"PURE AMERICANISM": WORLD WAR I AND THE RISE OF THE KU KLUX KLAN*

Desmond Ang† and Sahil Chinoy‡

June 15, 2026

Abstract

The post-World War I era witnessed a dramatic resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, with membership swelling to millions across the United States. Assembling the largest known collection of Klan rosters, we show that the organization drew disproportionately from civic and professional elites – public administrators, law enforcement officers, and medical professionals – with veterans significantly overrepresented in its ranks. Digitizing tens of millions of military records and reconstructing the national draft lottery, we demonstrate the causal impact of military service in fueling the Klan's rise. White men randomly inducted into the military were more than twice as likely to join the KKK as comparable undrafted men from the same area. These effects were accompanied by other nativist shifts – as revealed by spousal choice, child naming, and party affiliation – but not by increased fraternal participation or economic status. Examining variation in soldiers' training camps, units, and roles, we find suggestive evidence of the mediating role of nationalistic indoctrination, racial threat, and peer exposure. Leveraging detailed pre-war address records, we document significant spillovers at multiple geographic levels, both within veteran households and across their neighborhoods. Our findings illuminate how military service shaped racial attitudes and fueled the spread of white supremacy in early 20th-century America.

*We thank seminar participants at the University of Connecticut, University of Pittsburgh, Northwestern University, Stanford University, University of California, Berkeley, Vanderbilt University, Dartmouth College, University of Toronto, Boston University, University of Chicago, Booth, Sciences Po, Columbia, Harvard, Yale, Brookings Institution, NBER Development of American Economy, and the Race, Racism and Structural Inequality Conference for helpful comments.

†Corresponding Author. Harvard Kennedy School, 79 JFK St., Cambridge, MA 02138, desmond_ang@hks.harvard.edu

‡Stanford University, schinoy@stanford.edu

"Once I lead the people into war, they'll forget there ever was such a thing as tolerance."

– President Woodrow Wilson, 1917

1 Introduction

The past decade has witnessed a marked public resurgence of white nationalism and far-right extremism in American society. Many of the groups leading this revival, such as the Proud Boys and Oath Keepers, draw heavily on military culture and aesthetics, fueling discussion about the connection between military service and racist ideologies.[1] Looking back in history, white supremacist activity has tended to surge following major wars – from the founding of the Ku Klux Klan during Reconstruction and its rebirth after World War I to the emergence of the Aryan Nation after Vietnam. But despite these patterns, fundamental questions about the extent of veteran involvement in white supremacist groups and the role of military service in shaping that participation remain largely unanswered.

We address these questions by examining the rise of America's most infamous white supremacist organization: the Second Ku Klux Klan. Established in 1915 by a veteran of the Spanish-American War, the Klan enrolled millions of men throughout the country by the mid-1920s. Promoting a vision of "native, white, Protestant supremacy," it weaponized wartime appeals to "Americanism" against African Americans, Catholics, Jews, and other minority groups through intimidation, violence, and political action. The Klan's explosive growth and outsized influence in the aftermath of World War I have made it a subject of enduring historical fascination. Yet secrecy – from its white hoods to its closely guarded rosters – was foundational to the organization, complicating even descriptive efforts to understand who joined and why. As Belew (2018) observed more broadly, "military service records are not publicly available, nor are the membership rolls of each white power group. In their absence, one cannot make a quantitative study of the levels of veteran and active-duty military participation in the movement."

To fill this gap, we scour historical archives to assemble the largest known collection of KKK membership records, containing some 126,000 names of Klansmen across 30 states. Linking these

[1] For discussion of the links between military service, domestic terrorism, and right-wing extremism in the modern U.S., see, e.g., Belew (2018); Philipps (2019); Federal Bureau of Investigation (2008); U.S. Department of Homeland Security (2009); Hall, Hassell, and Fitch (2021); Jones et al. (2021); Barnes (1996).

individuals to millions of digitized military records and the full-count census, we document the composition of the KKK in unprecedented detail. Counter to longstanding characterizations of Klansmen as economically and socially disaffected citizens, we show that they were disproportionately well-to-do, with average occupational income scores in the 69th percentile of the national distribution. As married men of above-average height and fitness, they embodied the traditional ideals of family life and masculine respectability that the Klan's own rhetoric celebrated. And far from operating at the margins of civic life, the organization penetrated its very center: the occupations with the highest representation of Klan members included law enforcement, public administration, and medicine. Notably, veterans were also significantly over-represented in the Klan's ranks, appearing at roughly one-and-a-half times their population share.

Disentangling whether this pattern is driven by causation or selection, however, is far from straightforward. Men predisposed to nationalism or ethnic solidarity may have been more likely both to volunteer and to join the Klan, biasing naive estimates upwards. Alternatively, the draft exemption process could have filtered out the types of socially and economically established men the Klan most appealed to, biasing estimates in the opposite direction. To overcome these issues, we digitize registration cards for nearly 8 million white men and reconstruct the World War I draft lottery – a source of exogenous variation in military service that we also apply in Ang and Chinoy (2026), there to study participation in civil rights activism among a smaller group of Black registrants. We use the cards to recover each individual's randomly determined draft priority, which serves as an instrument for veteran status. Consistent with the lottery's integrity, the instrument is uncorrelated with all pre-war registrant characteristics but strongly predictive of subsequent military service.

Our findings reveal the military roots of white supremacist activity. Two-stage least squares (TSLS) estimates indicate that men randomly inducted into the National Army were twice as likely to join the KKK as observably similar men from the same draft board. While these effects are present across a broad range of registrants, heterogeneity analyses suggest larger increases among native-born, married, and professional men, consistent with the profile of a typical Klansman. The estimates are also robust to a range of specifications allowing for alternative functional forms, measurement choices, sample selections, and linking methodologies, corroborating the causal role

of military service in fueling the post-war growth of the Klan.

We find little evidence that these effects reflect a general propensity to join fraternal organizations. Linking the draft cards to archival records from the Freemasons, Knights of Pythias, and the Sons of the American Revolution, we find no significant effect of conscription on membership in other prominent groups lacking the Klan's explicitly white supremacist aims. In contrast to the substantial earnings gains for white G.I.s after the Second World War (Althoff and Szerman, 2026), conscripted men in World War I were afforded few veterans' benefits and show little evidence of socioeconomic improvement – weighing against economic changes as a mediating channel.

Our findings instead point to broader shifts in cultural and ideological orientation. We provide suggestive evidence that military service increased the likelihood of marrying a native-born spouse and of giving children distinctly American names, consistent with hardening nativist identity (Bazzi, Fiszbein, and Gebresilasse, 2020). Drawing on historical voter registration files from California, we also document that veterans experienced a significant post-war swing towards the local Republican Party, whose nativist Protestant appeals drew the endorsement of the state Klan apparatus. Together, these patterns suggest that ideology and identity – more than economic circumstances or general club participation – were key channels through which military service shaped Klan membership.

We next unpack the wartime experience itself, exploiting variation in soldiers' training camps, units, and roles to better understand which aspects of military service predict post-war Klan membership. At the camp level, we find that two defining features of the American military during World War I – its strict racial hierarchy and its YMCA-administered indoctrination campaign – were both linked to Klan participation. Soldiers assigned to camps that hosted Black officer candidates, whose commissions were openly opposed by many white Americans, were more likely to join the Klan. So too were soldiers trained at camps with higher concentrations of YMCA operatives promoting Americanization and moral discipline. Beyond training camps, unit-level variation points to a complementary pathway for ideological change. Veterans who served alongside more native-born men bearing more distinctly American names joined the Klan at elevated rates, consistent with nativist peer spillovers (Bazzi et al., 2023*b*). At the individual level, membership was highest among veterans who served in administrative, medical, and officer roles, mirroring the Klan's appeal to

men of elevated civic stature in civilian life.

Finally, we explore the role of veterans in expanding the reach of the the Second Ku Klux Klan. Digitizing pre-war home addresses from over 20 million draft registration cards – spanning all white men who ever registered during the war – we show that military service increased Klan participation not only among conscripted men but also among other men sharing the same address.[2] More diffuse spillovers exist as well. Aggregating the individual lottery variation to the street level (Borusyak and Hull, 2023), we document that neighborhoods with randomly higher conscription rates experienced greater overall Klan penetration – even among men not subject to the draft. Together, these patterns reveal how the war's influence spread beyond individual veterans to shape the geography of white supremacy in America.

Our findings contribute to several literatures across disciplines. First, we provide new insight into the composition of the most culturally significant hate group in American history. Existing studies have relied on samples from a handful of cities or states, leaving unresolved century-old debates about whether the Klan drew primarily from the margins or the mainstream of American society (e.g., Jackson, 1992; Fryer and Levitt, 2012; Bazzi et al., 2023*a*). Uncovering over 120,000 records of Klan members from across the country and linking them to historical data that illuminate their backgrounds, occupations, and networks, we bring new scale and geographic breadth to bear on these questions. Our findings reveal the Klan's capture of civic and economic elites at the height of Jim Crow, deepening our understanding of the relationship between institutional power, white supremacy, and entrenched racial inequality (Althoff and Reichardt, 2024; Beach et al., 2024).

Second, we contribute to the literature on the effects of military service on veterans' outcomes. While much of this work focuses on economic returns (Tan, 2020; Quincy, 2022; Ferrara and Fishback, 2024) and later conflicts (Angrist, 1990; Bound and Turner, 2002; Card and Lemieux, 2001; Bedard and Deschênes, 2006; Greenberg et al., 2022), far less is known about impacts on nativist attitudes and behaviors, and evidence from the World War I era remains relatively scarce, despite its outsized role in reshaping American culture and identity.[3] Leveraging novel draft lottery vari-

[2]Our main analysis focuses on individuals subject to the first draft registration on June 5, 1917, which covered men aged 21-31 and furnished nearly 95% of all conscripted soldiers. Subsequent registrations in the summer of 1918 expanded coverage to men aged 18–45 but contributed few additional inductees before armistice in November 1918.

[3]Closer to our focus on individual ideology and racial attitudes, Ang and Chinoy (2026) document that encounters with military discrimination during World War I catalyzed civil rights activism among Black veterans. Existing

ation and detailed records for the universe of white WWI draft registrants, we provide the first causal evidence that military service fueled white supremacist participation. By reconstructing individuals' pre-war networks, we also speak to a complementary body of work examining veterans' influence on society (Schindler and Westcott, 2021; Koenig, 2023). In contrast to evidence that postwar loyalty to charismatic war heroes facilitated Nazi collaboration in France (Cagé et al., 2023), our findings document the direct role of the military itself in radicalizing veterans and trace effects on the communities to which they returned. These results raise important questions about how state institutions influence citizens' values and the conditions under which patriotic instruction slides into exclusion (Ronconi and Ramos-Toro, 2025).[4]

Third, we contribute to understanding the microfoundations of racial prejudice and hate group participation (Glaeser, 2005; Voigtländer and Voth, 2012). While public discussion about white supremacy often focuses on the role of fringe societal elements – extremist online communities (Bursztyn et al., 2019) or hate media (Yanagizawa-Drott, 2014) – our results instead implicate core American institutions. Military service is among the most universal and intensive forms of government contact, conscripting millions of citizens across social and economic strata into an environment that is itself organized around hierarchies of race and nationality. Like exposure to the first American blockbuster (Ang, 2023) or populist radio broadcasts (Wang, 2021), we show that mass-scale institutional encounters can durably shape attitudes toward minority groups. Our findings suggest that analyzing white supremacy as an aberration of the margins may obscure as much as it reveals. When the institutions with the broadest reach share many of the same ideological hallmarks as the extremist movements that follow in their wake, the line between mainstream and fringe becomes far harder to draw.

The remainder of the paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 provides historical context on military service during World War I and the Second Ku Klux Klan. Section 3 describes our data sources and linking methodology. Section 4 characterizes the Klan using our linked data. Section 5 presents our empirical strategy for estimating the causal effects of military service, and Section 6 reports

evidence for white Americans is more mixed, with Bleemer (2025) finding no effect on Republican affiliation for Vietnam veterans and Green and Hyman-Metzger (2024) finding evidence of more liberal racial attitudes among the same group.

[4]Our work also connects to research in political science and sociology distinguishing patriotism from nationalism and studying their relationship to xenophobia (e.g., Stewart, 1917; Orwell, 1945; Druckman, 1994; Viroli, 1995; de Figueiredo Jr. and Elkins, 2003).

results on Klan participation and other outcomes. Section 7 explores the specific aspects of military service most associated with Klan membership. Section 8 examines spillover effects on households and neighborhoods, and Section 9 concludes.

2 Historical Background

2.1 The Great War

On April 6, 1917, the United States declared war on Germany. With standing military forces of just 300,000, Congress passed the Selective Service Act of May 1917, authorizing a national draft that would conscript close to three million men, nearly 60% of all those who served in uniform.

Draft mobilization was accompanied by a coordinated ideological campaign. The Committee on Public Information deployed some 75,000 volunteer speakers across the country to build public support for the war under the banner of "Americanism" and "100 percent American" loyalty (Creel, 1920). This campaign was extended into the military primarily through the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), which received $100 million to build "huts" and organize camp activities, including social, educational, religious, and athletic programming (Bristow, 1997).[5] Many of these activities were explicitly framed as tools of national formation, designed to produce, in official rhetoric, "a sober soldier, a clean soldier, a contented soldier," whose moral and physical character was inseparable from his American identity.[6]

This rhetoric of shared American identity nonetheless coexisted with a sharply segregated military. White officials and politicians viewed Black soldiers with deep suspicion, fearing that military service would embolden demands for racial equality and foment insurrection. These anxieties shaped every aspect of military life. African American soldiers were assigned to segregated units and facilities and given limited access to firearms or formal training (Barbeau and Henri, 1996).

[5] In total, the War Department allocated $170.5 million "to carry on the work of upbuilding and sustaining the morale of our fighting forces" across seven civilian organizations: $100 million to the YMCA, $15 million to the Young Women's Christian Association, $30 million to the Knights of Columbus, $3.5 million to the Jewish Welfare Board, $15 million to the War Camp Community Service, $3.5 million to the American Library Association, and $3.5 million to the Salvation Army (United War Work Campaign, Inc., 1918).

[6] One notable example of the military's efforts to instill Protestant moral norms was *Fit to Fight*, the first film ever produced by the U.S. government. Screened to millions of men in training camps across the country, the movie depicted a group of soldiers navigating the temptations of alcohol and prostitution. While his peers are felled by syphilis and gonorrhea, Billy Hale, who opts not to "go with a dirty slut," returns from war a hero and marries his hometown sweetheart (Brandt, 1985).

Instead, they were disproportionately relegated to menial labor, while officer positions in Black units became, in the words of one military investigator, "a dumping ground for unfit white men" (Loving, 1918).

When the war ended in November 1918, the ideological currents it had set in motion did not dissipate. The return of veterans from abroad triggered a period of heightened racial violence and polarization, marked by the Red Summer of 1919. Wartime messaging around "social hygiene" and "Americanism" carried into a broader wave of moralistic and nativist politics, expressed nationally through Prohibition and immigration restriction, and locally through Americanization drives and anti-vice campaigns (Kennedy, 2004; Higham, 2002). It was against this backdrop that the Ku Klux Klan emerged as a potent force.

2.2 The Second Ku Klux Klan

Founded six months after the premiere of the blockbuster 1915 film *The Birth of a Nation*, the Second Ku Klux Klan borrowed heavily from the movie's fictional portrayal of the original Reconstruction-era Klan. The film – a "red-blooded tale of true American spirit" – follows a Confederate Civil War veteran as he dons the white robe, lynches a Black freedman, and rescues chaste young women. Seen by nearly one-fifth of the American population, these cinematic myths would come to define the iconography, rhetoric, and practices of the reborn KKK (Ang, 2023).

After a slow start, the end of the war and the creation of the Klan's Propagation Department sparked the group's transformation into "the most powerful social movement of the 1920s and probably the most significant crusade of the American right-wing" (Goldberg, 1980). In a multi-level marketing scheme propelled by external recruiters, the Klan, in the words of Imperial Wizard Hiram Wesley Evans, "began to sell hate at $10 a package" (Evans, 1926).[7] Operating "chiefly on the possibility of inflaming prejudices," the group expanded its list of targets beyond the Black freedmen and white sympathizers demonized in *The Birth of a Nation* to include Catholics, Jews, and immigrants. By the mid-1920s, an estimated 1.5 to 4 million men had joined the Klan (Jackson, 1992). As shown in Figure I, Klan membership was not confined to the South – members were drawn from nearly every state, with particular strongholds in the Midwest and West.

[7]Specifically, new members faced a $10 initiation fee, $6.50 robe fee, and $5 annual fee (Fryer and Levitt, 2012).

[Figure I about here.]

Klan chapters ("Klaverns") combined fraternal rituals and gatherings with racial violence and public intimidation. While no comprehensive database exists, scholars have documented the Klan's involvement in hundreds of whippings and dozens of lynchings and murders across the country (Peterson, 2004; Waldrep, 2000; Barnes, 1996; Alexander, 1965).[8] At the same time, the Klan sought "power of control" through formal political institutions. Functioning as a party-within-parties in the dominant political regime (i.e., Democrats in the South, Republicans in the Midwest and West), the Klan leveraged endorsements, bloc voting, and control of local offices to translate its brand of white Protestant nationalism into concrete policy.[9]

Though its influence waned significantly after D. C. Stephenson, the Grand Dragon of the Indiana Klan, was convicted of raping and murdering his secretary in 1925, the Second KKK was not officially dissolved until 1944. Even then, many Klaverns continued to operate independently, and a third iteration of the Klan re-emerged in the 1950s to oppose the Civil Rights Movement. Related groups still operate today, bearing the same white regalia and ethnonationalist objectives as their predecessor.

2.3 "Pure Americanism"

The KKK's post-war appeal was not defined by racial hatred alone, but wrapped in ideals of patriotism, moral traditionalism, and civic order. Advocating for abstinence, Prohibition, and "law and order," the Imperial Wizard proclaimed the Klan's mission "to make America American," calling on members "to see that both law and officers are as good as possible" (Evans, 1926). But beneath this patriotic language, the initiation oath made clear what "American" really meant: membership was restricted to native-born, white Protestants willing to swear to "faithfully strive for the eternal maintenance of white supremacy" (Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1920).

[8] In many cases, violence was used in direct service of political goals. For example, in Rosedale, Kansas, Klan members abducted the city mayor from his home, drove him to the countryside and whipped him for failing to enforce Prohibition and "moral standards" (Rives, 2019).

[9] In Indiana, for example, Klan organizers effectively captured the Republican Party, helping to elect Governor Edward Jackson and a sympathetic state legislature; Klan-backed officials then steered patronage, law enforcement, and school policy in line with the order's racial and religious agenda (Moore, 1997; Gordon, 2017). In Colorado and the Pacific Northwest, Klan slates won mayoralties, sheriff's offices, and school board positions, while in Oregon, Klan activists successfully pushed the 1922 Compulsory Education Act, aimed at shutting down Catholic schools (Goldberg, 1981; Mandel, 2012).

This ideological package bore a close resemblance to the language and symbolism of the wartime state. Figure II illustrates the overlap concretely: "100% American," deployed by the government to sell Liberty Loans, became "Pure Americanism" in Klan recruitment materials; Wilson's "America First" reappeared on KKK parade banners;[10] and Uncle Sam was recruited into Klan imagery nearly unchanged.

[Figure II about here.]

The parallels extend beyond a handful of examples. Comparing the text of recruitment and educational materials produced by the Committee on Public Information and the Commission on Training Camp Activities with the Klan's official magazine, handbook, and constitution, we find that military and Klan documents converged in their use of themes like Americanism, discipline, morality, and education (Figure IId). Indeed, the military corpus is far more similar to the Klan's than to the general-interest publication *Collier's*, suggesting the thematic overlap was not simply a reflection of the era's broader discourse.

This similarity was likely not coincidental: one prominent member of the government's Committee on Public Information would go on to edit the Klan's Oregon newspaper (Gordon, 2017). Regardless of the exact pathway, the historical record makes clear how the machinery of wartime nationalism – slogans, imagery, and moral appeals – was redeployed on a different front. As one contemporary observer wrote, the Klan was "the concretion, sublimate, and gratification of the passions in play since the coming of the Great War" (Kallen, 1924).

3 Data and Linking

Examining the composition of the Ku Klux Klan and the role of military veterans therein requires digitizing and linking millions of historical records across multiple collections. In this section, we describe our primary data sources and outline how we link Klan rosters, military records, and the full-count census.

[10] David Duke, former Grand Wizard of the KKK, claimed while running for senator in 2016 that he was "the first major candidate in modern times to promote the term and policy of America first," adding that he was "overjoyed" to see then-candidate Donald Trump embrace the term.

3.1 Data Sources

Klan Rosters

To identify members of the Ku Klux Klan, we scoured libraries and historical archives for records related to the Second KKK, then contacted institutions to identify documents containing names of Klan members. This information came in various forms, including membership dues ledgers, robe requisition forms, and leaked rosters uncovered by government prosecutors and Klan infiltrators.[11] All relevant documents were digitized and sent to a third-party data entry firm to extract member information. In total, we captured more than 126,000 names of Klan members across 30 states, including Klan strongholds of Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Colorado. For each member, records typically include full name, residence and Klavern location, and officer rank (where applicable). Figure I displays a map of the data's geographic coverage. While our membership lists are by no means exhaustive and reflect the survival and discovery of historical records that were deliberately kept secret, we find little evidence that they are systematically selected or unrepresentative. Comparing our rosters against the universe of known Klan chapter locations from Kneebone and Torres (2015), we show that data coverage is uncorrelated both with county-level demographics and with the individual-level characteristics of members we link to the census (Appendix Figure A.II). To our knowledge, this is the largest and broadest collection of Second Klan membership ever compiled.

Military Records

Draft Registration Cards: We obtained draft cards for the roughly 9 million white men who registered during the first World War I draft registration. This registration included all men aged 21 to 31 as of June 5, 1917 and furnished over 90% of all men conscripted during the war. Card images are held by the National Archives and Records Administration, and an example is shown in Appendix Figure A.I. Each card includes the registrant's name, draft board, home address, birth date, birth state, occupation, marital status, prior military service, and exemption claim. Crucially, we also collected each registrant's serial or "red ink" number, which was generally stamped on the top left

[11] Leaked rosters were generally published in their entirety – with newspapers and prosecutors releasing full membership lists rather than selective excerpts – so there is little risk of differential exposure within a given chapter or locale. Nonetheless, in the Appendix, we demonstrate robustness of our main results to excluding leaked rosters from our Klan data. In related work, MacDonald (2025) studies the effect of these revelations on Klansmen's outcomes.

of the card, using a deep learning model that we fine-tuned using hand-labeled data (see Appendix B.1.1 for details). As we describe in Section 5.2, this number was used to determine an individual's order of liability and allows us to leverage the random variation from the draft lottery.

Service Records: Because the draft cards do not indicate whether a registrant ultimately entered the military, we rely on a variety of other records to determine whether an individual served and in what capacity. These include the Veterans Administration Master Index (VAMI), passenger lists from the U.S. Army Transport Service (ATS), and the 1930 census. VAMI contains names, birth dates, residences, and service information for roughly 4 million veterans who served between 1917 and 1920 and claimed benefits from the Veterans Administration. ATS lists contain the name and home address of soldiers who departed to or returned from Europe during World War I. The 1930 full-count census includes a name, birth year, birth state, and self-reported veteran status for the full population, though the latter is significantly under-reported. Finally, because some individuals who served domestically in the National Guard are not captured in VAMI or ATS, we also digitize a variety of state military records.

3.2 Linking Strategy

Our main analysis sample is the set of 7.4 million draft registration cards from the first registration, limited to white men for whom we observe a legible serial number and can infer the individual's position in the draft lottery. Since our primary analysis relies on observing whether these individuals served in the military and whether they later joined the KKK, we link these cards to sources of veteran information and to our KKK database. Figure III summarizes our linking strategy.

[Figure III about here.]

