

Exit and Voice: Germany 1848-1933

Toman Barsbai¹ and Hillel Rapoport²

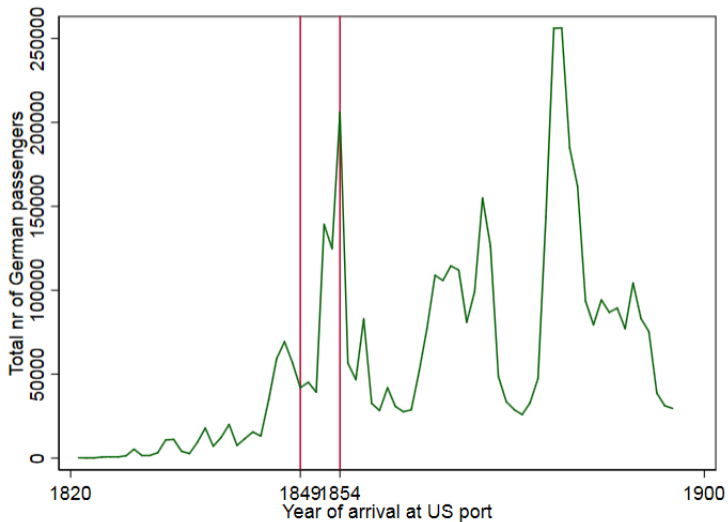
¹University of Bristol ²Paris School of Economics and CEPR

TRIO Conference, Tokyo, May 9-10, 2026

Did the emigration wave that Germany witnessed after the failed 1848 revolutions...



Did the emigration wave that Germany witnessed after the failed 1848 revolutions...



...help the Nazis rise to power 80 years later?



This paper: Politically selective emigration (“exit”) may have weakened Germany’s democratic capital

- The departure of liberal-minded individuals depleted Germany’s democratic capital
- Compositional change of society affected the evolution of political preferences (and leaders) in the longer run
- **Research question: Was the Nazi Party more popular in German towns/counties with more revolutionary emigration (i.e., between 1849 and 1854)?**

Empirical strategy and main results

- Analysis at the level of Prussian counties and all German towns
- Identification strategy
 - Control for initial political preferences
 - Horseshoe with pre- and post-revolutionary emigration flows
 - IV strategy based on **interaction** of push and pull factors
- Main results
 - Robust positive association between revolutionary emigration flows and support for the Nazis
 - Social clubs and local newspapers as potential mechanisms
 - Evidence for both demand and supply effects

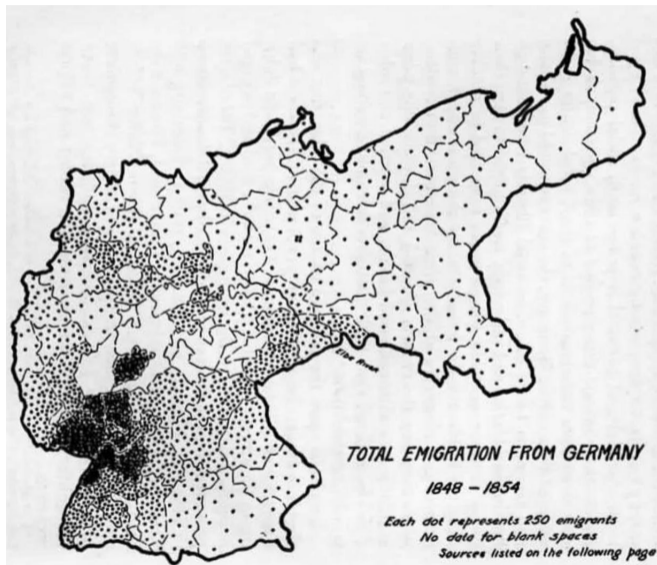
Contributions to the literature

- Testing the exit effect proposed by Hirschman (1970, 1978)
 - Exit and voice as mutually exclusive options to voice discontent
 - Role of political (not economic) self-selection of migrants
- Understanding the political/institutional effects of emigration (Docquier et al., JDE2016; Barsbai et al. AEJ Applied 2017; Karadja and Prawitz JPE 2019)
- Human capital dimension of institution-building
 - Were ideas bound to people, not places?
 - Selective emigration may have made Germany's social capital (Satyanath et al. JPE 2017) and media (Adena et al. QJE 2015) more vulnerable to the Nazis
- Evidence on long-run “brain drain” effects (Acemoglu et al. QJE 2011)

The exodus after the failed revolution of 1848

- Aims of the revolutions in the states of the German Confederation
 - Abolish aristocratic and autocratic political structures
 - Create a unified and democratic German nation state
- Revolutions initially succeeded: First democratic elections in 1848
- The counter-revolution re-established the old situation by 1851
- 600,000 Germans emigrated to the US between 1849 and 1854
- Emigration was politically selective
 - Economic factors played a major role (Hansen 1930), but political dissatisfaction was often implicit motive for emigration (Siemann 2006)
 - Emigrants *“left their homes because of a conflict with the established authorities, or because [...] it would be too intolerable to remain.”* (Wittke 1970)
- There is considerable spatial variation in emigration rates
- Not every liberal-minded person left or was forced to leave

