

Online Appendix

When Mobilizing for Redistribution Becomes Subversive: Citizen Justification of Violence Toward Grassroots Activists in Post-Accord Colombia

March 23, 2026

1 Example of Elite Stigmatizing Narratives against Grassroots Activists in Colombia

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. The image accompanying the post shows members of the Indigenous movement *Guardia Indígena* is only holding traditional batons during a peaceful demonstration.

2 Two-Wave Survey Panel

We pre-registered the experiment on the Open Science Framework prior to data collection.¹ In addition, the Office of Research Compliance at the University of Notre Dame determined that this project was exempt from human subjects research regulations on August 17, 2023 (Protocol 23-05-7888). Prior to administering the two surveys, respondents were presented with an informed consent form that briefly described the study and emphasized that participation was entirely voluntary and that they could withdraw at any time.

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.² Approximately 48% of respondents belonged to the two lowest socioeconomic strata.

2.2 Dimensions in Conjoint Experiment

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

Figure 3: Varying Dimensions in the Conjoint Experiment

Dimension	Level
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

¹The pre-registered pre-analysis plan can be found in the following link: <https://osf.io/cqk9h/overview>

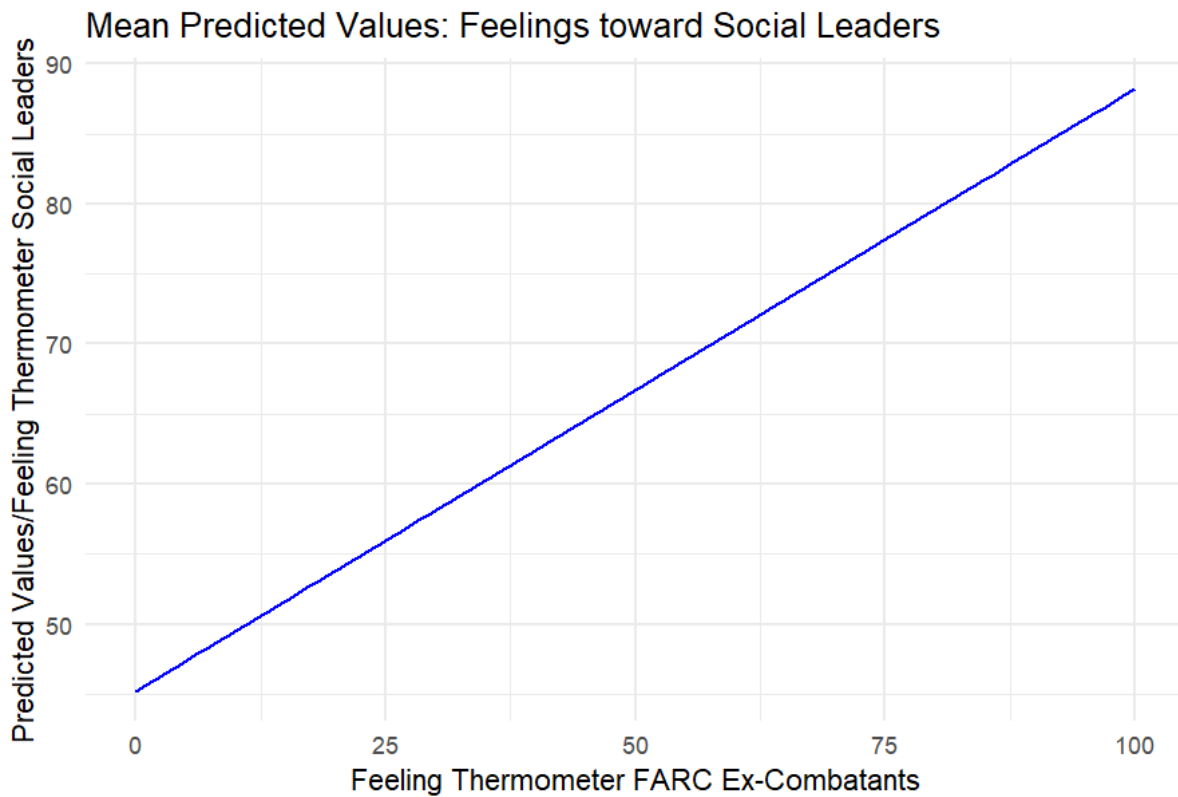
²Colombia follows an stratification system to categorize individuals’ income capacity for social policy distribution. We use this system for sampling purposes, seeking to ensure variation in socioeconomic background.

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

Variable	Descriptive Statistics
Gender	
Female	1,496 (50.8%)
Male	1,448 (49.2%)
Region	
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%)
Socioeconomic Stratum	
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%)
Age	
Mean (standard deviation)	39.7 (13.4)
Self-Identification	
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%)

3.2 Cognitive Association Between Groups

Figure 6: Mean Predicted Values: Feeling Thermometer toward Grassroots Activists



3.3 Social Mobilization as a Heuristic for Stigmatization and Violence Justification

Table 2: OLS Model (DV: Feeling Thermometer toward Grassroots Activists)

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)

Term	Estimate	Std. Error	Statistic	p-value
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)

Term	Estimate	Std. Error	Statistic	p-value
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: Grassroots Leader Victim Blaming)

Term	Estimate	Std. Error	Statistic	p-value
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

4 Second-Stage Survey: Conjoint Experiment Results

The following tables report the coefficient estimates for the marginal means and average marginal component effects presented in the main document.

4.1 Subversive Stigma (H1)

Table 6: Marginal Means (MM) for Subversive Stigma Index

Attribute	Level	Marginal mean	SE	95% CI
Group	Grassroots Activists	3.522	0.044	[3.436, 3.608]
Group	Citizens	3.548	0.044	[3.461, 3.635]
Group	FARC ex-combatant	4.448	0.044	[4.362, 4.535]
Gender	Male	3.844	0.040	[3.765, 3.923]
Gender	Female	3.828	0.040	[3.751, 3.906]
Ethnicity	Indigenous	3.849	0.039	[3.772, 3.927]
Ethnicity	White/Mestizo	3.824	0.040	[3.745, 3.903]
Claim	Public education quality	3.664	0.039	[3.587, 3.740]
Claim	Land redistribution	4.013	0.040	[3.934, 4.091]
Repertoire	Street protest	3.887	0.039	[3.810, 3.964]
Repertoire	State Petitioning	3.788	0.040	[3.711, 3.866]
Salience	Peace agreement salient	3.835	0.040	[3.757, 3.913]
Salience	No salient	3.838	0.039	[3.762, 3.914]

Table 7: Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCEs) for Subversive Stigma Index

Attribute	Level	AMCE	SE	95% CI
Group	Grassroots Activists	0.000		
Group	Citizens	0.016	0.050	[-0.083, 0.115]
Group	FARC ex-combatant	0.925	0.052	[0.822, 1.027]
Gender	Male	0.000		
Gender	Female	-0.016	0.043	[-0.099, 0.068]
Ethnicity	Indigenous	0.000		
Ethnicity	White/Mestizo	-0.012	0.042	[-0.095, 0.071]
Claim	Public education quality	0.000		
Claim	Land redistribution	0.359	0.042	[0.277, 0.441]
Repertoire	Street protest	0.000		
Repertoire	State Petitioning	-0.104	0.041	[-0.186, -0.023]
Salience	Peace agreement salient	0.000		
Salience	No salient	-0.001	0.041	[-0.082, 0.079]

Note: Reference categories have AMCE = 0 and no standard errors.

