

Urbanization and Electoral Success Lawyers and Workers in Interwar France*

Raphaël Franck[†] Victor Gay[‡]

August 2024

Supplementary Online Appendix

A	Supplementary Tables and Figures	1
B	Changes to Boundaries of Electoral Constituencies, 1928–36	19
1	Electoral Reforms	22
2	Territorial Changes	29
3	Counterfactual Electoral Reforms	33
C	Data Appendix	45
1	Electoral Results	45
2	Constituencies Shapefiles	45
3	Panel of Constituencies	45
4	Constituency-Level Characteristics	46
5	Département-Level Characteristics	52
6	Characteristics of Préfets	54
7	Characteristics of Upper House Members (<i>Sénateurs</i>)	55
8	Secondary Sources on Candidates' Occupations	55
D	Software Appendix	57

*Victor Gay gratefully acknowledges funding from the ANR under grant ANR-17-EURE-0010 (Investissements d'Avenir program).

[†]Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of Economics, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem 91905, Israel, CEPR, CesIfo & GLO. Email: raphael.franck@mail.huji.ac.il.

[‡]Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Toulouse School of Economics and Institute for Advanced Study in Toulouse, University of Toulouse Capitole, Toulouse, France. Email: victor.gay@tse-fr.eu.

A. Supplementary Tables and Figures

Table A1. Summary Statistics: Constituencies, Candidates, and Elected Officials, 1928–36

	A. Elected officials				
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Employee or worker	0.16	0.37	0	1	324
Incumbent	0.52	0.50	0	1	324
Lawyer	0.22	0.42	0	1	324
Left	0.61	0.49	0	1	324
Right	0.36	0.48	0	1	324
Vote share (%)	44.6	14.7	18.1	92.0	324
	B. Candidates				
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Elected	0.20	0.40	0	1	1,614
Employee or worker	0.29	0.46	0	1	1,614
Incumbent	0.16	0.37	0	1	1,614
Lawyer	0.16	0.37	0	1	1,614
Left	0.69	0.46	0	1	1,614
Right	0.28	0.45	0	1	1,614
Vote share (%)	20.2	17.5	0.0	92.0	1,614
	C. Constituencies				
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Area (km ²)	631	583	4	2,963	324
Candidates	5.37	1.77	2	12	324
Registered voters	21,093	6,718	10,010	49,659	324
Turnout (%)	83.8	4.0	63.6	95.1	324
Competitiveness	0.65	0.12	0.15	0.85	324
Voter density	453	962	5	6,380	324
Voter log density	4.31	1.86	1.54	8.76	324
Share urban (%)	57.4	33.6	3.3	100.0	324

Notes. This table provides summary statistics for the regression sample. Data for the legislative elections of 1928, 1932, and 1936 are pooled. Turnout, the number of candidates, and competitiveness pertain to the first round. Competitiveness is the inverse of a Herfindahl-Hirschman index in the candidates' vote shares, scaled between 0 and 1.

Table A2. Summary Statistics: Constituencies, Candidates, and Elected Officials, 1928–1936

A. Elected officials															
	1928				1932				1936						
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Employee or worker	0.10	0.30	0	1	108	0.13	0.34	0	1	108	0.25	0.44	0	1	108
Incumbent	0.50	0.50	0	1	108	0.64	0.48	0	1	108	0.44	0.50	0	1	108
Lawyer	0.26	0.44	0	1	108	0.22	0.42	0	1	108	0.19	0.39	0	1	108
Left	0.49	0.50	0	1	108	0.63	0.49	0	1	108	0.72	0.45	0	1	108
Right	0.50	0.50	0	1	108	0.31	0.46	0	1	108	0.28	0.45	0	1	108
Vote share (%)	45.2	16.5	18.1	92.0	108	46.0	13.4	19.9	90.4	108	42.6	13.7	20.0	84.3	108

B. Candidates															
	1928				1932				1936						
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Elected	0.20	0.40	0	1	530	0.20	0.40	0	1	534	0.20	0.40	0	1	550
Employee or worker	0.32	0.47	0	1	530	0.30	0.46	0	1	534	0.26	0.44	0	1	550
Incumbent	0.15	0.35	0	1	530	0.17	0.38	0	1	534	0.16	0.37	0	1	550
Lawyer	0.16	0.37	0	1	530	0.17	0.38	0	1	534	0.15	0.36	0	1	550
Left	0.72	0.45	0	1	530	0.69	0.46	0	1	534	0.67	0.47	0	1	550
Right	0.25	0.44	0	1	530	0.28	0.45	0	1	534	0.31	0.46	0	1	550
Vote share (%)	20.6	17.6	0.3	92.0	530	20.3	17.9	0.2	90.4	534	19.6	16.9	0.0	84.3	550

C. Constituencies															
	1928				1932				1936						
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Area (km ²)	664	621	4	2,963	108	616	565	4	2,963	108	613	566	4	2,963	108
Candidates	5.11	1.51	2	9	108	5.41	1.91	2	10	108	5.58	1.86	3	12	108
Registered voters	20,778	5,914	10,105	40,237	108	21,169	7,593	10,179	49,659	108	21,334	6,590	10,010	37,180	108
Turnout (%)	83.1	4.5	63.6	95.1	108	83.6	3.9	67.4	94.5	108	84.6	3.3	71.8	90.2	108
Competitiveness	0.64	0.14	0.15	0.83	108	0.64	0.11	0.18	0.82	108	0.66	0.10	0.27	0.85	108
Voter density	416	900	5	6,179	108	453	956	5	6,159	108	489	1,034	5	6,380	108
Voter log density	4.27	1.82	1.59	8.73	108	4.31	1.87	1.57	8.73	108	4.35	1.89	1.54	8.76	108
Share urban (%)	56.5	33.7	3.3	100.0	108	57.7	33.6	3.3	100.0	108	58.0	33.7	4.1	100.0	108

Notes. This table provides summary statistics for the regression sample. Turnout, the number of candidates, and competitiveness pertain to the first round. Competitiveness is the inverse of a Herfindahl-Hirschman index in the candidates' vote shares, scaled between 0 and 1.

Table A3. Distribution of Occupations Among Candidates and Elected Officials, 1928–36

	A. Candidates				B. Elected officials			
	Left	Right	All	Share	Left	Right	All	Share
Artists	11	0	11	0.01	1	0	1	0.00
Businessmen	166	125	301	0.19	41	35	79	0.24
Clergymen	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00
Doctors	63	27	92	0.06	9	7	16	0.05
Employees and workers	443	19	472	0.29	51	1	52	0.16
Engineers	19	7	26	0.02	7	2	9	0.03
High-level civil servants	11	6	17	0.01	3	2	5	0.02
Journalists	89	53	147	0.09	17	3	20	0.06
Landowners	52	98	158	0.10	10	31	45	0.14
Lawyers	157	104	263	0.16	36	36	72	0.22
Low and mid-level civil servants	23	5	28	0.02	4	0	4	0.01
Professors	87	11	99	0.06	20	0	21	0.06
All	1,121	455	1,614	1.00	199	117	324	1.00

Notes. This table shows the distribution of occupations among candidates in the 1928, 1932, and 1936 parliamentary elections in the 11 départements that encompass constituencies whose boundaries were modified. It does not provide the distribution of occupations among independent candidates so that the *Left* and *Right* columns do not add up to the *All* columns.

Table A4. Distribution of Occupations Among Candidates and Elected Officials, 1928–1936

	A. Elected officials											
	1928			1932			1936					
	Left	Right	All	Share	Left	Right	All	Share	Left	Right	All	Share
Artists	0	0	0	0.00	1	0	1	0.01	0	0	0	0.00
Businessmen	12	20	33	0.31	14	10	26	0.24	15	5	20	0.19
Clergymen	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00
Doctors	2	1	3	0.03	3	6	9	0.08	4	0	4	0.04
Employees and workers	10	1	11	0.10	14	0	14	0.13	27	0	27	0.25
Engineers	3	2	5	0.05	2	0	2	0.02	2	0	2	0.02
High-level civil servants	1	0	1	0.01	2	0	2	0.02	0	2	2	0.02
Journalists	3	2	5	0.05	9	1	10	0.09	5	0	5	0.05
Landowners	4	12	16	0.15	3	6	13	0.12	3	13	16	0.15
Lawyers	12	16	28	0.26	14	10	24	0.22	10	10	20	0.19
Low and mid-level civil servants	0	0	0	0.00	1	0	1	0.01	3	0	3	0.03
Professors	6	0	6	0.06	5	0	6	0.06	9	0	9	0.08
All	53	54	108	1.00	68	33	108	1.00	78	30	108	1.00

	B. Candidates											
	1928			1932			1936					
	Left	Right	All	Share	Left	Right	All	Share	Left	Right	All	Share
Artists	5	0	5	0.01	2	0	2	0.00	4	0	4	0.01
Businessmen	55	44	102	0.19	50	35	90	0.17	61	46	109	0.20
Clergymen	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00
Doctors	19	6	25	0.05	18	11	30	0.06	26	10	37	0.07
Employees and workers	165	1	170	0.32	144	10	158	0.30	134	8	144	0.26
Engineers	7	3	10	0.02	7	3	10	0.02	5	1	6	0.01
High-level civil servants	2	2	4	0.01	5	0	5	0.01	4	4	8	0.01
Journalists	23	8	34	0.06	30	22	53	0.10	36	23	60	0.11
Landowners	23	30	56	0.11	16	29	50	0.09	13	39	52	0.09
Lawyers	50	37	87	0.16	61	31	93	0.17	46	36	83	0.15
Low and mid-level civil servants	6	1	7	0.01	6	2	8	0.01	11	2	13	0.02
Professors	27	3	30	0.06	29	5	35	0.07	31	3	34	0.06
All	382	135	530	1.00	368	148	534	1.00	371	172	550	1.00

Notes. This table shows the distribution of occupations among candidates in the parliamentary elections of 1928, 1932, and 1936 separately, in the 11 départements that encompass constituencies whose boundaries were modified. It does not provide the distribution of occupations among independent candidates so that the *Left* and *Right* columns do not add up to the *All* columns.

Table A5. Political Affiliations and Orientation of Candidates, 1928–32

1928		1932	
Political affiliation	Orientation	Political affiliation	Orientation
Indépendant	Independent	Indépendant	Independent
Bloc Ouvrier et Paysan (BOP)	Left	Santé Publique	Independent
Communiste	Left	Communiste	Left
Communiste Indépendant	Left	Démocrate Indépendant de Gauche	Left
Jeune radical	Left	Indépendant de Gauche	Left
Pacifiste Féministe	Left	Indépendant Républicain	Left
Protestataire	Left	Libertaire	Left
Radical Indépendant	Left	Parti du Travail	Left
Radical Socialiste	Left	Radical Indépendant	Left
Réaliste	Left	Radical Socialiste	Left
Républicain	Left	Républicain	Left
Républicain de Gauche	Left	Républicain Radical	Left
Républicain Démocratique	Left	Républicain Socialiste	Left
Républicain Indépendant	Left	Républicain Socialiste Indépendant	Left
Républicain Radical	Left	Socialiste	Left
Républicain Réaliste	Left	Socialiste Chrétien	Left
Républicain Socialiste	Left	Socialiste Communiste	Left
Socialiste	Left	SFIO	Left
Socialiste Communiste	Left	Socialiste Indépendant	Left
SFIO	Left	Union Républicaine	Left
Socialiste Indépendant	Left	Action Démocratique et Sociale	Right
Socialiste Nationaliste	Left	Action Nationale	Right
Anticommuniste	Right	Combat	Right
Conservateur	Right	Conservateur	Right
Républicain Nationaliste	Right	Démocrate Indépendant	Right
Union Nationale	Right	Démocrate Populaire	Right
Union Républicaine Démocratique (URD)	Right	Parti Agraire	Right
		Républicain de Gauche	Right
		Républicain Nationaliste	Right
		Royaliste	Right
		Union Républicaine Démocratique (URD)	Right

Notes. This table shows the political affiliations of candidates in the legislative elections of 1928 and 1932 along with the classification of their orientation. *SFIO* stands for Socialiste Français de l'Internationale Ouvrière.

Table A6. Political Affiliations and Orientation of Candidates in 1936

Political affiliation	Orientation	Political affiliation	Orientation
Indépendant	Independant	Socialiste Patriote	Left
Alliance Démocratique	Left	Socialiste Réaliste	Left
Alliance Démocratique et Sociale	Left	Union Ouvrière	Left
Bolcheviste	Left	Union Prolétaire	Left
Communiste	Left	Union Républicaine	Left
Communiste Doriotiste	Left	Union Républicaine et Sociale	Left
Communiste Indépendant	Left	Union Sociale	Left
Communiste Intégral	Left	Unité Ouvrière	Left
Communiste International	Left	Unité Ouvrière et Rénovation Sociale	Left
Communiste Socialiste	Left	Unité Prolétaire	Left
Concentration Républicaine et Sociale	Left	Anticommuniste	Right
Démocrate Socialiste	Left	Catholique d'Union Nationale	Right
Front Républicain	Left	Concentration Républicaine	Right
Front Républicain et Social	Left	Concorde Républicaine	Right
Front Social	Left	Conservateur	Right
Gauche Indépendante	Left	Défense Agraire	Right
Indépendant de Gauche	Left	Défense des Chômeurs	Right
Indépendant d'Union Sociale	Left	Démocrate Populaire	Right
Jeune Républicain	Left	Entente Républicaine	Right
Libertaire	Left	Fédération Républicaine	Right
Radical	Left	Grande France	Right
Radical Indépendant	Left	Jeunesses Patriotes	Right
Radical National	Left	Nationaliste Français	Right
Radical Socialiste	Left	Nationaliste Indépendant	Right
Radical Socialiste Indépendant	Left	Nationaliste Populaire	Right
Rassemblement Prolétaire	Left	Nationaliste Républicain	Right
Rassemblement Républicain	Left	Parti Agraire	Right
Rayon Communiste	Left	Parti Communal de France	Right
Républicain	Left	Parti de la France	Right
Républicain Démocratique	Left	Parti National de France	Right
Républicain Démocratique et Social	Left	Plus Grande France	Right
Républicain Démocratique Indépendant	Left	Rénovation Nationale	Right
Républicain Indépendant	Left	Rénovation Républicaine	Right
Républicain Radical Indépendant	Left	Republicain de Gauche	Right
Républicain Socialiste	Left	Républicain Indépendant	Right
Républicain Socialiste Indépendant	Left	Républicain Nationaliste	Right
Républicain Socialiste Réalisateur	Left	Républicain Nationaliste et Social	Right
Révisionniste	Left	Républicain Nationaliste Indépendant	Right
Socialiste	Left	Républicain Nationaliste et Populaire	Right
Socialiste Anticommuniste	Left	Républicain Révolutionnaire National	Right
Socialiste Communiste	Left	Royaliste	Right
Socialiste Communiste Indépendant	Left	Union Nationale	Right
Socialiste de France	Left	Union Progressiste et Libérale	Right
SFIO	Left	URD	Right
Socialiste Indépendant	Left	Union Républicaine Nationaliste	Right

Notes. This table shows the political affiliations of candidates in the legislative elections of 1936 along with the classification of their orientation. *SFIO* stands for Socialiste Français de l'Internationale Ouvrière.

Table A7. Changes Across Elections by Type of Constituency

Type (<i>N</i>)	Δ Voters		Δ Area		Δ Log density		Δ Share urban	
	Mean	S.d.	Mean	S.d.	Mean	S.d.	Mean	S.d.
Unmodified boundaries (74)	1,055	1,374	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.06	0.01	0.02
Modified boundaries (34)	-1,414	6,494	-81.19	246.55	0.03	0.23	0.01	0.07

Notes. This table reports summary statistics of the changes across elections of various variables, by types of constituencies. Changes between the elections of 1928 and 1932, and between the elections of 1932 and 1936 are pooled, so that the number of observations in the first row is 148, and in the second row, 68.

Table A8. Summary Statistics: Constituency-Level Characteristics

	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
A. Election years					
Civil cases	390	413	12	2,456	324
Commercial cases	927	1,485	14	8,724	324
Police cases	1,275	630	256	4,668	324
Firms failures	34	44	0	295	324
Labor disputes	481	1,323	3	13,024	324
Mean hourly wage rates	4.67	0.99	2.68	7.02	324
Mean retail prices	49.79	5.10	36.48	59.29	324
B. Election years + 1					
Civil cases	391	416	10	2,387	324
Commercial cases	829	1,362	6	7,756	324
Police cases	1,328	657	242	4,282	324
Firms failures	32	40	0	276	324
Labor disputes	524	1,467	2	14,724	324
Mean hourly wage rates	5.30	1.55	2.97	9.08	324
Mean retail prices	54.23	5.38	39.21	64.86	324

Notes. This table reports summary statistics for constituency-level characteristics, pooling data across years. *S.d.* stands for *Standard deviation*, *Min.*, for *Minimum*, *Max.*, for *Maximum*, and *N*, for the number of observations. See the Data Appendix for details on definition and sources. Panel A refers to years 1928, 1932, and 1936, while Panel B refers to years 1929, 1933, and 1937.

Table A9. Summary Statistics: Département-Level Characteristics, 1928–36

A. Economic outcomes					
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Crude birth rate	18.4	10.5	1.9	100.0	270
Lawyers (per 1,000)	0.28	0.36	0.01	2.28	270
Literacy rate	0.89	0.03	0.80	0.94	270
Roads (100 km)	6.50	0.50	3.79	7.61	270
Voters (1,000s)	130	135	25	1,200	270
B. <i>Préfets</i>					
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Age	51.72	5.28	39.00	83.25	270
Lower House member	0.00	0.06	0	1	270
Lawyer	0.04	0.20	0	1	270
Other occupation	0.06	0.23	0	1	270
Turnover	2.85	2.43	0.10	16.52	270
C. Upper House members (<i>Sénateurs</i>)					
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Doctor	0.41	0.62	0	3	270
Employee or worker	0.08	0.41	0	3	270
Lawyer	0.83	0.83	0	3	270
Left	2.45	1.57	0	10	270
Right	0.87	1.20	0	5	270
D. Lower House members					
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Doctor	0.54	0.69	0	3	270
Employee or worker	0.69	2.18	0	29	270
Lawyer	1.92	2.16	0	20	270
Left	4.96	4.76	0	46	270
Right	1.67	2.58	0	24	270

Notes. This table provides summary statistics for département-level characteristics, pooling data for 1928, 1932, and 1936. *S.d.* stands for *Standard deviation*, *Min.*, for *Minimum*, *Max.*, for *Maximum*, and *N*, for the number of observations.

