The Promise and Pitfalls of Conflict Prediction: Evidence from Colombia and Indonesia*

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Abstract

Societies can prevent conflict if they can predict it ahead of time. New data and methods have raised hopes for local early-warning systems. Colombia and Indonesia have some of the richest available sub-national data, and we assemble over a decade of violence data and hundreds of risk factors. We predict conflict with a range of machine learning techniques. These methods predict localities with greater risk of violence, but have difficulty predicting when violence will happen. Time-varying shocks do little to improve predictability. While identifying conflict "hot spots" is useful for policy, currently available data fall short of workable early-warning systems.

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1 Introduction

Advances in data and computing techniques have kindled hopes that civil society, police, or peacekeepers could predict costly violence ahead of time. Such early-warning systems could be used to target scarce security personnel and resources, and prevent violence from occurring or escalating.

Until recently, prediction focused on large-scale, country-level events, including coups, civil wars, and terror attacks.¹ These macro-level efforts have informed policy, the science of prediction, and our understanding of violence. But such high-level predictions are not easy to act on. Scholars such as Cederman and Weidmann (2017) argue that country-level conflict predictions are unlikely to improve much in the future: there is simply too much complexity and randomness, they argue, to develop reliable forecasts over such wide time and space. Sub-national data or higher-frequency predictions could prove more fruitful, but their feasibility is unknown.

This paper takes advantage of unusually high-quality and extensive data in two countries, Colombia and Indonesia. Both countries have been ravaged by violence for decades—a situation that typically does not bode well for data availability. But both countries are also wealthy enough (and have strong enough states and research communities) to produce some of the highest-quality local data in the developing world. This includes a wealth of information on local socioeconomic conditions and other characteristics, plus at least a decade of subdistrict- or municipal-level data on local violence.

We gathered and merged multiple datasets in each country, and deploy several machine learning methods to generate predictions of local violent incidents at the annual level. Using data from 1998 to 2014 in Indonesia, we attempt to predict conflicts such as interethnic or religious tensions, as well as electoral and resource disputes. In Colombia, our data span 1988 to 2005, and we predict clashes between state, guerrilla, and paramilitary forces during a period of protracted civil conflict. In our main year-ahead predictions, we train the algorithms on six to fourteen years of data, and forecast local conflict during the following year.

Our results illustrate both the promise and pitfalls of local violence forecasting. On the one hand, our models effectively identify locations at risk of having a violent incident. We are particularly effective at identifying "hot spots" with high concentrations of violence — defined as five or more incidents in a single year. Indeed, our ensemble model, which leverages the rich data and new methods, performs better than previous sub-national attempts (Blair

¹The Political Instability Task Force's prediction efforts are likely the most well known (Goldstone et al., 2010). For other examples see Beck et al. (2000); Celiku and Kraay (2017); Gleditsch and Ward (2013); Gurr and Lichbach (1986); Harff (2003); Hegre et al. (2013). For an early exception see Schrodt (2006).

et al., 2017; Weidmann and Ward, 2010; Witmer et al., 2017).

On the other hand, our strong performance is driven by forecasts of where, but not when, violence is likely to occur. Using a series of carefully chosen specifications, we dissect our model's strong performance. Our models tend to identify the same areas as at-risk year after year. Histories of violence tend to be the best predictors. Other predictive risk factors tend to be slow-moving or time-invariant. In Colombia, for example, one of the most reliable predictors is terrain ruggedness. In Indonesia, robust predictors include religion, ethnicity, and sectoral shares of the local economy.

In our year-ahead predictions, predictive accuracy improves little when we add time-varying factors, including: natural disasters, elections, and fluctuations in rainfall, temperature, commodity prices and drug production. In some models, time-varying factors even reduce predictive power, though their performance varies widely. Furthermore, our models perform poorly when we attempt to predict annual deviations from average levels of violence over the study period.

In contrast, our models perform well when we forecast conflict across space, using training data from all available years in one set of locations to predict conflict in another set of locations. In these cross-location predictions, time-varying shocks typically improve performance. Our models leverage the longest time series currently available at the local level. Nonetheless, these results suggest that a lack of common support in the training and testing periods may explain the limited predictive performance of time-varying shocks when we attempt to forecast conflict over time.

Overall, our predictions add value to the extent they identify hot spots that were not obvious to policymakers. Ideally, however, early-warning systems would be able to predict new outbreaks of violence.

One interpretation is that conflict prediction may be less fruitful than hoped. These are just two case studies, but they also happen to be the two fragile states with the broadest and deepest data available. It is also notable that the two case studies involve different forms of violence but produce remarkably similar results.

This pessimistic conclusion would resonate with warnings that big data and machine learning may not deliver the precision that policymakers long for (Jasny and Stone, 2017, p. 469). It also aligns with the view that conflict arises from idiosyncratic reasons, as reflected in the warning by Gartzke (1999) that "war is in the error term".

A more hopeful interpretation is that early-warning systems may yet be feasible, but require longer, more frequent data on additional, different risk factors. Importantly, both of our panels span less than two decades. Longer training samples give algorithms more variation to train on, helping them identify more complex relationships with time-varying predictors. There could also be gains from using higher-frequency data. More data on new risk factors, including mobile phone metadata or social media, may also improve performance. Overall, these data innovations may enhance our capacity to forecast conflict over time.

2 Setting

2.1 Indonesia

Following the 1998 collapse of Suharto's authoritarian regime, Indonesia experienced large-scale collective violence.² Separatist movements in Aceh, East Timor (as it parted from Indonesia), and Papua resulted in over 10,000 deaths. At the same time, religious and ethnic conflict reached new highs.

Collective violence abated by 2003, and the separatist conflict in Aceh ended in 2005. Post-2004, there were far fewer fatalities, and the composition of violence shifted as electoral and resource-related violence rose. The violence also had different consequences: after 2004 it was more likely to lead to injuries and property damage than to deaths. Deadly violence nevertheless remained prevalent across the archipelago, primarily concentrated in regions with histories of large-scale violence.

Scholars debate the drivers of today's conflict in Indonesia, highlighting fixed factors like ethnicity and religion, as well as local resources like forests, minerals, and plantation crops. Regional variation in violence has been linked to political and economic shocks associated with decentralization and electoral reforms (Bazzi and Gudgeon, 2017; Pierskalla and Sacks, 2017), and with natural disasters, weather shocks, and commodity price fluctuations (Barron et al., 2009; Wright and Signoret, 2016). While the literature has identified a variety of proximate causes, it is not clear which of these factors are the best predictors of violence.

2.2 Colombia

Colombia's long-running civil war has resulted in 220,000 deaths and 25,000 disappearances, and forcibly displaced over five million civilians (Historical Memory Group, 2013).

During our analysis period, 1988–2005, the conflict mainly involved left-wing guerrilla groups, the government military, and right-wing paramilitary groups. The insurgency was launched by communist guerrillas in the 1960s. Paramilitaries arose in the 1980s when landowners organized in response to extortion and violence perpetrated by the guerrillas. Paramilitaries and the government colluded extensively, though their relationship varied

²For detailed accounts see Barron et al. (2014, 2016); Tadjoeddin (2014).

over time and space.

Low violence levels prevailed through the 1980s, but escalated in the 1990s when paramilitaries expanded and centralized authority. Intensity remained high until the paramilitaries demobilized, a process that began in 2003 and continued until 2006, when the main paramilitary organization officially disbanded. The conflict subsided further as the death of a number of guerrilla leaders weakened their respective groups. It drew to an official end in 2016, when the largest guerrilla group signed a peace deal with the government.

Scholars have linked regional variation in conflict to a host of political and economic factors, including shocks to drug production (Angrist and Kugler, 2008), fluctuations in commodity prices (Dube and Vargas, 2013), revenue decentralization (Chacon, 2014), collusion between paramilitaries and politicians (Acemoglu et al., 2013), American military aid (Dube and Naidu, 2015), and military incentives in the targeting of civilians (Acemoglu et al., 2016).

3 Data

In each country we collected and stitched together an extensive range of local-level data sets, most of which had not been consolidated before.

3.1 Indonesia

Our units of analysis are Indonesia's third-tier administrative units, known as subdistricts or *kecamatan*. The country had 7,094 subdistricts in 514 districts in 2014. These subdistricts had a median population of around 22,000. (To deal with Indonesia's pervasive administrative unit proliferation we harmonize all observations to boundaries in 2000). While districts are the key autonomous administrative units, responsible for providing major public goods, subdistricts are also important sites of political organization.

Subdistrict-Level Violence Data Our main measures of violence come from the Indonesian National Violence Monitoring System (known by its Indonesian acronym, SNPK). Coverage begins in 1998 for nine conflict-prone provinces and increases to 15 provinces plus parts of 3 provinces in greater Jakarta beginning in 2005. The data is not formally representative of Indonesia, but by 2005 it spans all major island groups and covers a majority of the population.

The SNPK is built from local media reports of violence. SNPK researchers collected all available print archives of 120 local newspapers, recording over 2 million images. Coders then

used a standardized template to code each incident based on the underlying trigger, beginning with broad groupings: domestic violence, violent crime, violence during law enforcement, and conflict. Within conflict, the coders further sorted into identity, elections/appointments, governance, resource violence, popular justice, separatist, and other (could not be classified). Appendix B.1 defines each of these.

We also draw on additional measures of violence from a triennial administrative census of villages known by its acronym, *Podes*. Podes asks local government officials about a host of village characteristics, including recent violent events.³

Outcome Measurement Our main outcome is an indicator for any "social conflict." This groups all of the various forms of violence, except domestic violence and crime, into one category. It guards against miscoding of conflict triggers. Online Appendix A.2 shows that predictive performance is similar when retaining domestic violence and crime.

In addition to indicators of any social conflict (which occur in around half of the subdistricts each year) we also predict an indicator for at least five social conflict incidents in a given year. This is meant to capture higher intensity episodes. These episodes occur in around 10% of subdistricts each year. We predict indicators rather than counts in order to simplify the interpretation of performance: the models either correctly predict the incident or they do not. We predict counts in Online Appendix A.4; this exercise does not meaningfully change our conclusions.

Of course, levels of violence tend to be persistent, and we are often interested in predicting the onset and escalation of violence after a period of peace. There is no natural definition of "onset" here, as in the civil war literature, since there are no discontinuities in subnational event-level data. Instead, we construct an indicator for a standard deviation increase in violence since the previous year, and seek to predict this escalation. A standard deviation increase is around 4.7 acts of violence in a year, and we observe an increase of this size in 3.3% of subdistrict—years.

Covariates In addition to lagged violence measures from SNPK and *Podes*, we assemble a set of over 400 subdistrict-level covariates from multiple data sources, several of them new. Details on sources and variable construction can be found in Online Appendix B.1. Predictors include, among others: (a) population and population density; (b) age, religious, and ethnic composition; (c) topographical traits and transportation infrastructure; (d) local commodity production, mine locations, and relevant commodity prices; (e) sectoral shares

³To the extent that local leaders face strategic incentives to misreport violence, *Podes* measures may be more biased than those from external media reporting (for discussion, see Barron et al., 2014).

of output; (e) economic output measured by unemployment, light intensity, and district-level GDP; (f) rainfall and temperature histories and fluctuations; (g) local and national election outcomes; (h) subdistrict and district public revenues and expenditures, and (i) local security personnel and posts. Unless otherwise specified, these measures are available at the subdistrict level or finer, and are aggregated to their subdistrict boundaries in 2000.

3.2 Colombia

Our unit of analysis for Colombia is the municipality. There are 1,023 in our study period, averaging 37,000 residents (slightly larger than the typical Indonesian subdistrict). Municipalities play a key role in the allocation and contestation of public resources in Colombia.

Municipality-Level Violence Data The Conflict Analysis Resource Center (CERAC) provides data on armed confrontations from 1988 to 2005, collected from 25 major newspapers and supplemented by reports from a network of Catholic priests. The priests are seen as neutral actors, often serving as negotiators between the two sides. Their accounts are crucial for remote areas. CERAC cross-checks the events in this database against National Police, Human Rights Watch, and other sources (see Restrepo et al., 2004).

CERAC codes events as bilateral clashes between sides or unilateral attacks by any one side against another. Clashes occur between all three, though government versus paramilitary clashes are rare.

We only use CERAC data after 1992 for the training sample, since a consistent set of covariates is unavailable before then.

