The Geography of Repression and Opposition to Autocracy

APPENDIX (FOR ONLINE PUBLICATION)

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Appendix A Detailed institutional background

Before the military coup

In 1952 Salvador Allende ran for president for the first time. He ran under the Popular Action Front party and obtained 5.4% of the vote share. The winner of this election was Carlos Ibañez who ran as an independent and obtained 46.8% of the votes. Allende ran for a second time in 1958 and obtained the second place with 28.1% of the vote share. The winner was the conservative and independent candidate Jorge Alessandri (31.6%). In 1964 Allende tried for a third time, but the winner was the candidate from the Christian Democrat Party (center-left), Eduardo Frei. He obtained the support of the right-wing parties and the 'Radicales' (a center-left party) in order to stop Allende from winning. During Frei's presidency (1964-1970), the Christian Democrats made progress on policy areas such as education, rural development and agrarian reform.

Salvador Allende ran in the presidential elections of 1970 under the Popular Unity coalition ("Unidad Popular" or UP) formed by the Communist, Socialist and Radical parties. Two more candidates ran in this election: Jorge Alessandri who had been president between 1958 and 1964 and represented the conservative party, and Radomiro Tomic, who represented the Christian Democrats. Given that none of the candidates obtained a majority of votes, Congress had the final saying. During the months of September and mid-October the Christian Democrats and the Popular Unity coalition pushed for Allende. At the same time, some right-wing groups sought the support of the United States and the CIA in order to stop Allende. The main obstacle they faced was that the commander-in-chief of the Army, General René Schneider, opposed military intervention and insisted that the military should remain apolitical. The CIA developed a plan in which Schneider would be kidnapped, allowing for the officers below his command to take control. However, the kidnapping attempt did not go as planned and Schneider was shot and killed. This event had the opposite effect of what was intended. Allende was confirmed by Congress as the "first Marxist president in the western world" [Rector, 2003, p.172].

Allende's government was marked by strong polarization. He lacked a congressional majority and had to rely on decrees and other methods which the opposition deemed unconstitutional. In a climate of heightened conflict, Congress passed on August 23, 1973 a motion severely censoring Allende for ruling by decree and refusing to enforce judicial decisions against its partisans. The political instability generated rumors about a possible coup but General Carlos Prats, Schneider's successor as commander-in-chief of the Army and a fellow supporter of what became known as the 'Schneider doctrine' of military subordination, helped put down several small attempts. (e.g. "Tanquetazo" on June 29, 1973).

Repression by the Pinochet government

The repression and its execution during the Chilean dictatorship can be divided in three periods, according to Comisión Valech [2004]. The first period starts on the day of the coup and lasts until the last day of 1973. These first days were characterized by mass raids in factories, shantytowns, mining camps and universities. Military bases were instrumental for this initial wave of repression. Some of Allende's close collaborators were taken to the headquarters of "Tacna" regiment shortly

after the presidential palace was stormed by the military [Comisión Rettig, 1996, p. 119] and were killed two days later. An infamous military unit led by General Sergio Arellano-Stark toured 16 counties in a military helicopter a few weeks after the coup, all but one of which were home to a military base. This "Caravan of Death" aimed to set an example for how Allende's sympathizers should be treated and killed almost 100 people along the way [Verdugo, 2001]. Due to the large number of prisoners, several improvised detention centers were opened, from schools to stadiums, where thousands of prisoners were held 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. This stadium was conveniently located 2.5 km away from the Tacna base.

The second period identified by the Valech commission runs from 1974 to 1977. In order to better coordinate surveillance and intelligence activities, the National Intelligence Directorate (DINA, according to its Spanish acronym) was created at the end of 1973 under the direction of Coronel Manuel Contreras. This was a group composed of "elite" military from all the intelligence units. In consequence, the way the repressive apparatus worked changed. Detentions became more selective and the targets were primarily members of the Revolutionary Left Movement or M.I.R. (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. As many as 1,200 informal detention centers started to spread under the control of the DINA [Comisión Valech, 2004]. Among them was Villa Grimaldi, where at least 4,500 people were tortured and 241 killed or disappeared. The selection of this place by the DINA does not seem random, since it had the "ideal characteristics for its new obscure function, such as its... proximity to the Telecommunication Regiment of the Army" [Corporación Villa Grimaldi, 2018]. Detainees who entered these places were tortured and, in many cases, were subjected to forced disappearance. The internal disputes among intelligence units and the assassination of General Orlando Letelier in Washington D.C. in 1976, which increased foreign pressure on human rights abuses, led to the dissolution of DINA in 1977. It was replaced by the National Center of Information (CNI in Spanish) and this marks the beginning of the third period of repression.

This last period stretches from 1977 to 1990. In 1977 the CNI and an elite unit called Comando Conjunto became the main organizations implementing repression. The CNI adopted some of the members from the DINA, their repressive methods and detention centers. These changes 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 such as the FPMR. 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. The CNI remained in charge of surveillance and repression until the end of the dictatorship, but the intensity of civilian victimization decreased substantially compared to the previous years. Still, the military regime occasionally resorted to repression against students and political activists throughout the 1980s.

Policies of the Pinochet government

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 the 'yes' option received 75% of votes. Pinochet's position was further consolidated by the new constitution that the military wrote in 1980 [Barros, 2002, Cavallo et al., 2011]. This constitution made Pinochet president for 8 years with the *Junta* continuing as the legislative body of the country. The first term began in 1981. The constitution was ratified by another plebiscite held on September 11, 1980, with 67.5% of people voting favourably. Fuentes [2013] provides evidence of fraud in this election.

Substantial economic reforms were implemented during the dictatorship. Pinochet understood that the package of free-market policies offered by a team of advisors known as the "Chicago Boys" would facilitate the dismantling of the labor movement and reduce the role of the state in the provision of health care, social security and education. The *Junta* followed the policy recommendations of free-market advocate Milton Friedman. Some of these were to privatize banks and state-owned firms; to reduce tariffs from 100 to 10 percent between 1973 and 1980; to design and implement labor reforms that took away bargaining power from unions; and to facilitate foreign borrowing in order to increase capital investment. The agricultural sector went through several adjustments, since the military pushed back on the agrarian reform and land occupations that occurred in the previous governments. The shock treatment implemented by the "Chicago Boys" and the *Junta* brought prosperity during the late 1970s. However, in 1982 the economy was hit by a crisis that diminished enthusiasm in the free-market experiment and the experts reversed several of their policies (e.g introduced regulation in financial markets and exchange rates). By the end of the dictatorship, the economy had recovered (mostly due to improvements in copper prices), but the democratic government that started in 1990 had to deal with macroeconomic disequilibrium, poverty rates of 40% and one the largest increases in inequality recorded in the post-WWII world.[1]

The 1988 plebiscite

The economic uncertainty brought by the free-market policies implemented during the dictatorship led to social and political discontent even among some of its supporters. Protests became more frequent but they were met with the expected repression. However, civil society became more organized and visible groups such as the Catholic Church and the center-left political parties and movements put strong pressure on the regime. In 1987, these parties formed a coalition named "Concertación", providing unified leadership to the movement towards democracy. They saw the 1988 plebiscite as their opportunity to make this transition real and were bolstered by the fact that the Reagan administration in the U.S and other European countries started pushing for a democratic process. Opinion polls initially predicted an easy victory for Pinochet, but as the elec-

[1] The Gini coefficient went from 0.46 in 1971 to 0.58 in 1989, representing an increase of over 25%.

tion approached the outcome became more uncertain and the expected "No" vote share steadily climbed [Méndez et al., 1988]. The coalition for "No" worked in an intense political campaign that aimed to send a reconciliation message that reached every Chilean. During the last four weeks before the vote, both sides were allowed to produce daily 15-minute spots that were aired on national television. Those produced by the "No" campaign revealed sensitive information, including previously-censored material related to human rights violations and had a positive effect on the "No" vote share [Boas, 2015, González and Prem, 2018].