Spatial variation in emigration from Germany 1848-1854 (Hanson 1930)



The “Fortyeighters” contributed to democracy in the US

- Revolutionary immigrants with strong political convictions of democracy and liberty became known as the “Fortyeighters” in the US
- They saw the US as a perfect place to live their high liberal ideals and took civic leadership (Zucker 1950; Wittke 1970)
- Dippel and Heblich (2020) quantify the importance of the Fortyeighters’ civic leadership for the US
 - One Fortyeighter in a town raised enlistments for the Union Army by 80 percent
 - The Fortyeighters had sizeable effects on the presence of newspapers and on the formation of Turner Societies

Empirical approach

Main specification:

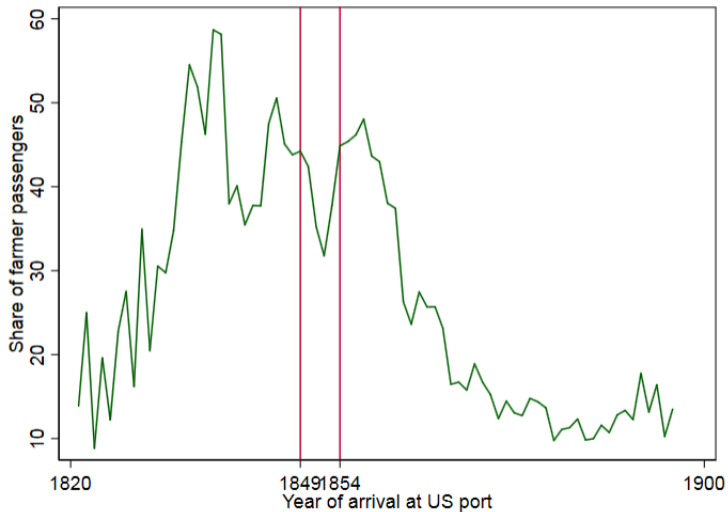
$$\text{Nazivotes}_{ij,1928} = \alpha + \beta * \text{emigrants}_{ij1849-1854} + X_i' \gamma + \lambda_j + \varepsilon_{ijt}$$

- Share of Nazi votes in the 1928 elections in Prussia county or German town i in province j (Falter and Hännisch 1990)
- $\text{emigrants}_{ij1849-1854}$ emigrants over the period 1849-1854 as % of population
- λ_j province dummies
- X_i vector of pre-treatment control variables
 - Political preferences
 - Local newspaper landscape
 - Socio-economic variables available for Prussian counties only (ifo Prussian Economic History Database, variables based on Becker et al. AEJ Macro 2011)

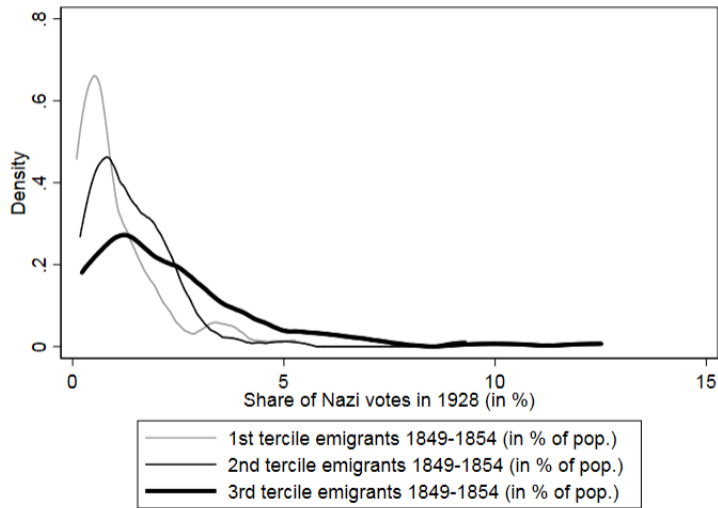
The German Emigrant Database

- Collaboration between Center for Immigration Research at the University of Philadelphia and Historic Museum of Bremerhaven
- Based on passenger lists submitted to US immigration authorities
- Holds information about 4,702,931 passengers who left from **all** German ports between 1821 and 1897
- Variables
 - **Place of last residence** (available for only 15% of all passengers)
 - Demographics (age, sex)
 - Occupation
 - Date of arrival
- Use of fuzzy matching methods to compute emigration flows at county/town level for different periods

