

# Appendix

## The Legacy of Mexico's Drug War on Youth Political Attitudes

Omar García-Ponce\*      Isabel Laterzo-Tingley<sup>†</sup>

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\*Associate Professor, George Washington University. Contact: garciaponce@gwu.edu.

<sup>†</sup>Assistant Professor, University of Texas at Austin. Contact: laterzo.isabel@austin.utexas.edu.

# 1 Survey Protocols & Ethics

Our survey was fielded in partnership with our local partner, Buendía & Marquez, based in Mexico City, Mexico. The survey was fielded as part of the larger Performance Evaluation of USAID/Mexico's Crime and Violence Prevention Activity. The survey was reviewed by the Institutional Review Board at XXXXX university, and received approval. The study was conducted in compliance with all local Mexican laws and regulations, in addition to ethical standards contained in the 1964 Declaration of Helsinki, including its amendments.

## Survey Format and Recruitment

The survey was conducted face-to-face with structured questionnaires by trained interviews who used personal tablets. Interviewers followed all local COVID-19 protocols and maintained social distance from interviewees. Once a survey was complete, responses were immediately uploaded to the cloud and removed from the tablet to ensure sensitive information would not be at risk of disclosure. All completed questionnaires were checked during and after fieldwork for quality control. Interviewers also worked in teams of three with a supervisor whose responsibility was to monitor quality and make any necessary adjustments.

To recruit survey participants, enumerators follow a random selection process detailed in the following section. Once participants are selected, the enumerator invites a participant in the household to participate in the survey completely voluntarily. Subjects were told they could decline to participate or end their participation in the survey at any time. Enumerators required verbal consent to participate from the respondents following a consent text. Consent was not requested from parents, as we did not interview youths under the age of 16. Participants may have responded differently (and bias results) during interviews if they knew their parents needed to consent. Further, some answers regarding behavior among youth, such as entertainment and attitudes towards crime in the community, were likely to be influenced by parental approval.

We did not offer compensation for participation in the survey, which is standard among short in-person surveys in the region (e.g., the Latin American Public Opinion Project at Vanderbilt University). Surveys took on average about 20 minutes of respondents' time. Although respondents were not offered monetary compensation, they were told of the possible benefits of participation. These included voicing concerns regarding violence in their communities and how the results from our study could help develop a deeper understanding regarding insecurity dynamics in the localities where the surveyed individuals live. The project was also conducted in conjunction with USAID, and was aimed to better design crime prevention efforts in Mexico, which would positively impact research subjects.

No methods of deception were included in our survey, nor was identifiable information collected regarding any of the participants. The research involved no more than minimal risk to subjects, the investigators and research staff apart from possible discomfort when responding to some questions. However, participants were warned of this risk and the consent process emphasized the option for respondents to end the survey at any time if they wished.

## Sampling Design

The survey was designed to achieve a nationally representative sample of urban Mexico for ages 16-29. In addition, the survey was designed to be representative of certain security realities (homicide, perceived insecurity, and victimization). To do so, a multistage area probability sam-

pling design was used. Respondents were selected using a four stage sampling process. Stage 1 involved the selection of primary sampling units (PSUs), which in this case were electoral sections - a small geographic jurisdiction in Mexico that is smaller than the municipality. They constitute the basic territorial unit of single-member electoral districts for citizens to register to vote. As of March 2021, Mexico was divided into be very 68,806 electoral sections.

To select PSUs, the sampling frame was limited to Mexican municipalities which were covered by the Encuesta Nacional de Seguridad Pública Urbana (ENSU, National Urban Public Security Survey) run by Mexico's national statistical institute, the Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI). This survey is representative of urban Mexico and includes important public security information that was used later in the sampling process. From this, the number of PSUs eligible to be included in our survey was reduced to 30,878. We supplemented this list of municipalities and PSUs with additional information from the November 2020 Geoelectoral Information Catalog from INEGI and the 2020 Census to create our final sampling frame.

We supplemented the sampling frame with additional information regarding three measures of security realities in Mexico. We added three municipal-level measures of violence. These were homicide rates as reported by the Executive Secretariat of the National System of Public Security (SESNSP), a measure of perceived community security, and a measure of victimization. In Mexico, homicide data are available from two sources - via the SESNSP reflecting police investigations, and via INEGI from death certificates. Although INEGI data tends to be more precise, the publication of this data is usually delayed by over a year. Because of this, we use SESNSP data which covered the entirety of 2020 at the municipal level. We only use data regarding intentional homicides.

The latter two measures were generated using responses from the ENSU survey. Given that the ENSU data are not representative at the municipal level, we generated municipal estimates using multilevel regression and poststratification (MRP). To do so, we brought in additional information from the 2015 intercensus. These measures capture the preponderance of nonhomicidal crime (victimization) and perceived community insecurity at the municipal level. In particular, we used the following questions from the ENSU survey:

- **Perceived Security:** In terms of crime, do you consider that to live in (CITY) currently is ... [safe, unsafe]? *En términos de la delincuencia, ¿considera que vivir actualmente en (CIUDAD), es ... [seguro, inseguro]?*
- **Victimization:** During the past year [insert year], that is to say from January to today, has a member of your household (including yourself) been victim of (INSERT TYPE OF CRIME) on card A? *Durante este año [insert year], es decir, de enero a la fecha, ¿algún integrante de este hogar incluido usted, sufrieron la situación (CÓDIGO DE INCIDENCIA) de la tarjeta A?*
  - Robbery or assault in the street or in public transportation? Yes or No. *Robo o asalto en la calle o en el transporte público (incluye robo en banco o cajero automático)? Sí o No?*
  - Threats, pressure, or deception to demand money or goods or to do something/not to do something (extortion, blackmail)? Yes or No? *Amenazas, presiones, o engaños para exigir dinero o bienes; o para que hiciera algo o dejara de hacerlo (extorsión)? Sí o No?*

For the first measure, perceived security, we coded the variable as 1 if an individual reported feeling "insecure" and 0 if an individual reported feeling "secure" in their city. For our second measure, victimization, we coded the variable as 1 if the individual reported that a member of their household had either experienced robbery or extortion in the past year and coded 0 if not.

With these questions, we then estimated the relationship between various individual-level characteristics and their responses on these selected survey questions. We did this through multilevel regression, where we determined the relationship between selected characteristics—in this case age, gender, education, and occupation—and reported (i) insecurity and (ii) household victimization. This involved two separate regression models, one for each outcome variable. The regression also factored in geographic location, with individuals’ municipalities (unrepresentative unit of interest) nested within their states (geographic unit of the survey).

Once these regression estimates were calculated, we then post-stratified them. This involved weighting our estimates by the prevalence of each type of individual within each municipality based on their individual-level characteristics (i.e., age, education, etc.). This “prevalence” was calculated by determining the population of each type of individual within a municipality according to the 2015 intercensus. The regression estimates, weighted in this manner, generated a municipal-level estimate (one for each municipality) for the most likely response to each of the two survey questions.

Through this process, we calculated two municipal-level estimates: one quantifying non-homicidal victimization and the other quantifying residents’ perception of community security in their municipality. We calculated these values for all municipalities included in the most recent ENSU survey, yielding estimates for 157 municipalities. These values can be interpreted as a ranking of perceived security and victimization among the municipalities we examined. They allowed us to determine within our sample of municipalities how they rank comparatively in terms of these two values. However, these measures do have error associated with them and cannot be compared to estimates outside of these analyses. This error was predominantly created by limitations due to question wording and the need to match variables between the census and survey. We had to match individual-level responses on the ENSU survey to biographical information about the head of household, as certain attributes were only recorded at the head-of-household level (e.g., education level, occupation) in this survey. We used these head-of-household characteristics when considering the prevalence of each type of individual in the intercensus. Thus, these measures are not perfect individual-level measures, but did provide us with comparable intersample estimates. For this reason, we interpreted them as a ranking. For more information regarding the MRP indicators, see Appendix 1.2.

These measures were then added to our sampling frame for their corresponding municipalities and PSUs. Our sample of PSUs were then selected for the sample through a systematic method of stratified probability proportional to size (PPS). Each PSU in the sampling frame was also assigned a nonoverlapping sample stratum based on the three security variables. We combined PPS with a systematic sampling approach and used implicit stratification (via a travelling salesperson algorithm) based on the three violence measures. Survey sample strata information can be seen in Table A1. In total, 288 PSUs were selected and 10 interviews was conducted in each PSU.

Table A1: Strata Information for Sample Frame and Sample

Strata	Frame Mun #	Frame Mun Proportion	Frame Pop.	Frame Pop. Proportion	Sample Mun	Sample Mun Prop.	Sample Pop.	Sample Pop Prop
High -Low-Low	1	0.006	18812	0.000	1.000	0.009	768.000	0.001
High -High-High	12	0.076	3624341	0.080	9.400	0.087	77308.600	0.086
High -High-Low	28	0.178	11204188	0.246	24.200	0.225	228749.000	0.257
Med -Low -Low	10	0.064	1641492	0.036	5.000	0.046	39381.600	0.044
Med -High-High	19	0.121	8489648	0.187	15.200	0.141	126626.200	0.142
Med -High-Low	11	0.070	5328138	0.117	7.400	0.069	108716.000	0.122
Low -Low-High	1	0.006	231209	0.005	1.000	0.009	5381.600	0.006
Low -Low-Low	46	0.293	8313862	0.183	28.200	0.262	181206.000	0.203
Low -High-High	15	0.096	3192100	0.070	8.400	0.078	50260.000	0.057
Low -High-Low	14	0.089	3418396	0.075	8.600	0.080	73078.400	0.082

Strata listed in terms homicide rate, perceived insecurity, and reported victimization from left to right.

Within each strata available, electoral precincts, our primary sampling unit (PSU) were chosen based on the probability proportional to each precinct's size (PPS). In all, 288 electoral sections were selected from the sampling frame and 10 interviews were conducted in each.

In some cases, PSUs were not available to conduct interviews due to various circumstances, including security concerns for interviewers. In such cases, a new PSU with the same stratum characteristics and probability of selection was drawn from an independent sample.

With this sample of PSUs, area segments sampling was then used to select second-stage sampling units (SSUs). We used blocks as our SSUs, or geographic spaces delimited by streets or avenues. SSUs were identified and assigned to interviews using maps from the Instituto Nacional Electoral (INE, National Electoral Institute). Within each PSU, two SSUs were selected via a random sample from INE's Catálogo de Manzanas (a catalog of small geographic subdivisions called "manzanas").

