

Appendix

Plausibility Probe: Do Terrorist Bombings Target State Territory?

One methodological obstacle to research on terrorism and territory is the lack of precisely geocoded data delineating militants' territorial strongholds. The ideal data set would include this information for all 131 of the groups I analyze, at the necessary degree of spatial resolution to determine if a given attack occurred within the stronghold, accounting for the fact that strongholds' boundaries may change over the 1970 to 2016 span of my warnings data. Unfortunately, there is no data set containing all of this information.

However, there are certain cases where groups' strongholds are precisely demarcated, or where they are generally known and relatively stable, year to year. Using these cases as probes, it is possible to validate an important theoretical assumption, that militants generally do not bomb civilians in their own territorial strongholds. To validate this assumption, I examine the behavior of Hezbollah and Hamas, two groups whose strongholds are well known.

Hezbollah entrenches itself in majority Shia neighborhoods and towns in Lebanon. Politically, the most important Hezbollah stronghold is Dahieh, a majority Shia suburb south of the Lebanese capitol, Beirut.⁷⁰ Hezbollah's other important strongholds include the majority Shia towns of the Beqaa Valley, farther to the south.⁷¹ Hezbollah reportedly manages a significant amount of real estate in its stronghold areas, acting as a landlord for Shia civilians.⁷²

Of the 61 Hezbollah attacks in my data set, 41 (67 percent) took place outside of Lebanon entirely. Of the 20 attacks that took place in Lebanon, none took place in Dahieh. Hezbollah did attack Sunni religious facilities, embassies, and banks in downtown Beirut, an area outside of the group's Dahieh stronghold. (See GTD incidents 200805260010, 201606120025, and 198708020002.) My data also include one Hezbollah attack in the Beqaa Valley. However, the attack (incident 201505210111) took place in Arsal, a majority Sunni town that has never been a Hezbollah stronghold.⁷³ Thus, the Hezbollah case upholds the assertion that terrorists do not bomb civilians in their strongholds.

Hamas assumed control of the Gaza Strip on 14 June 2007 and it has held the area ever since.⁷⁴ From 15 June 2007 through 31 December 2016, Hamas carried out thirty-two bombings of civil-

⁷⁰ Hanin Ghaddar, "Hezbollah's Extreme Makeover – In Downtown Dahiyeh, the Lebanese Shiite militant group's suburban Beirut stronghold, paintball mixes with piety," *Foreign Policy* (March 17, 2010). <https://foreignpolicy.com/2010/03/17/hezbollahs-extreme-makeover-2/>

⁷¹ *Terrorism Havens: Lebanon*, Council on Foreign Relations report (May 1, 2007). <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/terrorism-havens-lebanon>

⁷² Ghaddar 2010.

⁷³ *Arsal in the Crosshairs: The Predicament of a Small Lebanese Border Town*, International Crisis Group Middle East briefing No. 46 (February 23, 2016). <https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/b46-arsal-in-the-crosshairs-the-predicament-of-a-small-lebanese-border-town.pdf>

⁷⁴ Conal Urquart, Ian Black and Mark Tran, "Hamas takes control of Gaza," *The Guardian* (15 June 2007). <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/jun/15/israel14>; "Gaza Strip," *The World Factbook*, US Central Intelligence Agency (Accessed 25 June, 2019). https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/print_gz.html

ian targets that met the threshold for inclusion in my data set. Thirty of these (94 percent) took place outside of Gaza. The remaining two bombings took place in Gaza, but there is reason to suspect that Gazans were not the intended targets. The GTD's summaries of these incidents suggest that both were botched attacks intended to take place in Israel. In one case (GTD incident 201208010017) a truck bomb appears to have detonated prematurely on the Gazan side of the border, before reaching Israeli soil. In the other case (incident 200801050003) rockets most likely aimed at Israel appear to have caused damage to their launch site. The GTD codes both incidents as Hamas bombings of civilian targets in Gaza because of a conservative coding standard that reflects actual outcomes, not the intended outcomes (or suspected intended outcomes) envisioned by the attackers. Overall, an analysis of Hamas supports the assertion that terrorists do not deliberately bomb civilians in their strongholds. Even by conservative coding standards that allow some amount of tactical noise in the data, an overwhelming majority of the Hezbollah and Hamas incidents in my data set (91 of 93 attacks) took place outside of militants' strongholds.

Summary Statistics and Robustness Checks Tables A1 to A3 contain summary statistics of the logit models' independent and dependent variables, as realized for each of the 131 militant groups in the analysis. Table A1 also lists the target state of each militant group. (The target state's *Polity2* scores are applied to each attack committed by the terrorist group in that year.) Several of the variables are based on variables from existing data sets. These include:

TERRITORY – derived from BAAD1's TERRSTRONG and BAAD2's TERRCNTRL.⁷⁵

STATE SPONSORED – derived from BAAD1's STATESPOND, BAAD2's FDSTATE, and the UCDP External Support in Armed Conflict Dataset.⁷⁶

RESOURCES – derived from BAAD2's FDDRUGTK and from the Contraband Dataset.⁷⁷

RELIGIOUS – derived from BAAD1's CONTAINRELIG and BAAD2's RELI.

ETHNIC – derived from BAAD1's CONTAINETHNIC and BAAD2's ETHN.

LEFTIST – derived from BAAD1's CONTAINLEFT and BAAD2's LEFT.

REACTIONARY – derived from BAAD (as a residual category).

When necessary, I used government documents, think tank reports, news reportage, and historical accounts to supplement these data sources. The replication files include coding notes describing the sources used to produce each coding.

Table A4 shows descriptive statistics for the new variables used in the robustness checks (Tables A5 to A9). Several of these variables bear explaining.

