

Online appendix for:  
Mobilization capacity and violence against local leaders:  
Anticlerical violence during the Spanish Civil War

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## A Archival sources samples

Figures A1 and A2 show sample pages from the archival sources employed to code the local presence of employers' associations and UGT trade unions, respectively. Figure A3 shows a sample page from the original source used to code 1936 electoral results in the province of Cáceres. Figure A4 shows a sample page from the original data in Solé i Sabaté & Villarroya (1989) employed to code the data on violence by occupation in Catalonia.

TÍTULO DE LA ENTIDAD	MUNICIPIO	PROVINCIA	Fecha de constitución.	Número de socios.	Número de obreros que emplea.
Asociación de Propietarios de Fincas Rústicas...	Fustiñana .....	Navarra .....	6-12-1931	20	»
Asociación de Arrendatarios de la Tierra.....	Idem .....	Idem .....	6-12-1931	30	»
Asociación de Arrendatarios de la Tierra.....	Marcolain .....	Idem .....	24- 1-1932	12	»
Asociación de Propietarios de Fincas Rústicas.....	Mendavia .....	Idem .....	10- 2-1932	83	200
Asociación de Arrendatarios de la Tierra.....	Idem .....	Idem .....	10- 2-1932	34	»
Asociación de Propietarios de Fincas Rústicas.....	Milagro .....	Idem .....	25-11-1931	109	»
Asociación de Propietarios de Fincas Rústicas.....	Murchante .....	Idem .....	30-11-1931	14	»
Asociación de Propietarios de Fincas Rústicas.....	Obanos .....	Idem .....	29-11-1931	48	»
Asociación de Arrendatarios de la Tierra.....	Idem .....	Idem .....	29-11-1931	38	»
Asociación de Arrendatarios de la Tierra.....	Olite .....	Idem .....	6-12-1931	27	»
Asociación de Propietarios de Fincas Rústicas.....	Idem .....	Idem .....	9-11-1931	84	»
Asociación de Propietarios de Fincas Rústicas.....	Ororbía-Cendea de Olza.....	Idem .....	4- 1-1932	82	»
Asociación de Propietarios Terratenientes.....	Pamplona .....	Idem .....	20- 8-1931	122	»
Asociación de Propietarios de Fincas Rústicas.....	Sangüesa .....	Idem .....	3- 1-1932	31	»
Asociación de Arrendatarios de la Tierra.....	Sesma .....	Idem .....	27-11-1931	34	»
Asociación de Propietarios de Fincas Rústicas.....	Ucar .....	Idem .....	25-11-1931	24	»
Asociación de Arrendatarios de la Tierra.....	Idem .....	Idem .....	25-11-1931	21	»
Asociación de Patronos.....	Villafranca .....	Idem .....	2-10-1932	»	»
Sociedad Patronal Agraria de Patronos y Colonos.	Abarcá de Campos.....	Palencia .....	4- 7-1932	»	»
Sociedad Patronal Agraria de Patronos y Colonos.	Abia de las Torres.....	Idem .....	17- 6-1932	»	»
Sociedad Patronal Agraria de Propietarios y Colonos	Ampudia .....	Idem .....	7- 6-1932	»	»
Sociedad Patronal Agraria de Propietarios y Colonos	Antigüedad .....	Idem .....	8- 6-1932	»	»
Sociedad Patronal de Propietarios y Colonos.....	Antilla del Pino.....	Idem .....	5- 6-1932	»	»
Sociedad Patronal Agraria de Propietarios y Colonos	Añora de Campos.....	Idem .....	15- 6-1932	»	»
Sociedad Patronal Agraria de Propietarios y Colonos	Autillo de Campos.....	Idem .....	10- 6-1932	»	»
Sociedad Patronal Agraria de Patronos y Colonos.	Bahillo .....	Idem .....	26- 6-1932	»	»
Sociedad Patronal Agraria de Propietarios y Colonos	Baños de Cerrato.....	Idem .....	8- 6-1932	»	»
Sociedad Patronal Agraria de Patronos y Colonos.	Baquerín de Campos.....	Idem .....	29- 6-1932	»	»
Sociedad Patronal Agraria de Propietarios y Colonos	Becerril de Campos.....	Idem .....	8- 6-1932	»	»

Figure A1: Sample page from the 1933 *Censo Electoral Social* on employers' associations

