Online Appendices
Holtermann, Helge, "Diversionary Rebel Violence in Territorial Civil War"

Appendix A. Additional Tables for Global Analysis

Table A1. List of Conflict Dyads in the Dataset

Government	Rebel organization	Territory	Rebel violence outside disp. area	Years in dataset	Yearly rebel violence outside disp. area
Angola	FLEC-Armed Forces of Cabinda (FLEC-FAC)	Cabinda	0	2	0
Azerbaijan	Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh	Nagorno-Karabakh	0	9	0
Bangladesh	Jana Samhati Samiti/Shanti Bahini (JSS/SB)	Chittagong Hill Tracts	0	2	0
Croatia	Serbian Republic of Krajina	Serbian Krajina	0	3	0
Ethiopia	Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF)	Ogaden	0	5	0
Ethiopia	Oromo Liberation Front (OLF)	Oromiya	0	4	0
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK)	Kosovo	0	2	0
Georgia	Republic of Abkhazia	Abkhazia	2	2	1.00
India	United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA)	Assam	2	16	0.13
India	National Democratic Front of Boroland (NDFB)	Bodoland	2	9	0.22
India	National Democratic Front of Boroland-Ranjan Daimary (NDFB-RD)	Bodoland	0	2	0
India	National Democratic Front of Boroland-Songbijit (NDFB-S)	Bodoland	0	2	0
India	Kashmir insurgents	Kashmir	12	26	0.46
India	Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP)	Manipur	0	2	0
India	People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK)	Manipur	0	2	0
India	People's Liberation Army (PLA)	Manipur	0	2	0
India	United National Liberation Front (UNLF)	Manipur	0	7	0
India	National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN-IM)	Nagaland	0	7	0
India	Sikh insurgents	Punjab/Khalistan	29	5	5.80
India	All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF)	Tripura	0	1	0
India	National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT)	Tripura	1	5	0.20
Indonesia	Free Aceh Movement (GAM)	Aceh	0	9	0
Indonesia	Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin)	East Timor	0	4	0

Israel	Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades (AMB)	Palestinian territories	16	3	5.33
Israel	Fatah	Palestinian territories	0	7	0
Israel	Hamas	Palestinian territories	34	11	3.09
Israel	Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)	Palestinian territories	15	10	1.50
Israel	Palestinian National Authority (PNA)	Palestinian territories	0	3	0
Israel	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)	Palestinian territories	0	1	0
Israel	Popular Resistance Committees (PRC)	Palestinian territories	0	1	0
Israel	Hezbollah	Southern Lebanon	0	10	0
Myanmar (Burma)	Kachin Independence Organisation (KIO)	Kachin	0	6	0
Myanmar (Burma)	Karen National Union (KNU)	Karen	0	16	0
Myanmar (Burma)	Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP)	Karenni	0	3	0
Myanmar (Burma)	Myanmar Nationalities Democratic Alliance Army (MNDAA)	Kokang	0	2	0
Myanmar (Burma)	Palaung State Liberation Front (PSLF)	Palaung	0	3	0
Myanmar (Burma)	Shan State Army-South (RCSS)	Shan	0	8	0
Pakistan	Baloch Republican Army (BRA)	Balochistan	0	5	0
Pakistan	Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA)	Balochistan	1	9	0.11
Papua New Guinea	Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA)	Bougainville	0	4	0
Philippines	Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)	Mindanao	5	21	0.24
Philippines	Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Movement (BIFM)	Mindanao	0	4	0
Philippines	Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)	Mindanao	1	17	0.06
Russia	Forces of the Caucasus Emirate	Caucasus Emirate	12	9	1.33
Russia	Chechen Republic of Ichkeria	Chechnya	17	12	1.42
Senegal	Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC)	Casamance	0	10	0
Spain	ETA	Basque Country	0	1	0
Sri Lanka	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)	Northern and Eastern provinces	64	19	3.37
Thailand	Patani insurgents	Patani	0	13	0
Turkey	Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)	Turkish Kurdistan	115	26	4.42
Ukraine	United Armed Forces of Novorossiya	Novorossiya	0	2	0
United Kingdom	Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA)	Northern Ireland	0	3	0
Yugoslavia	Republic of Croatia	Croatia	0	2	0

Table A2. Summary Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Rebel violence outside the disputed area	19188	0.017	0.156	0	5
Military offensive in disputed area	17744	0.054	0.225	0	1
Recent military offensive in disputed area	17744	0.038	0.192	0	1
Rebel losses	16295	0.225	1.877	0	155.500
Rebel relative losses	19069	4.017	19.453	0	793
Central command	18616	0.821	0.383	0	1
Asymmetry	18304	0.895	0.307	0	1
Democracy	19188	0.702	0.457	0	1
Combat events outside disputed area	19069	0.078	0.423	0	11
Government OSV	19069	0.211	0.934	0	43
N	19188				

