

A.1 Appendix Tables

Table A.1 Summary statistics

Variable	National Identity (Table 1)					Ethnic Identity (Table 3)					Presidential Election (Table 4)				
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
national identity	1.985	0.652	1	3	40238										
ethnic identity						1.62	0.639	1	3	42964					
vote for KMT (president)											0.552	0.497	0	1	35166
experience_before1920	0.002	0.047	0	1	40238	0.004	0.064	0	1	42964	0.003	0.051	0	1	35166
experience_born1921-30	0.019	0.136	0	1	40238	0.027	0.163	0	1	42964	0.024	0.154	0	1	35166
experience_born1931-40	0.07	0.256	0	1	40238	0.083	0.276	0	1	42964	0.076	0.266	0	1	35166
mainlander	0.125	0.331	0	1	40238	0.12	0.324	0	1	42964	0.118	0.323	0	1	35166
age	44.586	15.209	18	98	40238	45.453	15.703	18	98	42964	47.22	15.405	18	98	35166
age ²	2219	1485	324	9604	40238	2313	1558	324	9604	42964	2467	1569	324	9604	35166
township victimization	0.015	0.022	0	0.197	40238	0.015	0.022	0	0.197	42964	0.014	0.021	0	0.197	35166
hakka	0.12	0.325	0	1	40238	0.015	0.022	0	0.197	42964	0.129	0.335	0	1	35166
gender	0.52	0.5	0	1	40238	0.504	0.5	0	1	42964	0.512	0.5	0	1	35166
education	2.994	1.431	1	5	40238	2.885	1.456	1	5	42964	2.907	1.448	1	5	35166
married	0.696	0.46	0	1	40238	0.701	0.458	0	1	42964	0.726	0.446	0	1	35166

The statistics is based on Model (2) of each table.

Table A.2 Survey Source of Analyzed Observations

Survey Source	Model 1 (1990-2017)	Model 2 (1990-1999)	Model 3 (2000-2009)	Model 4 (2010-2017)
National Identity (Table 1)				
ES	7140	6160	980	0
TSCS	7184	4076	1474	1634
TE	25914	0	15997	9917
Total	40238	10236	18451	11551
Ethnic Identity (Table 3)				
ES	8019	6926	1093	0
TSCS	7972	4478	1749	1745
TE	26973	0	16620	10353
Total	42964	11404	19462	12098
Presidential Election (Table 4)				
ES	2641	1814	827	0
TSCS	5069	1464	3605	0
TE	27456	1344	22305	3807
Total	35166	4622	26737	3807

Table A.3 The Effect of the February 28 Incident in Historically Urban Districts (1990-2017)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	National Identity	Ethnic Identity	Presidential Election
experience_before1920	0.011 (0.234)	-0.692** (0.229)	-0.167 (0.527)
experience_born192130	-0.303** (0.112)	-0.575*** (0.102)	0.011 (0.249)
experience_born193140	-0.198*** (0.044)	-0.318*** (0.055)	0.020 (0.132)
mainlander	0.418*** (0.041)	0.859*** (0.024)	1.816*** (0.093)
age	-0.010* (0.005)	-0.012** (0.004)	0.033* (0.014)
age ²	0.000** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
township victimization	-0.089** (0.030)	-0.044 (0.044)	-0.240** (0.091)
hakka	0.144** (0.044)	0.206*** (0.047)	0.616*** (0.107)
gender	0.019 (0.022)	0.055** (0.021)	-0.206*** (0.044)
education	0.037*** (0.007)	0.097*** (0.011)	0.193*** (0.027)
married	0.071** (0.024)	0.012 (0.024)	0.128* (0.063)
constant			-1.581*** (0.449)
cut1	-0.498*** (0.125)	0.669*** (0.127)	
cut2	1.039*** (0.133)	2.413*** (0.131)	
<i>N</i>	14753	15324	11148

Note: Robust standard errors clustered at the township level in parentheses. + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table A.4 The Effect of the February 28 Incident on Ethnic Identity (1990-2017)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Election period	1990-2017	1990-1999	2000-2009	2010-2017
experience_before1920	-0.840*** (0.138)	-1.320*** (0.231)	-0.625*** (0.180)	-4.621*** (0.195)
experience_born192130	-0.558*** (0.069)	-0.705*** (0.121)	-0.503*** (0.085)	-0.363* (0.164)
experience_born193140	-0.240*** (0.036)	-0.236*** (0.060)	-0.207*** (0.058)	-0.177* (0.076)
mainlander	0.832*** (0.018)	0.800*** (0.036)	0.858*** (0.025)	0.830*** (0.037)
age	-0.005 (0.003)	-0.049*** (0.007)	-0.002 (0.005)	0.029*** (0.007)
age ²	0.000** (0.000)	0.001*** (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000* (0.000)
township victimization	-0.052 (0.036)	-0.061 (0.054)	-0.063 (0.043)	-0.038 (0.098)
hakka	0.311*** (0.029)	0.301*** (0.045)	0.333*** (0.037)	0.291*** (0.044)
gender	0.124*** (0.014)	0.106*** (0.027)	0.099*** (0.019)	0.198*** (0.024)
education	0.107*** (0.006)	0.074*** (0.011)	0.121*** (0.009)	0.127*** (0.012)
married	0.003 (0.016)	-0.015 (0.037)	0.021 (0.025)	0.000 (0.029)
cut1	0.903*** (0.086)	-0.765*** (0.148)	0.642*** (0.112)	1.877*** (0.166)
cut2	2.523*** (0.085)	0.678*** (0.144)	2.408*** (0.107)	3.517*** (0.168)
<i>N</i>	42964	11404	19462	12098