Table 8: Marginal Means (MM) for Subversive Stigma Index by Group, Claim, and Repertoire

Level	Marginal mean	SE	95% CI
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality_State Petitioning	3.293	0.076	[3.144, 3.441]
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality_Street protest	3.472	0.073	[3.330, 3.614]
Citizens_Public education quality_Street protest	3.398	0.079	[3.243, 3.554]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality_Street protest	4.324	0.073	[4.182, 4.467]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution_Street protest	3.703	0.080	[3.547, 3.860]
Citizens_Land redistribution_Street protest	3.873	0.079	[3.718, 4.028]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution_Street protest	4.588	0.076	[4.440, 4.736]
Citizens_Public education quality_State Petitioning	3.179	0.076	[3.031, 3.328]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality_State Petitioning	4.298	0.076	[4.149, 4.446]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution_State Petitioning	3.638	0.076	[3.489, 3.788]
Citizens_Land redistribution_State Petitioning	3.722	0.075	[3.575, 3.869]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution_State Petitioning	4.597	0.078	[4.444, 4.750]

Table 9: Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCEs) for Subversive Stigma Index by Group, Claim, and Repertoire

Level	AMCE	SE	95% CI
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality_State Petitioning	0.000		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality_Street protest	0.180	0.099	[-0.014, 0.373]
Citizens_Public education quality_Street protest	0.106	0.101	[-0.092, 0.303]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality_Street protest	1.032	0.100	[0.836, 1.227]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution_Street protest	0.411	0.104	[0.207, 0.614]
Citizens_Land redistribution_Street protest	0.580	0.104	[0.376, 0.784]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution_Street protest	1.295	0.103	[1.094, 1.497]
Citizens_Public education quality_State Petitioning	-0.113	0.101	[-0.312, 0.085]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality_State Petitioning	1.005	0.102	[0.804, 1.206]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution_State Petitioning	0.346	0.101	[0.148, 0.543]
Citizens_Land redistribution_State Petitioning	0.429	0.102	[0.229, 0.629]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution_State Petitioning	1.304	0.103	[1.102, 1.506]

Note: Reference categories have AMCE = 0 and no standard errors.

4.2 Peace Agreement Salience (H2)

Table 10: Marginal Means (MM) for Subversive Stigma Index by Group and Peace Salience

Level	Marginal mean	SE	95% CI
Grassroots Activists_Peace agreement salient	3.526	0.056	[3.415, 3.636]
Citizens_Peace agreement salient	3.553	0.057	[3.441, 3.665]
FARC ex-combatant_Peace agreement salient	4.453	0.058	[4.340, 4.566]
Grassroots Activists_No salient	3.518	0.058	[3.404, 3.632]
Citizens_No salient	3.544	0.057	[3.432, 3.656]
FARC ex-combatant_No salient	4.444	0.055	[4.335, 4.552]

4.3 System-Justifying Attitudes (H3)

Table 11: Marginal Means (MM) for System Justification Index by Group, Claim, and Reper-toire

Level	Marginal mean	SE	95% CI
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality_State Petitioning	3.275	0.080	[3.118, 3.432]
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality_Street protest	3.275	0.074	[3.129, 3.421]
Citizens_Public education quality_Street protest	3.320	0.082	[3.158, 3.481]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality_Street protest	3.895	0.078	[3.743, 4.048]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution_Street protest	3.645	0.082	[3.486, 3.805]
Citizens_Land redistribution_Street protest	3.838	0.085	[3.672, 4.003]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution_Street protest	4.363	0.079	[4.209, 4.518]
Citizens_Public education quality_State Petitioning	3.081	0.078	[2.928, 3.234]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality_State Petitioning	4.006	0.079	[3.851, 4.161]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution_State Petitioning	3.534	0.081	[3.375, 3.693]
Citizens_Land redistribution_State Petitioning	3.663	0.076	[3.514, 3.812]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution_State Petitioning	4.356	0.084	[4.190, 4.521]

Table 12: Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCEs) for System Justification Index by Group, Claim, and Repertoire

Level	AMCE	SE	95% CI
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality_State Petitioning	0.000		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality_Street protest	-0.000	0.104	[-0.203, 0.203]
Citizens_Public education quality_Street protest	0.045	0.107	[-0.165, 0.255]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality_Street protest	0.621	0.105	[0.415, 0.827]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution_Street protest	0.371	0.108	[0.160, 0.582]
Citizens_Land redistribution_Street protest	0.563	0.110	[0.346, 0.779]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution_Street protest	1.089	0.109	[0.875, 1.303]
Citizens_Public education quality_State Petitioning	-0.194	0.107	[-0.404, 0.017]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality_State Petitioning	0.731	0.106	[0.523, 0.940]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution_State Petitioning	0.260	0.107	[0.050, 0.469]
Citizens_Land redistribution_State Petitioning	0.388	0.105	[0.183, 0.594]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution_State Petitioning	1.081	0.110	[0.865, 1.297]

4.4 Violence Justification (H4)

Table 13: Marginal Means (MM) for Violence Justification Index by Group, Claim, and Repertoire

Level	Marginal mean	SE	95% CI
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality_State Petitioning	3.415	0.076	[3.267, 3.563]
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality_Street protest	3.520	0.076	[3.370, 3.669]
Citizens_Public education quality_Street protest	3.686	0.081	[3.526, 3.845]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality_Street protest	4.290	0.070	[4.152, 4.428]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution_Street protest	3.681	0.084	[3.517, 3.846]
Citizens_Land redistribution_Street protest	3.764	0.082	[3.603, 3.925]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution_Street protest	4.442	0.074	[4.297, 4.588]
Citizens_Public education quality_State Petitioning	3.425	0.078	[3.272, 3.578]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality_State Petitioning	4.310	0.072	[4.168, 4.452]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution_State Petitioning	3.621	0.080	[3.465, 3.777]
Citizens_Land redistribution_State Petitioning	3.797	0.076	[3.648, 3.946]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution_State Petitioning	4.425	0.082	[4.264, 4.585]

Table 14: Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCEs) for Violence Justification Index by Group, Claim, and Repertoire

Level	AMCE	SE	95% CI
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality_State Petitioning	0.000		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality_Street protest	0.105	0.101	[-0.092, 0.302]
Citizens_Public education quality_Street protest	0.271	0.101	[0.072, 0.470]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality_Street protest	0.875	0.100	[0.680, 1.070]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution_Street protest	0.267	0.106	[0.060, 0.474]
Citizens_Land redistribution_Street protest	0.349	0.105	[0.143, 0.555]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution_Street protest	1.027	0.102	[0.827, 1.228]
Citizens_Public education quality_State Petitioning	0.010	0.104	[-0.194, 0.214]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality_State Petitioning	0.895	0.100	[0.699, 1.091]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution_State Petitioning	0.206	0.102	[0.007, 0.405]
Citizens_Land redistribution_State Petitioning	0.382	0.102	[0.183, 0.581]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution_State Petitioning	1.010	0.106	[0.802, 1.217]

4.5 Empathic Concern

The below figures report results for empathic concern, which was pre-registered as an indicator for victim justification. The marginal means reveal that variation across experimental conditions is relatively limited compared to other dependent variables, as it spans a narrower range at higher values (from around 4.8 to 5.4 points on a 1-7 scale). Respondents express concern about assassinations of either grassroots activists or ex-combatants at moderate levels. However, as AMCEs demonstrate, rebel background remains a significant factor in shaping individuals' empathy toward assassinated activists. Similarly, we do not find that land redistribution significantly triggers lower empathic concern for social leaders or undisclosed citizens.

