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Leadership and Social Norms: Evidence from the Forty-Eighters in the Civil War

Abstract: A growing theoretical literature emphasizes the role that prominent individuals play in shaping beliefs and social norms. We provide empirical evidence for such 'civic leadership.' We focus on the Forty-Eighters, a group of political refugees from Ger- many's failed 1848 revolutions, and their role in the struggle for the abolition of slav- ery in the U.S. Our primary outcome is volunteering for the Union Army. Given the enormously high death toll during the Civil War, this measure provides a powerful measure of social convictions against slavery. Using different empirical strategies, we show that towns where Forty-Eighters settled in the 1850s increased their Union Army enlistments by three per hundred adult males over the course of the war. Using ma- chine learning techniques to infer soldiers' ancestry, we find that the Forty-Eighters had the biggest impact on the enlistment of German Americans, a smaller effect on Native and Irish men, and yet a smaller effect on the other two large immigrant groups, Scandinavian and Italian. We also distinguish between Forty-Eighters who themselves enlisted in the war and those did not. Those who did not themselves fight had an equally important influence on enlistment, the data suggesting a high involvement in their local communities. Those who did fight also had a discernible effect in the field of battle, lowering their soldiers' likelihood of desertion.