

# Information Operations Increase Civilian Security Cooperation and Support for Reintegration

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# Motivation

- ▶ Information operations are at the core of modern warfare:  
“The battlefield is not necessarily a field anymore. Its in the minds of the people. Its what they believe to be trust that matters” —Admiral Michael Mullen
- ▶ More than 250 million invested in various campaigns in AFG and Iraq.
- ▶ Yet we little (no) rigorous evidence evaluating the effectiveness of IO/PSYOPS in the context of an ongoing insurgency where the target is adversely inclined to message sender.

# Overview

- ▶ We **study** whether and how psychological operations influence civilian attitudes and behaviors.
- ▶ We **investigate** these impacts in Afghanistan using confidential military surveys (conducted by multiple actors in parallel) as well as declassified military records covering combat, neutralization, and intelligence activities.

# Results, part i

We find robust evidence that:

- ▶ Evidence from Garmser Radio-in-a-Box (RIAB) program yields consistent evidence that PSYOPS exposure increases IED neutralizations (net detonations) and civilian collaboration with ISAF/Afghans.
- ▶ Exposure to government counter-IED campaign increases (hypothetical) willingness to report IEDs.
- ▶ These effects are substantially enhanced among individuals with preexisting exposure to government institutions or with pro-government sentiments.



# Results, part ii

We find robust evidence that:

- ▶ Exposure at the district-wave level strongly correlates with increasing tips regarding roadside bombs (conditional on IED trends).
- ▶ Intensity of intelligence reports (IEDs/tactical) strongly correlated with counterinsurgent effectiveness: increasing bomb neutralizations, weapon cache seizures, safe house raids, and combatants captured.

## Results, part iii

We find robust evidence that:

- ▶ Exposure to positive messaging about government's reintegration program increases civilian tolerance of former fighters moving to community (even if they've killed/injured a civilian).
- ▶ Decreasing marginal return to messaging frequency.
- ▶ Limited gains from targeting idiosyncratic preferences/trust for/in alternative sources of information.

# Context

# Information Operations in Afghanistan

- ▶ We study INFOOPS/PSYOPS in Afghanistan, where ISAF has used information campaigns to raise awareness of various threats and shape public opinion towards coalition forces.
- ▶ Afghans were critical to the PSYOPS campaign, often developing messaging side-by-side with ISAF.
- ▶ US DoD commissioned RAND study of PSYOPS; relied on interviews and anecdotal/informal assessments of effectiveness. Claimed mixed results.

## Poster



## Messages

“The Taliban IED attack in Safar today killed innocent Muslim children; tell us where the IEDs are before they hurt more of your sons and daughters”

“The Taliban we killed today were in the middle of placing an IED that could have killed your sons and daughters”

“Our operation to the south this week brings even greater security to the region; the Taliban have all fled to Pakistan”

# Data

- ▶ Throughout the campaign (and after), ISAF has conducted ongoing national surveys and gathered intelligence reports.
- ▶ We rely on two surveys: Afghanistan Nationwide Quarterly Assessment Research (ANQAR) and FOGHORN. Both conducted by ACSOR. Province :: District :: Villages :: Households.
- ▶ We pair these data with significant activity (SIGACTS) reports. Typically only include combat operations. Our release included counterinsurgent missions and intelligence reports.

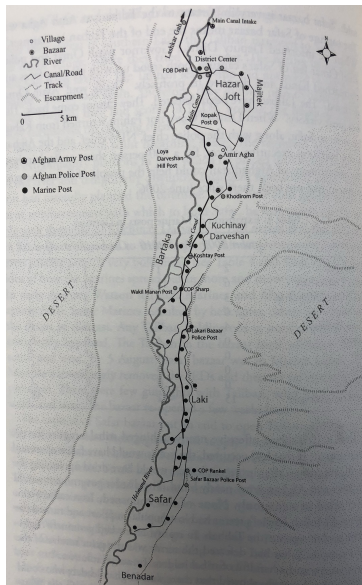
# Study 1: Roadside bombs



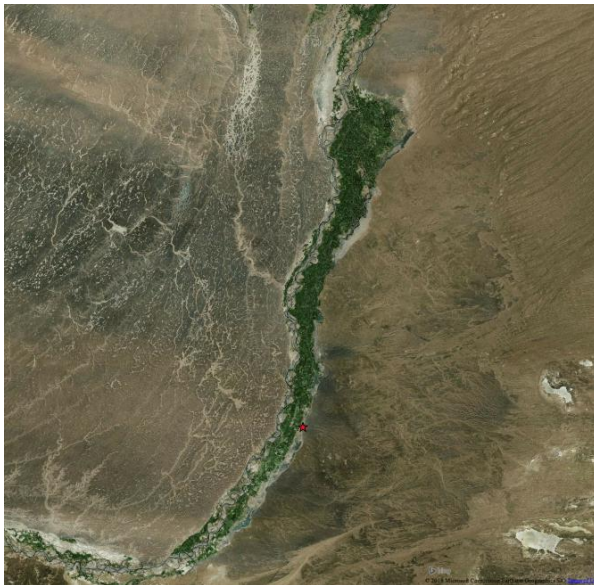
# Overview

- ▶ Exploit geographic natural experiment to evaluate impact of messaging on tipping and COIN outcomes at microlevel. Tradeoff: strong internal validity vs. (weak) external validity.
- ▶ Investigate link between messaging exposure and willingness to share information about roadside bombs. Tradeoff: Respondent-level evidence vs. biased self-reports.
- ▶ Evaluate impact of local exposure (measured via survey) on flow of tips (measured as behavioral outcome via military records). Tradeoff: Behavioral outcomes but difficult to assess impact on tactics.
- ▶ Link high frequency panel data from military records on intel reports and COIN outcomes. Tradeoff: panel design with plausible identifying assumptions (external validity) vs. internal validity (see first bullet).

