Online Appendix

"The Political Legacies of Rebel Rule: Evidence from a Natural Experiment in Côte d'Ivoire"

Appendix A: Spatial-Temporal Development of the Rebel Frontline in Ivory Coast

The timeline below was compiled on the basis of the following sources: Chelpi-den Hamer 2011; Heitz Tokpa 2013; Human Rights Watch (2003); and *Le Monde* articles.

- September 19, 2002: Mutineers launch coup attempt in Abidjan
- September 21, 2002: Newspapers report that Bouaké and Korhogo are in the hands of the insurgents. Sporadic fighting among governmental troops travelling towards Bouaké and the insurgents is reported (*Le Monde*, 21 September 2002; *Le Monde*, 24 September 2002).
- September 26, 2002: Insurgents occupy the city of Odienné in the north west without encountering any major resistance. They also occupy Ferkéssédougou, 50 km east of Korhogo (*Le Monde*, 30 September 2002; *Le Monde*, 1 October 2002).
- September 28, 2002: Reports from refugees that the rebels have extended their presence to the border areas with Burkina Faso, de facto controlling all the north of the country (*Le Monde*, 1 October 2002). According to rebel sources, a French helicopter opened fire on the insurgents in Tiébissou, 66 km south of Bouaké, the city that now marks the boundary between government and rebel controlled areas (*Le Monde*, 2 October 2002).
- September 29, 2002: Rebel forces advance west and south, taking Sakassou, 43 km from Bouaké, without encountering significant resistance. The rebels also start calling themselves Mouvement patriotique de Côte d'Ivoire (MPCI) and talk about their political program (*Le Monde*, 3 October 2002).
- October 3 - October 6, 2002: Attempts by ECOWAS to negotiate a ceasefire fail.

- October 7, 2002: Fighting resumes. The Ivorian army stages a surprise attack on Bouaké and Sakassou. It manages to occupy Sakassou, but it is pushed back by the MPCI from Bouaké after a day of fighting (*Le Monde*, 8 October 2002; *Le Monde*, 9 October 2002). First reports of MPCI-aligned rebel attacks in western districts of Montagnes and Sassandra-Marahoue. Vavoua is captured by rebel forces (Chelpi-den Hamer 2011).

- October 11, 2002: Rebel forces moving south from Vavoua reach Daloa and capture the city (Chelpi-den Hamer 2011).

- October 14-15, 2002: Loyalist forces retake Daloa (Human Rights Watch, 2003).

- October 17, 2002: A ceasefire brokered by Senegal temporarily halts further fighting (*Le Monde*, 19 October 2002).

- November 3-4, 2002: Rebel forces attack the local firm Sucrivoire in Borotou-Koro, 150 km north of Man (Chelpi-den Hamer 2011).

- November 28, 2002: MPCI-aligned rebel forces take the towns of Man, Danané and Zouan-Hounien on 28 November (Liberation, 29 November 2002). Man is recaptured 2 days later by loyalist forces (Human Rights Watch, 2003).

- December 2, 2002: Rebel forces capture Toulepleu (Human Rights Watch 2003).

- December 6, 2002: Rebel forces capture Blolequin (Human Rights Watch 2003).

- December 19-20, 2002: Rebel forces recapture Man, Bangolo and surrounding villages (Human Rights Watch 2003).

- January 10-12, 2003: Loyalist forces recapture Toulepleu (Chelpi-den Hamer 2011).

- April 6-14, 2003: Fighting between rebel and government forces in Zouan-Hounien, which is recaptured by loyalist forces (Chelpi-den Hamer 2011).

- May 23, 2003: *Zone de Confiance* is formally established under French and UN auspices, giving official recognition to the de facto ceasefire line on the ground (Chelpi-den Hamer 2011).

Discussion. The timeline of events suggests that by the time MPCI/FN rebels were expanding from the north into the western regions of our study, they were expanding territorial control at a rate of between 15 and 24 km per day, or about 20km on average. The MPCI/FN's "western push" began within one week of the rebellion onset. The rebel capture of Odienné on September 26, a town 235 km west of Korgogo, suggests an initial rate of territorial expansion of approximately 47km per day. The subsequent capture of Vavoua on October 7, 267 km further south from Boundiali, implies a rate of expansion of approximately 22 km per day between September 26 and October 7. The subsequent capture of Daloa on October 11, only four days after the capture of Vavoua, suggests a rate of rebel expansion of about 15 km per day by mid-October. After the resumption of rebel offensives in November (after the mid-October ceasefire), rebels expanded from Danané (captured November 28) to Toulepleu (captured December 2) in four days. This suggests a rate of expansion of about 24 km per day. (There are multiple reasons for the slow-down in the rebel expansion rate. It was partly due to the increased capacities of the Ivorian loyalist forces, boosted by an influx of foreign mercenaries and new weapons (particularly combat helicopters), as well as a bolstered deployment by the French army to cover the entire western region of Côte d'Ivoire. Between September 2002 and May 2003, French troops increased from about 900 to 3800, and gained the support of an additional 1500 ECOWAS troops and established permanent posts in Duékoué in December, where they actively clashed with rebel forces). Thus, even assuming that rebel forces would have continued to conquer territory at the slower end of this range, if French interposition forces had arrived to halt the offensives even one week later, the ceasefire line might have been over 100km further south and all of the government-controlled areas in our study would have been under rebel control. If foreign intervention

had arrived two weeks later, MPCI/FN rebels might have conquered nearly all the way to San Pédro on the Atlantic coast.

