

Balcells, Laia; Villamil, Francisco

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The legacies of authoritarian repression on civil society

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Online appendix for:
The legacies of authoritarian repression on civil society

Laia Balcells*

Francisco Villamil[†]

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*Georgetown University.

[†]Carlos III - Juan March Institute, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid.

A Data sources on voluntary associations

Table A1 shows information on each of the regional data sources we use to build the dataset on voluntary associations. Each dataset is published by each regional government, at the level of Autonomous Communities. All datasets were obtained through the Spanish Open Data portal.¹

Table A1: Voluntary associations regional sources

Region	Name	URL
Andalusia	Asociaciones de Andalucía	a01002820
Asturias	Registro de asociaciones del Principado de Asturias	a03002951
Basque Country	Registro de Asociaciones de Euskadi	a16003011
Castile and León	Registro de asociaciones de Castilla y León	a07002862
Castile-La Mancha	Registro de Asociaciones de Castilla-La Mancha	a08002880
Catalonia	Entidades jurídicas del Registro de entidades de Cataluña	a09002970
Galicia	Registro de asociaciones	a12002994

¹Available at <https://datos.gob.es/> (accessed 25/11/2022).

B Results using TOP repression in continuous form

We show here results replicating the local-level analyses but using the main independent variable, authoritarian repression, measured in continuous form, namely, as the logged number of sentenced per 1,000 inhabitants in 1960.

Table A2 replicates the analyses in the main text where we explore the effect of all authoritarian repression on the formation of voluntary associations during the democratic period. Table A3 repeats these analyses but using as our main independent variable a measure of repression of violent activities, while Table A4 does the same but focusing on repression of non-violent activities.

Table A2: Francoist repression (TOP) and local associations formed after 1975

	Full	1976-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95	1996-00	2001-05	2006-10	2011-15	2016-20
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Repression (cont.)	-0.235 (0.410)	-0.023+ (0.012)	0.032 (0.034)	0.001 (0.086)	0.081 (0.055)	0.069 (0.158)	0.027 (0.085)	-0.120* (0.058)	-0.155*** (0.043)	-0.146*** (0.041)
Log GDPpc	19.011* (7.823)	-0.684* (0.340)	0.581 (0.620)	0.380 (0.864)	2.586** (0.830)	5.864* (2.302)	5.877* (2.907)	1.488 (1.126)	1.524 (0.985)	1.395 (0.851)
Log Pop 2011	-6.265*** (0.971)	-0.084* (0.037)	-0.374** (0.120)	-0.547*** (0.094)	-0.747*** (0.103)	-1.512*** (0.349)	-1.230*** (0.284)	-0.787*** (0.117)	-0.516*** (0.116)	-0.467*** (0.098)
Elev SD	0.018** (0.006)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.002+ (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.003+ (0.002)	0.004** (0.001)	0.003** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)
Pop change 1960-2011	-0.097 (0.222)	-0.026 (0.018)	-0.012 (0.025)	-0.089* (0.040)	-0.093* (0.041)	0.076 (0.065)	0.020 (0.052)	0.018 (0.030)	0.017 (0.018)	-0.007 (0.018)
<i>n</i>	5210	5210	5210	5210	5210	5210	5210	5210	5210	5210
<i>R</i> ²	0.44	0.07	0.05	0.10	0.14	0.24	0.21	0.10	0.08	0.10
Adj. <i>R</i> ²	0.44	0.06	0.05	0.09	0.13	0.24	0.20	0.09	0.08	0.09
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: TOP variable is coded as the number of TOP sentences per 1,000 inhabitants in 1960.

Table A3: Francoist repression (TOP) and local associations formed after 1975

	Full	1976-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95	1996-00	2001-05	2006-10	2011-15	2016-20
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Repression, violence (cont.)	1.462 (2.315)	-0.067 (0.151)	0.349 (0.380)	0.199 (0.398)	0.149 (0.387)	0.951 (0.684)	0.460 (0.726)	-0.366 (0.415)	-0.037 (0.263)	-0.176 (0.316)
Log GDPpc	18.874* (7.824)	-0.685* (0.341)	0.569 (0.616)	0.368 (0.861)	2.596** (0.826)	5.826* (2.305)	5.857* (2.906)	1.481 (1.134)	1.490 (0.980)	1.371 (0.848)
Log Pop 2011	-6.281*** (0.968)	-0.085* (0.037)	-0.375** (0.119)	-0.548*** (0.094)	-0.746*** (0.102)	-1.515*** (0.350)	-1.232*** (0.283)	-0.788*** (0.115)	-0.521*** (0.116)	-0.471*** (0.098)
Elev SD	0.018** (0.006)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.002+ (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.003+ (0.002)	0.004** (0.001)	0.003** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)
Pop change 1960-2011	-0.094 (0.221)	-0.026 (0.018)	-0.012 (0.025)	-0.089* (0.040)	-0.093* (0.041)	0.077 (0.065)	0.020 (0.051)	0.018 (0.030)	0.017 (0.018)	-0.006 (0.018)
n	5210	5210	5210	5210	5210	5210	5210	5210	5210	5210
R^2	0.44	0.07	0.05	0.10	0.14	0.24	0.21	0.10	0.08	0.10
Adj. R^2	0.44	0.06	0.05	0.09	0.13	0.24	0.20	0.09	0.08	0.09
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: TOP variable is coded as the number of TOP sentences per 1,000 inhabitants in 1960.

Table A4: Francoist repression (TOP) and local associations formed after 1975

	Full	1976-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95	1996-00	2001-05	2006-10	2011-15	2016-20
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Repression, non-violence (cont.)	-0.281 (0.405)	-0.022+ (0.012)	0.024 (0.031)	-0.005 (0.086)	0.080 (0.058)	0.048 (0.154)	0.016 (0.080)	-0.116+ (0.063)	-0.160*** (0.041)	-0.147*** (0.041)
Log GDPpc	19.006* (7.834)	-0.685* (0.340)	0.584 (0.622)	0.380 (0.862)	2.591** (0.831)	5.872* (2.308)	5.881* (2.910)	1.480 (1.126)	1.516 (0.986)	1.387 (0.852)
Log Pop 2011	-6.265*** (0.970)	-0.085* (0.037)	-0.373** (0.120)	-0.547*** (0.094)	-0.747*** (0.103)	-1.511*** (0.349)	-1.230*** (0.284)	-0.788*** (0.116)	-0.517*** (0.116)	-0.468*** (0.098)
Elev SD	0.018** (0.006)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.002+ (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.003+ (0.002)	0.004** (0.001)	0.003** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)
Pop change 1960-2011	-0.097 (0.222)	-0.026 (0.018)	-0.012 (0.025)	-0.089* (0.040)	-0.093* (0.041)	0.076 (0.065)	0.020 (0.052)	0.018 (0.030)	0.017 (0.018)	-0.007 (0.018)
n	5210	5210	5210	5210	5210	5210	5210	5210	5210	5210
R^2	0.44	0.07	0.05	0.10	0.14	0.24	0.21	0.10	0.08	0.10
Adj. R^2	0.44	0.06	0.05	0.09	0.13	0.24	0.20	0.09	0.08	0.09
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: TOP variable is coded as the number of TOP sentences per 1,000 inhabitants in 1960.