Figure 7: The Marginal Mean Effects of Empathic Concern

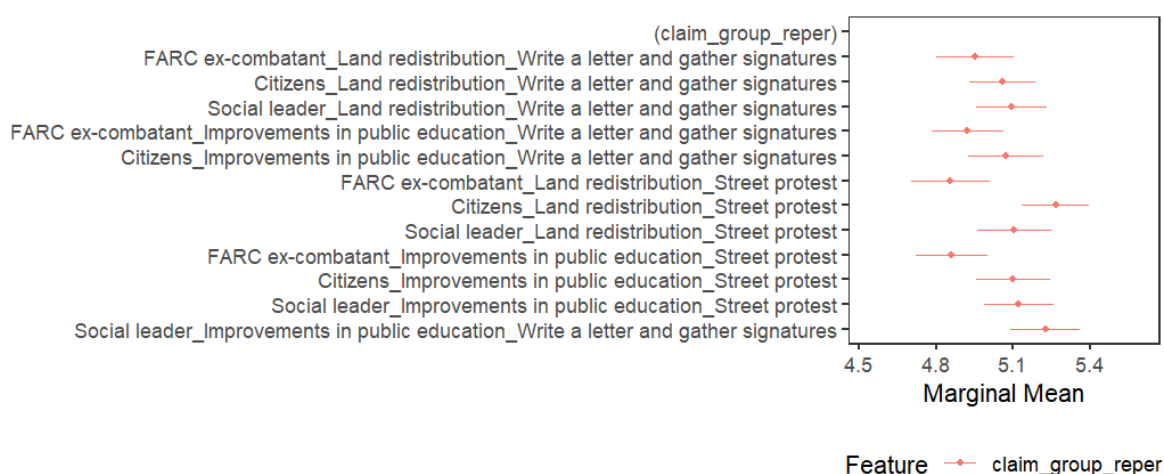
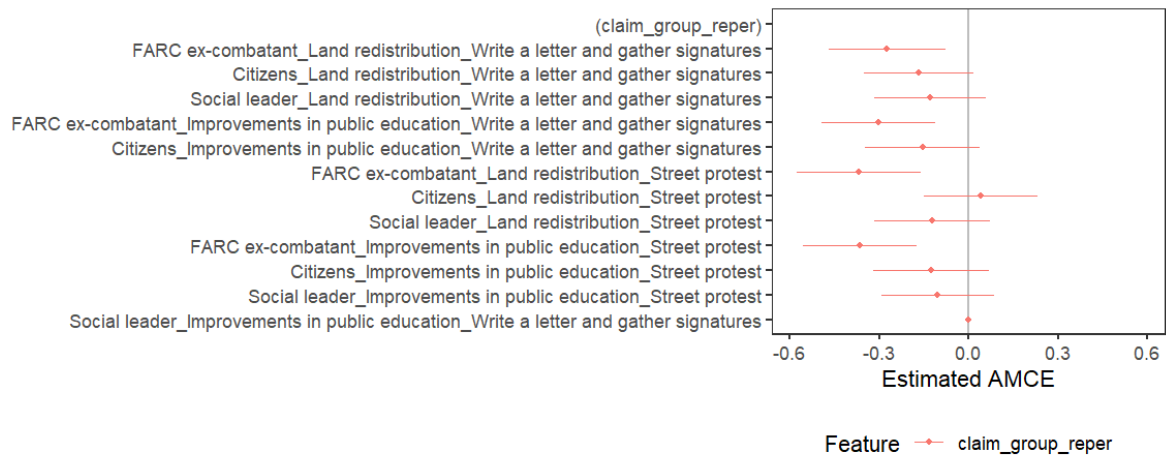


Figure 8: Average Marginal Component Effects of Empathic Concern



4.6 Justice-Seeking Behavioral Predisposition

Similarly, the results for behavioral predispositions show that respondents are less inclined to advocate for criminal prosecution in cases involving the assassination of ex-combatants compared to grassroots activists. However, these results do not suggest strong support for seeking justice in cases involving grassroots activists. Baseline values for justice-seeking predisposition range from 4.6 to 5.4 on a 1–7 scale across groups. That is, ex-combatants receive comparatively lower support for justice-seeking actions, while grassroots leaders or citizens with undisclosed identity do not receive high levels of demand for judicial investigations—as mean support remains below 5.4 points on the scale.

Figure 9: The Marginal Mean Effects of Justice-Seeking Behavioral Predisposition

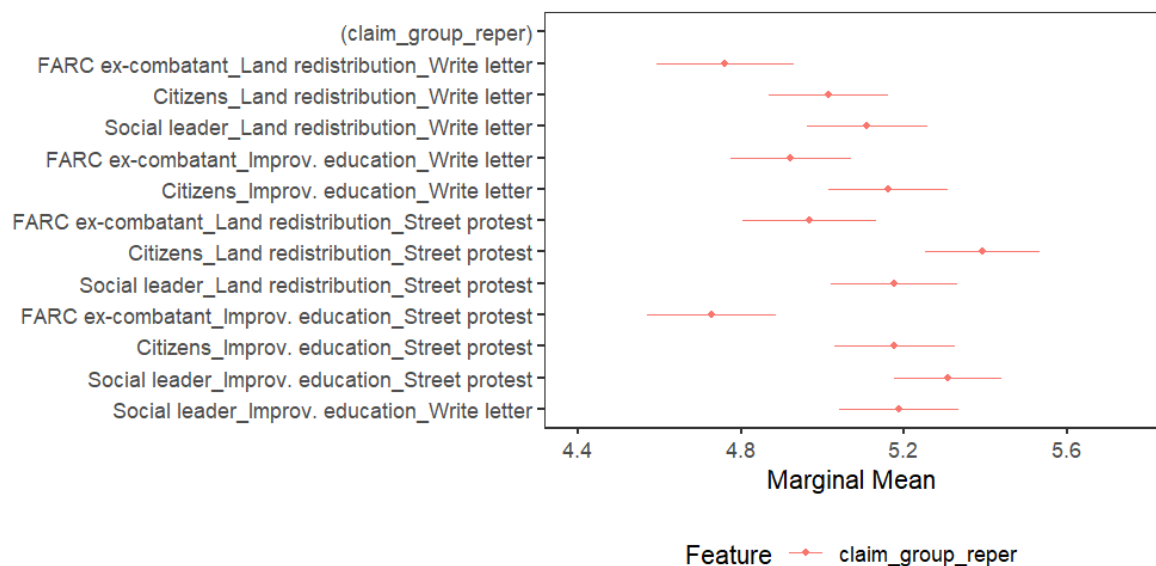
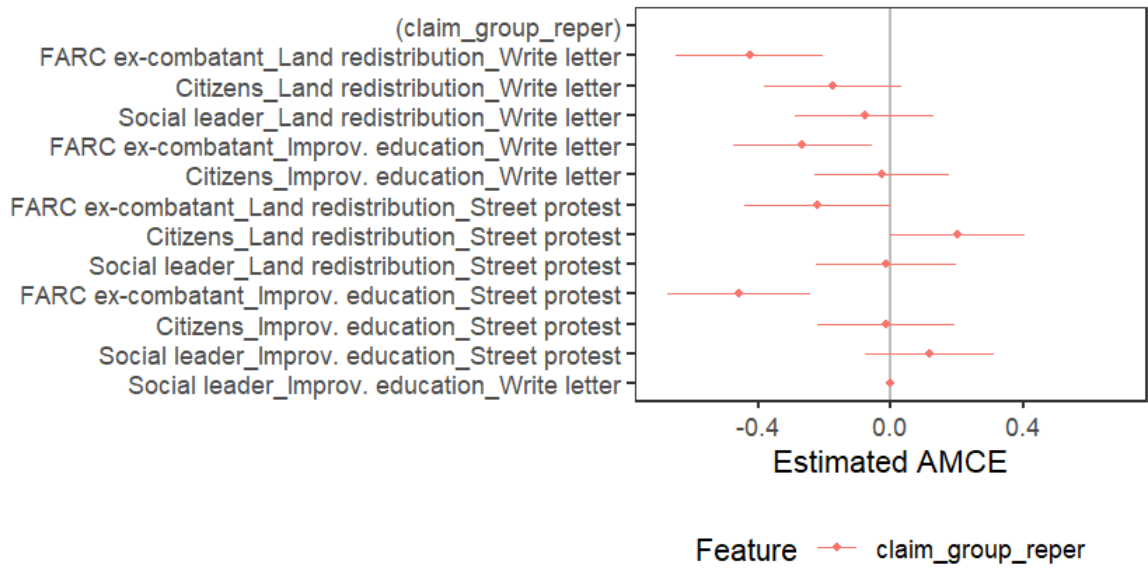


Figure 10: Average Marginal Component Effects of Empathic Concern



5 Heterogeneous Treatment Effects

The following figures and tables report the effects on subversive stigma, system-justifying motives, and violence-justifying attitudes by socio-economic status, wartime victimization, and ideological leanings. The upper plots illustrate the main effects across groups and the lower plots show the observed results between groups are statistically significant.

