Social and Political Effects of State-led Repression:
The Chilean Case

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Abstract

In this paper I study the micro-level impact of state-led repression for the case of the Chilean military dictatorship (1973-1990) on individual political and social participation, preferences and behavior. I collected a unique micro dataset in Chile in 2012 where I surveyed subjects who experienced repression and built a matching group of subjects with very similar socio-economic characteristics that did not experience repression. Since there is a clear selection into the repressed group, I use a difference in differences strategy where I compare the outcome of the repressed relative to the non-repressed before and after repression took place. I also estimate this model using individual fixed effects. I find several robust results: first, there is a general de-politicization of the sample since I find that in 2012 both sets of people, repressed and non-repressed are less interested in politics compared to 1973; second, there is no significant change in the political orientation on a left-right scale of either group; third, that as a consequence of repression the participation of the repressed in political parties and unions fell relative to the non-repressed. The repressed also reduced their reliance on newspapers as a source of information. Lastly, the repressed increased their participation in human rights organizations.

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1 Introduction

Michelle Bachelet, elected president of Chile in 2014 again after serving in the job between 2006 and 2010, shares something in common with tens of thousands of Chileans. She suffered from state-led repression during the military dictatorship. Bachelet's father, a military officer who did not support the coup against the government of Salvador Allende on September 11, 1973, died under torture and interrogation in 1974. Bachelet herself was arrested with her mother in 1975 and imprisoned and tortured in the notorious detention center Villa Grimaldi, now a museum. After this she fled into exile in Australia. This history, and others like it, raises a natural question: what are the impacts of state-led political repression on individual political and social participation, preferences and behavior?

Though states may often fulfill their Hobbesian task of preventing a "war of all against all" they have also turned their powers against their own citizens. Indeed, all states in recorded history have repressed their own citizens and some have done so with extreme brutality and a mass death toll. This is true of the totalitarian regimes of Communist Russia under Stalin, China under Mao Zedong or Cambodia under Pol Pot and is true elsewhere in North Korea or Iraq under Saddam Hussein, though democracies are less likely to repress their citizens than autocracies (Davenport, 2007). This use of violence by the state against its own citizens is a central topic in comparative politics and resonates with many literatures in political science. State repression is one of the pervasive features of modern authoritarian regimes and it is central to the study of democratization and regime type. Authoritarian regimes come to power and maintain themselves using repression and the feasibility and costs of repression are critical to determining whether or not authoritarian regimes are able to sustain themselves or give in to some alternative, such as democracy (see Acemoglu and Robinson, 2001, 2006). Repression is also heavily involved in how authoritarian regimes attempt to implement their political projects and how they attempt to leave an enduring legacy. As Andre Gunder Frank put it in his "First Open Letter of Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger" the two Chicago economists advising the military government of General

Augusto Pinochet in Chile

"you say the wage is still 'above the level of equilibrium'. Perhaps the equilibrating artists you trained to serve the Military Junta in Chile can help it equilibrate the wage still better on the points of its bayonets." (Frank, 1976)

For example, the dictatorships which emerged in the Southern Cone of Latin America in the 1970s, in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay had an agenda of permanently rolling back left-wing political programs and undermining the power of organized labor (Drake, 1996; Foxley, 1983). They did this by violently repressing the left and the unions.

Yet despite this work on repression, its consequences and legacies and its importance for political science, these topics have been under-theorized and have barely been researched empirically. In particular, there has been insufficient focus on the mechanisms via which repression might help sustain authoritarianism and leave a legacy. At some level the way in which authoritarianism is sustained by repression might seem obvious. Authoritarianism is threatened by the collective action and the opposition of the disenfranchised. Repression makes it dangerous or difficult for opponents of a regime to engage in collective action which makes the authoritarian regime safer. Whether or not this repression has long-lasting effects is more complex theoretically. In both cases a natural place to start to think about these issues would be at the individual level. How does the experience of repression or perhaps the fear of being repressed influence an individual's political preferences or behavior? If it does, to what extent does the impact linger over time or is it transitory? Could it be passed inter-generationally so that the children of the repressed inherit the reactions of their parents?

The main contribution of this paper is to conduct such an individual level investigation of the consequences of state led repression. To do so I analyze a unique micro dataset which I collected in Chile in 2012. I first constructed a random sample of 203 people who had been repressed, arrested and/or tortured, during the military dictatorship between 1973 and 1990. The sample was constructed from the people classified by the "The National Commission on

Political Imprisonment and Torture" or Valech Report [1] as having been detained for political reasons by the dictatorship. After creating this sample I then constructed a control sample of 193 subjects by matching those repressed with others who were not repressed using the characteristics of the repressed. I then administered a survey to collect key political, social and economic data. The first section of the survey consisted of retrospective questions about their political preferences and behavior (i.e. How interested where they in politics, their political ideology, participation in political activities or organizations) at the time of the Unidad Popular (UP) Government, which was overthrown by the military coup of September 11, 1973. There were also questions regarding people's socio-economic background (their occupation at the time, household income scale level, educational level). The second section covered the years of the dictatorship and I asked about the repressive event (age of first detention, number of detentions, places where detained, the organization that detained them, outcome after detention - went into hiding, exile or freedom, etc.). I also asked about subjects occupational status and if whether they lost their jobs during those years. For the period after the dictatorship, I asked subjects questions regarding their political preferences and behavior as in the first section, and other on interpersonal trust. I also collected information on the individual's current level of educational, occupation and other socio-economic variables. Finally, I also surveyed the children of both the repressed and the control group and collected the same type of information for the current period (I did not ask retrospective questions of the children).

The main questions of interest in this paper are: how did repression influence individual's political preferences and political participation? To think about the potential mechanisms and channels it is very useful to start with a simple theoretical framework. I conduct my analysis within a model which sees people's preferences as being formed by socialization as part of their identity. When young, people develop values and preferences as a result of

[1] 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 the Valech Report, 2004 and 2011.

socialization by their parents and peers and from the state at school. At this time they also acquire political preferences and beliefs. This model of identity formation and socialization is consistent with a great deal of evidence about people's political choices and behavior. Green, Palmquist and Schickler (2002) argue that people adopt a basic social identity early in life via a process of socialization. For instance people decide if they are gay or straight, whether or not they are religious and if so to which religion they belong. They also decide, at least in Western countries, whether they are "liberal" or "conservative". Elsewhere, where such identities may not be relevant they may decide or their ethnic identity. They may also have a regional identity, which are very strong in many parts of the world. After this more basic social identity is formed people then choose a political identity which fits best with this broader identity. Green, Palmquist and Schickler (2002), focusing on the US case, articulate this in terms of whether or not a person identifies with the Republican or Democratic political parties. Once adopted, attachments to party rarely change even when a person votes for a different party. For example, one can self-identify as a democrat but vote for Ronald Reagan because one decides that he is the candidate best able to do what needs to be none. Critically, simply the fact of voting for a republican does not entail switching one's self-identification as a democrat. Models of identity formation and its consequences have been formalized mathematically by Akerlof and Kranton (2010) and Benabou and Tirole (2011). Very appealingly, from my point of view, this model naturally suggests ways in which there is inter-generational transmission of preferences and behaviors, which is examined in Bautista (2014).

This model makes several robust predictions about the likely consequences of repression on individual's political preferences and behavior. First, once a person's preferences, or perhaps ideology, is determined early in life (usually between the ages of 10 and 20) it is fixed and changes little. Nevertheless, there is a difference between your preferences and the way that you express your preferences. For example, you might be a left wing person but whether or not you take part in political activities in order to express your beliefs, such as join a political

party, take part in a political campaign or engage in protests and demonstrations, depends on the costs and benefits of these activities. If, for instance, behaving in a left wing way, by joining a left wing political party, risked repression, then you might not do this while at the same time maintaining your political identity. If this happened it would be a form of what Kuran (1995) called "preference falsification". From this discussion I hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 1: *Repression will not change people's political preferences*

Hypothesis 2: *Repression will lead people to disengage from political life, participating less in any way which risks further repression.*

Hence I would expect the repressed, relative to the non-repressed to be less likely join a political party or a trade union and less prone to take part in a political campaign or engage in protests and demonstrations. However, they will not become more left-wing or right-wing due to the experience of repression, or change their levels of interest in politics.

These are the main hypotheses I will investigate in this paper. The main empirical question of interest is to estimate the causal effect of being repressed on key measures of political preferences, behavior, participation, attitudes and interests. Before describing my results and how they relate to the hypotheses it is important to discuss some of the empirical challenges involved in providing satisfactory evaluations or whether or not the data supports these hypotheses. Estimating these causal effects is difficult because it is endogenous who is repressed. By construction, while the repressed and non-repressed groups are very similar in terms of many of the covariates, for example income, education and occupation in 1973, those who were repressed are significantly more interested in politics, more likely to participate in political demonstrations and strikes, to discuss politics with family and friends and to belong to political parties and unions. There is therefore clear selection into the repressed group. This implies that an empirical strategy which simply compares the current outcomes of the repressed and non-repressed groups will not estimate the causal effect of being repressed, at least in the absence of an instrumental variable.