The reference group is non-mainlanders born after 1940. Variables not shown are survey-year fixed effects. Robust standard errors clustered at the township level in parentheses. + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table A.5 The Effect of the February 28 Incident on Presidential Election (1990-2017)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Election period	1990-2017	1990-1999	2000-2009	2010-2017
experience_before1920	-0.320 (0.252)	1.475 (0.903)	-1.137** (0.367)	0.000 (.)
experience_born192130	-0.235* (0.111)	0.569* (0.284)	-0.542*** (0.140)	-0.088 (0.761)
experience_born193140	-0.106 (0.066)	0.269 (0.175)	-0.207** (0.078)	-0.133 (0.218)
mainlander	1.732*** (0.074)	0.365** (0.132)	1.941*** (0.086)	1.720*** (0.208)
age	0.051*** (0.007)	0.081*** (0.021)	0.029*** (0.008)	0.071** (0.023)
age ²	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.001** (0.000)	-0.000** (0.000)	-0.000* (0.000)
township_victimization	-0.193+ (0.108)	-0.240 (0.158)	-0.155 (0.112)	-0.312 (0.306)
hakka	0.451*** (0.061)	0.207+ (0.109)	0.480*** (0.074)	0.506** (0.172)
gender	-0.178*** (0.028)	-0.212** (0.069)	-0.194*** (0.035)	-0.183* (0.084)
education	0.182*** (0.015)	-0.203*** (0.044)	0.208*** (0.016)	0.283*** (0.052)
married	0.081* (0.037)	0.342** (0.108)	0.088* (0.043)	-0.130 (0.117)
constant	-1.930*** (0.221)	-0.561 (0.454)	-1.054*** (0.252)	-3.201*** (0.657)
<i>N</i>	35166	4622	26737	3807

The reference group is non-mainlanders born after 1940. Variables not shown are survey-year fixed effects. Robust standard errors clustered at the township level in parentheses. + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table A.6 The Effect of the February 28 Incident on National Identity (without marriage)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Election period	1990-2017	1990-1999	2000-2009	2010-2017
experience_before1920	0.168 (0.128)	0.271 (0.200)	-0.321 (0.223)	0.152 (0.469)
experience_born192130	-0.316*** (0.055)	-0.166+ (0.095)	-0.416*** (0.087)	-0.249+ (0.144)
experience_born193140	-0.297*** (0.027)	-0.213*** (0.051)	-0.249*** (0.042)	-0.263*** (0.054)
mainlander	0.476*** (0.017)	0.244*** (0.038)	0.600*** (0.027)	0.521*** (0.018)
age	0.004* (0.002)	-0.025*** (0.006)	-0.006 (0.004)	0.028*** (0.003)
age ²	0.000 (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
township victimization	-0.063 (0.039)	-0.112 (0.078)	-0.035 (0.051)	-0.071 (0.045)
hakka	0.181*** (0.017)	0.044 (0.038)	0.274*** (0.030)	0.194*** (0.019)
gender	0.038*** (0.008)	-0.012 (0.022)	0.002 (0.013)	0.109*** (0.012)
education	0.026*** (0.004)	0.022* (0.009)	0.036*** (0.007)	0.020*** (0.006)
cut1	0.066 (0.071)	-1.103*** (0.124)	-0.628*** (0.094)	0.646*** (0.090)
cut2	1.799*** (0.074)	0.069 (0.119)	1.178*** (0.095)	2.603*** (0.092)
<i>N</i>	82110	16585	27990	37535

The reference group is non-mainlanders born after 1940.

Variables not shown are survey-year fixed effects.

Robust standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.7 The Effect of the February 28 Incident on Ethnic Identity (without marriage)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Election period	1990-2017	1990-1999	2000-2009	2010-2017
experience_before1920	-0.689*** (0.096)	-1.078*** (0.140)	-0.477** (0.177)	-0.816 (0.557)
experience_born192130	-0.473*** (0.049)	-0.544*** (0.082)	-0.447*** (0.080)	-0.287** (0.110)
experience_born193140	-0.245*** (0.027)	-0.208*** (0.045)	-0.191*** (0.052)	-0.151** (0.054)
mainlander	0.811*** (0.014)	0.776*** (0.031)	0.817*** (0.022)	0.816*** (0.020)
township victimization	-0.035 (0.032)	-0.072 (0.060)	-0.013 (0.039)	-0.044 (0.051)
age	0.009*** (0.002)	-0.038*** (0.005)	0.005 (0.004)	0.036*** (0.004)
age ²	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
hakka	0.305*** (0.020)	0.327*** (0.036)	0.318*** (0.029)	0.287*** (0.023)
gender	0.118*** (0.009)	0.120*** (0.020)	0.086*** (0.015)	0.150*** (0.013)
education	0.100*** (0.006)	0.082*** (0.009)	0.118*** (0.009)	0.092*** (0.007)
cut1	0.392*** (0.076)	-0.498*** (0.108)	0.792*** (0.098)	1.062*** (0.101)
cut2	1.998*** (0.076)	0.950*** (0.104)	2.560*** (0.093)	2.664*** (0.102)
<i>N</i>	86596	18246	29625	38725

The reference group is non-mainlanders born after 1940.

Variables not shown are survey-year fixed effects.

