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Pushing Back: Heterogeneous Effects of State-led Repression - The Chilean Case

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Abstract

In this paper I disentangle the extent to which state-led repression has heterogeneous effects that depend on individual characteristics. While in Chapter 1 I find that the average effect of repression on many individual political outcomes is negative, in this Chapter, I find robust evidence that repression has differential effects depending on people's identities and how they react to challenges to it. For example, subjects who were members of a radical party in 1973, such as the communist party, and were repressed are more likely to join political parties, to work in and donate money to a political activities relative to those radicals who were not repressed. I also find that subjects who were students in 1973 and are repressed are more likely to belong to a union, participate in strikes and political protests and donate money for political activities than those who were not students and were not repressed. From these results it is possible to argue that while repression causes a generalized fear which can lead to de-politicization of all the individuals who were repressed, there are some exceptions where fear is counter-acted by people with particular individual characteristics, taking positive actions to re-affirm their identity which was challenged by repression.

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1 Introduction

What is the impact of state led repression on people's political preferences and levels of participation? Though political scientists have long theorized about the long-lasting effects of different political regimes and their policies, these questions have hardly been studied at the individual level. Moreover repression, though it is the defining tool of social control of all autocratic regimes, has been little studied or conceptualized. In Chapter 1, I analyzed a unique dataset I collected in Chile in 2012 based on a survey administered to a random sample of subjects who experienced repression during the military dictatorship in Chile (1973-1990). I compared their political behavior and preferences to subjects with very similar socio-economic characteristics but who were not repressed. In that paper, I showed that the average effects of repression are negative when it comes to membership in unions and political parties or movements. In response, repressed subjects seem to substitute their activism into other forms, for example being more likely to join human rights organizations. I argued that this change in political behavior is driven by a paralyzing fear generated by the traumatic experience of repression and since this fear persisted so did the consequences for political behavior. I also provided evidence that showed that even though repression and the subsequent fear changed subject's political behavior, their political preferences did not change. For example, when subjects were asked about the extent to which they were interested in politics before and after the coup, repression does not lead to a change in their responses. I obtained the same result when they were asked about their political ideology (left-right spectrum) (Chapter 1).

Yet these findings are accompanied by some significant puzzles. For instance, the case study and testimonial literature suggests that different types of people react differently to experiences of repression. The most common effect of repression is a negative reaction where people express their disappointments and frustrations as a result of the the persisting fear they experienced. Take the case of Paulina Vicencio. Her testimony is recorded in the book "One Hundred Voices Break the Silence" edited by Kunstman and Torres (2008). Vicencio,

22 years old at the time of the coup, described how she was detained because she was the union leader in the hospital she used to work. She was held in different detention centers and she recalled:

> I still have the bitter feeling that at the end the military defeated me, they along with those who supported them and who were ideologically sympathetic to them. They broke me, in a way that is impossible to fix. I am left with a feeling of vain struggles, useless discussions, of disappointment, of failure. Yes, of failure in life against life.

(Vicencio, 1992)

The other type of reaction is the one where subjects show a great deal of resilience and instead of withdrawing from society and the different ways they expressed their identity, they "pushed-back" by taking a more active role in the different spaces they could use. For example, Ernesto Araneda was a Senator for the Communist party representing the provinces of Bíobío, Malleco and Cautín in 1973. In September 27th, 1973 he was detained by the Air Force Intelligence Services and taken to the War Academy of the Air Force where he spent three days under interrogation. Amongst the subjects of the interrogation were the "Plan Zeta" [1]. According to his testimonial "the worst torture I experienced was the one in the War Academy: they gave me electric shocks to my ears, testicles and mouth". He was then taken to the National Stadium and he recalls that "They put me against the wall and they beat me in between my legs. They would tell me: "spread your legs!" and they would hit me again and again and again...the pain I felt must be like the pain a woman feels when she is giving birth". For the next two years he was held in 8 different detention centers where the conditions did not improve. In August of 1975 he was sent into exile to Belgium. When he reflects on these events he claims that for him torture was not such a big issue because he is aware that his friends suffered even more than what he did. However he does acknowledge that during the torture and interrogation sessions he would deliberately "forget" (about

[1] More details about "Plan Zeta" can be found in the first Chapter of this dissertation

relevant information of the members of the party) "Because, what happens when you are about to be interrogated, who do you think about? Your children, your wife and the people from the party. If I opened my mouth I would have become a traitor. Under no circumstance that could have happened!" (Kuntsman and Torres eds. 2008, p. 76-78). As I mentioned in Chapter 1, the constitution stipulated that in 1988 there would be another plebiscite on whether or not Pinochet should continue for another 8 years as president. This took place on 5th October 1988 with 56% voted 'No' thus paving the way to re-democratization. In this same year, 1988, he returned to Chile and he described how once back:

> "I took part in political activities again. I sold the newspaper *El Siglo* [newspaper printed by the communist party] in Paseo Ahumada, I managed to participate in some political demonstrations...Then I went to Temuco where I was a deputy candidate, I came back to Santiago where I started working for my comuna San Joaquín and in 1992 I was elected as Councilman in this comuna."

(Kuntsman and Torres eds. 2008, p. 78)

These examples suggest that there may be heterogeneous effects of repression on people's political behavior and in particular that some types of people. In these two cases we see Vicencio, a former member of a union and the socialist party, cursed by the experience of repression which led her to reject as futile the political activities which had led to her detention while Araneda, a leader of the communist party in 1973, instead recovers from his repression and reaffirms his political views and commitments to the party and his community.

In this Chapter, I will argue that these diverging reactions of repression can be reconciled within a theoretical framework that studies how people form their identity, and how people's political activities stem from their attempt to build or sustain their identity. Green, Palmquist and Schickler (2002) have recently placed people's political identities at the center of political behavior. They argue that identities, acquired at an early age through social learning and other channels of socialization, are remarkably enduring and heavily impact subsequent political behavior. This stability arises even if people's initial identities are often

confronted with change and with challenges. Sometimes this can lead identities to change. Yet the recent literature on identity formation (Akerlof and Kranton, 2010, for an overview) has stressed that challenges to a person's identity can induce heterogeneous effects. Such challenges can destroy people's identities and with it the political activities which their identity formerly generated. Yet they can also lead people to take actions to try to re-confirm their identity. For example, in the model of Benabou and Tirole (2011) people who are very secure of their identity do not need to take actions to prove to themselves what they are. People who are very insecure about their identity also will not take such actions because they are ineffectual. Rather it is people at intermediate values of uncertainly about their identity who take actions to try to re-confirm it. For example, those newly converted to religion are more zealous in practicing their religion than those who have been religious for a long time. Their model predicts that if someone who is very secure of their identity has it challenged then this can create insecurity about their identity and hence lead them to take actions to re-confirm their formerly secure identity. [2]

This research on identity and similar studies like it, which have proposed the notion of "oppositional identities" (Austen-Smith and Fryer, 2005, and Bisin, Patacchini, Verdier and Zenou,2011), offer me theoretical foundations that allow me to think about the impact of repression on people's political behavior because their underlying assumptions about individuals are very similar to those in the political science literature, particularly Green, Palmquist and Schickler (2002). In this context an "oppositional identity" are those which "require the rejection of the accepted norms of the majority group" Bisin, Patacchini, Verdier and Zenou (2011, pp. 1047). For example, in the case of Austen-Smith and Fryer (2005) an "oppositional identity" appears when members of a black community who seek to acquire higher levels of education or occupational status (and therefore income), face peer pressure by the majority group and are punished by 'acting white'. Bisin, Patacchini, Verdier and Zenou

[2]Another related example, is the one by Posner (2005) who, although does not look at individual level psychological changes he shows how ethnic identities in Zambia changed when political institutions and incentives changed.

(2011) study the case of why some ethnic minorities decide to choose these "oppositional identities" and through an intergenerational model explain why these identities persist over time. For the purpose of this Chapter, I can argue that the heterogeneous effects of repression can be understood through the lens of this theory since there will be subjects who will want to reject how the majority of repressed subjects reacted after their traumatic episode.

Moreover, this conceptualization of identity and responses to challenges to it allows me to put a theoretical structure on the search for the heterogeneous effects of repression. Since my focus is on political preferences and behavior, political identities are the most significant thing to focus on (see Green, Palmquist and Schickler (2002) for the dominant predictive power of political ideology relative to other individual characteristics such as socio-economic class). Here, the results of Benabou and Tirole (2011) suggest that it would be the people who were initially most convinced about the project of the Allende government and were put in 'doubt' about their radical identity are the ones who could respond to challenges to their identities by taking actions to re-confirm it. It is most reasonable to associate these people with radical left-wing political parties, such as the Communists and the Movement of Revolutionary Left (MIR). Therefore, I argue that members of radical political parties who were repressed might behave systematically differently than those radicals who were not repressed. More specifically, Benabou and Tirole's model predicts that repressed radicals might intensify their political behavior relative to the non-repressed in response to their experience of repression.

