

Online appendix for:  
Civilian victimization and ethnic attitudes in Africa

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## A Sample descriptives

Table A1 shows the number of observations by country and round, and Table A2 shows the main summary statistics for the main variables.

**Table A1:** Number of observations per country and round

Country	Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	Round 4	Round 5	Round 6
Algeria	0	0	0	0	1204	1200
Burundi	0	0	0	0	1200	1200
Cameroon	0	0	0	0	1200	1182
Côte d'Ivoire	0	0	0	0	1200	1199
Guinea	0	0	0	0	1200	1200
Kenya	0	2398	1278	1104	2399	2397
Liberia	0	0	0	1199	1199	1199
Madagascar	0	0	1350	1350	1200	1200
Mali	2089	1283	1244	1232	1200	1200
Morocco	0	0	0	0	1196	1200
Mozambique	0	1400	1198	1200	2400	2400
Namibia	1183	1199	1200	1200	1200	1200
Niger	0	0	0	0	1199	1200
Nigeria	3603	2428	2363	2324	2400	2400
Senegal	0	1200	1200	1200	1200	1200
Sierra Leone	0	0	0	0	1190	1191
South Africa	2200	2400	2400	2400	2399	2390
Swaziland	0	0	0	0	1200	1200
Tanzania	2198	1223	1304	1208	2400	2386
Togo	0	0	0	0	1200	1200
Uganda	2271	2400	2400	2431	2400	2400
Zambia	1198	1198	1200	1200	1200	1199
Zimbabwe	1200	1104	1048	1200	2400	2400

**Table A2:** Summary statistics for main variables

Variable	Min	Q1	Median	Mean	Q3	Max	NA
Ethnic identification	0	0	0	0.16	0	1	10896
Ethnic grievances	0	0	0	0.21	0	1	19799
Violence previous 5 years, 10km	0	0	0	0.05	0	1	0
Violence before last 5 years, 10km	0	0	0	0.15	0	1	0
Violence previous 2 years, 10km	0	0	0	0.02	0	1	0
Violence before last 2 years, 10km	0	0	0	0.17	0	1	0
Violence 15-25yr old, 10km	0	0	0	0.08	0	1	17317
Female	0	0	1	0.5	1	1	46
Urban resident	0	0	0	0.4	1	1	329
Age	18	25	33	36.36	45	130	17317
Employment situation (0-2)	0	0	0	0.59	1	2	7211
Dist to national capital (km, log)	0	4.77	5.61	5.26	6.17	7.53	0

## B Dependent variables

### B.1 Ethnic identification

The question reads (Kenya example) ‘Let us suppose that you had to choose between being a Kenyan and being a [respondent’s ethnic group]. Which of the following statements best expresses your feelings?’, and offers as response ‘I feel only Kenyan,’ ‘I feel more Kenyan than –,’ ‘I feel equally Kenyan and –,’ ‘I feel more –,’ or ‘I feel only –.’

In earlier rounds (rounds 1 & 2) the survey directly asked whether the respondent felt she was most strongly attached to the national identity or the ethnic identity, should she had to choose.

- Coded as 1 if the respondent says she feels closer (‘more’ or ‘only’) to her ethnic group.
- Round 6: *q88b*, round 5: *q85b*, round 4: *q83*, round 3: *q82*, round 2: *identity\_choice\_ethnic*, round 1: *identity\_choice\_ethnic*.

Figure [A1](#) shows the share of respondents who feel closer to their ethnic group than to their national identity by country-round.

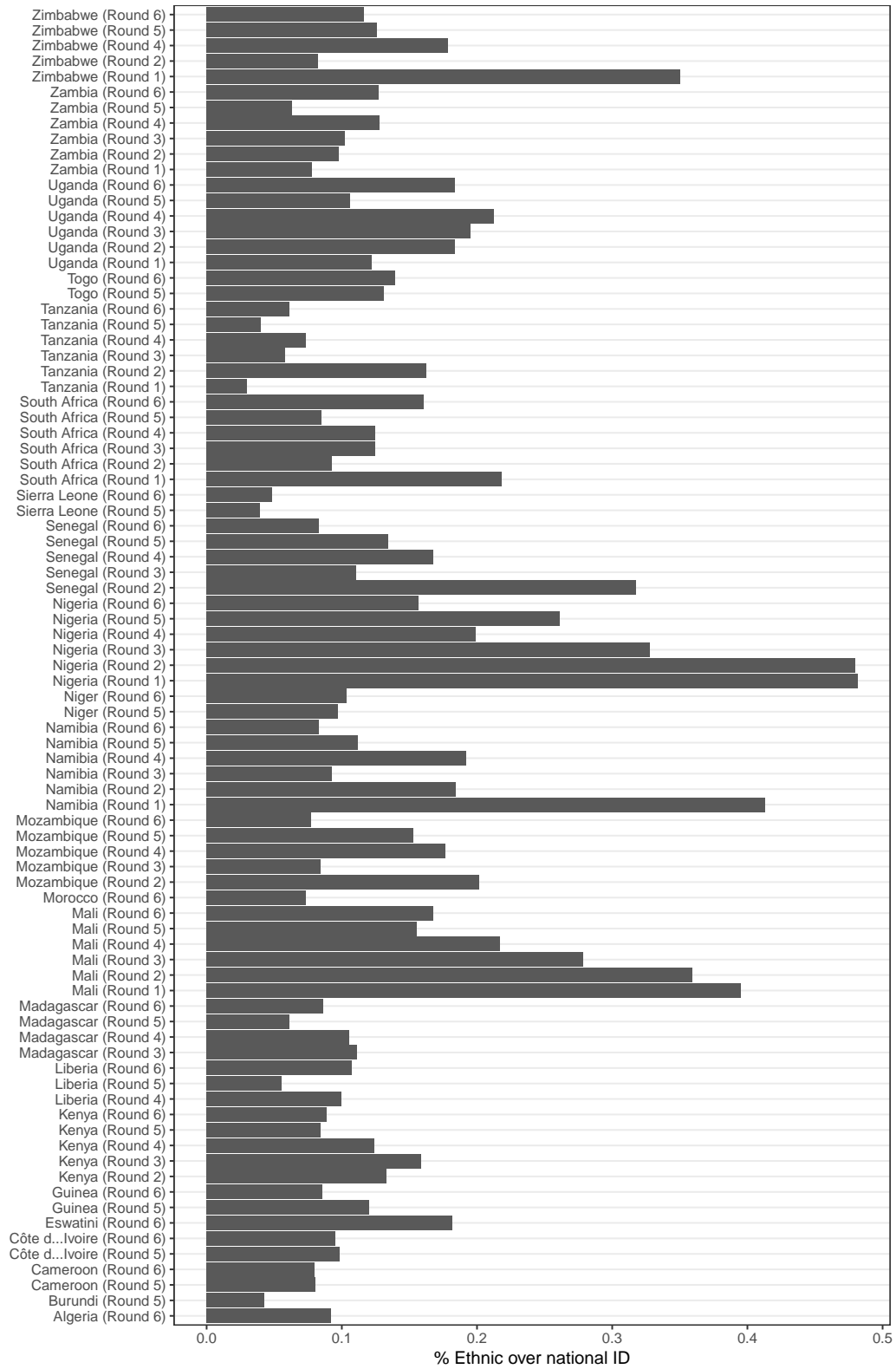
### B.2 Ethnic grievances

The question reads ‘How often, if ever, are [respondent’s ethnic group] treated unfairly by the government?’, and the optional responses are ‘never,’ ‘sometimes,’ ‘often,’ or ‘always.’

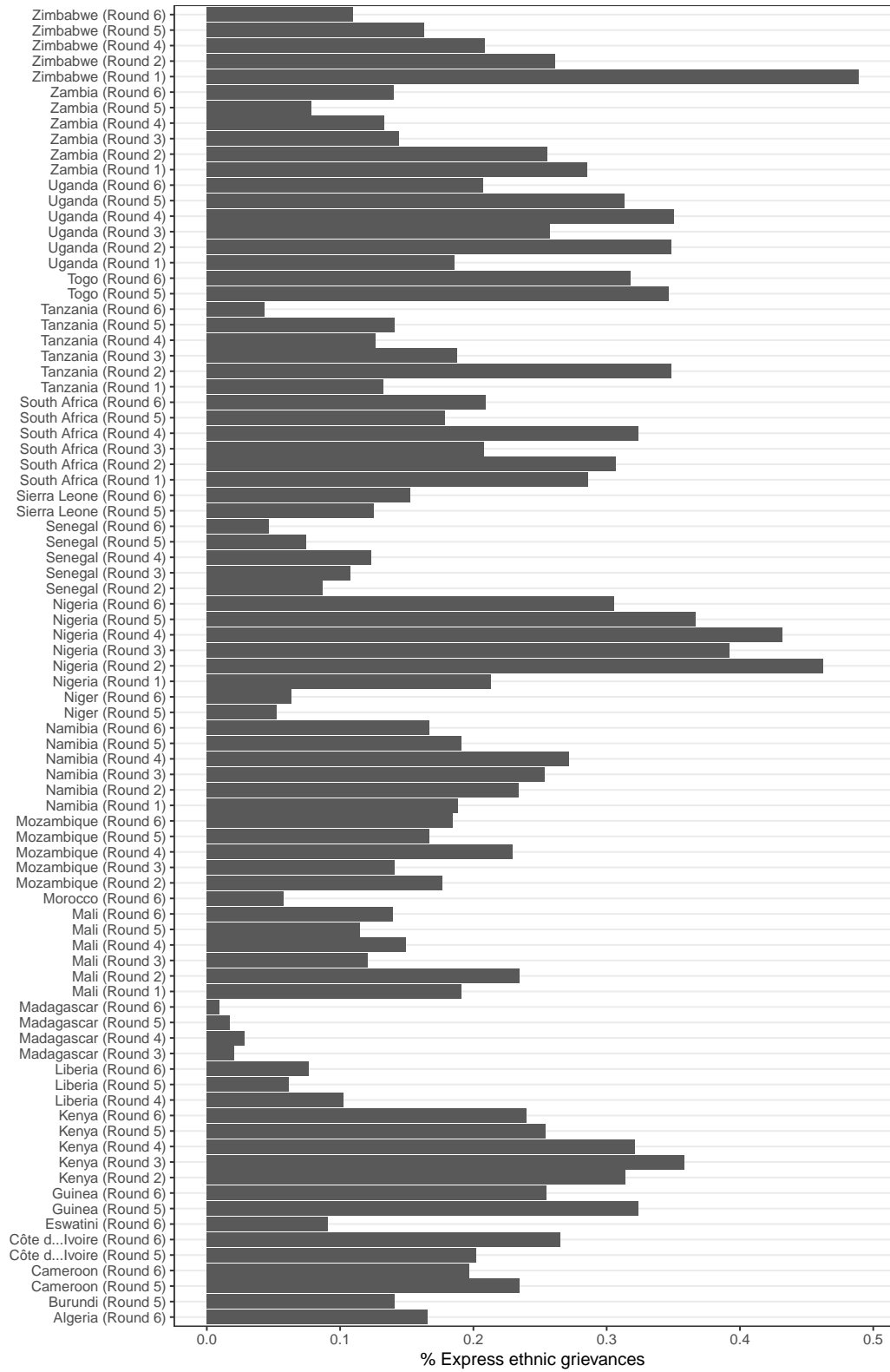
In earlier rounds (1 & 2), the question wording was ‘To what extent are [respondent’s ethnic group] people treated unfairly by the government?’, and the responses were ‘never,’ ‘hardly at all,’ ‘to some extent,’ or ‘to a large extent,’ or ‘always.’

- Coded as 1 when the respondent chooses ‘often’/‘to a large extent’ or higher.
- Round 6: *q88A*, round 5: *q85A*, round 4: *q82*, round 3: *q81*, round 2: *q56*, round 1: *pfrfai*.

Figure [A2](#) shows the share of respondents who express ethnic grievances by country-round.



**Figure A1: Ethnic identification by country-round**



**Figure A2: Ethnic grievances by country-round**

## C Conditioning variable: collective targeting

Tables A3 and A4 shows the list of ethnic groups that suffered collective targeting by rebels and state authorities, respectively, since 1989, along with the first year when that violence was recorded.

**Table A3:** Groups that suffered rebel-led collective targeting

Group	Country	Earliest year
Tuareg	Mali	1994
Kru	Côte d'Ivoire	2003
Northerners (Mande and Voltaic/Gur)	Côte d'Ivoire	2011
Igbo	Nigeria	2012
Tutsi-Banyamulenge	Congo - Kinshasa	1996
Luo	Kenya	2007
Tutsi	Burundi	1995
Anuak	Ethiopia	1989
Coloreds	South Africa	1993
Dinka	Sudan	1991
Fur	Sudan	2003
Nuer	Sudan	1992
Other Northern groups	Sudan	2006
Masalit	Sudan	2003
Zaghawa	Sudan	2001
Dinka	South Sudan	2013

**Table A4:** Groups that suffered state-led collective targeting

Group	Country	Earliest year
Tuareg	Mali	1990
Arabs/Moors	Mali	1991
Diola	Senegal	1998
Black Africans	Mauritania	1989
Toubou	Niger	1998
Tuareg	Niger	1990
Baule (Akan)	Côte d'Ivoire	2002
Kru	Côte d'Ivoire	2011
Northerners (Mande and Voltaic/Gur)	Côte d'Ivoire	2000
Other Akans	Côte d'Ivoire	2011
Gio	Liberia	1990
Krahn (Guere)	Liberia	2003
Mano	Liberia	1990
Hausa-Fulani and Muslim Middle Belt	Nigeria	2008
Ijaw	Nigeria	1998
Tiv	Nigeria	2001
Goula	Central African Republic	2006
Yakoma	Central African Republic	2001
Hadjerai	Chad	1991
Zaghawa, Bideyat	Chad	1990
Lari/Bakongo	Congo - Brazzaville	1993
Mbochi (proper)	Congo - Brazzaville	1997
Luba Kasai	Congo - Kinshasa	1992
Hutu	Burundi	1995
Tutsi	Rwanda	1990
Somali (Ogaden)	Ethiopia	2007
Anuak	Ethiopia	2003
Dinka	Sudan	1992
Fur	Sudan	2003
Nuba	Sudan	1990
Nuer	Sudan	2000
Other Southern groups	Sudan	1992
Shilluk	Sudan	1989
Masalit	Sudan	1995
Zaghawa	Sudan	2003
Nuer	South Sudan	2013
Murle	South Sudan	2012



## D Additional distance and time specifications

### D.1 Varying distance buffer

Each pair of tables here repeats the main analyses (on ethnic identification and ethnic grievances, separately) varying the distance threshold for the definition of exposure to violence. Table A5 shows results measuring violence as event that took place in the 5 years previous to the survey and within 5km of the respondent. Table A6 repeats these analyses, but with violent events before the 5 years previous to the survey, and also within 5km. Figure A3 and Figure A4 show these results graphically.

