SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

POLITICAL COMPETITION AND AUTHORITARIAN REPRESSION
Evidence from Pinochet's Chile

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Online Appendix

In the appendix, find the following information which supports the main text, including robustness tests and supplementary information.

Descriptive Statistics

1. Descriptive statistics for municipality-level variables, Table A.1

2. Comparing values of covariates between competitive and uncompetitive municipalities, Table A.2

Robustness Tests

1. Negative binomial models for main results, Table B.1.

2. Zero-inflated negative binomial models for main results, Table B.2.

3. Main results with killings per 100,000 population, Table B.3.

4. Main results using varying operationalizations of non-dissidents, in Table B.4. In the more restrictive operationalization, students are reclassified as dissidents rather than non-dissidents. In the less restrictive operationalization, rank-and-file party members are reclassified as non-dissidents rather than dissidents.

5. Placebo close election windows for total victims part 1, Table B.5.

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12. Varying electoral margins, 60%-67% UP vote share for non-dissident victims, Table B.12.

13. Main results using a close election explanatory variable constructed according to Balcells (2010) in Table B.13. This measurement uses the following formula, which ranges from zero (election not competitive) to one (election maximally competitive). A normalized Balcells index is taken given the left skew of the values of this index.

$$1 - \left(\frac{\text{Popular Unity Vote} - \text{Non-Popular Unity Vote}}{100} \right)^2$$

14. Main results using a continuous Popular Unity vote margin explanatory variable instead of a close election dummy. This variable takes a lower value if the election was more competitive. Using a continuous measure therefore attenuates the relationship. Results are in Table B.14, with vote margin logged due to right skew.

Mechanism Tests

Alternative Explanations

Alternative Explanation: Regime Strategy

Alternative Explanation: Different Victim Behavior

Discussion: Repression during Regime Change

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	Std. Dev	Missing
Total Victims	0	121	2.49	0	8.49	0
Non-Militant Victims	0	72	1.43	0	5.5	0
Close Election, 1973	0	1	0.16	0	0.36	8
Log(1970 Population)	3.85	12.58	8.96	8.96	1.4	8
Infant Mortality, 1972	0	77.78	10.05	8.75	7.93	2
Allende Support	2.8	79.1	33.86	32.6	13.85	3
Polarized	0	1	0.39	0	0.49	4
Voter Share	0.03	5.42	0.33	0.28	0.36	9
Caravan of Death	0	1	0.05	0	0.21	1
Army Base	0	1	0.02	0	0.15	1

Table A.1: Descriptive Statistics, Municipality Level

Variable	Difference of Means	t	Standard Error	P-value
Voter Share	-0.0018	-0.0585	0.0316	0.95
Allende Support	6.8322	6.1361	1.1134	0.00
Army Base	0.0211	0.8406	0.0252	0.40
Infant Mortality, 1972	-1.4248	-1.8475	0.7712	0.07
Log(1970 Population)	0.5912	3.4848	0.1696	0.00

Table A.2: Comparing Covariates, Competitive and Uncompetitive Municipalities

	Total Victims		Non-Dissident Victims	
Dependent variable:				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Close Election, 1973	1.07**	0.82**	1.06*	0.99**
	(0.37)	(0.24)	(0.43)	(0.25)
Log(1970 Population)		0.98**		1.10**
		(0.09)		(0.11)
Infant Mortality, 1972		0.02		−0.00
		(0.01)		(0.02)
Allende Support		−0.01		−0.02
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Polarized		0.48*		0.18
		(0.21)		(0.23)
Voter Share		0.61**		0.46*
		(0.21)		(0.23)
Army Base		0.56		0.06
		(0.46)		(0.45)
(Intercept)	0.64**	−9.96**	0.09	−12.08**
	(0.15)	(1.18)	(0.17)	(1.48)
Log Likelihood	−661.67	−529.04	−496.95	−362.12
Observations	450	444	450	444
Region Dummies		✓		✓

$^{**}p < 0.01, {}^{*}p < 0.05, {}^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table B.1: Political Killings and Political Competition (Count)