VACANT SITE is a 0/1 indicator of whether an attack targeted a location likely to be empty of people at the time. Examples include bombing under-construction buildings, abandoned buildings, summer vacation resorts closed for the winter, and businesses on bank holidays or "after hours" (for my purposes, 11:00 PM to 5:00 AM). VACANT SITE is coded based on the same *Lexis-Nexis* data, State Department reports, and Global Terrorism Database (GTD) summaries used to code the dependent variable, WARNING. Targets are coded 1 based on their *ex ante* likelihood of being vacant – not based on whether people actually occupied the target at the moment of the attack. For instance, an attack on a seaside resort in June, during business hours, would not qualify as an attack on a vacant site, even if the building happened to be vacant at the time of the

⁷⁵ BAAD1 is introduced in Victor H. Asal and R. Karl Rethemeyer, "The Nature of the Beast: Terrorist Organizational Characteristics and Organizational Lethality," *Journal of Politics* 70:2 (2008), pp. 437–49. BAAD2 is introduced in Victor H. Asal and R. Karl Rethemeyer, "Big Allied and Dangerous Dataset Version 2" (2015) <http://www.start.umd.edu/baad/database>.

⁷⁶ Stina Höglbladh, Therése Pettersson, and Lotta Themnér, "External Support in Armed Conflict 1975-2009 – presenting new data." Paper presented at the 2011 International Studies Association Convention in Montreal, Canada.

⁷⁷ James Igoe Walsh, Justin M. Conrad, Beth Elise Whitaker, and Katelin M. Hudak, "Funding rebellion: The Rebel Contraband Dataset," *Journal of Peace Research* (Published online January 2018).

explosion. The intuition of this variable is that militants may not give warnings when attacking structures *they believe will be vacant* at the time of the attack.

FREE PRESS is a 0/1 indicator of press freedom in the country on whose soil an attack took place. (The location of the attack is obtained from the GTD's COUNTRY_TXT variable.) FREE PRESS is derived from Whitten-Woodring and Van Belle's Global Media Freedom Dataset.⁷⁸ The authors assign a yearly media score to each country, with values of 1 ("Free"), 2 ("Imperfectly Free"), and 3 ("Not Free"). In studies using media freedom as an independent variable, the authors "recommend using a dichotomous version of the variable where the categories of free media and imperfectly free media are collapsed into functionally free media vs. not free media."⁷⁹ FREE PRESS follows this convention, collapsing the 1 and 2 categories of the original media score into a 1 category ("functionally free") and scores of 3 into a 0 category ("not free").

Political Terror Scale (PTS) – a 1 to 5 scale indicating the extent of physical integrity violations perpetrated by a government within its borders.⁸⁰ A score of 1 indicates that political murder, torture, forced disappearance and arbitrary imprisonment are "rare or exceptional;" a score of 5 indicates that such abuse "has expanded to the whole population," and that leaders "place no limits" on the coercive tools they use to shape citizens' behavior.⁸¹ For each incident in my data set, PTS indicates the score of the terrorist group's target state in the year the attack took place.⁸²

DEMOC and AUTOC are the two components of POLITY2.⁸³ The variables are coded on a 0 to 10 scale, with higher scores representing greater degrees of democracy or autocracy, respectively.

FREEDOM HOUSE PR and FREEDOM HOUSE CL are the political rights and civil liberties component scores for Freedom House's yearly country and territory freedom ratings.⁸⁴ The political rights and civil liberties scores are coded on a 1 to 7 scale, with low values representing greater protections for political rights and civil liberties and high values representing poorer protections for rights. To merge these variables with my data, I used Amanda B. Edgell's long-format "Stata Friendly Freedom House Data, 1973-2018" data set.⁸⁵

POLITY2 LOCAL is a variant of POLITY2, based not on the perpetrator group's target state but on the yearly *Polity2* score of the country on whose soil the attack took place.

⁷⁸ Whitten-Woodring, Jenifer A., and Douglas A. Van Belle. N.d. "The Correlates of Media Freedom: An Introduction of the Global Media Freedom Dataset." *Political Science Research and Methods*. Forthcoming. FirstView Article.

⁷⁹ See codebook, p.2: http://faculty.uml.edu/Jenifer_whittenwoodring/documents/GuidelinesforusingtheGlobalMediaFreedomDataset_001.pdf.

⁸⁰ M. Gibney, L. Cornett, R. Wood, and P. Haschke, *Political Terror Scale 1976-2012* (2015), <http://www.politicalterroryscale.org/>.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² The Political Terror Scale data series begins in 1976. Pre-1976 attacks are coded with the country's PTS score for 1976.

⁸³ See codebook: <http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscr/p4manualv2016.pdf>.

⁸⁴ Data available here: <https://freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-world>

⁸⁵ https://acrowinghen.files.wordpress.com/2018/05/fh_rankings_1973_2018.xlsx

DOMESTIC TERRITORY and FOREIGN TERRITORY are recodings of the main model's TERRITORY variable. The new variables distinguish groups possessing foreign territory from groups possessing only domestic territory. The two variables are mutually exclusive. If a group possesses domestic and foreign strongholds in the same year, it is coded FOREIGN TERRITORY=1 and DOMESTIC TERRITORY=0. FOREIGN TERRITORY and DOMESTIC TERRITORY always sum to the value of TERRITORY. Each observation originally coded TERRITORY=1 will be coded as 1 for either DOMESTIC TERRITORY or FOREIGN TERRITORY. Observations originally coded TERRITORY=0 are coded 0 for DOMESTIC TERRITORY and FOREIGN TERRITORY.