Outcome Measurement We construct indicators of any attack or clash, analogous to the indicators for Indonesia. This grouping combines attacks initiated by the government with attacks initiated by other armed actors. Online Appendix A.2 explores the robustness of our results to removing government-initiated violence.

In Colombia, our indicator of any conflict occurs in about one-third of municipalities each year. "Hotspots" with five or more incidents occur about 8% of the time. A standard deviation change is 3.4 events, and we observe such a change in 4.4% of municipality-years.

Covariates As in Indonesia, we assemble a broad set of predictors from multiple sources: over 350 in all (including lags of time-varying predictors).⁴ These include: (a) population and population density; (b) topographical traits and road accessibility; (c) military presence

⁴See Online Appendix B.2 for full details.

and U.S. military spending (Dube and Naidu, 2015); (d) local commodity production and relevant commodity prices (as in Dube and Vargas, 2013); (e) illicit drug production and prices; (f) measures of local poverty and inequality; (g) rainfall and temperature histories and fluctuations; (h) colonial population and infrastructure (Acemoglu et al., 2014); (i) annual municipality revenues and spending; and (j) electoral outcomes in local and federal elections.

4 Prediction Methods

4.1 Training and Testing

For each year t we forecast violence in year t + 1. Our procedure is as follows:

- 1. For each model, we take observations from t_0 to t-1 as our training set.
- 2. We use 5-fold cross validation to choose optimal "tuning parameters" specific to each machine learning algorithm (see Section 4.2). 5-fold cross validation simulates out-of-sample prediction. First, the data is randomly partitioned into 5 equal sized subsamples. A model is then fit to four subsamples and used to predict results for the fifth. This is repeated for each of the five subsamples, so that there is an "out-of-sample" prediction of each observation. We replicate this exercise for each tuning parameter value in the parameter search space. The best performing parameter is chosen.
- 3. We repeat step 2 ten times with different random partitions, in order to generate 10 "optimal" tuning parameters, and then we take the average over these 10 trials.
- 4. Using the selected tuning parameter values, we fit the model to the entire training set.
- 5. With this fitted model, we use the predictors and parameters in year t to forecast violence in year t + 1.

We generate out-of-sample predictions starting in 2008 (and ending in 2014) for Indonesia and in 1998 for Colombia (ending in 2005). We use all data up to the test year to generate out-of-sample forecasts. So, to predict violence in year t + 1, we train each model on data through year t; predict violence in t + 2, we train each model on data through t + 1; etc. For Indonesia, this procedure generates seven predictions per algorithm. The first uses six years of data to forecast conflict in 2008, and the last uses twelve years of data to forecast conflict in 2014. For Colombia, we generate eight predictions per algorithm. The first uses six years of data to forecast conflict in 1998, and the last uses fourteen years of data to forecast conflict in 2005.

4.2 Machine Learning Algorithms

We apply several machine learning methods to the above procedure. Since each has its own strengths and drawbacks, we also take a weighted average of the four using an **Ensemble Bayesian Model Average**. Starting with the prior that each algorithm is equally appropriate, we use cross-validation to update our weights based on the accuracy of each model (Montgomery et al., 2012).

- 1. **LASSO** (Tibshirani, 1994) is a logistic regression model that penalizes large coefficients and forces all but the most important to zero. This algorithm is the simplest of the five that we test, and the least susceptible to overfitting. It is less suited to identifying complex relationships between covariates and outcomes.
- 2. Random Forests comprise many independent decision trees. Each tree is a sequence of rules that splits the sample into subsets, called leaves, based on variable cutoffs. The prediction for each leaf is the mean outcome for the observations on that leaf, and trees are fit so as to minimize mean squared error. Each tree is constructed by sampling a random subset of the training data and a random subset of the predictors. Each of these trees generates a prediction, and the overall prediction of the Random Forest is the average of the predictions from each tree.
- 3. Gradient Boosted Machines are a variant of Random Forests. Trees are fit neither randomly nor independently. Instead, each tree is fit sequentially to the full dataset, but observations are weighted by the error rates of previous trees in the forest, such that later trees are fit with a larger weight on observations that previous trees found difficult to predict. In this way, each new tree slightly improves the model (Freund and Schapire, 1999).
- 4. Neural Networks consist of systems of "nodes," which are each functions of predictors. The functions input a linear combination of predictors and output a value between zero and one. The outputs of these nodes are then further combined to produce a single output, with an organization evoking the structure of the human brain (Hastie et al., 2001). The optimization problem is to choose appropriate weights in each linear combination.⁵

⁵Because there is a separate set of weights for each node, the number of free parameters can grow very quickly. Since we do not have many observations relative to our predictor dimensionality, we must first cut down the number of predictors by taking principal components of the covariates. We use 30 principal components in Indonesia and 20 in Colombia.

4.3 Performance Metrics

To evaluate our models, we focus on the area under the ROC (receiver operating characteristic) curve. ROC curves plot the tradeoff between true and false positives for a given model. The area under the curve, or AUC, is a common summary measure of model performance. Intuitively, the AUC captures the probability that a randomly chosen pair of observations is correctly ordered in terms of predicted risk of violence. A model that performs no better than chance would have an AUC of 0.5; a perfect model would have an AUC of 1.

An advantage of the AUC is that it does not require that we specify a probability threshold above which we predict violence will occur. Selecting a specific threshold requires making a tradeoff between accuracy, sensitivity (the proportion of incidents correctly predicted), and specificity (the proportion of non-incidents correctly predicted). The threshold one chooses depends on one's relative tolerance for false positives and false negatives.

For example, a policymaker with ample resources might choose a low threshold, increasing sensitivity at the cost of specificity and accuracy, while a policymaker with scarce resources might choose a high threshold, increasing specificity at the cost of sensitivity and accuracy. We are more interested in overall performance than in performance at any given threshold, and so opt to focus on the AUC.⁶

5 Results

5.1 Next Year's Violence is Predictable

Table 1 shows that all machine learning methods have strong predictive performance. For the ensemble average (EBMA), the AUC is above 0.82 for predicting ≥ 1 event, above 0.91 for ≥ 5 events, and above 0.79 for escalations of ≥ 1 standard deviation. In general, AUCs of 0.8 and above are considered very good, and AUCs of 0.90 and above are considered excellent.

To fix ideas, given a random pair of Indonesian subdistricts in which one location experiences 5 or more incidents and the other does not, there is a 0.935 probability that the more violent subdistrict would have a higher predicted probability of violence. The lower AUC for escalations implies that changes are inherently more difficult to predict, and that increasing the number of true positives comes at the cost of more false positives.

By way of comparison, Blair et al. (2017) report a maximum out-of-sample AUC of 0.74 in a sample of 250 Liberian towns over three years, Weidmann and Ward (2010) achieve a

⁶An alternative metric that also does not require selecting a threshold is the mean squared error (MSE). Online Appendix A.1 reports the MSE as well as accuracy, sensitivity, and specificity at two different thresholds (one that maximizes accuracy and one that maximizes sensitivity while keeping accuracy above 50%).

maximum out-of-sample AUC of 0.78 in Bosnia 1992–95, and Witmer et al. (2017) find a maximum *in*-sample AUC of 0.85 across sub-Saharan Africa using 1 degree gridded monthly data, 1980–2012.⁷ Gains in the range of 0.05 or 0.10 represent 10–20% of the difference between the worst and best possible prediction.

The models perform similarly well in Indonesia and Colombia, and performance is similar across algorithms. LASSO performs roughly as well as the more sophisticated algorithms, notable given its relative simplicity.

Table 1: Out-of-Sample (One Year Ahead) Performance of Prediction Models, Area Under the Curve (AUC)

		Random	Adaptive	Neural	
	LASSO	Forest	Boosting	Network	EBMA
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		Indone	esia (social c	onflict)	
Indicator of any violent event	0.812	0.814	0.818	0.793	0.820
Indicator of ≥ 5 violent events	0.929	0.935	0.937	0.917	0.941
≥ 1 s.d. increase in violent events	0.860	0.790	0.827	0.799	0.839
		Colombia	(attacks an	d clashes)	
Indicator of any violent event	0.844	0.845	0.848	0.830	0.850
Indicator of ≥ 5 violent events	0.913	0.906	0.907	0.872	0.913
≥ 1 s.d. increase in violent events	0.801	0.783	0.785	0.736	0.796

Notes: Each model is trained on all available data preceding the out-of-sample prediction year. Training data starts in 1991 in Colombia and 2002 in Indonesia. Out-of-sample prediction begins in 1998 in Colombia and 2008 in Indonesia. The AUC is the area under the ROC curve, a measure of the trade-off between the true positive rate and false positive rate at different thresholds. We report average performance over the out-of-sample years.

5.2 We Predict Time-Invariant Risk that Varies Over Space rather than Time

In this section, we run various analyses to try to understand the nature and sources of predictability, and conclude that our predictions mainly capture fixed risks of violence. Table 2 reports results. For purposes of comparison, Column (1) reproduces the results from Table 1 above.

⁷ In-sample performance refers to models that are trained and tested on the same data. Out-of-sample refers to models that are trained on one subset of data and tested on another.

5.2.1 Violence Histories Alone are a Good Predictor of Future Conflict

First we examine the predictive power of violence histories alone. Column (2) and (3) consider models that uses all available information about past violence. For each country we have data on the actors involved in different incidents of violence, as well as on the severity of those incidents (number of deaths, destruction of property, etc.). In Indonesia, we can distinguish between different motives. The predictors used in Column (2) thus create a rich history of violence for each location, beyond a mere lagged measure of the outcomes we are trying to predict. Column (3) adds measures of population and population density to reflect the fact that more populous places mechanically have more people who can engage in conflict with one another.

The results are striking. The AUCs with violence histories alone perform almost as well as, and occasionally better than, our full model in Column (1). The addition of population in Column (3) improves the performance of violence histories very little.

In Column (4), we take this exercise to the extreme by dispensing with much of the rich violence data and predicting solely based on whether there was any conflict in the previous period. Performance is not terrible, as violence is indeed persistent, but it is markedly worse than when we use a full set of violence measures. Online Appendix A.3 compares our full model to other autoregressive and OLS fixed effects models, while Online Appendix A.6 further explores the returns to more detailed violence data.

5.2.2 Time-Invariant Predictors are Most Effective in Our Models

If detailed, past violence predicts future violence, do we need other predictors at all? In what follows, we develop a number of tests for parsing the sources of predictability.

Table 2 Column (5) shows a model that only uses predictors that do not directly measure past violence. These include the hundreds of socioeconomic and demographic measures discussed above. Performance is comparable to the full model in Column (1) and the violence-only model in Column (2). This suggests that these socioeconomic and demographic variables contain more or less the same information as the detailed histories of violence, but add little value over them.

Of course, our models contain hundreds of variables, and it is possible that some contribute much less than others. In particular, our models include a number of predictors that change slowly or not at all. Some, such as topographical traits or colonial history, do not vary by definition. Others, such as ethnic and religious traits in Indonesia, do not vary over our sample because they are measured only once. Variables that do not change over our sample cannot, by their nature, predict the timing of violent conflict.

To examine the relative performance of time-varying and time-invariant predictors, we compare models composed entirely of one or the other. Column (6) uses only time-invariant traits to predict violence, and performance roughly matches or outperforms the model in Column (5). Column (7) uses only time-varying predictors, and performance diminishes.⁸ Thus, most of our model's performance can be achieved by successfully predicting time-invariant (or at least highly persistent) violence risk.

Table 2: Out-of-Sample (One Year Ahead) Performance of the Ensemble (EBMA) Method, Varying Predictor Sets

-		Λ.	noo undon tho	ourse (AUC)	for Modela r	i+h	
		Area under the curve (AUC) for Models with					
		All Past	All Past	Lagged	Full	Time-	Time-
	Full	Violence	Violence &	Predictand	Excl. Past	Invariant	Varying
	Predictors	Measures	Population	(AR(1))	Violence	Predictors	Predictors
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
			Indonesia	(2008–2014)			
Any Incident (AUC)	0.820	0.807	0.812	0.687	0.808	0.813	0.764
≥ 5 Incidents (AUC)	0.941	0.936	0.938	0.808	0.920	0.930	0.879
≥ 1 S.D. Increase (AUC)	0.839	0.853	0.857	0.527	0.815	0.851	0.781
	Colombia (1998–2005)						
Any Incident (AUC)	0.850	0.812	0.837	0.743	0.825	0.829	0.769
≥ 5 Incidents (AUC)	0.913	0.905	0.914	0.748	0.874	0.877	0.830
≥ 1 S.D. Increase (AUC)	0.796	0.763	0.788	0.521	0.775	0.775	0.751

Notes: Each model is trained on all available data preceding the out-of-sample prediction year. Training data starts in 1991 in Colombia and 2002 in Indonesia. Out-of-sample prediction begins in 1998 in Colombia and 2008 in Indonesia. The AUC is the area under the ROC curve, a measure of the trade-off between the true positive rate and false positive rate at different thresholds. We report average performance over the out-of-sample years above. Past violence measures include breakdowns of events by actors and outcomes such as deaths and damages. Population includes population growth rates and density.

