CESifo WORKING PAPERS

10885
2024

January 2024

Urbanization and the Change in Political Elites

Raphaël Franck, Victor Gay

CESifo

Impressum:

CESifo Working Papers
ISSN 2364-1428 (electronic version)
Publisher and distributor: Munich Society for the Promotion of Economic Research - CESifo GmbH
The international platform of Ludwigs-Maximilians University's Center for Economic Studies and the ifo Institute
Poschingerstr. 5, 81679 Munich, Germany
Telephone +49 (0)89 2180-2740, Telefax +49 (0)89 2180-17845, email office@cesifo.de
Editor: Clemens Fuest
https://www.cesifo.org/en/wp
An electronic version of the paper may be downloaded
· from the SSRN website: www.SSRN.com
· from the RePEc website: www.RePEc.org
· from the CESifo website: https://www.cesifo.org/en/wp

CESifo *Working Paper No. 10885*

Urbanization and the Change in Political Elites

Abstract

This study argues that urbanization changed the relationship between the occupation of candidates running in parliamentary elections and their electoral success. To identify local-level variation in urbanization, we leverage exogenous changes to the boundaries of electoral constituencies in the 1928, 1932, and 1936 French parliamentary elections. The results suggest that urbanization was detrimental to the electoral success of lawyers but beneficial to that of employees and workers. This electoral effect of urbanization was especially felt on the left of the political spectrum, whereby left-wing employees and workers crowded out left-wing lawyers.

JEL-Codes: D720, K160, N440, N940.

Keywords: elections, political representation, urbanization.

Raphaël Franck
Department of Economics
Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Israel - Jerusalem 91905
raphael.franck@mail.huji.ac.il

Victor Gay
Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences
Toulouse School of Economics & Institute of Advanced Study in Toulouse
University of Toulouse Capitole / France
victor.gay@tse-fr.eu

January 2024
We thank Gerda Asmus, Richard Bluhm, Charlotte Cavaillé, David de la Croix, Anne Degrave, Michael Denly, Michael Donnelly, Shari Eli, Katherine Eriksson, James Fenske, Paula Gobbi, David Mitch, Claudia Rei, Harm Rienks, Michele Rosenberg, Noam Yutchman, as well as seminar and conference participants at Heidelberg University, Hohenheim University, Université Libre de Bruxelles, the Institute for Advanced Study in Toulouse, the Virtual Economic History seminar, and the European Public Choice conference for helpful conversations and comments. Victor Gay gratefully acknowledges funding from the ANR under grant ANR-17-EURE-0010 (Investissements d'Avenir program).

1. Introduction

In many democracies, members of specific elite groups have kept on winning elections, thereby securing their hold to power and shaping public policies to their benefit and that of their supporters (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2008; Martinez-Bravo, Mukherjee and Stegmann, 2017). As can be seen in the cases of landowners in Latin America and of tribal chiefs in Sub-Saharan Africa, informal connections and personal attributes play an important role in the ability of elite members to mobilize voters and win elections (Baland and Robinson, 2008; Acemoglu, Reed and Robinson, 2014; Michalopulos and Papaioannou, 2015). Nevertheless, other elite groups have been unable to preserve their political rents over time. Historically, lawyers represented the professional group that dominated parliamentary representation in many countries at the turn of the twentieth century. Their importance began to decline after the First World War at the expense of candidates with other occupations, notably employees and workers as well as businessmen and civil servants. This is best exemplified by the two countries that had established universal male suffrage in the late nineteenth century, i.e., France and the United States. In 1876, lawyers respectively held 68 and 36 percent of seats in the Lower Houses of the US and French parliaments. However, these shares declined to 60 percent in 1936 and 38 percent in 2012 in the United States, and to 21 percent in 1936 and 6 percent in 2012 in France.[1] Likewise, lawyers represent less than 15 percent of representatives in the current Lower Houses of Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom (Kintz, 2010; McGuiness, 2010; Petersen, 2012).

In this study, we analyze the declining importance of lawyers in parliamentary representation. More specifically, we focus on the 1928, 1932, and 1936 elections to the Lower House of the French Parliament because of two institional features of interwar France. First, this period was characterized by the stability of electoral rules, in the form of a two-round majority single-member district

[1] "Lawyers" in the United States are individuals with a *Juris Diploma*, i.e., jurists but not trial lawyers in the strict sense as in Western European countries. This difference in definition explains why the share of "lawyers" in the House of Representatives remains higher than in Western European parliaments.

system (Gaudillère, 1995; Marty, 2013; Ehrhard and Passard, 2020).[2] Second, the legal and political institutions substantially limited the ability of candidates in parliamentary elections to manipulate the boundaries of electoral constituencies, even when they were incumbents. In fact, the few modifications to the electoral geography that occurred during this period were ultimately enacted by the members of the Upper House and by the relevant *préfets*, i.e., civil servants appointed by the central state.

Commentators of French politics during the interwar period sought explanations for the rising dominance of lawyers at the expense of landed aristocrats in Parliament during the early years of the Third Republic as well as for their decline after the First World War.[3] Thibaudet (1927) and Halévy (1930) provided cultural explanations that cannot however account for the decline in lawyers' electoral success in countries other than France.[4] Later on, Gaudemet (1968) argued that the declining dominance of lawyers might have instead resulted from increased opportunities offered by legal practice during the period—although the number of lawyers remained stable at 160 per million inhabitants between 1876 and 1936. Furthermore, Gouault (1954) suggested that peasants voted for lawyers instead of landed aristocrats because they came from the same social background and differed only in their educational attainment. In this perspective, the structural transformation and special-interest politics might have led to changes in political representation: employees and workers from the private sector voted for members of their own occupational groups rather than for lawyers, whom they viewed as less likely to implement their preferred policies (see also Duverger, 1954).

[2]Throughout this period, all men aged 21 could vote and those aged 25 were eligible, while literacy was not a voting requirement. In any case, literacy was nearly universal in France after the First World War. For instance, the census of 1926 reports that more than 95 percent of adults French males could read and write.

[3]Other studies analyzing politicians and their occupations during the Third Republic include Dogan (1961) on military professionals, Ellis (1990) on doctors, Charle (1994) on university professors, Garrigues (1997) on businessmen, and Marnot (2000) on engineers.

[4]Thibaudet (1927) suggested that the three leaders of the government that emerged from the elections of 1924 were not lawyers because of the cultural change within the leadership of the dominant party at the time, the center left-wing *Parti Radical et Radical-Socialiste*, which he attributed to the Dreyfus affair that divided France across political and religious lines between 1894 and 1906 (Thomas, 1978).

In this article, we argue that the historical decline in the share of lawyers in parliaments can be explained by upward trends in urbanization. Our argument holds that voter mobilization is a key factor in winning electoral contests: candidates can only be successful if they run a political machine with operatives able to canvass their constituencies to rally voters (Stokes, 2005; Larreguy, Marshall and Querubin, 2016). In Third-Republic France, political parties were not developed enough as national organizations to sustain political machines that could canvass all the constituencies to mobilize voters (Kreuzer, 2001).[5] As a result, candidates had to rely on their own pre-existing professional networks to muster votes across a country that was predominantly rural at the turn of the century. In this respect, lawyers had a comparative advantage over other candidates because their professional networks of clients was essentially rural: through their professional activities, lawyers knew middlemen, i.e., men of importance in rural villages upon whom they could rely to mobilize voters (Le Béguec, 2003). However, with the increase in urbanization during the interwar period, the electoral advantage of the lawyers' professional networks declined.[6]

Our analysis explores the causal relationship between the rising trends in urbanization and the declining electoral success of lawyers – and conversely, the increasing success of employees and workers – by leveraging two novel sources of historical data. First, through archival work, we collect information on the occupations of both successful and unsuccessful candidates. Second, we use an original historical geographic information system of French electoral constituencies to ascertain their precise boundaries during the interwar period and compute the density of registered voters therein as well as various constituency-level characteristics (Gay, 2021).

Since the process of urbanization and the electoral outcomes of candidates with specific occupations could be related to simultaneous changes in local polit-

[5]The dominant political parties of the Third Republic were only "officially" founded at the turn of the twentieth century: the *Parti Radical et Radical-Socialiste* and the *Alliance Démocratique* held their first congress in 1901, the *Fédération Républicaine* in 1903, while the various socialist groups agreed to unite in 1905 as the *Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière* (SFIO). In 1920, the majority of socialist activists formed the *Section Française de l'Internationale Communiste* which would soon be renamed *Parti Communiste Français* (PCF).

[6]According to census data, the share of the urban population rose from 31 percent in 1872 to 47 percent in 1926 and 52 percent in 1936.

ical and economic conditions such as productivity growth or improvements of urban amenities (Rauch, 1993; Glaeser and Saiz, 2004; Duranton and Puga, 2014), our identification strategy takes advantage of legal reforms that altered the electoral geography. Inside the administrative divisions of the French territory known as *départements* – whose borders did not change throughout the period – these reforms generated exogenous variations in the boundaries of electoral constituencies, and ultimately, in the density of voters. These reforms enable us to compare within-département electoral outcomes of candidates with the same occupations in the constituencies whose borders were modified to those in constituencies that did not experience such boundary changes.

In support of our identification strategy, we run balance tests and Stable Unit Treatment Value Assumption (SUTVA) tests to show that urbanization and redistricting were not correlated with various economic, political, and institutional factors. These tests notably show that industrialization, firm size, and wages in various sectors were not correlated with the density of registered voters. They also show that the number of registered voters was not significantly different between the départements encompassing modified constituencies and those encompassing unmodified constituencies, thus suggesting that migration did not have a significant effect on urbanization, which instead resulted from the local growth of the population.

Our results imply that the increasing density of registered voters depressed the share of lawyers in the Lower House while it increased the share of employees and workers, the two most common occupations among candidates. Namely, a one-standard deviation increase in the density of voters within a constituency decreased the average electoral probability of success of lawyers by 4.2 percentage points, while it increased that of the employees and workers by 6.6 percentage points. We further find that urbanization was also detrimental to doctors, an occupational group whose professional networks were similar to those of lawyers—although doctors constitute a smaller set of politicians than lawyers or employees and workers with only 6 percent of candidates and 4 percent of winners between 1928 and 1936. In addition, our results indicate that the effect of urbanization on electoral outcomes was concentrated on the left of the political spectrum, whereby left-wing employees and workers crowded out left-

wing lawyers. Our interpretation of these quantitative results is supported by the individual biographies of the elected employees and workers in our sample constituencies.

A series of robustness checks supports the validity of our baseline results. First, we consider "counterfactual" reforms, i.e., the modifications to electoral constituencies which were debated in the Parliament but ultimately not adopted. We find no effect of changes in voter density on the electoral success of lawyers or of candidates with other occupations in these constituencies, suggesting that our results are not driven by unobservable factors that could have entailed both boundary changes and variation in voter density over time. Second, we account for alternative measurements of the treatment variable by considering the share of urban population rather than voter density and by discretizing the continuous measure of voter density. Third, we use alternative econometric specifications, i.e, we use a more stringent procedure for clustering standard errors, run seemingly unrelated regressions, employ pre-treatment voter density measures, and verify that no département – as well as the city of Paris – drives the estimates. Our results are robust to all these alternative strategies.

As such, this study pertains to two strands of the literature but tries to provide a different perspective. First, it is related to studies analyzing the ability of candidates to run in elections and win them. Previous studies (e.g., Gehlbach, Sonin and Zhuravskaya, 2010; Dal Bo et al., 2017) have shown how economic circumstances condition the ability of candidates with a specific occupation to win electoral contests, alongside other factors such as the type of electoral rules (Beath et al., 2016), the level of wages once in office (Gagliarducci and Nannicini, 2013; Fisman et al., 2015; Cerina and Deidda, 2017), the size of public budgets (Brollo et al., 2013), or personal characteristics including gender, family connections, or intrinsic motives (Dal Bo, Dal Bo and Snyder, 2009; Gagliarducci and Paserman, 2012; Dal Bo et al., 2017).

Second, this study is motivated by the important role that the occupation and education of national political leaders play in their countries' macroeconomic performance, redistribution patterns, as well as corruption and clientelism (Diermeier, Keane and Merlo, 2005; Jones and Olken, 2005; Besley, Montalvo and Reynal-Querol, 2011; Martinez-Bravo, 2014). In this respect, it does not

necessarily contradict previous research showing that lawyers are more likely to become political leaders (Besley and Reynal-Querol, 2011). It however suggests that changing circumstances had an impact on the lawyers' ability to win parliamentary elections but did not prevent them from becoming leading politicians within parliaments.[7]

In the remainder of this article, Section 2 discusses the nature of the reforms entailing boundary changes to electoral constituencies in the interwar period. Section 3 presents the data while Section 4 discusses our empirical strategy. Section 5 analyzes the results, and Section 6 concludes.

2. Boundary Changes to Electoral Constituencies in 1928–36

In this section, we describe the institutional context of the elections to the Lower House of the French Parliament in 1928, 1932, and 1936. Section 2.1 provides an overview of the administrative organization of France's territory into *départements*, *arrondissements*, and *cantons*, and how it shaped the geography of electoral constituencies. Section 2.2 then discusses the two types of legal processes that enabled the boundary changes to electoral constituencies we leverage for identification: electoral reforms and territorial reforms. Finally, Section 2.3 discusses the counterfactual reforms we use in a series of robustness tests, i.e., electoral reforms that were debated in the Parliament but ultimately not enacted.

2.1. Administrative divisions and electoral constituencies

The administrative organization of France's territory that was in place during the interwar period dated back to the aftermath of the 1789 French Revolution(Ozouf-Marignier, 1989), long before the formal establishment of the Third Republic in 1875 (Gros, 2014, pp. 307–35). Départements represented the upper level of territorial administration. They were initially designed to

[7]It is beyond the scope of this study to explain the lawyers' comparative advantage within parliaments. We can speculate that lawyers benefit from the connections that they share with one another, their oratory skills, or the comparative advantage that their legal studies gives them in parliament since the bulk of parliamentary work involves writing laws. See, e.g., Diermeier, Keane and Merlo (2005) and Mattozzi and Merlo (2008) on the characteristics of politicians with successful legislative careers.

be small enough so that it would take at most a day by horse to reach its administrative center, the *préfecture*. The préfecture was headed by a *préfet*, a high-level civil servant appointed by the central government to implement its policies and manage the local administration of the département. He was assisted by several *sous-préfets* who headed each arrondissement of the département at the *sous-préfecture*—départements were divided into three arrondissements on average. Each arrondissement was in turn divided into cantons – eleven on average – which were territorial divisions without administrative prerogatives beyond centralizing electoral results and transmitting them to the sous-préfecture. Appendix Figure A.1 displays this territorial organization over all three territorial divisions (Gay, 2021). Finally, below cantons, the territory was organized into *communes*, which were managed by a municipal council and headed by a mayor. In 1928, France had 90 départements, 279 arrondissements, 3,024 cantons and 38,014 communes (Gay, 2021).[8]

Throughout the Third Republic, the boundaries of electoral constituencies closely followed the administrative divisions of the territory described above (Gaudillère, 1995; Marty, 2013; Gay, 2021). First, electoral constituencies were confined to départements, whose borders were not modified between 1928 and 1936. In other words, no electoral constituency spanned several départements. Second, boundaries of electoral constituencies followed those of arrondissements and cantons.[9] Third, electoral constituencies had to encompass contiguous territorial divisions, preventing the existence of disjointed constituencies and enclaves. As such, while changes to electoral constituencies were feasible, politicians' ability to manipulate their shapes for electoral gains was limited by the pre-existing administrative structure. Consequently, the 593 electoral constituencies of mainland France in 1928 were relatively homogeneous, small and compact, as shown in Appendix Figure A.2. They had on average a territory of 931 km^2 with a standard deviation of 676 km^2.[10]

[8] In 1928, the average territory of départements was 6,094 km^2 (std.dev. 1,674 km^2), that of arrondissements, 1,966 km^2 (std.dev. 995 km^2), that of cantons, 179 km^2 (std.dev. 90 km^2), and that of communes 14 km^2 (std.dev. 15 km^2).

[9] As noted in Appendix C, the boundaries of several arrondissements and cantons experienced minor modifications between 1928 and 1936. These arrondissements and cantons are not part of our analysis since these boundary changes did not modify the limits of electoral constituencies.

[10] These sets of rules imply that redistricting in interwar France substantially differed from that

2.2. Types of boundary changes to electoral constituencies

Boundaries of electoral constituencies were modified in two ways: either explicitly through "electoral" reforms that were *in fine* approved by members of the Upper House or implicitly through "territorial" reforms that were *in fine* approved by the département's préfet. Between 1928 and 1936, 34 electoral constituencies experienced changes to their boundaries. These electoral constituencies spanned 11 départements, which also encompassed the 113 other constituencies whose boundaries were not modified, as shown in Appendix Figure A.3. In Table 1, we provide a summary of the boundary changes that we leverage for identification. In Appendix C, we discuss each of these changes in detail and provide their type, legal rationale, parliamentary support, archival sources, and how we integrate them in our dataset.

2.2.1. Electoral reforms

Members of the Lower and Upper Houses of Parliament could initiate direct modifications to the boundaries of electoral constituencies through amendments of the electoral law which regulated the upcoming election. In the electoral laws of 1932 and 1936, they enacted seven electoral reforms to the boundaries of electoral constituencies. In four cases, changes aimed at balancing the size of electorates across constituencies—two of them resulted in the creation of new constituencies and two of them involved the transfer of several cantons across constituencies. In three other cases, boundary changes involved the re-establishment of former constituencies that had been abolished before the 1928 parliamentary elections. For illustration purposes, Figure 1 displays the division of the constituency of Gaillac-Lavaur in the département of Tarn into two constituencies, while Figure C.1 shows the creation of the constituency of Sedan in the département of Ardennes following the division of the constituencies of Vouziers and Mézières-1. Figures C.2–C.6 further display the other five boundary changes

of the United States of America currently, where gerrymandering for partisan advantage has been a major determinant of changes to electoral constituency boundaries (for a survey, see McGhee, 2020). An additional reason for this difference lies in the nature of the French party system during the Third Republic, which was both in its infancy and highly fractionalized (Kreuzer, 2001).

that were entailed by electoral reforms.

Several institutional features of electoral reforms made it unlikely that members of the Lower House could strategically manipulate the boundaries of electoral constituencies. First, changes to electoral boundaries were *in fine* approved by members of the Upper House of Parliament, who had a *de facto* veto power in the matter (Berstein, 2014). In this respect, Upper House members were subject to different electoral incentives than their counterparts in the Lower House. They were elected under different electoral rules, as their constituencies were at the département level, under indirect suffrage as voting rights were restricted to politicians with a local political mandate (such as town mayors), and under a different electoral cycle as they held a nine-year term with a Upper House that was renewed by a third every three years. Moreover, members of the Upper House exhibited little connivance with their counterparts in the Lower House and they were often in opposition (Berstein, 2014). Second, there was not only ex-ante uncertainty about which amendment would pass, but the timing between the adoption of the law and the first round of the elections was also short. Overall, only 7 out of the 19 proposed electoral reforms were ultimately adopted in the electoral laws of 1932 and 1936, and they were enacted only six weeks before the first round of the elections.[11] These institutional features made it unlikely that supporters of specific candidates could swiftly and massively move to a given area to alter the composition of the electorate to win the election. Third, there is no historical evidence that Upper House members sought to promote one or several occupational groups at the expense of others. Even if Upper House members were aware of the declining success of lawyers in parliamentary elections, they would have likely attributed it to the cultural explanations which were popular during the interwar period rather than to urbanization (Thibaudet, 1927; Halévy, 1930). In this respect, it is worth noting that changes to boundaries of electoral constituencies resulted from the joint efforts of parliamentarians with various occupations and across the political spectrum, as discussed in detail in Appendix C.1. For instance, the constituency of Sedan displayed in Appendix Figure C.1 was

[11]The electoral laws, which were respectively adopted on 25 March 1932 and 20 March 1936, regulated the parliamentary elections whose first rounds were respectively held on 1 May 1932 and 26 April 1936.

established through the joint efforts of four Lower House members from the left to the right of the political spectrum, none of whom was a lawyer or a worker.

2.2.2. Territorial reforms

Territorial reforms modified electoral constituencies because the transfer of one or two communes across cantons ultimately changed the boundaries of electoral constituencies that followed those cantons' limits. Between 1928 and 1936, seven boundary changes to electoral constituencies occurred through territorial reforms.

A careful reading of the administrative reports motivating territorial reforms suggests that they emanated from the municipal councils of the communes directly affected by the transfer, with the objective of increasing their geographic proximity to the administrative center of their canton. These changes were then enacted by the local préfet in agreement with high-level civil servants of the Ministry of the Interior. Therefore, the local nature of these territorial reforms made it highly unlikely that they were driven by politicians' constituency-level strategic electoral motives.

2.3. Counterfactual reforms

During the drafting of the electoral bills of 1932 and 1936, 12 amendments proposing electoral reforms to the boundaries of 28 constituencies spanning 10 départements were debated but ultimately not adopted, as shown in Appendix Figure A.4. While these proposals were initiated by members of the Lower House, they were ultimately rejected by their counterparts in the Upper House.

We summarize these counterfactual boundary changes in Table 2 and provide more details in Appendix C. For instance, Appendix Figure C.7 displays the proposed – and ultimately rejected – creation of the constituency of Decazeville in the département of Aveyron through the division of the constituencies of Rodez and of Villefranche-de-Rouergue. Appendix Figures C.8–C.16 further display the other counterfactual boundary changes. We use these counterfactual reforms in some of our robustness tests to ascertain the validity of our empirical strategy.