**Table A5:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (exposure: prev 5yr, 5km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.172*	-0.038	-0.011	0.056	0.462***	0.335***	0.001	-0.057
	(0.084)	(0.051)	(0.100)	(0.090)	(0.086)	(0.058)	(0.147)	(0.136)
Collective targeting	-0.049		0.288***		0.317***		0.013	
	(0.047)		(0.073)		(0.053)		(0.115)	
Expo × targeting	0.400**		0.160		-0.119		-0.408	
	(0.126)		(0.190)		(0.141)		(0.323)	
<i>n</i>	16 534	35 389	6621	7331	17 361	37 333	6864	7567
AIC	19 268.5	39 416.7	7175.3	7831.2	17 151.1	30 758.5	3968.4	4402.4
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	11	25	4	7	11	25	4	7

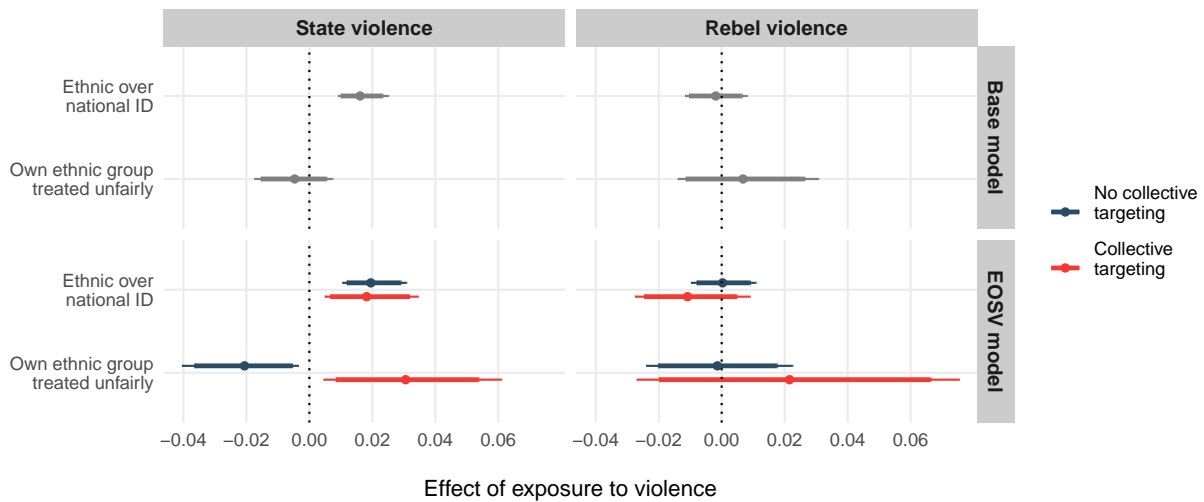
*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

The next four tables are equivalent but using 25km as the distance threshold. Table A7 shows results coding exposure as event in the 5 years previous to the survey and within 25km, whereas Table A8 shows results for violent events before the 5 years previous to the survey, also within 25km. Figure A5 and Figure A6 show these results graphically.

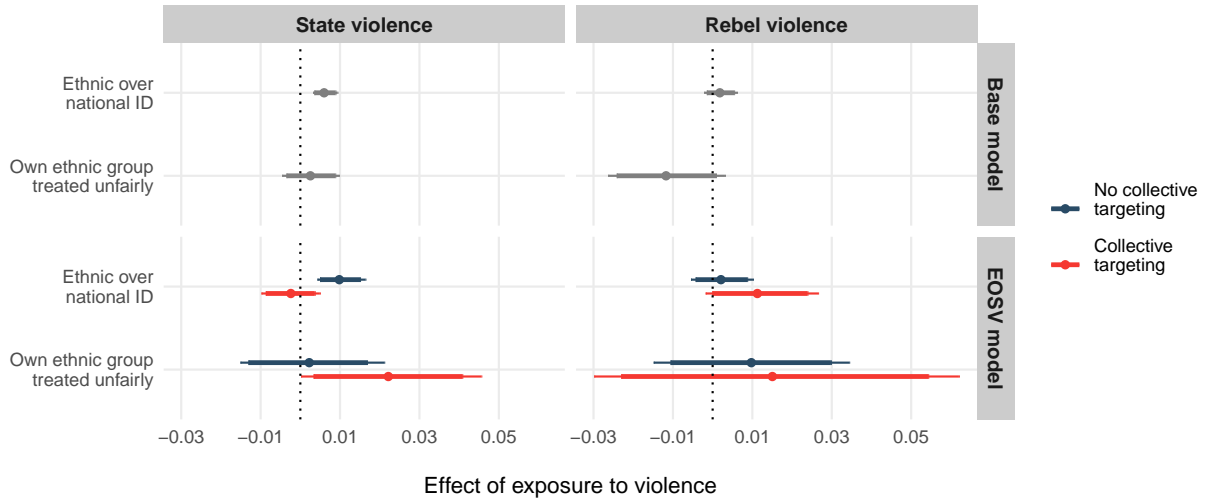
**Table A6:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (exposure: bf 5yr, 5km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	0.020 (0.071)	0.019 (0.030)	0.076 (0.097)	-0.090 (0.055)	0.274*** (0.071)	0.150*** (0.036)	0.055 (0.105)	0.053 (0.061)
Collective targeting	0.063 (0.044)		0.448*** (0.095)		0.278*** (0.048)		-0.262* (0.130)	
Expo × targeting	0.139 (0.106)		0.014 (0.162)		-0.337** (0.118)		0.300 (0.221)	
<i>n</i>	29 036	70 830	8896	22 491	30 346	75 164	9251	24 087
AIC	27 625.9	71 022.5	6898.5	20 134.5	28 223.1	58 498.1	6328.8	17 487.1
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	23	53	8	22	23	53	8	22

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).



**Figure A3:** Simulated effects of exposure to victimization during the previous 5 years to the survey (events within 5km)



**Figure A4:** Simulated effects of exposure to victimization *before* the previous 5 years to the survey (events within 5km)

**Table A7:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (exposure: prev 5yr, 25km)

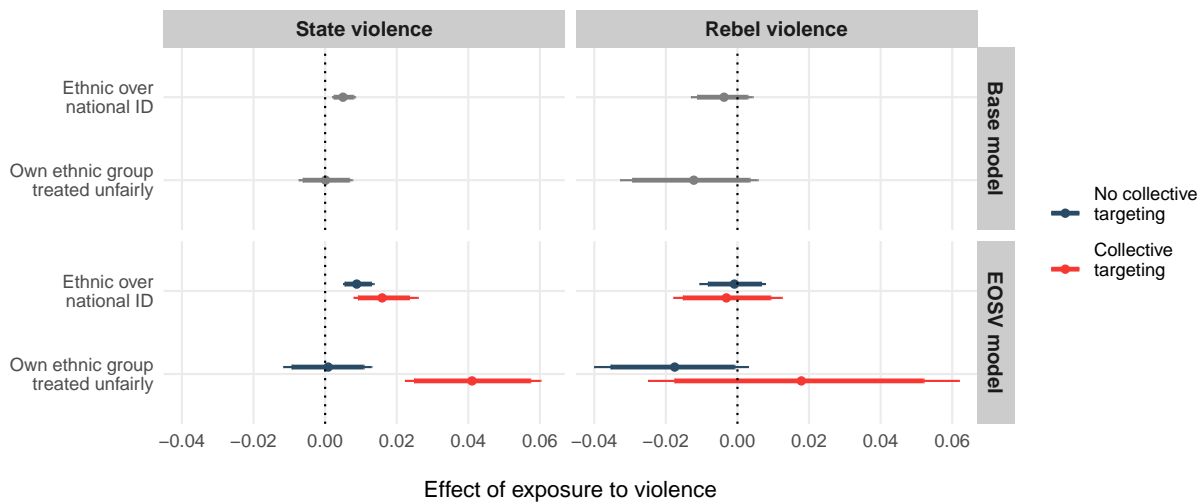
	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	0.009 (0.047)	0.001 (0.030)	-0.150+ (0.088)	-0.096 (0.079)	0.253*** (0.050)	0.121*** (0.034)	-0.023 (0.122)	-0.095 (0.111)
Collective targeting	-0.082 (0.051)		0.264*** (0.069)		0.288*** (0.058)		-0.089 (0.103)	
Expo × targeting	0.288*** (0.081)		0.266+ (0.145)		0.089 (0.091)		-0.079 (0.240)	
<i>n</i>	20 082	48 947	8857	9567	20 914	52 541	9192	9895
AIC	21 295.2	50 765.0	9040.8	9706.8	19 759.0	42 147.5	5470.2	5901.9
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	14	37	6	9	14	37	6	9

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

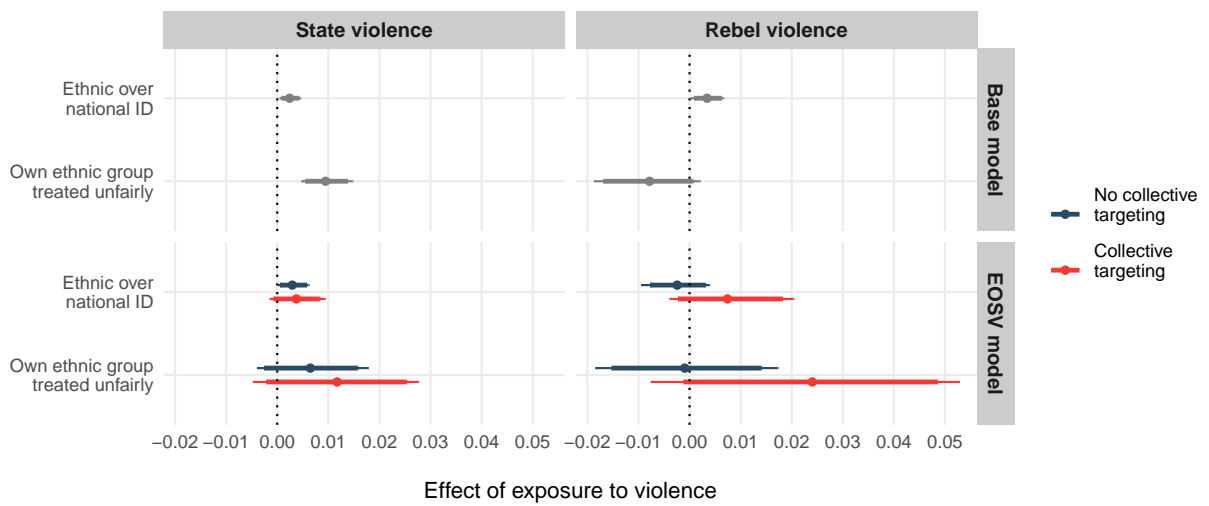
**Table A8:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (exposure: bf 5yr, 25km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	0.053 (0.045)	0.077*** (0.022)	-0.004 (0.079)	-0.059 (0.040)	0.096* (0.046)	0.066** (0.026)	-0.063 (0.095)	0.101* (0.046)
Collective targeting	0.065 (0.050)		0.310*** (0.068)		0.225*** (0.055)		0.072 (0.092)	
Expo × targeting	0.038 (0.076)		0.160 (0.115)		0.008 (0.083)		0.240 (0.149)	
<i>n</i>	31 308	90 514	14 531	36 098	32 676	96 317	15 107	38 127
AIC	28 812.7	89 899.3	13 059.5	35 819.5	29 688.7	74 941.9	10 992.1	29 774.0
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	25	70	11	31	25	70	11	31

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).



**Figure A5:** Simulated effects of exposure to victimization during the previous 5 years to the survey (events within 25km)



**Figure A6:** Simulated effects of exposure to victimization *before* the previous 5 years to the survey (events within 25km)

## D.2 Varying time (main results, 10km)

Tables shown here repeat the main analyses but using 2 instead of 5 years for the measure of time, both for short- and long-term models (using event within 10km as in the main models). Thus, Table A9 shows results counting violent events that took place in the 2 years prior to the survey. Table A10 does the same but looking at events that took place before the 2 years previous to the survey. Figure A7 and Figure A8 show these results graphically.