C Results excluding the Basque Country

Table A5 replicates the main analyses on the local effect of repression on the formation of voluntary associations but excluding the Basque Country from the sample, looking at all instances of repression. Table A6 and Table A7 repeat these analyses but focusing on the repression of violent activities and non-violent activities, respectively.

Table A5: Francoist repression (TOP) and local associations formed after 1975, excluding Basque Country

	Full	1976-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95	1996-00	2001-05	2006-10	2011-15	2016-20
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Repression	8.862*** (1.933)	0.072 (0.063)	0.705* (0.282)	0.797*** (0.205)	1.044*** (0.195)	2.313*** (0.530)	1.761*** (0.525)	0.967*** (0.275)	0.626* (0.252)	0.576* (0.276)
Log GDPpc	15.929* (7.555)	-0.831* (0.375)	0.321 (0.627)	-0.072 (0.834)	2.214** (0.817)	5.440* (2.357)	5.548+ (2.882)	1.199 (1.131)	1.099 (0.950)	1.011 (0.801)
Log Pop 2011	-7.269*** (1.112)	-0.099* (0.044)	-0.456** (0.145)	-0.633*** (0.112)	-0.870*** (0.113)	-1.781*** (0.398)	-1.433*** (0.331)	-0.907*** (0.136)	-0.573*** (0.142)	-0.517*** (0.123)
Pop change 1960-2011	0.102 (0.195)	-0.022 (0.017)	0.004 (0.026)	-0.070+ (0.040)	-0.068+ (0.036)	0.125+ (0.073)	0.056 (0.049)	0.040 (0.029)	0.030 (0.022)	0.006 (0.018)
Elev SD	0.017** (0.006)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.002+ (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.003+ (0.001)	0.004** (0.001)	0.003** (0.001)	0.004** (0.001)
<i>n</i>	4982	4982	4982	4982	4982	4982	4982	4982	4982	4982
<i>R</i> ²	0.45	0.07	0.05	0.10	0.14	0.24	0.21	0.10	0.08	0.10
Adj. <i>R</i> ²	0.45	0.06	0.05	0.09	0.13	0.24	0.21	0.09	0.08	0.09
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: + $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Province FE not shown, clustered SE (province). Outcome variable is the number of associations formed in each period, divided by population (2011 census) and multiplied by 1,000.

Table A6: Francoist repression (TOP) and local associations formed after 1975, excluding Basque Country

	Full	1976-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95	1996-00	2001-05	2006-10	2011-15	2016-20
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Repression, violence	11.418*** (2.408)	0.074 (0.088)	0.823** (0.310)	1.102*** (0.264)	1.304*** (0.213)	3.047*** (0.773)	2.254*** (0.615)	1.279*** (0.289)	0.806* (0.317)	0.729* (0.286)
Log GDPpc	15.961* (7.639)	-0.827* (0.375)	0.338 (0.628)	-0.083 (0.835)	2.225** (0.833)	5.436* (2.361)	5.557+ (2.918)	1.197 (1.134)	1.102 (0.953)	1.015 (0.817)
Log Pop 2011	-6.973*** (1.057)	-0.096* (0.042)	-0.429** (0.135)	-0.609*** (0.107)	-0.834*** (0.108)	-1.706*** (0.386)	-1.374*** (0.313)	-0.876*** (0.126)	-0.552*** (0.134)	-0.498*** (0.112)
Pop change 1960-2011	0.070 (0.204)	-0.023 (0.018)	0.001 (0.026)	-0.072+ (0.040)	-0.072+ (0.039)	0.117+ (0.070)	0.050 (0.049)	0.037 (0.029)	0.028 (0.021)	0.004 (0.018)
Elev SD	0.017** (0.006)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.002+ (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.003+ (0.002)	0.004** (0.001)	0.003** (0.001)	0.004** (0.001)
<i>n</i>	4982	4982	4982	4982	4982	4982	4982	4982	4982	4982
<i>R</i> ²	0.45	0.07	0.05	0.10	0.14	0.24	0.21	0.10	0.08	0.10
Adj. <i>R</i> ²	0.45	0.06	0.05	0.09	0.13	0.24	0.21	0.09	0.08	0.09
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: + $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Province FE not shown, clustered SE (province). Outcome variable is the number of associations formed in each period, divided by population (2011 census) and multiplied by 1,000.

Table A7: Francoist repression (TOP) and local associations formed after 1975, excluding Basque Country

	Full	1976-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95	1996-00	2001-05	2006-10	2011-15	2016-20
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Repression, non-violence	9.579*** (2.082)	0.117+ (0.068)	0.780* (0.303)	0.834*** (0.215)	1.187*** (0.220)	2.470*** (0.552)	1.894*** (0.573)	1.006** (0.308)	0.680** (0.262)	0.611* (0.293)
Log GDPpc	15.568* (7.505)	-0.844* (0.376)	0.287 (0.625)	-0.098 (0.828)	2.156** (0.808)	5.353* (2.349)	5.479+ (2.863)	1.170 (1.130)	1.073 (0.946)	0.991 (0.794)
Log Pop 2011	-7.272*** (1.116)	-0.102* (0.044)	-0.458** (0.145)	-0.631*** (0.112)	-0.875*** (0.115)	-1.779*** (0.398)	-1.433*** (0.332)	-0.904*** (0.138)	-0.573*** (0.141)	-0.517*** (0.123)
Pop change 1960-2011	0.114 (0.194)	-0.021 (0.017)	0.005 (0.026)	-0.069+ (0.040)	-0.065+ (0.036)	0.128+ (0.073)	0.058 (0.049)	0.041 (0.029)	0.031 (0.022)	0.007 (0.018)
Elev SD	0.017** (0.006)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.002+ (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.003+ (0.001)	0.004** (0.001)	0.003** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)
<i>n</i>	4982	4982	4982	4982	4982	4982	4982	4982	4982	4982
<i>R</i> ²	0.46	0.07	0.05	0.10	0.14	0.24	0.21	0.10	0.08	0.10
Adj. <i>R</i> ²	0.45	0.06	0.05	0.09	0.13	0.24	0.21	0.09	0.08	0.09
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: + $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Province FE not shown, clustered SE (province). Outcome variable is the number of associations formed in each period, divided by population (2011 census) and multiplied by 1,000.

D Wartime violence and later TOP repression

In this section we discuss the problem of endogeneity in the geographical distribution of Francoist repression. In particular, one concern is that the same municipalities that suffered repression during the authoritarian regime, as measured by the TOP data, also suffered higher rates of wartime violence or were more leftist immediately before the war and the Francoist regime. Table A9 shows the results of a model where we use a binary measure of repression during the Francoist regime (between 1963 and 1976) and, as independent variables, we include the change in population between 1930 and 1960, the intensity of wartime violence against civilians by nationalist (Francoist) forces, and leftist support in 1936. We also control for population in 1960. We run separate models for three versions of the dependent variable, following the analyses in the main text: all repression, repression of violence activities, and repression of non-violent activities. Table ?? repeats these models but using a continuous version of the TOP dependent variable, again distinguishing between all repression, repression of violence activities, and repression of non-violent activities.

