

# Online Appendix

February 25, 2025

## 1 Example of Elite Stigmatizing Narratives against Grass-roots Peacebuilders

**Figure 1: Subversive stigma of Indigenous mobilization**



**Figure 2: Subversive stigma of Indigenous mobilization**

It translates into English as follows: “An armed organization, with evident training and command, takes over the Colombian Congress. People are defenseless in the face of ‘indigenous guard’. No authority acts, the judiciary should order to protect all Colombians since the Executive favors violent groups.”

Source: Twitter, May 3, 2023. Juan Carlos Pinzon who was Minister of Defense under the Santos’ administration.

## 2 Two-Wave Survey Panel

### 2.1 Sampling

A two-wave online survey panel was administered in November and December 2023 with the support of the survey firm Netquest. The initial survey employed a stratified sampling design

based on the 32 departments, gender, socioeconomic stratum, and age. It was predominantly completed by individuals residing in urban areas with internet access; however, the sample also encompasses participants from diverse socioeconomic strata across various regions of the country.<sup>1</sup> Approximately 48% of respondents belonged to the two lowest socioeconomic strata.

**Table 1:** Sample Characteristics of the Two-Wave Survey Pane

Variable	Descriptive Statistics
<b>Gender</b>	
Female	1,496 (50.8%)
Male	1,448 (49.2%)
<b>Region</b>	
Amazónica	31 (1.1%)
Orinoquía	130 (4.4%)
Atlántico	659 (22.4%)
Central	1,448 (49.2%)
Oriental	387 (13.1%)
Pacífica	289 (9.8%)
<b>Socioeconomic Stratum</b>	
1	501 (17.0%)
2	938 (31.9%)
3	861 (29.2%)
4	345 (11.7%)
5	213 (7.2%)
6	85 (2.9%)
No information	1 (0.0%)
<b>Age</b>	
Mean (standard deviation)	39.7 (13.4)
<b>Self-Identification</b>	
White	863 (29.3%)
Mestizo	1,674 (56.9%)
Indigenous	68 (2.3%)
Black or Afro-Colombian	131 (4.4%)
Mulatto	53 (1.8%)
Other	152 (5.2%)
No information	3 (0.1%)

## 2.2 Dimensions in Conjoint Experiment

Table 3 lists the dimensions of our conjoint experiment with their corresponding levels.

<sup>1</sup>Colombia follows an stratification system to categorize individuals' income capacity for social policy distribution. We use this system for sampling purposes, seeking to ensure variation in socioeconomic background.