**Table A9:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (exposure: prev 2yr, 10km)

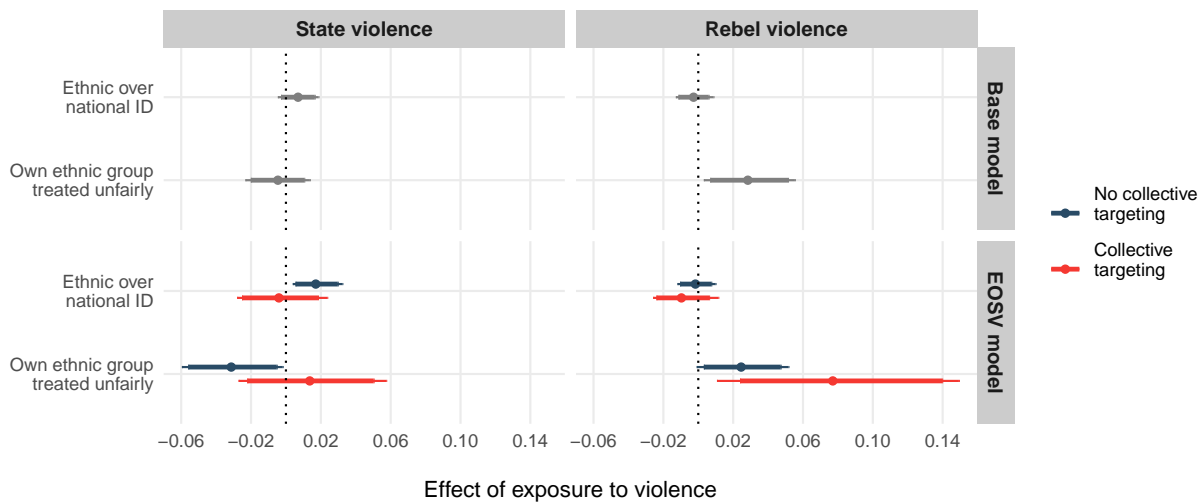
	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.193*	-0.026	0.196+	0.226*	0.236*	0.077	-0.050	-0.086
	(0.093)	(0.058)	(0.106)	(0.100)	(0.093)	(0.067)	(0.162)	(0.158)
Collective targeting	0.015		0.279***		0.422***		-0.007	
	(0.055)		(0.073)		(0.061)		(0.114)	
Expo × targeting	0.269+		0.278		-0.285		-0.295	
	(0.149)		(0.202)		(0.174)		(0.335)	
<i>n</i>	13 505	26 781	6621	6621	14 037	29 188	6864	6864
AIC	15 469.8	30 361.1	7168.7	7188.1	14 252.3	25 176.9	3969.1	3966.1
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	9	19	4	6	9	19	4	6

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

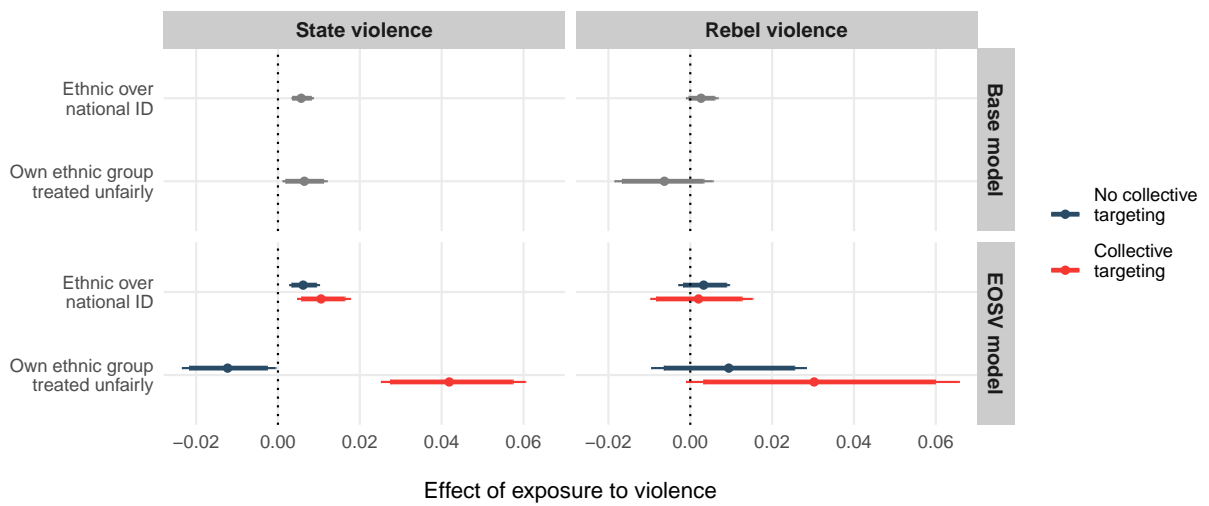
**Table A10:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (exposure: bf 2yr, 10km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.103*	0.052*	0.077	-0.049	0.197***	0.148***	0.091	0.076
	(0.051)	(0.024)	(0.079)	(0.047)	(0.051)	(0.028)	(0.089)	(0.053)
Collective targeting	-0.022		0.338***		0.204***		0.163+	
	(0.047)		(0.063)		(0.052)		(0.083)	
Expo × targeting	0.418***		0.119		0.070		-0.052	
	(0.081)		(0.128)		(0.088)		(0.170)	
<i>n</i>	30 213	86 474	14 531	32 793	31 530	91 594	15 107	34 674
AIC	28 042.5	84 218.7	13 058.5	31 745.8	28 886.8	70 163.1	10 993.6	26 230.8
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	24	65	11	29	24	65	11	29

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).



**Figure A7:** Simulated effects of exposure to victimization during the previous 2 years to the survey (events within 10km)



**Figure A8:** Simulated effects of exposure to victimization *before* the previous 2 years to the survey (events within 10km)



## E Results using continuous outcome variables

Here I show results using the continuous version of the outcome variables. For the ethnic identity variable, I use the original variable using a 5-point scale that was fielded in rounds 3–6. This question asks the respondent whether she feels only as her national identity (e.g. ‘only Kenyan’), more national than part of her ethnic group, equally both, more as her ethnic identity, or only as her ethnic identity (e.g. ‘only Kikuyu’). For the ethnic grievances variable, I use the original 4-point scale that asks the respondent whether she thinks her ethnic group have been treated unfairly by the government, where the responses can be ‘never,’ ‘sometimes,’ ‘often,’ or ‘always.’

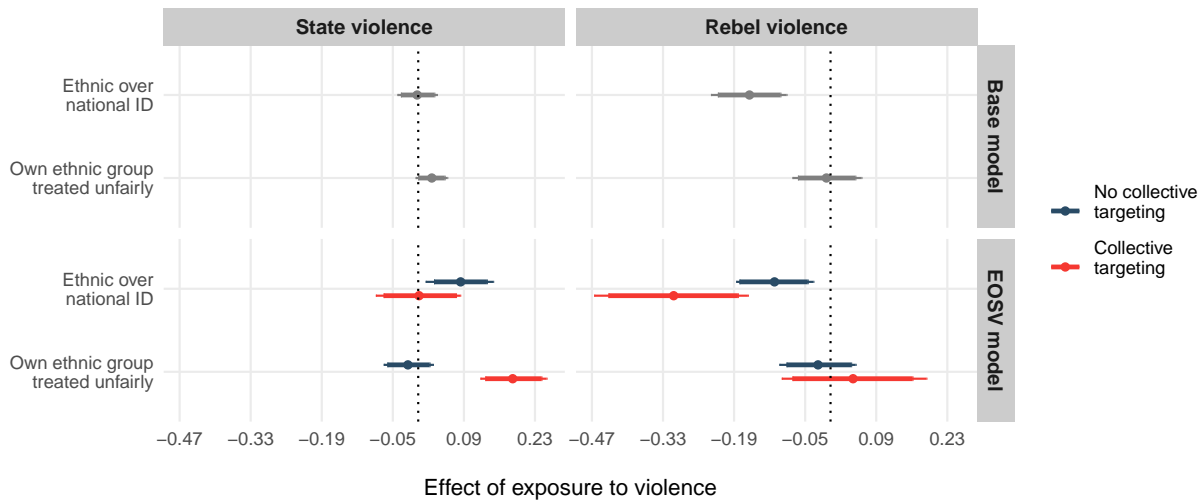
The main models are repeated using OLS regression on these outcomes. Table A11 shows the results coding exposure to violence from events that took place in the 5 years previous to the survey and within 10km of the respondent. Figure A9 shows the results graphically.

**Table A11:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (exposure: prev 5yr, 10km, ord), linear model on continuous dependent variable (1-5 scale)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	−0.019 (0.025)	0.027+ (0.016)	−0.022 (0.038)	−0.007 (0.034)	0.081* (0.032)	−0.002 (0.020)	−0.110** (0.042)	−0.160*** (0.038)
Collective targeting	−0.071*** (0.019)		0.178*** (0.033)		0.056* (0.023)		0.153*** (0.036)	
Expo × targeting	0.206*** (0.040)		0.064 (0.071)		−0.080 (0.050)		−0.202* (0.079)	
<i>n</i>	18 884	42 433	6621	7331	16 176	37 426	6864	7567
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.22	0.17	0.06	0.07	0.17	0.16	0.07	0.06
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.21	0.17	0.05	0.07	0.17	0.16	0.07	0.06
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	12	28	4	5	10	23	4	5

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

Table A12 repeats these analyses but only counting events of violence that took place before the 5 years previous to the survey. Figure A10 shows the results graphically.

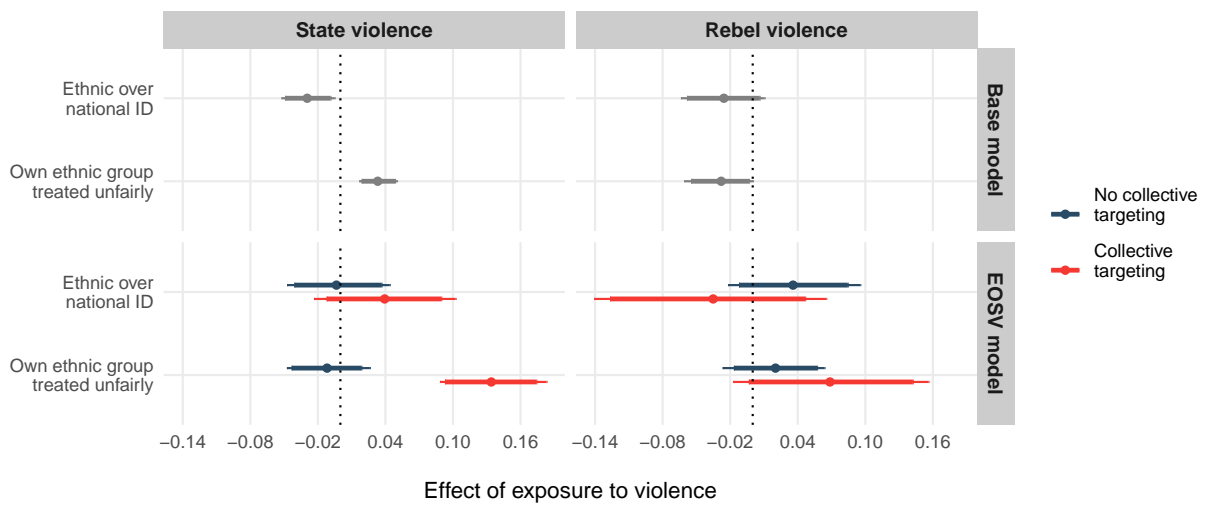


**Figure A9:** Simulated effects of exposure to victimization during the previous 5 years to the survey (continuous outcome variables)

**Table A12:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (exposure: bf 5yr, 10km, ord), linear model on continuous dependent variable (1-5 scale)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.012 (0.019)	0.033*** (0.009)	0.020 (0.024)	-0.030+ (0.016)	-0.003 (0.024)	-0.029* (0.012)	0.037 (0.030)	-0.025 (0.020)
Collective targeting	-0.007 (0.017)		0.172*** (0.024)		-0.015 (0.022)		0.048 (0.030)	
Expo × targeting	0.146*** (0.030)		0.050 (0.046)		0.042 (0.038)		-0.073 (0.056)	
<i>n</i>	30 213	84 312	14 531	32 793	26 766	77 503	15 107	32 315
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.23	0.15	0.09	0.09	0.15	0.12	0.08	0.11
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.23	0.15	0.09	0.09	0.14	0.12	0.08	0.11
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	22	57	11	26	19	50	11	24

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).



**Figure A10:** Simulated effects of exposure to victimization *before* the previous 5 years to the survey (continuous outcome variables)

## E.1 Alternative specifications (time)

Here I show results of the same models as above but changing the time threshold to code exposure to violence, following robustness tests on the main analyses. Table A13 shows results considering violent events during the 2 years previous to the survey, and Figure A11 shows the results graphically. Table A14 shows the same but coding violent events before the 2 years previous to the survey, and again Figure A12 shows the results graphically.