In Figure 1, we go one step further and examine the predictive performance of clusters of related predictors. We start with a baseline model that uses only population (level, growth rate, and density) to generate predictions. We then add subgroups of predictors to that baseline model and estimate the change in predictive performance. This approach estimates the predictive power of sets of predictors beyond their association with population.

Figure 1 plots the change in model performance from adding the variable subgroup. We do so for our three outcomes and both countries. Each out-of-sample year is indicated with a small dot, to give a sense of the range. The first out-of-sample year is marked with a green triangle and the last is marked with a blue square. While the first out-of-sample year

⁸This is true even for the ≥ 1 SD increase. While such increases naturally have a temporal element to them, it appears that our performance comes from leveraging *which* places are most at risk of experiencing escalations as opposed to *when* these escalations occur.

generally has worse performance because the training sample is smallest, it is difficult to see a clear improvement in performance over successive out-of-sample predictions. Rarely is the final year of data actually the best performing. In the discussion below, we focus on the average change—reflected by the larger open circle.

Consistent with the results above, time-invariant predictors appear to add the most to predictive performance. This is true even when looking at conflict escalation. The time-invariant predictors that add the most to predictive performance are also notably similar across countries and outcomes. Measures of remoteness, like distance from major cities, and geographic traits like terrain ruggedness, are generally the best predictors. Measures of economic output and economic structure (such as sectoral shares of GDP or total employment) are also important predictors. (While these measures are not time-invariant in actuality, they are in our dataset).

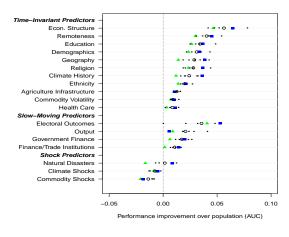
In contrast, time-varying covariates seldom improve predictive power, even when predicting a ≥ 1 SD escalation. This is true of natural disasters, commodity prices and climate shocks. In some instances, adding these predictors decreases performance. However, the range of estimates is very large, which limits our ability to definitively conclude how these predictors affect model performance. Elections appear to improve predictive power, though their performance added also varies.

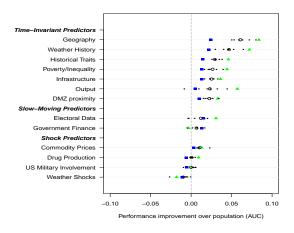
⁹The inconclusive performance of these variables in our year-ahead prediction models stands in contrast to causal studies of conflict, where variables such as commodity prices and weather fluctuations have been found to exert robust significant effects on conflict intensity and sometimes conflict onset. See, for example, Miguel et al. (2004), Bazzi and Blattman (2014), Berman and Couttenier (2013), Berman et al. (forthcoming), Burke et al. (2015) and Dube and Vargas (2013). This underscores the observation that the relationship between causation and prediction is complex (Shmueli, 2010), and the objective of prediction differs fundamentally from the objective of parameter estimation (Mullainathan and Spiess, 2017).

Figure 1: AUC Improvements from Individual Predictor Groups

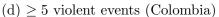
(a) Any violent event (Indonesia)

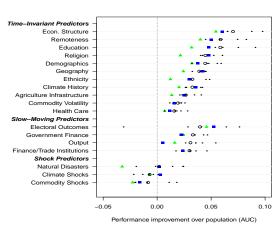
(b) Any violent event (Colombia)

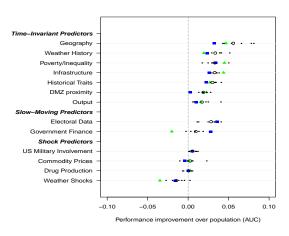




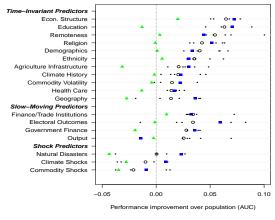
 $(c) \ge 5$ violent events (Indonesia)

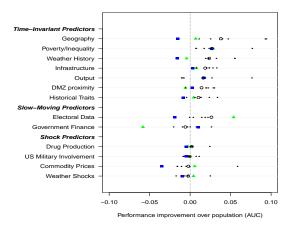






(e) ≥ 1 S.D. increase in violent events (Indonesia)(f) ≥ 1 S.D. increase in violent events (Colombia)





Notes: Performance in individual years appear as small dots. The first (last) year of the sample is represented by a green triangle (blue square) in order to show the change in performance over time, or lack thereof. The large hollow circle is the average of performance across the years. A full breakdown of the variables in each of the different predictor groups can be found in Online Appendix B.3.

5.2.3 Our Models Predict Violence across Locations

So far, several pieces of evidence point to the difficulty of predicting the specific timing of violence, including: the poor performance of time-varying predictors; the interchangeability of histories of violence and largely time-invariant predictors; and the fact that histories of violence predict spikes in violence roughly as well as levels of violence.

An additional exercise in the Online Appendix A.5 shows that our models perform especially poorly if we seek to predict within-location, over-time variation in violence, using the deviation of violent incidents in period from its historical mean. These results further underscore the difficulty of predicting within-unit changes in violence, given the available data.

Next, we take the opposite approach, forecasting conflict exclusively across locations. To do this, we randomly split subdistricts in Indonesia and municipalities in Colombia into two equal-sized groups. We pool observations over time, and train our algorithms using all years of data in one group of locations, generating predictions for a second group of locations. Table 3 reports these results. Column (1) shows that overall performance when forecasting across locations is strikingly similar to performance when predicting ahead in time.

Table 3: Predicting Across Locations

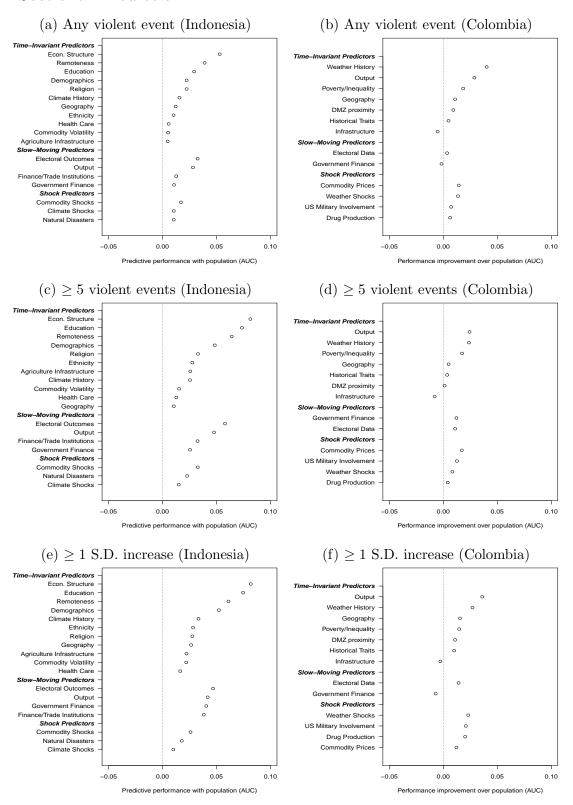
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,							
	Aı	Area Under the Curve (AUC) with					
		Only Past	Only	Full			
	Full	Violence	Past Violence	Excl. Past			
	Predictors	Measures	and Population	Violence			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)			
		Indonesi	a $(2008-2014)$				
Any Incident (AUC)	0.831	0.816	0.822	0.813			
≥ 5 Incidents (AUC)	0.945	0.931	0.934	0.920			
≥ 1 S.D. Increase (AUC)	0.861	0.840	0.847	0.845			
	Colombia (1998-2005)						
Any Incident (AUC)	0.848	0.809	0.831	0.800			
≥ 5 Incidents (AUC)	0.925	0.916	0.922	0.856			
\geq 1 S.D. Increase (AUC)	0.826	0.775	0.803	0.800			

Notes: AUCs for a random test set of locations over time. Algorithms are trained using data from training locations over the entire time span of the datasets. Training data starts in 1991 in Colombia and 2002 in Indonesia. The AUC is the area under the ROC curve, a measure of the trade-off between the true positive rate and false positive rate as we vary the discrimination threshold.

However, some differences emerge in the performance of individual predictor groups. Figure 2 examines which groups of predictors (along with population) best predict out-of-sample violence across locations. Time-invariant predictors remain important. However,

time-varying predictors including weather, natural disasters and commodity prices no longer reduce predictive power, and in some cases, improve it substantially. One notable difference between the across-location and year-ahead predictions is that the training set uses all years of available data in the across-location approach. The algorithms therefore observe the entire relevant distribution of weather, disasters and commodity price fluctuations over the duration of the period. These variables may behave very differently year to year. When we predict violence one year ahead, if the training period includes such shocks, while the testing period does not, the lack of common support across these periods may inhibit the predictive power of these variables. Thus the short time series of the training and testing samples, and the difficulty of generating off-support predictions, may explain why time-varying covariates like weather shocks perform worse in our predictions over time.

Figure 2: AUC Improvements from Individual Predictor Groups, Cross-Sectional Prediction



Notes: Performance (AUC) in the single test sample is reported.

6 Discussion

A large portion of violence in Indonesia and Colombia appears to be predictable, but that predictability is largely a function of time-invariant, location-specific risk. The residual variation—year-to-year changes in violence—is difficult to forecast.

There are several possible explanations. For one, it is possible that the time-varying dimensions of violence are simply idiosyncratic and therefore hard to predict. In many cases, conflict is not only inefficient but is an out-of-equilibrium behavior (Fearon, 1995). These deviations from normal, peaceful social competition could be inherently difficult to forecast. Violence may also be hard to predict because it responds endogenously to the strategic calculations of armed actors. For instance, we may observe peace in a particular region precisely because government security forces crudely predicted a high conflict risk there, and allocated resources accordingly. Likewise, a terrorist may decide to attack an area because that is where the attack was least expected.

Measurement problems may also limit model performance. The timing of violence could be a function of factors that are inherently difficult to observe and measure accurately, such as social grievances or the deterioration of communal trust. These variables might improve our models, if only we could measure them. Despite our large set of predictors and our massively interactive models, measurement challenges may reduce predictive performance.

We may also lack a sufficiently long time series to be able to capture time-varying conflict risk. The limited predictive power of shocks in our over-time predictions may reflect a lack of common support in the relatively short training and testing samples. If so, then performance might improve with more years of data. High-frequency data on local conditions and leading indicators of violence are other obvious candidates. For now, few developing country contexts offer such data. But possibilities in the near future include data from social media, mobile phone meta-data, real-time incident data, and media monitoring.¹⁰ We view these as promising avenues for future research seeking to forecast where violence changes over time.

¹⁰The use of media reports for civil war prediction has been successful (Mueller and Rauh, 2016), but such tools may be less useful at more local levels where media coverage is spotty and rising tensions may go unreported.

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Appendix for Online Publication

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A Additional Results

A.1 Other Measures of Model Performance

In the main text, we measure performance with the AUC. However, practitioners may be interested in other performance statistics. Here we consider choosing various discrimination thresholds, each of which essentially picks a point on the ROC curve. In Figure we display ROC curves, and in Table A.1 we report a number of alternative performance statistics. Each of our three main predictands are reported in a separate panel.