	Total Victims		Non-Dissident Victims	
Dependent variable:				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Count model: Close Election, 1973	0.61*	0.81**	0.58*	0.96**
	(0.24)	(0.23)	(0.26)	(0.26)
Count model: Log(1970 Population)	0.72**	0.59**	0.92**	0.97**
	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.15)
Count model: Infant Mortality, 1972		0.05*		−0.00
		(0.02)		(0.02)
Count model: Allende Support		0.00		−0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Count model: Polarized		0.48*		0.13
		(0.19)		(0.23)
Count model: Voter Share		0.38*		0.42
		(0.15)		(0.22)
Count model: Army Base		0.46		−0.02
		(0.35)		(0.40)
Count model: Log(theta)	−0.26	0.34	−0.18	0.25
	(0.19)	(0.22)	(0.25)	(0.29)
Count model: (Intercept)	−6.00**	−5.79**	−8.63**	−10.63**
	(0.90)	(1.32)	(1.43)	(1.81)
Zero model: Log(1970 Population)	−1.15**	−1.14**	−0.96**	−0.77**
	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.25)
Zero model: (Intercept)	10.64**	10.50**	9.25**	6.21*
	(1.67)	(1.73)	(2.09)	(2.72)
Log Likelihood	−560.31	−518.30	−406.36	−361.31
Observations	445	444	445	444
Region Dummies		✓		✓

$^{**}p < 0.01, {}^{*}p < 0.05, {}^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table B.2: Political Killings and Political Competition (Zero-Inflated Negative Binomial)

| | *Dependent variable:* | | | |
| | Log(Total Victims/100,000) | | Log(Non-Dissident Victims/100,000) | |
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Close Election, 1973	0.54*	0.38*	0.36*	0.26†
	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.14)
Log(1970 Population)		0.31**		0.18**
		(0.05)		(0.04)
Infant Mortality, 1972		0.00		−0.00
		(0.01)		(0.00)
Allende Support		−0.01		−0.00
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Polarized		0.26		0.18
		(0.14)		(0.10)
Voter Share		0.83**		0.33
		(0.17)		(0.31)
Army Base		0.71*		0.42
		(0.30)		(0.24)
(Intercept)	0.78**	−1.74*	0.51**	−1.22**
	(0.07)	(0.74)	(0.06)	(0.33)
Adj. R^2	0.02	0.32	0.01	0.34
Observations	445	444	445	444
Region Dummies		✓		✓

$^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$,$^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table B.3: Political Killings and Political Competition (Killings per 100,000)

| | *Dependent variable:* | | | |
| | Log(Non-Dissident Victims + 1) (Less Strict) | | Log(Non-Dissident Victims + 1) (More Strict) | |
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Close Election, 1973	0.49**	0.32**	0.39**	0.25**
	(0.15)	(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.09)
Log(1970 Population)		0.35**		0.25**
		(0.06)		(0.06)
Infant Mortality, 1972		0.00		−0.00
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Allende Support		−0.08		−0.05
		(0.05)		(0.04)
Polarized		0.15*		0.12*
		(0.06)		(0.05)
Voter Share		0.24**		0.10
		(0.08)		(0.06)
Army Base		1.02**		0.86**
		(0.22)		(0.21)
(Intercept)	0.41**	−1.80**	0.30**	−1.36**
	(0.04)	(0.26)	(0.04)	(0.22)
Adj. R^2	0.04	0.59	0.03	0.60
Observations	450	444	450	444
Region Dummies		✓		✓

$^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$,$^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table B.4: Varying Operationalizations of Non-Dissident Victims

				Dependent variable:				
				Log(Total Victims + 1)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Close Election Placebo (60-54 pct.)	0.06 (0.11)							
Close Election Placebo (59-53 pct.)		0.08 (0.12)						
Close Election Placebo (58-52 pct.)			0.11 (0.12)					
Close Election Placebo (57-51 pct.)				0.17 (0.10)				
Close Election Placebo (56-50 pct.)					0.17 (0.10)			
Close Election Placebo (55-49 pct.)						0.23* (0.10)		
Close Election Placebo (54-48 pct.)							0.37** (0.11)	
Close Election (Actual)								0.31** (0.11)
(Intercept)	−2.01** (0.28)	−2.00** (0.28)	−1.99** (0.28)	−1.99** (0.28)	−1.98** (0.27)	−1.97** (0.27)	−1.89** (0.26)	−1.91** (0.26)
Adj. R^2	0.58	0.58	0.58	0.58	0.58	0.58	0.59	0.59
Observations	444	444	444	444	444	444	444	444
Region Dummies	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