**Table A13:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (exposure: prev 2yr, 10km, ord), linear model on continuous dependent variable (1-5 scale)

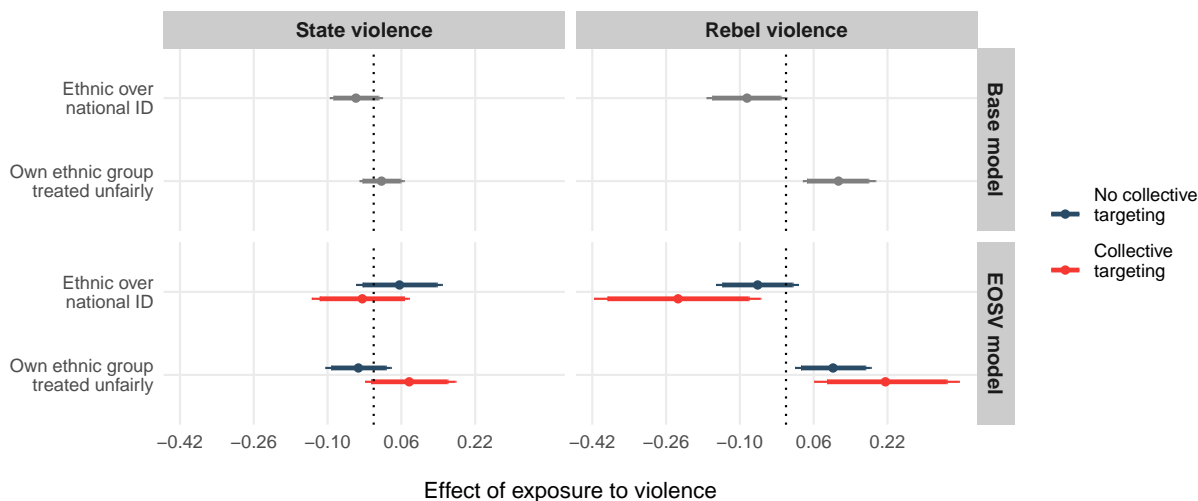
	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.035 (0.037)	0.017 (0.024)	0.103* (0.042)	0.115** (0.041)	0.057 (0.047)	-0.039 (0.030)	-0.061 (0.046)	-0.085+ (0.045)
Collective targeting	-0.036 (0.024)		0.177*** (0.031)		0.106*** (0.028)		0.137*** (0.034)	
Expo × targeting	0.114+ (0.060)		0.115 (0.085)		-0.083 (0.071)		-0.173+ (0.093)	
<i>n</i>	13 505	26 781	6621	6621	11 636	22 140	6864	6864
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.22	0.14	0.06	0.05	0.15	0.12	0.07	0.06
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.22	0.14	0.05	0.05	0.15	0.12	0.06	0.06
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	8	17	4	4	7	13	4	4

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

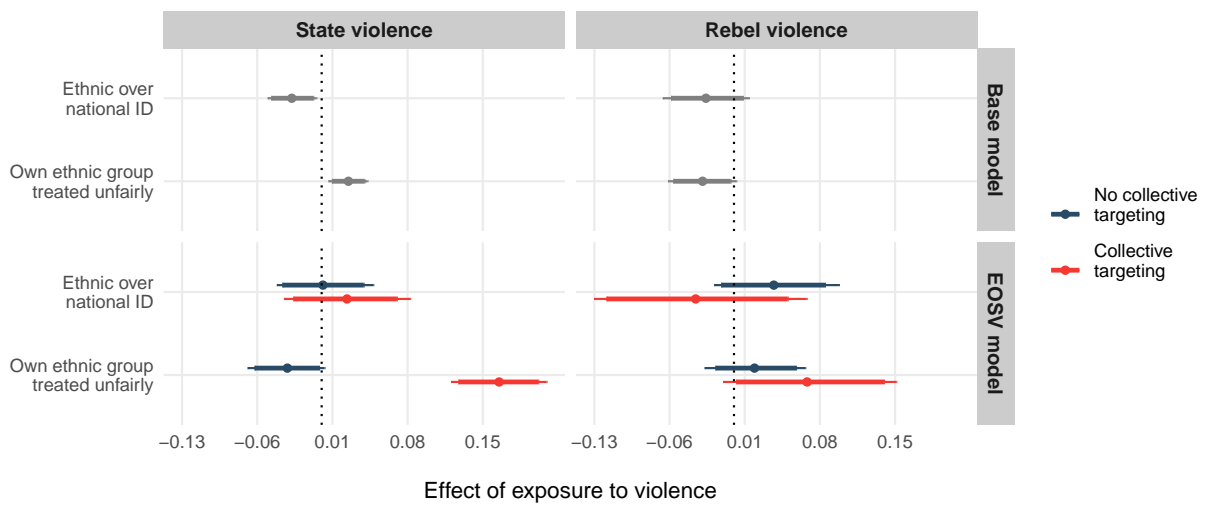
**Table A14:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (exposure: bf 2yr, 10km, ord), linear model on continuous dependent variable (1-5 scale)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.031+ (0.018)	0.025** (0.009)	0.020 (0.024)	-0.030+ (0.016)	0.000 (0.024)	-0.028* (0.011)	0.037 (0.030)	-0.025 (0.020)
Collective targeting	-0.028 (0.018)		0.172*** (0.024)		-0.010 (0.023)		0.048 (0.030)	
Expo × targeting	0.197*** (0.029)		0.050 (0.046)		0.023 (0.037)		-0.073 (0.056)	
<i>n</i>	30 213	86 474	14 531	32 793	26 766	79 870	15 107	32 315
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.23	0.15	0.09	0.09	0.14	0.13	0.08	0.11
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.23	0.15	0.09	0.09	0.14	0.13	0.08	0.11
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	22	59	11	26	19	52	11	24

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).



**Figure A11:** Simulated effects of exposure to victimization during the previous 5 years to the survey (continuous outcome variables)



**Figure A12:** Simulated effects of exposure to victimization *before* the previous 5 years to the survey (continuous outcome variables)

## E.2 Alternative specifications (distance)

Here I show results of the same models as above but this time changing the distance threshold to code exposure to violence, again following robustness tests on the main analyses. Table A15 shows results only considering violent events that took place within 5km of the respondent and during the 5 years previous to the survey, and Figure A13 shows the results graphically. Table A16 shows the same but coding violent events within 5km and before the 5 years previous to the survey, and Figure A14 shows the results graphically.

**Table A15:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (exposure: prev 5yr, 5km, ord), linear model on continuous dependent variable (1-5 scale)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.060+	0.002	-0.017	-0.005	0.116**	0.021	-0.051	-0.089*
	(0.036)	(0.021)	(0.038)	(0.035)	(0.045)	(0.025)	(0.042)	(0.039)
Collective targeting	-0.072***		0.191***		0.057*		0.137***	
	(0.020)		(0.032)		(0.022)		(0.035)	
Expo × targeting	0.206***		0.005		-0.139*		-0.143+	
	(0.052)		(0.078)		(0.062)		(0.086)	
<i>n</i>	16 534	35 389	6621	7331	13 823	32 698	6864	7567
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.15	0.11	0.06	0.07	0.18	0.16	0.07	0.06
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.15	0.11	0.05	0.07	0.18	0.16	0.06	0.06
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	10	22	4	5	8	19	4	5

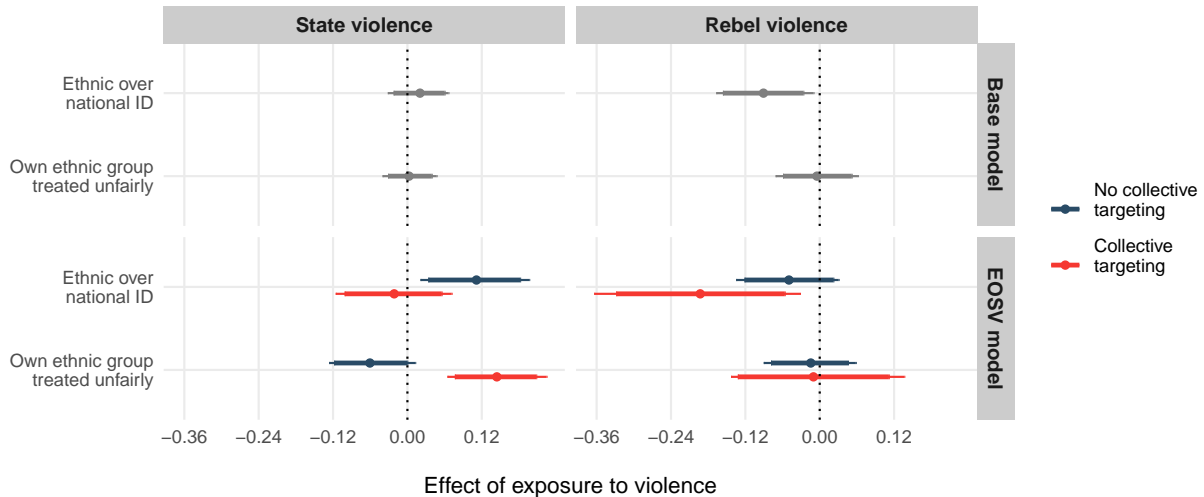
*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

Table A17 and Table A18 repeat the analyses above but changing the distance threshold to 25km. Figure A15 and Figure A16 show the results graphically.

**Table A16:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (exposure: bf 5yr, 5km, ord), linear model on continuous dependent variable (1-5 scale)

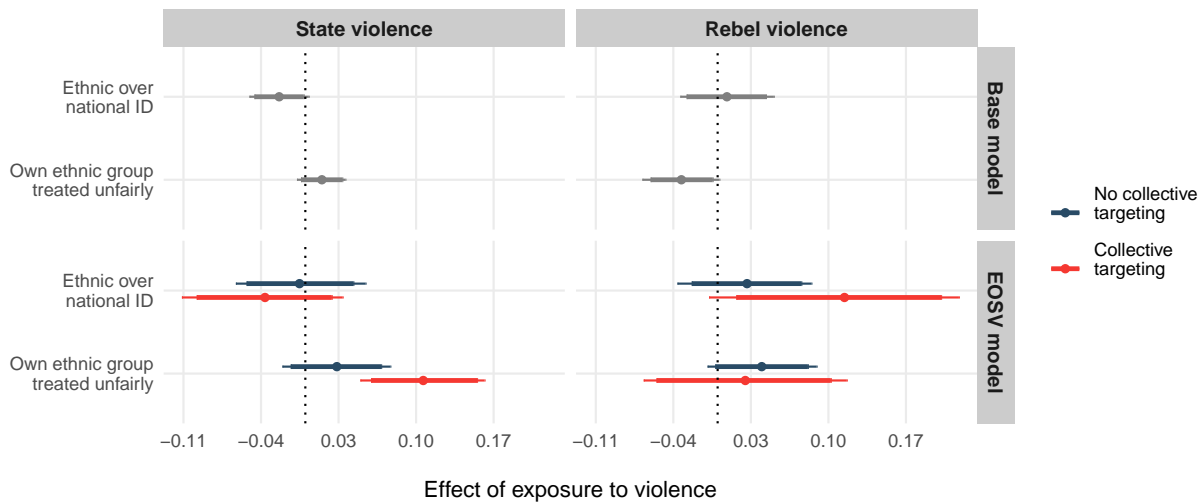
	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	0.029 (0.024)	0.015 (0.011)	0.039 (0.026)	-0.032+ (0.018)	-0.006 (0.030)	-0.024+ (0.014)	0.027 (0.032)	0.009 (0.022)
Collective targeting	0.012 (0.016)		0.188*** (0.032)		-0.002 (0.021)		-0.154*** (0.039)	
Expo × targeting	0.078* (0.037)		-0.013 (0.053)		-0.032 (0.046)		0.090 (0.065)	
<i>n</i>	29 036	70 830	8896	22 491	25 582	64 629	9251	21 728
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.22	0.13	0.05	0.07	0.15	0.11	0.13	0.10
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.22	0.13	0.05	0.07	0.15	0.11	0.13	0.10
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	21	48	8	20	18	42	8	18

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).



**Figure A13:** Simulated effects of exposure to victimization during the previous 5 years to the survey (continuous outcome variables)





**Figure A14:** Simulated effects of exposure to victimization *before* the previous 5 years to the survey (continuous outcome variables)

**Table A17:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (exposure: prev 5yr, 25km, ord), linear model on continuous dependent variable (1-5 scale)

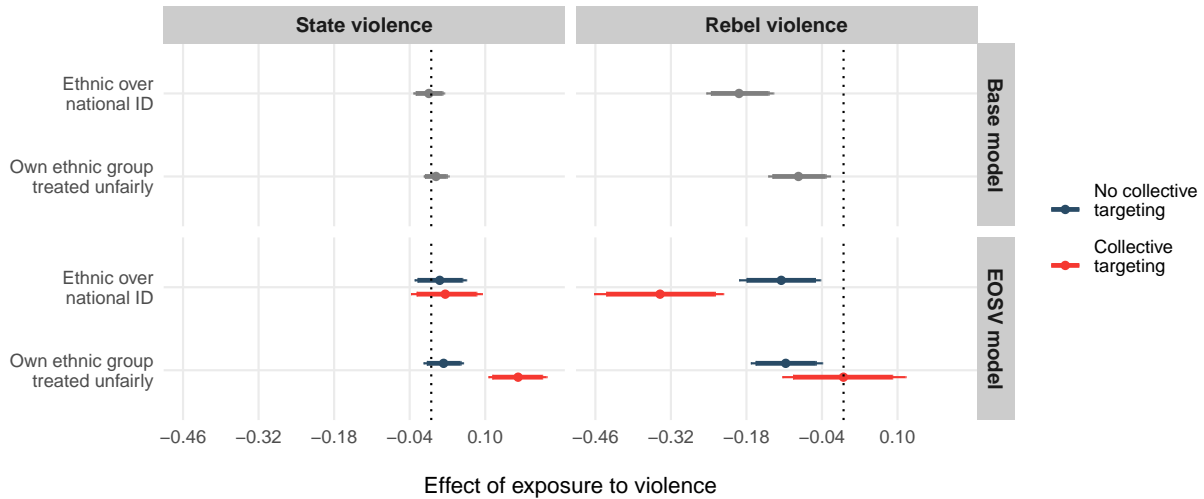
	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	0.024 (0.019)	0.009 (0.012)	-0.108** (0.034)	-0.084** (0.030)	0.017 (0.024)	-0.004 (0.015)	-0.117** (0.037)	-0.193*** (0.034)
Collective targeting	-0.079*** (0.020)		0.152*** (0.029)		0.030 (0.025)		0.113*** (0.032)	
Expo × targeting	0.138*** (0.032)		0.108+ (0.058)		0.011 (0.040)		-0.224*** (0.065)	
<i>n</i>	20 082	48 947	8857	9567	17 376	41 980	9192	9895
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.22	0.16	0.06	0.07	0.16	0.14	0.09	0.08
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.22	0.16	0.06	0.07	0.16	0.14	0.09	0.08
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	13	32	6	7	11	26	6	7