5.1 Socio-Economic Status

Figure 11: Main Effects on Subversive Stigma (upper) and Statistical Significance Across Groups (lower)

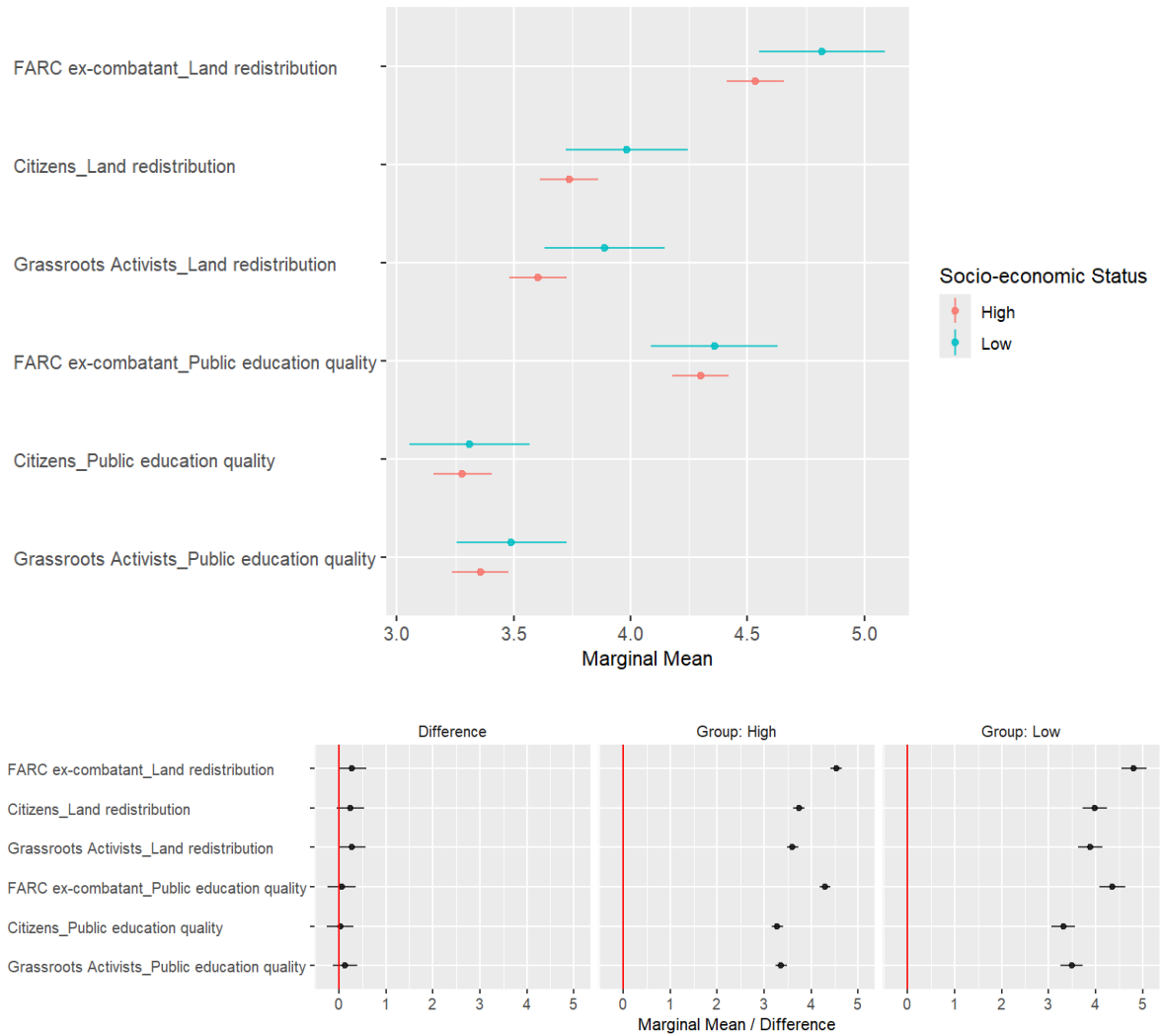


Table 15: Marginal Means and Differences by Socioeconomic Status: Subversive Stigma

Attribute	Estimate	95% CI
Panel A: High		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	3.357	[3.235, 3.479]
Citizens_Public education quality	3.280	[3.156, 3.405]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	4.298	[4.180, 4.417]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	3.603	[3.480, 3.726]
Citizens_Land redistribution	3.738	[3.614, 3.863]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	4.535	[4.412, 4.658]
Panel B: Low		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	3.490	[3.256, 3.725]
Citizens_Public education quality	3.313	[3.056, 3.570]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	4.359	[4.088, 4.630]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	3.889	[3.630, 4.147]
Citizens_Land redistribution	3.983	[3.721, 4.245]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	4.818	[4.549, 5.088]
Panel C: Difference		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	0.133	[-0.131, 0.398]
Citizens_Public education quality	0.033	[-0.253, 0.318]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	0.061	[-0.235, 0.356]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	0.286	[-0.000, 0.572]
Citizens_Land redistribution	0.245	[-0.045, 0.535]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	0.284	[-0.012, 0.579]

Figure 12: Main Effects on System-Justifying Attitudes (upper) and Statistical Significance Across Groups (lower)

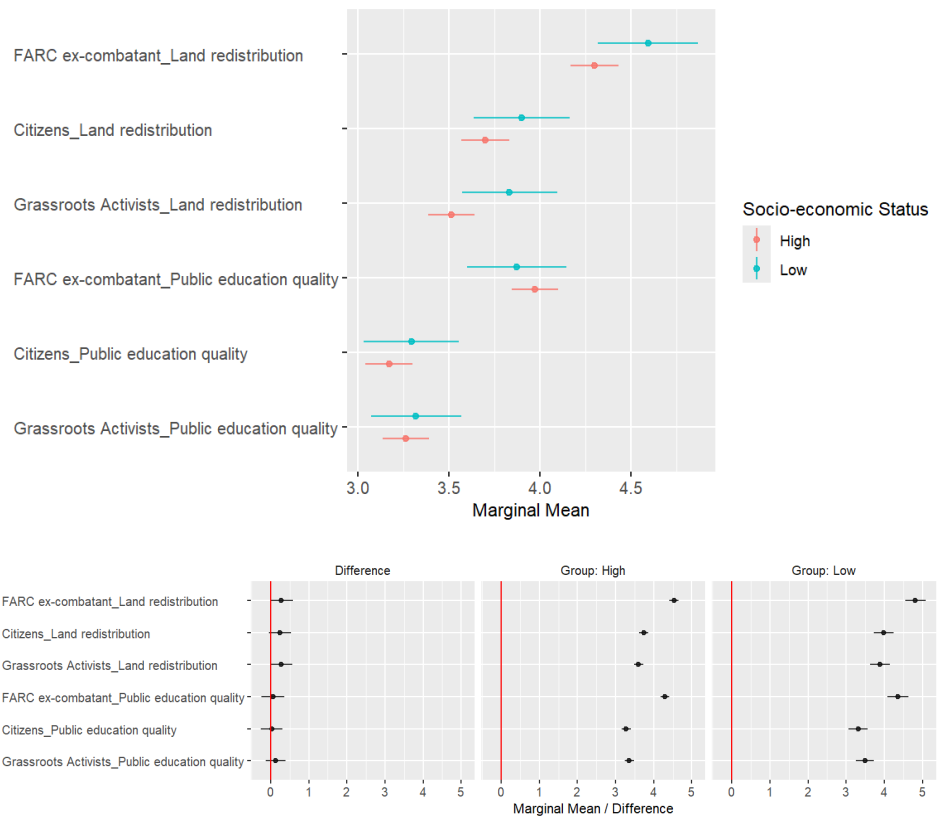


Table 16: Marginal Means and Differences by Socioeconomic Status: System Justification