First, to identify whether a draft registrant ultimately served in the military, we link the cards to each of the VAMI, ATS lists, 1930 census, and state National Guard rosters. We use a supervised, probabilistic linking strategy similar to the approach in Feigenbaum (2016) and Buckles et al. (2025), training an algorithm with example links generated using the consensus decision among three LLMs. Further details are in Appendix B, where we also provide the linking rate for each dataset for our baseline algorithm as well as for more and less conservative variants, which we use in robustness checks. Across the linked datasets, we identify 2.3 million veterans among the 7.4

million registrants in our analysis sample (31%), consistent with the 33% rate documented in the historical record.[12]

To link KKK rosters to draft registrants, we use the same algorithm, attempting to link each individual in the KKK rosters to the draft cards by name, address, and location. Because people may move over time, we also link the KKK records directly to the 1920 and 1930 full-count censuses and link those individuals backward to the 1917 draft cards.[13] We successfully link 11.3% of entries in the KKK rosters to 14,163 unique draft cards, either directly or through the census. As the cards contain only men born between 1886 and 1896, we also use the larger sample of KKK rosters linked directly to the full-count census in our descriptive summary of the Klan. We successfully link 44.1% of entries to 46,196 individuals in the 1930 census.

4 Who Were the Ku Klux Klan?

Despite the Klan's outsize presence in the American imagination, fundamental questions about its composition have remained unanswered for over a century. Some contemporaneous observers situated the organization firmly in the American mainstream, describing its members as "good, solid middle-class citizens" (Frost, 1924) and "in many instances the best citizens of the community" (Mecklin, 1924), a characterization echoed by subsequent historical scholarship (Moore, 1997; Blee, 2009; Baker, 2011; Gordon, 2017). Others have argued the reverse: that the Klan was a refuge for the economically marginalized, a "movement of the less educated and less privileged strata" (Lipset and Raab, 1970) whose "greatest source of support came from rank and file nonunion, blue-collar employees" (Jackson, 1992). Recent empirical work paints a similarly murky picture. Examining approximately 4,000 Klansmen linked to the 1920 or 1930 census across two states and four cities, Fryer and Levitt (2012) find little clear relationship between occupation type and KKK membership, with positive selection into the Klan in some areas and negative selection in others.

[12]To arrive at 33%, we take the total number of men in VAMI with birth dates in the first draft registration window who were discharged between 1918 and 1919 (3.3 million), subtract the 367,000 Black veterans (who were not allowed to volunteer), and divide by 8.9 million white men in the first registration.

[13]We use the 1920-1930 Census Tree inter-censal links (Buckles et al., 2025) to create indirect links. For example, we may link a draft card to the 1920 census and a KKK entry to the 1930 census and use the inter-censal links to connect the card to the KKK member.

The unprecedented scale of our Klan rosters sheds new light on this debate. Our linked data – which include over 120,000 names and roughly 80,000 census matches – represent a nearly twenty-fold increase in sample size over prior work and provide detailed insight into the identities of Klan members across the nation.[14] What emerges is a picture starkly at odds with narratives of economic marginalization: the Klan was disproportionately a movement of the privileged and powerful.

4.1 Demographic Profile

The draft card data offer a ground-level portrait of Klan members at the moment of registration, years before they would join the organization. As shown in Panel (a) of Table I, nearly all Klansmen were native-born U.S. citizens.[15] This is consistent with the group's stated membership requirements, though not something we enforced in our linking procedure. Using the name-based measure of cultural assimilation developed by Abramitzky, Boustan, and Eriksson (2020), we find that Klansmen have more distinctively American names.[16] Despite similar age profiles, they were also far more likely to be married: 58% of Klan members compared to 47% of white registrants nationally. This pattern reflects both the Klan's celebration of traditional family structures and its character as a fraternal organization that appealed to established men.

[Table I about here.]

Unique among large-scale historical datasets, the cards also recorded physical characteristics, allowing us to sketch, perhaps for the first time, a portrait of the man beneath the robe. Klansmen were not particularly shrimply or portly. Rather, members were more likely to be tall and slender, with blue eyes and lighter hair, than other registrants. These features bear notable resemblance to "Aryan" archetypes valorized by many white supremacist groups and to Western ideals of masculine beauty more generally.

[14] Our data include the six sources examined by Fryer and Levitt (2012) – except Harlowtown, Montana (pending due to renovations at the Montana Historical Society) – plus records from 23 others.

[15] Appendix Table A.III restricts the comparison sample to those with unique names to address concerns that those with distinctive names may be easier to link to KKK records.

[16] Specifically, the index is equivalent to 100 minus Abramitzky, Boustan, and Eriksson (2020)'s F-index, and is defined as $100 \times \frac{\frac{\#\text{native}_{\text{name}}}{\#\text{native}}}{\frac{\#\text{native}_{\text{name}}}{\#\text{native}} + \frac{\#\text{foreign}_{\text{name}}}{\#\text{foreign}}}$ where $\#\text{native}_{\text{name}}$ is the number of native-born (foreign-born) individuals with a given name and #native is the total number of native-born individuals (likewise for $\#\text{foreign}_{\text{name}}$ and #foreign). Name counts are from the 1920 full-count census and refer to individuals born between 1900 and 1915. Appendix Figure A.IV shows the distribution of this index for Klan and non-Klan white male citizens.

4.2 Socioeconomic Status

Turning to the 1930 full-count census, Panel (b) of Table I compares the socioeconomic status of KKK members to other white male adults. Along multiple dimensions, we find that Klansmen were substantially more affluent than the typical American. They were more likely to be literate and employed and worked in occupations with average income scores about 25% above the population mean. The full income distribution tells an even starker story: relative to white men nationally, Klan members were heavily underrepresented at the bottom and overrepresented between the 75th and 99th percentiles (Appendix Figure A.III). These patterns hold whether we compare to white men nationally or restrict to those living in Klan counties.

4.3 Civic Authority

The Klan's affluence was not merely an aggregation of individual economic success – it reflected systematic concentration within local institutions of power. Figure IV plots Klan membership rates by census occupations. The occupation category with the highest Klan membership share is "sheriffs and bailiffs," where at least seven out of every thousand workers belonged to the KKK, more than three and a half times the sample average. Policemen, detectives, marshals, and constables also joined at elevated rates, as did medical professionals like dentists, physicians and chiropractors.[17] The Klan's reach extended far into the public sphere, with significant participation across nearly all public administration occupations – from postmasters and mail carriers to firemen, inspectors, and government officials. Appendix Figure A.V finds similar patterns when including individual-level controls, suggesting that these patterns are not simply explained by other geographic, demographic, or socioeconomic differences between Klan members and non-members. Far from operating at society's margins, the Klan embedded itself at the center of civic life – among those who enforced the law, treated the sick, and governed local communities.

[Figure IV about here.]

Moreover, this was not simply confined to rank-and-file bureaucrats. Using raw occupation strings from the census, we identify 74 police chiefs and sheriffs, 37 judges, and 5 city mayors among the

[17] Others have also noted the "symbiotic relationship that developed between the organization and the medical profession by the 1920s" (Antonovich, 2021).

Klan members – almost certainly an undercount, given the incomplete nature of our membership records. The organization's reach into the civic elite extended further still: Appendix Table A.I provides abbreviated biographies of notable individuals whom we identify as KKK members, focusing on those not previously discussed in the historical record. The list includes a state supreme court chief justice, a sitting governor, a secretary of state, a U.S. congressman, and prominent figures in business, medicine, and law. Among them, Harry L. S. Halley was a Bronze Star recipient during World War I who later became chief justice of the Oklahoma Supreme Court and ruled in cases that upheld racially restrictive housing covenants and Oklahoma's framework for financing segregated public schools after *Brown v. Board of Education*. Walter Pierce was a committed eugenicist who became the governor of Oregon and signed laws authorizing the sterilization of institutionalized individuals and preventing Asian immigrants from owning or leasing land.

These findings corroborate the Klan's explicit strategy of institutional capture. As Imperial Wizard Evans declared:"most of the active work of the Klan, outside our own ranks, should be in public affairs. By no other means can most of our demands be accomplished"(Evans, 1926).

4.4 Veteran Presence

Finally, we turn to veterans, a group whose visible presence in white supremacist movements has been a persistent concern through American history (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2008). As shown in Table I, Klan members were roughly 50% more likely to have served in World War I than comparable white men from the 1930 census, a gap that persists when restricting the comparison to men living in counties with active Klan chapters. Focusing on draft registrants and disaggregating by military branch, Figure V shows that men who served in the National Army (who were predominantly conscripted) and men who served other military branches (who were predominantly enlisted) were both more likely to join the Klan.[18]

[Figure V about here.]

Appendix Figure A.VI further explores the role of former service members across the organizational chart of a typical Klavern. While veteran shares are highest among rank-and-file "citizens," former

[18]The National Army was created under the Selective Service Act of 1917 to absorb the roughly 3 million men inducted through the draft. The remaining branches – the Regular Army, National Guard, and Navy (each ∼500,000 strong) – drew more heavily on volunteers and pre-war enlistees.

military were present throughout the organizational hierarchy – from security roles ("Klarogos" and "Klexters") to recruiters ("Kleagles") and executive leadership ("Exalted Cyclops").[19] Overall, the descriptive evidence paints a consistent picture of the significant presence of veterans in the Ku Klux Klan.

5 Empirical Strategy

We now study the causal effect of military service on veteran participation in the Klan by leveraging random variation from the draft lottery.

5.1 Estimating Equation

Our primary relationship of interest is represented by the following equation:

$$\text{KKK}_i = \lambda_b + \beta \, \text{Veteran}_i + X_i' \Gamma + u_i \tag{1}$$

where KKK_i is an indicator for whether individual i was a Klan member, Veteran_i is an indicator for whether he served in World War I, λ_b are draft board fixed effects, and X_i is a vector of prewar registrant characteristics.

OLS estimates of β could be biased by the endogeneity of military service, and the direction of this bias is *ex ante* ambiguous. Men who voluntarily enlisted in the military may have done so out of an abundance of civic-mindedness, patriotism, or xenophobia. Alternatively, they may have enlisted for exactly the opposite reasons, in order to dodge less favorable assignments under conscription. The draft exemption process could also have produced unobservable differences correlated with future KKK participation. Therefore, to account for potential endogeneity, we instrument for veteran status using the WWI draft lottery.

[19] In Pennsylvania, where rosters allow us to identify the specific Kleagle responsible for a new recruit, we find that veteran and non-veteran recruiters brought in similar numbers of new members, on average, as well as similar shares of veterans among their recruits.

5.2 Draft Lottery Instrument

The World War I draft operated via randomization of serial numbers.[20] Each registrant was assigned a unique serial number within his draft board, ranging from 1 to N, the total number of registrants at his board. In the national lottery, held six weeks after registration, paper slips containing the universe of serial numbers were drawn one by one. An individual's induction priority was determined by the order in which his serial number was drawn *relative* to the other serial numbers distributed at his draft board. This "order number" governed the sequence in which eligible men were called to service. Because boards differed in size, the same serial number could imply different order numbers across boards.[21]

After the lottery, the boards classified the registrants based on physical examinations and exemption status. Exemptions were concentrated among men with dependents and those in occupations deemed essential to the "maintenance of the Military Establishment," although local boards retained substantial discretion. Physically fit men without exemptions (Class I) were then inducted in ascending order number until the board's quota was met.

Our draft lottery instrument reconstructs each registrant's order number using three inputs: his serial number, the size of his board, and the national drawing sequence. Because the range of possible order numbers depends on board size, we scale the order number by dividing by N, yielding a within-board measure uniformly distributed between 0 and 1, with lower values corresponding to earlier draws. The instrument therefore exploits random variation in draw order among men registered at the *same* board. Exemptions and voluntary enlistments may attenuate its predictive power, but do not compromise its validity.

5.3 Instrument Validity

Using our instrument, we predict veteran status by estimating:

[20] We introduce the draft lottery instrument in Ang and Chinoy (2026), but apply it only to Black registrants. This section largely reproduces the exposition of the draft lottery in that paper.

[21] For example, the first four numbers drawn were 258, 2522, 9613, and 4532. In a board with $N \geq 9613$, the first three order numbers would correspond to serial numbers 258, 2522, and 9613. In a board with $9613 > N \geq 4532$, they would instead correspond to serial numbers 258, 2522, and 4532.

$$\text{Veteran}_i = \delta_b + \gamma \text{Order}_i + X_i'\Lambda + v_i. \tag{2}$$

Here, Order_i is the order number inferred from registrant i's serial number, scaled by the size of his board. Board fixed effects effectively limit comparisons to men from the same draft board with different order numbers. Standard errors are clustered by serial number, the unit at which the lottery was randomized.

[Figure VI about here.]

Panel (a) of Figure VI demonstrates the strong relationship between Order_i and future veteran status. The later an individual's position in the draft lottery, the lower his likelihood of being inducted. The large numbers of draft exemptions and voluntary enlistments explain why $P(\text{Veteran}_i)$ does not converge to 1 for low order numbers and 0 for high order numbers. Imperfect linking and transcription errors also introduce noise in our measures of veteran status and order number, further attenuating the observed relationship.

Panel (b) of Figure VI validates the instrument's exogeneity to prewar registrant characteristics. In all cases, coefficients are below 0.01 standard deviations in magnitude and statistically insignificant. Order number is likewise uncorrelated with whether a draft card is successfully matched to the historical censuses, confirming that the linking process – through which our veteran status measure is constructed – does not mechanically bias the observed first-stage relationship. These patterns corroborate the random assignment of order numbers in the World War I draft lottery.

6 Main Results

In this section, we present results from our IV strategy of the effect of military service on our main outcome – KKK membership – as well as on participation in other clubs, socioeconomic outcomes, and measures of cultural attitudes.

6.1 Effects on Klan Membership

Table II examines effects on Klan membership. Instrumenting for veteran status using random variation from the draft lottery, we find that military service was a significant catalyst for white supremacist activity. The point estimate of 0.3 percentage points implies at least three additional Klan members per thousand drafted men (not accounting for undercoverge in our membership data) and exceeds the baseline membership rate among non-veterans of 0.18%. This estimate is significant at the 1% level and highly robust: it is virtually unchanged across specifications controlling for birth year, marital status, exemption claims, prior military service, and prewar occupation. In Appendix Table A.IV, we restrict the sample to counties with progressively more KKK members, and we continue to find positive and significant effects – in all cases equal to or exceeding the non-veteran base rate – suggesting our results are not an artifact of incomplete coverage.

[Table II about here.]

Across models, IV estimates are larger than corresponding OLS coefficients, a gap which could arise for several reasons. First, OLS may suffer from significant omitted variables bias of ambiguous direction and magnitude. Indeed, excluding marital status – which is positively correlated with Klan membership and negatively correlated with military service – shrinks the OLS estimate by over 70% (i.e., comparing Columns 1 and 2 of Table II). Second, the instrument identifies a local average treatment effect among marginal men whose service decisions were altered by their draft order, who may have experienced larger ruptures from their civilian lives than voluntary enlistees. Consistent with draft exemption protocols, Appendix Table A.XI shows that compliers were, on average, younger, more likely to be U.S.-born, less likely to be married, and less likely to have claimed an exemption than the full sample. Third, any measurement error in veteran status would inflate IV and deflate OLS estimates by an amount proportional to the error rate (Pischke, 2007). Taking Bailey et al.'s (2020) estimated linking error rate and assuming all errors produce misclassifications, imperfect linking alone would explain over half of the IV-OLS gap.[22] Nonetheless, following Dupraz and Ferrara (2025), bounding the true effect by the adjusted OLS and IV estimates would still imply a 0.1 to 0.2 percentage point increase in KKK membership probability – a 50 to 100% increase over

[22]Examining 17 prominent automated intercensal linking algorithms, Bailey et al. (2020) find an average Type I error (false positive) rate of 35%. Adjusting our main estimates from Column 2 of Table II by that factor yields $\beta_{\text{IV}} = 0.0029 \times (1 - 0.35) = 0.0019$ and $\beta_{\text{OLS}} = 0.00070/(1 - 0.35) = 0.0011$.

the control group mean.

[Figure VII about here.]

Figure VII examines how the effect of military service on Klan membership varies by registrant characteristics. While military service increases Klan membership broadly across sub-groups, estimates are systematically larger among individuals who most closely resemble the typical profile of Klansmen. Native-born and married men, those with more distinctively American first names, and those employed outside farming and manual labor experience large increases in Klan membership following conscription, while estimates are far smaller among foreign-born, lower-SES, and single men. Taken together with our main results, these patterns establish military service as a meaningful driver of postwar Klan membership and suggest that it may have amplified underlying differences in Klan propensity during an era of nativist mobilization and moral respectability.

6.1.1 Robustness

Our baseline estimates are robust to a range of alternative specifications, including measurement choices, first-stage functional forms, record linkage, and sample selection. We address each below.

Measures of veteran status: Appendix Table A.V demonstrates robustness to alternative definitions of veteran status. Given significant under-reporting of veteran status in the 1930 census, our preferred measure takes the union of the census measure and contemporaneous military records. However, we continue to find significant positive effects on KKK membership using the census measure alone, the contemporaneous measures alone, or the intersection of both. Note, though, that the wedge between the IV and OLS estimates grows as we adopt more restrictive measures of veteran status, as increased under-reporting artificially flattens the first-stage relationship.

First-stage estimation: Appendix Table A.VI demonstrates robustness to alternative first-stage estimation strategies allowing for nonlinearities and for interactions with exemption criteria. First, we estimate a piecewise linear model by subtracting the number of men inducted at a draft board from order number and allowing the first-stage slope to vary on either side of zero (see Appendix Figure A.VIII for a visual representation of this functional form). Second, we estimate a single cubic

polynomial in order number. Third, we regress veteran status on deciles of scaled order number. Fourth, we allow the first-stage slope to vary based on marital status and exemption claim. The more flexible models produce larger first-stage partial R^2 statistics and smaller OLS-IV wedges. However, results remain positive and significant in all cases.

Linking strategies: Appendix Table A.VII demonstrates robustness to different linking strategies. Our probabilistic linking algorithm returns a predicted link probability for each candidate pair, allowing us to choose a threshold above which we determine that a pair is a true link. By changing this threshold, we can construct "stricter" and "looser" variants of each linked dataset. We can also vary whether we allow indirect (1920 to 1930) census links via the Census Tree.[23] We find that the main effect is similar under all permutations of these alternatives, which yield between 11,495 and 16,307 linked KKK members and veteran shares between 0.306 and 0.319.

Sample: Appendix Table A.VIII demonstrates robustness to dropping all observations from each state, including Klan strongholds like Colorado, Indiana, and Oregon. Appendix Table A.IX shows consistent estimates when excluding leaked membership rosters from our KKK outcome, when restricting the sample to draft cards that we successfully link to the 1930 census, and when restricting to registrants with unique names within county (i.e., those who are easier to link). Finally, Appendix Table A.X finds similar results when we drop cards with lower OCR confidence scores for serial numbers.

6.2 Effects on Membership in Other Clubs

The Ku Klux Klan is often regarded as the last major group to be established during the Golden Age of Fraternalism (Moore and Tabbert, 2011; Blee and McDowell, 2013) – raising questions about whether military service increased membership in fraternal organizations more broadly.[24] To examine this, we searched historical archives for membership rosters of other prominent groups of the era, identifying records from the Freemasons (∼96,000 records from Massachusetts); the Knights of Pythias, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and the Ancient Order of United Workmen (∼54,000 records from Kansas); and the Sons of the American Revolution (∼33,000 records nationwide). We

[23] Our baseline analysis sample uses linking thresholds that roughly equalize the rates of false positives for the KKK-cards and KKK-census links, and allows for indirect census links.

[24] Skocpol et al. (2018) argue that WWI and the Civil War spurred membership in voluntary associations of many kinds, but do not estimate the causal effects of military service on joining these organizations.

link these rosters to the draft cards using the same procedure described in Section 3 (linking rates are shown in Appendix B). We also examine three proxies of club membership derived from the full-count census: individuals with occupations coded as "officials of lodge, society, union, etc.," industry coded as "nonprofit membership organizations," and residence coded as "club" or "YMCA."

[Figure VIII about here.]

Panel (a) of Figure VIII presents TSLS estimates for each of these measures of club affiliation. We find little evidence that military service induced men to participate in other fraternal orders. Though many of these organizations restricted membership to white Protestant men, the Klan went further, translating racial and religious exclusion into an explicit ideological program and pursuing its enforcement through electoral politics and vigilante violence (Pegram, 2011; Cash, 1941). In this light, the patterns above suggest that veterans' elevated KKK participation reflects something specific to the Klan's ideological character, rather than a general taste for fraternal association.

6.3 Effects on Socioeconomic Status

Economic circumstances offer another potential channel linking military service to Klan membership. Improved outcomes might have afforded veterans disposable income for fees and robes, given them more stake in the existing social hierarchy, or made them more appealing candidates for KKK recruiters. Alternatively, worse outcomes might have led them to seek scapegoats for their misfortune in the groups the KKK targeted.

Panel (b) of Figure VIII displays TSLS estimates on measures of socioeconomic status from the 1930 census. We find no detectable effects of military service on occupational income, home ownership and value, literacy, or unemployment.[25] These results corroborate existing evidence of the limited economic benefits of military service during the pre-G.I. Bill era (Tan, 2020; Ang and Chinoy, 2026).[26] The null effects suggest that changes in socioeconomic status are unlikely to explain

[25]Figure A.IX presents TSLS estimates for employment in each of the 50 largest census occupations.

[26]Quincy (2022) finds positive effects of the World War I Veterans' Bonus on recipients' home values in the 1940 census, but the bonus was disbursed in 1936, after the decline of the Second KKK and after we measure these outcomes.

veterans' increased Klan participation.

6.4 Effects on Individual Ideology

To better understand whether military service shaped broader changes in veteran ideology and culture beyond Klan membership, we examine effects on spousal choice, child naming patterns, and party affiliation.

Spousal Choice and Child Naming

Previous studies (e.g., Fouka, 2022) have used the decision of an immigrant to marry a native-born spouse as a measure of cultural assimilation; indeed, Ha (2024) finds that immigrants to the U.S. who were more exposed to nationalist propaganda during WWI were more likely to marry native-born spouses. Here, we focus on men who were unmarried at the time of registration and married by 1930, and examine the nativity and language of their spouse as recorded in the 1930 census. TSLS estimates are shown in Panel (c) of Figure VIII and indicate that military service made individuals more likely to marry native-born women who spoke English.[27]

Next, we examine the names of registrants' children as a proxy of family cultural attitudes (e.g., Bazzi, Fiszbein, and Gebresilasse, 2020). Given the Klan's "twin messages of nation and faith" (Baker, 2011), we identify registrants' children in the 1930 census and estimate the effects of military service on measures of how native and how Protestant their first names were, restricting to children born after the war.[28] As shown at the bottom of Panel (c) of Figure VIII, we find suggestive evidence that military service led veterans to give more native- and Protestant-associated names to their children, though the estimates are noisy.

Party Affiliation

To explore political ideology, we turn to California voter registration lists, which have the important distinction of recording party affiliation alongside voter names and addresses. We link statewide

[27] As a placebo test, Appendix Table A.XIV finds null effects on spousal choice for men who were already married at the time of registration.

[28] The native name index is constructed from the 1920 census per Abramitzky, Boustan, and Eriksson (2020). The name Protestant index is constructed analogously from the 1911 Canadian census, which recorded religious affiliation. The two naming measures have a correlation of 0.45 in the analysis sample of children.

lists from 1910 to 1930 to the census and draft cards using the procedures described in Section 3. Because the voter files only contain registered voters and not the full voting-eligible population in California, we cannot distinguish draft registrants who did not register from those we fail to match. Our analysis therefore examines party affiliation conditional on registration. Exploiting the panel nature of the data, we estimate the following event study model:

$$\text{Republican}_{it} = \lambda_i + \delta_t + \sum_{t \neq 1916} \beta_t \text{Veteran}_i \times \text{Year}_t + v_{it}. \tag{3}$$

Republican_{it} is an indicator set to 1 if registrant i is registered as Republican in election year t, and λ_i and δ_t are individual and election fixed effects, respectively. The coefficients of interest, β_t, are on interactions between election year indicators and an indicator for whether an individual served in World War I. Standard errors are clustered by individual.

[Figure IX about here.]

Results are shown in Figure IX. Pre-war trends in party affiliation evolve in parallel for men who would and would not serve, supporting the identifying assumption. Following the war, veterans shift significantly toward Republican affiliation, by around 1 to 2 percentage points. The effect emerges sharply after 1916 and is largest in the immediate postwar elections before attenuating in the late 1920s.[29]

During this era, the California Republican Party drew heavily from native-born Protestant voters hostile to Catholic and immigrant communities, and the Klan publicly endorsed it on nativist grounds (Cocoltchos, 1979).[30] However, the timing of the partisan shifts – predating the Klan's mid-1920s peak – suggests they are not a downstream consequence of Klan participation itself. Together with the family choice results, these patterns point to broader ideological changes consistent with the beliefs and objectives of the KKK.