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

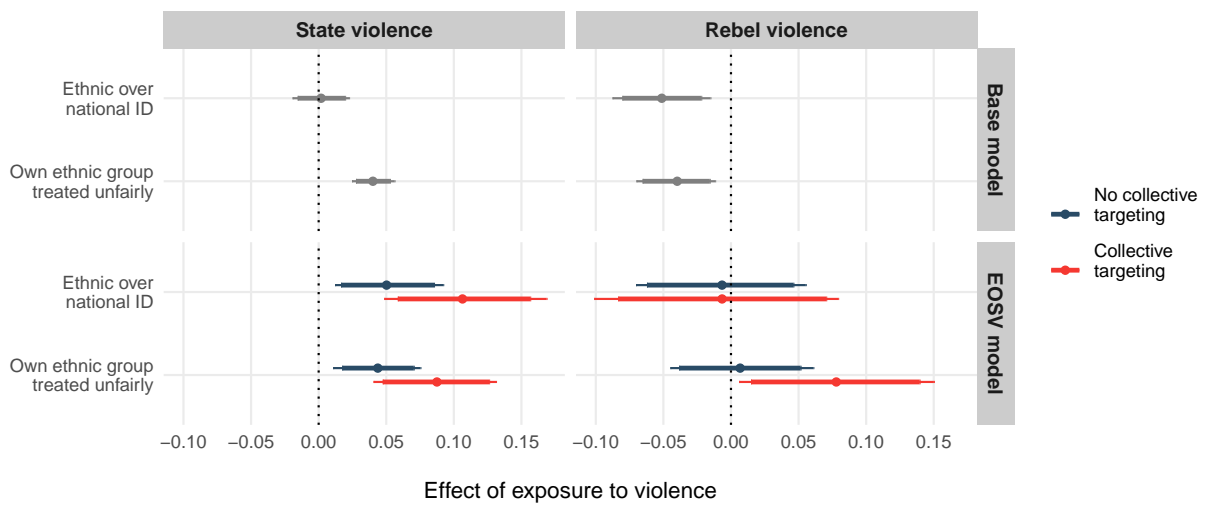
**Table A18:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (exposure: bf 5yr, 25km, ord), linear model on continuous dependent variable (1-5 scale)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	0.045** (0.016)	0.040*** (0.008)	0.007 (0.027)	-0.041** (0.015)	0.049* (0.021)	0.002 (0.011)	-0.006 (0.033)	-0.052** (0.018)
Collective targeting	0.004 (0.019)		0.158*** (0.027)		-0.025 (0.025)		0.030 (0.033)	
Expo × targeting	0.044 (0.027)		0.070+ (0.042)		0.057 (0.035)		-0.001 (0.052)	
<i>n</i>	31 308	90 514	14 531	36 098	27 912	81 027	15 107	35 768
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.23	0.15	0.09	0.10	0.14	0.12	0.08	0.14
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.23	0.15	0.09	0.10	0.14	0.12	0.08	0.14
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	23	62	11	28	20	53	11	26

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).



**Figure A15:** Simulated effects of exposure to victimization during the previous 5 years to the survey (continuous outcome variables)



**Figure A16:** Simulated effects of exposure to victimization *before* the previous 5 years to the survey (continuous outcome variables)

## F Early-adulthood (15-25 years old) exposure results

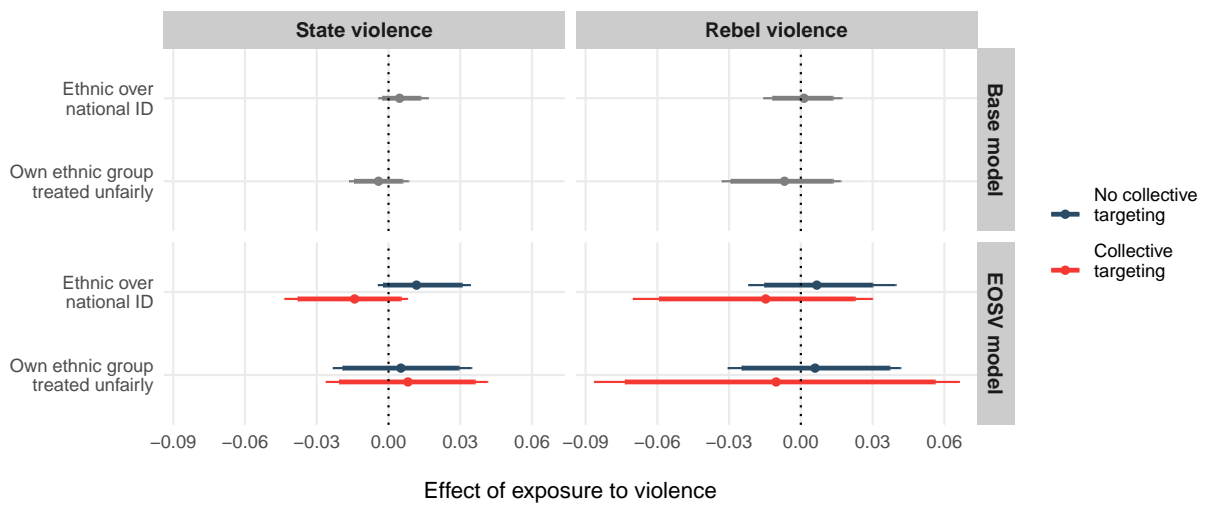
Given that the measure of individual exposure used in the main analyses is defined in terms of time and distance, it cannot register individual-level variation within a same locality, and is more geared to measure local-level effects of violence. Thus, individual exposure is partly an indicator of the local or regional incidence of civilian victimization. In order to get closer to an individual measure of violence and distinguish it from the contextual effects of violence discussed above, I use here a third version of the exposure violence which indicates whether a respondent was exposed to violence while she was between 15 and 25 years old. This measure is coherent with psychological research on the ‘impressionable years’ theory (Krosnick & Alwin, 1989). Additionally, it offers variation in exposure to violence between individuals in the same geographical location, which helps testing, even in an imperfect way, the individual vs contextual effect hypothesis. In any case, there is a big caveat for the interpretation of the results, as the assumption that violence leaves a stronger effect during these formative years is left untested.

Table A19 shows the results for the analyses using this early-adulthood measure of exposure for ethnic identification and ethnic grievances. Figure A17 shows these results graphically.

**Table A19:** Civilian victimization using exposure to violence when respondent was 15-25 years old (within 10km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	0.029 (0.085)	-0.023 (0.035)	0.042 (0.102)	-0.038 (0.072)	0.125 (0.092)	0.047 (0.043)	0.066 (0.117)	0.017 (0.081)
Collective targeting	0.185* (0.083)		0.650*** (0.112)		0.261** (0.095)		-0.150 (0.147)	
Expo × targeting	0.014 (0.121)		-0.096 (0.184)		-0.258+ (0.142)		-0.246 (0.268)	
<i>n</i>	11 094	37 567	6490	12 395	11 558	39 778	6812	13 453
AIC	9959.8	36 227.6	5314.5	10 512.9	8639.9	27 583.0	4047.8	8728.3
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Region-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Region-rounds	129	502	77	357	129	502	77	357
Countries	7	19	6	16	7	19	6	16

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, and employment situation. Region-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels). Individual exposure refers to violence during early adulthood (when respondent was between 15 and 25 years old).



**Figure A17:** Simulated effects of exposure to victimization during early adulthood (15-25 years old)

## F.1 Alternative specifications (distance)

The same results from above are repeated here but changing the distance at which violent events are count for the definition of exposure. The time dimension is the same, as it depends on the age of each respondent.

Table A20 shows results for the models using violence exposure when the respondent was between 15 and 25 years old, but changing the distance threshold to 5km. Table A21 does the same, but changing the distance to 25km. Figure A18 and Figure A19 show these results graphically.

**Table A20:** Civilian victimization using exposure to violence when respondent was 15-25 years old (within 5km)

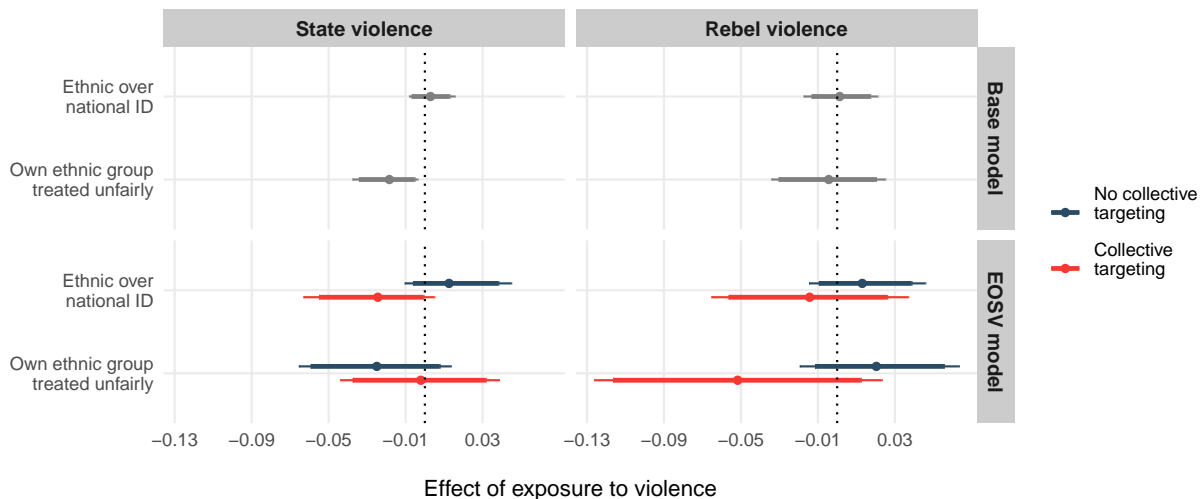
	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.157 (0.116)	-0.108* (0.044)	0.109 (0.115)	-0.029 (0.083)	0.133 (0.124)	0.029 (0.053)	0.128 (0.133)	0.013 (0.094)
Collective targeting	0.161* (0.082)		0.808*** (0.113)		0.251** (0.096)		-0.197 (0.157)	
Expo × targeting	0.143 (0.156)		-0.340+ (0.202)		-0.387* (0.184)		-0.318 (0.302)	
<i>n</i>	9790	32 228	5586	10 422	10 216	34 147	5858	11 346
AIC	9183.2	32 138.2	4584.7	8878.6	7578.9	23 824.8	3441.4	7399.3
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Region-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Region-rounds	118	439	63	316	118	439	63	316
Countries	7	18	6	16	7	18	6	16

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, and employment situation. Region-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels). Individual exposure refers to violence during early adulthood (when respondent was between 15 and 25 years old).

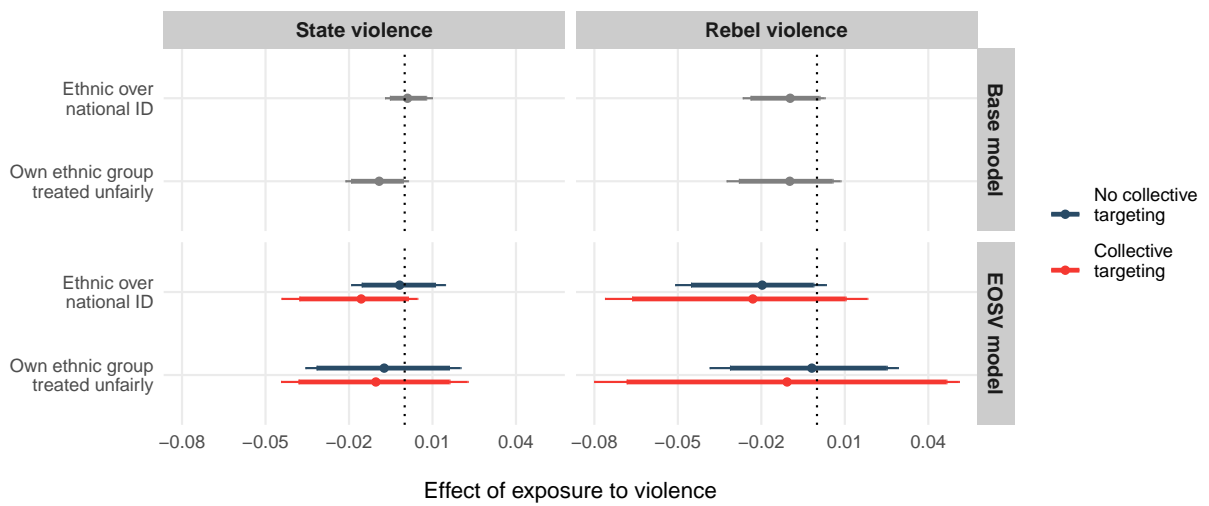
**Table A21:** Civilian victimization using exposure to violence when respondent was 15-25 years old (within 25km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.038 (0.078)	-0.052+ (0.031)	-0.007 (0.091)	-0.055 (0.059)	-0.023 (0.083)	0.011 (0.037)	-0.171+ (0.103)	-0.099 (0.067)
Collective targeting	0.130 (0.083)		0.491*** (0.110)		0.285** (0.093)		-0.168 (0.140)	
Expo × targeting	-0.015 (0.106)		-0.037 (0.166)		-0.134 (0.121)		-0.079 (0.231)	
<i>n</i>	12 828	46 888	7795	17 440	13 338	49 608	8158	18 670
AIC	11 415.3	44 924.5	6354.5	14 923.0	10 190.6	35 284.6	5101.4	12 213.9
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Region-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Region-rounds	155	645	97	421	155	645	97	421
Countries	7	20	6	17	7	20	6	17

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, and employment situation. Region-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels). Individual exposure refers to violence during early adulthood (when respondent was between 15 and 25 years old).