The idea that repression can be thought of as a challenge to people's identity is very consistent with the literature by psychologists on the Chilean dictatorship. For example, Barcel, Paz and Reszczynski, who were themselves all victims of torture, documented the ways in which identity was challenged under torture sessions in their book "Torture and Resistance in Chile: a Medical and Political Study" (2013). They studied in detail 80 cases of people who were tortured and made comparisons of the reasons why and how subjects react differently to the experience of torture. They illustrate how torture was used deliberately

to extract information about political organizations "torture was used as an instrument to "break" the prisoner and to immobilize them politically". But repression was also used to directly undermine and challenge the identity of the person noting "The action of repression is directed more specifically and ultimately to provoke a destabilization in the ideological position of the subject" (pp. 179-180). [3]

In addition to this hypothesis about radicals, theories of the adoption of identities suggest that certain moments of one's life are particularly important in attaining particular identities. For example, Pop-Eleches and Tucker (2013) argue that people in the former Soviet Union who were between the ages of 6 and 17 during the last intense phase of Stalinism would be deeply affected by this experience. The experience of the 1960s and the work of Lipset and Altbach (1969) suggests that being a student is a period in which people's life identity is importantly shaped and often in radical ways and it is plausible to believe that those who were students at the time of the military coup might display similar responses to repression as radicals given the intense socialization period they were going through. The Valech Report also states that one main groups that the dictatorship targeted were university and high school students as a strategy to keep any potential threat to the regime under control. (Comisión Nacional Sobre Prisión Política y Tortura, 2004, pp. 192)

This can be illustrated with the case of the writer and poet Aristóteles España. In 1973 he was 18 years old and was one of the leaders of the student federation and member of the socialist party in the southern city of Punta Arenas. Soon after the coup he was detained by the Air Force and taken to Dawson Island where he was one of the youngest prisoners. In an interview he described how he suffered terribly in this concentration camp "We were not only savagely tortured but they also practiced fake executions and subjected us to forced labor, which according to one Army official they were meant to make us: "lose any capacity for thinking and understand that we were just numbers". In my case I was F-13". This

[3]Although these quotes suggests that the intensity of repression will determine the long term response, I estimated some models that look at whether there are differences between in having been detain for more than one month versus less and there is no statistical differences in the different outcomes I examined.

traumatic event did not stop his activism, in 1976 he joined an underground group of the socialist party and he stayed politically active until his dead in 2011. He was also very engaged in promoting literary and cultural events that involved the youth. When he was asked to think about the importance of his generation in representing the resistance against tyranny and from his poetry, he claimed that "My generation, in addition to going out to the streets to fight against the tyrant, maintained an ethical and responsible attitude towards the written word"[4].

In the spirit of this analysis I hypothesize that certain types of people, though they might experience the forces which I discuss above and led me to hypothesis that the average effects of repression are negative, may also "push back" against repression, More specifically,

Hypothesis 2: *I hypothesize that those who were most committed to the program of the UP government, and were repressed, would experience a greater challenge to their identity and could react by taking actions to reconfirm that identity.*

Empirically, I measure this by looking at whether or not members of radical political parties, such as the communist party or the movement of revolutionary left, react differently to repression. I also conjecture that people who were repressed during intense periods of socialization, such as students, may react differently to repression, and given the radicalism of the moment in 1973, could also "push back" against those who victimized them.

The findings in this paper show robust evidence that repression has differential effects depending on people's identities and how they react to challenges to it. For example, subjects who were members of a radical party in 1973, such as the communist party, and were repressed are more likely to join political parties, to work in and donate money to political activities compared to those radicals who were not repressed. I also find that subjects who were students in 1973 and were repressed are more likely to belong to a union, participate in strikes and political protests than those who were not students and were not repressed.[5]

[4]See interview in his blog: <http://paginadearistotelesespana.blogspot.sg/p/entrevistas.html>

[5]It is important to emphasize that radicals and students are not simply the same people. Only 20 out of 114 of the former students in my sample were members of radical political parties.

Though to my knowledge there has been no previous studies at the micro level of the impact of state repression on people's political behavior or preferences my research is related to several other literatures. Most importantly recent research has studied at the individual level the impact of civil war and crime victimization on people's political activities. For instance, Bellows and Miguel (2008) and Blattman (2009) showed that being victimized in the Sierra Leone civil war or forced to join the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda led people to be subsequently more involved in politics. Bateman (2012) showed that crime victimization had similar effects. While these studies found average effects which were very different from the ones presented in Chapter 1. I argued there that this may be because state repression is a very different phenomenon than civil war violence and crime victimization. Bellows and Miguel (2008) did consider whether or not there were heterogeneous effects in their dataset, for example by interacting a series of variables such as gender, education, age, whether or not a person was a traditional authority, with their civil war victimization index. Their most interesting result was that the interaction of the victimization index with a variable which captured whether or not a person was young at the time of victimization was sometimes positive and significant. Yet this finding along with the others was not robust. In contrast I find very robust results. My interpretation of the positive effects I find is also very distinct from these papers. Blattman, for example, uses the psychological notion of "post-traumatic growth" to explain why being forced to become a child solider can subsequently increase someone's political activity. My interpretation is instead based on formulating people's political behavior in terms of their identity and viewing the heterogeneous responses to repression as stemming from differential reactions to challenges to this identity.

This paper proceeds as follows. In the next section, I give a description of the construction of the dataset I use in this article and present some descriptive statistics. In Chapter 1 (2013) I provided an extensive overview of the history of Chile under the military dictatorship and some of the most important facts about repression and the institutions which implemented it. I also discussed the academic literature on the topic in much fuller detail. Section 3 then

discusses the econometric models estimated and my main results including discussion of my hypotheses that explain the patterns I find. The fourth section concludes.

2 Data

2.1 Survey

To examine the impact of repression on political behavior I constructed a dataset of 396 individuals with similar observable characteristics, but some of whom experienced repression during the dictatorship and who others did not. This dataset is the result of a survey that I conducted in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago in 2012. To implement the survey questionnaire I hired the firm Ekhos I+C, an experienced and highly qualified survey firm. The population for the survey were subjects living in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago where 50% of Chileans live and where around 43% of the victims of repression who are recorded in the "The National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture" (better known as Valech Commission)[6] resided at the moment when they were detained. Other reasons for conducting the survey in the Metropolitan Region is that there was a larger variety of organizations in the region in charge of repression during the dictatorship, such as the armed forces, (army, police, marine, air force) the National Intelligence Directorate or DINA (Spanish acronym), the National Center of Information or CNI (acronym in Spanish), the Comando Conjunto and the right-wing paramilitary group Fatherhood and Liberty (Patria y Libertad in Spanish).

The first step was to find people who experienced repression during the military dictatorship. I did this using the Valech Report. This report contains a list of 38,254 acknowledged victims in an annex with their first names and paternal and maternal last names along with their National Identification Number (the acronym in Spanish is RUN), which is the equiva-

[6]This commission, created 13 years after the transition to democracy, produced a first report in 2004 and a second report with a revision of cases came out in 2011. These reports are known as the Valech Reports I and II

lent of the Social Security Number. This list is exclusive of the 3,197 people who were killed by the dictatorship listed in the "The National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation Report" or Rettig Report. I drew a random sample of a total of 3,800 repressed subjects. Then, I matched their information with the white pages and a database that is used for commercial purposes called Equifax. This, with the goal of selecting the cases of people who were still alive, lived in the Metropolitan Region, and had contact information (telephone and/or address). I was left with a total of 1,080 subjects who could potentially be contacted. However, when the Ekhos team called the available telephone numbers we realized that not all of the information was up to date, correct and that some of the numbers were out of service. Therefore from these 1,080 subjects I was left with a total of 396 subjects who were successfully contacted. Once they were reached, the subjects were told the reason why we were contacting them and we explained to them the nature of the study and its objectives. Each person was asked if they and their children were willing to participate in the study. From the 396 successfully contacted, only 203 agreed to participate in the study.[7] Since there is a concern about the potential bias created by the fact that subjects who accepted might be different from subjects who refused to take part in the survey, I compared the observable characteristics of the individuals who agreed to participate in my study with the average characteristics of those recorded in Chapter 7 of the Valech Report, which contains the profile of all the victims. The only comparable characteristics were gender, age at the moment of first detention and the names of the political parties or movements that the people belonged to before they were detained. Figure 2 in Appendix A shows that the population in the Valech population and subjects in the sample I gathered are similar when compared by the age when they were first detained. However, they also show that the subjects I in-

[7]The remaining 143 subjects refused to participate in the survey giving the following reasons: a) No specific reason 40 (28%) b) For mental health reasons or distrust 33 (23%) - coming from a US university which could have links with the CIA - c) Not interested in the study 29 (20%) d) Interested but do not have time 21 (14%) e) They are too old or ill 10 (7%) f) Other reasons - did not want their children involved, Children or wife did not allow the interview, or changed their minds about participating once the surveyor met with them without giving a reason - 10 (7%).

terviewed are younger than the average ages in the Valech Report. [8] Figure 3 in Appendix A, displays the distribution of membership in the different political parties or movements in 1973. Again, the distribution is quite similar for both groups. [9]

The fact that my sample is quite similar to that contained in the Valech Report alleviates concerns that the endogenous agreement to take part in the survey will create bias in the econometric estimations. Specially, when the proportion of subjects who used to belong to the radical parties are very similar. However, for the particular subgroups of subjects that I am examining, it will be difficult to XXX establish whether there radicals and students are the ones that are is also important to note that a large proportion of the subjects refused to take part on the grounds of not wanting to remember this traumatic experience or expressing concern about their relatives being involved in it. This probably indicates that people who decided to participate are less traumatized than those who refused to participate and therefore my results are likely underestimating the effects of repression on people's behavior.

Once all the surveys for the repressed adults were gathered, I constructed a profile of each repressed individual based on their characteristics such as age, gender, levels of education, income, neighborhood, etc. I then constructed a control group by searching using information from the 2002 Census for observationally identical people who had not been repressed. The surveyors of Ekhos I+C went to the field with the profile they had to match and were assigned the census tracts that had the largest probability of finding a match according to the census. This process involved a degree of trial and error until an appropriate person was located and

[8] For example, the percentage of people who were first detained when they were less than 18 years old is around 9% in my sample while in the Valech Report it is 6%. Also, the subjects who were between 18 and 20 years old comprise around 15% of my sample while they are 11% in the Valech Report. If we look at the groups of people who were detained when they were older (31-40, 41-50 or 51- 60 years old), the proportions of subjects in these groups are larger in the Valech Report compared to the ones in my sample.

[9] The percentage of members of the Communist Party in the Valech Report is around 21% and in my sample it is around 22%. For the case of the Socialist Party the difference is a bit larger, 20% in the Valech Report and 17% in my sample. The largest difference is in the category recorded as "No Party or Not Available", which is around 34% for the sample in the Valech Report and 46% for my sample, but this difference (12%) could indicate that even though people did not belong to a particular political party or movement, they could have been "left-wing sympathizers", a category reported in the Valech Report but not in my survey, and this proportion was about 11%.

agreed to participate in the study.