Attribute	Estimate	95% CI
Panel A: High		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	3.263	[3.137, 3.389]
Citizens_Public education quality	3.170	[3.042, 3.298]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	3.974	[3.847, 4.100]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	3.514	[3.384, 3.643]
Citizens_Land redistribution	3.700	[3.569, 3.830]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	4.300	[4.169, 4.430]
Panel B: Low		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	3.319	[3.072, 3.566]
Citizens_Public education quality	3.293	[3.032, 3.555]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	3.872	[3.600, 4.145]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	3.834	[3.572, 4.096]
Citizens_Land redistribution	3.900	[3.635, 4.165]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	4.594	[4.317, 4.871]
Panel C: Difference		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	0.056	[-0.222, 0.333]
Citizens_Public education quality	0.123	[-0.168, 0.414]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	-0.101	[-0.401, 0.199]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	0.320*	[0.028, 0.613]
Citizens_Land redistribution	0.200	[-0.095, 0.495]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	0.294	[-0.012, 0.600]

Figure 13: Main Effects on Violence-Justifying Attitudes (upper) and Statistical Significance Across Groups (lower)

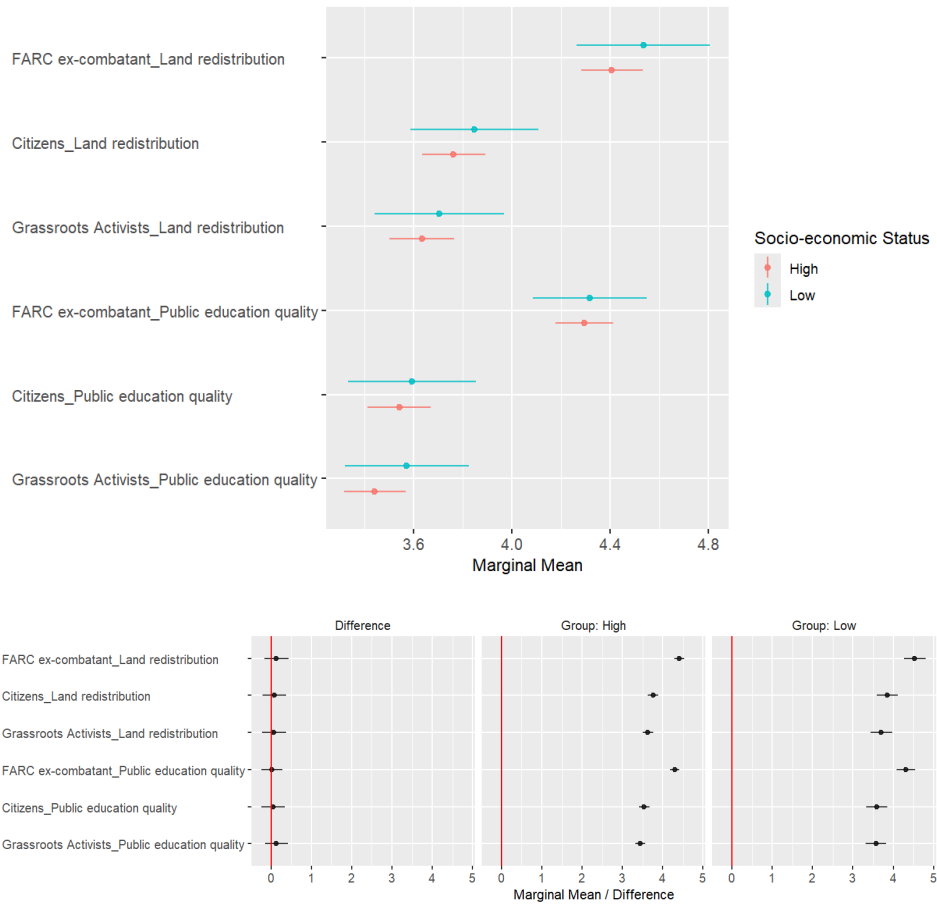


Table 17: Marginal Means and Differences by Socioeconomic Status: Violence Justification

Attribute	Estimate	95% CI
Panel A: High		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	3.442	[3.317, 3.567]
Citizens_Public education quality	3.541	[3.413, 3.670]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	4.296	[4.178, 4.413]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	3.634	[3.502, 3.765]
Citizens_Land redistribution	3.762	[3.633, 3.891]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	4.407	[4.281, 4.534]
Panel B: Low		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	3.572	[3.320, 3.825]
Citizens_Public education quality	3.594	[3.334, 3.854]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	4.317	[4.086, 4.548]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	3.705	[3.442, 3.969]
Citizens_Land redistribution	3.848	[3.588, 4.107]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	4.536	[4.264, 4.808]
Panel C: Difference		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	0.130	[-0.151, 0.412]
Citizens_Public education quality	0.053	[-0.238, 0.343]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	0.022	[-0.238, 0.281]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	0.072	[-0.223, 0.366]
Citizens_Land redistribution	0.086	[-0.204, 0.375]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	0.128	[-0.172, 0.428]

5.2 Wartime Victimization

Figure 14: Main Effects on Subversive Stigma (upper) and Statistical Significance Across Groups (lower)