**Figure A18:** Simulated effects of exposure to victimization during early adulthood (15-25 years old)



**Figure A19:** Simulated effects of exposure to victimization during early adulthood (15-25 years old)



## G Results using multilevel models

Table A22 and Table A23 show the results for multilevel linear probability models including random intercepts for country and survey round.

**Table A22:** Multi-level linear probability models of civilian victimization (during last 5 years) on ethnic outcomes

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.007 (0.007)	0.003 (0.006)	-0.012 (0.012)	-0.013 (0.012)	0.009+ (0.005)	0.018*** (0.005)	0.016 (0.010)	0.007 (0.010)
Collective targeting	0.008 (0.007)		0.072*** (0.007)		0.030*** (0.006)		0.030*** (0.006)	
Expo × targeting	0.055*** (0.015)		0.019 (0.026)		0.047*** (0.013)		-0.046* (0.022)	
<i>n</i>	107 262	107 262	107 262	107 262	114 955	114 955	114 955	114 955
AIC	103 918.5	103 918.5	103 811.2	103 916.1	76 775.9	76 812.3	76 814.9	76 823.0
BIC	104 043.1	104 023.9	103 935.8	104 021.5	76 901.4	76 918.4	76 940.4	76 929.1
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels). Random intercepts by country, round and country times round (not shown).

**Table A23:** Multi-level linear probability models of civilian victimization (before previous 5 years) on ethnic outcomes

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	0.012** (0.004)	0.014*** (0.004)	-0.011+ (0.007)	-0.010 (0.006)	0.009* (0.003)	0.009** (0.003)	0.014** (0.006)	0.012* (0.005)
Collective targeting	0.010 (0.007)		0.073*** (0.007)		0.038*** (0.006)		0.030*** (0.006)	
Expo × targeting	0.014 (0.012)		0.007 (0.018)		-0.007 (0.010)		-0.029* (0.015)	
<i>n</i>	107 262	107 262	107 262	107 262	114 955	114 955	114 955	114 955
AIC	103 919.7	103 906.5	103 811.3	103 916.2	76 796.7	76 818.1	76 813.5	76 819.7
BIC	104 044.3	104 011.9	103 935.9	104 021.6	76 922.2	76 924.2	76 939.0	76 925.9
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels). Random intercepts by country, round and country times round (not shown).

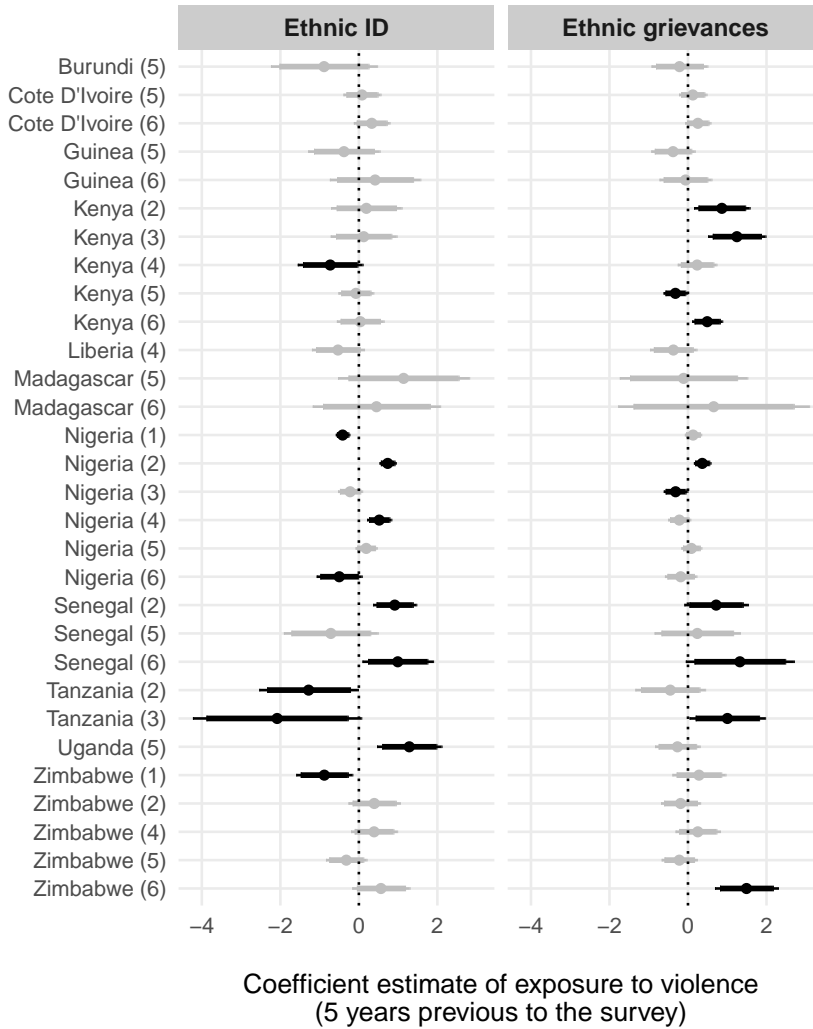
## H Effect of violence across country-rounds

This section shows each of the main effects disaggregating the analyses by country-round. Figure A20 shows the base effect of state violence against civilians on both outcomes, while Figure A21 does so for rebel violence. Both graphs show the effect of violence events that took place in the 5 years previous to each survey. Figure A22 and Figure A23 show the same results but using exposure to violence events before the 5 years previous to the survey. In the case of state violence, heterogeneous effects are coherent with each national context. For instance, violence has a positive effect on ethnic grievances in several rounds in Kenya, a result that is not surprising given the long history of ethnic conflict and polarized ethnic cleavages in the East African country. Similarly, the UCDP-GED dataset registers an increase of one-sided violence by the state in Zimbabwe in 2008. The data shows that these events are linked to an increase in ethnic grievances in Round 6, fielded in 2014. Similar results appear in the results using the longer-term coding of violence.

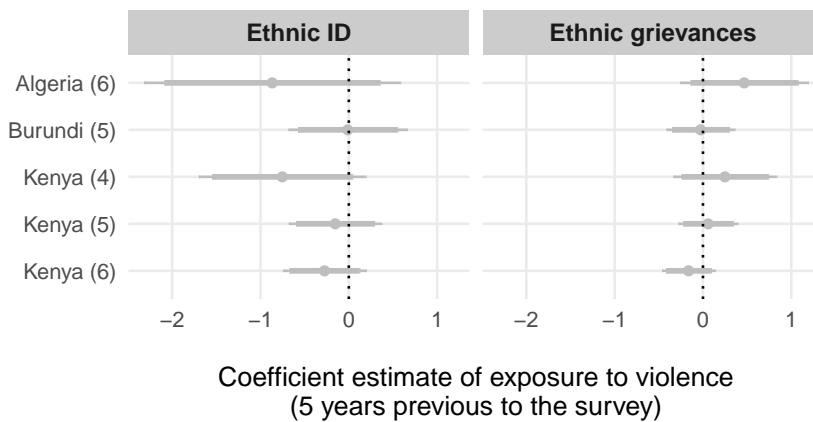
Figure A24 show the effects of state violence in the interaction models. In particular, for each of the two outcomes, it shows the coefficient estimate of violence (i.e. without prior group-level collective targeting) and that of the collective targeting (EOSV) interaction. Figure A25 shows the same results but focusing on rebel violence. Figure A26 and Figure A27 show the results for the models that code exposure before the 5 years previous to the survey.<sup>1</sup> Again, we see that the EOSV interaction is positive and significant in some rounds of Nigeria and Côte d'Ivoire for the short-term coding, results that resonate with the history of ethnic conflict in those countries. It is interesting that the results only appear significant for Côte d'Ivoire in the second round fielded for that country (Round 6, fielded in 2014), suggesting again that violence does not have automatic effects but takes some time to be interpreted and framed in order to impact ethnic attitudes.

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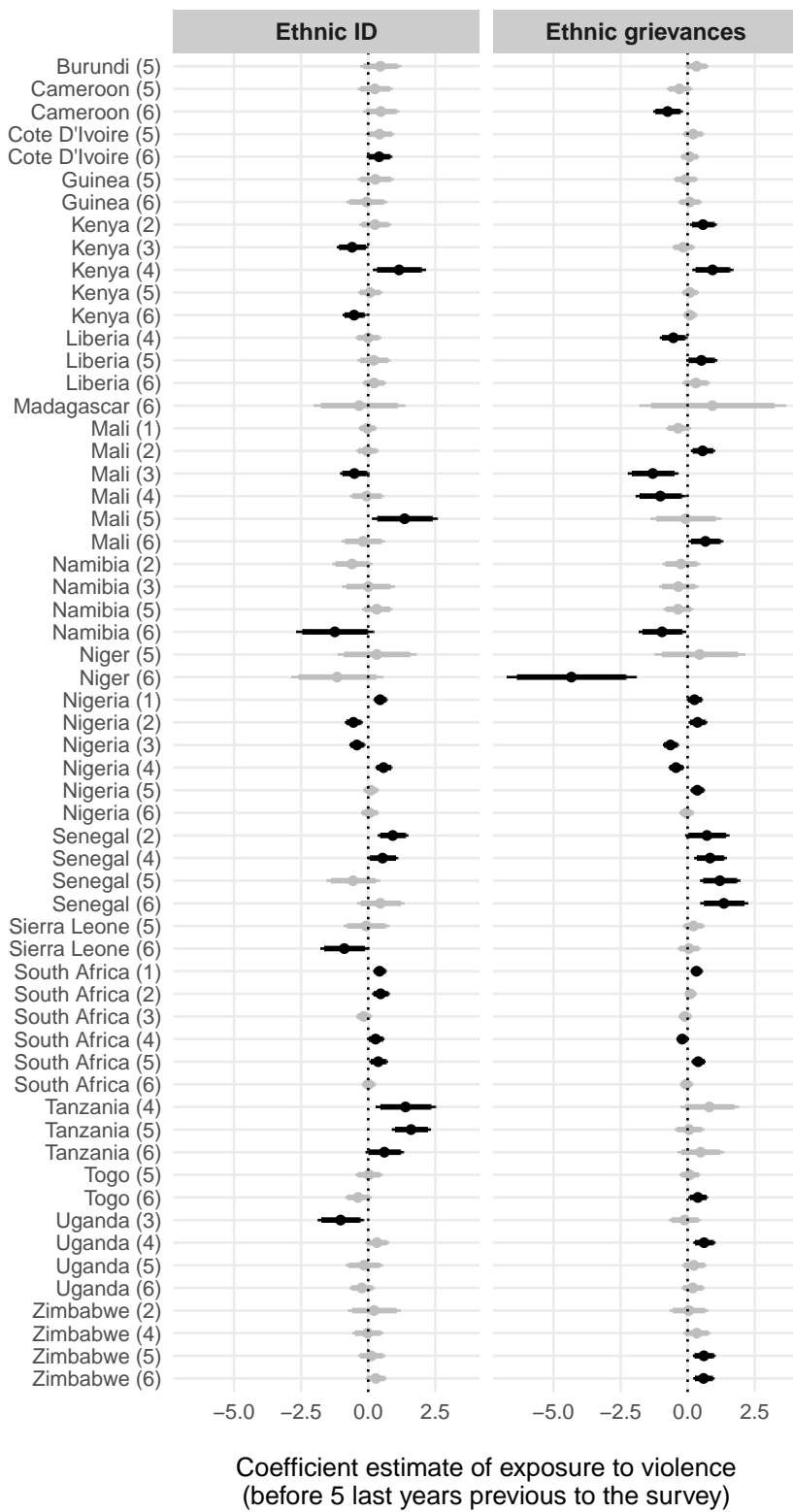
<sup>1</sup>Results from some country-rounds are not shown in these graphs because of extremely high coefficients, which result from a low number of observations and distort the rest of the coefficients. The graph on state violence in the last 5 years excludes Senegal (5) and Burundi (5); the graph on state violence before the last 5 years excludes Mali (5), Mali (6), Niger (5), Niger (6), and Nigeria (2); the graph on rebel violence before the last 5 years excludes Mali (3), Mali (4), Mali (6), and Burundi (5).