$**p < 0.01, *p < 0.05, †p < 0.1$

Table B.5: Placebo Windows for Close Election Variable, 60-54 to 53-47 UP Vote Share Ranges (Total Killings)

				Dependent variable:				
				Log(Total Victims + 1)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Close Election Placebo (52-46 pct.)	0.29** (0.10)							
Close Election Placebo (51-45 pct.)		0.21* (0.09)						
Close Election Placebo (50-44 pct.)			0.20* (0.09)					
Close Election Placebo (49-43 pct.)				0.10 (0.09)				
Close Election Placebo (48-42 pct.)					−0.00 (0.08)			
Close Election Placebo (47-41 pct.)						−0.05 (0.08)		
Close Election Placebo (46-40 pct.)							−0.14 (0.08)	
Close Election Placebo (45-39 pct.)								−0.17* (0.08)
(Intercept)	−1.94** (0.27)	−1.95** (0.27)	−1.97** (0.27)	−1.98** (0.27)	−2.01** (0.28)	−2.02** (0.28)	−2.03** (0.28)	−2.04** (0.28)
Adj. R^2	0.59	0.58	0.58	0.58	0.57	0.58	0.58	0.58
Observations	444	444	444	444	444	444	444	444
Region Dummies	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

$**p < 0.01, *p < 0.05, †p < 0.1$

Table B.6: Placebo Windows for Close Election Variable, 52-46 to 45-39 UP Vote Share Ranges (Total Killings)

	Dependent variable:							
	Log(Non-Dissident Victims + 1)							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Close Election Placebo (60-54 pct.)	0.07 (0.08)							
Close Election Placebo (59-53 pct.)		0.04 (0.08)						
Close Election Placebo (58-52 pct.)			0.04 (0.08)					
Close Election Placebo (57-51 pct.)				0.05 (0.09)				
Close Election Placebo (56-50 pct.)					0.07 (0.08)			
Close Election Placebo (55-49 pct.)						0.11 (0.08)		
Close Election Placebo (54-48 pct.)							0.24** (0.09)	
Close Election (Actual)								0.21* (0.09)
(Intercept)	−1.39** (0.21)	−1.39** (0.21)	−1.39** (0.21)	−1.39** (0.21)	−1.38** (0.21)	−1.37** (0.21)	−1.31** (0.20)	−1.32** (0.20)
Adj. R^2	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.57	0.58	0.57
Observations	444	444	444	444	444	444	444	444
Region Dummies	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

**$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$,†$p < 0.1$

Table B.7: Placebo Windows for Close Election Variable, 60-54 to 53-47 UP Vote Share Ranges (Non-Dissident Victims)

	Dependent variable:							
	Log(Non-Dissident Victims + 1)							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Close Election Placebo (52-46 pct.)	0.22* (0.09)							
Close Election Placebo (51-45 pct.)		0.16* (0.08)						
Close Election Placebo (50-44 pct.)			0.14 (0.08)					
Close Election Placebo (49-43 pct.)				0.06 (0.08)				
Close Election Placebo (48-42 pct.)					−0.03 (0.07)			
Close Election Placebo (47-41 pct.)						−0.04 (0.07)		
Close Election Placebo (46-40 pct.)							−0.11 (0.06)	
Close Election Placebo (45-39 pct.)								−0.12 (0.07)
(Intercept)	−1.34** (0.21)	−1.34** (0.21)	−1.36** (0.21)	−1.37** (0.21)	−1.40** (0.21)	−1.40** (0.21)	−1.41** (0.21)	−1.41** (0.21)
Adj. R^2	0.57	0.57	0.57	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.57	0.57
Observations	444	444	444	444	444	444	444	444
Region Dummies	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

**$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$,†$p < 0.1$

Table B.8: Placebo Windows for Close Election Variable, 52-46 to 45-39 UP Vote Share Ranges (Non-Dissident Victims)

	Dependent variable:							
	Log(Total Victims + 1)							
	52-48	53-47	54-46	55-45	56-44	57-43	58-42	51-49
Close Election, 1973 (2 pt)	0.39**							
	(0.13)							
Close Election, 1973 (3 pt)		0.31**						
		(0.11)						
Close Election, 1973 (4 pt)			0.30**					
			(0.09)					
Close Election, 1973 (5 pt)				0.30**				
				(0.08)				
Close Election, 1973 (6 pt)					0.26**			
					(0.07)			
Close Election, 1973 (7 pt)						0.17*		
						(0.07)		
Close Election, 1973 (8 pt)							0.20**	
							(0.07)	
Close Election, 1973 (9 pt)								0.18**
								(0.07)
(Intercept)	−1.92**	−1.91**	−1.91**	−1.89**	−1.91**	−1.93**	−1.91**	−1.90**
	(0.27)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.27)
Adj. R^2	0.59	0.59	0.59	0.59	0.59	0.58	0.58	0.58
Observations	444	444	444	444	444	444	444	444
Region Dummies	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