3. Data

In this section, we present the main variables of our analysis. Section 3.1 discusses the density of registered voters while Section 3.2 focuses on the candidates' occupations and electoral results. Section 3.3 presents the constituency-level controls we include in our regressions. Appendix Tables B.1–B.2 report summary statistics for the whole sample, while Appendix Tables B.3–B.8 provide them separately for each election. Appendix D provides additional information on the multiple sources of our historical data and on the panel of constituencies which we construct for the analysis.

3.1. Density of registered voters

Our main explanatory variable is the (log) density of registered voters per square kilometer in each electoral constituency and election. To compute the area of a constituency, we use Gay (2020*c*; 2021)'s *Third-Republic France Geographic Information System* shapefiles, which we complement by drawing the precise boundaries of infra-municipal constituencies. For each constituency, we collect the number of registered voters from the archival records of official results (Lachapelle 1928; 1932; 1936).

In the 147 electoral constituencies we study, the average number of registered voters was stable throughout the period, between 20,000 and 21,000, while voter density remained between 3,200 and 3,500 per square kilometer. This apparent stability however hides large disparities over space entailed by boundary changes. For instance, while the density of the constituency of Saint-Denis-12 in the département of Seine decreased by 39 percent between 1928 and 1936, that of the constituency of Caen-1 in the département of Calvados increased by 89 percent over the same period. These large disparities are also apparent when comparing changes in (log) voter density between elections across treated and untreated constituencies in Appendix Table B.9, as the change in the standard deviation of this variable was nearly four times larger in treated constituencies (0.23) than in untreated ones (0.06).

In a robustness check, we use data on the urban population in each electoral constituency. For this purpose, we rely on the censuses of 1926, 1931, and 1936 to

collect information on the *population agglomérée* (agglomerated population) for each of the six thousand 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 definition of urban population used in the French censuses since the mid-nineteenth century (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 éparse* (sparse population) that resided in hamlets located in the outskirts of a commune's center.

In the perspective of our study, the density of registered voters from election returns remains a better measure of urbanization than the share of the urban population from the censuses. First, it measures the spatial distribution of registered voters at the precise moment of the elections. In contrast, information on the urban population is not synchronized with elections: when using the share of urban population, we are constrained to rely on the census of March 1926 for the elections of April 1928, on the census of March 1931 for the elections of May 1932, and on the census of March 1936 for the elections May 1936. Second, the density of registered voters is an objective measure that does not depend on some arbitrary classification of the population into urban and rural categories, however stable over time.

3.2. Candidates' occupations and electoral results

There were 2,350 candidates in the 147 constituencies we analyze in the elections of 1928, 1932, and 1936. Using the archival records of official election results, we collect the number of votes and vote shares for each candidate in each round (Lachapelle 1928; 1932; 1936).We also collect the political affiliations of all candidates in our sample, which we then match to their occupation using Robert and Cougny's (1889) and Jolly's (1960) dictionaries of French parliamentarians. Information on the candidates' occupations in these dictionaries is based on their political manifestos, which we complement with different secondary sources which are listed in the Appendix.

Based on these archival records, we classify each candidate into one of 12 occupations: artists, businessmen, clergymen, doctors (including pharmacists and veterinarians), engineers (including scientists other than doctors), workers (including employees in the private sector), mid- or low-level civil servants, high-level civil servants, judges, journalists, landowners, lawyers (including solicitors), professors (including primary school teachers), and notaries.[12] Appendix Table B.2 shows that in our sample of 2,350 candidates, the most common occupations were lawyers (448 candidates) and employees and workers (700 candidates), representing respectively 19 and 30 percent of all candidates. Businessmen (372 candidates) and journalists (271 candidates) were also frequent occupations, representing respectively 16 and 12 percent of all candidates. Doctors represented 6 percent of all candidates. Moreover, 69 percent of candidates were on the left of the political spectrum.[13]

As for the 439 elected candidates in our sample, Appendix Table B.2 shows that lawyers (111 candidates) and employees and workers (79 candidates) were also the most common occupations among winning candidates, representing respectively 25 and 18 percent of all winning candidates. Businessmen (98 candidates) were relatively successful as they represented 22 percent of all winning candidates, while journalists and doctors represented only 7 and 4 percent of them. 58 percent of winning candidates were on the left of the political spectrum.

It is also interesting to examine the distribution of occupations among candidates and winners for each election in our sample. Appendix Tables B.6–B.8 show that the share of lawyers among candidates slightly increased from 17 percent in 1928 to 21 percent in 1936, although their share among winners declined from 29 percent to 20 percent, in line with national-level trends. In contrast, the share of employees and workers among candidates declined from 33 percent in 1928 to 28 percent in 1936 but their share among winners increased from 12 percent to 29 percent. Overall, these trends suggest that lawyers were replaced

[12]Military professionals on active duty could neither vote nor run in elections. However, a few retired military professionals ran for office. Given their limited number and that they usually own land, we classify them as landowners.

[13]The mapping from political affiliations to political leaning into left, right, and independent for each election is available in Appendix Tables B.10–B.12.

by employees and workers during the interwar period.

3.3. Constituency characteristics

The empirical analysis accounts for constituency characteristics which may have had an impact on the outcome of elections. These characteristics include voter turnout and the number of candidates in each constituency and election. They also include an indicator variable equal to one if an incumbent candidate ran in a given election.

In the 441 electoral contests held in 1928, 1932, and 1936 within the 147 constituencies in our sample, there were on average 6 candidates competing in the first round, with a minimum of 2 and a maximum of 12. In 70 percent of these contests, a second round took place because no candidate had obtained more than 50 percent of the votes in the first round. On average, 4 candidates competed in the second round, with a minimum of 2 and a maximum of 8. Our summary statistics also show that 15 percent of candidates were incumbents while voter turnout amounted to 84 percent of registered voters.

4. Empirical Framework

This section presents our empirical framework. Section 4.1 discusses the econometric specification while Section 4.2 provides empirical tests in support of our identifying assumptions.

4.1. Estimation strategy

To assess the effect of voter density on the electoral success of a candidate, we estimate the following regression equation separately for each of the 12 occupations:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Elected}_{i_o cdt} &= \beta_1 \, \mathbb{1}_{[i=o]} + \beta_2 \, \text{Density}_{ct} + \beta_3 \, \text{Density}_{ct} \times \mathbb{1}_{[i=o]} \\ &+ \beta_4 \, X_{ict} + \alpha_{-oct} + \alpha_c + \alpha_{dt} + \varepsilon_{i_o cdt}, \end{aligned} \tag{1}$$

where $\text{Elected}_{i_o cdt}$ equals 1 if candidate i with occupation o in constituency c of département d in year t wins the election and 0 otherwise. The coefficient of

interest, β_3, captures the interaction between the log density of registered voters in constituency c (Density_{ct}) and an indicator for whether candidate i holds occupation o ($\mathbb{1}_{[i=o]}$). We control for a set of constituency-level characteristics (X_{ict}) that includes voter turnout, the number of candidates in the election, and an indicator for whether candidate i is the incumbent.

We use the panel structure of our data and include constituency (α_c) and département-by-year fixed effects (α_{dt}) to account for common trends over time in the interaction between density and the success of a given occupation in constituencies of the same département. To ensure that our results are not driven by the supply of candidates of other occupations in a constituency, we also include fixed effects (α_{-oct}) for the set of other occupations present in a given election and constituency. We cluster standard errors at the level of electoral constituencies.

In the last part of our empirical analysis, we analyze whether the effect of voter density differs for candidates with the same occupation but from different parties. To assess such heterogeneity across political parties, we estimate a triple interaction through the following specification for each candidate i with occupation o and affiliated to party p:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Elected}_{i_{op}cdt} &= \beta_1\ \mathbb{1}_{[i=o]} + \beta_2\ \mathbb{1}_{[i=p]} + \beta_3\ \text{Density}_{ct} + \beta_4\ \text{Density}_{ct} \times \mathbb{1}_{[i=o]} \\ &+ \beta_5\ \text{Density}_{ct} \times \mathbb{1}_{[i=p]} + \beta_6\ \text{Density}_{ct} \times \mathbb{1}_{[i=o]} \times \mathbb{1}_{[i=p]} \\ &+ \beta_7\ X_{ict} + \alpha_{-oct} + \alpha_c + \alpha_{dt} + \varepsilon_{i_{op}cdt}, \end{aligned} \tag{2}$$

where $\text{Elected}_{i_{op}cdt}$ equals 1 if candidate i from party p with occupation o in constituency c of département d in year t wins the election and 0 otherwise. All the other variables are the same as in Equation 1. We then test the average effect of voter density for candidate i with occupation o for party p based on the following null hypothesis:

$$H_0: \quad \widehat{\beta}_4 + \overline{\text{density}_{ct}} \cdot \widehat{\beta}_6 = 0, \tag{3}$$

where $\overline{\text{density}_{ct}}$ is the average log density in constituency c in year t while β_4 and β_6 were defined in Equation 2. Failure to reject the null hypothesis would

imply no heterogeneity in the effects of voter density for candidate i from party p with occupation o.

4.2. Identification strategy

4.2.1. identifying assumptions

Our identification strategy takes advantage of the economic, historical, and institutional context of the Third Republic to assess the electoral impact of variations in voter density entailed by exogenous changes in the boundaries of electoral constituencies. There are however three main challenges to this identification strategy. First, the 11 départements with electoral constituencies whose boundaries were modified should not have different observable characteristics from the 79 other departments with unmodified constituencies. Second, within these 11 départements, the 34 electoral constituencies with modified boundaries should not have observable characteristics different from the other 113 unmodified electoral constituencies prior to the boundary modifications. Third, the Stable Unit Treatment Value Assumption (SUTVA) should hold: the change in population density within the 34 modified constituencies should not have a significant impact on the other economic and political characteristics of all the constituencies within each of the 11 départements.

As discussed above, the institutional context of Third Republic France makes it unlikely that changes in the boundaries of constituencies would be driven by candidates' strategic preferences or would be correlated with the characteristics of the treated départements or those of the treated constituencies. Furthermore, the historical and economic context of interwar France makes it unlikely that changes in population density would significantly alter the social or occupational composition of the voting population. In particular, a higher level of urbanization in France during the interwar period would not necessarily be correlated an increase in the share of employees and workers in the industrial workforce. Indeed, the patterns of French industrialization were historically characterized by the presence of small industrial firms in rural areas relying on water-powered engines rather than steam power, as coal was relatively scarce in France (Cameron and Neal, 2003; Franck and Galor, 2021). Even with the advent of more techno-

logically advanced steam engines that were less reliant on coal, French industries remained equally likely to be located in urban or in rural areas, and continued to be characterized by their small size. For instance, the 1931 census reports that 88 percent of industrial firms had 10 employees or less while 9 percent had between 11 and 50 employees. Only 0.07 percent of industrial firms, usually in heavy industries such as the mining sector, had more than 1,000 employees.

4.2.2. Testing the identifying assumptions

To provide some empirical support for the validity of our identification strategy, we run a series of tests that rely upon département- and constituency-level variables collected from several archival sources listed in Appendix D. We report summary statistics for variables at the département level in Appendix Table B.13 and at the constituency level in Appendix Table B.14.

In Table 3, we report balance tests showing that the 11 départements within which the boundaries of constituencies were modified were not different from the 79 other départements along a large set of economic, judicial and political characteristics. Panel A tests for differences in economic characteristics pertaining to urbanization and lawyers' economic opportunities: the number of lawyers and of registered voters, fertility and literacy rates, as well as the density of roads (per square kilometer). Panel B tests for differences in the characteristics of the départements' préfets, as they played a role in the implementation of territorial reforms: their age; whether they were lawyers, held any other specification occupation, or were members of the Lower House of Parliament before joining the civil service; and their turnover rate, i.e., the number of years they remained in the same département. Finally, Panels C and D show that there was no significant difference between treated and untreated départements with respect to the occupations and party affiliations of the sitting members in the Upper House or of the candidates to the Lower House before each election.

Next, in Tables 4 and 5, we provide tests at the constituency level over observable characteristics of the 147 constituencies within the 11 départements in our main sample. These characteristics include several measures of judicial and economic activity: the numbers of chambers, lawyers, and trials; the area covered by

mining concessions (in square kilometers); a consumer price index; a wage index across all occupations, as well as wage rates for several occupations (blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, and plumbers). Specifically, in Table 4, we provide an ex-ante comparison between the 34 constituencies whose boundaries were modified and the 113 constituencies whose boundaries were not. In these balance tests, we find that treated and untreated constituencies were not different along these characteristics. Moreover, in Table 5, we provide an ex-post comparison by testing whether changes in (log) voter density due to boundary changes – our main explanatory variable – were correlated with variations in constituencies' judicial and economic characteristics. We find no significant correlation, suggesting that the SUTVA assumption holds as changes to constituencies' boundaries did not modify their underlying socio-economic composition.

Overall, these tests provide support for the validity of our empirical strategy insofar as they show that treated constituencies and higher voter density were not correlated with the opportunity cost of practicing law or with the composition of the workforce. As such, they imply that our main results are not driven by changes in the characteristics of the voters or of the constituencies other than higher voter density.

5. Results

This section reports our main results. Section 5.1 presents our baseline results on the causal relationship between voter density and the electoral success of lawyers and workers while Section 5.2 assesses heterogeneity in this relationship across the political spectrum. Finally Section 5.3 provides a series of robustness checks in support of our empirical strategy.

5.1. Voter density and electoral success

In Table 6, we report results from estimating Equation 1 for lawyer as well as for employee and worker candidates. Estimates suggest that a higher density of registered voters was detrimental to the electoral success of lawyers (Panel A) but beneficial to that of employees and workers (Panel B). Quantitatively, estimates including the full set of controls in Column 3 imply that a one-percent

increase in the density of registered voters per square kilometer in a constituency decreased the probability of electoral success for lawyers by 1.6 percentage points but increased that for employees and workers by 2.5 percentage points. In other words, a one-standard deviation increase in the log density of registered voters (2.6, corresponding to 4,500 registered voters per square kilometer) was associated with a decrease in the success probability of lawyers by 4.2 percentage points, which represents about 17 percent of their average probability of electoral success (24.8 percent). Conversely, a similar increase improved the success probability of employees and workers by 6.6 percentage points, i.e., 58 percent of the average probability of employees and workers' electoral success rate (11.3 percent). These results are corroborated by estimates in Column 6, which suggest that a higher voter density had a negative and significant effect on the vote share of lawyers but a positive and significant effect on the vote share of employees and workers.

In Figure 2, we display the coefficients from Column 3 of Table 6 for lawyers and workers along those for candidates with other occupations—the full set of estimates for these occupations are reported in Appendix Table B.15. These results show that changes in voter density did not have a robust significant effect on the electoral success of candidates with other occupations except for doctors, for whom urbanization was detrimental—for them, a one-standard deviation increase in the density of registered voters per square kilometer in a constituency decreased the probability of electoral success by 5.2 percentage points, which represents about 36 percent of their average probability of electoral success (14.3 percent). Indeed, like lawyers, doctors could use their professional influence to build network in rural constituencies. They were however a relatively small group, with only 133 candidates relative to 448 for lawyers.

5.2. Heterogeneous effects of voter density across the political spectrum

In Table 7, we examine whether changes in voter density had a heterogeneous electoral impact among left- and right-wing candidates by running Equations 2 and 3. While Column 1 reports baseline estimates from Column 2 of Table 6,

Columns 2 and 3 distinguish between the effect of voter density on left- and right-wing lawyers (Panel A) and employees and workers (Panel B) within the sample of left- and right-wing candidates, respectively. Estimates imply that higher voter density had a negative effect on the electoral success of left-wing lawyers, but a positive effect on the electoral success of left-wing employees and workers. In contrast, higher voter density did not affect the electoral success of right-wing lawyers and workers. Looking more broadly across all professions (Appendix Figure A.5 and Appendix Table B.16), results suggest that higher voter density did not have a significant impact on the electoral success of left- or right-wing candidates with occupations other than lawyers and workers.

These findings lead us to further investigate whether greater voter density had heterogeneous implications for left-wing lawyers and workers depending on their political affiliations. For this purpose, we estimate Equation 2 by distinguishing between communists from the *Parti Communiste Français* (PCF), socialists from the *Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière* (SFIO), left-wing centrists from the *Parti Radical et Radical-Socialiste*, and independent left-wing candidates. Results in Table 8 imply that greater voter density had a strong negative and significant effect on the electoral success of independent left-wing lawyers.[14] A one percent increase in the log density of registered voters lowered their electoral probability of success by 6.2 percentage points. Before the First World War, such independent left-wing lawyers had been instrumental in passing the early reforms of the Third Republic, notably the secular transformation of the school system as well as the separation of Church and State (Franck, 2016). At a time when most voters lived in rural areas, electoral constituencies were an aggregation of isolated villages where a handful of individuals could know every potential voter on a personal basis. These individuals could then play the role of middlemen to candidates seeking to mobilize voters on the ground. Because their professional networks relied on long-term business relationships, lawyers were likely to know these potential middlemen and thereby could turn their professional networks into political machines during electoral campaigns.[15]

[14]The small sample of communist candidates who were lawyers over the 1928–36 period (four won elections out of 11 candidates) does not seem to warrant an economic interpretation of the significant and negative effect of urbanization on their electoral success.

[15]For instance, Louis Barthou (1862–1934), a lawyer who represented the département of Basses-

However, when urbanization intensified, the professional network of these independent left-wing lawyers, who were local magnates in their rural constituencies, was less efficient in mobilizing voters than the professional network of employees and workers. It would indeed seem that these left-wing employees and workers had invested more efforts in the organization of political machines in urban than in rural areas.

The role of unions in the electoral success of employees and workers is evident in Appendix Table B.17, which provides biographical information for the elected employees and workers in our sample of 147 constituencies. Out of those 53 elected employees and workers, 44 had a direct union affiliation while the 9 others had emerged from unions to enter the party leadership. A case in point is that of Maurice Thorez (1900–64), who became the leader of the French Communist Party in the 1930s (Robrieux, 1975). As such, our analysis also provides an explanation for the rising political dominance of employees and workers in the interwar period that culminated in the victory of the left-wing *Front Populaire* coalition in 1936.

Nevertheless, results in Table 8 also suggest that voter density did not have different effects on the electoral success of employees and workers from different parties, suggesting that their affiliation neither advantaged nor disadvantaged them in turning their professional networks into an electoral machine. This is line with the historical evidence highlighting that both the communist PCF and socialist SFIO parties had close relations with national unions that could be traced back to the origins of the labor movement in France in the late nineteenth century (Lefranc, 1968; Moss, 1976) while the leadership of the *Parti Radical et Radical-Socialiste* was more likely to co-opt the local leaders of independent professional organizations (Barzman, 1997).

Pyrénées in the Lower House between 1889 and 1922 and in the Upper House between 1922 and 1934 wrote in his memoirs: "Who has not seen outside of Paris, on a market day in a small town, the antechamber of a lawyer's office filled with peasants who came for a yes, for a no, for nothing, cannot know how influence is patiently built, how an authority in a constituency is developed" (Barthou, 1923, p. 18) (translation is ours).

5.3. Robustness checks

This section provides a series of robustness checks that support the validity of our baseline results. We first analyze counterfactual reforms to show that our results are not driven by unobservable factors which could entail both boundary changes and variation in voter density over time. Furthermore, we show that our results are robust to alternative measurement strategies, estimation methods, and subsamples.

5.3.1. Counterfactual reforms

To ensure that the main results in Table 6 are not driven by unobservable factors that could lead to both changes to boundaries of electoral constituencies and variation in voter density over time, we account for the sample of counterfactual constituencies in the analysis. As discussed in Section 2.3, these constituencies pertain to boundary changes that were debated by members of the Lower House of Parliament but were eventually rejected by their counterparts in the Upper House.

In Appendix Table B.18, Column 1 first reports baseline estimates based on the full specification of Table 6 for reference. Then, Column 2 augments our sample with the départements that contained counterfactual constituencies. Importantly, in Column 3, we only consider départements that comprised counterfactual constituencies. This specification can be seen as a stringent placebo test: since there was no actual boundary change in this sample, there should not be any effect of (log) voter density on the electoral success of lawyers and workers. Next, in Column 4, we restrict the sample to constituencies that experienced boundary changes and to counterfactual ones. Finally, in Column 5, we restrict the sample to the 34 constituencies that actually experienced boundary changes. Overall, except for Column 3 where we do not find a significant effect as predicted, results remain similar in size and significance to those we obtain in our baseline analysis, thereby providing support for the validity of our empirical strategy.

5.3.2. Alternative measurement strategies

Here we consider two measures other than the density of registered voters to assess the robustness of our baseline results. First, we consider the share of the urban population in each electoral constituency. As discussed in Section 3.1, we build this variable by collecting information on commune-level urban population from the censuses of 1926, 1931, and 1936, which we then aggregate at the level of the electoral constituencies. Using this measure instead of the (log) density of registered voters yields similar results: as shown in Appendix Table B.19, a ten-percentage point increase in the share of urban population in a constituency decreases the probability of electoral success for lawyers by 1.2 percentage points but increases that for employees and workers by 2.3 percentage points. In other words, a one-standard deviation increase in the share of urban population (33.2 percent) was associated with a decrease in the success probability of lawyers by 4.1 percentage points. Conversely, a similar increase improved the success probability of employees and workers by 7.5 percentage points. These magnitudes are nearly identical to those found with our baseline measure, whereby a one-standard deviation increase in the log density of registered voters was associated with a decrease in the success probability of lawyers by 4.2 percentage points and an increase in the success probability of employees and workers by 6.6 percentage points. This suggests that our baseline measure is a good proxy for urbanization and that our results are not an artifact of the measurement we use.

