Online appendix for

Violence, co-optation, and postwar voting in Guatemala

Contents

A   Territorial changes in municipalities

A 'minimum denomination' of municipalities was built, by joining together those municipalities where changes took place, which consisted mainly of splits. Thus, if a new municipality was formed out of a bigger one, the two are merged again in the dataset, so as to ensure compatibility between data sources across time. In particular, the dataset contains observations that range from 1973 to 2015, during which time there has been 15 territorial changes at the local level. Although one variable goes further back in time, namely rebel activity before 1978, only two territorial changes took place before that date: the formation of Melchor de Mencos (1962) and Poptún (1966).Given that no rebel activity was recorded in the whole territory of Petén before 1971, these two changes were not implemented. Table A1 below shows the municipalities that were formed, along with the data and the parent municipality they are merged to in the dataset.

Table A1: Municipality changes in Guatemala, 1973–2015

Department	New municipality	Date	Parent municipality
Alta Verapaz	Fray Bartolomé de las Casas	1980	Santa María Cahabón
Alta Verapaz	La Tinta	1999	Panzás
Alta Verapaz	Raxruhá	2008	Chisec
Escuintla	Nueva Concepción	1974	Tiquisate
Escuintla	Sipacate	2015	La Gomera
Huehuetenango	Unión Cantinil	2005	Chiantla
Peten	El Chal	2014	Dolores
Peten	Las Cruces	2011	La Libertad
Quiche	Chicamán	1984	Uspantán
Quiche	Ixcán	1985	Uspantán
Quiche	Pachalúm	1986	Joyabaj
San Marcos	La Blanca	2014	Ocós
Suchitepequez	San Jose La Maquiná	2014	Cuyotenango
Zacapa	San Jorge	2014	Zacapa

B Summary statistics

Table

Figure

Table A2: Summary statistics for the covariates

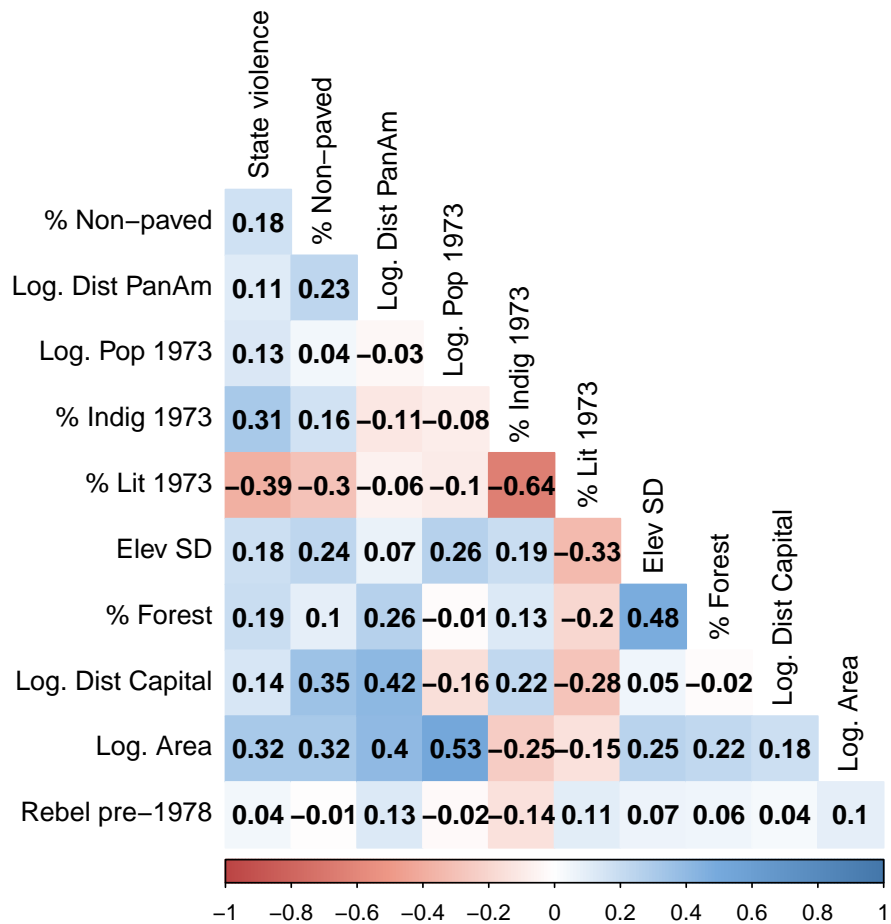| Variable	Min	Q1	Median	Mean	Q3	Max
Log. State killings / 1000hab	0	0	0	0.63	0.66	5.36
% Non-paved roads	0	0.73	0.84	0.8	1	1
Log. Distance to PanAm Hwy	0	1.86	2.95	2.64	3.65	5.62
Log. Population 1973	6.34	8.59	9.16	9.17	9.75	13.46
% Indigenous 1973	0	0.11	0.61	0.52	0.9	1
% Literate 1973	0.04	0.24	0.39	0.38	0.5	0.89
Elevation SD	4.38	140.17	224.15	262.36	351.29	764.9
% Forest cover	0	0.29	0.54	0.52	0.74	0.99
Log. distance to capital	0	3.94	4.47	4.32	4.86	5.61
Log. Area	1.53	4.06	4.88	4.88	5.52	9.01

Figure A1: Correlation matrix among covariates

C   Accessibility and violence against civilians

Table A3 shows the results of linear models explaining wartime violence by the state. Table A4

Models in the first two columns run the analyses for the whole sample, including department fixed effects in column 2. Columns 3 and 4 show equivalent models but restricting the sample to only the most affected departments.