Maximal Accuracy. In the top portion of each panel, we report performance when we set a discrimination threshold to maximize accuracy. We choose this discrimination threshold in our cross validation routine. We report accuracy (the proportion of all cases correctly predicted), sensitivity (the proportion of incidents correctly predicted), and specificity (the proportion of non-incidents correctly predicted).¹

Maximal Sensitivity. In the next section of each panel, we choose a different discrimination threshold to maximize sensitivity. Of course, if we predicted violence everywhere, we would achieve a sensitivity of 1, but that would not be a useful prediction. Instead, we choose to maximize sensitivity subject to the constraint that we keep accuracy above 0.5 in the cross-validation process. We observe, that if needed, these models could identify all of the places that experience violence, but this coverage comes at a high cost in terms of accuracy and specificity (false positives).²

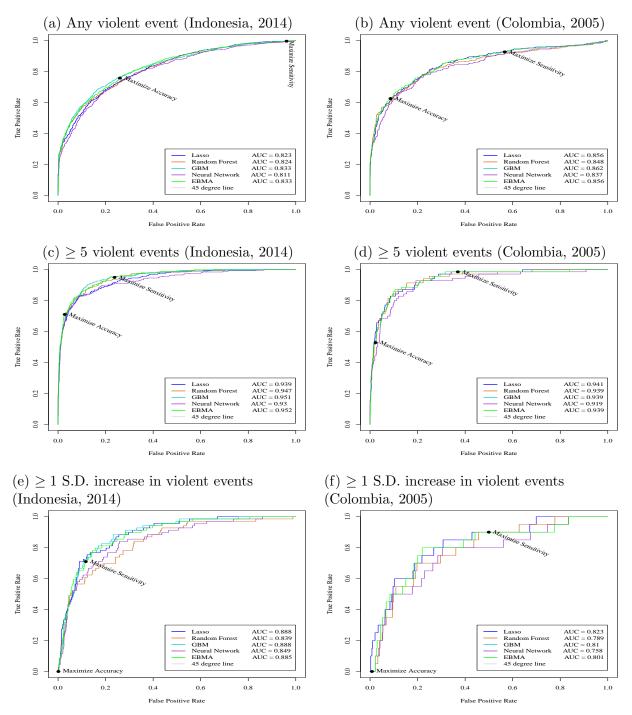
Mean Squared Error. Finally, we report the mean squared error. Generally, the MSE is closely correlated with the AUC, but the correspondence is not exact.³ Using the MSE does not meaningfully change the results of this paper.

Observe that as the outcome becomes rarer, accuracy generally increases while sensitivity plummets. This is a mechanical phenomenon. When an outcome is rare, it is easy to predict that it never happens (an uninformative prediction) and achieve high accuracy.

²A practitioner might have preferences between these two extremes and consequently choose a point on the ROC that differs from these two. This is precisely why we use the AUC as our benchmark.

³This is because the AUC penalizes errors in relative rankings of different locations, while the MSE penalizes errors of prediction according to the magnitude of the difference between actual outcomes and predicted probabilities. While these two types of errors are related, they are distinct. However, observe that when the two yield differing comparisons of two models, the differences are small. Assessing model performance according to MSE only changes comparisons for borderline cases, which we do not put much emphasis on.

Figure A.1: Receiver Operating Characteristic Curves (ROCs), Selected Years



Notes: These curves are for select years and therefore, the performance statistics do not match the pooled results in Table 1. Discrimination thresholds are chosen by averaging results from 10 rounds of 5-fold cross validation. The "Maximize Accuracy" threshold is chosen to achieve the highest value of overall accuracy, while the "Maximize Sensitivity" threshold is chosen to achieve high sensitivity while keeping accuracy above 50% in the cross-validation exercise.

Table A.1: Out-of-Sample Performance of Prediction Models

		Indone	sia (social co	onflicts)			Colombia	a (attacks an	d clashes)	
	LASSO (1)	Random Forest (2)	Adaptive Boosting (3)	Neural Network (4)	EBMA (5)	LASSO (6)	Random Forest (7)	Adaptive Boosting (8)	Neural Network (9)	EBMA (10)
				(a) Indi	cator of	any viole	nt event			
EBMA Weight	0.265	0.261	0.212	0.262		0.258	0.254	0.235	0.253	
				Thre	shold max	cimizes acc	uracu			
Accuracy	0.728	0.732	0.736	0.710	0.736	0.774	0.777	0.776	0.764	0.778
Sensitivity	0.744	0.706	0.696	0.687	0.740	0.615	0.626	0.622	0.582	0.646
Specificity	0.710	0.763	0.784	0.739	0.733	0.874	0.871	0.872	0.871	0.859
			Threshold	l maximizes	sensitivi	ty, while a	ccuracy is a	bove 50%		
Accuracy	0.547	0.549	0.548	0.548	0.570	0.516	0.514	0.510	0.459	0.552
Sensitivity	0.999	0.999	1.000	0.999	0.994	0.980	0.977	0.981	0.977	0.969
Specificity	0.011	0.015	0.013	0.015	0.068	0.228	0.228	0.218	0.127	0.288
MSE	0.178	0.176	0.174	0.189	0.174	0.155	0.154	0.152	0.164	0.151
AUC	0.810	0.814	0.818	0.787	0.818	0.844	0.845	0.848	0.830	0.850
Dep Var. Mean	0.531		*****			0.361				
				(b) Indi	cator of	≥ 5 viole:	nt events			
EBMA Weight	0.262	0.278	0.179	0.281		0.252	0.251	0.246	0.251	
				Three	shold ma	ximizes acc	euracu			
Accuracy	0.928	0.929	0.924	0.920	0.930	0.924	0.922	0.921	0.914	0.921
Sensitivity	0.613	0.609	0.643	0.524	0.655	0.380	0.357	0.398	0.251	0.416
Specificity	0.974	0.976	0.965	0.978	0.971	0.984	0.984	0.979	0.988	0.976
			Threshol	d marimize	s sensitiv	itu while a	ccuracy is a	bove 50%		
Accuracy	0.450	0.412	0.343	0.479	0.806	0.468	0.469	0.496	0.238	0.563
Sensitivity	0.981	0.993	0.992	0.961	0.912	0.973	0.984	0.969	0.972	0.971
Specificity	0.372	0.327	0.248	0.408	0.791	0.410	0.412	0.443	0.155	0.517
MSE	0.057	0.055	0.057	0.062	0.053	0.057	0.058	0.060	0.066	0.057
AUC	0.929	0.937	0.934	0.912	0.939	0.913	0.906	0.907	0.872	0.913
Dep. Var. Mean	0.127					0.083				
			($(\mathbf{c}) \geq 1 \text{ S.I}$	D. increa	se in viol	ent events			
EBMA Weight	0.276	0.299	0.125	0.300		0.250	0.250	0.249	0.251	
				Three	shold mar	rimizes acc	uracu			
Accuracy	0.964	0.963	0.956	0.964	0.964	0.948	0.947	0.946	0.948	0.945
Sensitivity	0.002	0.010	0.044	0.002	0.002	0.012	0.010	0.018	0.000	0.046
Specificity	0.999	0.998	0.990	0.999	0.999	0.999	0.998	0.997	1.000	0.994
			Threshold	l marimiza	: sensitini	tu mhile a	ccuracy is a	hove 50%		
Accuracy	0.451	0.246	0.342	0.563	0.774	0.431	0.375	0.455	0.218	0.450
Sensitivity	0.965	0.966	0.963	0.855	0.628	0.929	0.949	0.400	0.906	0.919
Specificity	0.432	0.220	0.319	0.553	0.780	0.402	0.343	0.430	0.178	0.423
MCE	0.021	0.020	0.050	0.024	0.020	0.046	0.047	0.050	0.050	0.046
MSE AUC	0.031	0.038	0.052	0.034	0.032	0.046	0.047	0.050	0.052 0.736	0.046
AUC	0.859	0.782	0.824	0.810	0.840	0.801	0.783	0.785	0.730	0.796

Notes: Each model is trained on all data available preceding the out-of-sample prediction year. Accuracy is the proportion of subdistricts correctly predicted. Sensitivity is the proportion of subdistricts that actually experience violence for which we predicted violence. Specificity is the proportion of subdistricts that do not actually experience violence, where we accurately predict non-violence. The AUC is the area under the ROC curve, a measure of the trade-off between the true positive rate and false positive rate as we vary the discrimination threshold.

To investigate this further, we first plot predictions over time for a random subset of locations in Indonesia and Colombia in Figure A.2. We report predictions for both the full model, and the

model that excludes past violence. Here, we show predicted probabilities of any event; results look similar for the rarer events. In most cases, the most at-risk locations at the beginning of the sample continue to be the most at-risk at the end, suggesting that risk is indeed persistent over time.

(a) Full model - Indonesia (b) Full model - Colombia 0.1 0: 0.8 0.8 Predicted Probability of Any Conflict 9.0 9.0 0.4 0.4 0.2 0.2 0.0 0.0 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 1998 (c) Excluding Violence - Indonesia (d) Excluding Violence - Colombia 0.1 1.0 0.8 0.8 Predicted Probability of Any Conflict 9.0 9.0 0.4 0.4 0.2 0.2 0.0 0.0 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 1998 2002

Figure A.2: Predicted Probability of Any Event

Notes: For each country, 20 locations were randomly drawn to be displayed above. Colors indicate relative violence risk at the beginning of the testing period.

A.2 Alternative Dependent Variables

Including Crime and Domestic Violence for Indonesia. Results are robust to including crime and domestic violence in our outcome variable. In our main analysis, we predict incidents in Indonesia that do not include crime or domestic violence. We do this because we believe that these sorts of violent events are conceptually distinct from other, socio-political types of violence and are likely to be treated differently by policy makers. In this section, we consider predicting indicators of any violence, including crime and domestic violence, as well as predicting crime alone.

Table A.2 reports the prevalence of crime over time. We note that non-social conflict is more prevalent than social conflict.

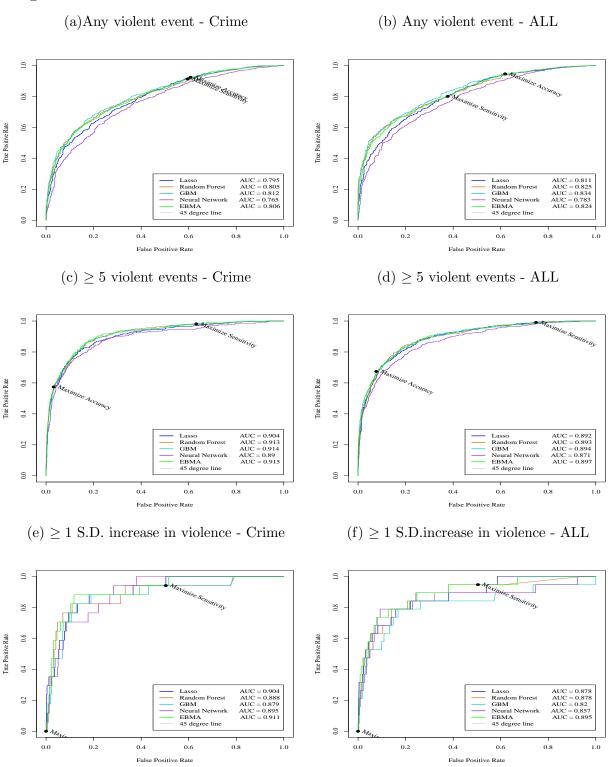
Table A.2: Annual Rates of Conflict in Indonesian Subdistricts, Including Crime Violence

	Crime	and Domes	stic Violence	All - C	All - Crime and Non-Crime Violence			
		≥ 5	≥ 1 std. dev.		≥ 5	≥ 1 std. dev.		
	any	$\operatorname{conflict}$	increase	any	$\operatorname{conflict}$	increase		
	conflict	incidents	in incidents	conflict	incidents	in incidents		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)		
2005	0.691	0.282		0.780	0.395			
2006	0.711	0.298	0.016	0.796	0.406	0.014		
2007	0.706	0.254	0.014	0.797	0.364	0.010		
2008	0.715	0.269	0.013	0.804	0.395	0.010		
2009	0.719	0.280	0.014	0.806	0.386	0.011		
2010	0.699	0.222	0.006	0.803	0.345	0.006		
2011	0.702	0.234	0.012	0.800	0.364	0.011		
2012	0.700	0.233	0.013	0.811	0.356	0.011		
2013	0.677	0.215	0.008	0.782	0.336	0.009		
2014	0.693	0.210	0.007	0.789	0.336	0.006		

Notes: Conflict incidents for crime and domestic violence.

In Figure A.3, we report performance for these two alternative outcome variables. We see that crime is slightly less predictable than non-crime events, but the differences are not dramatic. Combining the two classes of violence further harms predictability (as seen on the right side of the figure), however. We view this as validation of our decision to treat the two sets of violent events as distinct.