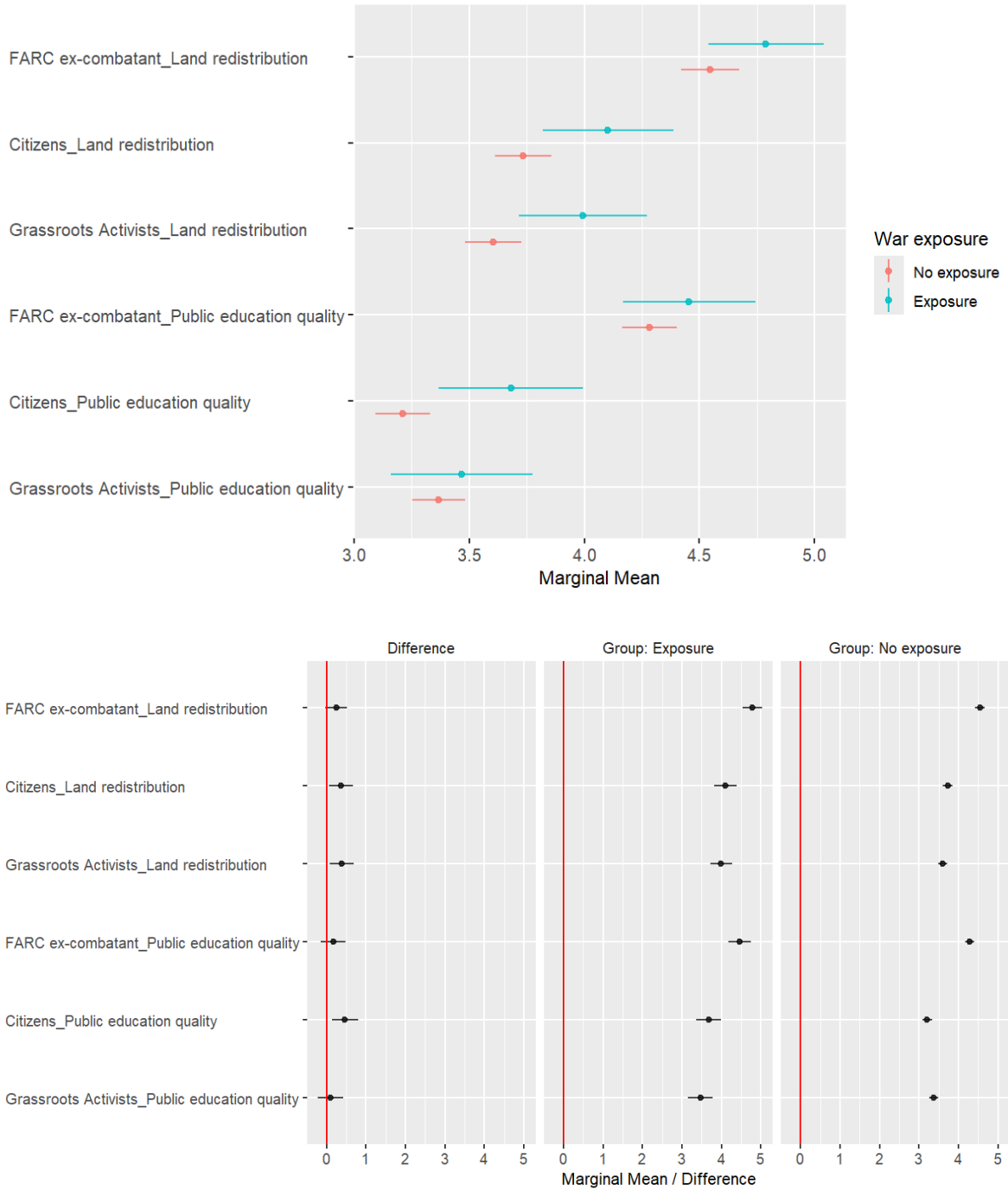


Table 18: Marginal Means and Differences by War Exposure: Subversive Stigma

Attribute	Estimate	95% CI
Panel A: No Exposure		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	3.368	[3.253, 3.483]
Citizens_Public education quality	3.212	[3.093, 3.331]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	4.282	[4.164, 4.401]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	3.604	[3.482, 3.726]
Citizens_Land redistribution	3.735	[3.611, 3.858]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	4.546	[4.421, 4.672]
Panel B: Exposure		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	3.467	[3.160, 3.773]
Citizens_Public education quality	3.681	[3.368, 3.994]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	4.455	[4.168, 4.743]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	3.995	[3.717, 4.272]
Citizens_Land redistribution	4.103	[3.820, 4.386]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	4.789	[4.539, 5.040]
Panel C: Difference		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	0.099	[-0.229, 0.426]
Citizens_Public education quality	0.470**	[0.135, 0.805]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	0.173	[-0.138, 0.484]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	0.391*	[0.088, 0.694]
Citizens_Land redistribution	0.368*	[0.059, 0.677]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	0.243	[-0.037, 0.523]

Figure 15: Main Effects on System-Justifying Attitudes (upper) and Statistical Significance Across Groups (lower)

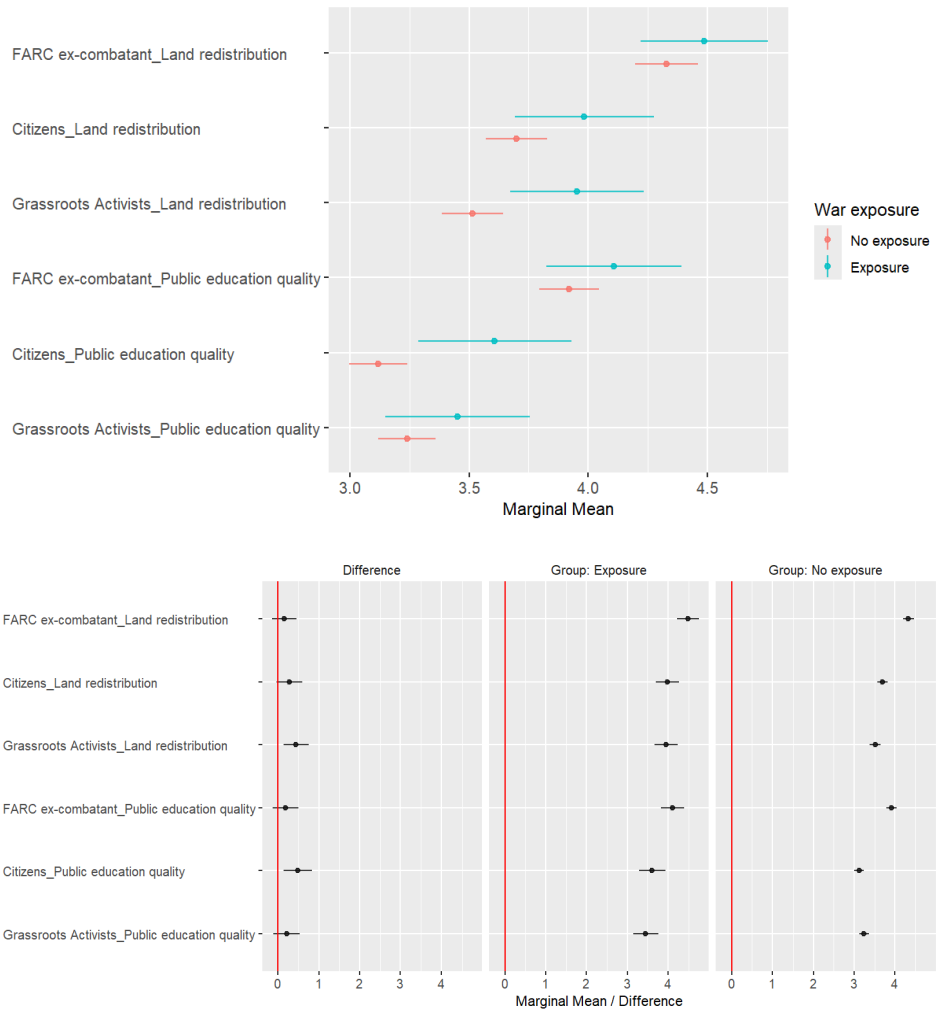


Table 19: Marginal Means and Differences by War Exposure: System Justification

Attribute	Estimate	95% CI
Panel A: No Exposure		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	3.240	[3.119, 3.360]
Citizens_Public education quality	3.120	[2.998, 3.242]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	3.920	[3.795, 4.046]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	3.515	[3.387, 3.643]
Citizens_Land redistribution	3.699	[3.571, 3.827]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	4.330	[4.198, 4.462]
Panel B: Exposure		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	3.452	[3.147, 3.756]
Citizens_Public education quality	3.608	[3.285, 3.931]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	4.108	[3.823, 4.392]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	3.952	[3.672, 4.232]
Citizens_Land redistribution	3.983	[3.692, 4.274]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	4.486	[4.219, 4.753]
Panel C: Difference		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	0.212	[-0.115, 0.539]
Citizens_Public education quality	0.488**	[0.143, 0.834]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	0.187	[-0.124, 0.498]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	0.437**	[0.129, 0.745]
Citizens_Land redistribution	0.284	[-0.034, 0.602]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	0.156	[-0.142, 0.454]

Figure 16: Main Effects on Violence-Justifying Attitudes (upper) and Statistical Significance Across Groups (lower)