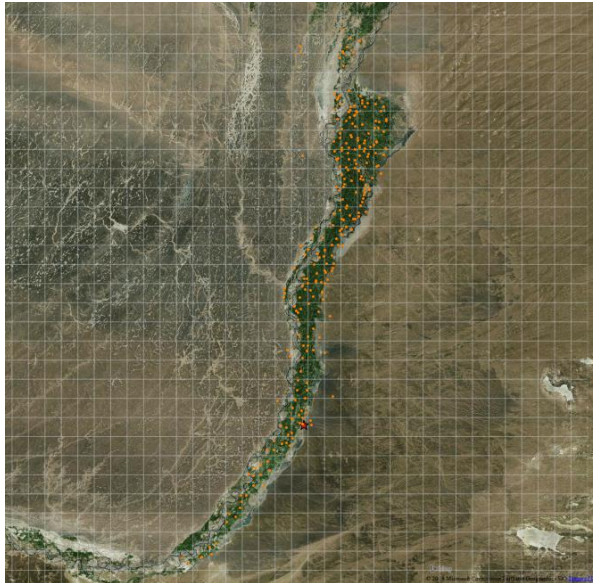
# Geographic natural experiment: RIAB

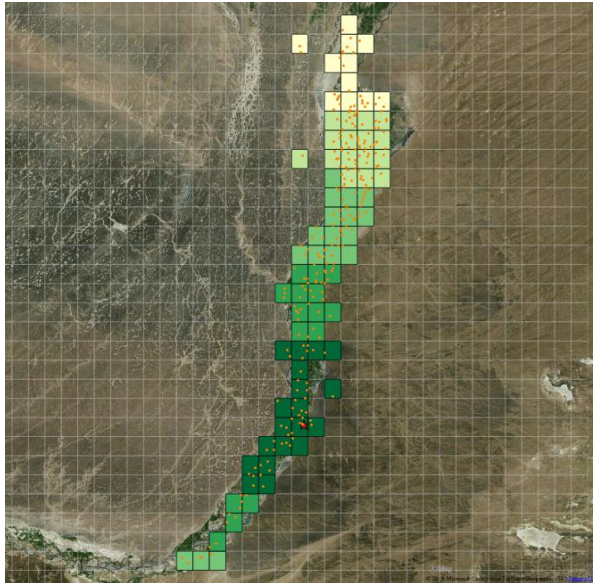




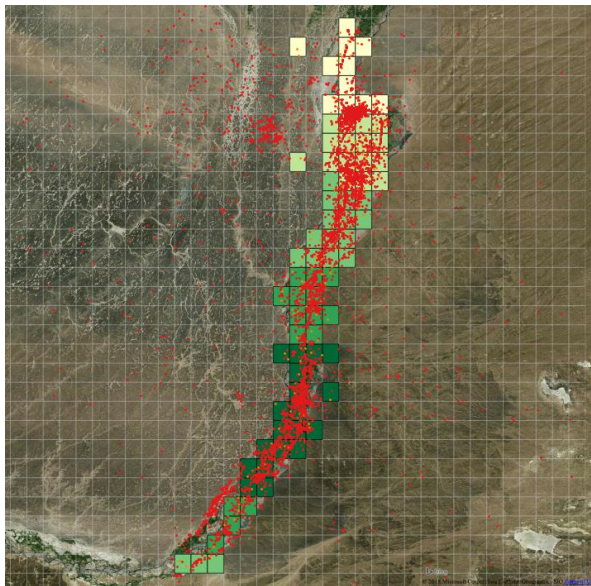


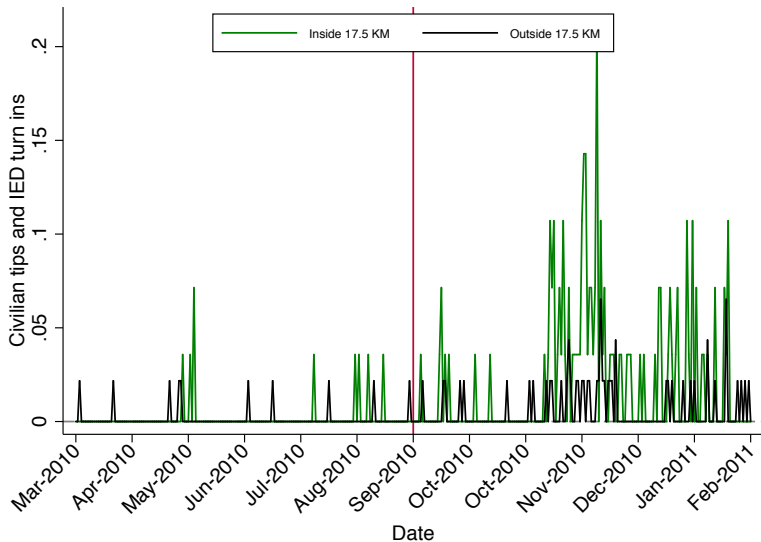


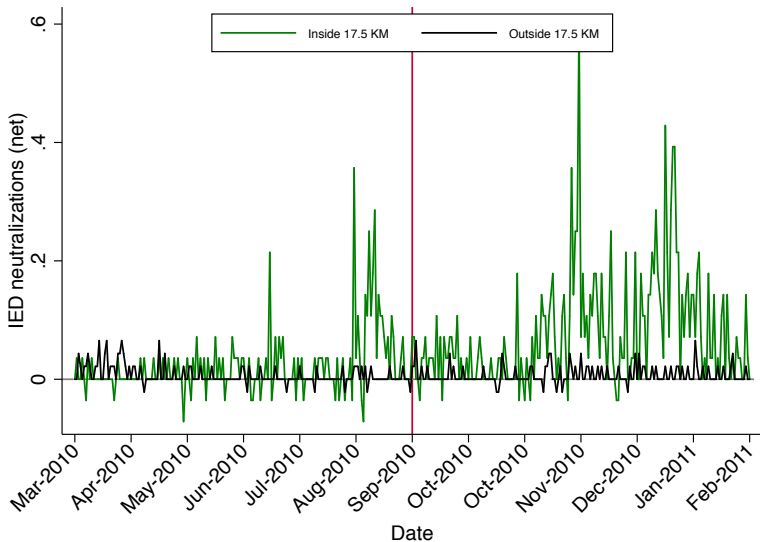










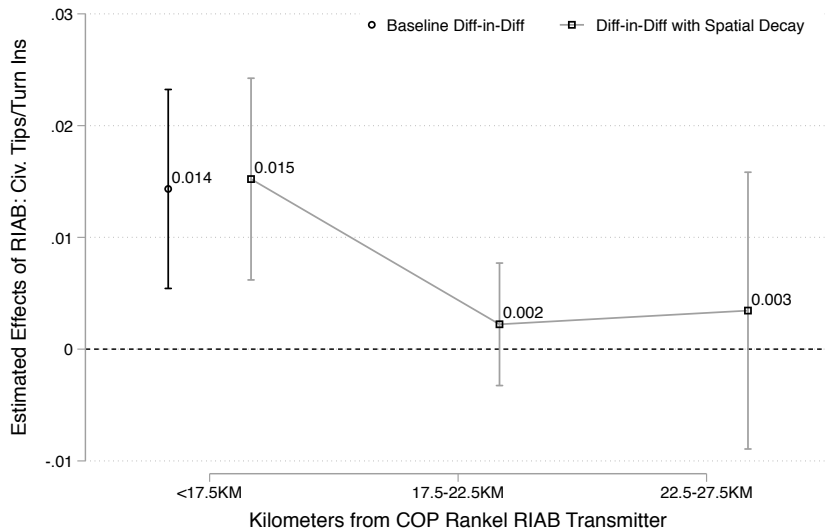


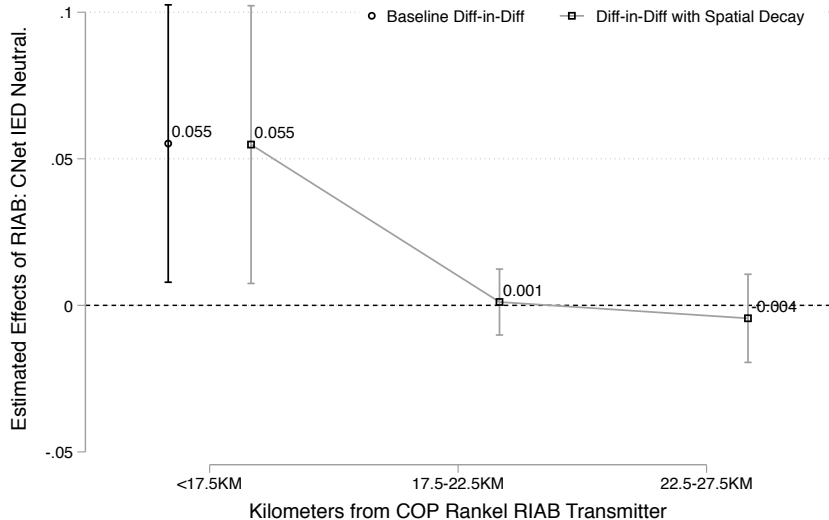
# Garmser specification: combat / intel data

We estimate the following least squares model:

$$outcome_{gd} = \alpha + \beta_{1post} \times exposure_{gd}^{bw} + \mu_g + \eta_d + \epsilon \quad (1)$$

where  $outcome_{gd}$  is the sum of net neutralizations or civilian collaboration in grid cell  $g$  on day  $d$  with 180 window before/after RIAB established. We can vary the spatial bandwidth (from 15 to 40 kilometers from transmitter site). Standard errors are clustered by grid cell.





We account for:

- ▶ Time-varying effects of patrol base proximity.
- ▶ Accounting for lags in combat activity (close combat, insurgent detention).
- ▶ Accounting for longer lags in combat activity.
- ▶ Allowing impact of trends in troop operations to vary with treatment.
- ▶ Addressing potential correlation between radio programming and military aid delivery (using CERP).
- ▶ Randomization inference suggests main results highly unlikely to arise by chance.