Once the SSUs were selected, housing units were then chosen which represented our final sampling unit. Five interviews were conducted per SSU. Housing units were selected via a spiral method and clockwise walking. Interviewers cover each block by starting at the northeast corner and use a sampling interval of 3 housing units. Once an interview is completed, the interviewer moves to the other side of the block, ensuring that only one interview is conducted on each side of the block. Then, interviewers moved to an adjacent block using the spiral method. In multi-story buildings, the same process was utilized but only when a building occupies a whole block. If a building is located on one side of the block, only one interview may take place inside the building. After such an interview, interviewers must move on from both the building and side of the block.

Once housing units were selected, an individual is then selected by the interviewer. A short screening interview was conducted with a knowledgeable adult to determine if members of the household meet the study eligibility criteria. With the information provided by the present adult, the tablet then picks a respondent from the total pool of eligible household inhabitants. The interviewer then asks to speak to that individual.

In total, 64 interviewers were used to complete the survey. 2,880 interviews were completed over nine days between June 12 and June 20, 2021.

## 2 MRP Goodness of Fit Indicators

In this section, we demonstrate information which confirms the adequacy of our MRP indicators. First, we demonstrate the correlations between our two MRP measures and the true values (means) of the variables we used to create these measures (victimization and perceived security). High, but not perfect, correlation would indicate a strong MRP estimate. This is shown in Figure A1, which confirms that our MRP estimates and the true values are highly correlated (for those municipalities for which we had a representative estimator). We also see a correlation between homicide rates and MRP insecurity perception estimates, but a nearly zero correlation between homicide rates and MRP victimization estimates. We observe a high correlation between MRP security and victimization estimates.

To further explore these results, we ran mixed-effects models with random intercepts by state. Results are shown in Figure A2, on which population, homicide, and homicide rate are rescaled as values ranging from 0 to 1.

For the security measures on Table 1, as the population increases, so does insecurity. As the homicide rate increases, so does the insecurity index. Total homicide does not have a significant

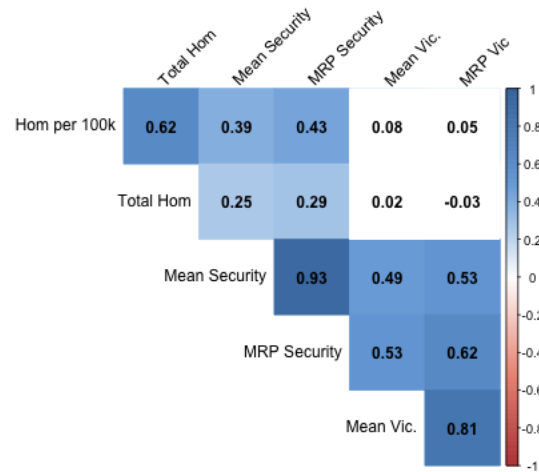


Figure A1: Correlations between MRP Estimates and True Values (Means)

relationship with this index. In terms of the victimization index, there is little relationship with the included variables (the coefficient sizes are very small and confidence intervals cross zero). As population increases, the victimization index increases slightly. However, total homicide and homicide rate do not have significant relationships with victimization index, as confidence intervals include zero in both cases. From this analysis, we observe that in urban Mexico, there are places with homicide violence but not much other violence and vice versa, and there does seem to be little correlation between homicide rates and victimization estimates. There are correlations between homicide rates and security perceptions, although these are not high. Therefore, we divided the sampling units (using the ENSU sample) by levels of homicide, nonhomicidal violence (victimization), and insecurity perception.

Figure A3 provides ROC (receiver operating characteristic) curves for the multi-level models used in the MRP process. This curve demonstrates the ability of the models to correctly predict outcomes, with the x-y line indicating a “null model.” It can be considered a measure of sensitivity (probability of detection) versus specificity (probability of false detection) and is essentially a plot of the model’s power as a function of Type 1 error (rejection of true null hypothesis, false positive). Both plots below indicate the models perform better than the null model, providing evidence of their strength for prediction of both outcomes of interest (victimization and perceived security).

<i>Predictors</i>	<b>Security 2020</b>			<b>Vic. 2020</b>		
	<i>Estimates</i>	<i>CI</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Estimates</i>	<i>CI</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	5.88	-20.14 – 31.90	0.658	5.62	-1.32 – 12.57	0.113
Log Population	4.03	2.00 – 6.06	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	0.69	0.17 – 1.22	<b>0.010</b>
Hom. Total	6.32	-20.92 – 33.56	0.649	1.40	-5.85 – 8.65	0.705
Hom. Per 100k	28.13	7.67 – 48.59	<b>0.007</b>	1.44	-4.09 – 6.97	0.610
<b>Random Effects</b>						
$\sigma^2$	106.15			6.74		
$\tau_{00}$	181.22	state_code		31.08	state_code	
ICC	0.63			0.82		
N	32	state_code		32	state_code	
Observations	157			157		
Marginal R <sup>2</sup> / Conditional R <sup>2</sup>	0.208 / 0.708			0.036 / 0.828		

Figure A2: Correlations between MRP Estimates and True Values (Means)

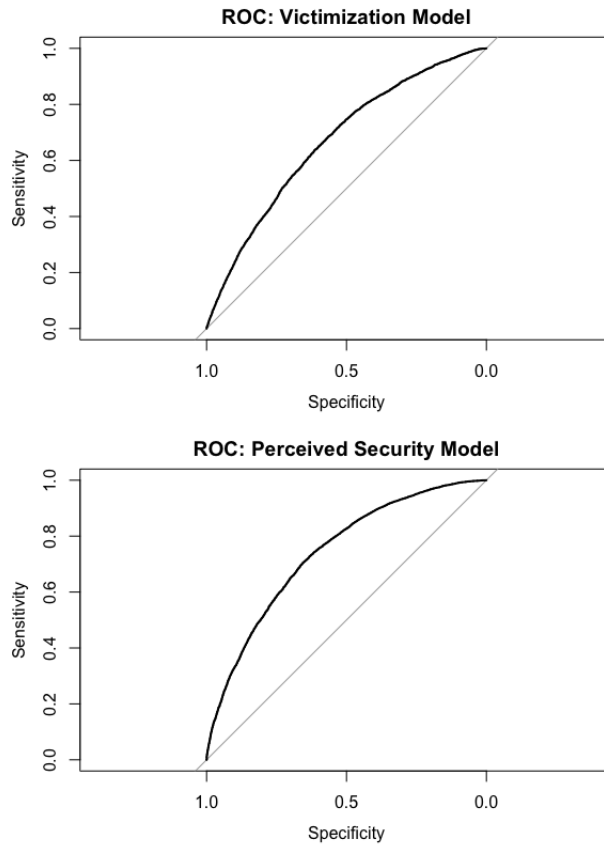


Figure A3: Receiver Operating Characteristic Curves for Multilevel Models

### 3 Descriptive Statistics

In this section, we provide descriptive statistics for our survey, including sociodemographic and economic indicators.

Table A2: Sex, Age, and Education Breakdown

Sex	Mean Age	Mode Edu	Num. Respondents
Male	21.47	Preparatoria o bachillerato	1326
Female	22.38	Preparatoria o bachillerato	1554

Table A3: Employment Status in the Past Week

Type	% Respondents
Worked	43.5
Had a job but did not work	1.8
Looked for work	5.5
Student	25.8
Household work	15.6
Permanently Incapacitated	0.7
Did not work	6.3
No response	1.0

Table A4: Economic Indicators

	Marginalization	SES
Minimum	-2.23	0.00
Mean	-1.59	1.94
Maximum	-0.20	2.56

In addition, we provide information as to the typical presence of military conflict and operations, including repeated operations, in our sample municipalities vs. urban municipalities across Mexico. In Figure A4, we plot the mean presence of military conflict (binary), military operations (binary), and repeat operations (one or more) for the 2007-2015 period across all municipalities in our sample compared to all of urban Mexico, as determined by municipalities included in the ENSU survey (which is representative of urban Mexico). We plot 2007-2015, as 2007 is the start of deployments in the drug war, and 2015 is the last exposure year in our analytical strategy (as it represents the 10th year of life for our youngest participants, born in 2005).

To be sure, operations and repeat operations were more common on average in our sample compared to broader Mexico. However, this is likely explained by differences in population, with our sample having a mean population of 768,342 in 2007 and the urban ENSU sample having a mean of 540,088. Further, our analytical strategy focuses on differential exposure over time, comparing not only individuals across space but also across age groups. As shown in the main text, we have substantial variation in exposure across our surveyed individuals.

Further, we also show that municipal-level homicide rates – both within and outside of our sample municipalities – are highly correlated with disappearances, a form of violence that is

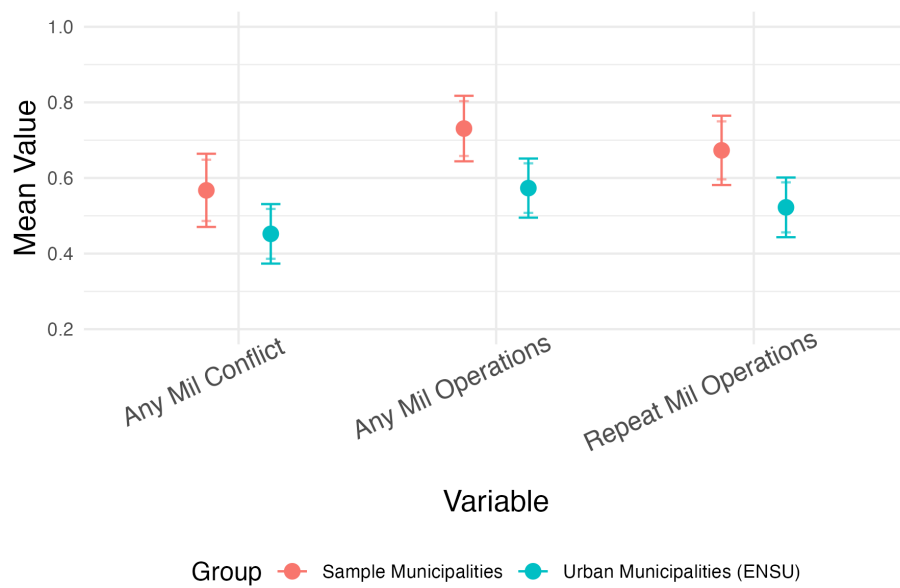


Figure A4: Average Military Operations and Conflict Across Sample and Urban Municipalities (2007-2015)

less visible but commonly used by criminal organizations in Mexico (Durán-Martínez, 2017). Data on disappearances comes from the National Registry of Missing or Disappeared Persons (RNPED, *Registro Nacional de Datos de Personas Extraviadas o Desaparecidas*). At the time of writing, links on this website to access the data were non-functioning. We are grateful to [ANONYMIZED NAME] for sharing their previously collected data from this source from 1995-2018. With this data, we run a two-way fixed effects regression (by municipality and year) examining the relationship between the municipal homicide and disappearance rate. Results presented in Figure A5 reveal a close to perfect relationship between these two measures.