Figure A.3: Receiver Operating Characteristic Curves (ROCs), Including Crime and Domestic Violence



Notes: Each model is trained on all data available preceding the out-of-sample prediction year. The AUC is the area under the ROC curve, a measure of the trade-off between the true positive rate and false positive rate as we vary the discrimination threshold. In each graph, we highlight the thresholds that maximize either accuracy or sensitivity (holding accuracy above 50%) in cross-validation trials.

Table A.3: Violence Rates Colombia

		All atta	cks	No government attacks			
		≥ 5	≥ 1 std. dev.		≥ 5	≥ 1 std. dev.	
	any	$\operatorname{conflict}$	increase	any	conflict	increase	
	conflict	incidents	in incidents	conflict	incidents	in incidents	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
1992	0.352	0.081	0.039	 0.250	0.026	0.022	
1993	0.323	0.049	0.021	0.197	0.020	0.010	
1994	0.340	0.063	0.043	0.248	0.034	0.037	
1995	0.276	0.057	0.018	0.192	0.017	0.013	
1996	0.317	0.066	0.042	0.219	0.024	0.035	
1997	0.301	0.056	0.031	0.238	0.024	0.025	
1998	0.375	0.079	0.045	0.327	0.038	0.053	
1999	0.374	0.073	0.040	0.318	0.038	0.039	
2000	0.417	0.106	0.073	0.355	0.063	0.067	
2001	0.421	0.122	0.064	0.331	0.051	0.040	
2002	0.454	0.145	0.082	0.360	0.062	0.063	
2003	0.376	0.101	0.038	0.242	0.028	0.018	
2004	0.335	0.099	0.053	0.199	0.037	0.030	
2005	0.308	0.068	0.020	0.191	0.021	0.020	

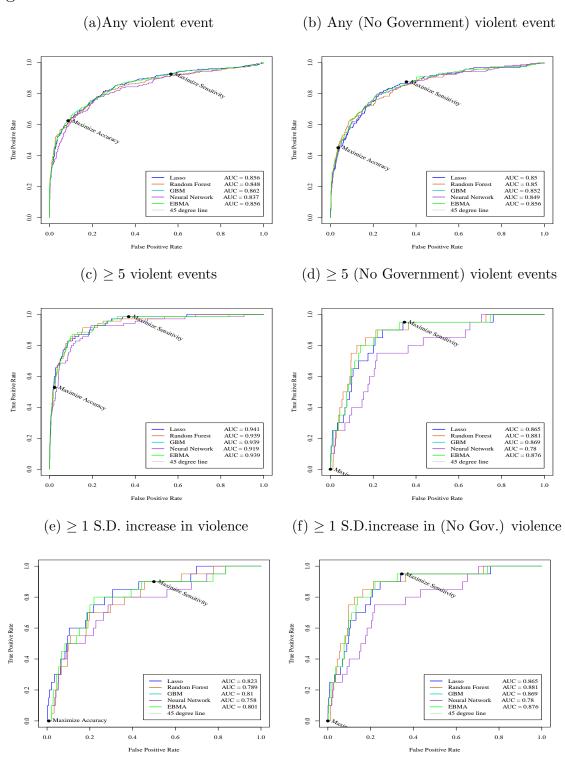
Notes: For the no government attacks columns we exclude government attacks and clashes.

Excluding government attacks and clashes for Colombia. In Colombia, our predictands include violent events that involve government forces. We might worry that the processes that lead the government to act violently are fundamentally different than those that drive the activity of other actors.

Table A.3 compares our predictands with and without government initiated incidents. Events involving government account for a large portion of the events that we predict.

In Figure A.4, we compare the Receiver Operating Characteristic Curves (ROCs) when we exclude government involved events. The results are mixed. Performance is nearly identical for the prediction of any event, significantly worse (excluding government events) for the prediction of the high intensity indicator, and significantly better for the prediction of large increases in violence.

Figure A.4: Receiver Operating Characteristic Curves (ROCs), Excluding Government Attacks



Notes: Each model is trained on all data available preceding the out-of-sample prediction year. The AUC is the area under the ROC curve, a measure of the trade-off between the true positive rate and false positive rate as we vary the discrimination threshold. In each graph, we highlight two possible thresholds that maximize either accuracy or sensitivity (holding accuracy above 50%) in cross-validation trials.

A.3 Alternative Benchmarks: Autoregression and Fixed Effects

Is this simple recurrence? Table A.4 reports the performance for the full model (Column 1) and the model that includes all predictors aside from past violence (Column 2). We compare these models to simpler ones, such as auto-regressive and fixed effect models that rely purely on the persistence of violence.

Column 3 reports the simplest recurrence model, restricting the predictors to two lags of the dependent variable. When predicting more than one or five events, the AUCs generally exceed 0.74, but performance is nevertheless considerably worse than for the full model. Standard deviation changes in violence are not particularly auto-correlated, however, and, hence, for this outcome the simple recursive model performs considerably worse than our full models. The AUC near 0.5 for the standard deviation increase for Indonesia indicates that this recursive model is about as good as chance.

Is violence prediction a function of fixed effects? Table A.4 also considers whether our predictions, which use mostly time-invariant covariates, simply approximate fixed effects. Column 4 reports a benchmark case of ordinary least squares (OLS) regression with fixed effects. We see that in all cases, prediction using our full set of covariates moderately outperforms the fixed effects model.⁴

The relative outperformance of all covariates is greatest in Indonesia and in the cases in which the dependent variable is rarer. This is intuitive from the perspective of estimator variance. These fixed effects are noisily estimated, and our prediction algorithms are better able to estimate the relationship between measured fixed factors and conflict.⁵

Column 5 attempts to remedy this imprecision by estimating fewer fixed effects at a higher level of aggregation—the department in Colombia and the district in Indonesia.⁶ In this case, performance is close to that of the model with past violence in Indonesia and is slightly superior to that model in Colombia.

Finally, Column 6 reports a hybrid model, closely related to those in Columns 3 and 5. Here, we include two lags of the dependent variable, location fixed effects, and log population. In general, performance improves relative to Columns 3 and 4, but these predictions still fall short of those of the main models in Columns 1 and 2.

In general, these results show that the full models perform somewhat better than several models which fully rely on the persistence of violence. For the most part, the model that employs all variables except past violence also outperforms these benchmark cases, or at least does just as well. We infer that these predictions do improve upon a simple a recurrence model. However, the magnitudes are not large in all cases.⁷ Given the large effort to collect data and employ sophisticated algorithms, which use days of computing power, these may be relatively modest returns.

⁴Recall that a .05 AUC gain is akin to a 10% improvement in model performance.

⁵The fixed effects model is required to estimate 1,023 parameters in Colombia and 2,009 parameters in Indonesia. As the variation in the dependent variable decreases, which happens as it becomes rarer, this estimation becomes increasingly difficult. In all but the case of predicting any incident in Colombia, the performance of the fixed effect model falls short of the model that uses all predictors except for past violence (Column 2).

⁶In Colombia, there are 33 departments, and there are 168 districts in Indonesia. Therefore, the number of parameters drops considerably, as does the imprecision in their estimation.

⁷The improvements range from 0.02–0.05, which is roughly 4–10% of the difference between a random prediction and perfection; hence, it is not negligible.

Table A.4: Out-of-Sample (One Year Ahead) Performance Versus Benchmarks

	Area under the curve (AUC) for Models with					
				OLS	OLS	OLS
	Full	No Lagged	Only Lagged	Mun./Subdist.	Dept./Dist.	Dept./Dist. FE
	Predictors	Violence	Indicator	FE	FE	+ population
			AR(2)			+ AR(2)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
			Indones	sia (2008–2014)		
Any Incident (AUC)	0.818	0.807	0.745	0.774	0.752	0.803
≥ 5 Incidents (AUC)	0.939	0.924	0.854	0.880	0.871	0.914
≥ 1 S.D. Increase (AUC)	0.840	0.823	0.527	0.694	0.776	0.821
			Colomb	oia (1998–2005)		
Any Incident (AUC)	0.850	0.825	0.795	$\frac{0.828}{0.828}$	0.721	0.829
Any Incident (AUC)					****	
≥ 5 Incidents (AUC)	0.913	0.874	0.798	0.849	0.742	0.870
≥ 1 S.D. Increase (AUC)	0.796	0.775	0.591	0.683	0.712	0.756

Notes: Each model is trained on all data available preceding the out-of-sample prediction year. Training data starts in 1991 in Colombia and 2002 in Indonesia. Out-of-sample prediction begins in 1998 in Colombia and 2008 in Indonesia. The AUC is the area under the ROC curve, a measure of the trade-off between the true positive rate and false positive rate as we vary the discrimination threshold. We report average performance over the out-of-sample years above. Past violence measures include breakdowns of events by actors and outcomes such as deaths and damages whereas the lagged indicator refers to only the variable that is being predicted. Population includes population growth rates and density.

A.4 Predicting Event Counts

We chose to predict indicators instead of counts in our main analyses for several reasons: they are easy to interpret, performance statistics are also easy to interpret, and they are the most common type of outcome predicted by the conflict literature to date. In this section, however, we examine the predictability of event counts.⁸

Table A.5 reports performance of the ensemble for a number of predictor sets similar to those that we consider in the paper. We report two statistics—the mean squared error and a deviance-based R^2 . The deviance-based R^2 is similar to a typical R^2 but is adapted to count data.

Column (1) reports overall performance of the full model. Our predictions explain a decent share of the variation in counts in both countries. Column (2) shows that, as in our prediction of

⁸Predicting event counts requires some changes to the algorithms. In the cases of Lasso and Gradient Boosted Machines, we change the loss function to a Poisson loss function to accommodate the count data. In theory, we could do the same for Random Forests and Neural Networks, but it is technically more challenging since the existing R packages do not accommodate count data. Instead, we use a Gaussian loss function. This presents a problem for the Neural Network algorithm, as its output is linear and therefore cannot take values below zero. While this occurs for some location-years, it is not terribly common and we deal with this by left censoring the predictions at zero. For Random Forests, this is not an issue because the algorithm can only make predictions in the convex hull of the predictand values in the training set. We aggregate these predictions using an ensemble model, in this case with weights based on model likelihood according to a Poisson distribution.

⁹While the typical R^2 measures the share of variance that for which the fitted values account, R_{dev}^2 measures the share of deviance that the fitted values explain. Specifically, this measure is $R_{dev}^2 = 1 - \frac{\text{Residual Deviance}}{\text{Null Deviance}}$

indicators, violence histories perform just as well as the full set of predictors. Column (3) adds population measures to Column (2) and shows a small increase in performance.

Column (4) considers all of the predictors that do not directly measure violence. These predictors perform significantly worse than the full model. This drop in performance is worse than when we are predicting indicators. Columns (5) and (6) further clarify the reason for this. Of the non-violence predictors, the time-varying predictors perform more poorly—so much so that their inclusion actually reduces performance relative to time-invariant predictors alone.

This result is in line with what we see in the main text. In the case of predicting indicators, we saw that some of the time-varying predictors actually decreased performance. In this case we see much larger decreases, but that is because the outcome is unbounded and so is the size of possible errors. Therefore, when extrapolating the effect of commodity price shocks, for example, imprecise estimation can lead to large differences between actual and predicted violence in a few cases. And these large errors play an outsized role in contributing to our performance statistics.

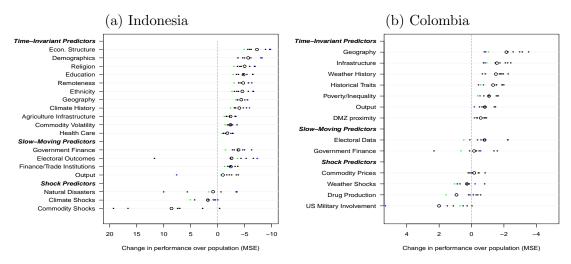
Finally, figure A.5 reports a breakdown of specific predictor groups and shows similar patterns to those we see for the prediction of indicators.

Table A.5: Out-of-sample (one year ahead) performance of the ensemble (EBMA) method, varying predictor sets

	Predicting the count of violent events								
	Full	Only Past	Past Viol.	No Lagged	Fixed	Varying			
	Set	Violence	plus Pop.	Violence	Predictors	Predictors			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)			
	Indonesia (2008-2014)								
MSE	7.33	7.59	7.58	12.41	9.41	19.97			
R_{dev}^2	0.65	0.66	0.66	0.48	0.63	0.26			
	Colombia (1998-2005)								
MSE	6.36	6.41	6.29	8.17	7.95	9.69			
R_{dev}^2	0.53	0.52	0.54	0.44	0.45	0.29			

Notes: Each model is trained on all data available preceding the out-of-sample prediction year. Training data starts in 1991 in Colombia and 2002 in Indonesia. Out-of-sample prediction begins in 1998 in Colombia and 2008 in Indonesia. We report average performance over the out-of-sample years above.

