

The Efficacy of Nonviolence in Self-determination Disputes

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Abstract: Existing scholarship has shown the power of mass nonviolent campaign in achieving opposition goals for regime change and democratization. Yet, mass nonviolent campaign is both uncommon and relatively unsuccessful for movements for national self-determination, which constitute one of the main bases to resistance movements today. This article argues that to evaluate the efficacy of nonviolence, we must both examine “success” more broadly than maximal goals typically addressed and move beyond “mass” uses of nonviolence to look at the myriad of nonviolent actions that are employed in everyday dissent around the world. I argue that small-scale nonviolent resistance will be a particularly effective strategy for movements seeking self-determination because they must develop and sustain legitimacy within their constituent population, within their host state, and in the international community to achieve both incremental concessions and successful secession (though this maximal outcome is often extremely unlikely). I demonstrate with new data on the violent and nonviolent strategies of all organizations seeking self-determination from 1960 – 2005 that nonviolent resistance is more effective than violence in obtaining concessions over self-determination.

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Existing scholarship shows that nonviolent campaign is often more successful than civil war in achieving major political goals, such as regime change. Yet, a notable caveat to Chenoweth and Stephan's (2011) groundbreaking study is that nonviolent campaign does not appear to work for disputes over secession or self-determination. Not only is nonviolent campaign less effective in such cases, it is relatively rarely used in them. As Cunningham (2012) demonstrates, only about 4% of movements for greater self-determination have employed nonviolent campaign since 1960.

In this article, I show that despite the infrequent use of mass nonviolent campaign, movements for national self-determination have not eschewed nonviolence. Indeed, more organizations promoting self-determination use nonviolent tactics than violent ones. I argue that the infrequent use of mass nonviolent campaign is, in part, a product of the fragmentation and longevity of these movements. Rather than mobilizing at a flash point (such as the escalatory mobilization seen in the Arab Spring), movements for self-determination typically persist for decades (if not centuries) and comprise many different actors employing a multitude of different strategies. Instead of a surge of mass participation then, these movements are often characterized by long-term participation that takes many different forms.

The longer-term fragmented participation in movements for self-determination means that coalescence into a mass nonviolent campaign is unlikely, which is what we see empirically. It also changes the incentives of people and organizations with respect to how to use nonviolence in these disputes. Specifically, organizations will favor other forms of nonviolence because mass mobilization is less commonly used and not seen as a strategy likely to succeed. Organizations and individuals will gravitate toward strategies that do not necessarily require mass campaign. Instead, organizations leverage other advantages of nonviolence, using nonviolent actions to frame their struggle and garner attention. In doing so, organizations employ nonviolence as both a means to pressure the state and as a way to shield themselves from unchecked state repression. These framing and

attention getting tactics have the advantage over violence in that the state has limited justification to repress rather than accommodate because the movement appears less threatening to state security. Through these mechanisms, organizations in self-determination disputes can more effectively gain concessions from the state.

I evaluate these arguments empirically with a large-n quantitative study of all movements for national self-determination from 1960 – 2005. Within this sample, I code data on the violent and nonviolent actions of all organizations active in the movements in each year. I then examine the effect of the strategies used in the movement on the probability that the movement gets a concession related to self-determination from the state (such as greater local autonomy in the areas of education or management of the economy). I find that the more nonviolence a movement uses, the greater the probability they will be accommodated. In contrast, I do not find similar support for the efficacy of violent resistance.

Success of violence and nonviolence

Chenoweth and Stephan (2011) focus on the efficacy of nonviolence, defining campaign success as meeting two criteria: “(1) its stated objective occurred within a reasonable period of time (two years) from the end of the campaign; and (2) the campaign had to have a discernible effect on the outcome” (p. 14). The central argument they (and others) make is that mass participation will play a critical role in generating sufficient pressure on the state. Sharp (1973) sees this mass participation as critical for engendering the disintegration of the ruling regime. Because the costs to individuals decrease as more join in nonviolence, campaigns spiral up in an escalation of participation that can exert significant pressure on the state (c.f. Yin 2006).