State violence does not have any relevant relationship with the two proxy variables used as interactions. If anything, it has a positive relationship with the distance to the Pan-American Highway in column 2. Regarding the other variables, state violence is mainly explained by the share of indigenous population in each municipality and by its size. When limiting the sample to the most affected departments and including fixed effects, the share of indigenous population stops being significant.

Table A6 shows the results for models equivalent to the previous ones but using rebel violence as the dependent variable. Table A5

Although patterns of rebel violence should not be as relevant to the argument advanced here, it is important to check whether any of the two accessibility proxies is related to local wartime activity.

Again, none of the accessibility proxies shows any relationship to rebel violence. Rebel violence is also poorly explained by the rest of the variables. Perhaps because of the relatively low incidence of violence by the rebels, no robust relationship is found.

The results show that the two accessibility variables used as proxies for the level of exposure to prewar mobilization are not related to the intensity of the conflict in each municipality.

Table A3: Determinants of wartime violence by the state

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	−0.250	1.208**	−0.196	−0.185
	(0.261)	(0.394)	(0.915)	(1.217)
% Roads non-paved	0.900**	−0.139	−0.169	−0.328
	(0.314)	(0.263)	(0.309)	(0.273)
Log. Distance to Pan-Am Hwy	0.062	0.089	−0.026	0.101^+
	(0.046)	(0.056)	(0.049)	(0.058)
Log. Population 1973			−0.110	0.030
			(0.085)	(0.085)
% Indigenous 1973			1.130***	0.487^+
			(0.229)	(0.262)
% Literate 1973			-0.901^+	0.177
			(0.485)	(0.489)
Elevation SD			−0.000	−0.000
			(0.000)	(0.000)
Forest cover			0.211	0.216
			(0.274)	(0.253)
Log. Dist to capital			−0.071	−0.208
			(0.094)	(0.201)
Log. Area			0.422***	0.271**
			(0.070)	(0.083)
Rebel violence pre-78			2.053	2.080
			(1.553)	(1.300)
Department FE	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	325	325	325	325
R^2	0.037	0.529	0.285	0.575
Adjusted R^2	0.031	0.493	0.262	0.530

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. Department FEs not shown.

Table A4: Determinants of wartime violence by the state (most affected departments)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	1.524	1.008	−3.137	−3.999
	(1.059)	(1.159)	(2.926)	(4.097)
% Roads non-paved	−0.003	−0.783	0.114	−0.947
	(1.256)	(1.386)	(1.461)	(1.382)
Log. Distance to Pan-Am Hwy	0.091	0.266	0.043	0.190
	(0.099)	(0.171)	(0.135)	(0.169)
Log. Population 1973			0.473$^+$	0.333
			(0.257)	(0.252)
% Indigenous 1973			0.783	1.069
			(0.828)	(0.855)
% Literate 1973			−1.052	1.279
			(1.383)	(1.583)
Elevation SD			−0.001	−0.002
			(0.001)	(0.001)
Forest cover			−1.154	0.422
			(0.720)	(0.741)
Log. Dist to capital			−0.206	−0.511
			(0.302)	(0.748)
Log. Area			0.373$^+$	0.601**
			(0.198)	(0.212)
Rebel violence pre-78			5.043	3.329
			(6.798)	(6.325)
Department FE	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	99	99	99	99
R^2	0.010	0.242	0.234	0.412
Adjusted R^2	-0.010	0.183	0.147	0.305

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. Department FEs not shown. Most affected departments include Huehuetenango, Chimaltenango, Quiché, Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz, and Petén.

Table A5: Determinants of wartime violence by the rebels (most affected departments)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	0.019	−0.090	0.309	−0.592
	(0.188)	(0.231)	(0.567)	(0.882)
% Roads non-paved	−0.004	0.052	−0.138	−0.172
	(0.223)	(0.276)	(0.283)	(0.298)
Log. Distance to Pan-Am Hwy	0.017	0.009	−0.008	−0.018
	(0.018)	(0.034)	(0.026)	(0.036)
Log. Population 1973			−0.045	−0.029
			(0.050)	(0.054)
% Indigenous 1973			0.045	0.065
			(0.160)	(0.184)
% Literate 1973			−0.108	−0.035
			(0.268)	(0.341)
Elevation SD			0.000	0.000
			(0.000)	(0.000)
Forest cover			−0.056	0.012
			(0.139)	(0.160)
Log. Dist to capital			−0.025	0.133
			(0.058)	(0.161)
Log. Area			0.067^{+}	0.056
			(0.038)	(0.046)
Rebel violence pre-78			1.829	1.367
			(1.317)	(1.362)
Department FE	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	99	99	99	99
R^2	0.011	0.050	0.091	0.137
Adjusted R^2	-0.010	-0.023	-0.012	-0.019

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. Department FEs not shown. Most affected departments include Huehuetenango, Chimaltenango, Quiché, Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz, and Petén.

Table A6: Determinants of wartime violence by the rebels

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	−0.021	−0.049	0.031	−0.276
	(0.038)	(0.080)	(0.153)	(0.257)
% Roads non-paved	0.024	−0.005	−0.043	−0.048
	(0.046)	(0.054)	(0.052)	(0.058)
Log. Distance to Pan-Am Hwy	0.011	0.012	0.003	0.006
	(0.007)	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.012)
Log. Population 1973			−0.017	−0.009
			(0.014)	(0.018)
% Indigenous 1973			0.057	0.016
			(0.038)	(0.055)
% Literate 1973			−0.006	−0.024
			(0.081)	(0.103)
Elevation SD			0.000	0.000
			(0.000)	(0.000)
Forest cover			−0.028	0.012
			(0.046)	(0.053)
Log. Dist to capital			−0.002	0.034
			(0.016)	(0.042)
Log. Area			0.034**	0.034+
			(0.012)	(0.018)
Rebel violence pre-78			0.138	0.196
			(0.260)	(0.275)
Department FE	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	325	325	325	325
R^2	0.010	0.070	0.046	0.097
Adjusted R^2	0.004	-0.002	0.016	0.002

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001.$ Department FEs not shown.