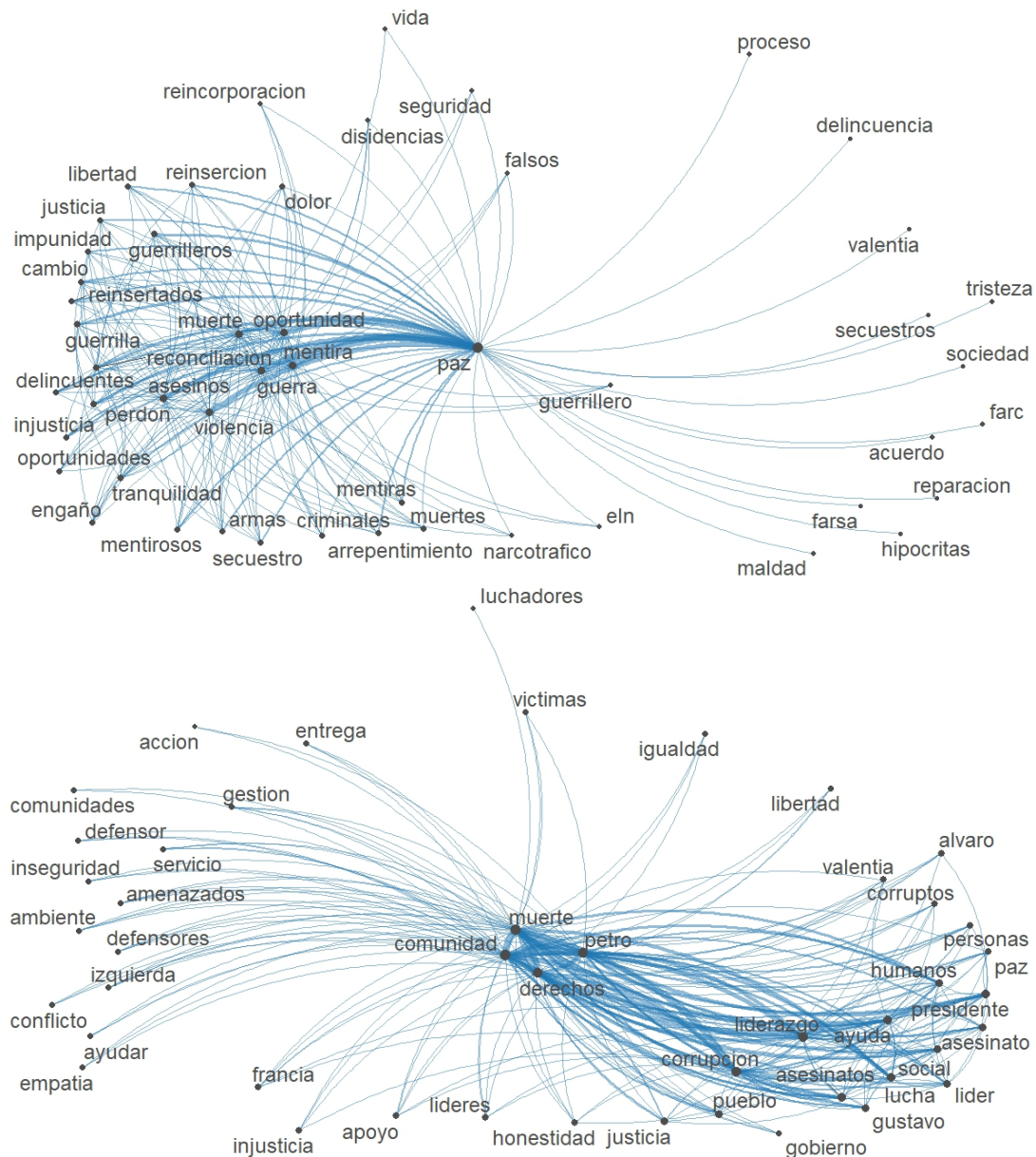
**Figure 3:** Varying Dimensions in the Conjoint Experiment

<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Level</b>
Group	Citizens FARC ex-combatants who laid down weapons Social movement leaders
Gender	Maria (Female) Luis (Male)
Ethnicity	Rodríguez (white or <i>mestizo</i> ) Quigua (Indigenous)
Claim	Land redistribution to reduce inequality in holding between the rich and the poor Improvements in public education quality
Repertoire	Write a letter and gather signatures Call for street protest
Salience of Comprehensive Peace Agreement	“This happens after the 2016 peace agreement, which promotes citizen participation and reforms in the country” Blank