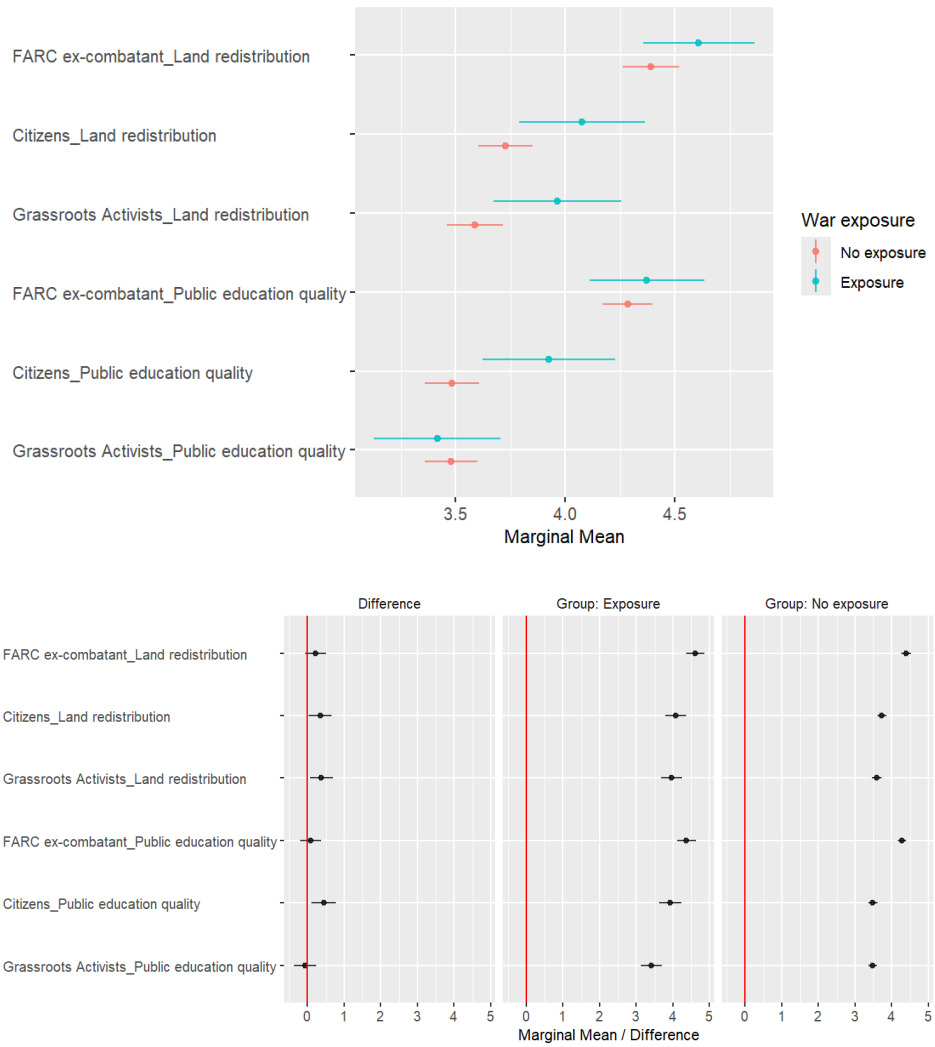


Table 20: Marginal Means and Differences by War Exposure: Violence Justification

Attribute	Estimate	95% CI
Panel A: No Exposure		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	3.479	[3.358, 3.600]
Citizens_Public education quality	3.482	[3.358, 3.606]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	4.285	[4.171, 4.399]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	3.587	[3.458, 3.715]
Citizens_Land redistribution	3.727	[3.601, 3.853]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	4.392	[4.264, 4.520]
Panel B: Exposure		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	3.416	[3.127, 3.705]
Citizens_Public education quality	3.925	[3.622, 4.227]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	4.372	[4.110, 4.635]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	3.965	[3.674, 4.256]
Citizens_Land redistribution	4.078	[3.791, 4.365]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	4.610	[4.355, 4.864]
Panel C: Difference		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	-0.063	[-0.377, 0.251]
Citizens_Public education quality	0.442**	[0.115, 0.769]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	0.087	[-0.199, 0.373]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	0.379*	[0.060, 0.697]
Citizens_Land redistribution	0.351*	[0.037, 0.665]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	0.217	[-0.067, 0.502]

5.3 Ideological Leanings

Figure 17: Main Effects on Subversive Stigma (upper) and Statistical Significance Across Groups (lower)

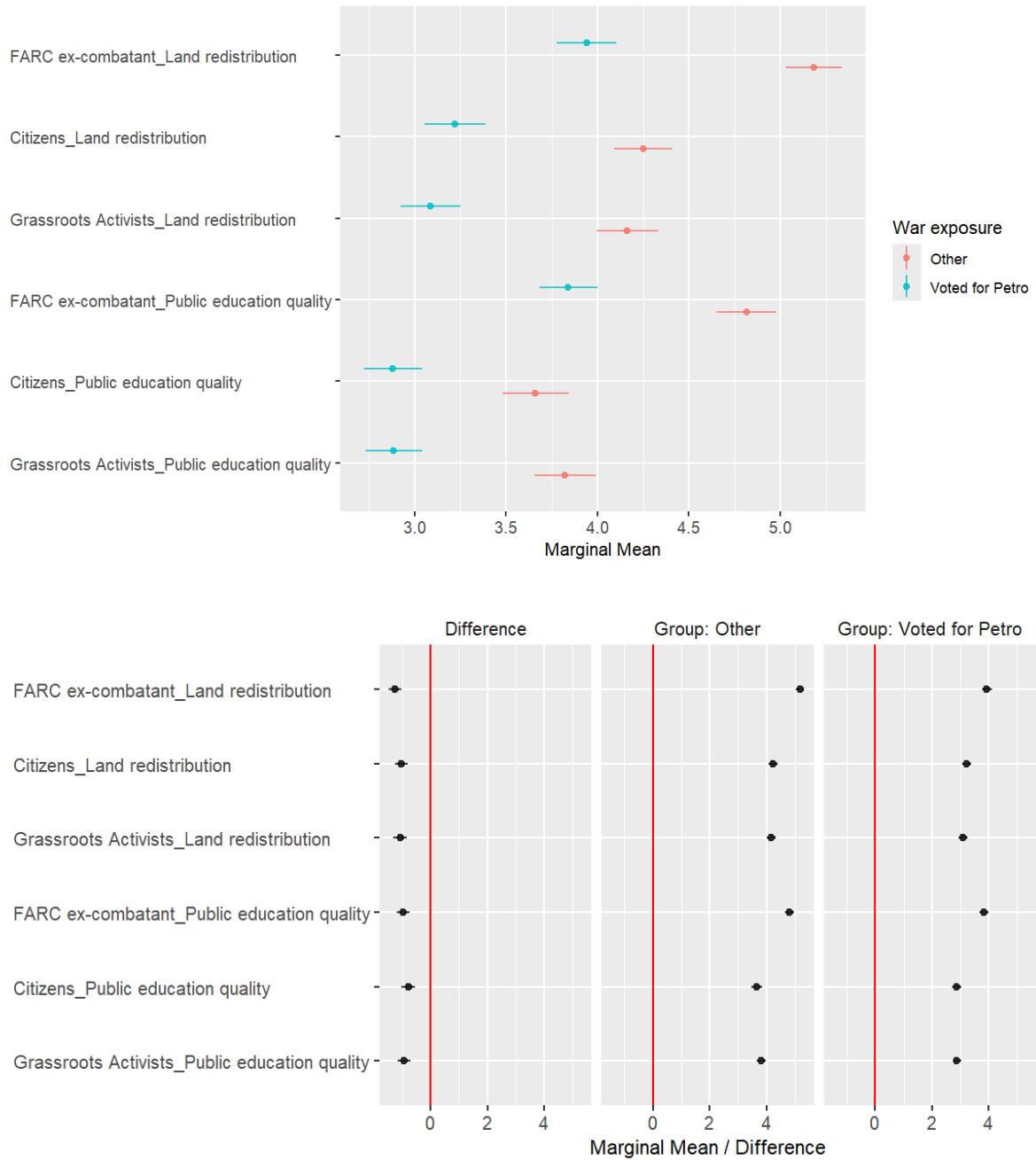


Table 21: Marginal Means and Differences by Ideology (Vote Choice): Subversive Stigma

Attribute	Estimate	95% CI
Panel A: Other		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	3.822	[3.654, 3.990]
Citizens_Public education quality	3.662	[3.482, 3.842]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	4.815	[4.652, 4.979]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	4.164	[3.997, 4.331]
Citizens_Land redistribution	4.250	[4.090, 4.409]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	5.184	[5.032, 5.336]
Panel B: Voted for Petro		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	2.887	[2.732, 3.042]
Citizens_Public education quality	2.882	[2.724, 3.041]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	3.841	[3.683, 3.999]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	3.089	[2.926, 3.253]
Citizens_Land redistribution	3.221	[3.055, 3.388]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	3.942	[3.779, 4.105]
Panel C: Difference		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	-0.934***	[-1.163, -0.706]
Citizens_Public education quality	-0.780***	[-1.020, -0.540]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	-0.974***	[-1.201, -0.747]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	-1.075***	[-1.308, -0.841]
Citizens_Land redistribution	-1.029***	[-1.259, -0.798]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	-1.242***	[-1.465, -1.018]

Figure 18: Main Effects on System-Justifying Attitudes (upper) and Statistical Significance Across Groups (lower)

