Trauma and Stigma: the Long-term Effects of Wartime Violence on Political Attitudes

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Table A: Summary Statistics for Pre-war Cohort (1949-1953)

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
Trust in Blue House	1.697	0.643	1	3	614
Trust in Central Government	1.598	0.604	1	3	627
Trust in Army	2.16	0.673	1	3	618
Trust in Congress	1.33	0.538	1	3	624
Trust in Supreme Court	1.948	0.647	1	3	614
Trust in Local Government	1.666	0.609	1	3	623
Trust in Big Enterprise	1.872	0.598	1	3	618
Trust in Civil Organization	1.853	0.697	1	3	612
Trunst in TV	1.968	0.609	1	3	624
Total Killed	105.123	716.752	0	12591	627
Log of Total Killed	3.697	2.552	0	9.441	124
Violence	0.116	0.321	0	1	627
Female = 1	0.51	0.5	0	1	627
Unemployed = 1	0.368	0.483	0	1	627
Married = 1	0.844	0.363	0	1	627
Religious Attendance	4.596	2.589	1	8	627
Current Class, Self Evaluation	4.338	1.724	1	10	627
Education (5 Categories)	2.968	0.789	1	5	627

Notes: Based on the sample used in Model 1 in Table 3

Table B: Summary Statistics for Post-war Cohort (1954-1958)

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
Trust in Blue House	1.629	0.615	1	3	941
Trust in Central Government	1.573	0.582	1	3	956
Trust in Army	2.061	0.637	1	3	948
Trust in Congress	1.273	0.485	1	3	947
Trust in Supreme Court	1.928	0.639	1	3	938
Trust in Local Government	1.642	0.592	1	3	951
Trust in Big Enterprise	1.813	0.581	1	3	942
Trust in Civil Organization	1.892	0.672	1	3	929
Trunst in TV	1.904	0.583	1	3	949
Total Killed	97.276	1039.106	0	20004	956
Log of Total Killed	3.46	2.426	0	9.904	160
Violence	0.092	0.289	0	1	956
Female = 1	0.499	0.5	0	1	956
Unemployed = 1	0.279	0.449	0	1	956
Married = 1	0.856	0.352	0	1	956
Religious Attendance	4.876	2.653	1	8	956
Current Class, Self Evaluation	4.537	1.705	1	10	956
Education (5 Categories)	3.207	0.78	1	5	956

Notes: Based on the sample used in Model 1 in Table 3

Table C: Robustness Check - Varying Extent of Violence

	(1) Death > 0	(2) Death >10	(3) Death > 100	(4) Ordered Death
β_2: Violence X Pre War (-5)	-0.27***	-0.33***	-0.32**	-0.14***
	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.18)	(0.05)
β_1: Violence	0.39**	0.83***	0.83***	-0.06
	(0.22)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.08)
Pre War (-5)	0.17	0.16	0.14	0.16
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Constant	1.10	1.09	1.12	1.10
	(0.31)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)
Observations	1583	1583	1583	1583
Adjusted R^2	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07

Notes. The dependent variable is confidence in central government. All models are estimated using ordinary least squares (OLS). Robust standard errors clustered by EMD are in parentheses. Variables not shown include EMD, age, and survey fixed effects along with individual covariates such as gender, employment status, marital status, religious attendance, subjective social rank and education level. Model 1, 2, and 3 use a dummy variable of violence with different cut off points. In Model 4, a violence variable is an ordered categorical variable: 0 (no death) , 1 (less than about 20 deaths), 2 (less than about 150 deaths), 3 (greater than 150 deaths). * p<.1, ** p<.05, *** p<.01. One tailed p-values are reported for the hypotheses associated with trauma effects and stigma effects given their directional nature. Statistical significance is marked based on proposed hypotheses.

Table D: Robustness Check - 10 Year Window for Pre- and Post-War Cohorts

	(1) Government	(2) Blue House	(3) Military	(4) Legislature
β_2: Violence X Pre War (-10)	-0.21***	-0.08	-0.10	-0.08
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.07)
β_1: Violence	0.47***	1.65***	-0.68	-0.68
	(0.11)	(0.16)	(0.12)	(0.10)
Pre War (-10)	0.04	-0.00	-0.00	0.02
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)
Constant	1.70	1.93	2.82	1.89
	(0.23)	(0.32)	(0.23)	(0.22)
Observations	3513	3544	3602	3603
Adjusted R^2	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.02

Notes. All models are estimated using ordinary least squares (OLS). Robust standard errors clustered by EMD are in parentheses. Variables not shown include EMD, age, and survey fixed effects along with individual covariates such as gender, employment status, marital status, religious attendance, subjective social rank and education level. * p<.1, ** p<.05, *** p<.01. One tailed p-values are reported for the hypotheses associated with trauma effects and stigma effects given their directional nature. Statistical significance is marked based on proposed hypotheses.