D Results using only CEH data for violence variables

Tables A7 and A8 replicate the main results using only CEH data to measure wartime violence.

Table A7: Wartime violence (using only CEH), local road network, and voting

	URNG	FRG	URNG	FRG
			Most affected departments	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	−0.029	0.516***	−0.072	0.548**
	(0.038)	(0.066)	(0.106)	(0.178)
State-led killings	0.050***	−0.028$^+$	0.077***	−0.054$^+$
	(0.009)	(0.015)	(0.018)	(0.030)
% Non-paved roads	−0.001	0.013	0.024	0.017
	(0.009)	(0.015)	(0.034)	(0.058)
Violence × Non-paved	−0.047***	0.031$^+$	−0.077***	0.061$^+$
	(0.010)	(0.017)	(0.020)	(0.033)
Log. Population 1973	0.004	−0.001	−0.000	0.007
	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.010)
% Indigenous 1973	0.047***	−0.016	0.053***	−0.050$^+$
	(0.007)	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.026)
% Literate 1973	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Elevation SD	0.014$^+$	−0.021	0.034$^+$	−0.035
	(0.008)	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.030)
Forest cover	0.006	0.002	0.017	−0.009
	(0.006)	(0.011)	(0.018)	(0.031)
Log. Dist to capital	0.007**	0.002	0.009$^+$	−0.007
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.009)
Log. Area	0.017	0.014	−0.045	−0.011
	(0.041)	(0.071)	(0.154)	(0.258)
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Election FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,601	1,281	491	394
R^2	0.451	0.815	0.410	0.734
Adjusted R^2	0.438	0.809	0.387	0.721

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. All models pool all observations across all elections. Election and department FEs not shown. Most affected departments include Huehuetenango, Chimaltenango, Quiché, Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz, and Petén.

Table A8: Wartime violence (using only CEH), distance to PanAm Hwy, and voting

	URNG	FRG	URNG	FRG
			Most affected departments	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	0.012	0.509***	0.071	0.458**
	(0.038)	(0.065)	(0.101)	(0.170)
State-led killings	0.031***	−0.000	0.030***	0.004
	(0.004)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.011)
Log. Dist to Pan-Am Hwy	0.001	0.005	0.001	0.007
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.007)
Violence × Dist to Pan-Am	−0.007***	−0.001	−0.007***	−0.001
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Log. Population 1973	0.002	−0.001	−0.007	0.008
	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.010)
% Indigenous 1973	0.045***	−0.014	0.052***	−0.056*
	(0.007)	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.026)
% Literate 1973	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Elevation SD	0.012	−0.024+	0.032+	−0.044
	(0.008)	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.031)
Forest cover	0.002	0.001	0.004	0.006
	(0.006)	(0.011)	(0.018)	(0.030)
Log. Dist to capital	0.009***	0.004	0.012*	−0.007
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.009)
Log. Area	0.013	0.008	−0.021	−0.027
	(0.041)	(0.071)	(0.153)	(0.258)
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Election FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,601	1,281	491	394
R^2	0.454	0.814	0.413	0.731
Adjusted R^2	0.442	0.809	0.389	0.718

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. All models pool all observations across all elections. Election and department FEs not shown. Most affected departments include Huehuetenango, Chimaltenango, Quiché, Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz, and Petén.

E   Results aggregating several parties

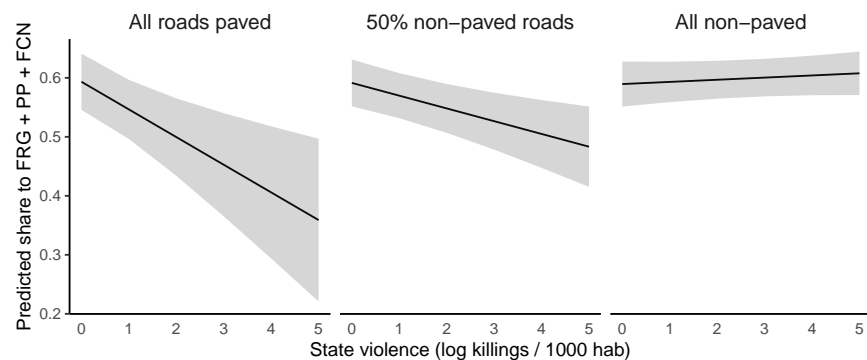Figure A2 Figure A3 Figure A4 Figure A5

Figure A2: Wartime state violence and XXXXXXX share depending on prewar political mobilization (proxied by % non-paved roads)
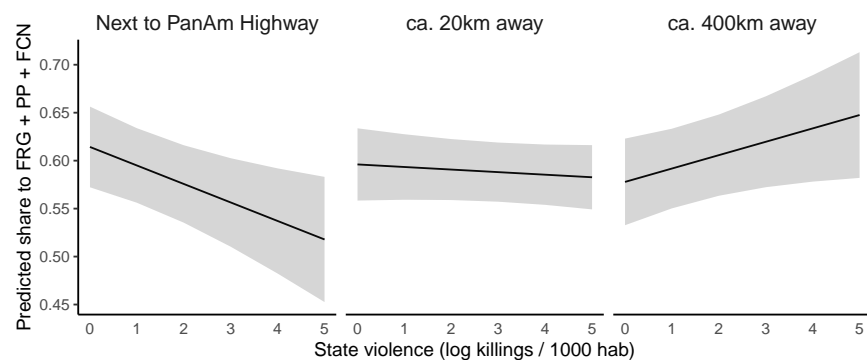

