

Appendices for “Evaluations of Violence at the Polls:  
Civilian Victimization and Support for Perpetrators  
After War”

December 9, 2020

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# 1 Main Forced Choice and Ratings Results (AMCEs)

Figure A.1: Main Rating Results

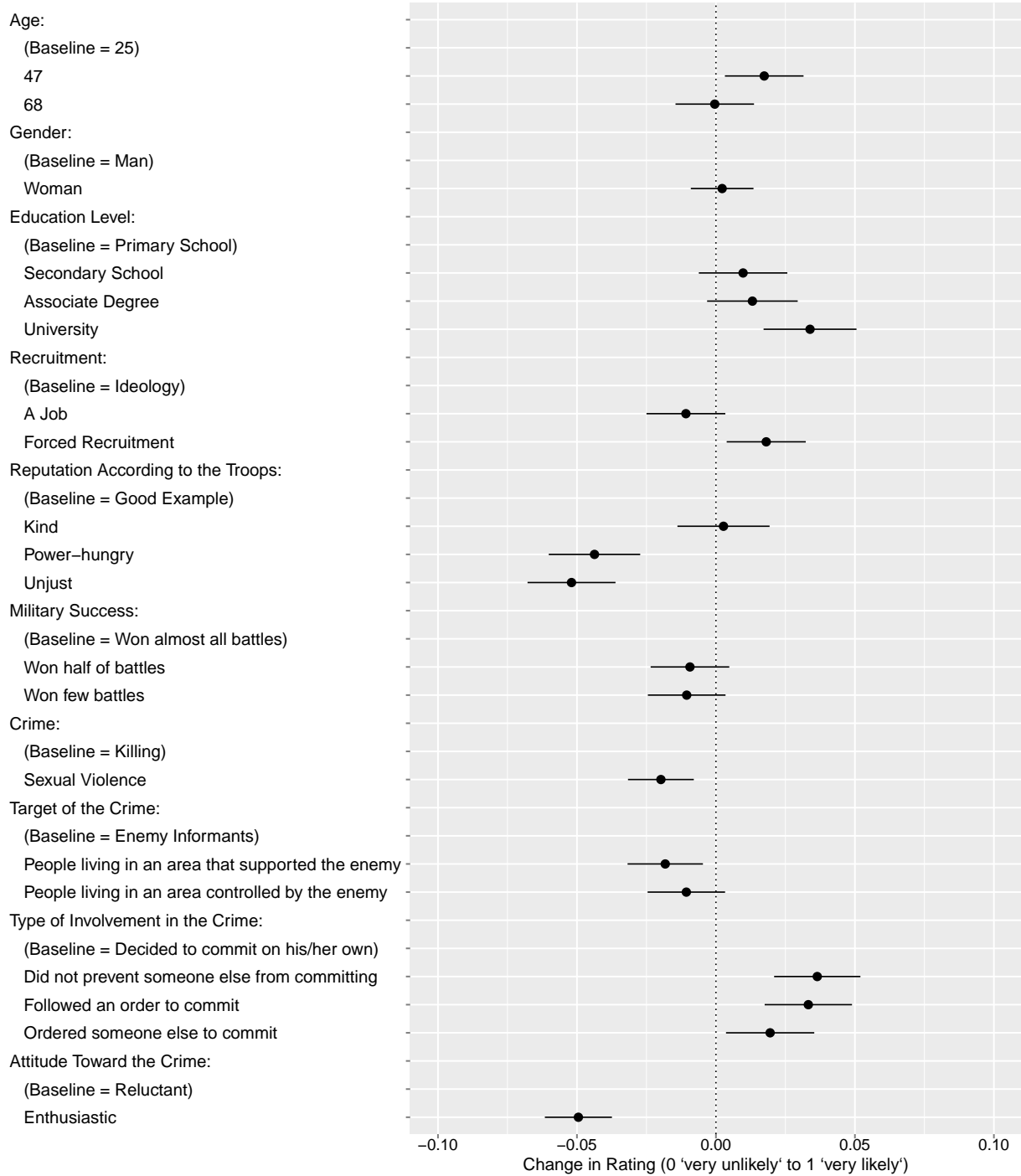


Table A.1: Forced Choice and Ratings Results

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Change Pr(Prefer Candidate) <i>OLS</i>	in Change in Rating (0-1) <i>OLS</i>
<b>Age:</b> 25		
47	0.0029 (0.011)	.017* (.0072)
68	-0.032** (0.011)	-.00043 (.0072)
<b>Gender:</b> Man		
Woman	0.013 (0.0092)	.0022 (.0058)
<b>Education Level:</b> Primary School		
Secondary School	0.041** (0.013)	.0098 (.0081)
Associate Degree	0.050*** (0.013)	.013 (.0083)
University	0.11 *** (0.014)	.034*** (.0085)
<b>Recruitment:</b> Ideology		
A Job	0.010 (0.012)	-.011 (.0072)
Forced Recruitment	0.087*** (0.012)	.018* (.0073)
<b>Reputation:</b> Good Example		
Kind	0.016 (0.013)	.0027 (.0085)
Power-Hungry	-0.11*** (0.013)	-.044*** (.0084)
Unjust	-0.12*** (0.013)	-.052*** (.0081)
<b>Military Success:</b> Won almost all battles		
Won half of battles	-0.0099 (0.011)	-.0093 (.0072)
Won few battles	-0.0026 (0.011)	-.011 (.0071)
<b>Crime:</b> Killing		
Sexual Violence	-.042*** (.0097)	-.020** (.0060)
<b>Target of Crime:</b> Enemy Informants		
Area that supported the enemy	-0.032** (0.011)	-.018** (.0069)
Area controlled by the enemy	-0.034** (0.012)	-.011 (.0071)
<b>Type of Involvement:</b> Decided to commit on his/her own		
Did not prevent someone else from committing	.099*** (.013)	.036*** (.0079)
Followed an order to commit	.11*** (.013)	.033*** (.0080)
Ordered someone else to commit	.050*** (.013)	.019* (.0081)
<b>Attitude:</b> Reluctant		
Enthusiastic	-.17*** (.010)	-.049*** (.0062)
Observations	11224	11880
Respondents	1498	1527

Note:

\*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001

## 2 Main Regressions with Altered Baselines (AMCEs)

Figure A.2: Forced Choice Results with Altered Baselines

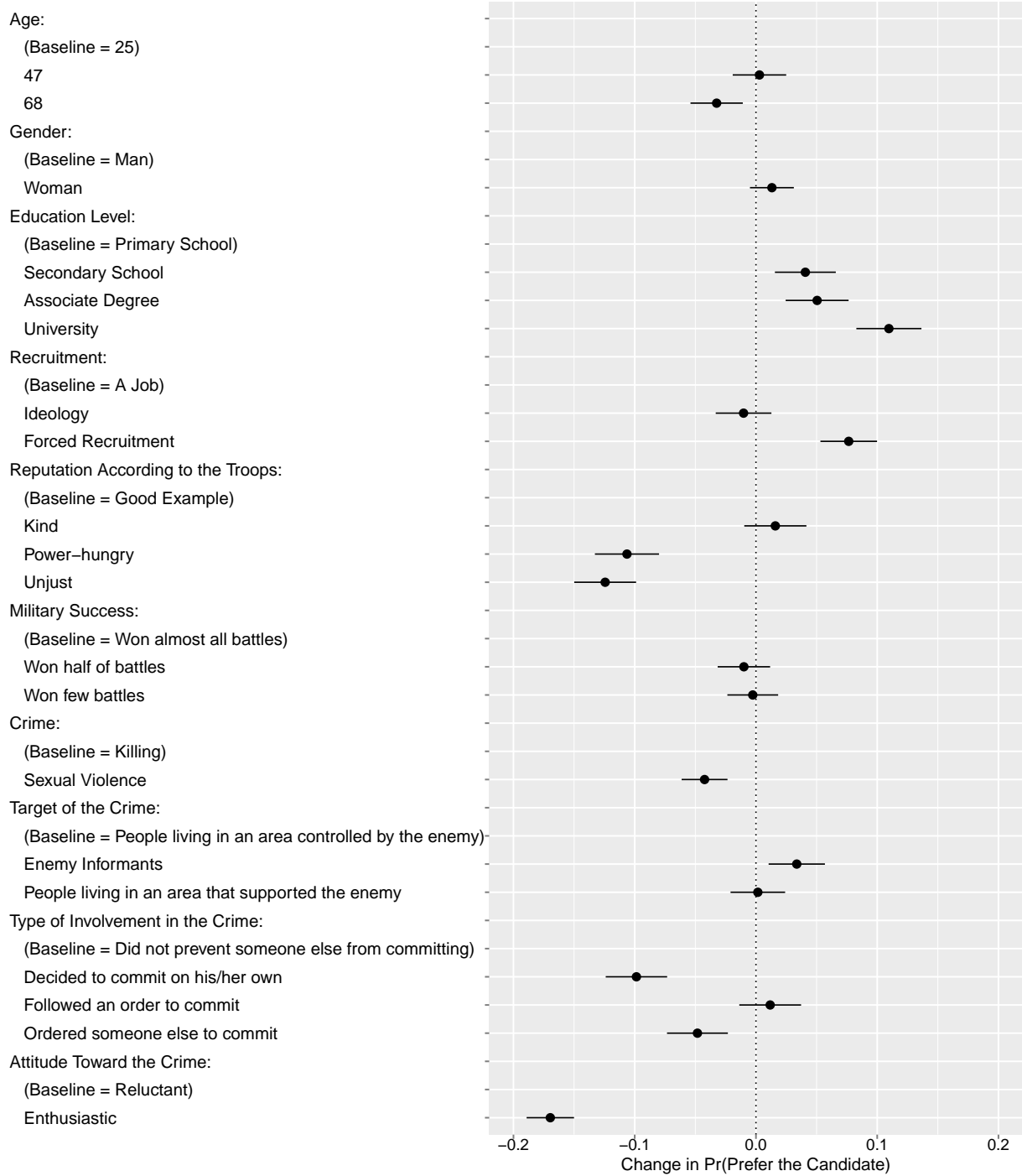
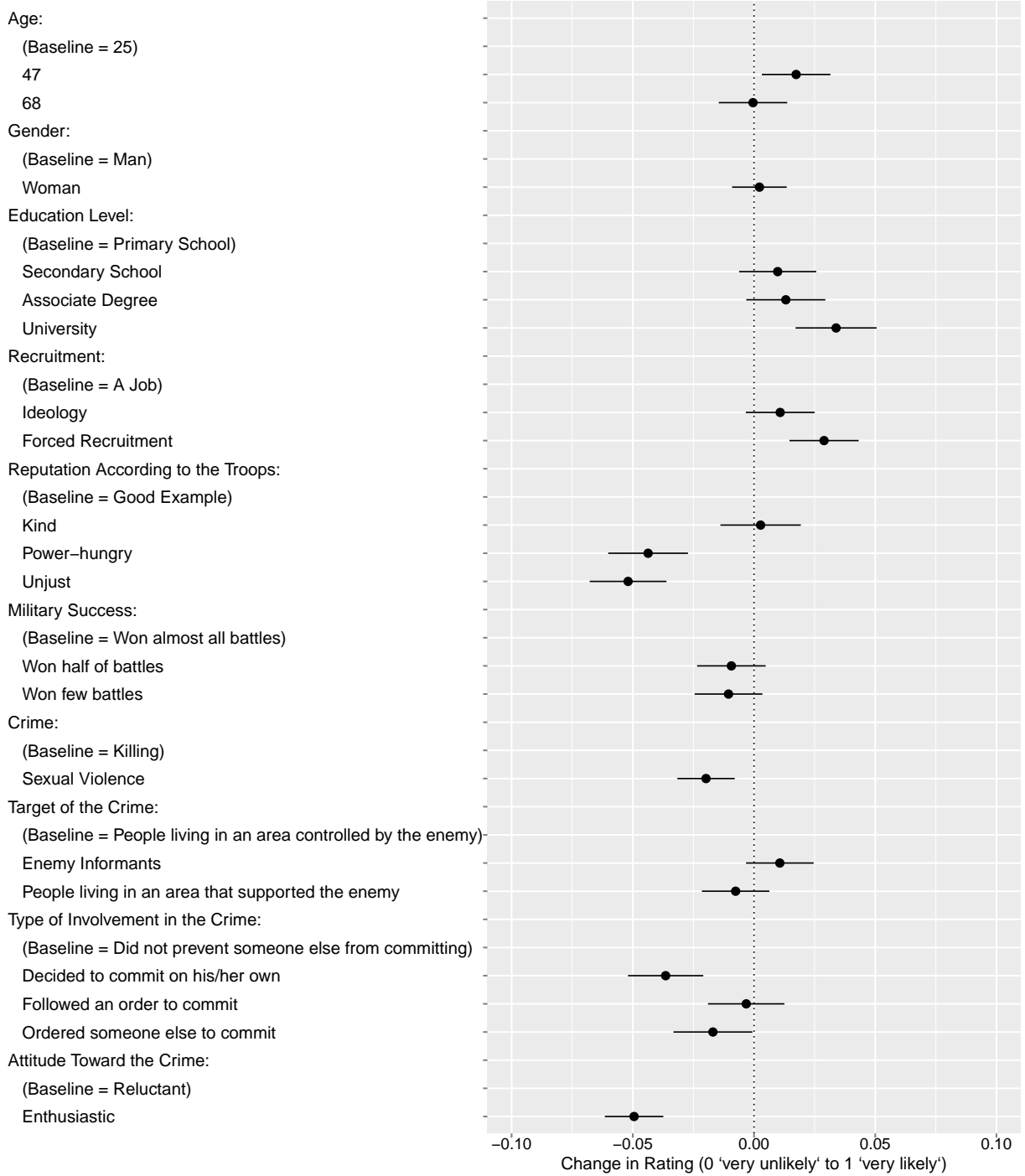


