

Party bans: deterrence or backlash?

Evidence from the Basque Country

Replication output

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Table 1: Effects of the 2007 ban, local elections

| | Turnout | Null Votes | Batasuna Support | All Basque Nationalists |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| $I(\text{Post 2007}) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007})$ | -0.00306 (0.00558) | -0.00130 (0.00461) | -0.0636 (0.0187) | -0.0585 (0.0253) |
| Municipality FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pre-ban presence \times election FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| N | 1735 | 1735 | 1735 | 1735 |
| Municipalities | 251 | 251 | 251 | 251 |

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. Support for Batasuna is measured as the sum of Batasuna votes and Null votes, as a fraction of total votes. Nationalist support is the sum of Support for Batasuna, PNV, EA, PNV-EA, and Aralar, as a fraction of total votes. In all regressions, 2007 is excluded from the sample. All regressions control for a cubic in municipality size.

| | Federal Left | Federal Right | Other local parties |
|--|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| $I(\text{Post 2007}) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007})$ | 0.0132 (0.00666) | -0.00865 (0.00414) | 0.0572 (0.0284) |
| Municipality FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pre-ban presence \times election FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| N | 1735 | 1735 | 1735 |
| Municipalities | 251 | 251 | 251 |

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. Federal left is the sum of PSOE, IU, Podemos, Los Verdes, and Equo, as a fraction of total votes. Federal Right is the sum of PP, Ciudadanos, Unidad Alavesa, Centro Democrático y Social, and UPyD. Other local parties are votes that are neither for Nationalists, Federal Left or Federal Right. In all regressions, 2007 is excluded from the sample. All regressions control for a cubic in municipality size.