Second, we consider an alternative specification of the voter density variable by discretizing this initially continuous measure. In Appendix Table B.20, we show that our results are robust to using an indicator variable for whether the (log) density of the constituency is above the median value in the sample.

5.3.3. Alternative estimation methods

in this section, we report tests showing that our results are robust to estimating Equation 1 with alternative econometric strategies. In Appendix Table B.21, we show that the results reported in Table 6 are robust to a more stringent clustering strategy by which standard errors are clustered two-way at the levels of constituencies and département-years.

Furthermore, by construction, electoral shares sum to one. We therefore account for the dependence across equations by re-estimating Equation 1 with seemingly unrelated regressions across occupations, where outcomes are set to zero when the candidates' occupations are different from o. Appendix Table B.22 shows that estimates from this methodology are similar to those in Table 6.

Moreover, population density might change over time for other reasons than boundary changes, for instance due to trends in migration, fertility, and mortality. To alleviate this potential issue, we run the analysis when including the density of registered voters using data from the preceding election; i.e., before the change in constituencies' boundaries—assigning the population of 1928 to the election of 1932, and of 1932 to the election of 1936. Given that we can only run this specification on the elections of 1932 and 1936, we reproduce in Appendix Table B.23 our baseline estimates when excluding the election of 1928 from the sample, finding similar results. Estimates in Appendix Table B.24 when using the population of registered voters in the preceding election are similar, thereby suggesting that our results are not driven by differential demographic trends in treated constituencies.[16]

5.3.4. Alternative samples

Here, we check that our estimates hold in more restrictive samples. First, no département or administrative area should drive our results. In particular, the city of Paris, a geographic area with many registered voters throughout the period, may potentially lower the estimated coefficients. Reassuringly, both Appendix Figure A.6 and Appendix Table B.25 show that neither a single département nor Paris drove the results.

Second, as we discussed in Section 2, it was unlikely that some candidates would run strategically in different constituencies across elections to take advantage of the changing boundaries of electoral constituencies, given the institu-

[16] Although our setting bears similarities with a difference-in-difference framework, it differs from it as our variable of interest is an interaction term between the occupation indicator variable and the voter density variable whereby the source of exogenous variation is the change in voter density entailed by electoral and territorial reforms. Therefore, we cannot implement the various robust estimators proposed by de Chaisemartin and d'Haultfoeuille (2023).

tional uncertainty and timing surrounding the reforms. In fact, this potentially strategic behavior was marginal and usually unsuccessful. In the 1928, 1932, and 1936 elections, 52 candidates ran in different constituencies within the same département and only 4 were elected, while 38 ran in different départements and none won.[17] Nonetheless, to alleviate concerns that this strategic behavior was related to changes in voter density, we rerun the baseline analysis by dropping candidates who ran in two different constituencies and/or départements. Appendix Table B.26 shows that dropping these candidates provide results that are similar to the baseline estimates.

6. Conclusion

This study analyzes how economic circumstances can entail the replacement of a political elite by another in a democracy. For this purpose, it focuses on the declining share of lawyers in the Lower House of the French Parliament during the interwar period.

The results show that the rise in the density of voters negatively affected the electoral success of lawyers. Within villages that made up rural constituencies, lawyers had a professional network of clients upon whom they could rely as middlemen to mobilize voters on election day. However, that network lost its electoral value when more voters moved to urban areas. This rural exodus gave an advantage to employees and workers who could use their professional networks of labor unions to mobilize voters in cities.

As such, the results suggest that electoral success in local contests, even in those with a national character like parliamentary elections, has become less dependent upon the candidates' occupations. Instead it is better explained by the candidates' ability to organize political machines that successfully canvass urban constituencies over a long time period and mobilize voters on election day.

[17] Over the 1928–36 period, candidates could theoretically run in different constituencies in the first and second rounds. In our sample, this was the case for only one candidate: Ernest Perney ran in 1928 in the constituency of Saint-Denis-5 (Seine) in the first round and in the constituency of Versailles-3 (Seine-et-Oise) in the second round but lost both times.

References

Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. 2008. "Persistence of Power, Elites, and Institutions." *American Economic Review*, 98(1): 267–93.

Acemoglu, Daron, Tristan Reed, and James A. Robinson. 2014. "Chiefs: Economic Development and Elite Control of Civil Society in Sierra Leone." *Journal of Political Economy*, 122(2): 319–68.

Baland, Jean-Marie, and James A. Robinson. 2008. "Land and Power: Theory and Evidence from Chile." *American Economic Review*, 98(5): 1737–765.

Bargeton, René. 1994. *Dictionnaire biographique des préfets (septembre 1870–mai 1982).* Paris: Archives Nationales.

Barthou, Louis. 1923. *Le politique.* Paris: Hachette.

Barzman, John. 1997. *Dockers, métallos, ménagères : Mouvements sociaux et cultures militantes au Havre (1912–1923).* Mont-Saint-Aigna: Presses universitaires de Rouen et du Havre.

Beath, Andrew, Fotini Christia, Georgy Egorov, and Ruben Enikolopov. 2016. "Electoral Rules and Political Selection: Theory and Evidence from a Field Experiment." *Review of Economic Studies*, 83(3): 932–68.

Berstein, Gisèle. 2014. *Le Sénat sous la IIIe République.* Paris: CNRS Editions.

Besley, Timothy, and Marta Reynal-Querol. 2011. "Do Democracies Select More Educated Leaders?" *American Political Science Review*, 105(3): 552–66.

Besley, Timothy, Jose G. Montalvo, and Marta Reynal-Querol. 2011. "Do Educated Leaders Matter?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 121(554): F205–27.

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.

Brollo, Fernanda, Tommaso Nannicini, Roberto Perotti, and Guido Tabellini. 2013. "The Political Resource Curse." *American Economic Review*, 103(5): 1759–96.

Cameron, Rondo, and Larry Neal. 2003. *A Concise Economic History of the World, From Paleolithic Times to the Present.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cerina, Fabio, and Luca G. Deidda. 2017. "Rewards from Public Office and the Selection of Politicians by Party." *European Journal of Political Economy*, 47: 1–18.

Charle, Christophe. 1994. *La République des universitaires: 1870–1940.* Paris: Editions du Seuil.

Dal Bo, Ernesto, Frederico Finan, Olle Folke, Torsten Persson, and Johanna Rickne. 2017. "Who Becomes a Politician?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 132(4): 1877–1914.

Dal Bo, Ernesto, Pedro Dal Bo, and Jason M. Snyder. 2009. "Political Dynasties." *Review of Economic Studies*, 76(1): 115–42.

de Chaisemartin, Clément, and Xavier d'Haultfoeuille. 2023. *Difference-in-Differences for Simple and Complex Natural Experiments.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. Accessed November 23, 2023 at https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4487202.

Diermeier, Daniel, Michael Keane, and Antonio Merlo. 2005. "A Political Economy Model of Congressional Careers." *American Economic Review*, 95(1): 347–73.

Dogan, Mattei. 1961. "Les officiers dans la carrière politique—du Maréchal Mac-Mahon au Général de Gaulle." *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 2(2): 88–99.

Dupeux, Georges. 1974. "La croissance urbaine en France au XIXe siècle." *Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*, 52(2): 173–89.

Duranton, Gilles, and Diego Puga. 2014. "The Growth of Cities." In *Handbook of Economic Growth*, Volume 2 of *Handbook of Economic Growth*, edited by Philippe Aghion and Steven N. Durlauf, 781–853. Elsevier.

Duverger, Maurice. 1954. *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State.* London: Methuen.

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.

Ellis, Jack D. 1990. *The Physicians-Legislators of France: Medicine and Politics in the early Third Republic.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fisman, Raymond, Nikolaj A. Harmon, Emir Kamenica, and Inger Munk. 2015. "Labor Supply of Politicians." *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 13(5): 871–905.

Franck, Raphaël. 2016. "The Political Consequences of Income Shocks: Explaining the Consolidation of Democracy in France." *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 98(1): 57–83.

Franck, Raphaël, and Oded Galor. 2021. "Flowers of Evil? Industrialization and Long-Run Development." *Journal of Monetary Economics*, 117: 108–28.

Gagliarducci, Stefano, and M. Daniele Paserman. 2012. "Gender Interactions in Hierarchies: Evidence from the Political Arena." *Review of Economic Studies*, 79(3): 1021–52.

Gagliarducci, Stefano, and Tommaso Nannicini. 2013. "Do Better Paid Politicians Perform Better? Disentangling Incentives from Selection." *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 11(2): 369–98.

Garrigues, Jean. 1997. *La République des hommes d'affaires, 1870–1900.* Paris: Aubier.

Gaudemet, Yves. 1968. *Les juristes et la vie politique de la IIIe République.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Gaudillère, Bernard. 1995. *Atlas historique des circonscriptions électorales françaises.* Geneva: Droz.

Gay, Victor. 2020*a*. *TRF-GIS Arrondissements (1870–1940).* Harvard Dataverse. https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/98ERPB.

Gay, Victor. 2020*b*. *TRF-GIS Cantons (1870–1940).* Harvard Dataverse. https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/U85RSZ.

Gay, Victor. 2020*c*. *TRF-GIS Circonscriptions (1870–1940).* Harvard Dataverse. https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/L2LGDW.

Gay, Victor. 2020*d*. *TRF-GIS Courts of First Instance (1870–1940).* Harvard Dataverse. https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/VE2OJS.

Gay, Victor. 2020*e*. *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.

Gehlbach, Scott, Konstantin Sonin, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. 2010. "Businessmen Candidates." *American Journal of Political Science*, 54(3): 718–36.

Glaeser, Edward L., and Albert Saiz. 2004. "The Rise of the Skilled City." *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs*, 5: 47–95.

Gouault, Jacques. 1954. *Comment la France est devenue Républicaine. Les élections générales et partielles à l'Assemblée Nationale, 1870–1875.* Paris: Armand Colin.

Gros, Damien. 2014. *Naissance de la Troisième République.* Paris: Presses universitaires de France.

Halévy, Daniel. 1930. *La fin des notables.* Paris: Grasset.

Jolly, Jean. 1960. *Dictionnaire des Parlementaires Français, 1889–1940.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Jones, Benjamin F., and Benjamin A. Olken. 2005. "Do Leaders Matter? National Leadership and Growth since World War II." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 120(3): 835–64.

Kintz, Melanie. 2010. "Die Berufsstrukture der Abgeordneten des 17. Deutschen Bundestages." *Zeitschrift für Parlament*, 2010(3): S.491–503.

Kreuzer, Marcus. 2001. *Institutions and Innovation: Voters, Parties and Interest groups in the Consolidation of Democracy. France and Germany.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

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.

Larreguy, Horacio, John Marshall, and Pablo Querubin. 2016. "Parties, Brokers and Voter Mobilization: How Turnout Buying Depends Upon the Party's Capacity to Monitor Brokers." *American Political Science Review*, 110(1): 160–79.

Le Béguec, Gilles. 2003. *La République des avocats.* Paris: Armand Collin.

Lefranc, Georges. 1968. *Le mouvement syndical en France sous la troisième république.* Paris, France:Payot.

Le Mée, René. 1972. "Population agglomérée, population éparse au début du XIXe siècle." *Annales de Démographie Historique*, 1971(1): 455–510.

Marnot, Bruno. 2000. *Les ingénieurs au Parliament sous la IIIe république.* Paris: CNRS éditions.

Martinez-Bravo, Monica. 2014. "The Role of Local Officials in New Democracies: Evidence from Indonesia." *American Economic Review*, 104(4): 1244–87.

Martinez-Bravo, Monica, Priya Mukherjee, and Andreas Stegmann. 2017. "The Non-Democratic Roots of Elite Capture: Evidence from Soeharto Mayors in Indonesia." *Econometrica*, 85(6): 1991–2010.

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.

Mattozzi, Andrea, and Andrea M. Merlo. 2008. "Political Careers or Career Politicians." *Journal of Public Economics*, 92(3-4): 597–608.

McGhee, Eric. 2020. "Partisan Gerrymandering and Political science." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 23: 171–85.

McGuiness, Feargal. 2010. "Social Background of MPs." Standard Note 1528, House of Commons.

Michalopulos, Stelios, and Elias Papaioannou. 2015. "On the Ethnic Origins of African Development: Traditional Chiefs and Pre-Colonial Political Centralization." *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 29(1): 32–71.

Moss, Bernard H. 1976. *The Origins of the French Labor Movement, 1830–1914.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Ozouf-Marignier, Marie-Vic. 1989. *La formation des départements. La réprésentation du territoire français à la fin du 18ème siècle.* Paris: Editions de l'EHESS.

Petersen, Eric R. 2012. "Representatives and Senators: Trends in Member Characteristics since 1945." Congressional Research Service R42365.

Rauch, James E. 1993. "Productivity Gains from Geographic Concentration of Human Capital: Evidence from the Cities." *Journal of Urban Economics*, 34(3): 380–400.

Robert, Adolphe, and Gaston Cougny. 1889. *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français.* Paris: Bourlotton.

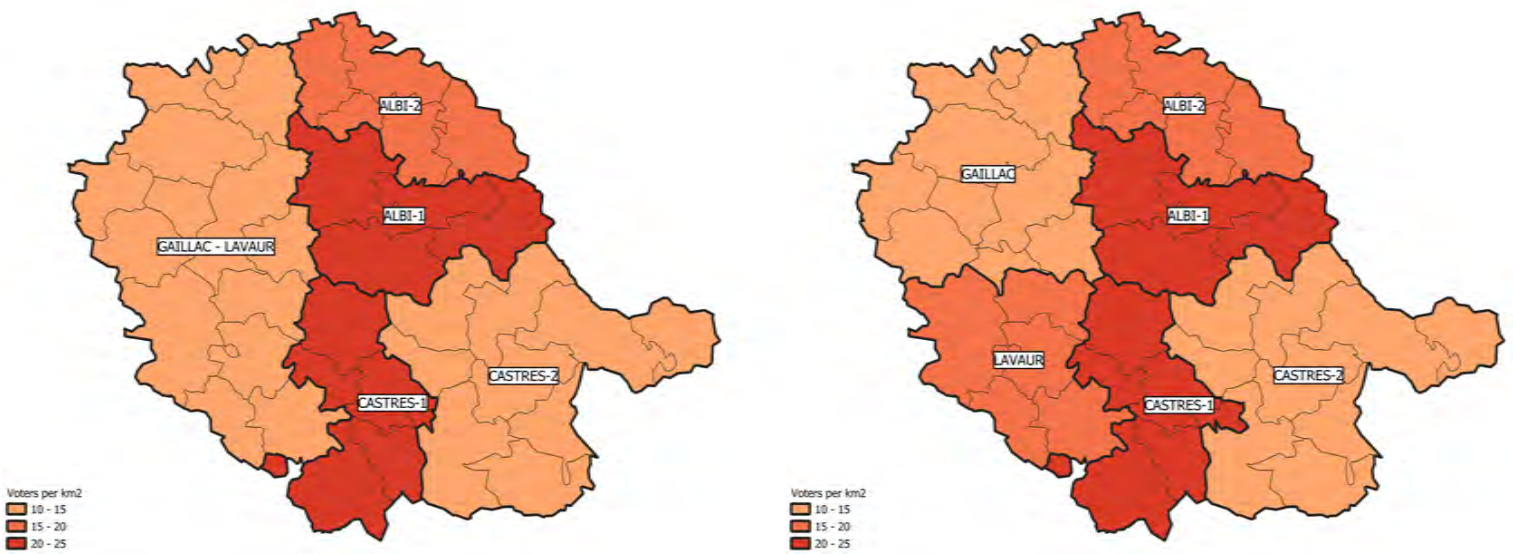
Robrieux, Philippe. 1975. *Maurice Thorez: vie secrète et vie publique.* Paris:Fayard.

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.

Stokes, Susan. 2005. "Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina." *American Political Science Review*, 99(3): 315–25.

Thibaudet, Albert. 1927. *La République des professeurs.* Paris: Grasset.

Thomas, Marcel. 1978. *L'Affaire sans Dreyfus.* Geneva: Idégraf.



(a) Constituencies in 1928 (b) Constituencies in 1932

Figure 1. Boundary Change: Constituencies of Gaillac and Lavaur, Département of Tarn, 1928–1932

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

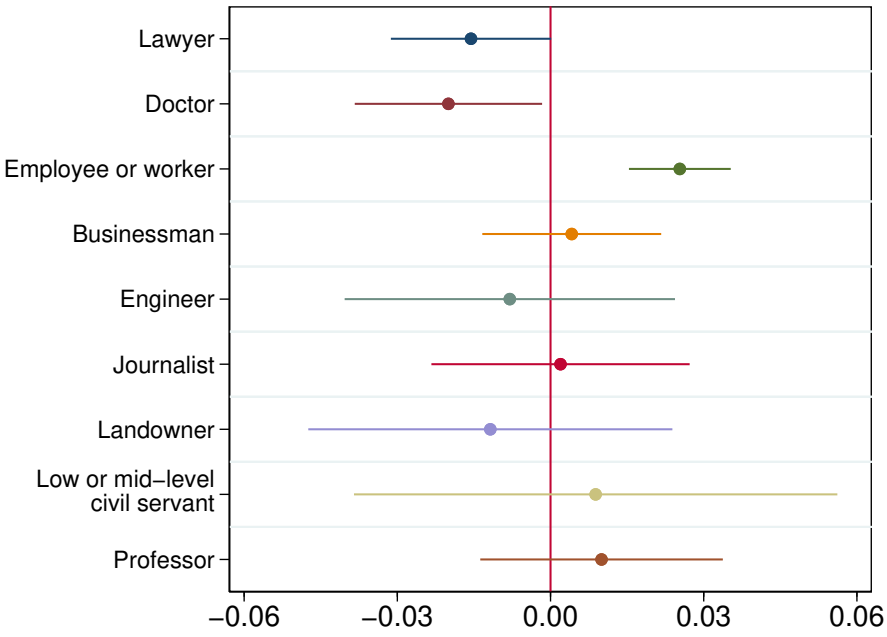


Figure 2. Voter Density and Electoral Success Across Occupations

Notes. This figure displays coefficients from estimating Equation 1 along with 95 percent confidence intervals for all occupations. Results for the 3 clergyman, 17 artist, and 31 high-level civil servant candidates not shown for readability.

Table 1. 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 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 Appendix C for more details.

Table 2. 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 Appendix C for more details.

Table 3. Balance Tests: Characteristics of Départements Encompassing Constituencies with Modified Electoral Constituencies

	A. Economic outcomes				
	Lawyers	Voters	Fertility	Literacy	Roads
Département with	−0.067	1.410	−0.067	0.006	0.070
treated constituencies	[0.090]	[0.919]	[0.062]	[0.007]	[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. *Préfets*				
	Lawyer	Other occupation	*Député*	Age	Turnover
Département with	−0.012	−0.029	−0.004	0.780	0.308
treated constituencies	[0.032]	[0.034]	[0.004]	[0.928]	[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 (*Sénateurs*)				
	Lawyer	Doctor	Worker	Left	Right
Département with	0.052	0.019	0.287	0.072	0.601
treated constituencies	[0.200]	[0.180]	[0.262]	[0.742]	[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	0.066	0.070	1.971	3.388	1.234
treated constituencies	[1.349]	[0.430]	[2.282]	[4.988]	[1.356]
R^2	0.001	0.000	0.002	0.002	0.009
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 year 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 4. Balance Tests: Characteristics of Constituencies With and Without Modified Electoral Boundaries

Outcome:	Chambers	Lawyers	Trials	Log Mine Area	Log Prices
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treated constituency	−0.083	−0.869	−0.340	−0.513	0.002
	[0.300]	[3.355]	[0.407]	[0.456]	[0.004]
Within R^2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.000
Constituencies	147	147	147	152	147
Observations	294	294	294	455	441
Outcome:	Log wages				
Occupation:	Index	Blacksmiths	Carpenters	Masons	Plumbers
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treated constituency	0.004	0.005	0.008	0.000	0.006
	[0.007]	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.006]	[0.007]
Within R^2	0.001	0.001	0.004	0.000	0.002
Constituencies	146	146	146	146	146
Observations	292	292	292	292	292

Notes. This table reports balance tests over observable characteristics of treated and non-treated constituencies. One observation is an electoral constituency. There are 68 treated constituencies over 11 départements. All specifications include département and year fixed effects. *Chambers* stands for the number of chambers of each tribunal, *Lawyers*, for the number of lawyers, *Trials*, for the number of trials (in 100s), *Log Mine Area*, the log of total mining area in square kilometers, *Log Prices*, the log of a local price index over thirty commodities, and *Index*, the log of a local daily wage index over 10 occupations. Occupations in the bottom-half of the table refer to the log of the local daily wage in these occupations. Legal data are available for 1925 and 1931; wage data, for 1928 and 1932; price and mining data, for 1928, 1932, and 1936. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency-group level (125 groups).
*** $p \leq 0.01$. ** $p \leq 0.05$. * $p \leq 0.10$.