Table A10. Balance Tests: Characteristics of Départements Encompassing Constituencies with Modified Electoral Constituencies

A. Economic outcomes					
	Lawyers	Voters	Fertility	Literacy	Roads
Département with treated constituencies	-0.067 [0.090]	140.976 [91.942]	-0.067 [0.062]	0.006 [0.007]	0.070 [0.150]
R ²	0.005	0.117	0.033	0.102	0.458
Départements	90	90	90	90	90
Observations	270	270	270	270	270
B. <i>Préfets</i>					
	Lawyer	Other occupation	<i>Député</i>	Age	Turnover
Département with treated constituencies	-0.012 [0.032]	-0.029 [0.034]	-0.004 [0.004]	0.780 [0.928]	0.308 [0.437]
R ²	0.012	0.003	0.008	0.006	0.039
Départements	90	90	90	90	90
Observations	270	270	270	270	270
C. Upper House members (<i>Sénateurs</i>)					
	Lawyer	Doctor	Worker	Left	Right
Département with treated constituencies	0.052 [0.200]	0.019 [0.180]	0.287 [0.262]	0.072 [0.742]	0.601 [0.430]
R ²	0.001	0.001	0.053	0.000	0.032
Départements	90	90	90	90	90
Observations	270	270	270	270	270
D. Candidates to Lower House					
	Lawyers	Doctors	Workers	Left	Right
Département with treated constituencies	0.468 [0.443]	-0.129 [0.098]	0.113 [0.411]	0.361 [1.066]	0.855 [0.618]
R ²	0.015	0.018	0.010	0.007	0.029
Départements	90	90	90	90	90
Observations	270	270	270	270	270

Notes. This table reports balance tests over observable characteristics at the département level for the départements with and without treated constituencies. The units of observations are départements in 1928, 1932, and 1936. There are 90 unique départements, among which 11 départements with treated constituencies. All specifications include election fixed effects for 1928 (omitted), 1932, and 1936. In Panel A, *Lawyers* stands for the number of lawyers per 10,000 inhabitants, *Voters*, for the number of registered voters in 100,000, *Fertility*, for the crude birth rate, *Literacy*, for the share of conscripts that can read or write, and *Roads*, for the log kilometers of roads. In Panels B and C, characteristics respectively relate to the département's single préfet or Upper House members (*sénateurs*) at the time of each parliamentary election. In Panel D, characteristics correspond to the number of lawyers, doctors, workers, as well as left- and right-wing candidates by département at the time of each election. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the département level.

*** $p \leq 0.01$. ** $p \leq 0.05$. * $p \leq 0.10$.

Table A11. Voter Density and Local Electoral Conditions

Outcome:	Turnout	Rounds	# Candidates			1(Incumbent)			Compet.
			All	Lawyers	Workers	All	Lawyers	Workers	
Log density	-2.581 [1.611]	-0.215 [0.145]	-1.201** [0.532]	0.218 [0.247]	0.223 [0.170]	0.174 [0.263]	0.192 [0.207]	0.123 [0.133]	0.003 [0.052]
Within R ²	0.012	0.004	0.011	0.003	0.006	0.002	0.005	0.003	0.000
Constituencies	108	108	108	108	108	108	108	108	108
Observations	324	324	324	324	324	324	324	324	324
Outcome mean	83.79	1.69	5.37	5.37	0.87	0.77	0.19	0.10	0.53
Outcome s.d.	3.97	0.47	1.77	1.77	0.33	0.42	0.39	0.29	0.09

Notes. Each observation is a constituency-election. All specifications include constituency, election, and département-by-election fixed effects. *# Candidates* refers to the number of candidates. *1(Incumbent)* is an indicator variable that equals one if the incumbent ran in the election. *Compet.* denotes competitiveness of the elections, which is defined the inverse of a Herfindahl-Hirschman index in the candidates' vote shares, scaled between 0 and 1. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency level.

*** $p \leq 0.01$. ** $p \leq 0.05$. * $p \leq 0.10$.

Table A12. Voter Density and Electoral Success Across Occupations and Orientations

A. Outcome: Elected, all candidates										
Occupation:	Lawyer	Doctor	Worker	Businessman	Engineer	Journalist	Landowner	Low/Mid-c.s.	Professor	
Log density \times occupation	-0.061*** [0.016]	-0.038** [0.018]	0.070*** [0.010]	0.011 [0.021]	-0.066* [0.036]	-0.011 [0.019]	-0.062** [0.031]	0.024 [0.048]	0.030 [0.027]	
Within R ²	0.035	0.018	0.064	0.023	0.020	0.018	0.023	0.017	0.017	
Clusters	86	86	86	86	86	86	86	86	86	
Observations	1,614	1,614	1,614	1,614	1,614	1,614	1,614	1,614	1,614	
B. Outcome: Elected, left-wing candidates										
Occupation:	Lawyer	Doctor	Worker	Businessman	Engineer	Journalist	Landowner	Low/Mid-c.s.	Professor	
Log density \times occupation	-0.068*** [0.016]	-0.043* [0.023]	0.058*** [0.013]	0.006 [0.022]	-0.124*** [0.043]	-0.039 [0.032]	-0.057 [0.058]	0.017 [0.056]	0.034 [0.026]	
Within R ²	0.111	0.098	0.131	0.101	0.105	0.097	0.096	0.095	0.098	
Clusters	86	86	86	86	86	86	86	86	86	
Observations	1,121	1,121	1,121	1,121	1,121	1,121	1,121	1,121	1,121	
C. Outcome: Elected, right-wing candidates										
Occupation:	Lawyer	Doctor	Worker	Businessman	Engineer	Journalist	Landowner	Low/Mid-c.s.	Professor	
Log density \times occupation	-0.028 [0.033]	-0.051 [0.051]	0.019 [0.042]	0.041 [0.038]	0.088* [0.046]	0.033 [0.024]	0.001 [0.052]	-0.027 [0.056]	0.016 [0.045]	
Within R ²	0.389	0.389	0.386	0.395	0.387	0.395	0.386	0.387	0.392	
Clusters	81	81	81	81	81	81	81	81	81	
Observations	448	448	448	448	448	448	448	448	448	

Notes. Each observation is a candidate. All specifications include constituency and election fixed effects, log voter density, and département-by-election fixed effects. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency level. Results for the 11 artist, and 17 high-level civil servant candidates not shown. *Low/Mid-c.s.* denotes low and mid-level civil servant.

*** $p \leq 0.01$. ** $p \leq 0.05$. * $p \leq 0.10$.

Table A13. Voter Density and Electoral Success of Lawyers and Workers
Robustness

Outcome:	Elected							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
A. Occupation: Lawyer								
Density measure \times lawyer	-0.061*** [0.016]	-0.328*** [0.117]	-0.171** [0.077]	-0.061*** [0.017]	-0.060*** [0.012]	-0.047*** [0.016]	-0.049*** [0.016]	-0.066*** [0.018]
Specification	Baseline	Share urban	Above median	Cluster two-way	SUR	No 1928	Lagged density	No rerun
Within R ²	0.019	0.017	0.014	0.019	0.358	0.011	0.011	0.023
Constituencies	108	108	108	108	108	108	108	108
Observations	1,614	1,614	1,614	1,614	1,614	1,084	1,084	1,492
B. Occupation: Employee or worker								
Density measure \times worker	0.070*** [0.010]	0.401*** [0.058]	0.256*** [0.043]	0.070*** [0.015]	0.028*** [0.007]	0.077*** [0.012]	0.079*** [0.012]	0.075*** [0.010]
Specification	Baseline	Share urban	Above median	Cluster two-way	SUR	No 1928	Lagged density	No rerun
Within R ²	0.049	0.048	0.045	0.049	0.358	0.041	0.041	0.058
Constituencies	108	108	108	108	108	108	108	108
Observations	1,614	1,614	1,614	1,614	1,614	1,084	1,084	1,492

Notes. Each observation is a candidate. Estimates are based on estimating Equation 1, except in Column (5), where they are based on estimating a seemingly unrelated regression (SUR). All specifications include constituency and election fixed effects, the main term of measure of voter density, an occupation indicator, and département-by-election fixed effects. The measure of voter density is the log density of registered voters, except in Column (2), where it is the share of urban population, and in Column (3), where it is an indicator variable that equals one if the log density of registered voters is above the sample median. In Column (7), the density of registered voters is based on registered voters in the preceding election. In Column (9), we exclude candidates who ran in different constituencies across years. The R-squared in Column (5) is the overall R-squared. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency level, except in Column (4) where they are clustered two-way at the constituency and département-election level.

*** $p \leq 0.01$. ** $p \leq 0.05$. * $p \leq 0.10$.

Table A14. Voter Density and Electoral Success of Lawyers and Workers Indicators by Threshold

Outcome:	Elected		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	A. Lawyer		
Log density \times lawyer	-0.069 [0.100]	-0.145* [0.076]	-0.249*** [0.065]
Threshold	Q1	Q2	Q3
Within R ²	0.009	0.012	0.018
Constituencies	108	108	108
Observations	1,614	1,614	1,614
	B. Employee or worker		
Log density \times worker	0.218*** [0.046]	0.250*** [0.043]	0.213*** [0.054]
Threshold	Q1	Q2	Q3
Within R ²	0.035	0.044	0.036
Constituencies	108	108	108
Observations	1,614	1,614	1,614

Notes. Each observation is a candidate. All specifications include constituency, election, an occupation indicator, and département-by-election fixed effects. The treatment variable is an indicator that equals one if the density measure is above the election-sample quantile specified. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency level.

*** $p \leq 0.01$. ** $p \leq 0.05$. * $p \leq 0.10$.

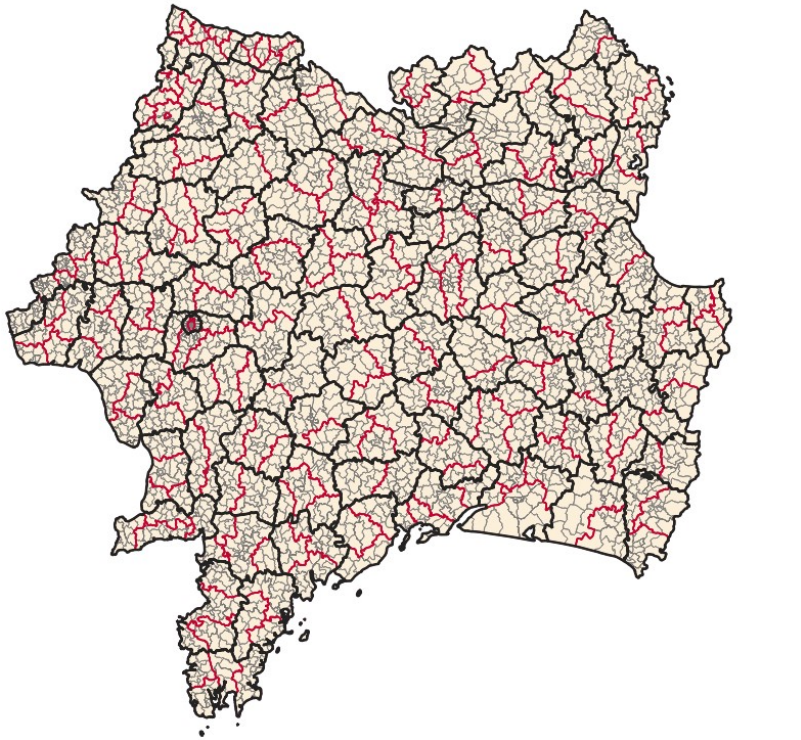
Table A15. Party and Union Affiliation of Elected Employees and Workers, 1928–36

Département	Name	Occupation	Party affiliation and political role	Union membership
Ardennes	Pierre Lareppe (1897–1972)	Moulder	Regional secretary of the Communist Party of the Ardennes (1933–36), mayor of Nouzonville (1935–40, then 1945–53)	CGTU union member, metallurgy section
Loire-Inférieure	Maurice Thieffaine (1897–1981)	Draftsman at the Paris-Orléans company	Communist; deputy mayor of Nantes (1935–41), general councillor of Bouaye (1937–41)	Secretary of the disabled soldier section of Rezé, treasurer of the mutual aid society
Loire-Inférieure	Francois Blancho (1893–1972)	Boilermaker and welder	Socialist activist; deputy-mayor of Saint-Nazaire, minister.	Leader of the Metalworkers Union of Saint-Nazaire
Pas-de-Calais	Henri Cadot (1864–1947)	Miner	Mayor of Bruay-en-Artois (1919–44), deputy and senator of Pas-de-Calais.	Vice-president, then president of the miners' union of Pas-de-Calais
Pas-de-Calais	Raoul Evrard (1879–1944)	Miner, then butcher boy	Secretary-General of the Socialist Federation of Pas-de-Calais	None
Pas-de-Calais	Jacques Louart (1874–1952)	Miner	Socialist, Deputy-mayor of Sallaumines, borough councillor.	Secretary-General, then vice-president of the miners' union of Pas-de-Calais
Pas-de-Calais	Alfred Maës (1875–1941)	Miner	Mayor of Lens (1928–41)	President of the Miners' Union Federation of Nord and Pas-de-Calais
Pas-de-Calais	Cyprien Quinet (1897–1944)	Miner	General councillor of the canton of Carvin (1935–39), member of the office of the Communist Region of Pas-de-Calais (1936–39)	Secretary of the CGTU miners' union in Pas-de-Calais (1929–31) and then of the CGTU National Federation of Underground Workers (1931–35), administrative secretary of the reunified union of miners in Pas-de-Calais (1936–39)
Pas-de-Calais	Paul Sion (1886–1959)	Miner	Socialist, General councillor of Lens-Est canton (1928–36)	General treasurer of the union of miners of Pas-de-Calais
Seine (suburbs)	Charles Auffray (1887–1957)	Railway mechanic	Communist; mayor of Clichy (1925–41)	Activist in the CGT union (railway section)
Seine (suburbs)	Georges Barthélemy (1897–1944)	Bank employee	Socialist, mayor of Puteaux	Union member
Seine (suburbs)	Marcel Capron (1896–1982)	Worker	Communist activist, mayor of Alfortville (Seine, 1939–40, 41–4), broke with the Communist Party in October 1939	Member of the metal worker union in 1912
Seine (suburbs)	Alfred Costes (1888–1959)	Mechanic	Paris region secretary of the Communist Party then member of the Communist Party central committee	Trade unionist, secretary of the Paris region Metals union, secretary then president of the Metals Federation
Seine (suburbs)	Jacques Doriot (1898–1945)	Metalworker	Member of the political bureau of the Communist Party (1924–34), mayor of Saint-Denis (1931–7), leader of the French People's Party (1936–45)	None
Seine (suburbs)	Emile Dutilleul (1883–1948)	Glass worker, typographer	National treasurer of the Communist Party, elected alternate member of the central committee in 1937	Secretary of the 18th section of the tenants' movement and of the International Workers' Relief (SOI)
Seine (suburbs)	Marcel Gitton (1903–1941)	Construction worker, heating specialist	Militant of the Young Communists then of the Party and the International, founder of the French Workers' and Peasants' Party in 1941	Trade unionist, Fédération du Bâtiment CGTU
Seine (suburbs)	Maurice Honel (1903–1977)	Employee	Leader of Communist Youth	Trade Unionist (syndicat unitaire du Bois)
Seine (suburbs)	Louis Marsais (1883–1973)	Upholsterer	Socialist, deputy mayor of Pantin	Trade unionist (Fédération syndicale de l'Ameublement)

Table A15—CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Table A.15—CONTINUED

Département	Name	Occupation	Party affiliation and political role	Union membership
Seine (suburbs)	Gaston Monmousseau (1883–1960)	Worker for the State railways	Member of the political bureau of the Communist Party after 1926	Secretary of the Federation of Railway Workers in April 1920, general secretary of the CGTU (June 1922–November 1932)
Seine (suburbs)	Louis Rouquier (1863–1939)	Agricultural worker	Independent left-wing, mayor of Levallois-Perret (1919–39)	General secretary of the National Federation of Tenants of France and the Colonies and later Secretary General-Treasurer of the National Committee for the Families of Deceased Soldiers.
Seine (suburbs)	Maurice Thorez (1900–64)	Miner	Full-time Communist activist after 1924, secretary general of the Communist Party in the 1930s	None
Seine (suburbs)	Charles Tillon (1897–1993)	Worker	Communist activist after 1921, member of the central committee (1932–52), Minister of Air, Armaments and then Reconstruction (1944–7)	Secretary of the UD-CGTU of Ile-et-Vilaine (1923), member of the executive commission and of the federal office of the CGTU (1931)
Seine-et-Marne	Roger Benenson (1900–1945)	Mechanic	Communist activist in Joinville-le-Pont (Seine)	None
Seine-et-Marne	Arthur Chaussy (1880–1945)	Stonecutter	Socialist activist	Secretary of the executive committee of the Fédération du Bâtiment of Seine
Seine-et-Marne	Ernest Dessaint (1869–1950)	Typographer	Union Republicaine et Democratique (right-wing)	None
Seine-et-Oise	Emile Cossonneau (1893–1943)	Locksmith	Communist activist; mayor of Gagny (Seine-et-Oise)	Member of the bureau of the unitary union of the locksmiths' section
Seine-et-Oise	Pierre Dadot (1892–1959)	Milling worker at the Puteaux Arsenal (Seine)	Communist	Member of the executive committee of the CGTU (1927–33, 1935)
Seine-et-Oise	Antoine Demusois (1895–1968)	State railways employee	Communist activist; mayor of Arnouville-lès-Gonesse (Seine-et-Oise, Val-d'Oise), general councillor, senator (1948–51)	CGT trade unionist, secretary of the National Federation of Railway Workers
Seine-et-Oise	Jean Duclos (1895–1957)	Worker	Communist activist, first adjunct to the mayor of Versailles	General Secretary of ARAC (association of WWI soldiers, 1934–39, 1944–51)
Seine-et-Oise	Lucien Midol (1883–1979)	Mechanic at the PLM railway company	Member of the central committee (1924–59) of the Communist Party (1926–38), mayor of Athis-Mons (Seine-et-Oise, 1944–8)	Secretary of the PLM (Railway) Union then secretary general of the National Federation of Railways



