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   Accessibility and violence against civilians

Table A2 shows the results of linear models explaining wartime violence by the state. 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 A3 shows the results for models equivalent to the previous ones but using rebel violence as the dependent variable. 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 A2: Determinants of wartime violence by the state

			Most affected departments	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	−0.922	−0.097	−4.045	−3.786
	(0.831)	(1.190)	(2.665)	(4.080)
% Roads non-paved	−0.129	−0.322	0.057	−0.786
	(0.310)	(0.272)	(1.456)	(1.364)
Log. Distance to Pan-Am Hwy	−0.028	0.100$^+$	0.052	0.200
	(0.050)	(0.057)	(0.134)	(0.168)
Log. Population 1973	−0.114	0.035	0.487$^+$	0.360
	(0.085)	(0.084)	(0.256)	(0.249)
% Indigenous 1973	1.396***	0.431*	1.233*	0.598
	(0.179)	(0.211)	(0.579)	(0.623)
Elevation SD	−0.000	−0.000	−0.001	−0.002
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Forest cover	0.207	0.211	−1.187	0.333
	(0.275)	(0.252)	(0.717)	(0.732)
Log. Dist to capital	−0.058	−0.208	−0.192	−0.430
	(0.094)	(0.200)	(0.301)	(0.739)
Log. Area	0.454***	0.263**	0.390$^+$	0.551**
	(0.069)	(0.080)	(0.196)	(0.203)
Rebel violence pre-78	1.847	2.105	4.449	3.326
	(1.555)	(1.296)	(6.737)	(6.312)
Department FE	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	325	325	99	99
R^2	0.277	0.575	0.229	0.407
Adjusted R^2	0.256	0.531	0.151	0.308

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. Most affected departments include Huehuetenango, Chimaltenango, Quiché, Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz, and Petén.

Table A3: Determinants of wartime violence by the rebels

			Most affected departments	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	0.026	−0.287	0.216	−0.598
	(0.138)	(0.251)	(0.515)	(0.875)
% Roads non-paved	−0.043	−0.049	−0.144	−0.176
	(0.052)	(0.057)	(0.281)	(0.293)
Log. Distance to Pan-Am Hwy	0.003	0.006	−0.007	−0.019
	(0.008)	(0.012)	(0.026)	(0.036)
Log. Population 1973	−0.017	−0.010	−0.044	−0.029
	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.049)	(0.054)
% Indigenous 1973	0.059*	0.023	0.091	0.078
	(0.030)	(0.045)	(0.112)	(0.134)
Elevation SD	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Forest cover	−0.028	0.013	−0.060	0.015
	(0.046)	(0.053)	(0.139)	(0.157)
Log. Dist to capital	−0.002	0.034	−0.023	0.130
	(0.016)	(0.042)	(0.058)	(0.159)
Log. Area	0.034**	0.035*	0.069$^+$	0.057
	(0.011)	(0.017)	(0.038)	(0.043)
Rebel violence pre-78	0.136	0.193	1.768	1.367
	(0.259)	(0.274)	(1.302)	(1.354)
Department FE	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	325	325	99	99
R^2	0.046	0.097	0.090	0.137
Adjusted R^2	0.019	0.005	-0.003	-0.007

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. Most affected departments include Huehuetenango, Chimaltenango, Quiché, Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz, and Petén.

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C Additional results

C.1 Using only CEH data for violence

Tables A4 and A5 replicate the main results using only CEH data to measure wartime violence.

C.2 Combining electoral share by FRG and PP

Table A6 shows the results of the main models using as the dependent variable the combined electoral share of the FRG and the PP. Figures A1 and A2 show the results visually.