In addition to collecting information on the repressed and the matching sample, I also administered a survey to a child of each subject. Because of the sensitivity of the topic, it is difficult to randomly choose a child and expect that he or she will respond to the survey. For this reasons, I asked the parent to talk to their children and request the participation of one of them. Once the child agreed to participate, I would interview him or her. In some instances, the children were not interested in participating or the adults did not have children. For this reason, there are surveys of repressed adults without the respective survey of the child. In future research I plan to investigate the intergenerational consequences of repression.

The total number of surveys I conducted was 741. These are distributed in the following way: 203 repressed adults and 193 non-repressed adults, for a total of 396 adults.[10]

The survey questionnaire for the adults contained questions that addressed their political engagement, interest and preferences and their social involvement in different organizations during the government of President Salvador Allende or the UP government, during the Military dictatorship and for the years of Post-Dictatorship (1990 to present). There was also a section that asked about various socio-economic variables for these 3 different periods. I also collected socio-demographic, educational and occupational data.

Based on these questions I was able to construct the categories of membership of radical parties since they were asked whether they belonged to a political party in any of these three periods and the name of such party. There are in total 68 subjects who reported having been members of the Communist Party, the Communist Youth or the Revolutionary Left Movement in 1973. From them, 59 were repressed and 9 were not repressed. [11] The questionnaire also asked about their occupational activity in 1973 and in the two following

[10]For the reasons explained above, 51 of the children of the repressed adults declined to participate in the study and for this reason I only have 152 children of the repressed who replied to the survey and there are 193 children of the non-repressed, for a total of 345 children of the repressed and non-repressed. For the purposes of this paper I am only using the information of the 396 repressed and non-repressed adults.

[11]The small number of subjects in this group is problematic since this will influence the statistical power of the estimations. However as it will be shown in the next section the robustness of the results hold consistently

periods where they would report to have been working in a particular occupation or having being a student at the time. For the case of the subjects who reported to have been students in 1973, I have a total of 114 subjects, 54 of them were repressed and 60 were not repressed.

For the case of the repressed adults, the survey asked questions about the details of the repressive events which they experienced so that I could also measure the intensity of repression. For example, I asked about the age when they were first detained, the organizations that conducted the detentions, the places and length of detentions and the consequences of the repression such as whether they went into exile or into hiding.

2.2 Descriptive Statistics

Panel A of Table 1 provides descriptive statistics of the variables that I used to construct the matching sample in 2012 and Panel B contains the descriptive statistics of the socio-economic variables in 1973 that are used in the econometric estimations. These are relevant for this analysis since they are factors that can influence the different political outcomes I will be analyzing. These are, for example, a household income scale, occupational status and skill level of the occupation, the sector of the economy in which the individual was working and the number of years of education that a person has. In both panels, column (1) displays the means for subjects who were repressed and column (2) reports the means of the same variables for the non-repressed. In both panels we can see that subjects in the two groups are very much alike in terms of their individual socio-economic characteristics. The last row of Panel A, for example, reports the means of an income scale variable where the subjects are asked to place their households on a scale of 1 to 10 where 1 represents the poorest households and 10 the richest ones in 2012 in Chile. This is a simple way of measuring income when people do not want to report exact levels of income. On the scale, the repressed report a value of 5.08 while the non-repressed report an average of 4.91. I conducted a difference in the means test where the null hypothesis is that these means are the same for the two groups. Column (3) displays the p-value associated with the test of difference in the means (t-test).

In order to reject the null hypothesis, the p-value associated with the test of difference in means has to be smaller than 0.05 (which is the threshold commonly used). In this case, this p-value is 0.25 ($p > 0.05$), therefore I cannot reject the hypothesis that the means in the household income scale between the repressed and non-repressed are the same. Column (3) of Panel A also shows that we cannot reject the hypothesis that the means of age, gender and occupations with medium levels of skills are the same. However, it also shows that there are differences in the means with respect to the years of education since on average repressed subjects have about 1.7 more years of education and the p-value associated with the test is $p<0.05$. There is also evidence that shows that there is a larger proportion of subjects with occupations with higher levels of skill in 2012 and a smaller proportion of subjects in the category with the lowest level of skill.[12]

Panel B provides the descriptive statistics for the main socio-economic variables that I gathered at the individual level for the period of the UP government in 1973. These are the key variables that I will control for in the econometric estimations in the following section. Again, when they are asked to place themselves on an income scale from 1 to 10 in August of 1973 in Chile, the repressed report a value of 4.20 while the non-repressed report an average of 4.27. The p-value associated with the test for the difference in means (where the null hypothesis is that these means are the same for the two groups) is 0.68 which implies that one cannot reject the hypothesis that the means are the same. Therefore, there is not a statistically significant difference between the income levels reported by the two groups. Next, consider whether or not people were working and if they were, what type of sector they were working in in 1973. These are potentially important determinants of people's political preferences or participation. I therefore constructed a dummy that takes the value of 1 if subjects were working in August 1973 and 0 otherwise (this category would include people who were mainly students or people who were too young to have become part of the labor

[12]These differences shouldn't pose a problem for my analyses since: i) I do not use these variables to control for in the estimations presented in the next section for the reasons I present in this section. ii) Although there is a statistically significant difference, they are not very large for the case of the number of years of education

force). In the Table we observe that 69% of people who were repressed were working in 1973 whereas 71% of the non-repressed were working. Again, there is no statistical difference between these proportions (the p-value associated with the test in difference in means is 0.69 p>0.05). Panel B in this Table also reveals that there are two dimensions in which the repressed were significantly different from the non-repressed. Non-repressed people tended to undertake low-skilled occupations more than the repressed while the repressed had on average one extra year of education.

Table 2 displays the descriptive statistics for the subgroup of the radicals. The number of observations varies depending on the listed political outcome and the range goes from 53 to 59. This is because in some cases participants refused to answer some of the questions. For the case of the non-repressed subjects, the number of observations is 9. Overall, these statistics show how the political preferences and behavior of those subjects who were repressed and those who were not are very similar in the period previous to the dictatorship, since the means are very similar for both groups and only two of these variables show a statistically significant difference for the repressed and the non-repressed radicals. The first one is participation in strikes. On average 57% of the repressed radicals participated in strikes while only 22% for the non-repressed radicals did so. The second is participation in political demonstrations. Here 96% of the repressed radicals took part in demonstrations while 77% of the non-repressed did so. The average of the remaining variables, interest in politics, ideological position, membership to a political party or union are very similar in these groups and there is not a statistically significant difference. Now, Columns (4)-(6) display the means of these variables for the period after the dictatorship. Although some of the means remain very similar between the groups, there are interesting changes in some of them. For example, if we look at the percentage of subjects who participate in political parties we observe a large decrease for both groups but it is even larger for the non-repressed going from 100% participation to just 11%. This implies that only one of the 9 subjects did not withdraw from a political party. Donating money for a political activity is another variable that shows

a large decline in the group of the non-repressed going from 55% to 0% and this fall is what drives the statistical difference between the radicals who were repressed and those who were not in the period after the dictatorship. The same can be said about the averages for the two groups with respect to their participation in political campaigns. In this case, the average for the non-repressed falls from 77% to 11% while for the repressed falls but in a smaller amount going from 83% to 62%. Another interesting change is that the difference between participation in strikes that we observe for the period before the dictatorship disappears in the following period after the dictatorship since for the case of the repressed it goes down to 32% and for the non-repressed radicals goes up to 33%. A similar pattern can be observed if we look at participation in political demonstrations where the percentage for the repressed radicals decreases to 77% and for the non-repressed radicals goes down to 55%. So, the main messages from this Table are: i) for the 8 variables I examine, only two show a statistically significant difference for the period previous to the dictatorship, and that after the dictatorship the difference in this two variables disappears given that the participation in strikes increases for the non-repressed radicals and the participation in political demonstrations falls for the case of the repressed radicals, and ii) the fall in participation in political parties and donating money and participating in political campaigns for the case of the non-repressed radicals is quite large to the point that it leads to a statistically significant difference.

In Table 3 I turn to the the descriptive statistics for the subgroup of subjects who were students in 1973. The number of observations also varies depending on the variable for the political outcome and ranges from 19 to 35 in case of the repressed and 35 to 79 for the non-repressed. As with the case of the radicals some former students refused to answer some of the questions and in addition I did not ask all of the questions to people who were born after 1958 on the grounds that they were too young. Again, this table shows that the repressed and non-repressed students look very similar for the period previous to the dictatorship, during the Unidad Popular government. The averages most of the variables are very similar between the two groups of students, indicating that these subjects were very similar in

terms of their political preferences and behavior. The only variable that shows a statistical significant difference is membership of a political party where 40% of those students who were repressed were members compared to 21% for the non-repressed students. However, for the period after the dictatorship the differences between the two groups increases and the difference on the averages becomes statistically significant in nearly every case. The main explanation is that although there is a fall in the political participation of both groups, the gap becomes larger with the exception of two variables in which case the mean increases for the case of the non-repressed. To illustrate the first point, where both means fall but the gap becomes larger is shown in the variable interested in politics (on a scale from 1 to 4), the repressed students scored 3.2 while non-repressed subjects scored 2.6. The repressed students are also more left-wing in the ideological position scale, the mean in their ideological position is 2.9 (in a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 is left wing and 10 is right wing), while the value for the non-repressed students is 3.7. The difference between the percentage of students who are members of a political party is still significant and the percentage of repressed students is still higher than the non-repressed. However, these percentages declined over time and for the case of the repressed fell from 40% to 28% and for the non-repressed from 21% to 15%. (This decline is consistent with the de-politicization of the sample observed in Chapter 1 for the total of the sample). Also, if we look at participation in political demonstrations we can see that the percentage of repressed subjects who took part in such demonstrations experiences a slight fall from 78% to 74% and while for the non-repressed students the fall is larger from 71% to 46%. With respect to membership of unions, the percentages of repressed and non-repressed students falls compared to the previous period but there is not a statistically significant difference. Now, the cases where the gap becomes larger due to an increase in the mean for the group of the repressed can be seen in the variable "Donated money for a political activity". Here the proportion of the repressed that said they made such donations increases from 36% in the period before the dictatorship to 60% in the period after the dictatorship while the percentage of the non-repressed subjects is very similar in

both periods (20%).

