income. Historical controls include: 1900 black and urban share of the county population, 1900 share of men 15-64 in the labor force, 1900 log occupational score, 1900 employment share in manufacturing (men 15-64), county geographic coordinates, railroad connectivity from Sequeira et al. (2020), and an index of predicted industry growth (1910-1930) as in Tabellini (2020). Significance levels: *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1.

Table B.3. Baseline Specification Excluding US South

| Dep. Variables | Ideology | Party Scale (R to D) | Democratic Party | Voted Democratic Candidate | Oppose Spending Cuts | Support State Welfare Spending | Support Minimum Wage Increase | Taxes to Pay State Deficit |
|---|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| <i>Panel A: OLS estimates</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.621*** (0.129) | 1.918*** (0.246) | 0.502*** (0.0480) | 0.375*** (0.0715) | 0.180*** (0.0497) | 0.990*** (0.268) | 0.249*** (0.0561) | 0.0781*** (0.0360) |
| <i>Panel B: 2SLS estimates</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.616*** (0.176) | 1.923*** (0.340) | 0.500*** (0.0586) | 0.383*** (0.0841) | 0.181*** (0.0699) | 1.241*** (0.432) | 0.266*** (0.0680) | 0.091*** (0.0359) |
| <i>Panel C: First Stage</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Predicted Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 1.357*** (0.0637) | 1.358*** (0.0632) | 1.359*** (0.0636) | 1.359*** (0.0639) | 1.358*** (0.0640) | 1.372*** (0.0677) | 1.348*** (0.0643) | 1.363*** (0.0618) |
| KP F-stat | 453.3 | 461.4 | 457.4 | 452.5 | 450 | 410.2 | 439 | 486.9 |
| Observations | 244,636 | 253,712 | 246,682 | 194,570 | 229,120 | 90,011 | 111,939 | 176,590 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 2.963 (1.143) | 4.384 (2.181) | 0.401 (0.498) | 0.539 (0.487) | 0.614 (1.191) | 2.847 (0.442) | 0.733 | 0.410 (0.265) |
| Individual Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Historical Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |

Notes: Dependent variables are taken from CCES surveys. See Table A.4 for the exact wording of the survey questions. The Table replicates Table 3 excluding US South States (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia). The regressor of interest is the average fraction of European immigrants over county population between 1910 and 1930. Its mean is 0.129 and its standard deviation is 0.082. The predicted fraction of immigrants is described in the main body of the paper. KP F-Stat refers to the F-stat for weak instruments. Individual controls include the following respondents' characteristics: age, age squared, gender, race, marital status, educational attainment, employment status, income. Historical controls include: 1900 black and urban share of the county population, 1900 share of men 15-64 in the labor force, 1900 log occupational score, 1900 employment share in manufacturing (men 15-64), county geographic coordinates, railroad connectivity from Sequeira et al. (2020), and an index of predicted industry growth (1910-1930) as in Tabellini (2020). Standard errors in parenthesis are robust and clustered at the commuting zone level. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table B.4. Baseline Specification Aggregating at the Commuting Zone Level

| Dep. Variables | Ideology | Party Scale (R to D) | Democratic Party | Voted Democratic Candidate | Oppose Spending Cuts | Support State Welfare Spending | Support Minimum Wage Increase | Taxes to Pay State Deficit |
|---|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| <i>Panel A: OLS estimates</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.825*** (0.191) | 2.288*** (0.367) | 0.531*** (0.0632) | 0.419*** (0.0890) | 0.298*** (0.0704) | 1.137*** (0.232) | 0.354*** (0.0828) | 0.124*** (0.0395) |
| <i>Panel B: 2SLS estimates</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.682*** (0.211) | 1.788*** (0.421) | 0.415*** (0.0789) | 0.337*** (0.105) | 0.296*** (0.0811) | 1.267*** (0.289) | 0.321*** (0.104) | 0.144*** (0.0450) |
| <i>Panel C: First Stage</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Predicted Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 1.337*** (0.146) | 1.338*** (0.146) | 1.338*** (0.146) | 1.337*** (0.149) | 1.345*** (0.148) | 1.345*** (0.151) | 1.324*** (0.143) | 1.337*** (0.145) |
| KP F-stat | 83.29 | 83.46 | 83.48 | 80.66 | 83.03 | 79.84 | 85.62 | 84.55 |
| Observations | 366,845 | 381,147 | 370,285 | 289,680 | 342,801 | 134,927 | 168,308 | 261,278 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 2.9 (1.144) | 4.301 (2.201) | 0.388 (0.487) | 0.518 (0.500) | 0.596 (0.491) | 2.838 (1.197) | 0.725 (0.446) | 0.406 (0.264) |
| Individual Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Historical Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |

Notes: Dependent variables are taken from CCES surveys. See Table A.4 for the exact wording of the survey questions. The Table replicates Table 3 aggregating the geography used to define the fraction of immigrants from the county to the Commuting Zone level. The regressor of interest is the average fraction of European immigrants over county population between 1910 and 1930. Its mean is 0.101 and its standard deviation is 0.088. The predicted fraction of immigrants is described in the main body of the paper. KP F-Stat refers to the F-stat for weak instruments. Individual controls include the following respondents' characteristics: age, age squared, gender, race, marital status, educational attainment, employment status, income. Historical controls include: 1900 black and urban share of the county population, 1900 share of men 15-64 in the labor force, 1900 log occupational score, 1900 employment share in manufacturing (men 15-64), county geographic coordinates, railroad connectivity from Sequeira et al. (2020), and an index of predicted industry growth (1910-1930) as in Tabellini (2020). Standard errors in parenthesis are robust and clustered at the commuting zone level. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table B.5. Baseline Specification: Controlling for Ethnic Diversity

| Dep. Variables | Ideology | Party Scale | Democratic | Voted Democratic | Oppose | Support State | Support Minimum | Taxes to Pay |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | (1) | (R to D) | Party | Candidate | Spending Cuts | Welfare Spending | Wage Increase | State Deficit |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.697*** (0.170) | 2.051*** (0.336) | 0.493*** (0.0610) | 0.409*** (0.0822) | 0.224*** (0.0715) | 1.198*** (0.388) | 0.300*** (0.0673) | 0.105*** (0.0356) |
| Ethnic Diversity | 0.215 (0.140) | 0.447* (0.259) | 0.0833* (0.0506) | 0.134** (0.0620) | 0.0547 (0.0526) | 0.222 (0.144) | 0.0395 (0.0501) | 0.0279 (0.0259) |
| Observations | 359,776 | 373,811 | 363,159 | 284,041 | 336,220 | 132,308 | 165,098 | 256,228 |
| KP F-stat | 47.17 | 47.69 | 48.34 | 51.61 | 47.06 | 50.06 | 50.60 | 46.99 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 2.90 (1.14) | 4.31 (2.20) | 0.39 (0.49) | 0.52 (0.50) | 0.60 (0.49) | 2.84 (1.20) | 0.73 (0.45) | 0.41 (0.26) |
| Individual Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Historical Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |

Notes: Dependent variables are taken from CCES surveys. See Table A.4 for the exact wording of the survey questions. The Table replicates Table 3 augmenting the specification by controlling for Ethnic Diversity. The regressor of interest is the average fraction of European immigrants over county population between 1910 and 1930. Its mean is 0.058 and its standard deviation is 0.068. The predicted fraction of immigrants is described in the main body of the paper. Ethnic diversity is reconstructed using national group shares. Its mean is 0.764 and its S.D. is 0.119. KP F-Stat refers to the F-stat for weak instruments. Individual controls include the following respondents' characteristics: age, age squared, gender, race, marital status, educational attainment, employment status, income. Historical controls include: 1900 black and urban share of the county population, 1900 share of men 15-64 in the labor force, 1900 log occupational score, 1900 employment share in manufacturing (men 15-64), county geographic coordinates, railroad connectivity from Sequeira et al. (2020), and an index of predicted industry growth (1910-1930) as in Tabellini (2020), average immigrant share in 1900 in each county. Immigrants' characteristics are: English-speaking ability, literacy, income score and employment in manufacturing. Standard errors in parenthesis are robust and clustered at the county level. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table B.6. Baseline Specification, Trimming Outliers (1st-99th Percentiles of Immigration)

| Dep. Variables | Ideology | Party Scale (R to D) | Democratic Party | Voted Democratic Candidate | Oppose Spending Cuts | Support State Welfare Spending | Support Minimum Wage Increase | Taxes to Pay State Deficit |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| <i>Panel A: 2SLS estimates</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.617*** (0.176) | 1.889*** (0.356) | 0.443*** (0.0698) | 0.329*** (0.0895) | 0.219*** (0.0697) | 0.752*** (0.183) | 0.267*** (0.0675) | 0.0940** (0.0395) |
| <i>Panel B: First Stage</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 1.258*** (0.119) | 1.258*** (0.119) | 1.259*** (0.120) | 1.254*** (0.120) | 1.260*** (0.120) | 1.276*** (0.124) | 1.256*** (0.118) | 1.252*** (0.119) |
| KP F-stat | 110.9 | 111 | 110.5 | 109.2 | 110.2 | 106.3 | 113.8 | 111.7 |
| Observations | 353,714 | 367,435 | 356,966 | 279,347 | 330,454 | 129,967 | 162,123 | 252,240 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 2.90 (1.14) | 4.31 (2.20) | 0.39 (0.49) | 0.52 (0.50) | 0.60 (0.49) | 2.84 (1.20) | 0.73 (0.45) | 0.41 (0.26) |
| Individual Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Historical Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |

Notes: Dependent variables are taken from CCES surveys. See Table A.4 for the exact wording of the survey questions. The regressor of interest is the average fraction of European immigrants over county population between 1910 and 1930. The Table replicates Table 3 but restricting the sample to counties with average fraction of immigrants above the 99th percentile (0.338) and below the 1st percentile (0.0004). The predicted fraction of immigrants is described in the main body of the paper. KP F-Stat refers to the F-stat for weak instruments. Individual controls include the following respondents' characteristics: age, age squared, gender, race, marital status, educational attainment, employment status, income. Historical controls include: 1900 black and urban share of the county population, 1900 share of men 15-64 in the labor force, 1900 log occupational score, 1900 employment share in manufacturing (men 15-64), county geographic coordinates, railroad connectivity from Sequeira et al. (2020), and an index of predicted industry growth (1910-1930) as in Tabellini (2020). Standard errors in parenthesis are robust and clustered at the county level. Significance levels: *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1.

Table B.7. Baseline Specification, Trimming Outliers (5th-95th Percentiles of Immigration)

| Dep. Variables | Ideology | Party Scale (R to D) | Democratic Party | Voted Democratic Candidate | Oppose Spending Cuts | Support State Welfare Spending | Support Minimum Wage Increase | Taxes to Pay State Deficit |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| <i>Panel A: 2SLS estimates</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 0.751*** (0.224) | 2.142*** (0.461) | 0.466*** (0.0910) | 0.409*** (0.114) | 0.252*** (0.0914) | 0.641*** (0.219) | 0.324*** (0.0835) | 0.131*** (0.050) |
| <i>Panel B: First Stage</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Historical Fraction of Immigrants | 1.131*** (0.115) | 1.130*** (0.114) | 1.131*** (0.115) | 1.123*** (0.115) | 1.133*** (0.115) | 1.145*** (0.119) | 1.139*** (0.114) | 1.127*** (0.114) |
| KP F-stat | 97.42 | 97.58 | 97.04 | 95.86 | 96.31 | 92.60 | 100.1 | 97.62 |
| Observations | 325,461 | 337,891 | 328,298 | 257,217 | 303,847 | 119,412 | 149,144 | 232,934 |
| Mean (s.d.) dep.var. | 2.90 (1.14) | 4.29 (2.20) | 0.39 (0.49) | 0.52 (0.50) | 0.60 (0.49) | 2.83 (1.20) | 0.72 (0.45) | 0.41 (0.26) |
| Individual Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Historical Controls | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |

Notes: Dependent variables are taken from CCES surveys. See Table A.4 for the exact wording of the survey questions. The regressor of interest is the average fraction of European immigrants over county population between 1910 and 1930. The Table replicates Table 3 but restricting the sample to counties with average fraction of immigrants above the 95th percentile (0.26) and below the 5th percentile (0.001). The predicted fraction of immigrants is described in the main body of the paper. KP F-Stat refers to the F-stat for weak instruments. Individual controls include the following respondents' characteristics: age, age squared, gender, race, marital status, educational attainment, employment status, income. Historical controls include: 1900 black and urban share of the county population, 1900 share of men 15-64 in the labor force, 1900 log occupational score, 1900 employment share in manufacturing (men 15-64), county geographic coordinates, railroad connectivity from Sequeira et al. (2020), and an index of predicted industry growth (1910-1930) as in Tabellini (2020). Standard errors in parenthesis are robust and clustered at the county level. Significance levels: *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1.

C Appendix – European Social Survey

The European Social Survey (ESS) is a repeated cross-sectional survey conducted in around 38 countries in Europe since 2002, every two year.⁵¹ Our analysis includes survey rounds from 1 to 8, i.e. until 2016, and all the countries that are available therein. The number of respondents in each wave varies from 40,000 to 56,000 for a total of 326,678 respondents overall. The ESS collects demographic and socio-economic characteristic of respondents, and elicits political ideology as well as attitudes towards social exclusion and preferences for redistribution.