C.3 Cross-sectional results by election

Tables A7 and A8 show results of running the base model without interactions, using a cross-sectional data for each election since 1999. Tables A9, A10, A11, and A12 do the same but including the interaction with the accessibility proxies. Figures A3, A4, A5, and A6 show these results visually.
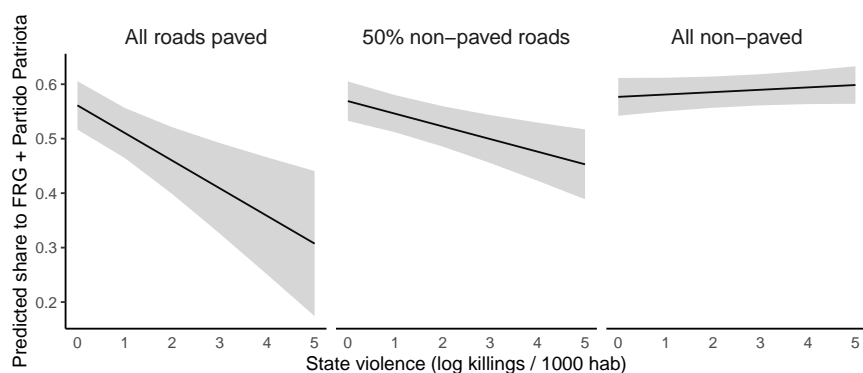

Figure A1: Wartime state violence and FRG/PP share depending on prewar political mobilization (proxied by % non-paved roads)

Table A4: Wartime violence (using only CEH), prewar mobilization, 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)
Elevation SD	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Forest cover	0.014+	−0.021	0.034+	−0.035
	(0.008)	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.030)
Log. Dist to capital	0.006	0.002	0.017	−0.009
	(0.006)	(0.011)	(0.018)	(0.031)
Log. Area	0.007**	0.002	0.009+	−0.007
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.009)
Rebel violence pre-78	0.017	0.014	−0.045	−0.011
	(0.041)	(0.071)	(0.154)	(0.258)
2003 election	−0.097***	−0.247***	−0.114***	−0.175***
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.015)
2007 election	−0.107***	−0.408***	−0.131***	−0.343***
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.015)
2011 election	−0.094***		−0.111***	
	(0.005)		(0.010)	
2015 election	−0.109***	−0.473***	−0.134***	−0.441***
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.015)
Department 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, including election FEs. Department FEs included, not shown. Most affected departments include Huehuetenango, Chimaltenango, Quiché, Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz, and Petén.

Table A5: Wartime violence (using only CEH), prewar mobilization, 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)
Elevation SD	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Forest cover	0.012	−0.024+	0.032+	−0.044
	(0.008)	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.031)
Log. Dist to capital	0.002	0.001	0.004	0.006
	(0.006)	(0.011)	(0.018)	(0.030)
Log. Area	0.009***	0.004	0.012*	−0.007
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.009)
Rebel violence pre-78	0.013	0.008	−0.021	−0.027
	(0.041)	(0.071)	(0.153)	(0.258)
2003 election	−0.097***	−0.247***	−0.114***	−0.174***
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.015)
2007 election	−0.107***	−0.408***	−0.131***	−0.343***
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.015)
2011 election	−0.094***		−0.112***	
	(0.005)		(0.010)	
2015 election	−0.109***	−0.473***	−0.134***	−0.441***
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.015)
Department 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, including election FEs. Department FEs included, not shown. Most affected departments include Huehuetenango, Chimaltenango, Quiché, Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz, and Petén.

Table A6: Wartime violence, prewar mobilization, and voting for FRG and Partido Patriota