Results show that authoritarian repression was independent from wartime and pre-war dynamics. If anything, there is a positive effect of prewar leftist support, but it is only significant at the 90% level. Overall, repression in the 1960s and 1970s was mainly driven by contemporary population.

Table A8: Francoist repression (TOP, binary) and wartime nationalist violence

	All repression		Violence		Non-violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Log Population 1960	1.565*** (0.105)	1.578*** (0.140)	1.779*** (0.143)	1.693*** (0.175)	1.504*** (0.111)	1.515*** (0.145)
Pop change 1930-1960	0.458 (0.304)	0.440 (0.314)	0.578 (0.353)	0.571 (0.365)	0.452 (0.306)	0.434 (0.317)
Wartime Francoist violence	0.216 (0.206)	0.049 (0.221)	-0.027 (0.329)	-0.150 (0.344)	0.265 (0.226)	0.111 (0.247)
Leftist support 1936		0.893+ (0.481)		1.035 (0.846)		0.717 (0.505)
<i>n</i>	2892	2038	2892	2038	2892	2038
AIC	1126.6	810.0	498.6	384.7	1043.4	759.0
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: + $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Province FE not shown, clustered SE (province). Wartime violence is the logged number of victims per 1,000 inhabitants in 1930. Dependent variable is a binary indicator of TOP sentences.

Table A9: Francoist repression (TOP, continuous) and wartime nationalist violence

	All repression		Violence		Non-violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Log Population 1960	0.038*** (0.011)	0.043*** (0.013)	0.007*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)	0.034** (0.011)	0.038** (0.013)
Pop change 1930-1960	0.066+ (0.035)	0.072+ (0.041)	0.013 (0.009)	0.014 (0.010)	0.060+ (0.031)	0.065+ (0.036)
Wartime Francoist violence	-0.002 (0.006)	-0.003 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.006)	-0.003 (0.006)
Leftist support 1936		0.074+ (0.039)		0.006 (0.005)		0.070+ (0.038)
<i>n</i>	2892	2038	2892	2038	2892	2038
R^2	0.29	0.31	0.09	0.10	0.28	0.29
Adj. R^2	0.29	0.30	0.09	0.09	0.28	0.29
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: + $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Province FE not shown, clustered SE (province). Wartime violence is the logged number of victims per 1,000 inhabitants in 1930. Dependent variable is logged number of TOP sentences per 1,000 inhabitants in 1960.

E Results on turnout

In this section, we include results using our alternative measure of local political participation: turnout. Using the official data published by the Spanish Ministry of Interior,² we calculate municipality-level turnout in all local elections, held every four years, since 1979. The models then follow the local-level analyses in the main text: we use the same repression measures as independent variables, the same control variables, and province fixed effects.

Table A10 shows the results of the models on turnout in local elections using the general measure of Francoist repression, which includes all instances of repression. Table A11 repeats the same models but including the measure of repression of violent activities, while Table A12 does the same with the measure of repression of non-violent activities. Figure A1 summarizes the results.

²Available at: <https://infoelectoral.interior.gob.es/opencms/es/inicio/> (accessed 05/10/2022). Data was retrieved using the infoelectoral R package, see github.com/rOpenSpain/infoelectoral/ (accessed 05/10/2022).

Table A10: Francoist repression (TOP) and turnout in local elections

	1979	1983	1987	1991	1995	1999	2003	2007	2011	2015	2019
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Repression	-0.035*** (0.008)	-0.021*** (0.006)	-0.061*** (0.007)	-0.053*** (0.007)	-0.034*** (0.005)	-0.044*** (0.006)	-0.038*** (0.005)	-0.036*** (0.005)	-0.020*** (0.004)	-0.013** (0.004)	-0.013** (0.005)
Log GDPpc	0.159*** (0.035)	0.131*** (0.022)	0.017 (0.029)	0.013 (0.023)	-0.026 (0.024)	-0.072** (0.027)	-0.076** (0.028)	-0.136*** (0.030)	-0.140*** (0.021)	-0.103*** (0.023)	-0.106*** (0.018)
Log Pop 2011	0.014*** (0.003)	-0.003+ (0.002)	0.021*** (0.005)	-0.006+ (0.003)	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.012*** (0.003)	-0.011*** (0.003)	-0.017*** (0.004)	-0.028*** (0.002)	-0.027*** (0.002)	-0.029*** (0.002)
Pop change 1960-2011	-0.001+ (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)
Elev SD	0.000** (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000* (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
n	7599	7607	7881	7842	7845	7816	7842	7835	7774	7716	7807
R^2	0.19	0.18	0.20	0.21	0.27	0.28	0.30	0.36	0.49	0.39	0.41
Adj. R^2	0.18	0.18	0.19	0.20	0.26	0.27	0.29	0.35	0.48	0.39	0.41
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: + $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Province FE not shown, clustered SE (province). Outcome variable is the number of associations formed in each period, divided by population (2011 census) and multiplied by 1,000.

Table A11: Francoist repression (TOP) and turnout in local elections

	1979	1983	1987	1991	1995	1999	2003	2007	2011	2015	2019
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Repression, violence	-0.076*** (0.010)	-0.036*** (0.007)	-0.093*** (0.011)	-0.082*** (0.009)	-0.049*** (0.007)	-0.060*** (0.008)	-0.049*** (0.007)	-0.043*** (0.008)	-0.021*** (0.006)	-0.009 (0.007)	-0.007 (0.006)
Log GDPpc	0.164*** (0.036)	0.133*** (0.022)	0.020 (0.029)	0.016 (0.022)	-0.024 (0.024)	-0.071** (0.026)	-0.076** (0.028)	-0.136*** (0.030)	-0.140*** (0.021)	-0.104*** (0.022)	-0.107*** (0.017)
Log Pop 2011	0.014*** (0.003)	-0.004+ (0.002)	0.019*** (0.005)	-0.007* (0.003)	-0.010*** (0.003)	-0.013*** (0.003)	-0.012*** (0.003)	-0.018*** (0.004)	-0.029*** (0.002)	-0.028*** (0.002)	-0.030*** (0.002)
Pop change 1960-2011	-0.001+ (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)
Elev SD	0.000** (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000* (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
n	7599	7607	7881	7842	7845	7816	7842	7835	7774	7716	7807
R^2	0.19	0.18	0.20	0.21	0.27	0.28	0.30	0.35	0.48	0.39	0.41
Adj. R^2	0.18	0.18	0.19	0.20	0.26	0.27	0.29	0.35	0.48	0.39	0.41
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: + $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Province FE not shown, clustered SE (province). Outcome variable is the number of associations formed in each period, divided by population (2011 census) and multiplied by 1,000.