Self-determination movements are unlikely to achieve mass nonviolent mobilization. In part, this is because of the longevity that characterizes most self-determination struggles. Many

movements for national self-determination trace their history far back in time as part of their national story. But even considering contemporary claims, many movements have been active in some way for decades, often spanning multiple regime types in their host state. For example, the Catalanian movement's local governing body—the *Generalitat*—can be linked back to the 17th century, was abolished by the Franco regime, and later restored (McRoberts 2001). The Karen movement in Myanmar can be dated back to the late 19th century, and they have been fighting the state as recently as 2013 (South 2011). The goals of these movements are often seen as long-term objectives, as opposed to more immediate goals such as regime change.

Moreover, there almost always exists a diversity among the goals that different organizations with the self-determination movements hold (Cunningham 2014). Very few movements for self-determination have clear unified objectives. More often, different organizations in the same movements represent different interests and these create a plethora of objectives. For example, in the Papuan movement in Indonesia, some organizations seek total independence, while others seek limited autonomy. Given the diversity of aims, the potential for a unifying single goal that will mobilize many people at the same point in time around the same objective is low.

The existence of diverse goals in self-determination movements necessitates a rethinking and reconceptualization of “success.” Chenoweth and Stephan (2011) focus on maximalist claims, and essentially maximalist victory as a successful campaign (with partial success indicating some major but not maximal concessions). Empirically, maximal success is very rare and difficult to achieve for self-determination groups. Even when such movements have strong momentum (as the Scottish did in 2015), maximalist victory is complicated by the response of the international community.¹

¹ Such as the response of the EU to potential Scottish independence. See Coggins (2011) on the role of great powers in secessionist challenges.

While achieving maximalist aims is one way to think about success, models of conflict bargaining typically conceptualize success (or winning) as getting some of what the actor wants. For self-determination movements, achieving even limited concessions can constitute success.²

What is success in struggles over self-determination? Empirically, concessions made to such groups are typically incremental, such as greater group rights, or devolution to local political institutions. For example, the South Tyrolans in Italy received iterated concessions from 1969 to 2001 which gradually increased local power and elevated the status of the German language in the region. Even in South Sudan, which achieved independence, the movement has received lesser concessions decades earlier in the 1972 Addis Ababa agreement.³ These limited, incremental, concessions are in stark contrast to the often rapid pace of democratic transition (such as occurred in a number of post-Soviet states in the early 1990s) or regime change (such as the turnover in Tunisia in 2011). Even when secession occurs, it typically is not a rapid process. The 2011 referendum leading to the creation of South Sudan followed from the 2005 political settlement in the longstanding conflict there. As such, it is limiting to think about success as only possible in limited time frames following some mass participation and as achieving maximal goals such as secession.⁴

² See Cunningham (2011) on why governments have incentives to make limited concessions.

³ These concessions were eventually reneged upon by the central government.

⁴ We can also think about success as comprising other outcomes related to the movement trajectory, such as engendering greater support or commitment to the movement. In this article, I focus on policy related concessions, but conceptualize success beyond achieving maximal goals.

Mechanisms for success using nonviolence

Organizations in self-determination disputes can use nonviolence effectively to frame their cause and to draw attention to movement aims. A movement's frame is the way organizations or individuals make claims and position their cause in the larger political structure. Organizations can act strategically to create a specific narrative in pursuit of their objectives. Tarrow (1998) sees frames as a critical way that organizations and movements give people something to identify with, thus enabling recruitment of participants.

Framing matters not only for mobilizing people (i.e. motivational framing), but for diagnosis of the problem as well (Benford and Snow 2000).⁵ Whether self-determination claims are perceived as reasonable demands or radical extremism depends, to some degree, on the success of self-determination movements in framing them. Of particular concern for self-determination movements is how they can frame their claims as legitimate. States are more likely to grant concessions to movements that are seen as legitimate, and less likely to do so with movements that the state can effectively brand as racial or marginal.