Figure A3: Wartime state violence and XXXXXXX share depending on prewar political mobilization (proxied by distance to Pan-American Highway)

Table A9: Wartime violence, prewar mobilization, and voting for FRG, Partido Patriota, and FCN

	fulldcha	fulldcha	fulldcha	fulldcha
			Most affected departments	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	0.573***	0.958***	0.525***	0.660***
	(0.076)	(0.196)	(0.074)	(0.183)
State-led killings	−0.047**	−0.109***	−0.019**	−0.013
	(0.014)	(0.030)	(0.007)	(0.010)
% Non-paved roads	−0.004	−0.132$^+$		
	(0.017)	(0.070)		
Violence × Non-paved	0.051**	0.121***		
	(0.016)	(0.033)		
Log. Dist to Pan-Am Hwy			−0.006	0.002
			(0.004)	(0.008)
Violence × Dist to Pan-Am			0.006**	0.004
			(0.002)	(0.003)
Log. Population 1973	0.000	−0.000	0.002	0.006
	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.005)	(0.012)
% Indigenous 1973	−0.038*	−0.050	−0.038*	−0.044
	(0.016)	(0.038)	(0.016)	(0.038)
% Literate 1973	0.124***	0.130$^+$	0.129***	0.151*
	(0.030)	(0.070)	(0.030)	(0.070)
Elevation SD	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Forest cover	−0.020	−0.062$^+$	−0.019	−0.076*
	(0.015)	(0.033)	(0.016)	(0.034)
Log. Dist to capital	−0.007	−0.056$^+$	0.003	−0.031
	(0.012)	(0.034)	(0.012)	(0.033)
Log. Area	−0.004	−0.007	−0.005	−0.012
	(0.005)	(0.010)	(0.005)	(0.010)
Rebel violence pre-78	0.003	0.219	−0.007	0.223
	(0.079)	(0.278)	(0.079)	(0.281)
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Election FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,601	491	1,601	491
R^2	0.465	0.450	0.464	0.439
Adjusted R^2	0.453	0.427	0.452	0.415

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. All models pool all observations across all elections. Election and department FEs not shown. Most affected departments include Huehuetenango, Chimaltenango, Quiché, Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz, and Petén.

Table A10: Wartime violence, prewar mobilization, and voting for URNG and UNE

	fullizq	fullizq	fullizq	fullizq
			Most affected departments	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	−0.039	−0.423*	0.028	−0.138
	(0.068)	(0.170)	(0.066)	(0.158)
State-led killings	0.062***	0.112***	0.037***	0.032***
	(0.013)	(0.026)	(0.006)	(0.009)
% Non-paved roads	0.007	0.112$^+$		
	(0.016)	(0.060)		
Violence × Non-paved	−0.062***	−0.118***		
	(0.014)	(0.029)		
Log. Dist to Pan-Am Hwy			0.009**	0.008
			(0.003)	(0.007)
Violence × Dist to Pan-Am			−0.010***	−0.009***
			(0.002)	(0.002)
Log. Population 1973	0.002	0.013	−0.001	0.005
	(0.005)	(0.010)	(0.005)	(0.010)
% Indigenous 1973	0.033*	0.034	0.033*	0.019
	(0.014)	(0.033)	(0.014)	(0.033)
% Literate 1973	−0.088**	−0.069	−0.091***	−0.105$^+$
	(0.027)	(0.061)	(0.027)	(0.061)
Elevation SD	0.000	0.000	0.000	−0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Forest cover	−0.001	0.006	−0.004	0.008
	(0.014)	(0.028)	(0.014)	(0.029)
Log. Dist to capital	0.016	0.061*	0.003	0.035
	(0.011)	(0.029)	(0.011)	(0.028)
Log. Area	0.011*	0.008	0.013**	0.014
	(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.009)
Rebel violence pre-78	−0.053	−0.191	−0.038	−0.179
	(0.071)	(0.241)	(0.071)	(0.242)
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Election FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,601	491	1,601	491
R^2	0.586	0.494	0.589	0.490
Adjusted R^2	0.577	0.472	0.579	0.468

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. All models pool all observations across all elections. Election and department FEs not shown. Most affected departments include Huehuetenango, Chimaltenango, Quiché, Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz, and Petén.
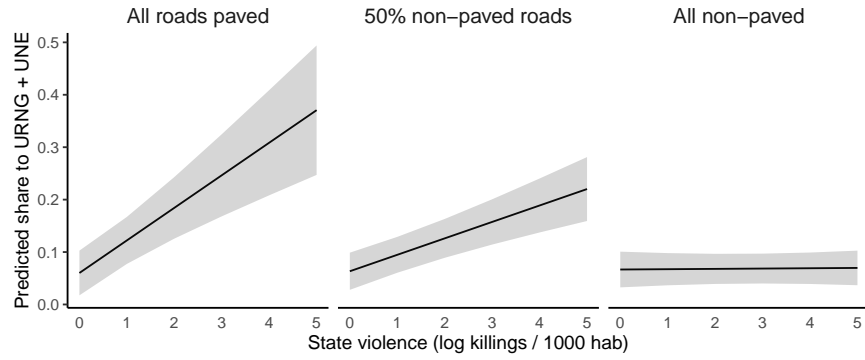
Figure A4: Wartime state violence and **XXXXXXX (izq)** share depending on prewar political mobilization (proxied by % non-paved roads)
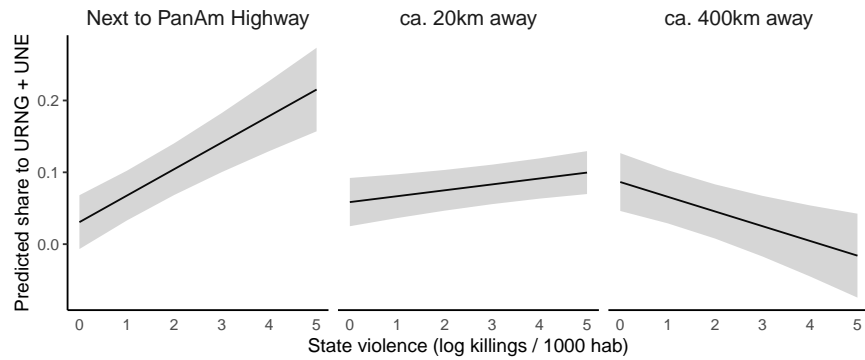