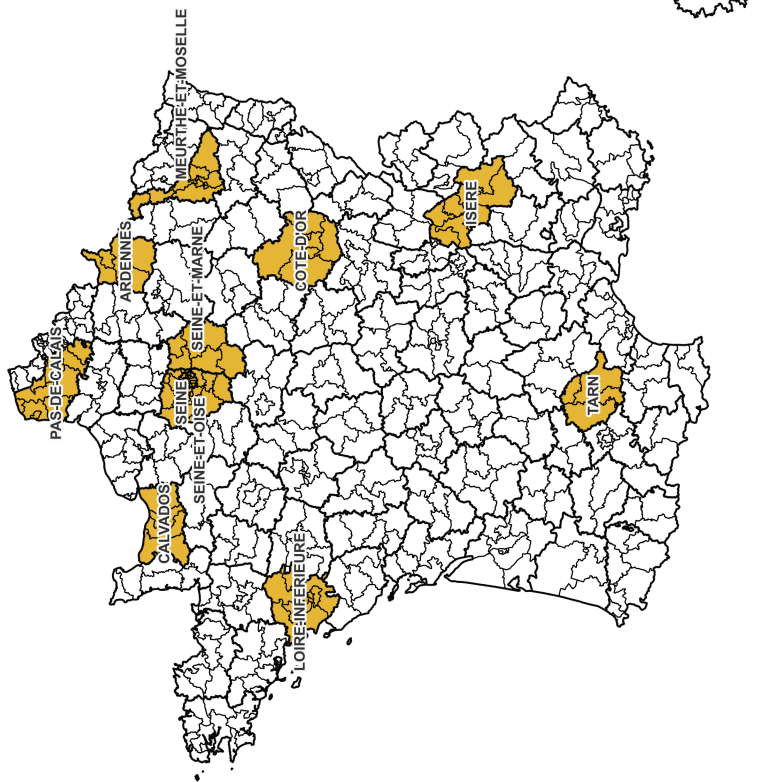
(a) Départements, Arrondissements, and Cantons



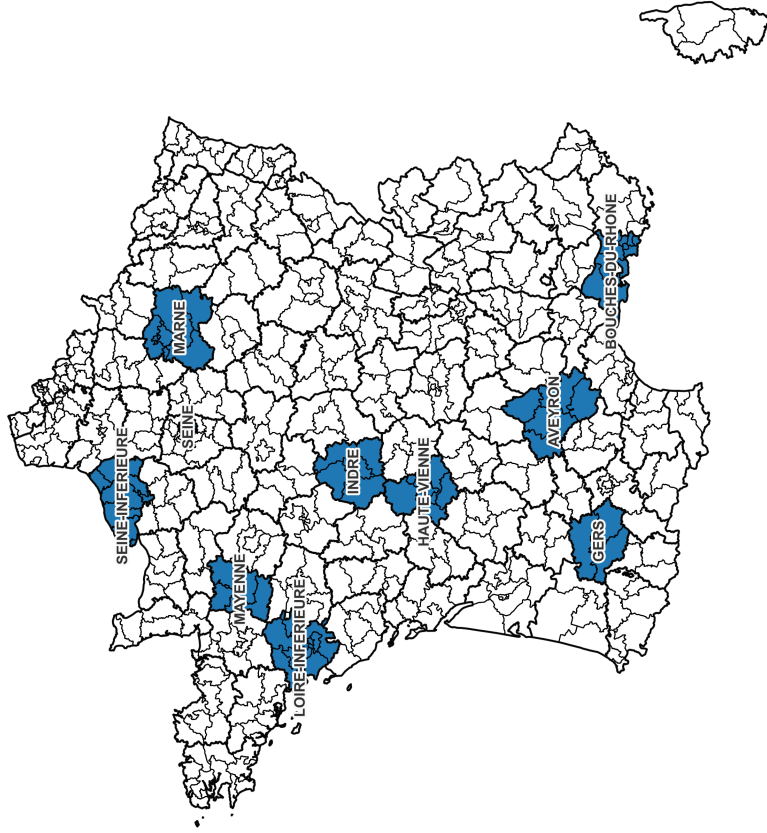
(b) Electoral Constituencies

Figure A1. Territorial Organization of France in 1928

Notes. Panel (a) displays France's main administrative divisions in 1928. Black lines delineate départements, red lines, arrondissements, and gray lines, cantons. Panel (b) displays electoral constituencies in 1928 along with départements in thick black lines. Source: shapefiles from Gay (2020a; 2020b; 2020c; 2020e).

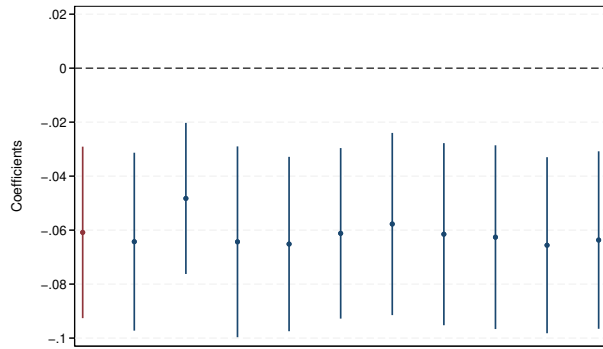


(a) Modified Boundaries

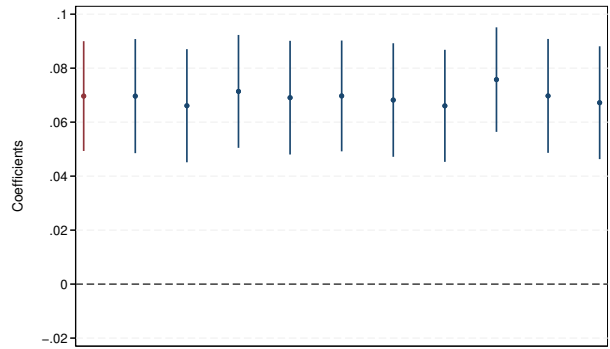


(b) “Counterfactual Reforms”

Figure A2. Départements Encompassing Constituencies with Modified Boundaries and “Counterfactual Reforms” in 1928–36
Notes. Panel (a) highlights départements encompassing electoral constituencies whose boundaries were modified between 1928 and 1936, while panel (b), those whose boundary changes were debated in Parliament but ultimately not enacted. The underlying electoral constituencies in thin black lines correspond to 1928. Source: shapefiles from Gay (2020c; 2020e).



(a) Elected, lawyers



(b) Elected, workers

Figure A3. Robustness: Excluding One Département at a Time

Notes. This figure displays coefficients from estimating Equation 1 along with 95 percent confidence intervals when excluding one of eleven départements at a time (from left to right: Ardennes, Calvados, Côte-d'Or, Isère, Loire-Inférieure, Meurthe-et-Moselle, Pas-de-Calais, Seine-et-Marne, Seine-et-Oise, Tarn, Seine (banlieue).) Red coefficients correspond to baseline estimates.

B. Changes to Boundaries of Electoral Constituencies, 1928–36

Our identification strategy leverages changes to boundaries of electoral constituencies that occurred between the elections of 1928 and 1936. These are of two types: explicit changes following electoral reforms and implicit changes following territorial reforms and the transfer of communes across cantons—the primary building blocks that formed electoral constituencies. We summarize these changes in Table B1 below. We further detail each of the boundary changes which we use in our empirical strategy: Section B.1 discusses the electoral reforms while Section B.2 the territorial reforms. Furthermore, Section B.3 lists the counterfactual electoral reforms, i.e., boundary changes which were proposed by the *Chambre des députés* (Lower House of Parliament, henceforth Chamber) or the *Sénat* (Upper House of Parliament, henceforth Senate) but were ultimately not enacted. We summarize these counterfactual changes in Table B2 below.

We codify these reforms through the nomenclature $X\text{-}YYYY\text{-}Z$, where $X \in \{E, T\}$ such that **E** denotes electoral reforms and **T** territorial reform; $YYYY \in \{2832, 3236\}$, where **2832** denotes a reform between 1928 and 1932, and **3236**, a reform between 1932 and 1936; and $Z \in \mathbb{N}_+$ is the identifier of the change. Counterfactual reforms are preceded by **A**.

Boundaries of several arrondissements and cantons experienced minor modifications between 1928 and 1936 but are not part of our analysis since these boundary changes did not modify the limits of electoral constituencies. Specifically, two arrondissements and four cantons were established during this period: the arrondissements of Gex in the département of Ain and of Saint-Julien-en-Genevois in the département of Haute-Savoie, and the cantons of Port-Saint-Louis-du-Rhône in the département of Bouches-du-Rhône, of Retournac in the département of Haute-Loire, of Saint-Laurent-de-la-Salanque in the département of Pyrénées-Orientales, and of Taverny in the département of Seine-et-Oise.

Table B1. Changes to Boundaries of Electoral Constituencies, 1928–36

A. Electoral Reforms				
Date	Nature	Motive	Département	Constituencies
25-03-1932	Creation from parts of two constituencies	Re-establish former constituency	Ardennes	Sedan from Mézières-1 and Vouziers
25-03-1932	Creation from parts of two constituencies	Re-establish former constituency	Calvados	Falaise from Caen-1 and 2
25-03-1932	Creation from division of two constituencies	Re-establish former constituency	Tarn	Gaillac and Lavaur from Gaillac-Lavaur
20-03-1936	Transfer of one canton across two constituencies	Balanced populations	Loire-Inférieure	Nantes-4 and Paimboeuf
20-03-1936	Creation from parts of one constituency	Balanced populations	Seine-et-Oise	Corbeil-2 and 3
20-03-1936	Creation from parts of three constituencies	Balanced populations	Seine	Saint-Denis-5, 10, 11, and 12
20-03-1936	Transfer of two cantons across two constituencies	Balanced populations	Seine	Saint-Denis-2 and Sceaux-1
B. Territorial Reforms				
Date	Nature	Motive	Département	Constituencies
09-04-1929	Transfer of one commune across cantons	Proximity to administrative center	Seine-et-Marne	Meaux-1 and 2
25-07-1929	Transfer of one commune across cantons	Proximity to administrative center	Ardennes	Réthel and Mézière-1
31-07-1929	Transfer of two communes across cantons	Proximity to administrative center	Isère	Saint-Marcellin and Vienne-2
08-01-1930	Transfer of two communes across cantons	Proximity to administrative center	Pas-de-Calais	Saint-Pol and Arras-1
21-07-1931	Transfer of one commune across cantons	Proximity to administrative center	Côte-d'Or	Semur and Dijon-2
13-03-1932	Transfer of one commune across cantons	Proximity to administrative center	Tarn	Castres-1 and 2
08-04-1935	Transfer of one commune across cantons	Proximity to administrative center	Meurthe-et-Moselle	Toul and Nancy-1

Notes. This table summarizes the boundary changes we use for identification. It distinguishes changes following electoral reforms (Panel A) to those following territorial reforms (Panel B). See the Data Appendix for more details.

Table B2. Counterfactual Reforms to Boundaries of Electoral Constituencies, 1928–36

Date	Nature	Motive	Département	Constituencies
12-02-1932	Creation from division of one constituency	None discussed	Bouches-du-Rhône	Arles-1 and 2 from Arles
12-02-1932	Modification from transfers between two constituencies	Re-establish former constituency	Indre	Châteauroux-1 and 2
26-02-1932	Creation from parts of two constituencies	Re-establish former constituency	Aveyron	Decazeville from Rodez and Villefrance-de-Rouergue
26-02-1932	Modification from transfers between two constituencies	Re-establish former constituency	Loire-Inférieure	Saint-Nazaire-1 and 2
26-02-1932	Creations from division of three constituencies	Balanced populations	Seine	Saint-Denis-2, 7, and 10
26-02-1932	Modification from transfers between two constituencies	Balanced populations	Seine-Inférieure	Rouen-1 and 2
26-02-1932	Creation from division of one constituency	Re-establish former constituency	Marne	Chalons-sur-Marne-1 and 2
26-02-1932	Modification from transfers between two constituencies	Re-establish former constituency	Mayenne	Château-Gontier and Laval
17-03-1932	Creation from parts of four constituencies	Balanced populations	Bouches-du-Rhône	Marseille-9 from Marseille-1, 4, 6, and 7
17-03-1932	Modification from transfers between two constituencies	Balanced populations	Haute-Vienne	Limoge-1 and 2
17-03-1932	Creation from division of one constituency	Re-establish former constituency	Gers	Lecture, Condom, and Condom-Lectoure
12-03-1936	Modification from transfers between two constituencies	Balanced populations	Bouches-du-Rhône	Aix-1 and Aix-2

Notes. This table summarizes the counterfactual boundary changes we use for robustness. *Date* corresponds to the date of rejection of the proposed change, either in the Lower House or in the Upper House. See the Data Appendix for more details.

B.1. Electoral Reforms

The electoral geography that prevailed during the 1928 election resulted from the electoral law of 21 July 1927. Afterwards, two electoral laws explicitly modified electoral constituencies: the law of 25 March 1932 pertained to the 1932 election (Section B.1.1) and the law of 20 March 1936 pertained to the 1936 election (Section B.1.2).

B.1.1. The Electoral Law of 25 March 1932

The electoral law of 25 March 1932 prescribed the electoral rules and geography relevant to the May 1932 parliamentary elections.¹ For the most part, parliamentary debates on the bill concerned the nature of the voting system, which had transitioned from a multi-member plurality system in 1924 to a single-member district system in 1928 (Gaudillère, 1995; Marty, 2013; Ehrhard and Passard, 2020).² Still, a share of these debates dealt with the modifications of electoral constituencies. For each of these boundary changes, we describe below the nature of the reform, reasons, parliamentary support, archival material, and the data curation which enables us to integrate it into our panel dataset.

Electoral Reform E-2832-1

- **Nature of reform** Creation of the constituency of **Sedan** from the division of the constituencies of **Mézières-1** and **Vouziers** (département of **Ardennes**) through the transfer of several cantons (see Figure B1).
- **Motivation for reform** Re-establishment of the former constituency of **Sedan** to balance the number of inhabitants and of communes across constituencies within the département, even if this were to create a constituency with less than 40,000 inhabitants (see [JODC, 11 July 1927, 2534–6](#)).
- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: Charles Boutet (Ardennes, journalist, *SFIO* (socialist, left-wing)), Jules Courtehoux (Ardennes, landowner, *Parti Radical-Socialist* (left-wing)), Ferdinand Ledoux (Ardennes, businessman, *Parti Radical-Socialist* (left-wing)), Firmin Leguet (Ardennes, landowner, *Union Démocratique et Radicale* (right-wing)). Senate: electoral commission. Amendment adopted by the Chamber and by the Senate.

¹*Loi relative à l'élection des députés* (JO, 27 March 1932, 3194–228). For a legislative history of this bill, see [BALD, 102\(1\), 92, footnote 1](#).

²The electoral law pertaining to the 1928 parliamentary election was enacted on 21 July 1927 (*Loi portant rétablissement du scrutin uninominal pour l'élection des députés*, JO, 22 July 1927, 7547–79). For a legislative history of this bill, see [BALD, 97\(1\), 162, footnote 1](#).

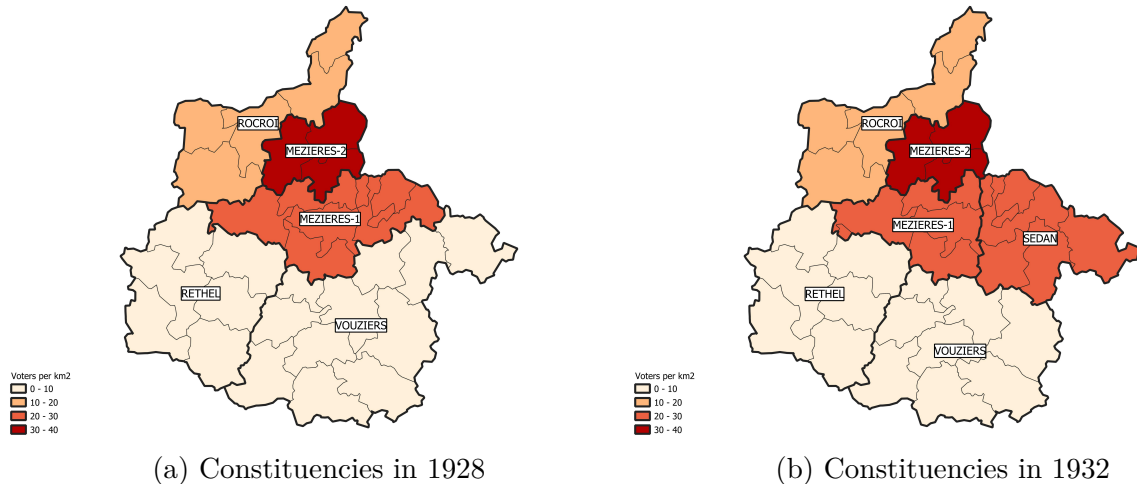


Figure B1. Electoral Reform E-2832-1, Département of Ardennes, 1928–32

Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons.

- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, tenth deliberation: [JODC, 12 February 1932, 649](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 26 February 1932, 203](#).
- **Data curation** Two virtual constituencies are created, representing the constituency of Sedan for the elections of 1928: Sedan (Mézières-1) (0805), identical to Mézières-1 (0801) in 1928, and Sedan (Vouziers) (0807), identical to Vouziers (0806) in 1928. Constituencies of Sedan (Mézières-1) and Sedan (Vouziers) are identical in 1932 and 1936. Constituencies of Mézières-1, Vouziers, Sedan (Mézières-1), and Sedan (Vouziers) form a single cluster (0899) throughout.

Electoral Reform E-2832-2

- **Nature of reform** Creation of the constituency of Falaise from the division of the constituencies of Caen-1 and Caen-2 (département of Calvados) through the transfer of several cantons (see Figure B2).
- **Motivation for reform** Re-establishment of the former constituency of Falaise to balance the number of inhabitants and of communes across constituencies of the département, even if this were to create a constituency with less than 40,000 inhabitants.
- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: Fernand Engerand (Calvados, avocat, *Union démocratique et radicale* (right-wing)). Senate: electoral commission. Amendment rejected by the Chamber but adopted by the Senate.