I begin with the assumption that states are willing to give concessions to self-determination movements, but prefer to give less rather than more political power or policy autonomy. States must assess the degree to which opposition movements have popular (or foreign) support, and in particular, whether ignoring or repressing claims for self-determination are likely to be an effective way to deal with such claims. Ignoring and repressing are most difficult for states when self-determination movements establish and maintain legitimacy. Legitimacy is a nebulous concept. Here, I argue that constituent representative legitimacy and external legitimacy from international

⁵ Benford and Snow (2000) also address prognostic framing, i.e. shaping how we think about the solutions to a problem.

actors are essential for self-determination groups to establish to shield them from the state repressing or ignoring their claims.

Organizations seeking self-determination seek to establish legitimacy within the population they want to represent. Movements for self-determination are identified by a “national” population, but these national groups are not always wholly supportive of the push for self-determination. In some cases, there is an obvious split in preferences in the group (such as that revealed by the recent Scottish independence vote.)⁶ In other cases, there is significant (sometimes violent) competition to be the representative organization in the group. The Palestinian movement is characterized by these dynamics (Pearlman 2011), demonstrating that actors within the movement struggle to establish legitimacy within their own population.

Nonviolence has several advantages over violence in establishing and maintaining representative legitimacy among the constituent population for self-determination movements. While individuals or organizations may rally support as “freedom fighters” using violence, many violent actors participate in illicit activity beyond rebellious actions, including arms trades and drug trafficking. Many violent actors also explicitly abuse the population they are purporting to work on behalf of once they have established some coercive power. Stanton (2013) shows that rebels that rely on constituent support abuse the population at a lower rate. Developing the resources to engage in and using nonviolent strategies does not pose a threat to the constituent population. Whether group members choose to actively or passively support organizations using nonviolence, they can do so with little fear that such organizations are going to turn on them, and thus have greater confidence in the credibility of the organizations as legitimately representing their interests.

⁶ This was also revealed by the earlier devolution referenda in 1979 and 1997.

Self-determination movements can also establish legitimacy in the international community. International legitimacy is necessary in order to any movement to achieve the maximal aim of secession.⁷ Members of the international community of states typically make a formal declaration to recognize new states. Even when secession is not a viable goal, the basis for claims for increased power are rooted in the right to territorial based national self-determination, which is a constitutive governing principle of the international system. Moreover, the international community plays a central role in attempts to limit human rights violations and repression. Self-determination movements that can gain sympathy from the international community as reasonable individuals being abused by the population will be able to garner greater attention and potentially intervention.

Employing nonviolence rather than violence can elicit sympathy rather than concern from the international community, helping to establish legitimacy for the movements as an aggrieved actor with sincere claims (Stephan and Chenoweth 2008). The international community generally favors the status quo, and infrequently supports self-determination challenges (Coggins 2011). To win the support (or even tolerance) of the international community is an uphill battle for movements for national self-determination. Movements must present themselves as internally legitimate (i.e. within their own group) and as a state-like actor, rather than as a violent non-state actor (Chenoweth and Fazal 2014). To this end, some non-state actors such as secessionist rebels have increasingly tried to adhere to legal standards of conflict (Fazal 2015). Global support for international cooperation for counter-terrorism has increased the advantage of nonviolence. By using nonviolence, organizations seeking greater self-determination can maintain legitimacy in the international community in a way that is increasingly difficult if they use violence.

⁷ Secession within international legitimacy leads to de-facto states (King 2001).

Establishing and maintaining legitimacy (internally and externally) can shield self-determination movements from attempts to delegitimize their claims. One way that states can avoid making concessions to self-determination movements is to identify them as “terrorists” or “radicals,” and thus undermine their legitimacy as an actor that can make reasonable claims on the state. Leaders in the United Kingdom, Spain, Columbia, and Turkey have all openly declared that they will not negotiate with terrorists (Toros 2008).⁸ States can also withhold diplomatic engagement in an effort to delegitimize organizations. Byman (2006) explicitly argues that engagement with nationalists (especially by the United States) can confer legitimacy on the group. Avoiding having to make concessions by withholding diplomacy or designating the movements as terrorists will be easier to do when organizations use violence.⁹ Employing nonviolence is a strategy movements can use to maintain legitimacy and thus increase their ability to achieve concessions (i.e. succeed). This discussion leads to one central hypothesis about success.

