

Appendix I: Supplementary Figures and Tables Referenced in Text

Table A1: Summary Statistics for Aggregate-Level Data

Variable	# surveys	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Full sample					
Urbanization 1920s	157	0.11	0.14	0	0.79
Landlocked	157	0.13	0.34	0	1
Distance from equator	157	37.74	15.54	0.33	60.1
Distance from Greenwich	157	44.83	40.42	0.17	174.8
British colony	157	0.18	0.39	0	1
French colony	157	0.08	0.27	0	1
Spanish colony	157	0.18	0.39	0	1
German empire	157	0.03	0.16	0	1
Habsburg empire	157	0.10	0.30	0	1
Russian empire	157	0.15	0.36	0	1
Ottoman empire	157	0.14	0.34	0	1
Other European colony	157	0.12	0.33	0	1
Mean elevation	157	0.57	0.47	0.01	2.99
Log GDP/capita 1914	157	7.36	0.64	5.65	8.55
Literacy 1920s	157	3.19	1.60	1	5
Pre-WWI regime	157	-2.05	6.41	-10	10
Overseas colony pre-WWI	157	0.18	0.38	0	1
Imperial territory pre-WWI	157	0.27	0.44	0	1
Muslim majority	157	0.15	0.36	0	1
Christian majority	157	0.76	0.43	0	1
Ethnic fractionalization	157	0.38	0.23	0.004	0.95
Post-communist sample					
Low collectivization	51	0.27	0.45	0	1
Low female labor participation	51	0.22	0.42	0	1
Female share of CP membership	51	0.38	0.07	0.23	0.54

Table A2: Summary Statistics for Individual-Level Data

Variable	# respondents	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Full sample					
Left-authoritarian	168483	0.11	0.31	0	1
Left-right self placement	168483	5.62	2.33	1	10
Democracy index	168483	0.02	0.64	-3.26	1.70
Post-communist citizen	168483	0.30	0.46	0	1
Total communist exposure	168483	8.33	14.88	0	72
Early communist exposure	168483	2.98	4.97	0	12
Adult communist exposure	168483	5.35	11.47	0	70
Post-secondary education	168483	0.23	0.42	0	1
Secondary education	168483	0.43	0.50	0	1
Primary education	168483	0.24	0.43	0	1
HH income (log)	168483	8.80	1.35	2.8	12.4
Town resident	168483	0.21	0.41	0	1
City resident	168483	0.12	0.33	0	1
Large city resident	168483	0.14	0.35	0	1
Male	168483	0.51	0.50	0	1
Age	168483	41.7	16.2	15	99
Post-communist sample					
Catholic	46962	0.26	0.44	0	1
Protestant	46962	0.04	0.20	0	1
Eastern Orthodox	46962	0.32	0.47	0	1
Muslim	46962	0.11	0.31	0	1
Relig attendance often	46962	0.28	0.45	0	1
Communist period army draft	46962	0.38	0.49	0	1

Table A3: WVS question wording for components of Democracy support index

Indicator	Survey question wording
Democratic support index	I'm going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country? -- Having a democratic political system (4 point scale) -- Having a strong leader who does not have to bother with parliament and elections. (4 point scale) -- Having the army rule (4 point scale)
	I'm going to read off some things that people sometimes say about a democratic political system. Could you please tell me if you agree strongly, agree, disagree or disagree strongly, after I read each one of them? -- In democracy, the economic system runs badly (4 point agree-disagree scale) -- Democracies aren't good at maintaining order (4 point agree-disagree scale) -- Democracies are indecisive and have too much quibbling (4 point agree-disagree scale) -- Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government (4 point agree-disagree scale)

The Cronbach's alpha for the democracy index was .72, which is quite reasonable for this type of survey questions. Factor analysis confirmed that all the questions loaded on a single main factor, and we were not able to improve the alpha statistic by dropping any variables from the index

Table A4: Probit regressions of communist exposure effects

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Total communist exposure	.0027** (.0002)	.0027** (.0002)				
Hardline communist exposure			.0035** (.0003)	.0033** (.0003)		
“Softline” communist exposure			.0019** (.0003)	.002** (.0003)		
Early communist exposure					.0010 (.0006)	.0014* (.0006)
Adult communist exposure					.0027** (.0002)	.0027** (.0002)
Post-communist citizen	-.032# (.017)		-.030# (.017)		-.017 (.019)	
Age	-.001** (.0001)	-.001** (.0001)	-.001** (.0001)	-.001** (.0001)	-.001** (.0001)	-.001** (.0001)
Year dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country dummies	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Pre-communist controls	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Demographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	168,483	168,483	168,483	168,483	168,483	168,483