I use one main empirical strategy for dealing with this challenge to causal inference and

conduct several robustness tests. This strategy is made feasible by the fact that I collected retrospective data for both repressed and non-repressed and I am therefore able to move beyond the cross-sectional differences today. The first model I estimate is a difference in differences, that for example compares the political participation of the repressed relative to the non-repressed before and after repression took place. This strategy will estimate the casual effect of being repressed if there is an unobservable which is common to the repressed group. However, since I have a panel I can use an even more powerful approach than this which is to use individual fixed effects. Instead of comparing a person to the group I can compare him or her to himself or herself over time. In this case even if there are individual specific unobservables, they will be controlled for by the fixed effects and this will enable me to estimate the causal effect of being repressed. The repressed are clearly different from the non-repressed, for example in their political behavior. However, it is plausible that these differences are fixed unobservables related to people's ideology or perhaps upbringing. If this is the case these unobservable differences can be controlled for with fixed effects leaving the estimated regression coefficients unbiased.

Using this strategy I find several robust results which are very consistent with Hypotheses 1 and 2. First, there is a general de-politicization of the sample since I find that in 2012 both sets of people, repressed and non-repressed are less interested in politics and the fall is 8% and 15% relative to their 1973 level. Second, though people may be less interested in politics, there is no significant change in the political orientation on a left-right scale of either group. Third, while the repressed were and are more politically active in the sense of being more likely to be a member of a political party or movement as a consequence of repression, their participation fell by 15 percentage points relative to the non-repressed. This implies a 40% decrease in participation in these organizations relative to their 1973 level for the subjects who were repressed. For the case of membership of unions, being repressed caused a decrease of 18 percentage points which is equivalent to a fall of 48% relative to their 1973 level. However, an interesting finding is that people who experienced repression

seem to substitute into other forms of political participation, such as human rights groups since I find a positive and statistically significant effect of repression on the probability that a person belongs to a human rights organization. In particular, repressed subjects increase their participation in these organizations by 14 percentage points. Finally, repressed subjects also reduced their reliance on newspapers as a source of information. As a robustness exercise I also estimated a model using propensity score matching and the results generally hold.

These econometric results show that repression by the dictatorship created an environment of fear which influenced everyone's willingness to participate in politics and made it very costly for the majority of these individuals. This effect is stronger for people who themselves experienced repression leading to a relatively more intense withdrawal from society and politics. On the other hand the fact that in my data people's political preferences do not change as a result of repression is very consistent with the identity model.

In this paper I present only the average treatment effect of repression. It is clearly possible, and some of the testimonials and my fieldwork suggest, that different people reacted to repression in very different ways. For example, people who were highly politically motivated or political activists may become even more active in response to being repressed. In other words, it is quite likely that there are heterogeneous effects of repression. I investigate this possibility, in Bautista (2013).

Even though the individual political and social consequences of state repression are of enormous importance for comparative politics they have not been investigated systematically before in political science. For example, Acemoglu and Robinson (2001, 2006) studied the decision of dictatorships to use repression, yet in their theory, repression has no enduring impact at the individual level. Other scholars, like Karl and Schmitter (1991), Linz and Stepan (1995) and O'Donnell (1994) have argued that the type of dictatorship that a society has, leaves a legacy for future democracies. O'Donnell (1994) for example argued that democratization in Latin America in the 1980's created a type of low quality democracy he called delegative democracy. This literature is related to a broader literature in historical

institutionalism which has emphasized path dependent legacies working primarily through institutional structures, (e.g. Thelen (1991), Pierson and Skocpol (2004), and Siavelis (2000), Frank (2005) and Londregan (2007) for the Chilean case). This research differs from my own because its focus is on legacies working through institutions, not individual behavior and it is not focused on repression as a channel via which legacies are created.[2]

The most prominent instance of research on institutional legacies of authoritarian regimes is in the literature on the transition from socialism in Eastern Europe. In a seminal paper Jowitt (1992) argued that Leninism, by which he meant the institutional structure of the Soviet Union, would cast a long shadow over the institutional and social dynamics of the post-communist world. Since then a great deal of research has examined different hypotheses about how this legacy might work. Hanson (1995) for example identified four main channels via which legacies could operate: ideological, political, socioeconomic and cultural. Mechanisms included antipathy towards capitalism or liberal values at the individual level, inherited socioeconomic or cultural cleavages, persistent groups, elites or informal institutions (see Kitschelt et al, 1999, Grzymala-Busse, 2002, the essays in Ekiert and Hanson, 2003, and also Howard, 2006, and Pop-Eleches, 2006). More relevant to my research, Pop-Eleches and Tucker (2011, 2013) analyze the legacy of communist dictatorship on individual behavior and civil society in Eastern Europe. This and the related work of Bernhard and Karako (2007) using data from the World Values Survey find significant effects on preferences and political behavior. This work on Eastern Europe is closer to my own in that it develops hypotheses about how authoritarianism can leave a legacy through its impact on individual behavior, even if many of the hypotheses are very specific to the legacy of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, none of this research emphasizes the legacies of repression and none of it uses the type of micro evidence that I collected. For example, neither the World Values Survey nor the other data that Pop-Eleches and Tucker use has information on repression or the differential impact of Soviet policies on different individuals.

[2]Roniger and Sznajder (1999) is a partial exception but the mechanisms on which they focus and their research design is completely different from this paper.

The paper proceeds as follows. In the next section I give a brief 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. Also, I include some case studies that illustrate how people experienced and survived this traumatic event. In section 3, I give a description of the construction of the dataset I use in this article and present some descriptive statistics. Section 4 then discusses the econometric models estimated and my main results including discussion of some alternative hypotheses that could explain the patterns I find. The fifth section concludes.

2 Political Imprisonment and Torture in Chile under the Dictatorship

2.1 The Historical Narrative

The democratically elected government of president Salvador Allende was overthrown on September 11, 1973.[3] The same day a military junta, consisting of the commanders of the army (Augusto Pinochet), the air force (Gustavo Leigh) the navy (José Toribio Merino) and the police (Carabineros) (César Mendoza) suspended the constitution and made themselves the supreme executive and legislative body of the country. The coup happened in the context of an increasingly polarized political situation in Chile. In 1970 Allende and his UP alliance had won 36.6% of the popular vote while the conservative Jorge Alessandri polled 35.3%. The Christian Democratic party's candidate Radomiro Tomic polled 28.1%. Since no candidate had an absolute majority the outcome was decided between the top two candidates by a vote in congress. In this the Christian Democrats decided to back Allende who was elected with 78.5% of the votes. But in 1973 Christian Democrat leader Eduardo Frei backed the coup against Allende's government. Lacking a congressional majority, Allende had increasingly

[3]The seminal overview of the collapse of the Allende regime and the factors behind the coup remains Valenzuela (1978), see also Sigmund (1978).

had to rely on decrees and other methods which the opposition deemed unconstitutional. In a climate of heightened conflict on 23rd August of 1973 Congress had passed a motion severely censoring the Allende regime for, amongst other things, ruling by decree, encouraging illegal land occupations, and refusing to enforce judicial decisions against its partisans. One coup, attempted on June 29, 1973 by the commander of a tank regiment, Roberto Souper, the so called Tanquetazo, had already failed. The one on September 11 was far better planned and organized, though Pinochet himself had only come on board the previous Sunday, two days before the coup was consummated (Constable and Valenzuela, 1993, p. 52). The Junta that was constituted on September 11 would run Chile until re-democratization in 1990, though the people who constituted in changed.[4] By 1974 Pinochet had persuaded his colleagues to make him the chief executive and by the end of the same year he had induced them to agree to him becoming president. This role was reaffirmed by the plebiscite in 1978 where Chileans were asked to answer yes or no to the following question "Faced with international aggression launched against our fatherland, I support President Pinochet in his defense of the dignity of Chile and reaffirm the legitimacy of the government." Official figures declared that yes votes received 75% of the total. Pinochet's position was further consolidated by the new constitution that the military wrote in 1980 (see Barros, 2002, for an analysis of the constitutional process and Cavallo, Salazar and Sepúlveda, 1998. Ch. 30). This constitution made Pinochet president for 8 years with the junta continuing as the legislative body of the country. The first term was to officially begin when the constitution went into force that happened in 1981. The constitution had been ratified by a plebiscite on September 11, 1980 with 67.5% of people voting yes. The constitution stipulated that in 1988 there would be another plebiscite on whether or not Pinochet should continue for another 8 years

[4]Good treatments of the dictatorships and how it functioned are Constable and Valenzuela (1993), Spooner (1994), Cavallo, Salazar and Sepúlveda (1998), Ensalaco (1999) and Muñoz (2008), see also the essays in Valenzuela and Valenzuela eds. (1987). Stern (2006, 2009, and 2010) presents a comprehensive discussion of how the events of the military dictatorship have been interpreted by different parts of Chilean society, see also Collins, Hite and Joignant (2013) and Gómez-Barris (2008). The most comprehensive source of information on repression during the dictatorship is the Valech Report. See also Policzer (2009) for an analysis of the temporal patterns of repression by the National Intelligence Directorate or DINA (Spanish acronym)

as president. This took place on 5th October 1988 with 56% voted no thus paving the way to re-democratization with the first legislative elections since 1973 taking place in 1989 with Patricio Aylwin becoming president in 1990.

Right from the first day of the Junta's existence they made clear their goal was to extirpate the "Marxist cancer" which they claimed was terrorizing the country. They did this via wholesale murder, assassination, disappearance, torture and exile of their actual and suspected opponents. The military moved quickly to arrest leaders of left-wing political parties, trade unions and political activists of the left. Both the sports arenas the Estadio Nacional and the Estadio de Chile were turned into impromptu prisons and interrogations centers until the military could create a more systematic collection of prisons, including Villa Grimaldi where Michelle Bachelet was tortured (the Valech commission ended up recognizing 1,200 places of torture). The Rettig Commission, named after its chairman, Raúl Rettig, created after the return to democracy in 1990, reported that in total 3,197 people had been either murdered or had disappeared as a consequence of military repression for political reasons. Figure 1 shows how these deaths were distributed over time and illustrates that 57% of them occurred in 1973 during the first onslaught by the military against its opponents (right axis). The first round of the Valech Commission (named after its director Bishop Sergio Valech, which reported in 2004) concluded that 28,459 people had been imprisoned for political reasons and of these 94% were tortured. In a second revision, 9,795 new cases were included in the Valech Report, for a total of 38,254 cases. On Figure 1 I also plot the number of detentions reported in the first round of the Valech Report by year (left axis). As with murders and disappearances, the number of people tortured was much larger in the first year of the dictatorship. In fact 61% of the total number of cases of arrest and torture took place in this first year while the dictatorship consolidated itself.