H1: Movements that employ nonviolence will be more likely to get concessions from the state than those that do not use nonviolence.

Exploring the use and efficacy of nonviolence

To explore the efficacy of nonviolence, we need information on the use of nonviolent strategies at a lower level than mass nonviolent campaign, and on the successes of the movements. I use data from Cunningham’s (2014) book on self-determination politics to examine the relationship

⁸ See also Zartman (2003).

⁹ Relatedly, nonviolence can also make it more likely for “backfire” to occur (wherein repression breeds support for the movement) (Martin 2007).

between the use of nonviolence and accommodation of self-determination claims. Cunningham's data includes 138 different SD movements in 77 countries, ranging from the Sami in Sweden to the Moros in the Philippines and Chechens in Russia. The original sample of self-determination movements comes from the Center for Development and Conflict Management's Peace and Conflict report, which includes a global list of movements seeking self-determination.¹⁰

In this article, I argue that we must look beyond maximal concessions to examine the efficacy of nonviolence. To measure success, I examine whether the movement received any concessions from the government related to self-determination by year from 1960 – 2005. These concessions range from increased power at the center, to regional parliaments, to total secession. There are 209 movement-years in which concessions were made over self-determination.

All of the concessions included in this measure of success entail the host state granting the movement greater power or rights related to the self-determination identity. Some concessions increase power in one area, such as increased autonomy over language policy, or local security provision. In other cases, concessions are multifaceted, and address multiple different substantive areas, such as political and cultural issues. Examples of concessions include the creation of the Saami Parliament in Norway in 1987, which included cultural and linguistic protections, as well as some spending power. In 1969, the Canadian government constitutionally recognized French through the Official Languages Act in response to Québécois demands. In 2003, the Anjoune in Comoros

¹⁰ The sample is based on the 2003 report (Marshall and Gurr 2003). The CICDM's list of movements originates from the Minorities At Risk (MAR) project. Because the MAR project includes "politically active ethnic groups," there is some potential bias in which movements are included in this study. By relying on this list, my study speaks most directly to the role that nonviolence plays in active disputes for self-determination.

received greater powers over tax collection, fiscal, and security policy.

Self-determination movements receive concessions across the globe, though these groups are most successful in the West, Asia, and Eastern Europe. Figure 1 shows the geographic distribution of concessions from 1960 to 2005.¹¹