| | FRG + PP share | | | |
| | | | Most affected departments | |
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	0.635***	0.902***	0.598***	0.632***
	(0.073)	(0.196)	(0.072)	(0.183)
State-led killings	−0.051***	−0.104***	−0.019**	−0.009
	(0.014)	(0.030)	(0.007)	(0.010)
% Non-paved roads	0.016	−0.091		
	(0.017)	(0.070)		
Violence × Non-paved	0.055***	0.116***		
	(0.016)	(0.033)		
Log. Dist to Pan-Am Hwy			−0.003	0.006
			(0.004)	(0.008)
Violence × Dist to Pan-Am			0.005**	0.003
			(0.002)	(0.003)
Log. Population 1973	−0.001	−0.004	−0.000	0.002
	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.005)	(0.012)
% Indigenous 1973	−0.055***	−0.061*	−0.053***	−0.065*
	(0.013)	(0.028)	(0.013)	(0.028)
Elevation SD	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Forest cover	−0.023	−0.065*	−0.024	−0.081*
	(0.015)	(0.032)	(0.015)	(0.033)
Log. Dist to capital	−0.008	−0.034	0.002	−0.006
	(0.012)	(0.034)	(0.012)	(0.033)
Log. Area	−0.006	−0.010	−0.006	−0.015
	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.010)
Rebel violence pre-78	0.005	0.124	−0.009	0.141
	(0.078)	(0.280)	(0.078)	(0.282)
2003 election	0.028**	0.074***	0.028**	0.074***
	(0.009)	(0.018)	(0.009)	(0.019)
2007 election	−0.184***	−0.131***	−0.185***	−0.131***
	(0.009)	(0.018)	(0.009)	(0.019)
2011 election	−0.117***	−0.063***	−0.117***	−0.063***
	(0.009)	(0.019)	(0.009)	(0.019)
2015 election	−0.408***	−0.352***	−0.408***	−0.352***
	(0.009)	(0.018)	(0.009)	(0.019)
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,601	491	1,601	491
R^2	0.684	0.602	0.683	0.593
Adjusted R^2	0.677	0.586	0.675	0.577

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

Table A7: Wartime violence and URNG share, by year (base)

	1999	2003	2007	2011	2015
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(Intercept)	−0.163	−0.045	−0.098	−0.149*	−0.054
	(0.120)	(0.073)	(0.061)	(0.070)	(0.045)
State-led killings	0.022***	0.004	0.003	0.002	0.002
	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Log. Population 1973	0.014$^+$	0.003	0.004	0.002	0.000
	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.003)
% Indigenous 1973	0.096***	0.032*	0.027*	0.057***	0.026***
	(0.021)	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.008)
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	0.027$^+$	0.008	0.019	0.006
	(0.026)	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.010)
Log. Dist to capital	0.009	−0.000	0.003	0.009	0.001
	(0.019)	(0.012)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.007)
Log. Area	0.012	0.002	0.005	0.008$^+$	0.009**
	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.003)
Rebel violence pre-78	−0.012	0.007	0.015	0.009	0.014
	(0.132)	(0.080)	(0.066)	(0.076)	(0.049)
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Observations	325	318	323	320	315
R^2	0.439	0.259	0.230	0.359	0.277
Adjusted R^2	0.384	0.185	0.153	0.295	0.203

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. Each model includes cross-sectional data on a specific election.

Table A8: Wartime violence and FRG share, by year (base)

	1999	2003	2007	2011
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	0.479**	0.322*	0.130	0.004
	(0.158)	(0.135)	(0.099)	(0.014)
State-led killings	−0.010	0.001	0.002	0.001
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.001)
Log. Population 1973	0.016	−0.024*	0.000	0.000
	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.001)
% Indigenous 1973	−0.103***	0.029	0.014	0.001
	(0.028)	(0.024)	(0.018)	(0.002)
Elevation SD	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Forest cover	−0.048	−0.019	−0.021	−0.001
	(0.034)	(0.029)	(0.021)	(0.003)
Log. Dist to capital	0.025	0.004	−0.007	−0.002
	(0.025)	(0.022)	(0.016)	(0.002)
Log. Area	−0.011	0.016$^+$	0.010	0.000
	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.001)
Rebel violence pre-78	0.066	0.028	−0.034	−0.003
	(0.174)	(0.148)	(0.109)	(0.015)
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	325	318	323	315
R^2	0.292	0.359	0.387	0.169
Adjusted R^2	0.222	0.294	0.327	0.084

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. Each model includes cross-sectional data on a specific election.