Figure A.3: Rating Results with Altered Baselines



### 3 Main Results with Marginal Means

Figure A.4: Forced Choice Results, Marginal Mean

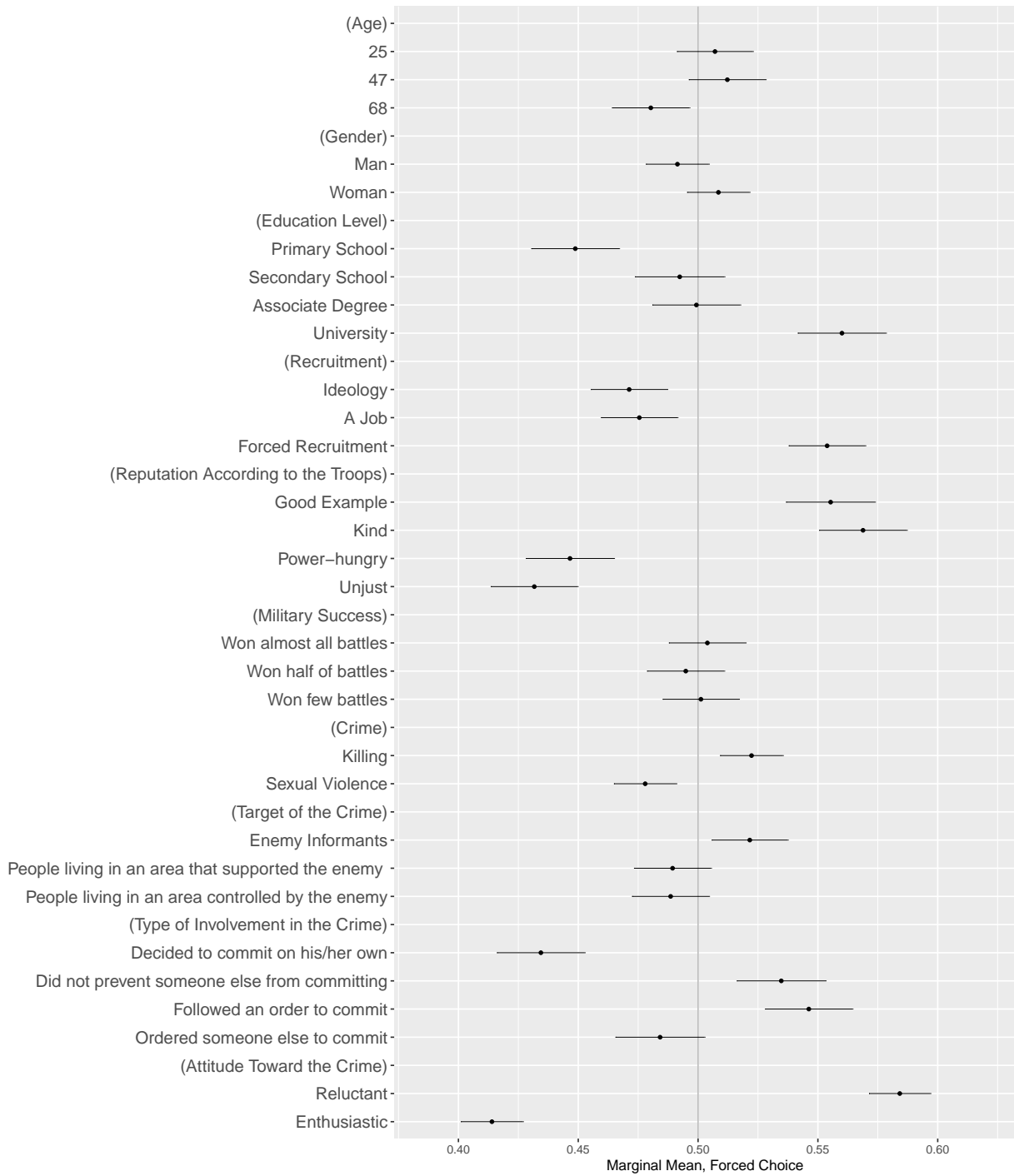
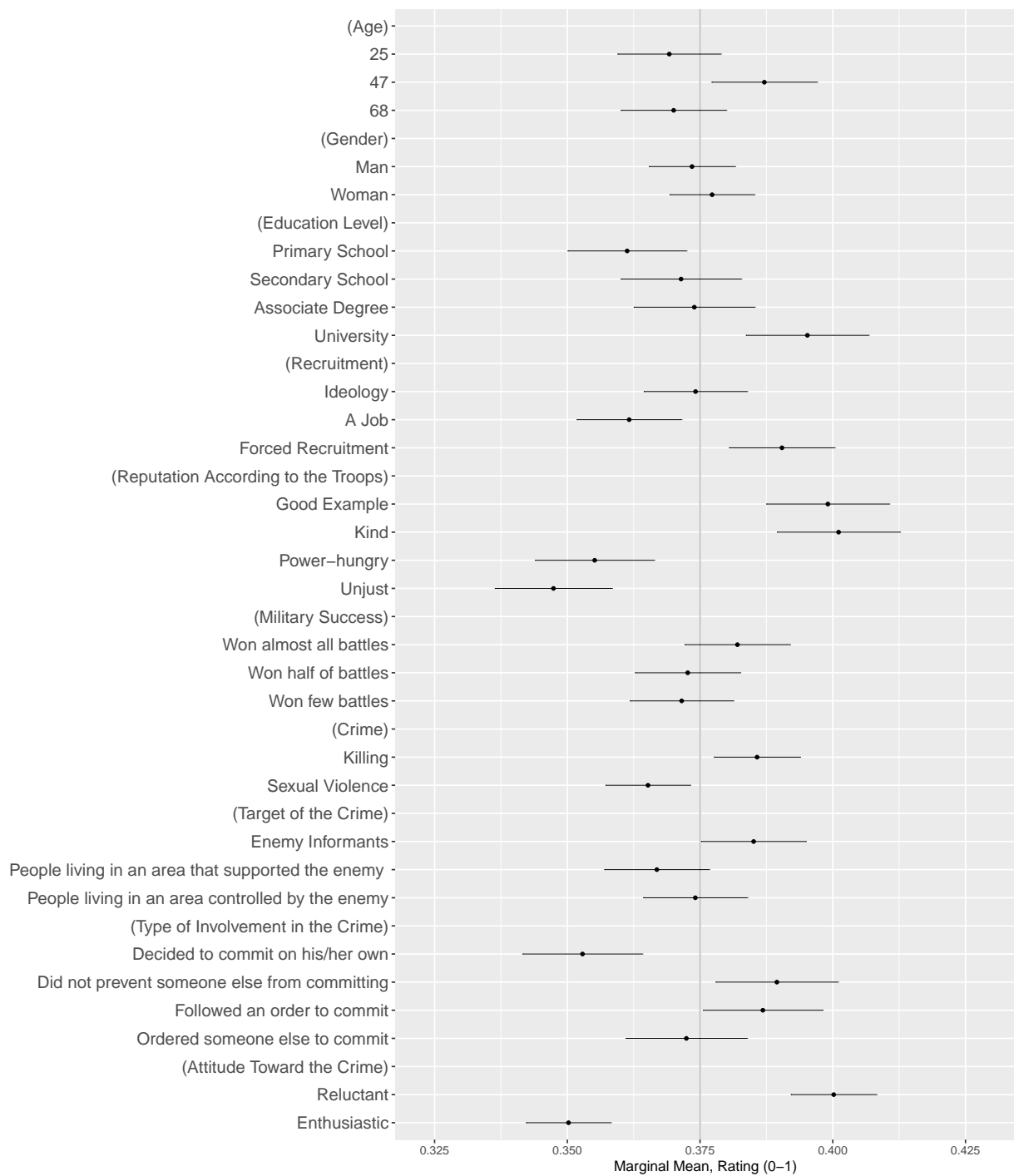