As part of the preparations for the plebiscite, the National Electoral Service of Chile was recreated by Law 18.556. This Law regulated eligibility to register before the electoral service and the role of the different organizations involved in this process. It also established that witnesses from both campaigns should be present in every polling station to recount the votes [Tagle, 1995]. The law also created registration centers known as "juntas de inscripción" in each county where people could register in-person. Depending on demand, some counties were assigned two or more registration centers.

"No" won with around 55% of the votes, providing an irreversible boost to the movement towards democracy. The first election after the 1988 plebiscite took place in 1989 and determined Pinochet's immediate successor. This election was held while Pinochet was still in power. The Concertación candidate, Patricio Aylwin, defeated Pinochet's former Minister of Finance, Hernan Büchi, in what was "in many ways a replay of the plebiscite" [Angell and Pollack, 1990, p.2]. Concertación would go on to win the following three elections in 1993, 1999 and 2005. The Concertación candidates in these elections were Eduardo Frei, Ricardo Lagos and Michele Bachelet, respectively. In 2009, Eduardo Frei was again the Concertación candidate, but was defeated by independent conservative Sebastian Piñera. For the following election in 2013, the coalition expanded and added new opposition parties. It changed its name to "Nueva Mayoría" (New Majority).

The 1980 constitution would cast a long shadow over the democratic governments that followed, despite some initial modifications in 1989. Designed by the expert lawyers consulted by Pinochet, any amendment had to be approved by the conservative parties. This was practically impossible since 9 seats of the senate were allocated to the military. The Constitution also stated that Pinochet would stay as the head of the armed forces at least until 1998. Another way of shaping the political institutions was by imposing a binomial electoral system soon after the plebiscite. This system meant that each district would elect two senate members but voters could only cast ballots for one of them. The coalition of candidates with the highest number of votes would be elected as long as their share of votes was twice as high as the second coalition's. The result of this system was that conservative parties were always favored and small parties, such as the Communist party, never had a chance to win a seat in the senate. This system was only changed in 2015.

Appendix B Further information about the data

We exclude from the analysis counties lacking 1970 population data, leaving us with 289 counties (85% of plebiscite sample). We drop four other counties because they lack results for the 1970 election, as well as 13 outliers in the civilian victimization rate. The outliers are mostly small counties that housed improvised detention centers and experienced large massacres. Appendix Table D5 shows that the results are robust to their inclusion. Appendix Figure B1 illustrates the resulting sample attrition. Appendix Table B1 shows summary statistics for the main variables.

Victims: We rely on information about victims of the dictatorship from the report produced by the Rettig commission. This commission was headed by former minister and ambassador Raúl Rettig. It was created by President Aylwin in 1991 and its goal was to clarify and document the human rights violations committed by the Pinochet regime. The Rettig report was digitized by the Museum of Memory and Human Rights. From the resulting dataset, we observe each victim's full name, the county of detention or execution, the exact date of detention or execution, political affiliation (if any), age, and occupation. We have complemented this information by manually reconstructing the county of residence and work for the victims. We must exclude victims for which the county of detention/execution is unknown and victims who were assassinated abroad, which reduces the total number to 3,150 (98% of total).

Military bases: To construct the dataset, we digitized historical records kept at military libraries and historical museums [e.g., González Salinas, 1987]. We complemented this information with reports prepared by the army in response to our Freedom-of-Information requests. Army regiments belong to several subcategories: infantry, armored cavalry, artillery, engineering, communications, transportation and logistics. We also have information about the location of air force bases, which we use for robustness checks. Our measure of distance to the nearest base is calculated as the logarithm of the distance from a county's centroid to that of the centroid of the nearest county with a base. We set this measure to zero for counties with bases. These are straight-line "as-the-crow-flies" distances.

Electoral outcomes: County-level data on the outcome of the plebiscite is publicly available. We digitized the data on voter registration from archival documents kept at the Electoral Service. We also digitized some of the data for the elections in 1952-1973. Besides the 1988 plebiscite, the only other elections between 1973 and 1988 were the plebiscites of 1978 and 1980, which took place without an electoral registry. Furthermore, the county-level data on the electoral results is allegedly missing and the validity of the elections has been seriously questioned [Fuentes, 2013].

The normalization of the voter registration rate by population in 1970 can give rise to registration rates above 100% as a result of various factors (e.g., population growth). The number of counties with more registered voters in 1988 than inhabitants in 1970 is small and these have little weight in our estimations. In our baseline regressions, we winsorize the voter registration rate at the 98th percentile. As part of our robustness checks, we show that the results are unaffected by this choice. Regarding the "No" vote share, results are unaffected if we use total votes (including null and blank votes) in the denominator. The correlation between both measures is 0.999.

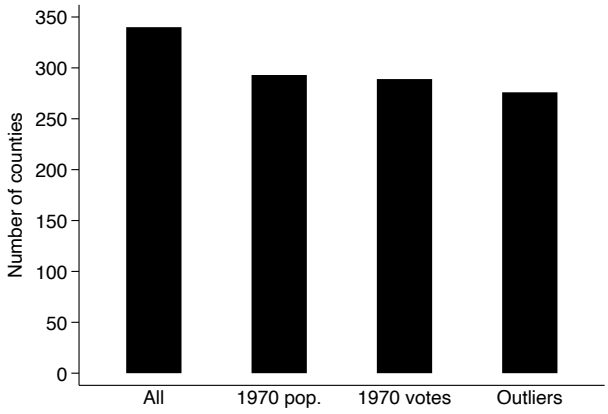
Other sources: Our analysis also uses information from the 1965 agricultural census. We use county-level measures of land inequality from the census to characterize the mostly rural society

of the time. We also incorporate measurements of the percentage of agricultural land expropriated during the implementation of the agrarian reform, which was one of the most important national policies of the 1960s and 1970s. The source for both of these pieces of data is Cuesta et al. [2017].

The 1970 population and housing census provides us with population counts. We use this census, instead of the more recent one from 1982, as population may have endogenously responded to repression by then. For instance, estimates of the number of people in exile due to the dictatorship range from 130,000 to 200,000, corresponding to 1.5-2.3% of the total population in 1970 [Orellana, 2015]. Similarly, the 1992 census may reflect population movements triggered by the return to democracy. We also use the 1970 census to construct county-level measures of wealth based on the number of houses per capita, which is arguably related to the level of income in the locality.

Information on public spending comes from a newly-digitized dataset on local infrastructure projects undertaken by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning (MHUP) between 1979-1990. The data comes from annual reports prepared by MHUP, which handled approximately 5% of the annual public budget, and includes almost 8,000 projects throughout the country. We add spending across projects in each county and construct an aggregate measure of public spending per capita on urban projects. In addition, we disaggregate this variable into separate measures for highly visible projects, such as public spaces and housing, and less visible projects, including sanitation and indoor equipment.

Figure B1: Characterization of sample attrition



Notes: This figure describes the attrition process in our sample. The universe of potential counties in our data is 340 counties, i.e. those with vote shares data in the 1988 plebiscite ("All"). The sample decreases to 293 counties because of missing population data in the 1970 census ("1970 pop."). Then the sample decreases to 289 because of missing 1970 vote shares ("1970 votes"). Finally, the sample decreases to 276 counties after deleting 5% of counties we considered to be outliers in terms of victims per 10,000 inh. ("Outliers").