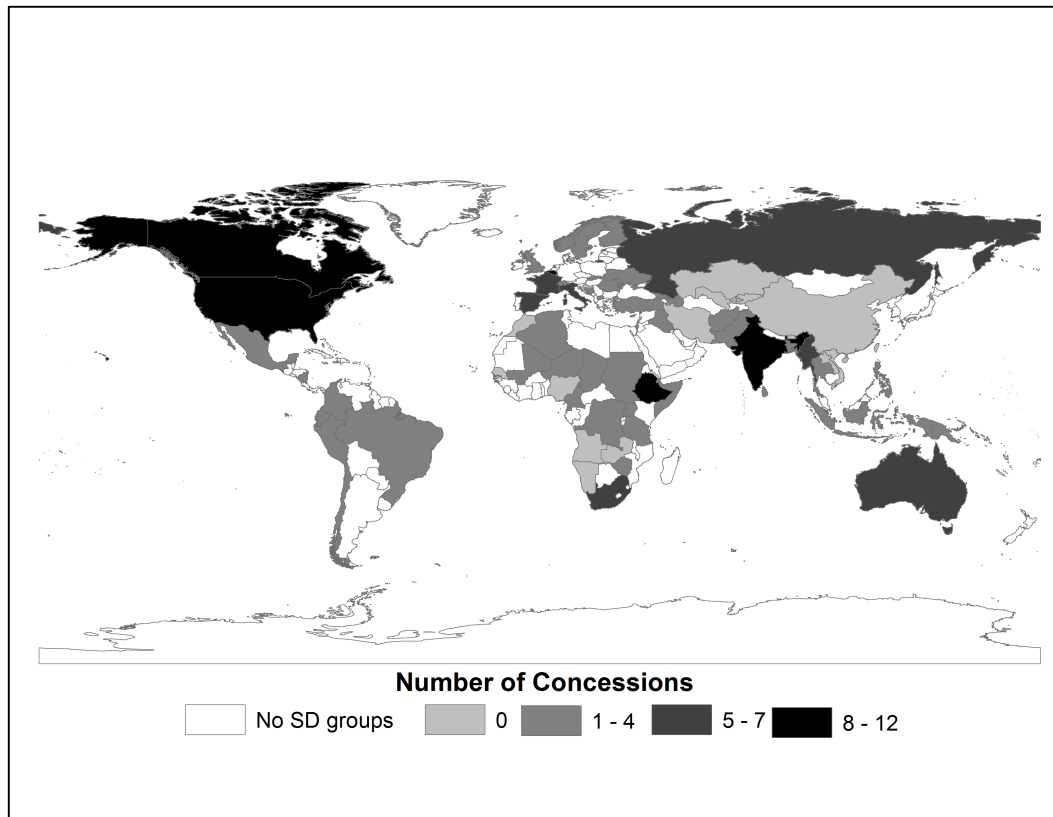


Figure 1. Geographic distribution of concessions

These data on concessions illustrate the importance of looking beyond maximalist concessions to examine the efficacy of nonviolence. Among all the concessions that occurred from 1960 to 2005, only a handful were secessions. Many of the concessions were made in an iterated fashion, which did not meet the movement's potential maximal goal of secession. About half of the movements that have some success in getting concessions from the state get more than one.

¹¹ Originally published in Cunningham (2014).

To examine the effect of nonviolence on concessions, I introduce a new measure of nonviolence used by movements for self-determination that goes beyond mass nonviolent campaign. Beginning with the set of organizations within movements seeking self-determination around the world identified by Cunningham (2014), I have coded data on the use of nonviolence, disaggregating among a variety of strategies of nonviolence. These data include yearly behavior of over 1,100 organizations that have been active in movements for greater national self-determination from 1960 – 2005. Some SD movements, such as the Zulus in South Africa and Tajiks in Uzbekistan, are represented by one single organization. In contrast, 61 organizations represented the Kashmiri Muslims in India, and 39 represent the Corsicans in France over the time period of the study. To be included in the study, an organization had to represent the SD movement and make demands on the state explicitly related to self-determination.¹² Although the nonviolent and violent behavior data is coded at the organization-year level, I aggregated this in several different ways (described below) to create a movement-year measure. I do this because the success of these movement is conceptualized as accommodation or concession to the self-determination group population, rather than to a specific organization.

Nonviolent action

¹² The initial compilation of the organizations list used the following sources: Uppsala Conflict Data Project (UCDP), Minorities At Risk (MAR) profiles, Keesing's Record of World Event and Lexis Nexis Academic news sources. It employed search terms related to self-determination demands, including the self-determination group and country names, and one of the following: autonomy, self-determination, self-governance, self-rule, federalism, and independence.

Building on Sharp (1973), as well as the work of other nonviolence scholars and practitioners (such as Ackerman and Duval 2001), we have coded unique data at the organization-year level for each organization in the data set. For each organization, the strategy dummy is coded as 1 if the organization was found to use that particular strategy in a given year. The action must be either organized by the organization, or we find evidence that people from the organization are publically participating in the action.

- *Economic noncooperation* includes strikes, tax refusals or consumer boycotts.
- *Protest and demonstration* includes rallies, protests, or demonstrations.
- *Nonviolent Intervention* includes sit-ins, occupations, or blockades reported.
- *Social noncooperation* includes hunger strikes, self-immolation or other self-harm reported.
- *Political noncooperation* includes organizational boycotts of elections or withdrawals from political office or coalition in the government.