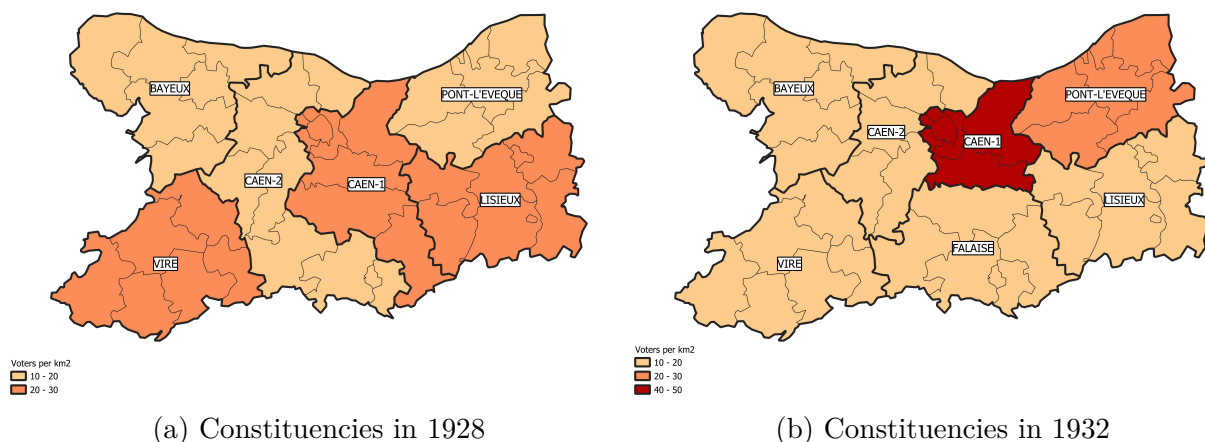


Figure B2. Electoral Reform E-2832-2, Département of Calvados, 1928–32

Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons.

- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, tenth deliberation: [JODC, 12 February 1932, 650–1](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 26 February 1932, 203](#).
- **Data curation** Two virtual constituencies are created, representing the constituency of Falaise for the elections of 1928: Falaise (Caen-1) (1404), identical to Caen-1 (1402) in 1928, and Falaise (Caen-2) (1408), identical to Caen-2 (1403) in 1928. Constituencies of Falaise (Caen-1) and Falaise (Caen-2) are identical in 1932 and 1936. Constituencies of Caen-1, Caen-2, Falaise (Caen-1), and Falaise (Caen-2) form a single cluster (1499) throughout.

Electoral Reform E-2832-3

- **Nature of reform** Creation of the constituencies of Lavour and Gaillac from the division of the constituency of Gaillac - Lavour (département of Tarn) through the transfer of several cantons (see Figure B3).
- **Motivation for reform** Re-establishment of the former constituency of Lavour to balance the number of inhabitants across constituencies of the département and because the economic interests and means of communication are too dissimilar between Gaillac and Lavour.
- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: Jean Calvet (Tarn, businessman, *SFIO* (socialist, left-wing)). Senate: electoral commission. Amendment rejected by the Chamber, adopted by the Senate.

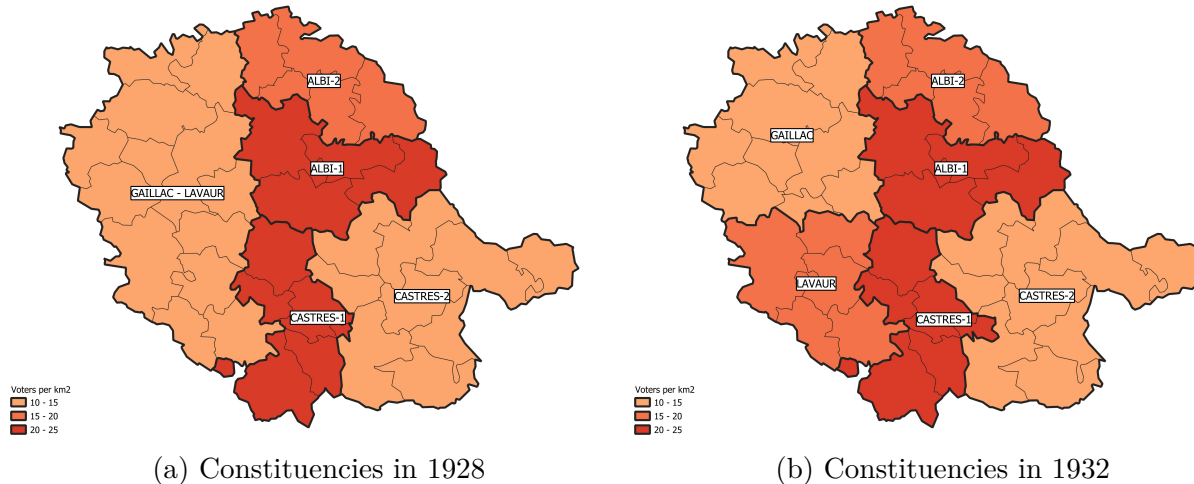


Figure B3. Electoral Reform E-2832-3, Département of Tarn, 1928–32

Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons.

- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, tenth deliberation: [JODC, 12 February 1932, 652](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 26 February 1932, 209](#).
- **Data curation** One virtual constituency is created, representing the constituency of Lavaur for the elections of 1928: Lavaur (8106), identical to Gaillac - Lavaur (8105) in 1928, which is renamed Gaillac for the purpose of a balanced panel. Constituencies of Gaillac and Lavaur form a single cluster (8199) throughout.

B.1.2. The Electoral Reform of March 20, 1936

The electoral law of 20 March 1936 prescribed the electoral rules and geography pertaining to the April 1932 parliamentary elections.³ Parliamentary debates on the bill were relatively short and exclusively focused on five changes to electoral constituencies. Four of them were adopted in the Chamber and accepted by the Senate, despite some reluctance. This hastiness was mostly due to the lack of time to examine the bill as elections were to be held one month later.

Electoral Reform E-3236-1

- **Nature of reform** Modification of the constituencies of Nantes-4 and Paimboeuf (département of Loire-Inférieure) through the transfer of one canton (see Figure

³*Loi modifiant le tableau des circonscriptions électorales annexé à la loi du 25 mars 1932* (JO, 21 March 1936, 3187–9). For a legislative history of this bill, see [BALD, 106\(1\), 94, footnote 1](#).

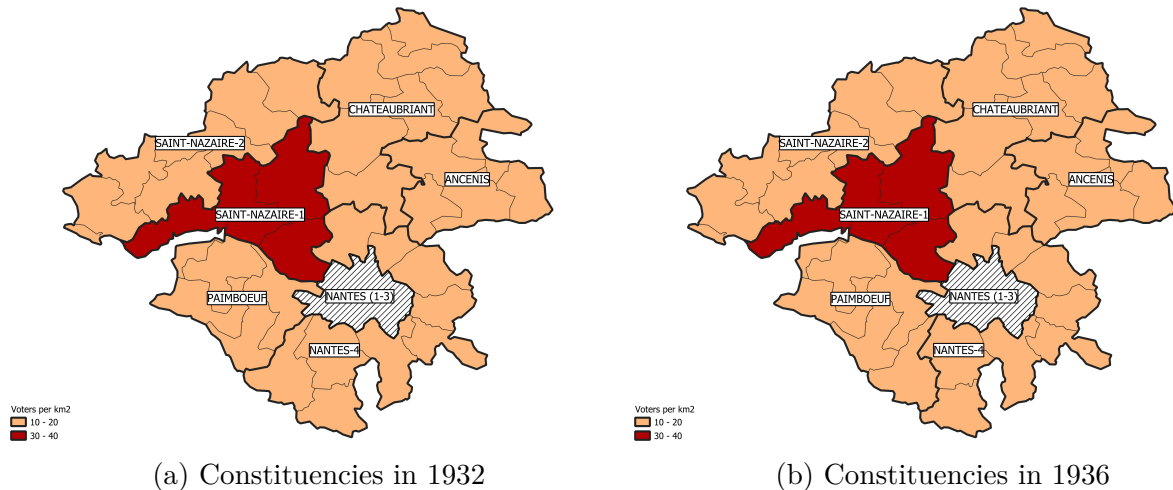


Figure B4. Electoral Reform E-3236-1, Département of Loire-Inférieure, 1932-6

Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons. Constituencies of Nantes-1 through Nantes-3 are excluded for readability.

B4).

- **Motivation for reform** Transfer of the canton of Machecoul from the constituency of Nantes-4 to that of Paimboeuf to balance the number of their inhabitants across these constituencies.
- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: electoral commission. Amendment adopted by the Chamber.
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, first deliberation: [JODC, 12 March 1936, 889-90](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 17 March 1936, 325-7](#).
- **Data curation** The constituencies of Nantes-4 (4406) and Paimboeuf (4407) form a single cluster (4498) throughout.

Electoral Reform E-3236-2

- **Nature of reform** Creation of the constituency of Corbeil-3 (département of Seine-et-Oise) through the division of the constituency of Corbeil-2 (see Figure B5).
- **Motivation for reform** Creation of a new constituency because the population of the constituency Corbeil-2 has increased to over 200,000 inhabitants.

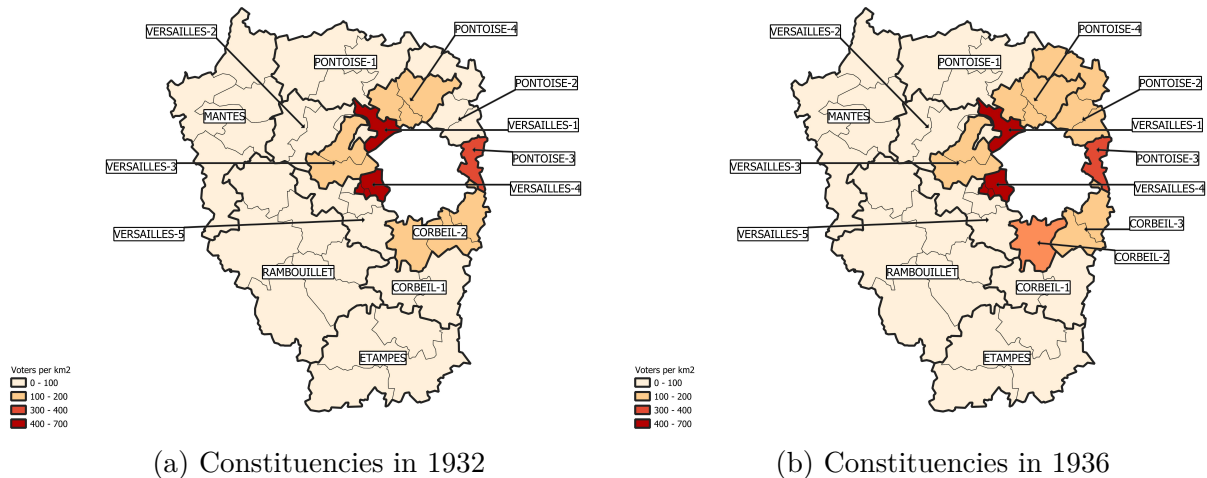


Figure B5. Electoral Reform E-3236-2, Département of Seine-et-Oise, 1932-6

Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons.

- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: electoral commission. Amendment adopted by the Chamber.
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, first deliberation: [JODC, 12 March 1936, 888-9](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 17 March 1936, 325-7](#).
- **Data curation** One virtual constituency is created, representing the constituency of Corbeil-3 for the elections of 1928 and 1932: Corbeil-3 (7803), identical to Corbeil-2 (7802) in 1928 and 1932. Constituencies of Corbeil-2 and Corbeil-3 form a single cluster (7899) throughout.

Electoral Reform E-3236-3

- **Nature of reform** Creation of the constituency of Saint-Denis-12 (département of Seine) through the modification of the constituencies of Saint-Denis-10, Saint-Denis-5, and Saint-Denis-11 (see Figure B6). In particular, Saint-Denis-12 is created from a transfer of communes previously belonging to Saint-Denis-10 and Saint-Denis-11, while one commune of Saint-Denis-10 is transferred to Saint-Denis-5.
- **Motivation for reform** Creation of a new constituency because the population of the constituency Saint-Denis-10 has increased to over 150,000 inhabitants.

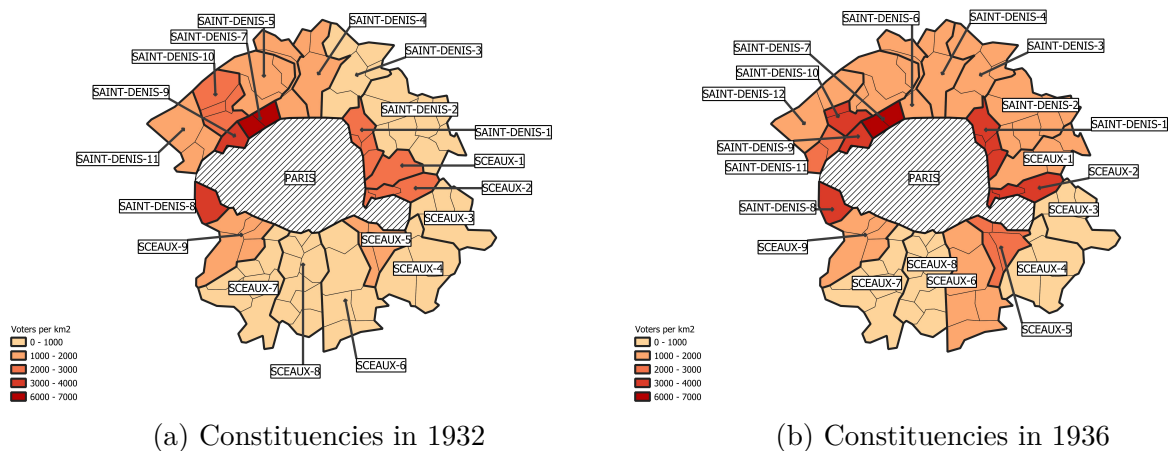


Figure B6. Electoral Reform E-3236-3, Département of Seine, 1932–6

Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons.

- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: electoral commission. Amendment adopted by the Chamber.
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, first deliberation: [JODC, 12 March 1936, 888–9](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 17 March 1936, 325–7](#).
- **Data curation** Two virtual constituencies are created, representing the constituency of Saint-Denis-12 for the elections of 1928 and 1932: Saint-Denis-12 (Saint-Denis-10) (7543), identical to Saint-Denis-10 (7541) in 1928 and 1932, and Saint-Denis-12 (Saint-Denis-11) (7561), identical to Saint-Denis-11 (7542) in 1928 and 1932. Because this also entailed a change in Saint-Denis-5 (7547), constituencies of Saint-Denis-5, Saint-Denis-10, Saint-Denis-11, Saint-Denis-12 (Saint-Denis-10), and Saint-Denis-12 (Saint-Denis-11) for a single cluster (7599) throughout.

Electoral Reform E-3236-4

- **Nature of reform** Modification of the constituencies of Saint-Denis-2 and Sceaux-1 through the transfer of two communes (see Figure B6).
- **Motivation for reform** Modification to balance populations across these two constituencies.

- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: electoral commission. Amendment adopted by the Chamber.
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, first deliberation: [JODC, 12 March 1936, 888–9](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 17 March 1936, 325–7](#).
- **Data curation** The constituencies of [Saint-Denis-2 \(7544\)](#) and [Sceaux-1 \(7552\)](#) form a single cluster (7598) throughout.

B.2. Territorial Changes

B.2.1. Territorial Changes before the 1928 Election

Territorial Change T-2832-1

- **Nature of reform** Transfer of the commune of [Lalobbe](#) from the canton of [Novion-Porcien](#) (constituency of [Réthel](#)) to the canton of [Signy-l'Abbaye](#) (constituency of [Mézière-1](#)) in the département of [Ardennes](#).
- **Motivation for reform** Closer geographic proximity of [Lalobbe](#) to [Signy-l'Abbaye](#) (4 km) than to [Novion-Porcien](#) (11 km) as well as better means of communication and more integrated economic ties with [Signy-l'Abbaye](#).
- **Parliamentary documents** Bill proposal of 14 June 1928: [IS 211, 1929, 1–2](#). Parliamentary report of 29 March 1929, by senator [Pol Chevalier](#) (Meuse, solicitor, *Union Républicaine* (right-wing)): [IS 264, 1929, 1–3](#). Enacted law of 25 June 1929: [JO, 28 June 1929, 7154](#).
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, first deliberation: [JODC, 23 March 1929, 1284](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 20 June 1929, 552](#).
- **Data curation** The constituencies of [Réthel \(0803\)](#) and [Mézière-1 \(0801\)](#) form a single cluster (0899) throughout along with the constituencies of [Vouziers](#), [Sedan \(Mézières-1\)](#), and [Sedan \(Vouziers\)](#), as the constituency of [Mézière-1](#) was also affected by electoral reform [E-2832-1](#).

Territorial Change T-2832-2

- **Nature of reform** Transfer of the commune of [Grosbois-en-Montagne](#) from the canton of [Pouilly-en-Auxois](#) (constituency of [Semur](#)) to the canton of [Sombernon](#) (constituency of [Dijon-2](#)) in the département of [Côte-d'Or](#).

- **Motivation for reform** Better means of communication of Grosbois-en-Montagne with Somberton than with Pouilly-en-Auxois.
- **Parliamentary documents** Bill proposal : [IS 413, 1930, 1–2](#). Parliamentary report of 26 March 1931, by senator Joseph Coucoureux (Aveyron, lawyer, *Union démocratique et radicale* (right-wing)): [IS 296, 1931, 1–3](#). Enacted law of 21 July 1931: [JO, 25 July 1931, 8147](#).
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, first deliberation: [JODC, 2 July 1931, 3598](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 5 May 1931, 939](#).
- **Data curation** The constituencies of Semur (2105) and Dijon-2 (2104) form a single cluster (2199) throughout.

Territorial Change T-2832-3

- **Nature of reform** Transfer of the communes of Sardieu and Péno1 from the canton of Saint-Etienne-de-Saint-Geoirs (constituency of Saint-Marcellin) to the canton of La Côte-Saint-André (constituency of Vienne-2) in the département of Isère.
- **Motivation for reform** Closer geographic proximity of Sardieu and Péno1 to La Côte-Saint-André (5 km) than to Saint-Marcellin (15 km) as well as better means of communication with La Côte-Saint-André.
- **Parliamentary documents** Bill proposal of 23 May 1929: [IS 443, 1929, 1–2](#). Parliamentary report of 11 July 1929, by senator Jean Coyrard (Charente-Inférieure, doctor, *Gauche Démocratique* (left-wing)): [IS 446, 1929, 1–2](#). Enacted law of 31 July 1929: [JO, 3 August 1929, 8874](#).
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, first deliberation: [JODC, 11 June 1929, 1990](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 22 July 1929, 896](#).
- **Data curation** The constituencies of Saint-Marcellin (3806) and Vienne-2 (3808) form a single cluster (3899) throughout.