### 3 First-Stage Analysis: Baseline Survey Results

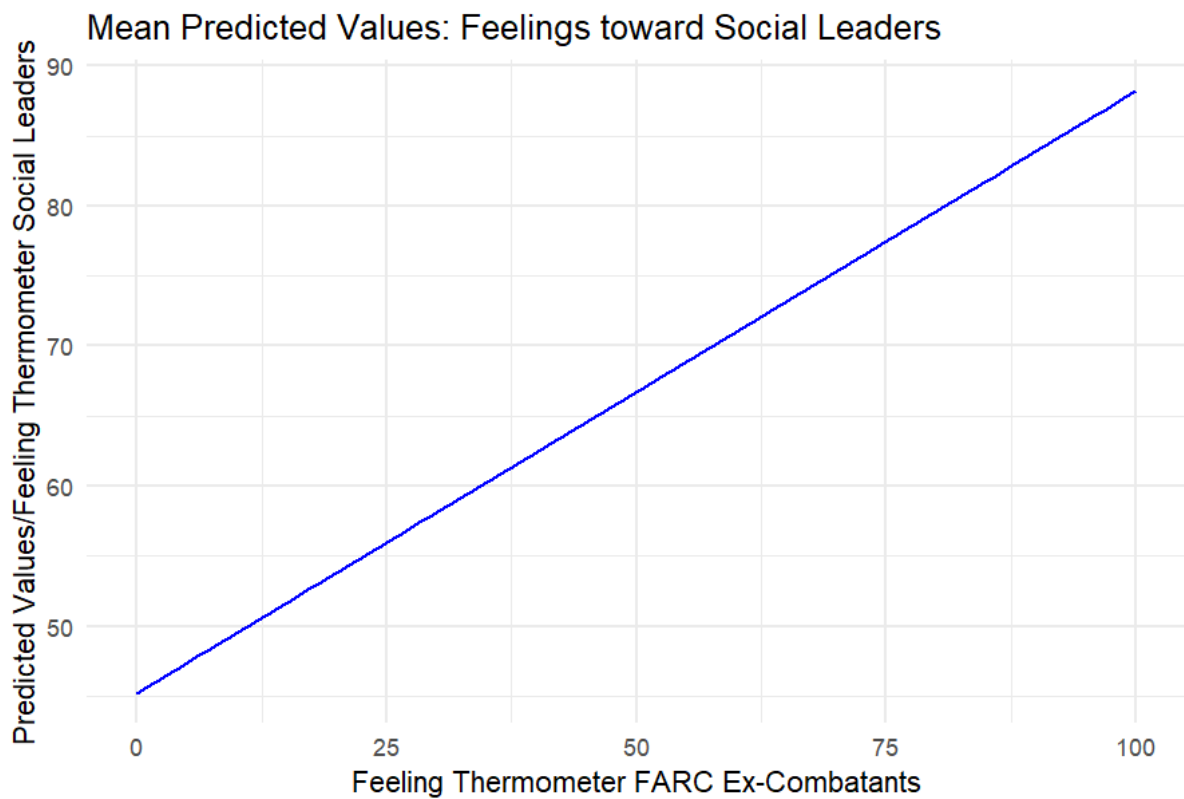
#### 3.1 Group Affiliation as a Heuristic for Stigmatization