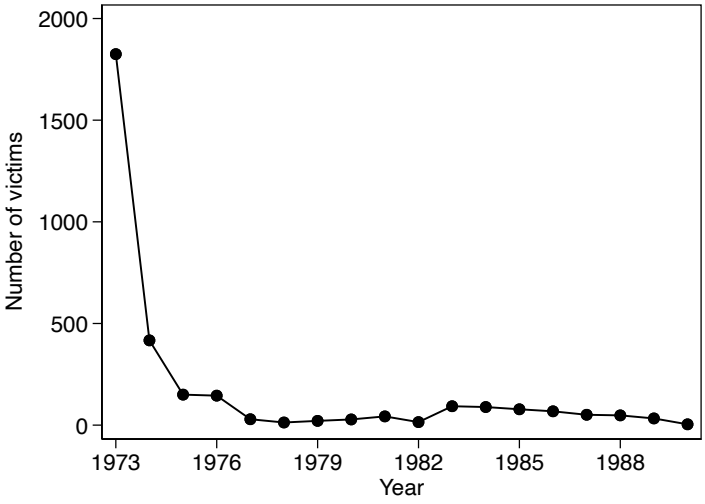
Table B1: Descriptive statistics

	Unweighted	Weighted			
	Mean	Mean	St. Dev	Min	Max
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A: Main variables					
Indicator military presence	0.13	0.34	0.48	0.00	1.00
Voter registration in 1988	72.50	71.16	25.20	20.61	146.19
"NO" vote share in 1988	48.44	54.82	9.49	3.26	76.77
Victims per 10,000 inh.	1.38	2.31	2.01	0.00	11.89
B: Baseline controls					
Vote share Alessandri in 1970	34.86	34.09	8.79	7.80	67.86
Vote share Allende in 1970	35.04	37.17	10.84	4.17	76.78
ln Distance to Santiago	5.52	4.72	1.92	0.94	8.23
ln Distance to regional capital	3.87	2.80	1.65	0.00	8.21
Rural share in 1970	0.53	0.26	0.29	0.00	1
Population in 1970	0.29			0.00	3.21

Notes: Descriptive statistics for 276 counties in Chile. Baseline controls are included in most regressions below. The statistics in columns 2 and 3 are weighted by county population in 1970, except for "Population in 1970" (expressed per 100,000). We construct electoral outcomes from administrative data kept at Chile's Electoral Service. The number of victims by county comes from the Rettig report. "No" vote share is defined as a percentage of the total number of votes counted (i.e. not blank or null) in the 1988 plebiscite on Pinochet's continuation in power. Registration is constructed as number of people who registered to vote in the 1988 plebiscite over the total number of inhabitants in 1970. Population in 1970 comes from the housing census. All distances are calculated from a county's centroid.

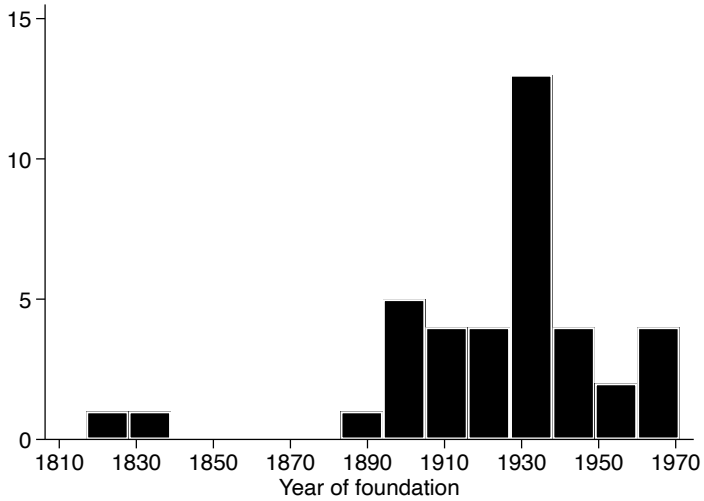
Appendix C Additional Figures and Tables

Figure C1: Number of dictatorship victims by year



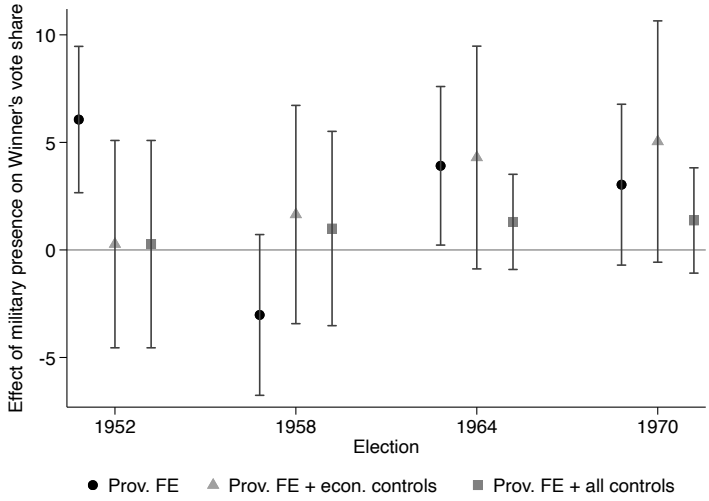
Notes: This figure shows the number of deaths (killings or disappearances) attributed to the military regime per year.

Figure C2: Number of new military bases per year

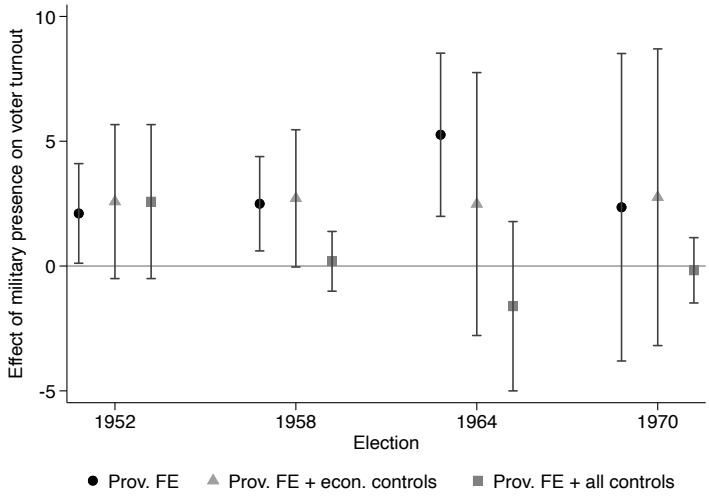


Notes: This figure shows the distribution of foundation years for military bases. We display the earliest year in which a county had a military base that we observe in 1970.