Table A5: Relationship Between Homicide Rate and Disappearances across Sample and All Municipalities (1995-2018)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Homicide Rate (per 100k)	
	All Muns	Sample Muns
	(1)	(2)
Disappearance Rate (per 100k)	0.998*** (0.027)	0.936*** (0.090)
Mun FE	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓
Observations	58,896	2,496
R <sup>2</sup>	0.258	0.488
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.225	0.461

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

## 4 Socioeconomic Status (SES) Variable Creation

To create the variable which we use to measure socioeconomic status (SES), we rely on a battery of questions regarding the possession of certain material goods (see Table A6). We then use these questions to create one variable measuring SES using principal component analysis (PCA). We use the first calculated component which explains the most variance (over 30 %) across participants (see Figure A5). Not all participants responded to each question regarding possession of each good – to fill in these gaps, we used multiple imputation using predictive mean matching (PMM) (see ??), implemented via the Multiple Imputation by Chained Equations (MICE) package in R (?). This process resulted in a variable which has a maximum value of 2.56, minimum value of 0, and mean value of 1.94.

Table A6: Items Included in Socioeconomic Status Variable and Descriptive Statistics

<b>Please tell me if you or a member of your household has CURRENT access to each of the following services in your home (Yes = 1, No = 0):</b>	<b>Minimum</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>NA's</b>
Car	0	1	0.58	1	21
Clothes Washer	0	1	0.88	1	22
Indoor Plumbing	0	1	0.94	1	24
Computer	0	1	0.64	1	23
Internet	0	1	0.87	1	26
Cell Phone	0	1	0.94	1	22
Domestic Worker	0	0	0.26	1	27

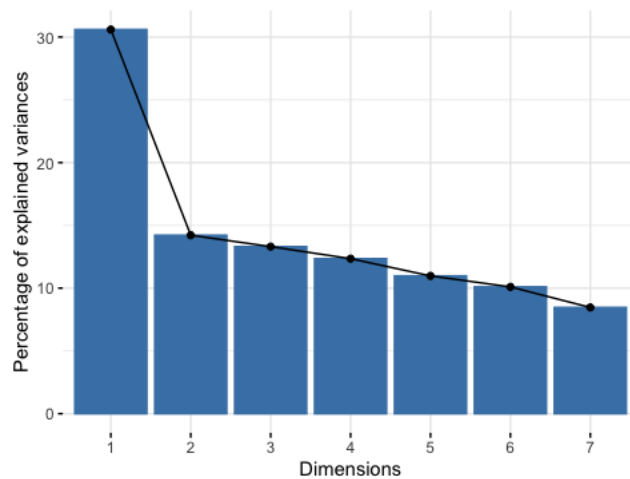


Figure A5: PCA Variance Explained

## 5 Main OLS Results

Table A7: Exposure to Homicide and Trust

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't	Federal Gov't	Subnat'l Police	Federal Police	Military	Community
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Homicide Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.039 (0.038)	-0.041 (0.038)	-0.046 (0.038)	-0.087** (0.037)	-0.024 (0.038)	-0.084** (0.037)
Gender: Female	0.111*** (0.042)	0.111*** (0.042)	0.030 (0.042)	0.046 (0.042)	0.205*** (0.042)	0.175*** (0.041)
SES	-0.127*** (0.044)	-0.054 (0.044)	-0.076* (0.044)	-0.098** (0.044)	-0.114** (0.044)	0.051 (0.044)
Edu	-0.023* (0.013)	-0.032** (0.013)	-0.011 (0.013)	-0.038*** (0.013)	-0.015 (0.013)	0.061*** (0.012)
Constant	-0.086 (0.206)	-0.135 (0.206)	-0.025 (0.207)	0.278 (0.206)	0.277 (0.207)	-0.698*** (0.205)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,402	2,402	2,401	2,405	2,391	2,407
R <sup>2</sup>	0.091	0.088	0.085	0.091	0.083	0.096
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.044	0.040	0.037	0.043	0.035	0.049
Residual Std. Error	0.978 (df = 2281)	0.980 (df = 2281)	0.981 (df = 2280)	0.978 (df = 2284)	0.983 (df = 2270)	0.975 (df = 2286)

Note:

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

Table A8: Exposure to Military Confrontations and Trust

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't	Federal Gov't	Subnat'l Police	Federal Police	Military	Community
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Mil Confront. Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.039 (0.028)	-0.047 (0.029)	-0.012 (0.028)	-0.061** (0.028)	-0.049* (0.028)	-0.024 (0.028)
Gender: Female	0.111*** (0.042)	0.110*** (0.042)	0.029 (0.042)	0.044 (0.042)	0.205*** (0.042)	0.172*** (0.041)
SES	-0.128*** (0.044)	-0.055 (0.044)	-0.076* (0.044)	-0.099** (0.044)	-0.116*** (0.044)	0.052 (0.044)
Edu	-0.024* (0.013)	-0.032** (0.013)	-0.011 (0.013)	-0.039*** (0.013)	-0.015 (0.013)	0.059*** (0.012)
Constant	-0.077 (0.204)	-0.128 (0.204)	0.008 (0.205)	0.317 (0.204)	0.267 (0.205)	-0.640*** (0.204)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,402	2,402	2,401	2,405	2,391	2,407
R <sup>2</sup>	0.092	0.089	0.085	0.090	0.084	0.094
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.044	0.041	0.036	0.043	0.036	0.047
Residual Std. Error	0.978 (df = 2281)	0.980 (df = 2281)	0.981 (df = 2280)	0.978 (df = 2284)	0.982 (df = 2270)	0.976 (df = 2286)

Note:

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

Table A9: Exposure to Military Operations and Trust

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't	Federal Gov't	Subnat'l Police	Federal Police	Military	Community
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Mil Operations Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.042 (0.036)	-0.023 (0.036)	-0.009 (0.036)	-0.069* (0.036)	-0.060* (0.036)	-0.042 (0.036)
Gender: Female	0.113*** (0.042)	0.111*** (0.042)	0.029 (0.042)	0.047 (0.042)	0.208*** (0.042)	0.175*** (0.042)
SES	-0.127*** (0.044)	-0.053 (0.044)	-0.076* (0.044)	-0.097** (0.044)	-0.115*** (0.044)	0.052 (0.044)
Edu	-0.023* (0.013)	-0.032** (0.013)	-0.011 (0.013)	-0.039*** (0.013)	-0.015 (0.013)	0.060*** (0.012)
Constant	-0.042 (0.204)	-0.093 (0.204)	0.018 (0.204)	0.372* (0.203)	0.313 (0.205)	-0.615*** (0.203)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,402	2,402	2,401	2,405	2,391	2,407
R <sup>2</sup>	0.091	0.088	0.085	0.090	0.084	0.095
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.044	0.040	0.036	0.042	0.036	0.047
Residual Std. Error	0.978 (df = 2281)	0.980 (df = 2281)	0.981 (df = 2280)	0.978 (df = 2284)	0.982 (df = 2270)	0.975 (df = 2286)

Note:

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

Table A10: Confrontations X Cohort Eligibility

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Mean Conf (2007-11)	-0.543 (1.082)	1.135 (1.085)	-1.127 (1.085)	-0.630 (1.084)	-0.619 (1.088)	-0.081 (1.080)
Cohort: Eligible	-0.042 (0.082)	0.038 (0.082)	0.070 (0.082)	0.131 (0.081)	0.050 (0.082)	0.045 (0.081)
Gender: Female	0.112*** (0.042)	0.108*** (0.042)	0.032 (0.042)	0.045 (0.042)	0.206*** (0.042)	0.173*** (0.041)
SES	-0.127*** (0.044)	-0.057 (0.044)	-0.073* (0.044)	-0.101** (0.044)	-0.115*** (0.044)	0.049 (0.044)
Edu	-0.026** (0.012)	-0.032*** (0.012)	-0.014 (0.012)	-0.037*** (0.012)	-0.015 (0.012)	0.063*** (0.012)
Age	-0.045*** (0.009)	-0.017* (0.009)	-0.031*** (0.009)	-0.005 (0.009)	-0.015 (0.009)	0.007 (0.009)
Cohort: Eligible X Mean Conf. (2007-11)	-0.020 (0.015)	-0.027* (0.015)	-0.005 (0.015)	-0.038** (0.015)	-0.031** (0.015)	-0.011 (0.015)
Constant	1.189*** (0.292)	0.338 (0.292)	0.828*** (0.292)	0.518* (0.292)	0.663** (0.294)	-0.874*** (0.291)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,402	2,402	2,401	2,405	2,391	2,407
R <sup>2</sup>	0.088	0.085	0.082	0.085	0.080	0.090
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.045	0.041	0.039	0.041	0.036	0.047
Residual Std. Error	0.977 (df = 2292)	0.979 (df = 2292)	0.980 (df = 2291)	0.979 (df = 2295)	0.982 (df = 2281)	0.975 (df = 2297)

Note:

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

Table A11: Operations X Cohort Eligibility

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Mean Ops (2007-11)	-0.577 (0.370)	-0.537 (0.371)	-0.516 (0.371)	-0.212 (0.371)	0.402 (0.372)	-0.323 (0.369)
Cohort: Eligible	-0.035 (0.088)	0.035 (0.088)	0.057 (0.088)	0.146* (0.088)	0.056 (0.088)	0.062 (0.087)
Gender: Female	0.113*** (0.042)	0.109*** (0.042)	0.032 (0.042)	0.046 (0.042)	0.207*** (0.042)	0.175*** (0.041)
SES	-0.125*** (0.044)	-0.055 (0.044)	-0.073* (0.044)	-0.098** (0.044)	-0.113** (0.044)	0.049 (0.044)
Edu	-0.026** (0.012)	-0.033*** (0.012)	-0.014 (0.012)	-0.037*** (0.012)	-0.016 (0.012)	0.063*** (0.012)
Age	-0.045*** (0.009)	-0.017* (0.009)	-0.031*** (0.009)	-0.005 (0.009)	-0.015 (0.009)	0.007 (0.009)
Cohort: Eligible X Mean Ops (2007-11)	-0.099 (0.107)	-0.101 (0.107)	0.017 (0.107)	-0.194* (0.107)	-0.140 (0.108)	-0.090 (0.107)
Constant	1.685*** (0.323)	0.808** (0.324)	1.242*** (0.324)	0.752** (0.323)	0.389 (0.325)	-0.591* (0.322)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,402	2,402	2,401	2,405	2,391	2,407
R <sup>2</sup>	0.088	0.084	0.082	0.084	0.079	0.090
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.044	0.040	0.039	0.040	0.035	0.047
Residual Std. Error	0.977 (df = 2292)	0.980 (df = 2292)	0.980 (df = 2291)	0.979 (df = 2295)	0.983 (df = 2281)	0.975 (df = 2297)

Note:

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

## 6 Controlling for Pre-Drug War Detentions

Here, we present models that control for detentions in respondents' birth municipality by SEDENA prior to the official start of the Drug War. This variable is calculated as the average number of drug-trafficking related detentions between 2000 and 2005.