Appendix B: Survey

The data used in this study is drawn from the Citizen Perceptions Survey project, conducted in August-September 2018. The Citizen Perceptions Survey was funded by USAID Côte d'Ivoire in the context of the Political Transition and Inclusion (PTI) initiative, a component of USAID Côte d'Ivoire's Political Inclusion and Accountability (PIA) project, which aims to improve inclusive and government responsiveness to citizens' interests and grievances. A key purpose of the survey was to gauge citizen attitudes about governance, citizenship, and local political inclusion in formerly conflict-affected areas of the country, which were identified by USAID Côte d'Ivoire as priority areas for the PIA project in the lead-up to the 2020 national elections. The Citizen Perceptions Survey was administered by the authors in partnership with a local survey firm, the Center for Research and Training for Integrated Development (CREFDI). CREFDI is the Afrobarometer partner in Côte d'Ivoire. IRB approval for this study was obtained from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Committee on the Use of Humans as Experimental Subjects (COUHES), Protocol 1606619582A001.

The base sampling frame for the survey consisted of all sub-prefectures and communes in Côte d'Ivoire that were controlled by the FN rebel group during the 2002-2011 civil war. An additional five regions from the government-controlled zone – all of which were adjacent to the rebel zone – were also included in a supplementary sampling frame, to enable comparative analyses of respondents in former rebel- and government-controlled areas. The total number of respondents reached was 1200 across 120 enumeration sites (Figure A1). In the present study, we focus only on the subset of 50 enumeration sites (500 respondents) located within 100 km of the ceasefire line. Geographic distances were calculated using Google Maps, which provided data visualization and distance estimates along local roads.

In preparation for implementing the survey in the field, CREFDI recruited 20 Ivorian interviewers with previous experience conducting survey research with them, with an even