Table A12: Francoist repression (TOP) and turnout in local elections

	1979	1983	1987	1991	1995	1999	2003	2007	2011	2015	2019
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Repression, non-violence	-0.034*** (0.008)	-0.022*** (0.006)	-0.061*** (0.007)	-0.053*** (0.007)	-0.035*** (0.005)	-0.045*** (0.007)	-0.039*** (0.005)	-0.038*** (0.005)	-0.020*** (0.004)	-0.014** (0.005)	-0.013** (0.005)
Log GDPpc	0.159*** (0.035)	0.131*** (0.022)	0.017 (0.029)	0.014 (0.023)	-0.025 (0.024)	-0.072** (0.027)	-0.076** (0.028)	-0.135*** (0.030)	-0.140*** (0.021)	-0.102*** (0.022)	-0.106*** (0.018)
Log Pop 2011	0.014*** (0.003)	-0.003+ (0.002)	0.020*** (0.005)	-0.006+ (0.003)	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.012*** (0.003)	-0.011*** (0.003)	-0.017*** (0.004)	-0.028*** (0.002)	-0.027*** (0.002)	-0.029*** (0.002)
Pop change 1960-2011	-0.001+ (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)
Elev SD	0.000** (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000* (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
n	7599	7607	7881	7842	7845	7816	7842	7835	7774	7716	7807
R^2	0.19	0.18	0.20	0.21	0.27	0.28	0.30	0.36	0.49	0.39	0.41
Adj. R^2	0.18	0.18	0.19	0.20	0.26	0.27	0.29	0.35	0.48	0.39	0.41
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: + $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Province FE not shown, clustered SE (province). Outcome variable is the number of associations formed in each period, divided by population (2011 census) and multiplied by 1,000.

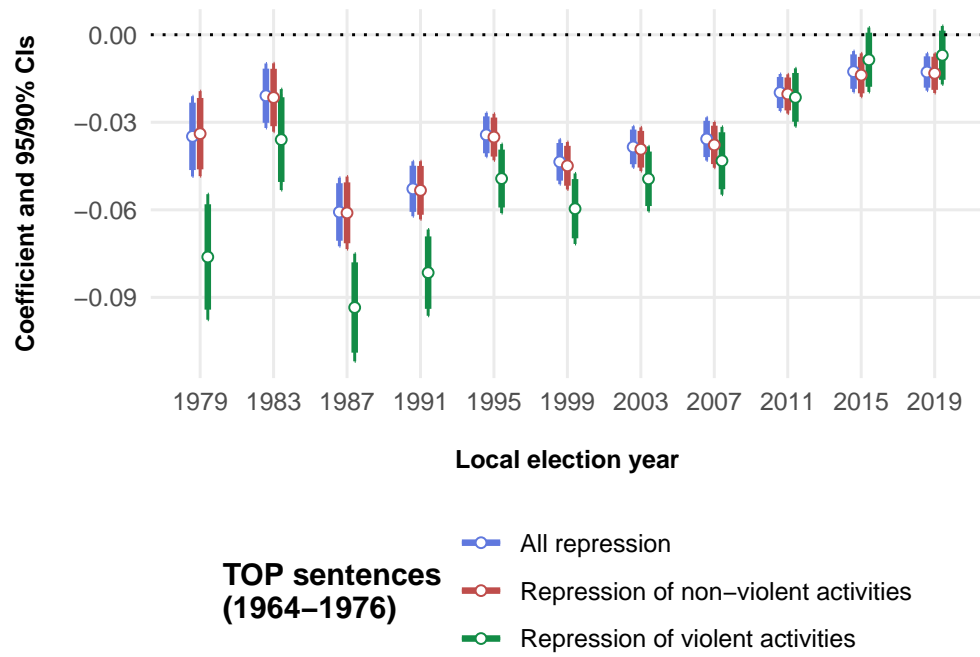


Figure A1: Coefficient plots for local election turnout models

F CIS surveys and questions

Table A13: CIS surveys and question wordings

Year	Survey	Question number and wording
1989	1788	Q38: "To which of the following organizations do you belong to?" [Benefit or religious organizations / Cultural associations / Sport or recreational associations / Unions / Political parties / Neighbors' associations / Women associations / Human Rights associations / Environmental or peace associations / Consumer groups / Professional associations / Others]
1994	2107	Q24: "To which of the following types of associations do you currently belong to? And to which have you belonged in the past? And to which have you never belonged?" [Benefit associations / Religious associations / Educational, artistic, or cultural associations / Unions / Political parties / Human Rights associations / Environmental associations / Sports associations / Youth associations / Women associations / Peace movements / Local groups]
1995	2154	Q33: "Tell me, please, if you have been affiliated to, are affiliated to, or are a member of..." [Citizen association / Political party / Union]
1996	2206	Q24: "Are you currently a member, have you at any point belonged to or have you never partaken in citizen associations? And what about a Political party? Or a Union?" [Is currently a member / Was a member before but is no longer affiliated / Has never been a member / Don't know]
1996	2218	Q56: "Are you a member of any one of the following organizations?" [Neighbors association / Youth group / Mother's association / Sports club / Union / Volunteer group / Political party / Cultural center / Religious organizations / Other (specify) / Don't know / No Organizations]
1997	2240	Q7: "Are you currently a member, or have ever been a member or have you never been a member of:" [Citizen association / Political party / Union / Religious organization]
(...)		

Table A13 (continued)

Year	Survey	Question number and wording
1998	2286	<p>Q49: "Of the following associations and organizations, have you at any point belonged to or have you never participated in ..?" [Currently belongs to/Has been a member in the past but not currently/Has never been part of]</p> <p>[Sports groups or clubs / Local or Regional associations (Party Committees, Brotherhoods) / Educational, Artistic or Cultural associations or groups / Youth groups or associations (scouts, guides) / Charity or socially minded clubs / Environmental clubs or associations / Unions / Political parties / Human Rights organizations / Pacifist movements / Women's groups: feminists...]</p>
1998	2312	<p>Q57: "In what type of organization do you participate in?"</p> <p>[Religious / Neighbors community / Artistic / Union / Environmental / Professional / Youth / Sports / Political / None]</p>
2000	2380	<p>Q12: "Do you belong to any organization or association? Tell me if you are a member of:"</p> <p>[A Union / A Political party / A Neighbor association / An Environmental association / A Charity group / A Religious group / A Musical or Theatre group / A Sports or Hobby club / Do you take part in any association or organization that I have not mentioned?]</p>
2000	2387	<p>Q14: "Of the different groups or associations that I'll mention, can you tell me please if you're a member or affiliated with:"</p> <p>[A Neighborhood association / A Youth group / A Political party / A Union / A Religious group / A Business association / A Professional association / A Cultural or Artistic association / An Environmental group / A Sports club / A Parents association / A Consumers group / An NGO or a Charity group]</p>
2001	2419	<p>Q3: "I will now read through a list of organizations and associations, can you please tell me for each one of them if you are currently a member, have ever been a member even if currently you aren't a member, or have never been a member?"</p> <p>(...)</p>

Table A13 (continued)

Year	Survey	Question number and wording
		[Sports clubs / Local or regional groups (Party Committees, Brotherhoods, etc) / Educational, Artistic or Cultural groups / Youth organizations (Scouts, Guides, Clubs, etc) / Charity or social benefits clubs / Environmental groups / Unions / Political parties / Human Rights organizations / Women-related groups (feminists) / Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs)]
2002	2450	Q15a: "I will now go through a list with different types of organizations and read each one out loud. For each one, can you please tell me if you're a member of have taken part in this type of organization?" [Sports or Outdoors clubs / Youth associations / Environmental / Animal Protection / Peace / HR or Cooperation / Charity / Disease groups / Disability groups / Old age / Political parties / Unions / Agrarian / Employers' / Investment / Professional associations / Consumers' groups / Parents' associations / Cultural / Driving groups / Neighbors' / Immigrants' / Religious / Women / Veterans' / Victims of terrorism / Others]
2004	2572	Q7: "Are you a member or affiliated with to (Is a member/ Has been a member in the past / Has never been a member of):" [A Citizen group (of neighbors, environmentalists, pacifists) / A Political party / A Union / A Religious group]
2004	2575	Q6: "People sometimes partake in certain groups or association. For each one of the following groups, can you please tell me if you:" [Participate actively in one or more / Are a member but does not participate actively in one or more / Has been a member in the past, but not right now / Has never been a member of these groups] [A Political party / A union, a Business association or a Professional Association / A Parrish or other type of Religious group / A Sports club, Cultural or Hobby group / Another type of voluntary association]
2005	2588	Q4a: "I will now read through a list of different types of organizations. For each one, can you please tell me if you're a member of this type of association?"
(...)		