Figure A.5: Rating Results, Marginal Mean



## 4 Support for Hypotheses in Pre-Analysis Plan



Hypothesis: Respondents are more likely to support...	Survey Element	FC	Ratings	Results
H1: ...a male candidate than a female one	Gender	N	N	F2, FA.1, TA.1
H2: ...a highly educated candidate than a less highly educated one	Education	Partial	Partial	F2, FA.1, TA.1
H3: ...an older candidate than a younger one	Age	N	N	F2, FA.1, TA.1
H4: ...a candidate who has engaged in more selective forms of violence against civilians than one who has engaged in less selective forms of violence against civilians	Target of the Crime	Partial	Partial	F2, FA.1, TA.11
H5: ...a candidate who won more battles than one who won fewer battles	Military Success	N	N	F2, FA.1, TA.1
H6a: ...a candidate who was forcibly recruited than a candidate who joined an armed group because of ideology	Recruitment	Y	Y	F2, FA.1, TA.1
H6b: ...a candidate who was forcibly recruited than a candidate who joined an armed group for a job	Recruitment	Y	Y	FA.2, FA.3
H6c: ...a candidate who joined an armed group for a job than a candidate who joined an armed group because of ideology	Recruitment	N	N	F2, FA.1, TA.1
H7:...a candidate who reluctantly committed a crime than one who enthusiastically did so	Attitude Toward the Crime	Y	Y	F2, FA.1, TA.1
H8: ...a candidate who has engaged in the killing of civilians than one who has engaged in sexual violence against civilians	Crime	Y	Y	F2, FA.1, TA.1
H9a: ...a candidate who ordered someone else commit harm than one who made the choice to commit harm on his/her own	Type of Involvement in the Crime	Y	Y	F2, FA.1, TA.1
H9b: ...a candidate who did not prevent someone else from committing harm than one who followed an order to commit harm	Type of Involvement in the Crime	N	N	FA.2, FA.3
H9c: ...a candidate who followed an order to commit harm than one who made the choice to commit harm on his/her own	Type of Involvement in the Crime	Y	Y	F2, FA.1, TA.1
H9d: ...a candidate who did not prevent someone else from committing harm than one who ordered someone else to commit harm	Type of Involvement in the Crime	Y	Y	FA.2, FA.3
H10: ... a candidate described by troops as a good example/kind than one who is described as power-hungry/unfair	Reputation Acc. to the Troops	Y	Y	F2, FA.1, TA.1
H11: Respondents who do not support the principles of international humanitarian law will rate candidates higher than respondents who support such principles	Political Opinion Q: Right to Ignore HRL	NA	Y	TA.6
H12: Respondents who did not vote for 2018 presidential candidates who emphasized stricter punishment for war crimes perpetrators will rate candidates higher than respondents who voted for presidential candidates who did so	Political Opinion Q: 2018 Vote	NA	N	TA.6
H13: Respondents who do not have direct experience with civilian victimization will rate candidates higher than respondents who have direct experience with civilian victimization	Political Opinion Q: Victimization	NA	N	TA.6

## 5 Diagnostic Tests

The following pages contain diagnostic tests as recommended by Hainmueller et. al (2014). All tests are conducted on forced choice responses and, where there is subgroup analysis, marginal means are presented instead of AMCEs as recommended by Leeper et al. 2019.