Número de orden	TITULO DE LA ENTIDAD	MUNICIPIO	PROVINCIA	FECHA DE CONSTITUCIÓN	Número de socios
71	Sindicato Católico Obrero de Industrias Químicas	Luchana	Vizcaya	30 - 6 - 1927	109
72	Union Regional de Prácticos de Farmacia de Aragón	Zaragoza	Zaragoza	9 - 8 - 1922	130
<b>GRUPO NOVENO</b>					
1	Sindicato Católico de Albañiles y Canteros	Vitoria	Alava	11 - 10 - 1910	23
2	Sociedad de Pintores y Decoradores	Idem	Idem	17 - 6 - 1910	64
3	Sindicato Obrero Católico de Peones	Idem	Idem	23 - 4 - 1921	45
4	Sindicato Católico de Pintores-Decoradores, Doradores y Similares	Idem	Idem	26 - 11 - 1930	17
6	Sociedad de Constructores de Mosaicos y Piedra Artificial	Albacete	Albacete	3 - 5 - 1931	107
6	La Constructora, de Albañiles	Idem	Idem	28 - 11 - 1930	786
7	Sociedad de Albañiles Ramo de Edificación	Almansa	Idem	2 - 6 - 1903	212
8	Sociedad de Obreros Albañiles	Hellin	Idem	22 - 4 - 1914	260
9	Sociedad de Obreros Albañiles El Trabajo	Villarrobledo	Idem	15 - 4 - 1928	184
10	Sociedad de Albañiles y Directores	Alcoy	Alicante	10 - 12 - 1910	800
11	Sociedad de Albañiles Unión y Progreso	Callosa de Segura	Idem	7 - 5 - 1917	26
12	Sociedad de Canteros El Martillo	Cocentaina	Idem	11 - 8 - 1912	27
13	Sociedad de Albañiles y Similares, de Resistencia a base múltiple	Crevillente	Idem	27 - 6 - 1920	25
14	Sindicato del Ramo de Construcción El Trabajo	Elche	Idem	21 - 4 - 1919	400
16	La Emancipación, Sección del Ramo de Edificación	Elda	Idem	4 - 2 - 1925	66
16	Sociedad de Canteros La Aurora	La Romana	Idem	1 - 1 - 1927	160
17	Sociedad de Canteros, Marmolistas y Similares El Trabajo	Monóvar	Idem	10 - 8 - 1916	190
18	Sociedad de Canteros, Marmolistas y Similares	Novelda	Idem	24 - 7 - 1927	170
19	Sociedad de Obreros Albañiles y Similares	Idem	Idem	7 - 8 - 1927	118
20	Sindicato de Albañiles y Similares	Orriuela	Idem	12 - 5 - 1924	44
21	Sociedad de Albañiles y Similares La Unión	Idem	Idem	6 - 7 - 1928	59
22	Gremio de Albañiles	Pinoso	Idem	10 - 4 - 1921	80
23	Sociedad de Resistencia del Gremio de Albañiles	Villena	Idem	7 - 9 - 1903	206

Figure A2: Sample page from the 1931 UGT's *Censo Electoral Social*

SECCIONES ELECTORALES	Número de electores	Número de votantes	L. P. <i>Mariano Arriola</i>	<i>Esteban Benjasa</i>	<i>Rodrigo Sivera</i>	<i>Rodrigo Jimeno</i>	<i>Roberto Jimeno</i>	<i>Pascual Jimeno</i>	<i>Juan Vega</i>	<i>Mariano Arriola</i>	<i>Martín Jovate</i>	<i>Martín Duque</i>	<i>Miguel Corrales</i>	<i>En blanco y otros</i>
1 Abadía	219	177	191	191	191	191	191	191	191					
2 Abertura	311	279	285	285	285	285	285	285	285					
3 Acebo	307	241	276	276	276	276	276	276	276					
4 Azuñuche	383	365	369	369	369	369	369	369	369					
5 Aceituna	316	284	294	294	294	294	294	294	294					
6 Ahigal	343	295	311	311	311	311	311	311	311					
7 Albalá	429	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	328					
8 Alcántara	387	379	381	381	381	381	381	381	381					
9 Alcollarín	193	173	173	173	173	173	173	173	173					
10 Alcañete	190	159	159	159	159	159	159	159	159					
11 Aldeacentenera	388	315	315	315	315	315	315	315	315					
12 Alda del Cano	190	159	159	159	159	159	159	159	159					

Figure A3: Sample page from archives on 1936 electoral results in the province of Cáceres

REGISTRE CIVIL	MORT - LLOC	NOM I COGNOMS	MILITANCIA	EDAT	NAT	PROFESSIO	E.C.	DATA REGISTRE
Sant Julià de Vilatorça	3.2.39 Forà del Poble	Cresenci SOLER VILA	-	38	S.Julià Vilatorça	Pica-pedrer	C.	9.2.39
"	" "	Lluís VERGÉS RIEROLA	-	30	"	"	C.	"
<b>SANT MARTÍ DE SOBREMUNT</b>								
S.Martí de Sobremunt	23.9.36 Ctra. Puigcerdà	Josep FONT SALOMO	-	59	Ripoll	Capellà	S.	2.3.42 28.7.39
<b>SANT MARTÍ D'EN BAS</b>								
S.Martí d'En Bas	18.9.36 Terme Oristà	Josep BOJONS ESTRUCH	-	55	Oristà	Capellà	S.	6.5.44
<b>SANT MARTÍ DE CENTELLES</b>								
S.Martí de Centelles	8.11.36 Forn de la Calç	Francesc SENTIAS FABREGAS "Cal Oller"	-	44	S.Martí	Propietari	C.	27.5.39
"	" "	Francesc SENTIAS DE ENCISO	-	18	"	Estudiant	S.	"
"	" "	Josep SENTIAS DE ENCISO	-	16	"	"	S.	"
"	9.11.36 Cementiri S.Martí	Melchor CASTELLAR SOLER	Ex-Al.	50	"	Propietari	C.	16.8.39
Centelles	21.2.37 "Creu del Pou"	Josep MASPLÉ <sup>(14)</sup> DORCA "Cal Àliguer"	-	18	"	Pagès-Masover	S.	22.2.37

1222.

