

Peisakhin, Leonid; Queralt, Didac

Working Paper

The legacy of church-state conflict: Evidence from Nazi repression of Catholic priests

WIDER Working Paper, No. 2022/157

Provided in Cooperation with:

United Nations University (UNU), World Institute for Development Economics Research (WIDER)

Suggested Citation: Peisakhin, Leonid; Queralt, Didac (2022) : The legacy of church-state conflict: Evidence from Nazi repression of Catholic priests, WIDER Working Paper, No. 2022/157, ISBN 978-92-9267-290-4, The United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER), Helsinki,
<https://doi.org/10.35188/UNU-WIDER/2022/290-4>

This Version is available at:

<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/273950>

Standard-Nutzungsbedingungen:

Die Dokumente auf EconStor dürfen zu eigenen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und zum Privatgebrauch gespeichert und kopiert werden.

Sie dürfen die Dokumente nicht für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, öffentlich zugänglich machen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Sofern die Verfasser die Dokumente unter Open-Content-Lizenzen (insbesondere CC-Lizenzen) zur Verfügung gestellt haben sollten, gelten abweichend von diesen Nutzungsbedingungen die in der dort genannten Lizenz gewährten Nutzungsrechte.

Terms of use:

Documents in EconStor may be saved and copied for your personal and scholarly purposes.

You are not to copy documents for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the documents publicly, to make them publicly available on the internet, or to distribute or otherwise use the documents in public.

If the documents have been made available under an Open Content Licence (especially Creative Commons Licences), you may exercise further usage rights as specified in the indicated licence.

ONLINE APPENDIX

The legacy of church–state conflict

Evidence from Nazi repression of Catholic priests

WIDER Working Paper 2022/157

Leonid Peisakhin¹ and Didac Queralt^{2*}

December 2022

* These appendices contain materials, results, and robustness checks that supplement the main text, which is available at <https://doi.org/10.35188/UNU-WIDER/2022/290-4>. Authors' affiliations: ¹ New York University-Abu Dhabi, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, leonid.peisakhin@nyu.edu; ² Yale University, New Haven, USA, didac.queralt@yale.edu

A1 Sources

Priest repression: von Hehl, Ulrich. 1996. *Priester unter Hitlers Terror: Eine Biographische und Statistische Erhebung*. Vol. 37 F. Schöningh.

Post 1949 vote share:

- 1947 election: Die Erste Bundestagswahl in Bayern am 14. August 1949, Heft 150 der Beiträge zur Statistik Bayerns, published by Bayerischen Statistischen Landesamt.
- 1951 election: Zweite Bundestagswahl in Bayern am 6. September 1953. Heft 193 der Beiträge zur Statistik Bayerns, published by Bayerischen Statistischen Landesamt
- 1957 election: Dritte Bundestagswahl in Bayern am 15. September 1957. Heft 206 der Beiträge zur Statistik Bayerns, published by Bayerischen Statistischen Landesamt.
- 1961 election: Vierte Bundestagswahl in Bayern am 17. September 1961. Heft 224 der Beiträge zur Statistik Bayerns, published by Bayerischen Statistischen Landesamt.
- 1965 election: Fünfte Bundestagswahl in Bayern am 19. September 1965. Heft 272 a der Beiträge zur Statistik Bayerns, published by Bayerischen Statistischen Landesamt.
- 1969 election: Sechste Bundestagswahl in Bayern am 28. September 1969. Heft 291 a der Beiträge zur Statistik Bayerns, published by Bayerischen Statistischen Landesamt.
- 1961—2009 election results indexed at post-1970 gemeinde borders retrieved from *Wahlen in Bayern seit 1946*, CD-Rom, Bayerisches Landesamt für Statistik und Datenverarbeitung, München 2011.
- 2013—2021 election results indexed at post-1970 gemeinde borders retrieved from the Bavarian Statistical Office at <https://www.statistikdaten.bayern.de/genesis/online>

Population in 1933: Bayerisches Statistisches Landesamt (Hrsg.): Bayerisches Gemeindeverzeichnis. Nach der Volkszählung vom 16. Juni 1933. Gebietsstand 31. Dezember 1934. In: Zeitschrift des Bayerischen Statistischen Landesamts, Jg. 66 Hefte 3,4 Seite 1-106. München 1934.