Table A1: Codings of militant groups (numbers are average values)

Group	Observations	WARNING	Target State	POLITY2	PTS
Abu Sayyaf	151	0.053	Philippines	8	3.72
Action Directe	24	0.042	France	8.17	2
African National Congress	73	0	S. Africa	4.03	3.90
Ajnad Misr	6	0	Egypt	-4	4
Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade	73	0	Israel	6	4.77
Al-Naqshabandiya Army	17	0	Iraq	6	5
Al-Nusrah Front	89	0.011	Syria	-9	5
Al-Qa'ida	34	0.029	USA	10	2.18
Al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula	126	0	Yemen	0.905	4.26
Al-Qa'ida in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb	52	0	Algeria	2	3.27
Al-Shabaab	394	0.018	Somalia	4.51	4.73
Ansar Allah (Houthis)	356	0	Yemen	0.053	4.98
Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis	20	0	Egypt	-3.95	3.95
Ansar al-Sharia	27	0	Libya	0	5
April 6th Liberation Movement	24	0	Philippines	-9	4
Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN)	92	0.087	USA	10	1
Armed Islamic Group	34	0	Algeria	-3.09	4.85
Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia	24	0.042	Turkey	1	4
Baloch Liberation Army	57	0	Pakistan	2.25	4.21
Baloch Liberation Front	8	0	Pakistan	6.88	4.25
Baloch Republican Army	172	0	Pakistan	6.76	4.24
Bangladesh Nationalist Party	27	0	Bangladesh	3.19	3.89
Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Movement	72	0	Philippines	8	3.58
Barqa Province of the Islamic State	50	0	Libya	0	5
Black September	10	0	Israel	9	4
Boko Haram	459	0.046	Nigeria	5.52	4.51
Breton Liberation Front	6	0	France	8.83	2
Communist Party of India-Maoist	346	0.066	India	9	3.99
Conspiracy of Cells of Fire	23	0.217	Greece	10	2.30
Corsican National Liberation Front	312	0.035	France	8.60	1.88
Corsican National Liberation Front – Historic Channel	115	0	France	9	1.08
Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine	11	0	Israel	6.27	4.36
Dev Sol	32	0.125	Turkey	9	4.09
Dishmish Regiment	37	0	India	8	3

Table A1 (continued): Codings of militant groups (numbers are average values)

Group	Observations	WARNING	Target State	POLITY2	PTS
Donetsk People's Republic	9	0	Ukraine	4	4
Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA)	309	0.450	Spain	9.85	2.22
Farabundo Marti National Liberation Movement	60	0.033	El Salvador	5.72	4.33
First of October Antifascist Resistance Group	33	0.303	Spain	9.76	1.82
Free Aceh Movement (GAM)	34	0.118	Indonesia	6.12	4.03
Free Galician People's Guerrilla Army	6	0	Spain	10	2
Free Syrian Army	38	0	Syria	-8.95	5
Garo National Liberation Army	13	0	India	9	4
Great Eastern Islamic Raiders Front	13	0.077	Turkey	7.15	4
Guerrilla Army of the Poor	3	0	Guatemala	-5.67	5
Hamas	133	0.023	Israel	6	4.56
Haqqani Network	38	0	Afghanistan	-1	4.68
Hizb-I-Islami	11	0	Afghanistan	†	4.64
Hezbollah	60	0.017	Israel	6	4.02
Hizbul Mujahideen	16	0	India	9	3.88
Indian Mujahideen	43	0	India	9	4
Informal Anarchist Federation	21	0	Italy	10	1.95
Iparretarrak	6	0.333	France	8.83	1.83
Irish National Liberation Army	10	0.2	UK	10	1.7
Irish Republican Army	360	0.444	UK	10	1.54
Islamic Front	18	0	Syria	-9	5
Islamic State/Al-Qa'ida in Iraq	1,962	0.005	Iraq	5.14	4.91
Jamaat-E-Islami	16	0	Bangladesh	2.19	3.94
Jaysh al-Islam	21	0	Syria	-9	5
Jemaah Islamiya	68	0	Indonesia	6.53	3.82
Jewish Defense League	23	0	USA	9.30	1
Kangleipak Communist Party	27	0	India	9	4
Karen National Union	28	0	Myanmar	-5.54	4.25
Khmer Rouge	8	0.25	Cambodia	1	3.38
Khorasan Chapter of the Islamic State	32	0	Afghanistan	-1	5
Kurdistan Workers' Party	241	0.029	Turkey	4.47	3.76
Lashkar-e-Islam	22	0	Pakistan	6.09	4.82
Lashkar-e-Jhangvi	30	0	Pakistan	5.37	4.57
Lashkar-e-Taiba	31	0.065	India	9	3.74
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam	215	0.014	Sri Lanka	5.49	4.48
Lorenzo Zelaya Revolutionary Front	3	0	Honduras	6	4
Luhansk People's Republic	7	0	Ukraine	4	4
Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front	136	0.029	Chile	-0.051	3.53

† No observations for POLITY2 due to missing data in relevant country-years

Table A1 (continued): Codings of militant groups (numbers are average values)

Group	Observations	WARNING	Target State	POLITY2	PTS
Montoneros	12	0	Argentina	6	5
Moro Islamic Liberation Front	139	0.007	Philippines	7.95	3.96
Moro National Liberation Front	16	0	Philippines	1.625	4
Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa	14	0	Mali	5	3.79
Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta	40	0.10	Nigeria	4.08	4.03
Movement of April 19th (M-19)	33	0.061	Colombia	8	4.76
Movement of the Revolutionary Left	59	0.068	Chile	-4.69	3.97
Mozambique National Resistance	4	0	Mozambique	-7	3
Mujahedin-e Khalq	16	0	Iran	1.44	3.38
National Democratic Front of Bodoland	40	0.05	India	8.95	4.05
National Liberation Army of Colombia (ELN)	165	0.018	Colombia	7.2	4.46
National Union for the Total Independence of Angola	58	0	Angola	-5.40	4.14
New People's Army	113	0.088	Philippines	7.55	3.78
New World Liberation Front	18	0.056	USA	10	1
Nicaraguan Democratic Force	15	0	Nicaragua	-2.07	2.87
Niger Delta Avengers	48	0.042	Nigeria	7	5
November 17 Revolutionary Organization	37	0.108	Greece	9.95	2.22
Óglaigh na hÉireann	12	0.17	UK	10	1.25
Omega-7	21	0.048	USA	10	1
Palestine Liberation Organization	7	0	Israel	6.86	2.86
Palestinian Islamic Jihad	104	0	Israel	6	4.62
Pattani United Liberation Organization	21	0	Thailand	-0.667	3.71
People's Liberation Army	22	0	India	9	4
People's Liberation Front (JVP)	24	0.042	Sri Lanka	5	4.29
People's War Group	14	0	India	9	3.79
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine	54	0.037	Israel	6.72	4.39
Popular Liberation Army	1	0	Colombia	8	4
Popular Resistance Committees	35	0	Israel	6	4.54
Real Irish Republican Army	20	0.45	UK	10	1.85
Red Army Faction	15	0.2	W. Germany	10	1.73
Red Brigades	9	0	Italy	10	1.56
Resistenza	60	1	France	9	1.78
Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)	597	0.007	Colombia	7.18	4.69
Revolutionary Cells	10	0	W. Germany	10	1.7
Revolutionary Organization of People in Arms	1	0	Guatemala	-7	5
Revolutionary People's Army (ERP)	6	0	Argentina	6	5
Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA)	1	1	Greece	10	2