$^{**}p < 0.01,\ ^{*}p < 0.05,^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table B.9: Changing Margins for Close Election Variable, 52-48 to 59-41 UP Vote Share Ranges (Total Killings)

	Dependent variable:							
	Log(Total Victims + 1)							
	60-40	61-39	62-38	63-37	64-36	65-35	66-34	67-33
Close Election, 1973 (10 pt)	0.12†							
	(0.06)							
Close Election, 1973 (11 pt)		0.12*						
		(0.06)						
Close Election, 1973 (12 pt)			0.13*					
			(0.06)					
Close Election, 1973 (13 pt)				0.11				
				(0.06)				
Close Election, 1973 (14 pt)					0.08			
					(0.06)			
Close Election, 1973 (15 pt)						0.10		
						(0.06)		
Close Election, 1973 (16 pt)							0.09	
							(0.06)	
Close Election, 1973 (17 pt)								0.13*
								(0.06)
(Intercept)	−1.94**	−1.93**	−1.94**	−1.94**	−1.97**	−1.95**	−1.95**	−1.94**
	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.28)
Adj. R^2	0.58	0.58	0.58	0.58	0.58	0.58	0.58	0.58
Observations	444	444	444	444	444	444	444	444
Region Dummies	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

$^{**}p < 0.01,\ ^{*}p < 0.05,^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table B.10: Changing Margins for Close Election Variable, 60-40 to 67-33 UP Vote Share Ranges (Total Killings)

	Dependent variable:							
	Log(Non-Dissident Victims + 1)							
	52-48	53-47	54-46	55-45	56-44	57-43	58-42	51-49
Close Election, 1973 (2 pt)	0.30**							
	(0.11)							
Close Election, 1973 (3 pt)		0.21*						
		(0.09)						
Close Election, 1973 (4 pt)			0.19*					
			(0.08)					
Close Election, 1973 (5 pt)				0.17**				
				(0.07)				
Close Election, 1973 (6 pt)					0.14*			
					(0.06)			
Close Election, 1973 (7 pt)						0.09		
						(0.06)		
Close Election, 1973 (8 pt)							0.11*	
							(0.05)	
Close Election, 1973 (9 pt)								0.12*
								(0.05)
(Intercept)	−1.32**	−1.32**	−1.33**	−1.32**	−1.34**	−1.35**	−1.33**	−1.32**
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Adj. R^2	0.58	0.57	0.57	0.57	0.57	0.57	0.57	0.57
Observations	444	444	444	444	444	444	444	444
Region Dummies	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

$^{**}p < 0.01, {}^{*}p < 0.05, {}^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table B.11: Changing Margins for Close Election Variable, 52-48 to 59-41 UP Vote Share Ranges (Non-Dissident Victims)

	Dependent variable:							
	Log(Non-Dissident Victims + 1)							
	60-40	61-39	62-38	63-37	64-36	65-35	66-34	67-33
Close Election, 1973 (10 pt)	0.07							
	(0.05)							
Close Election, 1973 (11 pt)		0.06						
		(0.05)						
Close Election, 1973 (12 pt)			0.08					
			(0.05)					
Close Election, 1973 (13 pt)				0.06				
				(0.05)				
Close Election, 1973 (14 pt)					0.03			
					(0.05)			
Close Election, 1973 (15 pt)						0.06		
						(0.05)		
Close Election, 1973 (16 pt)							0.05	
							(0.05)	
Close Election, 1973 (17 pt)								0.09
								(0.05)
(Intercept)	−1.35**	−1.36**	−1.35**	−1.35**	−1.37**	−1.36**	−1.36**	−1.35**
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Adj. R^2	0.57	0.56	0.57	0.57	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.57
Observations	444	444	444	444	444	444	444	444
Region Dummies	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Covariates	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

$^{**}p < 0.01, {}^{*}p < 0.05, {}^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table B.12: Changing Margins for Close Election Variable, 60-40 to 67-33 UP Vote Share Ranges (Non-Dissident Victims)