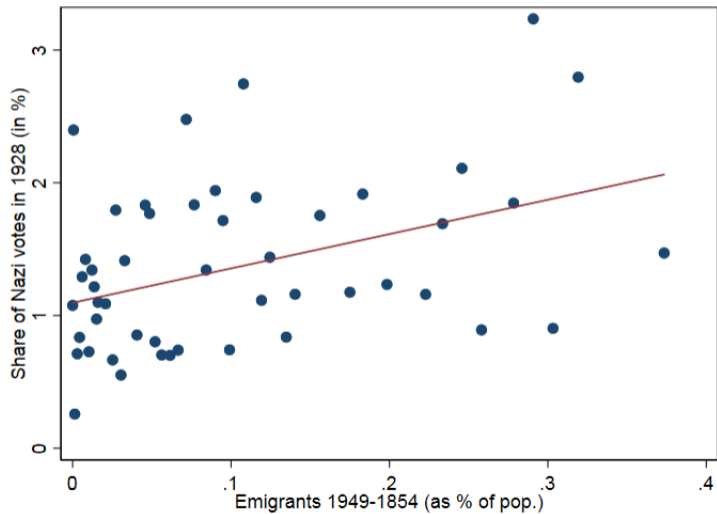
Share of farmers among all passengers, 1821-1897



Density of Nazi votes by terciles of emigration rates



Bin scatter plot of Nazi votes and emigration rates



Initial political preferences: 1848 elections of the Frankfurt Parliament

- Frankfurt Parliament first freely elected parliament for all of Germany
 - Male adults were allowed to vote
 - Voting for local representatives, not political parties
- 809 MPs between May 1848 and May 1849
- MPs organized in ten different political factions
- Control for political faction(s) of local representative(s) as vote shares are not available

Can 1848 political preferences predict 1928 political preferences?

	(1) Share of SPD votes	(2) Share of DNVP votes	(3) Share of Zentrum votes	(4) Share of DVP votes	(5) Share of KPD votes	(6) Share of Nazi votes
Donnersberg	0.385 (0.683)	-0.916*** (0.326)	2.213** (0.918)	-1.256*** (0.310)	-0.639 (0.420)	0.336 (0.349)
Deutscher Hof	1.691*** (0.547)	-0.638** (0.301)	-1.386* (0.750)	-0.324 (0.236)	0.932** (0.385)	-0.076 (0.229)
Nürnberg Hof	-0.266 (1.275)	-2.266*** (0.481)	5.431*** (1.668)	-3.409*** (0.508)	1.362 (0.889)	-0.218 (0.507)
Westendhall	1.013 (0.711)	-0.398 (0.397)	-3.146*** (0.899)	-0.279 (0.307)	1.496*** (0.510)	0.275 (0.289)
Märzverein	-0.956 (0.682)	0.637* (0.374)	-2.428*** (0.891)	0.606** (0.287)	0.155 (0.433)	0.420 (0.274)
Württemberg Hof	3.121*** (0.591)	-0.502 (0.316)	-2.579*** (0.757)	-0.246 (0.230)	0.761* (0.395)	0.391* (0.221)
Augsburger Hof	-0.537 (0.739)	0.187 (0.455)	-0.296 (0.975)	-0.254 (0.323)	0.856* (0.471)	-0.649*** (0.218)
Landsberg	2.357** (0.943)	-0.482 (0.550)	-3.375*** (1.081)	0.494 (0.379)	-0.964** (0.453)	0.976** (0.442)
Casino	1.652*** (0.504)	0.950*** (0.331)	-3.429*** (0.726)	0.091 (0.193)	0.942*** (0.304)	0.117 (0.186)
Pariser Hof	-1.539 (0.983)	-2.092*** (0.611)	5.644*** (1.552)	-1.824*** (0.333)	1.506** (0.604)	-0.545 (0.344)
Café Milani	-0.672 (0.946)	-1.157** (0.495)	2.584** (1.237)	-0.840** (0.331)	0.228 (0.502)	-0.280 (0.227)
F-statistic (all political factions)	5.42	6.04	8.57	8.61	3.87	3.04
Full set of controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Province f.e.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
R2	0.321	0.453	0.496	0.343	0.357	0.196
Observations	3368	3368	3368	3368	3368	3368

Newspaper catalogues, 1841-1927

- Advertising agencies issued newspaper catalogues with information on each local newspaper
 - Name
 - Frequency
 - Number of printed copies
 - Political orientation (only since late 1920s)
- We digitized newspaper catalogues for the period 1841-1867 and 1927
- Panel of 7,000 local newspapers over the period 1841-1927
- Control for pre-revolutionary newspaper landscape
 - Newspaper entry as proxy for political discussions and intensity of revolutionary activities
 - Capture exposure to ads by emigration agencies
- Analyze selective newspaper exit and entry after revolutionary migration wave

Example of newspaper catalogue from 1848

POLITISCHE UND LOCAL-BLÄTTER.