**Figure 4: Co-occurrence Matrices on Civilian Perceptions of Ex-combatants (Upper) and Social leaders (Lower)**

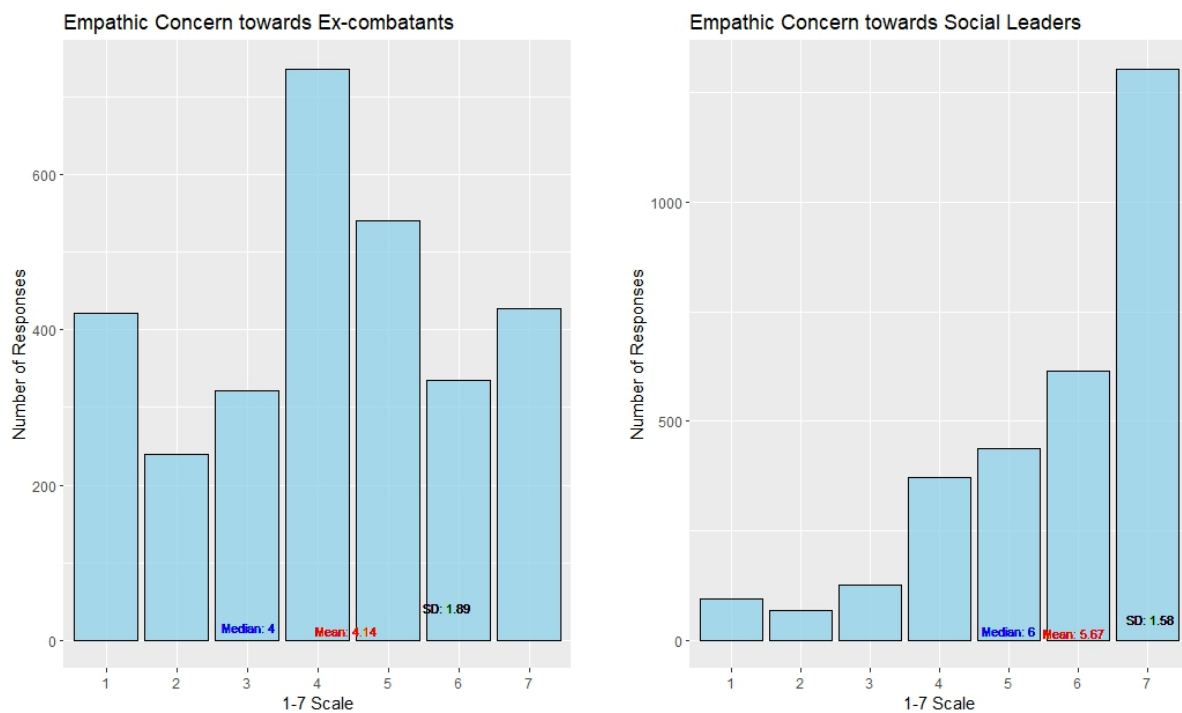


### 3.2 Cognitive Association Between Groups

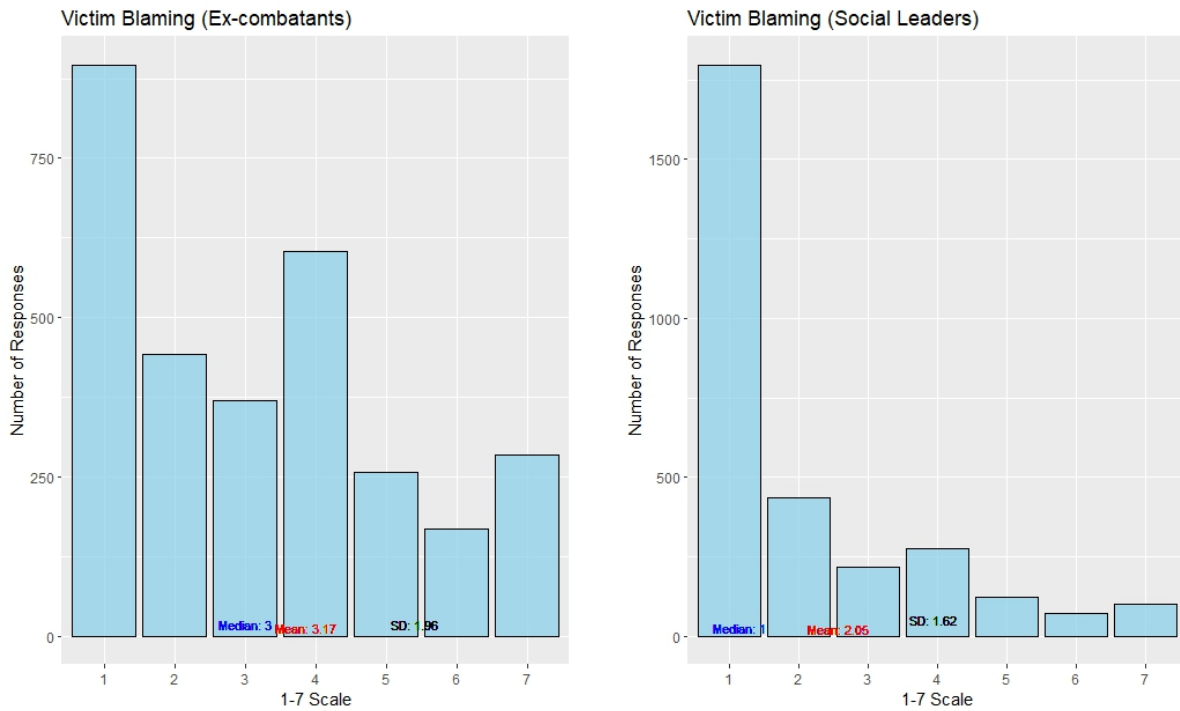
**Figure 5:** Mean Predicted Values: Feeling Thermometer toward Social Leaders



**Figure 6:** Empathic Concern toward Ex-combatants (left) and Social Leaders (right)



**Figure 7: Victim Blaming toward Ex-combatants (left) and Social Leaders (right)**



### 3.3 The Salience of Claims and Collective Action Repertoires

**Table 2:** OLS Model (DV: Feeling Thermometer toward Social Leaders)

Term	Estimate	Std. Error	Statistic	p-value
Land_Redistribution	3.326	0.290	11.460	0.000
Taxation	0.888	0.299	2.971	0.003
Protest	2.484	0.353	7.026	0.000
State_Petitioning	1.119	0.347	3.222	0.001
Wartime_Exposure_Violence	-2.468	1.267	-1.947	0.052
Ideology	-1.709	0.227	-7.533	0.000
Education	0.320	0.213	1.500	0.134
Gender	0.917	0.953	0.963	0.336
Age	-0.089	0.036	-2.499	0.013
Household_Income	-1.851	0.578	-3.201	0.001