Table A13 (continued)

Year	Survey	Question number and wording
		[Sports clubs / Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) / Political parties / Unions or Agrarian organizations / Business or Commercial associations / Consumer associations (e.g. Patient Defense Association) / Parent associations (in schools) / Neighbor associations (but not neighbor communities) / Religious or Parrish associations / Cultural or artistic associations]
2006	2632	Q12: "People sometimes partake in certain groups or association. For each one of the following groups, can you please tell me if you:" [Are a member and participate actively / Are a member but do not participate actively / Have been a member in the past, but not right now / Have never been a member of these groups]
		[A Political party / A Union or a Business association / A Professional association / A Parrish or other type of Religious group / A Sports club / A Cultural or Hobby group / A Human Rights or Social organization / A Youth or Student group / Another type of voluntary association]
2006	2633	Q15: "People sometimes partake in certain groups or association. For each one of the following groups, can you please tell me if you:" [Are a member and participate actively / Are a member but do not participate actively / Have been a member in the past, but not right now / Have never been a member of these groups]
		[A Political party / A Union or a Business association / A Professional association / A Parrish or other type of Religious group / A Sports club / A Cultural or Hobby group / A Human Rights or Social organization / A Youth or Student group / Another type of voluntary association]
2006	2634	Q105: "Have you at any point belonged to or have you never participated in activities or actively supported (e.g. by donating money) a:"
		[Political party / Union / Professional association / Non-governmental Organization / Parrish or Religious Group]
		(...)

Table A13 (continued)

Year	Survey	Question number and wording
2006	2661	<p>Q23/Q24: "Are you currently a member, or have ever been a member or have you never been a member of any association in your city, be it a group of neighbors, a sports club, political group...of any kind?" / (Only for those that are current members or have partaken in local association: "I will now read through a list of organizations and associations, can you please tell me for each one of them if you are currently a member, have ever been a member even if currently you aren't a member, or have never been a member?")</p> <p>[Sports or hobby clubs / Cultural associations / Support groups for the ill or handicapped / Other volunteer associations or Charity that is active in your city / Political party / Union / Professional organizations or Commerce associations / Neighbor associations / Consumer associations / Parent associations / Retiree or Senior Citizen associations / Environmental or Animal Rights associations / Animal rescue and Support groups / Women's groups / Youth groups / Parrish or Religious groups / Other types of associations]</p>
2006	2667	<p>Q34: "People sometimes partake in certain groups or association. For each one of the following groups, can you please tell me if you: 1 - Are a member and participate actively 2 - Are a member but do not participate actively 3 - Have been a member in the past, but not right now 4 - Have never been a member of these groups "</p> <p>[A Political party / A Union or a Business association / A Professional association / A Parrish or other type of Religious group / A Sports club / A Cultural or Hobby group / A Human Rights or Social organization / A Youth or Student group / Another type of voluntary association]</p>
2007	2672	<p>Q16: "People sometimes partake in certain groups or association. For each one of the following groups, can you please tell me if you: 1 - Are a member and participate actively 2 - Are a member but do not participate actively 3 - Have been a member in the past, but not right now 4 - Have never been a member of these groups "</p> <p>[A Political party / A Union or a Business association / A Professional association / A Parrish or other type of Religious group / A Sports club / A Cultural or Hobby group / A Human Rights or Social organization / A Youth or Student group / Another type of voluntary association]</p>
(...)		

Table A13 (continued)

Year	Survey	Question number and wording
2007	2700	<p>Q16: "People sometimes partake in certain groups or association. For each one of the following groups, can you please tell me if you: [Are a member and participate actively / Are a member but do not participate actively / Have been a member in the past, but not right now / Have never been a member of these groups]"</p> <p>[A Political party / A Union or a Business association / A Professional association / A Parrish or other type of Religious group / A Sports club / A Cultural or Hobby group / A Human Rights or Social organization / A Youth or Student group / Another type of voluntary association]</p>
2007	2701	<p>Q38/Q38a: "Are you currently a member, or have ever been a member or have you never been a member of any association in your city, be it a group of neighbors, a sports club, political group...of any kind? / (Only for those that are current members or have partaken in local association) I will now read through a list of organizations and associations, can you please tell me for each one of them if you are currently a member, have ever been a member even if currently you aren't a member, or have never been a member?"</p> <p>[Sports or hobby clubs / Cultural associations / Support groups for the ill or handicapped / Other volunteer associations or Charity that is active in your city / Political party / Union / Professional organizations or Commerce associations / Neighbor associations / Consumer associations / Parent associations / Retiree or Senior Citizen associations / Environmental or Animal Rights associations / Animal rescue and support groups / Women's groups / Youth groups / Parrish or Religious groups / Other types of associations]</p>
2007	2736	<p>Q13: "Tell me if you are a member, if you actively participate or if you have been a member of any of the following associations:" [Are a member and participate actively / Are a member but do not participate actively / Have been a member in the past, but not right now / Have never been a member of these groups]</p> <p>(...)</p>

Table A13 (continued)

Year	Survey	Question number and wording
		[A Political party / A Union / Business or Professional association / A Parrish or other type of Religious group / A Sports, Cultural or Hobby club / An Environmentalist, Pacifist, Human Rights or Just Commerce group (Intermon, Amnesty International, Greenpeace, SOS Racism, etc)/ A Youth or Student group / Another type of voluntary association]
2007	2741	Q65: "For each of the following groups, please tell me whether you..." [Are a member and participate actively / Are a member but do not participate actively / Have been a member in the past, but not right now / Have never been a member of these groups] [A Political party / A Union, Professional or Business association / A Religious or Church group / A Sports, Cultural or Hobby club / Another type of association]
2008	2749	Q14: "People sometimes partake in certain groups or association. For each one of the following groups, can you please tell me if you:" [Are a member and participate actively / Are a member but do not participate actively / Have been a member in the past, but not right now / Have never been a member of these groups] [A Political party / A Union or a Business association / A Professional association / A Parrish or other type of Religious group / A Sports club / A Cultural or Hobby group / A Human Rights or Social organization / A Youth or Student group / Another type of voluntary association]
2009	2790	Q39/Q39a: "Are you currently a member, or have ever been a member or have you never been a member of any association in your city, be it a group of neighbors, a sports club, political group...of any kind? / (Only for those that are current members or have partaken in local association) Of what kind?" [NGOs / Political Parties / Unions or Agrarian Organizations / Business or Commercial Associations / Consumer Associations (e.g. OCU, Patient Defense Association) / Parents Associations / Neighbor Associations (but now Neighbor Communities) / Cultural or Artistic groups / Other types of associations]
(...)		