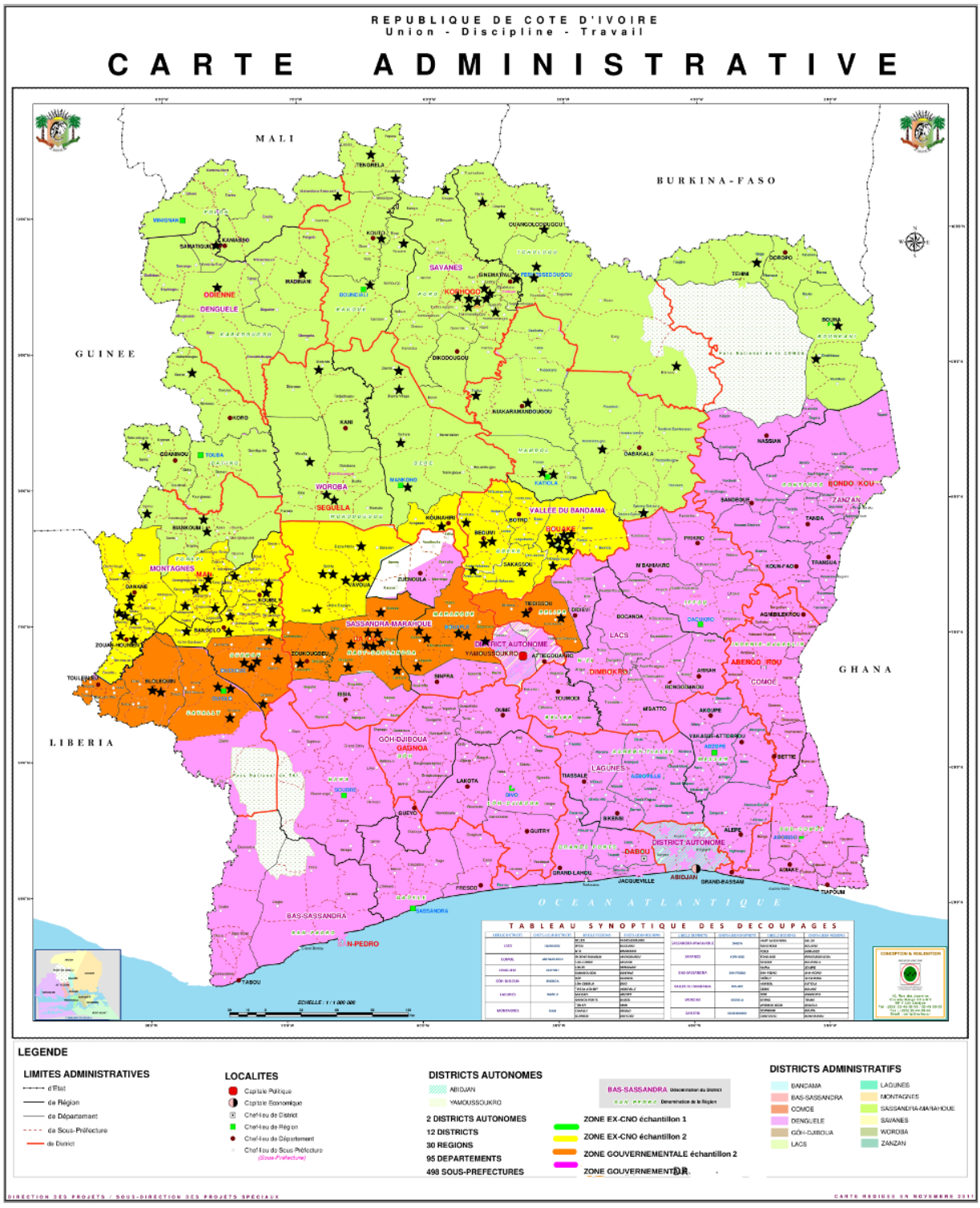

Figure A1: Citizen Perceptions Survey, Enumeration Sites

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gender split. For logistical and security reasons, the interviewers were divided into four field teams with a supervisor and a 4x4 vehicle each. Along with CREFDI staff, two of the authors helped to faciliate a five day training in August 2018 with the interviewers and team supervisors, and implemented a pilot survey in Bingerville, a suburb of Abidjan.

In line with standard Afrobarometer polling methodology, a random-walk grid method was used to identify households for survey enumeration, with an even split between male and female respondents. Informed consent was obtained from each respondent prior to the survey interview. Surveys were conducted in-person with the assistance of computer tablets. The survey was administered in two languages, French and Dioula, which are the most widely spoken in Côte d'Ivoire. The survey instrument was designed by the authors in collaboration with USAID and incorporated extensive feedback from CREFDI staff as well as local Ivorian researchers. CREFDI staff translated the questionnaire into Dioula and uploaded both versions onto tablets using the software SurveyToGo.

The survey instrument is available here:

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1llODxhsyOYrNcfHFtBaS26SVCGc5sTkN/view?usp=sharing

Appendix C: Covariates and Descriptive Statistics

- *Treated*: Binary variable coded 1 if enumeration area site was in FN-controlled zone, 0 otherwise. To code each enumeration site, we relied on geographic maps of FN territory provided by Ivorian National Institute of Statistics and from the Center for Research and Training for Integrated Development (CREFDI).
- *Education*: A department-level measure of educational attainment in May 2002, averaged across all households (0 = No formal education, 1 = Primary education, 2 = Secondary education, 3 = Post-secondary education). Source: "Enquête Niveau de Vie des Ménages, ENV 2002," National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Côte d'Ivoire.
- *Poverty*: A department-level measure of poverty rates in May 2002, averaged across all households. Households receive a score of 1 if their per-capita household expenditures fell below the national poverty line in 2002 (183, 450 CFA), and 0 otherwise. Source: "Enquête Niveau de Vie des Ménages, ENV 2002," National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Côte d'Ivoire.
- *Age*: The age of the respondent in years.
- *Christian*: Binary variable coded 1 if respondent identified their primary religion as Christianity, 0 otherwise.
- *Mande*: Binary variable coded 1 if respondent identified their ethnic group as Mande/Malinke, 0 otherwise.
- *Akan*: Binary variable coded 1 if respondent identified their ethnic group as Akan, 0 otherwise.
- *Krou*: Binary variable coded 1 if respondent identified their ethnic group as Krou, 0 otherwise.
- *Female*: A binary variable coded 1 if the respondent identified themselves as female, 0 otherwise.
- *Victim*: A binary variable coded 1 if the respondent reported they were the victim of physical violence or property theft during the crisis, 0 otherwise.
- *Urban*: A binary variable coded 1 if the respondent's enumeration area is located in an urban locality, 0 otherwise.
- *Years Lived*: The number of years the respondent has lived in their current locality (commune or sub-prefecture).
- *Education (individual)*: An ordinal variable indicating the level of education of the respondent (0 = No formal education, 1 = Primary education, 2 = Secondary education, 3 = Post-secondary education).

- *Poverty (individual)*: An ordinal variable indicating the level of poverty reported by the respondent (0 = No lived poverty, 1 = Moderate lived poverty, 2 = High lived poverty. The definition of lived poverty is based on the Afrobarometer Lived Poverty Index (LPI).)

- *Social Assistance from Neighbor (prewar)*: A department-level measure of local social capital in May 2002, averaged across all households. Households receive a score of 1 if the household head reported receiving social assistance from a neighbor in the last 12 months, and 0 otherwise. Source: "Enquête Niveau de Vie des Ménages, ENV 2002," National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Côte d'Ivoire.