Table A9: Wartime violence and URNG share, by year (interaction)

	1999	2003	2007	2011	2015
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(Intercept)	−0.121	−0.029	−0.089	−0.134$^+$	−0.048
	(0.117)	(0.073)	(0.061)	(0.070)	(0.045)
State-led killings	0.063***	0.022**	0.012*	0.017*	0.008$^+$
	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.004)
Log. Dist to Pan-Am Hwy	0.001	0.000	0.002	0.002	0.002
	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.002)
Violence × Dist to Pan-Am	−0.014***	−0.006**	−0.003	−0.005*	−0.002$^+$
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Log. Population 1973	0.008	0.001	0.003	−0.000	−0.000
	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.003)
% Indigenous 1973	0.096***	0.032*	0.027*	0.057***	0.026***
	(0.021)	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.008)
Elevation SD	−0.000	−0.000	0.000	0.000	−0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Forest cover	0.025	0.025	0.007	0.017	0.004
	(0.025)	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.010)
Log. Dist to capital	0.010	0.001	0.001	0.008	−0.001
	(0.020)	(0.012)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.008)
Log. Area	0.016*	0.004	0.006	0.010*	0.009**
	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.003)
Rebel violence pre-78	0.012	0.017	0.018	0.016	0.017
	(0.129)	(0.079)	(0.066)	(0.076)	(0.049)
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	325	318	323	320	315
R^2	0.474	0.282	0.237	0.373	0.285
Adjusted R^2	0.418	0.204	0.155	0.306	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.

Table A10: Wartime violence and URNG share, by year (interaction)

	1999	2003	2007	2011	2015
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(Intercept)	-0.230^+	-0.075	-0.114^+	-0.166^*	-0.061
	(0.119)	(0.074)	(0.062)	(0.071)	(0.046)
State-led killings	0.116^{***}	0.042^{**}	0.021^+	0.030^*	0.018^*
	(0.023)	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.009)
% Non-paved roads	0.013	0.006	0.008	-0.002	-0.007
	(0.028)	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.011)
Violence $\times$ Non-paved	-0.109^{***}	-0.044^{**}	-0.021	-0.032^*	-0.019^+
	(0.025)	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.010)
Log. Population 1973	0.015^+	0.004	0.004	0.002	-0.000
	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.003)
% Indigenous 1973	0.095^{***}	0.031^*	0.026^*	0.057^{***}	0.027^{***}
	(0.021)	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.008)
Elevation SD	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Forest cover	0.023	0.024	0.007	0.017	0.004
	(0.025)	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.009)
Log. Dist to capital	0.019	0.004	0.004	0.013	0.003
	(0.019)	(0.012)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.007)
Log. Area	0.011	0.002	0.004	0.008^+	0.009^{**}
	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.003)
Rebel violence pre-78	-0.019	0.005	0.014	0.006	0.012
	(0.129)	(0.079)	(0.066)	(0.076)	(0.049)
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	325	318	323	320	315
R^2	0.473	0.279	0.236	0.370	0.290
Adjusted R^2	0.418	0.201	0.155	0.302	0.213

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. Each model includes cross-sectional data on a specific election.

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

	1999	2003	2007	2015
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	0.453**	0.328*	0.131	0.006
	(0.158)	(0.134)	(0.100)	(0.014)
State-led killings	−0.038*	0.015	0.005	0.003*
	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.001)
Log. Dist to Pan-Am Hwy	−0.005	0.016*	0.006	−0.001
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(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)
Log. Population 1973	0.019+	−0.023*	0.001	−0.000
	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.001)
% Indigenous 1973	−0.103***	0.030	0.015	0.001
	(0.028)	(0.024)	(0.018)	(0.002)
Elevation SD	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000	0.000+
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Forest cover	−0.043	−0.027	−0.024	−0.001
	(0.034)	(0.029)	(0.021)	(0.003)
Log. Dist to capital	0.029	−0.011	−0.013	−0.001
	(0.027)	(0.023)	(0.017)	(0.002)
Log. Area	−0.014	0.016+	0.010	0.001
	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.001)
Rebel violence pre-78	0.054	0.027	−0.036	−0.001
	(0.174)	(0.147)	(0.109)	(0.015)
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	325	318	323	315
R^2	0.302	0.372	0.390	0.189
Adjusted R^2	0.228	0.304	0.325	0.100

Note: $+p < 0.1; *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001$. Each model includes cross-sectional data on a specific election.