Figure 1: Turnout

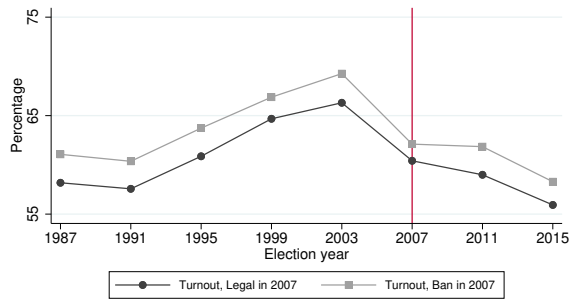


Figure 2: Null votes

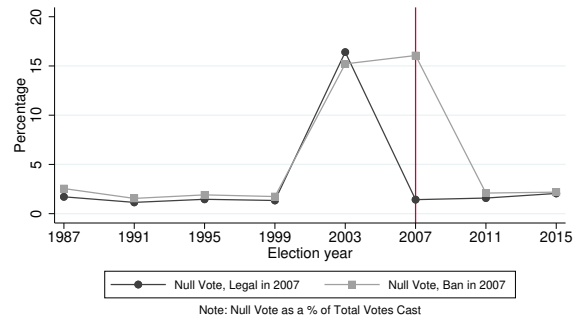


Figure 3: Batasuna votes

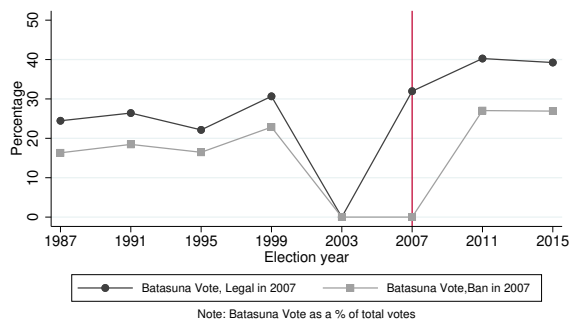


Figure 4: Basque Nationalist votes

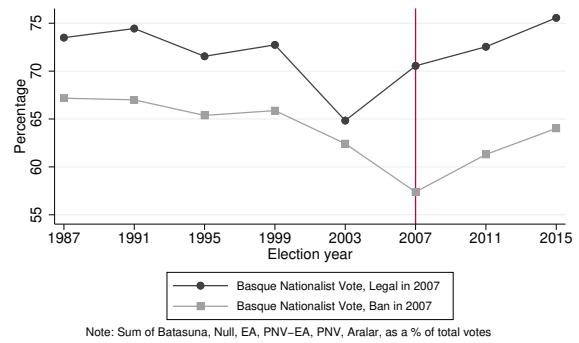


Figure 5: Federal Left

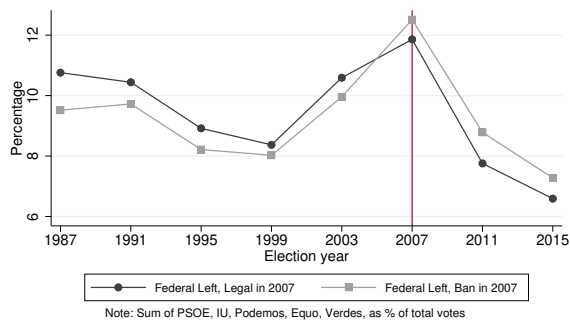


Figure 6: Federal Right

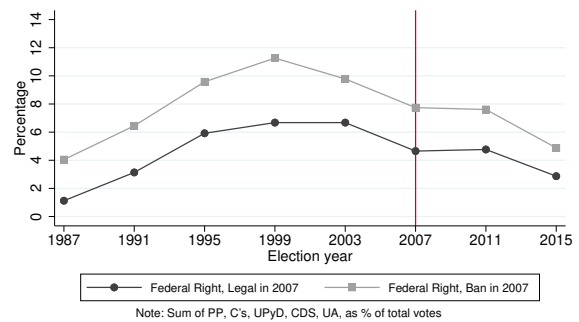


Figure 7: Other local parties

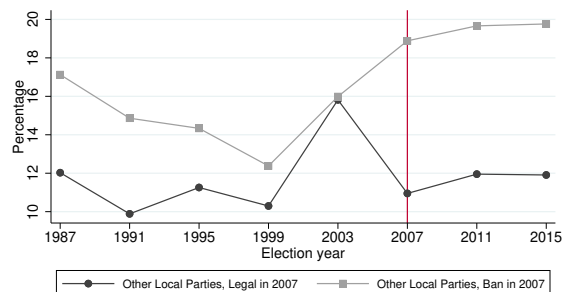


Figure 8: 2007 ban, immediate and long run loss in support

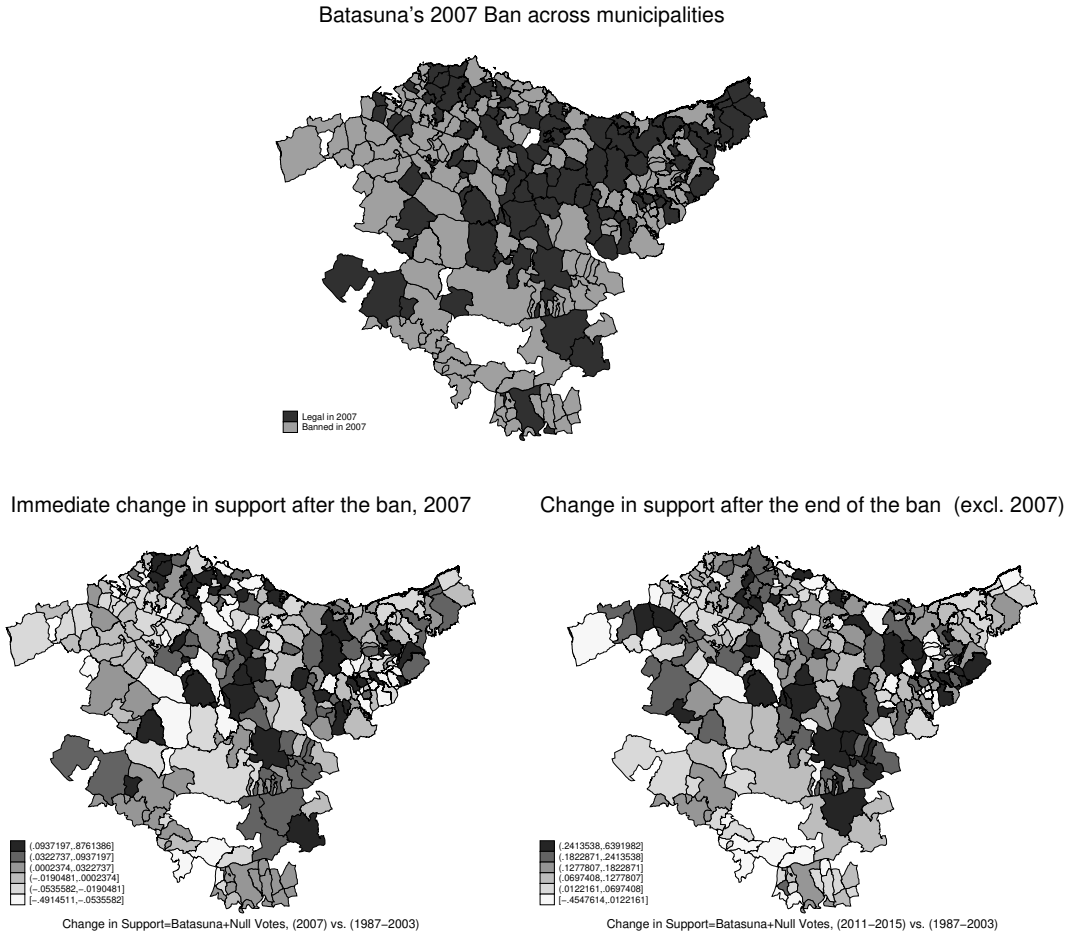


Table 2: Accounting for voting behavior under the ban

| | Batasuna Support | |
|---|---------------------|----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) |
| $I(\text{Post } 2007) \times I(\text{Ban in } 2007)$ | -0.0674 (0.0185) | -0.00162 (0.0210) |
| Municipality FE | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pre-ban presence \times election FE | ✓ | ✓ |
| $I(\text{Post } 2007) \times \text{Pre-ban Support}$ | ✓ | ✓ |
| $I(\text{Post } 2007) \times \text{Support in } 2007$ | | ✓ |
| N | 1733 | 1733 |
| Municipalities | 250 | 250 |

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. Support for Batasuna is measured as the sum of Batasuna votes and Null votes. Pre-ban support is the 1987-2003 average. In all regressions, 2007 is excluded from the sample. All regressions control for a cubic in municipality size.