Thus the raw data presented in Tables 2 and 3 suggests that there are indeed different responses to repression with radicals and students who were repressed potentially behaving differently from those of other groups who suffered repression. The descriptive statistics show that repressed and non-repressed radicals and students appear to be very similar in terms of their engagement and activism in politics before the dictatorship but their behavior and political activism changes in the period after to the dictatorship. Although this comparison is interesting, it is not a valid exercise since repression is not randomly assigned. Since I collected retrospective data for both the different groups of people I am able to go beyond the cross-sectional comparison of the political outcomes today and estimate an econometric model introduced in the next section.

3 Empirical Model and Results

3.1 Empirical Model

In this section I estimate a difference in differences model similar to the one introduced in Chapter 1 but taking into account the subgroups of the radicals and the students in 1973. In the first specification I compare the average value of the dependent variables between the different groups of subjects (students or radicals) combined with the fact that they were repressed or not repressed groups before and after the dictatorship. This strategy will estimate the causal effect of being repressed if there is an unobservable governing selection into the repressed group which is common to the group. The equation I estimate is the following:

$$\begin{aligned} y_{i,t} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \cdot Repressed_i + \beta_2 \cdot Post_t + \beta_3 \cdot Repressed_i \cdot Post_t + \beta_4 \cdot Subgroup_i + \\ \beta_5 \cdot Subgroup_i \cdot Repressed_i + \beta_6 \cdot Subgroup_i \cdot Post_t + \\ \beta_7 \cdot Subgroup_i \cdot Repressed_i \cdot Post_t + \boldsymbol{X_i'} \cdot \boldsymbol{\gamma} + \varepsilon_{i,t} \end{aligned} \tag{1}$$

where $y_{i,t}$ is the value of a political outcome for individual i at time *t=1973* and *t= after 1990*, $Repressed_i$ is an indicator variable which takes the value of 1 if the individual was repressed during the dictatorship, $Post_t$ is a dummy that takes the value of 1 for the period after the dictatorship and captures the trend effect for the people in this survey; $Repressed_i \cdot Post_t$ is an interaction term that takes the value of 1 in the period after the dictatorship if individual i was repressed during the dictatorship. The coefficient associated with this interaction, β_3 is one of the parameters of interest since this is the term that captures the effect of repression and is the parameter that shows the difference in differences for those subjects who are excluded from the subgroup included in the regression. $Subgroup_i$ is a variable that changes depending on the subgroup of subjects I look at. For the first set of regressions $Subgroup_i$ corresponds to a dummy that takes the value of 1 if the subject belonged to a political party or movement in 1973 that is considered radical such as the Communist Party, the Communist Youth and the Revolutionary Left Movement and 0 otherwise. For the second set of regressions, it takes the value of 1 when the subject was a high school or university student in 1973 and 0 otherwise. $Subgroup_i \cdot Repressed_i$ is the interaction between the above mentioned characteristic of the subject with the $Repressed_i$ dummy. For the case of the radicals it takes the value of 1 when the subject used to belong to one of the above mentioned radical political parties and was repressed and for students in 1973 it takes the value of 1 when the subject was repressed and a student in 1973. It takes the value of 0 otherwise. $Subgroup_i \cdot Post_t$ is an interaction variable that takes the value of 1 when the subjects was a student or a radical in 1973 and the $Post_t$ is equal to 1. The triple interaction coefficient β_7 is the other parameter of interest since it will capture the effect of repression for the particular subgroups, students or radicals in 1973.

Even though I do have time varying controls such as education and income, I do not include them in the regression since the post dictatorship values are outcomes and this could lead to the "bad control" problem (see Angrist and Pischke (2009) p. 64 Section 3.2.3) [13].

[13]According to Angrist and Pischke (2009) they define a bad control as "variables that are themselves outcome variables in the notional experiment at hand. That is, bad controls might just as well be dependent

For this reason I estimate this model controlling for $\boldsymbol{X_i}$ which is a vector of covariates, which includes age, gender, household income scale, years of education, labor force participation status, levels of skill and sector of the economy in which the individual worked in 1973. $\varepsilon_{i,t}$ is the error term representing all omitted factors.

To address omitted variables that can influence the outcome at the individual level I also include individual fixed effects. In this specification I am comparing the individual to him or herself over time and even if there are unobservable individual specific characteristics, they will be controlled for by the fixed effects and this will enable me to estimate the causal effect of being repressed. Since the use of individual fixed effects means I cannot separately estimate the impact of other time invariant covariates I also estimate this specification including the interaction of the controls in 1973 with the $Post_t$ dummy. Again, even though I do have time varying controls such as education and income, I do not include them since the post dictatorship values are outcomes. One way to ameliorate this problem is to interact the pre-repression covariates with a time dummy. So, the equation I estimated is (Result tables show this estimation with and without the interaction of the controls in 1973 with the $Post_t$ dummy):

$$\begin{aligned} y_{i,t} = \beta_0 + \beta_2 Post_t + \beta_3 Repressed_i \cdot Post_t + \beta_4 \cdot Subgroup_i \cdot Post_t + \\ \beta_5 \dot{S}ubgroup_i \cdot Repressed_i \cdot Post_t + \boldsymbol{X_i'} \cdot \boldsymbol{\gamma} \cdot Post_t + \eta_i + \varepsilon_{i,t} \end{aligned} \tag{2}$$

Where the variables are defined as before after equation (1) and where η_i is the individual fixed effect. The presence of individual fixed effects implies that I cannot estimate the effect of time invariant individual characteristics captured in the vector $\boldsymbol{X_i}$.

3.2 Results

This section contains the main results for the subjects who belonged to a radical party such as the Communist Party, the Communist Youth and the Movement of the Revolutionary Left

variables too" (Angrist and Pischke, 2009 pp.64))

Movement at the time of the coup and of those who were high school or university students in 1973. The first subsection will focus on subjects who were members of a radical party in 1973 and the second subsection contains the results for the subjects who were students in 1973. Tables 4 to 11 contain the results for the different dependent variables. The results for the first specification (equation 1) are in columns 1 and 2. Column (1) starts with the simplest model which does not include any covariates, column (2) includes all the socio-economic covariates such age, gender and labor force participation in 1973, the level of skill of the the job undertaken in 1973 and dummies for the economic sector in which the individual was working in 1973; column (3) contain the results of the second specification with individual fixed effects. Column (4) reports the estimation including individual fixed effects plus the interaction of the covariates with the $Post_t$ dummy. Tables 4 to 11 have identical structure.

3.2.1 The Radicals

Table 4 contains the results where the dependent variable is membership of a political party, the question in the survey asked subjects whether they belonged to a political party during the period of the Unidad Popular and during the period after the dictatorship. This model can be interpreted as a linear probability model since the dependent variable is a dummy. The estimation shows that the subjects who were non-radicals and repressed are more politicized than those who were not radicals and not repressed. In column (1) the estimate $\hat{\beta}_1$ is equal to 0.266 with a standard error of 0.045 and it is highly significant. This result holds once more controls are added in column (2). This table also shows how the coefficient for those who were repressed and were not radicals, β_3, is negative but not statistically significant. This is an interesting finding since according to the results presented in Chapter 1, this coefficient is negative and statistically significant when there is no differentiation between radicals or non-radicals. This means that the average results I presented before were driven by the radicals massively withdrawing from political parties. In fact, the coefficient for the interaction term of the variables $Radical_i$ and $Post_t$ illustrates this fall since β_6 takes a value

of -0.862 (with a standard error of 0.109) for the first three specifications (columns (1) to (3)) and highly statistically significant across all specifications. However, β_7, the coefficient of the triple interaction between $Radical_i$, $Post_t$ and $Repressed_i$ is positive, with a value of 0.307 for the first three specifications (s.e. = 0.137, 0.142 and 0.132) and 0.331 (s.e. = 0.135) in the most demanding specification and significant at the 5% level across the four columns. This positive and significant coefficient is consistent with the argument I presented above that when radicals were put in a situation where their identity was challenged, are more likely to engage in activities and make a larger effort to show their commitment to their radicalism and in this context to the project of the Allende government.

These results do not show that repressed radicals actually were more likely to join a political party after 1990 than they had been in 1973, as the descriptive statistics in Table 2 illustrate clearly. What they do show is that repressed radicals were more likely to be a member of a party than radicals who were not repressed. To interpret this I would return to my argument about the joint behavior of fear and identity maintenance. All radicals, who were greatly vilified by the dictatorship, even if they were not actually tortured, likely suffered from a fear of the state which led them to withdraw from political participation, in this case measured by their propensity to join a political party. However, for the repressed there was a countervailing force, repression, a more direct and visceral challenge to their identity, led them to push back which offset the effects of fear.

In Table 5, I turn to "Donating money for a Political Activity" as the dependent variable of interest. This is a dummy variable constructed from the following survey question for the Unidad Popular period and the equivalent for the period after the dictatorship: "There are different ways in which people can take political actions. Please indicate whether you did any of the following between 1970 and 1973, during the government of the popular unity/after the military dictatorship (post 1990): donated money for a political activity". In the first two specifications we see that those were repressed were much more likely to have donated money on average than the non-repressed. For example, in column (1) β_1 is equal to 0.239

with a standard error of 0.045. In the first column β_4 also shows that those who belonged to a radical party are even more likely to donate money for political activities since this coefficient is positive and highly statistically significant (e.g. column (1) $\beta_4 = 0.510$ and s.e. = 0.167). But the results show that this effect vanishes after the dictatorship. The relevant coefficient id β_6 which shows the marginal effect of the interaction between $Radical_i$ and $Post_t$ and it illustrates that radicals significantly decreased the likelihood that they would donate to a political party after the dictatorship (e.g. column (4) β_6 = -0.605 and s.e. = 0.183). However, the coefficient β_7 shows that those radicals who were repressed behaved differently. In particular their propensity to donate money for political activities increased. For example, in column (1) this coefficient tells us that a repressed radical is 39 percentage points more likely to donate money than those non-radicals that were not repressed. Again, this result is consistent with the hypothesis that the radicals who were repressed pushed back against this by increasing their propensity to donate, thus re-confirming their political identity. In this case the quantitative effect is quite large to such an extent that being repressed wipes out the negative effect which radicals in general experienced.