Table A1 (continued): Codings of militant groups (numbers are average values)

Group	Observations	WARNING	Target State	POLITY2	PTS
Runda Kumpulan Kecil	82	0.024	Thailand	-0.646	3.57
Salafist Group for Preaching and Fighting	23	0	Algeria	-0.174	4.30
Sanaa Province of the Islamic State	23	0	Yemen	0	5
Sandinista National Liberation Front	12	0.75	Nicaragua	3.75	3.33
Shining Path	616	0.005	Peru	6.44	4.46
Simon Bolivar Guerrilla Coordinating Board	3	0.333	Colombia	9	5
Sinai Province of the Islamic State	33	0	Egypt	-4	4
Sindhu Desh Liberation Army	53	0	Pakistan	6.25	4.87
South-West Africa People's Organization	10	0	Namibia	4	3.9
Sudan People's Liberation Movement North	21	0	Sudan	-4	5
Taliban	1,159	0.027	Afghanistan	-1	4.71
Tawhid and Jihad	16	0	Iraq	†	5
Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan	375	0.056	Pakistan	5.89	4.77
Terra Lliure	14	0	Spain	10	2
Tripoli Province of the Islamic State	41	0	Libya	0	5
Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement	84	0.060	Peru	6.86	4.49
Ulster Freedom Fighters	29	0.034	UK	10	1.45
Ulster Volunteer Force	46	0.043	UK	10	1.83
United Baloch Army	52	0	Pakistan	6.85	4.38
United Liberation Front of Assam	180	0.028	India	8.99	3.68
United Popular Action Movement	23	0.217	Chile	8	3
Weather Underground	22	0.318	USA	8.55	1

† No observations for POLITY2 due to missing data in relevant country-years

Table A2: Codings of militant groups (numbers are average values)

Group	TERRITORY	STATE SPONSORED	RESOURCES	SEPARATIST	SUICIDE
Abu Sayyaf	0.656	0.026	0.570	1	0.02
Action Directe	0	0	0	0	0
African National Congress	1	1	0	0	0
Ajnad Misr	0	0	0	0	0
Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade	0	0.932	0	1	0.425
Al-Naqshabandiya Army	0	0	0	0	0.176
Al-Nusra Front	0	0	0	0	0.281
Al-Qa'ida	0.029	0	0.882	0	0.294
Al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula	0.984	0	0.587	0	0.198
Al-Qa'ida in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb	0.346	0	0.904	0	0.231
Al-Shabaab	1	1	0.033	0	0.173
Ansar Allah (Houthis)	1	1	0	0	0.003
Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis	0	0	0	0	0.1
Ansar al-Sharia	1	0	0	0	0
April 6th Liberation Movement	0	0	0	0	0
Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN)	0	0	0	1	0
Armed Islamic Group	0	0	0.853	0	0
Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia	0	1	1	0	0
Baloch Liberation Army	0	0	0	1	0.018
Baloch Liberation Front	0	0	0	1	0
Baloch Republican Army	0	0	0	1	0
Bangladesh Nationalist Party	1	1	0	0	0
Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Movement	0	0	0.042	1	0
Barqa Province of the Islamic State	1	0	0	0	0.280
Black September	0	1	0	1	0
Boko Haram	0.529	0	0	0	0.501
Breton Liberation Front	0	0	0	1	0
Communist Party of India-Maoist	0.607	0	0	0	0
Conspiracy of Cells of Fire	0	0	0	0	0
Corsican National Liberation Front	0	0	0	1	0
Corsican National Liberation Front – Historic Channel	0	0	0	1	0
Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine	1	0.273	0	1	0
Dev Sol	0	0	0.781	0	0
Dishmish Regiment	0	0	0	1	0

Table A2 (continued): Codings of militant groups (numbers are average values)