This table reproduces the model specifications in Table 2 in the main text but using probit regressions with standard errors clustered at the survey (country-year) level. For comparability, the coefficients reported in the table are marginal effects (using the dprobit command in Stata 13.1). The results for the exposure coefficients are very similar for the two types of models, though in model 4 above the effects for early exposure achieve statistical significance at .05 (unlike in the HLM models reported in the main text.) Standard errors in parentheses ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, # $p < .1$

Table A5: Regression results presented in Figures 4,5, and 6

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Total communist exposure	.0043** (.0005)	.0037** (.0004)	.0043** (.0006)	.0027** (.0004)	.0032** (.0005)	.0033** (.0005)	.0030** (.0003)	.0035** (.0004)			
Adult communist exposure									.0031** (.0003)	.0003 (.0014)	.0030** (.0003)
Catholic resp.# Total comm exposure	-.0023** (.0006)		-.0016* (.0008)								
Protestant resp.# Total comm exposure	-.0029** (.0007)		-.0027** (.0009)								
Eastern Orthodox resp.# Total comm exposure	-.0007 (.0005)		-.0002 (.0006)								
Muslim resp.# Total comm exposure	-.0012# (.0007)		-.0008 (.0007)								
Frequent relig attendance# Comm exposure		-.0018** (.0004)	-.0006 (.0012)			-.0019** (.0005)		-.0015** (.0005)			
Catholic# Frequent attendance# Total comm exposure			-.0007 (.0013)								
Protestant# Frequent attendance# Total comm exposure			.0001 (.0017)								
Orthodox # Frequent attendance# Total comm exposure			-.0013 (.0013)								
Muslim# Frequent attendance# Total comm exposure			-.0005 (.0014)								
Urban resident#Comm exposure				.0010* (.0005)	.0007 (.0006)	.0008 (.0005)					
Low collectivization#Comm exposure					-.0019** (.0007)						
Urban resident#Low collectivization#Comm exposure					.0013# (.0008)						
Urban resident#Frequent relig attendance#Comm exposure						.0004 (.0005)					
Male#Comm exposure							.0005# (.0002)	.0004 (.0003)			
Male#Frequent relig attendance#Comm exposure								-.0006 (.0005)			
Male#Adult comm exposure									.0005* (.0003)	-.0017 (.0014)	.0005 (.0005)
Low female labor particip#Adult comm exposure									-.0002		

Male#Low female labor particip#Adult comm exposure									(.0005)		
Adult comm exposure#CP female share									-.0006		
									(.0005)		
Male#Adult comm exposure#CP female share										.0072#	
										(.0039)	
										.0055	
										(.0035)	
Comm army#Adult comm exposure											.0001
											(.0005)
Catholic											
Protestant											
Muslim											
Orthodox											
Age	-.0010	-.0010	-.0010	-.0010	-.0010	-.0010	-.0010	-.0010	-.0010	-.0010	-.0010
	(.0000)	(.0000)	(.0000)	(.0000)	(.0000)	(.0000)	(.0000)	(.0000)	(.0000)	(.0000)	(.0000)
Male	.0002	-.0008	-.0011	.0032	.0037	.0004	-.0099	-.0098	.0071	.0297	.0011
	(.0038)	(.0038)	(.0038)	(.0038)	(.0037)	(.0038)	(.0073)	(.0076)	(.0120)	(.0323)	(.0145)
Catholic resp.	.0225		.0195								
	(.0142)		(.0177)								
Protestant resp.	.0259		.0186								
	(.0209)		(.0278)								
Eastern Orthodox resp.	.0386**		.0254								
	(.0145)		(.0163)								
Muslim resp.	-.0021		-.0047								
	(.0239)		(.0218)								
Frequent relig attendance		.0202#	-.0108			.0287#		.0154			
		(.0120)	(.0269)			(.0162)		(.0150)			
Catholic# Frequent attendance			.0117								
			(.0327)								
Protestant# Frequent attendance			.0274								
			(.0492)								
Orthodox# Frequent attendance			.0614								
			(.0383)								
Muslim# Frequent attendance			.0053								
			(.0331)								
Urban resident				-.0264#	-.0195	-.0210					