Territorial Change T-2832-4

- **Nature of reform** Transfer of the communes of Pommera and Mondicourt from the canton of Avesnes (constituency of Saint-Pol) to the canton of Pas-en-Artois (constituency of Arras-1) in the département of Pas-de-Calais.

- **Motivation for reform** Closer geographic proximity of Pommera and Mondicourt to Pas-en-Artois (4.5 km and 3 km, respectively) than to Avesnes (16 km) as well as better means of communication and more integrated administrative ties with Pas-en-Artois.
- **Parliamentary documents** Bill proposal of 24 January 1929: [IS 582, 1929, 1–2](#). Parliamentary report of 24 December 1929, by senator Jean Coyrard (Charente-Inférieure, doctor, *Gauche Démocratique* (left-wing)): [IS 735, 1929, 1–2](#). Enacted law of 8 January 1930: [JO, 10 January 1930, 330](#).
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, first deliberation: [JODC, 25 July 1929, 2759](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 29 December 1929, 1383–4](#).
- **Data curation** The constituencies of Saint-Pol (6215) and Arras-1 (6201) form a single cluster (6299) throughout.

Territorial Change T-2832-5

- **Nature of reform** Transfer of the commune of Isles-lès-Villenoy from the canton of Claye-Souilly (constituency of Meaux-1) to the canton of Meaux (constituency of Meaux-2) in the département of Seine-et-Marne.
- **Motivation for reform** Closer geographic proximity of Isles-lès-Villenoy to Meaux (7 km) than to Claye-Souilly (15 km) as well as better means of communication with Meaux.
- **Parliamentary documents** Bill proposal of 1 December 1928: [IS 200, 1929, 1–2](#). Parliamentary report of 30 March 1929, by senator Abel Lefèvre (Eure, journalist, *Gauche Démocratique* (left-wing)): [IS 291, 1929, 1](#). Enacted law of 9 April 1929: [JO, 12 April 1929, 4315](#).
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, first deliberation: [JODC, 23 March 1929, 1285](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 30 March 1929, 443](#).
- **Data curation** The constituencies of Meaux-1 (7703) and Meaux-2 (7704) form a single cluster (7799) throughout.

Territorial Change T-2832-6

- **Nature of reform** Transfer of the commune of Noailhac from the canton of Mazamet (constituency of Castres-2) to the canton of Labruguière (constituency of Castres-1) in the département of Tarn.
- **Motivation for reform** Closer geographic proximity of Noailhac to Labruguière (9 km) than to Mazamet (14 km) as well as better means of communication with Labruguière and more integrated economic ties.
- **Parliamentary documents** Bill proposal of 28 May 1931: [IS 955, 1931, 1–2](#). Parliamentary report of 23 February 1932, by senator Alfred Grand (Creuse, solicitor, *Gauche Démocratique* (left-wing)): [IS 140, 1932, 1–2](#). Enacted law of 13 March 1932: [JO, 16 March 1932, 2730](#).
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, first deliberation: [JODC, 14 December 1931, 4482](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 3 March 1932, 242](#).
- **Data curation** The constituencies of Castres-1 (8103) and Castres-2 (8104) form a single cluster (8198) throughout.

B.2.2. Territorial Changes before the 1936 Election

Territorial Change T-3236-1

- **Nature of reform** Transfer of the commune of Fey-en-Haye from the canton of Thiaucourt (constituency of Toul) to the canton of Pont-à-Mousson (constituency of Nancy-1) in the département of Meurthe-et-Moselle.
- **Motivation for reform** Closer geographic proximity of Noailhac to Pont-à-Mousson (7 km) than to Thiaucourt (10 km) as well as better means of communication and more integrated administrative ties with Pont-à-Mousson.
- **Parliamentary documents** Bill proposal of 29 November 1932: [IS 524, 1934, 1–2](#). Parliamentary report of 7 March 1935, by senator Joseph Rambaud (Ariège, doctor, *Gauche Démocratique* (left-wing)): [IS 241, 1935, 1–3](#). Enacted law of 8 April 1935: [JO, 9 April 1935, 3980](#).
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, first deliberation: [JODC, 27 June 1934, 1808](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 19 March 1935, 307](#).
- **Data curation** The constituencies of Toul (5407) and Nancy-1 (5404) form a single cluster (5499) throughout.

B.3. Counterfactual Electoral Reforms

In this section, we discuss the 12 counterfactual electoral reforms, i.e., boundaries changes which were considered by the Parliament but ultimately not adopted, before the 1932 and 1936 elections.

B.3.1. Counterfactual Electoral Reforms in 1932

We list below the counterfactual reforms which were discussed but ultimately not adopted in the electoral bill passed on 25 March 1932.

Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A1

- **Nature of counterfactual reform** Creation of the constituency of Decazeville (or Villefranche-de-Rouergue-2) from the division of the constituencies Rodez and Villefranche-de-Rouergue (département of Aveyron) through the transfer of several cantons (see Figure B7).
- **Motivation for counterfactual reform** Re-establishment of the former constituency of Villefranche-de-Rouergue-2 (or Decazeville) as it now reaches the minimum inhabitants requirement of 40,000 for a constituency.
- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: Louis Bonnefous (Aveyron, doctor, *Fédération Républicaine* (right-wing)), Emile Borel (Aveyron, professor, left-wing independent), Jean Molinié (Aveyron, doctor, independent), Jean Niel (Aveyron, lawyer, independent), and Paul Ramadier (Aveyron, lawyer, *SFIO* (socialist, left-wing)). Senate: Joseph Coucoureux (Aveyron, lawyer, *Union démocratique et radicale* (right-wing)). Amendment rejected by the Chamber and by the Senate.
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, tenth deliberation: [JODC, 12 February 1932, 649](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 26 February 1932, 210](#).
- **Data curation** The constituencies of Rodez (1203) and Villefranche-de-Rouergue (1205) form a single cluster (1299) throughout.

Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A2

- **Nature of counterfactual reform** Creation of the constituencies of Arles-1 and Arles-2 from the division of the constituency of Arles (département of Bouches-du-Rhône) through the transfer of several cantons (see Figure B8).

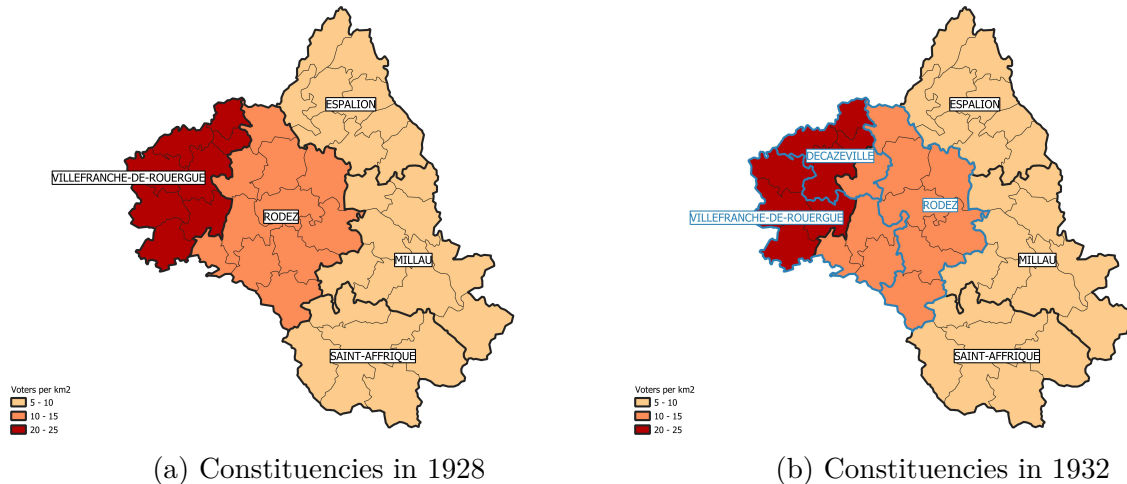


Figure B7. Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A1, Département of Aveyron, 1928–32

Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons. Thick blue lines represent counterfactual reforms to electoral constituencies.

- **Motivation for counterfactual reform** No specific reason invoked.
- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: Anatole Sixte-Quenin (Bouches-du-Rhône, journalist, *SFIO* (socialist, left-wing)). Amendment rejected by the Chamber.
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, tenth deliberation: [JODC, 12 February 1932, 649–50](#).
- **Data curation** The constituency of Arles (1303) forms a single cluster throughout.

Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A3

- **Nature of counterfactual reform** Creation of the constituency of Marseille-9 from the division of the constituencies of Marseille-1, Marseille-4, Marseille-6, and Marseille-7 (département of Bouches-du-Rhône) through the transfer of parts of the commune of Marseille.
- **Motivation for counterfactual reform** The population of Marseille has increased to 800,000 inhabitants, which calls for another representative in the Chamber—in comparison, Lyon has 12 representatives but has less inhabitants.
- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: Joseph-Louis Régis (Bouches-du-Rhône, doctor, *Républicain de gauche* (right-wing)). Amendment rejected by the Chamber in first and second reading.

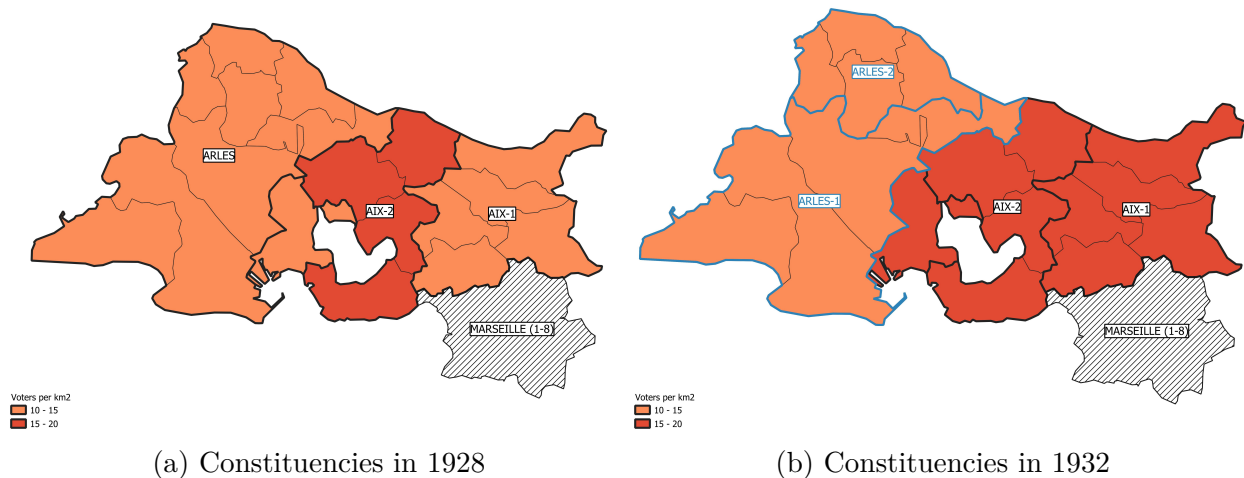


Figure B8. Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A2, Département of Bouches-du-Rhône, 1928–32

Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons. Thick blue lines represent counterfactual reforms to electoral constituencies. Constituencies of Marseille-1 through Marseille-8 are excluded for readability.

- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, tenth deliberation: [JODC, 12 February 1932, 649–50](#). Chamber, second reading: [JODC, 17 March 1932, 1599–600](#).
- **Data curation** The constituencies of Marseille-1 (1304), Marseille-4 (1307), Marseille-6 (1309), and Marseille-7 (1310) form a single cluster (1399) throughout.

Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A4

- **Nature of counterfactual reform** Modification of Châteauroux-1 and Châteauroux-2 (département of Indre) by the transfer of one canton between them (see Figure B9).
- **Motivation for counterfactual reform** Transfer of one canton from Châteauroux-2 that was historically attached to Châteauroux-1.
- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: Joseph Patureau-Mirand (Indre, lawyer, *Action démocratique et sociale* (right-wing)). Amendment withdrawn.
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, tenth deliberation: [JODC, 12 February 1932, 651](#).
- **Data curation** The constituencies of Châteauroux-1 (3601) and Châteauroux-2 (3602) form a single cluster (3699) throughout.

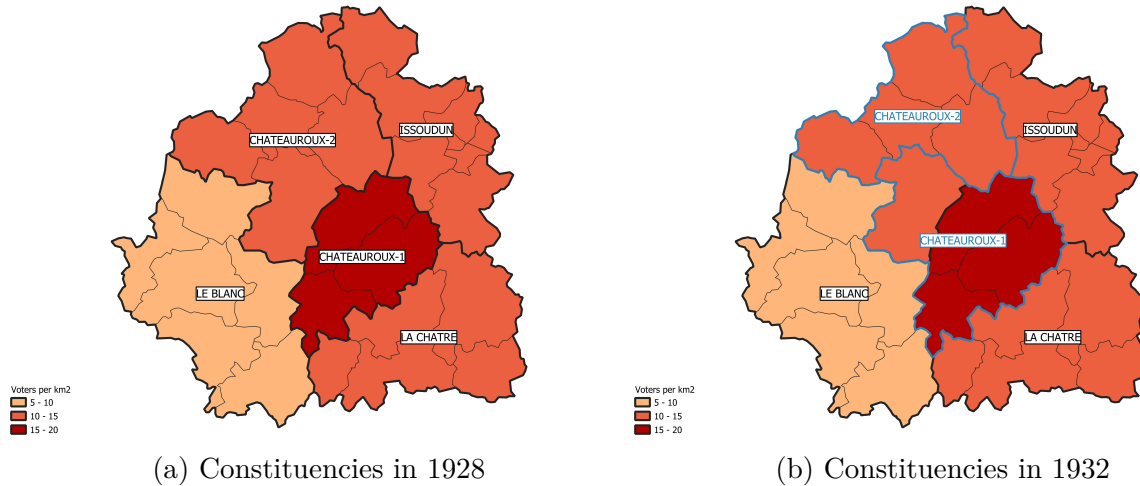


Figure B9. Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A4, Département of Indre, 1928–32

Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons. Thick blue lines represent counterfactual reforms to electoral constituencies.

Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A5

- **Nature of counterfactual reform** Modification of the constituencies of Saint-Nazaire-1 and Saint-Nazaire-2 (département of Loire-Inférieure) through the transfer of several cantons (see Figure B10).
- **Motivation for counterfactual reform** The exchange of one canton from Saint-Nazaire-1 for two cantons from Saint-Nazaire-2 would re-establish the historical boundaries of both constituencies and make their geographic and economic characteristics internally consistent.
- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: Joseph Le Cour Grandmaison (Loire-Inférieure, former army officer/landowner, independent). Senate: Louis Linyer (Loire-Inférieure, lawyer, *Union Nationale* (right-wing)), Albert de Dion (Loire-Inférieure, businessman, *Union Nationale* (right-wing)), Jean Babin-Chevaye (Loire-Inférieure, businessman, *Union Nationale* (right-wing)), Ambroise de Landemont (Loire-Inférieure, landowner, *Union Nationale* (right-wing)), Charles François-Saint-Maur (Loire-Inférieure, lawyer, *Union Nationale* (right-wing)). Amendment adopted by the Chamber but rejected by the Senate.
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, tenth deliberation: [JODC, 12 February 1932, 651](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 26 February 1932, 204–6](#).

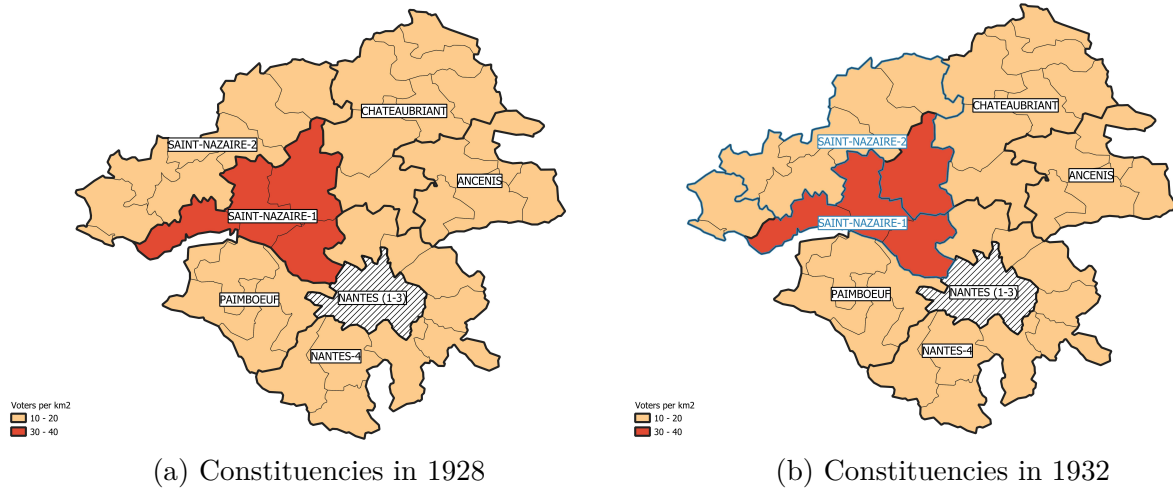


Figure B10. Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A5, Département of Loire-Inférieure, 1928–32

Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons. Thick blue lines represent counterfactual reforms to electoral constituencies. Constituencies of Nantes-1 through Nantes-3 are excluded for readability.

- **Data curation** The constituencies of Saint-Nazaire-1 (4408) and Saint-Nazaire-2 (4409) form a single cluster (4499) throughout.

Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A6

- **Nature of counterfactual reform** Division in half of the constituencies of Saint-Denis-2, Saint-Denis-7, and Saint-Denis-10 (département of Seine) through the transfer of several communes (see Figure B11).⁴
- **Motivation for counterfactual reform** The population of each of these constituencies increased and is above the 100,000-inhabitant threshold required for the creation of a new constituency.