Table A12: Exposure to Homicide and Trust (including pre-Drug War Detentions)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Homicide Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.031 (0.043)	-0.035 (0.041)	-0.055 (0.040)	-0.079* (0.041)	0.005 (0.048)	-0.089** (0.039)
Gender: Female	-0.090* (0.052)	-0.086* (0.052)	-0.037 (0.052)	-0.039 (0.050)	-0.182*** (0.050)	-0.154*** (0.052)
SES	-0.095 (0.058)	0.005 (0.057)	-0.051 (0.056)	-0.106* (0.054)	-0.088* (0.053)	0.095 (0.059)
Edu	-0.035** (0.016)	-0.051*** (0.016)	-0.020 (0.016)	-0.034** (0.015)	-0.014 (0.015)	0.057*** (0.016)
Mean Pre-Drug War Detentions	1.435 (1.858)	-1.944 (2.985)	2.400 (2.047)	1.206 (2.075)	1.405 (2.526)	0.109 (2.918)
Constant	-3.002 (4.010)	4.372 (6.515)	-5.223 (4.427)	-2.285 (4.498)	-2.446 (5.516)	-0.652 (6.380)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,705	1,706	1,707	1,708	1,697	1,710
R <sup>2</sup>	0.087	0.088	0.088	0.094	0.072	0.101
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.040	0.040	0.040	0.047	0.024	0.055

Note:

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

Table A13: Exposure to Confrontations and Trust (including pre-Drug War Detentions)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Mil Confrontations Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.032 (0.032)	-0.049 (0.032)	-0.018 (0.035)	-0.070** (0.034)	-0.036 (0.030)	-0.025 (0.030)
Gender: Female	-0.089* (0.052)	-0.085* (0.052)	-0.035 (0.052)	-0.036 (0.050)	-0.182*** (0.050)	-0.151*** (0.052)
SES	-0.096* (0.058)	0.004 (0.057)	-0.051 (0.056)	-0.108** (0.054)	-0.090* (0.053)	0.096 (0.059)
Edu	-0.036** (0.016)	-0.051*** (0.016)	-0.021 (0.016)	-0.035** (0.015)	-0.013 (0.015)	0.056*** (0.016)
Mean Pre-Drug War Detentions	1.473 (1.862)	-1.909 (2.961)	2.484 (2.037)	1.306 (2.064)	1.379 (2.508)	0.246 (2.911)
Constant	-3.084 (4.019)	4.286 (6.463)	-5.373 (4.406)	-2.490 (4.474)	-2.423 (5.478)	-0.894 (6.366)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,705	1,706	1,707	1,708	1,697	1,710
R <sup>2</sup>	0.088	0.089	0.087	0.094	0.073	0.099
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.040	0.041	0.039	0.047	0.025	0.052

Note:

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

Table A14: Exposure to Operations and Trust (including pre-Drug War Detentions)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Mil Operations Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.023 (0.046)	-0.020 (0.044)	-0.010 (0.046)	-0.073* (0.044)	-0.034 (0.043)	-0.037 (0.046)
Gender: Female	-0.090* (0.052)	-0.085* (0.052)	-0.036 (0.052)	-0.039 (0.050)	-0.184*** (0.050)	-0.152*** (0.052)
SES	-0.095 (0.058)	0.006 (0.057)	-0.050 (0.056)	-0.105* (0.055)	-0.089* (0.053)	0.097* (0.059)
Edu	-0.036** (0.016)	-0.051*** (0.016)	-0.021 (0.016)	-0.035** (0.015)	-0.013 (0.015)	0.056*** (0.016)
Mean Pre-Drug War Detentions	1.482 (1.856)	-1.890 (3.010)	2.490 (2.053)	1.321 (2.104)	1.388 (2.567)	0.248 (2.947)
Constant	-3.073 (4.007)	4.289 (6.571)	-5.369 (4.442)	-2.454 (4.564)	-2.406 (5.607)	-0.872 (6.445)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,705	1,706	1,707	1,708	1,697	1,710
R <sup>2</sup>	0.087	0.087	0.087	0.093	0.073	0.099
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.040	0.040	0.039	0.046	0.024	0.052

*Note:* \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

## 7 Controlling for Violence at Time of Survey

This section provides results from main analysis conducted, but including an additional control variable for the homicide rate the year prior to the fielding of the survey. This variable is calculated as the average number of homicides per 100 thousand residents in each municipality.

Table A15: Exposure to Homicide and Trust (including Contemporary Homicide Rate)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Homicide Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.039 (0.041)	-0.041 (0.040)	-0.046 (0.038)	-0.087** (0.040)	-0.024 (0.046)	-0.084** (0.037)
Current Homicide Rate (per 100k)	-0.005 (0.007)	0.008 (0.012)	-0.009 (0.008)	-0.005 (0.008)	-0.005 (0.010)	0.0003 (0.012)
Gender: Female	-0.111*** (0.043)	-0.111*** (0.043)	-0.030 (0.043)	-0.046 (0.042)	-0.205*** (0.043)	-0.175*** (0.042)
SES	-0.120** (0.048)	-0.050 (0.048)	-0.068 (0.047)	-0.092* (0.048)	-0.112** (0.048)	0.050 (0.049)
Edu	-0.024* (0.013)	-0.032** (0.014)	-0.012 (0.013)	-0.039*** (0.013)	-0.015 (0.013)	0.061*** (0.013)
Constant	0.155 (0.248)	0.037 (0.261)	0.075 (0.253)	0.392 (0.244)	0.716*** (0.227)	-0.349 (0.233)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,402	2,402	2,401	2,405	2,391	2,407
R <sup>2</sup>	0.091	0.088	0.085	0.090	0.083	0.096
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.043	0.040	0.037	0.043	0.035	0.049

*Note:* \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table A16: Exposure to Mil Confrontations and Trust (including Contemporary Homicide Rate)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Mil Confrontations Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.039 (0.030)	-0.055* (0.030)	-0.012 (0.033)	-0.078** (0.032)	-0.056** (0.028)	-0.026 (0.029)
Current Homicide Rate (per 100k)	-0.005 (0.007)	0.008 (0.012)	-0.009 (0.008)	-0.006 (0.008)	-0.006 (0.010)	-0.0002 (0.012)
Gender: Female	-0.111*** (0.043)	-0.111*** (0.043)	-0.029 (0.043)	-0.045 (0.043)	-0.206*** (0.043)	-0.173*** (0.042)
SES	-0.121** (0.048)	-0.051 (0.048)	-0.068 (0.047)	-0.093* (0.048)	-0.114** (0.048)	0.051 (0.049)
Edu	-0.024* (0.013)	-0.033** (0.014)	-0.012 (0.013)	-0.039*** (0.013)	-0.015 (0.013)	0.060*** (0.013)
Constant	0.162 (0.246)	0.037 (0.261)	0.106 (0.252)	0.416* (0.244)	0.700*** (0.225)	-0.296 (0.232)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,402	2,402	2,401	2,405	2,391	2,407
R <sup>2</sup>	0.091	0.089	0.084	0.091	0.085	0.094
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.043	0.041	0.036	0.043	0.036	0.047

Note:

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

Table A17: Exposure to Mil Operations and Trust (including Contemporary Homicide Rate)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Mil Operations Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.042 (0.038)	-0.023 (0.036)	-0.009 (0.037)	-0.069* (0.037)	-0.060* (0.036)	-0.042 (0.038)
Current Homicide Rate (per 100k)	-0.005 (0.007)	0.008 (0.012)	-0.009 (0.008)	-0.006 (0.008)	-0.006 (0.010)	-0.0002 (0.012)
Gender: Female	-0.113*** (0.043)	-0.110*** (0.043)	-0.029 (0.043)	-0.047 (0.043)	-0.209*** (0.043)	-0.175*** (0.043)
SES	-0.120** (0.048)	-0.050 (0.048)	-0.068 (0.047)	-0.092* (0.048)	-0.113** (0.048)	0.051 (0.049)
Edu	-0.024* (0.013)	-0.033** (0.014)	-0.012 (0.013)	-0.039*** (0.013)	-0.015 (0.013)	0.060*** (0.013)
Constant	0.203 (0.247)	0.081 (0.260)	0.117 (0.252)	0.491** (0.243)	0.759*** (0.227)	-0.263 (0.233)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,402	2,402	2,401	2,405	2,391	2,407
R <sup>2</sup>	0.091	0.088	0.084	0.090	0.084	0.095
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.043	0.040	0.036	0.042	0.036	0.047

Note:

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

Table A18: Confrontations X Cohort Eligibility (including Contemporary Homicide Rate)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Cohort: Eligible X Mean Conf. (2007-11)	-0.020 (0.016)	-0.027* (0.016)	-0.005 (0.018)	-0.038** (0.017)	-0.030** (0.015)	-0.011 (0.015)
Mean Conf (2007-11)	-1.368 (1.109)	-2.987** (1.262)	-0.241 (0.908)	-1.463 (1.368)	-0.059 (1.076)	0.250 (1.510)
Cohort: Eligible	-0.042 (0.084)	0.038 (0.086)	0.070 (0.084)	0.131 (0.086)	0.050 (0.085)	0.045 (0.081)
Current Homicide Rate (per 100k)	0.007 (0.014)	0.033 (0.021)	-0.007 (0.014)	0.007 (0.017)	-0.005 (0.018)	-0.003 (0.022)
Gender: Female	-0.112*** (0.043)	-0.108** (0.043)	-0.032 (0.043)	-0.044 (0.042)	-0.206*** (0.042)	-0.173*** (0.042)
SES	-0.119** (0.048)	-0.053 (0.048)	-0.065 (0.047)	-0.095** (0.048)	-0.113** (0.047)	0.047 (0.049)
Edu	-0.027** (0.013)	-0.033** (0.013)	-0.015 (0.013)	-0.037*** (0.013)	-0.015 (0.013)	0.063*** (0.013)
Age	-0.045*** (0.010)	-0.016 (0.010)	-0.031*** (0.010)	-0.005 (0.010)	-0.015 (0.010)	0.007 (0.010)
Constant	1.368*** (0.334)	0.372 (0.348)	0.919*** (0.335)	0.563* (0.330)	1.097*** (0.325)	-0.511 (0.323)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,402	2,402	2,401	2,405	2,391	2,407
R <sup>2</sup>	0.087	0.085	0.082	0.084	0.080	0.090
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.044	0.041	0.038	0.041	0.036	0.047

Note:

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

Table A19: Operations X Cohort Eligibility (including Contemporary Homicide Rate)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Cohort: Eligible X Mean Conf. (2007-11)	-0.099 (0.112)	-0.101 (0.108)	0.017 (0.111)	-0.194* (0.109)	-0.140 (0.108)	-0.090 (0.109)
Mean Conf (2007-11)	-0.551 (0.388)	-0.586 (0.413)	-0.467 (0.390)	-0.184 (0.362)	0.433 (0.343)	-0.321 (0.373)
Cohort: Eligible	-0.035 (0.090)	0.035 (0.092)	0.057 (0.091)	0.146 (0.092)	0.057 (0.092)	0.062 (0.088)
Current Homicide Rate (per 100k)	-0.004 (0.007)	0.009 (0.012)	-0.009 (0.008)	-0.005 (0.009)	-0.005 (0.010)	-0.001 (0.012)
Gender: Female	-0.113*** (0.043)	-0.109** (0.043)	-0.031 (0.043)	-0.046 (0.042)	-0.207*** (0.042)	-0.175*** (0.042)
SES	-0.118** (0.048)	-0.051 (0.048)	-0.065 (0.047)	-0.093* (0.048)	-0.111** (0.047)	0.048 (0.049)
Edu	-0.027** (0.013)	-0.033** (0.013)	-0.015 (0.013)	-0.038*** (0.013)	-0.016 (0.013)	0.063*** (0.013)
Age	-0.045*** (0.010)	-0.017* (0.010)	-0.031*** (0.010)	-0.005 (0.010)	-0.015 (0.010)	0.007 (0.010)
Constant	1.904*** (0.340)	1.011*** (0.354)	1.304*** (0.332)	0.841** (0.333)	0.805** (0.336)	-0.238 (0.336)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,402	2,402	2,401	2,405	2,391	2,407
R <sup>2</sup>	0.087	0.084	0.082	0.083	0.079	0.090
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.044	0.040	0.038	0.040	0.035	0.047

Note:

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

## 8 MAUP and Adjacent Exposure

This section provides results from main analysis conducted, but re-specifying the unit of treatment at a higher level of geographic aggregation. In this way, we consider both how exposure in adjacent municipalities may influence attitudes, and provide a robustness check for issues related to the modifiable areal unit problem (MAUP) (Lee, Rogers and Soifer, 2025). To do so, we identify the geographic unit of interest as the respondent’s municipality of residence plus all adjacent municipalities. That is to say, we calculate the same exposure variables for each birth-year–municipality cohort, but including information regarding violence, confrontations, or operations in municipalities contiguous to and including their own. To calculate this variable, we utilize shape files from INEGI to identify all adjacent municipalities to those included in our survey. With this information, we calculate average exposure to the three variables of information for each birth-year–municipality cohort.

Table A20: Exposure to Homicide and Trust (including Adjacent Exposure)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't	Federal Gov't	Subnat'l Police	Federal Police	Military	Community
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Hom. Adjacent Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.017 (0.042)	-0.007 (0.040)	-0.028 (0.040)	-0.067* (0.040)	-0.008 (0.048)	-0.073* (0.038)
Gender: Female	-0.111*** (0.043)	-0.109** (0.043)	-0.030 (0.043)	-0.047 (0.043)	-0.205*** (0.043)	-0.177*** (0.042)
SES	-0.120** (0.048)	-0.049 (0.048)	-0.068 (0.047)	-0.091* (0.048)	-0.112** (0.048)	0.051 (0.049)
Edu	-0.024* (0.013)	-0.033** (0.014)	-0.012 (0.013)	-0.039*** (0.013)	-0.015 (0.013)	0.060*** (0.013)
Constant	0.147 (0.232)	0.110 (0.239)	0.041 (0.235)	0.380* (0.227)	0.700*** (0.210)	-0.339 (0.212)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,402	2,402	2,401	2,405	2,391	2,407
R <sup>2</sup>	0.091	0.088	0.085	0.090	0.083	0.096
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.043	0.040	0.036	0.042	0.035	0.048

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table A21: Exposure to Mil Confrontations and Trust (including Adjacent Exposure)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't	Federal Gov't	Subnat'l Police	Federal Police	Military	Community
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Mil Conf Adjacent Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.074** (0.032)	-0.066** (0.031)	-0.051 (0.032)	-0.098*** (0.030)	-0.076*** (0.029)	-0.021 (0.032)
Gender: Female	-0.110*** (0.043)	-0.110** (0.043)	-0.029 (0.043)	-0.044 (0.042)	-0.205*** (0.043)	-0.172*** (0.042)
SES	-0.121** (0.048)	-0.050 (0.048)	-0.068 (0.047)	-0.092* (0.048)	-0.113** (0.048)	0.051 (0.049)
Edu	-0.025* (0.013)	-0.033** (0.014)	-0.012 (0.013)	-0.040*** (0.013)	-0.015 (0.013)	0.060*** (0.013)
Constant	0.114 (0.229)	0.075 (0.238)	0.031 (0.234)	0.374* (0.226)	0.659*** (0.207)	-0.293 (0.211)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,402	2,402	2,401	2,405	2,391	2,407
R <sup>2</sup>	0.093	0.089	0.085	0.092	0.086	0.094
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.045	0.042	0.037	0.045	0.037	0.047

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table A22: Exposure to Mil Operations and Trust (including Adjacent Exposure)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't	Federal Gov't	Subnat'l Police	Federal Police	Military	Community
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Mil Ops Adjacent Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.023 (0.038)	-0.004 (0.036)	0.010 (0.038)	-0.055 (0.036)	-0.051 (0.034)	-0.026 (0.037)
Gender: Female	-0.111*** (0.043)	-0.109** (0.043)	-0.028 (0.043)	-0.046 (0.043)	-0.207*** (0.043)	-0.173*** (0.042)
SES	-0.120** (0.048)	-0.049 (0.048)	-0.068 (0.047)	-0.091* (0.048)	-0.113** (0.048)	0.051 (0.049)
Edu	-0.024* (0.013)	-0.033** (0.014)	-0.012 (0.013)	-0.040*** (0.013)	-0.015 (0.013)	0.060*** (0.013)
Constant	0.165 (0.229)	0.116 (0.237)	0.062 (0.233)	0.444** (0.225)	0.715*** (0.208)	-0.276 (0.211)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,402	2,402	2,401	2,405	2,391	2,407
R <sup>2</sup>	0.091	0.088	0.084	0.089	0.084	0.094
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.043	0.040	0.036	0.041	0.035	0.047

Note:

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

## 9 Subgroup Effects: SES & Education

In this section, we present results of our analysis but examining subgroups based on socioeconomic status and education levels. We define high and low levels of socioeconomic status based on the median value. For education, we examine those who have completed high school and above (high education) and those who have not (low education). Due to smaller sample sizes, we are unable to consistently estimate robust standard errors; we present conventional standard errors as a result.

Table A23: Exposure to Homicide and Trust (High SES Respondents)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't	Federal Gov't	Subnat'l Police	Federal Police	Military	Community
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Homicide Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.072 (0.053)	-0.127** (0.053)	0.026 (0.054)	-0.144*** (0.054)	-0.091* (0.055)	-0.098* (0.052)
Gender: Female	-0.193*** (0.058)	-0.165*** (0.058)	-0.126** (0.058)	-0.086 (0.058)	-0.277*** (0.060)	-0.170*** (0.056)
Edu	-0.034* (0.019)	-0.056*** (0.019)	-0.016 (0.019)	-0.045** (0.019)	-0.066*** (0.020)	0.034* (0.019)
Constant	0.327 (0.301)	0.184 (0.301)	0.228 (0.302)	0.088 (0.305)	0.987*** (0.311)	0.196 (0.292)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,197	1,196	1,197	1,198	1,191	1,199
R <sup>2</sup>	0.166	0.164	0.137	0.139	0.160	0.123

Note:

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

Table A24: Exposure to Homicide and Trust (Low SES Respondents)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Homicide Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.026 (0.054)	0.015 (0.054)	-0.122** (0.055)	-0.046 (0.054)	0.024 (0.054)	-0.065 (0.056)
Gender: Female	-0.043 (0.063)	-0.081 (0.063)	0.041 (0.063)	-0.034 (0.063)	-0.155** (0.062)	-0.182*** (0.064)
Edu	-0.025 (0.016)	-0.020 (0.016)	-0.014 (0.016)	-0.035** (0.016)	-0.001 (0.016)	0.084*** (0.017)
Constant	-0.580* (0.307)	-0.219 (0.307)	-0.489 (0.308)	0.188 (0.306)	0.087 (0.301)	-0.663** (0.314)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,205	1,206	1,204	1,207	1,200	1,208
R <sup>2</sup>	0.116	0.115	0.132	0.118	0.103	0.149
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.022	0.021	0.040	0.024	0.007	0.058

