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## Class Warfare: Political Exclusion of the Poor and the Roots of Social-Revolutionary Terrorism, 1860-1950

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**Class Warfare: Political Exclusion of the Poor and the Roots  
of Social-Revolutionary Terrorism, 1860-1950**

**Appendix**

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**Australia, Oceania and Pacific:** Australia (91), Fiji (51), New Zealand (91), Papua New Guinea (51), Solomon Islands (51), Vanuatu (45)

**Caribbean:** Barbados (51), Cuba (91), Dominican Republic (91), Haiti (79), Jamaica (50), Trinidad and Tobago (51)

**Central America:** Costa Rica (91), El Salvador (60), Guatemala (91), Honduras (67), Mexico (91), Nicaragua (50), Panama (48)

**Central Asia:** Uzbekistan (9)

**East Asia:** China (91), Japan (91), Mongolia (40), North Korea (6), South Korea (91)

**Eastern Europe:** Bulgaria (64), Czech Republic (33), Hungary (91), Poland (36), Romania (91), Russia (91)

**North America:** Canada (91), United States of America (91)

**Northern Europe:** Denmark (91), Estonia (22), Finland (88), Iceland (51), Ireland (32), Latvia (20), Lithuania (22), Norway (91), Sweden (91), United Kingdom (91)

**South America:** Argentina (91), Bolivia (91), Brazil (91), Chile (91), Colombia (91), Ecuador(91), Guyana (51), Paraguay (91), Peru (90), Suriname (51), Uruguay (91), Venezuela (91)

**South Asia:** Afghanistan (91), Bhutan (51), India (70), Iran (51), Maldives (51), Nepal (91), Pakistan (4), Sri Lanka (51)

**South-East Asia:** Burma/Myanmar (91), Cambodia (51), Indonesia (91), Laos (51), Malaysia (20), Philippines (51), Singapore (51), Thailand (91), Timor-Leste (51)

**Southern Europe:** Albania (37), Greece (91), Italy (89), Malta (51), Montenegro (18), Portugal (91), Serbia (91), Spain (91)

**Western Asia:** Cyprus (51), Iraq (31), Israel (3), Jordan (29), Kuwait (51), Lebanon (32), Oman(51), Qatar (51), Saudi Arabia (62), Syria (31), Turkey (91), Yemen (33)

**Western Europe:** Austria (85), Belgium (91), France (91), Germany (87), Luxembourg (36),Netherlands (91), Switzerland (91)

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Notes: Number of yearly observations included in the main estimation sample in parentheses.

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### Country List by Geographic Region

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Political exclusion of the poor	0.318*** (0.078)	0.176** (0.072)	0.198** (0.093)	0.336*** (0.086)
Life expectancy	0.009*** (0.002)	0.006*** (0.002)	0.006** (0.002)	0.006*** (0.002)
Electoral democracy index		0.333* (0.194)	0.325 (0.232)	0.634*** (0.195)
Population	0.011*** (0.003)	0.010*** (0.003)	0.010*** (0.003)	0.011*** (0.003)
Regional discrimination	0.091* (0.050)	0.020 (0.057)	0.012 (0.070)	0.081 (0.056)
Domestic autonomy		-0.012 (0.011)	-0.016 (0.016)	-0.037** (0.015)
Regional electoral democracy index		-0.924*** (0.298)		
Regional domestic autonomy		0.145** (0.065)		
Regional life expectancy			-0.002 (0.003)	
Regional discrimination in proximate countries			-0.216* (0.122)	
Regional population			0.003*** (0.001)	
Terrorist groups active in proximate countries				-0.064* (0.037)
No. of Observations	6,766	6,472	6,472	6,472
No. of Countries	99	99	99	99
<i>First-Stage Regression Results</i>				
Regional Political Exclusion	0.434*** (0.077)	0.505*** (0.061)	0.325*** (0.071)	0.436*** (0.069)
First-Stage F-statistic	32.06	69.66	20.72	39.45
<i>Weak-Instrument Robust Inference</i>				
Anderson Rubin Test-Statistic p-value	(0.00)***	(0.05)**	(0.10)*	(0.00)***
Anderson-Rubin Confidence Set	[0.22; 0.55]	[0.06; 0.30]	[0.02; 0.38]	[0.22; 0.55]

Notes: Two-stage least squares estimation. Dependent variable is the number of active social revol terrorist groups. Coefficients are reported with Driscoll-Kraay standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\*, \*\*, denote statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10% level.

**Table A1: Further Instrumental-Variable Estimates**

	N*T	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Class exclusion civil liberties	6,472	0.341	1.357	-2.98	2.94
Unequal access to public services	3,997	0.923	1.356	-2.58	3.02
Unequal access to state jobs	3,997	0.627	1.395	-2.44	3.12
Unequal access to state business	3,966	0.658	1.311	-3.06	2.78
Class exclusion index	3,997	0.670	0.275	0.05	0.99
Educational equality	4,386	-1.011	1.424	-3.35	3.02
State ownership of economy	6,472	0.528	1.242	-4.19	2.96
Binary democracy measure	4,762	0.269	0.443	0.00	1.00
Participatory democracy index	6,461	0.136	0.142	0.00	0.66
Significant earthquake	6,472	0.127	0.334	0.00	1.00
Volcanic eruption	6,472	0.021	0.143	0.00	1.00