Figure C3: Military presence and additional electoral outcomes before 1973



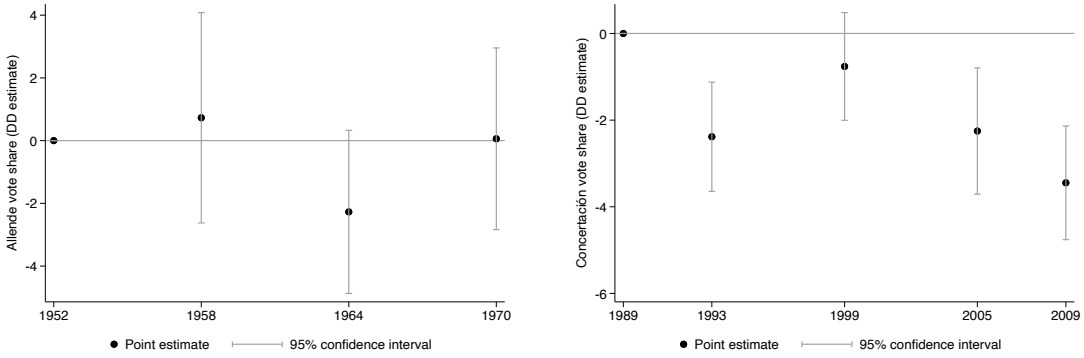
(a) Winner's vote share



(b) Voter turnout

Notes: Graphs show point estimates and 95% confidence intervals of the effect of military presence from independent regressions. In panel (a), the dependent variable is the vote share for the winner or runner-up in each presidential election between 1952 and 1970: Ibanez in 1952, Alessandri in 1958, Frei in 1964, Alessandri in 1970. In panel (b), the dependent variable is voter turnout, normalized by population in 1970. Different markers correspond to specifications with varying controls. Circle: province fixed effects; Triangle: Province fixed effects plus distance to Santiago and to the corresponding regional capital, population in 1970, and the share of rural population in 1970. Square: same as triangle plus the vote shares for Allende and the winner in the previous election (panel a) or voter turnout in the previous election (panel b). Regressions are weighted by population in 1970. Robust standard errors.

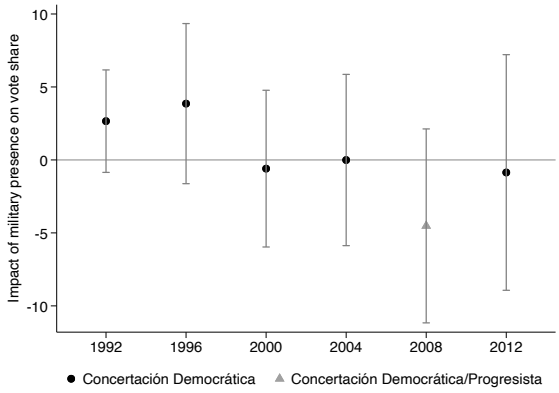
Figure C4: Difference-in-difference estimations (Military presence)



(a) Allende vote share (1958-1970) **(b)** "Concertación" vote share (1989-2009)

Notes: In this figure we provide difference-in-difference estimates of the evolution of the vote share in presidential elections for (a) Salvador Allende between 1958-1970 and (b) "Concertación" coalition between 1989-2009, in counties with military presence. Regressions include county and year fixed effects. Robust standard errors clustered by county.

Figure C5: Military presence and "Concertación" vote share in local elections



Notes: Graph shows point estimates and 95% confidence intervals from independent regressions of the "Concertación" coalition's vote share in the local council election in the x-axis on the indicator for military presence. These are all the elections in which "Concertación" presented unified lists of candidates. In 2008, two separate sub-coalitions called "Concertación Democrática" and "Concertación Progresista" presented separate lists of candidates. All regressions control for the vote shares for Salvador Allende and Jorge Alessandri in the presidential election of 1970, the distance to Santiago and to the corresponding regional capital, population in 1970, share of rural population in 1970 and province fixed effects. Regressions are weighted by population in 1970. Robust standard errors.

Table C1: Impact of military presence on repression by year

	Victims / pop. 1970			
	1973-1974	1975-1990	1973-1974	1975-1990
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Indicator military presence	1.50**	0.60**		
	(0.45)	(0.21)		
ln distance closest military base			-0.46**	-0.16**
			(0.14)	(0.05)
Observations	276	276	276	276
R-squared	0.479	0.607	0.475	0.591
Province fixed effects	x	x	x	x
Controls	x	x	x	x
DV mean	1.539	0.724	1.539	0.724

Notes: This table shows the relationship between military presence and repression. Dependent variable in column 1 and 3 is the total number of victims in 1973 and 1974 over the 1970 population, while in column 2 and 4 is the total number of victims in between 1975 and 1990 over the 1970 population. All regressions include province fixed effects and control for Allende and Alessandri vote share in 1970, distance to Santiago and to the corresponding regional capital, population in 1970, share of rural population in 1970. Regressions weighted by population in 1970. Robust standard errors in parenthesis. Significance level: ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

Table C2: Impact of repression on the 1988 plebiscite: OLS vs IV

Dependent variable:	OLS		2SLS	
	Voter registration	"NO" vote share	Voter registration	"NO" vote share
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Victims per 10,000 inh.	1.61	0.41*	4.44*	1.08*
	(0.87)	(0.19)	(2.08)	(0.49)
Observations	276	276	276	276
R-squared	0.663	0.823		
Province fixed effects	x	x	x	x
Controls	x	x	x	x
Kleibergen Paap F-stat.	-	-	26.27	26.27

Notes: Columns 1 and 2 provide OLS estimates of the impact of repression, as proxied by the civilian victimization rate, on voter registration and the "NO" vote share. Columns 3 and 4 provide the corresponding IV estimates, using the indicator for military presence as an excluded instrument for the civilian victimization rate. Voter registration is constructed as the number of people who registered to vote in the 1988 plebiscite over the total number of inhabitants in 1970. The "NO" vote share is defined as the percentage of people who voted No in the plebiscite over the total number of valid votes. All regressions control for the vote shares for Salvador Allende and Jorge Alessandri in the presidential election of 1970, the distance to Santiago and to the corresponding regional capital, population in 1970, share of rural population in 1970 and province fixed effects. Regressions are weighted by population in 1970. Robust standard errors in parenthesis. Significance level: ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

Table C3: Validity tests for military presence instrument

	Huber and Mellace [2015]	Kitagawa [2015]
Registration	0.96	0.38
Vote share NO	0.76	0.63

Notes: This table presents the p-values for validity tests based on Huber and Mellace [2015] and Kitagawa [2015]. We use a discrete version of our endogenous variable, corresponding to a civilian victimization rate above the 75th percentile, to be able to apply the tests. The null hypothesis in both tests is that the main assumptions behind LATE estimation (unconfoundness, mean exclusion restriction, and monotonicity) hold in the data. For Kitagawa [2015], we use a trimming constant of 0.07, which is the range suggested by the author that reaches highest power. This test captures a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for instrument validity. Not rejecting the null does not fully rule out violations of the LATE assumptions.

Characterization of the complier counties

In any instrumental variables design, the sub-population induced to take (or not to take) the treatment because of the variation in the instrument is referred to as the set of "compliers." In our case, the compliers are the counties that were exposed to different amounts of repression because of their proximity to (or distance from) military bases. Following the technique proposed by Abadie et al. [2002], we can characterize this set of counties. This exercise allows us to evaluate the external validity of our estimates and also provides insights about the variation we are exploiting.

To facilitate the interpretation, we focus on a binary treatment and a binary instrument. Regarding repression, we use a dummy equal to one if the number of victims per 10,000 inhabitants in the county is in the top quartile of the distribution. The average number of victims per 10,000 inhabitants in the top quartile is 4.3. We refer to these counties as experiencing "high" repression. Regarding military bases, we focus on the indicator for presence. We define as "treated compliers" those counties with bases and high repression, while counties without bases and without high repression are called "untreated compliers." We then estimate the following regression:

$$Y_{i,t} = \mu R_{i,t\in[1973,1988]} + \tau X_{i,t\leq 1970} + \lambda_p + \varepsilon_{ip} \quad (2)$$

where $Y_{i,t}$ is a variable we use to characterize compliers and $R_{i,t\in[1973,1988]}$ is the indicator for high repression. The parameter μ measures the average characteristic among treated compliers. We can replace $R_{i,t\in[1973,1988]}$ by $1 - R_{i,t\in[1973,1988]}$ to characterize untreated compliers.

