

# Party bans: deterrence or backlash?

## Evidence from the Basque Country

Replication output

Andreu Arenas\*

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\*University of Barcelona and IEB. [andreu.arenas@ub.edu](mailto:andreu.arenas@ub.edu)

**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

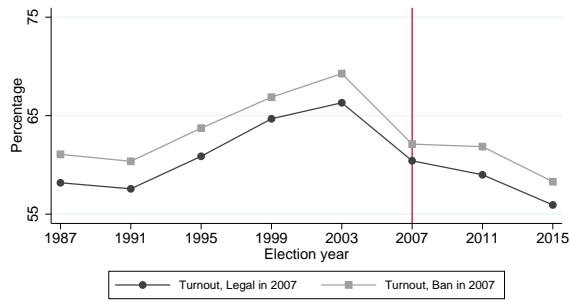


Figure 2: Null votes

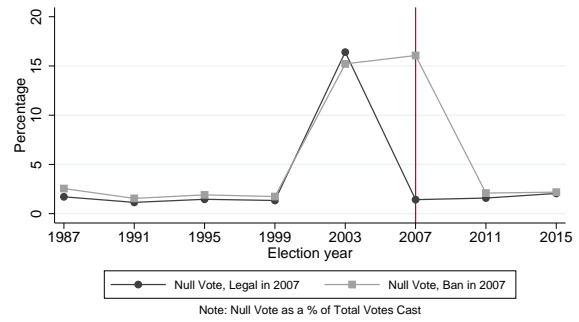


Figure 3: Batasuna votes

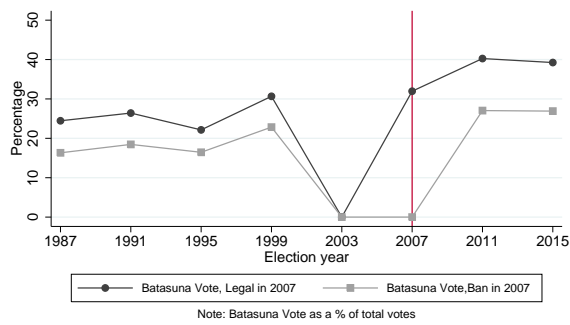


Figure 4: Basque Nationalist votes

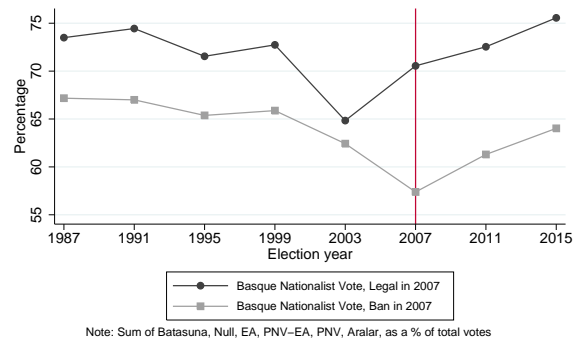


Figure 5: Federal Left

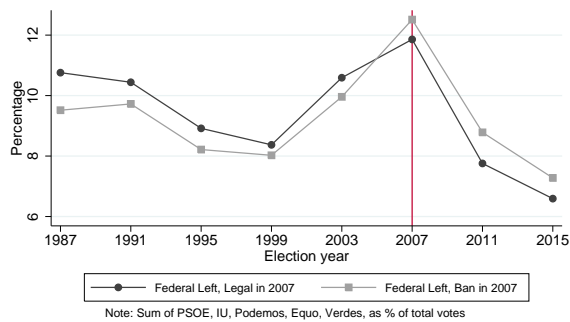


Figure 6: Federal Right

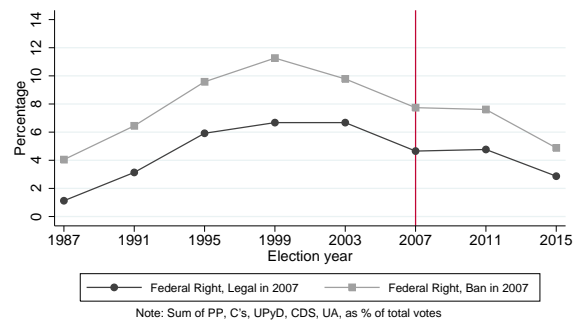


Figure 7: Other local parties

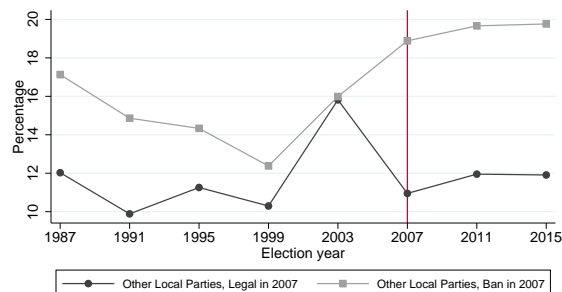


Figure 8: 2007 ban, immediate and long run loss in support

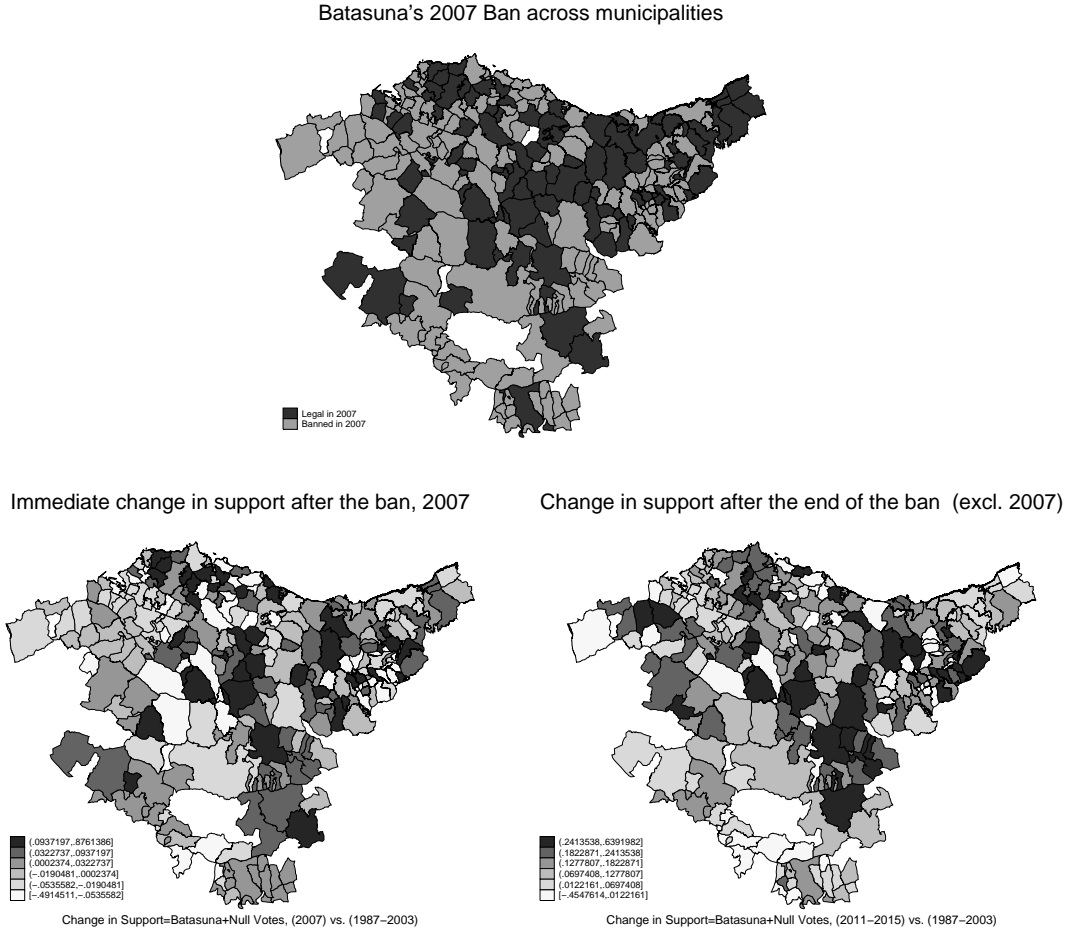


Table 2: Accounting for voting behavior under the ban

	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.

# Party bans: deterrence or backlash?

## Evidence from the Basque Country

### Online Supporting Information

# Appendix A

## Descriptive statistics and placebo tests, local elections

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

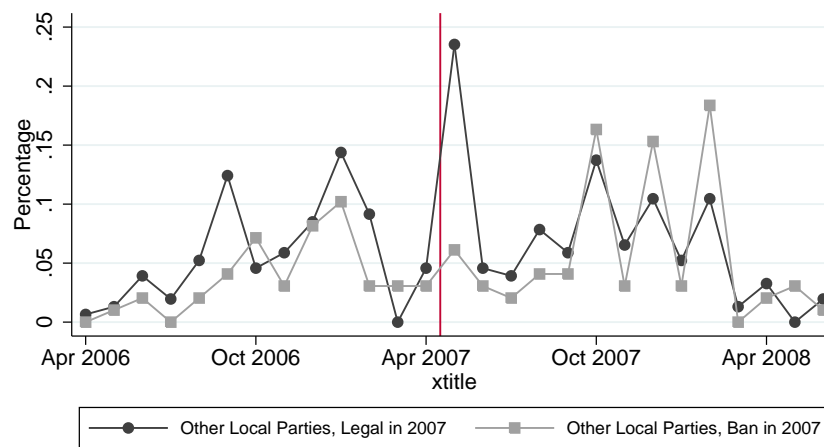
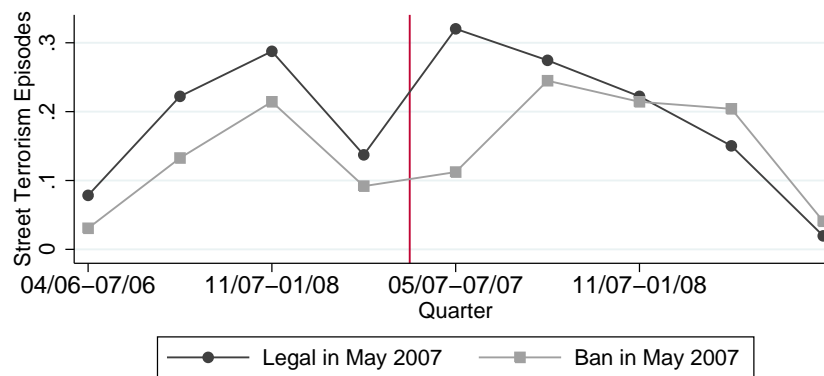


Figure 10: Effect of the 2007 ban on street violence, quarterly



**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

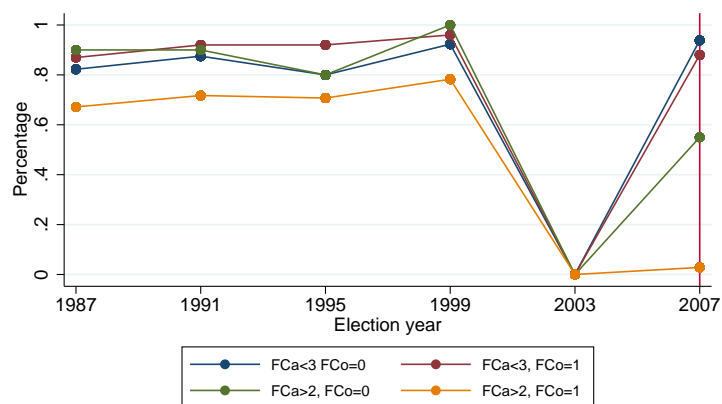
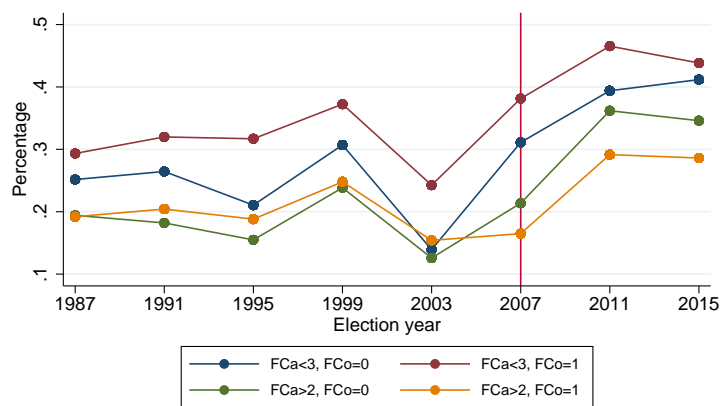


Figure 12: Electoral support, by number of links



**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 $\leq 3$ )	0.954 (0.210)	0.153 (0.362)	0.641 (0.481)
I(Former Councilor) $\times$ I(Former Candidates $\leq 3$ )	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.

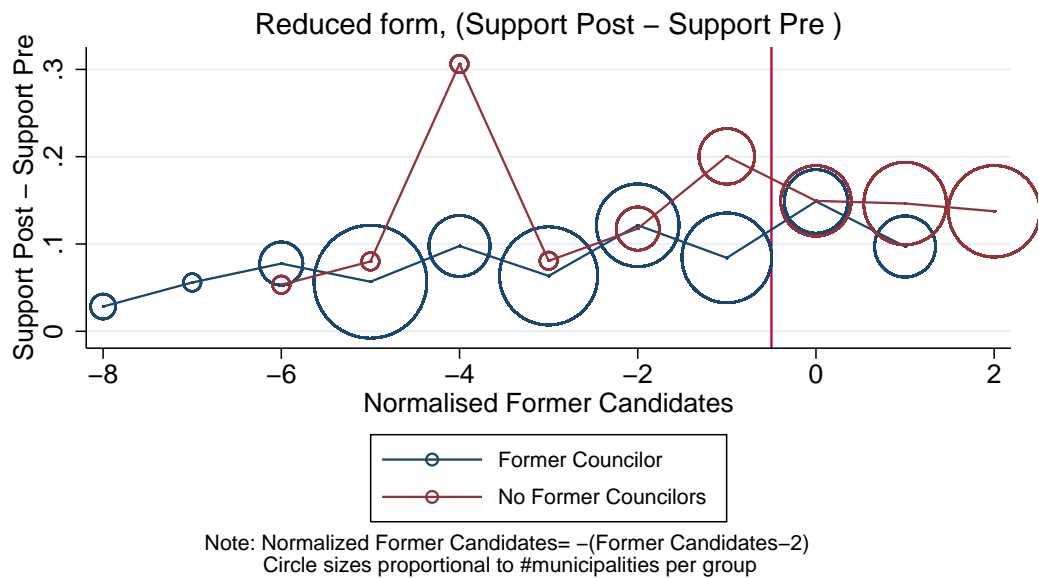
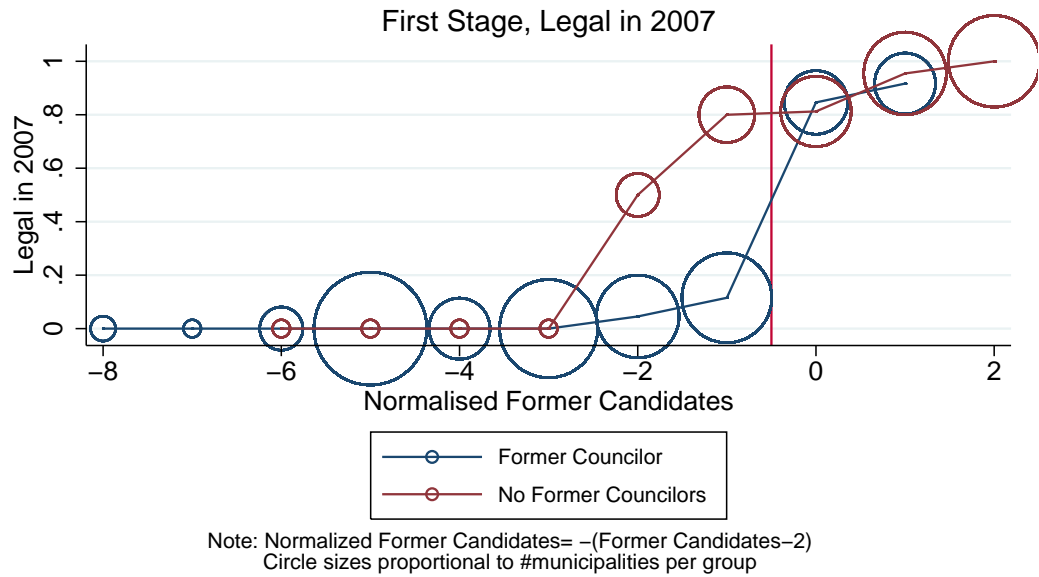
**Table A14: Instrumental Variables estimates, support in local elections**

	(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.