The Valech Report divides into three the different periods of political imprisonment and torture. The first period starts on the day of the coup and lasts until the last day of 1973. On September 14th General Oscar Bonilla revealed the purported "Plan Z" which was the

supposed plan organized by the UP government to massacre military officers and other opposition leaders. This became one of the pretexts used to justify why the military dictatorship went after members of the former government and their supporters. The existence of Plan Z was backed up by a book fabricated by historian Vial Correa (1973). The first days after the coup were characterized by mass raids in factories, shantytowns, mining camps and universities. Because of the large number of prisoners several improvised detention centers were opened, from schools to stadiums, and were used to hold thousands of prisoners in terrible conditions. One of the most significant ones was the National Stadium (Estadio Nacional) which functioned from the day of the coup until November 9th 1973. There are different estimates of the number of prisoners held in this place, but they go from 7,000 to as many as 40,000. The Red Cross, after one inspection of the conditions of the prisoners, described them as terrible because of the overcrowding, unsanitary and starvation conditions with the whole situation being aggravated by torture sessions (Corporación Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación, 1996, Vol. I p. 115). Another dramatic episode during this period was the tour of the "Caravan of Death" when Brigadier General Sergio Arellano Stark went around different cities in Chile executing prisoners to set an example of how sympathizers of the previous government should be treated. The Caravan killed 97 people between September 30th and October 22 in 1973 (see Verdugo, 2001). A notorious similar operation was Operación Colombo which killed 119 people in 1975 (see Sepúlveda Ruiz, 2005). By October of 1973 the different branches of the military started to realize they needed more coordination, "the intelligence services of each branch acted with scarce coordination. They needed to have an organized organism, that responded directly to the executive political power and that was able to gather the dispersed information" (Cavallo, Salazar and Sepúlveda, 1998, p. 57). This is why in November of 1973 the National Intelligence Directorate or DINA (Spanish acronym) was founded under the direction of Coronel Manuel Contreras. This was a group composed of 'elite' military from all the intelligence units, "fear specialists" as Cavallo, Salazar and Sepúlveda (1998 p. 59) put it.

The second period identified by the Valech commission runs from 1974 to 1977. During this period the Carabineros was the military force that executed the largest proportion of detentions (27%) this is marked by the rise of the DINA which was second in number in detentions (22%) (2004, p. 240). In consequence, the way the repressive apparatus worked changed. The phase of mass detentions finished and detentions became more selective where the targets were primarily members of the Revolutionary Left Movement or MIR (acronym in Spanish), Socialist and Communist parties. The detentions usually took place in their place of work, homes or in the street and were conducted by men dressed in civilian clothes who would take the prisoner without any formal arrest warrant. It is also in this period that characters like Osvaldo Romo, better know as 'Guatón Romo' a former township leader, Marcia Merino or 'La Flaca Alejandra' and Luz Arce, all of them members of the MIR, turned to the military side. They gave away names, meeting places, communication codes and pointed out their former comrades in the streets so the DINA could hunt them down and successfully disarticulate these political movements (see Arce, 2004, Lazzara, 2011 and Salazar, 2011). Secret detention centers started to spread under the control of the DINA, first in the Metropolitan Region, among them was Villa Grimaldi, and as the DINA spread in the territory, secret detention centers did as well. People who entered these places were tortured and often 'disappeared' (for example, captives at Villa Grimaldi were thrown from helicopters tied to railway tracks over the sea in Bahía Quintero close to Viña del Mar). Because of the predominant role of the DINA in this period, the closeness of Coronel Contreras to General Pinochet and all the arbitrary decisions this group made, the other intelligence branches came into conflict with the DINA. Among them was Comando Conjunto which was group formed by elite members of the Air Force Intelligence. What caused the final disintegration of the DINA however was the assassination of General Orlando Letelier in Washington D.C. in 1976 which created an international scandal. The DINA was replaced with the National Center of Information or CNI (acronym in Spanish). This is the turning point that marks the beginning of the third period of repression during the dictatorship.

This last period stretches from 1977 to 1990. In 1977 the CNI and Comando Conjunto become the main organizations implementing repression. The CNI adopted some of the members from the DINA, their repressive methods and detention centers. These changes in the repressive apparatus coincided with the return and reorganization of some militants of the MIR, the Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitario or MAPU- Lautaro and some segments of the Communist Party. This led to constant confrontations and the hunt for the members of these groups. In 1983 the Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez organized and started to commit violent acts including an assassination attempt on Pinochet in 1986. A less radical reaction against the dictatorship, but one that created some nervousness since it was unexpected, started in the beginning of the 80's when an economic crisis hit and social protests became more frequent. These social protests coincided with attempts by political parties and unions to get organized and this led to a movement seeking democracy. Because of these social protests massive raids were used once more as a mechanism to keep shantytowns under control.

During the 17 years of dictatorship, the Catholic Church was the organization that was unconditional in the protection of human rights. During the first days of the coup they took a neutral position but as the cases of disappeared, executed, detained and tortured subjects started to mount up, the church became confrontational towards the dictatorship. The first attempt of having an organization for the victims was the Pro-Peace Committee which started functioning in October 1973 and was closed down by the dictatorship by December 31 of 1975. However, the very next day, the Vicariate of Solidarity started working and they took over all the cases of human rights violations committed by the dictatorship by supporting, protecting, helping the victims and their relatives to go into exile and also providing legal support.

2.2 Case Study Evidence

A large amount of case study evidence and evidence from my field work is consistent with my main empirical findings in this paper. For example, María Irma Alvarado was detained the DINA in June 1974. The DINA, often called the "Chilean Gestapo" (Constable and Valenzuela, 1991, p. 91) whose former head Manuel Contreras is currently serving 25 sentences totaling 289 years in prison for kidnapping, forced disappearance and assassination. She was imprisoned in the Cuartel de Investigaciones in Puerto Montt, then moved to the jail in Chin-Chin and finally to the jail in Río Negro. While she was in Puerto Montt she remained isolated in a cell and at different times of the day or night she was taken out for interrogation where she was beaten and had a powerful light shone in her eyes. She was not allowed to sleep. She developed pneumonia and she did not receive any medical care and while sick she was kicked to the point where she lost consciousness and bled from her eyes, ears and nose. Reflecting in 2006 on the impact of this experience she noted

> "the consequences of the experience of repression are several. To start with, I have blackouts; I have a hard time remembering names and situations from that time. I feel distrust and insecurity; lack of self-esteem and a feeling of guilt for the pain I caused to my family and my daughter, who was only 11 months old when I left her. Several times I wished I had died" (Kuntsman and Torres eds. 2008, p. 55).

In this written testimonial she also describes episodes of post-traumatic stress disorder on dates such as September 11th, the day Pinochet went back to Chile from London after being under house arrest pending possible extradition from Spain, or when she remembered what happened to her.

> "I have long periods of insomnia and recurrent nightmares with the noises of the bars and chains being dragged, steps in the halls and people bleeding. I wake up covered in sweat. My body twists for no physical reason...there are periods when

> I isolate myself...I cannot stand being locked in a room without windows...and just the thought of living this experience throws me into despair" (Kuntsman and Torres eds. 2008, p. 55)

Alvarado's reaction to being repressed and tortured is very common in the testimonies of the victims of the Chilean dictatorship collected in the book "Cien Voces Rompen el Silencio" (100 Voices Break the Silence). These persistently record the long-running traumatic psychological effects that were the typical consequences of repression. Torture victim Brígida Bucarey recalled in 2005 that

> "after some days the bruises disappeared, my wounds healed, although I have some marks of burns on my legs, back and breasts. The wounds in my soul, in my heart, in my consciousness or how ever you call it, NEVER, after so long, have healed, after all the therapy and workshops I have done and all the efforts I have made. Those are the marks that painted my heart in red for the rest of my days" (Kuntsman and Torres eds. 2008, p. 127).

Hugo Silva detained on May 3rd 1974 and held for a while in the Estadio de Chile where the musician Víctor Jara was beaten to death recalled "The years have passed by and I feel my life stopped right then" (Kuntsman and Torres eds. 2008, p. 160).

Guido Vega detained four times for a total of 444 days explained

> "It is not easy to tell all the things that I had to live and had to see, because when I remember I feel an intense pain...I also have to be in constant psychological treatment" (Kuntsman and Torres eds. 2008, pp. 546-547).

Even so, you could hypothesize that these long-running negative psychological impacts could have induced positive effects, for example, on people's political participation. Yet evidence for this is hard to detect in the testimonials. The more clearly discernible impact is that the psychological trauma that repression induced and the costs associated with it, made

people withdraw from society, family and friends. María Irma Alvarado observed "When I finally manage to go back to work...my colleagues would run away from me as if I had leprosy" (Kuntsman and Torres eds. 2008, p. 56). Even though she says she still wants a better world, she says that the experience completely changed her

> "The questions that still hurt me are the ones about what they did with my life, my dreams, my ideals. When they destroyed me psychologically they destroyed my basic instincts as a person, as a human being, and I became something that was worthless" (Kuntsman and Torres eds. 2008, p. 56).