	Dependent variable:			
	Log(Total Victims + 1)		Log(Non-Dissident Victims + 1)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Balcells Index (Normalized)	0.10**	0.06**	0.07**	0.03*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Log(1970 Population)		0.41**		0.25**
		(0.07)		(0.05)
Infant Mortality, 1972		0.00		−0.00
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Allende Support		−0.13*		−0.06
		(0.06)		(0.04)
Polarized		0.16*		0.10
		(0.07)		(0.05)
Voter Share		0.35**		0.10
		(0.13)		(0.06)
Army Base		1.06**		0.58**
		(0.24)		(0.21)
(Intercept)	0.13	−1.87**	0.09	−1.32**
	(0.08)	(0.28)	(0.06)	(0.22)
Adj. R^2	0.06	0.58	0.04	0.56
Observations	448	442	448	442
Region Dummies		✓		✓

$^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table B.13: Main Results with Balcells (2010) Close Election Measure

	Dependent variable:			
	Log(Total Victims + 1)		Log(Non-Dissident Victims + 1)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Abs(Vote Margin)	−0.03**	−0.01**	−0.02**	−0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Log(1970 Population)		0.41**		0.24**
		(0.07)		(0.06)
Infant Mortality, 1972		0.00		−0.00
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Allende Support		−0.13*		−0.05
		(0.06)		(0.05)
Polarized		0.17**		0.12*
		(0.07)		(0.05)
Voter Share		0.35**		0.09
		(0.13)		(0.06)
Army Base		1.05**		0.57**
		(0.24)		(0.21)
(Intercept)	0.85**	−1.57**	0.57**	−1.18**
	(0.08)	(0.30)	(0.07)	(0.25)
Adj. R^2	0.07	0.58	0.05	0.57
Observations	450	444	450	444
Region Dummies		✓		✓

$^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table B.14: Main Results with Abs(Vote Margin)

	Dependent variable:			
	Log(Total Victims + 1)		Log(Non-Dissident Victims + 1)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Close Election, 1973	0.51**	0.34**	0.36**	0.24**
	(0.15)	(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.09)
Log(1970 Population)		0.43**		0.26**
		(0.06)		(0.05)
Infant Mortality, 1972		0.00		−0.00
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Allende Support		−0.14**		−0.07
		(0.05)		(0.04)
Polarized		0.18**		0.11*
		(0.07)		(0.05)
Voter Share		0.35**		0.09
		(0.13)		(0.06)
Army Base		1.07**		0.58**
		(0.23)		(0.21)
(Intercept)	0.42**	−1.82**	0.28**	−1.23**
	(0.04)	(0.26)	(0.03)	(0.20)
Adj. R^2	0.04	0.58	0.03	0.55
Observations	450	444	450	444
Region Dummies		✓		✓

$^{**}p < 0.01,\ ^{*}p < 0.05,\ ^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table B.15: Political Killing Victims and Political Competition, September 13 and Later

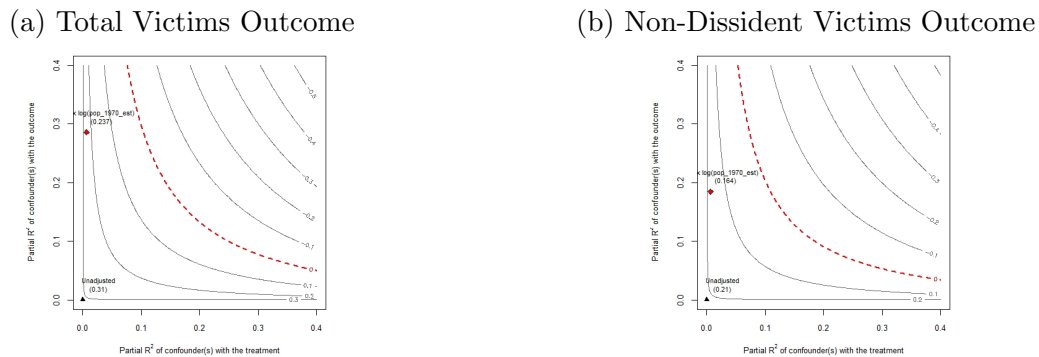| (a) Total Victims Outcome	(b) Non-Dissident Victims Outcome

Figure B.1: Sensitivity Analysis

Note: Figure shows results of a sensitivity analysis which displays the impact an omitted variable equivalent to the log of 1970 population (diamond) would have on the coefficient estimate for political competition with the total killings outcome (left panel) and non-dissident victims outcome (right panel) in the baseline results.