⁴Several senators (André Morizet (Seine, mid-level civil servant, *SFIO* (socialist, left-wing)), Auguste Mounié (Seine, pharmacist, *Gauche Démocratique* (left-wing)), Paul Strauss (Seine, journalist, *Gauche Démocratique* (left-wing)), Théodore Steeg (Seine, professor, *Gauche Démocratique* (left-wing)), Amédée Dherbécourt (Seine, worker, *SFIO* (socialist, left-wing)), Alexandre Bachelet (Seine, teacher, left-wing independant), Lucien Voilin (Seine, worker, *SFIO* (socialist, left-wing)), and Charles Auray (Seine, employee, *SFIO* (socialist, left-wing))) further proposed to create three constituencies by modifying the those of the arrondissements of Saint-Denis and Sceaux, which corresponded to the constituencies of Saint-Denis-1 through Saint-Denis-11 and Sceaux-1 through Sceaux-9, but without further precision on the modifications to operate. They withdrew this amendment during the first deliberation in the Senate (see [JODS, 26 February 1932, 208–9](#)).

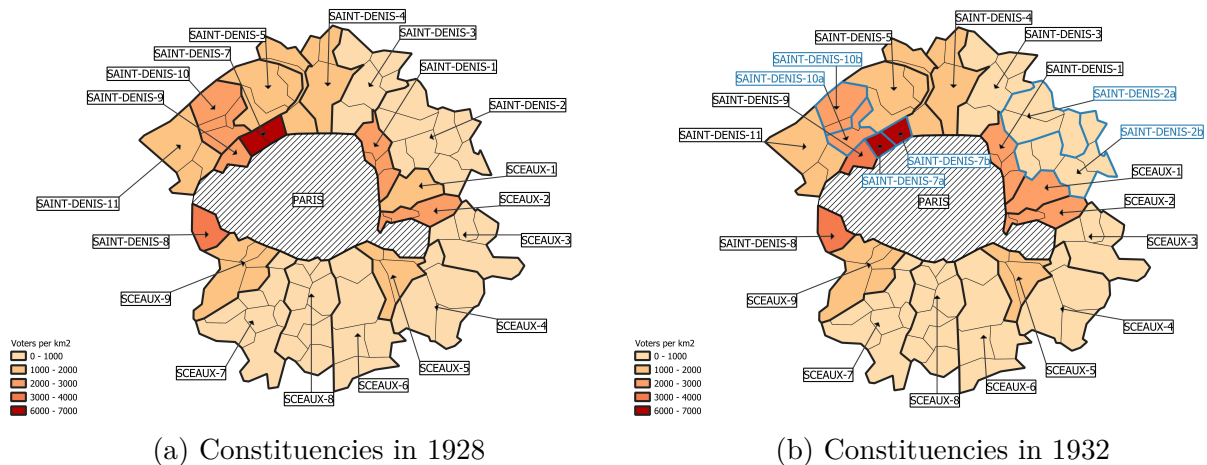


Figure B11. Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A6, Département of Seine, 1928–32

Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent communes. Thick blue lines represent counterfactual reforms to electoral constituencies. Constituencies of Paris are excluded for readability.

- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: Jean Goy (Seine, journalist, *Parti Radical et Radical-Socialiste* (left-wing)) and Louis Dubois (Seine, businessman, *Union démocratique et radicale* (right-wing)). Amendment rejected by the Chamber.
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, tenth deliberation: [JODC, 12 February 1932, 651–2](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 26 February 1932, 204–6](#).
- **Data curation** The constituencies of Saint-Denis-2 (7543), Saint-Denis-7 (7548), and Saint-Denis-10 (7541) each form a single cluster as these suggested modifications are independent from one another.

Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A7

- **Nature of counterfactual reform** Modification of the constituencies of Rouen-2 and Rouen-3 (département of Seine-Inférieure) through the transfer of parts of the commune of Rouen.⁵
- **Motivation for counterfactual reform** Balancing the number of inhabitants across constituencies of this département.

⁵The proposed modification is too complex to provide an accurate representation, as it relies on the transfer of Rouen’s polling stations.

- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: Edmond Blondel (Seine-Inférieure, businessman, *Action démocratique et sociale* (right-wing)). Amendment adopted by the Chamber but rejected by the Senate.
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, tenth deliberation: [JODC, 12 February 1932, 652](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 26 February 1932, 209](#).
- **Data curation** The constituencies of Rouen-2 (7608) and Rouen-3 (7609) form a single cluster (7699) throughout.

Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A8

- **Nature of counterfactual reform** Modification of the constituencies of Limoges-1 and Limoges-2 (département of Haute-Vienne) through the transfer of several cantons (see Figure B12).
- **Motivation for counterfactual reform** Balancing the number of inhabitants across constituencies of this département and restore the territorial continuity of both constituencies.
- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: Joseph Basset (Haute-Vienne, doctor, *Républicain socialiste* (left-wing)). Amendment adopted by the Chamber in first reading, rejected by the Senate, then withdrawn in the Chamber in second reading.
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, tenth deliberation: [JODC, 12 February 1932, 652](#). Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 26 February 1932, 209](#). Chamber, second reading: [JODC, 17 March 1932, 1601](#)
- **Data curation** The constituencies of Limoges-1 (8702) and Limoges-2 (8703) form a single cluster (8799) throughout.

Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A9

- **Nature of counterfactual reform** Creation of the constituencies of Lectoure and Condom from the division of the constituency of Condom - Lectoure (département of Gers) through the transfer of several cantons (see Figure B13).
- **Motivation for reform** Re-establishment of the former constituency of Lectoure to balance the number of inhabitants across constituencies of the département and because the economic interests and means of communication are too dissimilar between Lectoure and Condom.

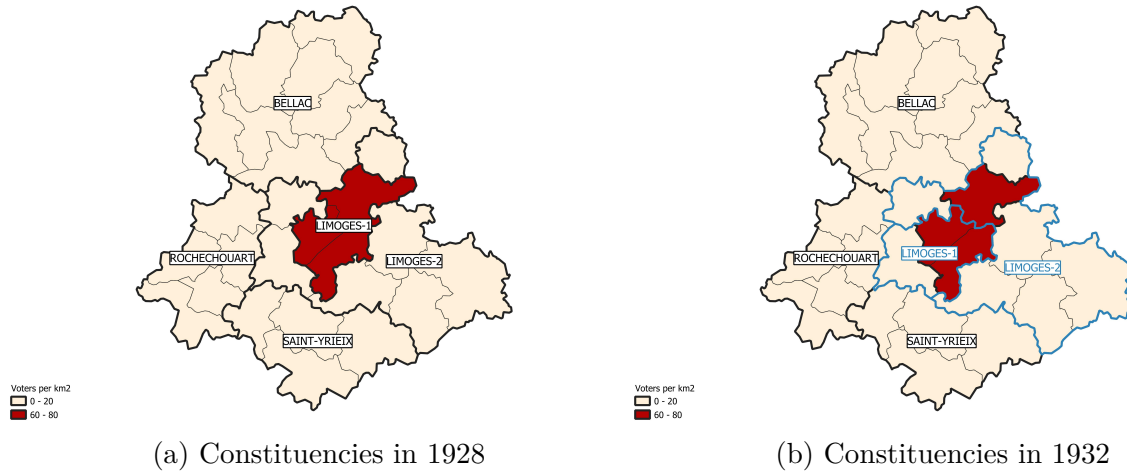


Figure B12. Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A8, Département of Haute-Vienne, 1928-32

Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons. Thick blue lines represent counterfactual reforms to electoral constituencies.

- **Parliamentary support** Senate: Jean Philip (Gers, pastor then journalist, *Gauche Démocratique* (left-wing)). Chamber: Joseph Masclanis (Gers, doctor, *Gauche Radicale* (left-wing)). Amendment withdrawn in the Senate and rejected by the Chamber in second reading.
- **Parliamentary debates** Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 26 February 1932, 203-204](#). Chamber, second reading: [JODC, 17 March 1932, 1601](#).
- **Data curation** The constituency of Condom - Lectoure (3202) forms a single cluster throughout.

Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A10

- **Nature of counterfactual reform** Creation of the constituencies of Chalons-sur-Marne-1 and Chalons-sur-Marne-2 from the division of the constituency of Chalons-sur-Marne (département of Marne) through the transfer of several cantons (see Figure B14).
- **Motivation for reform** Re-establishment of the former constituency of Sainte-Menehould in recognition of its sacrifice during World War I.
- **Parliamentary support** Senate: Henry Merlin (Marne, lawyer, *Gauche Démocratique Radicale et Radicale Socialiste* (left-wing)), Ernest Monfeullart (Marne,

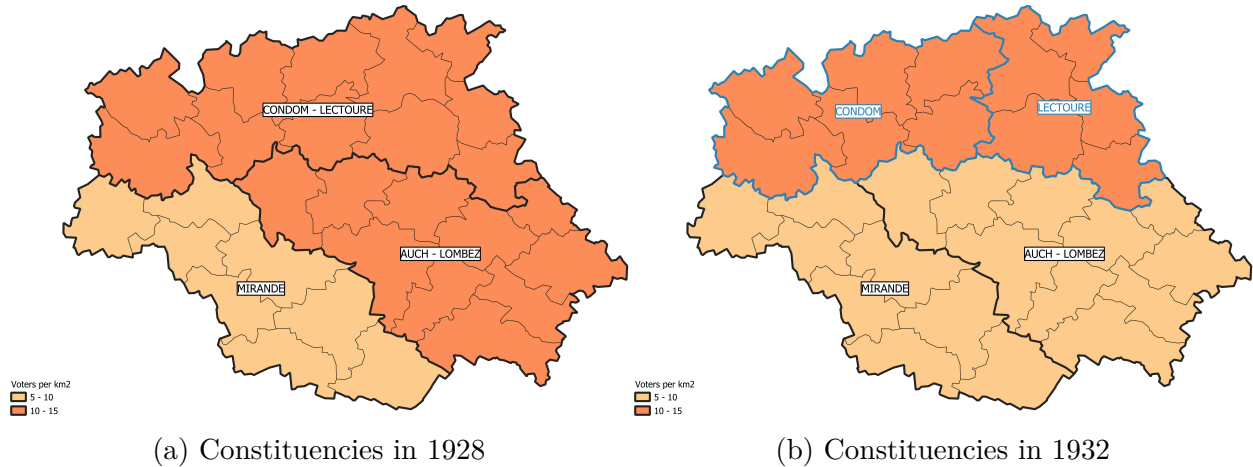


Figure B13. Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A9, Département of Gers, 1928–32

Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons. Thick blue lines represent counterfactual reforms to electoral constituencies.

landowner *Gauche Démocratique Radicale et Radicale Socialiste* (left-wing)), Ernest Haudos (Marne, lawyer, *Gauche Démocratique Radicale et Radicale Socialiste* (left-wing)). Amendment rejected by the Senate.

- **Parliamentary debates** Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 26 February 1932, 206–7](#).
- **Data curation** The constituency of Chalons-sur-Marne (5101) forms a single cluster throughout.

Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A11

- **Nature of counterfactual reform** Modification of the constituencies of Château-Gontier and Laval (département of Mayenne) from the transfer of one canton (see Figure B15).
- **Motivation for reform** Re-establishment of the former boundaries of both constituencies, thereby balancing their internal geographic and economic consistencies.
- **Parliamentary support** Senate: Henri de Monti de Rezé (Mayenne, landowner, *Action Nationale Républicaine et Sociale* (right-wing)). Amendment rejected by the Senate.
- **Parliamentary debates** Senate, first deliberation: [JODS, 26 February 1932, 207–8](#).

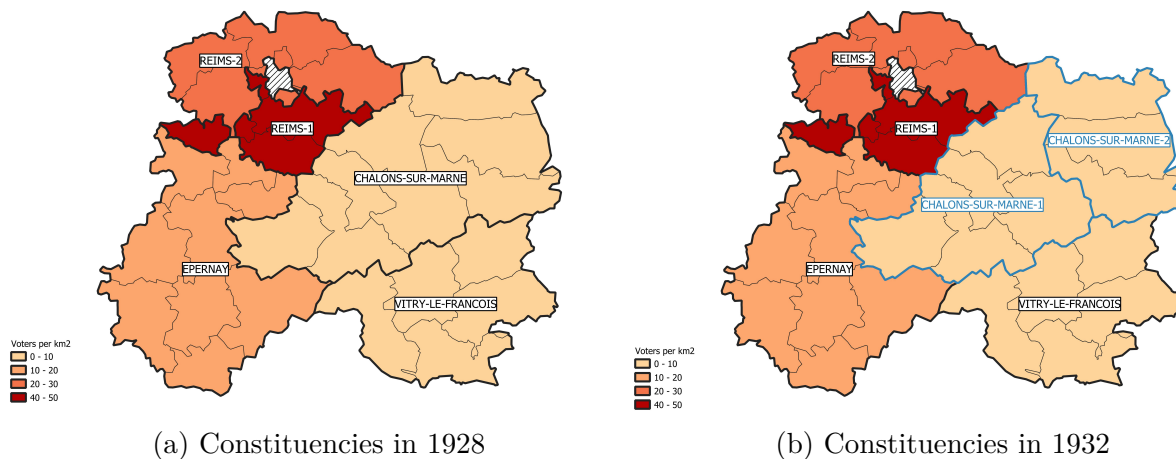


Figure B14. Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A10, Département of Marne, 1928–32

Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons. Thick blue lines represent counterfactual reforms to electoral constituencies. Constituencies of Reims are excluded for readability.

- **Data curation** The constituencies of Château-Gontier (5301) and Laval (5302) form a single cluster (5399) throughout.

B.3.2. Counterfactual Electoral Reforms in 1936

The counterfactual reforms were discussed but ultimately not adopted in the electoral bill passed on 20 March 1936.

Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-3236-A1

- **Nature of reform** Modification of the constituencies of Aix-1 and Aix-2 (département of Bouches-du-Rhône) through the transfer of one canton (see Figure B16).
- **Motivation for reform** Transfer of the canton of Istres from the constituency of Aix-1 to that of Aix-2 to balance the number of their inhabitants across these constituencies and re-establish the territorial integrity of the constituency of Aix-1.
- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: Pierre Taittinger (Seine, businessman, *Fédération républicaine* (right-wing)), Eugène Pierre (Bouches-du-Rhône, lawyer, independent), Félix Aulois (Nièvre, lawyer, independent), Désiré Ferry (Meurthe-et-Moselle, journalist, *Députés du centre républicain*(center right-wing)). Amendment rejected by the Chamber.

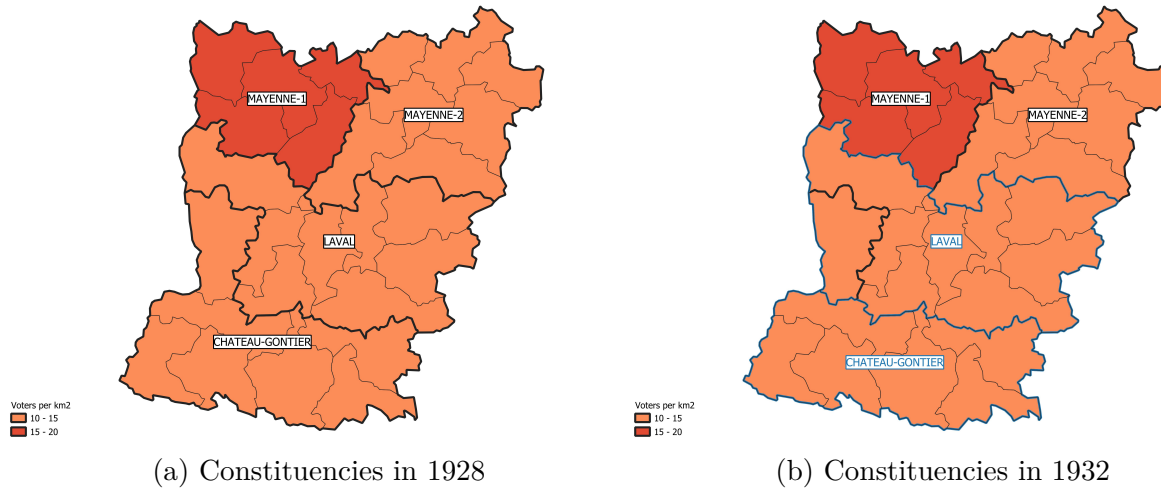


Figure B15. Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-2832-A11, Département of Mayenne, 1928–32

Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons. Thick blue lines represent counterfactual reforms to electoral constituencies.

- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, first deliberation: [JODC, 12 March 1936, 890–1](#).
- **Data curation** The constituencies of Aix-1 (1301) and Aix-2 (1302) form a single cluster (1398) throughout.

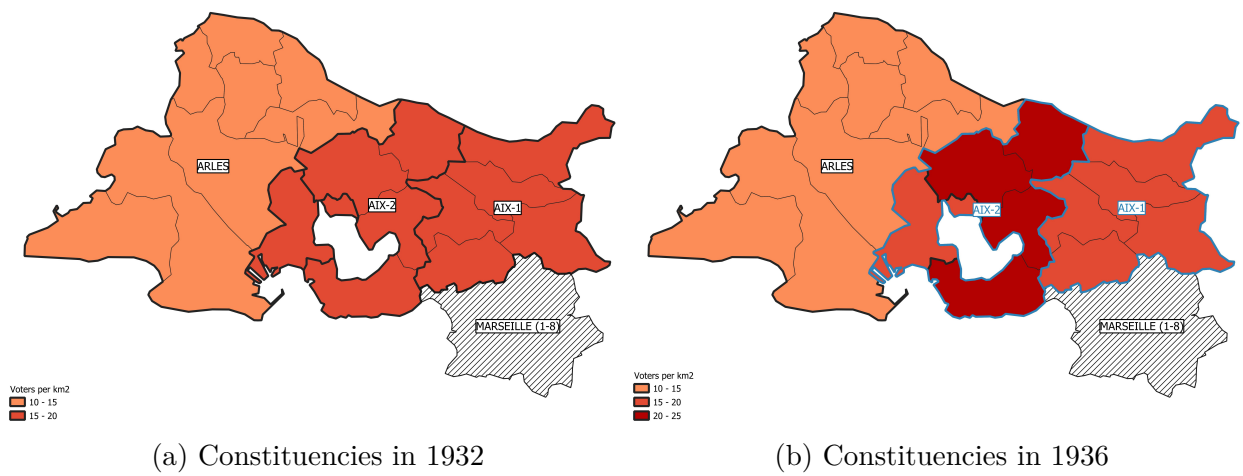


Figure B16. Counterfactual Electoral Reform E-3236-A1, Département of Bouches-du-Rhône, 1932–6

Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons. Thick blue lines represent counterfactual reforms to electoral constituencies. Constituencies of Marseille-1 through Marseille-8 are excluded for readability.