Figure A.6 is a test of carryover effects which interacts the conjoint attribute indicators with indicators for each of the four different tasks presented to be respondents. The first assumption of Hainmueller et. al (2014) implies that respondents answer the conjoint similarly regardless of at what point in the survey they are presented with the profiles. In other words, task should not affect responses. Figure A.6 suggests that, while the exact coefficients may change slightly across tasks, the estimates are in the same direction and generally remain either statistically significant or insignificant across all four tasks. Omnibus F-tests indicate that there are not statistically significant subgroup differences based on task number ( $F(63)=1.11, p=.25$ ).

I similarly examine profile order effects, as required by assumption 2 in Hainmueller et. al (2014). I interacted each attribute indicator with a binary variable identifying if a given profile was the first or second of the two a respondent saw in a given task. The results of this test are in Figure A.7, and I find that the forced choice results are similar for both the first and second profile. Omnibus F-tests also indicate that there are not statistically significant subgroup differences based on profile number ( $F(21)=.96, p=.52$ ).

Table A.2 is a randomization balance table to check for Assumption 3 of Hainmueller et. al (2014), which requires that randomization produces experimental groups that are well balanced in the survey sample. I regressed key demographic variables on indicator variables for all candidate profile attributes. The demographic variables are binary indicators of gender, income (1=above the median), education (1=above the median), and degree of urbanity of current residence (1=above the median). As is expected over a large number of attributes, certain respondents were more likely to see specific attributes than others. For example, respondents with a higher than median average were more likely to see candidates

with an Associate's degree. However, only 5 out of 80 attributes indicated p-values of less than .05.

Given that the attribute order is the same for all respondents in this survey, I cannot check assumption 4 of Hainmueller et. al (2014).

The last diagnostic check, contained in Figure A.8, considers atypical or improbable profiles. While I was careful at the design stage to choose attributes and levels that could plausibly be presented in any combination, voters may be surprised by discussions of female rapists even if such combatants do indeed exist. Such a combatant may be perceived as atypical but not impossible. However, the results are mostly robust to excluding those tasks in which either profile which include a female rapist. Interestingly, the statistical significance of "sexual violence" decreases greatly, although it remains significant to the .05 level.