Table 6 displays the results for the dependent variable "Participated in a Political Campaign" which is a dummy variable taking the value 1 if a person said that they participated. This dependent variable is based in the survey question stated in the following way: "There are different ways in which people can take political actions. Please indicate whether you did any of the following between 1970 and 1973, during the government of the popular unity/after the military dictatorship (post 1990): participated in a political campaign". The coefficient β_1 for the repressed who were not radicals shows that they were more likely to participate in political campaigns in 1973 (e.g. in column (1) $\beta_1 = 0.341$ and s.e. = 0.055). The $Post_t$ dummy suggests across columns (1) to (3) that for the overall sample, the extent of participation in political campaigns fell between these two periods since the coefficient β_2 is negative and statistically significant. β_4, the coefficient for those who were members of a radical party suggests that these subjects were more likely to participate in political

campaigns in 1973 since it is positive and statistically significant (e.g in column (1) $\beta_1 = 0.623$ and the s.e. $= 0.142$). Again, coefficient β_6 shows how subjects who were members of a radical party are much less likely to participate in political campaigns after 1990 since it is negative and statistically significant. Once more, however, the results in this table show that repressed radicals behaved in a systematically different way from radicals in general. In particular they were more likely to participate in political campaigns after 1990 since the relevant estimated coefficient on the triple interaction in column 1, for example, β_7. Based on the coefficient $\beta_7 = 0.473$ (s.e.=0.205) is positive and statistically significant. Looking across the columns with differing covariate sets and with or without individual fixed effects shows that both the estimated coefficient and the standard error are very robustly estimated. These results suggest that those radicals who were repressed are around 45 percentage points more likely to participate in political campaigns than the non-repressed and non-radicals (which is the control group here).

Table 7 shows the results when the dependent dummy variable is participation in political demonstrations for the periods before and after the dictatorship. Although this table does not show statistically significant results for the subgroup of the radicals, it does have one interesting result which is that once the radicals are included, the coefficient β_3 for the interaction between $Post_t$ and $Repressed_i$ becomes negative and statistically significant in columns (3) and (4) when I use individual fixed effects (compared to those results I obtained in Chapter 1). The importance of this result is that it shows that when subjects are put together in the regression without taking into account their political radicalism, there does not seem to be a statistically significant effect of repression in the average subject who is repressed. Once I include this particular group of subjects and differentiate them from the non-radical repressed subjects, I can say with confidence that repression had a negative effect on those subjects who were not members of a radical party since they are less likely to take part in political demonstrations.

3.2.2 The Students

In now present the results for the group of the subjects who were high school and university students in 1973. As for the radicals, this group displays interesting patterns since the results also show that they were affected differentially by the experience of repression.

Table 8 contains the results where the dependent variable is a dummy variable for membership of a union. The coefficient for the interaction of $Repressed_i$ and $Post_t$, β_3, is negative and statistically significant reproducing a result I found in Chapter 1. Here the coefficient suggests that those subjects who were not students in 1973 and were repressed are 28 percentage points less likely to participate in these organizations. However, when we look at the triple interaction of those who were Students in 1973 and were Repressed for the post period, we find that the coefficient, β_7, is positive and statistical significant across all the specifications. For example in column (4), the most demanding specification, the coefficient has a value of 0.329 with a standard error of 0.104. This shows that students who were repressed were more likely to join a trade union after 1990. Interesting the results of this section show in fact that all students increased their propensity to join unions after 1990, though the repressed did so more than the non-repressed.

Table 9 then presents the results when the dependent variable is a dummy for participation in strikes. An interesting result in this table is related to the same point presented for the case of the radicals in Table 7 where the coefficient β_3 of the interaction of $Repressed_i$ and $Post_t$ becomes "activated" for the subgroup of subjects who were not students in1973 but were repressed. By "activated" I mean that when this set of regressions are estimated without separating the students from the subjects who were not students, there is no effect of repression, meaning that the coefficient β_3 is not statistically significant. Here, this coefficient takes a negative and statistically significant value indicating that subjects who were not students in 1973 and were repressed are according to column (4) were 15 percentage points (s.e. $= 0.070$) less likely to engage in a strike. However, as it can be seen, the coefficient β_7 of the triple interaction between $Studentin1973_i$, $Post_t$ and $Repressed_i$, is positive and

significant at the 1% level in columns (1) and (2) and at the 5% level in columns (3) and (4). For example, in column (4) the value of this coefficient is 0.450 and the standard error is 0.183 meaning that a subject who was a student in 1973 and repressed is 45 percentage points more likely to engage in strikes than those who were not repressed and were not students.

Another interesting pattern described in the descriptive statistics for the students (Table 3), is the fact that the average of repressed students in 1973 that donated money for political activities increased from the period before the dictatorship to the one after the dictatorship. Table 10 provides evidence that even after controlling for the different covariates and fixed effects, this result holds since it shows that the coefficient β_7 of the triple interaction $Studentin1973_i$, $Post_t$ and $Repressed_i$ is positive and statistically significant. For example, in column (4) which estimates the most demanding specification where I include the interaction of the socio-economic covariates interacted with the $Post_t$ dummy and individual fixed effects, the estimated coefficients show that subjects who were students in 1973 and repressed are around 39 percentage points more likely to donate money for a political activity.

Finally, Table 11 displays the results of the estimations where the dependent variable is participation in political demonstrations. These results are similar to the ones presented in Table (9) where the dependent variable is participation in strikes since they both show how once the subjects are divided in different groups, students and non-students in 1973, the effect of repression affects them differently. The coefficient of the interaction between $Repressed_i$ and $Post_t$, β_3, is negative and statistically significant which suggests that subjects who were not-students in 1973 and were repressed, are less likely to participate in this type of political activity. For example, based on the results displayed in column (4) I can say that repressed non-students are around 16 percentage points less likely to join a political demonstration. Most importantly, the coefficient on the triple interaction is positive and statistically significant. In column 1 $\hat{\beta}_7 = 0.429$ (s.e.=0.153) and again this effect and its

standard error is estimated very robustly whether or not I control for covariates or individual fixed effects.

4 Conclusion

In this paper I have investigated whether or not there are heterogeneous effects of repression using an original data set I collected from people who were repressed by the Chilean dictatorship between 1973 and 1990. In previous work (Chapter 1) I found that the average effect of repression on several aspects of people's political activity, for example membership of political parties or unions, was negative. I hypothesized that this was because repression induced a widespread and persistent sense of fear which led people to withdraw from active political activity. Nevertheless, I also argued that for different sub-populations one could imagine offsetting effects. This is particularly the case if we conceive of people's political behavior as stemming from their identity, as a great deal of empirical evidence suggests that we should. In this case, though fear was widespread and significant, existing research, specifically that of Benabou and Tirole (2011), led me to hypothesize that particular types of repressed people might react to repression differentially. In particular since repression can be interpreted as a challenge to people's identity it could lead certain types of people to respond by taking actions to re-confirm their identity - in this context participate more. This theory suggested that two types of people might be particularly to react in this way. The first was political radicals, to whom the take-power of the military after 1973 presented the biggest challenge to their identity. The second was student for a somewhat different argument. Empirical evidence suggests that the period in which people are students is a particularly sensitive one for socialization and identity formation and where people are very activated politically. In this context it is natural to hypothesize that as with radicals, an act of repression might precipitate acts to confirm ones activated identity.

I found evidence to support both types of hypotheses. In particular I found that people

who were radicals in 1973 and were repressed were more likely to join political parties, to work in and donate money to a political activity compared to those radicals who were not repressed. I also found that subjects who were students in 1973 and were repressed are more likely to belong to a union, participate in strikes and political protests than those who were not students and were not repressed.

Political scientists have long proposed hypotheses about the path dependent legacies of authoritarian regimes and some of this research, particularly on the legacies of Communist rule in Russia and Eastern Europe have even proposed individual level mechanisms (see Chapter 1). Yet until now there has been no research on how repression is a channel via which legacies may manifest themselves and no investigation of this channel at the micro level. The results I present in this paper, in conjunction with those I presented in Chapter 1, suggest that the enduring consequences of repression during dictatorships are subtle and first-order and an important part of the story of how authoritarian legacies are left.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of Socio-Economic Characteristics

Panel A: Socio-Economic Characteristics in 2012			
Variables	Mean Repressed (1)	Mean Non-Repressed (2)	p-value (3)
Age	64.502	65.503	0.333
Female	0.236	0.295	0.185
Years of Education	14.030	12.326	0.000
High skilled occupation	0.362	0.238	0.009
High-Mid skilled occupation	0.043	0.033	0.638
Mid skilled occupation	0.553	0.575	0.680
Low skilled occupation	0.032	0.127	0.001
Household Income (1 poorest- 10 richest)	5.084	4.911	0.251
Panel B: Socio-Economic Characteristics in 1973			
Variables	Mean Repressed (1)	Mean Non-Repressed (2)	p-value (3)
Age	25.502	26.544	0.315
Years of education	11.744	10.762	0.009
Working	0.695	0.710	0.695
High skilled occupation	0.138	0.094	0.172
High-Mid skilled occupation	0.049	0.026	0.229
Mid skilled occupation	0.468	0.443	0.615
Low skilled occupation	0.034	0.120	0.001
Primary sector	0.059	0.068	0.727
Secondary sector	0.153	0.120	0.342
Tertiary sector	0.665	0.578	0.075
Household Income (1 poorest- 10 richest)	4.202	4.275	0.685