Table E: Sample Distribution by Province

Province	**No Violence**	**Violence**	**Total**
Seoul	315 (22%)	13 (8%)	325 (21%)
Busan	141 (10%)	6 (4%)	147 (9%)
Daegu	68 (5%)	8 (5%)	76 (5%)
Incheon	85 (6%)	1 (1%)	86 (5%)
Kwangju	47 (3%)	1 (1%)	48 3(%)
Daejeon	44 (3%)	2 (1%)	46 3(%)
Ulsan	22 (2%)	10 (6%)	32 (2%)
Kyungki	288 (20%)	15 (9%)	303 (19%)
Kangwon	39 (3%)	5 (3%)	44 (3%)
Chungbuk	39 (3%)	9 (6%)	48 (3%)
Chungnam	43 (3%)	22 (14%)	65 (4%)
Jeonbuk	64 (5%)	13 (8%)	77 (5%)
Jeonnam	34 (2%)	13 (8%)	47 (3%)
Kyungbuk	78 5%)	9 (6%)	87 (6%)
Kyungnam	94 (7%)	34 (21%)	128 (8%)
Jeju	21 (1%)	0 (0%)	21 (1%)
Total	1422	161	1583

Notes: Violence is coded 1 in the EMDs where the number of deaths exceeds about 20 (or when the logged value of deaths is larger than 3).

Table F: Robustness Check - Analysis of Subset by Provinces

	(1) Except Seoul	(2) Except Gyeonggi	(3) Except Chungnam	(4) Except Gyeongnam	(5) Except Jeonnam
β_2: Violence X Pre War (-5)	-0.40***	-0.38***	-0.42***	-0.30**	-0.32***
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.16)	(0.13)
β_1: Violence	1.52***	0.82***	0.72***	0.28	0.74***
	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.25)	(0.26)	(0.23)
Pre War (-5)	0.17	0.18	0.14	0.16	0.14
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Constant	0.14	2.05	2.09	2.12	1.13
	(0.38)	(0.32)	(0.30)	(0.32)	(0.32)
Observations	1255	1280	1518	1455	1536
Adjusted R^2	0.09	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.07

Notes. The dependent variable is confidence in central government. All models are estimated using ordinary least squares (OLS). Robust standard errors clustered by EMD are in parentheses. Variables not shown include EMD, age, and survey fixed effects along with individual covariates such as gender, employment status, marital status, religious attendance, subjective social rank and education level. Each model is estimated using the subset of the data that excludes one province. For example, Model 1 excludes respondents from Seoul. * p<.1, ** p<.05, *** p<.01. One tailed p-values are reported for the hypotheses associated with trauma effects and stigma effects given their directional nature. Statistical significance is marked based on proposed hypotheses.

Table G: Robustness Check - Sigungu Clustered Standard Error

	(1) Government	(2) Blue House	(3) Military	(4) Legislature
β_2: Violence X Pre War (-5)	-0.36***	-0.29**	-0.20*	-0.21*
	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.13)
β_1: Violence	0.83***	0.51**	-0.49	-0.62
	(0.25)	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.26)
Pre War (-5)	0.16	-0.05	-0.00	0.05
	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Constant	1.09	2.14	3.00	1.62
	(0.31)	(0.35)	(0.34)	(0.23)
Observations	1583	1597	1616	1618
Adjusted R^2	0.07	0.03	0.04	-0.01

Notes. All models are estimated using ordinary least squares (OLS). Robust standard errors clustered by Sigungu are in parentheses. Variables not shown include EMD, age, and survey fixed effects along with individual covariates such as gender, employment status, marital status, religious attendance, subjective social rank and education level. * p<.1, ** p<.05, *** p<.01. One tailed p-values are reported for the hypotheses associated with trauma effects and stigma effects given their directional nature. Statistical significance is marked based on proposed hypotheses.

Table H: Robustness Check - Placebo Test I, Cohorts before and after 1945

	(1) Government	(2) Blue House	(3) Military	(4) Legislature
β_2: Violence X Pre 1945 (-5)	0.07	0.02	0.06	0.21
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.12)
Violence	1.29***	-0.23	-0.58	-0.68
	(0.37)	(0.44)	(0.42)	(0.21)
Pre 1945 (-5)	0.05	0.04	0.08	0.13
	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.11)
Constant	0.57	1.39	2.16	1.12
	(0.54)	(0.53)	(0.35)	(0.23)
Observations	1152	1168	1206	1197
Adjusted R^2	0.00	0.07	0.04	0.10

Notes. All models are estimated using ordinary least squares (OLS). Robust standard errors clustered by Sigungu are in parentheses. Variables not shown include EMD, age, and survey fixed effects along with individual covariates such as gender, employment status, marital status, religious attendance, subjective social rank and education level. * p<.1, ** p<.05, *** p<.01. One tailed p-values are reported for the hypotheses associated with trauma effects and stigma effects given their directional nature. Statistical significance is marked based on proposed hypotheses.

Table I: Robustness Check - Placebo Test II, Cohorts before and after 1958

	(1) Government	(2) Blue House	(3) Military	(4) Legislature
β_2: Violence X Pre 1958 (-5)	0.06	0.10	0.01	0.08
	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.16)	(0.12)
β_1: Violence	0.86***	-0.09	-0.35	1.09***
	(0.20)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.13)
Pre 1958 (-5)	-0.02	-0.01	-0.08	0.01
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.06)
Constant	1.07	1.34	2.30	1.39
	(0.24)	(0.31)	(0.28)	(0.27)
Observations	2307	2324	2354	2356
Adjusted R^2	0.03	0.02	0.05	-0.01

Notes. All models are estimated using ordinary least squares (OLS). Robust standard errors clustered by Sigungu are in parentheses. Variables not shown include EMD, age, and survey fixed effects along with individual covariates such as gender, employment status, marital status, religious attendance, subjective social rank and education level. * p<.1, ** p<.05, *** p<.01. One tailed p-values are reported for the hypotheses associated with trauma effects and stigma effects given their directional nature. Statistical significance is marked based on proposed hypotheses.