Table A3. Correlation Matrix

	DV (Rebel violence o.d.a)	Military offensive	Recent military offensive	Rebel loss	Rebel relative loss	Combat events (o.d.a.)	Government OSV	Central command	Asymmetry
Military offensive	0.116***	1							
Recent military offensive	0.0129	0.191***	1						
Rebel loss	0.0295***	0.108***	0.0235**	1					
Rebel relative loss	0.156***	0.401***	0.0750***	0.374***	1				
Combat events (o.d.a.)	0.106***	0.126***	0.0479***	0.0443***	0.158***	1			
Government OSV	-0.0134	0.00465	-0.00562	-0.00539	-0.0202**	0.0223**	1		
Lagged DV dummy	0.125***	0.117***	0.0268***	0.0231**	0.141***	0.120***	-0.00643	1	
Central command	0.00500	-0.0429***	-0.0224**	-0.0438***	-0.0131	0.0612***	0.0745***	0.00927	1
Asymmetry	0.0123	-0.0145	-0.0388***	-0.00594	0.0117	-0.0368***	0.0516***	0.0124	0.0506***
Democracy	0.0467***	0.0376***	-0.00256	0.00206	0.0776***	-0.0435***	-0.112***	0.0513***	0.0457***

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A4. Imputed Observations

Variable	Obs.	Imputed obs.	Percent imputed
Central command	18616	1924	10,3 %
Asymmetry	18304	7488	40,9 %
Government troops	19136	52	0,3 %
Rebel losses / rebel troops	16295	1111	6,8 %

Table A5: Robustness Tests: Alternative Military Offensive Measures

	Model 8 Mil. off.: lower threshold	Model 9 Mil. off.: higher threshold	Model 10 Mil. off.: 2 consecutive weeks
Military offensive in disputed area, t-1	2.813***	3.410***	3.264***
	(0.437)	(0.571)	(0.538)
Combat events outside disputed area, t-1	1.357***	1.328***	1.345***
	(0.0931)	(0.0915)	(0.0926)
Government OSV, t-1	0.837	0.843	0.844
	(0.125)	(0.125)	(0.126)
Rebel violence outside	2.032***	1.921***	1.909***
	(0.385)	(0.366)	(0.368)
Random intercepts	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	17744	17744	17744
Dyads	53	53	53
BIC	2516.3	2508.6	2510.8

Notes: Exponentiated coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Dependent variable is rebel violence outside the disputed area.

Table A6. Robustness Tests: Alternative Model Specifications and Estimators

	Model 11 NBR, RE; Rainy season control	Model 12 NBR, RE; Troops controls	Model 13 NBR, RE; No lagged DV	Model 14 NBR, FE	Model 15 Poisson, FE, Robust SE
Military offensive in disputed territory, t-1	3.297*** (0.528)	3.223*** (0.538)	3.673*** (0.568)	3.293*** (0.527)	3.415*** (0.460)
Rainy season	0.875 (0.206)				
Ln Government troops		1.029 (0.150)			
Ln Rebel troops		1.089 (0.0948)			
Combat events outside disputed territory, t-1	1.337*** (0.0919)	1.335*** (0.0918)	1.368*** (0.0925)	1.334*** (0.0924)	1.352*** (0.0351)
Government OSV, t-1	0.841 (0.125)	0.758 (0.141)	0.845 (0.125)	0.847 (0.127)	0.778 (0.106)
Rebel OSV outside	1.914*** (0.364)	1.872** (0.363)		1.870*** (0.355)	1.898** (0.454)
Random intercepts	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Fixed effects	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	17744	17329	17744	9963	9963
Dyads	53	50	53	16	16
BIC	2516.0	2444.6	2507.0	2312.4	2378.8

Notes: Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Model 16 excludes military offensives seeing rebel violence outside the disputed area within 4 weeks before their onset.

Table A7. Dyad-level Descriptive Statistics by Group

	Any rebel violence outside disputed area in dyad?	
	No	*Yes*
Democracy (dummy)	0.541 (0.505)	0.813 (0.403)
Central control (dummy)	0.909 (0.292)	0.813 (0.403)
Asymmetry (dummy)	0.891 (0.304)	0.867 (0.352)
Unfree press (dummy)	0.389 (0.494)	0.125 (0.342)
Duration (weeks)	437.1 (396.9)	780 (440.4)
Combat intensity	2.032 (3.521)	9.724 (13.47)
Any military offensives (dummy)	0.459 (0.505)	0.750 (0.447)
Any rebel violence (dummy)	0.270 (0.450)	1 (0)
N	37	16

Mean values; standard deviations in parentheses. Unfree press: Dummy coded from the categorical Freedom of the Press Status (Freedom House). Combat intensity: weekly combatant fatalities. For time-varying variables, the dyad median is used.