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

	1999	2003	2007	2015
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(Intercept)	0.542***	0.295*	0.147	0.007
	(0.160)	(0.138)	(0.101)	(0.015)
State-led killings	−0.097**	0.000	−0.026	0.002
	(0.031)	(0.026)	(0.019)	(0.003)
% Non-paved roads	−0.014	0.047	0.004	−0.006+
	(0.038)	(0.032)	(0.024)	(0.004)
Violence × Non-paved	0.100**	0.002	0.033	−0.001
	(0.034)	(0.029)	(0.022)	(0.003)
Log. Population 1973	0.015	−0.021*	0.000	−0.000
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.001)
% Indigenous 1973	−0.102***	0.023	0.014	0.002
	(0.028)	(0.024)	(0.018)	(0.003)
Elevation SD	−0.000+	−0.000	−0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Forest cover	−0.042	−0.018	−0.019	−0.001
	(0.033)	(0.029)	(0.021)	(0.003)
Log. Dist to capital	0.016	−0.000	−0.011	−0.001
	(0.026)	(0.022)	(0.016)	(0.002)
Log. Area	−0.011	0.012	0.009	0.001
	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.001)
Rebel violence pre-78	0.072	0.034	−0.031	−0.004
	(0.172)	(0.147)	(0.109)	(0.015)
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	325	318	323	315
R^2	0.312	0.364	0.393	0.180
Adjusted R^2	0.240	0.295	0.328	0.090