**Figure A4:** Sample page from Solé i Sabaté & Villarroya (1989) on Republican victimization in Catalonia

## B Occupations coded as local leaders

Table A1 shows the occupations we coded as local leaders, in both the original version in Catalan (see Figure A4) and translated into English.

**Table A1:** Occupations coded as local leaders in Catalonia

Catalan (original)	Translation
advocat	lawyer
advocat fiscal	tax attorney
advocat i propietari de "can bosch" gallifa	lawyer and owner of "can bosch" gallifa
advocat i registrador de la propietat	lawyer and property registrar
advocat propietari	owner lawyer
advocat redactor "terra ferma"	"terra firma" editor lawyer
advocat secret. jutjat	judicial secretary and lawyer
cap d estacio de ferrocarril	head of railway station
cap de correus	postmaster
cap de estacio	head of station
cap de fabrica	factory manager
cap de telefons	head of phones
cap d'estacio	head of station
cap empleats municipals	head of municipal employees
cap estacio ferrocarril	head of railway station
cap fabrica gel enginyer indus.	head of ice factory, industrial engineer
cap p.f. catalans	head Catalan p.f.
cap personal de la seda de barna	head of Barcelona silk
cap personal f.f.c.c. de sarria	head of Sarria railway
dir. gerent unio quimica lluch	managing directory of Lluch chemical co.
dir.banc d'espanya barna	director Bank of Spain Barcelona
director caixa pensions	director pension fund
direc. "cros"	director "cros"
direc. fabrica	factory manager
direc. fiscal	fiscal director
direc. gasa "riviere"	director "Riviere"
	(...)

Table A1 (continued)

Catalan (original)	Translation
direc. tecla-sala	director Tecla-Sala
direc.fabril	factory manager
direct. del posit	director posit
direct. e.escorsa	director Escorsa
direct. fabrica	factory manager
director	director
director "el correo" "terra fenrma"	director "el correo" "terra fenrma"
director "rampill"	director "rampill"
director caixa	bank director
director col.legi germans ee.cc.	headmaster of the brothers' college ee.cc.
director fabrica	factory manager
director la salle	director la salle
director pabrica	factory manager
director preso provincial	director of provincial prison
director sucursal banc despanya	branch manager Bank of Spain
director textil	textile director
empresari	entrepreneur
empresari de obres	construction contractor
empresari dobres	double employer
enginyer	engineer
enginyer agricola	agricultural engineer
enginyer agronom	agronomist engineer
enginyer industrial	industrial engineer
enginyer mines	mining engineer
enginyer quimic	chemical engineer
enginyer tecnic ex-dr. fabrica nacional pirelli	technical engineer ex-director Pirelli national factory
enginyer telegrafs	telegraph engineer
enginyer textil	textile engineer
fabricant	manufacturer
fabricant de ceramica	ceramic manufacturer
	(...)

Table A1 (continued)

Catalan (original)	Translation
fabricant de galetes	biscuit maker
fabricant daiguardent	liquor manufacturer
fabricant licors	liquor manufacturer
fabricant-rajoler	tiler manufacturer
farmaceutic	chemist
industrial	industrial
industria alimentacio	food industry
industria ferrer	iron industry
industrial	industrial
industrial carreter	industrial road
industrial comerç	industrial trade
industrial comerciant	industrial merchant
industrial forner	industrial baker
industrial textil	textile industry
industrial toixits	industrial woven
industrial- conseller caixa de sabadell	industrialist-counsellor casa sabadell
industrial-fuster	industrial carpenter
industrial-tintorer	industrial-dyer
industriat	industry
jutge	judge
jutge municipal	municipal judge
magistrat	magistrate
mestra	teacher
mestre	master
mestre ateneu sant-boia	Athenian teacher Saint-Boia
mestre auxili- iar	assistant teacher
mestre de fabrica artill.	Artillery factory master.
mestre de la finca "can girna"	master of the farm "can girna"
mestre de la finca "can girona"	master of the farm "can girona"
mestre d'obres	foreman
mestre dobres	doubles master
	(...)