Table 5. SUTVA Tests: Voter Density and Constituency Characteristics

Outcome:	Chambers	Lawyers	Trials	Log Mine Area	Log Prices
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Log density	−0.987	20.240	1.903	−0.010	0.014
	[1.273]	[27.201]	[19.259]	[0.110]	[0.011]
Within R^2	0.001	0.003	0.000	0.000	0.002
Constituencies	147	147	147	228	147
Observations	294	294	294	455	441
Outcome:	Log wages				
Occupation:	Index	Blacksmiths	Carpenters	Masons	Plumbers
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Log density	0.013	−0.029	0.005	0.052	−0.012
	[0.017]	[0.025]	[0.028]	[0.041]	[0.028]
Within R^2	0.002	0.002	0.000	0.009	0.001
Constituencies	145	145	145	145	145
Observations	290	290	290	290	290

Notes. This table reports SUTVA tests showing the correlation between voter density and observable characteristics of constituencies in our sample. One observation is an electoral constituency. All specifications include constituency and year fixed effects. *Chambers* stands for the number of chambers of each tribunal, *Lawyers*, for the number of lawyers, *Trials*, for the number of trials (in 100s), *Log Mine Area*, the log of total mining area in square kilometers, *Log Prices*, the log of a local price index over thirty commodities, and *Index*, the log of a local daily wage index over 10 occupations. Occupations in the bottom-half of the table refer to the log of the local daily wage in these occupations. Legal data are available for 1925 and 1931; wage data, for 1928 and 1932; price and mining data, for 1928, 1932, and 1936. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency-group level (125 groups).

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

Table 6. Voter Density and the Electoral Success of Lawyers and Workers

Outcome:	Elected			Vote Share		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	A. Profession: Lawyer					
Log density × lawyer	−0.026**	−0.015*	−0.016*	−1.451**	−0.831**	−0.866**
	[0.013]	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.589]	[0.334]	[0.334]
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Other occupations FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Within R^2	0.012	0.249	0.249	0.027	0.418	0.419
Constituencies	147	147	147	147	147	147
Observations	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350
	B. Profession: Employee or worker					
Log density × worker	0.037***	0.025***	0.025***	2.707***	2.094***	2.132***
	[0.006]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.389]	[0.311]	[0.309]
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Other occupations FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Within R^2	0.030	0.255	0.255	0.073	0.443	0.446
Constituencies	147	147	147	147	147	147
Observations	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350

Notes. Each observation is a candidate. All specifications include constituency and election fixed effects, log voter density, and a profession indicator. Controls include an incumbent indicator, constituency controls (first round number of candidates, first round turnout, number of rounds), and département-by-year fixed effects. *Vote share* is relative to the decisive round. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency level.
*** $p \leq 0.01$. ** $p \leq 0.05$. * $p \leq 0.10$.

Table 7. Voter Density and the Electoral Success of Left-Wing and Right-Wing Lawyers and Workers

Outcome:	Elected		
Sample:	Baseline	Left	Right
	(1)	(2)	(3)
	A. Profession: Lawyer		
Log density × lawyer	−0.016*	−0.028***	−0.003
	[0.008]	[0.009]	[0.014]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Within R^2	0.249	0.164	0.266
Constituencies	147	147	140
Observations	2,350	1,616	664
	B. Profession: Employee or worker		
Log density × worker	0.025***	0.030***	−0.011
	[0.005]	[0.007]	[0.023]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Within R^2	0.255	0.171	0.265
Constituencies	147	147	140
Observations	2,350	1,616	664

Notes. Each observation is a candidate. All specifications include constituency and election fixed effects, log voter density, and an occupation indicator. Controls include an incumbent indicator, constituency controls (first round number of candidates, first round turnout, number of rounds, other candidates' occupations fixed effects), and département-by-year fixed effects. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency level.

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

Table 8. Voter Density and the Electoral Success of Left-Wing Lawyers and Workers

Outcome:	Elected				
Sample:	Left	Comm.	Soc	Rad. Soc.	Indep.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	A. Profession: Lawyer				
Log density × lawyer	−0.028***	−0.014	−0.038***	−0.046***	−0.021**
	[0.009]	[0.010]	[0.010]	[0.014]	[0.010]
Log density × lawyer × party		−0.153*	0.062***	0.041**	−0.041*
		[0.084]	[0.018]	[0.020]	[0.022]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Within R^2	0.140	0.157	0.143	0.141	0.146
Constituencies	147	147	147	147	147
Observations	1,616	1,616	1,616	1,616	1,616
$\widehat{\beta}_{\text{density} \times \text{lawyer}} + \overline{\text{density} \times \text{lawyer}} \cdot \widehat{\beta}_{\text{density} \times \text{lawyer} \times \text{party}}$		−0.171**	0.026*	−0.004	−0.062***
		[0.085]	[0.015]	[0.015]	[0.019]
Lawyer-party elected	43	4	3	26	10
Lawyer-party candidates	257	11	29	145	72
	B. Profession: Employee or worker				
Sample:	Left	Comm.	Soc.	Rad. Soc.	Indep.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Log density × worker	0.030***	0.018**	0.035***	0.030***	0.031***
	[0.007]	[0.009]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.007]
Log density × worker × party		−0.015	−0.018	−0.009	0.004
		[0.019]	[0.015]	[0.022]	[0.013]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Within R^2	0.148	0.160	0.147	0.147	0.152
Constituencies	147	147	147	147	147
Observations	1,616	1,616	1,616	1,616	1,616
$\widehat{\beta}_{\text{density} \times \text{worker}} + \overline{\text{density} \times \text{worker}} \cdot \widehat{\beta}_{\text{density} \times \text{worker} \times \text{party}}$		−0.018	−0.009	0.008	0.040
		[0.043]	[0.034]	[0.053]	[0.029]
Worker-party elected	77	45	25	0	7
Worker-party candidates	650	344	199	6	101

Notes. This table reports regression results for left-wing lawyers and left-wing employees and workers. Column 1 reports results for all left-wing candidates; Column 2, for candidates affiliated with the communist party (PCF); Column 3, for candidates affiliated with the socialist party (SFIO); Column 4, for candidates affiliated with the center left-wing radical party (Parti Radical et Radical-Socialiste); Column 5, for independent left-wing candidates. Each observation is a left-wing candidate. All specifications include constituency and election fixed effects, log voter density, and a profession indicator. Controls include an incumbent indicator, constituency controls (first round number of candidates, first round turnout, number of rounds, other candidates' occupations fixed effects), and département-by-year fixed effects. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency level.
*** $p \leq 0.01$. ** $p \leq 0.05$. * $p \leq 0.10$.

Urbanization and the Change in Political Elites

Supplementary Appendix for Online Publication

A. Supplementary Figures

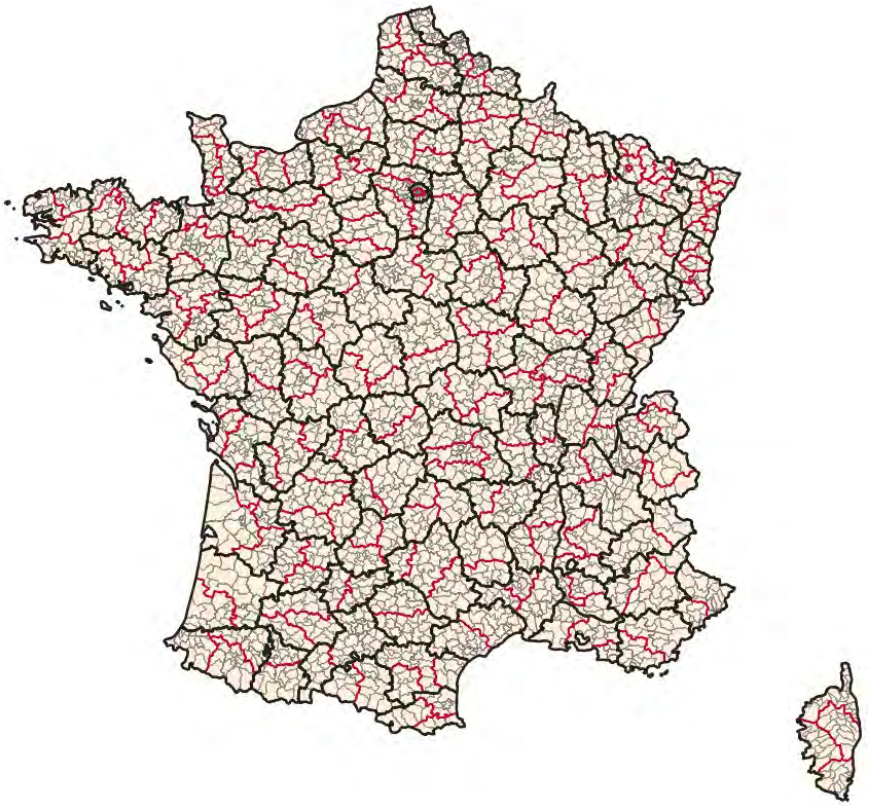


Figure A.1. Départements, Arrondissements, and Cantons in 1928

Notes. This figure displays France's main administrative divisions in 1928. Black lines delineate départements, red lines, arrondissements, and gray lines, cantons. Source: shapefiles from Gay (2020*a*; 2020*b*; 2020*e*).

Figure A.2. Electoral Constituencies in 1928

Notes. This figure displays electoral constituencies in 1928 along with départements in thick black lines. Source: shapefiles from Gay (2020*c*; 2020*e*).

Figure A.3. Départements Encompassing Constituencies with Modified Boundaries in 1928–36

Notes. This figure highlights départements encompassing electoral constituencies whose boundaries were modified between 1928 and 1936. The underlying electoral constituencies in thin black lines correspond to 1928. Source: shapefiles from Gay (2020*c*; 2020*e*).

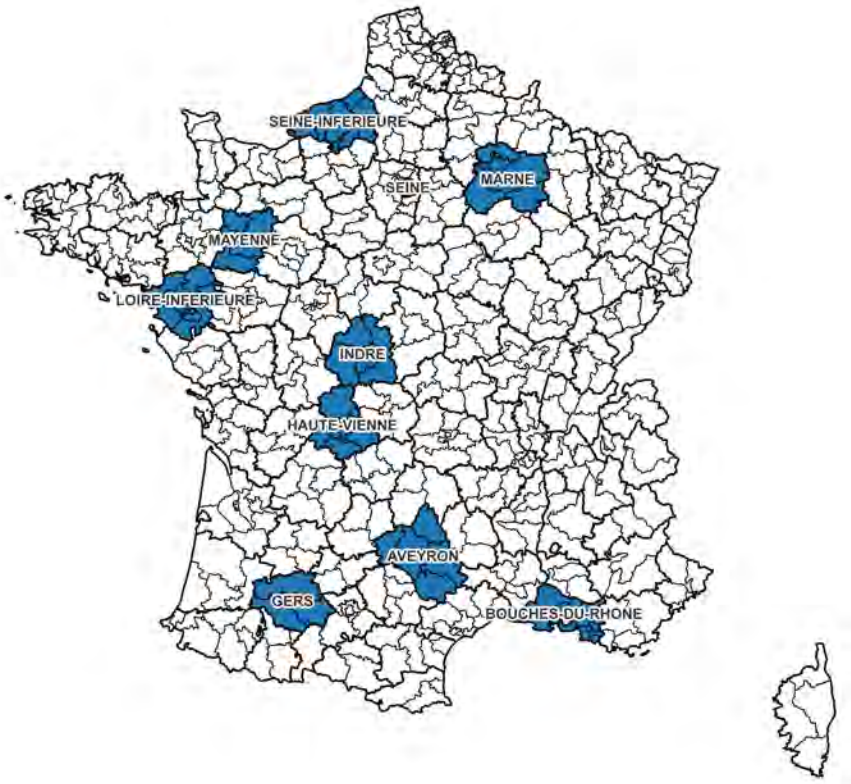
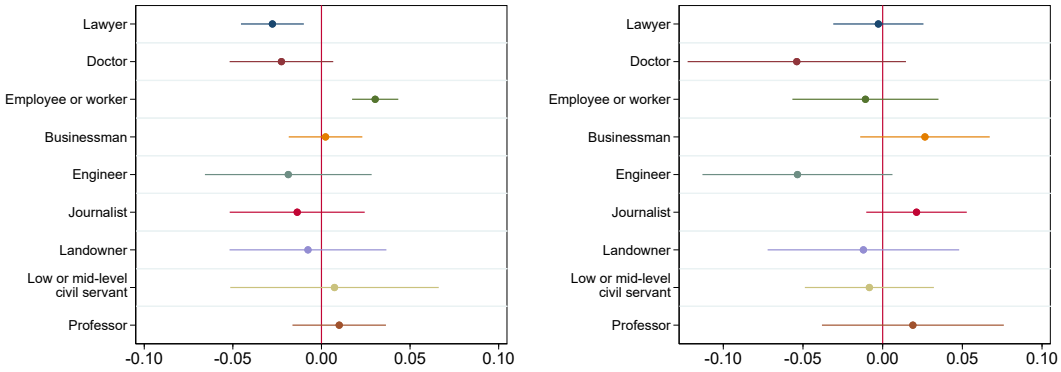


Figure A.4. Départements Encompassing Constituencies with "Counterfactual Reforms" in 1928–36

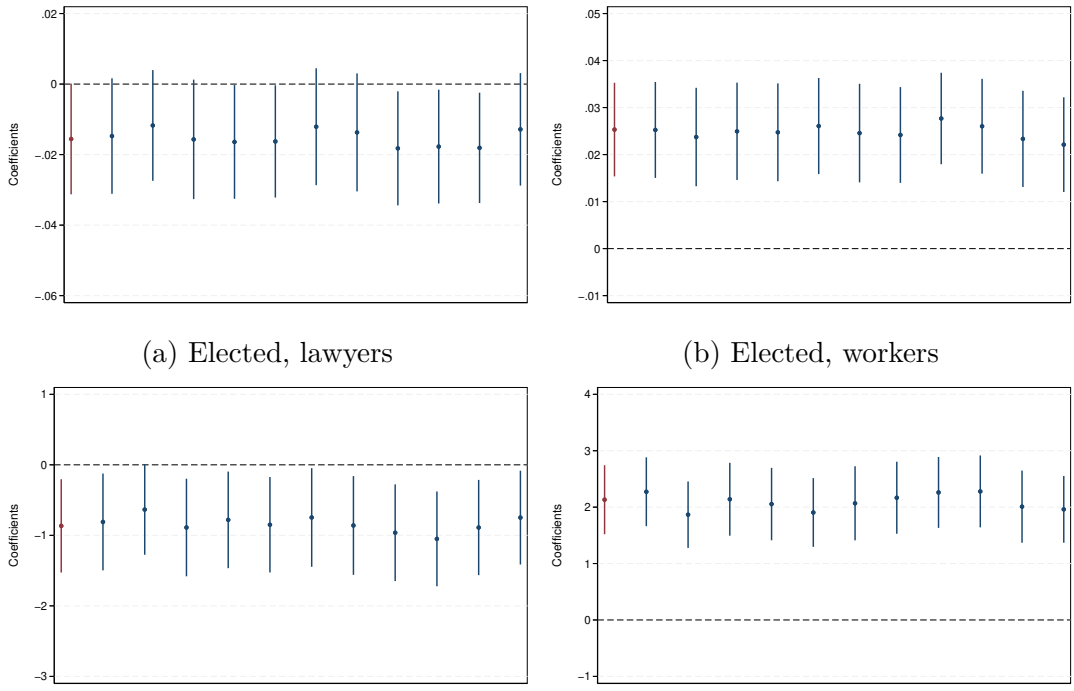
Notes. This figure highlights départements encompassing electoral constituencies whose boundary changes were debated in Parliament but ultimately not enacted. The underlying electoral constituencies in thin black lines correspond to 1928. Source: shapefiles from Gay (2020*c*; 2020*e*).



(a) Left-Wing Candidates (b) Right-Wing Candidates

Figure A.5. Voter Density and Electoral Success Across Occupations for Left-Wing and Right-Wing Candidates

Notes. This figure displays coefficients from estimating Equation 1 along with 95 percent confidence intervals for all occupations, on the subset of left-wing candidates (Panel a) or right-wing candidates (Panel b). Results for the 3 clergyman, 17 artist, and 31 high-level civil servant candidates not shown for readability.



(a) Elected, lawyers

(b) Elected, workers

(c) Vote share, lawyers

(d) Vote share, workers

Figure A.6. 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. Supplementary Tables

Table B.1. Summary Statistics: Constituencies, Candidates, and Elected Officials, 1928–36

	A. Constituencies				
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Area (km^2)	464	572	1	2,963	441
Candidates	5.76	1.84	2	12	441
Registered voters	20,050	6,562	7,731	49,659	441
Turnout (%)	84.1	3.6	63.6	95.1	441
Voter density	2,744	4,564	5	18,406	441
Voter log density	5.55	2.62	1.54	9.82	441
	B. Candidates				
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Elected	0.19	0.39	0	1	2,350
Employee or worker	0.30	0.46	0	1	2,350
Incumbent	0.15	0.36	0	1	2,350
Lawyer	0.19	0.39	0	1	2,350
Left	0.69	0.46	0	1	2,350
Right	0.29	0.45	0	1	2,350
Votes	3,172	3,039	1	18,961	2,350
	C. Elected officials				
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Employee or worker	0.18	0.38	0	1	441
Incumbent	0.52	0.50	0	1	441
Lawyer	0.25	0.43	0	1	441
Left	0.58	0.49	0	1	441
Right	0.40	0.49	0	1	441
Votes	7,217	2,776	2,291	18,961	441

Notes. This table provides summary statistics for the baseline regression sample at the constituency level (Panel A), candidate (Panel B), and elected official (Panel C). Data for the legislative elections of 1928, 1932, and 1936 are pooled. *S.d.* stands for *Standard deviation*, *Min.*, for *Minimum*, *Max.*, for *Maximum*, and *N*, for the number of observations. Turnout and number of candidates pertain to the first round.

Table B.2. Distribution of Occupations Among Candidates and Elected Officials, 1928–36

	A. Candidates				B. Elected officials			
	Left	Right	All	Share	Left	Right	All	Share
Artists	14	2	16	0.01	1	1	2	0.00
Businessmen	205	153	372	0.16	49	46	98	0.22
Clergymen	0	3	3	0.00	0	3	3	0.01
Doctors	88	42	133	0.06	9	10	19	0.04
Employees and workers	650	31	700	0.30	77	2	79	0.18
Engineers	34	9	43	0.02	11	2	13	0.03
High-level civil servants	17	7	24	0.01	3	2	5	0.01
Journalists	153	107	271	0.12	21	8	29	0.07
Landowners	59	109	177	0.08	12	35	51	0.12
Lawyers	257	187	448	0.19	43	67	111	0.25
Low and mid-level civil servants	34	7	41	0.02	5	1	6	0.01
Professors	105	15	122	0.05	24	0	25	0.06
All	1,616	672	2,350	1.00	255	177	441	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 B.3. Summary Statistics: Constituencies, Candidates, and Elected Officials, 1928

	A. Constituencies				
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Area (km^2)	489	607	1	2,963	147
Candidates	5.44	1.61	2	11	147
Registered voters	19,818	5,843	8,252	40,237	147
Turnout (%)	83.4	4.0	63.6	95.1	147
Voter density	2,745	4,651	5	18,406	147
Voter log density	5.52	2.62	1.59	9.82	147
	B. Candidates				
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Elected	0.19	0.40	0	1	761
Employee or worker	0.33	0.47	0	1	761
Incumbent	0.14	0.35	0	1	761
Lawyer	0.19	0.39	0	1	761
Left	0.71	0.45	0	1	761
Right	0.25	0.44	0	1	761
Votes	3,218	2,878	19	18,534	761
	C. Elected officials				
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Employee or worker	0.12	0.32	0	1	147
Incumbent	0.50	0.50	0	1	147
Lawyer	0.29	0.45	0	1	147
Left	0.44	0.50	0	1	147
Right	0.56	0.50	0	1	147
Votes	7,145	2,554	2,701	18,534	147

Notes. This table provides summary statistics for the baseline regression sample at the constituency level (Panel A), candidate (Panel B), and elected official (Panel C). Data for the legislative elections of 1928. *S.d.* stands for *Standard deviation*, *Min.*, for *Minimum*, *Max.*, for *Maximum*, and *N*, for the number of observations. Turnout and number of candidates pertain to the first round.

Table B.4. Summary Statistics: Constituencies, Candidates, and Elected Officials, 1932

	A. Constituencies				
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Area (km^2)	453	555	1	2,963	147
Candidates	6.02	2.09	2	12	147
Registered voters	20,023	7,250	7,826	49,659	147
Turnout (%)	83.9	3.5	67.4	94.5	147
Voter density	2,705	4,505	5	18,010	147
Voter log density	5.54	2.62	1.57	9.80	147
	B. Candidates				
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Elected	0.18	0.38	0	1	817
Employee or worker	0.29	0.45	0	1	817
Incumbent	0.16	0.36	0	1	817
Lawyer	0.21	0.41	0	1	817
Left	0.67	0.47	0	1	817
Right	0.30	0.46	0	1	817
Votes	3,028	3,062	26	17,781	817
	C. Elected officials				
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Employee or worker	0.13	0.34	0	1	147
Incumbent	0.64	0.48	0	1	147
Lawyer	0.27	0.45	0	1	147
Left	0.59	0.49	0	1	147
Right	0.36	0.48	0	1	147
Votes	7,269	2,692	2,308	17,781	147

Notes. This table provides summary statistics for the baseline regression sample at the constituency level (Panel A), candidate (Panel B), and elected official (Panel C). Data for the legislative elections of 1932. *S.d.* stands for *Standard deviation*, *Min.*, for *Minimum*, *Max.*, for *Maximum*, and *N*, for the number of observations. Turnout and number of candidates pertain to the first round.