Table A13 (continued)

Year	Survey	Question number and wording
2009	2798	<p>Q14: "People sometimes partake in certain groups or association. For each one of the following groups, can you please tell me if you: [Are a member and participate actively / Are a member but do not participate actively / Have been a member in the past, but not right now / Have never been a member of these groups] "</p> <p>[A Political party / A Union or a Business association / A Professional association / A Parrish or other type of Religious group / A Sports club / A Cultural or Hobby group / A Human Rights or Social organization / A Youth or Student group / Another type of voluntary association]</p>
2011	2914	<p>Q15: "People sometimes partake in certain groups or association. For each one of the following groups, can you please tell me if you:[Are a member and participate actively/ Are a member but do not participate actively / Have been a member in the past, but not right now / Have never been a member of these groups]"</p> <p>[A Political party / A Union or a Business association / A Professional association / A Parrish or other type of Religious group / A Sports club / A Cultural or Hobby group / A Human Rights or Social organization / A Youth or Student group / Another type of voluntary association]</p>
2012	2960	<p>Q14: "People sometimes partake in certain groups or association. For each one of the following groups, can you please tell me if you: [Are a member and participate actively/ Are a member but do not participate actively / Have been a member in the past, but not right now / Have never been a member of these groups]"</p> <p>[A Political party / A Union or a Business association / A Professional association / A Parrish or other type of Religious group / A Sports club / A Cultural or Hobby group / A Human Rights or Social organization / A Youth or Student group / Another type of voluntary association]</p>
2013	2975	<p>Q63: "Tell me if you are a member or affiliated to any of the following groups or associations:"</p> <p>(...)</p>

Table A13 (continued)

Year	Survey	Question number and wording
		[Political party / Union or Business association / Professional association / Parrish or other Religious association / Sports club / Cultural, Artistic or Hobby club / Human Rights or Social Support Club / Youth or Student association / Neighbor association (not Homeowners association) / Parent association / Another type of voluntary association]
2013	3001	Q13: "People sometimes partake in certain groups or association. For each one of the following groups, can you please tell me if you: [Are a member and participate actively / Are a member but do not participate actively / Have been a member in the past, but not right now / Have never been a member of these groups]"
		[A Political party / A Union or a Business association / A Professional association / A Parrish or other type of Religious group / A Sports club / A Cultural or Hobby group / A Human Rights or Social organization / A Youth or Student group / Another type of voluntary association]
2013	3004	Q76: "Regarding the following groups or associations, tell me if you are a: [Active member / Not-active member / Not a member]"
		[Political party / Business association / Professional association / Parrish or other Religious association / Sports club / Cultural, Artistic or Hobby club / Human Rights or Social Support club / Youth or Student association / Neighbor association (not Homeowners association) / Parent association / Environmental organization / Another type of voluntary association]
2013	3005	Q11: "Regarding a series of groups or associations, tell me if you are a member and are active in, if you are a member but are not active in, if you have been a member and active in the past 12 months but are no longer a member or if you've never been a member of...[Are a member and are active in / Are a member but are not active in / Have been a member and active in the past 12 months but are no longer a member / Have never been a member of]
		(...)

Table A13 (continued)

Year	Survey	Question number and wording
		[Political party / Union / Professional association / Business association / Charity or Social Support association / Sports club / Cultural, Artistic or Hobby club / Environmental organization (Greenpeace, etc) / Pacifist, Human Rights or Just Commerce club (Intermon, Amnesty International, SOS Racism, etc) / Youth or Student association / Another type of voluntary association (Parent association, Neighbor association (but not Homeowners association), etc.)]
2014	3020	<p>Q8: "People sometimes partake in certain groups or association. For each one of the following groups, can you please tell me if you: [Are a member and participate actively in any (or in many) / Are a member but do not participate actively / Have been a member in the past, but not right now / Have never been a member of these groups]"</p> <p>[A Political party / A Union, Business association or a Professional association / A Parrish or other type of Religious group / A Sports club, Cultural or Hobby group / Another type of voluntary association]</p>
2014	3036	<p>Q18: "People sometimes partake in certain groups or association. For each one of the following groups, can you please tell me if you: [Are a member and participate actively / Are a member but do not participate actively / Have been a member in the past, but not right now / Have never been a member of these groups]"</p> <p>[A Political party / A Union or a Business association / A Professional association / A Parrish or other type of Religious group / A Sports club / A cultural or hobby group / A Human Rights or Social organization / A Youth or Student group / Another type of voluntary association (Parents association, neighbors, etc.)]</p>
2014	3041	<p>Q13: "People sometimes partake in certain groups or association. For each one of the following groups, can you please tell me if you: [Are a member and participate actively in any (or in many) / Are a member but do not participate actively / Have been a member in the past, but not right now / Have never been a member of these groups]"</p> <p>[A Political party / A Union or a Business association / A Professional association / A Parrish or other type of Religious group / A Sports club / A Cultural or Hobby group / A Human Rights or Social organization / A Youth or Student group / Another type of voluntary association]</p>
		(...)

Table A13 (continued)

Year	Survey	Question number and wording
2015	3114	<p>Q13: "People sometimes partake in certain groups or association. For each one of the following groups, can you please tell me if you: [Are a member and participate actively in any (or in many) / Are a member but do not participate actively / Have been a member in the past, but not right now / Have never been a member of these groups]"</p> <p>[A Political party / A Union or a Business association / A Professional association / A Parrish or other type of Religious group / A Sports club / A cultural or hobby group / A Human Rights or Social organization / A Youth or Student group / Another type of voluntary association]</p>
2015	3123	<p>Q81: "Regarding the following groups or associations, tell me if you are a member or affiliated with:"</p> <p>[Political party / Union or Business association / Professional association / Parrish or other Religious association / Sports club / Cultural, Artistic or Hobby club / Human Rights or Social Support club / Youth or Student association / Neighbor association (not Homeowners association) / Parent association / Another type of voluntary association]</p>
2016	3156	<p>Q13: "People sometimes partake in certain groups or association. For each one of the following groups, can you please tell me if you: [Are a member and participate actively in / Are a member but do not participate actively / Have been a member in the past, but not right now / Have never been a member of these groups]"</p> <p>[A Political party / A Union or a Business association / A Professional association / A Parrish or other type of Religious group / A Sports club / A Cultural or Hobby group / A Human Rights or Social organization / A Youth or Student group / Another type of voluntary association]</p>
2017	3191	<p>Q12: "People sometimes partake in certain groups or association. For each one of the following groups, can you please tell me if you: [Are a member and participate actively in / Are a member but do not participate actively / Have been a member in the past, but not right now / Have never been a member of these groups]"</p> <p>(...)</p>

Table A13 (continued)