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table A25: Exposure to Military Confrontations and Trust (High SES Respondents)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Mil Confrontations Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.022 (0.038)	-0.040 (0.038)	0.050 (0.038)	-0.044 (0.039)	-0.038 (0.039)	-0.015 (0.037)
Gender: Female	-0.191*** (0.058)	-0.161*** (0.058)	-0.128** (0.058)	-0.082 (0.058)	-0.274*** (0.060)	-0.167*** (0.056)
Edu	-0.036* (0.019)	-0.059*** (0.019)	-0.016 (0.019)	-0.048** (0.019)	-0.068*** (0.020)	0.032* (0.019)
Constant	0.380 (0.298)	0.278 (0.299)	0.248 (0.299)	0.195 (0.302)	1.046*** (0.308)	0.282 (0.289)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,197	1,196	1,197	1,198	1,191	1,199
R <sup>2</sup>	0.165	0.160	0.138	0.135	0.159	0.120
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.073	0.068	0.044	0.040	0.066	0.024

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table A26: Exposure to Military Confrontations and Trust (Low SES Respondents)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Mil Confrontations Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.048 (0.046)	-0.080* (0.046)	-0.080* (0.046)	-0.117** (0.046)	-0.084* (0.045)	-0.041 (0.047)
Gender: Female	-0.045 (0.063)	-0.089 (0.063)	0.042 (0.063)	-0.041 (0.062)	-0.164*** (0.062)	-0.181*** (0.064)
Edu	-0.025 (0.016)	-0.019 (0.016)	-0.015 (0.016)	-0.035** (0.016)	0.0002 (0.016)	0.083*** (0.017)
Constant	-0.585* (0.306)	-0.269 (0.305)	-0.442 (0.307)	0.162 (0.304)	0.027 (0.299)	-0.638** (0.312)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,205	1,206	1,204	1,207	1,200	1,208
R <sup>2</sup>	0.117	0.118	0.131	0.122	0.105	0.148
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.022	0.024	0.038	0.029	0.010	0.058

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table A27: Exposure to Military Operations and Trust (High SES Respondents)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't	Federal Gov't	Subnat'l Police	Federal Police	Military	Community
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Mil Operations Exposure (0-10yrs)	0.020 (0.049)	-0.007 (0.049)	0.060 (0.049)	-0.050 (0.050)	-0.073 (0.051)	-0.006 (0.047)
Gender: Female	-0.190*** (0.058)	-0.162*** (0.058)	-0.123** (0.058)	-0.086 (0.059)	-0.280*** (0.060)	-0.168*** (0.056)
Edu	-0.036* (0.019)	-0.059*** (0.019)	-0.016 (0.019)	-0.048** (0.019)	-0.067*** (0.020)	0.032* (0.019)
Constant	0.392 (0.297)	0.318 (0.298)	0.174 (0.298)	0.258 (0.301)	1.116*** (0.307)	0.299 (0.288)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,197	1,196	1,197	1,198	1,191	1,199
R <sup>2</sup>	0.164	0.159	0.138	0.134	0.160	0.120
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.073	0.067	0.044	0.040	0.067	0.023

Note:

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

Table A28: Exposure to Military Operations and Trust (Low SES Respondents)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't	Federal Gov't	Subnat'l Police	Federal Police	Military	Community
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Mil Operations Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.108** (0.055)	-0.049 (0.055)	-0.083 (0.055)	-0.084 (0.055)	-0.065 (0.054)	-0.084 (0.056)
Gender: Female	-0.050 (0.063)	-0.086 (0.063)	0.042 (0.063)	-0.038 (0.063)	-0.162*** (0.062)	-0.184*** (0.064)
Edu	-0.024 (0.016)	-0.019 (0.016)	-0.014 (0.016)	-0.035** (0.016)	0.0002 (0.016)	0.084*** (0.017)
Constant	-0.543* (0.304)	-0.221 (0.304)	-0.390 (0.307)	0.234 (0.303)	0.080 (0.299)	-0.604* (0.311)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,205	1,206	1,204	1,207	1,200	1,208
R <sup>2</sup>	0.119	0.116	0.130	0.119	0.104	0.149
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.025	0.022	0.037	0.025	0.008	0.059

Note:

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

Table A29: Exposure to Homicide and Trust (High Edu Respondents)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Homicide Exposure (0-10yrs)	0.024 (0.095)	-0.041 (0.097)	0.095 (0.098)	-0.044 (0.099)	-0.026 (0.105)	-0.040 (0.087)
Gender: Female	-0.159** (0.078)	-0.089 (0.080)	-0.177** (0.081)	-0.096 (0.081)	-0.192** (0.086)	-0.088 (0.071)
SES	-0.025 (0.132)	0.021 (0.135)	-0.060 (0.136)	-0.149 (0.137)	-0.096 (0.146)	0.048 (0.121)
Constant	0.140 (1.249)	-0.542 (1.281)	0.592 (1.293)	1.117 (1.302)	0.719 (1.385)	-0.766 (1.145)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	652	654	651	652	651	653
R <sup>2</sup>	0.182	0.217	0.180	0.178	0.184	0.207
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.011	0.055	0.010	0.007	0.015	0.043

Note:

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

Table A30: Exposure to Homicide and Trust (Low Edu Respondents)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't	Federal Gov't	Subnat'l Police	Federal Police	Military	Community
Homicide Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.033 (0.044)	-0.027 (0.044)	-0.059 (0.044)	-0.061 (0.043)	0.012 (0.043)	-0.073 (0.045)
Gender: Female	-0.079 (0.051)	-0.108** (0.050)	0.041 (0.050)	-0.029 (0.050)	-0.201*** (0.049)	-0.198*** (0.052)
SES	-0.057*** (0.017)	-0.040** (0.017)	-0.030* (0.017)	-0.049*** (0.017)	-0.013 (0.016)	0.066*** (0.017)
Constant	-0.047 (0.250)	0.022 (0.247)	-0.152 (0.247)	0.292 (0.246)	0.646*** (0.242)	-0.094 (0.253)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,750	1,748	1,750	1,753	1,740	1,754
R <sup>2</sup>	0.100	0.095	0.109	0.101	0.098	0.103
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.035	0.029	0.044	0.036	0.032	0.037

Note:

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

Table A31: Exposure to Military Confrontations and Trust (High Edu Respondents)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Mil Confrontations Exposure (0-10yrs)	0.026 (0.060)	0.017 (0.061)	0.092 (0.062)	0.079 (0.062)	-0.048 (0.066)	-0.022 (0.055)
Gender: Female	-0.159** (0.078)	-0.090 (0.080)	-0.178** (0.080)	-0.100 (0.081)	-0.192** (0.086)	-0.089 (0.071)
SES	-0.027 (0.132)	0.018 (0.135)	-0.066 (0.136)	-0.158 (0.137)	-0.092 (0.146)	0.049 (0.121)
Constant	0.156 (1.248)	-0.467 (1.280)	0.639 (1.291)	1.302 (1.300)	0.667 (1.383)	-0.758 (1.144)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	652	654	651	652	651	653
R <sup>2</sup>	0.182	0.217	0.182	0.180	0.185	0.207
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.012	0.055	0.012	0.009	0.016	0.043

Note:

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

Table A32: Exposure to Military Confrontations and Trust (Low Edu Respondents)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Mil Confrontations Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.057 (0.037)	-0.093** (0.037)	-0.041 (0.036)	-0.116*** (0.037)	-0.064* (0.036)	-0.018 (0.038)
Gender: Female	-0.081 (0.051)	-0.113** (0.050)	0.043 (0.050)	-0.033 (0.050)	-0.206*** (0.049)	-0.194*** (0.052)
SES	-0.057*** (0.017)	-0.039** (0.017)	-0.031* (0.017)	-0.048*** (0.016)	-0.012 (0.016)	0.065*** (0.017)
Constant	-0.059 (0.249)	-0.018 (0.246)	-0.133 (0.246)	0.265 (0.245)	0.594** (0.241)	-0.050 (0.252)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,750	1,748	1,750	1,753	1,740	1,754
R <sup>2</sup>	0.101	0.098	0.109	0.106	0.100	0.101

Note:

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

Table A33: Exposure to Military Operations and Trust (High Edu Respondents)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Mil Operations Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.024 (0.100)	-0.119 (0.102)	-0.078 (0.103)	-0.036 (0.104)	-0.140 (0.111)	-0.067 (0.092)
Gender: Female	-0.159** (0.078)	-0.095 (0.080)	-0.177** (0.081)	-0.099 (0.081)	-0.198** (0.086)	-0.092 (0.071)
SES	-0.024 (0.132)	0.020 (0.135)	-0.056 (0.136)	-0.150 (0.137)	-0.095 (0.146)	0.047 (0.121)
Constant	0.107 (1.244)	-0.521 (1.275)	0.466 (1.289)	1.159 (1.297)	0.717 (1.378)	-0.737 (1.140)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	652	654	651	652	651	653
R <sup>2</sup>	0.182	0.219	0.180	0.177	0.187	0.208

Note:

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

Table A34: Exposure to Military Operations and Trust (Low Edu Respondents)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Mil Operations Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.039 (0.043)	-0.009 (0.042)	0.003 (0.042)	-0.055 (0.042)	-0.047 (0.041)	-0.011 (0.043)
Gender: Female	-0.080 (0.051)	-0.107** (0.051)	0.046 (0.050)	-0.030 (0.050)	-0.207*** (0.049)	-0.193*** (0.052)
SES	-0.057*** (0.017)	-0.041** (0.017)	-0.031* (0.017)	-0.049*** (0.017)	-0.013 (0.016)	0.065*** (0.017)
Constant	-0.001 (0.249)	0.047 (0.246)	-0.107 (0.245)	0.369 (0.245)	0.660*** (0.240)	-0.033 (0.252)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,750	1,748	1,750	1,753	1,740	1,754
R <sup>2</sup>	0.101	0.095	0.108	0.101	0.099	0.101
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.035	0.028	0.043	0.036	0.033	0.036

Note:

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

## 10 Movers & Trust

In our main results, we remove all individuals who do not live in the same municipality as where they grew up, as we cannot reliably determine their levels of exposure to our variables of interest. However, having the ability to move municipalities is often a function of one’s socioeconomic status and could perhaps be endogenous to long-term trust. Here, we examine if whether or not a respondent moved municipalities from where they were born is associated with trust in all institutions and the community. We control for SES, education, and gender as we do in our main analysis. We find no statistically significant relationship. For this analysis we utilize non-standardized trust variables, as standardization occurs in our analysis following the dropping of “movers.”