Appendix B. Additional Tables for Eelam Wars Analysis

Table B1. Summary Statistics, Eelam Wars

	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Rebel violence outside the disputed area	987	0.067	0.311	0	4
Government offensive in disputed area	961	0.101	0.301	0	1
Rebel offensive in disputed area	962	0.019	0.136	0	1
Recent government offensive	961	0.066	0.248	0	1
Rebel losses	986	0.770	1.850	0	23.600
Rebel relative losses	986	25.222	52.292	0	472
Combat events outside disputed area	986	0.154	0.423	0	3
Government OSV	986	0.063	0.319	0	5
Ceasefire	987	0.205	0.404	0	1
N	987				

Table B2. Correlation Matrix, Eelam Wars

	DV (Rebel violence o.d.a.)	Gov. offensive	Rebel offensive	Recent gov. offensive	Rebel losses	Rebel relative losses	Combat events o.d.a.	Government OSV	Ceasefire
Government offensive	0.153***	1							
Rebel offensive	-0.00446	-0.0463	1						
Recent gov. offensive	0.0256	0.162***	-0.0366	1					
Rebel losses	0.146***	0.412***	0.159***	0.119***	1				
Rebel relative losses	0.172***	0.520***	0.0657*	0.137***	0.779***	1			
Combat events o.d.a.	0.0833**	0.167***	-0.0137	-0.00571	0.0975**	0.218***	1		
Government OSV	-0.0118	-0.0174	-0.0301	-0.0239	0.0519	0.0264	0.0785*	1	
Ceasefire	-0.0767*	-0.173***	-0.0712*	-0.137***	-0.211***	-0.243***	-0.167***	-0.0923**	1

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table B3. Robustness Tests for Analysis of LTTE Violence Outside the Disputed Area

	Model 20 NBR; Offensive: 2 consecutive weeks	Model 21 NBR; Rainy season control	Model 22 NBR; Troops controls	Model 23 NBR; No lagged DV	Model 24 Poisson
Government offensive in disputed area, t-1	3.225***	3.348***	2.749**	3.109***	3.241***
	(1.144)	(1.152)	(0.966)	(1.047)	(1.092)
Rebel offensive in disputed area, t-1	1.057	0.976	0.968	0.962	0.943
	(1.051)	(0.989)	(0.941)	(0.962)	(0.938)
Rainy season		1.330			
		(0.447)			
Ln Government troops			1.549		
			(1.252)		
Ln Rebel troops			1.290		
			(0.778)		
Combat events outside disputed area, t-1	1.416	1.432	1.392	1.398	1.467
	(0.308)	(0.314)	(0.302)	(0.309)	(0.305)
Government OSV, t-1	0.880	0.944	0.830	0.900	0.856
	(0.556)	(0.596)	(0.513)	(0.565)	(0.567)
Ceasefire	0.341*	0.357	0.300*	0.353	0.353
	(0.182)	(0.191)	(0.161)	(0.189)	(0.189)
Rebel violence outside disputed area, t-1	0.745	0.634	0.718		0.719
	(0.353)	(0.306)	(0.350)		(0.367)
Observations	961	961	961	961	961
BIC	494.2	499.6	506.3	486.9	505.7

Exponentiated coefficients. Robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table B4. Additional Analysis: LTTE Attacks Outside the Disputed Area

	Model 25 DV: All rebel out-of-area attacks (military and civilian targets)	Model 26 DV: Rebel out-of-area attacks on military targets
Government offensive in disputed area, t-1	1.916***	1.450
	(0.373)	(0.341)
Rebel offensive in disputed area, t-1	0.811	0.747
	(0.440)	(0.508)
Combat events outside disputed area, t-1	1.217	1.076
	(0.215)	(0.233)
Government OSV, t-1	1.175	1.293
	(0.311)	(0.402)
Ceasefire	0.344***	0.339***
	(0.102)	(0.111)
Rebel attacks outside disputed area, t-1	1.079	
	(0.251)	
Rebel mil. attacks outside disputed area, t-1		1.196
		(0.381)
Observations	961	961
BIC	1068.9	842.8

Appendix C. Coding Rules for Sri Lanka Conflict Events

Initiator of Combat Event

- Armed assaults: The attacker is coded as initiator.
- Remote bombings and landmines: The organization accused of planting the explosive device is coded as initiator.
- Counter-attacks: When an incident in UCDP-GED contains fatalities from both an initial attack by one actor and a counter-attack or battles following immediately after this attack in the same place, the actor launching the first attack is coded as initiator. If the counter-attack is listed as a separate incident, the counter-attacking actor is coded as initiator.
- Sieges: If combat is triggered by actor A's attempt to break out of a siege, actor A is coded as initiator.

Fatalities

- Rebel losses: UCDP-GED does not code low and high estimates for rebel and government fatalities separately. I code this when the source allows for it.
- For major events (causing more than 100 fatalities): When the LTTE's claimed figures are missing, I search for them in Factiva and in the Tamilnet news archive, which begins in June 1997. TamilNet is accessed here:
  https://www.tamilnet.com/cat.html?catid=13
  (UCDP-GED often, but not always, relies only on government sources.)
- Verbal fatality descriptions: The following fatality numbers are coded from verbal descriptions: "Several": 3, "A few": 3, "Many": 5, "A lot": 5, "Heavy/high/large casualties/fatalities": 10, "Dozens": 24, "Scores": 40. (UCDP-GED does not code fatality estimates when the sources only offer verbal descriptions.)
- Best estimate: When there is more than one estimate, I use the mean of the highest and the lowest reported estimate.