Catholic and Protestant (% of pop) in 1933: Bayerisches Statistisches Landesamt (Hrsg.): Bayerisches Gemeindeverzeichnis. Nach der Volkszählung vom 16. Juni 1933. Gebietsstand 31. Dezember 1934. In: Zeitschrift des Bayerischen Statistischen Landesamts, Jg. 66 Hefte 3,4 Seite 1-106. München 1934.

Agricultural workers in 1939 (%pop): Beiträge zur Statistik Bayerns, Heft 132. München 1943. J. Lindauersche Universitäts-Buchhandlung (Schöpping).

State officials per 1,000 capita in 1939: : Beiträge zur Statistik Bayerns, Heft 132. München 1943. J. Lindauersche Universitäts-Buchhandlung (Schöpping).

Income tax per capita in 1939: : Beiträge zur Statistik Bayerns, Heft 132. München 1943. J. Lindauer-sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung (Schöpping).

Interwar vote share: Hänisch, Dirk. 1989. Inhalt und Struktur der Datenbank “Wahl- und Sozialdaten der Kreise und Gemeinden des Deutschen Reiches von 1920 bis 1933.” *Historical Social Research* 14(1):39-67.

Associations: Schematismus der Geistlichkeit des Bistums Augsburg: für das Jahr 1927, Augsburg; Schematismus des Erzbistums Bamberg 1928, Bamberg : St. Otto-Verl., 1928; Schematismus der Diözese Eichstätt 1927. Eichstätt : Bischöfl. Ordinariat, 1927; Schematismus der Erzdiözese München und Freising 1927. Mit einer Chronik des Jahres 1926, München: Erzbischöfliches Ordinariat, 1926; Schematismus des Bistums Passau 1927. Passau: Verl. d. Bischöfl. Ordinariats, 1927. Schematismus des Bistums Regensburg 1927; Regensburg: Verl. Bischöfl. Ordinariat, 1927; Schematismus der Diözese Würzburg 1927; Würzburg : Echter-Verl., 1927.

Catholic repression during Kulturkampf: Haffert, Lukas. 2022. The Long-Term Effects of Oppression: Prussia, Political Catholicism, and the Alternative für Deutschland. *American Political Science Review*, 116(2), 595-614.

Jewish victims: Das Bunderarchiv, *Die Liste der jüdischen Einwohner im Deutschen Reich 1933-1945*.

Priest trajectory (Augsburg): Schematismus der Geistlichkeit des Bistums Augsburg für das Jahr 1950, 1. February 1950. Augsburg: Bischöflichen Ordinariates Augsburg.

Mass attendance: for Munich-Freising, 1970-2010, Made available by Mr. Andreas Rogozinski at the Statistical Unit of the German Bishops' Conference.

Expellees: Braun, Sebastian T. and Richard Franke. 2021. “A County-Level Database on Expellees in West Germany, 1939-1961.” *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 108(4): 522-540.