- *Received Loan from Neighbor (prewar)*: A department-level measure of local social capital in May 2002, averaged across all households. Households receive a score of 1 if the household head reported receiving a loan from a neighbor in the last 12 months, and 0 otherwise. Source: "Enquête Niveau de Vie des Ménages, ENV 2002," National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Côte d'Ivoire.

- *Willing to Adopt Child (prewar)*: A department-level measure of local social capital in May 2002, averaged across all households. Households receive a score of 1 if the household head reported that the household would be willing to take in a non-familial child in crisis, and 0 otherwise. Source: "Enquête Niveau de Vie des Ménages, ENV 2002," National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Côte d'Ivoire.

- *Social Capital Index (prewar)*: An aggregate index of Social Assistance from Neighbor, Received Loan from Neighbor, and Willing to Adopt Child.

- *Permanent Camp*: A binary indicator for whether respondent indicated that a permanent FN camp existed in their locality during the 2002-2011 crisis.

- *Peacekeeping*: A binary indicator for whether respondent indicated that impartial UN or French peacekeeping forces visited their locality during the 2002-2011 crisis.

- *NGO*: A binary indicator for whether respondent indicated that an international non-government organization (e.g. MSF) provided services in their locality during the 2002-2011 crisis.

- *Paid Taxes to Rebels*: A binary indicator for whether respondent indicated that they paid a tax or tribute at least once to an FN rebel during the 2002-2011 crisis.

- *Wartime Order*: A dummy variable for whether respondent indicated that order and crime-fighting services functioned "well" or "very well" in their locality during the 2002-2011 crisis.

- *Wartime Education*: A dummy variable for whether respondent indicated that education services functioned "well" or "very well" in their locality during the 2002-2011 crisis.

- *Wartime Health*: A dummy variable for whether respondent indicated that health services functioned "well" or "very well" in their locality during the 2002-2011 crisis.

- *Wartime Services (index)*: Aggregate index of Wartime Order, Wartime Education, and Wartime Health.

- *RDR 2001 Vote*: Share of votes for the RDR in 2001 municipal elections, calculated at sub-prefecture/commune level. Source: Sebastian van Baalen. Guns and Governance: Local Elites and Rebel Governance in Côte d'Ivoire. Diss. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 2020.

- *ACLED Events (fall 2002)* Count of the number of violent events (battles or violent clashes) from September to December 2002, calculated at sub-prefecture level. Source: ACLED.

- *Cocoa Farmer*: The percentage of households engaged in cocoa farming, averaged at the department level. Source: Source: "Enquête Niveau de Vie des Ménages, ENV 2002," National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Côte d'Ivoire.

- *Soil Quality*: Average soil quality (nutrient availability), calculated at sub-prefecture level. Source: Harmonized World Soil Database v 1.2.

- *Annual Precipitation*: Average yearly precipitation in mm, calculated at sub-prefecture level. Source: WorldClim project.

Table A1: Descriptive Statistics

	N obs	Min	Max	Median	Mean	Std. Dev.
Treated	500	0	1	0	0.44	0.50
Age	500	18	87	31	34.02	13.23
Christian	500	0	1	1	0.50	0.50
Muslim	500	0	1	0	0.32	0.47
Mande	500	0	1	0	0.32	0.47
Akan	500	0	1	0	0.21	0.41
Krou	500	0	1	0	0.26	0.44
Education	500	0.64	1.79	0.87	1.01	0.36
Female	500	0	1	0.50	0.50	0.50
Poverty	500	0.12	0.70	0.34	0.36	0.11
Victim	500	0	1	0	0.44	0.50
Urban	500	0	1	0	0.44	0.50
Social Assistance from Neighbor (prewar)	500	0	0.09	0.02	0.03	0.02
Received Loan from Neighbor (prewar)	500	0.53	0.85	0.67	0.70	0.09
Willing to Adopt Child (prewar)	500	0.21	0.80	0.57	0.55	0.12
Social Capital Index (prewar)	500	1.03	1.55	1.29	1.28	0.14
Permanent Camp	500	0	1	0	0.28	0.45
Peacekeeping	500	0	1	1	0.71	0.46
NGO	500	0	1	1	0.68	0.47
Paid Taxes to Rebels	500	0	1	0	0.35	0.48
Wartime Order	500	0	1	0.50	0.50	0.50
Wartime Education	500	0	1	1	0.79	0.40
Wartime Health	500	0	1	1	0.77	0.42
RDR 2001 Vote	320	0	52.94	32.64	28.12	17.63
ACLED Events (fall 2002)	500	0	5	0	0.78	1.33
Cocoa Farmer	500	0.08	0.19	0.14	0.15	0.03
Soil Quality	500	2	4.25	2.84	2.73	0.40
Annual Precipitation	500	82.40	138.08	99.75	103.74	14.85
State attitudes index	500	0	3	2	1.58	1.15
Municipal government	500	0	1	0	0.33	0.47
Policy / Gendarmerie	500	0	1	1	0.66	0.47
Prefectoral corps	500	0	1	1	0.59	0.49
Civic obligations index	500	0	5	4	3.82	1.41
Should contact government	500	0	1	1	0.66	0.48
Should contact media	500	0	1	1	0.71	0.45
Should organize with others	500	0	1	1	0.79	0.41
Should vote in elections	500	0	1	1	0.87	0.34
Should pay taxes	500	0	1	1	0.80	0.40
Anti-state actions index	500	0	3	0	0.27	0.60
Occupy public building	500	0	1	0	0.06	0.24
Road block	500	0	1	0	0.09	0.29
Refuse taxes	500	0	1	0	0.12	0.32
Collective action index	500	0	6	1	1.48	1.56
Attended meeting (community)	500	0	1	1	0.54	0.50
Volunteered in community	500	0	1	0	0.26	0.44
Participated village governance	500	0	1	0	0.31	0.46
Attended meeting (party)	500	0	1	0	0.13	0.34
Joined CSO	500	0	1	0	0.14	0.34
Joined party	500	0	1	0	0.10	0.31