Robust standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.8 The Effect of the February 28 Incident on Presidential Elections (without marriage)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Election period	1990-2017	1990-1999	2000-2009	2010-2017
experience_before1920	-0.447* (0.224)	0.979+ (0.539)	-1.099** (0.352)	0.000 (.)
experience_born192130	-0.279** (0.095)	0.431+ (0.250)	-0.455*** (0.129)	0.396 (0.462)
experience_born193140	-0.107* (0.051)	0.095 (0.135)	-0.155* (0.066)	0.176 (0.129)
mainlander	1.665*** (0.058)	0.080 (0.142)	1.902*** (0.078)	1.813*** (0.080)
age	0.052*** (0.005)	0.077*** (0.020)	0.039*** (0.007)	0.064*** (0.009)
age ²	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
township victimization	-0.106 (0.122)	-0.290+ (0.166)	-0.111 (0.123)	-0.064 (0.186)
hakka	0.476*** (0.050)	0.121 (0.093)	0.512*** (0.065)	0.492*** (0.069)
gender	-0.196*** (0.020)	-0.145* (0.064)	-0.202*** (0.028)	-0.223*** (0.033)
education	0.167*** (0.012)	-0.101* (0.045)	0.193*** (0.016)	0.178*** (0.018)
constant	-2.700*** (0.165)	-0.453 (0.460)	-1.168*** (0.239)	-3.165*** (0.280)
<i>N</i>	60622	5589	38422	16611

The reference group is non-mainlanders born after 1940.

Variables not shown are survey-year fixed effects.

Robust standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.9 The Effect of the February 28 Incident in Historical Rural Districts (1990-2017)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	National Identity	Ethnic Identity	Presidential Election
experience_before1920	0.103 (0.253)	-0.824*** (0.170)	-0.311 (0.295)
experience_born192130	-0.364*** (0.088)	-0.509*** (0.090)	-0.282* (0.125)
experience_born193140	-0.296*** (0.053)	-0.197*** (0.046)	-0.150* (0.076)
mainlander	0.521*** (0.028)	0.832*** (0.029)	1.706*** (0.110)
age	-0.002 (0.004)	0.001 (0.004)	0.059*** (0.009)
age ²	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)
township victimization	-0.032 (0.062)	-0.012 (0.068)	0.176 (0.230)
hakka	0.175*** (0.028)	0.324*** (0.033)	0.387*** (0.071)
gender	0.031+ (0.017)	0.157*** (0.017)	-0.176*** (0.035)
education	0.032*** (0.007)	0.119*** (0.008)	0.190*** (0.018)
married	-0.035 (0.022)	-0.004 (0.022)	0.061 (0.046)
constant			-2.180*** (0.251)
cut1	-0.394*** (0.098)	1.083*** (0.109)	
cut2	1.339*** (0.101)	2.641*** (0.109)	
<i>N</i>	25485	27640	24018

The reference group is non-mainlanders born after 1940.

Variables not shown are survey-year fixed effects.

Robust standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.10 HAPC Analysis: The Effect of the February 28 Incident on National Identity (1990-2017)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Election period	1990-2017	1990-1999	2000-2009	2010-2017
experience_before1920	-0.109 (0.165)	0.266 (0.231)	-0.692** (0.252)	-0.243 (0.559)
experience_born192130	-0.613*** (0.070)	-0.251* (0.104)	-0.869*** (0.106)	-0.792*** (0.172)
experience_born193140	-0.355*** (0.063)	-0.044 (0.101)	-0.614*** (0.096)	-0.502*** (0.099)
mainlander	0.423*** (0.020)	0.160*** (0.039)	0.554*** (0.029)	0.506*** (0.037)
cohort_trend	-0.143*** (0.026)	-0.006 (0.051)	-0.151*** (0.042)	-0.053 (0.039)
age	-0.001 (0.006)	-0.009 (0.012)	-0.013 (0.010)	0.007 (0.008)
age ²	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
township_victimization	-0.081** (0.026)	-0.136* (0.055)	-0.071* (0.036)	-0.051 (0.054)
hakka	0.164*** (0.018)	0.009 (0.034)	0.250*** (0.027)	0.188*** (0.033)
gender	0.027* (0.011)	-0.000 (0.023)	-0.006 (0.017)	0.115*** (0.022)
education	0.037*** (0.005)	0.043*** (0.009)	0.031*** (0.007)	0.054*** (0.009)
married	-0.005 (0.016)	-0.005 (0.033)	-0.008 (0.024)	-0.012 (0.027)
cut1	-1.599*** (0.230)	-0.944* (0.416)	-1.973*** (0.350)	-0.483 (0.429)
cut2	0.064 (0.230)	0.450 (0.416)	-0.295 (0.350)	1.456*** (0.429)
var(constant[cohort])	0.013 (0.008)	0.000 (0.000)	0.014 (0.013)	0.000 (0.000)
var(constant[survey_year])	0.049*** (0.008)	0.075** (0.026)	0.042*** (0.011)	0.023** (0.007)
<i>N</i>	40238	10236	18451	11551