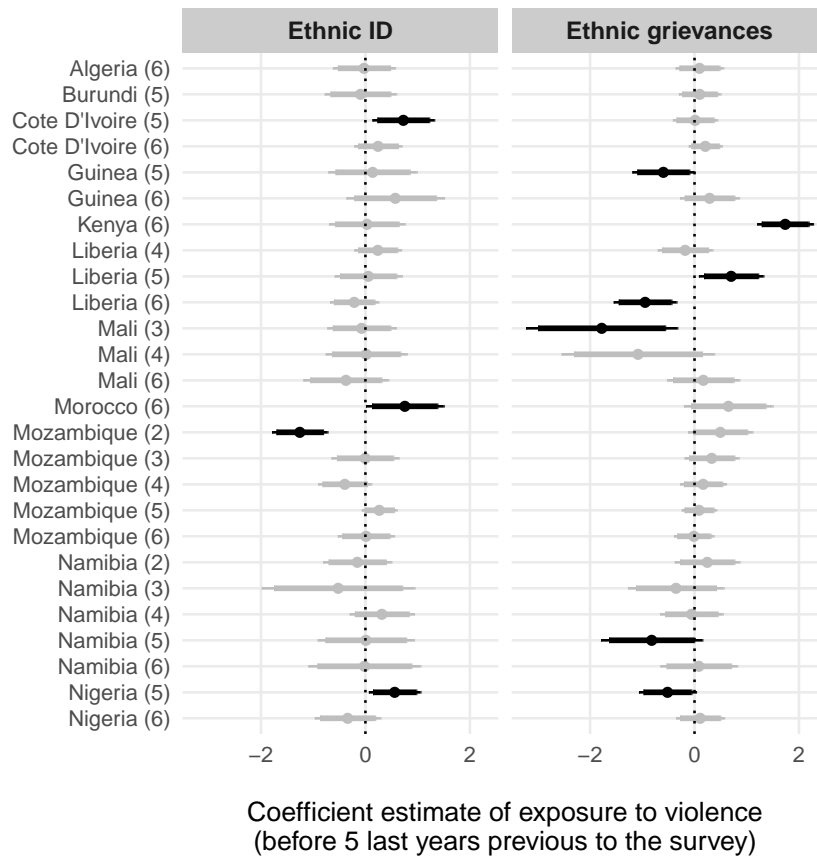
**Figure A20:** Results by country round of base models with state violence (exposure during 5 years previous to the survey)



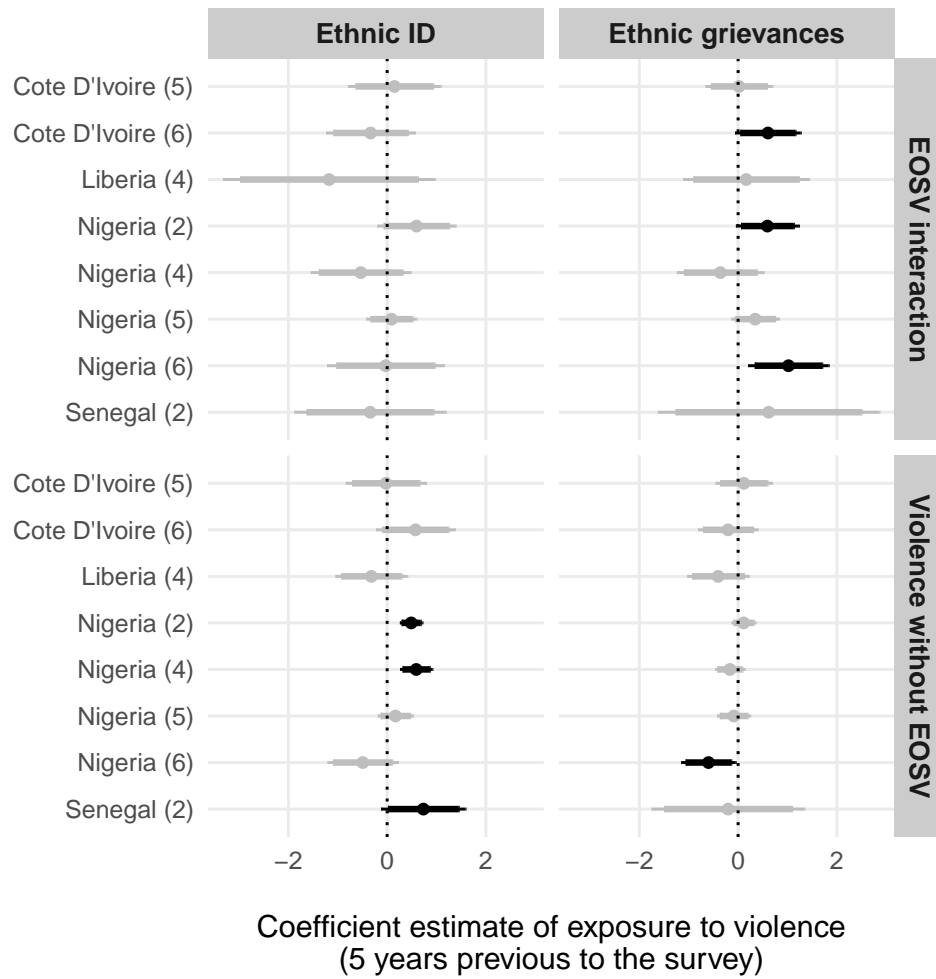
**Figure A21:** Results by country round of base models with rebel violence (exposure during 5 years previous to the survey)



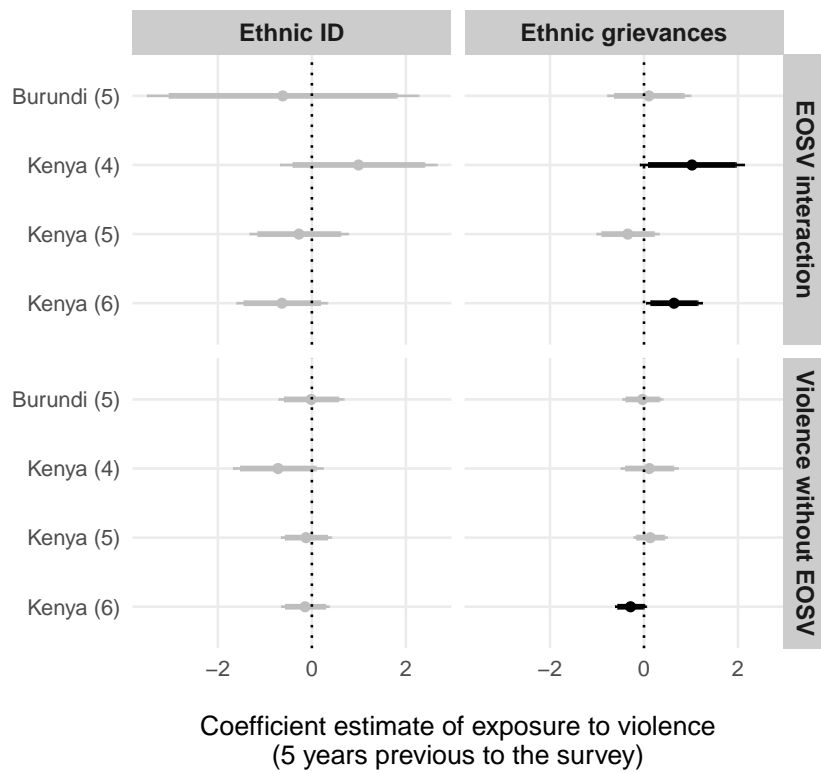
**Figure A22:** Results by country round of base models with state violence (exposure before 5 years previous to the survey)



**Figure A23:** Results by country round of base models with rebel violence (exposure before 5 years previous to the survey)

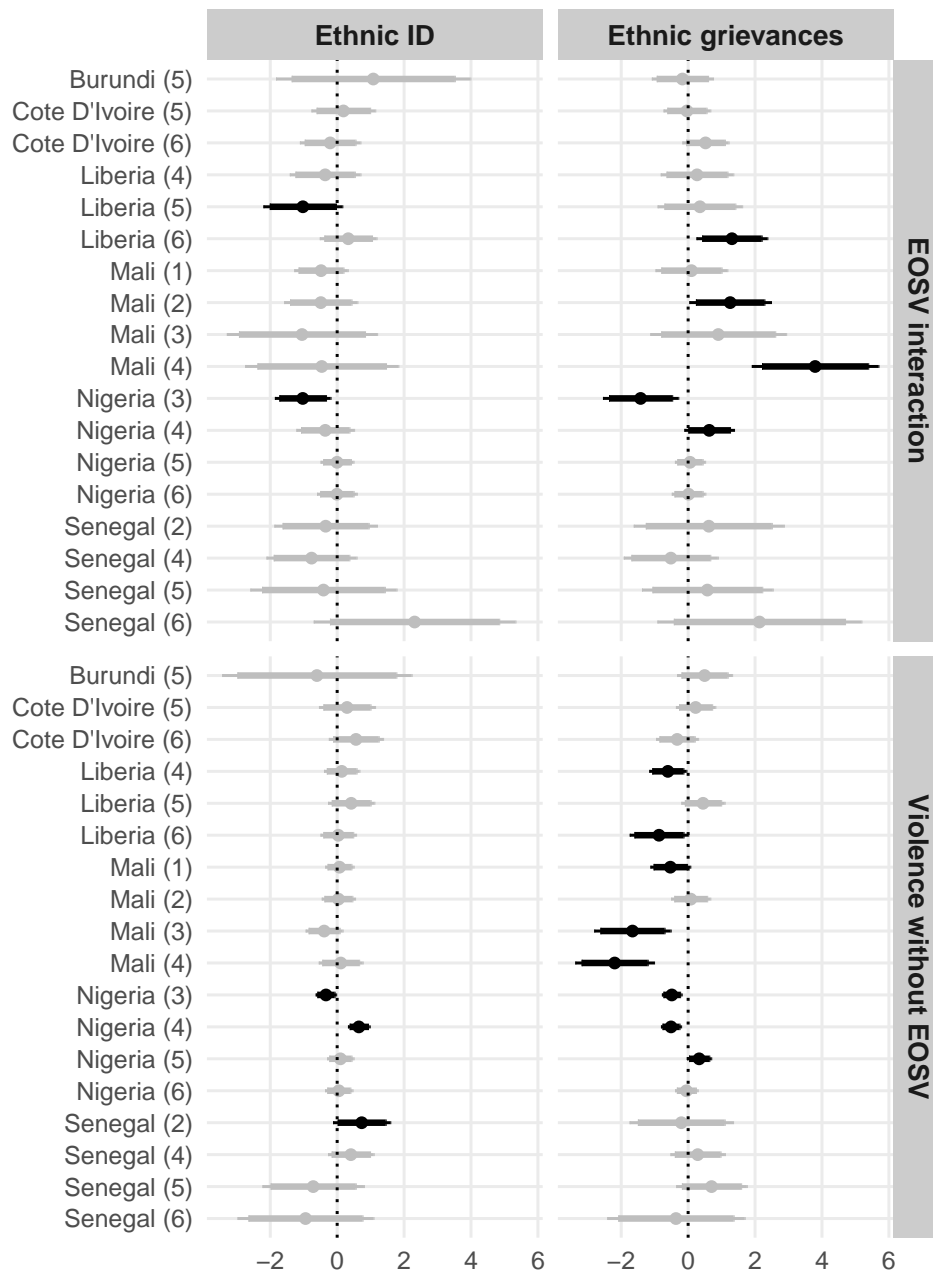


**Figure A24:** Results by country round of interaction models with state violence (exposure during 5 years previous to the survey)



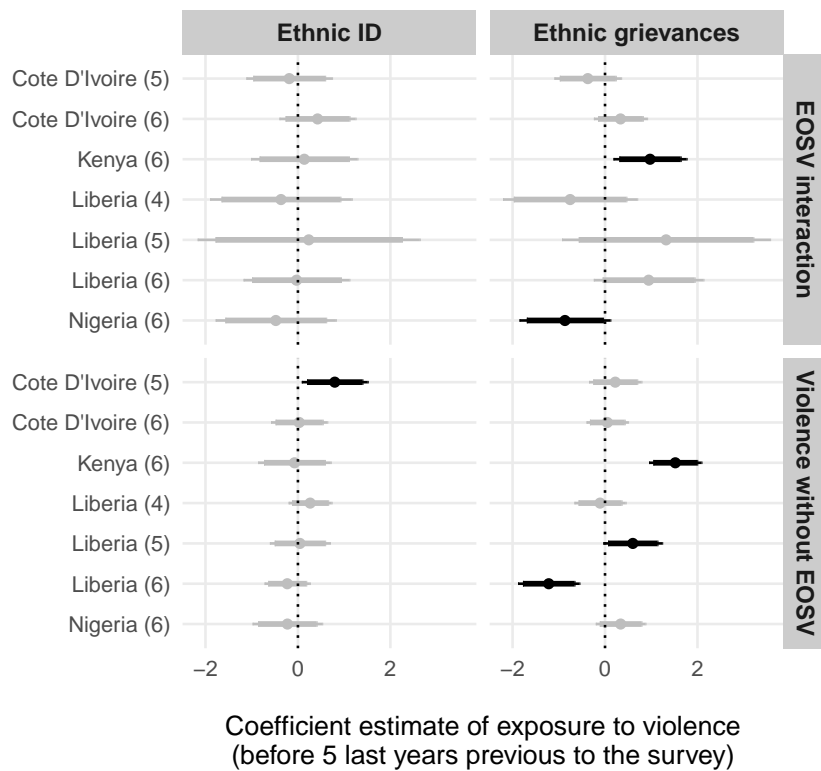
**Figure A25:** Results by country round of interaction models with rebel violence (exposure during 5 years previous to the survey)





Coefficient estimate of exposure to violence (before 5 last years previous to the survey)

**Figure A26:** Results by country round of interaction models with state violence (exposure before 5 years previous to the survey)



**Figure A27:** Results by country round of interaction models with rebel violence (exposure before 5 years previous to the survey)

## I Results excluding Afrobarometer Rounds 1 and 2

This section shows robustness analyses excluding from the sample respondents from the first two rounds. In particular, Table A24 and Table A25 show results excluding Round 1 responses, for the models using violence events during the 5 years prior to the survey and events that took place before those 5 years prior to the survey, respectively. Table A26 and Table A27 repeat these same models but excluding from the sample both Round 1 and Round 2.