- AACHEN.** (Preussen, R.B. gl. N.)
Amtsblatt. — Wöchentl. 1 Mal. (3—5 Bgn.) in 4. [Ins. 2¼ Ngr. p. Z.]
Jährl. 15 Ngr.
Fremdenblatt und täglicher Anzeiger. (Verl. *Leuchtenrath.*) — [Aufl. 600,
Ins. 1 Ngr. p. Z.]
Wochenblatt für den Landkreis Aachen und Umgegend. — Wöchentl. 1 Mal.
[Aufl. 500, Beil. ½ Thlr.]
Stadt Aachener Zeitung. (Red. *L. Lax.* — Verl. *Beaufort u. Mayer.*) —
Wöchentl. 7 Mal. (1 Bgn.) in gr. folio. [Aufl. 2000, Ins. 1¼ Ngr.,
Beilagen nur nach vorheriger Verständigung und mit alleiniger Firma:
J. A. Mayer, Büchel Nr. 1069 in Aachen (Brüssel bei Mayer & Flatau.)
g. Rec.] Jährl. 7 Thlr. 18¼ Ngr.
Verwaltungsblatt für den Landkreis Aachen. — Wöchentl. 1 Mal (½ Bgn.)
in 4.
- AALEN.** (Württemberg, Jaxtkreis.)
Wochenblatt. (Verl. *Schmid.*) Wöchentl. 1 Mal. (½ Bgn.) in 4. [Aufl.
450, Ins. ½ Ngr., Beil., m. F.: *J. Ebner'sche Buchh. in Ulm.* 12 Ngr.]
- AARAU.** (Schweiz, Kant. gl. N.)
Der aufrichtige und wohlverfahrene Schweizerbote. (Verl. *Sauerländer*) —
Wöchentl. 3 Mal, in gr. 4. [Aufl. 1000, Ins. 1¼ Ngr., Beil. m. F.:
Sauerländer's Sort.-Buchh., gratis.] Jährl. 3 Thlr.
Aargauer Zeitung, neue. (Verl. *Christen*) — Wöchentl. 3 Mal. (½ Bgn.)
in gr. 4. [Aufl. 800, Ins. 1¼ Ngr., Beil. gratis, g. Rec.]
Jährl. 2 Thlr. 10 Ngr.
- ADOLF.** (Sachsen, Zwickauer Kr.)
Wochenblatt. — Wöchentl. 1 Mal. (½ Bgn.) in 4. [Ins. 1 Ngr. f. gesp. Z.]
Jährl. 20 Ngr.
- AGRAM.** (Oesterreich, Croatien.)
Agramer Zeitung, mit Reibblatt: *Luna.* (Red. *Franz Staudner.*) — Wöchentl.
2 Mal. [Aufl. 1000, Ins. 1¼ Ngr., Beil. ¾ Thlr.] Jährl. 5 Thlr. 10 Ngr.
- AHAUS.** (Preussen, R.B. Münster.)
Wochenblatt der Kreise Coesfeld, Borken und Ahaus. (s. Coesfeld)
- ALTENA.** (Preussen, R.B. Arnberg.)
Wochenblatt für den Kreis Altena. (Verl. *Santz.*) — Wöchentl. 1 Mal.
(1 Bgn.) in 4. [Aufl. 1200, Ins. ½ Ngr., die nur bei Erfolg berech-
net werden, Beil. m. F.: *P. A. Santz, Buchh. in Altena und Lüden-
scheid, gratis.*]
- ALTENBERG.** (Sachsen, Dresdner Kr.)
Bote am Gelsing. (s. Dinnoldiswalde.)

Which county characteristics predict emigration rates (Prussia only)?

	(1) Emigrants 1843-1848	(2) Emigrants 1849-1854	(3) Emigrants 1855-1860
Log population size 1849	-0.610 ^{***} (0.144)	-0.607 ^{***} (0.140)	-0.414 ^{***} (0.093)
Primary school enrollment rate 1849	-0.007 [*] (0.004)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)
Employment share of factory workers	0.003 (0.008)	0.004 (0.007)	0.004 (0.005)
Share of population 0-14 years	0.033 [*] (0.017)	0.048 ^{***} (0.017)	0.026 ^{**} (0.013)
Share of population 60- years	-0.039 (0.039)	-0.020 (0.035)	-0.038 (0.032)
Looms per capita 1819	4.675 ^{**} (2.209)	3.084 ^{**} (1.469)	1.935 [*] (1.064)
Public buildings per capita 1821	-5.230 (16.375)	-0.126 (13.439)	-1.660 (11.449)
Ship tonnage per capita 1821	-1.299 (1.061)	-0.910 (0.826)	-1.150 (0.743)
....			

Which county characteristics predict emigration rates (Prussia only)?

	(1) Emigrants 1843-1848	(2) Emigrants 1849-1854	(3) Emigrants 1855-1860
....			
Protestants (as % of pop.) 1816	0.000 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.002** (0.001)
Jews (as % of pop.) 1816	0.022 (0.021)	0.013 (0.021)	0.007 (0.016)
Land inequality 1849	-0.104*** (0.034)	-0.071** (0.029)	-0.071*** (0.023)
Share of left-wing representatives 1848	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Share of right-wing representatives 1848	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.002** (0.001)	-0.002*** (0.001)
Log nr of newspapers 1841	0.223*** (0.059)	0.287*** (0.075)	0.142*** (0.052)
Log nr of newspaper copies 1841	0.021 (0.016)	0.022** (0.011)	0.014 (0.009)
Log nr of new newspapers 1845-48	0.034 (0.084)	0.133* (0.077)	0.081 (0.062)
Mean outcome variable	0.241	0.267	0.181
R2	0.346	0.472	0.367
Observations	242	242	242