Note: We employ the mixed effect ordered probit (*meoprobit* in Stata). + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table A.11 HAPC Analysis: The Effect of the February 28 Incident on Ethnic Identity (1990-2017)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Election period	1990-2017	1990-1999	2000-2009	2010-2017
experience_before1920	-1.288*** (0.162)	-1.274*** (0.189)	-1.001*** (0.253)	-7.052 (22223.712)
experience_born192130	-0.998*** (0.066)	-0.920*** (0.099)	-0.937*** (0.098)	-1.041*** (0.181)
experience_born193140	-0.548*** (0.065)	-0.417*** (0.094)	-0.539*** (0.093)	-0.568*** (0.131)
mainlander	0.752*** (0.020)	0.747*** (0.038)	0.785*** (0.029)	0.762*** (0.037)
cohort_trend	-0.254*** (0.036)	-0.127** (0.045)	-0.163*** (0.048)	-0.122* (0.048)
age	0.013* (0.006)	-0.034** (0.011)	0.018+ (0.010)	0.027* (0.012)
age ²	-0.000*** (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)	-0.000+ (0.000)	-0.000+ (0.000)
township_victimization	-0.049+ (0.027)	-0.053 (0.053)	-0.063+ (0.037)	-0.023 (0.056)
hakka	0.318*** (0.018)	0.303*** (0.032)	0.341*** (0.027)	0.291*** (0.033)
gender	0.121*** (0.012)	0.102*** (0.022)	0.093*** (0.017)	0.191*** (0.023)
education	0.103*** (0.005)	0.076*** (0.009)	0.116*** (0.007)	0.122*** (0.010)
married	-0.020 (0.016)	-0.040 (0.031)	-0.013 (0.024)	-0.041 (0.028)
cut1	-1.005*** (0.278)	-1.637*** (0.401)	-0.268 (0.359)	0.783+ (0.457)
cut2	0.623* (0.278)	-0.192 (0.401)	1.505*** (0.359)	2.433*** (0.458)
var(constant[cohort])	0.039+ (0.023)	0.000 (0.000)	0.037 (0.025)	0.032 (0.023)
var(constant[survey_year])	0.077*** (0.013)	0.045** (0.015)	0.012*** (0.004)	0.004 (0.003)
<i>N</i>	42964	11404	19462	12098

Note: We employ the mixed effect ordered probit (*meoprobit* in Stata). + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table A.12 HAPC Analysis: The Effect of the February 28 Incident on Presidential Election (1990-2017)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Election period	1990-2017	1990-1999	2000-2009	2010-2017
experience_before1920	-0.642* (0.288)	0.683 (0.505)	-1.250*** (0.351)	0.000 (.)
experience_born192130	-1.004*** (0.126)	-0.020 (0.245)	-1.153*** (0.142)	-0.363 (0.377)
experience_born193140	-0.553*** (0.110)	0.041 (0.226)	-0.562*** (0.126)	-0.270 (0.188)
mainlander	0.935*** (0.028)	0.167* (0.079)	1.066*** (0.032)	0.986*** (0.084)
cohort_trend	-0.152** (0.046)	0.032 (0.102)	-0.069 (0.055)	-0.048 (0.077)
age	0.058*** (0.008)	0.082*** (0.022)	0.036*** (0.008)	0.018 (0.017)
age ²	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.001** (0.000)	-0.000** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
township_victimization	-0.104** (0.034)	-0.158+ (0.094)	-0.087* (0.039)	-0.190+ (0.102)
hakka	0.284*** (0.021)	0.125* (0.064)	0.299*** (0.024)	0.316*** (0.065)
gender	-0.114*** (0.014)	-0.137** (0.044)	-0.123*** (0.016)	-0.116** (0.043)
education	0.107*** (0.006)	-0.112*** (0.020)	0.131*** (0.007)	0.173*** (0.018)
married	0.021 (0.019)	0.167** (0.062)	0.017 (0.022)	-0.080 (0.053)
constant	-0.632+ (0.347)	-1.162 (0.821)	-1.190** (0.409)	-0.846 (0.918)
/				
var(constant[cohort])	0.053 (0.036)	0.000 (0.000)	0.088 (0.056)	0.000 (0.000)
var(constant[survey_year])	0.173*** (0.031)	0.222** (0.071)	0.034** (0.011)	0.020+ (0.011)
N	35166	4622	26737	3807

Note: We employ the mixed effect probit (*meprobit* in Stata). + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table A.13 The Effect of the February 28 Incident (1990-2017, Mainlanders Excluded)

	(1) National Identity	(2) Ethnic Identity	(3) Presidential Election
experience_before1920	0.427* (0.200)	-0.340* (0.149)	0.217 (0.270)
experience_born192130	-0.121+ (0.070)	-0.241*** (0.069)	0.115 (0.121)
experience_born193140	-0.138*** (0.042)	-0.052 (0.038)	0.110 (0.073)
age	0.008* (0.004)	0.014*** (0.004)	0.076*** (0.009)
age ²	-0.000* (0.000)	-0.000** (0.000)	-0.001*** (0.000)
township_victimization	-0.084** (0.032)	-0.050 (0.037)	-0.174 (0.120)
hakka	0.161*** (0.025)	0.309*** (0.028)	0.456*** (0.061)
gender	0.011 (0.015)	0.117*** (0.015)	-0.203*** (0.030)
education	0.039*** (0.005)	0.110*** (0.007)	0.170*** (0.016)
married	-0.002 (0.019)	-0.010 (0.018)	0.053 (0.039)
constant			-2.291*** (0.235)
cut1	-0.227** (0.087)	1.175*** (0.089)	
cut2	1.424*** (0.091)	2.751*** (0.091)	
<i>N</i>	35199	37828	31018

Robust standard errors in parentheses
+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.14 The Effect of the February 28 Incident on Electoral Behavior and Identity (Instrumental Variable)

	(1) National Identity	(2) Ethnic Identity	(3) Presidential Election
township victimization	-3.187*** (0.486)	-3.381*** (0.432)	-6.087*** (0.757)
experience_before1920	-0.023 (0.110)	-0.665*** (0.115)	-0.657** (0.216)
experience_born1921-30	-0.307*** (0.051)	-0.441*** (0.061)	-0.388*** (0.085)
experience_born1931-40	-0.232*** (0.032)	-0.201*** (0.030)	-0.205*** (0.050)
age	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	0.030*** (0.005)
age ²	0.000** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
mainlander	0.302*** (0.055)	0.531*** (0.087)	0.958*** (0.035)
hakka	0.038 (0.033)	0.130** (0.044)	0.153*** (0.033)
gender	0.007 (0.011)	0.073*** (0.017)	-0.146*** (0.020)
education	0.059*** (0.004)	0.108*** (0.007)	0.188*** (0.013)
married	0.023+ (0.014)	0.017 (0.014)	0.076** (0.026)
constant			-0.628*** (0.135)
lnsig_1 constant	-1.548*** (0.003)	-1.548*** (0.003)	
atanrho_12 constant	0.804*** (0.189)	0.889*** (0.187)	
cut_2.1 constant	-0.644*** (0.064)	0.294* (0.143)	
cut_2.2 constant	0.591*** (0.176)	1.433*** (0.289)	
<i>N</i>	47862	47862	35166

The reference group is non-mainlanders born after 1940.