# Study 1 Recap: RIAB Evidence

We find evidence that:

- ▶ Installation and operation of a radio tower that broadcast messages re. roadside bombs (and other topics) increased tipping substantially.
- ▶ These tips led to a substantial increase in bomb neutralizations.



# Assessing External Validity via Survey Data

# Main specification: survey data

We estimate the following least squares model:

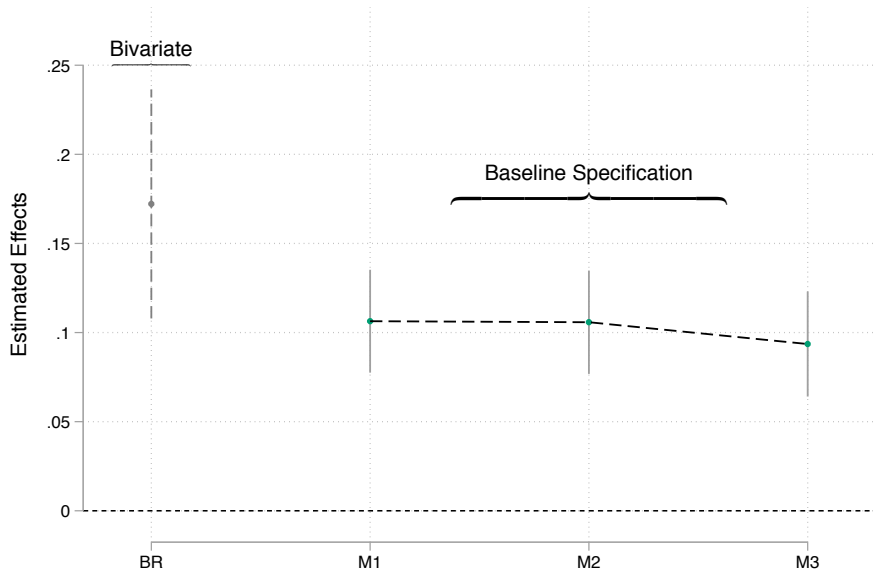
$$tips_i = \alpha + \beta messaging_i + \theta X_i + \epsilon \quad (2)$$

where  $tips_i$  is the respondent  $i$ 's willingness to report roadside bombs and  $messaging_i$  is an indicator for exposure to counter-IED messaging in the prior six months. Standard errors are clustered by administrative district and models are adjusted using sampling weights.

**Table 1:** Impact of psychological messaging exposure on civilian's willingness to provide tips about deployed roadside bombs

|                                  | (1)<br>Basic<br>Model | (2)<br>Baseline Model<br>w. Fixed Effects<br>+ Demo. Controls | (3)<br>Baseline Model<br>w. Village<br>Security | (4)<br>Baseline Model<br>w. Political and<br>Security Controls |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|---|---|--|
| Messaging Exposure               | 0.172***<br>(0.0328)  | 0.106***<br>(0.0147)  | 0.106***<br>(0.0148)                            | 0.0936***<br>(0.0150)  |
| SUMMARY STATISTICS               |                       |   |   |  |
| Outcome Mean                     | 0.482                 | 0.482   | 0.482   | 0.482  |
| Outcome SD                       | 0.500                 | 0.500   | 0.500   | 0.500  |
| PARAMETERS                       |                       |   |   |  |
| District + Wave Fixed Effects    | No                    | Yes   | Yes   | Yes  |
| Demographic Controls             | No                    | Yes   | Yes   | Yes  |
| Village Insecure                 | No                    | No  | Yes   | Yes  |
| Police Patrols Weekly            | No                    | No  | No  | Yes  |
| Govt. going Wrong Direction      | No                    | No  | No  | Yes  |
| Terr. Control (Govt./Ins./Mixed) | No                    | No  | No  | Yes  |
| MODEL STATISTICS                 |                       |   |   |  |
| N                                | 24620                 | 24620   | 24620   | 24620  |
| Clusters                         | 339                   | 339   | 339   | 339  |

Notes: Outcome of interest is willingness to report insurgents planting IEDs. Unit of analysis is individual survey respondent. Baseline models include administrative district fixed effects (using ESOC boundaries), survey wave fixed effects, and demographic controls (age, education, gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status). See table notation for additional details. Standard errors are clustered at the district level and presented in parentheses; \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .



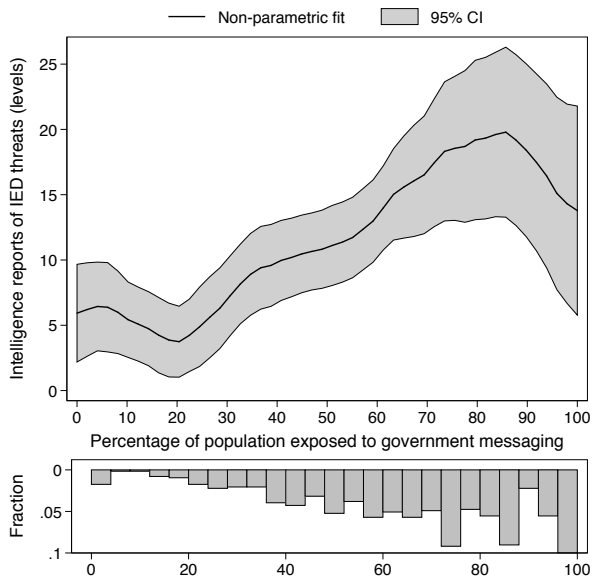
# Behavioral outcomes

# Main specification: survey + intel data

We estimate the following least squares model:

$$tips_{dw} = \alpha + \beta_1 messaging_{dw} + \beta_2 messaging_{dw}^2 + \theta X_{dw} + \epsilon \quad (3)$$

where  $tips_{dw}$  is the sum of IED tips in district  $d$  in the six months prior to wave  $w$ .  $messaging_{dw}$  and  $messaging_{dw}^2$  capture the percentage of respondents (from 0 to 100) reporting exposure to government messaging and the square of this term. The square is added to capture non-linearity.  $X_{dw}$  varies by model. Standard errors are clustered by district.