Figure A5: Wartime state violence and **XXXXXXX (izq)** share depending on prewar political mobilization (proxied by distance to Pan-American Highway)

F Results of cross-sectional models by election

Table A11: Wartime violence and URNG share, by year (interaction, roads)

	1999	2003	2007	2011	2015
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(Intercept)	-0.185	0.061	-0.114^+	-0.140	-0.039
	(0.134)	(0.078)	(0.062)	(0.091)	(0.055)
State-led killings	0.115^{***}	0.007	0.021^+	0.030^*	0.017^+
	(0.023)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.009)
% Non-paved roads	0.013	0.003	0.008	-0.002	-0.007
	(0.028)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.011)
Violence $\times$ Non-paved	-0.107^{***}	-0.007	-0.021	-0.032^*	-0.018^+
	(0.026)	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.010)
Turnout	-0.039	-0.059^+		-0.025	-0.020
	(0.054)	(0.036)		(0.052)	(0.027)
Log. Population 1973	0.013	-0.004	0.004	0.001	-0.001
	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.003)
% Indigenous 1973	0.096^{***}	0.022^+	0.026^*	0.058^{***}	0.028^{***}
	(0.021)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.008)
% Literate 1973	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Elevation SD	0.024	0.023	0.007	0.018	0.005
	(0.025)	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.010)
Forest cover	0.018	-0.006	0.004	0.013	0.004
	(0.019)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.007)
Log. Dist to capital	0.010	0.007	0.004	0.008^+	0.009^{**}
	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.003)
Log. Area	-0.020	0.008	0.014	0.005	0.011
	(0.129)	(0.072)	(0.066)	(0.076)	(0.049)
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	325	261	323	320	315
R^2	0.474	0.261	0.236	0.370	0.292
Adjusted R^2	0.417	0.161	0.155	0.300	0.211

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. Each model includes cross-sectional data on a specific election. Deparment FE not shown.

Table A12: Wartime violence and URNG share, by year (interaction, PanAm)

	1999	2003	2007	2011	2015
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(Intercept)	−0.044	0.070	−0.089	−0.101	−0.022
	(0.131)	(0.076)	(0.061)	(0.089)	(0.053)
State-led killings	0.063***	0.002	0.012*	0.017*	0.008+
	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.004)
Log. Dist to Pan-Am Hwy	0.000	0.001	0.002	0.001	0.002
	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.002)
Violence × Dist to Pan-Am	−0.013***	−0.001	−0.003	−0.005*	−0.002+
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Turnout	−0.069	−0.061+		−0.031	−0.025
	(0.054)	(0.035)		(0.053)	(0.027)
Log. Population 1973	0.005	−0.004	0.003	−0.001	−0.001
	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.003)
% Indigenous 1973	0.098***	0.022+	0.027*	0.058***	0.027***
	(0.021)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.008)
% Literate 1973	−0.000	−0.000	0.000	0.000	−0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Elevation SD	0.027	0.023	0.007	0.018	0.004
	(0.025)	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.010)
Forest cover	0.010	−0.007	0.001	0.009	−0.000
	(0.020)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.008)
Log. Dist to capital	0.015+	0.007	0.006	0.009*	0.009**
	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.003)
Log. Area	0.009	0.010	0.018	0.014	0.016
	(0.129)	(0.072)	(0.066)	(0.076)	(0.049)
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	325	261	323	320	315
R^2	0.476	0.260	0.237	0.374	0.287
Adjusted R^2	0.419	0.160	0.155	0.304	0.206

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. Each model includes cross-sectional data on a specific election. Deparment FE not shown.

Table A13: Wartime violence and URNG share, by year (base models)

	1999	2003	2007	2011	2015
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(Intercept)	−0.072	0.077	−0.085	−0.092	−0.020
	(0.136)	(0.076)	(0.062)	(0.090)	(0.054)
State-led killings	0.022***	0.000	0.003	0.002	0.002
	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Turnout	−0.061	−0.057		−0.033	−0.028
	(0.056)	(0.035)		(0.052)	(0.027)
Log. Population 1973	0.012	−0.003	0.005	0.002	−0.000
	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.003)
% Indigenous 1973	0.084**	0.014	0.019	0.044**	0.024*
	(0.027)	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.010)
% Literate 1973	−0.045	−0.029	−0.024	−0.045	−0.010
	(0.050)	(0.029)	(0.025)	(0.029)	(0.019)
Elevation SD	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000	0.000	−0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Forest cover	0.029	0.022	0.007	0.018	0.005
	(0.026)	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.010)
Log. Dist to capital	0.008	−0.006	0.002	0.009	0.001
	(0.019)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.007)
Log. Area	0.008	0.006	0.004	0.006	0.008*
	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.003)
Rebel violence pre-78	−0.008	0.014	0.018	0.013	0.015
	(0.132)	(0.072)	(0.067)	(0.077)	(0.049)
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	325	261	323	320	315
R^2	0.444	0.263	0.232	0.365	0.280
Adjusted R^2	0.385	0.167	0.153	0.297	0.201

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. Each model includes cross-sectional data on a specific election. Deparment FE not shown.