In Panel A and B, column (1) reports the mean values for the repressed subjects and column (2) contains the mean values of the non-repressed subjects. Column (3) contains the p-value associated with the test in the difference in the means of the repressed and non-repressed. Panel A contains the socio-economic characteristics if the subjects in 2012. The variable Age corresponds to the age the subjects reported at the moment of the interview. The variable Female is a dummy that takes the value of 1 when the subject is a female and 0 otherwise. The number of years of education was estimated depending on the highest level of education the subjects achieved at the moment of the interview. The variables of the levels of occupation: high, high-mid, mid and low skilled are the result of recoding a variable that contains 11 categories that follow the classification of occupations of the International Labour Organization. The variable Household Income is a scale that goes from 1 to 10. The subject is asked to place her household on a scale of 1 to 10 where 1 are the poorest households and 10 the richest ones in 2012 in Chile. Panel B contains the socio-economic characteristics of the subjects in 1973. These are statistics that were built based in retrospective questions, meaning the values for 1973. The definition is the same as in Panel A for years of education, household income, occupational level. The variable Working is a dummy that takes the value of 1 if the subject was working in 1973 and 0 otherwise. The variables Primary, Secondary and Tertiary are recoded based on the International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities - ISIC. Initially the firms were coded in a more disaggregated way following ISIC.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics of Political Outcomes for the Radicals

	Means During UP Government			Means After Dictatorship			Observations	
Variables	Repressed	Non-Repressed	p-value	Repressed	Non-Repressed	p-value	R	NR
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Interest in Politics (1 Not 4 Very)	3.815	3.889	0.698	3.356	3.111	0.498	54	9
Ideological Position (1 Left 10 Right)	1.868	1.889	0.954	2.224	1.667	0.205	53	9
Belonged to a Political Party	1.000	1.000	.	0.390	0.111	0.106	59	9
Belonged to a Union	0.254	0.111	0.353	0.203	0.111	0.519	59	9
Donated Money for Political Activity	0.648	0.556	0.600	0.525	0.000	0.003	59	9
Participated in a Strike	0.574	0.222	0.051	0.322	0.333	0.947	54	9
Participated in Political Campaign	0.833	0.778	0.690	0.627	0.111	0.003	54	9
Participated in Political Demonstrations	0.963	0.778	0.035	0.797	0.556	0.116	54	9

Columns (1) to (3) contain the descriptive statistics of the variables for the period of the Unidad Popular - UP government, 1970 to 1973. Columns (4) to (6) contain the descriptive statistics of the period After the Dictatorship, 1990 to 2012. Columns (1) and (4) report the means of the subjects who were repressed and columns (2) and (5) for the non-repressed. Columns (3) and (6) are the p-values associated with the test in the difference in the means of the repressed and non-repressed. The variable Interest in politics takes values from 1 to 4 where 1 is Not at all interested, 2 A bit interested, 3 Somewhat interested and 4 is Very interested. The variable Ideological position takes values from 1 to 10, for this variable the subjects were asked to place themselves in a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 represents a left-wing position and 10 a right-wing position. Belonged to a Political Party and a Union are dummies that take the value of 1 when the subjects report to have belonged to any of these organizations and 0 otherwise. The variables donated money for a political activity, participated in a strike, political campaign and political demonstrations are dummy variables that take the value of 1 if the subject was engaged in any of these activities and 0 otherwise.

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics of Political Outcomes for the Students

	Means During UP Government			Means After Dictatorship			Observations	
Variables	Repressed	Non-Repressed	p-value	Repressed	Non-Repressed	p-value	R	NR
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Interest in Politics (1 Not 4 Very)	3.316	3.154	0.619	3.257	2.633	0.014	19	39
Ideological Position (1 Left 10 Right)	3.263	4.257	0.215	2.939	3.775	0.087	19	35
Belonged to a Political Party	0.400	0.215	0.041	0.286	0.152	0.097	35	79
Belonged to a Union	0.314	0.215	0.261	0.257	0.139	0.129	35	79
Donated Money for Political Activity	0.316	0.205	0.364	0.600	0.203	0.000	35	79
Participated in a Strike	0.368	0.385	0.907	0.400	0.253	0.116	19	39
Participated in Political Demonstrations	0.789	0.718	0.567	0.743	0.468	0.006	19	39

Columns (1) to (3) contain the descriptive statistics of the variables for the period of the Unidad Popular - UP government, 1970 to 1973. Columns (4) to (6) contain the descriptive statistics of the period After the Dictatorship, 1990 to 2012. Columns (1) and (4) report the means of the subjects who were repressed and columns (2) and (5) for the non-repressed. Columns (3) and (6) are the p-values associated with the test in the difference in the means of the repressed and non-repressed. The variable Interest in politics takes values from 1 to 4 where 1 is Not at all interested, 2 A bit interested, 3 Somewhat interested and 4 is Very interested. The variable Ideological position takes values from 1 to 10, for this variable the subjects were asked to place themselves in a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 represents a left-wing position and 10 a right-wing position. Belonged to a Political Party and a Union are dummies that take the value of 1 when the subjects report to have belonged to any of these organizations and 0 otherwise. The variables donated money for a political activity, participated in a strike, political campaign and political demonstrations are dummy variables that take the value of 1 if the subject was engaged in any of these activities and 0 otherwise.

Table 4: Membership to a Political Party - The Radicals

Dependent Variable: Membership to a Political Party (Yes=1/No=0)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Repressed Adult Dummy	0.266***	0.244***		
	[0.045]	[0.042]		
	(0.178 - 0.354)	(0.162 - 0.325)		
Post	-0.027	-0.027	-0.027	0.205**
	[0.026]	[0.025]	[0.021]	[0.090]
	(-0.079 - 0.025)	(-0.077 - 0.022)	(-0.069 - 0.014)	(0.028 - 0.382)
Post*Repressed	-0.028	-0.028	-0.028	-0.019
	[0.061]	[0.058]	[0.048]	[0.048]
	(-0.148 - 0.092)	(-0.142 - 0.085)	(-0.122 - 0.065)	(-0.115 - 0.076)
Belonged to a Radical Party in 1973	0.918***	0.907***		
	[0.020]	[0.043]		
	(0.879 - 0.958)	(0.823 - 0.992)		
Radical Party in 1973*Repressed	-0.266***	-0.272***		
	[0.045]	[0.059]		
	(-0.354 - -0.178)	(-0.387 - -0.157)		
Radical Partyin 1973 * Post	-0.862***	-0.862***	-0.862***	-0.887***
	[0.109]	[0.114]	[0.107]	[0.108]
	(-1.075 - -0.649)	(-1.086 - -0.637)	(-1.073 - -0.651)	(-1.100 - -0.674)
Radical Party in 1973 * Post * Repressed	0.307**	0.307**	0.307**	0.331**
	[0.137]	[0.142]	[0.132]	[0.135]
	(0.037 - 0.577)	(0.028 - 0.586)	(0.048 - 0.567)	(0.067 - 0.596)
Socio-economic variables	NO	YES	NO	NO
Individual Fixed Effects	NO	NO	YES	YES
Socio-economic variables*Post	NO	NO	NO	YES
Observations	792	792	792	792
R-squared	0.346	0.401	0.781	0.790

Note: Columns (1) to (4) report the results of the difference in differences models. The dependent variable, membership to a political party, takes values of 1 when the subject reports to having belonged to a political party or movement and 0 otherwise. The socio economic covariates included are: age, a female dummy, household income scale (1 poor - 10 rich), years of education, working dummy, levels of skill and sector of the economy in which the individual worked in 1973. Standard errors in brackets [ ]; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. Confidence Intervals in parentheses ( )

Table 5: Donated Money for a Political Activity - The Radicals

Dependent Variable: Donated Money for a Political Activity (Yes=1/No=0)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Repressed Adult Dummy	0.239***	0.217***		
	[0.045]	[0.045]		
	(0.150 - 0.328)	(0.129 - 0.304)		
Post	-0.001	-0.013	-0.007	-0.047
	[0.023]	[0.024]	[0.021]	[0.143]
	(-0.046 - 0.043)	(-0.059 - 0.034)	(-0.047 - 0.034)	(-0.329 - 0.235)
Post*Repressed	0.036	0.043	-0.011	-0.014
	[0.062]	[0.060]	[0.051]	[0.055]
	(-0.085 - 0.157)	(-0.075 - 0.160)	(-0.110 - 0.089)	(-0.122 - 0.095)
Belonged to a Radical Party in 1973	0.510***	0.503***		
	[0.167]	[0.163]		
	(0.182 - 0.839)	(0.184 - 0.822)		
Repressed * Radical Party	-0.147	-0.134		
	[0.185]	[0.181]		
	(-0.509 - 0.216)	(-0.488 - 0.221)		
Radical Party * Post	-0.554***	-0.543***	-0.549***	-0.605***
	[0.168]	[0.165]	[0.176]	[0.183]
	(-0.884 - -0.224)	(-0.867 - -0.219)	(-0.895 - -0.203)	(-0.966 - -0.244)
Radical Party * Post * Repressed	0.397**	0.387**	0.418**	0.472**
	[0.200]	[0.196]	[0.206]	[0.212]
	(0.004 - 0.790)	(0.002 - 0.773)	(0.013 - 0.823)	(0.055 - 0.889)
Socio-economic variables	NO	YES	NO	NO
Individual Fixed Effects	NO	NO	YES	YES
Socio-economic variables*Post	NO	NO	NO	YES
Observations	728	728	728	728
R-squared	0.228	0.276	0.757	0.768

Note: Columns (1) to (4) report the results of the difference in differences models. The dependent variable, donated money for a political activity, takes values of 1 when the subject reports to having donated money for a political activity and 0 otherwise. The socio economic covariates included are: age, a female dummy, household income scale (1 poor - 10 rich), years of education, working dummy, levels of skill and sector of the economy in which the individual worked in 1973. Standard errors in brackets [ ]; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. Confidence Intervals in parentheses ( )