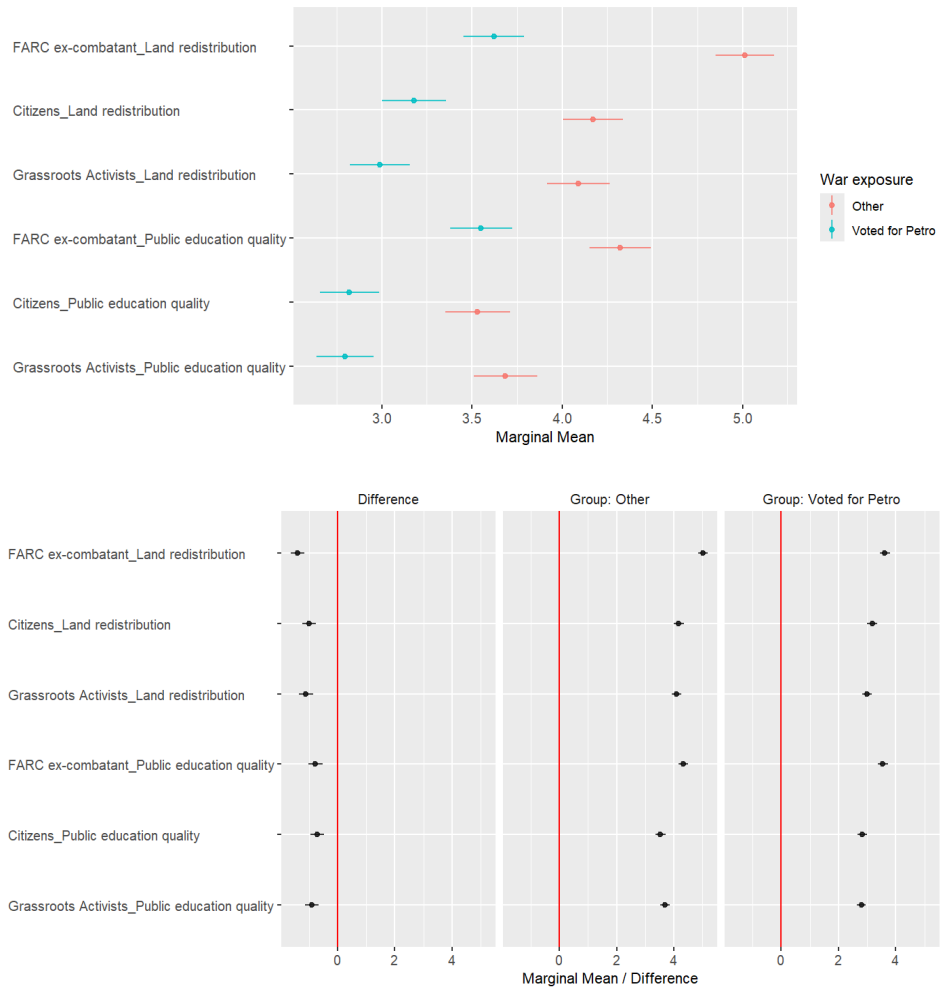


Table 22: Marginal Means and Differences by Ideology (Vote Choice): System Justification

Attribute	Estimate	95% CI
Panel A: Other		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	3.686	[3.511, 3.862]
Citizens_Public education quality	3.532	[3.351, 3.713]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	4.322	[4.151, 4.492]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	4.089	[3.915, 4.264]
Citizens_Land redistribution	4.172	[4.005, 4.339]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	5.014	[4.852, 5.176]
Panel B: Voted for Petro		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	2.796	[2.637, 2.954]
Citizens_Public education quality	2.821	[2.658, 2.985]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	3.551	[3.378, 3.724]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	2.990	[2.823, 3.157]
Citizens_Land redistribution	3.180	[3.003, 3.358]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	3.622	[3.454, 3.790]
Panel C: Difference		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	-0.891***	[-1.127, -0.654]
Citizens_Public education quality	-0.711***	[-0.954, -0.467]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	-0.770***	[-1.013, -0.527]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	-1.100***	[-1.341, -0.858]
Citizens_Land redistribution	-0.992***	[-1.236, -0.748]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	-1.392***	[-1.626, -1.159]

Figure 19: Main Effects on Violence-Justifying Attitudes (upper) and Statistical Significance Across Groups (lower)

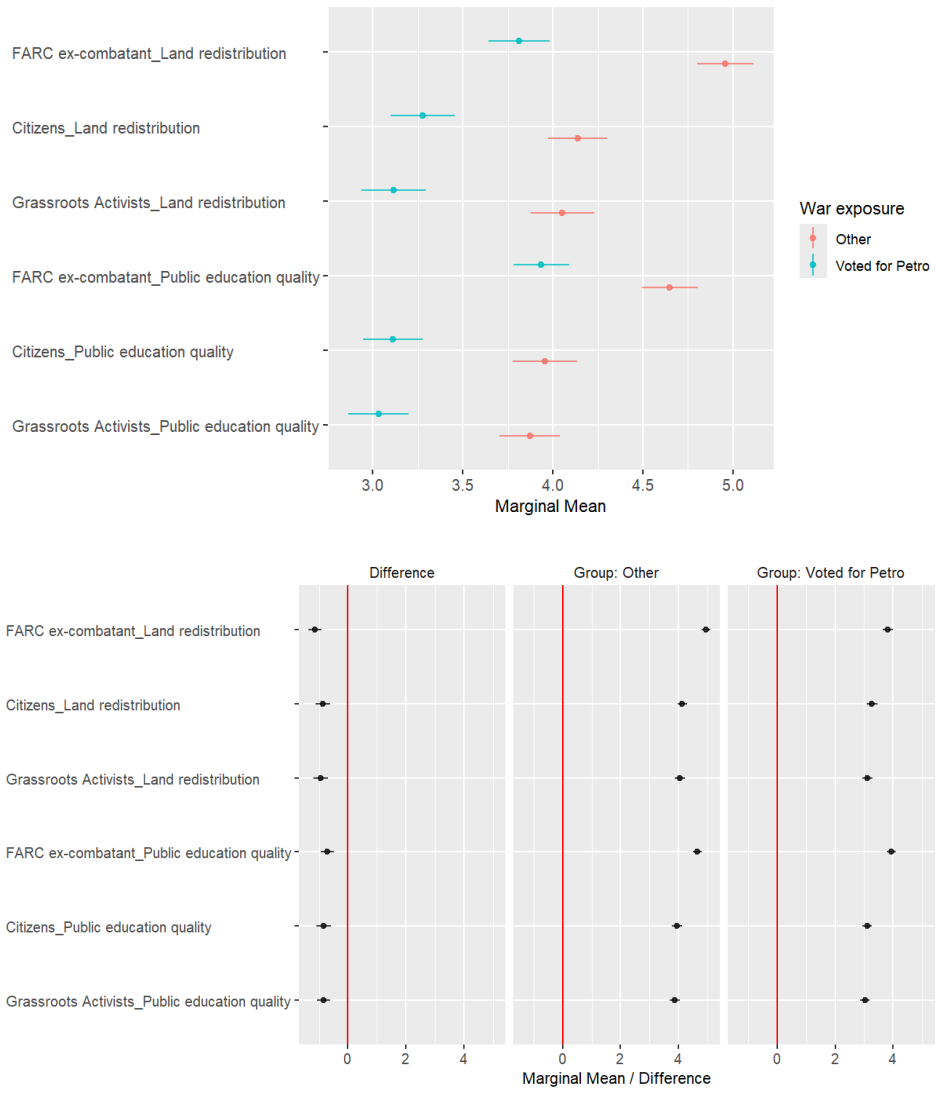


Table 23: Marginal Means and Differences by Ideology (Vote Choice): Violence Justification

Attribute	Estimate	95% CI
Panel A: Other		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	3.872	[3.705, 4.038]
Citizens_Public education quality	3.955	[3.776, 4.134]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	4.650	[4.495, 4.805]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	4.053	[3.878, 4.229]
Citizens_Land redistribution	4.138	[3.974, 4.301]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	4.958	[4.800, 5.115]
Panel B: Voted for Petro		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	3.032	[2.862, 3.201]
Citizens_Public education quality	3.112	[2.948, 3.276]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	3.936	[3.783, 4.089]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	3.117	[2.939, 3.295]
Citizens_Land redistribution	3.276	[3.097, 3.455]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	3.814	[3.645, 3.982]
Panel C: Difference		
Grassroots Activists_Public education quality	-0.840***	[-1.078, -0.602]
Citizens_Public education quality	-0.843***	[-1.086, -0.600]
FARC ex-combatant_Public education quality	-0.714***	[-0.932, -0.497]
Grassroots Activists_Land redistribution	-0.937***	[-1.187, -0.686]
Citizens_Land redistribution	-0.862***	[-1.104, -0.619]
FARC ex-combatant_Land redistribution	-1.144***	[-1.375, -0.913]