Table B.5. Summary Statistics: Constituencies, Candidates, and Elected Officials, 1936

	A. Constituencies				
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Area (km^2)	451	554	1	2,963	147
Candidates	5.84	1.77	3	12	147
Registered voters	20,309	6,554	7,731	37,180	147
Turnout (%)	85.1	3.1	71.8	90.2	147
Voter density	2,782	4,565	5	18,277	147
Voter log density	5.58	2.63	1.54	9.81	147
	B. Candidates				
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Elected	0.19	0.39	0	1	772
Employee or worker	0.28	0.45	0	1	772
Incumbent	0.16	0.36	0	1	772
Lawyer	0.17	0.38	0	1	772
Left	0.68	0.47	0	1	772
Right	0.30	0.46	0	1	772
Votes	3,280	3,164	1	18,961	772
	C. Elected officials				
	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
Employee or worker	0.29	0.46	0	1	147
Incumbent	0.43	0.50	0	1	147
Lawyer	0.20	0.40	0	1	147
Left	0.71	0.46	0	1	147
Right	0.29	0.45	0	1	147
Votes	7,237	3,074	2,291	18,961	147

Notes. This table provides summary statistics for the baseline regression sample at the constituency level (Panel A), candidate (Panel B), and elected official (Panel C). Data for the legislative elections of 1936. *S.d.* stands for *Standard deviation*, *Min.*, for *Minimum*, *Max.*, for *Maximum*, and *N*, for the number of observations. Turnout and number of candidates pertain to the first round.

Table B.6. Distribution of Occupations Among Candidates and Elected Officials, 1928

	A. Candidates				B. Elected officials			
	Left	Right	All	Share	Left	Right	All	Share
Artists	6	1	7	0.01	0	1	1	0.01
Businessmen	66	55	124	0.16	13	26	40	0.27
Clergymen	0	1	1	0.00	0	1	1	0.01
Doctors	26	13	39	0.05	2	2	4	0.03
Employees and workers	238	2	248	0.33	15	2	17	0.12
Engineers	10	3	13	0.02	3	2	5	0.03
High-level civil servants	5	2	7	0.01	1	0	1	0.01
Journalists	46	15	69	0.09	4	5	9	0.06
Landowners	26	34	64	0.08	5	13	18	0.12
Lawyers	78	63	141	0.19	13	29	42	0.29
Low and mid-level civil servants	7	2	9	0.01	0	1	1	0.01
Professors	35	3	39	0.05	8	0	8	0.05
All	543	194	761	1.00	64	82	147	1.00

Notes. This table shows the distribution of occupations among candidates in the parliamentary elections of 1928 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 B.7. Distribution of Occupations Among Candidates and Elected Officials, 1932

	A. Candidates				B. Elected officials			
	Left	Right	All	Share	Left	Right	All	Share
Artists	3	1	4	0.00	1	0	1	0.01
Businessmen	63	45	114	0.14	18	12	32	0.22
Clergymen	0	1	1	0.00	0	1	1	0.01
Doctors	30	17	49	0.06	3	7	10	0.07
Employees and workers	214	16	234	0.29	19	0	19	0.13
Engineers	13	3	16	0.02	5	0	5	0.03
High-level civil servants	7	1	8	0.01	2	0	2	0.01
Journalists	50	52	103	0.13	11	3	14	0.10
Landowners	18	33	56	0.07	4	7	15	0.10
Lawyers	102	69	173	0.21	17	23	40	0.27
Low and mid-level civil servants	11	3	14	0.02	1	0	1	0.01
Professors	36	8	45	0.06	6	0	7	0.05
All	547	249	817	1.00	87	53	147	1.00

Notes. This table shows the distribution of occupations among candidates in the parliamentary elections of 1932 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 B.8. Distribution of Occupations Among Candidates and Elected Officials, 1936

	A. Candidates				B. Elected officials			
	Left	Right	All	Share	Left	Right	All	Share
Artists	5	0	5	0.01	0	0	0	0.00
Businessmen	76	53	134	0.17	18	8	26	0.18
Clergymen	0	1	1	0.00	0	1	1	0.01
Doctors	32	12	45	0.06	4	1	5	0.03
Employees and workers	198	13	218	0.28	43	0	43	0.29
Engineers	11	3	14	0.02	3	0	3	0.02
High-level civil servants	5	4	9	0.01	0	2	2	0.01
Journalists	57	40	99	0.13	6	0	6	0.04
Landowners	15	42	57	0.07	3	15	18	0.12
Lawyers	77	55	134	0.17	13	15	29	0.20
Low and mid-level civil servants	16	2	18	0.02	4	0	4	0.03
Professors	34	4	38	0.05	10	0	10	0.07
All	526	229	772	1.00	104	42	147	1.00

Notes. This table shows the distribution of occupations among candidates in the parliamentary elections of 1936 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 B.9. Changes Across Elections by Constituency Types

	Δ Voters		Δ Area		Δ Log density	
Type (N)	Mean	S.d.	Mean	S.d.	Mean	S.d.
Unmodified boundaries (113)	745	1,343	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.06
Modified boundaries (34)	$-1,414$	6,494	-81.19	246.55	0.03	0.23

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 226, and in the second row, 68.

Table B.10. Political Affiliations and Orientation of Candidates in 1928

Political affiliation	Orientation
Political affiliation Orientation Indépendant	Independent
Bloc Ouvrier et Paysan (BOP)	Left
Communiste	Left
Communiste Indépendant	Left
Jeune radical	Left
Pacifiste Féministe	Left
Protestataire	Left
Radical Indépendant	Left
Radical Socialiste	Left
Réaliste	Left
Républicain	Left
Républicain de Gauche	Left
Républicain Démocratique	Left
Républicain Indépendant	Left
Républicain Radical	Left
Républicain Réaliste	Left
Républicain Socialiste	Left
Socialiste	Left
Socialiste Communiste	Left
Socialiste Français de l'Internationale Ouvrière (SFIO)	Left
Socialiste Indépendant	Left
Socialiste Nationaliste	Left
Anticommuniste	Right
Conservateur	Right
Républicain Nationaliste	Right
Union Nationale	Right
Union Républicaine Démocratique (URD)	Right

Notes. This table shows the political affiliations of candidates in the legislative elections of 1928 along with the classification of their orientation.

Table B.11. Political Affiliations and Orientation of Candidates in 1932

Political affiliation	Orientation
Indépendant	Independant
Santé Publique	Independant
Communiste	Left
Démocrate Indépendant de Gauche	Left
Indépendant de Gauche	Left
Indépendant Républicain	Left
Libertaire	Left
Parti du Travail	Left
Radical Indépendant	Left
Radical Socialiste	Left
Républicain	Left
Républicain Radical	Left
Républicain Socialiste	Left
Républicain Socialiste Indépendant	Left
Socialiste	Left
Socialiste Chrétien	Left
Socialiste Communiste	Left
Socialiste Français de l'Internationale Ouvrière (SFIO)	Left
Socialiste Indépendant	Left
Union Républicaine	Left
Action Democratique et Sociale	Right
Action Nationale	Right
Combat	Right
Conservateur	Right
Démocrate Indépendant	Right
Démocrate Populaire	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 1932 along with the classification of their orientation.

Table B.12. 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.

Table B.13. 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. *Préfets*				
	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				
	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 B.14. Summary Statistics: Constituency-Level Characteristics, 1925–36

	Mean	S.d.	Min.	Max.	N
	A. Legal characteristics				
Chambers	7.72	7.53	1	33	294
Lawyers	1,063	1,236	2	2,577	294
Trials (100s)	58.8	70.8	0	180	294
	B. Prices and wages				
Prices	53.67	2.20	47.21	72.22	441
Wages	4.67	0.95	2.92	6.14	292
Blacksmiths	4.88	0.97	3.12	6.10	292
Carpenters	4.77	0.90	3.03	6.25	292
Masons	4.83	0.91	3.20	6.25	292
Plumbers	4.70	0.91	2.92	6.25	292
Tailors	4.46	0.86	2.60	5.75	292

Notes. This table provides summary statistics for constituency-level characteristics, pooling data across years for which the data are available. *S.d.* stands for *Standard deviation*, *Min.*, for *Minimum*, *Max.*, for *Maximum*, and *N*, for the number of observations. *Chambers* stands for the number of chambers of each tribunal, *Lawyers*, for the number of lawyers, *Trials*, for the number of trials (in 100s), *Prices*, a local price index over thirty commodities, and *Wages*, a local daily wage index over 10 occupations. Occupations refer to the local daily wage in these occupations. Legal data are available for 1925 and 1931, wage data, for 1928 and 1932, and price data, for 1928, 1932, and 1936.

Table B.15. Voter Density and the Electoral Success Across All Occupations

	A. Outcome: Elected								
Occupation:	Lawyer	Doctor	Worker	Businessman	Engineer	Journalist	Landowner	Low/Mid-c.s.	Professor
Log density × occupation	−0.016*	−0.020**	0.025***	0.004	−0.008	0.002	−0.012	0.009	0.010
	[0.008]	[0.009]	[0.005]	[0.009]	[0.016]	[0.013]	[0.018]	[0.024]	[0.012]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Within R^2	0.261	0.259	0.267	0.262	0.259	0.261	0.259	0.258	0.259
Constituencies	147	147	147	147	147	147	147	147	147
Observations	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350
	B. Outcome: Vote Share								
Occupation:	Lawyer	Doctor	Worker	Businessman	Engineer	Journalist	Landowner	Low/Mid-c.s.	Professor
Log density × occupation	−0.866**	−1.644***	2.132***	0.365	0.838	−0.742**	−1.340*	1.645*	−0.788 ∗ ∗
	[0.334]	[0.404]	[0.309]	[0.303]	[0.684]	[0.330]	[0.682]	[0.962]	[0.369]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Within R^2	0.469	0.465	0.493	0.462	0.463	0.466	0.467	0.462	0.463
Constituencies	147	147	147	147	147	147	147	147	147
Observations	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350

Notes. Each observation is a candidate. All specifications include the following controls: constituency and election fixed effects, log voter density, an incumbent indicator, constituency controls (first round number of candidates and turnout, number of rounds, other candidates' occupations fixed effects), and département-by-year fixed effects. *Vote share* pertain to the decisive round. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency level. Results for the 3 clergyman, 17 artist, and 31 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 B.16. Voter Density and the Electoral Success of Left- and Right-Wing Candidates Across Professions

	A. Outcome: Elected, Left-Wing Candidates								
Occupation:	Lawyer	Doctor	Worker	Businessman	Engineer	Journalist	Landowner	Low/Mid-c.s.	Professor
Log density × occupation	−0.028***	−0.023	0.030***	0.002	−0.019	−0.014	−0.008	0.007	0.010
	[0.009]	[0.015]	[0.007]	[0.010]	[0.024]	[0.019]	[0.022]	[0.030]	[0.013]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Within R^2	0.246	0.244	0.253	0.246	0.245	0.243	0.242	0.242	0.244
Clusters	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125
Observations	1,616	1,616	1,616	1,616	1,616	1,616	1,616	1,616	1,616
	B. Outcome: Elected, Right-Wing Candidates								
Occupation:	Lawyer	Doctor	Worker	Businessman	Engineer	Journalist	Landowner	Low/Mid-c.s.	Professor
Log density × occupation	−0.003	−0.054	−0.011	0.027	−0.053*	0.021	−0.012	−0.008	0.019
	[0.014]	[0.035]	[0.023]	[0.021]	[0.030]	[0.016]	[0.030]	[0.020]	[0.029]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Within R^2	0.523	0.527	0.523	0.532	0.524	0.529	0.526	0.523	0.524
Clusters	119	119	119	119	119	119	119	119	119
Observations	664	664	664	664	664	664	664	664	664

Notes. All specifications include the following controls: constituency and election fixed effects, log voter density, an incumbent indicator, constituency controls (first round number of candidates and turnout, number of rounds, other candidates' occupations fixed effects), and département-by-year fixed effects. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency level. Results for the 3 clergyman, 2 artist, and 8 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 B.17. 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 Thiéfaine (1897–1981)	Draftsman at the Paris-Orléans company	Communist; deputy mayor of Nantes (1935–41), general councilor 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 councilor 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 councilor of Lens-Est canton (1928–36)	General treasurer of the union of miners of Pas-de-Calais
Seine (Paris)	Georges Beaugrand (1893–1981)	Butcher	Communist, Mayor of Gentilly (1934–40), general councilor for Seine (1935–40).	Trade unionist for food sector at CGT, CGTU then CGT réunifiée
Seine (Paris)	Florimond Bonte (1890–1977)	Construction quantity surveyor	Secretary of the Communist Federation of the North (1923), secretary of the Northern Region of the Communist Party (1924–29 then 1931–33), member of the central committee (1926–61) and political bureau of the Communist Party	None
Seine (Paris)	Marcel Brout (1887–1957)	Construction worker / bricklayer	Member of the central committee of the Communist Party in 1924	Secretary of the CGTU branch "Fédération du Bâtiment"
Seine (Paris)	René Colin (1903–1993)	Currier worker then cooperative employee	Communist activist; deputy mayor of Villejuif (1929–35), Administrator of the Lons-le-Saunier Labor Exchange	Deputy secretary of the UD-CGTU

Table B.17—continued on next page

Table B.17—Continued

Département	Name	Occupation	Party affiliation and political role	Union membership
Seine (Paris)	Ambroise Croizat (1901–1951)	Metalworker	Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (1929–51); Minister of Labor (1945–46, 1947); general secretary of the CGT Federation (1936–39)	Secretary of the Unitary Federation of Metals (1928–36)
Seine (Paris)	Jacques Duclos (1896–1975)	Pastry worker	Member of the political bureau of the Communist Party (1931) and of the secretariat (1933–64), elected to the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1935 ; Senator of Seine (1959–75)	None
Seine (Paris)	Emile Faure (1890–1940)	Travelling salesman	Member of Paris municipal council, Union Republicaine et Democratique (right-wing)	None
Seine (Paris)	Eugène Fiancette (1881–1949)	Coachman	Member of Paris municipal council	Secretary of the Coachman Union within the CGT Trade Union
Seine (Paris)	Jules Fourrier (1906–1999)	Construction worker	Party Communist activist	CGTU trade unionist (secretary of the painters' union bureau member of the construction union)
Seine (Paris)	Jean-Louis Garchery (1872–1957)	Commercial employee	Militant of the Socialist Party SFIO, municipal councilor of the 12th arrondissement of Paris	Board of directors of the union of travelers and sales representatives affiliated with the CGT Federation of Employees
Seine (Paris)	Robert Jardel (1880–1940)	Commercial employee	Member of the executive committee of the Socialist Federation of the Seine	None
Seine (Paris)	Adrien Langumier (1902–1990)	Mechanic	Member of the Communist Party after 1921	Secretary of the 22nd Regional Union of the CTGU (1925), secretary of the syndicats unitaires of Seine (1934)
Seine (Paris)	Henri Lozeray (1898–1952)	Typographer	Leader of the Jeunesses Communistes, member of the Central Committee and Political Bureau of the Communist Party	Vice-Treasurer then Secretary of Typography of the Parisian region
Seine (Paris)	Andre Marty (1886–1956)	Mechanic	Elected to the central committee (1925) then to the political bureau (1931) of the Communist Party, municipal councilor of Paris, secretary of the Communist International (1935–43)	None
Seine (Paris)	Andre Mercier (1901–1970)	Hotel employee	Communist, took part in the first meeting of the Conseil national de la Résistance (27 May 1943).	Secretary of the CGTU union of Hotels, Cafés, Restaurants and Bouillons of Seine
Seine (Paris)	Charles Michels (1903–1941)	Shoe worker	Communist activist	Secretary of CGTU then of CGT for the Federation of Leathers and Skins
Seine (Paris)	Lucien Monjauvis (1904–1986)	Fitter-toolmaker	Communist	Secretary of the Unitary Union of Metallurgy
Seine (Paris)	Prosper Moquet (1897–1986	Railway worker in the State network	Communist	Deputy secretary of the CGTU Federation of Railway Workers

Table B.17—continued on next page

Table B.17—Continued

Département	Name	Occupation	Party affiliation and political role	Union membership
Seine (Paris)	Armand Pillot (1892–1953)	Electrician, mechanic after WWI	Communist	Member of the CGTU Federation of Metals, sat on its executive committee (1923–7)
Seine (Paris)	Alexandre Piquemal (1891–1958)	State mail company employee	Communist	Activist at CGT then CGTU union (state mail company branch)
Seine (Paris)	Albert Rigal (1900–84)	Mechanic then metal worker	Secretary of the Nice (Alpes-Maritimes) communist section, then of the 4th section of the Paris region	Communist activist and trade union (CGTU) of the metallurgy
Seine (Paris)	Louis Sellier (1885–1978)	State mail company employee	Member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Third Congress (1924–8), founder and general secretary of the Peasant Workers' Party (POP) in December 1929, leader of the Proletarian Unity Party (PUP), from 1930 to 1937	Member of the State mail company General Association of Agents
Seine (Paris)	Auguste Touchard (1892–1978)	Worker	Municipal councillor of Paris	Activist in the Unitary Union of Metals
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 Uunionist (syndicat unitaire du Bois)
Seine (suburbs)	Louis Marsais (1883–1973)	Upholsterer	Socialist, deputy mayor of Pantin	Trade unionist (Fédération syndicale de l'Ameublement)
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)

Table B.17—continued on next page

Table B.17—Continued

Département	Name	Occupation	Party affiliation and political role	Union membership
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 Ille-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

Table B.18. Robustness Checks: Voter Density and the Electoral Success of Lawyers and Workers Across Subsamples

Outcome:	Elected				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	A. Profession: Lawyer				
Log density × lawyer	−0.016*	−0.018**	0.003	−0.030*	−0.042**
	[0.008]	[0.007]	[0.018]	[0.015]	[0.018]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Within R^2	0.249	0.253	0.256	0.239	0.224
Constituencies	147	196	54	56	34
Observations	2,350	3,003	743	812	524
	B. Profession: Employee or worker				
Log density × worker	0.025***	0.025***	0.001	0.029*	0.046***
	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.012]	[0.016]	[0.008]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Within R^2	0.255	0.260	0.269	0.248	0.230
Constituencies	147	196	54	56	34
Observations	2,350	3,003	743	812	524
Sample restriction					
Actual départements	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Actual constituencies	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Counterfact. départements	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
Counterfact. constituencies	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

Notes. Each observation is a candidate. All specifications include constituency and election fixed effects, log voter density, and a profession indicator. Controls include an incumbent indicator, constituency controls (first round number of candidates, first round turnout, number of rounds, other candidates' occupations fixed effects), and département-by-year fixed effects. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency level. *** $p \leq 0.01$. ** $p \leq 0.05$. * $p \leq 0.10$.

Table B.19. Share of the Urban Population and the Electoral Success of Lawyers and Workers

Outcome:	Elected		Vote Share	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	A. Profession: Lawyer			
Log density × lawyer	−0.016*		−0.866**	
	[0.008]		[0.334]	
Share urban × lawyer		−0.123*		−10.012***
		[0.067]		[3.002]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Other occupations FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Within R^2	0.249	0.249	0.419	0.421
Constituencies	147	147	147	147
Observations	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350
	B. Profession: Employee or worker			
Log density × worker	0.025***		2.132***	
	[0.005]		[0.309]	
Share urban × worker		0.226***		20.687***
		[0.034]		[2.317]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Other occupations FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Within R^2	0.255	0.257	0.446	0.456
Constituencies	147	147	147	147
Observations	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350

Notes. Each observation is a candidate. All specifications include constituency and election fixed effects, log voter density (or the share of urban population), and a profession indicator. Controls include an incumbent indicator, constituency controls (first round number of candidates, first round turnout, number of rounds), and département-by-year fixed effects. *Vote share* pertain to the decisive round. The share of urban population is 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 B.20. High Voter Density and the Electoral Success of Lawyers and Workers, Indicator Variable

Outcome:	Elected			Vote Share		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	A. Profession: Lawyer					
High density × lawyer	−0.149**	−0.086**	−0.088**	−7.496**	−3.978**	−4.143**
	[0.063]	[0.040]	[0.041]	[2.962]	[1.764]	[1.770]
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Other occupations FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Within R^2	0.013	0.249	0.249	0.027	0.417	0.419
Constituencies	147	147	147	147	147	147
Observations	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350
	B. Profession: Employee or worker					
High density × worker	0.172***	0.115***	0.117***	12.392***	9.550***	9.677***
	[0.039]	[0.030]	[0.031]	[2.191]	[1.748]	[1.765]
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Other occupations FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Within R^2	0.027	0.254	0.254	0.064	0.438	0.440
Constituencies	147	147	147	147	147	147
Observations	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350

Notes. High density is an indicator variable equal to 1 if the (log) density of the constituency is above the median. Each observation is a candidate. All specifications include constituency and election fixed effects, log voter density, and a profession indicator. Controls include an incumbent indicator, constituency controls (first round number of candidates, first round turnout, number of rounds), and département-by-year fixed effects. *Vote share* pertain to the decisive round. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency level.
*** $p \leq 0.01$. ** $p \leq 0.05$. * $p \leq 0.10$.