Panel A in Table C4 speaks to the external validity of our estimates. Columns 1-3 show that the average characteristics of complier counties are similar to those of the average county, with the exception that compliers voted relatively more for the left-wing candidate in 1970. Thus, our instrumental variables estimates capture the effect of repression on counties with similar wealth and inequality than the average county but with different political preferences. Moreover, the comparison between columns 1 and 2 confirms the *internal* validity of our econometric design because treated and untreated complier counties were similar before 1973.

Panel B studies county characteristics after 1973. The difference between treated and untreated compliers is equivalent to the local average treatment effect. Reassuringly, the "Plebiscite" sub-panel shows that the estimate we obtained when using the "high" repression indicator is similar to what we obtained using the continuous treatment. Moreover, the "Repression year" sub-panel suggests that our first stage is stronger in counties that experienced violence at the beginning of the dictatorship. This result is consistent with historical details provided in online appendix A, where we document how the repressive apparatus changed after 1974, with DINA becoming mostly responsible. Finally, the "Profession" and "Age categories" sub-panels show that victims in complier counties were more likely to have been middle-age laborers or farmers affiliated to a political party.

Table C4: Characterization of compliers

	Treated Compliers	Untreated Compliers	Full sample
	(1)	(2)	(3)
A. Pre-1973 characteristics:			
Houses per capita in 1970	0.19	0.22	0.20
Land inequality 1965 (Gini)	0.85	0.80	0.85
Agrarian reform intensity	0.10	0.24	0.20
Vote share Allende 1970	0.61	0.63	0.27
Vote share Alessandri 1970	-0.19	0.31	0.20
B. Post-1973 characteristics:			
Plebiscite:			
Registration	116.18	89.36	71.16
Vote share "No"	58.79	52.29	54.82
Repression year:			
In 1973	0.66	0.33	0.44
In 1974	0.13	0.14	0.11
≥1975	0.25	0.30	0.33
Profession:			
Laborer	0.44	0.19	0.25
Farmer	0.16	-0.08	0.09
Military	0.09	0.06	0.07
Bureaucrat	0.10	0.06	0.07
Student	0.03	0.04	0.10
Affiliated to political party	0.36	0.31	0.39
Age categories:			
$\in [18, 25]$	0.39	0.31	0.33
$\in [25, 60]$	0.62	0.39	0.50
≥ 60	-0.01	0.08	0.02

Notes: This table presents an empirical characterization of the complier counties. Panel A shows that compliers were relatively similar to the average county in the full sample. Panel B describes counties that experienced repression because of the presence of military bases. See Abadie et al. [2002] for details. The treatment in this exercise is an indicator that takes the value one if the share of victims is in the top quartile of the empirical distribution.

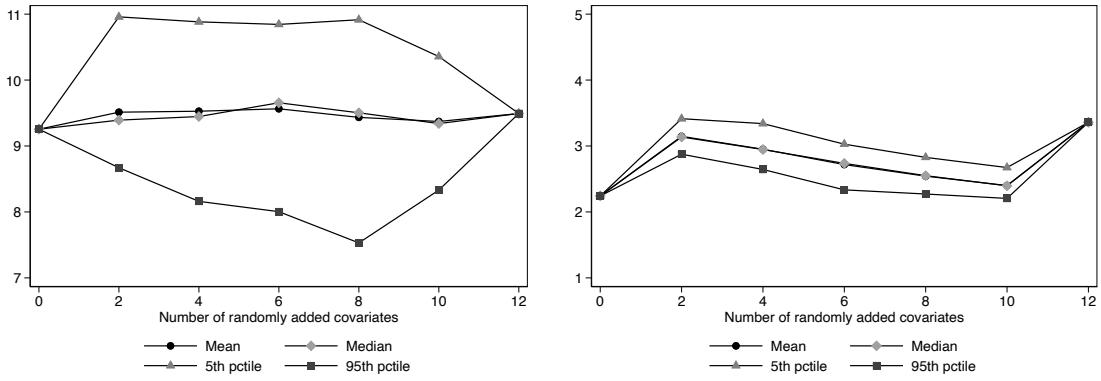
Appendix D Robustness checks

Table D1 shows that the results are unaffected if we introduce all the possible pre-1970 control variables from Table 1 or if we use a machine-learning algorithm to determine the optimal combination of controls [Belloni et al., 2014]. We complement this analysis by re-estimating the regressions using randomly-selected subsets of these control variables following Card et al. [2019]. Figure D1 shows that, for any number of control variables, the average and the median point estimate across randomizations is greater than or equal to our baseline estimate for both outcomes. Our results are also robust to the inclusion of additional spatial controls. Table D2 replicates the analysis when we add (i) polynomials of latitude and longitude, (ii) population-weighted average distance from a county's centroid to all other counties or (iii) Moran eigenvectors with positive eigenvalues.

Table D3 shows results from an enlarged specification including an additional indicator for other large facilities or political institutions (i.e. provincial or regional capital). The β_1 estimates are remarkably robust. Additionally, no other facility or institution appears to be systematically correlated with both of the 1988 outcomes. Hence, our baseline results are driven by a feature specific to counties with military presence. Figure D3 shows the distributions of coefficients from Equation (1) when we randomly assign military bases among counties nationwide or within a province. This permutation test provides us with a distribution-free estimate of the probability that our coefficient arises by chance. Our estimated coefficient is above the 99th percentile for both outcomes. In Figure D4 we pursue a more agnostic approach and follow Oster [2019] in estimating the potential bias arising from selection on unobservables. Our estimated impact of military presence on the "No" vote share is hardly affected, while the effect on voter registration is more sensitive. However, both remain within the 95% confidence interval.

Our results are also robust to changes in the way we measure military presence. Arguably, the location of military bases is more likely to be uncorrelated with local conditions at the time of the 1973 coup for those bases that were built many years or decades before it took place. In Table D4 we show that the results are very similar if we exclude bases built after 1960, 1950 or 1940. We next examine the sensitivity of our results to the composition of the sample. Figure D2 shows that the results are unaffected if we drop randomly-chosen groups of counties. Table D5 similarly shows that our results are stronger if we use the full sample including the 13 outliers in the civilian victimization rate. Table D6 further shows that the results remain largely unaffected, but become less precise, if we exclude the population weights.

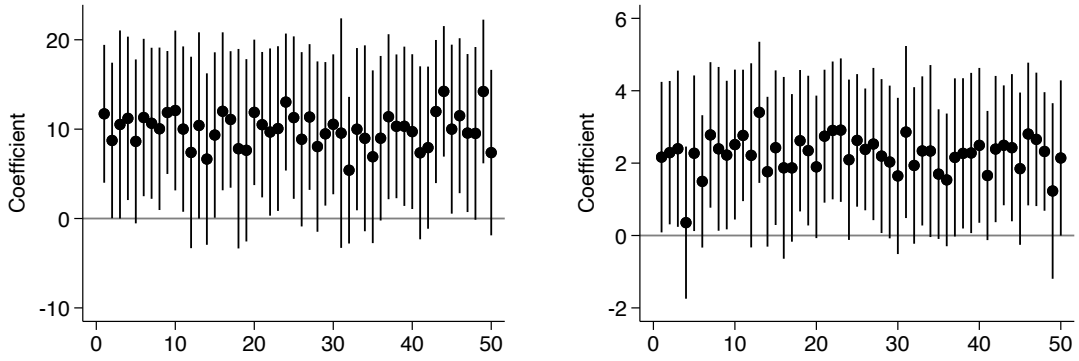
Figure D1: Coefficient stability to randomly added controls



(a) Voter registration **(b)** "NO" vote share

Notes: In this figure we randomly add subsets of the full set of control variables. We carry out 150 random draws of controls. We always include the baseline set of controls and we randomize over the other 12 controls. The point estimate from the baseline specification corresponds to 0 in the x-axis and the one with all the controls to 12 in the x-axis.