A2 Descriptives

Table A1: Summary statistics for rural, Catholic communes defined by pre-1970 or old borders

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
Repressed priest (total, 1933-1945)	5528	.778	1.628	0	65
Repressed priest (y/n)	5528	.426	.495	0	1
Manual Code of Repression	5524	1.293	1.641	0	5
Sentiment score (maximum)	5528	3.579	4.958	0	30.393
Population (1933, log)	5528	6.107	.769	4.19	9.19
Vote share Catholic parties (1928)	5311	45.185	14.813	.378	77.775
State officials (per th. cap, 1939)	5525	9.726	18.801	0	590.044
Income Tax (per cap, 1939)	5525	27.104	13.406	3.83	367.28
Jewish victims (total, 1933-1945)	5528	1.232	8.556	0	274
Agricultural pop. (share, 1939)	5525	60.667	22.385	.675	98.387
Vote share NSDAP (1928)	5311	2.745	2.57	.083	27.681
East Germany expellees (th., 1950)	5528	11.405	4.208	2.51	21.385
Kulturkampf Repression (1875/6)	5528	.621	.683	0	3
Brown priests (total)	5528	.014	.123	0	2
Presence of association	4786	.311	.463	0	1
Total associations types	4786	.677	1.165	0	7
Women youth association	4786	.054	.225	0	1
Women worker association	4786	.015	.122	0	1
Men youth associations	4786	.037	.188	0	1
Men worker association	4786	.088	.283	0	1
Catholic clubs	4786	.053	.223	0	1
Press association	4786	.121	.326	0	1

Table A2: Summary statistics for rural, Catholic communes defined by post-1970 or new borders

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
# towns repressed	1701	1.349	1.203	0	10
# priest repressed	1701	2.48	3.321	0	70
Population (1933, log)	1701	7.365	.696	4.762	9.589
Vote share of the CSU (1928)	1644	42.98	13.71	.703	77.775
Agricultural workers (share, 1939)	1701	25.775	20.376	.504	86.567
State Officials (per th. cap, 1939)	1701	12.848	20.918	0	385.714
Jewish Victims (1933-1945, total)	1701	4.172	15.993	0	274
Income Tax (per cap, 1939)	1701	27.669	11.917	3.9	215.15
Vote share of NSDAP (1928)	1644	2.658	2.319	.231	19.391
Mass Attendance in 1970 (% of Catholics)	322	40.398	13.932	9.7	80
Mass Attendance in 1980 (% of Catholics)	321	33.077	13.346	5.114	103.631
Mass Attendance in 1990 (% of Catholics)	323	26.495	10.212	8.257	78.533
Mass Attendance in 2010 (% of Catholics)	324	15.183	6.903	4.791	59.921

A3 Qualitative coding of repression

In ascending order, the categories of the manual coding of repression intensity are:

1: minor threats or inconveniences (e.g. stones thrown through windows) or informal threats from police or administrators, priest being watched by authorities, or all convictions being vacated by a court or other administrative bodies.

2: services disrupted, house search, interrogations, being summoned by an administrative or police official, official reprimand, and small fine (up to 50 RM).

3. denunciations in the press, prison sentence between 1 and 5 month (including detention on bail up to 30 days) or equivalent monetary fine (from 50 to 300 RM); pension cancelled

4: ban on teaching, priest being completely banned from organizing services; priest forced to relocate to a different parish; priest being forcibly retired; prison sentence of 6 to 12 months or equivalent (large) monetary fine (more than 300 RM)

5: prison sentence of over 12 months; concentration camp; execution; or equivalent (i.e. very large) monetary fine in the thousands.

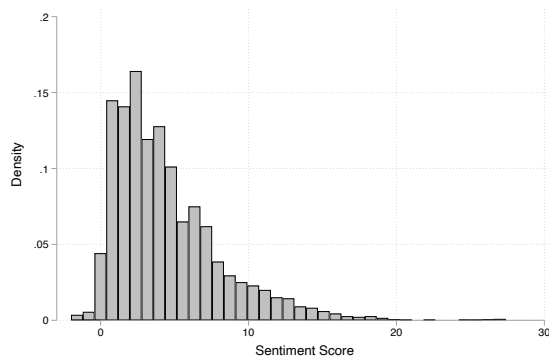
A4 Sentiment score

We extracted 719 lemmatized words from the bibliographic vignettes in the repression dataset. We hired 13 native German Speakers to code these words using the instructions in Figure A1. Based on their scores, we computed an average measure for each lemmatized word. Finally, we matched the average scores to each individual vignette and estimated the intensity of repression by the arithmetic sum of scores.