Group	TERRITORY	STATE SPONSORED	RESOURCES	SEPARATIST	SUICIDE
Donetsk People's Republic	1	1	0	1	0
Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA)	0	0	0.071	1	0
Farabundo Marti National Liberation Movement	1	1	0	0	0
First of October Antifascist Resistance Group	0	0	0	0	0
Free Aceh Movement (GAM)	1	0	1	1	0
Free Galician People's Guerrilla Army	0	0	0	1	0
Free Syrian Army	1	0.974	0	0	0.026
Garo National Liberation Army	0	0	0	1	0
Great Eastern Islamic Raiders Front	0	0	0	0	0.154
Guerrilla Army of the Poor	1	0	0	0	0
Hamas	0.263	1	0.053	1	0.346
Haqqani Network	1	1	0.895	0	0.711
Hizb-I-Islami	0.455	0	1	0	0.091
Hezbollah	0.8	1	1	0	0.117
Hizbul Mujahideen	1	1	0	1	0
Indian Mujahideen	0	1	0	0	0
Informal Anarchist Federation	0	0	0	0	0
Iparretarrak	0	0	0	1	0
Irish National Liberation Army	0	0	0	1	0
Irish Republican Army	0	0.036	0.017	1	0
Islamic Front	1	1	0	0	0
Islamic State/Al-Qa'ida in Iraq	0.988	0.55	1	0	0.217
Jamaat-E-Islami	0	1	0	0	0
Jaysh al-Islam	1	1	0	0	0
Jemaah Islamiya	0	0	0	0	0.118
Jewish Defense League	0	0	0	0	0
Kangleipak Communist Party	0	0	0	1	0
Karen National Union	0.607	0.107	0	1	0
Khmer Rouge	1	0	1	0	0
Khorasan Chapter of the Islamic State	0	0	0	0	0.313
Kurdistan Workers' Party	0.838	0.228	0.614	1	0.037
Lashkar-e-Islam	0.773	0	0.636	0	0
Lashkar-e-Jhangvi	0	0	0.3	0	0.633
Lashkar-e-Taiba	0.484	1	0	1	0.065
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam	1	0.051	0.944	1	0.144
Lorenzo Zelaya Revolutionary Front	0	0	0	0	0
Luhansk People's Republic	1	1	0	1	0
Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front	0	0	0	0	0

Table A2 (continued): Codings of militant groups (numbers are average values)

Group	TERRITORY	STATE SPONSORED	RESOURCES	SEPARATIST	SUICIDE
Montoneros	0	0	0	0	0
Moro Islamic Liberation Front	0	0	0.022	1	0.022
Moro National Liberation Front	1	1	0	1	0
Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa	0	0	0	0	0.143
Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta	0	0	1	0	0
Movement of April 19th (M-19)	0	1	0	0	0
Movement of the Revolutionary Left	0	1	0	0	0
Mozambique National Resistance	1	1	0	0	0
Mujahedin-e Khalq	0.938	0.813	0	0	0
National Democratic Front of Bodoland	0	0	0	1	0
National Liberation Army of Colombia (ELN)	0.964	0.133	0.903	0	0
National Union for the Total Independence of Angola	1	1	1	0	0
New People's Army	0.717	0.150	0	0	0
New World Liberation Front	0	0	0	0	0
Nicaraguan Democratic Force	1	1	1	0	0
Niger Delta Avengers	0	0	0	1	0
November 17 Revolutionary Organization	0	0	0	0	0
Óglaigh na hÉireann	0	0	0.25	1	0
Omega-7	0	0	0	0	0
Palestine Liberation Organization	1	1	0	1	0.143
Palestinian Islamic Jihad	1	1	0	1	0.25
Pattani United Liberation Organization	0.190	0	0	1	0
People's Liberation Army	0	0	0	1	0
People's Liberation Front (JVP)	0	0	0	0	0
People's War Group	0	0	1	0	0
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine	1	0.481	0	1	0.074
Popular Liberation Army	0	0	1	0	0
Popular Resistance Committees	0	0	0	1	0
Real Irish Republican Army	0	0	0	1	0
Red Army Faction	0	1	0	0	0
Red Brigades	0	1	0	0	0
Resistenza	0	0	0	1	0
Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)	1	0.101	1	0	0
Revolutionary Cells	0	0	0	0	0
Revolutionary Organization of People in Arms	1	0	0	0	0
Revolutionary People's Army (ERP)	1	0	0	0	0
Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA)	0	0	0	0	0

Table A2 (continued): Codings of militant groups (numbers are average values)

Group	TERRITORY	STATE SPONSORED	RESOURCES	SEPARATIST	SUICIDE
Runda Kumpulan Kecil	0	0	0	1	0
Salafist Group for Preaching and Fighting	0.087	0	0.174	0	0
Sanaa Province of the Islamic State	1	0	1	0	0.478
Sandinista National Liberation Front	0.25	0.25	0	0	0
Shining Path	0.953	0	0.99	0	0
Simon Bolivar Guerrilla Coordinating Board	1	0	0	0	0
Sinai Province of the Islamic State	0	0	0	0	0.121
Sindhu Desh Liberation Army	0	0	0	1	0
South-West Africa People's Organization	1	1	0	0	0
Sudan People's Liberation Movement North	1	0	0	0	0
Taliban	1	1	1	0	0.209
Tawhid and Jihad	0	0	0	0	0.625
Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan	1	0	0.749	0	0.2
Terra Lliure	0	0	0	1	0
Tripoli Province of the Islamic State	0.927	0	0	0	0.195
Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement	0	1	0.583	0	0
Ulster Freedom Fighters	0	0	0.138	0	0
Ulster Volunteer Force	0	0	0.087	0	0
United Baloch Army	0	0	0	1	0
United Liberation Front of Assam	0	0.661	0.656	1	0.022
United Popular Action Movement	0	0	0	0	0
Weather Underground	0	0	0	0	0

Table A3: Codings of militant groups

Group	RELIGIOUS	ETHNIC	LEFTIST	REACTIONARY
Abu Sayyaf	1	0	0	0
Action Directe	0	0	1	0
African National Congress	0	1	0	0
Ajnad Misr	1	0	0	0
Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade	0	1	0	0
Al-Naqshabandiya Army	1	0	0	0
Al-Nusrat Front	1	0	0	0
Al-Qa'ida	1	0	0	0
Al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula	1	0	0	0
Al-Qa'ida in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb	1	0	0	0
Al-Shabaab	1	0	0	0
Ansar Allah (Houthis)	1	0	0	0
Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis	1	0	0	0
Ansar al-Sharia	1	0	0	0
April 6th Liberation Movement	0	0	0	0
Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN)	0	1	0	0
Armed Islamic Group	1	0	0	0
Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia	0	1	0	0
Baloch Liberation Army	0	1	0	0
Baloch Liberation Front	0	1	0	0
Baloch Republican Army	0	1	0	0
Bangladesh Nationalist Party	1	0	0	0
Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Movement	1	1	0	0
Barqa Province of the Islamic State	1	0	0	0
Black September	0	1	0	0
Boko Haram	1	0	0	0
Breton Liberation Front	0	1	0	0
Communist Party of India-Maoist	0	0	1	0
Conspiracy of Cells of Fire	0	0	1	0
Corsican National Liberation Front	0	1	0	0
Corsican National Liberation Front – Historic Channel	0	1	0	0
Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine	0	1	1	0
Dev Sol	0	0	1	0
Dishmish Regiment	0	1	0	0