Appendix C: Additional Results

Table A2: Placebo Tests (additional covariates)

	Dependent variable:				
	RDR 2001 Vote	ACLED Events (fall 2002)	Cocoa Farmer	Soil Quality	Annual Precipitation
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treatment	−9.481	0.459	0.0004	0.055	4.458
	(7.696)	(0.452)	(0.013)	(0.127)	(4.460)
Constant	31.375***	0.586**	0.145***	2.707***	101.819***
	(7.179)	(0.283)	(0.013)	(0.082)	(3.127)
Observations	320	500	500	500	500

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A3: Placebo Outcome Years Lived by Ethnic Group

	Dependent variable:		
	Years Lived in Current Locality		
	Krou	Mande	Akan
Treatment	−0.334	0.721	−0.334
	(2.499)	(2.182)	(2.499)
Constant	19.973***	22.373***	19.973***
	(1.430)	(1.590)	(1.430)
Observations	110	160	110

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A4: Constraining Sample Based on Years Lived in Current EA

	Dependent variable:					
	More than 8 years			More than 16 years		
	SA Index	CO Index	AS Index	SA Index	CO Index	AS Index
Treatment	−0.480***	−0.961***	0.161*	−0.453***	−0.844***	0.149*
	(0.141)	(0.214)	(0.083)	(0.161)	(0.242)	(0.081)
Constant	1.776***	4.220***	0.196***	1.768***	4.131***	0.207***
	(0.110)	(0.108)	(0.045)	(0.124)	(0.120)	(0.045)
Observations	437	437	437	344	344	344