Figure A1: Sentiment score

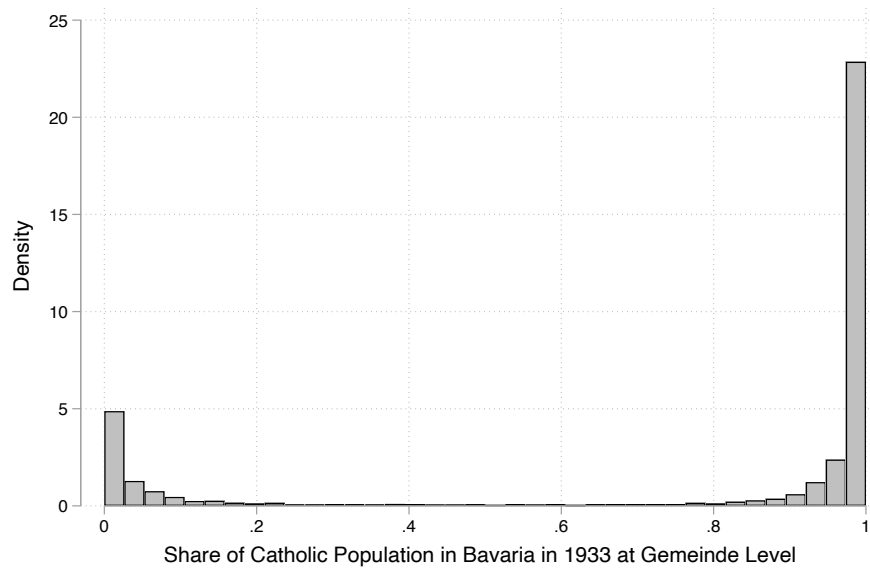
Anleitung zur Einschätzungsanalyse	
Wählen Sie eine Einschätzung basierend auf den folgenden Kriterien:	
Einschätzung	Beispiel
Schwerwiegende Repression (3)	Beispiel: Haftstrafe von mehreren Monaten/Jahren oder Hinrichtung
Repression mittlerer Höhe (2)	Beispiel: Haftstrafe von mehreren Wochen, eine äquivalente Geldstrafe, oder schwerwiegende Bedrohungen/Angriffe
Geringfügige Repression (1)	Beispiel: geringfügige Geldstrafe, Bedrohung oder andere geringfügige Schikane
Nicht eindeutig (0)	Das Wort deutet weder auf eine Repression noch auf die Befreiung von einer Repression hin Beispiel: Sonntagsausflug
Befreiung von einer geringfügigen Repression (-1)	Beispiel: Erstattung einer geringfügigen Geldstrafe oder Entschuldigung für geringfügige Schikane /Angriffe
Befreiung von einer Repression mittlerer Höhe (-2)	Beispiel: Befreiung von einer Haftstrafe von mehreren Wochen oder einer äquivalenten Geldstrafe oder Entschuldigung für schwerwiegende Bedrohungen/Schikanen
Befreiung von einer schwerwiegenden Repression (-3)	Beispiel: Freispruch von einer Haftstrafe von mehreren Monaten/Jahren oder Aufhebung einer Hinrichtung