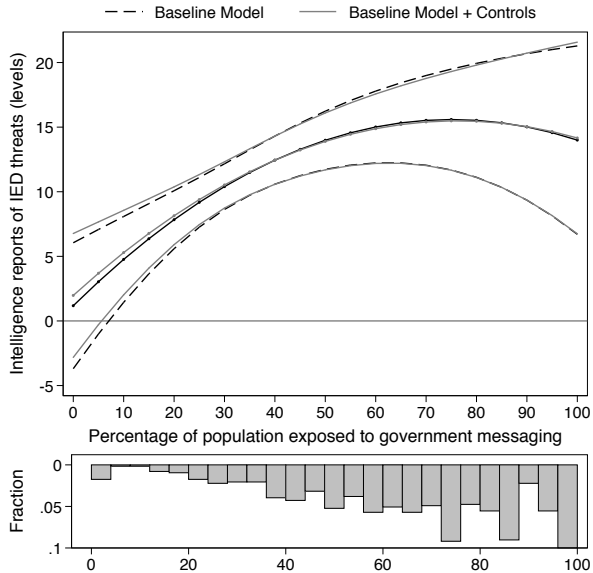


**Table 2:** Impact of psychological messaging exposure on civilian tips about roadside bombs documented in military records

|                                 | (1)<br>Baseline Model<br>w. IED deton.<br>+ FC Trends | (2)<br>Baseline Model<br>w. Informant Kill.<br>Trends | (3)<br>Baseline Model<br>w. Combat<br>Trends | (4)<br>Baseline Model<br>w/o Collab.<br>Outlier (Kabul) |
|---------------------------------|---|---|--|---|
| Messaging Exposure              | 0.384***<br>(0.100)                                   | 0.382***<br>(0.1000)                                  | 0.355***<br>(0.1000)                         | 0.361***<br>(0.0916)                                    |
| Messaging Exposure <sup>2</sup> | -0.00256***<br>(0.000936)                             | -0.00255***<br>(0.000923)                             | -0.00233**<br>(0.000969)                     | -0.00278***<br>(0.000779)                               |
| SUMMARY STATISTICS              |   |   |  |   |
| Outcome Mean                    | 13.89   | 13.89   | 13.89  | 12.41   |
| Outcome SD                      | 33.97   | 33.97   | 33.97  | 21.48   |
| PARAMETERS                      |   |   |  |   |
| IED Detonations                 | Yes   | Yes   | Yes  | Yes   |
| IED Neutralizations             | Yes   | Yes   | Yes  | Yes   |
| Informant/Recruit Killings      | No  | Yes   | Yes  | Yes   |
| Close Combat Trends             | No  | No  | Yes  | Yes   |
| Remote Combat Trends            | No  | No  | Yes  | Yes   |
| Exclude Outlier (Kabul)         | No  | No  | No   | Yes   |
| MODEL STATISTICS                |   |   |  |   |
| N                               | 631   | 631   | 631  | 629   |
| Clusters                        | 339   | 339   | 339  | 338   |

Notes: Outcome of interest is tips reporting the location of implanted roadside bombs. Unit of analysis is district-wave. Data on intelligence records and combat activity (SIGACTS) were declassified by the US Department of Defense and are calculated using the six month window prior to each survey wave (consistent with survey wording regarding messaging exposure). Data on messaging exposure is drawn from the ANQAR survey and calculated by district-wave as a percentage of the population reporting exposure. See table notation for additional details. Standard errors are clustered at the district level and presented in parentheses; \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .





# Battlefield outcomes

# Main specification: intel data

We estimate the following least squares model:

$$y_{dt} = \alpha + \beta_1 tips_{dt-1} + \mu_d + \eta_t + \gamma X_{dt} + \epsilon \quad (4)$$

where  $y_{dt}$  is the number of counterinsurgent actions in district  $d$  in week  $t$ .  $\mu_d$  is a district fixed effect;  $\eta_t$  denotes a week-of-year fixed effect;  $X_{dt-1}$  is a vector of district-week specific control variables, including trends in tips and combat activity. Standard errors are clustered by district.