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

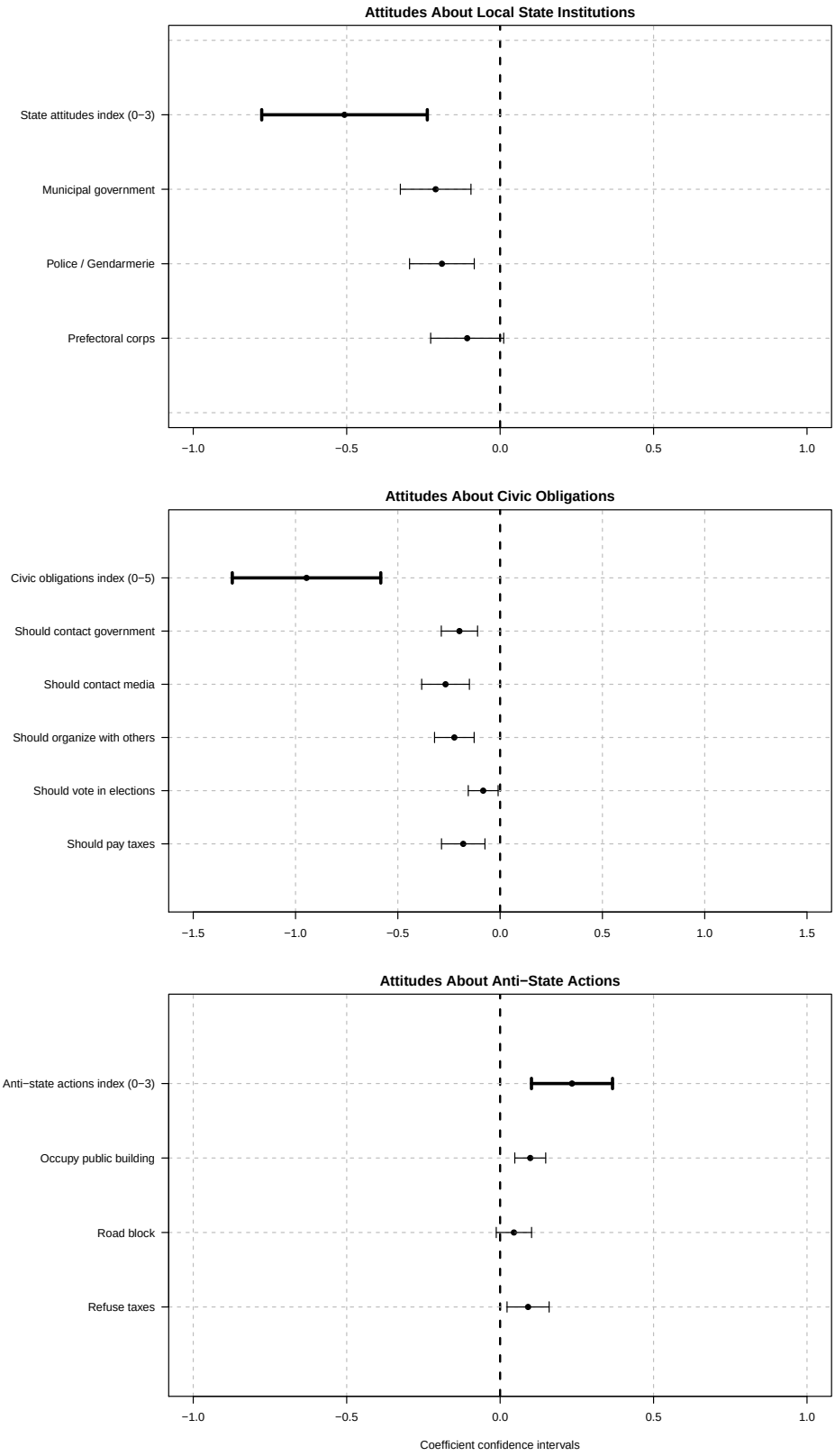

Figure A2: Main Results with Covariates Included (Age, Female, Christian, Mande, Education, Poverty, Years Lived)