Figure A2: Sentiment score



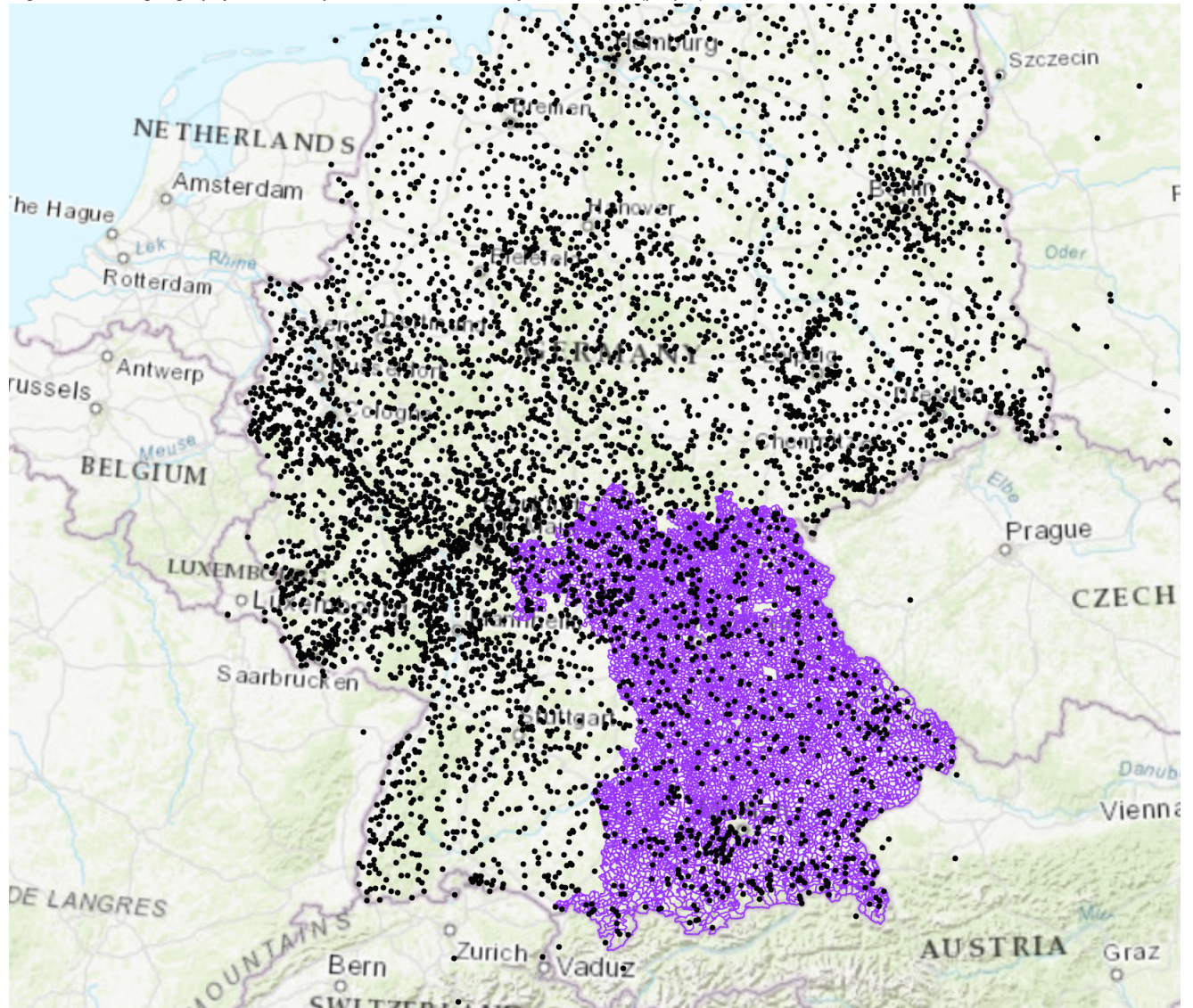
A5 Supplementary figures

Figure A3: Histogram of religious segregation



Note: Minority Catholic communes on the left are majority Protestant communities.

Figure A4: The geography of Jewish persecution in Germany and Bavaria (purple)



Source: authors' elaboration based on German Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv) material.