[29] Appendix Figure A.X demonstrates similar patterns using an instrumented event study model leveraging the draft lottery.

[30] Among California voters, Klan members were about 5 p.p. more likely to register as Republican than non-members in the same county and election year (Appendix Table A.XVI).

7 Unpacking the Military Experience

Military service during World War I was a bundled and multidimensional experience. Drawing on detailed individual-level military records, we characterize each soldier's camp environment, unit composition, and service role, to better understand which features of the military experience predict post-war Klan participation.

7.1 Training Camps

Training camps were soldiers' point of entry into the military, and drafted men spent an average of six months at domestic cantonments before deploying to France. As described in Section 2, camps were sites of intensive ideological programming administered by the YMCA, explicitly designed to encourage sobriety, self-discipline, and patriotic identification. Given that units were racially segregated, camps were also the primary arena in which white and Black soldiers interacted.

To explore the potential influence of camp features on post-war Klan membership, we leverage novel service cards containing the name, placement location, and role of YMCA operatives ("secretaries") during the war (National War Work Council, 2018). We characterize camps by the per capita number of secretaries in three primary roles: social programming and publicity (producing entertainment, activities, and newspapers promoting patriotism, morale, and social hygiene); education and religion (offering literacy classes, vocational training, and pastoral care); and physical training (organizing athletic programs and sports competitions).[31] To measure exposure to Black soldiers, we identify the share of Black troops and the presence of Black officer candidates at each camp from archival military records (Center of Military History, 1988). Finally, we use a recruitment map published in *National Geographic* to crosswalk soldiers to training camps via draft board.

[Figure X about here.]

Panel (a) of Figure X shows estimates from a multivariate regression of Klan membership on the prevalence of different types of YMCA secretaries and Black soldiers in a soldier's camp. To account

[31] The boundaries between these roles are not perfectly sharp. Education secretaries, for instance, also delivered citizenship classes, though these were primarily targeted at immigrants, who were ineligible to join the Klan. Religious work secretaries focused mainly on spiritual and pastoral care but may also have contributed to broader ideological instruction.

for differential selection into camps, we include birth year and marital status fixed effects.[32]

We find that soldiers trained at camps with more social and publicity secretaries were significantly more likely to join the Klan, while secretaries focused on education, religion, or athletics bear little relationship with post-service membership – consistent with potential ideological indoctrination and the strong thematic overlap between military and Klan propaganda. We also find that Klan membership is strongly associated with attending a camp with Black officer candidates but not with the share of Black soldiers more generally. Black officer commissions were disproportionately drawn from the civic elite and bitterly opposed by many white Americans (Thompson, 1917), suggesting that encounters with Black men in positions of authority proved more threatening to white soldiers than interactions with Black troops in subordinate roles (Blalock, 1967).

7.2 Service Role

Beyond the camp environment, soldiers' experiences varied substantially according to the roles they occupied in the military. Combat soldiers engaged directly with foreign troops on the front lines, labor units performed the manual work that sustained the war effort, administrative and medical personnel handled the organizational and clinical demands of a large-scale campaign, and officers exercised command over other men within a hierarchical structure.

To examine how service role predicts post-war Klan membership, we digitize and harmonize information from Veterans Administration Master Index records to capture officer status and classify soldiers into labor, combat, administrative, medical, and other roles (i.e., predominantly men in training camps who had not received an assignment by the end of the war).

Results are presented in Panel (b) of Figure X. Relative to unplaced men, soldiers in labor and combat units were no more likely to join the KKK after the war – a finding that cuts against accounts emphasizing combat trauma or the hardships of front-line service as primary drivers of post-war radicalization (Grossman, 1996). By contrast, soldiers who served in administrative and medical roles or as officers were significantly more likely to take up the white robe. These descriptive patterns echo the broader occupational profile of Klan members documented in Section 2: just as

[32] Appendix Figure A.XI shows similar patterns when controlling for other predictors of Klan membership, including individual and parental birthplace, native name index, and physical characteristics.

physicians and public administrators joined the Klan at disproportionately high rates in civilian life, men who occupied analogous positions of authority and technical responsibility within the military were also more likely to become members. While selection into roles was not random, these results are consistent with work by Jha and Wilkinson (2012) suggesting that organizational skills and leadership experience gained in the military may facilitate racist collective action outside of it.

7.3 Unit Composition

Within the military, a soldier's primary social world was defined by his unit – the group of men he trained, labored, and fought alongside. To explore the potential influence of this peer group, we leverage the digitized VAMI records both to identify the exact unit a soldier served in and to characterize the demographic composition of that group.[33]

Results are shown in Panel (c) of Figure X. We find that soldiers who served in units with a higher share of native-born members or soldiers with more native-associated names were more likely to join the Klan after the war. While only suggestive, these results are consistent with potential ideological spillovers by fellow soldiers who embodied nativist conceptions of American identity (Bazzi et al., 2023*a*). In contrast, serving alongside other men from the same area is uncorrelated with Klan membership, suggesting that spillovers are driven by peer composition rather than the density of social ties. Nor do we find any relationship with exposure to men from former slave-owning states, a pattern aligned with the Second KKK's concentration outside the South and its espousal of white nationalism rooted in traditional American – rather than Confederate – ideals.

8 Spillovers

The preceding analysis establishes that military service causally increased KKK participation among conscripted men. But veterans did not radicalize in isolation. As Belew (2018) writes, "in each surge of activity, veterans worked hand in hand with Klan members who had not served," raising the question of whether veterans actively drew civilians into the movement. We thus explore

[33]Where possible, units are identified at the company level, which typically comprised between 100 and 250 men; for records without company-level information, we identify units at the next smallest available level (battalion or regiment). Unit demographics are calculated by linking VAMI records to draft registration cards.

spillover effects at multiple levels of aggregation.

8.1 Neighbors

We first examine veterans' immediate social networks: household members and close neighbors. Isolating causal peer effects is challenging due to the non-random formation of social ties and shared exposure to common shocks (Manski, 1993). However, our setting provides a rare opportunity to overcome these challenges, as the draft lottery created exogenous variation in military service among men living in the same neighborhood.

To identify each registrant's neighbors, we digitize home addresses directly from the draft cards. This approach offers important advantages over using household enumeration order (Logan and Parman, 2017) from the 1920 census, which could reflect postwar veteran sorting, or the 1910 census, which suffers measurement error from migration between childhood and 1917. However, it identifies only neighbors who were themselves registrants, so we supplement our sample with digitized cards from later registration rounds.[34] Thus, while our focal set of registrants remains the 21- to 31-year-old men subject to the first draft lottery, the set of potential neighbors includes all men between 18 and 45 years old who registered at any point during the war.

We define neighbors based on address number among individuals living on the same street who registered at the same draft board. Because multiple households may share the same exact address (e.g., in multi-unit residences), we further differentiate between family members and non-family members living at the same address using surnames. We then estimate the following equation:

$$\text{KKK}_{n(i)} = \lambda_b + \beta \text{Veteran}_i + X_i'\Gamma + \epsilon_{i,n(i)}. \tag{4}$$

Each observation is a registrant-neighbor pair. The analysis exploits the same variation as our main IV analysis (i.e., random variation in military service driven by registrant i's serial number) but examines effects on Klan membership of the registrant's neighbor ($\text{KKK}_{n(i)}$), rather than the

[34] Another limitation is that the raw address strings vary in their completeness and legibility. We are able to recover street name for 11.8 million of the 21.8 million cards. Of these, roughly 85% include an address number and form the set of potential neighbors in our analysis sample. Because cards were completed prior to conscription, missing and incomplete addresses primarily affect external rather than internal validity.

registrant himself. Standard errors are clustered by registrant.

[Figure XI about here.]

Figure XI presents separate estimates of Equation 4 by address distance. Military conscription significantly increased Klan membership among other men living at the same address. This effect was primarily driven by other family members, though we also find positive, if suggestive, effects among differently-surnamed men at the same address, who may have shared the same building rather than household. Estimates are near zero beyond the same address, consistent with interpersonal contact as a potential driver of diffusion. Given an average of six same-address neighbors per registrant, the point estimates indicate that for each veteran who joined the KKK due to military service, approximately two other men were also drawn in.

8.2 Neighborhoods

The household-level spillovers above suggest direct social contact between veterans and those closest to them. But membership may also have spread through less direct channels, such as recruitment networks, changing social norms, or the public legitimacy conferred by veterans (McVeigh, 2009). To explore these community spillovers, we examine whether streets with higher conscription rates saw greater Klan penetration after the war.

To isolate neighborhood-level exposure to veterans from the direct effects of military service, we focus on Klan membership rates among later registrants, whose induction probability was not determined by the first draft lottery. We then exploit the fact that the lottery generated random variation in average induction liability across streets within the same draft board. Specifically, we instrument for street-level veteran shares using predicted veteran shares derived from the individual-level order numbers – aggregating each registrant's predicted veteran status from our main first-stage regression to the street-board level. Concretely, we estimate:

$$\text{KlanShare}_{s,b}^{Later} = \lambda_b + \beta \widehat{\text{VeteranShare}}_{s,b}^{First} + \epsilon_{s,b}. \tag{5}$$

$\text{KlanShare}_{s,b}^{Later}$ is the share of Klan members among later draft registrants (i.e., men aged 18 to 21 and 31 to 45 who were included in the second and third draft registrations) in street s of draft board

b, $\widehat{\text{VeteranShare}}_{s,b}^{First}$ is the predicted share of veterans among draft registrants subject to the first draft lottery (i.e., men aged 21 to 31), and λ_b are board fixed effects.[35] Standard errors are clustered at the board level. Corroborating exogeneity, Appendix Figure A.XII shows that predicted veteran shares are uncorrelated with the characteristics of later registrants on a street.

[Table III about here.]

Results are presented in Table III. We find that higher rates of military service, instrumented by the aggregated individual-level lottery variation, leads to higher Klan membership among other men on the same street. The baseline estimate (Column 1) implies that a one percentage point increase in veteran share raised Klan penetration by roughly 6% of the sample mean. Results are robust to controlling for average pre-war characteristics from the draft cards (Column 2) and weighting observations by the number of later-round registrants on a street (Column 3). Following Borusyak and Hull (2023), estimates are also unchanged when we "re-center" our instrument to account for potential non-random bias arising from aggregation of the draft lottery variation to the area level (Column 4).[36] Appendix Table A.XVIII further demonstrates robustness to alternative controls, weights, and when examining counts instead of shares.

Taken together, the results reveal the scope of the military's impact on the growth of the Second KKK. Beyond the direct effect of service on veterans, the spillover effects suggest hundreds of thousands of additional members induced through household- and community-level diffusion.[37] The scale of this diffusion helps explain how a movement of hundreds prior to the war grew into a movement of millions afterward.

[35] On average, streets contain 47 total registrants.

[36] When instruments combine multiple sources of variation, aggregation can introduce bias if exposure to the underlying shocks is non-random. This concern is unlikely to arise in our setting since the street-level instrument is essentially the mean of individual-level lottery draws that are randomly assigned within board. Nonetheless, we re-center our instrument by subtracting from each street's predicted veteran share the expected veteran share based on the *board*'s average scaled order number.

[37] Taking the 0.01 estimate for street-level Klan share and multiplying by average veteran share (0.32) and later registrants in a street (29), the number of streets in the sample (239K), and adjusting for undercoverage in our Klan data (one-twelfth of Jackson (1992)'s 1.5 million members) implies nearly 300,000 additional Klan members.

9 Conclusion

Writing in 1926, W.E.B. Du Bois argued that "there can be little doubt but that the Klan in its present form is a legacy of the World War" (Du Bois, 1926). Leveraging novel variation from the WWI draft lottery and the largest-known collection of Klan membership records, this paper provides the first causal evidence of his claim. We show that military service itself induced conscripts to join the largest white supremacist organization in American history. These effects cascaded outward to family and neighbors, shaping the landscape of racial hate in communities throughout the country. Consistent with this, counties with higher shares of WWI veterans were significantly more likely to establish Klaverns not only during the inter-war period but even into the 21st century (Figure XII).[38] Together with parallel evidence that discrimination in the military drove Black veterans toward the NAACP (Ang and Chinoy, 2026), these results reveal how the war simultaneously catalyzed white ethnonationalism and Black civic resistance, deepening the racial fault lines that have defined American politics for generations.

[Figure XII about here.]

While the Second KKK fell just as quickly as it rose, it gained traction amid a political and social landscape with striking parallels to the contemporary United States. Then, as now, the contestation of race, gender, religion, and the meaning of being American took place against a backdrop of civil rights agitation and historic peaks in immigration and economic inequality.[39] Then, as now, the individuals waging the war against progressivism were not the dispossessed, but men of privilege and influence seeking to capture – rather than dismantle – the machinery of government.

Through this lens, the modern analogues of the Second KKK are not the Aryan Nation, the Oath Keepers, or other anti-government fringe organizations. Rather, the call to "make America American" is most clearly echoed in the appeals to restore American glory that have repeatedly animated mass electoral coalitions in the post-civil rights era. Now, as before, opposition to multiracial democracy can be found not only behind hoods and masks, but in the mainstream institutions and halls of power that shape American life.

[38] Appendix Table A.XIX finds similar results when controlling for county demographic characteristics for and when instrumenting for local veteran share using the share of draft-eligible birth cohorts.

[39] Levels of foreign-born population shares and top-end wealth concentration during the 1920s would not be approached again until the mid-2010s (Abramitzky and Boustan, 2017; Smith, Zidar, and Zwick, 2023).

References

Abramitzky, Ran, and Leah Boustan. 2017. "Immigration in American Economic History." *Journal of Economic Literature*, 55(4): 1311–1345.

Abramitzky, Ran, Leah Boustan, and Katherine Eriksson. 2020. "Do Immigrants Assimilate More Slowly Today than in the Past?" *American Economic Review: Insights*, 2(1): 125–41.

Alexander, Charles C. 1965. *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest.* University of Kentucky Press.

Althoff, Lukas, and Christiane Szerman. 2026. "Blindly Discriminating: The GI Bill and Racial Disparities." Mimeo., Princeton University.

Althoff, Lukas, and Hugo Reichardt. 2024. "Jim Crow and Black economic progress after slavery." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 139(4): 2279–2330.

Ang, Desmond. 2023. "The Birth of a Nation: Media and Racial Hate." *American Economic Review*, 113(6): 1424–1460.

Ang, Desmond, and Sahil Chinoy. 2026. "Vanguard: Black Veterans and Civil Rights after World War I." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 141(1): 795–844.

Angrist, Joshua D. 1990. "Lifetime Earnings and the Vietnam Era Draft Lottery: Evidence from Social Security Administrative Records." *American Economic Review*, 313–336.

Antonovich, Jacqueline. 2021. "White Coats, White Hoods: The Medical Politics of the Ku Klux Klan in 1920s America." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 95(4): 437–463.

Bailey, Martha J., Connor Cole, Morgan Henderson, and Catherine Massey. 2020. "How Well Do Automated Linking Methods Perform? Lessons from US Historical Data." *Journal of Economic Literature*, 58(4): 997–1044.

Baker, Kelly J. 2011. *The Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK's Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930.* University Press of Kansas.

Barbeau, Arthur E., and Florette Henri. 1996. *The Unknown Soldiers: African-American Troops in World War I.* Da Capo Press.

Barnes, Robin D. 1996. "Blue by Day and White by Knight: Regulating the Political Affiliations of Law Enforcement Military Personnel." *Iowa Law Rev*, 81: 1079.

Bazzi, Samuel, Andreas Ferrara, Martin Fiszbein, Thomas Pearson, and Patrick A. Testa. 2023*a*. "The Confederate Diaspora." National Bureau of Economic Research.

Bazzi, Samuel, Andreas Ferrara, Martin Fiszbein, Thomas Pearson, and Patrick A. Testa. 2023*b*. "The Other Great Migration: Southern Whites and the New Right." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 138(3): 1577–1647.

Bazzi, Samuel, Martin Fiszbein, and Mesay Gebresilasse. 2020. "Frontier Culture: The Roots and Persistence of "Rugged Individualism" in the United States." *Econometrica*, 88(6): 2329–2368.

Beach, Brian, Daniel B. Jones, Tate Twinam, and Randall Walsh. 2024. "Racial and Ethnic Representation in Local Government." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 16(2): 1–36.

Bedard, Kelly, and Olivier Deschênes. 2006. "The Long-Term Impact of Military Service on Health: Evidence from World War II and Korean War Veterans." *American Economic Review*, 96(1): 176–194.

Belew, Kathleen. 2018. *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America.* Harvard University Press.

Blalock, Hubert M. 1967. *Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations.* Wiley.

Blee, Kathleen. 2009. *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s.* University of California Press.

Blee, Kathleen, and Amy McDowell. 2013. "The duality of spectacle and secrecy: a case study of fraternalism in the 1920s US Ku Klux Klan." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36(2): 249–265.

Bleemer, Zachary. 2025. "The Vietnam War and Racial Integration." *Unpublished working paper.*

Borusyak, Kirill, and Peter Hull. 2023. "Nonrandom Exposure to Exogenous Shocks." *Econometrica*, 91(6): 2155–2185.

Bound, John, and Sarah Turner. 2002. "Going to War and Going to College: Did World War II and the G.I. Bill Increase Educational Attainment for Returning Veterans?" *Journal of Labor Economics*, 20(4): 784–815.

Brandt, Allan M. 1985. *No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States Since 1880.* Oxford University Press.

Bristow, Nancy K. 1997. *Making Men Moral: Social Engineering During the Great War.* NYU Press.

Buckles, Kasey, Adrian Haws, Joseph Price, and Haley E.B. Wilbert. 2025. "Breakthroughs in historical record linking using genealogy data: The Census Tree project." *Explorations in Economic History*, 101717.

Bursztyn, Leonardo, Georgy Egorov, Ruben Enikolopov, and Maria Petrova. 2019. "Social Media and Xenophobia: Evidence from Russia." National Bureau of Economic Research w26567.

Cagé, Julia, Anna Dagorret, Pauline Grosjean, and Saumitra Jha. 2023. "Heroes and Villains: The Effects of Heroism on Autocratic Values and Nazi Collaboration in France." *American Economic Review*, 113(7): 1888–1932.

Card, David, and Thomas Lemieux. 2001. "Going to College to Avoid the Draft: The Unintended Legacy of the Vietnam War." *American Economic Review*, 91(2): 97–102.

Cash, Wilbur Joseph. 1941. *The Mind of the South.* Knopf.

Center of Military History. 1988. *Order of Battle of the United States Land Forces in the World War: Zone of the Interior: Directory of Troops.* Vol. 3, Center of Military History, United States Army.

Cocoltchos, Christopher Nickolas. 1979. "The Invisible Government and the Viable Community: the Ku Klux Klan in Orange County, California, During the 1920s." PhD diss. University of California, Los Angeles.

Creel, George. 1920. *How We Advertised America: The First Telling Of The Amazing Story Of The Committee On Public Information That Carried The Gospel Of Americanism To Every Corner Of The Globe.* Harper & Brothers.

de Figueiredo Jr., Rui J.P., and Zachary Elkins. 2003. "Are Patriots Bigots? An Inquiry into the Vices of In-Group Pride." *American Journal of Political Science*, 47(1): 171–188.

Druckman, Daniel. 1994. "Nationalism, Patriotism, and Group Loyalty: A Social Psychological Perspective." *Mershon International Studies Review*, 38(1): 43–68.

Du Bois, W.E. Burghardt. 1926. "The Shape of Fear." *The North American Review*, 223(831): 291–304.

Dupraz, Yannick, and Andreas Ferrara. 2025. "Fatherless: The Long-Term Effects of Losing a Father in the U.S. Civil War." *Journal of Human Resources*, 60(4): 1126–1174.

Evans, Hiram Wesley. 1926. "The Klan's Fight for Americanism." *The North American Review*, 223(830): 33–63.

Federal Bureau of Investigation. 2008. "White Supremacist Recruitment of Military Personnel Since 9/11." United States Government.

Feigenbaum, James. 2016. "Automated census record linking: A machine learning approach."

Ferrara, Andreas, and Price Fishback. 2024. "Discrimination, migration, and economic outcomes: evidence from World War I." *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 106(5): 1201–1219.

Fouka, Vasiliki. 2022. "What Works for Immigrant Integration? Lessons from the Americanization Movement."

Frost, Stanley. 1924. *The Challenge of the Klan.* Bobbs-Merrill Company.

Fryer, Roland G., and Steven D. Levitt. 2012. "Hatred and Profits: Under the Hood of the Ku Klux Klan." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 127(4): 1883–1925.

Glaeser, Edward L. 2005. "The Political Economy of Hatred." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 120(1): 45–86.

Goldberg, Robert A. 1980. "Beneath the Hood and Robe: A Socioeconomic Analysis of Ku Klux Klan Membership in Denver, Colorado, 1921-1925." *The Western Historical Quarterly*, 11(2): 181–198.

Goldberg, Robert A. 1981. *Hooded Empire: The Ku Klux Klan in Colorado.* University of Illinois Press.

Gordon, Linda. 2017. *The Second Coming of the KKK: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s and the American Political Tradition.* Liveright.

Greenberg, Kyle, Matthew Gudgeon, Adam Isen, Corbin Miller, and Richard Patterson. 2022. "Army Service in the All-Volunteer Era." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 137(4): 2363–2418.

Green, Donald P., and Oliver Hyman-Metzger. 2024. "The Vietnam Draft Lottery and Whites' Racial Attitudes: Evidence from the General Social Survey." *American Political Science Review*, 1–8.

Grossman, Dave. 1996. *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society.* Little, Brown.

Ha, Joung Yeob. 2024. "From Alien to Citizen: The Power of Inclusive Propaganda during World War I."

Hall, Abigail R., Jerod T. Hassell, and Chivon H. Fitch. 2021. "Militarized Extremism." *The Independent Review*, 26(2): 225–242.

Higham, John. 2002. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925.* Rutgers University Press.

Jackson, Kenneth T. 1992. *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930.* Rowman & Littlefield.

Jha, Saumitra, and Steven Wilkinson. 2012. "Does Combat Experience Foster Organizational Skill? Evidence from Ethnic Cleansing during the Partition of South Asia." *American Political Science Review*, 106(4): 883–907.

Jones, Seth G., Catrina Doxsee, Grace Hwang, and Jared Thompson. 2021. "The Military, Police, and the Rise of Terrorism in the United States." Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

Kallen, Horace. 1924. *Culture and Democracy in the United States.* Boni and Liveright.

Kennedy, David M. 2004. *Over Here: The First World War and American Society.* Oxford University Press.

Kneebone, John, and Shariq Torres. 2015. "Data to Support the "Mapping the Second Ku Klux Klan, 1919-1940"' Project." *History Data*.

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. 1920. "The Kloran."

Koenig, Christoph. 2023. "Loose Cannons: War Veterans and the Erosion of Democracy in Weimar Germany." *The Journal of Economic History*, 83(1): 167–202.

Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Earl Raab. 1970. *The Politics of Unreason: Right Wing Extremism in America, 1790-1970.* Harper & Row.

Logan, Trevon D., and John M. Parman. 2017. "The national rise in residential segregation." *The Journal of Economic History*, 77(1): 127–170.

Loving, Major W.H. 1918. "Recapitulation of investigation of military camps."

MacDonald, Noah. 2025. "The Long-Run Effects of Doxxing: Evidence from the Second Ku Klux Klan."

Mandel, Nicole L. 2012. "The Quiet Bigotry of Oregon's Compulsory Public Education Act."

Manski, Charles F. 1993. "Identification of Endogenous Social Effects: The Reflection Problem." *The Review of Economic Studies*, 60(3): 531–542.

Mazumder, Soumyajit. 2018. "The Persistent Effect of U.S. Civil Rights Protests on Political Attitudes." *American Journal of Political Science*, 62(4): 922–935.

McVeigh, Rory. 2009. *The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan: Right-Wing Movements and National Politics.* University of Minnesota Press.

Mecklin, John Moffatt. 1924. *The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind.* Harcourt, Brace.

Moore, Leonard J. 1997. *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921-1928.* University of North Carolina Press.

Moore, William D., and Mark A. Tabbert. 2011. *Secret Societies in America: Foundational Studies of Fraternalism.*

National War Work Council, Y.M.C.A. of the United States. 2018. "YMCA World War I Service Punch Cards."