Table 6: Participated in a Political Campaign - The Radicals

Dependent Variable: Worked or Participated in a Political Campaign (Yes=1/No=0)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Repressed Adult Dummy	0.341***	0.308***		
	[0.055]	[0.052]		
	(0.233 - 0.449)	(0.205 - 0.411)		
Post	-0.094***	-0.102***	-0.111***	0.029
	[0.034]	[0.033]	[0.028]	[0.159]
	(-0.162 - -0.027)	(-0.167 - -0.037)	(-0.167 - -0.055)	(-0.282 - 0.341)
Post*Repressed	-0.012	-0.002	0.009	0.047
	[0.071]	[0.067]	[0.053]	[0.056]
	(-0.151 - 0.126)	(-0.134 - 0.130)	(-0.096 - 0.113)	(-0.065 - 0.158)
Belonged to a Radical Party in 1973	0.623***	0.604***		
	[0.142]	[0.129]		
	(0.343 - 0.902)	(0.351 - 0.857)		
Repressed * Radical Party	-0.285*	-0.270*		
	[0.158]	[0.147]		
	(-0.596 - 0.025)	(-0.558 - 0.017)		
Radical Party * Post	-0.572***	-0.565***	-0.556***	-0.578***
	[0.178]	[0.176]	[0.168]	[0.162]
	(-0.922 - -0.223)	(-0.911 - -0.218)	(-0.886 - -0.225)	(-0.897 - -0.259)
Radical Party * Post * Repressed	0.473**	0.462**	0.454**	0.456**
	[0.205]	[0.203]	[0.193]	[0.189]
	(0.070 - 0.876)	(0.063 - 0.861)	(0.074 - 0.834)	(0.085 - 0.827)
Socio-economic variables	NO	YES	NO	NO
Individual Fixed Effects	NO	NO	YES	YES
Socio-economic variables*Post	NO	NO	NO	YES
Observations	729	729	729	729
R-squared	0.267	0.327	0.805	0.817

Note: Columns (1) to (4) report the results of the difference in differences models. The dependent variable, participated in a political campaign, takes values of 1 when the subject reports to having participated in a political activity and 0 otherwise. The socio economic covariates included are: age, a female dummy, household income scale (1 poor - 10 rich), years of education, working dummy, levels of skill and sector of the economy in which the individual worked in 1973. Standard errors in brackets [ ]; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. Confidence Intervals in parentheses ( )

Table 7: Participation in Political Demonstrations - The Radicals

Dependent Variable: Participation in Political Demonstrations (Yes=1/No=0)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Repressed Adult Dummy	0.508***	0.478***		
	[0.053]	[0.053]		
	(0.403 - 0.612)	(0.373 - 0.582)		
Post	-0.154***	-0.189***	-0.180***	-0.294
	[0.042]	[0.041]	[0.037]	[0.186]
	(-0.237 - -0.071)	(-0.270 - -0.109)	(-0.254 - -0.106)	(-0.660 - 0.071)
Post*Repressed	-0.110	-0.104	-0.133**	-0.127*
	[0.072]	[0.068]	[0.066]	[0.072]
	(-0.250 - 0.031)	(-0.237 - 0.029)	(-0.263 - -0.004)	(-0.268 - 0.014)
Belonged to a Radical Party in 1973	0.518***	0.440***		
	[0.144]	[0.122]		
	(0.236 - 0.800)	(0.200 - 0.681)		
Repressed * Radical Party	-0.322**	-0.258*		
	[0.151]	[0.133]		
	(-0.619 - -0.025)	(-0.518 - 0.002)		
Radical Party * Post	-0.068	-0.033	-0.042	-0.050
	[0.221]	[0.187]	[0.151]	[0.139]
	(-0.502 - 0.366)	(-0.401 - 0.335)	(-0.340 - 0.255)	(-0.324 - 0.223)
Radical Party * Post * Repressed	0.165	0.146	0.170	0.160
	[0.236]	[0.204]	[0.170]	[0.158]
	(-0.298 - 0.629)	(-0.254 - 0.546)	(-0.164 - 0.505)	(-0.150 - 0.470)
Socio-economic variables	NO	YES	NO	NO
Individual Fixed Effects	NO	NO	YES	YES
Socio-economic variables*Post	NO	NO	NO	YES
Observations	724	724	724	724
R-squared	0.341	0.418	0.798	0.808

Note: Columns (1) to (4) report the results of the difference in differences models. The dependent variable, participation in political demonstrations, takes values of 1 when the subject reports to having participated political demonstrations and 0 otherwise. The socio economic covariates included are: age, a female dummy, household income scale (1 poor - 10 rich), years of education, working dummy, levels of skill and sector of the economy in which the individual worked in 1973. Standard errors in brackets [ ]; *** p < 0.01, ** p< 0.05, * p < 0.1. Confidence Intervals in parentheses ( )

Table 8: Membership of Union - The Students

	Dependent Variable: Membership of Union(Yes=1/No=0)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Repressed Adult Dummy	0.288***	0.257***		
	[0.054]	[0.054]		
	(0.181 - 0.395)	(0.150 - 0.363)		
Post	-0.036	-0.036	-0.036	0.361**
	[0.047]	[0.047]	[0.037]	[0.162]
	(-0.129 - 0.057)	(-0.128 - 0.056)	(-0.110 - 0.038)	(0.043 - 0.680)
Post*Repressed	-0.279***	-0.279***	-0.279***	-0.291***
	[0.071]	[0.070]	[0.058]	[0.061]
	(-0.418 - -0.139)	(-0.416 - -0.142)	(-0.394 - -0.164)	(-0.411 - -0.171)
Student in 1973	-0.190***	0.016		
	[0.039]	[0.070]		
	(-0.267 - -0.113)	(-0.122 - 0.153)		
Student in 1973*Repressed	-0.240***	-0.218***		
	[0.066]	[0.067]		
	(-0.369 - -0.110)	(-0.349 - -0.087)		
Student in 1973*Post	0.147**	0.147**	0.147**	-0.195*
	[0.068]	[0.069]	[0.063]	[0.118]
	(0.013 - 0.281)	(0.012 - 0.282)	(0.024 - 0.271)	(-0.427 - 0.037)
Student in 1973*Post*Repressed	0.318***	0.318***	0.318***	0.329***
	[0.107]	[0.107]	[0.102]	[0.104]
	(0.108 - 0.527)	(0.107 - 0.528)	(0.118 - 0.518)	(0.124 - 0.533)
Socio-economic variables	NO	YES	NO	NO
Individual Fixed Effects	NO	NO	YES	YES
Socio-economic variables*Post	NO	NO	NO	YES
Observations	792	792	792	792
R-squared	0.114	0.144	0.668	0.693

Note: Columns (1) to (4) report the results of the difference in differences models. The dependent variable, Belonged to a Union, takes values of 1 when the subject reports to having belonged to a union and 0 otherwise. The socio economic covariates included are: age, a female dummy, household income scale (1 poor - 10 rich), years of education, working dummy, levels of skill and sector of the economy in which the individual worked in 1973. Standard errors in brackets [ ]; *** p $<$ 0.01, ** p$<$ 0.05, * p $<$ 0.1. Confidence Intervals in parentheses ( ).

Table 9: Participation in Strikes - The Students

Dependent Variable: Participation in Strikes (Yes=1/No=0)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Repressed Adult Dummy	0.340***	0.315***		
	[0.055]	[0.056]		
	(0.233 - 0.448)	(0.204 - 0.425)		
Post	-0.177***	-0.178***	-0.172***	0.216
	[0.038]	[0.038]	[0.038]	[0.270]
	(-0.251 - -0.103)	(-0.252 - -0.104)	(-0.246 - -0.097)	(-0.315 - 0.747)
Post*Repressed	-0.181***	-0.180***	-0.190***	-0.155**
	[0.065]	[0.065]	[0.065]	[0.070]
	(-0.309 - -0.052)	(-0.308 - -0.052)	(-0.318 - -0.062)	(-0.293 - -0.017)
Student in 1973	0.151	0.078		
	[0.097]	[0.132]		
	(-0.040 - 0.343)	(-0.180 - 0.336)		
Student in 1973*Repressed	-0.297**	-0.267*		
	[0.139]	[0.140]		
	(-0.571 - -0.024)	(-0.543 - 0.008)		
Student in 1973*Post	-0.088	-0.104	-0.078	-0.289
	[0.106]	[0.107]	[0.108]	[0.226]
	(-0.296 - 0.121)	(-0.313 - 0.105)	(-0.291 - 0.134)	(-0.733 - 0.156)
Student in 1973*Post*Repressed	0.528***	0.523***	0.440**	0.450**
	[0.163]	[0.162]	[0.185]	[0.183]
	(0.209 - 0.848)	(0.204 - 0.842)	(0.076 - 0.804)	(0.090 - 0.811)
Socio-economic variables	NO	YES	NO	NO
Individual Fixed Effects	NO	NO	YES	YES
Socio-economic variables*Post	NO	NO	NO	YES
Observations	729	729	729	729
R-squared	0.179	0.200	0.658	0.686

Note: Columns (1) to (4) report the results of the difference in differences models. The dependent variable, participation in strikes, takes values of 1 when the subject reports to having participated in strikes and 0 otherwise. The socio economic covariates included are: age, a female dummy, household income scale (1 poor - 10 rich), years of education, working dummy, levels of skill and sector of the economy in which the individual worked in 1973. Standard errors in brackets [ ]; *** p $<$ 0.01, ** p$<$ 0.05, * p $<$ 0.1. Confidence Intervals in parentheses ( )