Figure A.6: Carryover Effect, Forced Choice

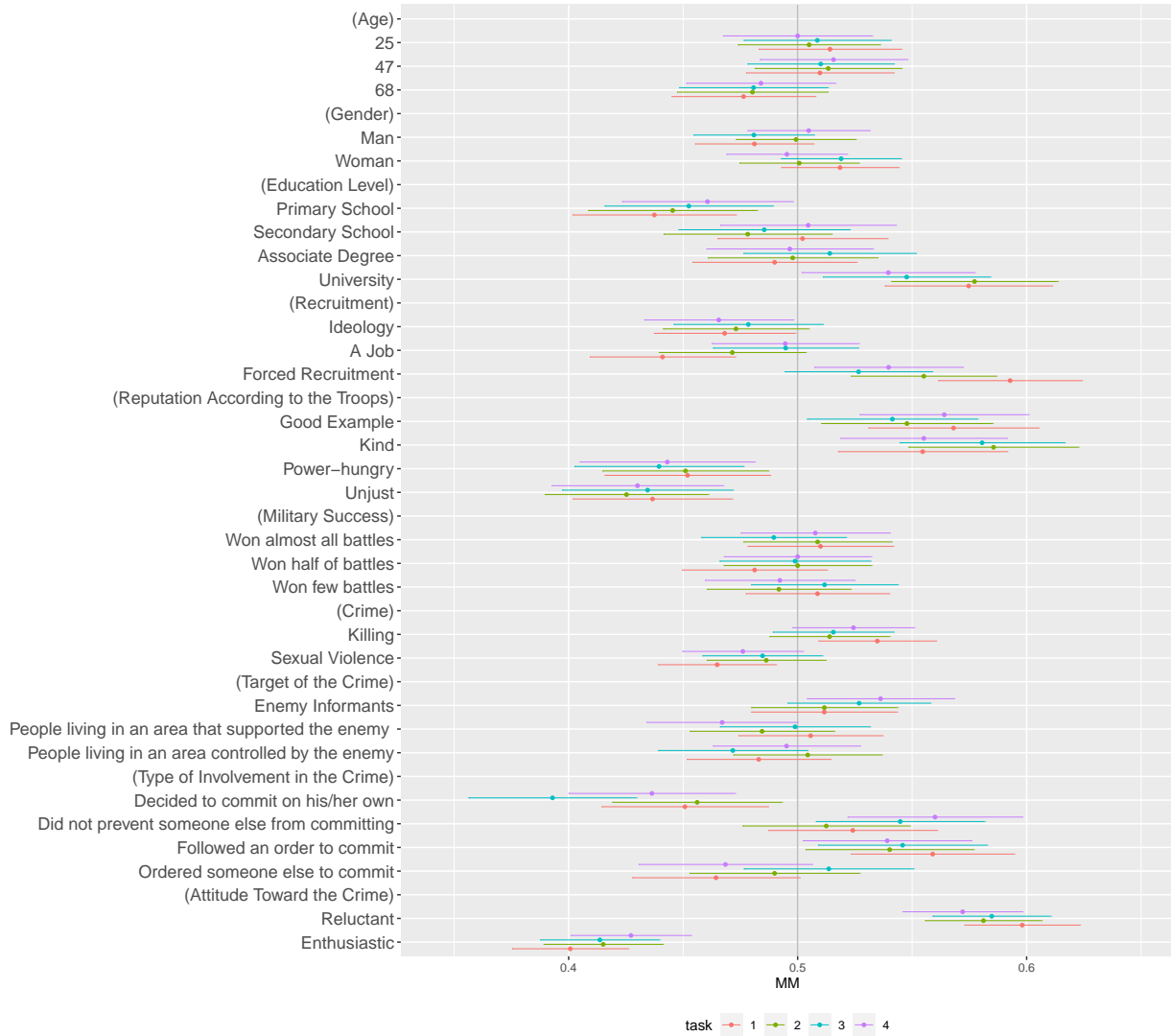


Figure A.7: Profile Order Effects, Forced Choice



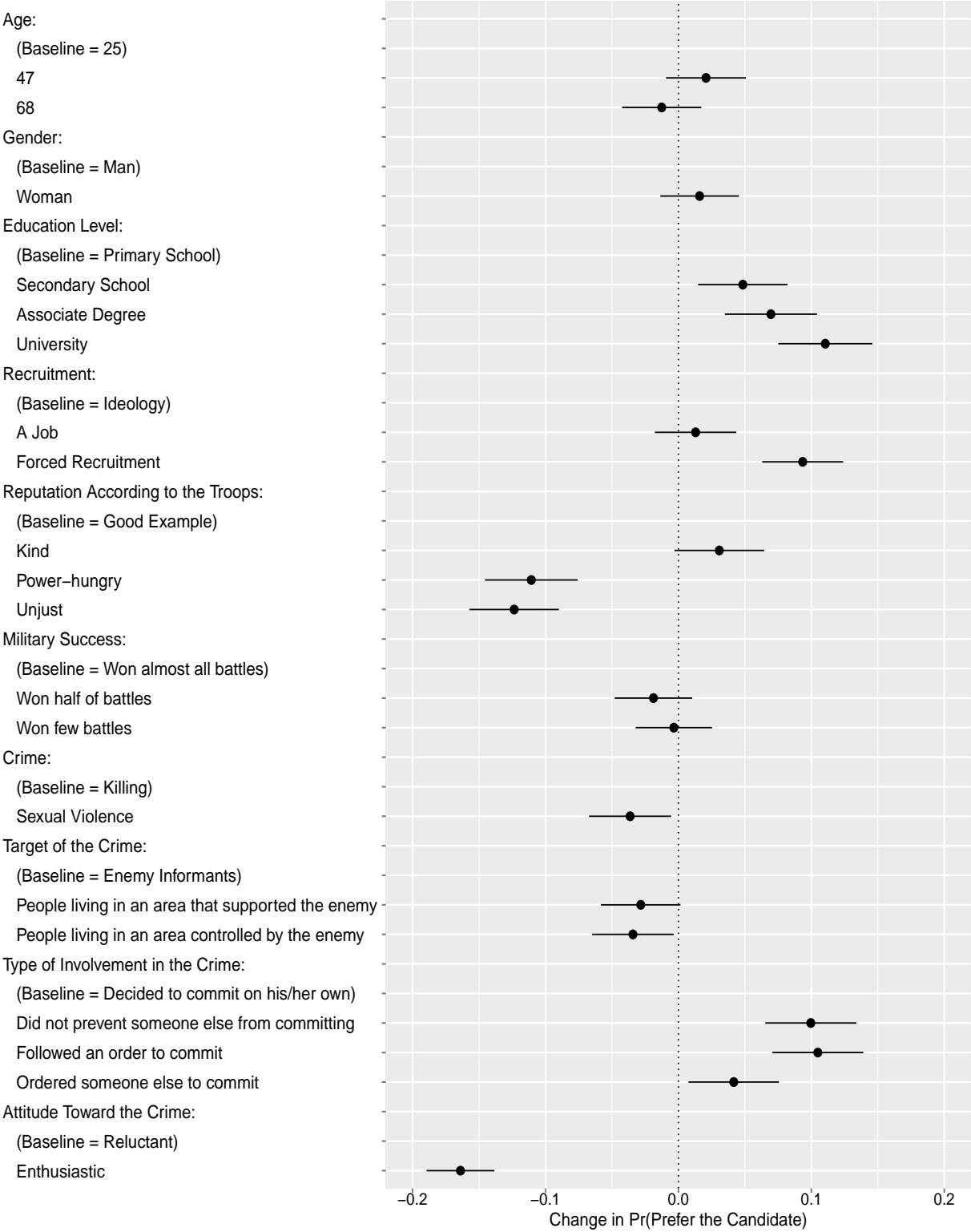
Table A.2: Forced Choice Randomization Check

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Gender	High Education (0/1)	High Income (0/1)	Urban Residence (0/1)
<b>Age: 25</b>				
47	-.0069 (.012)	-.0076 (.012)	-.0064 (.012)	-.0048 (.011)
68	-.0067 (.012)	-.0002 (.012)	.010 (.012)	.0059 (.011)
<b>Gender: Man</b>				
Woman	.010 (.0093)	-.016 (.0093)	.0038 (.0094)	.0023 (.0084)
<b>Education Level: Primary School</b>				
Secondary School	-.027* (.013)	-.016 (.013)	-.0088 (.014)	.0045 (.012)
Associate Degree	-.025 (.013)	-.036** (.013)	-.017 (.013)	.0085 (.012)
University	-.018 (.013)	-.029* (.013)	-.0044 (.013)	.010 (.012)
<b>Recruitment: Ideology</b>				
A Job	.026* (.011)	.0042 (.011)	.0051 (.011)	.0035 (.011)
Forced Recruitment	-.0002 (.012)	.0031 (.012)	-.015 (.012)	-.0039 (.012)
<b>Reputation: Good Example</b>				
Kind	.019 (.013)	-.0074 (.013)	-.005 (.014)	.021 (.012)
Power-Hungry	.0062 (.013)	.00014 (.013)	-.013 (.013)	.0059 (.013)
Unjust	.015 (.013)	.0065 (.013)	-.00059 (.013)	.0025 (.012)
<b>Military Success: Won almost all battles</b>				
Won half of battles	-.0032 (.011)	-.014 (.011)	.0010 (.011)	-.0073 (.010)
Won few battles	.0022 (.012)	-.004 (.012)	.013 (.012)	.0055 (.011)
<b>Crime: Killing</b>				
Sexual Violence	.0069 (.0098)	-.0018 (.0097)	-.00074 (.010)	-.0071 (.009)
<b>Target of Crime: Enemy Informants</b>				
People living in an area that supported the enemy	-.0094 (.011)	.0026 (.011)	.02 (.011)	-.0043 (.010)
People living in an area controlled by the enemy	.0037 (.011)	-.0097 (.011)	.010 (.011)	.00067 (.010)
<b>Type of Involvement: Decided to commit on his/her own</b>				
Did not prevent someone else from committing	-.0024 (.013)	-.0082 (.013)	-.026 (.011)	-.0003 (.012)
Followed an order to commit	-.0042 (.014)	.015 (.014)	-.0080 (.014)	-.012 (.012)
Ordered someone else to commit	-.0095 (.014)	-.0096 (.013)	-.038** (.014)	.0023 (.012)
<b>Attitude: Reluctant</b>				
Attitude: Enthusiastic	.0050 (.0095)	-.017 (.0094)	.0043 (.0093)	-.0042 (.009)
Observations	11132	111216	10838	11196
Respondents	1485	1497	1441	1493