Low collectivization					(.0137)	(.0177)	(.0158)				
Urban resident#Low collectivization						.0404 (.0267)					
Urban resident#Frequent relig attendance						-.0357 (.0221)					
Comm army											
Early communist exposure											
Male#Early communist exposure											
Male#Frequent relig attendance											
Low female labor particip											
Male#Low female labor particip											
CP_fem_ratio											
Male#CP female share											
Other demographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Survey year dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	46,962	46,962	46,962	46,962	46,962	46,962	46,948	46,948	46,948	46,948	46,948

Constrained regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses ** p<.01, * p<.05, # p<.1

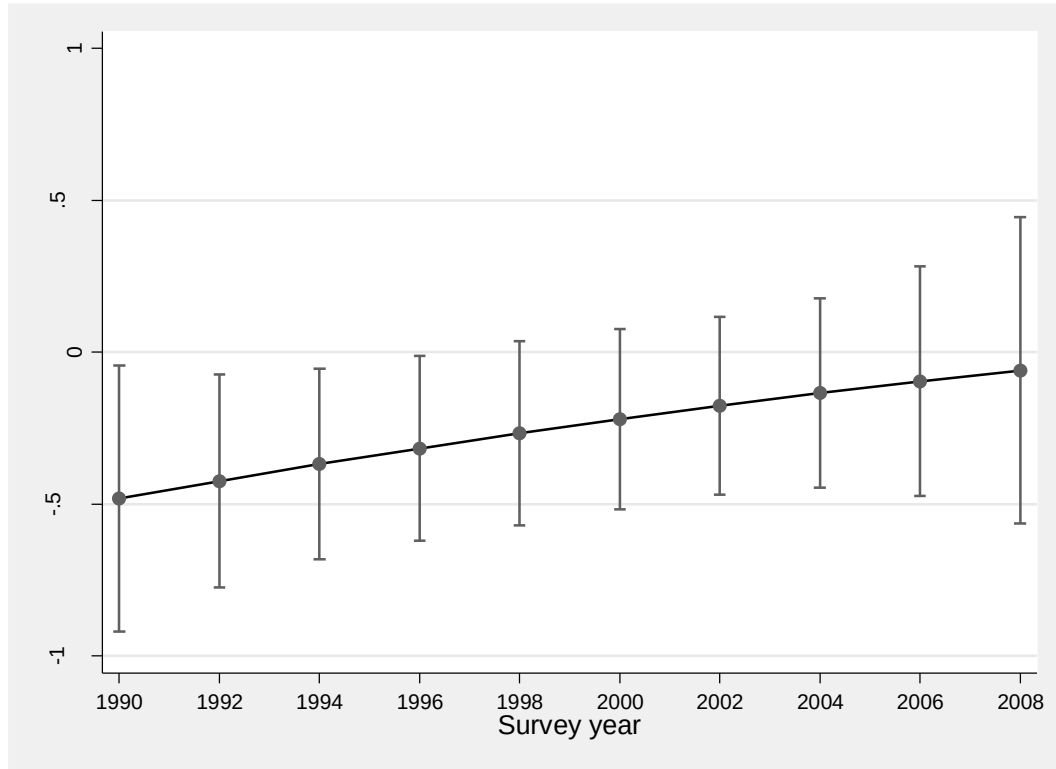
Table A6: Exposure effects using an attitudinal measure of ideology

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Total communist exposure	.0016** (.0002)	.0015** (.0002)				
Hardline communist exposure			.0021** (.0004)	.0015** (.0002)		
“Softline” communist exposure			.0011** (.0004)	.0016** (.0002)		
Early communist exposure					.0020** (.0006)	.0017** (.0005)
Adult communist exposure					.0016** (.0002)	.0015** (.0002)
Post-communist citizen	-.0108 (.0217)		-.0070 (.0224)		-.0145 (.0220)	
Age	-.0016** (.0001)	-.0016** (.0001)	-.0016** (.0001)	-.0016** (.0001)	-.0016** (.0001)	-.0016** (.0001)
Year dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country dummies	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Pre-communist controls	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Demographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	168,483	168,483	168,483	168,483	168,483	168,483