Emigration from Prussian counties and Nazi votes

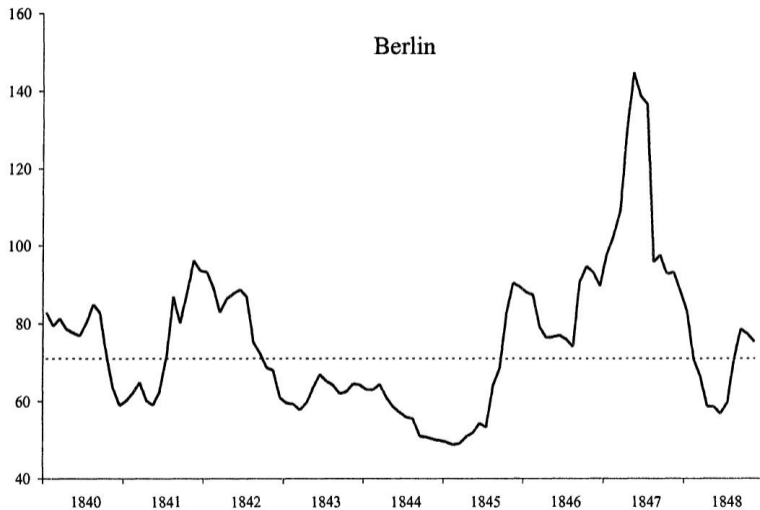
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Share of Nazi votes in 1928	Share of Nazi votes in 1928	Share of Nazi votes in 1928	Share of Nazi votes in 1928	Share of Nazi votes in 1928	Share of Nazi votes in 1928
Emigrants 1843-1848 (as % of pop.)		-0.155 (0.431)	0.391 (0.465)	0.439 (0.435)	0.350 (0.440)	0.173 (0.495)
Emigrants 1849-1854 (as % of pop.)	1.110 ^{***} (0.224)	1.101 ^{**} (0.429)	0.917 ^{**} (0.449)	0.833 [*] (0.430)	0.716 [*] (0.390)	0.774 [*] (0.441)
Emigrants 1855-1860 (as % of pop.)		0.214 (0.566)	-0.475 (0.524)	-0.481 (0.533)	-0.472 (0.603)	-0.432 (0.561)
Socio-economic controls			yes	yes	yes	yes
Political controls				yes	yes	yes
Newspaper controls					yes	yes
Province fixed effects						yes
Mean outcome variable	1.602	1.602	1.602	1.602	1.602	1.602
R2	0.130	0.130	0.222	0.360	0.406	0.483
Observations	242	242	242	242	242	242

Col. 6: A σ increase in emigration during 1849-1854 (0.53) is associated with an increase in Nazi votes by 0.25 σ (0.41 pp / 26%)

An IV strategy based on interaction of weather conditions in 1845-1846 and early migrant networks

- Idea: **Combination** of push (revolutionary activity and subsequent repression) and pull factors (migrant networks) triggered emigration
- **Push factor:** Standardized deviation of summer rainfall in 1845-1846
 - Historians consider the shortfall in food supply between 1845 and 1847 and the subsequent industrial slump as trigger of the revolution
 - Berger and Spoerer (JEH 2001): *“After identifying the countries that suffered a significant food-supply shock in 1845-1847, and discussing evidence of a propagation mechanism that prolonged the crisis well into 1848, we find that there is an almost perfect geographical match between economic crises and revolutionary activities.”*
 - European Seasonal Temperature and Precipitation Re-construction Project provides data for 1500-1900 at a resolution of 0.5×0.5 degrees
- **Pull factor:** Emigrants 1830-39 as % of pop.
- We control for push and pull factor and only use **interaction** as IV

Monthly wheat prices in Berlin, 1840-1848 (Fig. 5 of Berger and Spoerer 2001)



Emigration from Prussian counties and Nazi votes: First-stage IV estimates

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	First stage				Falsification test	
	Emigrants 1820s (as % of pop.)	Emigrants 1843-1848 (as % of pop.)	Emigrants 1849-1854 (as % of pop.)	Emigrants 1855-1860 (as % of pop.)	Share of right-wing repre- sentatives 1848	Share of left-wing repre- sentatives 1848
Emigrants 1830-39 (as % of pop.)	0.009 ^{***} (0.002)	5.256 [*] (2.971)	2.584 ^{**} (1.179)	3.314 ^{**} (1.538)	-32.400 (26.133)	28.082 (32.914)
Deviation of rainfall 1845-47	0.000 (0.000)	-0.012 (0.135)	-0.042 (0.081)	0.032 (0.082)	4.637 (3.612)	-5.696 (4.334)
Emigrants 1830-39 * deviation of rainfall 1845-47 (instrument)	-0.013 (0.011)	2.173 (5.241)	14.108 ^{***} (2.272)	1.041 (2.500)	-18.817 (59.948)	-21.227 (73.856)
F-statistic	1.33	0.17	39.01	0.18		
Socio-economic, political, newspaper controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Province fixed effects	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Observations	242	242	242	242	242	242