Note:

\*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001

Figure A.8: Atypical Profiles (Excluding Female Rapists), Forced Choice



## 6 Non-Response Bias and Imputed Results

Table A.3: Average Respondents

	All Survey Respondents	FC Non-Response	Ratings Non-Response	Rating: “Very Unlikely” to Vote for Candidate
Birth Year	1983	1981	1981	1981
Education (0-8 )	6.5	6.0	5.9	6.8
Income (0-16)	9.8	8.6	8.4	10.3
Urban Residence (1-5)	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.7
Ideology (1-10)	5.8	6.0	6.1	5.8
Percentage Voted in 2018 Election	82	71	67	84
Percent Victimized in Conflict	34	31	31	33

Multiple imputation of forced choice and rating responses, presented in Table A.4 below, was conducted with the Amelia package based on respondent age, gender, income, ideology, urbanity, disagreement with international law, and personal experience with victimization. Pooled coefficients and standard errors were calculated with Rubin’s 1987 rules. Note that some respondents who did not respond to the conjoint also didn’t respond to any of the other questions on the survey; for these respondents, it was impossible to impute responses.



Table A.4: Forced Choice and Ratings Results with Imputed Data

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Change Pr(Prefer Candidate) <i>OLS</i>	in the (0-1) <i>OLS</i> Change in Rating
<b>Age: 25</b>		
47	.0051 (.011)	.017 (.011)
68	-.028* (.011)	.00014 (.011)
<b>Gender: Man</b>		
Woman	.011 (.0092)	.0025 (.0087)
<b>Education Level: Primary School</b>		
Secondary School	.036** (.013)	.0090 (.012)
Associate Degree	.047*** (.013)	.014 (.013)
University	.097*** (.013)	.031* (.013)
<b>Recruitment: Ideology</b>		
A Job	.0077 (.012)	-.011 (.011)
Forced Recruitment	.077*** (.012)	.017 (.011)
<b>Reputation: Good Example</b>		
Kind	.011 (.013)	.0024 (.012)
Power-Hungry	-.096*** (.013)	-.042** (.013)
Unjust	-.11*** (.013)	-.049*** (.012)
<b>Military Success: Won almost all battles</b>		
Won half of battles	-.0094 (.011)	-.0089 (.011)
Won few battles	-.0045 (.011)	-.0094 (.010)
<b>Crime: Killing</b>		
Sexual Violence	-.036*** (.0095)	-.020* (.0091)
<b>Target of Crime: Enemy Informants</b>		
People living in an area that supported the enemy	-.029* (.011)	-.017 (.011)
People living in an area controlled by the enemy	-.032** (.012)	-.0084 (.011)
<b>Type of Involvement: Decided to commit on his/her own</b>		
Did not prevent someone else from committing	.091*** (.013)	.034** (.012)
Followed an order to commit	.10*** (.013)	.030* (.012)
Ordered someone else to commit	.046*** (.013)	.018 (.012)
<b>Attitude: Reluctant</b>		
Enthusiastic	-.15*** (.0099)	-.047*** (.0095)
Observations	12632	12632
Respondents	1579	1579

Note:

\*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001

## 7 Conjoint Details

**Prompt:**

During the war, rebel groups, paramilitary groups, and the armed forces have engaged in violence against civilians who were not fighting and who were not part of either an armed group or the military. Imagine that some of the people involved in the war are now running for office in the upcoming local elections. Please read the following biographies of hypothetical candidates for governor. Imagine that both candidates fought in the war, and both have recently been publicly accused of crimes but have not been tried in court. Then, indicate which of the two theoretical candidates you would personally vote for if you had to choose between them as well as how likely you would be to vote for each candidate if they were real. Imagine that you support the political agenda of all presented candidates, and please make your decision only based on the information that is available here. Even if you are unsure, please make your best guess.

Table A.5: **Full Translated Text of Conjoint**

Attribute	Levels (Independent Randomization)
Age	25 47 68
Gender	Male Female
Education Level	Primary School Secondary School Associate Degree University
Recruitment	Joined an armed group or the military because of his/her ideology Joined an armed group or the military because he/she needed a job Joined an armed group or the military because he/she was forced to join
Reputation According to the Troops	Good Example Kind Power-Hungry Unfair
Military Success	Won almost all battles Won about half of battles Won few battles
Crime	Accused of involvement in the killing of several civilians who were not fighting and who were not part of either an armed group or the military Accused of involvement in sexual violence against several civilians who were not fighting and who were not part of either an armed group or the military
Target of the Crime	These victims were informants for the enemy. These victims were living in an area in which the population overwhelmingly supported the enemy. These victims were living in an area controlled by the enemy.
Type of Involvement in the Crime	Reportedly decided to commit the crime on his/her own Reportedly did not prevent someone else from committing the crime Reportedly followed an order to commit the crime Reportedly ordered someone else to commit the crime
Attitude Toward the Crime	Did this reluctantly Did this enthusiastically

## 8 Subgroup Analysis

Table A.6: Ratings (0-1) by Respondent Traits

	<i>Dependent variable: Rating (0-1)</i>	
Woman	-0.036*** (0.0065)	-.035*** (.0073)
Birth Year	0.0020*** (0.00029)	.0017*** (.00033)
Income (quartile)	-.0057 (0.0036)	-.0025 (.0043)
Urban (1-5)	-.0054 (.0028)	-.0056 (.0033)
Ideology (1 left to 10 right)	0.0029 (0.0015)	
Duque Vote 2018		.0053 (.0078)
Disagreement with International Law (1-5)	0.028*** (0.0028)	.023*** (.0031)
Exposure to Victimization (0 or 1)	0.011 (0.0066)	.0084 (.0075)
Constant	-3.55*** (0.58)	-3.02*** (.65)

*Note:*

\*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001  
SE clustered by respondent (White Se)

Table A.7: Nested model comparison test of preference heterogeneity.