Table A14: Wartime violence and FRG share, by year (interaction, roads)

	1999	2003	2007	2015
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	0.684***	0.263	0.147	0.037*
	(0.179)	(0.171)	(0.101)	(0.017)
State-led killings	−0.103***	0.015	−0.026	0.000
	(0.031)	(0.029)	(0.019)	(0.003)
% Non-paved roads	−0.015	0.058	0.004	−0.006$^+$
	(0.037)	(0.036)	(0.024)	(0.003)
Violence × Non-paved	0.107**	−0.016	0.033	0.000
	(0.034)	(0.032)	(0.022)	(0.003)
Turnout	−0.124$^+$	0.043		−0.027**
	(0.073)	(0.078)		(0.009)
Log. Population 1973	0.010	−0.020$^+$	0.000	−0.001
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.001)
% Indigenous 1973	−0.098***	0.038	0.014	0.003
	(0.028)	(0.027)	(0.018)	(0.003)
% Literate 1973	−0.000$^+$	0.000	−0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Elevation SD	−0.038	−0.044	−0.019	−0.001
	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.021)	(0.003)
Forest cover	0.013	0.003	−0.011	−0.001
	(0.026)	(0.023)	(0.016)	(0.002)
Log. Dist to capital	−0.013	0.009	0.009	0.000
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.001)
Log. Area	0.068	0.055	−0.031	−0.004
	(0.172)	(0.157)	(0.109)	(0.015)
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	325	261	323	315
R^2	0.319	0.378	0.393	0.208
Adjusted R^2	0.245	0.294	0.328	0.118

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. Each model includes cross-sectional data on a specific election. Deparment FE not shown.

Table A15: Wartime violence and FRG share, by year (interaction, PanAm)

	1999	2003	2007	2015
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	0.567**	0.308$^+$	0.131	0.034*
	(0.177)	(0.165)	(0.100)	(0.017)
State-led killings	−0.038*	0.015	0.005	0.003*
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.010)	(0.001)
Log. Dist to Pan-Am Hwy	−0.007	0.017*	0.006	−0.001
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.001)
Violence × Dist to Pan-Am	0.009*	−0.005	−0.001	−0.001
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.000)
Turnout	−0.103	0.054		−0.027**
	(0.073)	(0.077)		(0.008)
Log. Population 1973	0.015	−0.024*	0.001	−0.001
	(0.012)	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.001)
% Indigenous 1973	−0.101***	0.040	0.015	0.002
	(0.028)	(0.027)	(0.018)	(0.002)
% Literate 1973	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000	0.000$^+$
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Elevation SD	−0.040	−0.050	−0.024	−0.001
	(0.034)	(0.033)	(0.021)	(0.003)
Forest cover	0.029	−0.008	−0.013	0.000
	(0.027)	(0.024)	(0.017)	(0.002)
Log. Dist to capital	−0.016	0.014	0.010	0.000
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.001)
Log. Area	0.050	0.066	−0.036	−0.001
	(0.174)	(0.157)	(0.109)	(0.015)
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	325	261	323	315
R^2	0.306	0.383	0.390	0.217
Adjusted R^2	0.230	0.300	0.325	0.128

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. Each model includes cross-sectional data on a specific election. Deparment FE not shown.

Table A16: Wartime violence and FRG share, by year (base models)

	1999	2003	2007	2015
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	0.516**	0.362*	0.143	0.030$^+$
	(0.176)	(0.164)	(0.102)	(0.017)
State-led killings	−0.010	−0.000	0.002	0.001
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.001)
Turnout	−0.129$^+$	0.073		−0.028**
	(0.073)	(0.077)		(0.008)
Log. Population 1973	0.005	−0.019$^+$	0.001	−0.001
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.001)
% Indigenous 1973	−0.035	−0.011	0.006	0.004
	(0.035)	(0.032)	(0.022)	(0.003)
% Literate 1973	0.206**	−0.179**	−0.026	0.006
	(0.065)	(0.062)	(0.041)	(0.006)
Elevation SD	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Forest cover	−0.038	−0.052	−0.022	−0.001
	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.021)	(0.003)
Log. Dist to capital	0.024	0.008	−0.007	−0.001
	(0.025)	(0.022)	(0.016)	(0.002)
Log. Area	−0.005	0.006	0.009	0.000
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.001)
Rebel violence pre-78	0.034	0.087	−0.031	−0.004
	(0.172)	(0.156)	(0.109)	(0.015)
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	325	261	323	315
R^2	0.319	0.393	0.388	0.201
Adjusted R^2	0.247	0.314	0.325	0.114