C. Data Appendix

C.1. Electoral Results

Data for electoral results at the candidate-level for the legislative elections of 1928, 1932, and 1936 in the Chambre des Députés are from the archival records of official results:

- Elections of 1928: Lachapelle (1928). ARK: [12148/bpt6k320439r](https://n2t.org/12148/bpt6k320439r).
- Elections of 1932: Lachapelle (1932). Digitized by the authors.
- Elections of 1936: Lachapelle (1936). ARK: [12148/bpt6k320440p](https://n2t.org/12148/bpt6k320440p).

These sources include the candidates’ names, political affiliation, votes, and incumbent status. They further include constituency-level information: voter turnout, the number of rounds, and the number of candidates.

C.2. Constituencies Shapefiles

Shapefiles for electoral constituencies are from Gay’s (2021) *Third-Republic France Geographic Information System*, which is itself in part based on Gaudillère (1995). Specifically, we use the shapefiles for 1928, 1932, and 1936 from the dataset *TRF-GIS Circonscriptions (1870–1940)* available on the Harvard Dataverse (Gay, 2020c) at <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/L2LGDW>.

C.3. Panel of Constituencies

We identify the unity of a constituency over time through its name, location, and canton composition based on Gay’s (2021) *Third-Republic France Geographic Information System*, which we cross-validate with Gaudillère’s (1995) *Historical Atlas of French Electoral Constituencies*. To account for the creation of new constituencies and keep our underlying panel balanced, we create several “virtual” constituencies before their actual creation. For instance, the constituency of Gaillac-Lavaur in the département of Tarn was divided into the two constituencies of Gaillac and Lavaur in 1932 (Figure B3). We therefore create the “virtual” constituency of Lavaur for the 1928 elections through the duplication of the constituency of Gaillac-Lavaur, which we rename Gaillac for the purpose of the balanced panel. Our dataset hence contains the two constituencies of Gaillac and Lavaur in 1928, 1932, and 1936. To account for the fact that these two constituencies are identical in 1928 in our dataset, we define a unique cluster containing both constituencies across all elections. All of our specifications cluster standard errors at the level of such constituency groups. As a result, our dataset

contains 147 unique constituencies among which 9 “virtual” constituencies, representing a total of 125 constituency group clusters.

C.4. Constituency-Level Characteristics

To support the credibility of our empirical strategy, we run a series of balance tests on the characteristics of electoral constituencies. Unfortunately, no statistical information is directly available at this level of aggregation – besides electoral statistics– because the electoral geography did not overlap with other levels of government and did not produce statistics.

As a result, we use judicial data, as the judicial geography was based on the geography of *arrondissements*, a level relatively close to that of electoral constituencies. In particular, we collect information on the number of civil (*nouvelles affaires du rôle général*) and commercial (*nouvelles affaires contentieuses*) cases that occurred in courts of first instance (*tribunaux de première instance*) in 1928, 1928, 1932, 1933, 1936, and 1937. We then match judicial and electoral geographies using shapefiles from Gay’s (2021) *Third-Republic France Geographic Information System*.⁶

We further collect information on the number of police cases (*jugements de simple police*) for the same years, which are available at the level of justices of the peace (*justices de paix*), the geography of which corresponds to that of *cantons*. We proceed in the same way and match these judicial and electoral geographies.

Finally, we collect information on firms failures (*faillites et liquidations judiciaires ouvertes dans l’années*) at the level of commerce tribunals as well as labor disputes (*affaires des bureaux de conciliation et de jugement*) at the level of *prud’hommes* tribunals for the same years. Because these are localized tribunals, rather than tribunals with well-defined constituencies, we create Voronoi polygons around these tribunals, intersect them with the electoral geography, and aggregate the data as before. These data are from the following sources:

- Number of civil cases:
 - 1928: “Table X. Composition de chaque tribunal et relevé de ses travaux en matière civile.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale pendant l’année 1928, 1932*, 18–29. ARK: [12148/bpt6k54748746](https://www.ark.cdlib.org/ark:/61903/3/bpt6k54748746).

⁶More precisely, we intersect shapefiles of electoral constituencies and of courts of first instance from the datasets *TRF-GIS Circonscriptions (1870–1940)* and *TRF-GIS Courts of First Instance (1870–1940)*, which are available on the Harvard Dataverse (Gay, 2020c; Gay, 2020d), and aggregate judicial data to electoral constituencies based on the relative overlapping areas between the two.

- 1929: “Table X. Composition de chaque tribunal et relevé de ses travaux en matière civile.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale pendant l’année 1929*, 1931, 18–29. ARK: [12148/bpt6k55156448](#).
 - 1932: “Table IX. Composition de chaque tribunal et relevé de ses travaux en matière civile.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale pendant l’année 1932*, 1935, 16–33. ARK: [12148/bpt6k5474908j](#).
 - 1933: “Table VI. Composition de chaque tribunal et relevé de ses travaux en matière civile.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale et de la justice criminelle pendant l’année 1933*, 1936, 8–25. ARK: [12148/bpt6k54753615](#).
 - 1936: “Table V. Tribunaux de première instance. Travaux en matière civile.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale et de la justice criminelle pendant l’année 1936*, 1943, 6–14. ARK: [12148/bpt6k5610946t](#).
 - 1937: “Table V. Tribunaux de première instance. Travaux en matière civile.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale et de la justice criminelle pendant l’année 1937*, 1943, 6–14. ARK: [12148/bpt6k561095665](#).
- Number of commercial cases:
 - 1928: “Table XXV. Composition des tribunaux spéciaux de commerce. Affaires commerciales introduites et leur résultat.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale pendant l’année 1928*, 1932, 50–8. ARK: [12148/bpt6k54748746](#).
 - 1929: “Table XXV. Composition des tribunaux spéciaux de commerce. Affaires commerciales introduites et leur résultat.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale pendant l’année 1929*, 1931, 50–8. ARK: [12148/bpt6k55156448](#).
 - 1932: “Table XXV. Composition des tribunaux spéciaux de commerce. Affaires commerciales introduites et leur résultat.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale pendant l’année 1932*, 1935, 58–66. ARK: [12148/bpt6k5474908j](#).
 - 1933: “Table XIII. Travaux des juridictions commerciales.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale et de la justice criminelle pendant l’année 1933*, 1936, 33–41. ARK: [12148/bpt6k54753615](#).

- 1936: “Table XII. Travaux des juridictions commerciales.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale et de la justice criminelle pendant l’année 1936*, 1943, 20–8. ARK: [12148/bpt6k5610946t](https://nfdl.ark:/61903/3Q1M-TX97-00021-00020).
- 1937: “Table XII. Travaux des juridictions commerciales.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale et de la justice criminelle pendant l’année 1937*, 1943, 20–8. ARK: [12148/bpt6k561095665](https://nfdl.ark:/61903/3Q1M-TX97-00021-00021).
- Number of police cases:
 - 1928: “Table XXXIII. Justices de paix. Affaires à juger et à concilier.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale pendant l’année 1928*, 1932, 77–117. ARK: [12148/bpt6k54748746](https://nfdl.ark:/61903/3Q1M-TX97-00021-00022).
 - 1929: “Table XXXIII. Justices de paix. Affaires à juger et à concilier.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale pendant l’année 1929*, 1931, 77–117. ARK: [12148/bpt6k55156448](https://nfdl.ark:/61903/3Q1M-TX97-00021-00023).
 - 1932: “Table XXXIII. Justices de paix. Affaires à juger et à concilier.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale pendant l’année 1932*, 1935, 85–125. ARK: [12148/bpt6k5474908j](https://nfdl.ark:/61903/3Q1M-TX97-00021-00024).
 - 1933: “Table XX. Justices de paix. Affaires à juger et à concilier.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale et de la justice criminelle pendant l’année 1933*, 1936, 57–97. ARK: [12148/bpt6k54753615](https://nfdl.ark:/61903/3Q1M-TX97-00021-00025).
 - 1936: “Table XIX. Justices de paix. Affaires à juger et à concilier.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale et de la justice criminelle pendant l’année 1936*, 1943, 44–84. ARK: [12148/bpt6k5610946t](https://nfdl.ark:/61903/3Q1M-TX97-00021-00026).
 - 1937: “Table XIX. Justices de paix. Affaires à juger et à concilier.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale et de la justice criminelle pendant l’année 1937*, 1943, 44–84. ARK: [12148/bpt6k561095665](https://nfdl.ark:/61903/3Q1M-TX97-00021-00027).
- Number of firms failures:
 - 1928: “Table XXVII. Liquidations judiciaires. Liquidations judiciaires converties en faillites et faillites à régler.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale pendant l’année 1928*, 1932, 60–8. ARK: [12148/bpt6k54748746](https://nfdl.ark:/61903/3Q1M-TX97-00021-00028).
 - 1929: “Table XXVII. Liquidations judiciaires. Liquidations judiciaires converties en faillites et faillites à régler.” *Compte général de l’administration*

- de la justice civile et commerciale pendant l'année 1929, 1931, 60–8.* ARK: [12148/bpt6k55156448](#).
- 1932: “Table XXVII. Liquidations judiciaires. Liquidations judiciaires converties en faillites et faillites à régler.” *Compte général de l'administration de la justice civile et commerciale pendant l'année 1932, 1935, 68–76.* ARK: [12148/bpt6k5474908j](#).
 - 1933: “Table XV. Liquidations judiciaires. Liquidations judiciaires converties en faillites et faillites à régler.” *Compte général de l'administration de la justice civile et commerciale et de la justice criminelle pendant l'année 1933, 1936, 43–51.* ARK: [12148/bpt6k54753615](#).
 - 1936: “Table XIV. Liquidations judiciaires et faillites.” *Compte général de l'administration de la justice civile et commerciale et de la justice criminelle pendant l'année 1936, 1943, 30–8.* ARK: [12148/bpt6k5610946t](#).
 - 1937: “Table XIV. Liquidations judiciaires et faillites.” *Compte général de l'administration de la justice civile et commerciale et de la justice criminelle pendant l'année 1937, 1943, 30–8.* ARK: [12148/bpt6k5610946t](#).
- Number of labor disputes:
 - 1928: “Table XXXIV. Affaires introduites et terminées devant les conseils des prud'hommes.” *Compte général de l'administration de la justice civile et commerciale pendant l'année 1928, 1932, 120–6.* ARK: [12148/bpt6k54748746](#).
 - 1929: “Table XXXIV. Affaires introduites et terminées devant les conseils des prud'hommes.” *Compte général de l'administration de la justice civile et commerciale pendant l'année 1929, 1931, 120–6.* ARK: [12148/bpt6k55156448](#).
 - 1932: “Table XXXIV. Affaires introduites et terminées devant les conseils des prud'hommes.” *Compte général de l'administration de la justice civile et commerciale pendant l'année 1932, 1935, 128–34.* ARK: [12148/bpt6k5474908j](#).
 - 1933: “Table XXI. Affaires introduites et terminées devant les conseils des prud'hommes.” *Compte général de l'administration de la justice civile et commerciale et de la justice criminelle pendant l'année 1933, 1936, 98–104.* ARK: [12148/bpt6k54753615](#).
 - 1936: “Table XX. Affaires introduites et terminées devant les conseils des prud'hommes.” *Compte général de l'administration de la justice civile et commerciale et de la justice criminelle pendant l'année 1936, 1943, 85–90.* ARK: [12148/bpt6k5610946t](#).

- 1937: “Table XX. Affaires introduites et terminées devant les conseils de prud’hommes.” *Compte général de l’administration de la justice civile et commerciale et de la justice criminelle pendant l’année 1937*, 1943, 85–90. ARK: [12148/bpt6k5610946t](https://nfdi.ub.uni-leipzig.de/ark:/12148/bpt6k5610946t).

Furthermore, we collect information on retail prices and hourly wage rates across various occupations at the level of cities – those with more than ten thousand inhabitants and chefs-lieux – in 1928, 1929, 1932, 1933, 1936, and 1937.⁷ We then proceed as before: we create Voronoi polygons around these cities, intersect them with the electoral geography, and aggregate the data. These data are from the following sources:

- Retail prices:

- 1928: “Nombres indices caractérisant les variations de prix de 13 articles dans les chefs-lieux de départements et les villes de plus de 10 000 habitants.” *Bulletin de la Statistique générale de la France et du Service d’observation des Prix*, 1928, Tome XVIII, Fascicule 1, 44–7. ARK: [12148/bpt6k64894862](https://nfdi.ub.uni-leipzig.de/ark:/12148/bpt6k64894862).
- 1929: “Nombres indices caractérisant les variations de prix de 13 articles dans les chefs-lieux de départements et les villes de plus de 10 000 habitants.” *Bulletin de la Statistique générale de la France et du Service d’observation des Prix*, 1929, Tome XIX, Fascicule 1, 56–9. ARK: [12148/bpt6k62341144](https://nfdi.ub.uni-leipzig.de/ark:/12148/bpt6k62341144).
- 1932: “Nombres indices caractérisant les variations de prix de 13 articles dans les chefs-lieux de départements et les villes de plus de 10 000 habitants.” *Bulletin de la Statistique générale de la France et du Service d’observation des Prix*, 1933, Tome XXII, Fascicule 2, 215–8. ARK: [12148/bpt6k6271228p](https://nfdi.ub.uni-leipzig.de/ark:/12148/bpt6k6271228p).
- 1933: “Nombres indices caractérisant les variations de prix de 13 articles dans les chefs-lieux de départements et les villes de plus de 10 000 habitants.” *Bulletin de la Statistique générale de la France et du Service d’observation des Prix*, 1934, Tome XXIII, Fascicule 2, 228–31. ARK: [12148/bpt6k6234050n](https://nfdi.ub.uni-leipzig.de/ark:/12148/bpt6k6234050n).
- 1936: “Nombres indices caractérisant les variations de prix de 13 articles dans les chefs-lieux de départements et les villes de plus de 10 000 habitants.” *Bulletin de la Statistique générale de la France et du Service d’observation des Prix*, 1937, Tome XXVI, Fascicule 2, 233–6. ARK: [12148/bpt6k6443021c](https://nfdi.ub.uni-leipzig.de/ark:/12148/bpt6k6443021c).

⁷Prices are available for three or four months of a given year and are reported as an index based on 100 in 1913. We take the average. Wage rates are available for following 14 occupations: printers (*imprimeurs*), cartwrights (*charrons*), tailors (*tailleurs d’habits*), carpenters (*charpentiers*), plumbers (*plombiers*), blacksmiths (*forgerons*), locksmiths (*serruriers*), metal workers (*tourneurs en métaux*), masons (*maçons*), earthworkers (*terrassiers*), house painters (*peintres en bâtiment*), labourers (*journaliers*), and electrical fitters (*monteurs-électriciens*). We take the average of hourly wage rates across these occupations.

- 1937: “Nombres indices caractérisant les variations de prix de 13 articles dans les chefs-lieux de départements et les villes de plus de 10 000 habitants.” *Bulletin de la Statistique générale de la France et du Service d’observation des Prix*, 1938, Tome XXVII, Fascicule 2, 218–21. ARK: [12148/bpt6k6270274m](https://nla.gov.au/ark:/12148/bpt6k6270274m).
- Hourly wage rates
 - 1928: “Annexe II. Salaires horaires et ordinaires de quelques catégories d’ouvriers en octobre 1928, d’après les évaluations fournies par les Conseils de prud’hommes ou, à défaut, par les maires.” *Bulletin de la Statistique générale de la France et du Service d’observation des Prix*, 1929, Tome XVIII, Fascicule 2, 177–81. ARK: [12148/bpt6k6489487g](https://nla.gov.au/ark:/12148/bpt6k6489487g).
 - 1929: “Annexe. Salaires horaires et ordinaires de quelques catégories d’ouvriers en octobre 1929, d’après les évaluations fournies par les Conseils de prud’hommes ou, à défaut, par les maires.” *Bulletin de la Statistique générale de la France et du Service d’observation des Prix*, 1930, Tome XIX, Fascicule 2, 189–93. ARK: [12148/bpt6k6234115j](https://nla.gov.au/ark:/12148/bpt6k6234115j).
 - 1932: “Annexe. Salaires horaires et ordinaires de quelques catégories d’ouvriers en octobre 1932, d’après les évaluations fournies par les Conseils de prud’hommes ou, à défaut, par les maires.” *Bulletin de la Statistique générale de la France et du Service d’observation des Prix*, 1933, Tome XXII, Fascicule 2, 241–5. ARK: [12148/bpt6k6271228p](https://nla.gov.au/ark:/12148/bpt6k6271228p).
 - 1933: “Annexe. Salaires horaires et ordinaires de quelques catégories d’ouvriers en octobre 1933, d’après les évaluations fournies par les Conseils de prud’hommes ou, à défaut, par les maires.” *Bulletin de la Statistique générale de la France et du Service d’observation des Prix*, 1934, Tome XXIII, Fascicule 2, 251–5. ARK: [12148/bpt6k6234050n](https://nla.gov.au/ark:/12148/bpt6k6234050n).
 - 1936: “Annexe. Salaires horaires et ordinaires de quelques catégories d’ouvriers en octobre 1936, d’après les évaluations fournies par les Conseils de prud’hommes ou, à défaut, par les maires.” *Bulletin de la Statistique générale de la France et du Service d’observation des Prix*, 1937, Tome XXVI, Fascicule 2, 268–72. ARK: [12148/bpt6k6443021c](https://nla.gov.au/ark:/12148/bpt6k6443021c).
 - 1937: “Annexe I. Salaires horaires et ordinaires de quelques catégories d’ouvriers en octobre 1937, d’après les évaluations fournies par les Conseils de prud’hommes ou, à défaut, par les maires.” *Bulletin de la Statistique générale de la France et*

du Service d'observation des Prix, 1938, Tome XXVII, Fascicule 2, 248–52. ARK: [12148/bpt6k62702736](https://nfdi.ub.uni-due.de/ark:/12148/bpt6k62702736).