Standard errors in parentheses ** p<.01, * p<.05, # p<.1

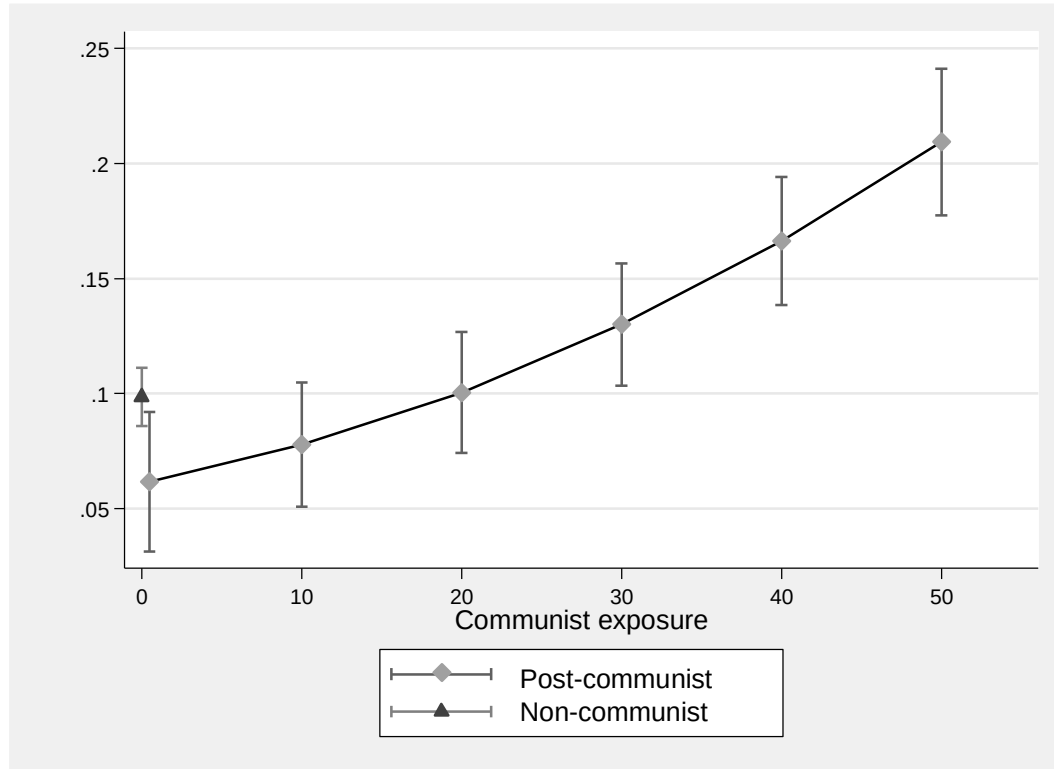
This table reproduces the model specifications in Table A4 (probit regressions with standard errors clustered at the country-year level). But in defining left-authoritarianism, instead of self-placement on the left-right ideology scale we use the synthetic ideology indicator proposed by Pop-Eleches and Tucker (2010), which combines questions that capture the economic and social dimension of left-right orientation and – crucially – assigns the same weights (based on a pooled regression) to all countries in our sample. This mirrors the logic of trying to establish relative ideological placements if respondents from across the world understood ideology the same way. To improve comparability with the other results (for which a quarter of respondents qualified as leftist), we chose a cutoff at the 25th percentile of this scale to identify leftist respondents. The results confirm the overall patterns in Table A4 (and Table 2 in the main text) but suggest stronger early socialization effects.

Figure A1: Post-communist ideological bias (1990-2008)



Note: The figure presents the ideological difference between post-communist citizens and non-communist citizens (along with 95% confidence intervals). The dependent variable is a 10-point ideological self-placement question (ranging from 1=Left to 10=Right). Negative values indicate a leftist bias. Predicted values are based on hierarchical linear models with random intercepts, which in addition to interaction between the post-communism dummy and survey year (squared) includes the battery of pre-communist and time invariant country-level indicators in Table A1.

Fig.A2: Communist Exposure and Left-Authoritarian Orientation (Quadratic effects)



Note: This figure reproduces the analysis in Figure 3 in the main paper but adds a quadratic communist exposure term to test for non-linear exposure effects. The results reveal a slight positive quadratic effect, which suggests increasing rather than diminishing effects of additional communist exposure.