For an event to be classified in one of these categories, the SD organization or their identified supporters must participate in the action. We also code an indicator for the use of violence by an organization against the state. These organization-level data are aggregated up to the movement-year level, which is the unit of observation for the study.

I identified events by reviewing five sources utilizing different methods of compiling information about organizational behavior. Lexis Nexis, Factiva, and Keesing's Record of World Events pull English-language news articles, while the Minorities at Risk Database (MAR) and the Uppsala Conflict Database Program (UCDP) are constructed by third parties and draw from multiple types of sources. Activity by self-determination organizations in the dataset was reviewed in these sources for each observation. Indicators for each strategy are dichotomous, so once evidence of a strategy was found in an organization-year observation, coders moved on to find evidence of that strategy in the next year. This process was repeated for each strategy of interest. The dataset

relies on event-level data to identify violent and nonviolent behavior by self-determination organizations, but does not include a count for the number of events in each category of action.¹³

This method faces several challenges in terms of reporting bias, source reliability, information availability, and assumptions regarding actors. First, the quality and volume of reporting varies across cases. For example, high-profile events, countries, and personalities receive the most news coverage. Furthermore, the quality of reporting varies such that there is a great deal of information available in some cases but not others. Where we have less information about organizational behavior, Type II errors are more likely. For this reason, we rely on all five sources identified above to collect event data rather than a single news stream.

Secondly, source reliability is a concern for any researcher. Journalists often cite sources who may have reason to conceal or exaggerate the truth, which biases reporting of events. Reporting bias affects our coding process by increasing the likelihood of Type I or Type II errors. For this reason, we did not rely solely on journalists' accounts of events. MAR and UCDP help to balance reporting bias as these sources are based on additional secondary source information in many cases (such as books and scholarly articles).

A third limitation concerns the scarcity of information. Some reports offer a veneer of detail, preventing confirmation of targets involved or of activity performed. Additionally, event records across most countries are scarcer before 1990. Scarcity of information increases the likelihood of a Type II error. We use multiple sources with different time frames and content to try to address this limitation.

¹³ Temporally disaggregated events data would provide greater leverage on strategy choices, but would be extremely resource intensive to code for a global sample. We gave primacy to coverage of cases and time in this study.

Finally, we make certain assumptions about actors that simplify the relationships within and between organizations. For the purpose of our coding, and to allow a full range of strategy options of all organizations, we consider self-determination organizations that are nominally distinct from one another. For example, we treat the political and military wings of the ETA in Spain as separate organizations. Additionally, because we create a dichotomous indicator, we do not assess the proportion of effort allocated to different types of strategies in any given year.

Despite the challenges of collecting this type of data, the nonviolent actions dataset provides an important corrective for conflict scholarship that has focused primarily on violence or mass nonviolent campaign. The strategies captured in this dataset represent a set of vital and often overlooked strategies of resistance.

Movements and Strategies

These new data demonstrate a great deal of variation in the strategies employed by organizations. Over the course of the study's time period, more organizations used non-violence than violence. Among the 138 self-determination movements, 96 (69.6%) had at least one organization using nonviolent strategies and 103 (74.64%) had at least one organization using violence. To illuminate the relative use of different types of nonviolent strategies Figure 2 shows the frequency of observations (as a percent of all observations).

The graph shows the percent of self-determination movements with at least one organization using each strategy (out of 138 groups active from 1960 to 2005). The proportion of movements using protest or demonstration is about 62%. Other nonviolent strategies are revealed to be popular as well; 28% of movements use economic noncooperation, 36 % use nonviolent intervention, 28% use social noncooperation, and 38 % use political noncooperation.