Finally, we construct a measure of the share of the urban population in a constituency. For this purpose, we first collect information on commune-level urban population from the following volumes of the 1926, 1931, and 1936 censuses:

- Ministère de l'Intérieur, *Dénombrement de la population 1926*. Melun: Imprimerie Administrative, 1927. ARK: [12148/bc6p06wqm4r](https://nfdi.ub.uni-due.de/ark:/12148/bc6p06wqm4r).
- Ministère de l'Intérieur, *Dénombrement de la population 1931*. Melun: Imprimerie Administrative, 1932. ARK: [12148/bc6p06wqmbt](https://nfdi.ub.uni-due.de/ark:/12148/bc6p06wqmbt).
- Ministère de l'Intérieur, *Dénombrement de la population 1936*. Melun: Imprimerie Administrative, 1937. ARK: [12148/bc6p06wqm6f](https://nfdi.ub.uni-due.de/ark:/12148/bc6p06wqm6f).

We rely on these three censuses to collect information on the *population agglomérée* (agglomerated population) for each of the 6,000 communes that make up the 147 electoral constituencies of our baseline sample. We then classify as urban the population of communes that counted at least two thousand inhabitants in their agglomerated population, following the French historical definition of urban population in the censuses (Le Mée, 1972; Dupeux, 1974; Roncayolo, 1987). This urban population included individuals residing in the direct vicinity of the commune's center – generally defined as the neighborhood of the city hall – as opposed to the *population éparsé* that resided in hamlets located in the outskirts of a commune's center.

We then aggregate at the level of electoral constituencies using Gay's (2020*c*) mapping between cantons and electoral constituencies. We attribute the urban population data from the March 1926 census to the April 1928 elections, from the March 1931 census to the May 1932 elections, and from the March 1936 census to the May 1936 elections.

C.5. Département-Level Characteristics

We run a series of balance tests on the following département-level characteristics in 1928, 1932, and 1936: the number of lawyers and registered voters in a département, fertility and literacy rates, and roads density. The definition and sources of these variables are as follow:

- Number of lawyers per 10,000 inhabitants:
 - 1928: “X. Composition de chaque tribunal et relevé de ses travaux en matière civile.” *Compte Général de l'Administration de la Justice Civile et Commerciale Pendant l'Année 1928*, 1932, 18–29. ARK: [12148/bpt6k54748746/f29](https://nfdi.ub.uni-due.de/ark:/12148/bpt6k54748746/f29).

- 1932: “IX. Composition de chaque tribunal et relevé de ses travaux en matière civile.” *Compte Général de l’Administration de la Justice Civile et Commerciale Pendant l’Année 1932*, 1935, 16–33. ARK: [ark:/12148/bpt6k5474908j/f36](https://n2t.org/ark:/12148/bpt6k5474908j/f36).
- 1936: “V. Tribunaux de 1re instance.” *Compte Général de l’Administration de la Justice Civile et Commerciale et de la Justice Criminelle Pendant l’Année 1936*, 1943, 6–14. ARK: [12148/bpt6k5610946t/f31](https://n2t.org/12148/bpt6k5610946t/f31).
- Number of registered voters:
 - 1928: Lachapelle (1928). ARK: [12148/bpt6k320439r](https://n2t.org/12148/bpt6k320439r).
 - 1932: Lachapelle (1932). Digitized by the authors.
 - 1936: Lachapelle (1936). ARK: [12148/bpt6k320440p](https://n2t.org/12148/bpt6k320440p).
- Crude birth rate:
 - 1928: “Tableau I—Mouvement de la population par département en 1928.” *Annuaire Statistique*, 1928, 44, 7–8. ARK: [12148/bpt6k5505154n/f65](https://n2t.org/12148/bpt6k5505154n/f65).
 - 1932: “Tableau I—Mouvement de la population par département en 1932.” *Annuaire Statistique*, 1932, 48, 19–20. ARK: [12148/bpt6k5510508h/f73](https://n2t.org/12148/bpt6k5510508h/f73).
 - 1936: “Tableau I—Mouvement de la population par département en 1936.” *Annuaire Statistique*, 1936, 52, 16–7. ARK: [12148/bpt6k6211491g/f62](https://n2t.org/12148/bpt6k6211491g/f62).
- Share of literate conscripts:
 - 1928: “Tableau L. Détails relatifs à l’instruction des jeunes gens maintenus sur les tableaux de recensement de la classe 1928.” *Compte Rendu sur le Recrutement de l’Armée Pendant l’Année 1928*. Digitized by the authors.
 - 1932: “Tableau L. Détails relatifs à l’instruction des jeunes gens maintenus sur les tableaux de recensement de la classe 1932.” *Compte Rendu sur le Recrutement de l’Armée Pendant l’Année 1932*. Digitized by the authors.
 - 1936: “Tableau L. Détails relatifs à l’instruction des jeunes gens maintenus sur les tableaux de recensement de la classe 1936.” *Compte Rendu sur le Recrutement de l’Armée Pendant l’Année 1936*. Digitized by the authors.
- Length of roads:
 - 1928: “Tableau I—Longueur, par département, des routes nationales et départementales et des chemins vicinaux.” *Annuaire Statistique*, 1928, 44, 139–40. ARK: [12148/bpt6k5505154n/f193](https://n2t.org/12148/bpt6k5505154n/f193).

- 1932: “Tableau I—Longueur, par département, des routes nationales et départementales et des chemins vicinaux en état de viabilité et bon entretien.” *Annuaire Statistique*, 1932, 48, 183. ARK: [12148/bpt6k5510508h/f233](https://nla.gov.au/ark:/61904/3Q9M-T898-1932-48-183).
- 1936: “Tableau I—Longueur, par département, des routes nationales et départementales et des chemins vicinaux en état de viabilité et bon entretien.” *Annuaire Statistique*, 1936, 52, 154. ARK: [12148/bpt6k6211491g/f200](https://nla.gov.au/ark:/61904/3Q9M-T898-1936-52-154).

C.6. Characteristics of *Préfets*

We run a series of balance tests on the following characteristics of the *préfets* in 1928, 1932, and 1936: their age; whether they were previously lawyers, held any other specific occupation or were members of the Lower House of Parliament; and the turnover rate in that position. We gather this information from Bargeton’s (1994) *Bibliographic Dictionary of Préfets*, available at the National Archives.⁸ More precisely, we leverage the fact that this dictionary was exported to Wikidata in a structured manner (Bourdic, 2021) and use the following query at <https://query.wikidata.org/> to access the database:

```
SELECT ?prefet ?prefetLabel ?article ?date_naissance
?occupationLabel ?lieu_naissanceLabel ?date_mort
?lieu_mortLabel ?identifiant_Bargeton ?debut_pref ?fin_pref
?prefetdeLabel ?prefetde ?identifiant_admin ?identifiant_AN
?identifiant_senat ?birth_name ?prenom ?prenomLabel
?nomLabel ?nom
WHERE {
  ?prefet p:P39 ?position .
  ?position ps:P39 ?prefetde .
  ?prefetde (wdt:P279*) wd:Q1285463 .
  ?prefet wdt:P4906 ?identifiant_Bargeton .
  OPTIONAL { ?position pq:P580 ?debut_pref . }
  OPTIONAL { ?position pq:P582 ?fin_pref . }
  SERVICE wikibase:label { bd:serviceParam wikibase:language
    "[AUTO_LANGUAGE],en". }
  OPTIONAL { ?prefet wdt:P106 ?occupation . }
  OPTIONAL { ?prefet wdt:P569 ?date_naissance . }
  OPTIONAL { ?prefet wdt:P570 ?date_mort . }
  OPTIONAL { ?prefet wdt:P4906 ?identifiant_Bargeton . }
  OPTIONAL { ?prefet wdt:P6973 ?identifiant_admin . }
  OPTIONAL { ?prefet wdt:P1045 ?identifiant_AN . }
  OPTIONAL { ?prefet wdt:P1808 ?identifiant_senat . }
  OPTIONAL { ?prefet wdt:P1477 ?birth_name . }
  OPTIONAL { ?prefet wdt:P735 ?prenom . }
  OPTIONAL { ?prefet wdt:P734 ?nom . }
  OPTIONAL { ?prefet wdt:P19 ?lieu_naissance . }
  OPTIONAL { ?prefetde wdt:P39 ?fonction . }
  ?prefet wdt:P27 wd:Q142 .
  OPTIONAL { ?prefet wdt:P20 ?lieu_mort . }
```

⁸It is accessible at: https://www.siv.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/siv/IR/Fran_IR_001514.

```

    ?article schema:about ?prefet .
  ?article schema:isPartOf <https://fr.wikipedia.org/> .
}
ORDER BY (?identifiant_Bargeton)

```

From there, we extract for each département and year their préfet’s occupations and age. We also compute the turnover rate as the number of days since a préfet has been in place in 1928, 1932, or 1936.

C.7. Characteristics of Upper House Members (Sénateurs)

We run a series of balance tests on the occupation and political affiliation of the members of the Upper House (*sénateurs*) in 1928, 1932, and 1936. We gather this information for each individual from the historical database available on the webpage of the Upper House (Sénat), at <https://www.senat.fr/senateurs-3eme-republique/senatl.html>.

C.8. Secondary Sources on Candidates’ Occupations

Our main source of information for candidates’ occupations are Robert and Cougny’s (1889) and Jolly’s (1960) *Dictionaries of French Parliamentarians*. Occupation information in these dictionaries is based on candidates’ political manifestos. Occupations of some candidates are however missing. In these cases, we complement our database with secondary information from articles and books, which list is below. Additional information on politicians described in Appendix Table A15 is from the online database *Le Maitron*, available at <https://maitron.fr> (accessed December 5, 2023).

Audigier, François. 1998–1999. “Les petits partis du RGR: l’Alliance Démocratique.” *Recherches contemporaines*, 5: 302–6.

Avenel, Henri. 1894. *Comment vote la France. Dix-huit ans de suffrage universel, 1876–1893*. Paris: Librairies-Imprimeries Réunies.

Boivin, Michel. 1976, “Le Boulangisme en Haute-Normandie.” *Annales de Normandie*, 26(3): 225–62.

Bougeard, Christian. 1985. “Prémices de la décentralisation: La création d’entreprises industrielles dans les Côtes-du-Nord (1870–1940).” *Histoire, Économie et Société*, 4(1): 137–60.

Bougeard, Christian. 2002. “Les notables et les forces politiques de droite en Bretagne dans les années 1930.” *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l’Ouest*, 109(3): 121–39.

Castagnez-Ruggiu, Noëlline. 1998–1999. “Le Parti Socialiste Démocratique.” *Recherches Contemporaines*, 5: 316–21.

- Conseil général de la Haute-Garonne. Direction des archives départementales.** 2006. *Conseillers généraux de la Haute-Garonne, 1800–2006*. Toulouse: Conseil général de la Haute-Garonne.
- d’Aillières, Geoffroy, and René de Fougerolle.** 2010. *Les Caillard d’Aillières, 1550–2010, itinéraire d’une famille engagée*. Paris: Lacurne.
- Denis, Michel.** 1970. “Un aspect du conservatisme en Bretagne au début de la IIIe République: le monarchisme libéral.” *Annales de Bretagne*, 77(2–3): 391–415.
- Dreyfus, François-Georges.** 1960. “Jalons pour une sociologie politique de la France de l’Est.” *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 10(3), 527–61.
- Duhamel, Eric.** 1998–1999. “Le rassemblement comme rassemblement.” *Recherches Contemporaines*, 5: 287–302.
- France, Almanach National.** 1876. *Annuaire officiel de la République Français pour 1876*. Paris Berger-Levrault.
- France, Almanach National.** 1886. *Annuaire officiel de la République Français pour 1885–1886*. Paris: Berger-Levrault.
- Jeanneney, Jean-Noël.** 2004. *François de Wendel en République: l’argent et le pouvoir, 1914–1940*. Paris: Perrin.
- Le Béguec, Gilles.** 1998–1999. “Le Parti Républicain Socialiste.” *Recherches Contemporaines*, 5: 307–10.
- Le Béguec, Gilles.** 1998–1999. “Le Parti Radical Indépendant.” *Recherches Contemporaines*, 5: 311–13.
- Lex, Léonce, and Pierre Siraud.** 1888. *Le conseil général et les conseillers généraux de Saône-et-Loire (1789–1889)*. Mâcon: Belhomme.
- Massard, Marcel.** 2008. *Atlas électoral de la Saône-et-Loire (1848–2007)*. Mâcon: Finadin.
- Merle, Gabriel.** 1995. *Emile Combes*. Paris: Fayard.
- Palanque, Jean-Rémy.** 1974. “Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. Augustin Fliche, membre de l’Académie.” *Comptes-Rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 118(2): 238–49.
- Pezet, Françoise.** 2008. *Dictionnaire administratif et démographique de l’Aveyron*. Available at <http://pezet.alain.free.fr/dada/index.php> (accessed June 2024).
- Redor, Marie-Joëlle.** 1995. “ ‘C’est la faute à Rousseau’ Les juristes contre les parlementaires sous la IIIe République.” *Politix*, 8(32): 89–96.
- Schill, Jean-Michel.** 2011. *Dictionnaire du personnel politique du département de la Somme (1800–1945)*. Amiens: Archives Départementales de la Somme.
- Secondy, Philippe.** 2005. “Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu: un importateur des méthodes élec-

- torales américaines en France.” *Revue Historique*, 2005/2(634): 309–41.
- Sorlin, Pierre.** 1966. *Waldeck-Rousseau*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Thomas, Jean-Paul.** 1998–1999. “La Réconciliation française.” *Recherches Contemporaines*, 5: 314–5.
- Verly, Albert.** 1893. *Le Général Boulanger et la conspiration monarchique*. Paris: Paul Ollendorff.
- Yvert, Benoît.** 1990. *Dictionnaire des ministres de 1789 à 1989*. Paris: Perrin.
- Yvert, Benoît.** 2007. *Premiers ministres et présidents du Conseil. Histoire et dictionnaire raisonné des chefs du gouvernement en France (1815–2007)*. Paris: Perrin.

D. Software Appendix

All statistical analysis are performed using Stata version 18 (StataCorp, 2023). Estimates are produced using Correia’s (2023 [2014]) `reghdfe` Stata command, which results are exported using Newson’s (2022 [1998]) `parmest` Stata command. Figures displaying coefficients are produced using Jann’s (2023 [2013]) `coefplot` Stata command. Map are produced using QGIS (QGIS.org, 2023).

References

- Bargeton, René.** 1994. *Dictionnaire biographique des préfets (septembre 1870–mai 1982)*. Paris: Archives Nationales.
- Bourdic, Maiwenn.** 2021. “Préfets 3.0: Du Dictionnaire Biographique Imprimé aux Données Structurées en Ligne.” [Online; posted 19-November-2021]. <https://labarchiv.hypotheses.org/1926>.
- Correia, Sergio.** 2023 [2014]. *reghdfe: Stata Module to Perform Linear or Instrumental-Variable Regression Absorbing Any Number of High-Dimensional Fixed Effects*. Boston, MA: Statistical Software Components, Boston College Department of Economics. <https://ideas.repec.org/c/boc/bocode/s457874.html>.
- Dupeux, Georges.** 1974. “La croissance urbaine en France au XIXe siècle.” *Revue d’Histoire Économique et Sociale*, 52(2): 173–89.
- Ehrhard, Thomas, and Cédric Passard.** 2020. “The Politics of Electoral System Choice in a Context of Democratization. Electoral Reform and Institutional Change in the French Third Republic (1870–1940).” *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, 40(1): 59–77.
- Gaudillère, Bernard.** 1995. *Atlas historique des circonscriptions électorales françaises*. Geneva: Droz.
- Gay, Victor.** 2020a. *TRF-GIS Arrondissements (1870–1940)*. Harvard Dataverse. <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/98ERP>.

- Gay, Victor.** 2020b. *TRF-GIS Cantons (1870–1940)*. Harvard Dataverse. <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/U85RSZ>.
- Gay, Victor.** 2020c. *TRF-GIS Circonscriptions (1870–1940)*. Harvard Dataverse. <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/L2LGDW>.
- Gay, Victor.** 2020d. *TRF-GIS Courts of First Instance (1870–1940)*. Harvard Dataverse. <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/VE20JS>.
- Gay, Victor.** 2020e. *TRF-GIS Départements (1870–1940)*. Harvard Dataverse. <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/ULQYM5>.
- Gay, Victor.** 2021. “Mapping the Third Republic. A Geographic Information System of France (1870–1940).” *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, 54(4): 189–207.
- Jann, Ben.** 2023 [2013]. *coefplot: Stata module to Plot Regression Coefficients and Other Results*. Boston, MA: Statistical Software Components, Boston College Department of Economics. <https://ideas.repec.org/c/boc/bocode/s457686.html>.
- Jolly, Jean.** 1960. *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français, 1889–1940*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
- Lachapelle, Georges.** 1928. *Élections législatives. 22–29 avril 1928. Résultats officiels*. Paris: Collection des Politiques Contemporains.
- Lachapelle, Georges.** 1932. *Élections législatives. 1er & 8 mai 1932. Résultats officiels*. Paris: Le Temps.
- Lachapelle, Georges.** 1936. *Élections législatives. 26 Avril & 3 mai 1936. Résultats officiels*. Paris: Le Temps.
- Le Mée, René.** 1972. “Population agglomérée, population éparsse au début du XIXe siècle.” *Annales de Démographie Historique*, 1971(1): 455–510.
- Marty, Thomas.** 2013. “From Electoral Space to “Gerrymandering”: Single-Member Districts and Multi-Member Plurality Districts During the Third Republic in France.” *Norois. Environnement, Aménagement, Société*, 226: 91–106.
- Newson, Roger.** 2022 [1998]. *parmest: Stata Module to Create New Data Set with One Observation per Parameter of Most Recent Model*. Boston, MA: Statistical Software Components, Boston College Department of Economics. <https://ideas.repec.org/c/boc/bocode/s352601.html>.
- QGIS.org.** 2023. *QGIS Geographic Information System*. Open Source Geospatial Foundation Project.
- Robert, Adolphe, and Gaston Cougny.** 1889. *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français*. Paris: Bourlotton.
- Roncayolo, Marcel.** 1987. “Population agglomérée, villes et bourgs en France: réflexions sur les enquêtes de 1809–1811.” *Villes et territoire pendant la période napoléonienne (France et Italie)*. *Actes du colloque de Rome (3–5 mai 1984)*. Paris: École française de Rome.
- StataCorp.** 2023. *Stata Statistical Software: Release 18*. College Station, TX: StataCorp LLC.