We use the ESS to validate the proxy for historical preferences for redistribution constructed in the main text, which is based on exposure to education reforms across European countries (see Section 3.1 in the main text). To do so, we focus on first generation immigrants, i.e. individuals who are residing in a country different from their country of birth, and estimate the following specification:

$$y_{ijt} = \gamma_t + \beta \log(\text{EduReform}_j) + X_{ijt} + \log(\text{GDP}_{2000,j}) + u_{ijt} \quad (\text{C.4})$$

Where y_{ijt} is the stated preference for redistribution of respondent i from country j in survey wave t . Consistent with the literature (Luttmer and Singhal, 2011), we measure preferences for redistribution using individuals' response to the following statement in the ESS: "Government should reduce differences in income levels". The possible answers range from 1 (for *Strongly Agree*) to 5 (for *Strongly Disagree*). We recode the variable so that higher values correspond to stronger preferences for redistribution. We also control for wave fixed effects γ_t , a set of individual characteristics X_{ijt} , and the logarithm country j 's GDP in 2000.⁵²

The key regressor of interest is the log of the year in which the first education reform was introduced in country j .⁵³ The vector of individual characteristics, X_{ijt} , includes: gender, a quadratic in age, level of income, logarithm of years of education, employment, marital status. We create ten different income dummies: the first nine exactly correspond to the first nine possible categories that are reported in the ESS question; the last dummy encompasses all higher levels of income. Employment status reports three different categories: employed, unemployed, and out of the labor force. Finally, marital status includes the following four categories: single, married, divorced or separated, and widowed.

⁵¹The exact number of countries varies across survey waves. Data can be downloaded at <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org>.

⁵²Results are unchanged when using GDP measured in other years. Data can be downloaded at <http://www.rug.nl/research/ggdc/data/pwt/pwt-7.0>.

⁵³See Section 3.1 for the sources of this variable and Table A.1 for the years of introduction for each country in our sample.

Results, reported in Figure A.3 and Table A.3 in Appendix A, and are based on 11,489 observations – the number of respondents we are left with after restricting the sample to first generation immigrants and to individuals from countries for which we have data on education reforms (see Table A.1). In Figure A.3, we plot the relationship between the average preferences for redistribution of respondents (on the y-axis) and the logarithm of the year in which the reform was introduced in their country of origin (on the x-axis), after partialling out GDP of the country in 2000, and weighing observations by the number of respondents in the ESS.⁵⁴ We report results obtained both including (dashed line) and excluding (solid line) Denmark, which might be a potential outlier.

Table A.3 reports similar results for a more formal regression analysis, where we estimate equation (Equation C.4) with OLS. To save space, Table A.3 only reports the coefficient associated with the log of the year of introduction of education reforms, but we also include all controls described above. Standard errors are clustered at the country of origin level. As for Figure A.3, we report results obtained including (column 1) and excluding (column 2) Denmark.

⁵⁴Equivalent results are obtained when estimating unweighted regressions.

Table C.1. Variable Description

| Variable | Question | Answers coded as | Source |
|---|---|--|--|
| Panel A. Preferences for Redistribution | | | |
| Preferences for Redistribution | Government should reduce differences in income levels. 1= Strongly Agree to 5 Disagree Strongly. 7=Refusal, 8=Don't know. 9=No answer | Scale from 1=Disagree Strongly to 5=Strongly Agree | European Social Survey |
| Panel B. Main Regressor and Individual Controls | | | |
| Log Year of Education Reform | Year in which the education reform was implemented | Logarithm(Year of reform) | Bandiera et al (2018); for Germany and Austria-Hungary, Flora (1987) |
| Country of Residence | | | European Social Survey |
| Country of Birth | | | European Social Survey |
| Age | | | European Social Survey |
| Gender | Gender of the respondent | Coded as 1=male, 2=female | European Social Survey |
| Years of Education | Years of education | Logarithm(1+years of education) | European Social Survey |
| Marital Status | Legal marital status: single, married or in a civil union, separated, divorced, widowed. | Coded as 1=single, 2=married or in a civil union, 3=divorced or separated, 4=widowed | European Social Survey |
| Employment Status | Main activity, last 7 days. | Coded as 1=out of the labor force, 2=unemployed, 3=employed | European Social Survey |
| Income | Household's total net income, all sources | Coded as 1 to 9 for the first nine deciles and 10 for higher levels | European Social Survey |
| GDP | Log per capita GDP (PPP converted relative to the United States, G-K method, at current prices) for the year. | Logarithm(1+ GDP_{2000}) | Groningen Growth and Development Centre |