Table B.21. Voter Density and the Electoral Success of Lawyers and Workers
Two-Way Clustering

Outcome:	Elected		Vote Share	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	A. Profession: Lawyer			
Log density × lawyer	−0.026	−0.016	−1.451	−0.866
	[0.013]**	[0.008]*	[0.589]**	[0.334]**
	{0.014}*	{0.009}*	{0.704}**	{0.450}*
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Within R^2	0.026	0.261	0.101	0.469
Constituencies	147	147	147	147
Observations	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350
	B. Profession: Employee or worker			
Log density × worker	0.037	0.025	2.707	2.132
	[0.006]***	[0.005]***	[0.389]***	[0.309]***
	{0.012}***	{0.011}**	{0.593}***	{0.487}***
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Within R^2	0.043	0.267	0.143	0.493
Constituencies	147	147	147	147
Observations	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350

Notes. Each observation is a candidate. All specifications include constituency and election fixed effects, log voter density, and a profession indicator. Controls include an incumbent indicator, constituency controls (first round number of candidates, first round turnout, number of rounds, fixed effects for other candidates' occupations), and département-by-year fixed effects. *Vote share* is relative to the decisive round. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency level and in braces two-way at the constituency and département-election level.

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

Table B.22. Voter Density and the Electoral Success Across All Occupations
Seemingly Unrelated Regressions

	A. Outcome: Elected								
Occupation:	Lawyer	Doctor	Worker	Businessman	Engineer	Journalist	Landowner	Low/Mid-c.s.	Professor
Log density × occupation	−0.028***	−0.034***	0.011***	−0.003	−0.028	−0.016	−0.010	0.008	0.001
	[0.008]	[0.010]	[0.004]	[0.010]	[0.019]	[0.010]	[0.020]	[0.028]	[0.013]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Constituencies	147	147	147	147	147	147	147	147	147
Observations	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350
	B. Outcome: Vote Share								
Occupation:	Lawyer	Doctor	Worker	Businessman	Engineer	Journalist	Landowner	Low/Mid-c.s.	Professor
Log density × occupation	−2.062***	−2.856***	0.547**	−0.597*	−1.097	−2.081***	−1.595*	0.612	−1.538 ∗ ∗∗
	[0.368]	[0.496]	[0.228]	[0.344]	[0.873]	[0.432]	[0.882]	[1.357]	[0.503]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Constituencies	147	147	147	147	147	147	147	147	147
Observations	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350	2,350

Notes. This table displays estimates from seemingly unrelated regressions of Equation 1 using the `sureg` Stata command where the outcome is equal to 0 if the candidate is not of occupation o. All specifications include the following controls: constituency and election fixed effects, log voter density, an incumbent indicator, constituency controls (first round number of candidates and turnout, number of rounds, other candidates' occupations fixed effects), and département-by-year fixed effects. *Vote share* is relative to the decisive round. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency level using the `suregr` Stata command. Results for the 3 clergyman, 17 artist, and 31 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 B.23. Voter Density and the Electoral Success of Lawyers and Workers, Excluding the 1928 Election

Outcome:	Elected			Vote Share		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	A. Profession: Lawyer					
Log density × lawyer	−0.021*	−0.014†	−0.014†	−1.498***	−1.120***	−1.129***
	[0.012]	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.567]	[0.320]	[0.323]
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Other occupations FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Within R^2	0.007	0.240	0.241	0.020	0.431	0.433
Constituencies	147	147	147	147	147	147
Observations	1,589	1,589	1,589	1,589	1,589	1,589
	B. Profession: Employee or worker					
Log density × worker	0.041***	0.028***	0.028***	2.770***	2.072***	2.074***
	[0.008]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.380]	[0.304]	[0.305]
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Other occupations FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Within R^2	0.022	0.245	0.246	0.066	0.450	0.451
Constituencies	147	147	147	147	147	147
Observations	1,589	1,589	1,589	1,589	1,589	1,589

Notes. Each observation is a candidate. All specifications include constituency and election fixed effects, log voter density, and a profession indicator. Controls include an incumbent indicator, constituency controls (first round number of candidates, first round turnout, number of rounds), and département-by-year fixed effects. *Vote share* is relative to the decisive round. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency level.

*** $p \leq 0.01$. ** $p \leq 0.05$. * $p \leq 0.10$. † $p \leq 0.11$.

Table B.24. Voter Density and Electoral Success of Lawyers and Workers, Excluding the 1928 Election, Pre-Treatment Population Assignment

Outcome:	Elected			Vote Share		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	A. Profession: Lawyer					
Log density × lawyer	−0.021*	−0.014*	−0.014*	−1.466**	−1.108***	−1.116***
	[0.012]	[0.008]	[0.009]	[0.561]	[0.321]	[0.323]
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Other occupations FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Within R^2	0.007	0.240	0.241	0.020	0.431	0.433
Constituencies	147	147	147	147	147	147
Observations	1,589	1,589	1,589	1,589	1,589	1,589
	B. Profession: Employee or worker					
Log density × worker	0.041***	0.028***	0.028***	2.755***	2.037***	2.040***
	[0.008]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.384]	[0.306]	[0.307]
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Other occupations FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Within R^2	0.022	0.245	0.245	0.066	0.449	0.450
Constituencies	147	147	147	147	147	147
Observations	1,589	1,589	1,589	1,589	1,589	1,589

Notes. In this set of regressions, population density is calculated using the population of registered voters in the preceding election. Each observation is a candidate. All specifications include constituency and election fixed effects, log voter density, and a profession indicator. Controls include an incumbent indicator, constituency controls (first round number of candidates, first round turnout, number of rounds), and département-by-year fixed effects. *Vote share* is relative to the decisive round. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency level.
*** $p \leq 0.01$. ** $p \leq 0.05$. * $p \leq 0.10$. † $p \leq 0.11$.

Table B.25. Voter Density and Electoral Success of Lawyers and Workers, Excluding Paris

Outcome:	Elected		Vote Share	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	A. Profession: Lawyer			
Log density × lawyer	−0.016*	−0.030***	−0.866**	−2.163***
	[0.008]	[0.010]	[0.334]	[0.496]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Other occupations FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Paris excluded	No	Yes	No	Yes
Within R^2	0.249	0.251	0.419	0.417
Constituencies	147	108	147	108
Observations	2,350	1,614	2,350	1,614
	B. Profession: Employee or worker			
Log density × worker	0.025***	0.044***	2.132***	3.707***
	[0.005]	[0.008]	[0.309]	[0.450]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Other occupations FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Paris excluded	No	Yes	No	Yes
Within R^2	0.255	0.263	0.446	0.464
Constituencies	147	108	147	108
Observations	2,350	1,614	2,350	1,614

Notes. Each observation is a candidate. All specifications include constituency and election fixed effects, log voter density, and a profession indicator. Controls include an incumbent indicator, constituency controls (first round number of candidates, first round turnout, number of rounds), and département-by-year fixed effects. *Vote share* pertain to the decisive round. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency level.
*** $p \leq 0.01$. ** $p \leq 0.05$. * $p \leq 0.10$.

Table B.26. Voter Density and Electoral Success of Lawyers and Workers, Excluding Candidates Running in Different Constituencies

Outcome:	Elected				Vote Share			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	A. Profession: Lawyer							
Log density × lawyer	−0.016*	−0.016*	−0.017**	−0.017**	−0.866**	−0.861**	−0.855**	−0.860**
	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.008]	[0.334]	[0.340]	[0.351]	[0.358]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Other occupations FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Candidates in different constituencies excluded								
In same département	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
In different départements	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Within R^2	0.249	0.258	0.262	0.272	0.419	0.426	0.425	0.433
Constituencies	147	147	147	147	147	147	147	147
Observations	2,350	2,232	2,268	2,150	2,350	2,232	2,268	2,150
	B. Profession: Employee or worker							
Log density × worker	0.025***	0.026***	0.027***	0.027***	2.132***	2.136***	2.141***	2.150***
	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.309]	[0.312]	[0.313]	[0.318]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Other occupations FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Candidates in different constituencies excluded								
In same département	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
In different départements	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Within R^2	0.255	0.265	0.269	0.280	0.446	0.452	0.453	0.460
Constituencies	147	147	147	147	147	147	147	147
Observations	2,350	2,232	2,268	2,150	2,350	2,232	2,268	2,150

Notes. Each observation is a candidate. These specifications successively drop candidates who ran in different electoral constituencies across elections: those who ran in different constituencies of the same département in Columns 2 and 6, in different constituencies in different départements in Columns 3 and 7, or both in Columns 4 and 8. All specifications include constituency and election fixed effects, log voter density, and a profession indicator. Controls include an incumbent indicator, constituency controls (first round number of candidates, first round turnout, number of rounds), and département-by-year fixed effects. *Vote share* pertain to the decisive round. Standard errors in brackets are clustered at the constituency level.
*** $p \leq 0.01$. ** $p \leq 0.05$. * $p \leq 0.10$.

C. 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 detail below each of the boundary changes which we use in our empirical strategy: Section C.1 discusses the electoral reforms while Section C.2 the territorial reforms. Furthermore, Section C.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 codify these reforms through the nomenclature `X-YYYY-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` is the identifier of the change (1,2,3,...) while counterfactual reforms are preceded by `A`.

It must be noted that the 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.

C.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 C.1.1) and the law of 20 March 1936 pertained to the 1936 election (Section C.1.2).

C.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.[18] 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).[19] 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 C.1).
- **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, 2534–2536).

[18] *Loi relative à l'élection des députés* (JO, 27 March 1932, 3194–3228). For a legislative history of this bill, see BALD, 102(1), 92, footnote 1.

[19] The 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, 7547–7579). For a legislative history of this bill, see BALD, 97(1), 162, footnote 1.

- **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.
- **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 C.2).
- **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.
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, tenth deliberation: JODC, 12 February 1932, 650–651. 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 `Lavaur` and `Gaillac` from the division of the constituency of `Gaillac - Lavaur` (département of `Tarn`) through the transfer of several cantons (see Figure C.3).
- **Motivation for reform** Re-establishment of the former constituency of `Lavaur` 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 `Lavaur`.
- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: Jean Calvet (Tarn, businessman, *SFIO* (socialist, left-wing)). Senate: electoral commission. Amendment rejected by the Chamber, adopted 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** 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.

C.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.[20] 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 C.4).
- **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, 889-890. Senate, first deliberation: JODS, 17 March 1936, 325–327.
- **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 C.5).

[20] *Loi modifiant le tableau des circonscriptions électorales annexé à la loi du 25 mars 1932* (JO, 21 March 1936, 3187–3189). For a legislative history of this bill, see BALD, 106(1), 94, footnote 1.

- **Motivation for reform** Creation of a new constituency because the population of the constituency `Corbeil-2` has increased to over 200,000 inhabitants.
- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: electoral commission. Amendment adopted by the Chamber.
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, first deliberation: JODC, 12 March 1936, 888-889. Senate, first deliberation: JODS, 17 March 1936, 325–327.
- **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.

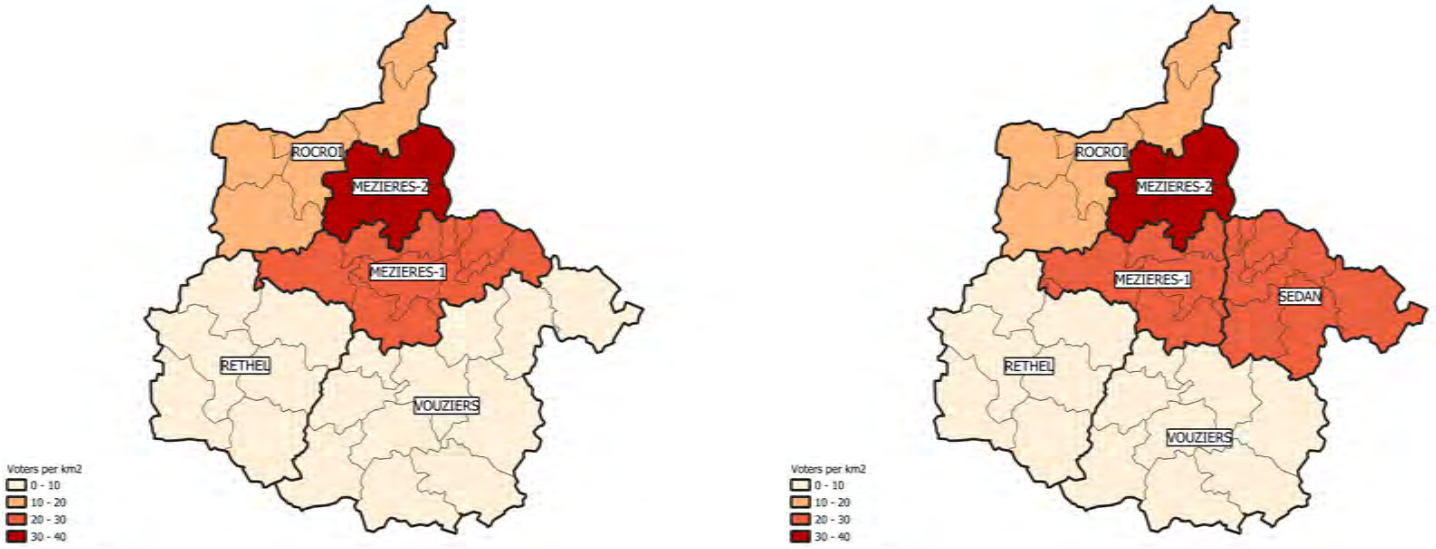
Electoral Reform `E-3236-3`

- **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 C.6). 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.
- **Parliamentary support** Chamber: electoral commission. Amendment adopted by the Chamber.
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, first deliberation: JODC, 12 March 1936, 888-889. Senate, first deliberation: JODS, 17 March 1936, 325–327.

- **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 C.6).
- **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, 888-889. Senate, first deliberation: JODS, 17 March 1936, 325–327.
- **Data curation** The constituencies of `Saint-Denis-2` (7544) and `Sceaux-1` (7552) form a single cluster (7598) throughout.

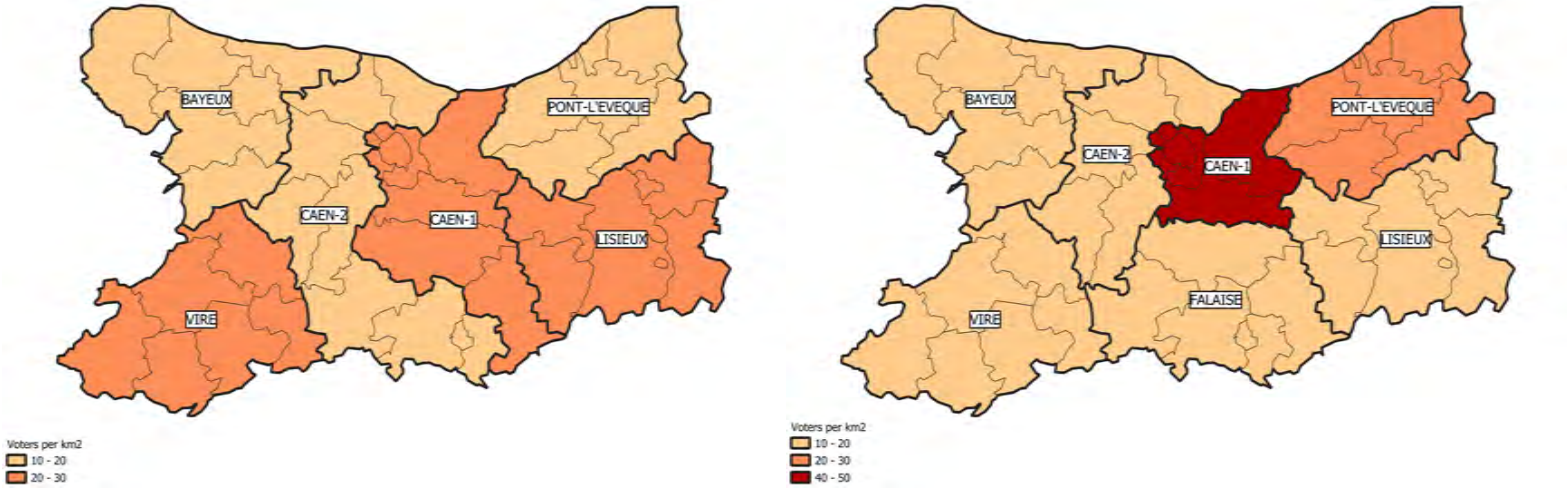


(a) Constituencies in 1928

(b) Constituencies in 1932

Figure C.1. Boundary Change: Constituencies of Sedan and Mézières-1, Département of Ardennes, 1928–1932

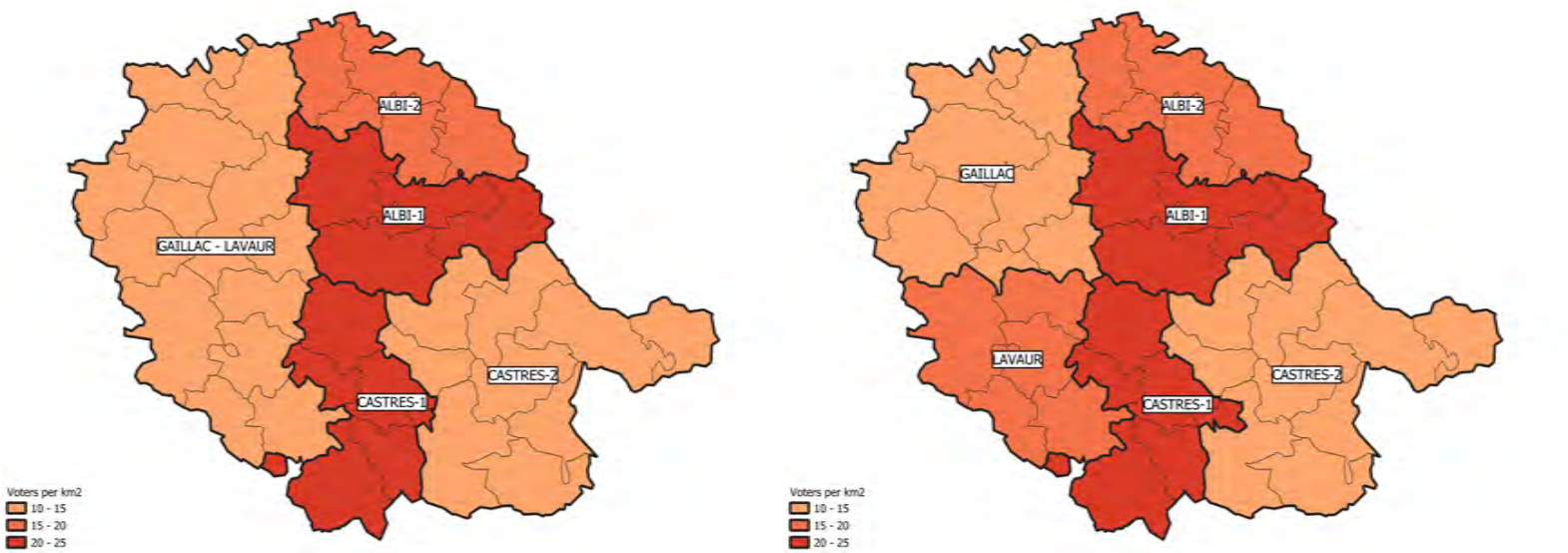
Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons.



(a) Constituencies in 1928 (b) Constituencies in 1932

Figure C.2. Electoral Reform `E-2832-2`, Département of `Calvados`, 1928–1932

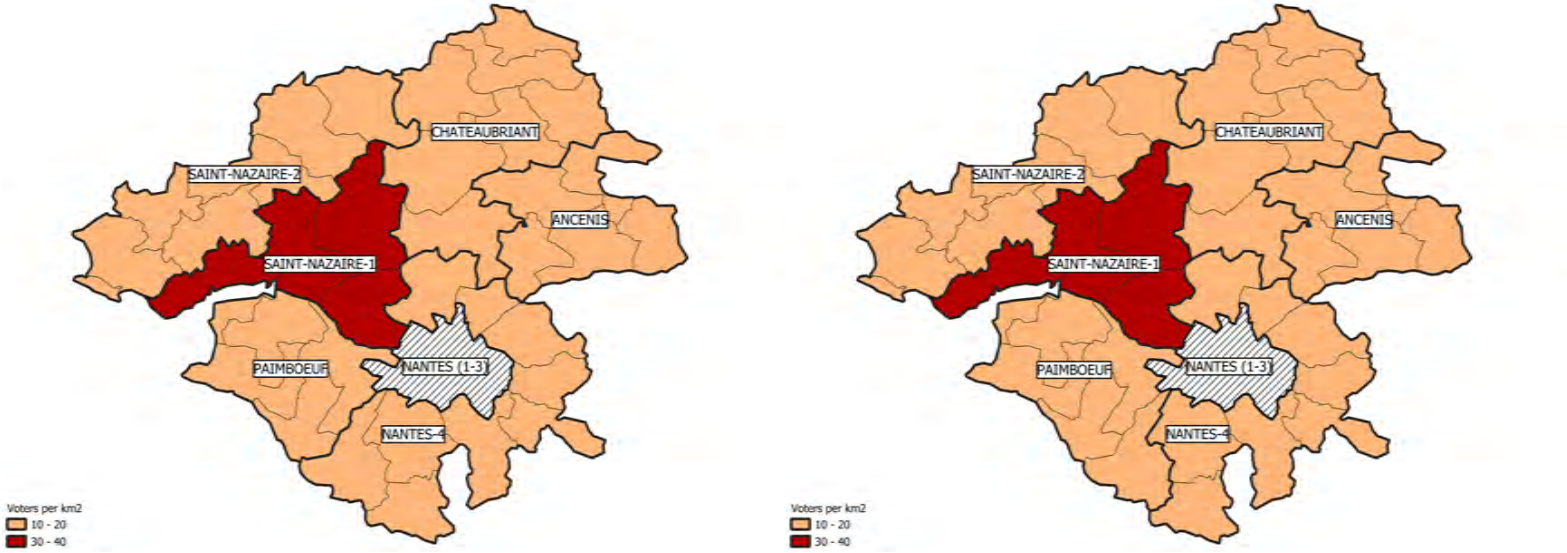
Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons.