Table 3: Correlates of vote loss

| | Batasuna Support | |
|---|----------------------|-----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) |
| $I(\text{Year} \geq 2007) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007})$ | -0.138 (0.0209) | -0.0731 (0.0214) |
| $I(\text{Year} \geq 2007) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007}) \times \ln(1 + \# \text{Error Attacks})$ | -0.0451 (0.0211) | -0.0686 (0.0337) |
| $I(\text{Year} \geq 2007) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007}) \times \text{Close}$ | -0.104 (0.0496) | -0.0831 (0.0462) |
| $I(\text{Year} \geq 2007) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007}) \times \ln(\text{Population in 2007})$ | 0.0515 (0.0155) | 0.0395 (0.0166) |
| Sample | Until 2007, included | Full (excluding 2007) |
| Municipality FE | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pre-ban presence \times election FE | ✓ | ✓ |
| $I(\text{Year} \geq 2007) \times \ln(1 + \# \text{Error Attacks})$ | ✓ | ✓ |
| $I(\text{Year} \geq 2007) \times \text{Close}$ | ✓ | ✓ |
| $I(\text{Year} \geq 2007) \times \ln(\text{Population in 2007})$ | ✓ | ✓ |
| $I(\text{Year} \geq 2007) \times \text{Support in 2003}$ | ✓ | ✓ |
| $I(\text{Year} \geq 2007) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007}) \times \text{Support in 2003}$ | ✓ | ✓ |
| N | 1477 | 1725 |
| Municipalities | 249 | 249 |

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. All interacted variables are demeaned. Support for Batasuna is measured as the sum of Batasuna votes and Null votes. $\#$ Terror attacks is the number of ETA attacks in the municipality in the 10 years prior to the 2007 ban. Close is a dummy equal to one if in 2003, the absolute difference in vote share between Federal and Basque parties was below 10%. Support in 2003 refers to support for Batasuna. All regressions control for a cubic in municipality size.

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Online Supporting Information

Appendix A

Descriptive statistics and placebo tests, local elections

Figure 9: Effect of the 2007 ban on street violence, monthly

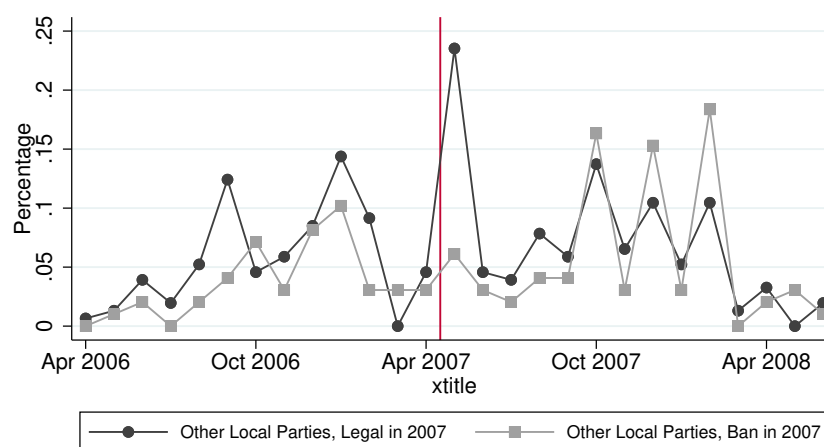


Figure 10: Effect of the 2007 ban on street violence, quarterly



Table 4: Effects of the 2007 ban on street violence

| | ST Episodes | | |
|--|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| $I(\text{Post May 2007}) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007})$ | 0.200 (0.0819) | -0.00430 (0.0177) | -0.0200 (0.0166) |
| Sample | Until May 2007 | Full | Except May 2007 |
| Municipality FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pre-ban presence \times Month FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| N | 3514 | 6777 | 6526 |
| Municipalities | 251 | 251 | 251 |

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. The dependent variable is given by the monthly number of street terrorism attacks.

| | I(ST Episode) | | |
|--|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| $I(\text{Post May 2007}) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007})$ | 0.106 (0.0371) | -0.00475 (0.00971) | -0.0133 (0.00988) |
| Sample | Until May 2007 | Full | Except May 2007 |
| Municipality FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pre-ban presence \times Month FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| N | 3514 | 6777 | 6526 |
| Municipalities | 251 | 251 | 251 |

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. The dependent variable is a dummy equal to one if there is one or more episode of street terrorism in a month.

Table A1: Descriptive statistics, local elections

| Variable Name | Treated | | Control | | Total | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| Turnout | 0.643 (0.109) | 0.601 (0.109) | 0.616 (0.100) | 0.575 (0.0928) | 0.632 (0.107) | 0.591 (0.104) |
| Batasuna votes | 0.148 (0.167) | 0.270 (0.211) | 0.207 (0.190) | 0.397 (0.191) | 0.171 (0.179) | 0.320 (0.213) |
| Null votes | 0.0463 (0.0898) | 0.0214 (0.0191) | 0.0444 (0.0904) | 0.0182 (0.0150) | 0.0455 (0.0900) | 0.0201 (0.0177) |
| Batasuna Support | 0.194 (0.165) | 0.291 (0.209) | 0.251 (0.179) | 0.416 (0.190) | 0.217 (0.173) | 0.340 (0.210) |
| Vote Share Basque Nationalists | 0.656 (0.276) | 0.627 (0.292) | 0.714 (0.247) | 0.741 (0.229) | 0.678 (0.266) | 0.671 (0.275) |
| V. Share Federal Left | 0.0909 (0.127) | 0.0803 (0.108) | 0.0981 (0.119) | 0.0717 (0.0943) | 0.0937 (0.124) | 0.0770 (0.103) |
| V. Share Federal Right | 0.0826 (0.123) | 0.0625 (0.0958) | 0.0474 (0.0800) | 0.0382 (0.0628) | 0.0688 (0.109) | 0.0530 (0.0852) |
| V. Share Other Local Parties | 99.15 (0.279) | 99.20 (0.289) | 99.12 (0.223) | 99.12 (0.203) | 99.14 (0.259) | 99.17 (0.261) |
| Population size | 10087.3 (38455.7) | 10092.2 (37998.0) | 6338.5 (13143.4) | 6567.9 (12950.6) | 8613.9 (31117.6) | 8713.5 (30760.9) |
| Municipalities | 152 | 153 | 98 | 98 | 250 | 251 |
| N | 749 | 305 | 485 | 196 | 1234 | 501 |

Treated: municipalities in which Batasuna was banned in 2007. Batasuna support is the sum of Batasuna votes and Null votes. 2007 excluded from the sample. Standard deviations in parentheses.

Table A2: Effects of the 2007 ban, placebo test, local elections

| | Turnout | Null Votes | Batasuna Support | All Basque Nationalists |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| $I(\text{Post } 2007) \times I(\text{Ban in } 2007)$ | 0.00129 (0.00525) | -0.00581 (0.0101) | -0.0739 (0.0179) | -0.0665 (0.0261) |
| $I(\text{Post } 1995) \times I(\text{Ban in } 2007)$ | -0.00735 (0.00603) | 0.00762 (0.00967) | 0.0174 (0.0107) | 0.0135 (0.0200) |
| Municipality FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pre-ban presence \times election FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| N | 1735 | 1735 | 1735 | 1735 |
| Municipalities | 251 | 251 | 251 | 251 |

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. The placebo treatment is equal to zero in 1987, 1991, 1995, and equal to the treatment from 1999 onwards. Support for Batasuna is measured as the sum of Batasuna votes and Null votes, as a fraction of total votes. Nationalist support is the sum of Support for Batasuna, PNV, EA, PNV-EA, and Aralar, as a fraction of total votes. In all regressions, 2007 is excluded from the sample. All regressions control for a cubic in municipality size.

| | Federal Left | Federal Right | Other local parties |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| $I(\text{Post } 2007) \times I(\text{Ban in } 2007)$ | 0.00854 (0.00671) | -0.0109 (0.00534) | 0.0756 (0.0296) |
| $I(\text{Post } 1995) \times I(\text{Ban in } 2007)$ | 0.00782 (0.00675) | 0.00372 (0.00550) | -0.0312 (0.0210) |
| Municipality FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pre-ban presence \times election FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| N | 1735 | 1735 | 1735 |
| Municipalities | 251 | 251 | 251 |

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. The placebo treatment is equal to zero in 1987, 1991, 1995, and equal to the treatment from 1999 onwards. Federal left is the sum of PSOE, IU, Podemos, Los Verdes, and Equo, as a fraction of total votes. Federal Right is the sum of PP, Ciudadanos, Unidad Alavesa, Centro Democrático y Social, and UPyD. Other local parties are votes that are neither for Nationalists, Federal Left or Federal Right. In all regressions, 2007 is excluded from the sample. All regressions control for a cubic in municipality size.

Table A3: Descriptive statistics, correlates of vote loss

| Variable Name | Treated | Control | Total |
|----------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| $\ln(1+\#\text{Terror Attacks})$ | 0.158 (0.487) | 0.171 (0.440) | 0.163 (0.468) |
| Close | 0.204 (0.404) | 0.153 (0.362) | 0.184 (0.388) |
| $\ln(\text{Population in 2007})$ | 7.293 (1.737) | 7.700 (1.461) | 7.452 (1.644) |
| Batasuna Support in 2003 | 0.152 (0.152) | 0.164 (0.147) | 0.157 (0.150) |
| Municipalities | 153 | 98 | 251 |

Treated: municipalities in which Batasuna was banned in 2007. Standard deviations in parentheses. Batasuna support is the sum of Batasuna votes and Null votes (in 2003, Null Votes). # Terror attacks is the number of ETA attacks in the municipality in the 10 years prior to the 2007 ban. Close is a dummy equal to one if in 2003, the absolute difference in vote share between Federal and Basque parties was below 10%. The source of information about the ETA attacks is the Global Terrorism Database.

Table A4: Descriptive statistics, regional elections

| Variable Name | Treated | | Control | | Total | |
|------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| Turnout | 0.735 (0.0923) | 0.699 (0.0743) | 0.736 (0.0894) | 0.693 (0.0705) | 0.736 (0.0911) | 0.697 (0.0728) |
| Batasuna votes | 0.205 (0.134) | 0.176 (0.210) | 0.248 (0.130) | 0.204 (0.228) | 0.222 (0.134) | 0.187 (0.217) |
| Batasuna Support | 0.205 (0.134) | 0.250 (0.174) | 0.248 (0.130) | 0.299 (0.171) | 0.222 (0.134) | 0.269 (0.174) |
| Null votes | 0.00538 (0.00897) | 0.0786 (0.108) | 0.00507 (0.00510) | 0.0989 (0.125) | 0.00526 (0.00768) | 0.0865 (0.116) |
| Population size | 8238.0 (31561.8) | 7965.3 (29896.8) | 5173.3 (10771.1) | 5171.8 (10351.1) | 7034.1 (25540.8) | 6874.6 (24242.7) |
| Municipalities | 152 | 153 | 98 | 98 | 250 | 251 |
| N | 898 | 306 | 581 | 196 | 1479 | 502 |

Treated: municipalities in which Batasuna was banned in 2007. Batasuna support is the sum of Batasuna votes and Null votes. Standard deviations in parentheses.

Table A5: Effects of the 2007 ban on support for Batasuna in regional elections

| | Batasuna Support | | | |
|---|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| $I(\text{Post } 2007) \times I(\text{Ban in } 2007)$ | -0.0115 (0.00583) | -0.0125 (0.00428) | -0.0125 (0.00428) | 0.000398 (0.00581) |
| $I(\text{Post } 2005) \times I(\text{Ban in } 2007)$ | | 0.00113 (0.00453) | 0.00111 (0.00453) | 0.00109 (0.00453) |
| Municipality FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Province \times election FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pre-ban presence \times election FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| $I(\text{Post } 2007) \times \text{Pre-ban Support (local)}$ | | | ✓ | ✓ |
| $I(\text{Post } 2007) \times \text{Support in } 2007 \text{ (local)}$ | | | | ✓ |
| N | 1981 | 1981 | 1979 | 1979 |
| Municipalities | 251 | 251 | 250 | 250 |

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. In 2009, the vote share of Batasuna is computed as the share of null votes. Pre-ban support and support in 2007 refer to local elections. All regressions control for a cubic in municipality size.

Table A6: Descriptive statistics, street violence, monthly

| Variable Name | Treated | | Control | | Total | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| I(Street Terrorist Episode) | 0.0297 (0.170) | 0.0401 (0.196) | 0.0290 (0.168) | 0.0466 (0.211) | 0.0294 (0.169) | 0.0427 (0.202) |
| # Street Terrorist Episodes | 0.0558 (0.428) | 0.0705 (0.463) | 0.0361 (0.232) | 0.0583 (0.297) | 0.0481 (0.365) | 0.0657 (0.406) |
| Municipalities | 153 | 153 | 98 | 98 | 251 | 251 |
| N | 1989 | 2142 | 1274 | 1372 | 3263 | 3514 |

Treated: municipalities in which Batasuna was banned in 2007. The unit of observation is a month by municipality. Standard deviations in parentheses.

Table A7: Effects of the 2007 ban on street violence, placebo test

| | ST Episodes | | |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| $I(\text{Post May 2007}) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007})$ | 0.204 (0.0813) | 0.000162 (0.0197) | -0.0155 (0.0196) |
| $I(\text{Post October 2006}) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007})$ | -0.00966 (0.0191) | -0.00966 (0.0191) | -0.00966 (0.0191) |
| Sample | Until May 2007 | Full | Except May 2007 |
| Municipality FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pre-ban presence \times Month FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| N | 3500 | 6750 | 6500 |
| Municipalities | 250 | 250 | 250 |

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. The dependent variable is given by the monthly number of street terrorism attacks.

| | I(ST Episode) | | |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| $I(\text{Post May 2007}) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007})$ | 0.113 (0.0390) | 0.00277 (0.0119) | -0.00574 (0.0119) |
| $I(\text{Post October 2006}) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007})$ | -0.0163 (0.0126) | -0.0163 (0.0126) | -0.0163 (0.0126) |
| Sample | Until May 2007 | Full | Except May 2007 |
| Municipality FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pre-ban presence \times Month FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| N | 3500 | 6750 | 6500 |
| Municipalities | 250 | 250 | 250 |

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. The dependent variable is a dummy equal to one if there is one or more episode of street terrorism in a month.

Additional robustness tests and heterogeneity analyses

Table A8: Effect on null votes, 2003 ban

| | Null Votes (1) | Null Votes (2) | Batasuna Support (3) |
|--|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| $I(\text{Year}=2003) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007})$ | -0.0110 (0.0191) | 0.0202 (0.0188) | 0.00597 (0.0163) |
| $I(\text{Post 2007}) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007})$ | | | -0.0676 (0.0206) |
| Municipality FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Election FE | ✓ | | |
| Pre-ban presence \times election FE | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Sample | Until 2003 | Until 2003 | Full |
| N | 1234 | 1234 | 1735 |
| Municipalities | 250 | 250 | 251 |

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. In all regressions, 2007 is excluded from the sample. All regressions control for a cubic in municipality size.

Table A9: Entropy Balancing estimates

| | Batasuna Support (1) | All Basque Nationalists (2) |
|--|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| $I(\text{Post 2007}) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007})$ | -0.0683 (0.0280) | -0.0625 (0.0283) |
| Municipality FE | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pre-ban presence \times election FE | ✓ | ✓ |
| N | 1659 | 1659 |
| Municipalities | 237 | 237 |

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. Support for Batasuna is measured as the sum of Batasuna votes and Null votes, as a fraction of total votes. Nationalist support is the sum of Support for Batasuna, PNV, EA, PNV-EA, and Aralar, as a fraction of total votes. In all regressions, 2007 is excluded from the sample. All regressions control for a cubic in municipality size. Estimates weighted according to entropy balance weights, as described in the text.

Table A10: Allowing for heterogeneous post-ban effects

| | Batasuna Support | | | |
|--|--|--|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| $I(\text{Post } 2007) \times I(\text{Ban in } 2007)$ | -0.0630 (0.0188) | -0.0698 (0.0176) | -0.0694 (0.0177) | -0.0702 (0.0185) |
| Municipality FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pre-ban presence \times election FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pre-ban characteristics \times Post 2007 | Population, Terror, and Street Violence attacks | Nationalists, Batasuna, and Spanish parties vote shares | All | All + pairwise interactions |
| N | 1733 | 1733 | 1733 | 1733 |
| Municipalities | 250 | 250 | 250 | 250 |

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. Support for Batasuna is measured as the sum of Batasuna votes and Null votes, as a fraction of total votes. Population is measured with the average municipality size before the ban. Terror attacks are measured with the log of terror attacks from 1997 to 2006, Street Violence attacks are measured with the log of street violence attacks from April 2006 to April 2007. All political variable controls are pre-2003 averages. Nationalist support is the sum of Support for Batasuna, PNV, EA, PNV-EA, and Aralar, as a fraction of total votes. Spanish support is the sum of support for PP, CDS, UA, PSOE, and IU, as a fraction of total votes. In all regressions, 2007 is excluded from the sample. All regressions control for a cubic in municipality size. Estimates weighted according to entropy balance weights, as described in the text.

Table A11: Heterogeneous effects by pre-ban support

| | Batasuna Support | |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|
| | (1) | (2) |
| $I(\text{Year} \geq 2007) \times I(\text{Ban in } 2007)$ | -0.0641 (0.0182) | -0.0777 (0.0185) |
| $I(\text{Year} \geq 2007) \times I(\text{Ban in } 2007) \times \text{Pre-Ban Support}$ | 0.0649 (0.177) | 0.203 (0.194) |
| $I(\text{Year} \geq 2007) \times I(\text{Ban in } 2007) \times \text{Variance of Pre-Ban Support}$ | | -2.433 (0.592) |
| Municipality FE | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pre-ban presence \times election FE | ✓ | ✓ |
| $I(\text{Year} \geq 2007) \times \text{Pre-Ban Support}$ | ✓ | ✓ |
| $I(\text{Year} \geq 2007) \times \text{Variance of Pre-Ban Support}$ | | ✓ |
| N | 1476 | 1476 |
| Municipalities | 249 | 249 |

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. Support for Batasuna is measured as the sum of Batasuna votes and Null votes. Pre-ban support is a 1987-1999 average. All interacted variables are in deviations with respect to the cross-sectional mean. Range of pre-ban support: [-0.215, 0.532]. Range of (de-meaned) variance of pre-ban support: [-0.0102, 0.2626]. All regressions control for a cubic in municipality size. Sample: excluding 2003 and 2007.

Appendix B

Figure 11: Electoral presence, by number of links

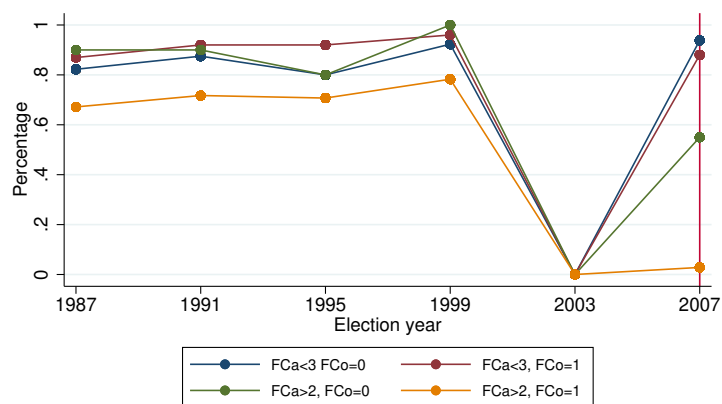


Figure 12: Electoral support, by number of links

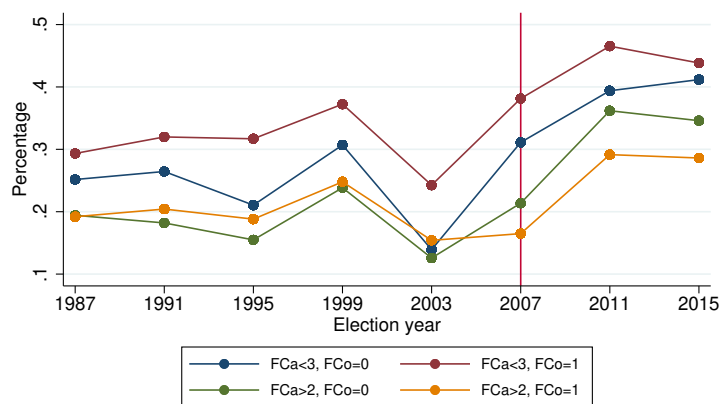


Table A12: Descriptive statistics, linked candidates

| Variable Name | Treated | Control | Total |
|---|------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| I(Former Councilor) | 0.915 (0.280) | 0.265 (0.444) | 0.661 (0.474) |
| Former Candidates | 5.229 (1.819) | 1.316 (1.118) | 3.701 (2.481) |
| I(Former Candidates ≤ 3) | 0.954 (0.210) | 0.153 (0.362) | 0.641 (0.481) |
| I(Former Councilor) \times I(Former Candidates ≤ 3) | 0.895 (0.307) | 0.0408 (0.199) | 0.562 (0.497) |
| Municipalities | 153 | 98 | 251 |

Treated: municipalities in which Batasuna was banned in 2007. For banned municipalities with no information, I(Former Councilor)=1 and Former Candidates=List size. Standard deviations in parentheses.

Table A13: First Stage

| | (1) $I(\text{Post 2007}) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007})$ |
|---|---|
| $I(FCo \geq 1) \times I(FCa \geq 3) \times I(\text{Post 2007})$ | 0.473 (0.134) |
| Municipality FE | ✓ |
| Year FE | ✓ |
| Former Candidates FE \times I(Post 2007) | ✓ |
| $I(FCo \geq 1) \times I(\text{Post 2007})$ | ✓ |
| Kleibergen-Paap F | 12.454 |
| N | 1735 |
| Municipalities | 251 |

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. 2007 is excluded from the sample. All regressions control for a cubic in municipality size.

Table A14: Instrumental Variables estimates, support in local elections

| | (1) Batasuna Support | (2) Batasuna Support | (3) Batasuna Support | (4) Batasuna Support |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| $I(\text{Post 2007}) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007})$ | -0.0883 (0.0909) | -0.106 (0.0638) | -0.107 (0.0643) | -0.160 (0.0789) |
| Municipality FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Year FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Former Candidates FE \times I(Post 2007) | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| $I(FCo \geq 1) \times I(\text{Post 2007})$ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| $FCa \times I(FCo \geq 1) \times I(\text{Post 2007})$ | | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Excluding missing links | | | ✓ | |
| Only $FCa = 2$ or $FCa = 3$ | | | | ✓ |
| Kleibergen-Paap F | 12.454 | 26.069 | 25.745 | 19.018 |
| N | 1735 | 1735 | 1412 | 450 |
| Municipalities | 251 | 251 | 203 | 65 |

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. Support for Batasuna is measured as the sum of Batasuna votes and Null votes. In all regressions, 2007 is excluded from the sample. All regressions control for a cubic in municipality size.

Figure 13: Effect of the 2007 ban on support for Batasuna, local electons, IV

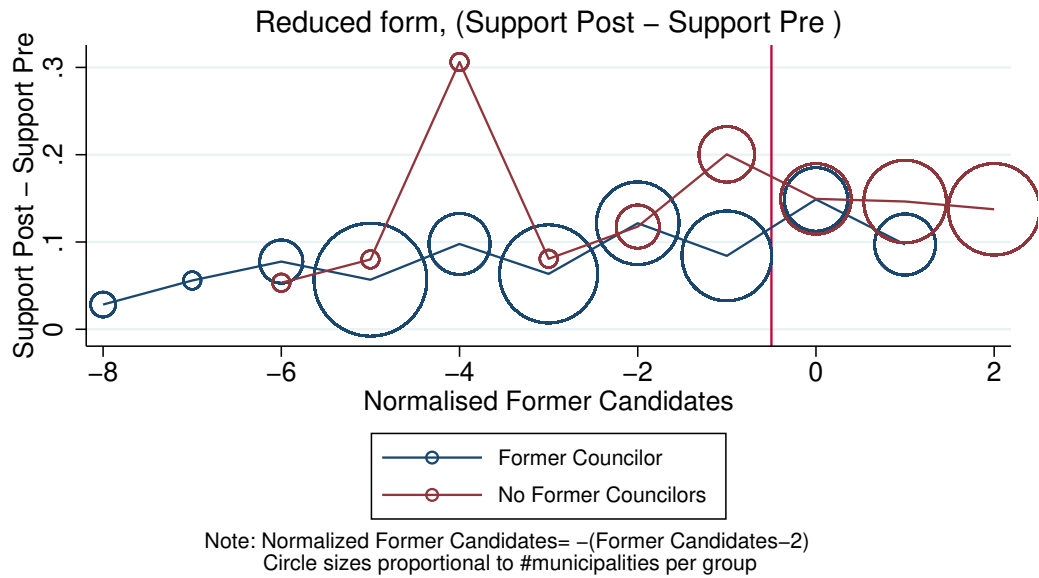
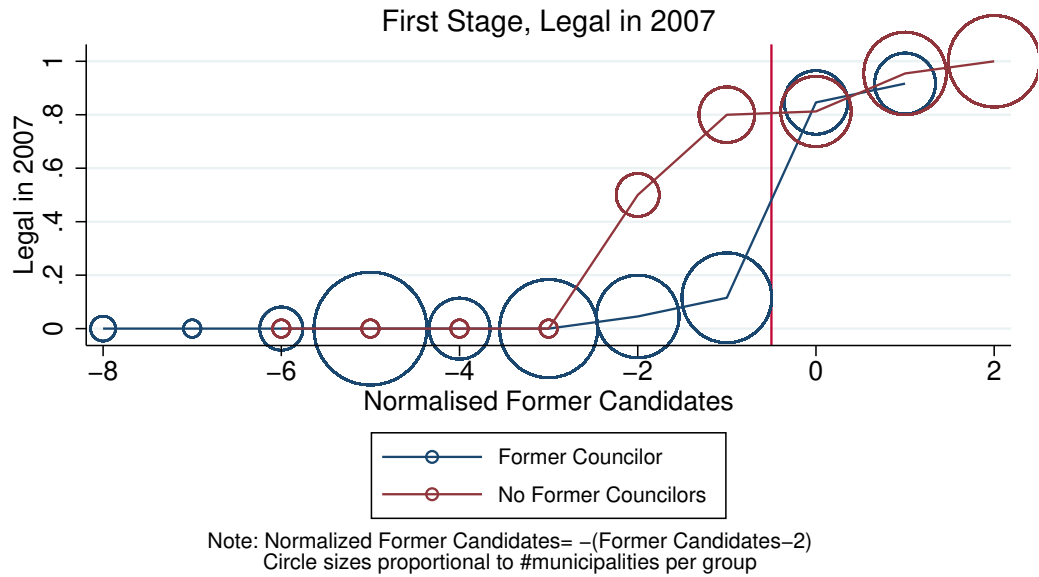


Table A15: Instrumental Variables estimates, support in regional elections

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | Batasuna Support | Batasuna Support | Batasuna Support | Batasuna Support |
| $I(\text{Post 2007}) \times I(\text{Ban in 2007})$ | -0.0216 (0.0307) | -0.0182 (0.0227) | -0.0114 (0.0223) | -0.0150 (0.0281) |
| Municipality FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Year FE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Former Candidates FE \times I(Post 2007) | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| $I(FCo \geq 1) \times I(\text{Post 2007})$ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| $FCa \times I(FCo \geq 1) \times I(\text{Post 2007})$ | | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Excluding missing links | | | ✓ | |
| Only $FCa = 2$ or $FCa = 3$ | | | | ✓ |
| Kleibergen-Paap F | 11.425 | 21.182 | 20.724 | 14.416 |
| N | 1981 | 1981 | 1609 | 514 |
| Municipalities | 251 | 251 | 203 | 65 |

Standard errors clustered at the municipality level in parentheses. All regressions control for a cubic in municipality size.