Table A3 (continued): Codings of militant groups

Group	RELIGIOUS	ETHNIC	LEFTIST	REACTIONARY
Donetsk People's Republic	0	1	0	0
Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA)	0	1	0	0
Farabundo Marti National Liberation Movement	0	0	1	0
First of October Antifascist Resistance Group	0	0	1	0
Free Aceh Movement (GAM)	1	1	0	0
Free Galician People's Guerrilla Army	0	1	0	0
Free Syrian Army	0	0	0	0
Garo National Liberation Army	0	1	0	0
Great Eastern Islamic Raiders Front	1	0	0	0
Guerrilla Army of the Poor	0	0	1	0
Hamas	1	1	0	0
Haqqani Network	1	0	0	0
Hizb-I-Islami	1	0	0	0
Hezbollah	1	0	0	0
Hizbul Mujahideen	1	0	0	0
Indian Mujahideen	1	0	0	0
Informal Anarchist Federation	0	0	1	0
Iparretarrak	0	1	0	0
Irish National Liberation Army	0	1	0	0
Irish Republican Army	0	1	0	0
Islamic Front	1	0	0	0
Islamic State/Al-Qa'ida in Iraq	1	0	0	0
Jamaat-E-Islami	1	0	0	0
Jaysh al-Islam	1	0	0	0
Jemaah Islamiya	1	0	0	0
Jewish Defense League	1	1	0	0
Kangleipak Communist Party	0	1	1	0
Karen National Union	0	1	0	0
Khmer Rouge	0	0	1	0
Khorasan Chapter of the Islamic State	1	0	0	0
Kurdistan Workers' Party	0	1	1	0
Lashkar-e-Islam	1	0	0	0
Lashkar-e-Jhangvi	1	0	0	0
Lashkar-e-Taiba	1	0	0	0
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam	0	1	0	0
Lorenzo Zelaya Revolutionary Front	0	0	1	0
Luhansk People's Republic	0	1	0	0
Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front	0	0	1	0

Table A3 (continued): Codings of militant groups

Group	RELIGIOUS	ETHNIC	LEFTIST	REACTIONARY
Montoneros	0	0	1	0
Moro Islamic Liberation Front	1	1	0	0
Moro National Liberation Front	1	1	0	0
Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa	1	0	0	0
Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta	0	0	0	0
Movement of April 19th (M-19)	0	0	1	0
Movement of the Revolutionary Left	0	0	1	0
Mozambique National Resistance	0	0	0	1
Mujahedin-e Khalq	1	0	1	0
National Democratic Front of Bodoland	0	1	0	0
National Liberation Army of Colombia (ELN)	0	0	1	0
National Union for the Total Independence of Angola	0	0	0	1
New People's Army	0	0	1	0
New World Liberation Front	0	0	1	0
Nicaraguan Democratic Force	0	0	0	1
Niger Delta Avengers	0	0	0	0
November 17 Revolutionary Organization	0	0	1	0
Óglaigh na hÉireann	0	1	0	0
Omega-7	0	0	0	1
Palestine Liberation Organization	0	1	0	0
Palestinian Islamic Jihad	1	0	0	0
Pattani United Liberation Organization	1	1	0	0
People's Liberation Army	0	0	1	0
People's Liberation Front (JVP)	0	0	1	0
People's War Group	0	0	1	0
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine	0	1	1	0
Popular Liberation Army	0	0	1	0
Popular Resistance Committees	0	1	0	0
Real Irish Republican Army	0	1	0	0
Red Army Faction	0	0	1	0
Red Brigades	0	0	1	0
Resistenza	0	1	0	0
Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)	0	0	1	0
Revolutionary Cells	0	0	1	0
Revolutionary Organization of People in Arms	0	0	1	0
Revolutionary People's Army (ERP)	0	0	1	0
Revolutionary People's Struggle (ELA)	0	0	1	0

Table A3 (continued): Codings of militant groups

Group	RELIGIOUS	ETHNIC	LEFTIST	REACTIONARY
Runda Kumpulan Kecil	1	1	0	0
Salafist Group for Preaching and Fighting	1	0	0	0
Sanaa Province of the Islamic State	1	0	0	0
Sandinista National Liberation Front	0	0	1	0
Shining Path	0	0	1	0
Simon Bolivar Guerrilla Coordinating Board	0	0	1	0
Sinai Province of the Islamic State	1	0	0	0
Sindhu Desh Liberation Army	0	1	0	0
South-West Africa People's Organization	0	0	1	0
Sudan People's Liberation Movement North	0	0	1	0
Taliban	1	0	0	0
Tawhid and Jihad	1	0	0	0
Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan	1	0	0	0
Terra Lliure	0	1	0	0
Tripoli Province of the Islamic State	1	0	0	0
Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement	0	0	1	0
Ulster Freedom Fighters	0	1	0	1
Ulster Volunteer Force	1	1	0	1
United Baloch Army	0	1	0	0
United Liberation Front of Assam	0	0	1	0
United Popular Action Movement	0	0	1	0
Weather Underground	0	0	1	0