Variable	Participation Mean	No Participation Mean	p-value
UP Vote Share	48.15%	42.63%	0.058
Total Victims	5.63	2.37	0.181
Non-Dissident Victims	4.25	1.35	0.158

Table C.1: Difference in Municipalities with Civilian Participation in Repression

Estimand	Estimate	CI Lower 95%	CI Upper 95%	p-value
ACME (Civilian Participation)	-0.001	-0.003	0.000	0.11
ADE (Close Election, 1973)	-0.023	-0.04	-0.02	0.00
Total Effect	-0.03	-0.04	-0.02	0.00
Prop. Mediated	0.045	-0.01	0.12	0.11
Sample Size Used: 450				
Simulations: 10,000				

Table C.2: Mediation Analysis, Civilian Participation in Repression
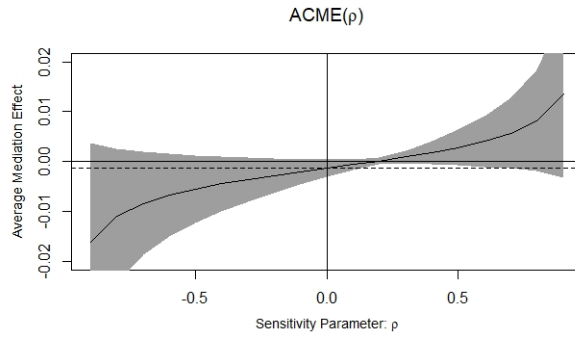
Figure C.1: Sensitivity Analysis, Mediation through Civilian Participation

Note: Figure shows results of a sensitivity analysis which displays the impact of violations of the sequential ignorability assumption for the causal mediation analysis.

	Dependent variable:	
	Log(Militant Victims+1)	
	(1)	(2)
Close Election, 1973	0.08*	0.06
	(0.04)	(0.03)
Log(1970 Population)		0.07**
		(0.03)
Infant Mortality, 1972		0.00
		(0.00)
Allende Support		−0.04
		(0.02)
Polarized		0.03
		(0.03)
Voter Share		0.15
		(0.14)
Army Base		0.39**
		(0.14)
(Intercept)	0.05**	−0.21*
	(0.01)	(0.09)
Adj. R^2	0.01	0.20
Observations	450	444
Region Dummies		✓

$^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table D.1: Placebo Test: Militant Victims Outcome

	Dependent variable:			
	Log(Dissident Victims+1)		Log(Non-Dissident Victims + 1)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Caravan of Death	1.23**	0.82**	0.58**	0.24
	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.17)
Log(1970 Population)		0.18**		0.20**
		(0.05)		(0.05)
Infant Mortality, 1972		0.00		−0.00
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Allende Support		−0.02		−0.02
		(0.03)		(0.04)
Polarized		0.10		0.12*
		(0.06)		(0.05)
Voter Share		0.23		0.06
		(0.14)		(0.05)
Army Base		0.74**		0.49*
		(0.27)		(0.22)
(Intercept)	0.26**	−1.20**	0.31**	−1.35**
	(0.03)	(0.20)	(0.04)	(0.21)
Adj. R²	0.15	0.50	0.03	0.57
Observations	457	448	457	448
Region Dummies		✓		✓

**p < 0.01, *p < 0.05, †p < 0.1

Table D.2: Caravan of Death and Victim Type

	Dependent variable:			
	Dissident Victims		Non-Dissident Victims	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Caravan of Death	1.84**	1.73**	0.56	0.62
	(0.63)	(0.49)	(0.74)	(0.44)
Log(1970 Population)		0.81**		1.12**
		(0.12)		(0.12)
Infant Mortality, 1972		0.03*		0.00
		(0.01)		(0.02)
Allende Support		0.01		−0.01
		(0.01)		(0.01)
Polarized		0.63*		0.35
		(0.25)		(0.23)
Voter Share		0.58*		0.42
		(0.24)		(0.23)
Army Base		0.57		−0.21
		(0.56)		(0.47)
(Intercept)	−0.19	−10.34**	0.30	−12.71**
	(0.15)	(1.43)	(0.16)	(1.53)
Log Likelihood	−478.67	−383.40	−506.96	−370.78
Observations	457	448	457	448
Region Dummies		✓		✓