Elena Palma, detained on the 24th of September of 1973 was tortured, raped and imprisoned at the Estadio Nacional. In her view

> "The experience of being subject to aberrant tortures by a perverse group of people who belonged to the institutions of the state, left me with a permanent feeling of vulnerability" (Kuntsman and Torres eds. 2008, p. 394).

Rosa Prenafeta, working on agrarian reform in the Ministry of Public Works, and another survivor of the Estadio Nacional noted

> "They destroyed our professional careers and changed dramatically the quality of our life, generating a permanent anguish...the dictatorship turned into shit our life project" (Kuntsman and Torres eds. 2008, pp. 428-429).

This assessment of the reaction of people to state repression is born out by the psychological literature on the phenomena. Chilean psychologists Elisabeth Lira and María Isabel Castillo note "Political repression, experienced as the real possibility of being killed...reduces subjects to reclusion, exclusion and to total submission...subjects enclose themselves while they stay threatened; they do not expose...The way to defend themselves is going into hiding, staying paralyzed and fearful..." (Lira and Castillo, 1991, p. 70) (See also Almarza (1990, p. 7)).

These reflections capture the most common assessments by psychologists of the impact of repression. For example, Becker, Lira, Castillo, Gómez and Kovalskys (1990, p. 137) note that repression created "chronic fear. Fear, which is normally a defensive action against a specific external or internal threat, became a permanent component of everyday personal and social life. It thereby lost its protective function, and became a generalized inhibitory factor in both psychological processes and social interaction. Instead of diminishing the threat, it embedded the threat in people's minds" (see also the evidence presented in Weinstein, 1987, Dominguez, et. al. 1994, Lira and Weinstein, 1984, Martínez, Tironi and Weinstein, 1990).[5]

This evidence suggests that repression creates enduring fear and it is also associated with costs that make it very difficult for people to participate in political activities and leads people to withdraw from society and in particular, given the nature of the repression, from politics. As Becker and Diaz (1998, p. 435) note "A society of alienated subject develops, in which participants feel distant and mistrustful toward the political process." The theme of fear as a response to the dictatorship runs through the social science literature as well. Constable and Valenzuela (1991, Chapter 6), Silva (1999) and Politzer (2001) emphasize this as one of the defining characteristics of the military regime and the psychological literature has emphasized how this has persisted since 1990, see in particular Barbera (2009).

During fieldwork I had the opportunity to ask subjects about the persistence of fear and their perception of how repression changed the way they engaged in politics today. One of my subjects was a psychologist who worked in the Valech Reports I and II. She evaluated around 300 cases of subjects who had been repressed by the dictatorship, and still works with an organization which gives psychological counseling to these subjects. Regarding the persistence of fear she told me how she had a patient coming to her in a terrible state of angst soon after the right-wing presidential candidate, Sebastián Piñera, won the 2009

[5]Other research by psychologists on the long-run impact of repression, for example in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (Gailienè ed., 2005), Argentina (Kordon, 2005), Central America (Pereira, 1987), or comparatively (Bermann, 1994) finds very similar things. Scholars working within the Freudian tradition have even linked political persecution to subsequent paranoia (see Lira, 1991, and Berke, Pierides, Sabbadini and Schneider eds., 1998). Agger and Jensen (1996) and Ritterman (1991) are further studies of some of the psychological effects of repression in Chile.

elections. The patient went to this organization seeking protection since she was convinced that the triumph of the right meant that the military or intelligence forces were going to come after her. She had another patient who told her that every time she hears a helicopter going over her house she goes under the bed looking for a safe place to be. For her, those cases where people reacted positively from this experience and reactivated their political participation in different organizations were very rare and could be explained by certain individual characteristics.

During an interview I conducted with a subject who used to be a militant in the Communist Party and was detained in the Estadio Nacional, the person expressed a great concern about the events of 1973 happening again. I asked the person in a naive way: "How come? Do you think this can happen again?", the person told me:

> "Yes, of course, while the armed forces keep their power they are capable of doing this again...and I have a terrible fear, it looks as if I was calmed but I am not calmed, with all the things that are happening in Aysén [the subject refers to 2012 protests in the Region of Aysén which demanded a larger presence of the Chilean state], they applied the State Security Law to their leaders [which makes it easier to arrest and imprison people] and they have not been able to solve the requests they have made. The students are also getting organized and protesting but they have no idea what they are getting into. I have a terrible fear for them and all the suffering they are exposing themselves to since they will be subject to terrible treatment by the Carabineros"[6]

Thus neither the existing case study and testimonial literature[7], nor the work by psychologists on this topic, nor my fieldwork, suggests that the experience of Michelle Bachelet

[6]Interview with member of the Association of Former Political Prisoners in the Metropolitan Region.

[7]Other important testimonials of repression during the dictatorship are Álvarez (2003), Valdés (1995), Teillier (2003), Bronfman and Johnson (2003) and Reszczynski, Rojas and Barceló (2013). I also consulted a collection of recorded testimonials, called "Proyecto Cien Entrevistas" in the Museo de la Memoria in Santiago <http://www.museodelamemoria.cl/colecciones/audiovisuales/proyecto-cien-entrevistas/> and other testimonials gathered in the archive of the Museum Villa Grimaldi.

is likely to be representative of the reactions of people who were repressed by the military regime. Of course, psychologists see a selected sample of people, those who seek counseling and help, but these examples do suggest the need to investigate systematically the impact on individual political and social behavior of state repression. In addition, they suggest the opposite hypothesis to that developed in the "post-traumatic growth" literature, which suggests that victims of civil war and crime victimization participate more in politics (Bellows and Miguel, 2009, Blattman, 2009, Bateson, 2012).

3 Data

3.1 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 others who did not. This dataset is the result of a survey that I conducted in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago. 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 Valech Report 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 DINA, the CNI, 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

equivalent of the Social Security Number. This list is exclusive of the 3,197 people who were killed by the dictatorship listed in the 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 to these 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 346 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 346 successfully contacted, only 203 agreed to participate in the study. 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 wanted 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%). 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 some of the 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 displays the distribution of subjects by the age when they were first detained. It

is possible to observe that the distribution of the different groups is very similar and that the main difference is that the subjects I interviewed are younger than those in the Valech Report. 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 got 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. Figure 3 displays the distribution of membership in the different political parties or movements in 1973. Again, the distribution is quite similar for both groups. For example, 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 case of 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%.

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. In this context it 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 the 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 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 sensitive 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 accepted to participate, we 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 Bautista (2014) I 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. 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.

3.2 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 you 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 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. 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 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 provides descriptive statistics for the main dependent variables of interest. There are six columns, columns (1) and (2) show the means of the different variables for the repressed and the non-repressed during the UP government. Column (3) displays the p-value associated with the difference in means test. Columns (4) and (5), display the mean values of the variables for the repressed and non-repressed during the period after the dictatorship, and Column (6) contains the p-values for the difference in means test. The first point that this table illustrates is that people who were repressed were and are overall more interested and engaged in politics than the non-repressed. They were and are more likely to participate in a strike, political campaign or political demonstration and they were and are more likely

to belong to a political party. The repressed, were and are also systematically more left-wing than the non-repressed. The second feature that comes out from this table is that for both groups, interest in politics and political engagement fell between the period of the UP government and the period after the dictatorship. For example, during the UP government on average, repressed people scored 3.28 on a scale from 1 to 4 where 1 represents not interested in politics and 4 represents very interested in politics. After the dictatorship, this average for the repressed fell 10% to 2.98. For the non-repressed, the mean of this variable during the UP was 2.41 and this also fell significantly to 2.04 after the dictatorship. The same pattern can be observed for whether or not a person belonged to a political party. For the period of the UP, about 54% of the repressed belonged to a political party while only 12% of the non-repressed did so. After the dictatorship, these numbers fell to 32% for the repressed subjects and around 6% for the non-repressed. When we examine membership in unions for the period of the UP government, we observe that 37% of the repressed subjects participated in these organizations while around 15% of the non-repressed did. After the dictatorship, this proportion becomes smaller and the value for the repressed is approximately 19% while for the non-repressed is 16% and the p-value associated with the test in difference in means is 0.41 ($p>0.05$), meaning that there is not a statistically significant difference. Similar patterns can be observed for variables that tell about people's engagement in politics, for example if people read the newspapers to get informed, discussed politics with friends and family or participated on strikes or political demonstrations. One last feature of Table 2 which is of interest is that while many features of political participation seem to have fallen, there is no change in people's ideological position between the period of the UP government and after the dictatorship.[8]

[8]There may be problems associated with the use of retrospective questions since there may be systematic bias in people's answers. For example, since 1973 was a very politicized moment in Chilean society, it is possible that this will lead people to over-exaggerate their answers to some questions leading to a kind of "mean reversion" in the answers to questions. Nevertheless, the salience of the moment may also help people to accurately remember just exactly what they were doing at that time. This is particularly relevant since most of my most interesting results come not from variables asking for people's subjective evaluation of preferences or events in 1973 or today, but from clean cut yes-no questions such as whether the person was a member of a political party or a trade union in 1973. The answers to this question seem unlikely to be