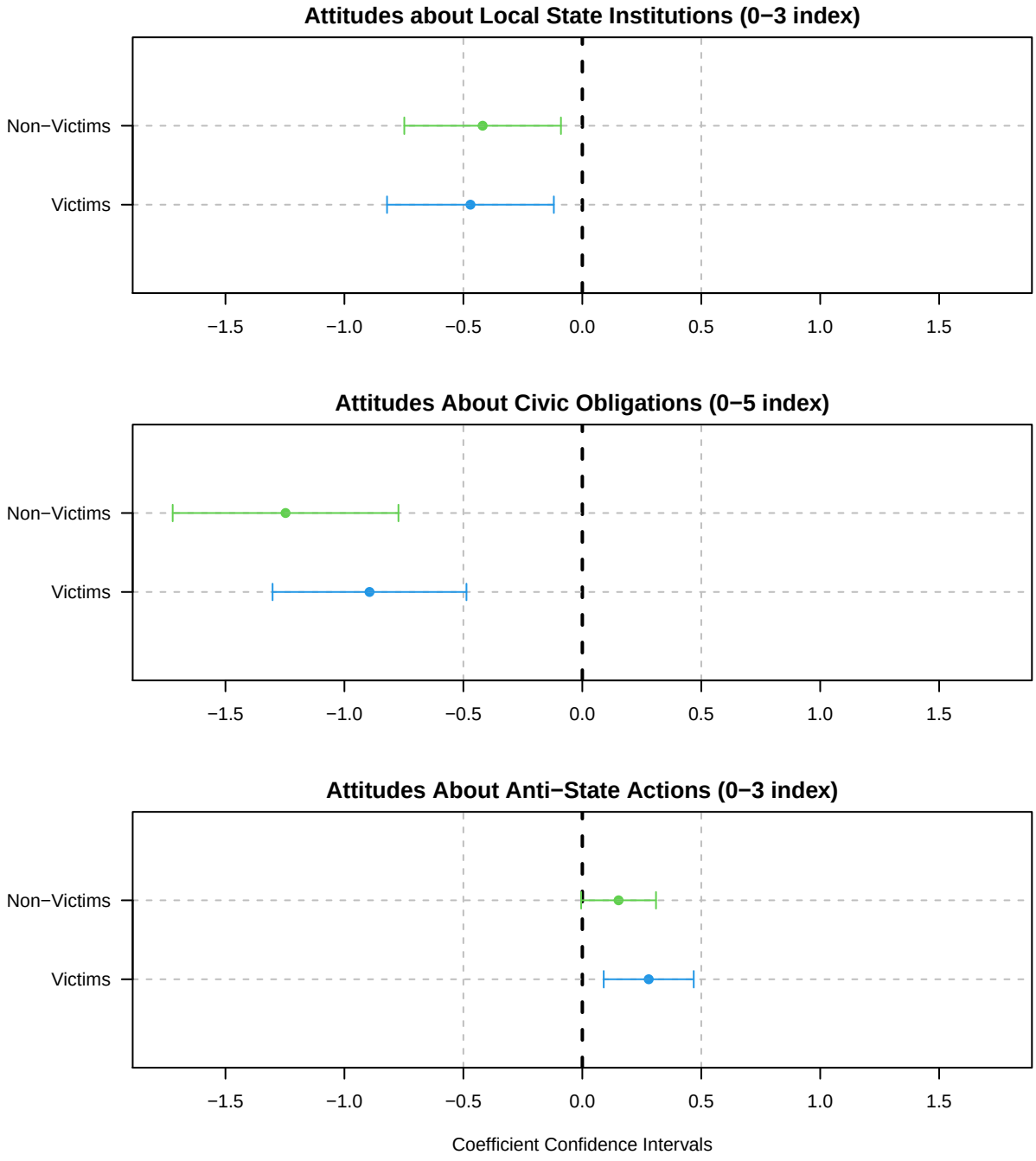

Figure A3: Heterogenous Effects by Victimization

Table A5: Full Rebel Zone versus Border Rebel Zone

	Mean Rebel Zone	Mean Border Zone	t statistic
Rebel Camp	0.37	0.36	0.14
Wartime Education	0.65	0.67	-0.64
Wartime Health	0.57	0.59	-0.85
Peacekeeping	0.52	0.67	-4.71
Victim	0.42	0.61	-5.79
Paid Taxes	0.38	0.54	-4.60

Table A6: Rebel Zone versus Border Zone (Community Survey data from Martin 2020)

	Mean Rebel Zone	Mean Border Zone	t statistic
Rebel Recruitment (Y/N)	0.87	0.89	-0.18
Rebels Organized Meetings (Y/N)	0.59	0.56	0.26
No. of Rebel Goods Provided	2.22	2.72	-1.49
Rebels Taxed (Y/N)	0.90	0.94	-0.78
Elite Collaboration (Y/N)	0.12	0.22	-1.00

Table A7: Benchmarking Against Extreme Lived Poverty

	Dependent variable:	
	SA Index	CO Index
Treatment	-0.456^{***}	-0.954^{***}
	(0.145)	(0.192)
Extreme Poverty	-0.188^{*}	-0.275^{**}
	(0.113)	(0.120)
Constant	1.896^{***}	4.415^{***}
	(0.151)	(0.137)
Observations	500	500
Notes:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	
SA = State attitudes;		
CO = Civic obligations		

Table A8: Additional Placebo Tests (prewar social capital)

	Dependent variable:			
	Social Assistance	Received Loan	Willing to Adopt Child	Social Capital Index
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment	0.017	0.017	−0.035	0.058
	(0.011)	(0.046)	(0.075)	(0.079)
Constant	0.019***	0.693***	0.568***	1.254***
	(0.002)	(0.042)	(0.053)	(0.054)
Observations	500	500	500	500

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A9: Constraining to near-ceasefire line areas, increments of 20km (SA Index)

	Dependent variable: State Attitudes Index				
	20km	40km	60km	80km	100km
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treatment	−0.310*	−0.356**	−0.386***	−0.375***	−0.377***
	(0.161)	(0.140)	(0.135)	(0.115)	(0.106)
Constant	1.633***	1.700***	1.700***	1.689***	1.696***
	(0.124)	(0.109)	(0.107)	(0.083)	(0.074)
Observations	220	300	330	400	450

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A10: Constraining to near-ceasefire line areas, increments of 20km (CO Index)

	Dependent variable: Civic Obligations Index				
	20km	40km	60km	80km	100km
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treatment	−0.721***	−0.847***	−0.918***	−0.903***	−0.966***
	(0.195)	(0.161)	(0.158)	(0.136)	(0.127)
Constant	4.167***	4.242***	4.242***	4.226***	4.248***
	(0.150)	(0.125)	(0.126)	(0.098)	(0.089)
Observations	220	300	330	400	450

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A11: Constraining to near-ceasefire line areas, increments of 20km (AS Index)

	Dependent variable: Anti-State Attitudes Index				
	20km	40km	60km	80km	100km
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treatment	0.226***	0.247***	0.235***	0.143**	0.173***
	(0.077)	(0.071)	(0.068)	(0.060)	(0.059)
Constant	0.089	0.108**	0.108**	0.200***	0.209***
	(0.059)	(0.055)	(0.054)	(0.044)	(0.041)
Observations	220	300	330	400	450

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A12: Placebo Borders (25km intervals)

	Dependent variable:		
	State Attitudes Index		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Placebo Treatment (25km)	−0.285*		
	(0.151)		
Placebo Treatment (50km)		−0.235	
		(0.208)	
Placebo Treatment (75km)			−0.136
			(0.365)
Constant	1.208***	1.123***	0.992***
	(0.254)	(0.257)	(0.227)
Observations	500	500	500

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A13: Political Attitudes and Distance from Ceasefire Line