Table A1 (continued)

Catalan (original)	Translation
mestre e.e.c.c.	master e.e.c.c.
mestre inspector	master inspector
mestre nacio.	national teacher
mestre nacional	national teacher
mestre redactor "terra ferma"	master editor "terra firma"
mestre sanitari	health teacher
mestres sa 1	teachers health 1
mestresa	mistress
mestress	teacher
mestressa	mistress
metge	doctor
metge balneari	spa doctor
metge director "el correo"	medical director "el correo"
metge figols	doctor
metge inspector municipal sanitat	medical inspector municipal health
metge municip.	municipal doctor
notari	notary
periodista	journalist
periodista "el mati"	journalist "el mati"
periodista, ex-president associacio fun- cionaris municipals	journalist, ex-president of the association of municipal officials
propietari	owner
propietari "mas terricabras"	owner "mas terricabras"
propietari 30 anys secretari	owner 30 years secretary
propietari admist.	property administrator
propietari advocat	owner lawyer
propietari agricultor	farmer owner
propietari capita marina	owner capita marina
propietari comerc	business owner
propietari dire.unio quimica	owner dire.unio chemistry
propietari espinos	owner spinos
	(...)



Table A1 (continued)

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Catalan (original)	Translation
propietari ex-secret. municipal	ex-city secretary, owner
propietari i industrial	owner and industrialist
propietari jut.mun.	owner jut.mun
propietari jutge municipal	owner municipal judge
propietari jutge municipal suplent	owner substitute municipal judge
propietari oficial de complement	owner, reservist officer
propietari pages	owner pages
propietari	owner
propietaria	owner
propietari-advocat	owner-lawyer

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## C Summary statistics

**Table A2:** Summary statistics

	Mean	SD	Min	Median	Max	NA (%)	N
Anticlerical violence	0.18	0.50	0.00	0.00	6.39	0.0	7972
Anticlerical violence (death)	0.17	0.50	0.00	0.00	6.29	0.0	7972
Employers' association	0.08	0.26	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.0	7972
CNT union	0.07	0.26	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.0	7972
UGT union	0.30	0.46	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.0	7972
Population 1930 (log)	7.13	1.13	4.19	7.01	13.86	0.0	7972
Leftist support 1936	0.38	0.22	0.00	0.38	1.00	25.7	5920
Days of Republican control	3.21	3.15	0.00	3.26	6.89	0.0	7970
Illiteracy	0.42	0.14	0.09	0.40	0.89	0.6	7928
Number of clerics (log)	1.28	1.01	0.00	1.10	8.18	0.0	7972

## D Results by clergy type

Table D shows the main results by clergy type, distinguishing between secular and regular clergy. During the civil war, 58% of the victims of anticlerical violence were secular clergy, and 42% were regular clergy. In the 1930s, Spain had around 75,000 regular clerics (of which 60,000, or 80% of all regular clerics, were women, commonly known as ‘nuns’) and 30,000 secular priests.<sup>1</sup>

There are reasons to believe that violence against the two types of clergy followed different patterns. Until the 1934 revolutionary attempt, regulars had been the preferred target of both anticlerical discourse and violence. The regular clergy was traditionally associated with vice, depravity, opulence, and collusion with wealthy sectors of society, and was harshly criticized for the control it exerted over many educational institutions. Regular clergy also aroused more suspicions since they were not subjected to the authority of the bishops (who had authority over secular priests), but to their abbots, and they did not receive public funding, which made them more dependent on their sponsors (very often rich families). Because of this, the regulars were the “chosen object of anticlerical moral criticism” (Ledesma, 2012, 221). This was particularly true among anarchists (Álvarez Junco, 1976, 197–214). To account for potential differences by clergy type, we run here our main models on three versions of the dependent variable: all clergy, secular clergy, and regular clergy. We find that the positive link of employers’ associations with anticlerical violence is present across all clergy types. Moreover, the fact that the presence of the anarchist CNT explains better the occurrence of violence against the regular clergy is coherent with previous research on anticlerical violence, as explained above. In the case of the socialist UGT, although the effect is less robust, it is positively associated with killings against secular clergy in the interaction models, which might be explained because it was a direct competitor with Church-sponsored agrarian unions in rural areas.

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<sup>1</sup> Spain had 23.5 million inhabitants in 1930.

**Table A3:** Linear models on anticlerical violence by clergy type

	Secular clergy			Regular clergy		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Employers' association	0.200*** (0.040)	0.102+ (0.053)	0.014 (0.060)	0.224** (0.069)	0.075 (0.046)	0.131 (0.099)
CNT union	0.042 (0.052)	-0.031 (0.046)	0.042 (0.051)	0.074* (0.030)	-0.037 (0.030)	0.074* (0.030)
UGT union	0.024 (0.022)	0.022 (0.022)	-0.004 (0.019)	0.030 (0.019)	0.026 (0.018)	0.016 (0.017)
Employer × CNT union		0.287** (0.110)			0.436** (0.141)	
Employer × UGT union			0.304** (0.101)			0.152+ (0.091)
Population (log)	0.125*** (0.016)	0.127*** (0.016)	0.125*** (0.016)	0.012 (0.014)	0.014 (0.014)	0.012 (0.014)
Leftist support 1936	-0.084* (0.033)	-0.087** (0.032)	-0.084* (0.034)	-0.055+ (0.029)	-0.059* (0.029)	-0.055+ (0.029)
Days of Republican control (log)	0.065*** (0.019)	0.066*** (0.019)	0.065*** (0.019)	0.014** (0.005)	0.015** (0.005)	0.014** (0.005)
Illiteracy 1930	-0.367*** (0.082)	-0.358*** (0.081)	-0.352*** (0.083)	-0.219*** (0.059)	-0.204*** (0.056)	-0.211*** (0.058)
Number of clerics (log)	0.151*** (0.024)	0.148*** (0.024)	0.148*** (0.023)	0.212*** (0.025)	0.208*** (0.025)	0.211*** (0.025)
<i>n</i>	3948	3948	3948	3948	3948	3948
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.36	0.36	0.36	0.35	0.36	0.35
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.35	0.35	0.35	0.34	0.36	0.34
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Province FE not shown, clustered SE (province). Only municipalities that were at least one day under Republican control.