4 Empirical Model and Results

4.1 Empirical Model

The descriptive statistics show that the repressed are systematically different from the non-repressed. This makes a cross-sectional comparison of the behavior of the repressed and non-repressed a very unattractive strategy for recovering the causal effect of repression. However, since I collected retrospective data for both groups of people I am able to go beyond the cross-sectional comparison of the political outcomes today. To deal with the problem that the repressed differ systematically from the non-repressed ex-ante, I use two econometric strategies. The first is to use a difference in differences model, where I compare the average value of the dependent variables between the repressed and the non-repressed groups before and after the dictatorship. This strategy will estimate the casual 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:

$$y_{i,t} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \cdot Repressed_i + \beta_2 \cdot Post_t + \beta_3 \cdot Repressed_i \cdot Post_t + \boldsymbol{X_i'} \cdot \boldsymbol{\gamma} + \varepsilon_{i,t} \qquad (1)$$

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 the parameter of interest since this is the term that captures

influenced by some type of recall bias and the salience of 1973 may facilitate getting a correct answer. The one place where this may be relevant may be the de-politicization of the sample which I find. Nevertheless, I do not believe this is very likely. Though it is true that 1973 was a very political moment, it is also true that there is a widespread recognition in Chile that the excess politicization of the era had disastrous consequences for the country. This would tend to create the opposite bias, meaning people would underestimate the extent to which they were interested in politics in 1973. This being the case, my estimate of the de-politicization of the sample since 1973 would be an underestimate of the true effect.

the effect of repression and is the parameter that shows the difference in differences. 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 and this could lead to the "over-controlling" problem (see Angrist and Pischke (2009) p. 64 Section 3.2.3). For this reason I estimate this model using $\boldsymbol{X_i}$ 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 factors that can influence the outcome at the individual level I also estimated models that 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. I also estimated this fixed effects 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 and this could lead to the "over-controlling" problem (see Angrist and Pischke (2009) p. 64 Section 3.2.3). 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) :

$$y_{i,t} = \beta_0 + \beta_2 Post_t + \beta_3 Repressed_i \cdot Post_t + \boldsymbol{X_i'} \cdot \boldsymbol{\gamma} \cdot Post_t + \eta_i + \varepsilon_{i,t} \tag{2}$$

Where the variables are as defined 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 $\boldsymbol{X_i}$.

As a robustness check, I also used a third econometric technique, the method of propensity score matching. With this method, I compare the differences in the outcomes between the

repressed and non repressed individuals based on their probability of being repressed. I combined the propensity score matching method with the difference in differences estimation. I conducted these regressions by first estimating the propensity score of being repressed using a Probit model in which the dependent variable is the $Repressed_i$ indicator variable and the independent variables are the socio-economic characteristics in 1973. Then I estimated difference and differences model by assigning a different weight to the data based on the estimated propensity score of being repressed. For those subjects who were not repressed I assigned a weight of

$$w = \hat{\lambda}/(1 - \hat{\lambda}) \tag{3}$$

where $\hat{\lambda}$ is the estimated propensity score, and I assigned

$$w = 1 \tag{4}$$

for those who were repressed. All the results hold under this specification. [9]

It is important to remember that the propensity score matching method assumes that the outcome of being repressed depends exclusively on the observable characteristics of the subjects. However, since I have information for the same subject available for two periods, combining the propensity score matching method with the difference in differences strategy allows me to take into account potential non-observables.

4.2 Results

Tables 3 to 8 contain the results for the different dependent variables. The results for the first specification are in columns 1 and 2. Column (1) starts with the simplest model which

[9] I also estimated the effect of being repressed with the propensity score matching using the command *psmatch2* in Stata. In this specification, the dependent variable is the difference of the outcome between 2012 and 1973. The propensity score is built with the same socio-economic characteristics as above and the matching was conducted using the matching algorithm of the nearest neighbor. In this specification, repression has the same effects as in the main difference in differences model and the results hold for the following dependent variables: participation in political parties and unions and human rights organizations. However, they do not hold when the dependent variable is read newspapers.

does not include any covariates, column (2) includes all the socio-economic covariates such age, gender and labor force participation in 1973, how skilled was the job undertaken in 1973 and dummies for the economic sector in which the individual was working in 1973; column (3) contain the result 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. Finally, column (5) contains the estimation with the propensity score matching estimator. Tables 3 to 8 have identical structure.

Table 3 contains the results where the dependent variable is interest in politics. The question on the survey asked the subjects the following for the Unidad Popular period: "During the time of the UP Government (1970/1973), How interested were you in politics?" and for the present the subject was asked: "Nowadays, how interested are you in politics?" The answers ranged in the following way: Not at all (1), Very little (2), Somewhat (3) and Very Interested (4). The first finding of interest is the statistically significant coefficient on the $Repressed_i$ indicator variable. In column (1) β_1 equals 0.871 with a standard error of 0.13, so that it is highly significant. Looking at the next column (2) this finding is highly robust to the addition of all the covariates and there is little change in either the estimated coefficient or the standard error. In column (3) when I include individual fixed effects I cannot independently estimate the effect of time invariant individual characteristics. This finding illustrates as Table 2 suggested that the repressed people are significantly more interested in politics that the non-repressed. The second main finding in the table is that the interest in politics of everyone, repressed and non-repressed, falls significantly after the dictatorship. The evidence for this is the estimated coefficient on the $Post_t$ dummy. If we look across the different specifications, the value of this coefficient is negative and significant at the 1% level except in column (4) when the controls are interacted with the $Post_t$ dummy. I obtained this same result in other regressions not reported in the paper where the dependent variables are: discussing politics with friends, participating in strikes and political protests. The other aspect that this table shows is that there is no differential impact of repression on interest in

politics. For example, in column (1), β_3 is equal to 0.073 with a standard error of 0.175 and therefore statistically indistinguishable from 0. At least in this dimension, while the repressed are more interested in politics, before and after the dictatorship, being repressed does not systematically change this difference. Based on the coefficients of column (1) it is possible to say that interest in politics fell about 15% for the non-repressed and 8% for the repressed relative to their 1973 levels. Also, that the decline of interest in politics of the repressed fell 20% less relative to the non-repressed. These results are consistent with a more general pattern of depoliticization in Chilean society argued by Silva (2004). Silva claims that the combination of selective repression against left-wing political parties and their sympathizers combined with the individualistic element of the free market policies implemented in the Pinochet dictatorship led to "political deactivation in contemporary Chile" (Silva, 2004 p. 64).

In Table 4 the dependent variable is the ideological position of the individual. Subjects were asked to classify themselves on a spectrum from 1 to 10 where 1 is the most left-wing position and 10 the most right-wing position for both periods of time. The coefficient for the $Repressed_i$ indicator variable in columns (1) and (2) shows how subjects who were repressed are more left-wing than the non-repressed subjects. The sign of β_1 is negative and statistically significant even when I include the full set of covariates in column (2), then β_1 takes a value of -1.642 with a standard error of 0.274. The main point of interest in this table, however, is that neither the coefficient on the $Post_t$ dummy nor on the $Post_t$ and $Repressed_i$ interaction are close to statistically significant. This means that there was no significant change in the ideological orientation of either the repressed or the non-repressed. The quantitative effects are also insignificant since the change in ideological position for the repressed is 2% and for the non-repressed is 0.3%. So, even though people seem to be less interested in politics, their ideological position did not change. This evidence is partially consistent with the conclusions of Valenzuela and Scully (1997) where they documented how the first elections after the dictatorship in 1990 had voting patterns highly similar to those

seen prior to September 11, 1973. From this fact, they concluded that Chilean electoral choices were relatively unaltered by the military experience because the cleavages between right, center and left persisted through the dictatorship. The results from Table 4 seem to be consistent with aggregate voting patterns not changing after the dictatorship. However, my more general findings are not consistent with a conclusion that the dictatorship left no long-lasting impact on Chilean politics. This is because they show that while people's ideological preferences might not have changed, their behavior did.

In Table 5 the dependent variable is a dummy for whether or not the subject belonged to a political party. This model can therefore be interpreted as a Linear Probability Model. We see here again, from the first row, that repressed subjects are systematically more politicized than non-repressed people. In Table 3 we saw that repressed people were systematically more interested in politics. Here, we see that they are systematically more likely to belong to a political party. In column (1) β_1 is equal to 0.413 with a standard error of 0.042 and highly significant. This finding is completely robust to the addition of covariates. As with Table 3, this table also illustrates the general depoliticizing effect of the dictatorship. The coefficient on the $Post_t$, β_2 is negative and statistically significant in all specifications except when the interactions of the covariates with the $Post_t$ dummy are added (columns (4) and (5)). The main finding of this table however, is the significant coefficient on the interaction term of the $Post_t$ and $Repressed_i$ indicator variables. For example, in column (1) β_3= -0.149 (s.e. = 0.056) and statistically significant at the 1% level. The coefficient is robust across all specifications. So, the probability of belonging to a political movement fell around 15 to 14 percentage points depending on the econometric model. However the absolute decline of participation in political movements for the repressed is 40% which is a large quantitative effect. This shows that while participation in political parties fell generally after the dictatorship, it fell even more for the repressed relative to the non-repressed.[10]

[10]Note that even though β_3 does not change across the first three specifications, it's standard error and the R-squared of the regression does. The fact that the value of β_3 does not change is plausibly related to the fact that the matching of repressed and non-repressed subjects was done very well in the field.