Variables not shown are survey-year fixed effects.

Robust standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.15 The Effect of the February 28 Incident in Historical Urban Districts (1990-2017, Periods Divided)

Election period	(1) 1990-2017	(2) 1990-1999	(3) 2000-2009	(4) 2010-2017
National Identity				
experience_before1920	0.011 (0.234)	1.057*** (0.264)	-1.015** (0.360)	0.000 (.)
experience_born192130	-0.303** (0.112)	0.169 (0.181)	-0.538** (0.194)	-0.465 (0.555)
experience_born193140	-0.198*** (0.044)	-0.010 (0.092)	-0.228** (0.081)	-0.382*** (0.115)
township victimization	-0.089** (0.030)	-0.231* (0.093)	-0.062+ (0.036)	-0.092+ (0.049)
<i>N</i>	14753	3437	7186	4130
Ethnic Identity				
experience_before1920	-0.692** (0.229)	-0.660* (0.285)	-1.170** (0.393)	-4.737*** (0.304)
experience_born192130	-0.575*** (0.102)	-0.575** (0.216)	-0.609*** (0.110)	-0.646 (0.408)
experience_born193140	-0.318*** (0.055)	-0.342*** (0.101)	-0.348*** (0.096)	-0.106 (0.130)
township victimization	-0.044 (0.044)	-0.073 (0.074)	-0.005 (0.052)	-0.174** (0.062)
<i>N</i>	15324	3637	7487	4200
Presidential Election				
experience_before1920	-0.167 (0.527)	0.282 (1.123)	-0.699 (0.743)	0.000 (.)
experience_born192130	0.011 (0.249)	0.315 (0.877)	-0.186 (0.273)	-0.230 (1.225)
experience_born193140	0.020 (0.132)	-0.311 (0.353)	0.013 (0.147)	0.066 (0.223)
township victimization	-0.240** (0.091)	-0.347* (0.173)	-0.169 (0.109)	-0.550* (0.233)
<i>N</i>	11148	1204	8480	1464

The reference group is non-mainlanders born after 1940.

Variables not shown are survey-year fixed effects.

Robust standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.16 Inclusion of Post1970 Birth Cohort

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	National Identity				Ethnic Identity				Presidential Election			
	1990-2017	1990-1999	2000-2009	2010-2017	1990-2017	1990-1999	2000-2009	2010-2017	1990-2017	1990-1999	2000-2009	2010-2017
Experience_before1920	0.067 (0.181)	0.382 (0.359)	-0.488* (0.233)	0.241 (0.643)	-0.826*** (0.137)	-1.426*** (0.236)	-0.678*** (0.178)	-4.614*** (0.195)	-0.316 (0.251)	1.422 (0.876)	-1.167** (0.368)	0.000 (.)
Experience_born192130	-0.338*** (0.066)	-0.209 (0.138)	-0.473*** (0.092)	-0.413* (0.202)	-0.538*** (0.069)	-0.728*** (0.123)	-0.516*** (0.085)	-0.366* (0.165)	-0.224* (0.111)	0.555* (0.280)	-0.545*** (0.140)	-0.076 (0.756)
Experience_born193140	-0.259*** (0.038)	-0.190* (0.077)	-0.285*** (0.049)	-0.319*** (0.074)	-0.222*** (0.037)	-0.226*** (0.060)	-0.201*** (0.058)	-0.186* (0.077)	-0.095 (0.065)	0.271 (0.175)	-0.196* (0.079)	-0.113 (0.223)
Post_1970	-0.060* (0.026)	-0.076 (0.059)	-0.040 (0.041)	-0.034 (0.046)	-0.091** (0.030)	-0.238*** (0.062)	-0.125** (0.043)	0.083 (0.056)	-0.072 (0.060)	-0.070 (0.161)	-0.143* (0.069)	-0.167 (0.194)
Mainlander	0.473*** (0.026)	0.177*** (0.048)	0.619*** (0.033)	0.551*** (0.033)	0.832*** (0.019)	0.789*** (0.036)	0.853*** (0.025)	0.831*** (0.037)	1.731*** (0.074)	0.358** (0.133)	1.937*** (0.087)	1.719*** (0.210)
Age	-0.010* (0.004)	-0.034** (0.011)	-0.016** (0.006)	0.016* (0.008)	-0.011** (0.004)	-0.066*** (0.008)	-0.014* (0.007)	0.036*** (0.008)	0.045*** (0.009)	0.074** (0.024)	0.016 (0.011)	0.057+ (0.030)
Age2	0.000** (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.001*** (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)	-0.000** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.001** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Township victimization	-0.078** (0.030)	-0.129* (0.052)	-0.067+ (0.039)	-0.056 (0.047)	-0.054 (0.036)	-0.058 (0.054)	-0.064 (0.043)	-0.037 (0.099)	-0.194+ (0.108)	-0.239 (0.158)	-0.158 (0.111)	-0.311 (0.304)
Hakka	0.162*** (0.025)	0.013 (0.040)	0.245*** (0.039)	0.190*** (0.039)	0.311*** (0.029)	0.304*** (0.045)	0.333*** (0.036)	0.291*** (0.044)	0.451*** (0.061)	0.208+ (0.109)	0.479*** (0.074)	0.506** (0.173)
Gender	0.027* (0.013)	0.010 (0.028)	-0.004 (0.017)	0.114*** (0.024)	0.125*** (0.014)	0.107*** (0.027)	0.099*** (0.019)	0.197*** (0.024)	-0.177*** (0.028)	-0.214** (0.068)	-0.194*** (0.035)	-0.182* (0.083)
education	0.039*** (0.005)	0.034** (0.012)	0.036*** (0.008)	0.058*** (0.010)	0.108*** (0.006)	0.073*** (0.011)	0.120*** (0.009)	0.126*** (0.012)	0.182*** (0.015)	-0.202*** (0.044)	0.209*** (0.016)	0.284*** (0.052)
Married	0.008 (0.018)	0.008 (0.041)	0.016 (0.024)	0.002 (0.031)	-0.003 (0.017)	-0.036 (0.038)	0.016 (0.025)	-0.002 (0.029)	0.078* (0.037)	0.333** (0.111)	0.084* (0.043)	-0.120 (0.120)
.cons									-1.721*** (0.271)	-0.375 (0.580)	-0.600+ (0.333)	-2.691** (0.879)
cut1	-0.592*** (0.112)	-1.437*** (0.239)	-0.822*** (0.164)	0.151 (0.190)	0.674*** (0.125)	-1.232*** (0.203)	0.266 (0.179)	2.119*** (0.245)				
cut2	1.064*** (0.118)	-0.049 (0.216)	0.850*** (0.164)	2.079*** (0.192)	2.294*** (0.124)	0.212 (0.198)	2.033*** (0.178)	3.759*** (0.247)				
<i>N</i>	40238	10236	18451	11551	42964	11404	19462	12098	35166	4622	26737	3807

Standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

A.2 Appendix Figures

Figure A.1: Average Marginal Effects of Cohorts

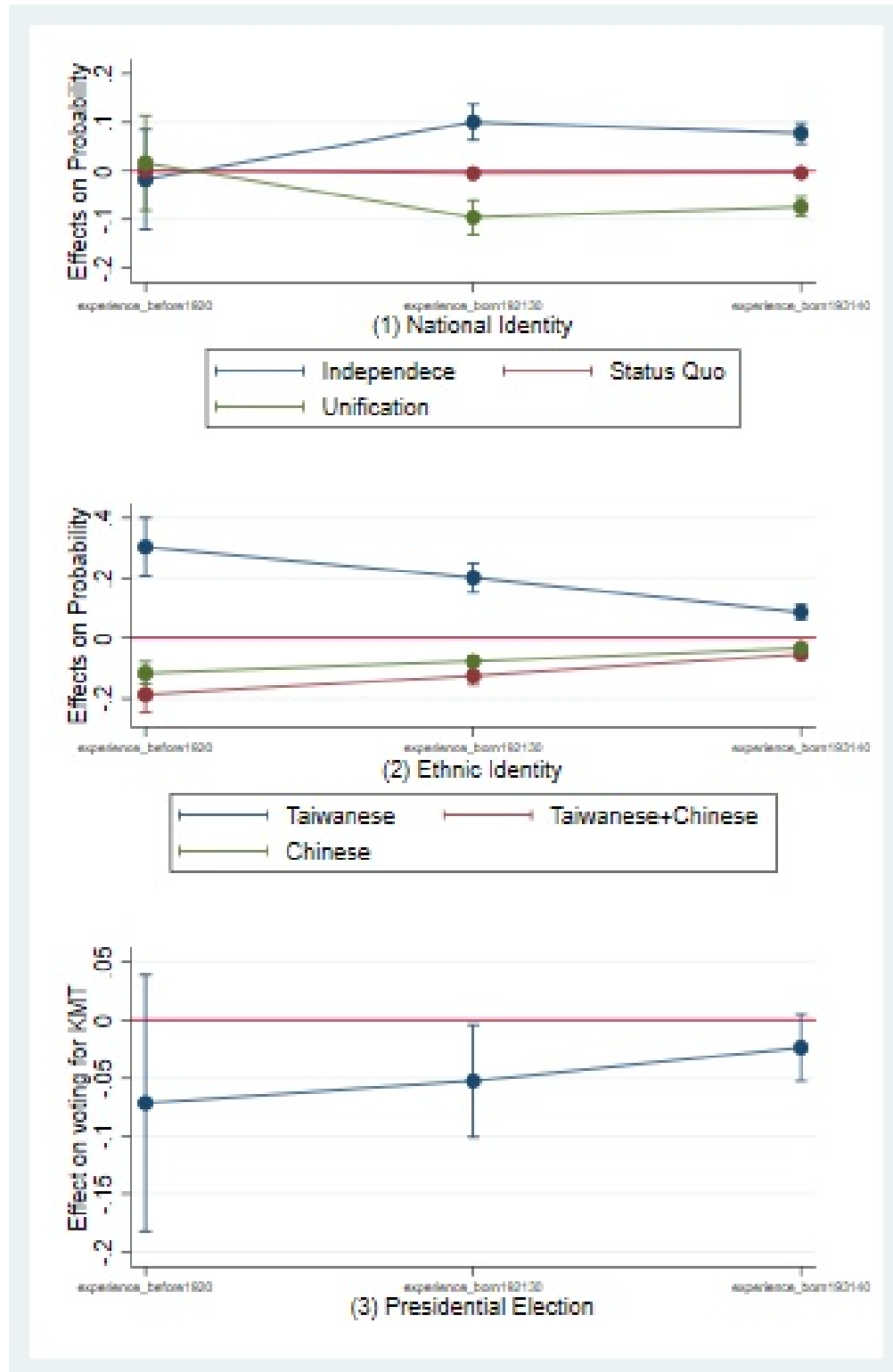


Figure A.2: Average Marginal Effects of Township Victimization on National Identity