Figure A.5: MSE Improvements, Predicting Counts



Notes: Performance in individual years appear as small dots. The first (last) year of the sample is colored green (blue) in order to show the change in performance over time, or lack thereof. The large hollow circle is the average of performance across the years.

A.5 Predicting Within-Location Risk

We construct a new outcome measure that isolates within-location, over-time variation in violence. Specifically, we measure the deviation of the number of incidents in period t from the average number of incidents per year from the start of the panel to period t-1. By taking deviations from the historical mean, we remove the average difference in violence across locations, leaving purely within-location variation. Given the continuous outcome, we evaluate performance using the out-of-sample mean squared error (MSE) instead of the AUC.

The results, reported in Table A.6, suggest that our models struggle to predict within-location variation in violence in both Indonesia and Colombia.¹⁰ The first row reports the variance of the dependent variable in each context. In both countries, the MSE is only slightly lower than the variance of the dependent variable in the test set, indicating we are able to predict very little of this within-location variation.

¹⁰These differences arise from the difficulty of predicting within-unit deviations and not changes in the performance metric or the shift to counts. Online Appendix A.1 shows that our baseline performance is similar using MSE instead of AUC, while Online Appendix A.4 shows that our benchmark model is able to predict a large share of the variation in incident counts.

Table A.6: Predicting Demeaned Number of Violent Events

	Indonesia	Colombia
	(1)	(2)
$Var(Dependent\ Variable)$	8.622	7.541
EBMA mean squared error (MSE)	7.864	7.255
${f out ext{-of-sample-}}R^2$	0.064	0.031

Notes: Each model is trained on all available data preceding the out-of-sample prediction year. Training data starts in 1991 in Colombia and 2002 in Indonesia. Out-of-sample prediction begins in 1998 in Colombia and 2008 in Indonesia. We report average mean squared error over the out-of-sample years above.

A.6 Returns to More Detailed Violence Measurement

Our benchmarking exercise found that a model using detailed violence histories performs almost as well as one that includes additional social, economic, and political covariates. This leads us to ask what is the payoff to using richer and more detailed violence data. More granular, accurate, or disaggregated data could improve predictions. For example, a history of small-scale ethnic cleansing could conceivably presage larger scale violence, whereas other kinds of inter-group hostilities might not. If a violence measures conflates these two kinds of violence then its predictive performance will falter. Yet, collecting and coding richer data is costly for policymakers and researchers. Hence, it is useful to explore the returns in terms of predictive performance.

With Indonesia, which has fairly granular violence data, we can conduct this 'experiment' by using more versus less granular violence data, and observe changes in performance. We report results in Table A.7. Column (1) reports the full model with all predictors for comparison. Column (2) reports performance for the lagged dependent variables alone. Column (3) reports performance using measurements of prior aggregate conflict from SNPK, including total number of incidents, total deaths, total injuries, and total property damage. Column (4) further breaks down these incident measures by violence category (e.g., identity violence, resource conflict). And finally, Column (5) includes the lagged total number of killings and indicators for mass unrest reported in *Podes* and the Disaster Information Management System.

The AUCs increase with each successive column. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the largest increase comes from the move from columns 2 to 3. The AUCs increase more when disaggregating the subdistrict-level violence categories than when adding additional measures of the same broad episodes of violence as reported in *Podes*. This highlights the potential predictive value of having detailed information on the nature of prior conflict in terms of the key outcomes of contestation.

Table A.7: Out-of-Sample (One Year Ahead) Performance of the Ensemble (EBMA) Method, Varying Data Granularity

	Full	Only Lagged	Add	Disaggregate	All Lagged
	Predictors	Indicator	Intensity	Violence	Violence
		AR(2)			Data
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		Indo	nesia, 2008-	-2014	
Any Incident (AUC)	0.818	0.745	0.776	0.797	0.807
≥ 5 Incidents (AUC)	0.939	0.854	0.925	0.933	0.936
≥ 1 S.D. Increase (AUC)	0.840	0.527	0.832	0.842	0.853
Predictor set:					
Two lags of dependent variable	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Total incidents, deaths, injuries, damage	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Disaggregate by violence type	Yes			Yes	Yes
Total village-level killings reported	Yes				Yes
Podes and DIMS	Yes				Yes
Economic and social characteristics	Yes				

Notes: Each model is trained on all data available preceding the out-of-sample prediction year. Training data starts in 2002 in Indonesia. Out-of-sample prediction begins in 2008 in Indonesia. The AUC is the area under the ROC curve, a measure of the trade-off between the true positive rate and false positive rate as we vary the discrimination threshold. We report average performance over the out-of-sample years above.

B Data Appendix

B.1 Indonesia Data

B.1.1 Administrative Divisions

Our unit of analysis for the SNPK data is the 2000 subdistrict. Subdistricts have increased in number over time and are mapped back to the larger 2000 units.

Concurrent with the wave of decentralization, the Indonesia government created many new districts through a process of redistricting known colloquially as *pemekaran* or blossoming. After remaining steady from 1980 to 1998, the number of new districts ballooned from 302 in 1999 to 514 in 2014. The proliferation of districts occurred across the entire archipelago, with the exception of most districts on the island of Java. New districts are formed when existing subdistricts break off from their original district and create their own local government, complete with a new capital, district head, parliament, and government apparatus. On occasion, one district can mushroom into multiple new districts. Subdistricts have also split (and a few amalgamated) over time.

Table B.1 uses various data sources to document how the number of administrative units has changed over time. Discrepancies between early data sources are due to missing data points, but do not change the overall picture. The number of districts and the number of subdistricts have ballooned over time. Despite the increase in the number of districts, the number of subdistricts per district actually increase. The number of villages has remained relatively more steady and thus the number of these per-district and per-subdistrict decline over time. The unit of analysis in this paper is the subdistrict amalgamated to its 2000 borders.

Table B.1: Administrative Units over Time in Indonesia

	2000 (Census)	2000 (MFD)	2005 (MFD)	2014 (MFD)
Median Villages per Subdistrict	14	14	11	10
Median Villages per District	169.5	172	131	133
Median Subdistricts per District	10	10	11	12
Mean Villages per Subdistrict	16.200	16.922	12.855	11.583
Mean Villages per District	190.924	202.394	159.014	158.358
Mean Subdistricts per District	11.785	11.961	12.370	13.671
Number of Villages	64914	66790	70125	80921
Number of Subdistricts	4007	3947	5455	6986
Number of Districts	340	330	441	511

Notes: MFD is the Master File Desa (village) dataset, a national register of administrative units maintained by the Central Bureau of Statistics in Indonesia.

B.1.2 Violence Data

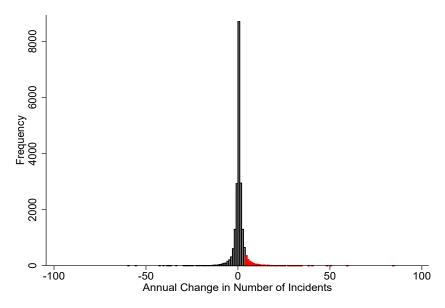
The conflict data comes from the Indonesian National Violence Monitoring System (known by its Indonesian acronym SNPK). The data are reported at the 2011 subdistrict level and include incident dates. Sub-district codes are non-missing in 84% of cases. We aggregate incidents to the 2000 subdistrict borders in each year. Our main conflict measures are binary indicators for any conflict in a given subdistrict—year. Table B.2 presents the violence definitions int the SNPK.

Table B.2: Violence Definitions in the SNPK

Violent Crime	Criminal violence not triggered by prior dispute or directed towards specific targets.
Domestic Violence	Physical violence perpetrated by family member(s) against other family member(s) living under one roof/same house including against domestic workers and violence between cohabiting couples.
Violence during law-enforcement	Violent action taken by members of formal security forces to perform law-enforcement functions (includes use of violence mandated by law as well as violence that exceeds mandate for example torture or extrajudicial-shooting).
Resource Conflict	Violence triggered by resource disputes (land, mining, access to employment, salary, pollution, etc.).
Governance Conflict	Violence is triggered by government policies or programs (public services, corruption, subsidy, region splitting, etc.).
Popular Justice Conflict	Violence perpetrated to respond to/punish actual or perceived wrong (group violence only).
Elections and Appointment	Conflict Violence triggered by electoral competition or bureaucratic appointments.
Separatist Conflict	Violence triggered by efforts to secede from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).
Identity-based Conflict	Violence triggered by group identity (religion, ethnicity, tribe, etc).
Other Conflicts	Violence triggered by other issue.

Figure B.1 displays the distribution of annual changes in all social conflict in Indonesia, with increases greater than one standard deviation highlighted in red. Table B.3 reports the rates at which each of these indicators occur. While around half of subdistricts experience some conflict in a given year, only around 12% experience more than five incidents, and even fewer experience a large increase in the number of events relative to the prior year.

Figure B.1: Annual Changes in Social Conflict in Indonesian Subdistricts, 2005–2014



Notes: Conflict incidents above exclude crime and domestic violence. Year-to-year changes are reported above. Changes greater than 1 standard deviation are highlighted in red.

009 2004 2006 2008 2010 2012 2014 Year North Maluku Maluku South Sulawesi Centera Sulawesi North Sulawesi Central Kalimantan West Kalimantan West Nusa Tenggara East Nusa Tenggara

Figure B.2: Violence by Province, Indonesia

Notes: The graph above plots violent incident counts according to the SNPK. Crimes and domestic violence are not included. The panel is balanced from 2005 onward.

East Java

Lampung

Banten

Jakarta

Aceh

West Java

North Sumatra

Table B.3: Annual Rates of Conflict in Indonesian Subdistricts

		≥ 5	≥ 1 std. dev.
	any	conflict	increase
	conflict	incidents	in incidents
	(1)	(2)	(3)
2005	0.540	0.130	
2006	0.537	0.122	0.029
2007	0.509	0.114	0.028
2008	0.550	0.125	0.030
2009	0.527	0.120	0.031
2010	0.536	0.119	0.034
2011	0.531	0.127	0.040
2012	0.573	0.144	0.045
2013	0.541	0.127	0.034
2014	0.539	0.129	0.034

Notes: Conflict incidents above exclude crime and domestic violence.

Figure B.3: Violence by Category, Indonesia Incidents 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000 2008 2012 2004 2006 2010 2014 Year Separatist Violence Identity Violence Election Violence Governance Conflict Popular Justice Resource Conflict Law Enforcement Other

Notes: The graph above plots violent incident counts according to the SNPK. Crimes and domestic violence are not included. The panel is balanced from 2005 onward.

Table B.4 presents a descriptive analysis of the dependent variable (e.g total onsets, any, ≥ 5 events or 'high' and ≥ 1 SD increase or 'spike') for Indonesia. We cover the period between 2005 and 2014 at the subdistrict level and calculate the overall, within and between variation for each dependent variable.

Table B.4: Indonesia (2005-2014)

Variable		Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	Observations
Total	overall between within	4.550	11.708 10.515 5.154	0.000 0.000 -91.650	307.000 202.000 134.950	N = 20090 n = 2009 T = 10
Any	overall between within	0.538	0.499 0.321 0.381	0.000 0.000 -0.362	1.000 1.000 1.438	N = 20090 n = 2009 T = 10
High	overall between within	0.126	0.332 0.256 0.211	0.000 0.000 -0.774	1.000 1.000 1.026	N = 20090 n = 2009 T = 10
Spike	overall between within	0.033	0.180 0.085 0.159	0.000 0.000 -0.633	1.000 0.667 0.933	N = 18673 n = 2009 T-bar = 9.295

Notes: The variable y_{it} was decomposed into the between $(\overline{y_i})$ and within $(y_{it} - \overline{y_i} + \overline{\overline{y}})$, the global mean \overline{y} being added back in make results comparable) standard deviation.

B.1.3 Covariates

2000 Population Census

We use the following predictors constructed at the 2000 subdistrict level from Indonesia's 2000 universal Population Census.