Orwell, George. 1945. "Notes on Nationalism."

Pegram, Thomas R. 2011. *One Hundred Percent American: The Rebirth and Decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s.* Rowman & Littlefield.

Peterson, Hannah Bethann. 2004. "Murder at Mer Rouge: a dialogue on the activities of the Ku Klux Klan in northwestern Louisiana, 1921-1924."

Philipps, Dave. 2019. "White Supremacism in the U.S. Military, Explained." *The New York Times.*

Pischke, Steve. 2007. "Lecture notes on measurement error." *London School of Economics, London.*

Quincy, Sarah. 2022. "Income shocks and housing spillovers: Evidence from the World War I Veterans' Bonus." *Journal of Urban Economics*, 132: 103494.

Rives, Tim. 2019. *The Ku Klux Klan in Kansas City, Kansas.* The History Press.

Ronconi, Juan Pedro, and Diego Ramos-Toro. 2025. "Nation-Building Through Military Service." *Journal of the European Economic Association.*

Schindler, David, and Mark Westcott. 2021. "Shocking Racial Attitudes: Black G.I.s in Europe." *The Review of Economic Studies*, 88(1): 489–520.

Skocpol, Theda, Ziad Munson, Andrew Karch, and Bayliss Camp. 2018. "Patriotic Partnerships: Why Great Wars Nourished American Civic Voluntarism." In *Shaped by War and Trade: International Influences on American Political Development*. Princeton University Press.

Smith, Matthew, Owen Zidar, and Eric Zwick. 2023. "Top wealth in America: New estimates under heterogeneous returns." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 138(1): 515–573.

Southern Poverty Law Center. n.d.. "Hate Map." Available at `https://www.splcenter.org/hate-map/`. Accessed March 16, 2026.

Stewart, Herbert L. 1917. "Is Patriotism Immoral?" *American Journal of Sociology*, 22(5): 616–629.

Tan, Hui Ren. 2020. "Did military service during World War I affect the economic status of American veterans?" *Explorations in Economic History*, 75: 101301.

Thompson, John Lay. 1917. *History and views of colored officers training camp: for 1917 at Fort Des Moines, Iowa.* The Bystander.

United War Work Campaign, Inc. 1918. *The United War Work Campaign: What It Is and What It Means, November 11–18, 1918.* United War Work Campaign, Inc.

U.S. Department of Homeland Security. 2009. "Rightwing Extremism: Current Economic and Political Climate Fueling Resurgence in Radicalization and Recruitment." United States Government.

Viroli, Maurizio. 1995. *For Love of Country: An Essay On Patriotism and Nationalism.* Clarendon Press.

Voigtländer, Nico, and Hans-Joachim Voth. 2012. "Persecution Perpetuated: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Semitic Violence in Nazi Germany." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 127(3): 1339–1392.

Waldrep, Christopher. 2000. "War of words: The controversy over the definition of lynching, 1899-1940." *The Journal of Southern History*, 66(1): 75–100.

Wang, Tianyi. 2021. "Media, Pulpit, and Populist Persuasion: Evidence from Father Coughlin." *American Economic Review*, 111(9): 3064–3092.

Yanagizawa-Drott, David. 2014. "Propaganda and Conflict: Evidence from the Rwandan Genocide." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 129(4): 1947–1994.

Table I: Summary Statistics for KKK Members

	KKK	Not KKK	
		All counties	KKK counties
	(1)	(2)	(3)
(a) Cards			
Age in 1917	25.9 (2.9)	25.9 (2.9)	26.0 (2.9)
Married in 1917	0.58 (0.49)	0.47 (0.50)	0.46 (0.50)
Born in U.S.	0.99 (0.11)	0.77 (0.42)	0.72 (0.45)
Exemption claim	0.26 (0.44)	0.25 (0.43)	0.25 (0.43)
Build: slender	0.30 (0.46)	0.27 (0.44)	0.27 (0.44)
Build: medium	0.60 (0.49)	0.62 (0.49)	0.62 (0.49)
Build: stout	0.10 (0.30)	0.11 (0.31)	0.11 (0.31)
Height: short	0.09 (0.29)	0.12 (0.32)	0.12 (0.32)
Height: medium	0.55 (0.50)	0.58 (0.49)	0.57 (0.49)
Height: tall	0.35 (0.48)	0.30 (0.46)	0.30 (0.46)
Hair: dark	0.20 (0.40)	0.29 (0.45)	0.27 (0.45)
Hair: light	0.61 (0.49)	0.56 (0.50)	0.57 (0.49)
Blue eyes	0.44 (0.50)	0.42 (0.49)	0.40 (0.49)
Native name index	59.5 (20.9)	49.2 (24.4)	47.0 (24.1)
Observations	**14,163**	**7,354,905**	**5,287,320**
(b) Census			
Age in 1930	41.7 (11.9)	41.6 (15.1)	41.3 (14.9)
Married in 1930	0.89 (0.31)	0.75 (0.43)	0.75 (0.43)
Num. children	1.34 (1.55)	1.28 (1.75)	1.19 (1.66)
Literate	1.00 (0.05)	0.97 (0.18)	0.97 (0.17)
Employed	0.90 (0.30)	0.83 (0.37)	0.83 (0.38)
Occ. income score	25.6 (14.0)	19.7 (13.9)	20.7 (14.3)
LIDO score	23.4 (12.5)	17.9 (12.5)	19.0 (13.1)
Citizen	1.00 (0.05)	0.92 (0.26)	0.91 (0.29)
Born in U.S.	0.99 (0.11)	0.80 (0.40)	0.76 (0.42)
Mother born in U.S.	0.86 (0.35)	0.63 (0.48)	0.58 (0.49)
Mother born in N. Europe*	0.46 (0.50)	0.31 (0.46)	0.29 (0.45)
Veteran	0.15 (0.36)	0.10 (0.30)	0.11 (0.31)
Observations	**46,196**	**34,030,450**	**25,293,617**

Notes: This table shows summary statistics for KKK members. Column (1) shows those we link to KKK membership records, and column (2) shows those we do not. Column (3) shows those living in a county where we identify at least one KKK member but who were not members themselves. Panel (a) shows statistics for the sample of draft cards for white men from the first WWI draft registration. We restrict the sample to those in our main analysis, i.e., those for which we are able to retrieve the individual's order number and assign them a serial number. Panel (b) shows statistics for individuals in the 1930 census, restricted to white men age 20 and older. "Mother born in N. Europe" refers to northern Europe and is computed only for those whose mother was born outside the United States. Veteran status is from the census and refers to WWI or WWI and another war. We code the occupational income score and LIDO score as 0 if an individual was not employed. Standard deviations are in parentheses.

Table II: Effect of Military Service on KKK Membership

	KKK member			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Veteran	0.0029***	0.0028***	0.0028***	0.0028***
	(0.0010)	(0.0010)	(0.0010)	(0.0010)
Draft board	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth year		✓	✓	✓
Married		✓	✓	✓
Exemption			✓	✓
Prior military service				✓
Farmer				✓
Laborer				✓
Observations	7,369,068	7,369,056	7,369,024	7,369,024
R^2	0.033	0.033	0.033	0.033
First stage F-statistic	2,260.8	2,814.3	2,769.1	2,764.8
Dep. var. mean (nonveterans)	0.0018	0.0018	0.0018	0.0018
OLS coefficient	0.0002	0.0007	0.0007	0.0007
OLS t-statistic	6.73	17.70	17.99	17.18

Notes: This table shows TSLS estimates from regressions of KKK membership on veteran status, where veteran status is instrumented with the individual's order number scaled by the number of registrants in his board. The unit of observation is an individual draft registrant. Standard errors are clustered by serial number – the unit at which the lottery was randomized – and reported in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels.

Table III: Street-Level Spillovers

	KKK share			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Veteran share	0.0109**	0.0114**	0.0090**	0.0114**
	(0.0048)	(0.0049)	(0.0042)	(0.0049)
Draft board	✓	✓	✓	✓
Additional controls		✓	✓	✓
Weight by num. non-A cards			✓	
Recentered IV				✓
Observations	147,689	147,683	147,683	147,683
Dependent variable mean	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002
First stage F-statistic	69.9	84.8	56.2	84.8

Notes: This table shows TSLS estimates from regressions where the unit of observation is a street within a draft board. The outcome is the share of non-first-wave registrants on the street identified as KKK members. We show the coefficient on the share of veterans among first-wave registrants on the street, instrumented using the mean predicted veteran indicator among those registrants, where veteran status is predicted using each registrant's order number. All regressions use board fixed effects, and columns (2) through (4) add additional controls: the means of indicators for marital status and exemption claim among first-wave registrants, as well as the means of birth year for non-first-wave and first-wave registrants, respectively. Column (3) weights the regression by the number of non-first-wave registrants at the board-street. Column (4) "recenters" the instrument, following Borusyak and Hull (2023), by subtracting the average value of the instrument (scaled order number) within each board. Standard errors are clustered by board and reported in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels.

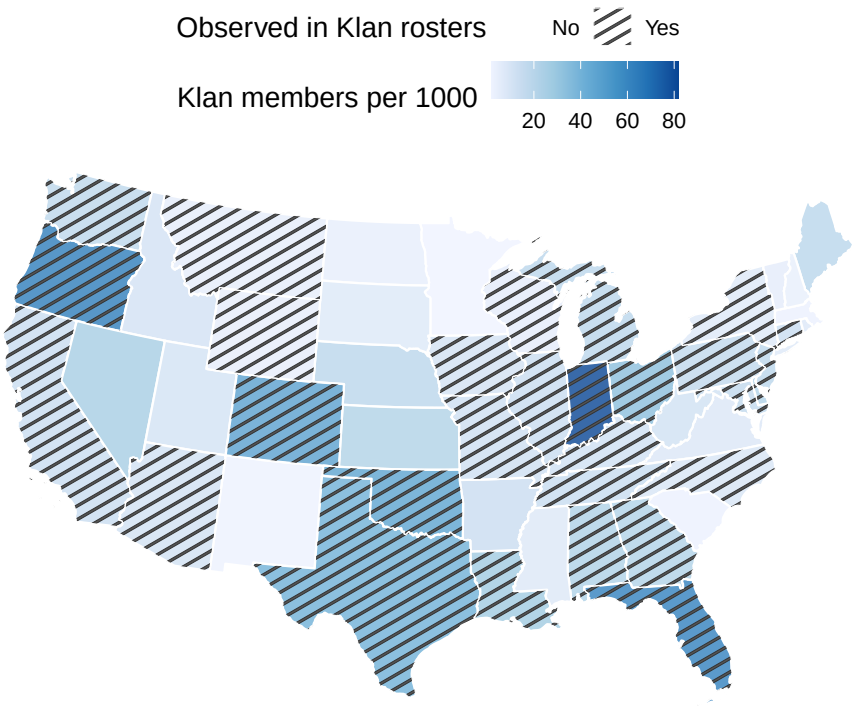


Figure I: KKK Roster Coverage

Notes: This figure shows a state map shaded by the cumulative number of members of the Second Ku Klux Klan (from Jackson, 1992) per thousand individuals (from the 1920 census). States in our collection of Klan membership information have hatch marks.

(a) Americanism

(b) "America First"

(c) Uncle Sam

(d) Text analysis

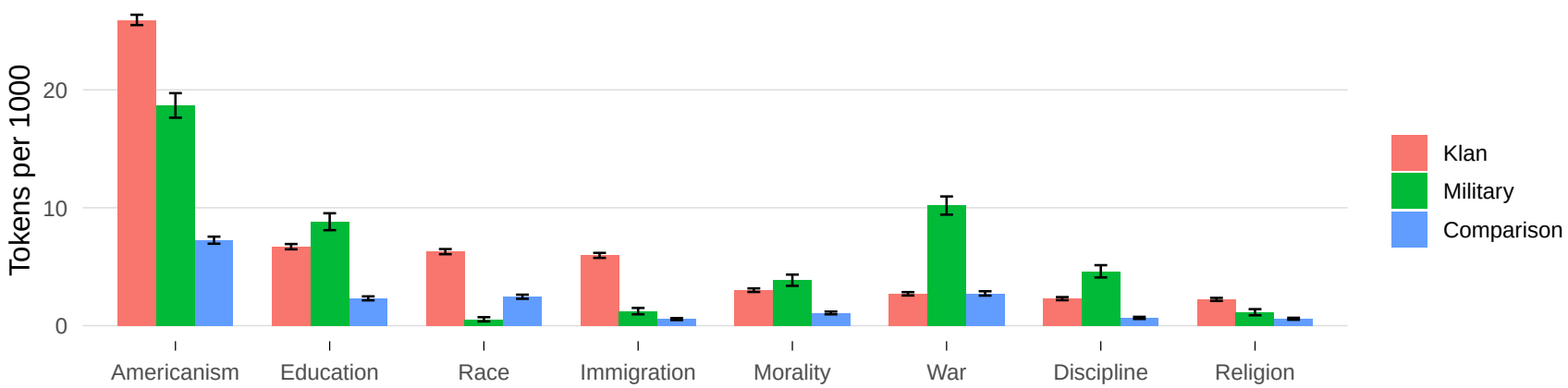


Figure II: Similarities Between Government and KKK Materials

Notes: This figure documents the overlap between government and KKK materials. Panel (a) shows a poster encouraging the purchase of Liberty Loans and a KKK recruitment poster. Panel (b) shows a poster from President Wilson's campaign and a Klan march in Binghamton, New York. Panel (c) shows a poster advertising the draft and the cover of a book of KKK sheet music. Panel (d) shows the results of a text analysis of the prevalence of words associated with various themes in Klan, military, and general-interest publications. Klan documents include: *The Kourier*, *The Kloran* and *The Constitution and Laws of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*. Military documents include materials produced by the Committee on Public Information (*Four Minute Men Speeches*, *Home Reading Course*, *How the War Came to America*, *National Service Handbook*) and the Commission on Training Camp Activities (*Keeping Our Fighters Fit*, *Social Hygiene*, *Uncle Sam and You*). The general-interest publication is *Collier's* magazine. We tokenize the texts and remove common stop words, then count how often a token associated with a particular topic appears per thousand tokens. The themes and keywords are as follows. Americanism: american, nation, patriot, state. Discipline: courag, disciplin, duti, loyalti, vigor. Immigration: alien, citizen, immigr. Morality: alcohol, brothel, charact, immor, liquor, moral, prostitut, sexual, vice, virtu. Religion: god, spirit, spiritu. Education: educ, school, train. War: battl, fight, soldier, victori, war.

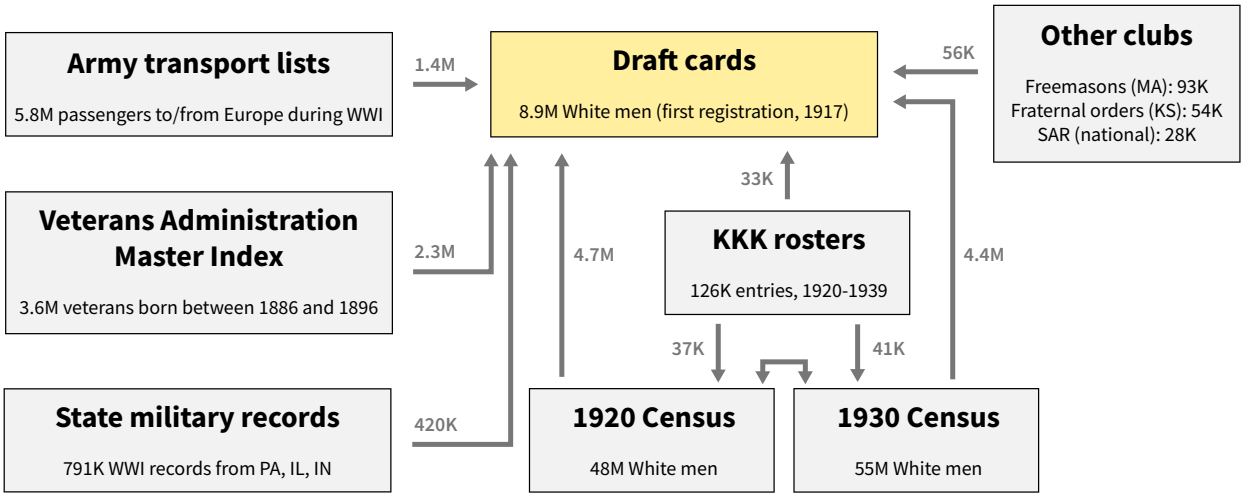


Figure III: Overview of Linking Strategy

Notes: This figure summarizes the way we assemble our analysis sample by linking draft cards, KKK rosters, military records, and the 1920 and 1930 full-count censuses. Further details are in Section 3 and Appendix B.

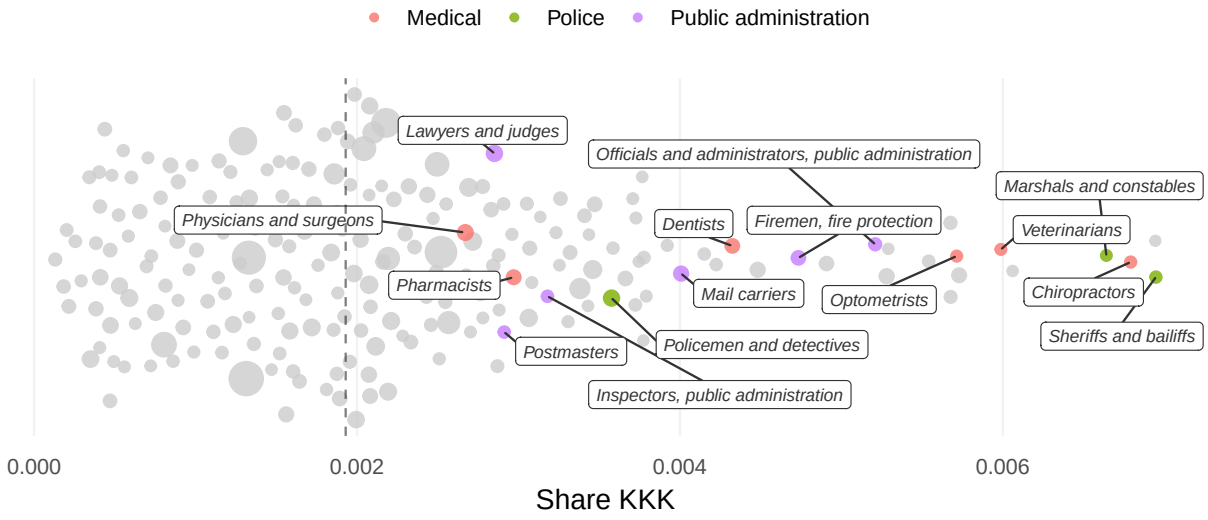


Figure IV: Occupations of KKK Members

Notes: This figure shows the shares of individuals in each occupation who were KKK members. Each occupation is a circle, sized by the number of people in that occupation. The sample is 18,877,749 individuals living in counties with at least one KKK member as of the 1930 census. The vertical line is the overall rate of KKK membership in this sample, 0.0019. Occupations use the 1950 occupation coding scheme; we do not show occupations with no KKK members.

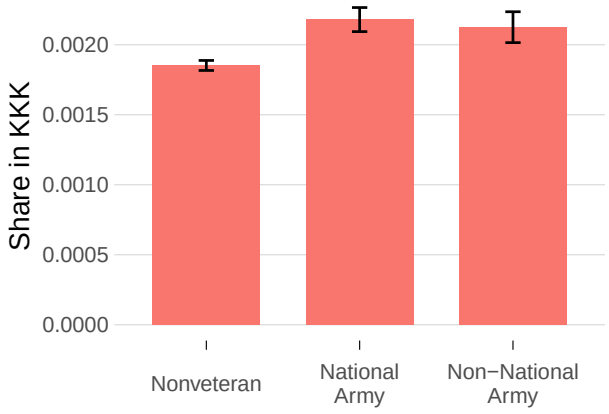
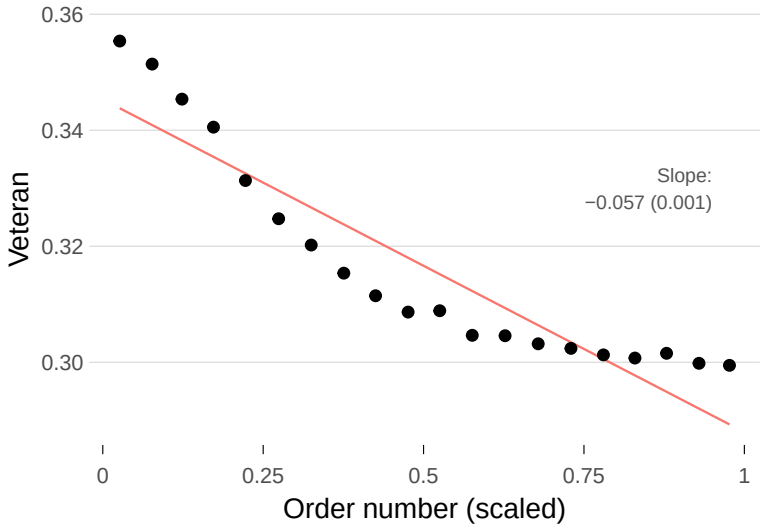


Figure V: KKK Membership Among Veterans by Military Branch

Notes: This figure shows the raw KKK membership rates among draft registrants, separately for non-veterans, veterans who served in the National Army, and veterans who served in other branches. The categorization of registrants into the mutually exclusive categories uses information from VAMI alone, as the census does not include military branch information. Vertical bars are 95% confidence intervals using heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors.

(a) First-stage relationship between order number and veteran status



(b) Relationship between order number and other registrant characteristics

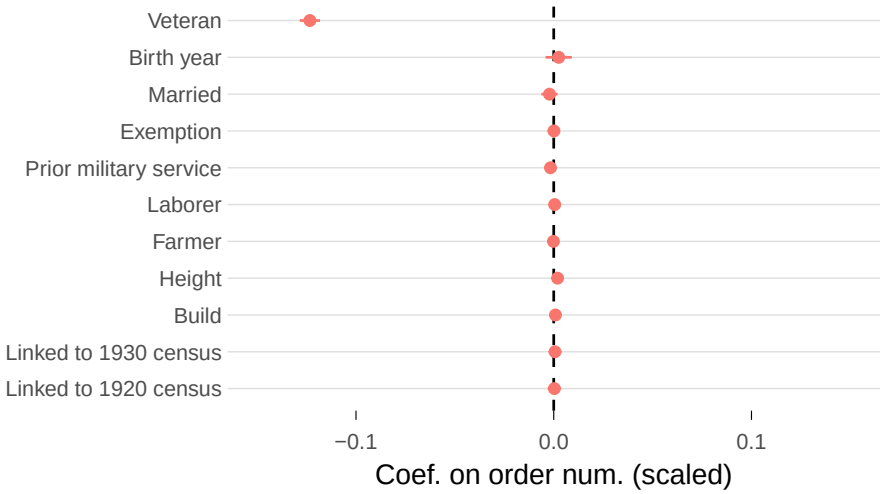


Figure VI: Relevance and Exogeneity of the Draft Lottery Instrument

Notes: Panel (a) shows the first-stage relationship between order number (scaled by the total registrants in an individual's board) and veteran status. The unit of observation is an individual draft registrant. The slope and standard error (clustered by serial number) are displayed on the figure. Panel (b) shows estimates from separate OLS regressions of various registrant characteristics on order number (scaled by the total number of registrants in an individual's board). Height is categorized into three groups: short, medium, or tall. Build is also categorized into three groups: slender, medium, or stout. All outcomes are standardized. Regressions control for board fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered by serial number, and horizontal bars are 95% confidence intervals.