Model comparison	F statistic	P-value
Ideology (1-5 vs. 6-10)	.77	.76
Ideology (1-7 vs. 8-10)	1.16	.27
Ideology (1-3 vs. 4-10)	.66	.87
Duque Voter (no vs. yes)	1.83	.012
Victimized in Conflict (no vs. yes)	.92	.56
Woman (no vs. yes)	1.18	.26
Urban (1 rural vs. 2-5 urban)	1.08	.37
Income (below or above mean)	.83	.68
Disagree w. IHL (yes vs. not yes)	1.24	.21

Figure A.9: Subgroup FC Analysis: Conservative or Not



Figure A.10: Subgroup FC Analysis: Duque Voter or Not

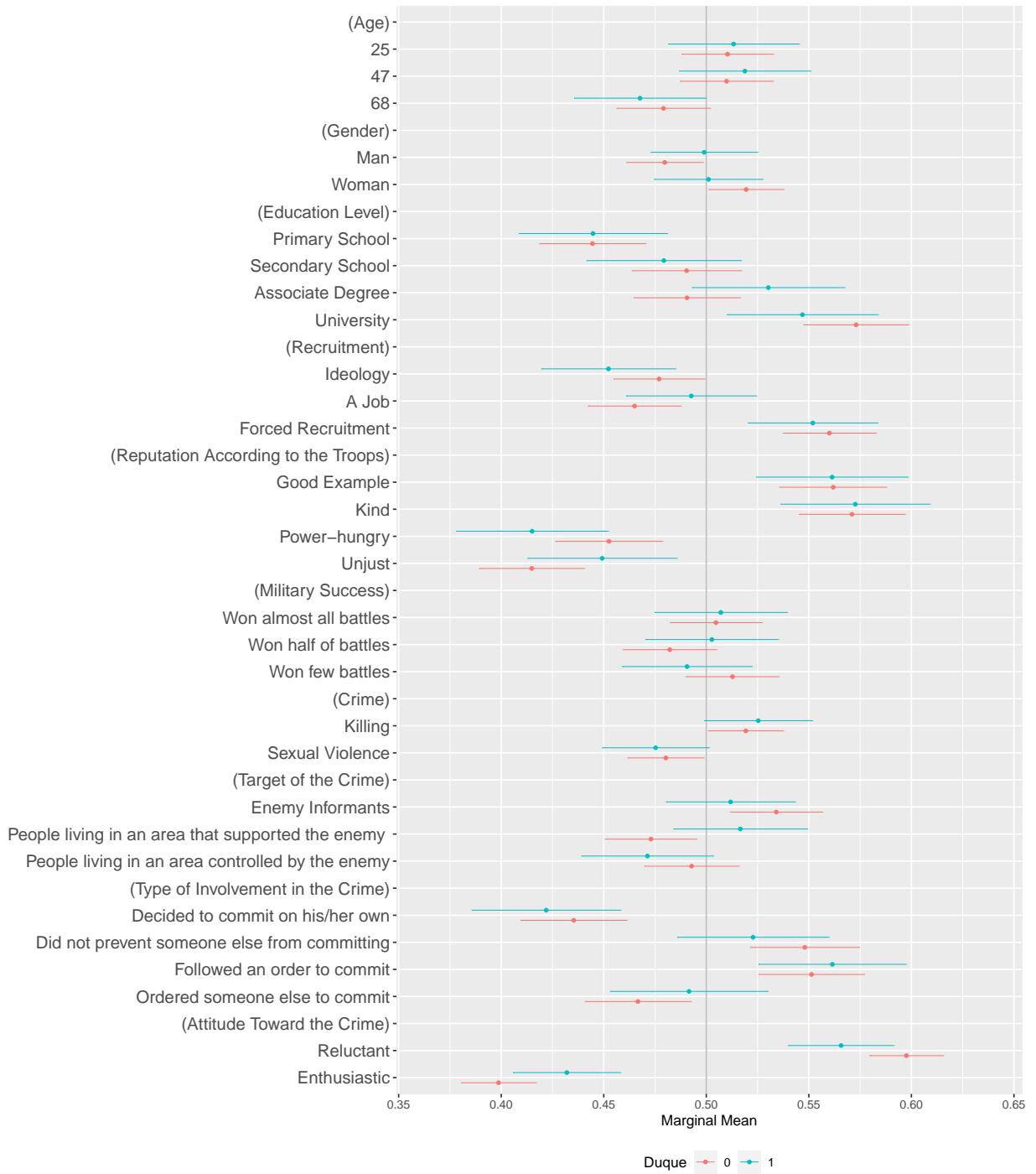


Table A.8: Marginal Mean Difference Tests: Duque Voter - Non-Duque Voter

	<i>Dependent variable: MM Difference</i>
<b>Age: 25</b>	.0029
	(.020)
47	.0089
	(.020)
68	-.011
	(.020)
<b>Gender: Man</b>	.019
	(.016)
Woman	-.018
	(.016)
<b>Education Level: Primary School</b>	.0023
	(.023)
Secondary School	-.011
	(.024)
Associate Degree	.040
	(.023)
University	-.026
	(.023)
<b>Recruitment: Ideology</b>	-.025
	(.020)
A Job	.028
	(.020)
Forced Recruitment	-.0081
	(.020)
<b>Reputation: Good Example</b>	-.00055
	(.023)
Kind	.0016
	(.023)
Power-Hungry	-.037
	(.023)
Unjust	.034
	(.023)
<b>Military Success: Won almost all battles</b>	.0024
	(.020)
Won half of battles	.021
	(.020)
Won few battles	-.022
	(.020)
<b>Crime: Killing</b>	.0061
	(.016)
Sexual Violence	-.0050
	(.016)
<b>Target of Crime: Enemy Informants</b>	-.022
	(.020)
People living in an area that supported the enemy	.044**
	(.020)
People living in an area controlled by the enemy	-.022
	(.020)
<b>Type of Involvement: Decided to commit on his/her own</b>	-.013
	(.023)
Did not prevent someone else from committing	-.025
	(.023)
Followed an order to commit	.010
	(.023)
Ordered someone else to commit	.025
	(.024)
<b>Attitude: Reluctant</b>	-.032**
	(.016)
Enthusiastic	.033**
	(.016)

Note:

\*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001