- Employment Shares: Fraction of persons in agriculture, forestry and fishing, industry, services, trade, and transportation. We compute the fraction of persons in self-employment and the fraction that are employers.
- Demographic Variables: Share of people in each of the following religions; Muslim, Catholic, Protestant, Hindu, Buddhist, Confucian, and other; share of the population that is Chinese and the share Arab; share of men and the share married. Finally, share of persons under 10 and from 10 to 30 years old.
- Education: Share of individuals who completed no school and the average years of schooling.
- Rural Population Share:

Share of villages within the subdistrict classified as rural.

- Ethnic Fractionalization: Ethnic fractionalization in district d is given by $F = \sum_{g=1}^{M_e} \pi_g (1 \pi_g)$, where M_e is the number of ethnic groups in the district, and π_g is the population share of group g as reported in the 2000 Census. We observe over 1000 ethnicities and sub-ethnicities speaking over 400 languages.
- Ethnic Polarization: Same as ethnic fractionalization but own group share is emphasized. Specifically $P = \sum_{g=1}^{M_e} \pi_g^2 (1 \pi_g)$.
- Religious Fractionalization: Religious polarization, $R = \sum_{g=1}^{M_r} \sum_{h=1}^{M_r} \pi_g \pi_h$, where M_r is the number of religious groups, and π_g (π_h) is the population share of group g (h). There are seven religious recorded in the Census, but in most districts, there is a single cleavage between a Muslim and a non-Muslim group.
- Religious Polarization: Same as ethnic Polarization but own group share is emphasized. Specifically $RP = \sum_{g=1}^{M_e} \pi_g^2 (1 \pi_g)$.
- Ethnic Residential Segregation: Following Alesina and Zhuravskaya (2011), we use the 2000 census to compute Ethnic segregation by comparing ethnic fractionalization at the village level to that of the subdistrict level. Specifically we compute:

$$S = \frac{1}{M-1} \sum_{m=1}^{M} \sum_{s=1}^{S} \frac{t_s}{T} \frac{(\pi_{sm} - \pi_m)^2}{\pi_m}$$

M is the number of ethnic groups, T is the total population of the subdistrict, t_s is the population in village s, π_m is the fraction of group m in the district, and π_{sm} is the fraction of group m in subdistrict s. We drop the smallest 1% of ethnic groups so that M remains reasonable (< 25).

Night Lights

• Light Intensity: Annual night light data to proxy for GDP (Henderson et al. (2012)). We use mean stable light intensity at the village level, which ranges from 0 to 63. This attempts to filter out background noise and unstable sources of light. We compute the (population weighted) average light intensity across villages at the 2000 subdistrict boundary level.

Potensi Desa (Podes)

We construct the following variables using the quasi-triennial administrative village census *Potensi Desa*, abbreviated Podes. We use the 2000, 2003, 2005, 2008 and 2011 rounds.

- Police and Security: The population weighted (across villages) distance to the nearest police post in all rounds. In addition we compute the share of villages with any security or police post in each round.
- Distance to the District Capital: The population weighted (across villages) distance to the district capital in 2000, 2003, 2008, and 2011. It can vary due to the creation of new districts capital as a result of district proliferation.
- **Population:** Subdistrict population in each round.
- Health Care: For the 2000 wave, we record of the number of health care facilities, which we classify into hospitals (hospital, maternity hospitals, and policlinics) and middle care (puskesmas and supporting puskesmas).
- Schooling: For the 2000 wave, we compute the number of junior high schools and high schools per capita. We also include the percentage of villages with a madrasa or pesantran.
- Conflict: In each wave we record the share of villages that experienced any conflict. We do the same for each type of conflict recorded (Theft, Robbery, Thuggery, Arson, Rape, Drugrelated, Murder, Child Trafficking). We also include the total number of deaths and injuries reported.
- Natural Disasters: Each wave records the share of villages that experienced a mudslide, flood, fire, or earthquake in the past three years.

Global Precipitation Climatology Project (GPCP)

The Global Precipitation Climatology Project (GPCP) provides annual rainfall at the district level. We calculate historical averages and calculate annual deviations from the historical average.

University of Delaware Global Climate Resource Database

The University of Delaware Global Climate Resource Database provides monthly rainfall and temperature data at the subdistrict level from 1900 onward. We calculate historical averages and annual deviations from the average.

Crop Shocks

- Food Price Shocks: By using the 2003 Agriculture Census we calculate the quantity of each crop produced within the 2000 subdistrict borders. We use the UN Food and Agriculture price series for each crops to construct log changes in crop prices and weight these changes by the 2003 production share. We group into cash crops and food crops.
- Agricultural GDP: By using the 2003 Agriculture Census we calculate the quantity of each crop produced within the 2000 subdistrict borders and then use the UN Food and Agriculture price series to construct total agricultural value in each year.

Mineral Shocks

Geocoded mine data from the SNL Mine Production Data. For each mineral, we calculate the distance from the center of the subdistrict to the nearest active mine producing that mineral. We multiply log mineral price changes from the World Bank's GEM Commodity Price Database by the inverse of the distance to the nearest mine.

Disaster Information Management System

The Disaster Information Management System lists the major disasters such as floods or volcano eruptions at the district level.

National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas)

The National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas) is an annual survey of about 200,000 national representative households. The survey measures household income and expenditures. We use the expenditure data to construct average expenditures, an expenditure Gini, the ratio of the 80th percentile to the 20th percentile of inequality, and we use the wage data to construct median wages in agriculture and non-agriculture, as well as differences between the 75 percentile and the 25th percentile. We also use this survey to get an annual population measure.

Database for Policy and Economic Research (DAPOER)

The World Bank's Indonesia Database for Policy and Economic Research (DAPOER), which in turn obtains data from the Indonesia ministry of finance data, to keep track of total **district** revenue in each year.

- Total District Revenue Per Capita: District revenue figures come from the World Bank's Indonesia Database for Policy and Economic Research (DAPOER), which in turn obtains data from the Indonesia ministry of finance data. They are given for each district at the time of existence. We aggregate up to the 2000 district boundary and separately also consider only parents. Population data is taken from the same dataset. All figures are inflation adjusted using 2010 as the base year.
- DAU/DAK Revenue Per Capita: District revenue in Indonesia is divided into a general allocation grant (*Dana Alokasi Umum*, DAU), some shared taxes, shared natural resource rents, and the special allocation grant (*Dana Alokasi Khusus*, DAK), as well as limited own revenue. DAU/DAK revenue focuses on the portion of revenue not due to natural resources or shared taxes.

• Initial Resource Revenue: Natural resource revenue such as that from oil/gas and mines is first transferred to the center and then partly returned to the district (and to a lesser extent nearby districts) based on percentages that vary by product and over the course of the study period. We use the level in 2000 to proxy, albeit imperfectly, for the presence and value of natural resources in the original district.

Political Data

- Direct Election Data: Direct local elections for district heads were phased in beginning 2005 across districts and occur every 5 years. We record the date of each of these elections.
- Vote Share Polarization within 2000 subdistrict: Data on vote share by party and subdistrict in the 1999 district parliamentary (DPRDII) elections were used—the first of the post-Suharto era—to construct a measure of vote share polarization at the subdistrict level. Forty-eight parties competed in these elections.
- Time-varying vote Share Polarization at District Level: To construct time-varying vote share polarization measures we use national parliamentary vote share data in 1999, 2004, 2009 recorded at the district level.
- Party Shares: Using the national vote data we also retain the votes for certain parties. We keep Golkar and PDIP shares, as well as vote shares for Islamist parties.

Topographical Variables

• Slope and Elevation Data Topographical variables were created using raster data from the *Harmonized World Soil Database* (HWSD), Version 2.0 (Fischer et al., 2008). The raster files are compiled from high-resolution source data and aggregated to 30 arc-second grids. The terrain, slope, and aspect database provided by HWSD researchers was compiled from a high-resolution digital elevation map constructed by the Shuttle Radar Topography Mission (SRTM).

Elevation data were computed for each village as the average elevation over the entire village polygon, using raster data from HWSD. Slope and aspect data were also recorded for each village and calculated similarly. Variables equal to the average share of each village corresponding to each slope class (0-2 percent, 2-4 percent, etc.) were constructed using ArcView.

• Ruggedness A 30 arc-second ruggedness raster was computed for Indonesia according to the methodology described by Sappington et al. (2007), and village-level ruggedness was recorded as the average raster value. The authors propose a Vector Ruggedness Measure (VRM), which captures the distance or dispersion between a vector orthogonal to a topographical plane and the orthogonal vectors in a neighborhood of surrounding elevation planes.

To calculate the measure, one first calculates the x, y, and z coordinates of vectors that are orthogonal to each 30-arc second grid of the Earths surface. These coordinates are computed using a digital elevation model and standard trigonometric techniques. Given this, a resultant vector is computed by adding a given cells vector to each of the vectors in the surrounding cells; the neighborhood or window is supplied by the researcher. Finally, the magnitude of this resultant vector is divided by the size of the cell window and subtracted from 1. This results in a dimensionless number that ranges from 0 (least rugged) to 1 (most rugged).8.

• Soil Quality We also make use of the HWSD data for soil quality measures. HWSD provides detailed information on different soil types across the world. The HWSD data for Indonesia is taken from information printed in the FAO-UNESCO Soil Map of the World (FAO 1971-1981), a map printed at a 1:5,000,000 scale. For each subdistrict, we we use the following measures of soil types: percentage of land covered by coarse, medium, and fine soils, percentage of land covered by soils with poor or excessive drainage, average organic carbon percentage, average soil salinity, average soil sodicity, and average topsoil pH.

While each of the above datasets covers the entire country, there are inevitably minor missing data issues as we combine so many sources. Rather than exclude entire predictors or observations, we impute these missing predictors via regression on contemporaneous predictors for which data is available. Violence measurements are not used for the imputation of other variables, nor are any violence measures imputed.

B.2 Colombia Data

B.2.1 Administrative Divisions

The municipality is the second level of administrative authority in Colombia (the first is the Department) and is the fundamental territorial entity in the political-administrative division of the State. It has political, fiscal and administrative autonomy within the framework of the Colombian law.

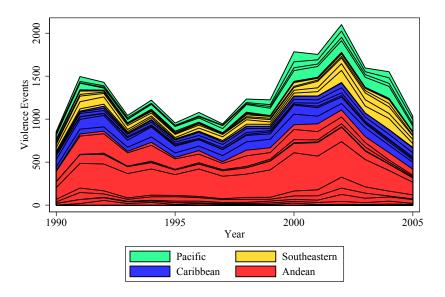
As of 2015 Colombia has 1101 municipalities in 32 departments. The departments are composed by municipalities and are also a territorial entity with administrative autonomy. They must perform administrative and coordination functions complementing the municipal action and should serve as intermediaries between the Nation and the municipalities.

B.2.2 Violence Data

Our conflict data in Colombia comes from the Conflict Analysis Resource Center (CERAC) which contains data on military confrontation from 1988 to 2005. The data are reported at the event level and episodes are characterized either as bilateral clashes between sides or unilateral attacks from one side against another. We aggregate incidents by municipality-year in our main specification including events involving all three conflict actors: the guerrillas, the paramilitaries, or the government. However, we also consider a specification where the aggregation excludes government attacks or clashes. Our main dependent variables are binary indicators for any event in a given municipality-year; more of than five events and more than 1 standard deviation increase in violence.

Table B.5 presents a descriptive analysis of the dependent variable (total onsets, any incident, more than five incidents or 'high', and greater than a 1 SD increase in violent events or 'spike') for Colombia. We cover the period between 1992 to 2005 at the municipality level and calculate the overall, within and between variation for each dependent variable.

Figure B.4: Violence by Region, Colombia



Notes: Violent events includes unilateral attacks from guerilla, paramilitary, and government forces, as well as bilateral clashes between these forces. Lines separate department totals within regions.

Table B.5: Colombia (1992-2005)

Variable		Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	Observations
Total	overall between	1.323	3.356 2.483	0.000 0.000	61.000 28.429	N = 14322 n = 1023
	within		2.259	-26.106	42.109	T = 14
Any	overall	0.355	0.479	0.000	1.000	N = 14322
	between		0.310	0.000	1.000	n = 1023
	within		0.365	-0.574	1.284	T = 14
High	overall	0.083	0.276	0.000	1.000	N = 14322
	between		0.177	0.000	1.000	n = 1023
	within		0.212	-0.845	1.012	T = 14
Spike	overall	0.043	0.204	0.000	1.000	N = 14322
	between		0.079	0.000	0.500	n = 1023
	within		0.188	-0.457	0.972	T = 14

Notes: The variable y_{it} was decomposed into the between $(\overline{y_i})$ and within $(y_{it} - \overline{y_i} + \overline{\overline{y}})$, the global mean $\overline{\overline{y}}$ being added back in make results comparable) standard deviation.