Year	Survey	Question number and wording
		[A Political party / A Union or a Business association / A Professional association / A Parrish or other type of Religious group / A Sports club / A cultural or hobby group / A Human Rights or Social organization / A Youth or Student group / Another type of voluntary association]
2017	3195	<p>Q11: “Regarding a series of groups or associations, tell me if you are a member and are active in, if you are a member but are not active in, if you have been a member and active in the past 12 months but are no longer a member or if you’ve never been a member of... [Are a member and are active in / Are a member but are not active in / Have been a member and active in the past 12 months but are no longer a member / Were a member and participated a long time ago / Have never been a member of]”</p> <p>[Political party / Union / Professional association / Business association / Charity or Social Support association / Sports club / Cultural, Artistic or Hobby club / Environmental organization (Greenpeace, etc) / Pacifist, Human Rights or Just Commerce club (Intermon, Amnesty International, SOS Racism, etc) / Youth or Student association / Another type of voluntary association (Parent association, Neighbor association (but not Homeowners association), etc.)]</p>
2017	3201	<p>Q65: “Regarding the following groups or associations, tell me if you are a member or affiliated with:”</p> <p>[Political party / Union or Business association / Professional association / Parrish or other Religious association / Sports club / Cultural, Artistic or Hobby club / Human Rights or Social Support club / Youth or Student association / Neighbor association (not Homeowners association) / Parent association / Another type of voluntary association]</p>

G Full results of survey analyses

Table A14 shows the full results of the cohort analyses. Figure A2 shows coefficient estimates and confidence intervals for the models analyzing cohort effects over time in the main text. Figure A3 repeats these analyses but moving the birthyear cutoff to 1945. We show coefficient plots instead of tables because of the large number of coefficients in these models.

Table A14: Cohort effects on participation in associations

	All associations	Political associations
	(1)	(2)
1920 cohort	0.192* (0.090)	0.486* (0.199)
1930 cohort	0.425*** (0.088)	1.070*** (0.193)
1940 cohort	0.668*** (0.092)	1.840*** (0.196)
1950 cohort	0.754*** (0.098)	2.511*** (0.203)
1960 cohort	0.799*** (0.107)	2.819*** (0.213)
1970 cohort	0.800*** (0.121)	3.002*** (0.230)
1980 cohort	0.757*** (0.138)	3.093*** (0.252)
1990 cohort	0.839*** (0.160)	2.795*** (0.288)
<i>n</i>	104113	103283
AIC	129886.2	71747.5
Survey FE	Yes	Yes

Note: + $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Control variables not shown: gender, ideology, age (log), and education level.