## E Results coding violence by place of death

Table A4 shows the results for the main models but coding the variable on anticlerical violence based on the cleric's place of death rather than their place of residence.

**Table A4:** Linear models on anticlerical violence (logged, by place of death)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Employers' association	0.257*** (0.071)	0.126 (0.079)	0.069 (0.088)
CNT union	0.103+ (0.053)	0.005 (0.045)	0.103+ (0.053)
UGT union	0.043 (0.028)	0.040 (0.027)	0.015 (0.024)
Employer × CNT union		0.384** (0.132)	
Employer × UGT union			0.307* (0.137)
Population (log)	0.172*** (0.021)	0.174*** (0.021)	0.172*** (0.020)
Leftist support 1936	-0.069 (0.055)	-0.073 (0.055)	-0.069 (0.056)
Days of Republican control (log)	0.052* (0.022)	0.053* (0.022)	0.052* (0.022)
Illiteracy 1930	-0.291* (0.121)	-0.278* (0.121)	-0.275* (0.121)
Number of clerics (log)	0.171*** (0.023)	0.168*** (0.023)	0.168*** (0.023)
<i>n</i>	3948	3948	3948
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.36	0.36	0.36
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.35	0.36	0.35
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Province FE not shown, clustered SE (province). Only municipalities that were at least one day under Republican control.

## F Results measuring organizations in continuous form

This section shows results for the main models using the organizational variables (employers' associations and UGT/CNT trade unions) in continuous form. Table A5 shows results using the logged number of members in each municipality, while Table A6 includes these variables measured as the logged number of members per 1,000 inhabitants.

**Table A5:** Linear models on anticlerical violence (logged), organization variables in continuous form (logged members)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
(Intercept)	-1.337*** (0.150)	-1.353*** (0.151)	-1.326*** (0.150)
Employers' association	0.266*** (0.057)	0.130* (0.056)	0.099 (0.091)
CNT union	0.066 (0.044)	-0.036 (0.050)	0.066 (0.044)
UGT union	0.032 (0.025)	0.029 (0.024)	0.008 (0.023)
Population (log)	0.122*** (0.015)	0.124*** (0.016)	0.122*** (0.015)
Leftist support 1936	-0.108** (0.039)	-0.112** (0.039)	-0.108** (0.040)
Days of Republican control (log)	0.070*** (0.019)	0.070*** (0.020)	0.069*** (0.020)
Illiteracy 1930	-0.422*** (0.089)	-0.409*** (0.088)	-0.408*** (0.090)
Number of clerics (log)	0.258*** (0.029)	0.255*** (0.029)	0.256*** (0.028)
Employer × CNT union		0.399** (0.132)	
Employer × UGT union			0.272* (0.113)
<i>n</i>	3948	3948	3948
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.44	0.44	0.44
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.43	0.44	0.43
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Province FE not shown, clustered SE (province). Only municipalities that were at least one day under Republican control.

**Table A6:** Linear models on anticlerical violence (logged), organization variables in continuous form (logged members)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
(Intercept)	-1.337*** (0.150)	-1.353*** (0.151)	-1.326*** (0.150)
Employers' association	0.266*** (0.057)	0.130* (0.056)	0.099 (0.091)
CNT union	0.066 (0.044)	-0.036 (0.050)	0.066 (0.044)
UGT union	0.032 (0.025)	0.029 (0.024)	0.008 (0.023)
Population (log)	0.122*** (0.015)	0.124*** (0.016)	0.122*** (0.015)
Leftist support 1936	-0.108** (0.039)	-0.112** (0.039)	-0.108** (0.040)
Days of Republican control (log)	0.070*** (0.019)	0.070*** (0.020)	0.069*** (0.020)
Illiteracy 1930	-0.422*** (0.089)	-0.409*** (0.088)	-0.408*** (0.090)
Number of clerics (log)	0.258*** (0.029)	0.255*** (0.029)	0.256*** (0.028)
Employer × CNT union		0.399** (0.132)	
Employer × UGT union			0.272* (0.113)
<i>n</i>	3948	3948	3948
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.44	0.44	0.44
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.43	0.44	0.43
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Province FE not shown, clustered SE (province). Only municipalities that were at least one day under Republican control.

## G Results excluding cities (above 10,000 inhabitants)

Table A7 shows results for the main analyses excluding cities from the sample, i.e. municipalities that had more than 10,000 inhabitants in the 1930 census.

**Table A7:** Linear models on anticlerical violence (logged), excluding cities (over 10,000 hab.)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
(Intercept)	-0.953*** (0.150)	-0.967*** (0.148)	-0.953*** (0.150)
Employers' association	0.109+ (0.064)	0.039 (0.056)	0.142 (0.104)
CNT union	0.040 (0.035)	-0.003 (0.043)	0.040 (0.035)
UGT union	0.016 (0.021)	0.015 (0.021)	0.021 (0.021)
Population (log)	0.096*** (0.013)	0.097*** (0.013)	0.096*** (0.013)
Leftist support 1936	-0.088* (0.034)	-0.090** (0.034)	-0.088* (0.034)
Days of Republican control (log)	0.053** (0.017)	0.054** (0.017)	0.053** (0.017)
Illiteracy 1930	-0.282*** (0.080)	-0.281*** (0.080)	-0.282*** (0.080)
Number of clerics (log)	0.207*** (0.028)	0.208*** (0.028)	0.207*** (0.028)
Employer × CNT union		0.246* (0.103)	
Employer × UGT union			-0.068 (0.121)
<i>n</i>	3734	3734	3734
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.28	0.28	0.28
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.27	0.27	0.27
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Province FE not shown, clustered SE (province). Only municipalities that were at least one day under Republican control.



## H Results controlling for local competition

In the main models we control for prewar ideological allegiances using the share of leftist votes in the February 1936 elections. One possibility is that the strategic decision to kill local clerics was driven by local electoral competition rather than by support for one of the sides, following a logic similar to that highlighted by [Balcells \(2010\)](#) to explain general civilian victimization. In [Table A8](#), we show results for the main models but instead of controlling for overall leftist support, we control for a measure of electoral competition between leftist and rightist parties in the 1936 elections. The new variable is not significant and the explanatory power of our main independent variable remains.

It might also be argued, as [Ledesma \(2012\)](#) has done, that violence was the product of organizational competition. According to this logic, leftist militias might compete for hegemony in places where they approached parity. Finally, the argument about organizational competition might refer to the balance of power between rightist and leftist organizations.

In [Table A9](#) we test the competition hypotheses by including two additional control variables that measure competition between organizations: a) between the UGT and CNT, and b) between employers' associations and both trade unions combined. Using the number of members in each organization, we calculate these two measures as  $1 - |(org_1 - org_2)/(org_1 + org_2)|$ , where 1 indicates that both organizations have the same number of members and 0 that one of them dominates. Municipalities where no organization is present have a value of zero. Although both competition variables are positive and significant, the effect for employers' associations remains significant across both specifications.

**Table A8: Linear models on anticlerical violence**

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Employers' association	0.260*** (0.057)	0.125* (0.056)	0.093 (0.091)
CNT union	0.059 (0.044)	-0.041 (0.050)	0.060 (0.044)
UGT union	0.028 (0.026)	0.025 (0.025)	0.003 (0.023)
Employer × CNT union		0.397** (0.133)	
Employer × UGT union			0.272* (0.113)
Population (log)	0.118*** (0.016)	0.120*** (0.016)	0.118*** (0.015)
Electoral competition 1936	-0.011 (0.028)	0.000 (0.029)	-0.004 (0.028)
Days of Republican control (log)	0.071*** (0.019)	0.071*** (0.019)	0.070*** (0.020)
Illiteracy 1930	-0.413*** (0.090)	-0.398*** (0.088)	-0.399*** (0.091)
Number of clerics (log)	0.261*** (0.029)	0.258*** (0.029)	0.258*** (0.028)
<i>n</i>	3948	3948	3948
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.44	0.44	0.44
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.43	0.44	0.43
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Province FE not shown, clustered SE (province). Only municipalities that were at least one day under Republican control.

**Table A9: Linear models on anticlerical violence**

	(1)	(2)
Employers' association	0.254*** (0.058)	0.210*** (0.048)
CNT union	0.002 (0.040)	0.062 (0.044)
UGT union	0.015 (0.023)	0.028 (0.025)
Population (log)	0.123*** (0.015)	0.122*** (0.015)
Leftist support 1936	-0.108** (0.039)	-0.108** (0.040)
Days of Republican control (log)	0.069*** (0.019)	0.070*** (0.020)
Illiteracy 1930	-0.411*** (0.091)	-0.418*** (0.089)
Number of clerics (log)	0.256*** (0.028)	0.256*** (0.028)
Competition UGT vs CNT	0.452* (0.204)	
Competition trade unions vs employers' assoc		0.386+ (0.221)
<i>n</i>	3948	3948
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.44	0.44
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.44	0.43
Province FE	Yes	Yes

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Province FE not shown, clustered SE (province). Only municipalities that were at least one day under Republican control.

## **I Results on violence against nuns**

Table [A10](#) shows results for the killing of nuns. Because of the low incidence of these killings (48 municipalities, representing a little over 1% of the sample), we replicate the main analyses using a continuous version of the dependent variable (logged number of killings plus 1) and two logit analyses in which the dependent variable is a binary indicator of such killings.

We run two logit models: Model 2 includes province fixed effects but limits the sample to provinces where nuns were killed. Model 3 includes the full sample without province fixed effects.

**Table A10:** Linear models on anticlerical violence against female clerics (nuns)

	LM (log)	Logit (binary)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Employers' association	0.039* (0.017)	0.195 (0.417)	0.213 (0.419)
CNT union	0.022+ (0.012)	0.447 (0.411)	0.536+ (0.285)
UGT union	-0.002 (0.007)	-0.327 (0.426)	-0.012 (0.492)
Population (log)	0.015* (0.007)	1.579*** (0.361)	0.696* (0.332)
Leftist support 1936	-0.009 (0.009)	-1.639 (1.904)	-0.660 (1.140)
Days of Republican control (log)	0.003 (0.002)	-0.205 (0.252)	0.534* (0.270)
Illiteracy 1930	-0.088** (0.027)	-4.793* (2.391)	0.006 (1.633)
Number of clerics (log)	0.034** (0.011)	0.373* (0.162)	0.713*** (0.157)
<i>n</i>	3948	2715	3948
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.12		
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.12		
AIC	-3654.64	282.27	310.07
Province FE	Yes	Yes	No

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Province FE not shown, clustered SE (province). Only municipalities that were at least one day under Republican control. Model 1 includes the logged number of female clerics killed as a dependent variable, and Models 2 and 3 use a binary indicator as a dependent variable. In our data, we only register killings of female clerics in 48 municipalities (slightly over 1 per cent). Due to perfect separation problems, Model 2 includes province FE but limits the sample to provinces with variation, while Model 3 includes the full sample without province FE.

## J Agrarian and non-agrarian employers' associations

Table A11 shows the results of the full analyses using an alternative of the main independent variable, presence of employers' associations, distinguishing between agrarian and non-agrarian employers' associations. Models 1 and 2 replicate the base analyses, while Models 3 to 6 replicate the analyses that interact the employers' association variable with each of the unions (UGT and CNT).

**Table A11:** Linear models on anticlerical violence, distinguishing agrarian and non-agrarian employers' associations

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Agrarian employers' assoc	0.274* (0.109)		0.115 (0.118)		0.086 (0.081)	
Non-agrarian employers' assoc		0.171* (0.073)		0.026 (0.106)		0.133+ (0.081)
CNT union	0.090* (0.044)	0.089* (0.044)	0.091* (0.045)	0.089* (0.044)	0.030 (0.045)	0.077+ (0.046)
UGT union	0.042 (0.026)	0.036 (0.027)	0.029 (0.027)	0.028 (0.024)	0.040 (0.025)	0.036 (0.027)
Employer (agrarian) × CNT union					0.494** (0.178)	
Employer (agrarian) × UGT union			0.258+ (0.140)			
Employer (not agr.) × CNT union						0.093 (0.147)
Employer (not agr.) × UGT union				0.216 (0.159)		
<i>n</i>	3948	3948	3948	3948	3948	3948
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.43	0.43	0.44	0.43	0.44	0.43
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.43	0.43	0.43	0.43	0.43	0.43
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Province FE not shown, clustered SE (province). Only municipalities that were at least one day under Republican control. Control variables not shown: population (log), leftist support 1936, days of Republican control (log), illiteracy 1930, number of clerics (log).

## K Full results for professional occupations in Catalonia

Table A12 shows the full results of the analyses on the Catalonia sample, disaggregating the civilian category by occupation.

**Table A12:** Linear models on Republican victimization in Catalonia by professional category

	Clergy	Local leaders	Rest
	(1)	(2)	(3)
(Intercept)	1.915+ (1.054)	-0.293 (0.971)	-1.268 (0.949)
Employers' association	0.305*** (0.076)	0.275*** (0.070)	0.056 (0.069)
CNT union	-0.128* (0.057)	0.103+ (0.052)	0.093+ (0.051)
UGT union	0.216** (0.072)	0.171** (0.066)	0.103 (0.065)
Leftist support 1936	-0.033 (0.090)	0.068 (0.083)	-0.002 (0.081)
Days of Republican control (log)	-0.281+ (0.150)	0.017 (0.138)	0.140 (0.135)
Illiteracy 1930	0.130 (0.148)	-0.064 (0.136)	-0.045 (0.133)
Population (log)	-0.039 (0.027)	0.010 (0.025)	0.032 (0.024)
Number of clerics (log)	0.202*** (0.021)	-0.027 (0.019)	-0.038* (0.019)
Total Republican killings (log)	0.405*** (0.019)	0.421*** (0.017)	0.805*** (0.017)
<i>n</i>	908	908	908
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.67	0.65	0.86
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.67	0.64	0.85

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Outcome variable is the logged number of deaths for each professional category. Individuals working in law enforcement are excluded. Only municipalities in Catalonia.