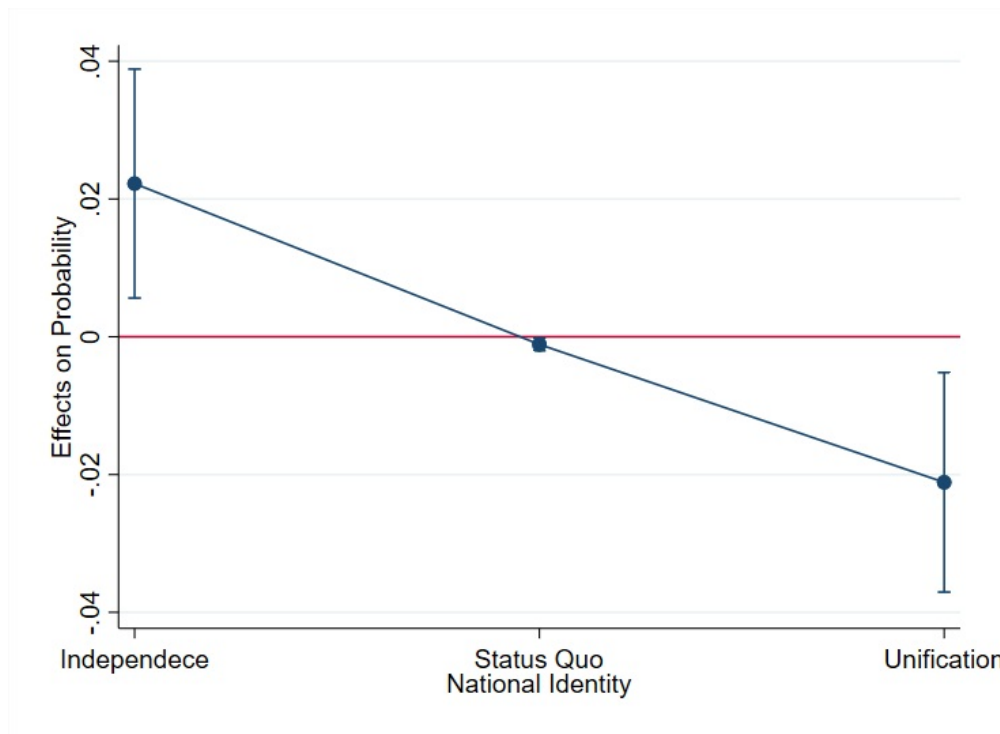
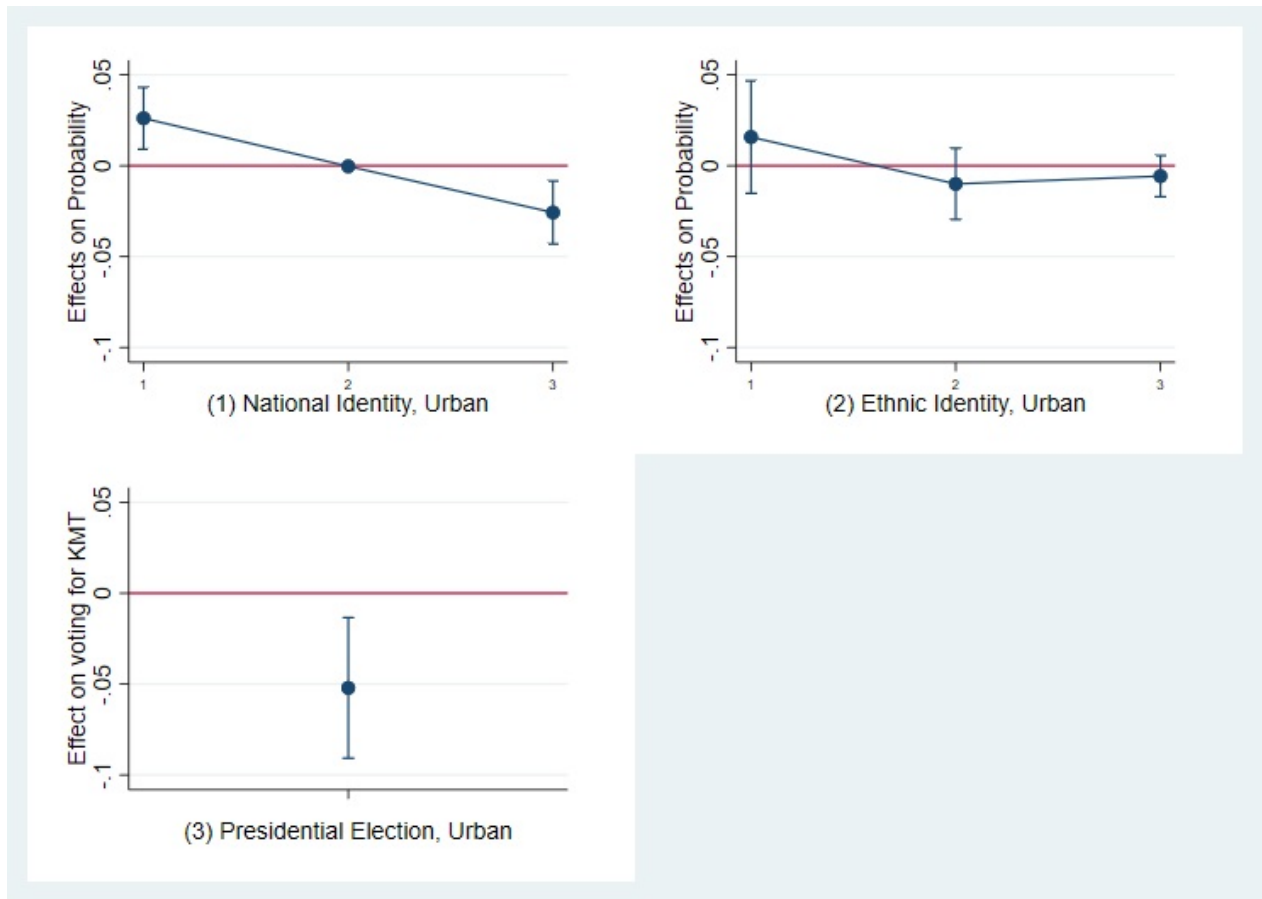