(a) Constituencies in 1928 (b) Constituencies in 1932

Figure C.3. Electoral Reform `E-2832-3`, Département of Tarn, 1928–1932

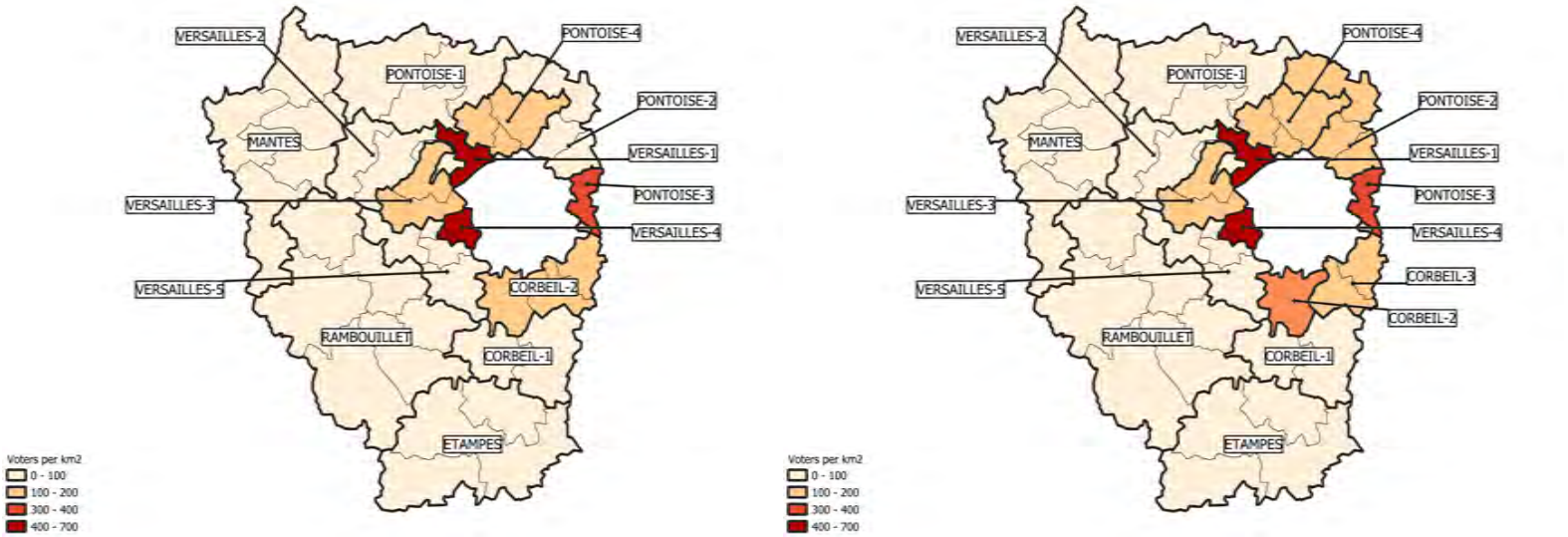
Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons.



(a) Constituencies in 1932 (b) Constituencies in 1936

Figure C.4. Electoral Reform `E-3236-1`, Département of `Loire-Inférieure`, 1932–1936

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

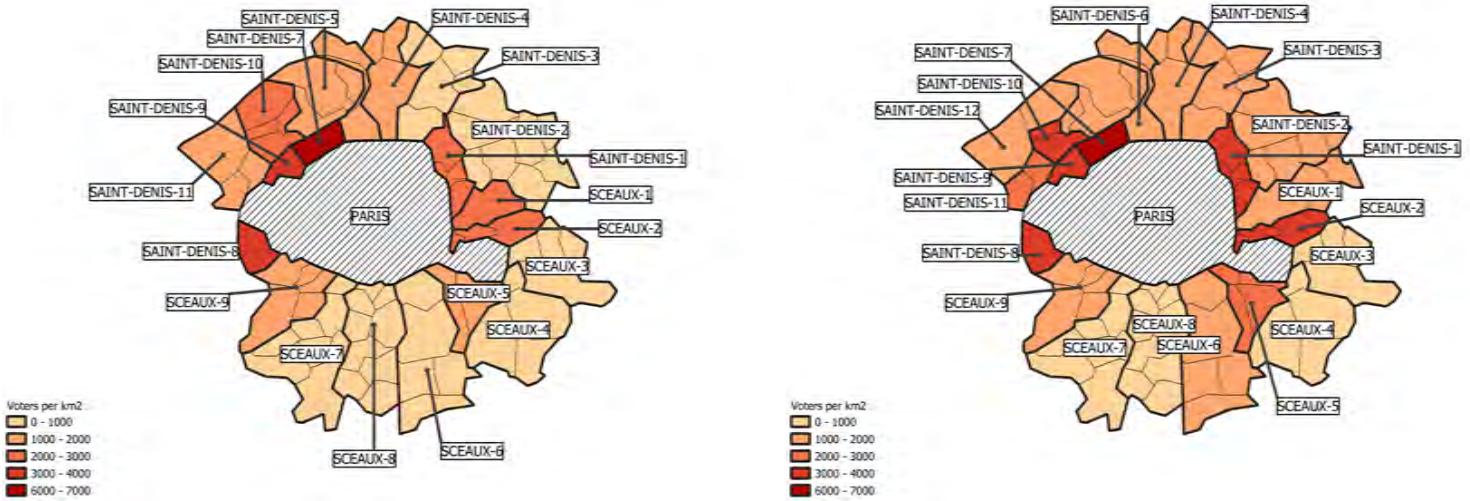


(a) Constituencies in 1932

(b) Constituencies in 1936

Figure C.5. Electoral Reform `E-3236-2`, Département of `Seine-et-Oise`, 1932–1936

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



(a) Constituencies in 1932 (b) Constituencies in 1936

Figure C.6. Electoral Reform `E-3236-3`, Département of `Seine`, 1932–1936

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

C.2. Territorial Changes

C.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 `Sombernon` 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 `Pénol` 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 `Pénol` 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, 1383–1384.
- **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.

C.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.

C.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.

C.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 C.7).
- **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 C.8).
- **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, 649–650.
- **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.
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, tenth deliberation: JODC, 12 February 1932, 649–650. Chamber, second reading: JODC, 17 March 1932, 1599–1600.
- **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 C.9).
- **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.

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 C.10).
- **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, 204–206.
- **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 C.11).[21]
- **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.
- **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.

[21] Several 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, 208–209).

- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, tenth deliberation: JODC, 12 February 1932, 651–652. Senate, first deliberation: JODS, 26 February 1932, 204–206.
- **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.[22]
- **Motivation for counterfactual reform** Balancing the number of inhabitants across constituencies of this département.
- **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 C.12).

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

- **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 C.13).
- **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`.
- **Parliamentary support** Senate: Jean Philip (Gers, pastor then journliast, *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 C.14).
- **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 Monfeuillart (Marne, 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, 206–207.
- **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 C.15).
- **Motivation for reform** Re-establishment of the former boundaries of both constituencies, thereby balancing their internal geographic and economic consistencies.

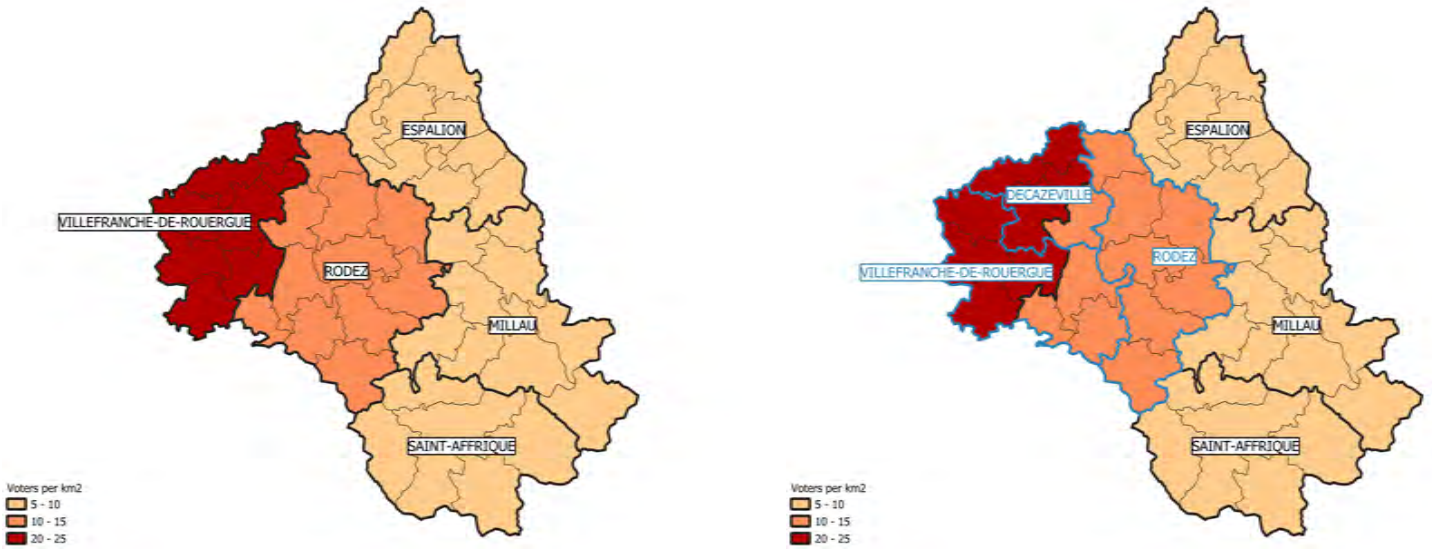
- **Parliamentary support** Senate: Henri de Monti de Rezé (Mayenne, landowner, *Action Nationale Républicaine et Sociale* (right-wing)). Amendment rejected by the Senate.
- **Parliamentary debates** Senate, first deliberation: JODS, 26 February 1932, 207–208.
- **Data curation** The constituencies of `Château-Gontier` (`5301`) and `Laval` (`5302`) form a single cluster (`5399`) throughout.

C.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 C.16).
- **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.
- **Parliamentary debates** Chamber, first reading, first deliberation: JODC, 12 March 1936, 890–891.
- **Data curation** The constituencies of `Aix-1` (`1301`) and `Aix-2` (`1302`) form a single cluster (`1398`) throughout.

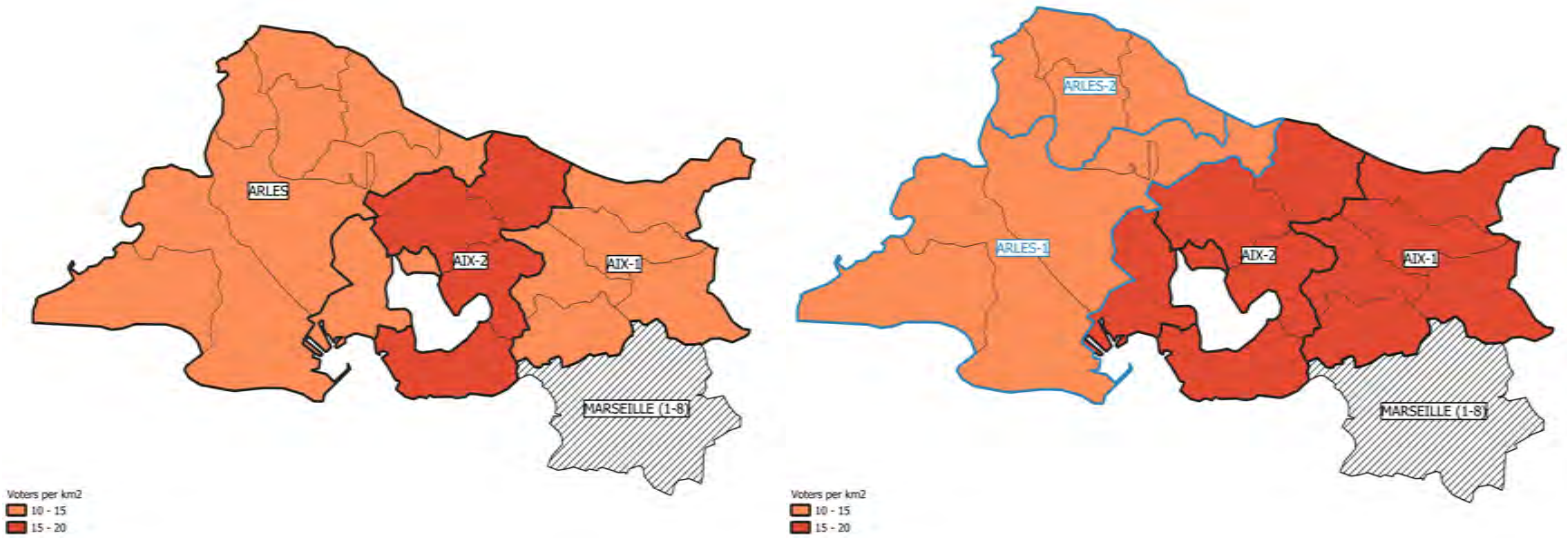


(a) Constituencies in 1928

(b) Constituencies in 1932

Figure C.7. Counterfactual Electoral Reform `E-2832-A1`, Département of `Aveyron`, 1928–1932

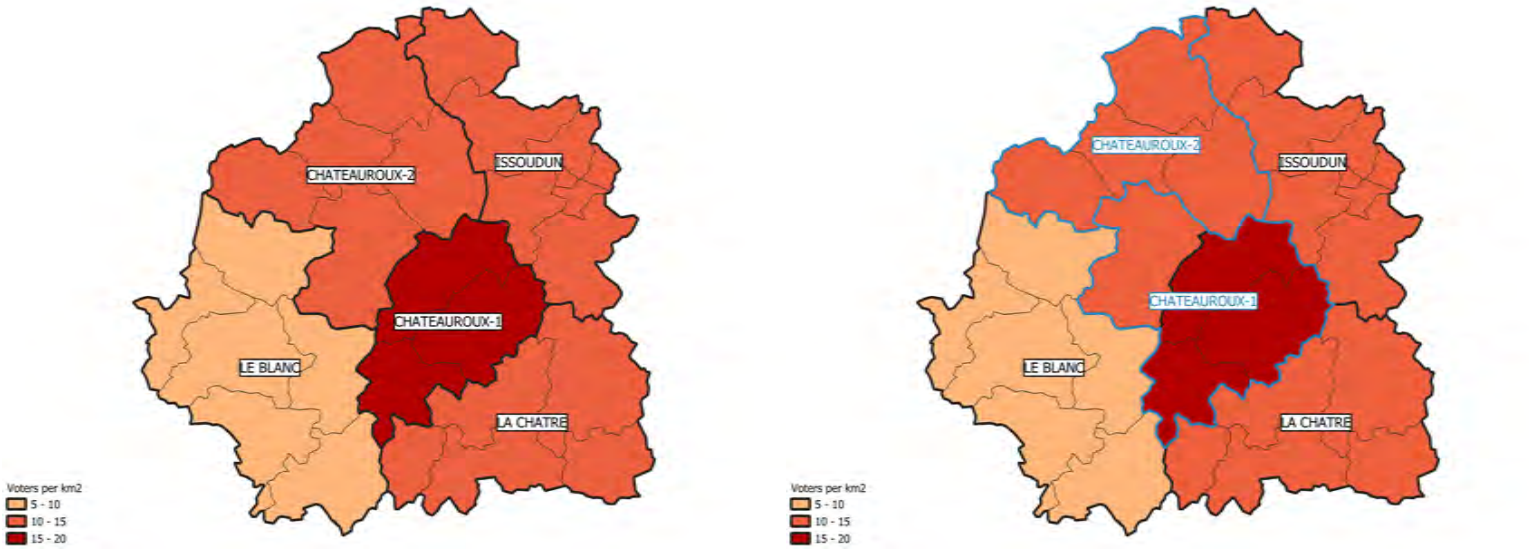
Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons. Thick blue lines represent counterfactual reforms to electoral constituencies.



(a) Constituencies in 1928 (b) Constituencies in 1932

Figure C.8. Counterfactual Electoral Reform `E-2832-A2`, Département of `Bouches-du-Rhône`, 1928–1932

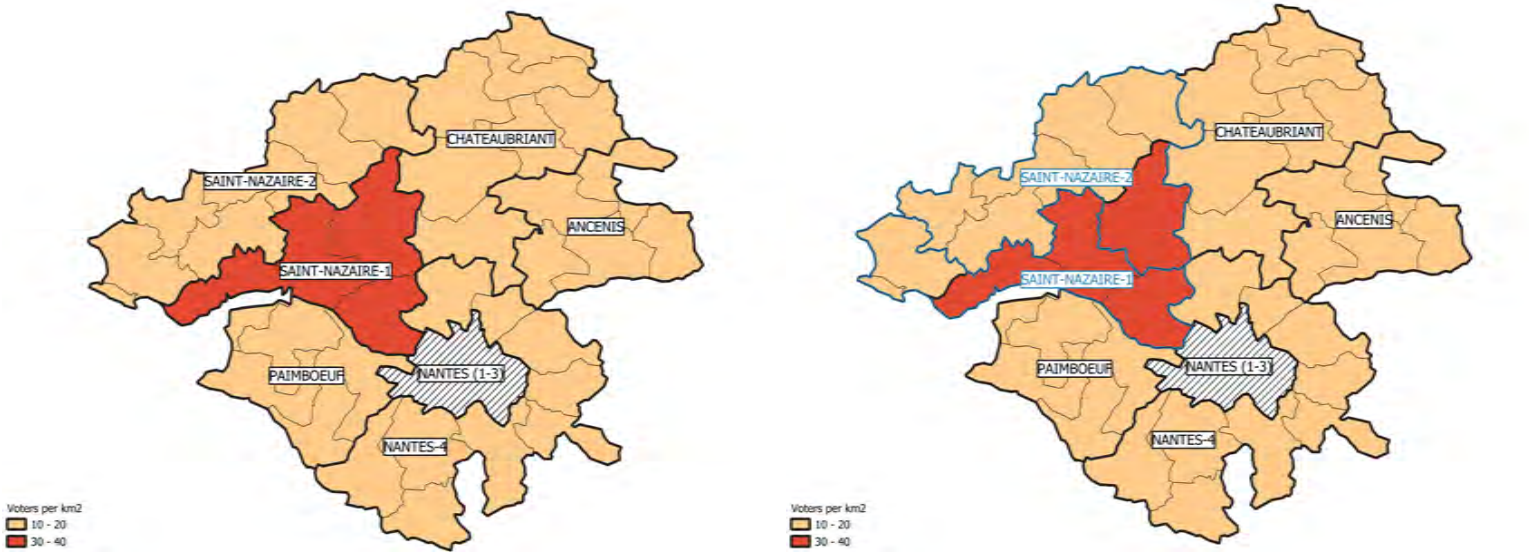
Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons. Thick blue lines represent counterfactual reforms to electoral constituencies. Constituencies of `Marseille-1` through `Marseille-8` are excluded for readability.



(a) Constituencies in 1928 (b) Constituencies in 1932

Figure C.9. Counterfactual Electoral Reform `E-2832-A4`, Département of `Indre`, 1928–1932

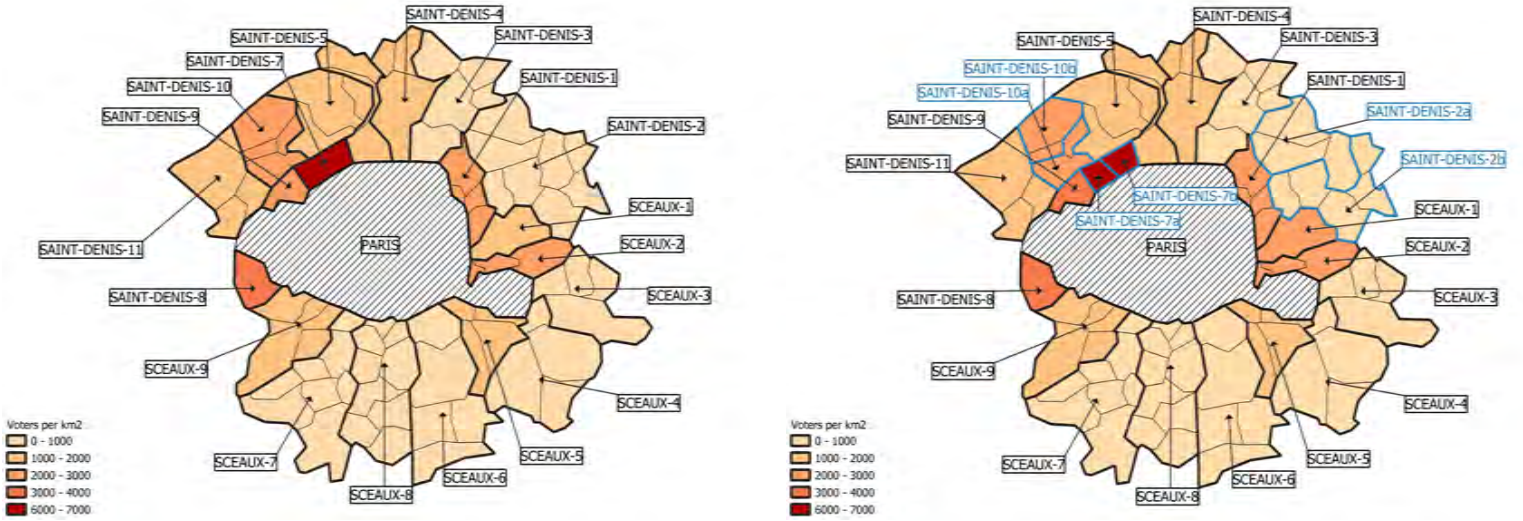
Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons. Thick blue lines represent counterfactual reforms to electoral constituencies.