Table A4: Descriptive statistics

Variable Name	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
VACANT SITE	12,235	0.0434	0.2038	0	1
FREE PRESS	12,235	0.4772	0.4995	0	1
PTS	12,235	4.111	1.139	1	5
DEMOC	10,644	6.395	2.711	0	10
AUTOC	10,644	0.7192	1.663	0	9
FREEDOM HOUSE PR	12,235	4.081	1.929	1	7
FREEDOM HOUSE CL	12,235	4.511	1.668	1	7
POLITY2 LOCAL	11,237	5.127	4.561	-10	10

Table A5: Multilevel logit results: VACANT SITES, PRESS FREEDOM, POLITY2 LOCAL, POLITY2²

Probability of Warning	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
TERRITORY	-0.8207*** (0.23)	-0.8235*** (0.23)	-0.8273*** (0.23)	-0.8234*** (0.23)
STATE SPONSORED	0.2612 (0.27)	0.2854 (0.27)	0.2778 (0.27)	0.2832 (0.27)
RESOURCES	-0.4255* (0.24)	-0.4469* (0.24)	-0.4357* (0.24)	-0.4525* (0.24)
POLITY2	0.1997*** (0.05)	0.2021*** (0.05)		0.2115*** (0.07)
POLITY2 LOCAL			0.1728*** (0.04)	
POLITY2 ²				-0.0022 (0.01)
SEPARATIST	-0.3710 (0.75)	-0.3824 (0.77)	-0.2666 (0.75)	-0.3910 (0.77)
RELIGIOUS	-0.7388 (0.64)	-0.6666 (0.65)	-0.5697 (0.62)	-0.6800 (0.65)
ETHNIC	-0.4083 (0.79)	-0.4305 (0.81)	-0.4108 (0.78)	-0.4397 (0.81)
LEFTIST	0.3485 (0.68)	0.4090 (0.69)	0.5263 (0.66)	0.4063 (0.69)
REACTIONARY	-0.7328 (1.4)	-0.6467 (1.4)	-0.5754 (1.3)	-0.6051 (1.4)
SUICIDE	-0.8731 (0.65)	-0.8631 (0.65)	-0.8828 (0.66)	-0.8562 (0.65)
VACANT SITE	-2.073*** (0.44)			
FREE PRESS		-0.0548 (0.30)		
Constant	-5.421*** (0.77)	-5.459*** (0.79)	-5.429*** (0.75)	-5.422*** (0.81)
Var(POLITY2)	0.0301 (0.01)	0.0319 (0.01)		0.0330 (0.01)
Var(POLITY2 LOCAL)			0.0316 (0.01)	
Var(SUICIDE)	1.969 (1.4)	1.985 (1.4)	2.118 (1.4)	1.964 (1.4)
Var(Constant)	1.548 (0.68)	1.613 (0.71)	1.413 (0.65)	1.553 (0.71)
Log Likelihood	-1392.90	-1411.28	-1411.92	-1411.26
Wald χ^2	125.16	103.16	104.62	102.92
N	10,441	10,441	10,433	10,441
Groups	129	129	129	129

Note: Target type coefficients not shown due to space constraints

Models 1, 2 & 4: Observations/group: minimum: 1, average: 80.9, maximum: 1,709

Model 3: Observations/group: minimum: 1, average: 80.9, maximum: 1,712

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A6: Multilevel logit results with different democracy/autocracy measures

Probability of Warning	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
TERRITORY	-0.8653*** (0.23)	-0.8160*** (0.23)	-0.7916*** (0.24)	-0.8755*** (0.24)	-0.7756*** (0.24)
STATE SPONSORED	0.2735 (0.27)	0.2452 (0.27)	0.4607* (0.27)	0.3318 (0.27)	0.3874 (0.28)
RESOURCES	-0.5738** (0.24)	-0.5035** (0.24)	-0.5587** (0.24)	-0.4858** (0.24)	-0.5748** (0.24)
PTS	-0.4072*** (0.14)				
DEMOC		0.2026*** (0.06)			
AUTOC			-1.064*** (0.33)		
FREEDOM HOUSE PR				-0.4168*** (0.12)	
FREEDOM HOUSE CL					-0.5399*** (0.13)
SEPARATIST	0.3744 (0.74)	-0.5046 (0.80)	-0.1573 (0.74)	0.2242 (0.77)	0.2115 (0.81)
RELIGIOUS	-0.7706 (0.62)	-0.5442 (0.64)	-0.9703 (0.65)	-0.8775 (0.69)	-0.8357 (0.69)
ETHNIC	-0.1486 (0.76)	-0.5198 (0.84)	-0.1051 (0.77)	-0.0933 (0.79)	-0.1960 (0.83)
LEFTIST	0.9951 (0.67)	0.2993 (0.69)	0.3542 (0.70)	0.4939 (0.73)	0.6575 (0.75)
REACTIONARY	-0.4269 (1.1)	-0.7885 (1.4)	-0.2673 (1.2)	-0.4427 (1.2)	-0.6010 (1.2)
SUICIDE	-1.131* (0.61)	-0.8583 (0.64)	-0.6456 (0.62)	-1.113* (0.61)	-1.103* (0.62)
Constant	-3.454*** (0.84)	-5.482*** (0.82)	-3.898*** (0.77)	-3.402*** (0.87)	-2.834*** (0.91)
Var(PTS)	0.1035 (0.05)				
Var(DEMOC)		0.0397 (0.02)			
Var(AUTOC)			0.4195 (0.38)		
Var(FREEDOM HOUSE PR)				0.1087 (0.07)	
Var(FREEDOM HOUSE CL)					0.1494 (0.06)
Var(SUICIDE)	1.795 (1.2)	1.884 (1.3)	1.643 (1.3)	1.815 (1.2)	1.877 (1.3)
Var(Constant)	1.920 (0.66)	1.373 (0.65)	3.078 (0.79)	2.594 (0.78)	2.229 (0.77)
Log Likelihood	-1559.09	-1408.13	-1406.75	-1554.96	-1546.49
Wald χ^2	115.54	93.63	99.18	111.06	121.55
N	11,383	9,876	9,876	11,383	11,383
Groups	131	125	125	131	131

Note: Target type coefficients not shown due to space constraints

Models 1, 4 & 5: Observations/group: minimum: 1, average: 86.9, maximum: 1,817

Models 2 & 3: Observations/group: minimum: 1, average: 79.0, maximum: 1,709

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A7: Multilevel logit results with higher inclusion thresholds

Probability of Warning	50+ attacks	75+ attacks	100+ attacks
TERRITORY	-0.8624*** (0.23)	-0.8682*** (0.23)	-0.9743*** (0.24)
STATE SPONSORED	0.3209 (0.28)	0.2534 (0.27)	0.2547 (0.28)
RESOURCES	-0.5602** (0.24)	-0.5872** (0.24)	-0.6517*** (0.24)
POLITY2	0.1936*** (0.05)	0.1820*** (0.05)	0.1768*** (0.05)
SEPARATIST	-0.6856 (0.77)	-0.5617 (0.75)	-0.5128 (0.73)
RELIGIOUS	-0.3899 (0.75)	-0.2317 (0.75)	-0.3441 (0.77)
ETHNIC	-0.2600 (0.85)	-0.5141 (0.83)	-0.5016 (0.82)
LEFTIST	0.6352 (0.79)	0.4859 (0.76)	0.0148 (0.81)
REACTIONARY	-0.6484 (1.9)	†	†
SUICIDE	-0.7340 (0.64)	-0.7133 (0.63)	-0.6267 (0.63)
Constant	-5.399*** (0.88)	-5.059*** (0.85)	-4.703*** (0.88)
Var(POLITY2)	0.0307 (0.01)	0.0204 (0.01)	0.0205 (0.01)
Var(SUICIDE)	2.003 (1.4)	1.896 (1.3)	1.889 (1.3)
Var(Constant)	1.109 (0.62)	0.6672 (0.43)	0.5436 (0.38)
Log Likelihood	-1263.36	-1208.37	-1164.29
Wald χ^2	101.72	104.38	94.44
<i>N</i>	9,593	8,973	8,630
Groups	78	57	45

Note: Target type coefficients not shown due to space constraints

Model 1: Observations/group: minimum: 1, average: 123.0, maximum: 1,709

Model 2: Observations/group: minimum: 1, average: 157.4, maximum: 1,709

Model 3: Observations/group: minimum: 6, average: 191.8, maximum: 1,709

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01; † variable omitted because it predicts failure perfectly

Table A8: Logit results with group fixed effects† ‡

Probability of Warning	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
TERRITORY	-1.022*** (0.24)	-1.002*** (0.24)	-1.006*** (0.25)	
DOMESTIC TERRITORY				-0.9169*** (0.26)
FOREIGN TERRITORY				-1.700** (0.71)
POLITY2	0.1452*** (0.04)	0.1591*** (0.04)	0.1544*** (0.04)	0.1539*** (0.04)
STATE SPONSORED	0.4598 (0.29)	0.4412 (0.29)	0.4880 (0.30)	0.5465* (0.31)
RESOURCES	-0.7408*** (0.24)	-0.7682*** (0.24)	-0.6392** (0.25)	-0.6491** (0.26)
SUICIDE		-0.8314** (0.33)	-0.7208** (0.33)	-0.7261** (0.33)
PRIVATE CITIZENS			0.6066 (0.41)	0.6054 (0.41)
GOVERNMENT			0.8427** (0.41)	0.8418** (0.41)
BUSINESS			0.8813** (0.40)	0.8812** (0.40)
CIVIL SOCIETY			0.8887** (0.44)	0.8938** (0.44)
INFRASTRUCTURE			1.331*** (0.41)	1.331*** (0.41)
TOURISTS			3.390*** (0.60)	3.451*** (0.60)
Constant	-4.152*** (0.78)	-4.249*** (0.78)	-4.216*** (0.79)	-4.212*** (0.79)
Log Likelihood	-1394.47	-1390.78	-1302.30	-1301.77
Pseudo R^2	0.3286	0.3303	0.3432	0.3435
N	8,727	8,727	8,121	8,121

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; *** p<0.01

† Group-level variables omitted. With *religious* omitted, the correlated *suicide* variable (Pearson coefficient: 0.2907) is significant.

Never-warning groups are omitted because their dummy variables predict failure perfectly.

‡ Coefficients for group dummy variables not shown.

Table A9: Multilevel logit results with interactions†

Probability of Warning	Model 1	Model 2
TERRITORY	-0.4976* (0.30)	-0.8156*** (0.23)
STATE SPONSORED	0.3143 (0.27)	0.2662 (0.27)
RESOURCES	-0.4522* (0.24)	-0.4523* (0.24)
POLITY2	0.2065*** (0.05)	0.1968*** (0.05)
SEPARATIST	-0.3616 (0.77)	-1.097 (0.89)
RELIGIOUS	-0.4167 (0.67)	-1.415* (0.83)
RELIGIOUS*TERRITORY	-0.8361* (0.49)	
RELIGIOUS*SEPARATIST		1.522 (1.0)
ETHNIC	-0.5652 (0.82)	-0.3817 (0.79)
LEFTIST	0.2895 (0.70)	-0.0224 (0.74)
REACTIONARY	-0.7593 (1.4)	-0.9907 (1.4)
SUICIDE	-0.8659 (0.65)	-0.8485 (0.65)
Constant	-5.516*** (0.79)	-4.925*** (0.85)
Var(POLITY2)	0.0336 (0.01)	0.0314 (0.01)
Var(SUICIDE)	2.009 (1.4)	2.028 (1.4)
Var(Constant)	1.597 (0.72)	1.539 (0.68)
Log Likelihood	-1409.82	-1410.25
Wald χ^2	103.32	104.73
<i>N</i>	10,441	10,441
Groups	129	129

† Target type coefficients not shown due to space constraints
Observations/group (minimum, average, maximum): 1, 80.9, 1,709