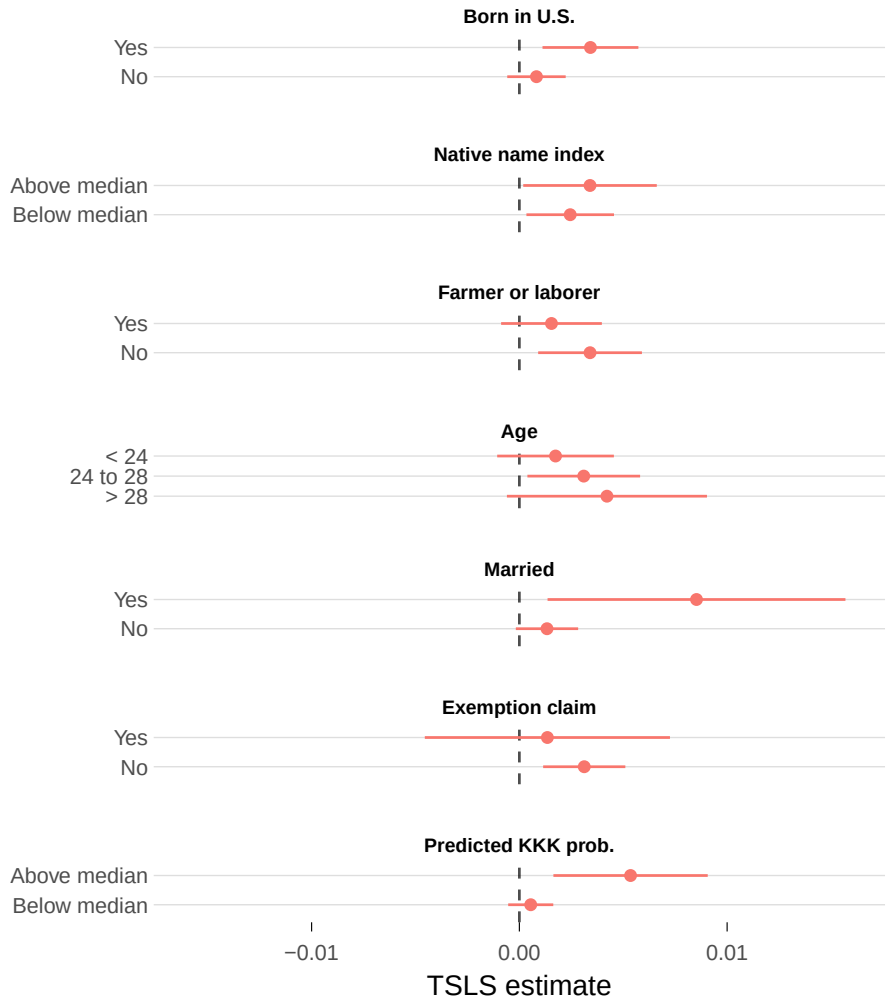


Figure VII: Heterogeneous Effects on KKK Membership by Individual Characteristics

Notes: This figure shows estimates from separate TSLS regressions where the unit of observation is an individual draft registrant. The outcome is an indicator for KKK membership, and we show the coefficient on veteran status, instrumented using the individual's order number scaled by the number of registrants in his board. We split the sample into mutually exclusive groups by six prewar registrant characteristics: whether the respondent was born in the U.S., whether their native name index is above or below the median, whether they were a farmer or laborer, their age as of 1917, whether they were married, and whether they claimed a draft exemption. Finally, we combine these characteristics into a summary measure by regressing an indicator for KKK membership on these demographics and splitting the resulting predicted values into terciles. All regressions control for draft board fixed effects and for birth year and marital status fixed effects when possible. Standard errors are clustered by serial number, and horizontal bars are 95% confidence intervals.

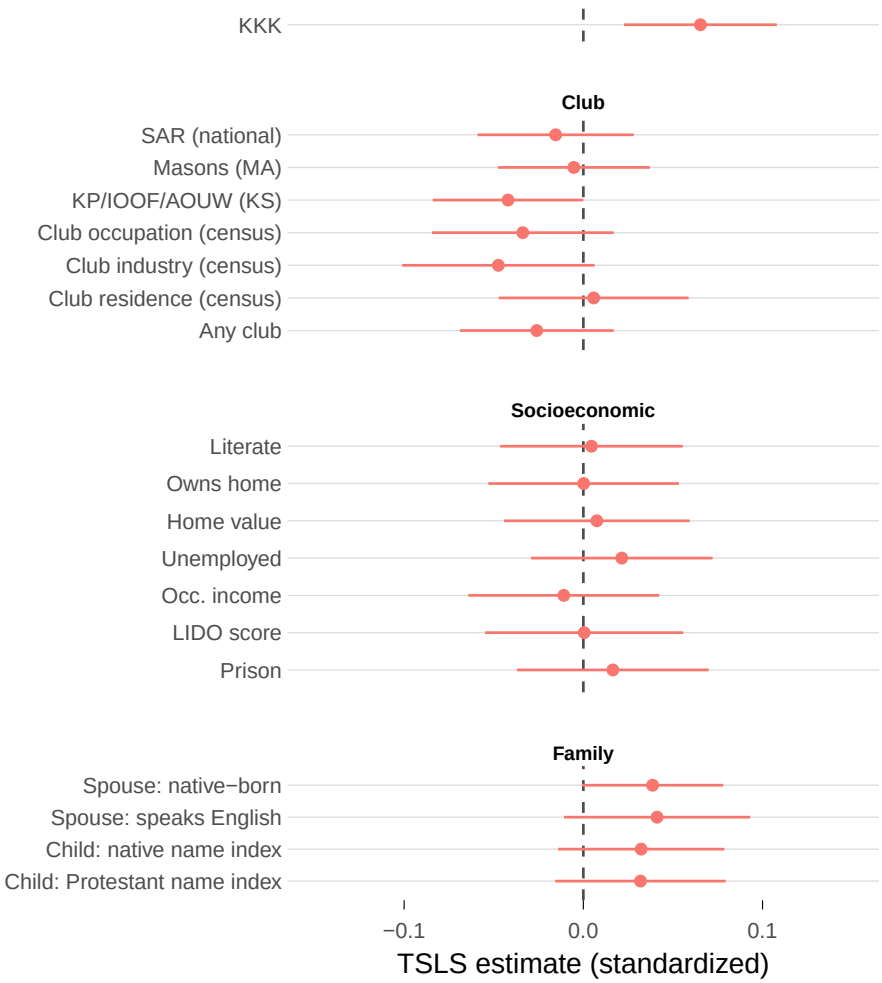


Figure VIII: Effects of Military Service on Club Involvement, Socioeconomic Outcomes, and Family Choices

Notes: This figure shows estimates from separate TSLS regressions where the unit of observation is an individual draft registrant. We show the coefficient on veteran status, instrumented using the individual's order number scaled by the number of registrants in his board. All outcomes are standardized, and all regressions control for birth year, marital status, and draft board fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered by serial number, and horizontal bars are 95% confidence intervals. At the top of the figure, we show the baseline estimate of the effect on KKK membership, corresponding to Eq. 1. In the first group, we show effects on other indicators of club membership. The first three outcomes are whether we linked a draft card to membership records for the Sons of the American Revolution, the Freemasons (in Massachusetts), or a set of fraternal order death notices from Kansas, including the Knights of Pythias, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and Ancient Order of United Workmen. The next three outcomes refer to measures of club status from the 1930 census: whether an individual's occupation is "lodge/society/union officials," industry is "nonprofit membership organization," or residence is "club/YMCA." In the second group, we show effects on indicators of socioeconomic status from the 1930 census. In the third group, we show effects on indicators of cultural attitudes and ideology proxied using family decisions. First, we show effects on whether a registrant (who was unmarried as of 1917) married a native-born spouse and whether their spouse spoke English as of the 1930 census. We also show effects on what respondents named their children (who were born in 1920 or later): their native name index (Abramitzky, Boustan, and Eriksson, 2020) and an analogous Protestant name index, using information from the 1911 Canadian census. Information about children is also derived from the 1930 census.

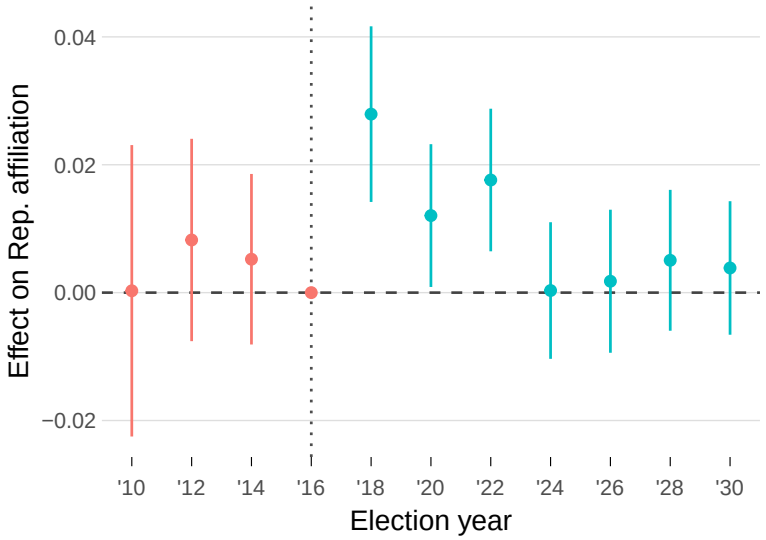


Figure IX: Event Study of Republican Affiliation in California

Notes: This figure shows estimates from an event study regression where the unit of observation is an individual draft registrant in a biennial election year. We show the difference between veterans' and non-veterans' probability of registering with the Republican Party in each election year. The sample is 238,207 draft registrants from California linked to the 1930 census whom we also link to voter registration records from the Great Register. The regression (Eq. 3) includes individual and election year fixed effects, and estimates are relative to 1916. Standard errors are clustered by individual, and vertical bars are 95% confidence intervals.

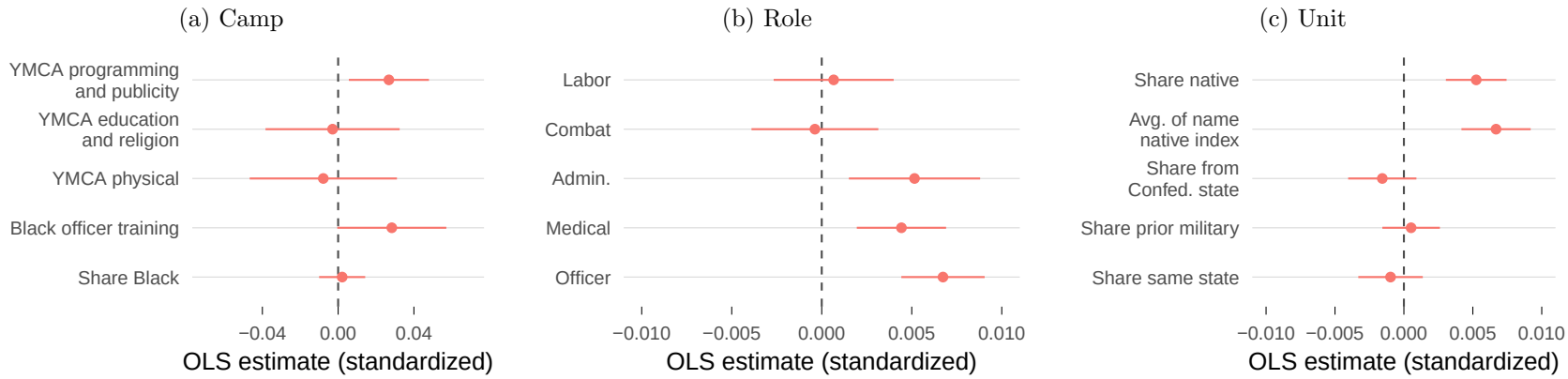


Figure X: Correlations between KKK Membership and Wartime Experiences

Notes: This figure shows estimates from OLS regressions where the unit of observation is an individual draft registrant. The sample includes only registrants who served (veterans). The outcome in all regressions is a (standardized) measure of KKK membership, all regressors are standardized, and all regressions include fixed effects for birth year and marital status. Horizontal bars are 95% confidence intervals. Panel (a) shows the relationship between KKK membership and features of a veteran's training camp: the presence of YMCA secretaries of various types (from National War Work Council, 2018) and measures of race relations (from Loving, 1918). Standard errors are clustered by camp. Panel (b) shows the relationship between KKK membership and an individual's role in the war: whether they served in a labor, combat, administrative, or medical position, and whether they were an officer. Standard errors are clustered by unit. Panel (c) shows the relationship between KKK membership and the composition of the other members of a veteran's military unit: the share of men who were native-born, the average native name index, the share from a Confederate state, the share with prior military experience, and the share from the same state as the focal individual. Standard errors are again clustered by unit.

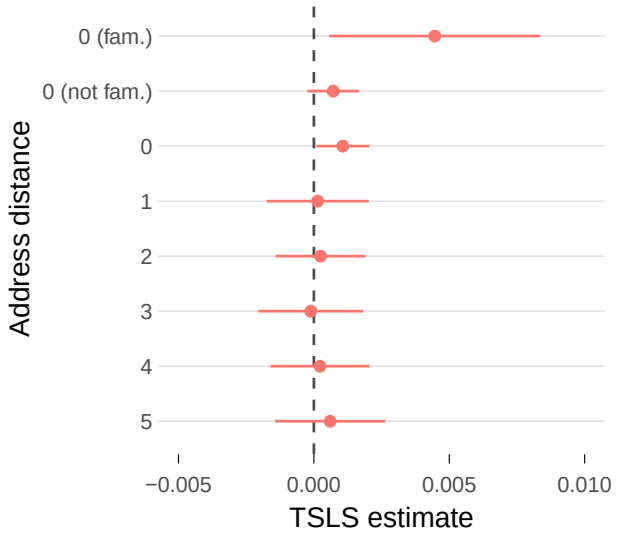


Figure XI: Household-Level Spillovers

Notes: This figure shows estimates from separate TSLS regressions where the unit of observation is a registrant-neighbor pair. Focal registrants are white men from the first (June 1917) draft registration, and neighbors are white men from any WWI draft registration wave. The outcome is whether the neighbor was a KKK member. We show the coefficient on veteran status of the focal individual, instrumented using his order number scaled by the number of registrants in his board. We estimate separate regressions for individuals at the same address (distance 0), 1 address away on the same street, 2 addresses away, and so on. We also separate those living at the same address into those who share the last name of the focal registrant (family) and those who do not (not family), where we consider last names the same if their Jaro-Winkler distance is under 0.15. The regression equation (Eq. 4) includes draft board, birth cohort, and marital status fixed effects for the focal individual. Standard errors are clustered by focal individual, and horizontal bars are 95% confidence intervals.

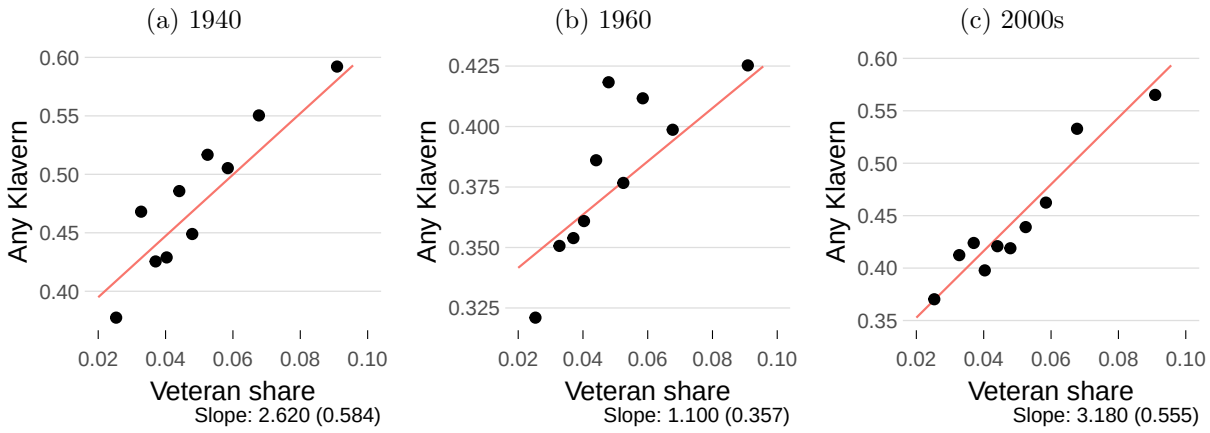


Figure XII: County-Level Persistence

Notes: This figure shows binned scatter plots where the unit of observation is a county. The vertical axis shows an indicator for whether the county had at least one Klavern by 1940, 1960, or in the 2000s. The horizontal axis shows the WWI veteran share in the county as of the 1930 census. The binned scatter plots control for state fixed effects and the (log) total number of registrants. The 1940 data is from Kneebone and Torres (2015), 1960 data is from Mazumder (2018), and 2000s data is from Southern Poverty Law Center (n.d.).

WORLD WAR I AND THE RISE OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

Desmond Ang and Sahil Chinoy

ONLINE APPENDIX

A Supplementary Tables and Figures

Table A.I: Notable KKK Members

Name	Occupation	Abbreviated biography
Harry L. S. Halley	Lawyer and judge	Judge and chief justice of the Oklahoma Supreme Court. Served in the U.S. Army in WWI and WWII, receiving three Bronze Stars.
Otto T. Englehart	Lawyer and businessman	Special assistant to the U.S. attorney general; president of Beryllium Corp, a metals alloy company. Served in the AEF during WWI.
Leo L. Laythe	Government official	Regional director, U.S. Biological Survey.
Broda O. Barnes	Physician and professor	Medicine professor who published books arguing that hypothyroidism was under-diagnosed and exacerbated many common diseases. These views were not accepted by the medical establishment. Served in the Air Force in WWII.
Frederick H. Baird	Executive	Assistant vice president of the New York Central Railroad. Served in the AEF during WWI.
Orville E. Atwood	Politician	Republican secretary of state of Michigan. Previously served in the Michigan legislature. While head of the state auto license bureau, fatally struck and killed a 9-year-old girl with his car.
Noble J. Johnson	Lawyer and politician	Republican U.S. representative from Indiana. Associate Judge and later Chief Judge of the United States Court of Customs and Patent Appeals.
Walter M. Pierce*	Politician	Democratic governor of Oregon and U.S. Representative. Eugenicist who supported Prohibition. Governor campaign in 1922 was endorsed by the KKK.

Notes: This table shows examples of prominent individuals whom we identify in the KKK records, focusing on those who have not been discussed extensively in the historical record.

*Pierce's name appears in KKK meeting minutes, but he is not explicitly listed as a member.

Table A.II: KKK Members in Notable Occupations

Occupation	Num. KKK	Overrepresentation
Doctor	424	1.56
Dentist	229	2.12
Veterinarian	12	2.35
Pharmacist	107	1.65
Optometerist	26	2.44
Chiropractor	24	2.99
Policeman	464	1.89
Sheriff	74	3.99
Bailiff	8	4.26
Police chief	11	2.58
Detective	39	2.57
Marshal	4	1.05
Constable	20	3.70
Mayor	5	2.54
Teacher	308	0.95
Principal	3	5.29
Professor	13	0.69
Clergy	166	1.10
Lawyer	378	1.46
Judge	37	2.70
Fireman	996	1.83
Postmaster	22	1.64
Mailcarrier	268	2.37
Bodybuilder	19	1.98
President	214	1.22
Engineer	1616	1.49
Foreman	1833	1.82

Notes: This table shows counts by occupation of individuals in the 1930 census whom we identify as KKK members. We code occupations using the text recorded on the census (`occstr`), considering both an individual's 1930 occupation and, if we are able to link them to the 1920 census, their 1920 occupation. "Overrepresentation" is the share of people in each occupation whom we identify as KKK members divided by the share of KKK members in the population.

Table A.III: Summary Statistics for KKK Members (Unique Names)

		Not KKK		
	KKK	First, MI, last	First, last	FI, last
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(a) Cards				
Age in 1917	25.9 (2.9)	26.0 (2.9)	26.0 (2.9)	26.0 (2.9)
Married in 1917	0.58 (0.49)	0.47 (0.50)	0.47 (0.50)	0.47 (0.50)
Born in U.S.	0.99 (0.11)	0.73 (0.44)	0.72 (0.45)	0.70 (0.46)
Exemption claim	0.26 (0.44)	0.25 (0.43)	0.25 (0.43)	0.24 (0.43)
Build: slender	0.30 (0.46)	0.27 (0.44)	0.27 (0.44)	0.26 (0.44)
Build: medium	0.60 (0.49)	0.62 (0.49)	0.62 (0.49)	0.62 (0.49)
Build: stout	0.10 (0.30)	0.11 (0.31)	0.11 (0.31)	0.11 (0.32)
Height: short	0.09 (0.29)	0.12 (0.32)	0.12 (0.32)	0.12 (0.33)
Height: medium	0.55 (0.50)	0.57 (0.49)	0.58 (0.49)	0.58 (0.49)
Height: tall	0.35 (0.48)	0.30 (0.46)	0.30 (0.46)	0.29 (0.46)
Hair: dark	0.20 (0.40)	0.27 (0.45)	0.28 (0.45)	0.28 (0.45)
Hair: light	0.61 (0.49)	0.57 (0.49)	0.57 (0.49)	0.57 (0.50)
Blue eyes	0.44 (0.50)	0.40 (0.49)	0.40 (0.49)	0.39 (0.49)
Native name index	59.5 (20.9)	47.5 (24.3)	47.6 (25.0)	46.7 (24.8)
Observations	**14,163**	**5,003,061**	**4,617,059**	**3,817,797**
(b) Census				
Age in 1930	41.7 (11.9)	41.5 (15.1)	41.2 (15.1)	41.6 (15.1)
Married in 1930	0.89 (0.31)	0.74 (0.44)	0.73 (0.44)	0.73 (0.44)
Num. children	1.34 (1.55)	1.10 (1.60)	1.06 (1.58)	0.98 (1.50)
Literate	1.00 (0.05)	0.97 (0.17)	0.97 (0.18)	0.96 (0.19)
Employed	0.90 (0.30)	0.83 (0.38)	0.82 (0.38)	0.82 (0.38)
Occ. income score	25.6 (14.0)	20.5 (14.3)	20.2 (14.2)	20.0 (14.2)
LIDO score	23.4 (12.5)	18.9 (13.0)	18.6 (12.9)	18.5 (12.9)
Citizen	1.00 (0.05)	0.91 (0.28)	0.90 (0.29)	0.89 (0.31)
Born in U.S.	0.99 (0.11)	0.78 (0.41)	0.76 (0.43)	0.73 (0.44)
Mother born in U.S.	0.86 (0.35)	0.61 (0.49)	0.59 (0.49)	0.56 (0.50)
Mother born in N. Europe*	0.46 (0.50)	0.27 (0.44)	0.23 (0.42)	0.21 (0.41)
Veteran	0.15 (0.36)	0.10 (0.31)	0.10 (0.30)	0.10 (0.30)
Observations	**46,196**	**20,634,903**	**17,337,509**	**11,303,581**

Notes: This table shows summary statistics for individuals in the 1930 census, restricted to white men age 20 and older. Column (1) shows those we link to KKK membership records. Columns (2) through (4) show those who lived in a county where we identify at least one KKK member but who were not KKK members themselves. In column (2), we restrict the sample to those who are unique by first name, middle initial, and last name within their county; in column (3), we restrict the sample to those who are unique by first name and last name within their county; and in column (4), we restrict the sample to those who are unique by first initial and last name within their county. "Mother born in N. Europe" refers to northern Europe and is computed only for those whose mother was born outside the United States. Veteran status is from the census and refers to WWI or WWI and another war. We code the occupational income score as 0 if an individual was not employed. Standard deviations are in parentheses.

Table A.IV: Effect of Military Service on KKK Membership – Counties with Greater Coverage

	KKK member			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Veteran	0.0028***	0.0040***	0.0044**	0.0051**
	(0.0010)	(0.0014)	(0.0022)	(0.0026)
Draft board	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth year	✓	✓	✓	✓
Married	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	7,369,056	5,321,290	3,250,464	2,332,441
R^2	0.033	0.032	0.035	0.036
First stage F-statistic	2,814.3	2,516.3	1,733.1	1,536.2
Cutoff (num. in KKK)	0	1	5	10
Number of counties	2,939	1,174	280	174
Dep. var. mean (nonveterans)	0.0018	0.0025	0.0038	0.0050
OLS coefficient	0.0007	0.0009	0.0011	0.0014
OLS t-statistic	17.70	17.19	13.78	12.85

Notes: This table shows TSLS estimates from regressions of KKK membership on veteran status, where veteran status is instrumented with the individual's order number scaled by the number of registrants in his board. Column (1) shows the baseline estimate. In columns (2) through (4), we restrict the sample to those in counties with at least 1, 5, and 10 KKK members, respectively. The unit of observation is an individual draft registrant. Standard errors are clustered by serial number and reported in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels.