In Table 6, I turn to membership of a trade union as where the dependent variable is a dummy that takes the value of 1 when the subject reports belonging to a trade union either for any of the two periods I examine (1973 and after 1990). The results here to some extent mirror and to some extent contrast with the findings so far. The first row reflects the systematic finding that the repressed are different from the non-repressed. Here, they are systematically more likely to be members of a trade union. However, the Table gives no evidence of a general trend towards de-unionization after the dictatorship. This can be seen from the second row, where the coefficient on the $Post_t$ dummy is not statistically different from 0 in any specification. Nevertheless, the third row, shows that there was a differential effect on the repressed. In column (1) for example, we see that β_3= -0.183 (s.e.=0.058) and significant at the 1% level. This negative effect is very robustly estimated and unaltered by the addition of covariates or the strategy in column (3) of using individual fixed effects to focus on the within variation and in fact it becomes even larger (-0.195) once the interaction of the $Post_t$ dummy and the covariates are included in column (4). These results also robust when the estimation is done with the sample being weighted by the propensity score of being repressed. In Column (5) the coefficient on the interaction is -0.189 (s.e.=0.053). Thus, the results in this table suggest that being repressed, differentially reduced people's participation in trade unions by at least 18 percentage points. The absolute fall for the repressed was 48%, which is quite a large quantitative effect, while for the non-repressed it is 3% relative to their 1973's level.

Table 7 examines a very different type of group membership or participation. The previous two tables suggest that repressed people reduced their participation in political parties and unions relative to the non-repressed. Could it be that they instead substituted into other types of membership or participation?

This is actually suggested by some of the testimonial evidence. For example, René Cárdenas describes how before the coup he belonged to the socialist party, was detained in July of 1974 and spent around 4 years in prison. He then went into exile and from

Switzerland he "would publicize what was happening in Chile, and organize cultural and political activities, concerts, expositions...that helped some Chileans to escape" (Kuntsman and Torres eds. 2008, p.140).

Francisco Durán had belonged to the Communist Party since he was 16 and was detained in December of 1975 and among the places of detention he went through was Villa Grimaldi where he was tortured. He was freed in May of 1976 and after that he abandoned all political activity until the campaign for NO in 1988 and in 2002 he started participating actively in the Association of Former Political Prisoners in the Metropolitan Region. (Kuntsman and Torres eds. 2008, p.173). Another relevant testimony is that of Lucía González, who was a member of the MIR, one of the most radical political movements. She was detained in December of 1973 and taken to Regimiento Buin where she was tortured. She went into exile in July 1974 and returned to Chile in 1979 and she describes that "During the four and a half years of exile in Montreal...we organized a Chilean resistance group to denounce [human rights abuses]" and when she was back in Chile "In the decade of the 80's I worked in the Committee of Defense of People's Rights, where I deepened my socio-political commitment." (Kuntsman and Torres eds. 2008, p.256)

I investigate this issue by looking at whether or not individuals belong to a human rights organization. The results show that while repressed people on average are more likely to be members of human rights organizations, the effect of being repressed accentuated this tendency. For example, in column (1) of Table 7 the estimated coefficient on the repressed dummy is positive and significant at the 5% level showing that indeed the repressed were more likely to be members of human rights organizations. More interesting are the results in the third row. In column (1) β_3= 0.138 (s.e.=0.032) and highly statistically significant. This means that subjects who were repressed increase their probability of participating in human rights organizations by around 14 percentage points. Estimating the quantitative effects, it is possible to say that repressed subjects increased their participation in these organizations by 313%. This effect is again very robustly estimated as the other 4 columns

illustrate. This shows that while the repressed may have been more likely to be members of human rights organizations during the UP government, the experience of repression caused them to participate even more in such organizations, compared to the non-repressed, after the dictatorship.

Table 8 examines a different type of question; to what extent do people read newspapers to become informed. Given that my interest is comparing the early 1970's, a period where few people in Chile had a television, to today, it is most comparable over time to examine newspaper readership. The dependent variable is coded on a scale from 1 to 3 with 1 representing the person never reads a newspaper and 3 that the person always does. Interestingly, the estimations show no general trend in the propensity to read newspapers over time. The coefficient on the $Post_t$ dummy is never statistically different from 0. The first row illustrates that compared to the non-repressed, the repressed are far more likely to read a newspaper. Just as my findings show that the repressed are more interested in politics, more likely to be members of a political party or a trade union and more likely to belong to a human rights organization they are also more likely to read newspapers. Nevertheless, the estimated coefficient on the interaction of the $Post_t$ and $Repressed_i$ shows that the effect of being repressed, reduces the propensity to read newspapers by about 20%. However, this effect is only significant at the 10% level when I control for the interactions between the $Post_t$ dummy and the socio economic covariates and it is not significant when I weight the sample using the propensity score of being repressed.

All in all the results presented in these tables are consistent with Hypotheses 1 and 2 presented in the introduction. I found robust evidence that while people's political preferences are not changed by repression their behavior is. In particular they are less interested in politics and participate less in activities, such as belonging to a political party, that could risk repression. Interestingly, they do seem to substitute into other activities like human rights organizations which are safer and less overtly political but which perhaps help to compensate.

4.3 Alternative Hypotheses

Though so far my regression results are consistent with Hypotheses 1 and 2, it is important to consider other hypotheses that could be consistent with my findings. For example, with respect to political parties. It could be that one consequence of the dictatorship, and perhaps the Constitution of 1980, is that political parties have become more right-wing. If this is so, left-wing people may reduce their membership of such parties simply because they do not represent their views anymore. Since, as my evidence suggests, repressed people were significantly more left-wing than the non-repressed, my findings in Table 3 could simply be picking up the fact that left-wing people participate less in politics because political parties have moved more to the right. However, I can directly test for whether or not this is the real channel by coding a Left variable and interacting it with the $Post_t$ dummy. I construct this left dummy which takes the value of 1 for everyone, repressed and non-repressed, who were to the left of the median value, 3, in the political ideology scale in 1973 that goes from 1 to 10. Then I add this term and the interaction between this dummy and the $Post_t$ dummy as controls to the basic difference in differences regression and the ones with fixed effects. The interesting question is whether the interaction $LeftWingDummy_i * Post_t$ is negative and significant and if the significance of the interaction between $Repressed_i * Post_t$ disappears. If the interaction $Repressed_i * Post_t$ is not significant once this interaction is included, this suggests that the decline in participation in politics is not due to being repressed but because what changed is the preferences of the political parties. A similar argument about the parties can be applied to the media, and in the Chilean case, the media certainly became more right wing, so people read newspapers less because they diverged from the political stance of the newspapers. Table 9 shows the results of these tests for two dependent variables of particular interest in this section: columns (1) to (3) show the ones for membership of political parties. Even though it is true that the coefficient for the interaction of $LeftWingDummy_i * Post_t$ is negative and statistically significant the inclusion of this variable does not takes away the statistical significance or change the size of the coefficient

of the interaction of $Repressed_i * Post_t$ which is -0.143 (s.e.= 067). Again what these results show is that there seems to be evidence that political parties moved to the center but the effect of repression persists.

A different story is shown in columns (4) to (6) where the dependent variable is the frequency of reading newspapers. In this case, the significance of $Repressed_i * Post_t$ is reduced by the inclusion of the $LeftWingDummy_i * Post_t$ variable, meaning that effectively it is not repression which is the main reason why subjects decrease their interest in reading the newspapers but the "turn to the right" of the printed press combined with the disappearance and censorship of the left-wing press. Evidence of this is offered by Cavallo, Salazar and Sepúlveda (1998) when they state that "In February of 1974, 50% of the journalists in Santiago did not have a job. Of the 11 newspapers that previously existed, there were only 4 left; five radio stations had been bombed and expropriated; left wing magazines disappeared and TV channels were under the ideological surgery of the new authorities. *Mensaje*, one of the magazines that survived, that belonged to the Jesuit congregation was censored with no mercy. The editors would leave blank the spaces and would include evangelical quotes" (1998, p. 200)

5 Conclusion

In this paper I study the impact of state-led repression at the individual level for the case of Chile during the military dictatorship between 1973 and 1990. I conceptualized the impact of repression through the lens of a model of political preferences and behavior which sees them as being part of one's identity, formed at an early age via socialization. This allowed me to make some simple predictions about the likely impact of repression, summarized by Hypotheses 1 and 2 in the introduction. I look at different political outcomes such as interest in politics, ideological position, membership of political parties, unions and human rights organizations and the frequency with which people read newspapers to get informed.

Estimating the causal effect of repression is challenging because the incidence of repression is endogenous. I use two econometric techniques, difference in differences, individual fixed effects and propensity score matching to overcome this challenge to causal inference.

I find several robust results. The first result is that there is a general de-politicization of the sample in the sense that in 2012 both sets of people, repressed and non-repressed, are less interested in politics compared to their level in 1973. The decline for the repressed is about 15% and for the non-repressed is 8%. Second, there is no significant change in the political orientation on a left-right scale of either group. Third, while the repressed were and are more politically active in the sense of being more likely to be a member of a political party or movement as a consequence of repression their participation fell relatively to the non-repressed by about 15 percentage points, this represents a fall of about 40% relative to their initial level. I also found that the effect of repression was to reduce the participation in unions. The decline for the case of union membership was 18 percentage points which represents a 48% decrease from the initial level. There is also evidence that could support the hypothesis that people shift their political activism to other arenas since I find that repressed subjects increase their participation in human rights organizations by 14 percentage points. Finally, I find that people reduced their reliance of newspapers as a source of information though there is some evidence that this is less robust than the other findings. I argued that all of these results are very consistent with Hypotheses 1 and 2.

To my knowledge this is the first study in comparative politics that seeks to understand the social and political consequences of state-led repression at the individual level. State repression is one of the tools that modern authoritarian regimes used to shape society and implement their political projects when in power. Its impact on people's behavior and preferences is a very likely channel by which authoritarian regimes may leave enduring legacies. The results presented in this paper do show that repression changed political behavior and even though democracy returned to Chile 23 years ago, subjects who were victims of the military and intelligence agencies have not recovered from their traumatic experiences. These

findings imply that repression can have implications for the quality of democracy.