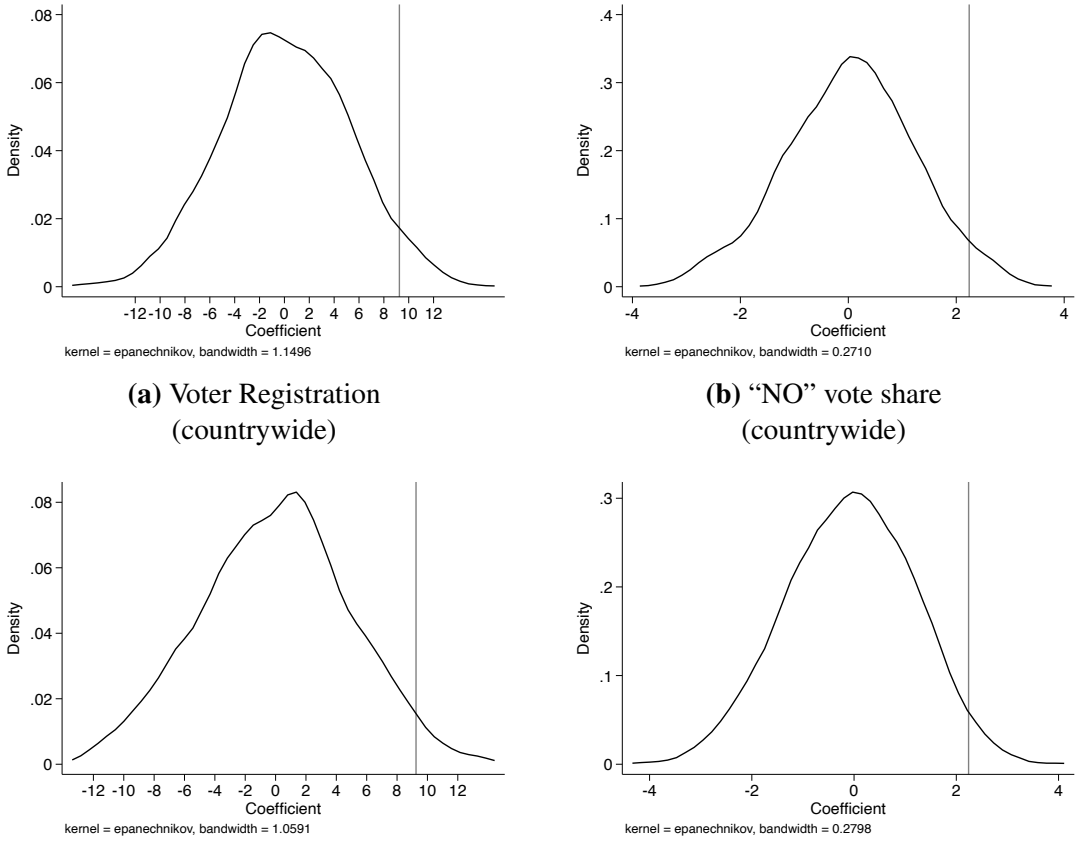
Figure D2: Robustness of results to exclusion of random counties



(a) Voter Registration **(b)** "NO" vote share

Notes: The *y*-axis represents the value of the coefficient associated to the indicator for presence of military bases. The *x*-axis corresponds to 50 different samples of counties, where we exclude 10% (27) randomly chosen counties each time. Markers show point estimates, while bars indicate 95% confidence intervals. All regressions control for the vote shares for Salvador Allende and Jorge Alessandri in the presidential election of 1970, the distance to Santiago and to the corresponding regional capital, population in 1970, share of rural population in 1970 and province fixed effects. Regressions are weighted by population in 1970. Robust standard errors.

Figure D3: Random assignment of military bases



(a) Voter Registration (countrywide)

(b) "NO" vote share (countrywide)

(c) Voter Registration (within-province)

(d) "NO" vote share (within-province)

Notes: This figure presents the distribution of point estimates from a series of regressions in which military bases are randomly assigned across counties. Panels (a)-(b) randomly assign 36 indicators among all counties in the country (countrywide). Panels (c)-(d) randomly assign the original indicator for military bases within the same original province. We perform each set of randomizations 1,000 times. The dependent variable in panels (a) and (c) is voter registration, while in panels (b) and (d) it is the "No" vote share. Voter registration is defined as the number of people who registered to vote in the 1988 plebiscite over the total number of inhabitants in 1970. The "No" vote share is defined as the percentage of people who voted "No" over the total number of valid votes. All regressions control for the vote shares for Salvador Allende and Jorge Alessandri in the presidential election of 1970, the distance to Santiago and to the corresponding regional capital, population in 1970, share of rural population in 1970 and province fixed effects. Regressions are weighted by population in 1970. Robust standard errors. The red line shows the point estimates from columns 1 and 3 in Table 3.

Table D1: Robustness of results to different sets of controls

	First stage	Reduced form		2SLS	
	Victims per 10,000 inh.	*Registration*	*Vote share* NO	*Registration*	*Vote share* NO
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Panel A: All controls					
Victims per 10,000 inh.				4.39*	1.50**
				(2.05)	(0.44)
Indicator military presence	2.25**	9.86*	3.37**		
	(0.43)	(4.76)	(0.92)		
Panel B: LASSO controls					
Victims per 10,000 inh.				4.31*	1.20*
				(2.12)	(0.50)
Indicator military presence	2.07**	8.91	2.49*		
	(0.41)	(4.57)	(0.98)		
Counties	276	276	276	276	276
Province fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x
R-squared (A)	0.593	0.707	0.846		
R-squared (B)	0.564	0.665	0.830		
Kleibergen-Paap F-statistic (A)	27.06			27.20	27.20
Kleibergen-Paap F-statistic (B)				25.14	25.14

Notes: This table checks the robustness of results to the inclusion of controls selected using LASSO. All regressions are weighted by county population in 1970. Robust standard errors in parenthesis. Significance level: ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

Table D2: Robustness of results to spatial controls

	First stage	Reduced form		2SLS	
	Victims per 10,000 inh.	*Registration*	*Vote share* NO	*Registration*	*Vote share* NO
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Panel A: Latitude/longitude polynomial					
Victims per 10,000 inh.				4.47*	1.16*
				(2.10)	(0.52)
Indicator military presence	2.06**	9.21*	2.39*		
	(0.41)	(4.41)	(1.05)		
Panel B: Centrality					
Victims per 10,000 inh.				4.09*	0.88
				(2.01)	(0.46)
Indicator military presence	2.16**	8.85*	1.90		
	(0.40)	(4.49)	(1.02)		
Panel C: Moran eigenvectors					
Victims per 10,000 inh.				3.76	0.87
				(2.14)	(0.49)
Indicator military presence	2.07**	7.77	1.80		
	(0.43)	(4.72)	(1.08)		
Counties	276	276	276	276	276
Province fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x
R-squared (A)	0.588	0.669	0.829		
R-squared (B)	0.572	0.668	0.831		
R-squared (C)	0.595	0.687	0.849		
Kleibergen-Paap F-statistic (A)				24.96	24.96
Kleibergen-Paap F-statistic (B)				28.73	28.73
Kleibergen-Paap F-statistic (C)				23.28	23.28