	Dependent variable:					
	Rebel Side			Government Side		
	SA	CO	AS	SA	CO	AS
North-South Distance (km)	−0.001	−0.009**	0.005	0.003	−0.001	0.001*
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Constant	1.350***	3.485***	0.269***	1.592***	4.257***	0.127***
	(0.102)	(0.183)	(0.094)	(0.196)	(0.164)	(0.043)
Observations	220	220	220	280	280	280

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A14: Region Fixed Effects (OLS)

	Dependent variable:		
	SA Index	CO Index	AS Index
Treatment	−1.314***	−1.500***	0.243**
	(0.285)	(0.252)	(0.115)
Constant	2.600***	4.600***	0.100
	(0.252)	(0.040)	(0.093)
Observations	500	500	500

Note: Region FE not shown *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A15: Enumeration Area Level Averages

	Dependent variable:		
	SA Index	CO Index	AS Index
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Treatment	-0.460^{***}	-0.961^{***}	0.200^{***}
	(0.155)	(0.192)	(0.069)
Constant	1.779^{***}	4.243^{***}	0.182^{***}
	(0.103)	(0.127)	(0.046)
Observations	50	50	50

Notes: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
SA = State attitudes;
CO = Civic obligations;
AS = Anti-state attitudes

Table A16: Controlling for Peacekeeping and NGO presence

	Dependent variable:		
	SA Index	CO Index	AS Index
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Treatment	-0.463^{***}	-0.956^{***}	0.239^{***}
	(0.126)	(0.199)	(0.066)
Age	0.002	-0.008^{*}	-0.001
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.002)
Female	-0.142	-0.129	0.041
	(0.102)	(0.113)	(0.053)
Christian	0.039	0.370^{**}	-0.154^{***}
	(0.109)	(0.145)	(0.049)
Mande	0.076	-0.060	-0.184^{***}
	(0.123)	(0.154)	(0.064)
Education	0.451^{***}	-0.093	0.095
	(0.137)	(0.194)	(0.087)
Poverty	-0.937^{*}	-0.638	0.094
	(0.493)	(0.805)	(0.213)
Years Lived	-0.001	0.002	-0.001
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.002)
Peacekeeping	0.228^{*}	-0.113	-0.018
	(0.119)	(0.180)	(0.065)
NGO	0.321^{***}	0.177	0.125^{***}
	(0.114)	(0.149)	(0.047)
Constant	1.274^{***}	4.642^{***}	0.152
	(0.323)	(0.523)	(0.179)
Observations	500	500	500

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
SA = State attitudes;
CO = Civic obligations;
AS = Anti-state attitudes

Table A17: Wartime Collective Action

	Dependent variable:				
	Wartime CA	Current CA	SA Index	CO Index	AS Index
Treatment	0.249**	0.197	−0.479***	−0.928***	0.224***
	(0.123)	(0.130)	(0.135)	(0.200)	(0.067)
Wartime Collective Action		0.695***	−0.003	−0.147***	0.033
		(0.043)	(0.050)	(0.052)	(0.020)
Constant	−0.751*	0.529*	1.478***	4.632***	0.260
	(0.406)	(0.316)	(0.333)	(0.501)	(0.179)
Additional Covariates	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	500	500	500	500	500

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
CA = Collective Action (index);
SA = State attitudes;
CO = Civic obligations;
AS = Anti-state attitudes

Table A18: Within-Rebel Zone Comparison

	Dependent variable:		
	SA Index	CO Index	AS Index
Wartime Services	0.103**	0.184***	−0.004
	(0.051)	(0.057)	(0.026)
Age	0.003	−0.004	−0.006**
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.002)
Female	−0.078	−0.196**	−0.037
	(0.082)	(0.094)	(0.054)
Christian	0.030	0.350***	−0.096
	(0.111)	(0.125)	(0.063)
Nordiste	0.289**	0.172	−0.052
	(0.130)	(0.162)	(0.064)
Education 2002	0.376	−1.679***	0.353
	(0.439)	(0.647)	(0.215)
Poverty 2002	−0.358	−0.572*	0.194
	(0.220)	(0.306)	(0.119)
Social Capital 2002	−0.465	0.528	−0.065
	(0.435)	(0.609)	(0.227)
Years Lived	−0.002	0.001	0.0001
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.002)
Permanent Camp	−0.070	0.265**	0.097
	(0.095)	(0.129)	(0.087)
Peacekeeping	−0.348***	0.195	−0.059
	(0.125)	(0.156)	(0.077)
Victim	−0.218**	0.362**	0.165**
	(0.108)	(0.145)	(0.069)
Paid Tax	0.086	0.106	0.027
	(0.104)	(0.136)	(0.072)
Wartime Collective Action	0.071*	−0.003	−0.022
	(0.038)	(0.041)	(0.021)
Urban	0.273**	0.105	−0.051
	(0.117)	(0.152)	(0.083)
Constant	2.085***	3.178**	0.327
	(0.771)	(1.315)	(0.448)
Observations	900	900	900

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
SA = State attitudes;
CO = Civic obligations;
AS = Anti-state attitudes