Table A.V: Effect of Military Service on KKK Membership – Alternative Veteran Definitions

	KKK member			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Veteran (any)	0.0029***			
	(0.0010)			
Veteran (1930 census)		0.0052***		
		(0.0017)		
Veteran (non-census)			0.0028***	
			(0.0009)	
Veteran (both)				0.0050***
				(0.0016)
Draft board	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth year	✓	✓	✓	✓
Married	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	7,369,056	7,369,056	7,369,056	7,369,056
R^2	0.033	0.033	0.033	0.033
First stage F-statistic	2,809.9	2,043.2	2,976.3	2,305.2
Dep. var. mean (nonveterans)	0.0018	0.0018	0.0018	0.0018
Mean veteran indicator	0.3147	0.1799	0.2840	0.1493
OLS coefficient	0.0007	0.0012	0.0007	0.0013
OLS t-statistic	11.56	13.93	11.12	13.65

Notes: This table shows TSLS estimates from regressions of KKK membership on veteran status, where veteran status is instrumented with the individual's order number scaled by the number of registrants in his board. We show results for four different indicator variables measuring veteran status. Column (1) shows the baseline measure, which is the union of veteran status from the 1930 census and other military records that we link directly to the draft cards. Columns (2) and (3) show the census and "other" measures separately, and column (4) shows the intersection of the census and "other" measures. The unit of observation is an individual draft registrant. Standard errors are clustered by serial number and reported in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels.

Table A.VI: Effect of Military Service on KKK Membership – Alternative First Stage Functional Forms

	KKK member				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Veteran	0.0028***	0.0022**	0.0020**	0.0019**	0.0020***
	(0.0010)	(0.0009)	(0.0009)	(0.0009)	(0.0008)
Draft board	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth year	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Married	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Married × exemption claim					✓
Piecewise linear		✓			
Cubic polynomial			✓		
Nonparametric fit				✓	
Order num. × married × exemption claim					✓
Observations	7,369,056	7,367,698	7,369,056	7,369,056	7,369,024
R^2	0.033	0.033	0.033	0.034	0.034
First stage F-statistic	2,814.3	1,125.2	1,222.6	486.4	666.9
First stage partial R^2	0.00165	0.00189	0.00192	0.00190	0.00656
Dep. var. mean (nonveterans)	0.0018	0.0018	0.0018	0.0018	0.0018
OLS coefficient	0.0007	0.0007	0.0007	0.0007	0.0007
OLS t-statistic	18.19	18.19	18.19	18.19	18.19

Notes: This table shows TSLS estimates from regressions of KKK membership on veteran status. We parameterize the first-stage relationship between veteran status and order number in five ways. Column (1) shows the baseline specification, which uses the individual's order number inferred from his serial number scaled by the number of registrants in his board. In column (2), we allow the slope of the first-stage relationship to vary depending on whether the order number is below or above the number of men from the individual's board who reported to training camps (see Appendix Figure A.VIII). In column (3), the first stage is a cubic polynomial in the scaled order number. In column (4), we split the (scaled) order number into ten groups (i.e., 0 to 0.1, 0.1 to 0.2, etc.) and regress veteran status on these ten indicators. In column (5), we interact scaled order number with indicators for four mutually exclusive cells defined by the interaction of marital status and exemption claim. The unit of observation is an individual draft registrant. Standard errors are clustered by serial number and reported in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels.

Table A.VII: Effect of Military Service on KKK Membership – Alternative Linking Strategies

KKK threshold	Census links	Cards threshold	TSLS estimate	t-statistic	Num. KKK	Share veteran
strict	indirect	strict	0.00197	2.288	11,839	0.312
strict	indirect	moderate	0.00201	2.306	12,065	0.317
strict	indirect	loose	0.00196	2.237	12,168	0.319
strict	direct	strict	0.00185	2.164	11,495	0.306
strict	direct	moderate	0.00186	2.154	11,733	0.310
strict	direct	loose	0.00178	2.055	11,837	0.312
moderate	indirect	strict	0.00267	2.835	13,899	0.312
moderate	indirect	moderate	0.00282	2.955	14,199	0.317
moderate	indirect	loose	0.00283	2.930	14,338	0.319
moderate	direct	strict	0.00254	2.709	13,473	0.306
moderate	direct	moderate	0.00266	2.798	13,788	0.310
moderate	direct	loose	0.00260	2.707	13,936	0.312
loose	indirect	strict	0.00232	2.356	15,760	0.312
loose	indirect	moderate	0.00242	2.406	16,133	0.317
loose	indirect	loose	0.00236	2.327	16,307	0.319
loose	direct	strict	0.00232	2.367	15,245	0.306
loose	direct	moderate	0.00230	2.307	15,634	0.310
loose	direct	loose	0.00222	2.204	15,816	0.312

Notes: This table shows TSLS estimates from regressions of KKK membership on veteran status, where veteran status is instrumented with the individual's order number scaled by the number of registrants in his board. Each row corresponds to a different linking strategy, described by a triplet of link criteria. The first is the link threshold for the KKK-census and KKK-cards matches (strict, moderate, or loose). The second refers to whether we allow allow indirect cards-census links, i.e., links using the Census Tree 1920-1930 crosswalk. The third refers to the link threshold for the cards-census matches (strict, moderate, or loose). Our baseline strategy uses the "moderate" threshold and allows for indirect links. We also show the number of registrants identified as KKK members and the share identified as veterans using each strategy. See Appendix B for further information about the linking procedure. All regressions include birth year, marital status, and draft board fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered by serial number.

Table A.VIII: Effect of Military Service on KKK Membership – Excluding States Individually

Excluded state	TSLS estimate	t-statistic	Num. of obs.	Num. in KKK
AL	0.00286	2.967	7,260,123	14,159
AR	0.00283	2.947	7,269,020	14,168
AZ	0.00280	2.922	7,332,700	14,176
CA	0.00298	3.029	7,101,049	13,903
CO	0.00179	1.995	7,295,128	11,833
CT	0.00289	2.969	7,220,936	14,183
DC	0.00282	2.949	7,343,435	14,173
DE	0.00290	3.047	7,346,032	13,939
FL	0.00286	3.015	7,323,014	14,069
GA	0.00295	3.063	7,238,495	14,144
IA	0.00268	2.748	7,168,408	14,104
ID	0.00284	2.961	7,328,624	14,173
IL	0.00278	2.824	6,798,825	13,346
IN	0.00259	2.953	7,166,169	11,497
KS	0.00285	2.919	7,239,401	14,111
KY	0.00282	2.898	7,215,553	14,138
LA	0.00276	2.852	7,285,595	14,088
MA	0.00285	2.925	7,139,375	14,181
MD	0.00290	3.002	7,274,777	14,169
ME	0.00285	2.969	7,307,315	14,190
MI	0.00304	3.065	7,021,281	13,847
MN	0.00289	2.949	7,196,108	14,174
MO	0.00276	2.850	7,191,702	14,075
MS	0.00282	2.930	7,302,891	14,181
MT	0.00302	3.143	7,283,043	14,072
NC	0.00291	3.005	7,246,151	14,167
ND	0.00287	2.982	7,305,688	14,186
NE	0.00286	2.945	7,260,080	14,099
NH	0.00284	2.956	7,330,123	14,195
NJ	0.00291	2.942	7,094,298	14,094
NM	0.00281	2.932	7,336,480	14,177
NV	0.00284	2.969	7,354,268	14,190
NY	0.00336	3.324	6,614,137	13,333
OH	0.00225	2.330	6,854,330	12,942
OK	0.00291	3.041	7,228,719	14,038
OR	0.00264	2.763	7,306,295	13,994
PA	0.00306	3.177	6,709,779	11,171
RI	0.00284	2.966	7,328,447	14,194
SC	0.00287	2.986	7,309,146	14,187
SD	0.00285	2.962	7,314,926	14,187
TN	0.00288	2.949	7,230,460	14,142
TX	0.00254	2.617	7,074,780	13,829
UT	0.00279	2.911	7,331,865	14,181
VA	0.00290	2.966	7,254,139	14,173
VT	0.00283	2.954	7,339,560	14,193
WA	0.00287	2.955	7,267,846	14,162
WI	0.00289	2.957	7,154,462	14,123
WV	0.00282	2.919	7,259,584	14,162
WY	0.00277	2.911	7,345,662	14,148

Notes: This table shows TSLS estimates from regressions of KKK membership on veteran status, where veteran status is instrumented with the individual's order number scaled by the number of registrants in his board. Each row excludes all observations from the indicated state. We also display the share of non-veteran observations identified as KKK members. All regressions include birth year, marital status, and draft board fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered by serial number.

Table A.IX: Effect of Military Service on KKK Membership – Alternative Samples

	KKK member			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Veteran	0.0029***	0.0036***	0.0028***	0.0018**
	(0.0010)	(0.0013)	(0.0010)	(0.0008)
Draft board	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth year	✓	✓	✓	✓
Married	✓	✓	✓	✓
Linked to census		✓		
Unique name			✓	
Drop leaked lists				✓
Observations	7,369,056	4,789,825	6,698,882	7,369,056
R^2	0.033	0.041	0.034	0.033
First stage F-statistic	2,809.9	2,636.6	2,802.2	2,809.9
Dep. var. mean (nonveterans)	0.0018	0.0027	0.0019	0.0012
OLS coefficient	0.0007	0.0003	0.0008	0.0004
OLS t-statistic	17.70	6.07	18.36	13.14

Notes: This table shows TSLS estimates from regressions of KKK membership on veteran status, where veteran status is instrumented with the individual's order number scaled by the number of registrants in his board. Column (1) shows the main analysis sample. Column (2) restricts the sample to cards that we link to the 1930 census. Column (3) restricts the sample to registrants who are unique by first name and last name within their county. Column (4) redefines the outcome to exclude KKK records from leaked lists of members. The unit of observation is an individual draft registrant. Standard errors are clustered by serial number and reported in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels.

Table A.X: Effect of Military Service on KKK Membership – Robustness to OCR Quality

	KKK member					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Veteran	0.0029***	0.0024***	0.0025***	0.0022**	0.0017	0.0029*
	(0.0010)	(0.0009)	(0.0009)	(0.0009)	(0.0011)	(0.0016)
Draft board	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth year	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Married	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
OCR cutoff	–	p95	p90	p75	p50	p25
Observations	7,369,055	7,000,603	6,632,150	5,526,794	3,684,530	1,842,265
R^2	0.033	0.033	0.033	0.033	0.035	0.036
First stage F-statistic	2,810.1	5,861.2	6,320.3	6,393.8	5,343.8	3,335.6
Dep. var. mean (nonveterans)	0.0023	0.0023	0.0023	0.0023	0.0023	0.0023
OLS coefficient	0.0007	0.0007	0.0007	0.0007	0.0007	0.0008
OLS t-statistic	17.70	17.33	16.63	15.18	12.75	8.92

Notes: This table shows TSLS estimates from regressions of KKK membership on veteran status, where veteran status is instrumented with the individual's order number scaled by the number of registrants in his board. Column (1) shows the main analysis sample. In columns (2) through (6), we keep the top p% cards by OCR confidence score, with $p \in \{95, 90, 75, 50, 25\}$. The unit of observation is an individual draft registrant. Standard errors are clustered by serial number and reported in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels.

Table A.XI: Characteristics of Compliers

	Compliers (1)	Full sample (2)
Age in 1917	25.4	25.9
Married in 1917	0.20	0.47
Born in U.S.	0.81	0.77
Exemption claim	0.16	0.25
Prior military exp.	0.05	0.07
Farmer	0.23	0.19
Laborer	0.09	0.08

Notes: This table shows the average characteristics of compliers in column (1) compared to the average characteristics of the full sample in column (2). We compute (1) using a TSLS regression where the outcome is the characteristic multiplied by the veteran status indicator, regressed on veteran status instrumented using the individual's order number scaled by the number of registrants in his board. The regression also includes draft board fixed effects.

Table A.XII: Effect of Military Service on Club Membership – TSLS Results

	SAR (National)	Masons (MA)		KP/IOOF/ AOUW (KS)		Club occupation	Club industry	Club residence	Any club
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Veteran	-0.0154	-0.0053	-0.1295	-0.0420**	-0.2614**	-0.0338	-0.0474*	0.0058	-0.0260
	(0.0222)	(0.0216)	(0.1889)	(0.0214)	(0.1326)	(0.0259)	(0.0274)	(0.0270)	(0.0219)
Draft board	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth year	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Married	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
MA only			✓						
KS only					✓				
Observations	7,369,056	7,369,056	225,213	7,369,056	125,187	4,704,302	4,647,298	4,789,614	7,369,056
R^2	0.002	0.089	0.014	0.014	-0.010	0.0005	0.0005	0.0010	0.060
First stage F-statistic	2,809.9	2,809.9	154.4	2,809.9	300.7	2,593.1	2,621.7	2,635.7	2,809.9
OLS coefficient	0.0377	0.0341	0.1535	0.0007	0.0072	0.0008	0.0051	0.0077	0.0488
OLS t-statistic	37.03	37.24	30.90	0.85	1.01	0.68	4.13	6.02	51.85

Notes: This table shows TSLS estimates from regressions of indicators of club membership on veteran status, where veteran status is instrumented with the individual's order number scaled by the number of registrants in his board. In columns (1) through (5), the outcomes are membership in other clubs: the Sons of the American Revolution, Freemasons (in Massachusetts), and a set of fraternal orders in Kansas, including the Knights of Pythias, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and Ancient Order of United Workmen. In column (3), we estimate the regression using only cards from Massachusetts, and in column (5), we include only cards from Kansas. In columns (6) through (8), the outcomes are measures of club status from the 1930 census: whether an individual's occupation is "lodge/society/union officials," industry is "nonprofit membership organization," or residence is "club/YMCA." The sample in these regressions is limited to those linked to the 1930 census. Finally, in column (9), the outcomes is the union of all the club membership measures. The unit of observation is an individual draft registrant, and all outcomes are standardized. Standard errors are clustered by serial number and reported in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels.

Table A.XIII: Effect of Military Service on Socioeconomic Status – TSLS Results

	Literate	Owns home	Home value	Occ. income	Unemployed	LIDO score	Prison
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Veteran	0.0045	0.0002	0.0075	-0.0109	0.0215	0.0005	0.0165
	(0.0260)	(0.0271)	(0.0264)	(0.0272)	(0.0259)	(0.0282)	(0.0273)
Draft board	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth year	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Married	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	4,789,614	4,789,614	4,789,614	4,072,762	4,789,614	3,612,138	4,789,614
R^2	0.039	0.045	0.005	0.065	0.013	0.089	0.001
First stage F-statistic	2,635.7	2,635.7	2,635.7	2,535.7	2,635.7	2,461.6	2,635.7
OLS coefficient	0.0878	-0.0347	0.0209	0.1476	0.0256	0.1130	0.0074
OLS t-statistic	78.93	-31.23	14.83	117.50	21.61	85.74	5.71

Notes: This table shows TSLS estimates from regressions of measures of socioeconomic status in the 1930 census on veteran status, where veteran status is instrumented with the individual's order number scaled by the number of registrants in his board. We code the occupational income score and LIDO score as 0 if an individual was not employed. The unit of observation is an individual draft registrant, and all outcomes are standardized. Standard errors are clustered by serial number and reported in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels.

Table A.XIV: Effect of Military Service on Spouse Choice – TSLS Results

Sample	Wife born in U.S.	Wife speaks English	Wife born in U.S.	Wife speaks English
	Unmarried at registration		Married at registration	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Veteran	0.0386*	0.0411	-0.0141	-0.0065
	(0.0201)	(0.0265)	(0.0678)	(0.0908)
Draft board	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth year	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth state	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,711,349	1,618,511	2,231,013	2,125,250
First stage F-statistic	2,295.4	2,360.4	778.7	752.3
OLS coefficient	0.0394	0.0328	0.0170	-0.0014
OLS t-statistic	30.65	21.24	10.27	-0.69

Notes: This table shows TSLS estimates from regressions of characteristics of a registrant's wife, measured as of the 1930 census, on veteran status, where veteran status is instrumented with the individual's order number scaled by the number of registrants in his board. The unit of observation is an individual draft registrant, and the sample is limited to those whom we link to the 1930 census and whose wife lived in their household in that census. Columns (1) and (2) use the sample of registrants unmarried as of the time of registration in 1917, while columns (3) and (4) use the complementary sample of registrants who were married in 1917. All outcomes are standardized within these two groups. Standard errors are clustered by serial number and reported in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels.

Table A.XV: Effect of Military Service on Child Name Choice – TSLS Results

Sample	Native index	Protestant index	Native index	Protestant index
	Born before war		Born after war	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Veteran	-0.0536	-0.1558*	0.0323	0.0319
	(0.0812)	(0.0931)	(0.0237)	(0.0243)
Draft board	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth year	✓	✓	✓	✓
Married	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth state	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	3,571,168	3,343,976	5,765,216	5,409,521
First stage F-statistic	712.5	679.7	2,075.8	2,084.8
OLS coefficient	-0.0150	-0.0119	-0.0139	-0.0044
OLS t-statistic	-8.31	-5.99	-12.91	-3.86

Notes: This table shows TSLS estimates from regressions of characteristics of a registrant's child, measured as of the 1930 census, on veteran status, where veteran status is instrumented with the individual's order number scaled by the number of registrants in his board. The unit of observation is the child of a draft registrant, and the sample is limited to those whom we link to the 1930 census and have children living with them in that census. Columns (1) and (2) use the sample of children born before 1920, while columns (3) and (4) use the complementary sample of children born in 1920 or later. All outcomes are standardized within these two groups. Standard errors are clustered by serial number and reported in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels.

Table A.XVI: Association Between Partisanship and KKK Membership in California

	Republican			Democrat		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
KKK member	0.0529***	0.0537***	0.0534***	-0.0454***	-0.0462***	-0.0461***
	(0.0183)	(0.0183)	(0.0184)	(0.0174)	(0.0174)	(0.0174)
Election year-County	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Married		✓	✓		✓	✓
Birth year			✓			✓
Observations	1,810,382	1,810,382	1,810,382	1,810,382	1,810,382	1,810,382
R^2	0.075	0.075	0.075	0.107	0.107	0.108
Num. clusters	238,332	238,332	238,332	238,332	238,332	238,332
Dep. var. mean (not KKK)	0.4912	0.4912	0.4912	0.3765	0.3765	0.3765

Notes: This table shows OLS estimates from regressions of whether an individual was registered with the Republican Party (columns 1 to 3) or the Democratic Party (columns 4 to 6) on an indicator for KKK membership. The unit of observation is a voter in a biennial election year. The sample includes all voter records from California that we link to the 1930 census and to a draft card. Standard errors are clustered by individual and reported in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels.

Table A.XVII: Household-Level Spillovers

	Neighbor in KKK						
Address dist.	0 (not fam.)	0 (fam.)	1	2	3	4	5
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Veteran	0.0045**	0.0007	0.0001	0.0002	-0.0001	0.0002	0.0006
	(0.0020)	(0.0005)	(0.0010)	(0.0008)	(0.0010)	(0.0009)	(0.0010)
Draft board	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth year	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Married	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	795,544	13,946,472	6,443,715	8,432,478	6,008,353	8,487,262	5,818,602
R^2	0.045	0.029	0.035	0.029	0.031	0.033	0.031
First stage F-statistic	1,021.3	40.1	316.2	250.3	331.7	327.8	245.8
Num. clusters	586,044	1,999,637	1,548,717	1,842,229	1,488,973	1,884,925	1,467,734

Notes: This table shows TSLS estimates from regressions where the unit of observation is a registrant-neighbor pair. Focal registrants are white men from the first (June 1917) draft registration, and neighbors are white men from any WWI draft registration wave. The outcome is whether the neighbor was a KKK member. We show the coefficient on veteran status for the focal individual, instrumented using his order number scaled by the number of registrants in his board. In column (1), we show neighbors who reside at the same address as the focal individual and who share a last name (Jaro-Winkler distance less than 0.15). In column (2), we show neighbors who reside at the same address at the focal individual but do not share a last name. In columns (3) to (7), we show neighbors who reside 1 to 5 addresses away on the same street. Standard errors are clustered by the focal individual and reported in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels.

Table A.XVIII: Street-Level Spillovers – Robustness

	KKK share			Num. KKK
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Veteran share	0.0109**	0.0113**	0.0167**	
	(0.0048)	(0.0049)	(0.0071)	
Num. vets				0.0011***
				(0.0003)
Draft board	✓	✓	✓	✓
Additional 1920 controls		✓		
Weight by num. 1st wave registrants			✓	
Observations	147,689	147,683	147,689	147,689
Dependent variable mean	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.068
First stage F-statistic	69.89	87.63	66.67	2,195.6

Notes: This table shows TSLS estimates from regressions where the unit of observation is a street within a draft board. The outcome is the share of non-first-wave registrants on the street identified as KKK members. We show the coefficient on the share of veterans among first-wave registrants on the street, instrumented using the mean predicted veteran indicator among those registrants, where veteran status is predicted using each registrant's order number. Column (2) adds additional controls: the means of indicators for marital status and exemption claim among first-wave registrants, the means of birth year for non-first-wave and first-wave registrants (respectively), and, for non-first-wave registrants whom we match to the 1920 census, the average of indicators for whether they were born in the U.S., whether they were married, whether they were employed, as well as their average occupational income score. Column (3) weights the regression by the number of first-wave registrants on the street. In column (4), we change the outcome to the total number of KKK members on the street, and show the coefficient on the total number of veterans among first-wave registrants, instrumented by the *sum* of veteran status predicted using order number. Standard errors are clustered by board and reported in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels.

Table A.XIX: Spillovers on County Klan Presence

	Second KKK chapter		Third KKK chapter		Klavern in 2000s	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Veteran share	6.959***	9.530***	5.789***	6.451***	4.714**	5.017*
	(2.629)	(3.571)	(1.833)	(2.311)	(2.268)	(2.937)
State	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Women cohort shares		✓		✓		✓
Foreign cohort shares		✓		✓		✓
Observations	3,009	2,945	3,009	2,945	3,009	2,945
Dependent variable mean	0.401	0.408	0.108	0.108	0.187	0.188
First stage F-statistic	4.25	3.37	4.25	3.37	4.25	3.37
OLS coefficient	2.39	2.20	0.90	1.03	3.12	3.00
OLS t-statistic	4.03	3.57	2.56	2.89	5.50	5.13

Notes: This table shows TSLS estimates where the unit of observation is the county. We show the coefficient on the share of veterans in the 1930 census, instrumented using the vector of birth cohort shares (1873 to 1900) in that county among draft registrants. All regressions control for log total number of registrants. Additional controls include the shares of White, native-born, employed, and literate individuals in the 1930 census. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent levels.