Table A35: Respondents who Moved Municipalities and Trust

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Moved Municipalities					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Trust: Fed Gov	0.001 (0.004)					
Trust: Subnat Gov		-0.001 (0.005)				
Trust: Military			0.002 (0.005)			
Trust: Federal Police				0.0002 (0.004)		
Trust: Subnat Police					-0.004 (0.005)	
Trust: Community						-0.005 (0.004)
SES	-0.044*** (0.014)	-0.042*** (0.014)	-0.045*** (0.014)	-0.043*** (0.014)	-0.044*** (0.014)	-0.044*** (0.014)
Edu	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.005 (0.004)	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.005 (0.004)
Gender: Male	-0.004 (0.014)	-0.004 (0.014)	-0.005 (0.014)	-0.006 (0.014)	-0.005 (0.014)	-0.003 (0.014)
Constant	0.320*** (0.070)	0.324*** (0.070)	0.310*** (0.073)	0.316*** (0.071)	0.342*** (0.070)	0.335*** (0.068)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,855	2,850	2,836	2,856	2,852	2,855
R <sup>2</sup>	0.099	0.098	0.099	0.098	0.100	0.099
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.059	0.059	0.059	0.059	0.061	0.059

Note:

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

## 11 Risk-Set Matching

Here, we provide an alternative analysis for our evaluation of continuous exposure to violence, confrontations, and operations based on the principles of risk set matching (Rosenbaum, 2020). Via this approach, we restrict comparisons to respondents in municipalities that were on the path of exposure to each of our three variables of interest, but vary in the timing of the onset of exposure. To do so, we define the initial year of exposure for each municipality as follows for each of our three variables of interest:

1. Homicide: A homicide spike, or the first year a municipality’s homicide rate exceeded the mean plus 1/2 of a standard deviation
2. Confrontations: The first year a municipality experienced extended exposure to confrontations, that is two or more consecutive years of exposure
3. Operations: The first year a municipality experienced extended exposure to operations, that is two or more consecutive years of exposure

Based on these definitions, we then define two groups of individuals for each analysis: 1) an early exposed group (those exposed to this initial municipal-level “treatment” during their first ten years of life), and 2) a not-yet-exposed group (those residing within a municipality

that is exposed to one of these “treatments,” but after their first ten years of life). For each analysis, we restrict our sample to only analyze these two groups (early exposed and not-yet exposed). We combine these to create a risk-set sample, and conduct within-cohort analyses (an analysis restricted to individuals born in the same year) to measure the exposure to violence, confrontations, and operations within the first ten years of life. Because some of our cohorts were never exposed to military operations or confrontations during their first ten years of life (e.g., those in 1992 were not exposed to confrontations), these cohorts are dropped from our analysis as their is no variation in this treatment variable. We then conduct a meta analysis to estimate the pooled effect across all cohorts using the metagen package, utilizing the common effects model estimate.

In all models, we incorporate all controls used in our standard estimations, but we do not include fixed effects for birth year or municipality. Birth year fixed effects are unnecessary, as separate models are estimated for each birth year cohort. Municipality fixed effects are dropped due to few observations per municipality.

Table A36: Risk-Set Matching Meta-Analysis Coefficients

Violence Exposure			Confrontations Exposure			Operations Exposure		
IV	Coef.	P-value	IV	Coef.	P-value	IV	Coef.	P-value
Subnat'l Gov't	-0.106	0.081	Subnat'l Gov't	0.020	0.471	Subnat'l Gov't	0.004	0.894
Fed Gov't	-0.149	0.013	Fed Gov't	-0.028	0.300	Fed Gov't	-0.016	0.583
Subnat'l Police	-0.021	0.736	Subnat'l Police	0.030	0.280	Subnat'l Police	-0.005	0.877
Fed Police	-0.067	0.251	Fed Police	-0.067	0.014	Fed Police	-0.053	0.078
Military	-0.193	0.001	Military	-0.038	0.136	Military	-0.044	0.132
Community	-0.192	0.001	Community	-0.019	0.507	Community	0.012	0.712

## 12 Disentangling Effects of Confrontations vs. Operations

In this section, we disentangle the effects of exposure to military confrontations conditional on exposure to military operations (deployment). That is to say, we consider the effect of exposure to confrontations within municipalities that were all targeted for militarization by the state government. We do this by replicating both our continuous evaluation and quasi-experimental evaluation of exposure to confrontations on trust, but only for those who experienced operations. In essence, this analysis isolates the *additional* impact of confrontations, holding constant individuals' baseline experience of deployment.

In this case of our continuous evaluation, we subset our data to include only those who were exposed to military deployments (operations or confrontations) during their first ten years of life (n = 1,005). Among these, 731 were exposed to some level of confrontations between the military and organized criminal groups. To disentangle the difference between experience military deployments without confrontations and those without, we examine how exposure to confrontations during 0-10 years of life affects trust later in life among this subset of respondents. For the quasi-experimental analysis, we subset our data to include only those who were exposed to military deployments (operations or confrontations) from 2007-2011, but at any age (n = 1,633). Among these, 1,254 were also exposed to some form of military confrontations during this period. Recalling that this strategy compares those who were exposed vs. not exposed among an eligible vs. ineligible cohort (based on birth year), we then once again interact their

eligibility for exposure with the mean number of confrontations in their municipality from 2007-2011. Due to smaller sample size, we are inconsistently able to estimate robust standard errors; we present conventional standard errors for these models.

Results are presented in Tables A37 and A38. With respect to the continuous evaluation, we find negative coefficients with respect to trust in the federal government, federal police, and military, but they do not reach statistical significance. But, in the case of our quasi-experimental design, we find negative and statistically significant results in the cases of trust in the federal police and military. This analysis provides supporting evidence for the fact that violent confrontations have an additional impact on trust. In other words, even conditional on experiencing a military deployment, the experience of exposure to violent confrontations has an independent effect on decreasing trust.

Table A37: Exposure to Military Confrontations and Trust among Respondents Exposed to Operations (0-10yrs)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Neighbors (6)
Mil Confrontations Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.006 (0.041)	-0.036 (0.040)	0.015 (0.041)	-0.051 (0.039)	-0.020 (0.040)	-0.020 (0.042)
Gender: Female	-0.131** (0.065)	-0.091 (0.063)	-0.048 (0.065)	-0.099 (0.062)	-0.237*** (0.064)	-0.092 (0.066)
SES	-0.045 (0.069)	-0.045 (0.067)	-0.042 (0.069)	-0.136** (0.066)	-0.084 (0.068)	0.218*** (0.070)
Edu	-0.043** (0.022)	-0.019 (0.021)	-0.013 (0.022)	-0.025 (0.021)	-0.004 (0.021)	0.023 (0.022)
Constant	0.442 (0.322)	-0.153 (0.308)	0.034 (0.320)	0.502 (0.306)	0.729** (0.313)	-0.561* (0.327)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	995	992	995	996	988	998
R <sup>2</sup>	0.119	0.133	0.133	0.136	0.103	0.118
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.029	0.044	0.044	0.048	0.010	0.029

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table A38: Military Confrontations and Cohort Eligibility for Exposure among Respondents Exposed to Operations (2007-2011)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't (1)	Federal Gov't (2)	Subnat'l Police (3)	Federal Police (4)	Military (5)	Community (6)
Cohort: Eligible X Mean Conf. (2007-11)	-0.013 (0.017)	-0.025 (0.017)	-0.002 (0.016)	-0.038** (0.016)	-0.027* (0.016)	-0.005 (0.017)
Mean Conf (2007-11)	-0.625 (1.103)	1.111 (1.092)	-1.172 (1.095)	-0.569 (1.057)	-0.548 (1.067)	-0.062 (1.112)
Cohort: Eligible	-0.030 (0.104)	0.044 (0.103)	0.083 (0.104)	0.195* (0.100)	0.104 (0.101)	0.037 (0.105)
Gender: Female	-0.106** (0.052)	-0.118** (0.052)	-0.037 (0.052)	-0.051 (0.050)	-0.218*** (0.050)	-0.143*** (0.052)
SES	-0.103* (0.054)	-0.063 (0.054)	-0.069 (0.054)	-0.109** (0.052)	-0.097* (0.053)	0.049 (0.055)
Edu	-0.033** (0.015)	-0.034** (0.015)	-0.018 (0.015)	-0.024 (0.015)	-0.003 (0.015)	0.070*** (0.015)
Age	-0.036*** (0.012)	-0.014 (0.012)	-0.026** (0.012)	0.003 (0.011)	-0.004 (0.012)	0.011 (0.012)
Constant	1.218*** (0.353)	0.536 (0.350)	0.819** (0.351)	0.360 (0.338)	0.731** (0.343)	-0.706** (0.356)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,614	1,614	1,614	1,616	1,606	1,618
R <sup>2</sup>	0.083	0.090	0.081	0.092	0.074	0.095
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.038	0.045	0.036	0.047	0.028	0.051

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

### 13 Partisan Effects Results

Table A39: Exposure to Violence/Militarization and Vote for PAN/PRI or Abstention/Null Vote

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	PAN/PRI			Abstention/Null		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Homicide Exposure (0-10yrs)	0.003 (0.021)			0.026 (0.028)		
Mil Confrontations Exposure (0-10yrs)		-0.027* (0.014)			0.043** (0.019)	
Mil Operations Exposure (0-10yrs)			-0.053*** (0.020)			0.053* (0.028)
Gender: Female	0.043** (0.019)	0.042** (0.019)	0.041** (0.019)	-0.042* (0.025)	-0.041 (0.025)	-0.041 (0.025)
SES	0.030 (0.020)	0.030 (0.020)	0.030 (0.020)	-0.097*** (0.027)	-0.097*** (0.027)	-0.097*** (0.027)
Edu	0.013** (0.005)	0.013** (0.005)	0.013** (0.005)	-0.021*** (0.007)	-0.021*** (0.007)	-0.021*** (0.007)
Constant	-0.019 (0.097)	-0.037 (0.096)	-0.014 (0.096)	1.085*** (0.132)	1.091*** (0.130)	1.059*** (0.130)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,636	1,636	1,636	1,636	1,636	1,636
R <sup>2</sup>	0.118	0.120	0.122	0.127	0.129	0.128
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.049	0.051	0.053	0.059	0.061	0.060

Note:

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

Table A40: Exposure to Violence/Militarization and Vote for MORENA

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Homicide Exposure (0-10yrs)	-0.004 (0.020)	-0.004 (0.020)			
Current Homicide Rate (per 100k)		0.006 (0.008)		0.006 (0.008)		0.006 (0.008)
Mil Confrontations Exposure (0-10yrs)			-0.008 (0.012)	-0.008 (0.012)		
Mil Operations Exposure (0-10yrs)					0.003 (0.020)	0.003 (0.020)
Gender: Female	-0.023 (0.020)	-0.023 (0.020)	-0.023 (0.020)	-0.023 (0.020)	-0.023 (0.020)	-0.023 (0.020)
SES	0.018 (0.020)	0.018 (0.020)	0.018 (0.020)	0.018 (0.020)	0.018 (0.020)	0.018 (0.020)
Edu	0.007 (0.005)	0.007 (0.005)	0.007 (0.005)	0.007 (0.005)	0.007 (0.005)	0.007 (0.005)
Constant	0.057 (0.090)	0.028 (0.104)	0.055 (0.089)	0.026 (0.103)	0.059 (0.089)	0.030 (0.103)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,636	1,636	1,636	1,636	1,636	1,636
R <sup>2</sup>	0.119	0.119	0.119	0.119	0.119	0.119
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.050	0.050	0.050	0.050	0.050	0.050

Note:

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

Table A41: Exposure to Violence/Militarization and Vote for PAN/PRI or Abstention/Null Vote (Controlling for Current Homicide Rate)

	Dependent variable:					
	PAN/PRI			Abstention/Null		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Homicide Exposure (0-10yrs)	0.003 (0.019)			0.026 (0.026)		
Mil Confrontations Exposure (0-10yrs)		-0.027** (0.013)			0.043** (0.018)	
Mil Operations Exposure (0-10yrs)			-0.053** (0.022)			0.053* (0.028)
Current Homicide Rate (per 100k)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.010 (0.009)	-0.010 (0.009)	-0.010 (0.010)
Gender: Female	0.043** (0.019)	0.042** (0.019)	0.041** (0.019)	-0.042 (0.026)	-0.041 (0.026)	-0.041 (0.026)
SES	0.030 (0.020)	0.030 (0.020)	0.030 (0.020)	-0.097*** (0.027)	-0.097*** (0.027)	-0.097*** (0.027)
Edu	0.013** (0.006)	0.013** (0.005)	0.013** (0.005)	-0.021*** (0.008)	-0.021*** (0.008)	-0.021*** (0.008)
Constant	-0.008 (0.090)	-0.027 (0.090)	-0.004 (0.088)	1.137*** (0.142)	1.143*** (0.141)	1.110*** (0.140)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Birth Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,636	1,636	1,636	1,636	1,636	1,636
R <sup>2</sup>	0.118	0.120	0.122	0.127	0.129	0.128
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.049	0.051	0.053	0.059	0.061	0.060

Note:

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

## 14 Quasi-Experimental Design: Balance & Pre-Trends

Here we provide evidence supporting the validity of our quasi-experimental design. Figure A6 supports a lack of notable pre-trends in military activity (as measured by drug-trafficking related detentions by SEDENA) among municipalities where there were military vs. OCG confrontations in 2007 (the launch of the Drug War). Trends in detentions were relatively constant across these two groups of municipalities.

Further, Table A18 demonstrates balance in potential confounding variables among individuals classified as "eligible" vs. "ineligible" for treatment.

Figure A6: Pre-Drug War Detentions

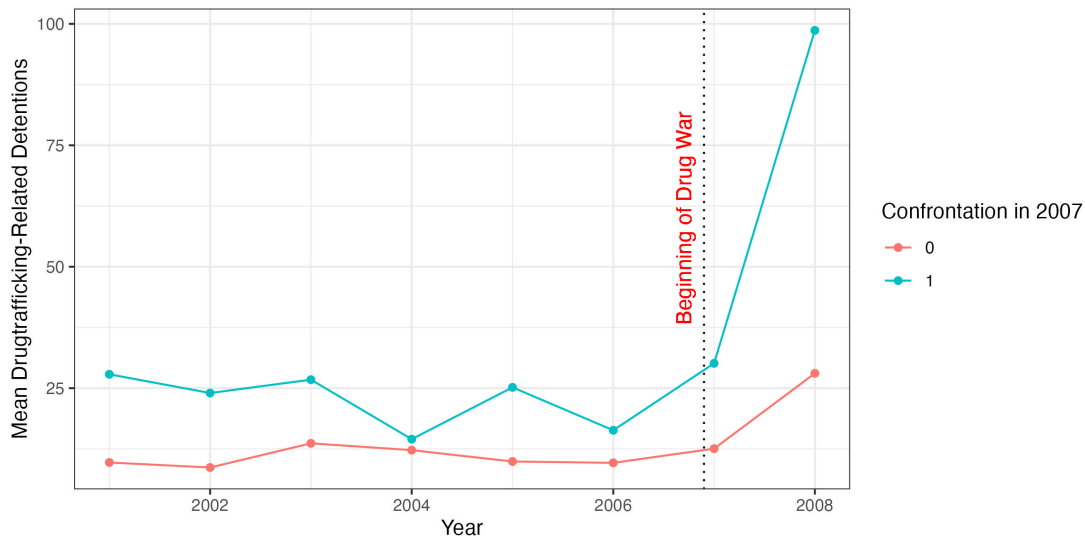


Table A42: Mean Variable Values by Cohort Subset and SD of Variables

	Cohort: Eligible	Cohort: Ineligible	SD
Homicide Rate (Time of Survey)	22.15	23.40	23.59
Pre-Drug War Detentions	12.15	14.08	19.97
SES	1.99	1.93	0.54
Gender: Female	0.52	0.42	0.50

## 15 Quasi-Experimental Results with Expansion of Exposure Cohort

In these models, we consider a less conservative definition of the cohort eligible for treatment. We expand the cohort from those only born between 2001 and 2005, to instead be those born between 1999 and 2005. Such a definition is less conservative, as it includes respondents who were 12 or 11 years of age in the years 2010 and 2011. However, it also expands to include certain respondents who were between the ages of 7 and 10 in the years 2007-2010 who were previously excluded in the main analysis.

The coefficient of interest (the interaction between average military confrontations/operations and whether or not a respondent was eligible to be exposed as defined by their cohort) is largely consistent with main results across the models. All coefficients are negative, while the significance varies to some degree. Some variation is expected, as the definition of the cohort is less restrictive in this case.

Table A43: Confrontations X Cohort Eligibility (Expanded)

	Dependent variable:					
	Subnat'l Gov't	Federal Gov't	Subnat'l Police	Federal Police	Military	Community
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Cohort: Eligible (Expanded) X Mean Conf. (2007-11)	-0.023 (0.016)	-0.017 (0.016)	-0.025 (0.018)	-0.030* (0.017)	-0.037** (0.015)	-0.010 (0.016)
Mean Conf (2007-11)	-0.560 (0.906)	1.143 (1.458)	-1.071 (0.995)	-0.569 (1.045)	-0.579 (1.226)	-0.063 (1.438)
Cohort: Eligible (Expanded)	0.076 (0.092)	0.085 (0.093)	0.058 (0.093)	0.053 (0.095)	0.047 (0.094)	0.140 (0.091)
Current Homicide Rate (per 100k)	-0.113*** (0.043)	-0.108** (0.043)	-0.033 (0.043)	-0.045 (0.042)	-0.208*** (0.042)	-0.173*** (0.042)
Gender: Female	-0.120** (0.048)	-0.051 (0.048)	-0.064 (0.047)	-0.093* (0.048)	-0.114** (0.048)	0.050 (0.049)
SES	-0.026** (0.013)	-0.033** (0.013)	-0.015 (0.013)	-0.037*** (0.013)	-0.014 (0.013)	0.061*** (0.013)
Edu	-0.033*** (0.011)	-0.010 (0.011)	-0.034*** (0.011)	-0.012 (0.011)	-0.016 (0.011)	0.017 (0.011)
Age	1.094*** (0.339)	0.376 (0.338)	0.951*** (0.342)	0.759** (0.340)	1.085*** (0.340)	-0.807** (0.333)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,402	2,402	2,401	2,405	2,391	2,407
R <sup>2</sup>	0.087	0.084	0.083	0.083	0.081	0.091
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.044	0.041	0.039	0.040	0.037	0.048

Note:

\*p&lt;0.1; \*\*p&lt;0.05; \*\*\*p&lt;0.01

Table A44: Operations X Cohort Eligibility (Expanded)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Subnat'l Gov't	Federal Gov't	Subnat'l Police	Federal Police	Military	Community
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Cohort: Eligible (Expanded) X Mean Ops. (2007-11)	-0.133 (0.115)	-0.017 (0.111)	-0.048 (0.114)	-0.212* (0.112)	-0.200* (0.111)	-0.076 (0.111)
Mean Ops (2007-11)	-0.515 (0.374)	-0.566 (0.398)	-0.488 (0.378)	-0.174 (0.352)	0.472 (0.333)	-0.310 (0.360)
Cohort: Eligible (Expanded)	0.090 (0.099)	0.066 (0.099)	0.039 (0.100)	0.086 (0.101)	0.067 (0.101)	0.154 (0.098)
Current Homicide Rate (per 100k)	-0.113*** (0.043)	-0.107** (0.043)	-0.032 (0.043)	-0.046 (0.042)	-0.208*** (0.042)	-0.174*** (0.042)
Gender: Female	-0.119** (0.048)	-0.050 (0.048)	-0.063 (0.047)	-0.091* (0.048)	-0.112** (0.048)	0.051 (0.049)
SES	-0.027** (0.013)	-0.034** (0.013)	-0.016 (0.013)	-0.038*** (0.013)	-0.015 (0.013)	0.061*** (0.013)
Edu	-0.033*** (0.011)	-0.010 (0.011)	-0.035*** (0.011)	-0.012 (0.011)	-0.016 (0.011)	0.017 (0.011)
Age	1.571*** (0.367)	0.856** (0.368)	1.386*** (0.359)	0.992*** (0.358)	0.805** (0.362)	-0.527 (0.359)
Mun FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Robust SEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,402	2,402	2,401	2,405	2,391	2,407
R <sup>2</sup>	0.087	0.084	0.082	0.083	0.080	0.091
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.044	0.040	0.038	0.040	0.036	0.048

Note:

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

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