**Table 3:** OLS Model (DV: Feeling Thermometer toward Ex-Combatants)

<b>Term</b>	<b>Estimate</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>Statistic</b>	<b>p-value</b>
Land_Redistribution	3.236	0.307	10.550	0.000
Taxation	0.943	0.315	2.998	0.003
Protest	0.896	0.373	2.406	0.016
State_Petitioning	-0.384	0.366	-1.050	0.294
Wartime_Exposure_Violence	-0.621	1.337	-0.465	0.642
Ideology	-2.388	0.238	-10.021	0.000
Education	0.087	0.223	0.390	0.696
Gender	-0.869	1.002	-0.867	0.386
Age	-0.077	0.038	-2.041	0.041
Household_Income	-2.218	0.607	-3.653	0.000

**Table 4:** OLS Model (DV: Ex-Combatant Victim Blaming)

<b>Term</b>	<b>Estimate</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>Statistic</b>	<b>p-value</b>
Land_Redistribution	-0.123	0.022	-5.665	0.000
Taxation	0.019	0.022	0.858	0.391
Protest	-0.053	0.026	-1.998	0.046
State_Petitioning	-0.009	0.026	-0.347	0.729
Wartime_Exposure_Violence	0.311	0.095	3.284	0.001
Ideology	0.198	0.017	11.703	0.000
Education	-0.009	0.016	-0.567	0.571
Gender	0.013	0.071	0.176	0.860
Age	-0.002	0.003	-0.630	0.528
Household_Income	0.070	0.043	1.627	0.104

**Table 5:** OLS Model (DV: Social Leader Victim Blaming)

<b>Term</b>	<b>Estimate</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>Statistic</b>	<b>p-value</b>
Land_Redistribution	-0.058	0.018	-3.237	0.001
Taxation	-0.001	0.018	-0.058	0.953
Protest	-0.124	0.022	-5.712	0.000
State_Petitioning	-0.059	0.021	-2.754	0.006
Wartime_Exposure_Violence	0.310	0.078	3.969	0.000
Ideology	0.113	0.014	8.082	0.000
Education	-0.007	0.013	-0.564	0.573
Gender	0.093	0.059	1.589	0.112
Age	0.003	0.002	1.347	0.178
Household_Income	0.022	0.036	0.629	0.529

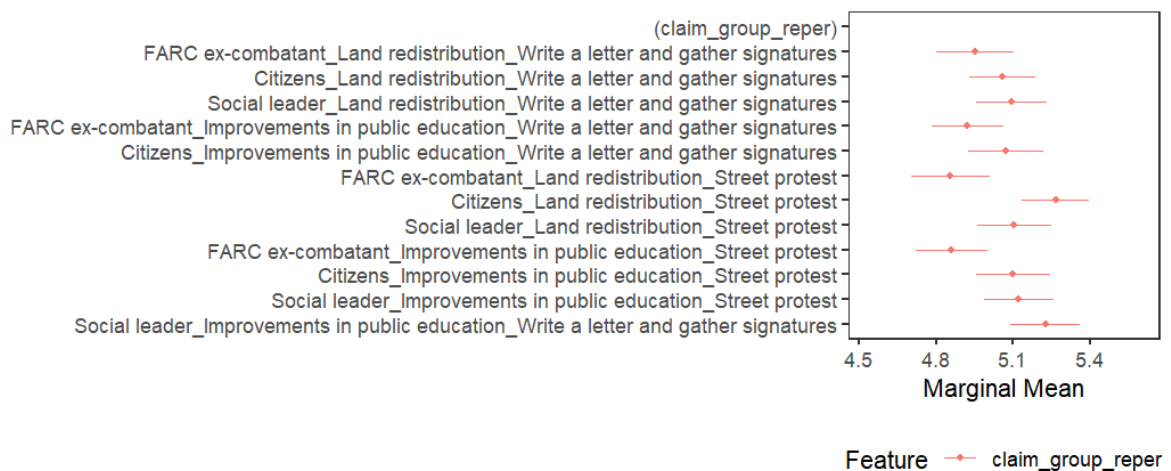
**Table 6:** OLS Model (DV: Peace Agreement Strengthens Democracy)