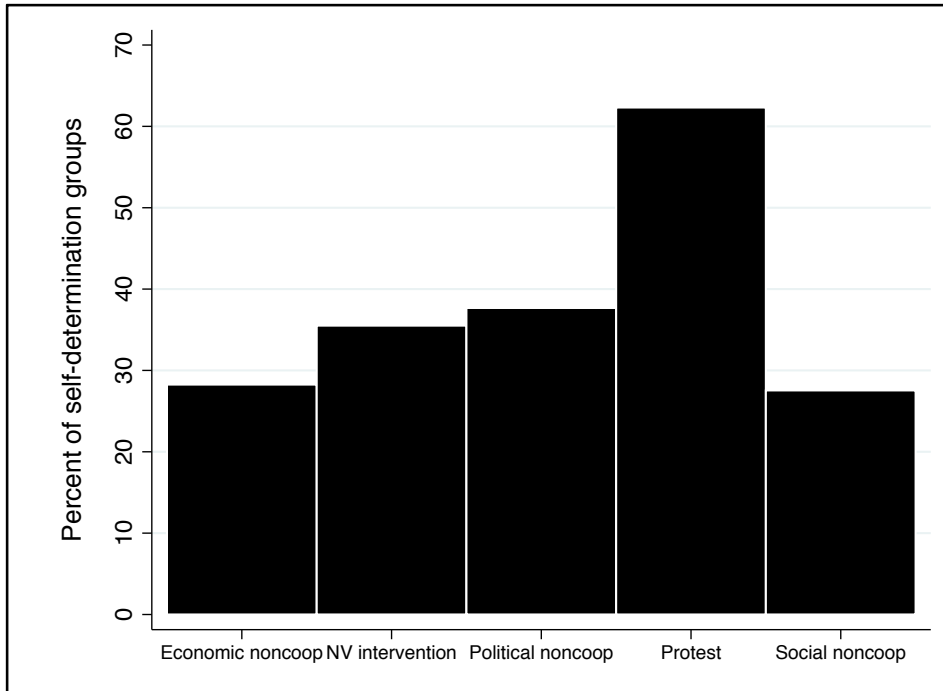


Figure 2. Strategy frequency

Nonviolence works

To assess the efficacy of nonviolence, I employ a set of logistic regressions. The dependent variable is whether or not the movement received a concession from their host state in the year. The independent variable is the percent of organizations in the movement that used nonviolence in the previous year.

The first set of models includes only the measures of nonviolence and violence, I then add factors that were found to be significant predictors of accommodation in the Cunningham (2014) study. First, I include a measure of the number of organizations in the movements (log transformed), which Cunningham shows to be robustly associated with concessions. Next, I include three factors that capture different contexts in which the movements operate. These include the Polity2 scale to capture political openness, whether the movement ever demanded independence, and logged gross domestic product per capita to capture economic development. Movements in

democratic states may face governments more sensitive to non-violent societal pressure, and that may be more open to granting concessions. Movements which have, at some point, made independence demands, conversely, may face states less willing to make concessions if they fear secession. Secession seeking groups, moreover, must be more sensitive to international perceptions and acceptance, which should influence their decision to use non-violence. Finally, economically developed states may be better able to accommodate self-determination demands with respect to economic policies. Movements may also take economic development into account in determining whether nonviolent strategies such as economic noncooperation are likely to be effective. In all models, I account for temporal dependence by include the number of years since the organization last received a concession, as well as t-squared and t-cubed (following Carter and Signorino (2010)).

Table 1. The Effect of any Nonviolence on Concessions (Logit regression movement-year, 1960 – 2005)

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Concessions	Concessions	Concessions	Concessions	Concessions
Percent any nonviolence	1.158** (0.305)	0.785* (0.363)	0.816* (0.343)	1.127** (0.292)	0.660* (0.329)
Percent any violence	0.297 (0.266)	-0.175 (0.319)	0.420 (0.310)	0.357 (0.262)	0.387 (0.287)
Log num orgs		0.465** (0.108)			
Polity2			0.090** (0.013)		
Ever independence demand				-0.198 (0.178)	
Log GDP pc					0.449** (0.064)
Constant	-2.679** (0.174)	-2.894** (0.215)	-3.169** (0.192)	-2.579** (0.201)	-6.371** (0.593)
Observations	5,407	3,656	5,347	5,407	5,407