Table B.6: Annual Rates of Conflict in Colombian Municipalities

		≥ 5	≥ 1 std. dev.
	any	conflict	increase
	conflict	incidents	in incidents
	(1)	(2)	(3)
1992	0.352	0.081	0.039
1993	0.323	0.049	0.021
1994	0.340	0.063	0.043
1995	0.276	0.057	0.018
1996	0.317	0.066	0.042
1997	0.301	0.056	0.031
1998	0.375	0.079	0.045
1999	0.374	0.073	0.040
2000	0.417	0.106	0.073
2001	0.421	0.122	0.064
2002	0.454	0.145	0.082
2003	0.376	0.101	0.038
2004	0.335	0.099	0.053
2005	0.308	0.068	0.020

Notes: Conflict incidents above include paramilitary attacks, guerrilla attacks, government attacks, and bilateral clashes between these groups.

Figure B.5: Changes in Violent Incidents in Colombia

Notes: Conflict incidents above include paramilitary attacks, guerrilla attacks, government attacks, and bilateral clashes between these groups. Year-to-year changes are reported above. Changes greater than 1 standard deviation are highlighted in red.

Annual Change in Number of Incidents

B.2.3 Covariates

Demography and Economic Activity

- **Demographics:** Information on population by municipality-year was included from the National Administrative Department of Statistics (referred as DANE). We also consider information on population density and binary variables classifying large municipalities (e.g., more than 250 thousand inhabitants) and metro areas.
- Commodities and international prices: Commodity data compiled by (Dube and Vargas, 2013) was used in this study. We consider both the local production and international price of coffee, oil, coal, silver, platinum, and precious metals.
- Local government finance: Fiscal revenue data from the National Planning Department (NPD) was collected. Specifically, information on municipal income, spending, deficit and transfers.
- Wellbeing: Some welfare measures were included. In particular, variables like the Gini coefficient for land inequality; unmet basic needs (1993) and life quality index.
- Infrastructure: We consider both paved and unpaved roads for main and secondary roads in thousand of kilometers (1995). Also the density of those roads measures as kilometers over kilometers square (Km/Km^2) .
- Illicit production: We obtain data on coca cultivation for Colombia from two sources: Direction Nacional de Estupefacientes (DNE) and from the United Nations Office of Drug

Control (UNODC). Additionally, we also incorporate information on coca cultivation for Bolivia, Peru and the world, along with exportation to certain destinies and prices.

Geographic and Weather

- Geographic: The main features we expoit are: surface area; proportion of non-habitate land; suitable land for sugar cane or palm; surface; terrain stepness; water availability; main; secondary and tertiary rivers longitude; flat land; hills; mountains; valleys and water bodies as a percentage of municipal land; proportion of hilly; montanous and rugged terrain; maximun slope.
- Weather: The University of Delaware Global Climate Resource Database provides monthly rainfall and temperature data at the municipal level from 1900 onward. We calculate historical averages and annual deviations from the average for each municipality-year.

Historical Variables

From Acemoglu et al. (2014), we include measures of colonial institutions and infrastructure, such as number of crown employees, presence of colonial cities and royal roads, population in 1843, slave share of the population in 1843, number of indians in 1560, number of encomiendas in 1560, colonial gold mines, foundation dates, and population in 1843.

Political Data:

- Election Data: Information on mayoral and congressional elections (lower and upper house) were used from the entire period of analysis. Universidad de los Andes compiled a database of electoral results since 1958 and has been updating it until 2014. The original data comes from the Registraduria Nacional del Estado Civil ("National Registry")¹. In particular, we generate parties' vote shares, turnout, and time dummies for electoral periods.
- Vote Share Polarization within municipality: Each of this elections were meant to represent different levels of political power in Colombia, at the local, regional and national level. More specifically, we consider measures of concentration, polarization and fractionalization index for competitiveness of the elections; margin between winner and runner-up; party's vote share and political leaning.

Distance to DMZ (Delimitarized Zone)

The Caguan DMZ was a delimitarized zone of 42.000 square kilometers in southern Colombia authorized by the government to negotiate a peace process with the FARC-EP. The region was made up by the municipalities of Vista Hermosa, La Macarena, La Uribe, Mesetas, and San Vicente del Caguan. The DMZ started in January of 1999 and ended in February 2002. Its existence coincides with the scalation of the conflict in Colombia, therefore we calculate the distance of each municipality in Colombia to the DMZ as a covariate.

¹Universidad de los Andes CEDE makes the database publicly available through its' database website (https://datoscede.uniandes.edu.co).

US Military Aid

We use the dataset created by (Dube and Naidu, 2015) of US military aid and Colombian military bases. One feature of US military aid is that it is disbursed to particular Colombian military brigades, each of which is attached to and operates out of a particular government military base. We consider the natural log of US military and antinarcotics aid to Colombia interacted with a dummy that defines if a particular municipality has a military base. In total, we covered 34 municipalities with military bases, of which 32 appear in the sample for which the conflict data is available.

As for Indonesia, there are inevitably minor missing data issues as we combine so many sources. Rather than exclude entire predictors or observations, we impute these missing predictors via regression on contemporaneous predictors for which data is available. Violence measurements are not used for the imputation of other variables, nor are any violence measures imputed.

B.3 Predictor Groupings

Tables B.7 and B.8 report the variables that are included in each of the groups displayed in the predictor breakdown graphs.

Table B.7: Indonesia Predictor Groups

- Incident Counts: total, total excluding crime, resource, governance, election, identity, popular justice, law enforcement, crime, domestic violence, separatist, other.

- Deaths: total, total excluding crime, resource, governance, election, identity, popular justice, law enforcement, crime, domestic violence, separatist, other.
 Injuries: total, total excluding crime, resource, governance, election, identity, popular justice, law enforcement, crime, domestic violence, separatist, other.
 Damaged Buildings: total, total excluding crime, resource, governance, election, identity, popular justice, law enforcement, crime, domestic violence, separatist, other.
- Destroyed Buildings: total, total excluding crime, resource, governance, election, identity, popular justice, law enforcement, crime, domestic violence, separatist, other.
 Total active newspapers used in data collection

PODES Violence Data

- Percent of villages with any: theft, robbery, looting, thuggery, arson, rape, murder, fights among citizens, fights with security officers, fights among students, fights among tribes, any conflict.
- Deaths, injuries
 Distance to nearest police post, number of security posts, number of police posts, number of security officers

DIMS Violence Data

- Terrorism: deaths, counts
- Unrest: deaths, counts

Religion

- Fractionalization, Polarization
 Population Share: Muslim, Catholic, Protestant, Hindu, Buddhist, Confucian, Christian
- Percent of villages with any Islamic boarding school

- Fractionalization, Polarization, Segregation
 Population Share: Chinese, Arab

- Mean years of schooling
 Share with no schooling
 Junior high schools, high schools

. Male share, married share, share below 10 years old, share from 10 to 30 years old

- Rural population share, distance to district capital, distance to province capital, land area
 Main road electrified, road access year-round, telephone signal strength
- Has: airport, bridge, terminal, seaport

Health Infrastructure

 $\bullet\,$ Sophisticated health institutions, mid-level health institutions

- Number of mudslides, floods, earthquakes, fires, other disaster (from PODES)
- Count: land abrasions, disease outbreaks, droughts, earthquakes, floods, forest fires, industrial and transportation accidents, landslides, tornadoes, tsunamis, volcanoes, total
 Deaths: land abrasions, disease outbreaks, droughts, earthquakes, floods, forest fires, industrial and transportation accidents, landslides, tornadoes, tsunamis, volcanoes, total

- 1999 local elections: mainstream party vote share, Islamist party vote share, fractionalization, polarization, voter turnout
- National elections: mainstream party vote share, Islamist party vote share, fractionalization, polarization, voter turnout

Agricultural Infrastructure

• Mean access to irrigation, small rice mills per village, large rice mills per village

Finance and trade institutions

- Banks per capita, rural cooperative banks per capita Percent of villages with permanent market

- Output share: major cash crop, cash crop, major food crop
- Share of households with any agricultural land, share with more than 0.1 hectare of agricultural land
 Percent of villages where rice is the primary commodity
 Population share in: agriculture, forestry, industry, trade, service, transport

- Output share: trading, self-employment, agriculture, services, employers
 Distance to nearest mine: bauxite, coal, copper, gold, iron ore, nickel, tin, zinc, silver

Government Finance

- Revenue from: total, village resources, taxes, social organizations, ROSCAs, other villages, higher government administrative unit, central government, provincial government, district government, natural resource tax-sharing, non-natural resource tax-sharing, total self-generated

 Expenditures: routine, development projects

- Agricultural GDP constructed from 2002 output weights and current commodity prices
- District GDP, district agricultural GDP
- Unemployment
- · Nighttime light intensity

Commodity Price Shocks

 $\bullet \ \, {\rm Cash\ crop,\ major\ cash\ crop,\ major\ food\ crop,\ bauxite,\ coal,\ copper,\ gold,\ iron\ ore,\ nickel,\ tin,\ zinc,\ silver}$

Historical Commodity Price Shocks Volatility

 $\bullet\,$ Cash crop, major cash crop, major food crop

Temperature and rainfall deviations from historical means

Historical Climate Traits

- Mean: temperature and rainfall
 Standard deviation: temperature and rainfall

Table B.8: Colombia Predictor Groups

Violence

- Attacks: guerilla, paramilitary, government, total
- · Clashes, total attacks and clashes, total casualties
- Massacres: guerilla, paramilitary
 Infrastructure paramilitary attacks, non-infrastucture paramilitary attacks

- Oil production (1988), coal reserves (1978)
 Department coal production, department gold production

- . Income: total, capital, tax, non-tax, transfer, land taxes, commerce taxes, other taxes
- Expenditure: total, capital spending, total functional spending, personnel spending, transfers paid
 Municipal expenditure, national expenditure
 Budget deficit, credit

Wellbeing

- Land ownership gini
 Unmet basic needs index, life quality index

- · Main, secondary, tertiary paved roads: length and density
- Main, secondary, tertiary unpaved roads: length and density
 Main, secondary, tertiary dirt roads: length and density

- Mayoral election: indicator, turnout, winner's party
 Lower and upper house elections: indicator, turnout, concentration, fractionalization, polarization, margin between 1st and 2nd party, party leaning of winner, party leaning of runner up, party of winner
- and runner-up
 Presidential election: indicator

U.S. Military

- U.S. military aid, U.S. narcotics aid, U.S. combined aid
 Colombian government military base presence
- Interaction between base presence and U.S. spending

· Demilitarized zone indicator, distance to demilitarized zone

- Poppy producing hectares, any poppy production, coca producing hectares, any coca production
- Eradicated hectares, any eradication
 Coca production in: Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, world total, non-colombia
 Cocaine production in: Bolivia, Colombia, Peru

- Coca eradicated in: Bolivia, Colombia, Peru
 Cocaine exports to Switzerland: Bolivia, Colombia, Peru
- Coca producing hectares in: Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, world total, non-colombia
 Change in coca price: wholesale U.S., wholesale Europe, retail Europe
 Coca hectares times U.S. cocaine price

Colonial History

- · Employees: crown, non-military crown
- Colonial state presence index
 Colonial city status dummy, distance to local roads
- Slave population share, slave presence indicator
 Indian population
 Encomiendas: number, indicator
- Colonial gold mine presence indicator
 Foundation date
- Population 1843

Geography

- Percent suitable/non-suitable/sub-optimal/optimal: sugar, palm
- Fereien suitanel/non-suitanel/suo-optiman/optiman. sugar, paim
 Slope: max, mean, standard deviation
 Percent flat, slightly-sloped, sloped, strongly-sloped, moderately steep, strongly steep
 Water availability: mean, standard deviation
 Main, secondary, and tertilary rivers: length and density
 Percent flat, hills, mountains, valleys, water bodies.

Commodity Price Shocks

• Coffee, oil, gold, coal, silver, platinum

Climate Shocks

• Temperature and rainfall deviations from historical means

Historical Climate Traits

- Mean: temperature and rainfall
 Standard deviation: temperature and rainfall

· Temperature and rainfall deviations from historical means

Historical Climate Traits

- Mean: temperature and rainfall
 Standard deviation: temperature and rainfall