Emigration from Prussian counties and Nazi votes: Second-stage IV estimates

	(1)	(2)	(3)
		Second stage	
	Share of Nazi votes in 1928	Share of Nazi votes in 1928	Share of Nazi votes in 1928
Emigrants 1843-1848 (as % of pop.)	6.474 (11.836)		
Emigrants 1849-1854 (as % of pop.)		0.998* (0.599)	
Emigrants 1855-1860 (as % of pop.)			13.509 (24.365)
Emigrants 1830-39 (as % of pop.)	-31.133 (70.752)	0.320 (3.456)	-41.885 (90.681)
Deviation of rainfall 1845-47	0.958 (0.822)	0.916** (0.407)	0.442 (1.414)
Socio-economic, political, newspaper controls	yes	yes	yes
Province fixed effects	yes	yes	yes
R2	0.522	0.747	0.522
Observations	242	242	242

Emigration from German towns and Nazi votes

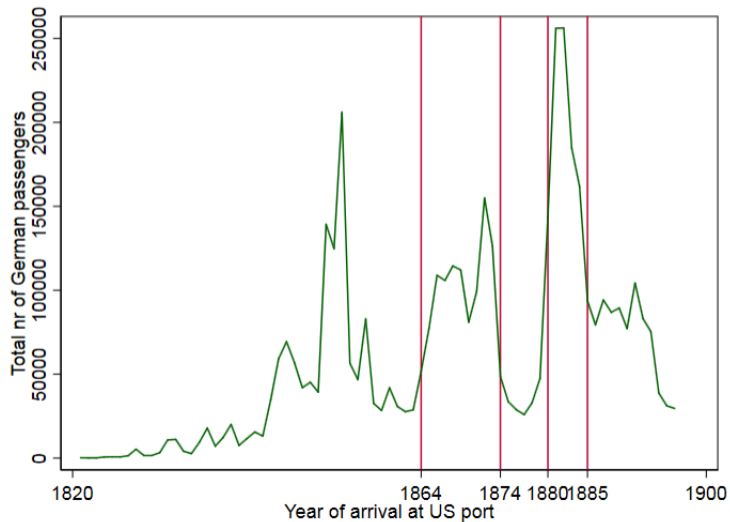
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Share of Nazi votes in 1928	Share of Nazi votes in 1928	Share of Nazi votes in 1928	Share of Nazi votes in 1928	Share of Nazi votes in 1928
Log nr of emigrants 1843-1848		0.167** (0.083)	0.155* (0.085)	0.153* (0.085)	-0.083 (0.085)
Log nr of emigrants 1849-1854	0.503*** (0.061)	0.442*** (0.090)	0.383*** (0.088)	0.388*** (0.090)	0.241*** (0.084)
Log nr of emigrants 1855-1860		-0.075 (0.099)	-0.044 (0.098)	-0.043 (0.099)	-0.060 (0.093)
Political controls			yes	yes	yes
Newspaper controls				yes	yes
Province fixed effects					yes
Mean outcome variable	2.877	2.877	2.877	2.877	2.877
R2	0.019	0.021	0.059	0.059	0.204
Observations	3303	3303	3303	3303	3303

Col. 5: A σ increase in emigration during 1849-1854 (1.37) is associated with an increase in Nazi votes by 0.07 σ (0.329 pp / 11%)

Emigration from German towns and votes over time

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	NLP	DVP	DNVP	DVP	DNVP	DVFP	Nazi	Nazi	Nazi	KPD
	votes	votes	votes	votes	votes	votes	votes	votes	votes	votes
	1871	1920	1920	1924	1924	1924	1928	1930	1933	1928
Log nr of emigrants 1843-1848	-0.013** (0.006)	-0.226 (0.159)	0.230 (0.177)	-0.087 (0.095)	0.132 (0.168)	-0.096 (0.105)	-0.083 (0.085)	-0.039 (0.175)	-0.115 (0.219)	-0.270** (0.134)
Log nr of emigrants 1849-1854	0.018*** (0.006)	0.618*** (0.162)	0.467** (0.197)	0.424*** (0.105)	0.475*** (0.184)	0.478*** (0.113)	0.241*** (0.084)	0.803*** (0.185)	0.990*** (0.232)	-0.094 (0.148)
Log nr of emigrants 1855-1860	0.001 (0.007)	0.359** (0.174)	0.159 (0.197)	0.104 (0.110)	0.129 (0.188)	0.149 (0.114)	-0.060 (0.093)	-0.036 (0.190)	0.255 (0.232)	-0.412** (0.166)
Political controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Newspaper controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Province fixed effects	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Mean outcome var.	0.317	13.053	11.463	8.602	15.706	6.437	2.877	18.401	42.605	2.877
R2	0.353	0.373	0.348	0.413	0.479	0.464	0.204	0.239	0.246	0.363
Observations	4258	3268	3266	3185	3185	3183	3303	3266	3243	3303

How do the emigration waves of 1864-1874 and 1880-1885 correlate with Nazi votes?