**p < 0.01, *p < 0.05, †p < 0.1

Table D.3: Caravan of Death and Victim Type (Count)

	Dependent variable:	
	Log(Total Victims + 1)	
	(1)	(2)
Close Election, 1973	0.46**	0.30**
	(0.15)	(0.10)
Log(1970 Population)		0.33**
		(0.06)
Infant Mortality, 1972		0.00
		(0.00)
Allende Support		−0.09
		(0.05)
Polarized		0.12*
		(0.06)
Voter Share		0.25*
		(0.11)
Army Base		0.94**
		(0.22)
(Intercept)	0.38**	−1.67**
	(0.04)	(0.24)
Adj. R^2	0.03	0.59
Observations	450	444
Region Dummies		✓

$^{**}p < 0.01, \, ^{*}p < 0.05, ^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table D.4: Results with Sample Excluding Party Leaders and Officials

	Dependent variable:			
	Log(Total Victims + 1)		Log(Non-Dissident Victims + 1)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Close Election, 1973	0.39**	0.28**	0.21*	0.17*
	(0.14)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Log(1970 Population)		0.33**		0.17**
		(0.06)		(0.05)
Infant Mortality, 1972		0.00		−0.00
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Allende Support		−0.10*		−0.04
		(0.05)		(0.04)
Polarized		0.14*		0.06
		(0.06)		(0.04)
Voter Share		0.41**		0.07
		(0.07)		(0.11)
Army Base		1.21**		0.76**
		(0.25)		(0.23)
(Intercept)	0.25**	−1.44**	0.13**	−0.80**
	(0.03)	(0.24)	(0.02)	(0.17)
Adj. R^2	0.04	0.39	0.03	0.29
Observations	402	396	402	396
Region Dummies		✓		✓

$^{**}p < 0.01, \, ^{*}p < 0.05, ^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table D.5: Results with Sample Excluding Santiago

	Dependent variable:			
	Log(Total Victims + 1)		Log(Non-Dissident Victims + 1)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Close Election, 1973	0.41**	0.27**	0.26*	0.18*
	(0.15)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.09)
Log(1970 Population)		0.37**		0.21**
		(0.07)		(0.05)
Infant Mortality, 1972		0.00		−0.00
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Allende Support		−0.11*		−0.05
		(0.05)		(0.04)
Polarized		0.17**		0.11*
		(0.06)		(0.05)
Voter Share		0.32**		0.08
		(0.12)		(0.05)
Army Base		1.12**		0.48*
		(0.24)		(0.24)
(Intercept)	0.36**	−1.66**	0.23**	−1.06**
	(0.04)	(0.26)	(0.03)	(0.19)
Adj. R^2	0.03	0.50	0.02	0.48
Observations	427	426	427	426
Region Dummies		✓		✓

$^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table D.6: Results with Sample Excluding Urban Municipalities over 100,000 Population

	Dependent variable:							
	Log(Total Victims + 1)				Log(Non-Dissident Victims + 1)			
	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Close Election, 1973	0.18*	0.23*	−0.01	0.05	0.10	0.18*	−0.00	0.03
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Log(1970 Population)	0.18**	0.34**	0.04	0.04*	0.11**	0.20**	0.03	0.03
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Infant Mortality, 1972	−0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	−0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Allende Support	−0.05	−0.12*	−0.00	0.00	−0.02	−0.06	0.00	−0.00
	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Polarized	0.08	0.15*	0.01	0.01	0.06	0.09*	0.01	0.00
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Voter Share	0.12	0.27	0.07	−0.00	0.06	0.07	0.00	−0.00
	(0.07)	(0.16)	(0.08)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Army Base	0.48	0.77**	0.43*	0.27	0.31	0.29	0.07	0.21
	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.23)	(0.18)	(0.11)	(0.16)
(Intercept)	−0.82**	−1.43**	−0.29**	−0.34**	−0.63**	−0.90**	−0.25**	−0.19**
	(0.18)	(0.24)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.09)	(0.06)
Adj. R^2	0.52	0.45	0.22	0.15	0.46	0.44	0.14	0.13
Observations	444	444	444	444	444	444	444	444
Region Dummies	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

$^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table E.1: Political Competition and Political Killings by Month