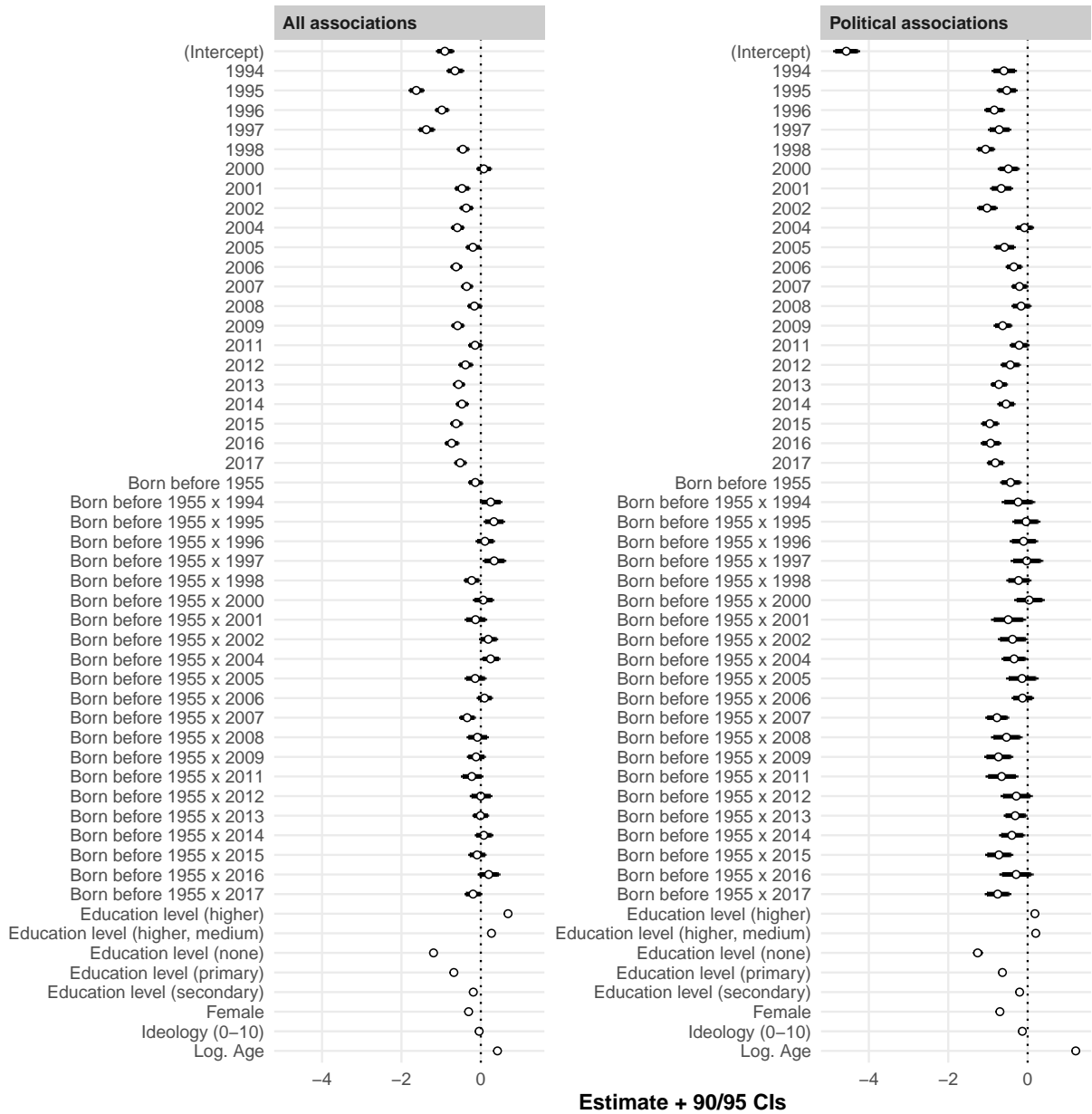


Figure A2: Coefficient plot for cohort-effect (born before 1955) models

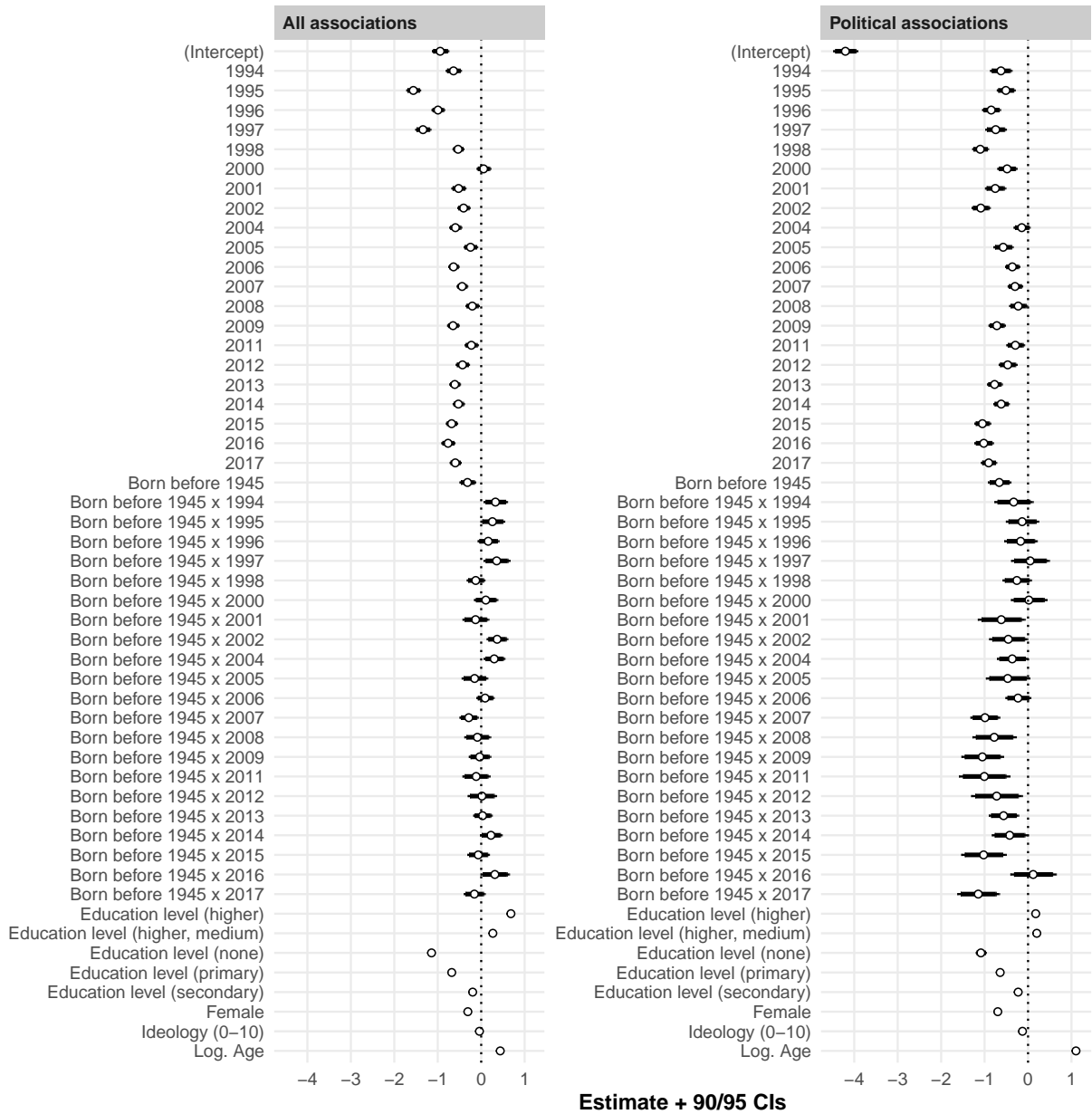


Figure A3: Coefficient plot for cohort-effect (born before 1945) models

H Additional analyses using CIS 2760

In this section, we show additional results using a 2008 survey on the memories of the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist regime fielded in 2008 by the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS) ([Aguilar et al., 2011](#)). We run two sets of logit regressions on two binary outcomes that measure the self-perceived importance of participating in politics. We recode both outcome variables from an original 3-point scale question asking the respondent whether she agrees, neither agrees nor disagrees, or disagrees with a series of statements. The first outcome indicates whether individuals agree with the statement ‘For democracy to work better, it is important to participate in politics.’ The second outcome indicates whether individuals disagree with the statement ‘It is better not to get involved in politics.’

As independent variables, we use four indicators of self-reported victimization. First, whether the respondent was victimized first-hand during the Francoist regime, including being detained, imprisoned, expelled from her job, fined, or forced to leave Spain. This question was only presented to individuals who were above 45 years old at the time of the survey. Second, we include another variable measuring whether any of the events above, additionally including being executed, occurred to any member of the respondent’s family or close friend. Finally, we use two variables indicating that the respondent said that a member of her family /close friend was victimized during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) by the Republican or the Nationalist side, respectively. Civil war victimization includes experiences such as being killed in combat, in a bombardment, being executed, disappeared, or condemned to death (among other, less intense forms of victimization).

Following [Aguilar et al. \(2011\)](#) and [Balcells \(2012\)](#), all models control for age, gender, interest in politics, education level, religiosity, whether the respondent indicates that her family spoke about politics at home when they were growing up, and the size of the municipality.

We show the results in Table [A15](#) and Table [A16](#). In both tables, the first two columns only includes respondents who were above 45 years old at the time of the survey, while the last two columns use the full sample. In the latter case, the variable indicating per-

sonal (as in first-hand) victimization during the Francoist regime is coded as 0 for anyone who was 45 or younger.

Table A15: Importance of participation for democracy and self-reported victimization

	Older than 45		Full sample	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Personal victimization, Francoist regime	0.272 (0.329)	0.216 (0.331)		0.355 (0.318)
Family victimization, Francoist regime	-0.078 (0.152)	-0.323* (0.164)	-0.225* (0.111)	-0.239* (0.112)
Wartime family victimization, Republicans		0.670*** (0.194)	0.610*** (0.145)	0.615*** (0.145)
Wartime family victimization, Nationalists		0.587*** (0.158)	0.475*** (0.105)	0.468*** (0.105)
<i>n</i>	1331	1331	2765	2765
AIC	2009.4	1986.2	4335.0	4335.4

Note: + $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Control variables: age, gender, interest in politics, education, religion, how often talked about politics at family home, and municipality size (not shown). Outcome is a binary variable expressing agreement with the statement 'For democracy to work better, it is important to participate in politics.'

We find in both cases, but most clearly for the outcome on the importance of political participation for the functioning of democracy (Table A15), that while family victimization during the Spanish Civil War increases the self-perceived importance of political participation, victimization during the Francoist regime has no effect or a negative one. These results suggest that authoritarian repression, at least in the context of Spain, is probably substantially different from wartime/immediate postwar victimization.

Table A16: Importance of getting involved in politics and self-reported victimization

	Older than 45		Full sample	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Personal victimization, Francoist regime	0.320 (0.319)	0.323 (0.320)		0.500 (0.309)
Family victimization, Francoist regime	0.278+ (0.164)	0.221 (0.174)	0.019 (0.115)	0.000 (0.115)
Wartime family victimization, Republicans		0.251 (0.209)	0.352* (0.147)	0.360* (0.147)
Wartime family victimization, Nationalists		0.127 (0.172)	0.214* (0.109)	0.205+ (0.109)
<i>n</i>	1331	1331	2765	2765
AIC	1654.2	1656.6	3893.8	3893.0

Note: + $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Control variables: age, gender, interest in politics, education, religion, how often talked about politics at family home, and municipality size (not shown). Outcome is a binary variable expressing disagreement with the statement 'It is better not to get involved in politics.'

References

- Aguilar P, Balcells L and Cebolla-Boado H (2011) Determinants of attitudes toward transitional justice: An empirical analysis of the Spanish case. *Comparative Political Studies* 44(10): 1397–1430.
- Balcells L (2012) The consequences of victimization on political identities: Evidence from Spain. *Politics & Society* 40(3): 311–347.