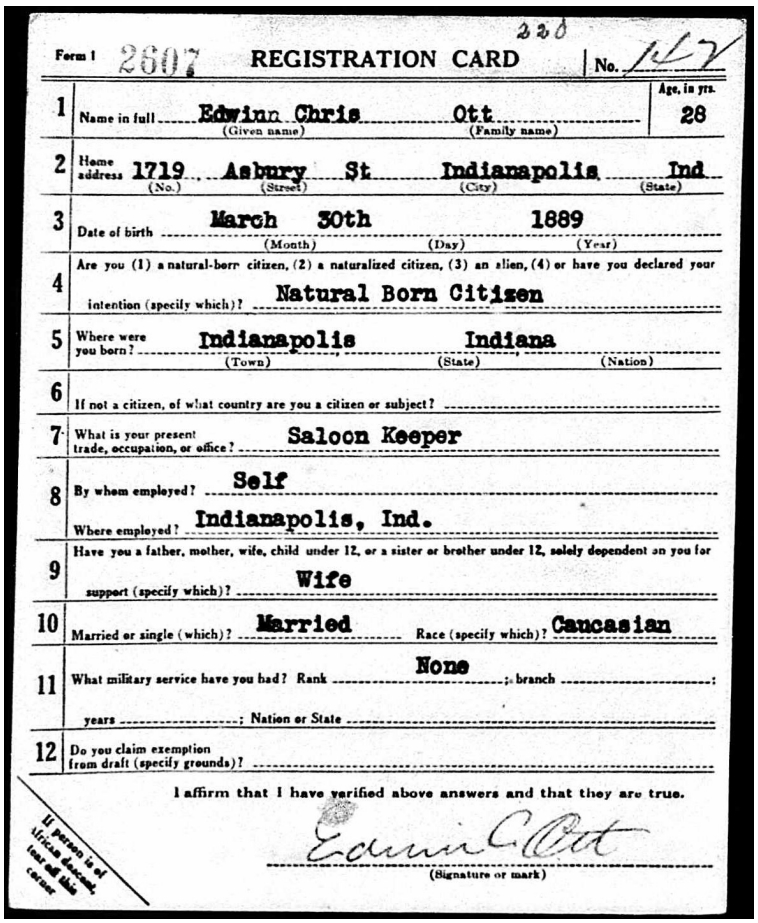

220
Form 1 2607 REGISTRATION CARD No. 157
1 Name in full Edwin Chris (Given name) Ott (Family name) Age, in yrs. 28
2 Home address 1719 (No.) Asbury (Street) St Indianapolis (City) Ind (State)
3 Date of birth March (Month) 30th (Day) 1889 (Year)
4 Are you (1) a natural-born citizen, (2) a naturalized citizen, (3) an alien, (4) or have you declared your intention (specify which)? Natural Born Citizen
5 Where were you born? Indianapolis (Town) Indiana (State) (Nation)
6 If not a citizen, of what country are you a citizen or subject?
7 What is your present trade, occupation, or office? Saloon Keeper
8 By whom employed? Self
Where employed? Indianapolis, Ind.
9 Have you a father, mother, wife, child under 12, or a sister or brother under 12, solely dependent on you for support (specify which)? Wife
10 Married or single (which)? Married Race (specify which)? Caucasian
11 What military service have you had? Rank None; branch ; years ; Nation or State
12 Do you claim exemption from draft (specify grounds)?
I affirm that I have verified above answers and that they are true.
Edwin C Ott
(Signature or mark)
If person is of African descent, insert word black or mulatto

Figure A.I: Example World War I Draft Registration Card

Notes: This figure shows an example of a card from the first WWI draft registration wave, held in 1917. The stamped number in the top left (2607) is the individual's serial number. Using the national drawing order, we can recover the individual's order number, which corresponds to his position in the draft. On this card, the order number (220) is handwritten in the top middle of the card.

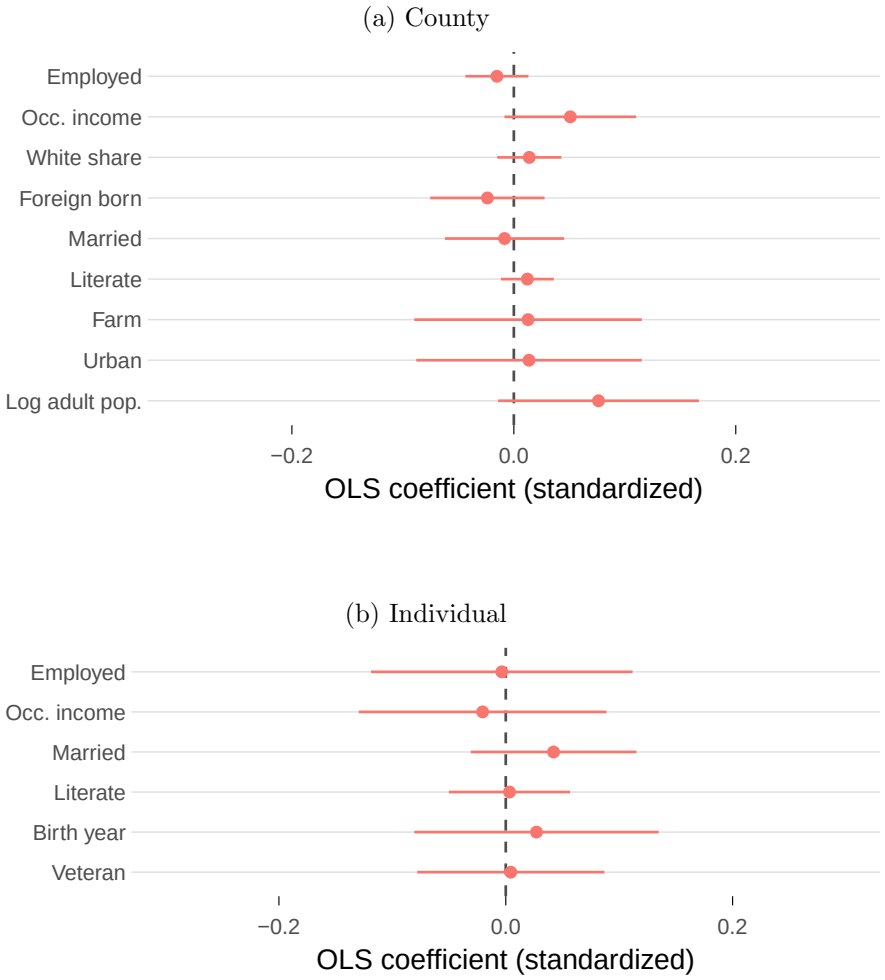


Figure A.II: Predictors of KKK Coverage

Notes: Panel (a) shows coefficient estimates from an OLS regression where the unit of observation is a county. The dependent variable is the number of KKK names identified in our collection of rosters from a county divided by the number of Klaverns in that county from Kneebone and Torres (2015). The regressors are county-level characteristics from the 1930 census: the shares of individuals in urban households and farm households; who were literate, married, foreign born, white, and employed; the average occupational income score; and the log number of individuals who were 18 or older in the 1930 census. The sample is 1,219 counties with at least one Klavern. Panel (b) shows coefficient estimates from OLS regressions where the unit of observation is an individual in the 1930 census whom we identify as a KKK member. The dependent variables are individual characteristics: employment, occupational income, marital status, literacy, birth year, and veteran status. The regressor is the number of names in our collection of Klan rosters from that individual member's county of KKK membership divided by the number of Klaverns in that county from Kneebone and Torres (2015). All variables are standardized, and horizontal bars are 95% confidence intervals using standard errors clustered by county (in Panel a) or heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors (in Panel b).

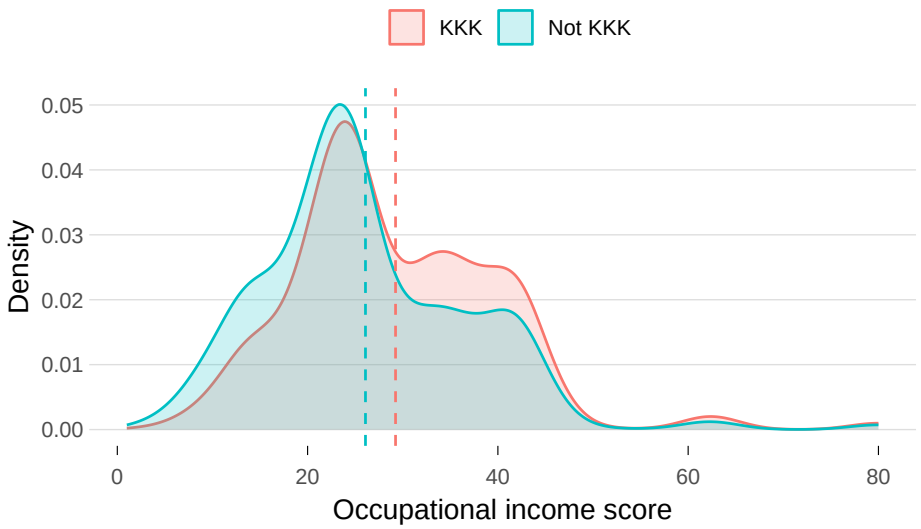


Figure A.III: Occupational Income Scores for KKK Members

Notes: This figure shows the distributions of occupational income scores for individuals in the 1930 census, separately for those whom we identify as KKK members (in red) and those we do not (in blue). The sample is 17,058,321 employed white men living in counties with at least 1 KKK member. Vertical dashed lines are means for each group.

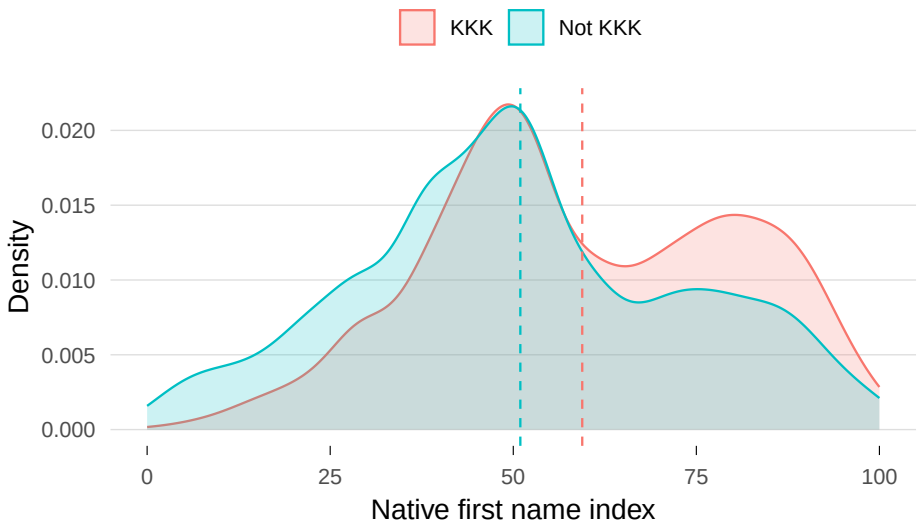


Figure A.IV: Native Name Index for KKK Members

Notes: This figure shows the distributions of the native first name index for citizens in the 1930 census, separately for those whom we identify as KKK members (in red) and those we do not (in blue). The sample is 22,843,129 white men age 20 or older who were citizens as of 1930 living in counties with at least 1 KKK member. Vertical dashed lines are means for each group.

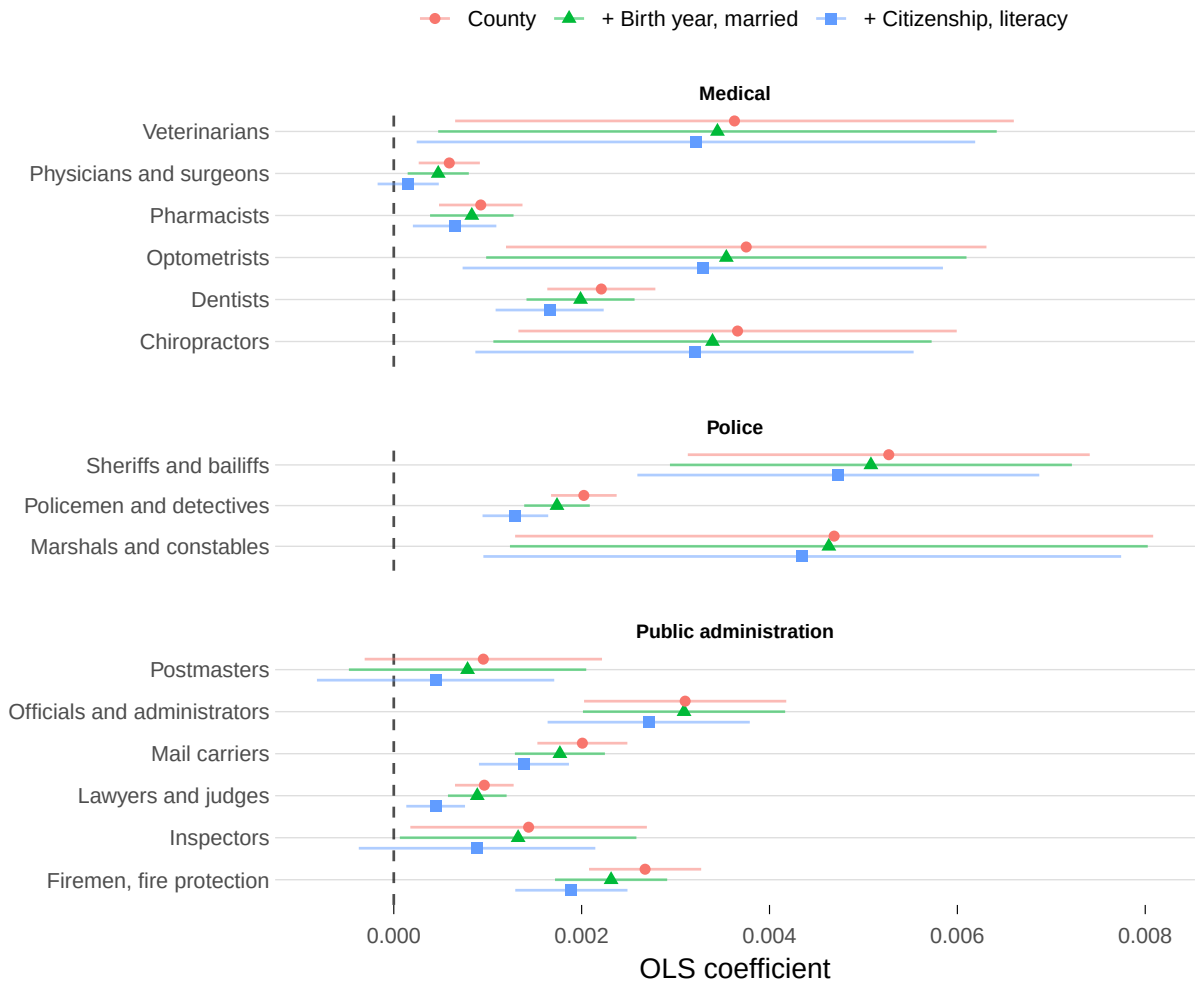


Figure A.V: KKK Occupations with Controls

Notes: This figure shows coefficients from separate OLS regressions of an indicator for KKK membership on an indicator for whether an individual held the given occupation in the 1930 census. The orange series includes county fixed effects. The green series adds birth year and marital status fixed effects. The blue series adds citizenship and literacy fixed effects. The sample is 18,877,749 white men with nonmissing occupation living in counties with at least 1 KKK member. The horizontal lines are 95% confidence intervals using heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors.

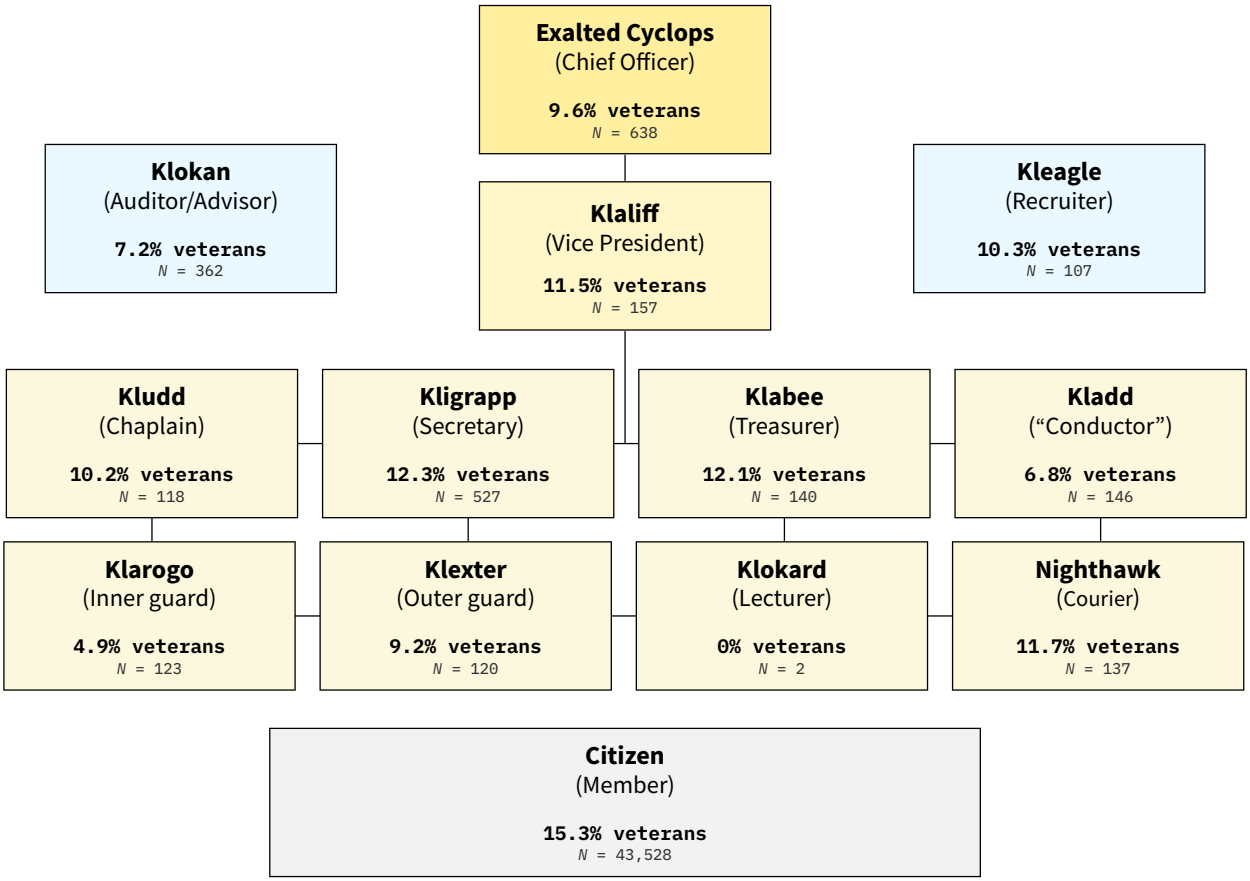


Figure A.VI: Klan Organizational Chart

Notes: This figure shows the organizational hierarchy of a typical KKK branch, or "Klavern," along with the number of unique individuals (linked to the 1930 census) we observe in each position and the share we identify as veterans in the 1930 census.

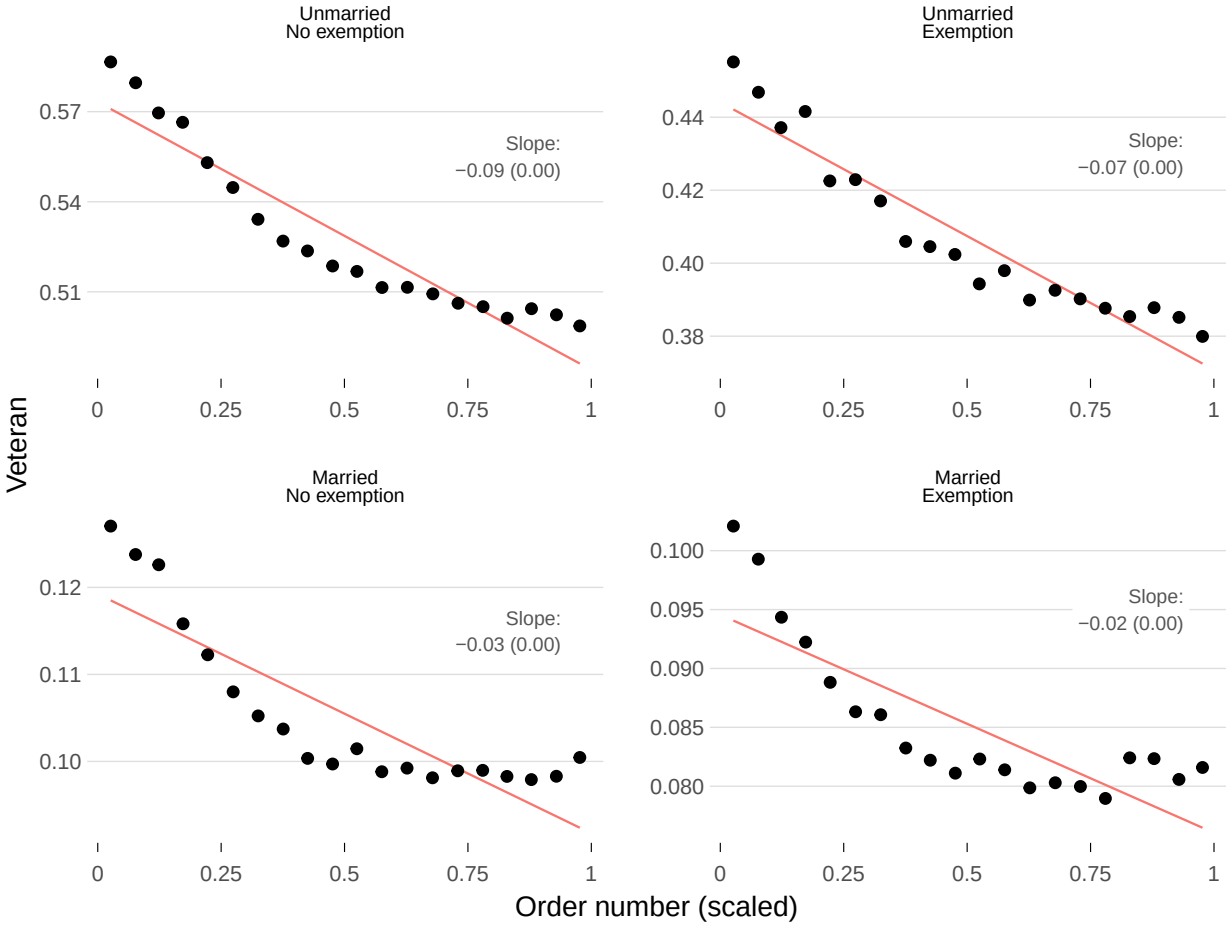


Figure A.VII: First-Stage Relationship By Registrant Type

Notes: This figure shows binned scatter plots of the first-stage relationship between veteran status and order number (scaled by the total registrants in an individual's board) separately for four mutually exclusive groups defined by exemption claim and marital status. The unit of observation is an individual draft registrant. The slope estimate and its standard error (clustered by serial number) are shown in each panel.

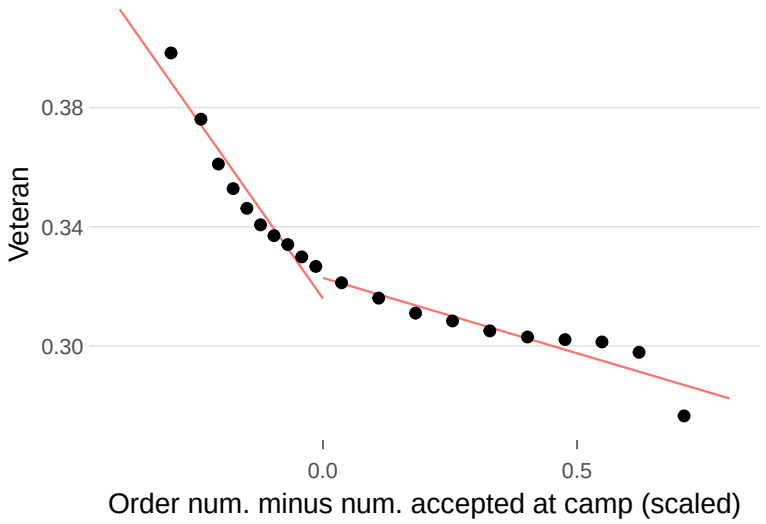


Figure A.VIII: First-Stage Relationship Using Recentered Order Number

Notes: This figure shows the relationship between an individual's veteran status and his order number minus the number of men from his board accepted at training camps, scaled by the total number of registrants in his board. The unit of observation is an individual draft registrant. We show separate linear fits on either side of zero on the horizontal axis, corresponding to the first-stage functional form used in column (2) of Table A.VI. As discussed in Section 6.1.1, we observe a kink but not a discontinuity at zero because of various factors that attenuate the first-stage relationship between order number and veteran status, including volunteering, exemptions, occupation-specific draft calls, and noise due to imperfect linking and transcription.

Figure A.IX: Effects of Military Service on Occupations

Notes: This figure shows estimates from separate TSLS regressions where the unit of observation is an individual draft registrant. We show the coefficient on veteran status, instrumented using the individual's order number scaled by the number of registrants in his board. Outcomes are indicators for whether the individual reported the given occupation in the 1930 census. We show estimates for the 50 largest occupations. The sample is 4,025,093 registrants linked to a 1930 census record with nonmissing occupation. Regressions control for birth year, marital status, and draft board fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered by serial number, and horizontal bars are 95% confidence intervals.