A6 Supplementary tables

Table A3: Vote share of the CSU in 1949–1969 Bundestag elections at commune level as a function of the frequency of priest repression and controlling for Kulturkampf repression

	(1) 1949	(2) 1953	(3) 1957	(4) 1969
Repressed priest (total, 1933-1945)	0.76*** (0.19)	0.67*** (0.15)	0.64*** (0.12)	0.68*** (0.11)
Population (1933, log)	-0.48 (0.49)	-0.12 (0.43)	-0.54 (0.34)	0.22 (0.33)
Vote share Catholic parties (1928)	0.14** (0.06)	0.24*** (0.05)	0.19*** (0.04)	0.17*** (0.03)
State officials (per th. cap, 1939)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)
Income Tax (per cap, 1939)	-0.03* (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Jewish victims (total, 1933-1945)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)
Agricultural pop. (share, 1939)	0.20*** (0.02)	0.25*** (0.02)	0.35*** (0.01)	0.41*** (0.01)
Vote share NSDAP (1928)	0.15 (0.18)	0.26 (0.17)	0.08 (0.14)	-0.07 (0.12)
Kulturkampf Repression (1875/6)	1.39** (0.65)	3.04*** (0.79)	1.56* (0.81)	1.40* (0.79)
Constant	23.10*** (4.67)	32.30*** (4.29)	43.61*** (3.08)	37.97*** (3.01)
Court District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5,302	5,289	5,285	5,220
R-squared	0.40	0.40	0.53	0.56

Note: Unit of analysis: the commune. Robust standard errors in parentheses clustered at landkreis level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A4: Vote share of the CSU in 1949–1969 Bundestag elections at commune level as a function of the frequency of priest repression and controlling for presence of brown priests (i.e. pro-nazi)

	(1) 1949	(2) 1953	(3) 1957	(4) 1969
Repressed priest (total, 1933-1945)	0.76*** (0.19)	0.67*** (0.15)	0.64*** (0.12)	0.68*** (0.11)
Population (1933, log)	-0.53 (0.49)	-0.22 (0.43)	-0.59* (0.34)	0.18 (0.33)
Vote share Catholic parties (1928)	0.14** (0.06)	0.23*** (0.05)	0.19*** (0.04)	0.16*** (0.03)
State officials (per th. cap, 1939)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)
Jewish victims (total, 1933-1945)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)
Agricultural pop. (share, 1939)	0.20*** (0.02)	0.25*** (0.02)	0.35*** (0.01)	0.41*** (0.01)
Income Tax (per cap, 1939)	-0.03* (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Vote share NSDAP (1928)	0.16 (0.18)	0.29 (0.17)	0.09 (0.14)	-0.06 (0.12)
Brown priest presence	0.42 (1.09)	-0.19 (1.07)	0.19 (1.06)	-0.62 (1.09)
Constant	24.32*** (4.71)	34.90*** (4.22)	44.96*** (3.01)	39.13*** (2.97)
Court District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5,302	5,289	5,285	5,220
R-squared	0.40	0.40	0.53	0.56

Note: unit of analysis: the commune. Robust standard errors in parentheses clustered at landkreis level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table A5: Vote share of the CSU in 1949–1969 Bundestag elections at commune level as a function of the frequency of priest repression and controlling for East Germany expellees

	(1) 1949	(2) 1953	(3) 1957	(4) 1969
Repressed priest (total, 1933-1945)	0.75*** (0.18)	0.66*** (0.15)	0.62*** (0.11)	0.67*** (0.10)
Population (1933, log)	-0.51 (0.49)	-0.20 (0.43)	-0.57* (0.34)	0.18 (0.33)
Vote share Catholic parties (1928)	0.13** (0.05)	0.21*** (0.05)	0.17*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.03)
State officials (per th. cap, 1939)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)
Jewish victims (total, 1933-1945)	-0.04* (0.03)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)
Agricultural pop. (share, 1939)	0.19*** (0.02)	0.24*** (0.02)	0.35*** (0.01)	0.41*** (0.01)
Income Tax (per cap, 1939)	-0.03* (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Vote share NSDAP (1928)	0.12 (0.17)	0.23 (0.18)	0.03 (0.14)	-0.09 (0.12)
East Germany expellees (th., 1950)	-0.21 (0.18)	-0.34* (0.18)	-0.32*** (0.12)	-0.17* (0.10)
Constant	27.37*** (4.78)	39.85*** (4.92)	49.63*** (3.62)	41.67*** (3.26)
Court District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5,302	5,289	5,285	5,220
R-squared	0.41	0.40	0.53	0.56