## L Models on all Republican violence

Table [A13](#) shows the results for an additional test of the argument that clerics were killed because of their position as local leaders. Using data from all the provinces where we have data on Republican killings, we get a measure of non-clergy victims by eliminating the clerics killed in the total number of Republican killings.<sup>2</sup> We then use this measure as our dependent variable in a model that replicates the baseline model on anticlerical violence.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Data on Republican violence comes from several sources. We relied on the replication data from [Balcells \(2010\)](#) for provinces in Catalonia and Aragón, and the replication data from [Villamil \(2021\)](#) for Asturias. We relied on secondary historical studies for Cáceres ([Chaves, 1995](#)) and Badajoz ([Martín Bastos, 2015](#)). Finally, we are grateful to Fernando del Rey for sharing with us the data for Ciudad Real.

<sup>3</sup> Note, however, that this is a very rough empirical test, as the sources on both types of violence are different and the number of Republican killings, even after subtracting anticlerical violence, also includes other civilians who had positions of local leadership. Indeed, in around 5% of the municipalities where we have data on Republican violence, there are more killings of clerics than overall victims of Republican violence, which is obviously wrong. In these cases, we set the number of non-clergy victims to 0.



**Table A13:** Linear models on Republican violence (logged)

	Full sample		Reduced sample
	Clerics		All victims
	(1)	(2)	(3)
(Intercept)	-1.337*** (0.150)	-1.831*** (0.215)	-6.415*** (0.612)
Employers' association	0.266*** (0.057)	0.435*** (0.103)	0.198+ (0.116)
CNT union	0.066 (0.044)	0.022 (0.067)	0.183+ (0.106)
UGT union	0.032 (0.025)	0.168* (0.073)	0.136* (0.053)
<i>n</i>	3948	1634	1634
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.44	0.46	0.56
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.43	0.45	0.55
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

*Note:*

+  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Province FE not shown, clustered SE (province). Only municipalities that were at least one day under Republican control. Control variables not shown: population (log), leftist support 1936, days of Republican control (log), illiteracy 1930, number of clerics (log). Model 2 is the same as Model 1 but restricts the sample to provinces where there is data available on Republican violence (Badajoz, Barcelona, Caceres, Ciudad Real, Girona, Huesca, Lleida, Asturias, Tarragona, Teruel, Zaragoza).

## M Anticlerical tradition

Table [A14](#) shows the results of a series of models where we assess whether the results are explained by historical anticlerical tradition. Each pair of models compares the results on the main variables (employers' associations, CNT union, and UGT union) with and without a variable on anticlerical tradition.

Models 1 and 2 limit the sample to Catalonia and include a measure from [Muns i Castellet \(1888\)](#) on anticlerical violence in 1822–1823. Models 3 and 4 limit the sample to municipalities in Zaragoza (which results in only 40 municipalities when further restricting them to those that remained under Republican control after the 1936 coup), and include a measure of violence against clerics between 1834 and 1844, obtained from [Aquillué \(2020\)](#). Finally, Models 5 and 6 include a measure of anticlerical violence closer in time to the civil war, namely, anticlerical mutinies between 1931 and 1936, from [López Villaverde \(2019\)](#).

**Table A14:** Linear models on anticlerical violence controlling for historical anticlericalism

	Catalonia		Zaragoza		Full sample	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Employers' association	0.581*** (0.091)	0.578*** (0.091)	0.541* (0.240)	0.457+ (0.249)	0.266*** (0.034)	0.254*** (0.034)
CNT union	-0.132+ (0.069)	-0.126+ (0.069)	-0.138 (0.158)	-0.074 (0.166)	0.066* (0.031)	0.059+ (0.031)
UGT union	0.424*** (0.087)	0.423*** (0.087)	-0.085 (0.202)	-0.037 (0.205)	0.032 (0.020)	0.033 (0.020)
AC violence in Catalonia, 1820s		0.154+ (0.080)				
AC violence in Zaragoza, 1830-40s				0.342 (0.286)		
AC violence, 1931-1936						0.207*** (0.060)
<i>n</i>	908	908	40	40	3948	3948
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.50	0.50	0.48	0.50	0.44	0.44
Adj. <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.49	0.49	0.34	0.35	0.43	0.43
Province FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

*Note:* +  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Province FE not shown. Only municipalities that were at least one day under Republican control. Control variables not shown: population (log), leftist support 1936, days of Republican control (log), illiteracy 1930, number of clerics (log). Model 2 controls for anticlerical violence in Catalonia in 1822-23, following Muns i Casteller (1888). Model 4 controls for the incidence of anticlerical violence in Zaragoza province between 1833 and 1843 following Aquillué (2020). Model 6 controls for the incidence of anticlerical mutinies during the Second Republic, 1931-1936, following López Villaverde (2019).

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