(a) Constituencies in 1928 (b) Constituencies in 1932

Figure C.10. Counterfactual Electoral Reform `E-2832-A5`, Département of `Loire-Inférieure`, 1928–1932

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.

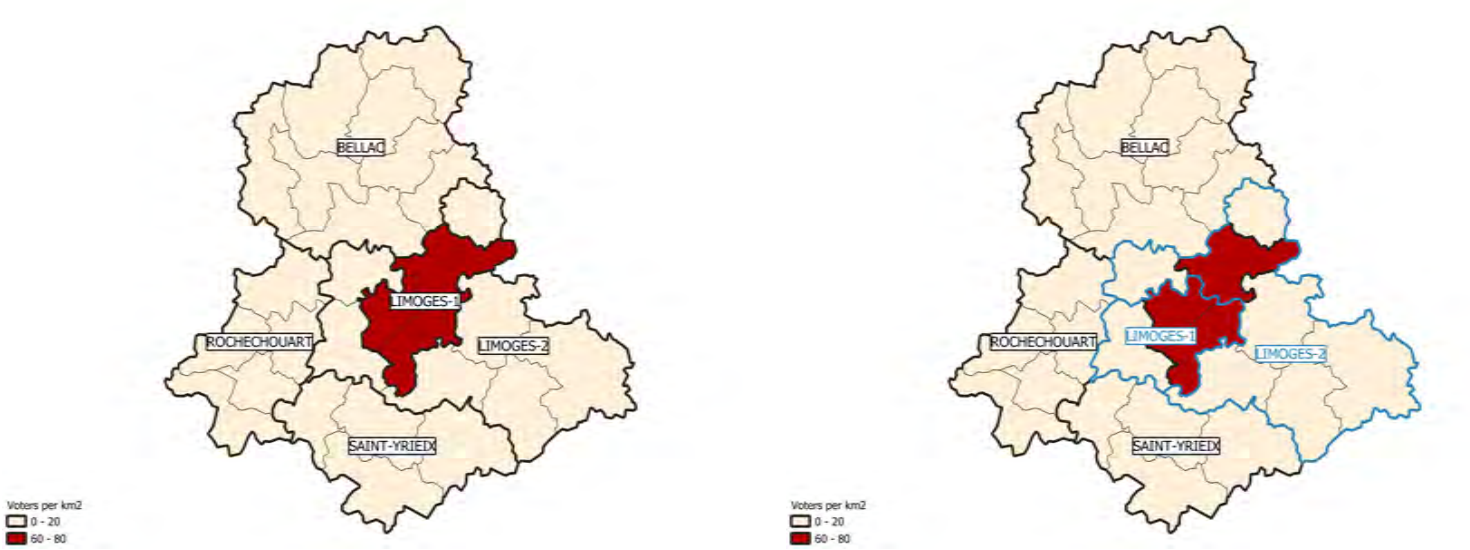


(a) Constituencies in 1928

(b) Constituencies in 1932

Figure C.11. Counterfactual Electoral Reform `E-2832-A6`, Département of `Seine`, 1928–1932

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.

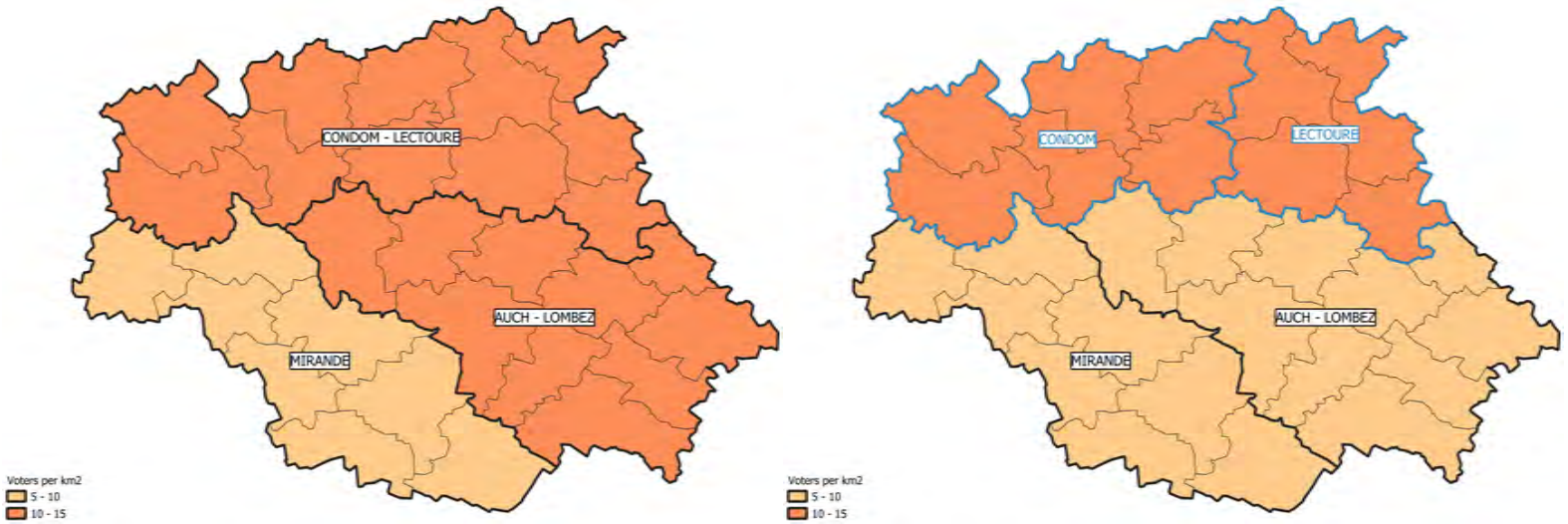


(a) Constituencies in 1928

(b) Constituencies in 1932

Figure C.12. Counterfactual Electoral Reform `E-2832-A8`, Département of `Haute-Vienne`, 1928–1932

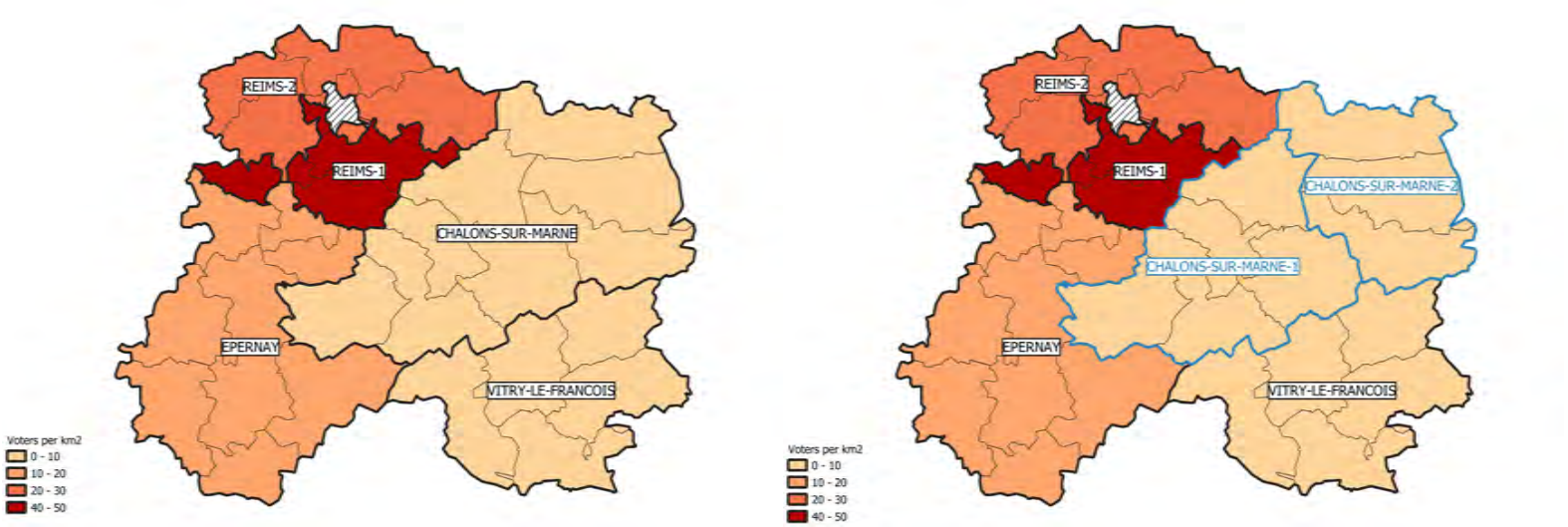
Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons. Thick blue lines represent counterfactual reforms to electoral constituencies.



(a) Constituencies in 1928 (b) Constituencies in 1932

Figure C.13. Counterfactual Electoral Reform `E-2832-A9`, Département of `Gers`, 1928–1932

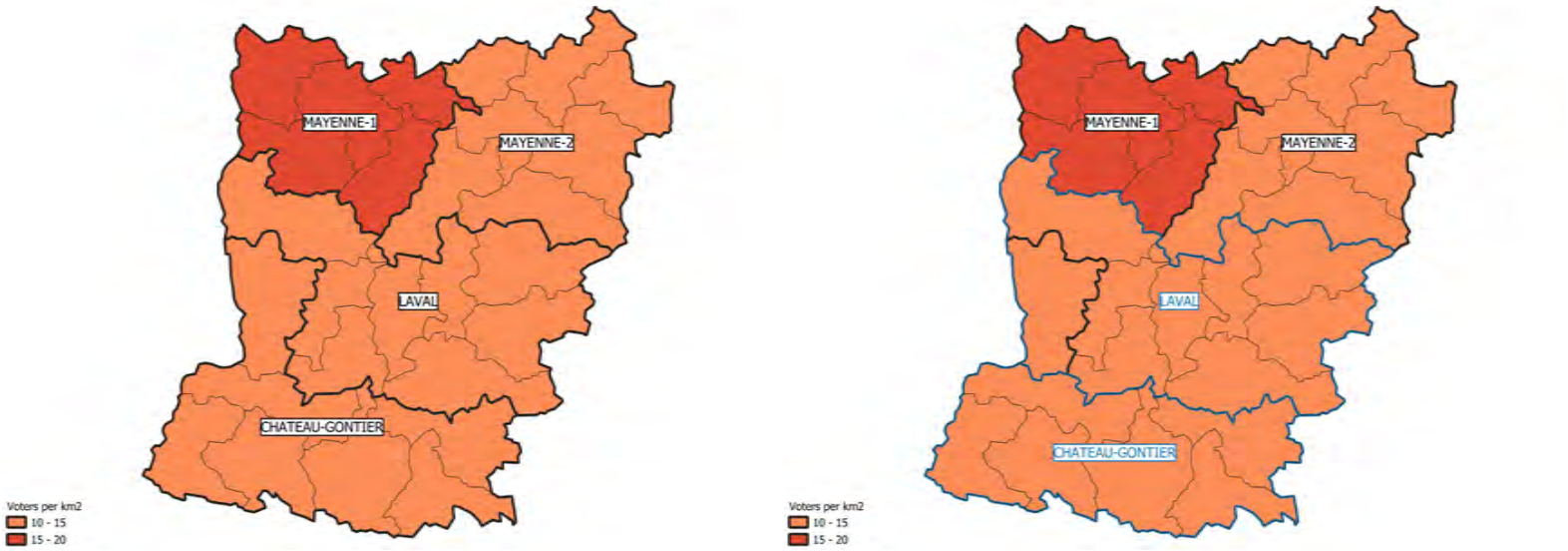
Notes. Thick black lines represent electoral constituencies, thin black lines represent cantons. Thick blue lines represent counterfactual reforms to electoral constituencies.



(a) Constituencies in 1928 (b) Constituencies in 1932

Figure C.14. Counterfactual Electoral Reform `E-2832-A10`, Département of `Marne`, 1928–1932

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.

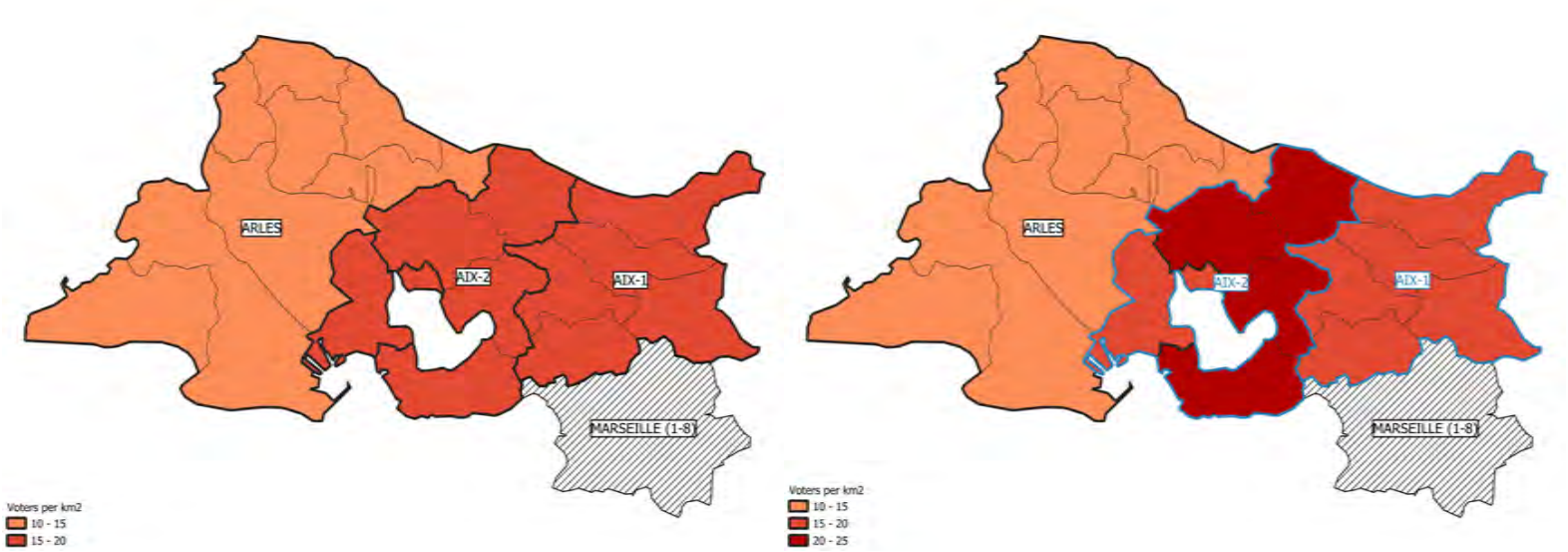


(a) Constituencies in 1928

(b) Constituencies in 1932

Figure C.15. Counterfactual Electoral Reform `E-2832-A11`, Département of `Mayenne`, 1928–1932

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



(a) Constituencies in 1932 (b) Constituencies in 1936

Figure C.16. Counterfactual Electoral Reform `E-3236-A1`, Département of `Bouches-du-Rhône`, 1932–1936

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.

D. Data sources

D.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). Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k320439r.
- Elections of 1932: Lachapelle (1932).
- Elections of 1936: Lachapelle (1936). Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/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.

D.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, 2020*c*) at https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/L2LGDW.

D.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 C.3). 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.

D.4. 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, p 18–29. Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/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, p 16–33. Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/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, p 6–14. Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5610946t/f31.

- Number of registered voters:
  - 1928: Lachapelle (1928). Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k320439r.
  - 1932: Lachapelle (1932).
  - 1936: Lachapelle (1936). Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k320440p.
- Crude birth rate:
  - 1928: "Tableau I—Mouvement de la population par département en 1928." *Annuaire Statistique*, 1928, 44, p. 7–8. Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5505154n/f65.
  - 1932: "Tableau I—Mouvement de la population par département en 1932." *Annuaire Statistique*, 1932, 48, p. 19–20. Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5510508h/f73.
  - 1936: "Tableau I—Mouvement de la population par département en 1936." *Annuaire Statistique*, 1936, 52, p. 16–17. Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6211491g/f62.
- Share of literate conscripts:
  - 1928: "Tableau L. Détails relatifs à l'instruction des jeunes gens maintenus sur les tableaux de recensemeent de la classe 1928." *Compte Rendu sur le Recrutement de l'Armée Pendant l'Année 1928*.
  - 1932: "Tableau L. Détails relatifs à l'instruction des jeunes gens maintenus sur les tableaux de recensemeent de la classe 1932." *Compte Rendu sur le Recrutement de l'Armée Pendant l'Année 1932*.
  - 1936: "Tableau L. Détails relatifs à l'instruction des jeunes gens maintenus sur les tableaux de recensemeent de la classe 1936." *Compte Rendu sur le Recrutement de l'Armée Pendant l'Année 1936*.

- Length of roads:
  - 1928: "Tableau I—Longueur, par département, des routes nationales et départementales et des chemins vicinaux ." *Annuaire Statistique*, 1928, 44, p. 139–140. Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/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, p. 183. Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5510508h/f233.
  - 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, p. 154. Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6211491g/f200.

D.5. 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.[23]. 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.
```

[23]It is accessible at: https://www.siv.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/siv/IR/FRAN_IR_001514.

```
  ?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.
             ?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.

D.6. 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.

D.7. Constituency-Level Characteristics

We run a series of balance tests on the characteristics of the electoral constituencies. Unfortunately, few statistics are directly available at this level of aggregation (beyond electoral statistics) because the electoral geography did not strictly overlap with other levels of government. The only exceptions pertain to

judicial data as the judicial geography, which determined the jurisdictional competence of tribunals, was based on the geography of *arrondissements*, the level of government above cantons. We therefore gather information on the legislative activity in constituencies for years in which their geography is well aligned, i.e., 1925 and 1931. We then match the judicial and electoral geography using shapefiles from Gay's (2021) *Third-Republic France Geographic Information System*.[24] In particular, we collect information on the number of chambers of each tribunal, the number of lawyers, and the number of trials from the following sources:

- 1925: "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 1925*, 1932, pp. 16–29. Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5475100s/f30.

- 1931: "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 1931*, 1933, pp. 16–29. Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5515648x/f25.

Furthermore, we collect information at the city level on prices in 1928, 1932, and 1936, and for wages across various occupations in 1928 and 1932, which we then match to the electoral geography using shapefiles from (Gay, 2021). 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, pp. 44–47. Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k64894862.

- Retail prices, 1932: "Nombres indices caractérisant les variations de prix de 13 articles dans les chefs-lieux de départements et les villes de plus de

[24] More precisely, we use the shapefiles of courts of first instance for 1925 and 1931 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, 2020*c*; Gay, 2020*d*).

10 000 habitants." *Bulletin de la Statistique Générale de la France et du Service d'Observation des Prix*, 1932, Tome XXII, pp. 215–218. Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6271228p.

- Retail prices, 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 XXVII, pp. 82–85. Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k62702736.

- 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*, 1928, Tome XVIII, pp. 177–181. Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k64894862.

- Wage rates, 1932: "Annexe. Salaires horaires 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*, 1932, Tome XXII, pp. 241–245. Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6271228p.

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. Available at https://www.bnsp.insee.fr/ark:/12148/bc6p06wqm4r.

- Ministère de l'Intérieur, *Dénombrement de la population 1931*. Melun: Imprimerie Administrative, 1932. Available at https://www.bnsp.insee.fr/ark:/12148/bc6p06wqmbt.

- Ministère de l'Intérieur, *Dénombrement de la population 1936*. Melun: Imprimerie Administrative, 1937. Available at https://www.bnsp.insee.fr/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 éparse* 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. Finally, 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.

D.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 B.17 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: 302–306.

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): 225–262.

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): 137–160.

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): 121–139.

Castagnez-Ruggiu, Noëlline. 1998–1999. "Le Parti Socialiste Démocratique." *Recherches Contemporaines*, 5: 316–321.

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), 527–561.

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: 307–310.

Le Béguec, Gilles. 1998–1999. "Le Parti Radical Indépendant." *Recherches Contemporaines*, 5: 311–313.

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): 238–249.

Pezet, Françoise. 2008. *Dictionnaire administratif et démographique de l'Aveyron.* Available at http://pezet.alain.free.fr/dada/index.php (accessed November 2023).

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 personel politique du département de la Somme (1800–1945).* Amiens: Archives Départementales de la Somme.

Secondy, Philippe. 2005. "Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu: un importateur des méthodes électorales américaines en France." *Revue Historique*, 2005/2(634): 309–341.

Sorlin, Pierre. 1966. *Waldeck-Rousseau.* Paris: Armand Colin.

Thomas, Jean-Paul. 1998–1999. "La Réconciliation française." *Recherches Contemporaines*, 5: 314–315.

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.