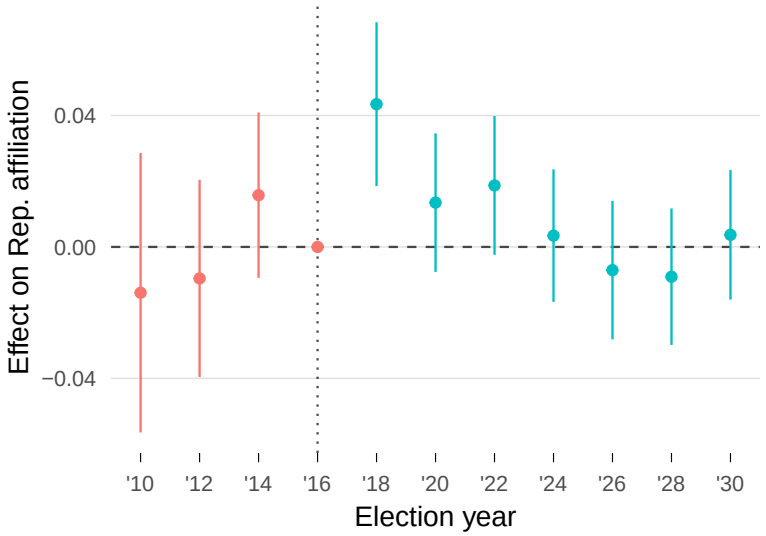


Figure A.X: Event Study of Republican Affiliation in California – Instrumented Using Draft Lottery

Notes: This figure shows estimates from an event study regression where the unit of observation is an individual draft registrant in a biennial election year. We show the coefficient on an interaction between *predicted* veteran status and election year indicators, where veteran status is predicted using order number and board, birth year, and marital status fixed effects. The sample is 209,606 registrants from California with non-missing order number linked to the 1930 census whom we also link to voter registration records from the Great Register. The regression (Eq. 3) includes individual and election year fixed effects, and estimates are relative to 1916. Standard errors are clustered by individual, and vertical bars are 95% confidence intervals.

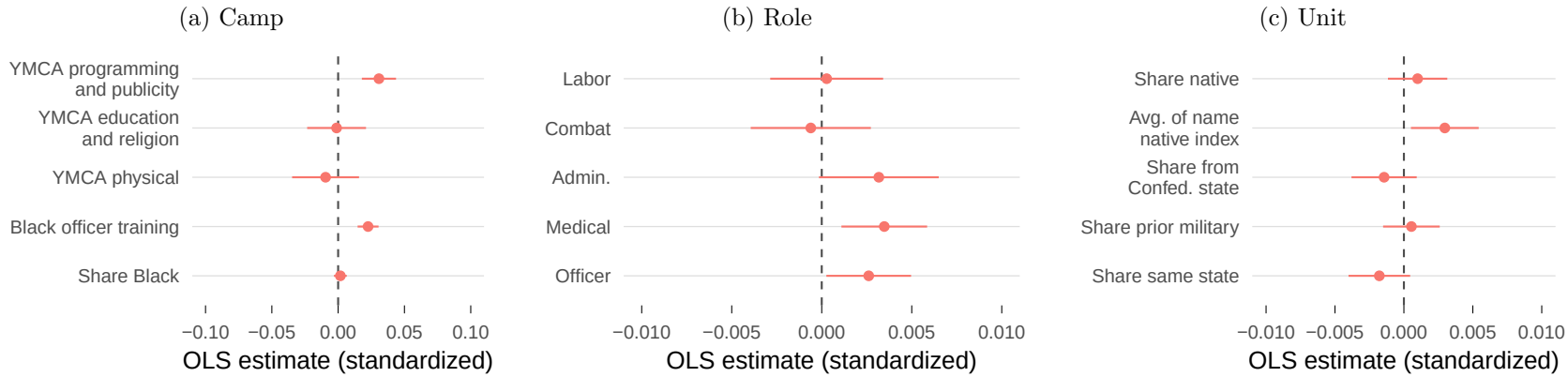


Figure A.XI: Correlations Between KKK Membership and Wartime Experiences – Additional Controls

Notes: This figure shows estimates from OLS regressions where the unit of observation is an individual draft registrant. The sample includes only registrants who served (veterans). The outcome in all regressions is a (standardized) measure of KKK membership, all regressors are standardized, and all regressions include fixed effects for birth year, marital status, exemption claim, prewar occupation, birth state, mother's birthplace (if observed), height (short, medium, or tall), and build (slender, medium, or stout), as well as controlling for the individual's native name index. Horizontal bars are 95% confidence intervals. See the notes to Figure X for additional details.

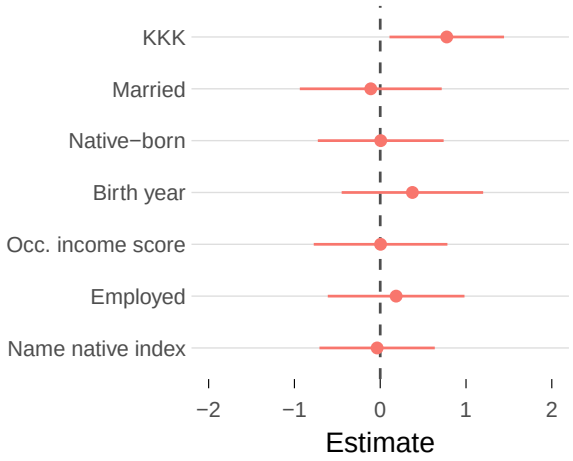


Figure A.XII: Street-Level Spillovers – Exogeneity

Notes: This figure shows TSLS estimates from separate regressions where the unit of observation is a street within a draft board. We show the coefficient on the share of veterans among first-wave registrants on the street, instrumented using the mean predicted veteran indicator among those registrants, where veteran status is predicted using each registrant's order number. The outcomes are, among the non-first-wave registrants on the street, the share who were KKK members, share married, share native-born, average birth year, average occupational income score, share employed, and the average of the native name index. All regressions use board fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered by board, and horizontal bars are 95% confidence intervals.

B Supplementary Details on Data and Linking

We first describe the sources of our data before detailing our linking algorithm and reporting the link rates between various datasets.

B.1 Draft cards

Draft card images are held by the National Archives and Records Administration, and an example is shown in Appendix Figure A.I. We obtained cards for 21.7 million white men. Of these, we identify 8.9 million completed in the first draft registration (for men born between 1886 and 1896), which we use to construct our main analysis sample of "A" cards. We use the remaining cards – from other draft registration waves – when we link the draft cards to the KKK rosters to ensure that we do not mistakenly link a record to an "A" card when there is a plausible match to a non-"A" card. We also use the cards from other waves in our analysis of spillovers.

B.1.1 Digitizing serial numbers

For "A" cards corresponding to the first draft registration wave, the registrant's serial or "red ink" number is generally located on the top left of the card. It was typically stamped, but sometimes handwritten. We digitize this information using TrOCR, a transformer-based text recognition model from Microsoft. We first fine-tune the model on hand-labeled examples of draft registration cards (for Black registrants) used by the authors in prior work (Ang and Chinoy, 2026). Since the way numbers were recorded can vary by draft board, we randomly sample 10 cards from each board to create a labeled dataset of 39,720 images. The fine-tuned model achieves an error rate of 21.4% percent on a 1% held-out sample of this labeled data. We then apply the model to the full sample of "A" cards for white men.

B.2 Sources of veteran information

Since draft cards do not tell us who actually served and the 1930 census underreports veteran status, we link the draft cards to several other databases of military veterans, detailed below:

Veterans Administration Master Index: contains information on about 4 million veterans who served between 1917 and 1920 and claimed benefits from the Veterans Administration.

Army Transport Service lists: contain more than 5.8 million passengers who departed from or arrived at a U.S. port aboard an Army ship during World War I.

Pennsylvania World War I Veterans Service and Compensation Files: contain information on about 640,000 Pennsylvania WWI veterans from service statement cards, compensation applications, and survey questionnaires.

Because individuals who served domestically in the National Guard are often not captured in the above sources, we also link state National Guard rosters from Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Indiana to the draft registration cards.

B.3 Klan rosters

Our KKK membership information comes from several locations and sources, and the format of this information varies across them. The collection includes membership dues ledgers, robe requisition forms, and leaked lists of names uncovered by government prosecutors and Klan infiltrators (which were sometimes published in newspapers). These records always include the individual's name and sometimes their residential address, occupation, or age. After dropping duplicates by name and address and removing businesses and women, we have 126,399 records. The sources are as follows:

1. Pennsylvania, including some records from Delaware and New York (from the Pennsylvania State Archives)
2. Denver, Colorado and surrounding areas (from History Colorado)
3. *Tolerance* newspaper, 1922–1925
4. Marion County, Indiana (from a special issue of *Tolerance*, 1923)
5. Indiana (from the Indiana Historical Society)
6. Michigan (from the Clarke Historical Library)
7. Ohio (from a special issue of *Tolerance*, 1923)
8. Buffalo, New York and surrounding areas (from the Buffalo History Museum)

9. Amarillo, Texas (from Texas Tech University)
10. Dallas, Texas (from the Dallas Historical Society)
11. Uvalde, Texas (from the Briscoe Center for American History at the University of Texas, Austin)
12. Oregon (from the University of Oregon)
13. Pensacola, Florida (from the University of West Florida)
14. Wood County, Ohio (from Bowling Green State University)
15. Tulsa, Oklahoma (from the McFarlin Library at the University of Tulsa)
16. Orange County, California (from the Pollak Library at CSU Fullerton)
17. California (from various newspapers, including the *Los Angeles Times* and *Sacramento Bee*)
18. Baton Rouge, Louisiana (from Louisiana State University)
19. Georgia (from the Hargrett Library at the University of Georgia)
20. Bayfield, Colorado (from the Center of Southwest Studies at Fort Lewis College)
21. Butte, Montana (from the Eastern Washington State Historical Society)
22. Alabama (from the W.S. Hoole Special Collections Library at the University of Alabama)
23. Pond Creek, Kentucky (from the University of Kentucky Library)
24. North Carolina (from the J. Y. Joyner Library at East Carolina University)
25. New York state (from the New York State Library)
26. Knox County, Tennessee (from the Stuart A. Rose Library at Emory University)
27. Spokane, Washington (from *The Spokane Press*, 1922)
28. Yuma, Arizona (from the Yuma County Library District)

B.4 Other club rosters

In addition to the KKK rosters, we link our analysis sample of draft registrants to three other databases intended to capture membership in "placebo" organizations. These are:

Sons of the American Revolution: Contains more than 33,000 successful applications for membership in the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution.

Freemasons (Massachusetts): Contains more than 96,000 membership cards for The Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of Massachusetts.

Fraternal orders (Kansas): Contains more than 53,000 individuals "for whom a notice of death was published in the proceedings of a fraternal order" in Kansas. These orders include the Ancient Order of United Workmen, Knights of Pythias, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and Rebekah Assembly of the IOOF.

B.5 Linking

As described in Section 3 and summarized in Figure III, to construct our main analysis sample, we first link the various sources of veteran information directly to the draft cards. Then, we link the KKK records directly to the cards, as well as to the 1920 and 1930 decennial censuses. Finally, we link the draft cards to the 1920 and 1930 censuses. We also link other club rosters to the draft cards, and separately, we link the California Great Register to the 1920 and 1930 censuses.

B.5.1 Algorithm

Our linking algorithm is a supervised learning procedure inspired by the approach in Feigenbaum (2016) and Buckles et al. (2025). We first generate candidate pairs using simple blocking rules (e.g., matching on first initial, last initial, and state of birth). We filter these candidate pairs using name similarity (and birth year similarity, when applicable) and send a sample of those candidates to three LLMs to adjudicate between the possible pairs or confirm the pair is a true link, if there is only one candidate for a given individual. We then use the consensus decision from those LLMs as labeled data to train a probit model to predict whether a given pair is a true link. We use a sample of the labeled data for training, and a disjoint sample of the labeled data to set thresholds for the

minimum probability predicted by the probit model to consider a pair a true link. Our procedure comprises the following steps:

1. Create candidate pairs using blocking rules (e.g., first initial, last initial, and birthplace match exactly). Filter pairs using loose thresholds (0.15) for Jaro-Winkler distance in names and, if applicable, birth year distance.

2. Sample candidates from left dataset and, for each candidate, send the top 10 candidate pairs[B1] to three LLMs (`gpt-5.2`, `claude-sonnet-4-5`, and `gemini-3-pro`) to decide whether one of the candidate pairs is a true link. (We allow the LLMs to decide that there are multiple good links that cannot be adjudicated, or to decide that none of the candidates are good links.)

3. Use the consensus decision of the LLMs: we consider a pair a true link only if all three LLMs agree. This constitutes our labeled data.

4. Randomly split the labeled data into a training and testing set.

5. Estimate a probit regression to predict links in the training data using the features available in both datasets.[B2]

6. Using the fitted model, predict link probability for each pair in the testing data. Call this predicted probability p_{ij}.

7. For each observation in the left dataset i, keep only the candidate link with the maximum p_{ij}, so $p_i = \max_j p_{ij}$. Compute the ratio between this probability and the probability of the next-best link, and save this ratio as q_i. If there is only one candidate link for i, then $q_i = \infty$.

8. A pair (i, j) is considered the "true" link for i if $p_i > P$ and $q_i > Q$. Using the labeled testing dataset, compute the precision and recall as functions of P and Q.

9. For each Q, fit a fourth-order polynomial to precision and recall as a function of P, and save the fitted values. We do this to avoid "jumpiness" in the optimal thresholds due to the finite

[B1] Scored roughly using name, birth year, and location information.

[B2] The full set of features includes: first, middle, and last name Jaro-Winkler distance, birth year difference (or exact birth date match), street name Jaro-Winkler distance, address number match, geographic distance between the town/place or county, marital status in each dataset, occupation Jaro-Winkler distance, name uniqueness, the number of candidate pairs for a given individual (and that value squared). Not all features are available for every pair of datasets.

size of the labeled dataset.

10. Compute the F_β score (using the smoothed values of precision and recall) as a function of P and Q under various tradeoffs between precision and recall (β).[B3]

11. For each β, choose the $P^*(\beta)$ and $Q^*(\beta)$ thresholds that maximize the F_β score.

12. Use the fitted probit model to predict link probabilities for all candidate pairs p_{ij}, then compute p_i and q_i for each individual i by keeping only the pair with the highest link probability. Use the thresholds chosen previously to compute, for each individual i, the minimum β at which the best link for that individual "survives," i.e., the minimum β for which $p_i > P^*(\beta)$ and $q_i > Q^*(\beta)$. Call this b_i.

B.5.2 Link rates

Table B.I shows information about the linked datasets we generate using the above algorithm. For each, we summarize the variables used for blocking and linking, along with the final linking rate and optimal P and Q thresholds for the $\beta = 1$ links. In Table B.II, we show link rates, precision, and recall for each of the loose, standard, and strict links. Table B.III provides more detail on the link rates from our KKK rosters to the draft cards and to the 1920 and 1930 censuses separately for each source of KKK data.

[B3] F_β is the weighted harmonic mean of precision and recall, where $\beta < 1$ weights precision more highly than recall.

Table B.I: Linking Summary

From	To	Block on	Link on	Link rate (train)	Link rate (final)	Recall	Precision	P	Q
VAMI	Draft cards	Birth year and residence state or exact birth date	Birth date, city, county	0.606	0.608	0.930	0.960	0.30	1.1
ATS	Draft cards	Residence state	Address, city, county	0.389	0.424	0.531	0.839	0.22	1.2
PA Nat. Guard	Draft cards	Birth year and residence state	Birth year, city, county	0.383	0.363	0.775	0.826	0.29	1.8
PA veterans	Draft cards	Birth year and residence state or exact birth date	Birth date, city, county	0.558	0.554	0.942	0.928	0.30	1.5
SAR	Draft cards	Birth year and birthplace or exact birth date	Birth date, birth place	0.689	0.723	0.986	0.958	0.16	1.0
Freemasons	Draft cards	Birth year and residence state or exact birth date	Birth date, city, county	0.724	0.758	0.986	0.941	0.17	1.1
KKK	Draft cards	Residence state	Address, city, county	0.350	0.373	0.811	0.797	0.28	1.3
KKK	1920 census	Residence state	Street name, city, county, occupation	0.417	0.458	0.794	0.747	0.15	1.9
KKK	1930 census	Residence state	Address, city, county, occupation	0.409	0.442	0.792	0.780	0.21	1.5
Draft cards	1920 census	Birth year and birthplace	Birth year, street name, city, county	0.539	0.543	0.908	0.902	0.22	1.3
Draft cards	1930 census	Birth year and birthplace	Birth year, address, city, county	0.490	0.504	0.897	0.874	0.25	1.3

Notes: Link statistics are for $\beta = 1$. We always block on first initial and last initial and link on first, middle, and last name, in addition to the variables shown in the table. Training link rate is computed as the consensus LLM link rate among the sample sent to the LLMs, all of which have at least one potential link, multiplied by the share of all rows with at least one potential link.

Table B.II: Link Rates by β

			$\beta = 0.5$			$\beta = 1$			$\beta = 1.5$		
From	To	Training link rate	Link rate	Recall	Precision	Link rate	Recall	Precision	Link rate	Recall	Precision
VAMI	Draft cards	0.606	0.569	0.894	0.982	0.608	0.930	0.960	0.620	0.936	0.947
ATS	Draft cards	0.389	0.366	0.495	0.903	0.424	0.531	0.839	0.455	0.546	0.799
PA Nat. Guard	Draft cards	0.383	0.286	0.673	0.916	0.363	0.775	0.826	0.403	0.810	0.780
PA veterans	Draft cards	0.558	0.506	0.880	0.963	0.554	0.942	0.928	0.575	0.955	0.913
SAR	Draft cards	0.689	0.689	0.952	0.974	0.723	0.986	0.958	0.726	0.989	0.958
Freemasons	Draft cards	0.724	0.703	0.938	0.960	0.758	0.986	0.941	0.761	0.988	0.937
KKK	Draft cards	0.350	0.261	0.637	0.925	0.373	0.811	0.797	0.421	0.849	0.750
KKK	1920 census	0.417	0.300	0.619	0.875	0.458	0.794	0.747	0.565	0.873	0.674
KKK	1930 census	0.409	0.323	0.658	0.875	0.442	0.792	0.780	0.523	0.858	0.703
Draft cards	1920 census	0.539	0.468	0.824	0.959	0.543	0.908	0.902	0.582	0.938	0.871
Draft cards	1930 census	0.490	0.430	0.830	0.924	0.504	0.897	0.874	0.548	0.932	0.837

Notes: Training link rate is computed as the consensus LLM link rate among the sample sent to the LLMs, all of which have at least one potential link, multiplied by the share of all rows with at least one potential link.

B.5.3 Evaluation against human labels

In Table B.IV, we compare the LLM consensus training data to human-labeled data using a random sample of 1,000 KKK records to be linked to the 1930 census. Most of the time (82.7%) the human and LLM decisions align. Very rarely (0.1%) do both the human and LLMs agree that a KKK record has a census link, but disagree on which link to make. The most common case where the human and LLM decisions diverge is when the human links a KKK record to a census individual but the LLM does not (13.1%), showing that the LLM decisions tend to be more conservative than human labels. Table B.IV also compares the final algorithmic links to the human-labeled data, showing a similar pattern: an overall high rate of agreement, though the human links are somewhat more conservative.

B.5.4 Constructing analysis datasets

1930 census: Our descriptive analysis in Section 4 uses all white men in the 1930 census born before 1910. We link these individuals to the draft cards and to the 1920 census (via the Census Tree). We consider an individual a KKK member if they are linked to the KKK records either directly, through the draft cards, or through the 1920 census.

Draft registrants (main analysis data): To construct the main analysis data, we start with all draft cards from the first registration for white men for which we observe a valid local order number. Then, we merge on direct links to the 1920 and 1930 censuses. If a card is linked to the 1920 but not the 1930 census, we attempt to link the card to the 1930 census indirectly via the intercensal links from the Census Tree, and likewise if the card is linked to the 1930 but not the 1920 census. We then merge on direct links from the KKK records to the draft cards, then links from the KKK records to the censuses. Our baseline specification considers a registrant a KKK member if they are linked to the KKK records directly or indirectly via the 1920 or 1930 census. Then, we merge links between the cards and VAMI, ATS, and state-level military records. We consider a registrant a veteran if they are linked to a 1930 census record (either directly or indirectly through the 1920 census) that is recorded as a veteran, or if their card is linked directly to VAMI, ATS, or the state military records.

Family: Our analysis of family choices in Section 6.4 restricts the main analysis sample to cards we

Table B.III: KKK Link Rates by Source

Source	Num. rows	Cards		1920 census		1930 census	
		Link rate	Num. unique	Link rate	Num. unique	Link rate	Num. unique
All	**126,399**	**0.259**	**27,227**	**0.295**	**31,011**	**0.323**	**33,324**
Pennsylvania	35,931	0.221	6,869	0.260	8,186	0.303	9,215
Denver, Colorado	29,058	0.265	5,194	0.322	6,319	0.377	7,329
Tolerance	12,127	0.323	3,801	0.342	4,035	0.320	3,758
Tolerance (Marion County)	10,844	0.423	4,473	0.387	4,103	0.385	4,075
Indiana	7,101	0.227	1,524	0.276	1,826	0.268	1,767
Michigan	5,958	0.160	494	0.243	765	0.227	727
Tolerance (Ohio)	4,255	0.347	1,467	0.408	1,733	0.433	1,835
Buffalo, New York	3,909	0.364	1,404	0.441	1,705	0.452	1,746
Texas	3,081	0.206	558	0.234	626	0.233	630
Oregon	2,676	0.166	353	0.174	393	0.174	378
Pensacola, Florida	1,986	0.128	211	0.139	235	0.160	263
Ohio	1,760	0.252	394	0.275	443	0.318	506
Tulsa, Oklahoma	1,464	0.138	172	0.146	189	0.383	481
Orange County, California	1,406	0.118	165	0.140	192	0.222	307
California (newspapers)	1,280	0.252	312	0.298	373	0.229	281
Baton Rouge, Louisiana	893	0.242	209	0.203	173	0.316	268
Georgia	571	0.110	59	0.130	69	0.159	88
Bayfield, Colorado	483	0.075	33	0.124	54	0.101	43
Montana	398	0.302	84	0.339	93	0.399	105
Alabama	314	0.092	22	0.051	12	0.076	20
Pond Creek, Kentucky	208	0.067	14	0.115	24	0.149	31
North Carolina	192	0.219	37	0.224	38	0.240	43
New York	163	0.123	20	0.147	24	0.147	24
Knox County, Tennesse	141	0.213	30	0.291	41	0.298	42
Spokane, Washington	112	0.268	30	0.446	49	0.339	38
Yuma, Arizona	88	0.227	19	0.182	15	0.273	22

Notes: "Num. rows" refers to the total number of entries in the KKK records from that source; the link rate is computed at the row level, while "num. unique" refers to the number of *unique* individuals in each of the cards, 1920 census, and 1930 census identified as KKK members.

Table B.IV: Comparing to Human Links, KKK to 1930 Census

		Final link (probit)		
	LLM link	Strict	Standard	Loose
Both linked and agree	0.387	0.325	0.400	0.438
Both linked and disagree	0.001	0.003	0.006	0.010
Linked by hand only	0.131	0.191	0.113	0.071
Link by other only	0.041	0.024	0.055	0.103
Neither linked	0.440	0.457	0.426	0.378
Precision	0.902	0.923	0.868	0.795
Recall	0.746	0.626	0.771	0.844

Notes: This table compares human-labeled links to links generated by the consensus decision among 3 LLMs, which we use as training data for our linking algorithm, as well as the final links produced by the algorithm for three linking thresholds: $\beta = 0.5$, 1.0, and 1.5. The evaluation is performed on a random sample of 1,000 KKK records to be linked to the 1930 census.

link to the 1930 census, either directly or indirectly via the 1920 census and the Census Tree. The analysis of spouses uses registrants who were unmarried in 1917 and have a spouse living with them in the 1930 census; there is one row per registrant-spouse. The analysis of children uses registrants who have children living with them in the 1930 census; there are multiple rows per registrant, one for each child.

Neighbors: Our analysis of neighbors uses pairs of draft registrants, where focal individuals are cards for white men from the first draft registration (hence subject to induction) with valid order numbers, and neighbors are white men from any draft registration wave. Neighbors must share a street name and draft board, and the absolute value of the difference in their address number cannot be more than 10. Family members are those at the same address whose last names have Jaro-Winkler distance under 0.15.

California voters: Our analysis of voter registration records in Section 6.4 uses all records from the California Great Register that we link to the 1930 census, either directly or indirectly via the 1920 census and the Census Tree. We construct a panel of observations from biennial election years linked to a given individual in the 1930 census. We then merge this panel with the set of draft registrants that are also linked to the 1930 census, from which we obtain their veteran status and their KKK membership using the same rules above.