Town-level extensions

	(1) Share of Nazi votes in 1928	(2) Share of Nazi votes in 1928	(3) Share of Nazi votes in 1928	(4) Share of Nazi votes in 1928	(5) Share of Nazi votes in 1928
Log nr of emigrants 1843-1848	-0.083 (0.085)	-0.097 (0.082)	-0.004 (0.079)	-0.059 (0.082)	-0.081 (0.086)
Log nr of emigrants 1849-1854	0.241*** (0.084)	0.217** (0.089)	0.175** (0.087)	0.202** (0.081)	0.233*** (0.084)
Log nr of emigrants 1855-1860	-0.060 (0.093)	-0.084 (0.100)	-0.027 (0.096)	-0.008 (0.092)	-0.055 (0.095)
Log nr of emigrants 1864-1874		0.021 (0.085)			
Log nr of emigrants 1880-1885		0.084 (0.077)			
Log nr of other emigrants from same county 1843-1848					-0.086 (0.111)
Log nr of other emigrants from same county 1849-1854					0.188* (0.114)
Log nr of other emigrants from same county 1855-1860					-0.150 (0.109)
Political controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Newspaper controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Socio-economic controls 1925			yes		
Province fixed effects	yes	yes	yes		yes
District fixed effects				yes	
Mean outcome variable	2.877	2.877	2.823	2.877	2.877
R2	0.204	0.204	0.245	0.268	0.205
Observations	3303	3303	2682	3303	3303

No heterogeneity by initial political preferences

	Share of Nazi votes in 1928	Share of Nazi votes in 1928
Log nr of emigrants 1843-1848	-0.053 (0.062)	-0.053 (0.062)
Log nr of emigrants 1849-1854	0.134** (0.061)	0.162*** (0.058)
Log nr of emigrants 1855-1860	-0.006 (0.063)	-0.008 (0.063)
Emigrants 1849-1854 * share of liberal MPs 1848	0.001 (0.002)	
Emigrants 1849-1854 * share of right-wing MPs 1848		-0.002 (0.002)
Political controls	Yes	Yes
Newspaper controls	Yes	Yes
Socio-economic controls	Yes	Yes
Province fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Mean outcome variable	2.877	2.877
R2	0.204	0.204
Observations	3303	3303

Mechanisms

- Horizontal transmission through social networks and media
 - Social networks: Selective emigration changes composition of social networks and types of interactions
 - Media: Selective emigration changes supply of and demand for specific newspapers and thus the available types of newspaper
- Supply of versus demand for democracy
 - Does the emigration of political leaders matter and/or the emigration of citizens?
 - We use the set of 500 political leaders defined by Dippel and Heblich (2018) as a proxy for supply of democracy
 - We assign them to their German place of birth using Ancestry.com

Mechanism 1: Selective emigration changes the effects of social clubs on Nazi popularity (Satyanath et al. JPE 2017)

	(1) Share of Nazi votes in 1928	(2) Share of Nazi votes in 1928	(3) Share of Nazi votes in 1928	(4) Share of Nazi votes in 1928
Bridging clubs per 1,000 inhabitants	0.490 [*] (0.267)	-0.590 (0.460)		
Bonding clubs per 1,000 inhabitants			1.828 ^{***} (0.682)	-2.382 (1.587)
Log nr of emigrants 1843-1848		0.199 (0.375)		-0.145 (0.280)
Log nr of emigrants 1849-1854		-0.367 (0.558)		-0.153 (0.372)
Log nr of emigrants 1855-1860		-0.286 (0.489)		-0.165 (0.299)
Emigrants 1843-1848 * bridging clubs		-0.013 (0.208)		
Emigrants 1849-1854 * bridging clubs		0.536 [*] (0.294)		
Emigrants 1855-1860 * bridging clubs		-0.138 (0.248)		
Emigrants 1843-1848 * bonding clubs				0.611 (0.517)
Emigrants 1849-1854 * bonding clubs				1.860 ^{**} (0.761)
Emigrants 1855-1860 * bonding clubs				-0.883 (0.699)
Basic controls for 1925	yes	yes	yes	yes
Mean outcome variable	3.123	3.123	3.123	3.123
R2	0.083	0.152	0.102	0.198
Observations	209	209	209	209

Mechanism 2: Has there been selective exit and entry of local newspapers?

Total number of newspapers over time



Mechanism 2: Selective emigration changes the evolution of local newspapers (German towns)

	(1) Share of 1848 newspapers that disappeared 1848- 1867	(2) Share of extremist newspapers in 1927	(3) Share of 1927 extremist newspapers among newspapers that survived from 1848-1927	(4) Share of 1927 extremist newspapers among newspapers that were founded 1848-1867
Log nr of emigrants 1843-1848	-0.601 (0.407)	-0.048 (0.317)	-0.017 (0.146)	-0.239* (0.126)
Log nr of emigrants 1849-1854	1.614*** (0.443)	0.913** (0.355)	0.397** (0.173)	0.333** (0.132)
Log nr of emigrants 1855-1860	1.147** (0.458)	0.985*** (0.362)	0.170 (0.167)	0.124 (0.134)
Political controls	yes	yes	yes	yes
Newspaper controls	yes	yes	yes	yes
Province fixed effects	yes	yes	yes	yes
Mean outcome variable	11.159	6.976	1.111	0.744
R2	0.244	0.133	0.076	0.035
Observations	4264	4264	4264	4264