Note: $+p < 0.1$; $*p < 0.05$; $**p < 0.01$; $***p < 0.001$. Each model includes cross-sectional data on a specific election.
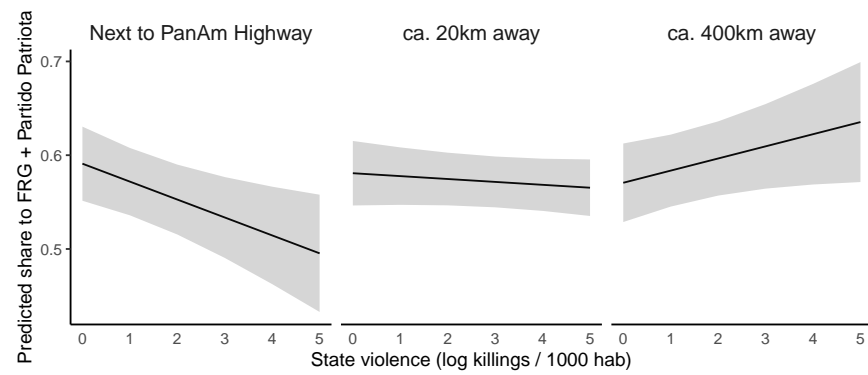
Figure A2: Wartime state violence and FRG/PP share depending on prewar political mobilization (proxied by distance to Pan-American Highway)
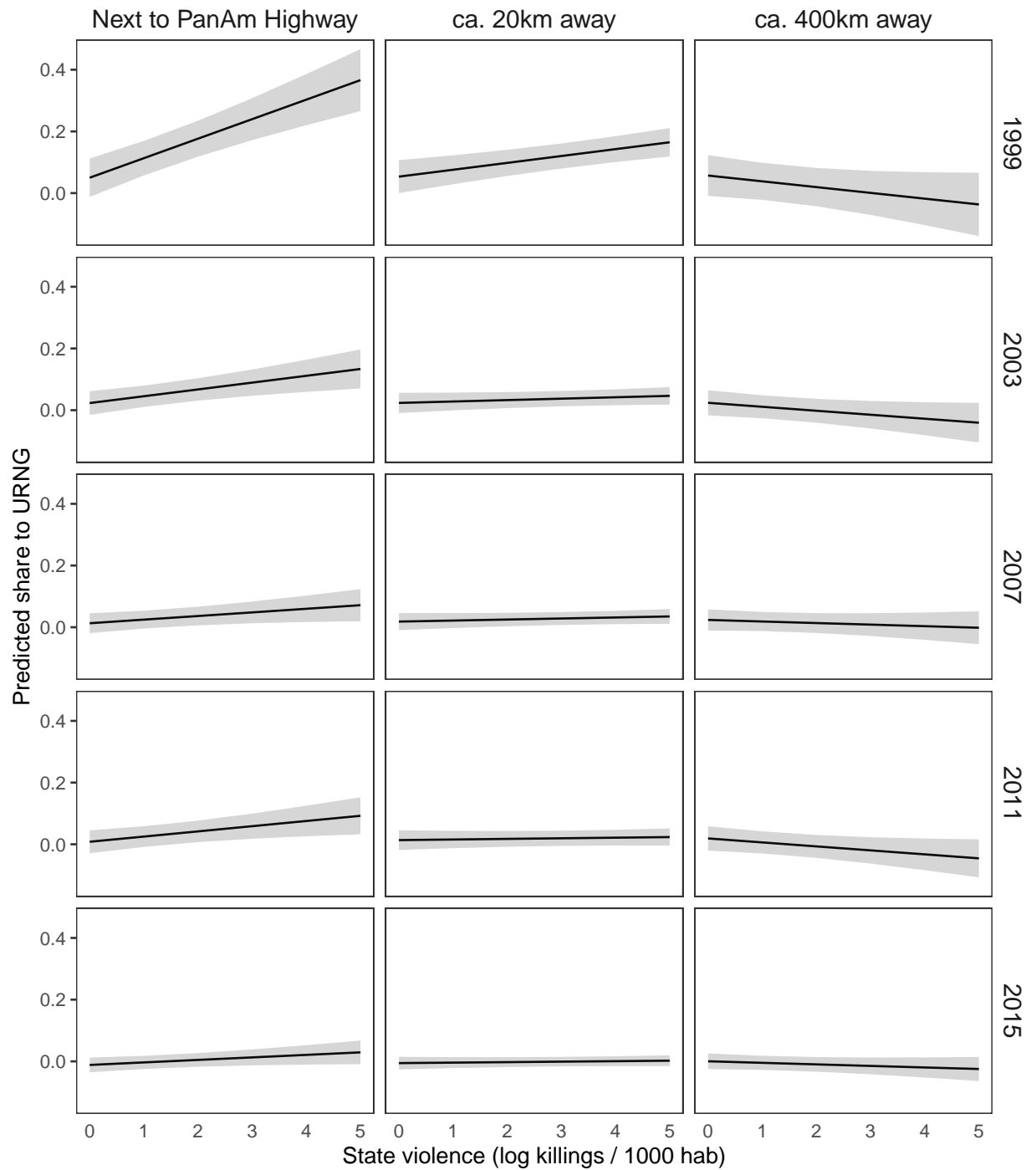