My research in this paper has focused on estimating the causal effect of repression and meeting challenges to the internal validity of the estimates. It is important to recognize that the sample of people that I surveyed is not necessarily representative of the Chilean population in general, nor the cohort to which they belong. This poses a challenge of external validity but it does not create bias in the estimates.

As I mentioned earlier, the results here show the average impact of repression, but the data I collected allows me to look at heterogeneous effects in the sense of seeing if repression had different consequences for different types of people. For example, it would be interesting to know if subjects who belonged to radical political movements or were students react differently to repression Bautista (2013). Also, since I gathered data on the political attitudes of the children of the repressed and non-repressed, it is important to investigate if repression has intergenerational consequences and by this channel affect the quality of democracy. I now examine these issues in Bautista (2014).

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

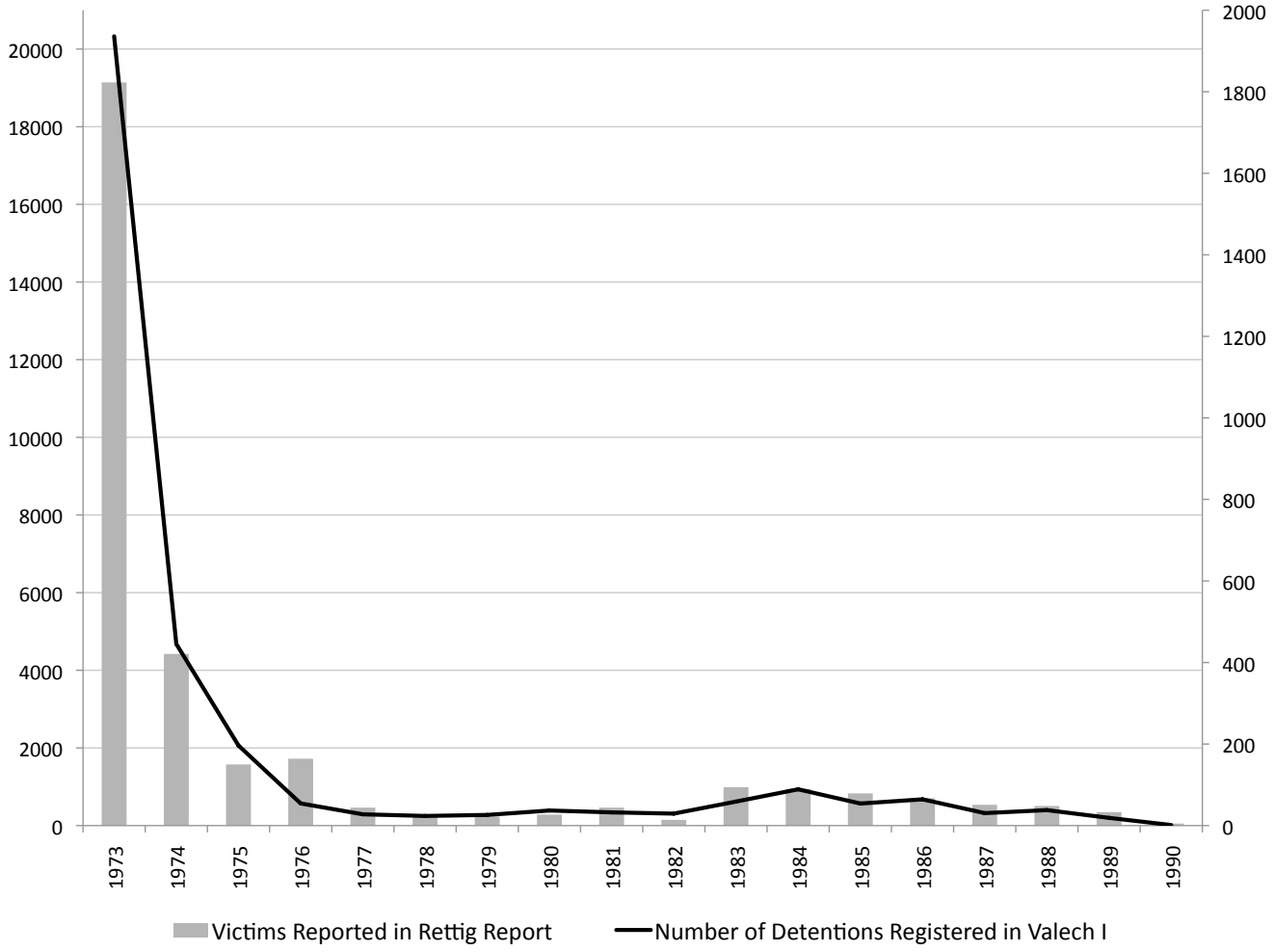

Figure 2: Age at First Detention

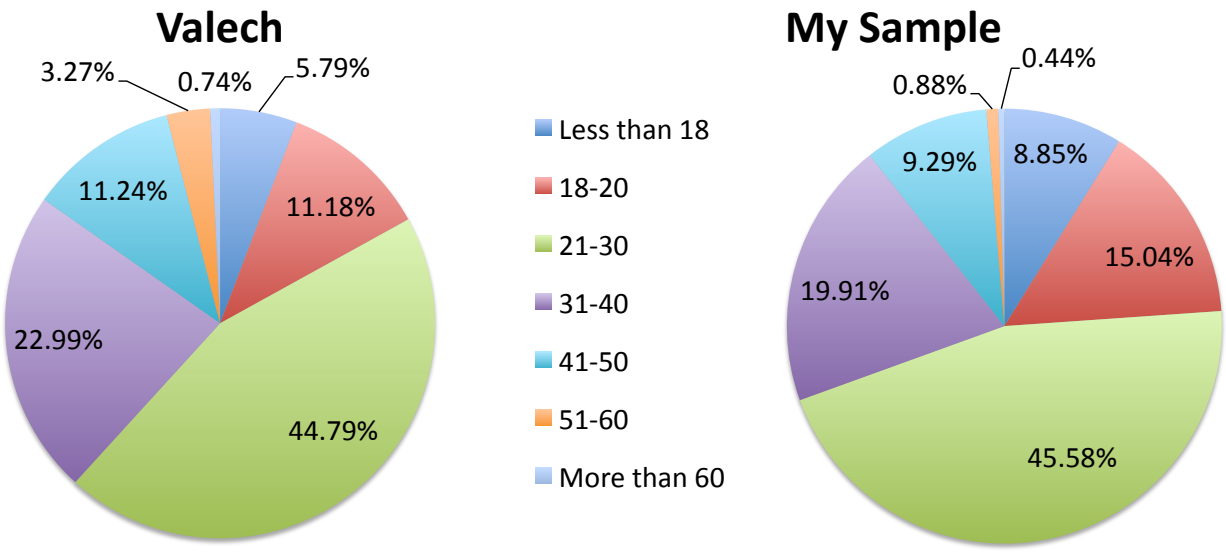

Figure 3: Political Party and/or Movement Membership in 1973

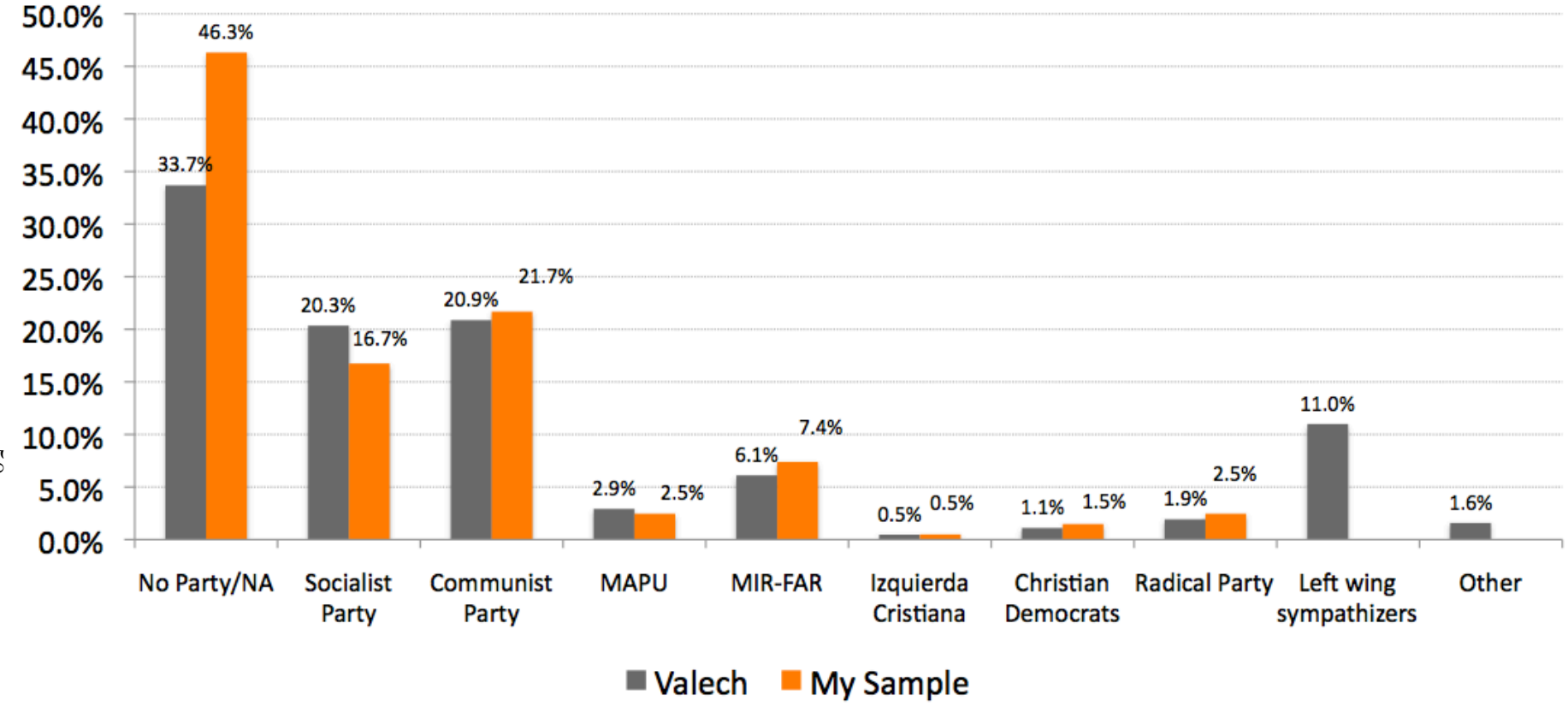

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of Socio-Economic Characteristics