Notes: Additional variable definitions based on V-Dem V.10: *Class exclusion civil liberties*: Social class inequality with respect to civil liberty, negative index value from -4 (most equal) to 4 (most unequal); *Unequal access to public services/state jobs/state business*: Access distributed by socio-economic position, negative index value from -4 (most equal) to 4 (most unequal), available from 1900; *Class exclusion index*: Exclusion by socio-economic group, composite index based on the variables above and *political exclusion of the poor*, from 0 (most equal) to 1 (most unequal), available from 1900; *Educational equality*: Equality of access to high quality basic education, from -4 (unequal) to 4 (equal), available from 1900; *State ownership of economy*: Degree of state control over important sectors of the economy, from -4 (strong state control) to 4 (weak state control); *Binary democracy measure*: Indicator variable, equal to one for democratic. Data available online at <https://doi.org/10.23696/vdemds20>. Further sources: *Significant earthquake, volcanic eruption*: Indicator variables, equal to one if a significant earthquake or volcanic activity was recorded, based on data from the National Geophysical Data Center/World Data Service, available online at <https://doi.org/10.7289/V5TD9V7K>.

**Table A2: Summary Statistics and Operationalizations of Further Covariates**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Political exclusion of the poor	0.071*** (0.020)	0.071*** (0.020)	0.161*** (0.044)	0.043*** (0.017)
Life expectancy	0.004** (0.002)	0.004** (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)	0.005*** (0.002)
Electoral democracy index	0.083 (0.088)	0.083 (0.089)	0.240** (0.094)	-0.041 (0.081)
Population	0.009*** (0.003)	0.009*** (0.003)	0.003 (0.003)	0.009*** (0.003)
Regional discrimination	-0.033 (0.048)	-0.032 (0.048)	-0.389*** (0.101)	-0.028 (0.046)
Domestic autonomy	0.010*** (0.004)	0.011*** (0.004)	0.015 (0.013)	0.007 (0.005)
Earthquake	0.087*** (0.029)			
Volcanic eruption		-0.034 (0.032)		
Educational equality			0.035 (0.040)	
State ownership of economy				0.078*** (0.020)
No. of Observations	6,472	6,766	4,386	6,472
No. of Countries	99	99	98	99

Notes: Dependent variable is the number of active social revolutionary terrorist groups. Coefficients are reported with Driscoll-Kraay standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\*, \*\* and \* denote statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10% level.

**Table A3: Additional Control Variables**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Political exclusion of the poor	0.080*** (0.022)	0.074*** (0.021)	0.070*** (0.020)	0.015*** (0.006)	0.062*** (0.022)	0.080*** (0.024)	0.070*** (0.021)
Life expectancy	0.004** (0.002)	0.021*** (0.007)	0.004** (0.002)	0.000 (0.000)		0.005** (0.002)	0.004** (0.002)
Electoral democracy index	0.085 (0.087)	0.136 (0.085)	0.245 (0.209)	0.025 (0.022)	0.066 (0.089)		
Population	0.009*** (0.003)	0.009*** (0.003)	0.009*** (0.003)	0.001 (0.001)		0.012*** (0.003)	0.009*** (0.003)
Regional discrimination	-0.037 (0.050)	-0.041 (0.050)	-0.033 (0.048)	-0.010 (0.011)	-0.011 (0.051)	-0.050 (0.059)	-0.032 (0.048)
Domestic autonomy	0.012*** (0.004)	0.009** (0.004)	0.010** (0.004)	0.001 (0.001)	0.012*** (0.004)	0.009 (0.006)	0.012*** (0.004)
Life expectancy squared		-0.000*** (0.000)					
Electoral democracy index squared			-0.193 (0.192)				
Social-revolutionary Terrorism (t-1)				0.879*** (0.049)			
log(Life expectancy)					0.170** (0.068)		
log(Population)					0.040** (0.018)		
Binary democracy measure						0.119*** (0.034)	
Participatory democracy index							0.099 (0.173)
No. of Observations	6,369	6,369	6,472	6,387	6,369	4,937	6,461
No. of Countries	99	99	99	99	99	78	99

Notes: Dependent variable is the number of active social revolutionary terrorist groups. Coefficients are reported with Driscoll-Kraay standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\*, \*\* and \* denote statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10% level.

**Tale A4: Additional Variants of Baseline Model**

Ideology →	All groups	Anarchist	Leftist	Nationalist	Right-Wing	Religious
Political exclusion of the poor	0.072*** (0.026)	0.033*** (0.007)	0.038** (0.019)	0.011 (0.008)	0.001 (0.005)	-0.006 (0.004)
Life expectancy	0.003 (0.003)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.002 (0.001)	-0.001*** (0.000)
Electoral democracy index	0.145 (0.093)	0.053 (0.064)	0.030 (0.055)	0.081** (0.040)	0.006 (0.042)	-0.001 (0.005)
Population	0.018*** (0.004)	0.004*** (0.002)	0.005*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.000*** (0.000)
Regional discrimination	-0.078 (0.071)	0.058** (0.025)	-0.090*** (0.030)	-0.083*** (0.023)	0.026** (0.011)	-0.012* (0.007)
Domestic Autonomy	0.059*** (0.013)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.013*** (0.003)	0.028*** (0.010)	0.014** (0.006)	0.004* (0.002)
No. of Observations	6,472	6,472	6,472	6,472	6,472	6,472
No. of Countries	99	99	99	99	99	99

Notes: Dependent variable is the number of active terrorist groups, separately by ideology as indicated in the column header. Coefficients are reported with Driscoll-Kraay standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\*, \*\* and \* denote statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10% level.

**Table A5: Class Cleavages and Various Types of Terrorism Ideologies**