Figure A3: Wartime state violence and URNG share depending on prewar political mobilization (proxied by distance to Pan-American Highway)
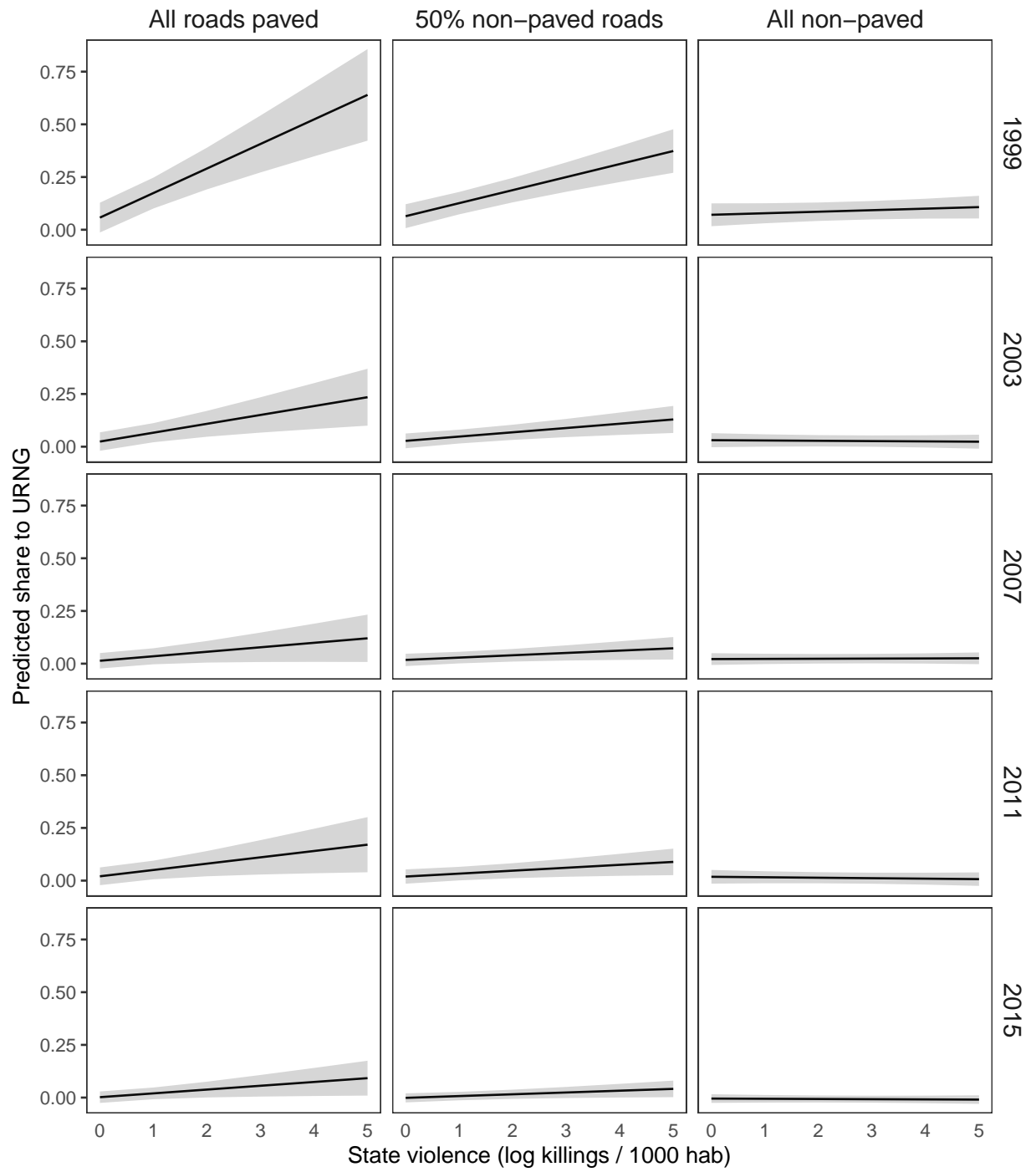
Figure A4: Wartime state violence and URNG share depending on prewar political mobilization (proxied by % non-paved roads)