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

	During UP Government			After Dictatorship		
Variables	Mean Repressed	Mean Non-Repressed	p-value	Mean Repressed	Mean Non-Repressed	p-value
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Interest in Politics (1 Not 4 Very)	3.281	2.410	0.000	2.985	2.041	0.000
Ideological Position (1 Left 10 Right)	2.964	4.683	0.000	2.901	4.665	0.000
Belonged to a Political Party	0.537	0.124	0.000	0.320	0.057	0.000
Belonged to a Union	0.369	0.155	0.000	0.192	0.161	0.413
Belonged to a Human Rights Organization	0.044	0.010	0.040	0.182	0.010	0.000
Read Newspapers (1 Never - 3 Always)	2.600	2.341	0.001	2.355	2.349	0.940
Talked about Politics with Friends	2.541	1.994	0.000	2.245	1.818	0.000
Talked about Politics with Family	2.292	1.896	0.000	2.271	1.880	0.000
Donated Money for Political Activity	0.400	0.073	0.000	0.379	0.042	0.000
Participated in a Strike	0.520	0.232	0.000	0.276	0.047	0.000
Participated in Political Campaign	0.602	0.189	0.000	0.458	0.063	0.000
Participated in Political Demonstrations	0.829	0.288	0.000	0.589	0.127	0.000

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, Union and Human Rights Organization 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 Reading Newspapers, Talked about Politics with friends and family vary from 1 to 3, where 1 represents that the subject never read newspapers or talked about politics, 2 sometimes and 3 always. 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: Interest in Politics

	Dependent Variable: Interest in Politics				
	Difference in Differences				PSM
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Repressed Adult Dummy	0.871***	0.758***			
	(0.130)	(0.122)			
Post	-0.368***	-0.387***	-0.385***	0.064	0.069
	(0.132)	(0.126)	(0.094)	(0.460)	(0.476)
Post*Repressed	0.073	0.092	0.093	0.135	0.099
	(0.175)	(0.162)	(0.133)	(0.142)	(0.139)
Socio-economic variables	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
Fixed Effects	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
Fixed Effects and X*Post	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
Observations	728	728	728	728	728
R-squared	0.147	0.278	0.809	0.812	0.811

Note: Columns (1) to (4) report the results of the difference in differences models and Column (5) is the estimation using the propensity score matching. The dependent 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 socio economic covariates 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. Robust standard errors in parentheses;.*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table 4: Ideological Position

	DV: Ideological Position				
	Difference in Differences				PSM
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Repressed Adult Dummy	-1.719***	-1.642***			
	(0.265)	(0.274)			
Post	-0.018	-0.035	-0.038	-0.153	-0.167
	(0.298)	(0.301)	(0.184)	(0.675)	(0.701)
Post*Repressed	-0.045	-0.059	0.120	0.006	-0.011
	(0.351)	(0.351)	(0.230)	(0.237)	(0.247)
Socio-economic variables	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
Fixed Effects	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
Fixed Effects and X*Post	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
Observations	671	671	671	671	671
R-squared	0.137	0.156	0.877	0.885	0.887

Note: Columns (1) to (4) report the results of the difference in differences models and Column (5) is the estimation using the propensity score matching. The dependent variable, Ideological position, takes values from 1 to 10 where 1 a "left-wing" position and 10 is a "right-wing" position. 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. Robust standard errors in parentheses;*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table 5: Political Party

	Belonged to a Political Party				
	Difference in Differences				PSM
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Repressed Adult Dummy	0.413***	0.384***			
	(0.042)	(0.041)			
Post	-0.067**	-0.067**	-0.067***	0.163	0.158
	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.024)	(0.107)	(0.111)
Post*Repressed	-0.149***	-0.149***	-0.149***	-0.136***	-0.126**
	(0.056)	(0.054)	(0.047)	(0.049)	(0.050)
Socio-economic variables	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
Fixed Effects	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
Fixed Effects and X*Post	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
Observations	792	792	792	792	792
R-squared	0.181	0.247	0.719	0.729	0.725

Note: Columns (1) to (4) report the results of the difference in differences models and Column (5) displays the estimation using the propensity score matching. The dependent variable, Belonged 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. Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table 6: Labor Unions

	Belonged to a Union				
	Difference in Differences				PSM
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Repressed Adult Dummy	0.214***	0.192***			
	(0.043)	(0.041)			
Post	0.005	0.005	0.005	0.281***	0.256**
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.031)	(0.107)	(0.115)
Post*Repressed	-0.183***	-0.183***	-0.183***	-0.193***	-0.189***
	(0.058)	(0.056)	(0.050)	(0.051)	(0.053)
Socio-economic variables	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
Fixed Effects	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
Fixed Effects and X*Post	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
Observations	792	792	792	792	792
R-squared	0.045	0.106	0.631	0.685	0.678

Note: Columns (1) to (4) report the results of the difference in differences models and Column (5) displays the estimation using the propensity score matching. 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. Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table 7: Human Rights Organizations

	Belonged to Human Rights Organization				
	Difference in Differences				PSM
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Repressed Adult Dummy	0.034**	0.034**			
	(0.016)	(0.016)			
Post	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	-0.068	-0.068
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.070)	(0.071)
Post*Repressed	0.138***	0.138***	0.138***	0.147***	0.137***
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.030)	(0.032)	(0.030)
Socio-economic variables	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
Fixed Effects	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
Fixed Effects and X*Post	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
Observations	792	792	792	792	792
R-squared	0.086	0.105	0.614	0.625	0.630

Note: Columns (1) to (4) report the results of the difference in differences models and Column (5) displays the estimation using the propensity score matching. The dependent variable, Belonged to a Human Rights Organization, takes values of 1 when the subject reports to having belonged to a human rights organization 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. Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table 8: Newspapers

	DV: Read Newspapers				
	Difference in Differences				PSM
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Repressed Adult Dummy	0.259***	0.172**			
	(0.080)	(0.078)			
Post	0.007	0.004	-0.037	0.419	0.428
	(0.082)	(0.079)	(0.064)	(0.289)	(0.308)
Post*Repressed	-0.253**	-0.243**	-0.181**	-0.172*	-0.179*
	(0.110)	(0.105)	(0.092)	(0.097)	(0.095)
Socio-economic variables	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
Fixed Effects	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
Fixed Effects and X*Post	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
Observations	729	729	729	729	729
R-squared	0.020	0.125	0.738	0.746	0.735

Note: Columns (1) to (4) report the results of the difference in differences models and Column (5) displays the estimation using the propensity score matching. The dependent variable, Read newspapers, takes values from 1 to 3, where 1 is Never read newspapers, 2 sometimes and 3 always. 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. Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table 9: Political Parties and Newspapers

	DV: Belonged to Political Party			DV: Read Newspapers		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Repressed Adult Dummy	0.325***			0.036		
	(0.053)			(0.081)		
Post	-0.058	-0.058*	-0.347**	-0.017	-0.019	0.396
	(0.036)	(0.032)	(0.152)	(0.095)	(0.074)	(0.307)
Post*Repressed	-0.143**	-0.143**	-0.159***	-0.086	-0.080	-0.079
	(0.067)	(0.057)	(0.058)	(0.119)	(0.099)	(0.101)
Left wing in 1973	0.303***			0.231***		
	(0.054)			(0.081)		
Left wing at 73*Post	-0.135**	-0.135**	-0.122**	-0.179	-0.171*	-0.175*
	(0.067)	(0.058)	(0.060)	(0.119)	(0.099)	(0.104)
Socio-economic variables	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
Individual Fixed Effects	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	
Socio economic variables*Post	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES
Observations	624	624	624	622	622	622
R-squared	0.329	0.755	0.765	0.141	0.700	0.708

Note: This table reports the results of the difference in differences models. Columns (1) to (3) displays the estimations when the dependent variable is Belonged to a Political Party, which is a dummy variable that takes values of 1 when the subject reports to having belonged to a political party or movement and 0 otherwise. Columns (4) to (6) report the estimations when the dependent variable is read newspapers, which takes the value from 1 to 3, where 1 is never, 2 is sometimes and 3 always. The variable Left-wing in 73 is a dummy variable takes the value of 1 for subjects who reported to have an ideological position from 1 to 3 in 1973 in the ideological scale from 1 to 10 where 1 is left-wing and 10 is right-wing. 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. Robust standard errors in parentheses;*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.