**Table A24:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (excluding round 1, exposure: 5yr, 10km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.085 (0.063)	0.048 (0.040)	-0.049 (0.098)	0.029 (0.088)	0.268*** (0.065)	0.239*** (0.045)	-0.176 (0.150)	-0.197 (0.137)
Collective targeting	-0.066 (0.048)		0.261*** (0.075)		0.282*** (0.055)		0.030 (0.116)	
Expo × targeting	0.436*** (0.100)		0.273 (0.173)		0.131 (0.112)		-0.478 (0.310)	
<i>n</i>	18 884	42 433	6621	7331	19 714	45 611	6864	7567
AIC	20 330.8	43 779.8	7173.6	7831.5	18 719.9	36 483.2	3965.0	4400.5
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	12	29	4	7	12	29	4	7

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

**Table A25:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (excluding round 1, exposure: before 5yr, 10km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.066 (0.055)	0.064* (0.025)	0.077 (0.079)	-0.049 (0.047)	0.104+ (0.056)	0.103*** (0.030)	0.091 (0.089)	0.076 (0.053)
Collective targeting	0.032 (0.046)		0.338*** (0.063)		0.250*** (0.050)		0.163+ (0.083)	
Expo × targeting	0.276** (0.086)		0.119 (0.128)		-0.038 (0.095)		-0.052 (0.170)	
<i>n</i>	30 213	84 312	14 531	32 793	31 530	89 227	15 107	34 674
AIC	28 059.9	83 020.4	13 058.5	31 745.8	28 909.4	69 098.0	10 993.6	26 230.8
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	22	59	11	29	22	59	11	29

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

**Table A26:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (excluding rounds 1 and 2, exposure: 5yr, 10km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.141+ (0.074)	0.009 (0.045)	-0.049 (0.098)	0.029 (0.088)	0.071 (0.082)	0.020 (0.055)	-0.176 (0.150)	-0.197 (0.137)
Collective targeting	-0.155** (0.050)		0.261*** (0.075)		0.130* (0.058)		0.030 (0.116)	
Expo × targeting	0.325** (0.112)		0.273 (0.173)		-0.037 (0.137)		-0.478 (0.310)	
<i>n</i>	15 714	36 087	6621	7331	16 176	37 426	6864	7567
AIC	16 820.8	36 327.5	7173.6	7831.5	14 087.4	28 267.5	3965.0	4400.5
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	10	24	4	7	10	24	4	7

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

**Table A27:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (excluding rounds 1 and 2, exposure: before 5yr, 10km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.171** (0.061)	0.046+ (0.027)	0.077 (0.079)	-0.046 (0.048)	0.040 (0.064)	0.068* (0.033)	0.091 (0.089)	0.022 (0.057)
Collective targeting	-0.105* (0.049)		0.338*** (0.063)		0.048 (0.055)		0.163+ (0.083)	
Expo × targeting	0.380*** (0.091)		0.119 (0.128)		0.140 (0.103)		-0.052 (0.170)	
<i>n</i>	25 897	74 555	14 531	31 167	26 766	77 503	15 107	32 315
AIC	23 279.8	71 692.2	13 058.5	30 071.6	22 580.9	57 755.7	10 993.6	23 849.9
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	19	52	11	27	19	52	11	27

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

## J Results by age group

In this section, I show the results of replicating the main models disaggregating the sample by age groups. Table A28 shows the results for the models using violence events during the 5 years prior to the survey for individuals who are between 18 and 29 years old. Table A29 repeats these models for individuals between 30 and 49 years old, and Table A30 does so for individuals who are 50 years or older. Results show that the effects are only replicated on the two younger groups, in other words, there are no significant effects of violence among those who are 50 years or older.

Table A31, Table A32 and Table A33 repeat these models but focusing on violence events before the 5 years prior to the survey, for individuals who are 18-29, 30-49, and 50 or more, respectively. In this case, however, the coding of violence is problematic because it might be registering more events for individuals who are older. Not surprisingly, there are no significant effects for the youngest age group. However, we again find no significant effects for the oldest group and only find them among the middle-age individuals.

**Table A28:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (age 18 to 29, exposure: 5yr, 10km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.071 (0.086)	0.040 (0.059)	0.006 (0.158)	0.100 (0.144)	0.253** (0.089)	0.244*** (0.065)	-0.129 (0.239)	-0.132 (0.213)
Collective targeting	-0.016 (0.069)		0.015 (0.127)		0.244** (0.077)		0.313+ (0.174)	
Expo × targeting	0.501*** (0.145)		0.354 (0.274)		0.152 (0.160)		-0.688 (0.436)	
<i>n</i>	8628	17 174	2559	2797	9054	18 454	2655	2890
AIC	9728.3	18 148.0	2705.1	2933.5	8904.4	15 579.1	1594.2	1751.9
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	12	29	4	7	12	29	4	7

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

**Table A29:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (age 30 to 49, exposure: 5yr, 10km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.139 (0.103)	0.087 (0.063)	-0.083 (0.144)	0.007 (0.129)	0.359** (0.110)	0.268*** (0.074)	-0.151 (0.231)	-0.216 (0.210)
Collective targeting	-0.183* (0.075)		0.355** (0.112)		0.339*** (0.090)		-0.039 (0.182)	
Expo × targeting	0.558*** (0.156)		0.279 (0.251)		0.044 (0.181)		-0.208 (0.465)	
<i>n</i>	7572	17 482	2957	3265	7881	18 806	3058	3366
AIC	8096.5	18 556.9	3274.2	3537.7	7125.8	14 466.1	1725.6	1906.7
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	12	28	4	7	12	28	4	7

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

**Table A30:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (age 50 or older, exposure: 5yr, 10km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	0.001 (0.203)	-0.025 (0.116)	-0.175 (0.252)	-0.139 (0.228)	0.006 (0.206)	0.072 (0.133)	-0.421 (0.354)	-0.410 (0.337)
Collective targeting	0.017 (0.163)		0.537** (0.171)		0.240 (0.177)		-0.481 (0.324)	
Expo × targeting	-0.200 (0.318)		0.186 (0.517)		0.226 (0.331)		-13.691 (449.409)	
<i>n</i>	2315	6153	1105	1269	2384	6453	1151	1311
AIC	2373.0	6013.9	1220.4	1387.4	2319.9	4993.9	651.5	754.0
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	10	24	4	7	10	24	4	7

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

**Table A31:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (age 18 to 29, exposure: before 5yr, 10km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.003 (0.078)	0.033 (0.040)	0.075 (0.130)	0.012 (0.073)	0.161* (0.079)	0.103* (0.046)	0.072 (0.146)	0.033 (0.080)
Collective targeting	0.112+ (0.067)		0.308** (0.102)		0.290*** (0.073)		0.198 (0.130)	
Expo × targeting	0.184 (0.130)		0.107 (0.199)		-0.145 (0.144)		-0.295 (0.272)	
<i>n</i>	11 973	31 621	5245	12 614	12 563	33 633	5505	13 389
AIC	12 036.4	31 886.1	4911.2	12 268.2	11 961.5	26 908.8	4082.1	10 532.2
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	22	58	11	28	22	58	11	28

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

**Table A32:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (age 30 to 49, exposure: before 5yr, 10km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.138 (0.089)	0.065+ (0.038)	0.109 (0.115)	-0.005 (0.073)	0.078 (0.091)	0.123** (0.047)	0.006 (0.134)	0.044 (0.085)
Collective targeting	-0.086 (0.071)		0.352*** (0.093)		0.235** (0.079)		0.257* (0.126)	
Expo × targeting	0.399** (0.132)		0.146 (0.191)		-0.039 (0.150)		0.109 (0.253)	
<i>n</i>	12 862	36 917	6751	13 208	13 377	38 938	6992	13 986
AIC	11 705.9	36 238.9	6036.5	12 361.8	11 748.1	29 084.9	4912.5	9953.4
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	22	60	11	28	22	60	11	28

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).



**Table A33:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (age 50 or older, exposure: before 5yr, 10km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.097 (0.169)	0.127* (0.062)	-0.203 (0.216)	-0.141 (0.127)	-0.122 (0.162)	0.110 (0.075)	0.040 (0.216)	0.072 (0.141)
Collective targeting	0.116 (0.136)		0.523** (0.176)		0.169 (0.139)		-0.367 (0.251)	
Expo × targeting	0.195 (0.246)		-0.051 (0.356)		0.294 (0.254)		0.280 (0.456)	
<i>n</i>	5136	14 936	2307	4485	5326	15 847	2389	4741
AIC	4256.3	14 121.5	1969.9	4269.9	4893.6	12 092.5	1878.2	3459.9
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	21	57	10	24	21	57	10	24

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

## K Results for only politically included ethnic groups

In this section I replicate the main results only looking at individuals who are linked to an ethnic group that is included in the central government. I code power access from the Ethnic Power Relations dataset (Vogt et al., 2015), a dataset that codes the situation of access to central executive power for all ethnic groups across the world since 1945.<sup>2</sup> Following EPR categories, an individual belongs to an included group is that group is, in the year the survey was fielded, coded as having a ‘dominant,’ ‘monopoly,’ ‘senior partner,’ or ‘junior partner’ status. In this case, I only use the coding of violence in the 5 years previous to the survey, in order to get a measure of violence closer to the group-based political status.

Table A34 shows the results. In this case, the main finding from the main analyses, that state violence increases ethnic grievances when there is a history of collective targeting, is not significant in this case. There is only a positive effect of state violence on ethnic identification in the absence of a prior collective targeting.

**Table A34:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (only ethnic groups included in central government, exposure: 5yr, 10km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.031 (0.127)	-0.033 (0.050)	-0.130 (0.108)	-0.024 (0.095)	0.361** (0.128)	0.153** (0.055)	-0.208 (0.159)	-0.200 (0.144)
Collective targeting	-0.154* (0.077)		0.494*** (0.080)		-0.145+ (0.086)		0.065 (0.121)	
Expo × targeting	0.242 (0.179)		0.181 (0.178)		-0.147 (0.190)		-0.458 (0.314)	
<i>n</i>	9091	28 586	5889	6532	9409	30 485	6123	6759
AIC	8510.9	28 577.7	6029.7	6655.0	8356.2	24 380.9	3457.2	3842.0
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	8	28	4	6	8	28	4	6

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

<sup>2</sup>In order to match individuals to ethnic groups, I use the same strategy as in the main analyses, i.e. using the LEDA R package (Müller-Crepon, Pengl & Bormann, 2021).

## L Results for majority and minority groups

In this section I replicate the main results using a subset of individuals who belong to minority ethnic groups. I code group size from the Ethnic Power Relations dataset (Vogt et al., 2015), and code minority groups as those that make up 20% or less of the country population.<sup>3</sup>

Table A36 shows the results for the minority groups using the violence coding in the 5 years previous to the survey, while Table A35 repeats these analyses but coding violence before the 5 years previous to the survey.

Overall, the results are consistent with the main results but the coefficients are much larger in the case of minority groups, which probably reflects that these groups are more likely to be suffer collective targeting by state authorities and that, in many cases, suffer from inequalities in access to central power. In these cases, exposure to violence probably adds up to general grievances about the political situation of the group.

**Table A35:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (minority groups, 0.2 or less, exposure: before 5yr, 10km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.315*	0.097*	-0.013	0.087	-0.430**	0.018	0.053	0.193+
	(0.125)	(0.040)	(0.177)	(0.082)	(0.136)	(0.048)	(0.220)	(0.100)
Collective targeting	-0.222*		0.310***		0.019		0.230+	
	(0.094)		(0.091)		(0.093)		(0.121)	
Expo × targeting	0.857***		0.630**		0.313+		0.124	
	(0.181)		(0.214)		(0.188)		(0.265)	
<i>n</i>	4501	24 762	3530	8441	4702	26 383	3653	8886
AIC	4850.0	28 158.8	3964.3	9710.1	4960.9	21 881.5	2767.4	7307.4
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	15	52	12	28	15	52	12	28

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

<sup>3</sup>Again, In order to match individuals to ethnic groups, I use the LEDA R package to match individuals to ethnic groups (Müller-Crepon, Pengl & Bormann, 2021). If an individual has multiple ethnic affiliations, I look at the largest group. Majority groups are not included in the analyses because the subset do not have enough variation on the collective targeting variable.

**Table A36:** Civilian victimization and ethnicity (minority groups, 0.2 or less, exposure: 5yr, 10km)

	Ethnic grievances				Ethnic ID			
	State violence		Rebel violence		State violence		Rebel violence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Violence exposure	-0.246*	-0.015	-0.003	0.052	-0.089	0.147+	-0.108	-0.318
	(0.124)	(0.065)	(0.172)	(0.141)	(0.129)	(0.076)	(0.286)	(0.260)
Collective targeting	-0.337***		0.029		-0.167+		0.115	
	(0.098)		(0.087)		(0.101)		(0.140)	
Expo × targeting	0.801***		0.090		0.818***		-0.607	
	(0.213)		(0.238)		(0.215)		(0.372)	
<i>n</i>	3421	12 624	3149	3332	3575	13 592	3269	3453
AIC	4064.9	15 427.8	3873.0	4054.4	4057.5	11 472.9	1956.7	1980.6
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-round FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-rounds	10	29	3	4	10	29	3	4

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Control variables (not shown): urban, gender, age, employment situation, distance to national capital (in km, log). Country-round fixed effects not shown. Both violence exposure and collective targeting refer to the actors defined above (state or rebels).

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