Mechanism 3: Emigration of prominent Fortyeighters versus the emigration of citizens (Prussian counties)

	(1)	(2)
	Share of Nazi votes in 1928	Share of Nazi votes in 1928
Emigrants 1849-1854 (as % of pop.)	0.597* (0.337)	0.630* (0.358)
Emigration of prominent Fortyeighter(s) (dummy variable, defined by county of birth)	0.817** (0.403)	0.856* (0.469)
Emigrants 1849-1854 * emigration of prominent Fortyeighters		-0.089 (0.520)
Socio-economic controls	yes	yes
Political controls	yes	yes
Newspaper controls	yes	yes
Province fixed effects	yes	yes
Mean outcome variable	1.602	1.602
R2	0.503	0.503
Observations	242	242

What we are currently working on

- More complete coverage of German migrants
 - Germans arriving in the US from non-German ports
 - Germans to America database on Germans arriving in all US ports (1840-1897)
 - Castlegarden database (1820-1912)
 - Emigration statistics from Baden and Wuerttemberg with full coverage of last place of residence
- Collect more town-level data, in particular on population and repression
- Code voting behavior of individual MPs to better capture their political ideology
- Collecting data on human capital (census 1871-1912): Could it rebuild more quickly than democratic capital?
- Effects on associations with political orientation, in particular gymnastics (*Turnvereine*) and shooting clubs (*Schuetzenvereine*)
- Key challenge: Germany and harmonized statistics only started to exist in 1871

Conclusion

- Revolutionary emigration flows are strongly associated with Nazi votes 80 years later
- Selective emigration may impede institution-building in the long run
 - Compositional change in German society as additional explanation for the rise of the Nazi Party
 - Consolidation of democracy in the US due to the Fortyeighters may have weakened democracy in Germany

Thank you!

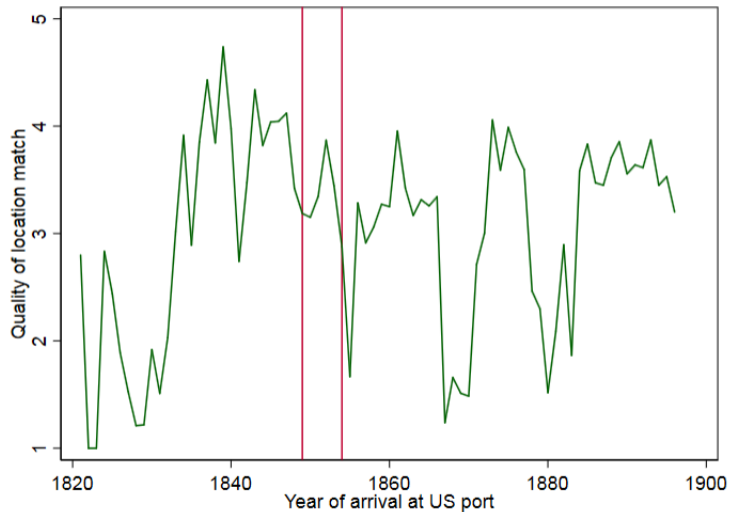
toman.barsbai@bristol.ac.uk

hillel.rapoport@psemail.eu

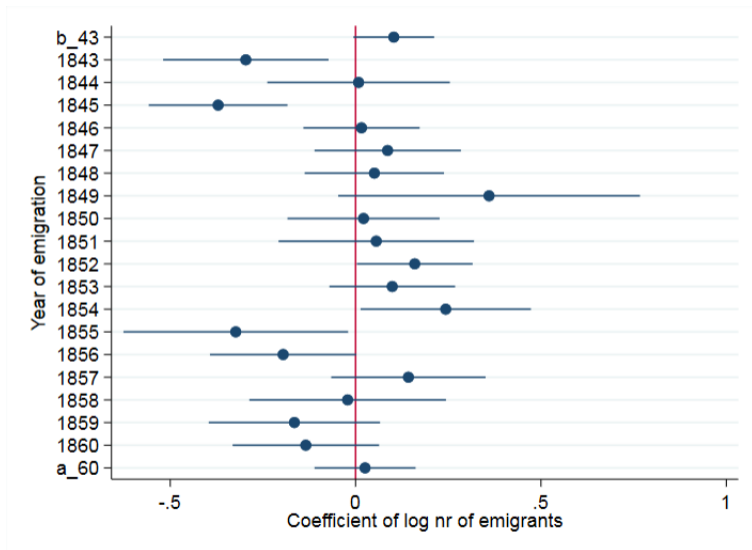
German Confederation (39 states), 1815-1866



Quality of location match, 1821-1897



Emigration from German towns and Nazi votes by year of emigration



Spatial variation in emigration from Germany 1849-1854 (passenger data)