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. Each model includes cross-sectional data on a specific election. Deparment FE not shown.
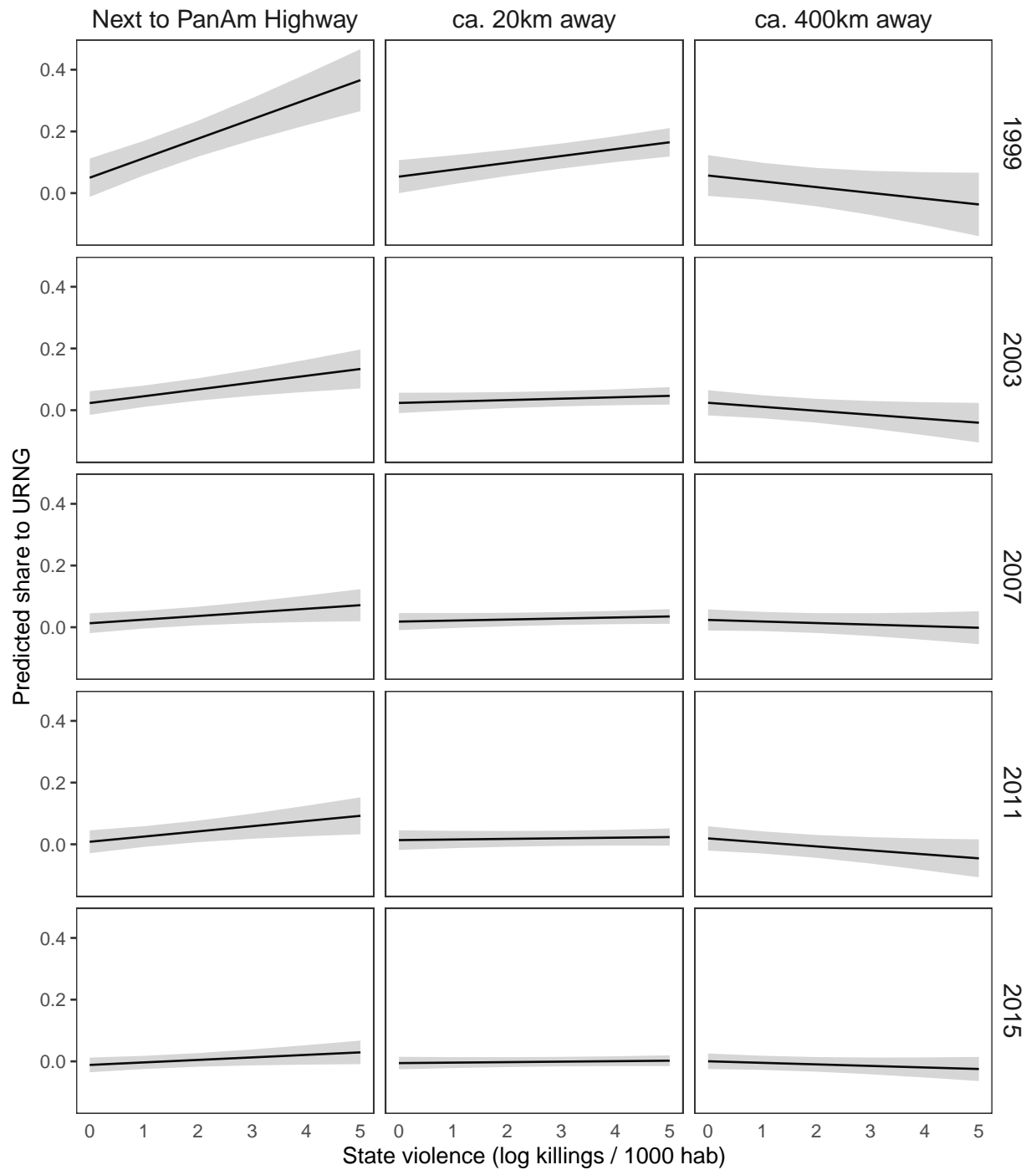
Figure A6: Wartime state violence and URNG share depending on prewar political mobilization (proxied by distance to Pan-American Highway)
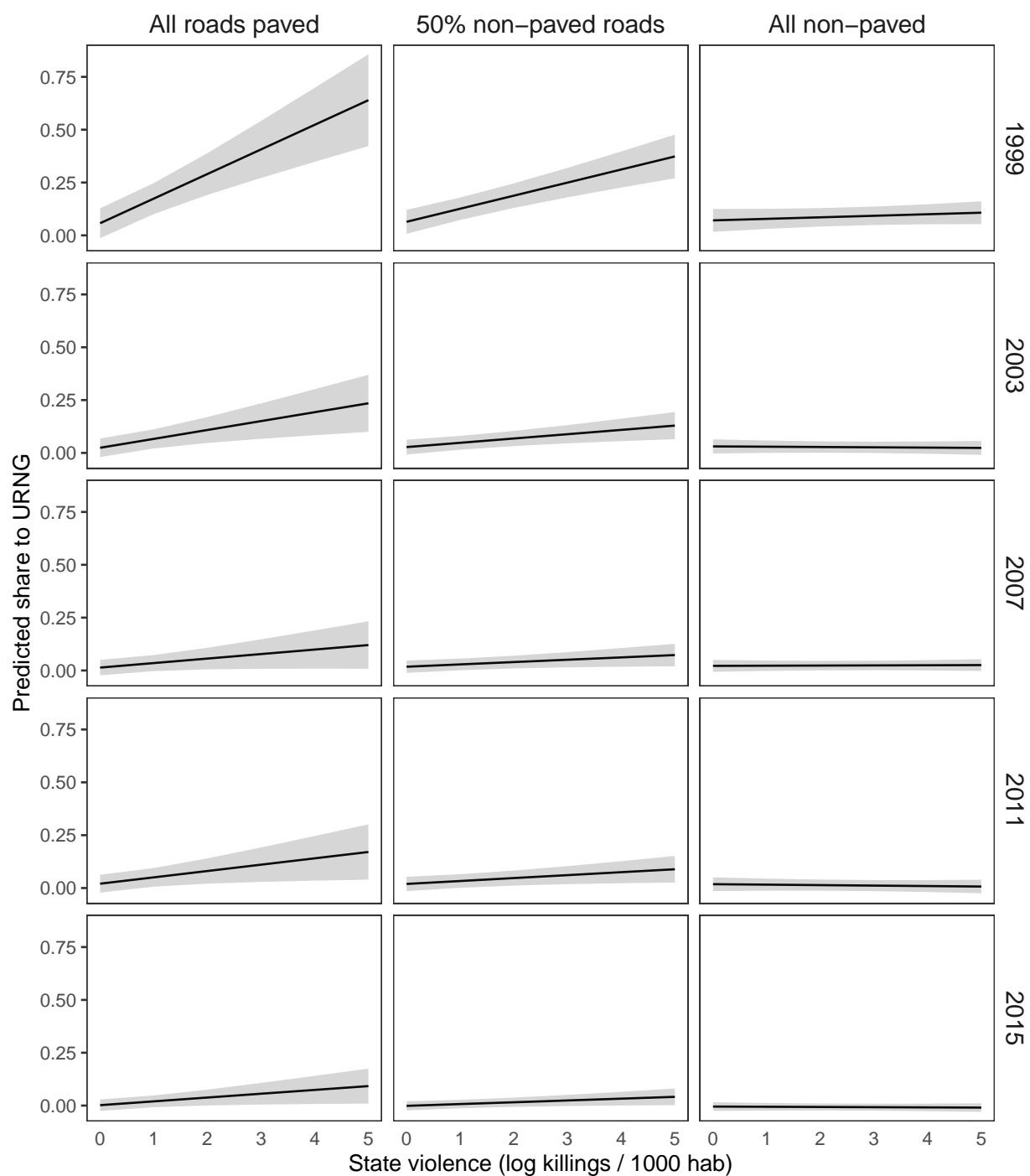