Table 3: Impact of civilian tips on battlefield outcomes

|                                   | (1)<br>Baseline Model<br>Roadside Bombs<br>Found/Cleared | (2)<br>Baseline Model<br>Weapon Caches<br>Found/Cleared | (3)<br>Baseline Model<br>Tactical Safe<br>House Raids | (4)<br>Baseline Model<br>Insurgents Captured<br>and Detained |
|-----------------------------------|--|---|---|--|
| Tips about IED deployment, Lagged | 0.0153**<br>(0.00777)                                    | 0.0147***<br>(0.00360)                                  |   |  |
| All Tactical Tips, Lagged         |  |   | 0.00289***<br>(0.000849)                              | 0.0421**<br>(0.0182)   |
| SUMMARY STATISTICS                |  |   |   |  |
| Outcome Mean                      | 0.236  | 0.0769  | 0.00689   | 0.0785   |
| Outcome SD                        | 1.187  | 0.583   | 0.106   | 0.491  |
| PARAMETERS                        |  |   |   |  |
| District Fixed Effect             | Yes  | Yes   | Yes   | Yes  |
| Week Fixed Effect                 | Yes  | Yes   | Yes   | Yes  |
| IED Detonation Trends             | Yes  | Yes   | Yes   | Yes  |
| Close Combat Trends               | Yes  | Yes   | Yes   | Yes  |
| Remote Combat Trends              | Yes  | Yes   | Yes   | Yes  |
| MODEL STATISTICS                  |  |   |   |  |
| N                                 | 171936   | 171936  | 171936  | 171936   |
| Clusters                          | 398  | 398   | 398   | 398  |

Notes: Outcome of interest varies by column and is noted in each model heading: (1) roadside bombs found and neutralized (cleared); (2) weapon caches (depots) found and neutralized (cleared); (3) tactical safe house raids yielding actionable intelligence about insurgent operations; (4) insurgents captured and detained by security forces. In (1) and (2) the explanatory variable is the number of tips about IED deployment lagged by one week. In (3) and (4), we investigate the number of tactical tips (including all combat activity) lagged by one week. Unit of analysis is district-week from 2006 to 2014. Data on intelligence records and combat activity (SIGACTS) were declassified by the US Department of Defense. All models include district (unit) and week (time) fixed effects. See table notation for additional details. Standard errors are clustered at the district level and presented in parentheses; \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .

## Study 2: Preparing for post-conflict reintegration

# Study 2 Overview

- ▶ Use additional data to conduct within case out-of-context replication.
- ▶ Explore highly relevant and timely campaign: messaging in support of peace agreement with Taliban.
- ▶ Investigate additional effects: messaging frequency, media preferences.
- ▶ **Results** messaging increases tolerance; decreasing marginal return to high frequency messaging; weak/no returns to targeted messaging.

# Bottom line

- ▶ PSYOPS can be used to effectively alter civilian attitudes and behaviors.
- ▶ These attitudinal/behavioral changes can substantially improve battlefield outcomes.
- ▶ Messaging that is moderately frequent and leverages existing local institutions yield benefits; limited returns to high resolution targeting.

# Appendix



**Table 4:** Impact of psychological messaging exposure on civilian's willingness to provide tips about deployed roadside bombs, accounting for potential survey effects

|                                  | (1)<br>Baseline Model | (2)<br>Baseline Model<br>w. Survey<br>Comprehension | (3)<br>Baseline Model<br>w. Survey<br>Comfort | (4)<br>Baseline Model<br>w. Number Present<br>During Survey |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|---|---|---|
| Messaging Exposure               | 0.0936***<br>(0.0150) | 0.0936***<br>(0.0150)                               | 0.0933***<br>(0.0150)                         | 0.0932***<br>(0.0150)                                       |
| SUMMARY STATISTICS               |                       |   |   |   |
| Outcome Mean                     | 0.482                 | 0.482   | 0.482   | 0.482   |
| Outcome SD                       | 0.500                 | 0.500   | 0.500   | 0.500   |
| PARAMETERS                       |                       |   |   |   |
| District + Wave Fixed Effects    | Yes                   | Yes   | Yes   | Yes   |
| Demographic Controls             | Yes                   | Yes   | Yes   | Yes   |
| Village Insecure                 | Yes                   | Yes   | Yes   | Yes   |
| Police Patrols Weekly            | Yes                   | Yes   | Yes   | Yes   |
| Govt. going Wrong Direction      | Yes                   | Yes   | Yes   | Yes   |
| Terr. Control (Govt./Ins./Mixed) | Yes                   | Yes   | Yes   | Yes   |
| Survey Effects                   |                       |   |   |   |
| Understood Survey                | No                    | Yes   | Yes   | Yes   |
| Comfortable w. Survey            | No                    | No  | Yes   | Yes   |
| Number Present                   | No                    | No  | No  | Yes   |
| MODEL STATISTICS                 |                       |   |   |   |
| N                                | 24620                 | 24620   | 24620   | 24620   |
| Clusters                         | 339                   | 339   | 339   | 339   |

Notes: Outcome of interest is willingness to report insurgents planting IEDs. Unit of analysis is individual survey respondent. Baseline models include administrative district fixed effects (using ESOC boundaries), survey wave fixed effects, and demographic controls (age, education, gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status). See table notation for additional details. Standard errors are clustered at the district level and presented in parentheses; \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .

**Table 5:** Estimating treatment effect bounds using the Oster coefficient stability test

| Panel A: Baseline Regression Diagnostic Information |                  |  |  |
|---|------------------|--|--|
| Treatment Variable                                  | Outcome Variable | (1)  | (2)  |
|   |                  | Baseline effect<br>(Std. error), [R <sup>2</sup> ] | Controlled effect<br>(Std. error), [R <sup>2</sup> ] |
| Messaging   | IED Reporting    | 0.172*** (0.0328) [0.025]                          | 0.0936*** (0.0150) [0.248]                           |
| Messaging   | Reint. Tolerance | 0.105*** (0.0148) [0.011]                          | 0.0740*** (0.0128) [0.129]                           |

| Panel B: Oster Coefficient Stability Test Results |                  |  |   |
|---|------------------|--|---|
| Treatment Variable                                | Outcome Variable | (3)  | (4)   |
|   |                  | Effect for $R_{max}$<br>$((\beta_{R_{max}} - \beta_{ctrl})^2) [R_{max}]$ | Alt. Effect for $R_{max}$<br>$((\beta_{R_{max}} - \beta_{ctrl})^2) [R_{max}]$ |
| Messaging   | IED Reporting    | 0.0378 (.00311) 0.375]   | 3.172 (9.48) [0.375]  |
| Messaging   | Reint. Tolerance | 0.050 (.000569) [0.195]  | 3.349 (10.7) [0.195]  |

Notes: Bounds for treatment effects are estimated using the Oster coefficient stability test [?].  $R_{max}$  set at 1.5 (exceeds 1.3 threshold in [?]). Model specifications are drawn from least and most conservative main specifications. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .

# PSYCHOPS/RESULTS: Study 2

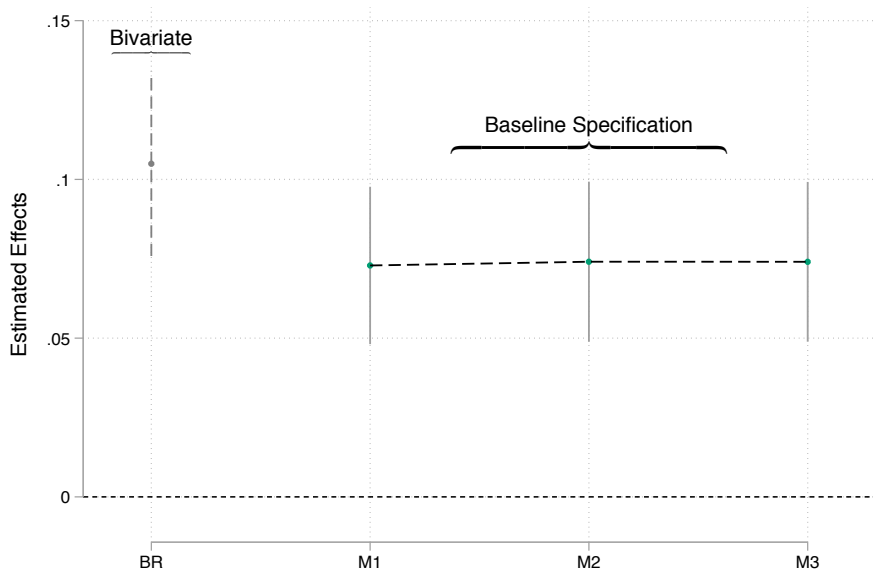
## Study 2 Overview

- ▶ Use additional data to conduct within case out-of-context replication.
- ▶ Explore highly relevant and timely campaign: messaging in support of peace agreement with Taliban.
- ▶ Investigate additional effects: messaging frequency, local social capital, media preferences.

**Table 6:** Impact of psychological messaging exposure on civilian's support for reintegration of former combatants

|                               | (1)<br>Basic<br>Model | (2)<br>Baseline Model<br>w. Fixed Effects<br>+ Demo. Controls | (3)<br>Baseline Model<br>w. Community<br>Safety | (4)<br>Baseline Model<br>w. Insurgent Attack and<br>Institution Controls |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|---|---|--|
| Messaging Exposure            | 0.105***<br>(0.0148)  | 0.0729***<br>(0.0126)   | 0.0741***<br>(0.0129)                           | 0.0740***<br>(0.0128)  |
| SUMMARY STATISTICS            |                       |   |   |  |
| Outcome Mean                  | 0.485                 | 0.485   | 0.485   | 0.485  |
| Outcome SD                    | 0.500                 | 0.500   | 0.500   | 0.500  |
| PARAMETERS                    |                       |   |   |  |
| District + Wave Fixed Effects | No                    | Yes   | Yes   | Yes  |
| Demographic Controls          | No                    | Yes   | Yes   | Yes  |
| Community Security            | No                    | No  | Yes   | Yes  |
| Infra. Attack Frequency       | No                    | No  | No  | Yes  |
| Taliban Public Services       | No                    | No  | No  | Yes  |
| Taliban Taxation              | No                    | No  | No  | Yes  |
| MODEL STATISTICS              |                       |   |   |  |
| N                             | 26410                 | 26408   | 26408   | 26408  |
| Clusters                      | 294                   | 294   | 294   | 294  |

Notes: Outcome of interest is support for rebel reintegration within their community. Unit of analysis is individual survey respondent. Baseline models include administrative district fixed effects (using survey sampling units), survey wave fixed effects, and demographic controls (age, gender, ethnicity, employment status). See table notation for additional details. Standard errors are clustered at the district level and presented in parentheses; \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .



## Heterogeneous effects: messaging frequency

**Table 7:** Heterogeneous impacts of psychological messaging frequency on civilian's support for reintegration of former combatants

|                                | (1)<br>Baseline Model | (2)<br>Baseline Model<br>w. Radio and TV<br>Ownership | (3)<br>Baseline Model<br>w. Shura<br>Participation | (4)<br>Baseline Model<br>w. Reintegration<br>Shura Activity |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|---|--|---|
| Messaging Exposure, Monthly    | 0.0588***<br>(0.0140) | 0.0573***<br>(0.0140)                                 | 0.0565***<br>(0.0139)                              | 0.0482***<br>(0.0136)                                       |
| Messaging Exposure, Weekly     | 0.0933***<br>(0.0164) | 0.0898***<br>(0.0163)                                 | 0.0894***<br>(0.0163)                              | 0.0806***<br>(0.0166)                                       |
| Messaging Exposure, Daily      | 0.110***<br>(0.0318)  | 0.106***<br>(0.0313)                                  | 0.105***<br>(0.0312)                               | 0.0947***<br>(0.0305)                                       |
| SUMMARY STATISTICS             |                       |   |  |   |
| Outcome Mean                   | 0.485                 | 0.485   | 0.485  | 0.485   |
| Outcome SD                     | 0.500                 | 0.500   | 0.500  | 0.500   |
| F TEST OF COEFFICIENT EQUALITY |                       |   |  |   |
| Pr(Weekly > Monthly)           | 0.979                 | 0.972   | 0.974  | 0.972   |
| Pr(Daily > Monthly)            | 0.952                 | 0.946   | 0.944  | 0.939   |
| Pr(Daily > Weekly)             | 0.714                 | 0.710   | 0.701  | 0.687   |
| PARAMETERS                     |                       |   |  |   |
| District + Wave Fixed Effects  | Yes                   | Yes   | Yes  | Yes   |
| Demographic Controls           | Yes                   | Yes   | Yes  | Yes   |
| Community Security             | Yes                   | Yes   | Yes  | Yes   |
| Infra. Attack Frequency        | Yes                   | Yes   | Yes  | Yes   |
| Taliban Public Services        | Yes                   | Yes   | Yes  | Yes   |
| Taliban Taxation               | Yes                   | Yes   | Yes  | Yes   |
| ADDITIONAL PARAMETERS          |                       |   |  |   |
| Radio + TV ownership           | No                    | Yes   | Yes  | Yes   |
| Shura Attendance               | No                    | No  | Yes  | Yes   |
| Reintegration Shura Activity   | No                    | No  | No   | Yes   |
| MODEL STATISTICS               |                       |   |  |   |
| N                              | 26408                 | 26408   | 26408  | 26408   |
| Clusters                       | 294                   | 294   | 294  | 294   |

Notes: Outcome of interest is support for rebel reintegration within their community. Unit of analysis is individual survey respondent. Baseline models include administrative district fixed effects (using survey sampling units), survey wave fixed effects, and demographic controls (age, gender, ethnicity, employment status). See table notation for additional details. Standard errors are clustered at the district level and presented in parentheses; \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .



Heterogeneous effects: media preferences/trust

**Table 8:** Heterogeneous impacts of psychological messaging on civilian's support for reintegration of former combatants with respect to use of trusted and non-trusted sources of information transmission

|   | (1)<br>Baseline Model | (2)<br>Baseline Model<br>w. Radio + TV<br>Ownership | (3)<br>Baseline Model<br>w. Trusted Sources<br>of Information | (4)<br>Baseline Model<br>w. Shura<br>Participation |
|---|-----------------------|---|---|--|
| Messaging Exposure, Most Trusted Source     | 0.0787***<br>(0.0135) | 0.0760***<br>(0.0133)                               | 0.0761***<br>(0.0135)   | 0.0756***<br>(0.0135)                              |
| Messaging Exposure, Not Most Trusted Source | 0.0651***<br>(0.0165) | 0.0633***<br>(0.0166)                               | 0.0630***<br>(0.0165)   | 0.0616***<br>(0.0165)                              |
| SUMMARY STATISTICS                          |                       |   |   |  |
| Outcome Mean                                | 0.485                 | 0.485   | 0.485   | 0.485  |
| Outcome SD                                  | 0.500                 | 0.500   | 0.500   | 0.500  |
| F TEST OF COEFFICIENT EQUALITY              |                       |   |   |  |
| Pr(Trust Source > Non-Trust Source)         | 0.821                 | 0.806   | 0.811   | 0.825  |
| PARAMETERS                                  |                       |   |   |  |
| District + Wave Fixed Effects               | Yes                   | Yes   | Yes   | Yes  |
| Demographic Controls                        | Yes                   | Yes   | Yes   | Yes  |
| Community Security                          | Yes                   | Yes   | Yes   | Yes  |
| Infra. Attack Frequency                     | Yes                   | Yes   | Yes   | Yes  |
| Taliban Public Services                     | Yes                   | Yes   | Yes   | Yes  |
| Taliban Taxation                            | Yes                   | Yes   | Yes   | Yes  |
| ADDITIONAL PARAMETERS                       |                       |   |   |  |
| Radio + TV ownership                        | No                    | Yes   | Yes   | Yes  |
| Trusted Sources of Information              | No                    | No  | Yes   | Yes  |
| Shura Attendance                            | No                    | No  | No  | Yes  |
| MODEL STATISTICS                            |                       |   |   |  |
| N   | 26408                 | 26408   | 26408   | 26408  |
| Clusters                                    | 294                   | 294   | 294   | 294  |

Notes: Outcome of interest is support for rebel reintegration within their community. Unit of analysis is individual survey respondent. Baseline models include administrative district fixed effects (using survey sampling units), survey wave fixed effects, and demographic controls (age, gender, ethnicity, employment status). See table notation for additional details. Standard errors are clustered at the district level and presented in parentheses; \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .