ONLINE APPENDIX

Collective Action and Policy Implementation: Evidence from Salvador Allende's Expropriations

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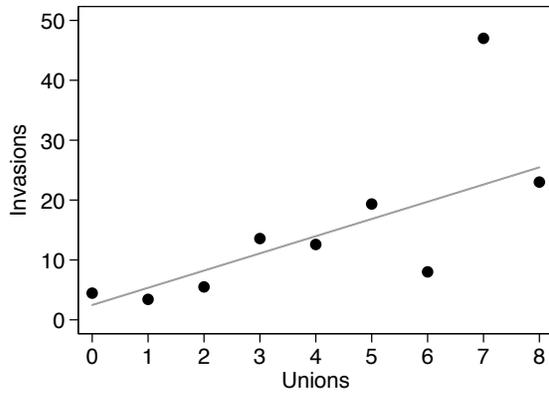
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FIGURE A.1: More results on unions and invasions

(a) Number of invasions

(b) Population control

(c) Semi-elasticity

(d) Elasticity

Notes: Binscatter plots representing the cross-sectional relationship between the total number of plots invaded between 1970-1973 (y-axis) and the total number of unions using different functional forms. Straight lines denote linear fits.
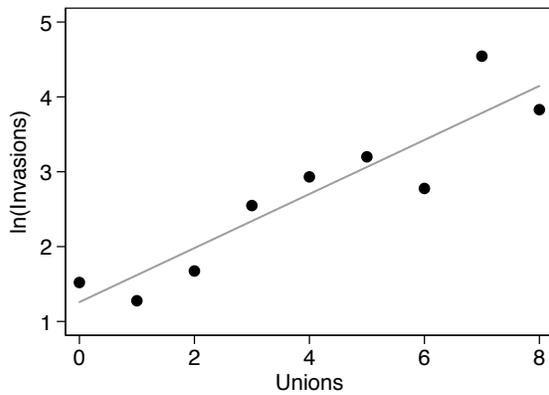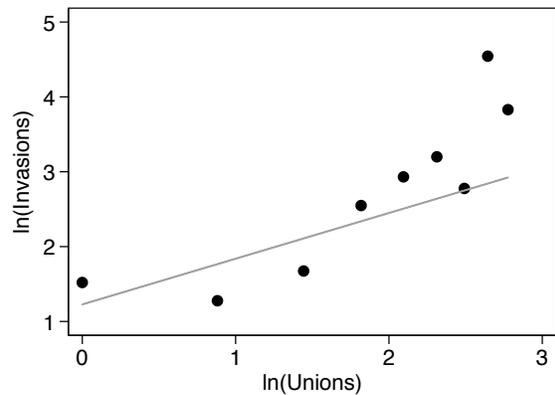
FIGURE A.2: Maps