Figure A7: Wartime state violence and URNG share depending on prewar political mobilization (proxied by % non-paved roads)
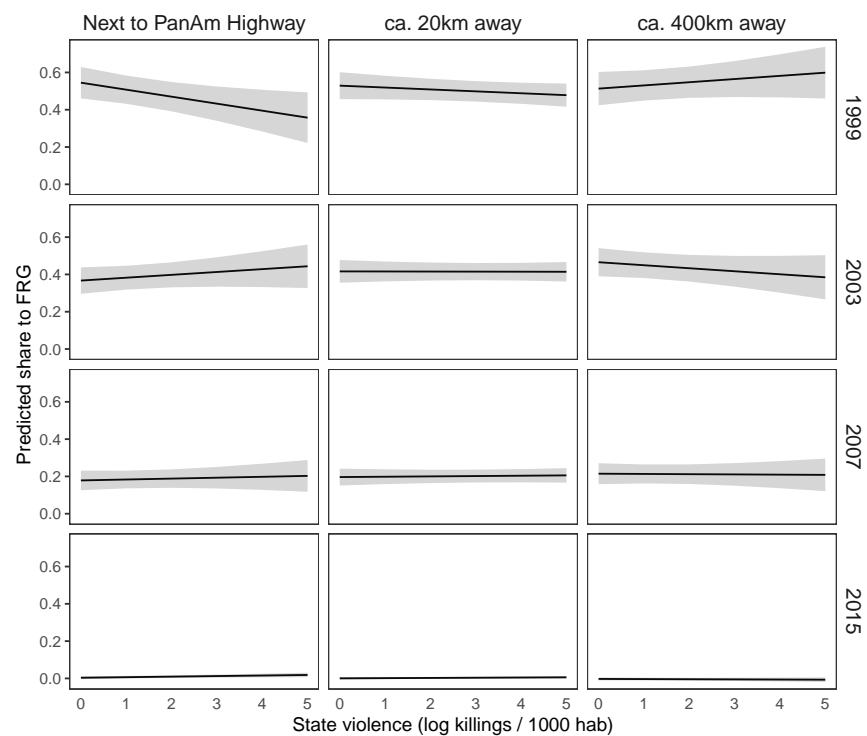
Figure A8: Wartime state violence and FRG share depending on prewar political mobilization (proxied by distance to Pan-American Highway)
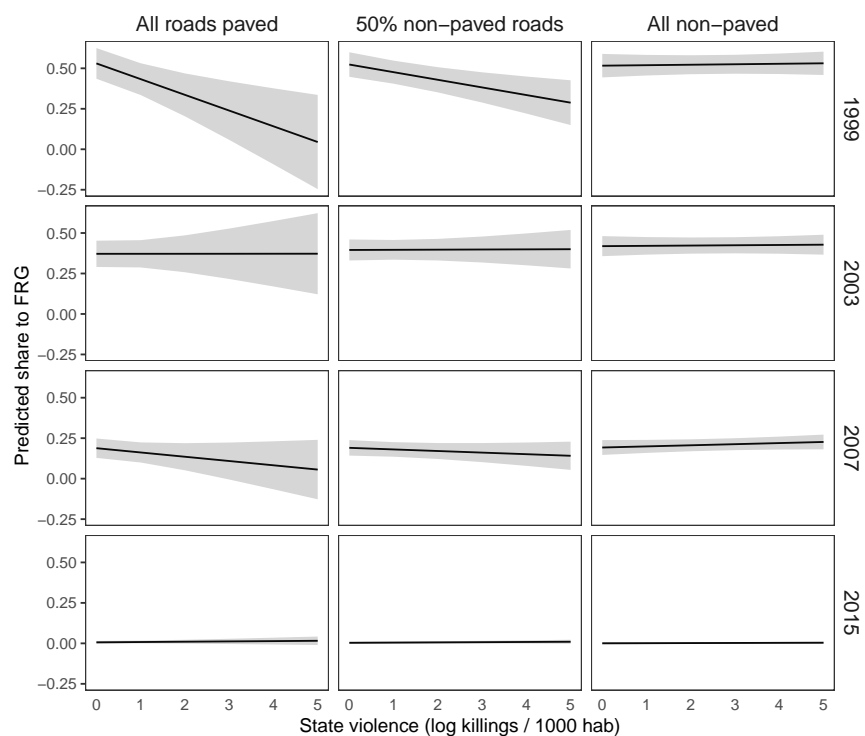

Figure A9: Wartime state violence and FRG share depending on prewar political mobilization (proxied by % non-paved roads)