Notes: This table checks the robustness of results to the inclusion of spatial variables that capture a potential effect of the geographic location of counties. Panel A includes second degree polynomials of latitude and longitude, panel B includes the logarithm of the average distance to all other counties, and panel C includes Moran eigenvectors with positive eigenvalues as controls. All regressions are weighted by county population in 1970. Robust standard errors in parenthesis. Significance level: ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

Table D3: Robustness: Military presence and other facilities/institutions

		Additional control for other institution:						
	Baseline	Maritime port	Airport	Terrestrial entry point	Power plant	Provincial capital	Regional capital	Churches per capita
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
A: Voter registration (1988):								
Indicator military presence	9.25*	10.76**	8.91*	9.08*	9.77*	9.96*	10.15*	9.34*
	(4.38)	(3.92)	(4.28)	(4.46)	(4.48)	(4.66)	(4.19)	(4.40)
Indicator other institution		13.10*	1.50	2.24	7.86	-2.04	-13.54	15.62
		(5.30)	(6.07)	(4.94)	(8.98)	(5.32)	(12.01)	(13.87)
B: "NO" vote share (1988):								
Indicator military presence	2.24*	2.16*	1.85	2.31*	2.32*	2.02	2.07*	2.24*
	(1.01)	(1.01)	(1.04)	(1.03)	(1.02)	(1.08)	(1.04)	(1.02)
Indicator other institution		-0.74	1.72*	-0.91	1.22	0.64	2.60	-1.38
		(0.73)	(0.84)	(1.10)	(1.44)	(1.15)	(1.89)	(3.71)
C: Victimization rate:								
Indicator military presence	2.09**	2.10**	2.02**	2.10**	2.13**	2.36**	2.11**	2.09**
	(0.41)	(0.41)	(0.44)	(0.41)	(0.41)	(0.44)	(0.42)	(0.41)
Indicator other institution		0.15	0.31	-0.12	0.69	-0.79	-0.33	0.79
		(0.31)	(0.45)	(0.42)	(0.38)	(0.50)	(0.76)	(1.11)
Observations	276	276	276	276	276	276	276	276
R-squared (panel A)	0.667	0.689	0.667	0.667	0.671	0.667	0.671	0.668
R-squared (panel B)	0.824	0.825	0.826	0.825	0.825	0.824	0.825	0.824
R-squared (panel C)	0.565	0.566	0.566	0.565	0.570	0.572	0.565	0.566
Province fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Controls	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Notes: This Table shows our baseline estimates of the effects of military presence (column 1), as well as results from expanded specifications that control for presence of other institutions or county characteristics. The dependent variable in panel A is the voter registration rate, constructed as the number of people who registered to vote in the plebiscite over the total number of inhabitants in 1970. In panel B, the dependent variable is the "NO" vote share, defined as the percentage of people who voted No over the total number of valid votes. The dependent variable in panel C is the civilian victimization rate, defined as the number of victims of the dictatorship divided by population in 1970. All additional controls in columns 2-7 are binary indicators. In column 2, presence of maritime ports. In column 3, presence of airports. In column 4, presence of terrestrial points of entry into the country. In column 5, presence of power plants in 1970. Column 6 includes an indicator for counties that were capitals of their respective province in 1970, while column 7 includes a dummy for counties that became regional capitals in 1975. Column 8 includes the number of churches per capita in 1962. All regressions control for the vote shares for Salvador Allende and Jorge Alessandri in the presidential election of 1970, the distance to Santiago and to the corresponding regional capital, population in 1970, share of rural population in 1970 and province fixed effects. Regressions are weighted by population in 1970. Robust standard errors in parenthesis. Significance level: ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

Table D4: Robustness to different cut-off years for military base construction

	First stage	Reduced form		2SLS	
	Victims per 10,000 inh.	*Registration*	*Vote share* NO	*Registration*	*Vote share* NO
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Panel A: pre-1960					
Indicator military presence	1.97**	7.43	2.07*		
	(0.43)	(4.56)	(1.01)		
Victims per 10,000 inh.				3.77	1.05*
				(2.20)	(0.52)
Panel B: pre-1950					
Indicator military presence	1.96**	9.03*	1.94*		
	(0.43)	(4.51)	(0.98)		
Victims per 10,000 inh.				4.60*	0.99
				(2.30)	(0.51)
Panel C: pre-1940					
Indicator military presence	1.83**	9.76	2.81**		
	(0.49)	(5.22)	(0.83)		
Victims per 10,000 inh.				5.34	1.54**
				(2.93)	(0.59)
Observations	276	276	276		
R-squared (panel A)	0.550	0.662	0.823		
R-squared (panel B)	0.549	0.665	0.823		
R-squared (panel C)	0.530	0.666	0.826		
Kleibergen Paap F-stat. (panel A)				20.71	20.71
Kleibergen Paap F-stat. (panel B)				20.92	20.92
Kleibergen Paap F-stat. (panel C)				14.15	14.15
Province fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x
Controls	x	x	x	x	x

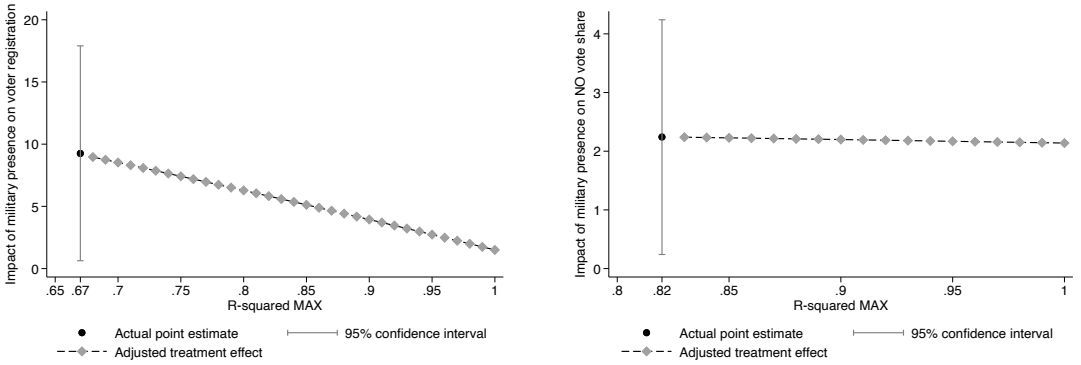
Notes: This table replicates the main analysis using only military bases constructed before 1960, 1950 and 1940. All regressions include province fixed effects and the following controls: Allende and Alessandri vote share in 1970, distance to Santiago and to the corresponding regional capital, population in 1970, share of rural population in 1970. All regressions are weighted by county population in 1970. Robust standard errors in parenthesis. Significance level: ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

Table D5: Robustness of results to inclusion of outliers

	First stage	Reduced form		2SLS	
	Victims per 10,000 inh.	*Registration*	*Vote share* NO	*Registration*	*Vote share* NO
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Panel A: All observations					
Indicator military presence	3.34**	17.43**	2.20*		
	(0.72)	(4.83)	(1.12)		
Victims per 10,000 inh.				5.21**	0.66
				(1.29)	(0.36)
Panel B: Winsorize victimization					
Indicator military presence	2.89**	17.43**	2.20*		
	(0.53)	(4.83)	(1.12)		
Victims per 10,000 inh.				6.04**	0.76
				(1.48)	(0.40)
Panel B: Add a dummy for outliers					
Indicator military presence	1.39**	13.28**	2.38*		
	(0.52)	(4.30)	(1.03)		
Victims per 10,000 inh.				9.53*	1.71
				(4.50)	(0.89)
Counties	289	289	289	289	289
Province fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x
Controls	x	x	x	x	x
R-squared (A)	0.472	0.656	0.825		
R-squared (B)	0.628	0.656	0.825		
R-squared (C)	0.723	0.689	0.826		
Kleibergen-Paap F-statistic (A)				21.47	21.47
Kleibergen Paap F-stat. (B)				30.09	30.09
Kleibergen Paap F-stat. (C)				7.182	7.182