Figure A.3: Average Marginal Effects of Township Victimization in Historically Urban Districts



A.3 The detailed process of the township victimization data collection

The exact number of township victimization in the aftermath of the February 28 Incident remains unknown, for three principal reasons. First, although household registration was conducted reasonably well during the Japanese colonial period, the quality of the records became increasingly difficult to maintain due to the shortage of skilled bureaucrats after 1940. When the KMT government took over control of Taiwan in late 1945, it lacked well-trained government workers to continue the build-up of a reliable household registration system (Chen 1992). Second, as the island changed hands from a Japanese administration to a Chinese one, an important demographic transformation took place. On the one hand, many Japanese residing in Taiwan during the colonial period moved back to their homeland after the end of the war. On the other, a number of Taiwanese previously living in the Mainland moved back to the island (Chen 1992). This migration complicates the estimation. Third, the KMT government invested considerable effort in downplaying the number of casualties, making a bulk of government documents related to the Incident disappear. Consequently, estimating the total figure or obtaining a name list of township victimization is hardly possible.

Despite these obstacles, two sources have facilitated the collection of data on the township victimization. The first and main source of current estimates consists of a directory of township victimization published by the 228 Memorial Foundation. Taiwan's legislature passed a law in 1995 to compensate the township victimization of the Incident, establishing a foundation to accept applications for compensation submitted by the township victimization or their families. By June 2015, 2,228 cases have been compensated and listed in the 228 Memorial Directory published by the Foundation. While many of these township victimization died during the Incident, others suffered from various degrees of injuries or repression, including imprisonment for a certain period. This implies that only a portion of the township victimization was included in the directory and that sampling biases may exist. For example, those township victimization without children or younger siblings are less likely to apply for compensation more than half a century later. In fact, as mentioned above, a number of casualties were teenagers or senior high school students who helped maintain or restore public order before the KMT reinforcements arrived. With limited information about the characteristics of township victimization, it is unclear whether the township victimization or their families living in urban regions are more likely to apply. Between the list of township victimization from the first and second source, the latter consists of unsystematically compiled documents from Taiwan's Garrison Command, the primary government office that arrested, imprisoned, and prosecuted many township victimization in the aftermath of the Incident. After comparing the two, we did not find any obvious patterns indicating that a victim listed by the second source is excluded from the first source. The potential sampling biases can perhaps be better addressed once additional confidential files related to the Incident are declassified which could be mandated by a legislative proposal being currently considered.

The second source of data is the February 28th Data Books published by Academia Sinica's Institute of Modern History, specifically, the February 28 Data Books Volumes 4, 5, and 6, which consists of unsystematically compiled documents from Taiwan's Garrison

Command, the primary government office that arrested, prisoned, and prosecuted many township victimization in the aftermath of the Incident. They provide information of some township victimization who were not included in the 228 Memorial Directory.

It is important to note that while our research design requires information of a victim's township, not every case listed in these two sources meets our sample requirement; among the 2,228 cases included in the Directory, it provides township information only for 1,006 township victimization. We were able to find township details for another 363 township victimization from additional publications about the Incident such as books, victim biographies, or internet websites built by township victimization' families and other materials. Similarly, we were able to find township information for another 55 township victimization from our second victim dataset source. In total, we were able to compile a dataset of 1,424 cases with township information. It is worth noting that a potential measurement error issue exists in the geographic identifier. It is possible that one's registered household address is different from the place of attachment or origin, such as one's address of long-time residence or hometown.

Using them, we then counted the number of sampled township victimization for each town, displayed in Figure 1, and divided it by each town's population in 1956 to obtain the share of sampled township victimization during the February 28 Incident in each town's total population. Ideally, we want to divide it by each town's population in 1947. However, the earliest census data, the only information source for each town's population in Taiwan, was conducted in 1956. Furthermore, Taipei city was substantially redistricted in 1990, so we reasonably infer the population in 1956 for six districts (zip codes: 103, 105, 110, 106, 100, and 108). We assume that this sample was largely randomly selected from a representative population of township victimization and that this rate is highly correlated with the actual rate of the Incident's township victimization in each town. Based on the process used for identifying township victimization, it is not conceivable that township victimization from certain towns or counties are more likely to be compensated than those from others. Similarly, it is quite unlikely that information about a victim's township would have been included or omitted for non-random reasons.

Finally, we match each survey respondent's township information with the rate of sampled township victimization and construct our explanatory variable for the geographic channel by interacting this with *Non-mainlander*, a dummy variable coded 1 if the respondent is not a mainlander and 0 otherwise. As explained in the main text, it is necessary to interact the rate of sampled township victimization with non-mainlander because most of the mainlanders did not experience and do not have relatives or friends having experienced the Incident.

References

Chen, Zheng-Kuan. 1992. "Statistical Inference over the number of Casualties during the February 28 Incident." *Working paper* .