Table 10: Donated Money for a Political Activity - The Students

Dependent Variable: Donated Money for a Political Activity (Yes=1/No=0)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Repressed Adult Dummy	0.370***	0.349***		
	[0.046]	[0.047]		
	(0.279 - 0.460)	(0.257 - 0.441)		
Post	-0.022	-0.024	-0.022	-0.007
	[0.024]	[0.025]	[0.023]	[0.232]
	(-0.069 - 0.025)	(-0.074 - 0.026)	(-0.069 - 0.024)	(-0.463 - 0.450)
Post*Repressed	-0.091	-0.089	-0.092*	-0.090
	[0.062]	[0.061]	[0.053]	[0.061]
	(-0.213 - 0.030)	(-0.208 - 0.030)	(-0.196 - 0.013)	(-0.210 - 0.030)
Student in 1973	0.127*	0.037		
	[0.075]	[0.108]		
	(-0.021 - 0.275)	(-0.175 - 0.248)		
Student in 1973*Repressed	-0.249**	-0.254**		
	[0.120]	[0.119]		
	(-0.485 - -0.012)	(-0.489 - -0.020)		
Student in 1973*Post	-0.082	-0.069	-0.085	-0.270
	[0.085]	[0.084]	[0.085]	[0.185]
	(-0.248 - 0.084)	(-0.234 - 0.096)	(-0.251 - 0.082)	(-0.634 - 0.095)
Student in 1973*Post*Repressed	0.446***	0.464***	0.399***	0.388***
	[0.147]	[0.145]	[0.142]	[0.148]
	(0.157 - 0.735)	(0.179 - 0.750)	(0.119 - 0.679)	(0.096 - 0.679)
Socio-economic variables	NO	YES	NO	NO
Individual Fixed Effects	NO	NO	YES	YES
Socio-economic variables*Post	NO	NO	NO	YES
Observations	728	728	728	728
R-squared	0.184	0.227	0.755	0.761

Note: Columns (1) to (4) report the results of the difference in differences models. The dependent variable, donated money for a political activity, takes values of 1 when the subject reports to having donated money for a political activity and 0 otherwise. The socio economic covariates included are: age, a female dummy, household income scale (1 poor - 10 rich), years of education, working dummy, levels of skill and sector of the economy in which the individual worked in 1973. Standard errors in brackets [ ]; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. Confidence Intervals in parentheses ( )

Table 11: Participation in Political Demonstrations - The Students

Dependent Variable: Participation in Political Demonstrations (Yes=1/No=0)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Repressed Adult Dummy	0.599***	0.563***		
	[0.049]	[0.050]		
	(0.504 - 0.694)	(0.465 - 0.662)		
Post	-0.156***	-0.162***	-0.153***	-0.099
	[0.042]	[0.042]	[0.037]	[0.245]
	(-0.238 - -0.073)	(-0.244 - -0.079)	(-0.225 - -0.080)	(-0.582 - 0.384)
Post*Repressed	-0.166**	-0.159**	-0.164***	-0.158**
	[0.068]	[0.066]	[0.060]	[0.064]
	(-0.299 - -0.033)	(-0.288 - -0.030)	(-0.281 - -0.046)	(-0.285 - -0.032)
Student in 1973	0.385***	0.208*		
	[0.100]	[0.120]		
	(0.189 - 0.580)	(-0.028 - 0.444)		
Student in 1973*Repressed	-0.340***	-0.315**		
	[0.122]	[0.123]		
	(-0.579 - -0.100)	(-0.557 - -0.074)		
Student in 1973*Post	-0.174	-0.161	-0.169	-0.338*
	[0.119]	[0.120]	[0.114]	[0.201]
	(-0.407 - 0.060)	(-0.396 - 0.074)	(-0.392 - 0.055)	(-0.734 - 0.058)
Student in 1973*Post*Repressed	0.429***	0.429***	0.419***	0.397***
	[0.153]	[0.153]	[0.141]	[0.152]
	(0.127 - 0.730)	(0.129 - 0.729)	(0.141 - 0.696)	(0.097 - 0.697)
Socio-economic variables	NO	YES	NO	NO
Individual Fixed Effects	NO	NO	YES	YES
Socio-economic variables*Post	NO	NO	NO	YES
Observations	724	724	724	724
R-squared	0.341	0.385	0.802	0.812

Note: Columns (1) to (4) report the results of the difference in differences models. The dependent variable, participation in political demonstrations, takes values of 1 when the subject reports to having participated political demonstrations and 0 otherwise. The socio economic covariates included are: age, a female dummy, household income scale (1 poor - 10 rich), years of education, working dummy, levels of skill and sector of the economy in which the individual worked in 1973.Standard errors in brackets [ ]; *** p $<$ 0.01, ** p$<$ 0.05, * p $<$ 0.1. Confidence Intervals in parentheses ( )

5 Appendix A

Figure 1: Number of Victims and Detentions Registered in Rettig and Valech Reports

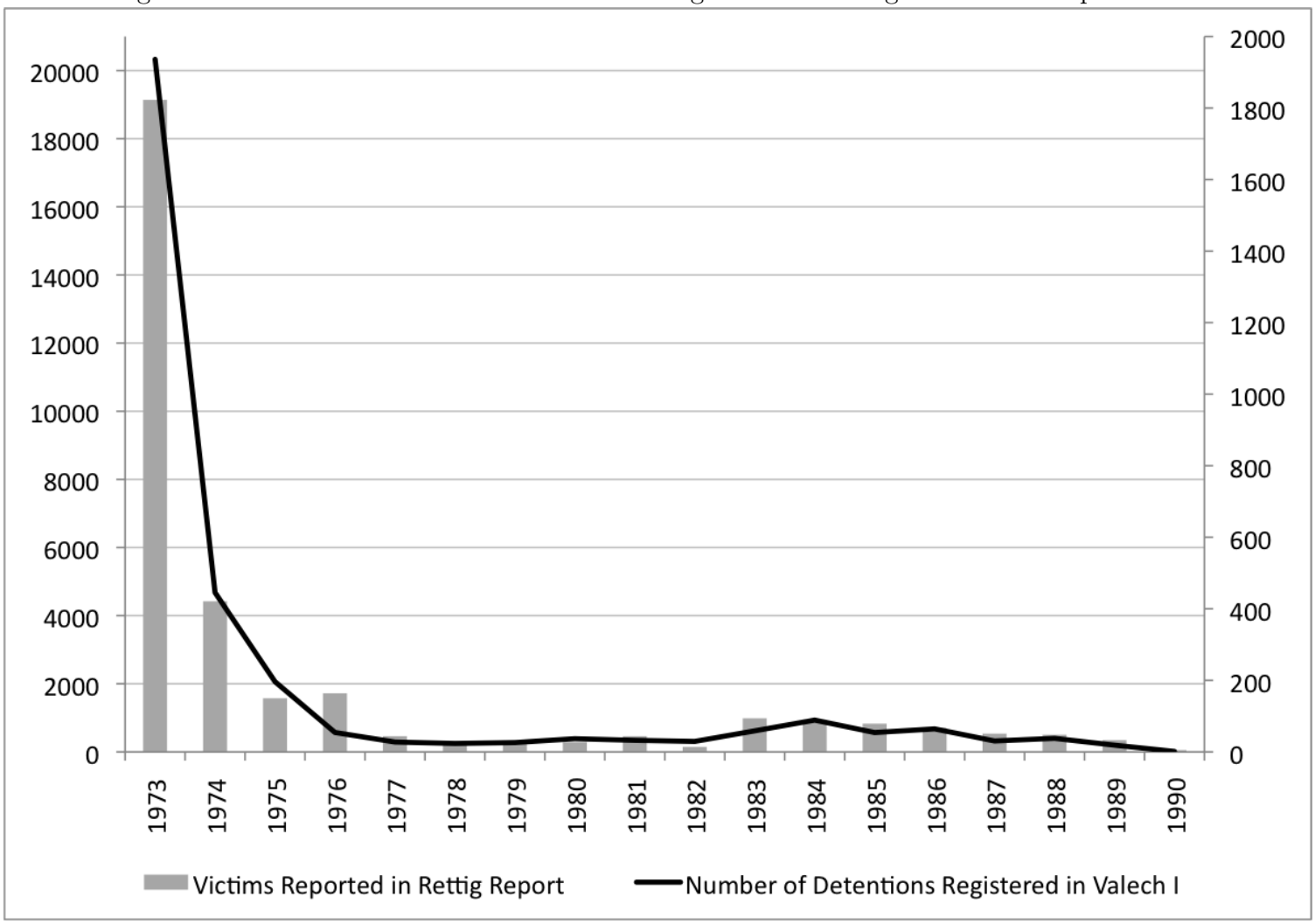

Figure 2: Age at First Detention

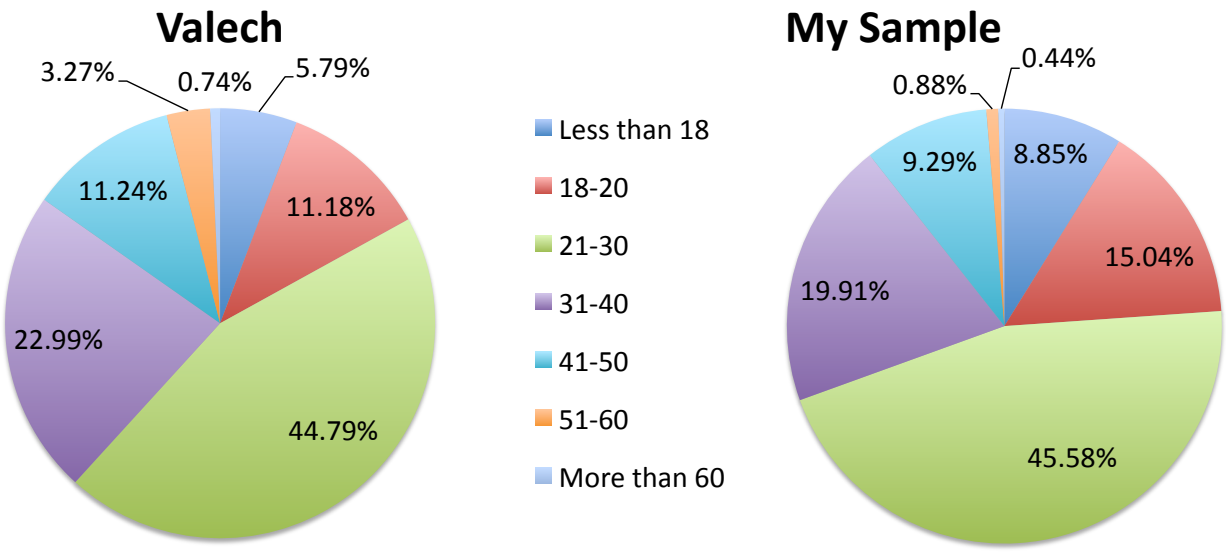

Figure 3: Political Party and/or Movement Membership in 1973