Notes: This table checks the robustness of results to inclusion of the 13 counties with abnormally high civilian victimization rates. Robust standard errors in parenthesis. Significance level: ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

Figure D4: Potential bias from selection on unobservables



(a) Registration **(b)** Vote share NO

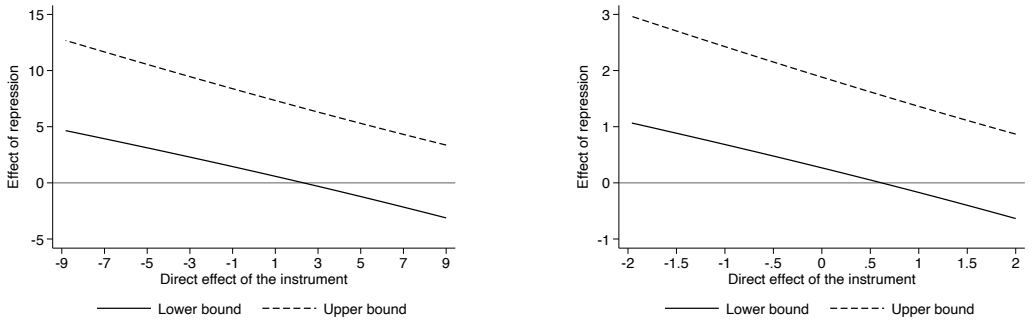
Notes: These figures present estimates of the effect of military presence on voter registration (panel a) and "No" vote share (panel B), once we adjust for potential selection on unobservables following Oster [2019]. In each plot, we steadily increase the R-squared from a hypothetical regression of the outcome on military presence and both observed and unobserved controls, starting at the R-squared of our actual specification. Observed controls correspond to the province fixed effects and the baseline set of controls. For these exercises, we assume equal selection on observables and unobservables (delta = 1). Plot also includes our actual point estimate and 95% confidence interval (i.e. Table 3.)

Table D6: Robustness of results to exclusion of population weights

	First stage	Reduced form		IV	
	Victims per 10,000 inh.	*Registration*	*Vote share* NO	*Registration*	*Vote share* NO
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Victims per 10,000 inh.				6.33	1.14
				(3.28)	(0.76)
Indicator military presence	1.67**	10.56*	1.90		
	(0.51)	(4.34)	(1.29)		
Counties	276	276	276	276	276
Province fixed effects	x	x	x	x	x
Controls	x	x	x	x	x
R-squared	0.356	0.384	0.739		
Kleibergen-Paap F-statistic				10.55	10.55

Notes: This table checks the robustness of results to not using population weights. Robust standard errors in parenthesis. Significance level: ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

Figure D5: Relaxing the exogeneity assumption



(a) Registration **(b)** Vote share NO

Notes: These figures present results from a bounding exercise of our 2SLS estimates, in which we allow military bases to affect outcomes directly. The *x*-axis measures (theoretical) direct effects of military bases on (a) voter registration and (b) the "NO" vote share. The *y*-axis measures the corresponding effect of repression. Overall, we find that to make the effect of repression non-different from zero we need the direct effect of bases to be 2.3 and 0.6 in panels A and B, equivalent to 25% (2.3/9.25) and 28% (0.62/2.24) of the reduced form effect. See Conley et al. [2012] for details.

Appendix E Political ideology in Latinobarómetro

We now turn to survey data from the post-democratization period to examine whether exposure to the military coup had long-lasting effects on political preferences. For this purpose, we use data from several waves of the "Latinobarómetro" survey between 1997 and 2017. Taken together, these surveys contain information about the political attitudes and preferences of almost 20,000 Chileans living in almost 190 counties. For this part of the analysis, we exploit the fact that the survey includes responses by people born as early as 1902 and as late as 1999 and allow the effect of military presence to vary across cohorts depending on their exposure to the military coup. We estimate the following regression:

$$S_{i,c,y,t} = \delta_1 \, \mathbb{1}\left(\text{Military base}\right)_c \times \mathbb{1}\left(\text{Exposed to coup}\right)_y + \phi_c + \phi_t + \phi_y + \varepsilon_{i,c,y,t}, \tag{3}$$

where $S_{i,c,y,t}$ is an outcome based on responses in the Latinobarómetro survey from year t by person i in county c from birth-cohort y. As in our main specification, $\mathbb{1}\left(\text{Military base}\right)_c$ is an indicator variable for the presence of a military base in county c in 1970. $\mathbb{1}\left(\text{Exposed to coup}\right)_y$ is an indicator variable for birth-cohorts exposed to the military coup. We use 1963 as the cut-off birth-year for exposure to the coup (i.e., age 10 or more at the time). ϕ_c, ϕ_y and ϕ_t are county, birth-year and survey-wave (year) fixed effects. The error term $\varepsilon_{i,c,y,t}$ is clustered at the county level. The coefficient of interest is δ_1, which captures the differential effect of military presence on the outcome for the cohorts that were exposed to the coup. The county fixed effects, ϕ_c, capture all fixed differences between counties and absorb the indicator for military presence and the baseline controls.

We construct variables measuring political preferences using the following question: "In politics, people normally speak of "left" and "right". On a scale where 0 is left and 10 is right, where would you place yourself?" Respondents may also indicate that they do not have political leanings. We use the answer to this question to construct various outcomes on political preferences and tests for persistent effects on expressed political ideology. Table E1 shows the results. The outcome in column 1 is an indicator for those respondents that do not describe themselves as politically-aligned, the outcome in columns 2, 3, and 4 in Table E1 are different binary variables for respondents that classify themselves as having political views consistent with the political left, center or right. Finally, the outcome in column 5 is a continuous index (0-10), with larger values indicating more right-wing views. Overall, we do not observe any systematic effect of exposure to the coup on any of these political affiliations, echoing the findings from the electoral results after 1988.

Table E1: Impact of exposure to the military coup on political attitudes

	Point estimate	Standard error	Mean Dep Var	Observations
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Attitudes towards democracy (agrees with)				
Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government	-0.010	(0.020)	0.566	19641
Under some circumstances, authoritarianism is preferable	0.013	(0.012)	0.151	19641
Democracy is still the best form of government	0.001	(0.020)	0.749	14885
Democracy solves problems	0.000	(0.036)	0.474	4787
Without political parties there can be no democracy	0.032	(0.018)	0.582	11890
Would not support a military government	0.029	(0.025)	0.687	5953
Panel B: Political ideology				
Indicator non-aligned	0.006	(0.012)	0.195	19641
Indicator left	0.001	(0.007)	0.074	19641
Indicator center	0.010	(0.014)	0.540	19641
Indicator right	0.005	(0.009)	0.096	19641
Political ideology index (excludes non-aligned)	0.042	(0.073)	5.029	13944

Notes: This table shows results from regressions of survey responses in Latinobarómetro on the interaction between the indicator for military presence and an indicator for cohorts exposed to the military coup. Indicator for military presence equals one if there was a military base in the county in 1970. Indicator exposed to coup equals 1 if respondent's birth year is less than or equal to 1963. All regressions include county, survey year, birth year, and gender fixed effects. Robust standard errors clustered at the county level in parenthesis. Significance level: ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

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