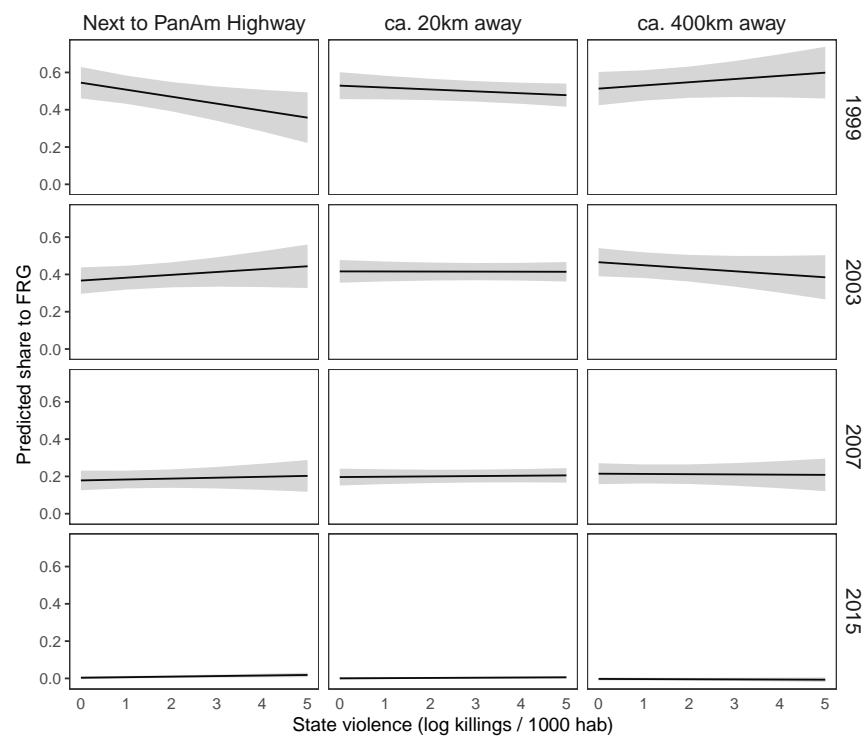
Figure A5: Wartime state violence and FRG share depending on prewar political mobilization (proxied by distance to Pan-American Highway)
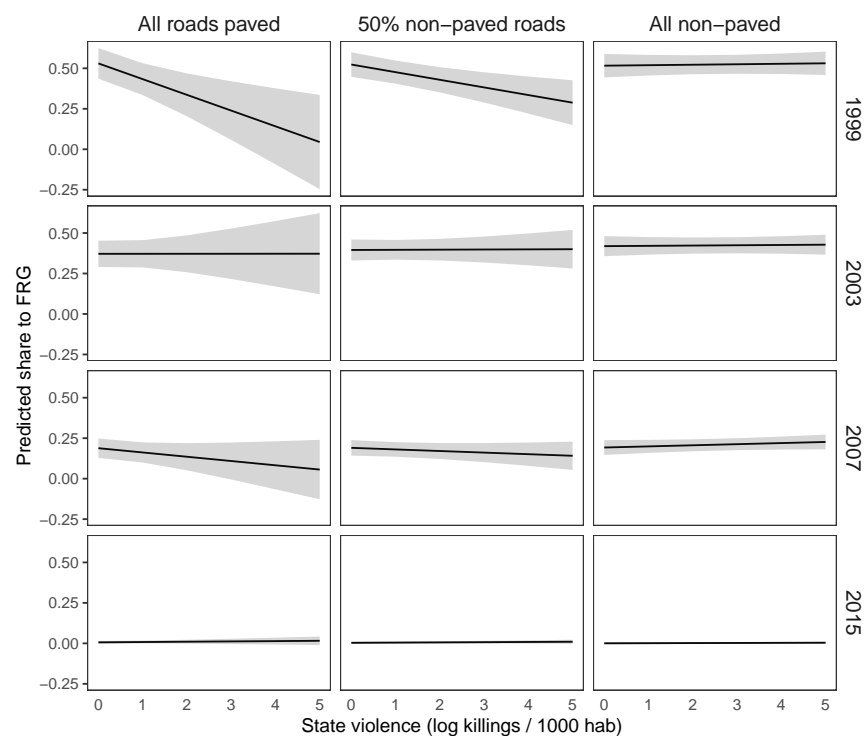

Figure A6: Wartime state violence and FRG share depending on prewar political mobilization (proxied by % non-paved roads)