Term	Estimate	Std. Error	Statistic	p-value
Land_Redistribution	0.261	0.020	12.907	0.000
Taxation	0.065	0.021	3.110	0.002
Protest	0.052	0.025	2.126	0.034
State_Petitioning	-0.001	0.024	-0.023	0.982
Wartime_Exposure_Violence	-0.162	0.088	-1.836	0.067
Ideology	-0.126	0.016	-8.031	0.000
Education	0.007	0.015	0.474	0.635
Gender	0.069	0.066	1.047	0.295
Age	-0.002	0.002	-0.659	0.510
Household_Income	-0.210	0.040	-5.228	0.000

**Table 7:** OLS Model (DV: Predisposition to Participate in Peace Implementation)

Term	Estimate	Std. Error	Statistic	p-value
Land_Redistribution	0.202	0.023	8.626	0.000
Taxation	0.073	0.024	3.026	0.003
Protest	0.175	0.028	6.157	0.000
State_petitioning	-0.038	0.028	-1.356	0.175
Wartime_Exposure_Violence	0.476	0.102	4.652	0.000
Ideology	-0.099	0.018	-5.426	0.000
Education	0.022	0.017	1.290	0.197
Gender	0.219	0.077	2.849	0.004
Age	-0.008	0.003	-2.695	0.007
Household_Income	0.010	0.047	0.207	0.836

## 4 Second-Stage Survey: Conjoint Experiment Results

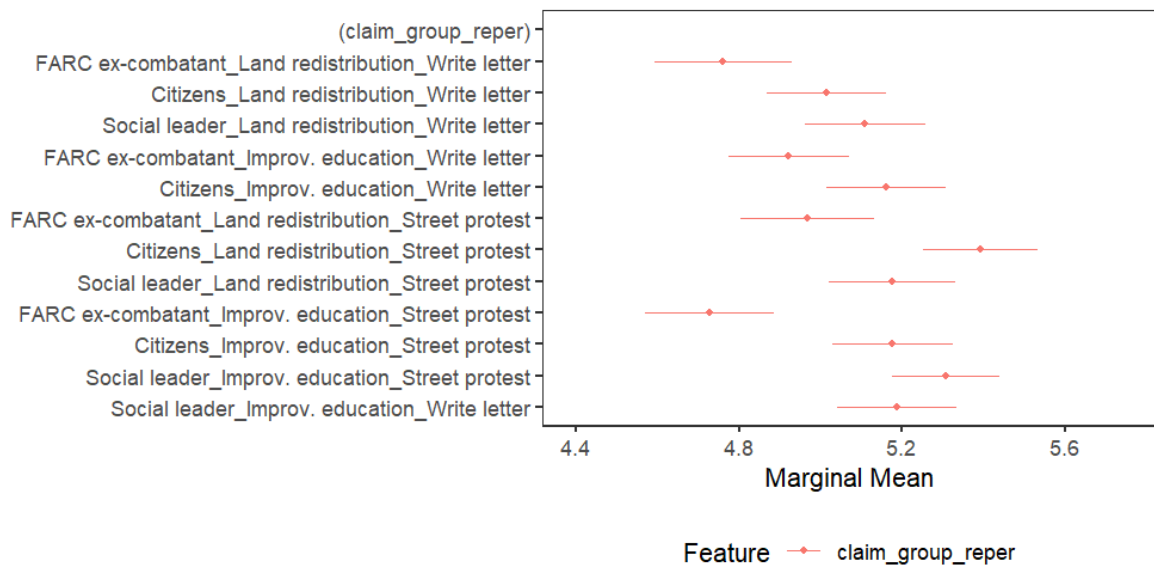
**Figure 8:** The Marginal Mean Effects of Empathic Concern



**Figure 9: Average Marginal Component Effects of Empathic Concern**



**Figure 10: The Marginal Mean Effects of Justice-Seeking Behavioral Predisposition**



**Figure 11: Average Marginal Component Effects of Empathic Concern**