(a) Expropriations   (b) Invasions   (c) Sample
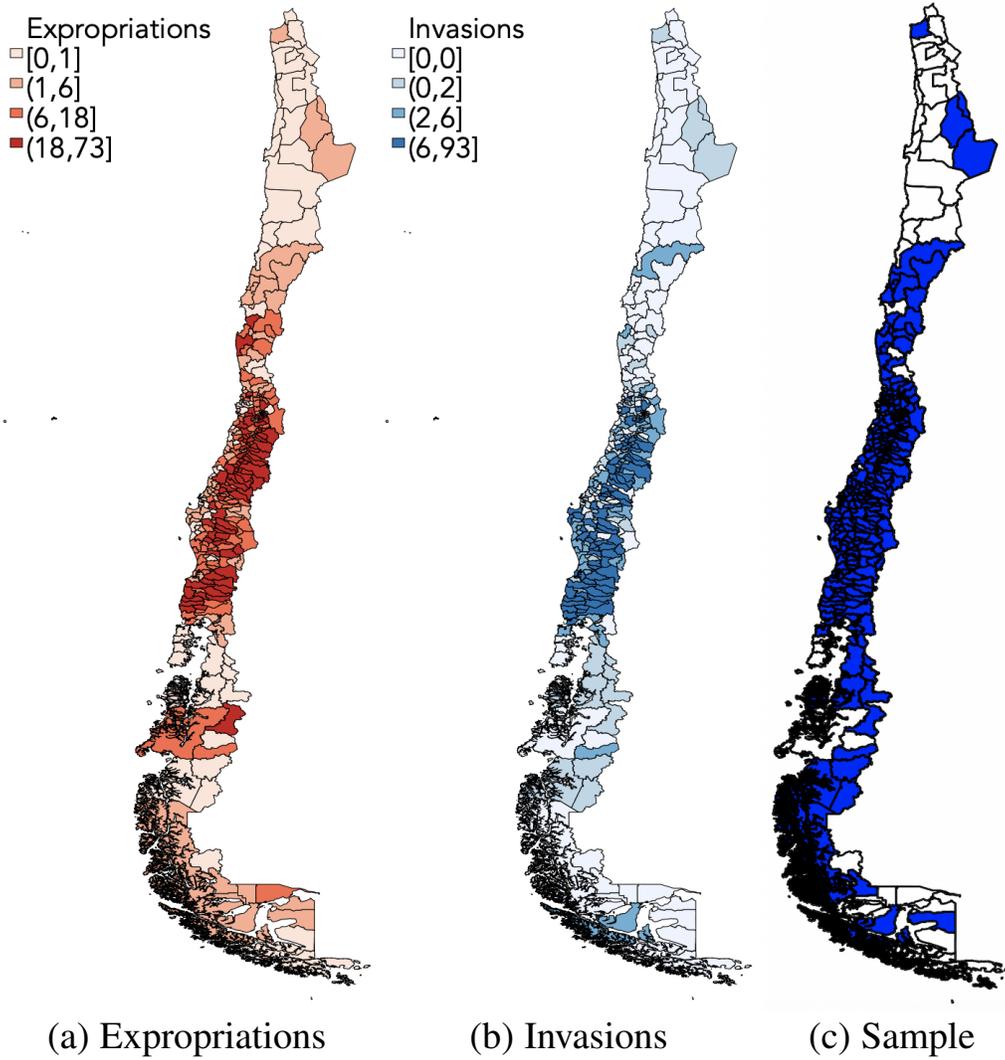
Notes: Maps of Chile showing the number of expropriations per county during Salvador Allende's government (panel A), the number of invasions per county in the same (panel B), and the counties in our estimation sample.

FIGURE A.3: Legal reasons and plots' outcomes
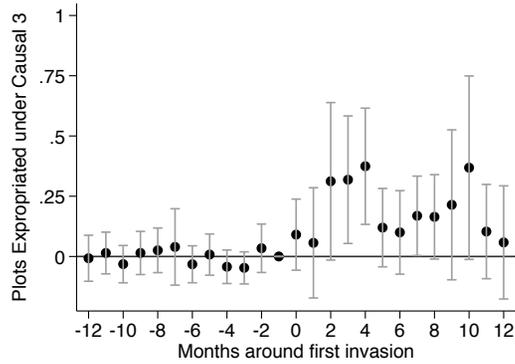
(a) Large plot

(b) Plot was inefficient
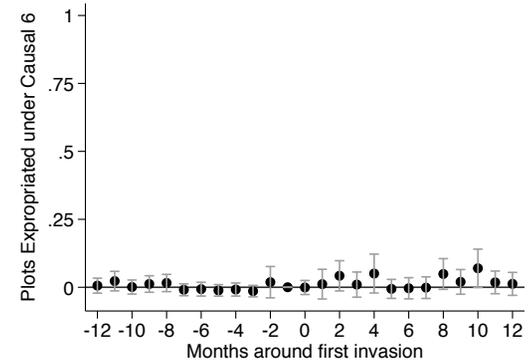
(c) Plot owner is legal person
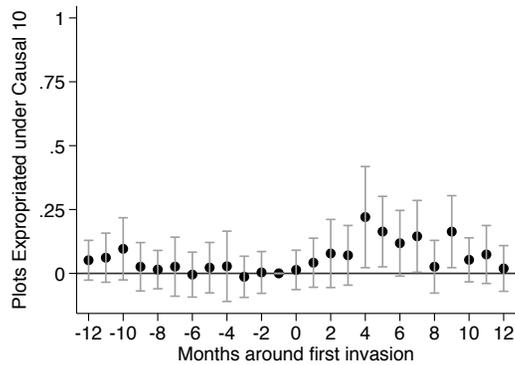
(d) Plot owner offered plot
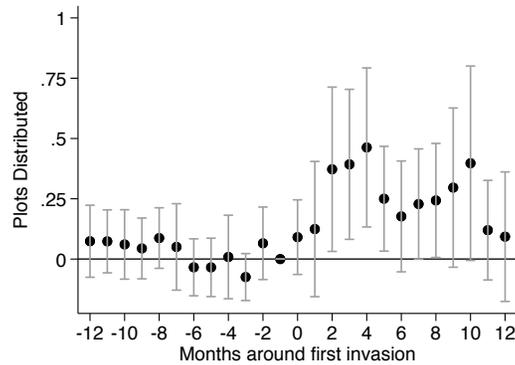
(e) Plot was redistributed
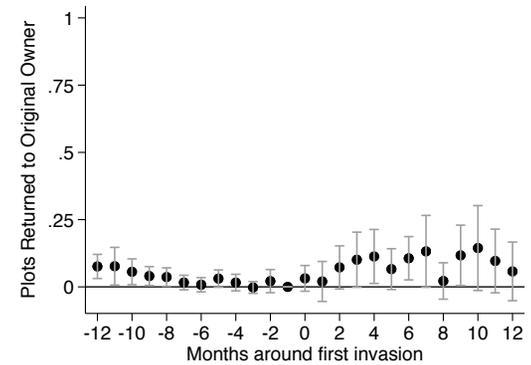
(f) Plot was returned

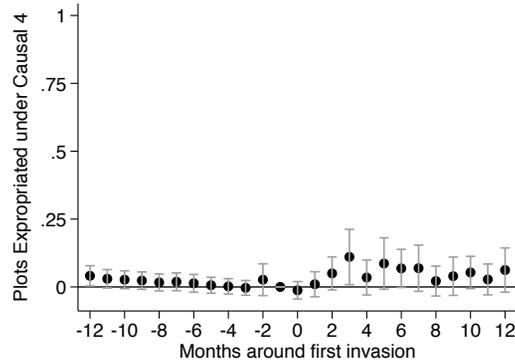Notes: These figures present estimates of equation (1) with their corresponding 95 percent confidence interval. Each panel uses a different dependent variable. Each dependent variable in panels (a)-(d) corresponds to the number of expropriations using a different legal cause. Panels (e) and (f) use the number of plots redistributed or returned to the original owner – two possible and mutually exclusive outcomes after expropriating a plot – as dependent variable.

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FIGURE A.4: Additional semi-parametric results

(a) Log plots expropriated

(b) Average size of expropriated plots

Notes: These figures present estimates of equation (1) with their corresponding 95 percent confidence interval. Each panel uses a different dependent variable. Panel A uses the hyperbolic sine transformation proposed by Burbidge et al. (1988) as dependent variable, and Panel B uses the average size of expropriated plots.

FIGURE A.5: Robustness, controlling for availability of large plots
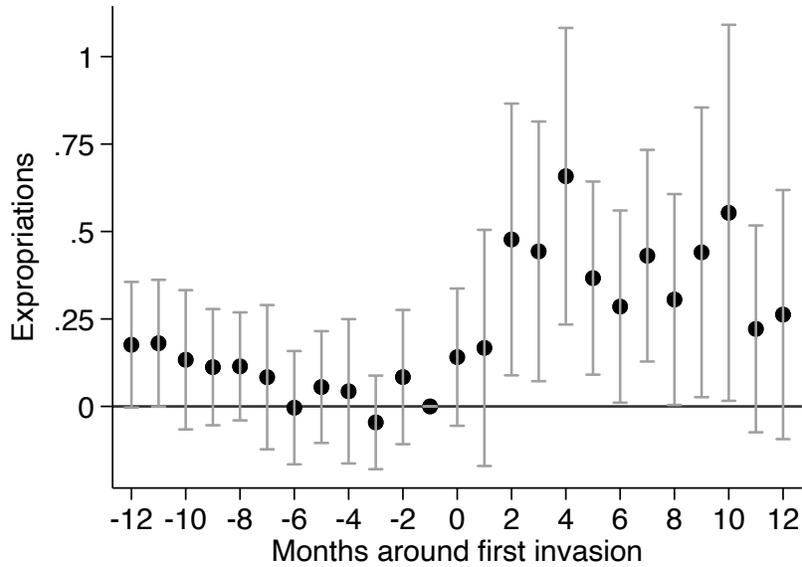
(a) Share of plots larger than 50 hectares

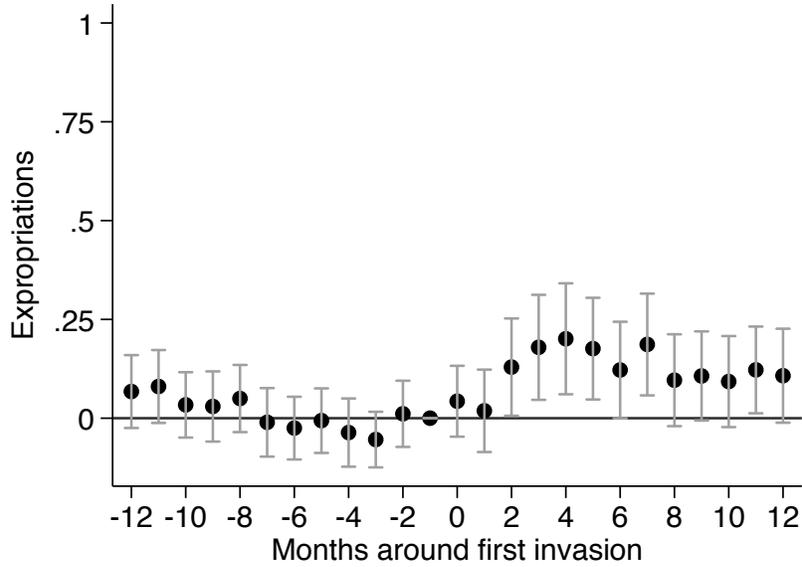(b) Quintiles of average plot size
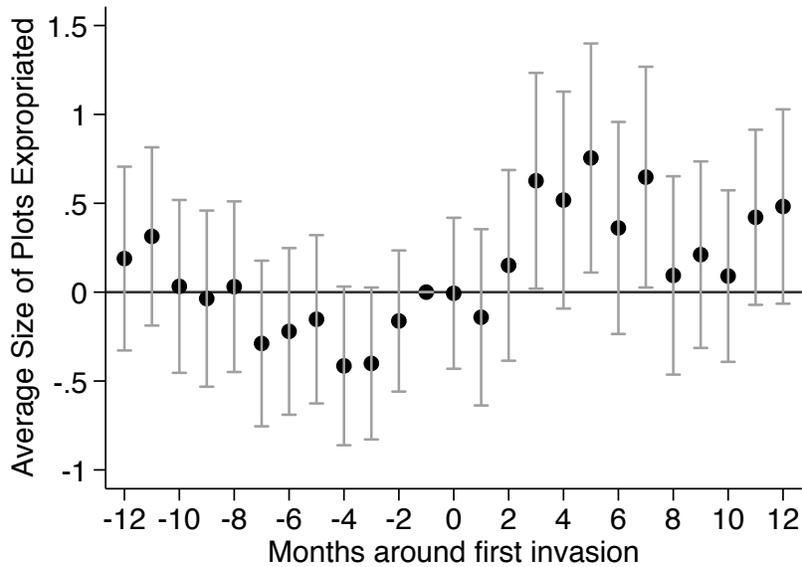
Notes: These figures present estimates of equation (1) with their corresponding 95 percent confidence interval. Panel (a) presents estimates of our main specification augmented with interaction terms between time fixed effects and the share of plots smaller than 50 hectares. Panel (b) presents estimates of our main specification augmented with interaction terms between time fixed effects and indicators for quintiles of the distribution of average plot size across counties.

FIGURE A.6: Alternative clustering methods
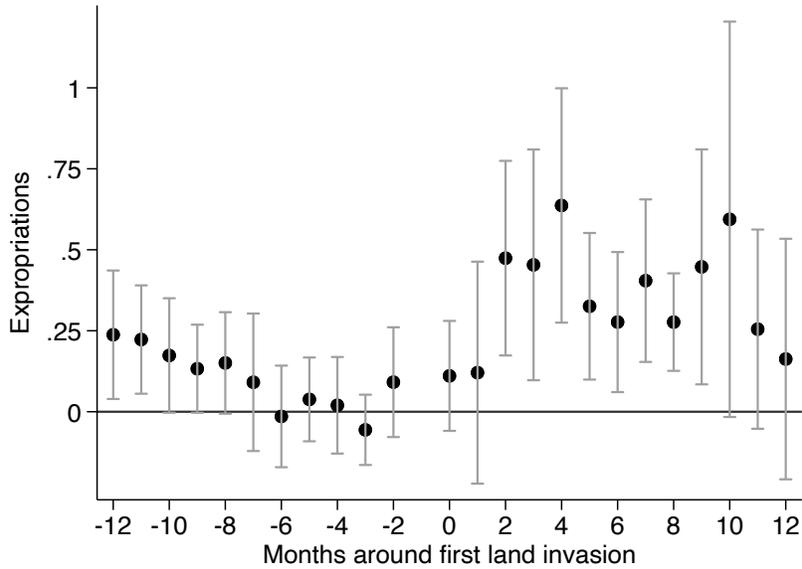
(a) Two-way clustering

(b) Spatial correlation

Notes: These figures present estimates of equation (1) with their corresponding 95 percent confidence interval using alternative clustering methods for standard errors. Panel A follows Brown and Warner (1985) and uses two-way clustering to allow correlation of outcomes within event dates. Panel B follows Conley (1999) and allows for spatial correlation of outcomes across counties during each time period. The latter uses a heteroskedasticty and autocorrelation consistent covariance estimation with distances from the centroids of counties and a Bartlett kernel which cut offs at 100kms using distances from centroid to centroid.

FIGURE A.7: Alternative periods of time
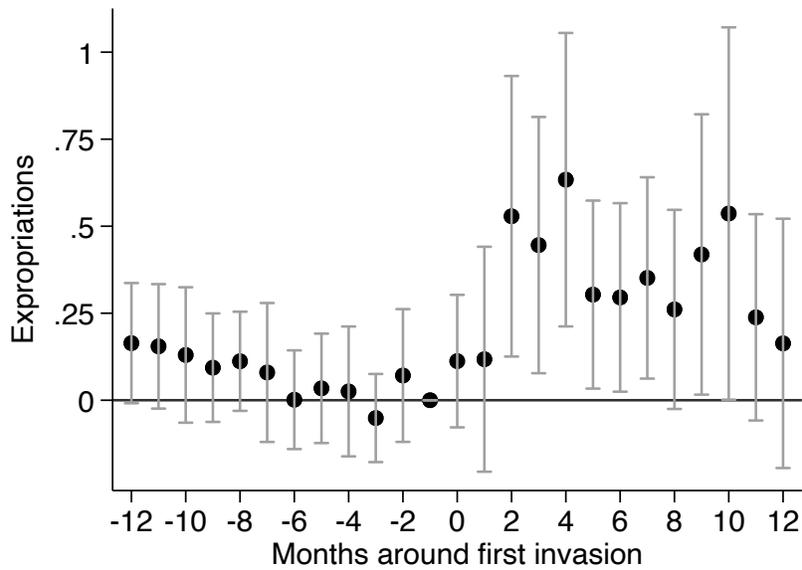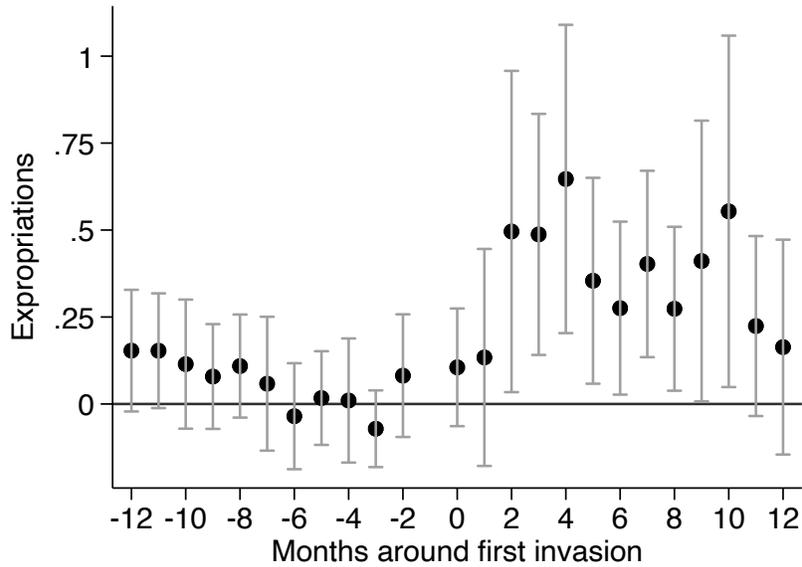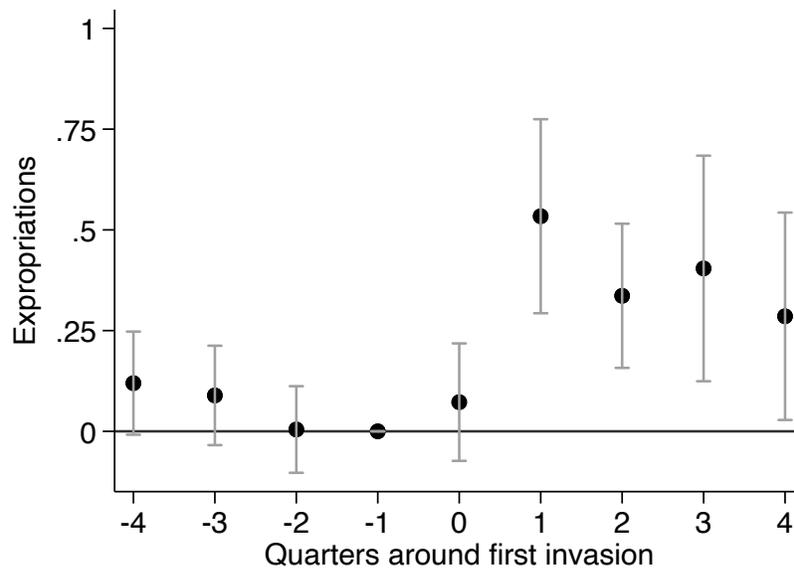

Notes: This figure presents estimates of equation (1) with their corresponding 95 percent confidence interval but using an alternative frequency of periods, namely quarters instead of months.

FIGURE A.8: Land invasions and votes in the 1970 election
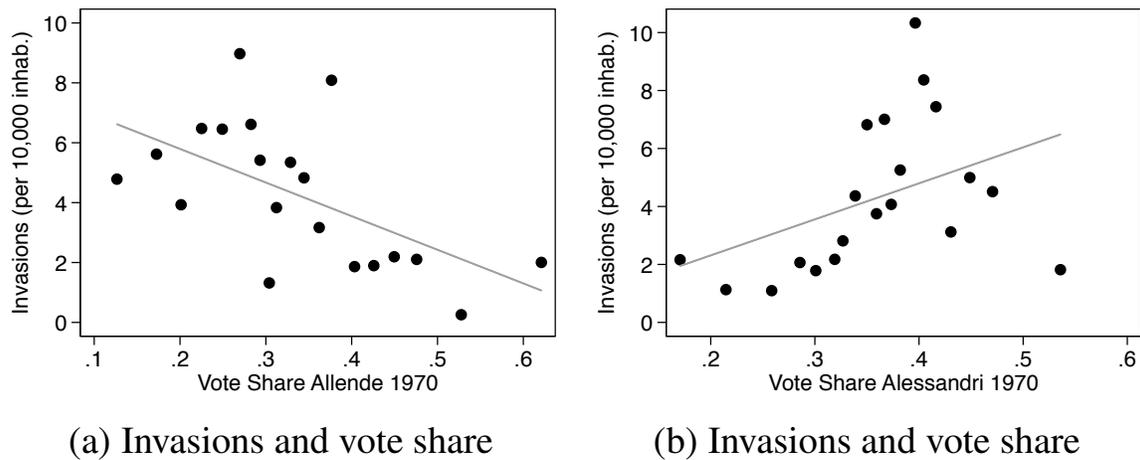
(a) Invasions and vote share

(b) Invasions and vote share

Notes: Binscatter plots representing the cross-sectional relationship between the total number of plots invaded per 10,000 inhabitants (y-axis) and the vote shares for Salvador Allende (Panel A) and Jorge Alessandri (Panel B) in the 1970 presidential election.

TABLE A.1: Unions and land invasions

Dependent variable: log of total number of plots invaded

	Unit of observation:					
	Counties (1970-1973)			Provinces (1967-1970)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Number of unions	0.36***	0.28***	0.21***	0.07***	0.04	0.17
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.10)
Observations	221	221	221	25	25	25
R-squared	0.17	0.34	0.56	0.25	0.55	0.91
Controls		X	X		X	X
Province fixed effects			X			
Region fixed effects						X

Notes: Cross-sectional estimates of the total number of plots invaded (in logarithm) on the total number of unions. Data on the number of unions by county comes from Gómez and Klein (1972). The set of "Controls" include: land inequality in 1965, agricultural surface (in hectares), agricultural production in 1965, the total number of agricultural workers, the 1970 population, the intensity of land reform until 1969. Statistical significance: $*p < 0.10$, $**p < 0.05$, $***p < 0.01$.

TABLE A.2: Robustness of results to different functional forms

	Share of plots expropriated	Total number of hectares expropriated	Logarithm of hectares expropriated	Total number of hectares distributed
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Indicator for 12-month period after first invasion	0.02** (0.01)	261 (271)	0.32** (0.13)	30.2 (100.6)
Counties	221	221	176	221
Observations	11,050	11,050	1,625	11,050
County fixed effects	X	X	X	X
Month fixed effects	X	X	X	X

Notes: Each coefficient comes from an estimation of equation (2) using a different dependent variable. Each observation corresponds to a county-month pair in the period between 01/1970 and 04/1972. Standard errors are clustered by county. Statistical significance: *$p < 0.10$, **$p < 0.05$, ***$p < 0.01$.

TABLE A.3: Correlation between invasions and local support for the Allende coalition in 1971

	Dep. variable: Vote share Popular Unity (UP) in the 1971 local elections		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Land invasions before the 1971 local election	-0.005**	0.0003	0.0004
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Vote share Allende (UP) in 1970		0.86***	0.85***
		(0.13)	(0.13)
Vote share Tomic (PDC) in 1970		-0.01	-0.01
		(0.19)	(0.070)
Expropriations before the 1971 local election			-0.001
			(0.18)
Counties	219	213	213
R-squared	0.04	0.69	0.69

Notes: Cross sectional regressions at the county level where the dependent variable is the vote share obtained by the Popular Unity in the 1971 local government elections. Each column includes a different set of independent variables. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Statistical significance: $*p < 0.10$, $**p < 0.05$, $***p < 0.01$.