Note: unit of analysis: the commune. Robust standard errors in parentheses clustered at landkreis level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A6: CSU Vote share as a function of a sentiment score of repression computed by 13 independent native German coders

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	1949	1953	1957	1969
Sentiment score (maximum)	0.26*** (0.05)	0.22*** (0.05)	0.18*** (0.03)	0.22*** (0.03)
Population (1933, log)	-0.70 (0.47)	-0.33 (0.42)	-0.62* (0.34)	0.05 (0.32)
Vote share Catholic parties (1928)	0.14** (0.06)	0.23*** (0.05)	0.19*** (0.04)	0.16*** (0.03)
State officials (per th. cap, 1939)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)
Jewish victims (total, 1933-1945)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)
Agricultural pop. (share, 1939)	0.19*** (0.02)	0.24*** (0.02)	0.35*** (0.01)	0.41*** (0.01)
Income Tax (per cap, 1939)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Vote share NSDAP (1928)	0.17 (0.18)	0.29* (0.17)	0.10 (0.14)	-0.05 (0.12)
Constant	25.19*** (4.58)	35.50*** (4.19)	45.13*** (3.00)	39.80*** (2.97)
Court District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5,302	5,289	5,285	5,220
R-squared	0.40	0.40	0.53	0.56

Note: unit of analysis: the commune. Robust standard errors in parentheses clustered at landkreis level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A7: CSU Vote share as a function of an indicator measure of priest repression at commune level

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	1949	1953	1957	1969	1949	1953	1957	1969
Repressed priest (y/n)	2.10*** (0.40)	1.70*** (0.39)	1.91*** (0.32)	2.30*** (0.29)	2.51*** (0.41)	1.99*** (0.39)	1.95*** (0.32)	2.27*** (0.29)
Population (1933, log)	-1.33** (0.59)	-0.33 (0.51)	-0.86** (0.37)	0.10 (0.35)	-0.70 (0.47)	-0.31 (0.41)	-0.69** (0.33)	0.01 (0.32)
Vote share Catholic parties (1928)	0.06 (0.04)	0.19*** (0.04)	0.17*** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.02)	0.14** (0.06)	0.23*** (0.05)	0.19*** (0.04)	0.16*** (0.03)
State officials (per th. cap, 1939)	-0.01* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)
Income Tax (per cap, 1939)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Jewish victims (total, 1933-1945)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)
Agricultural pop. (share, 1939)	0.16*** (0.02)	0.24*** (0.02)	0.34*** (0.02)	0.42*** (0.01)	0.19*** (0.02)	0.24*** (0.02)	0.35*** (0.01)	0.41*** (0.01)
Vote share NSDAP (1928)	-0.03 (0.23)	0.28 (0.22)	0.20 (0.17)		0.17 (0.18)	0.29* (0.17)	0.10 (0.13)	-0.05 (0.12)
Constant	35.40*** (5.14)	38.22*** (4.75)	47.17*** (3.32)	40.25*** (2.89)	25.09*** (4.69)	35.29*** (4.17)	45.39*** (2.97)	39.89*** (2.93)
Dioceses FE	✓	✓	✓	✓				
Court District FE					✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	5,302	5,289	5,285	5,220	5,302	5,289	5,285	5,220
R-squared	0.36	0.37	0.49	0.54	0.40	0.40	0.53	0.56

Note: unit of analysis: the commune. Robust standard errors in parentheses clustered at landkreis level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.