Robust standard errors in parentheses

** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

+all strategy variables are lagged one year, time since concessions, t, t2 and t3 included but not reported

The coefficients on the use of non-violence in the previous year are positive and significant in all models predicting concessions in Table 1. These results, then, show strong support for Hypothesis 1 that SD movements that used non-violence would be more likely to get concessions from their state. Figure 3 shows the increase in the probability of concessions occurring as the percent of organizations using non-violence increases based on Model 1. Moving from no organizations using nonviolence to the highest percent using nonviolence, the probability of concession triples. When no organizations use non-violence, there is about a 3% chance of the state granting concessions to the group in the year. This increases to 10% when all organizations are using non-violence.

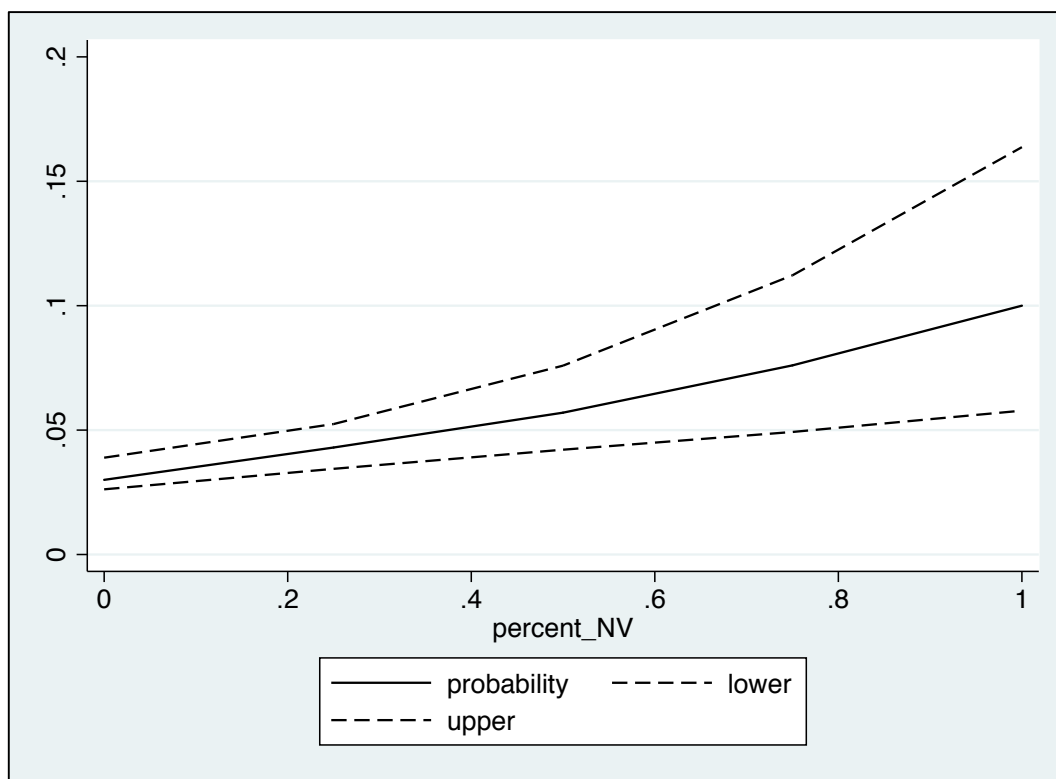


Figure 3. Change in probability of concessions by percent organizations using non-violence

Nonviolence is positively associated with concessions. Moreover, including nonviolence in the study of accommodation improves our understanding of the efficacy of strategies of resistance. Using

receiver operating characteristic (ROC) curves, I compare models of concessions with and without the organizational strategy measures. An ROC curve shows the ratio of true positive to false positives and can be used to evaluate the performance of different models and we can compare the area under the curve (AUC) of models to assess predictive performance (King and Zeng 2001, Weidmann and Ward 2010). An AUC of 1 would be perfect prediction. Figure 4 plot the curves for Table 2 model 1 with and without nonviolence.

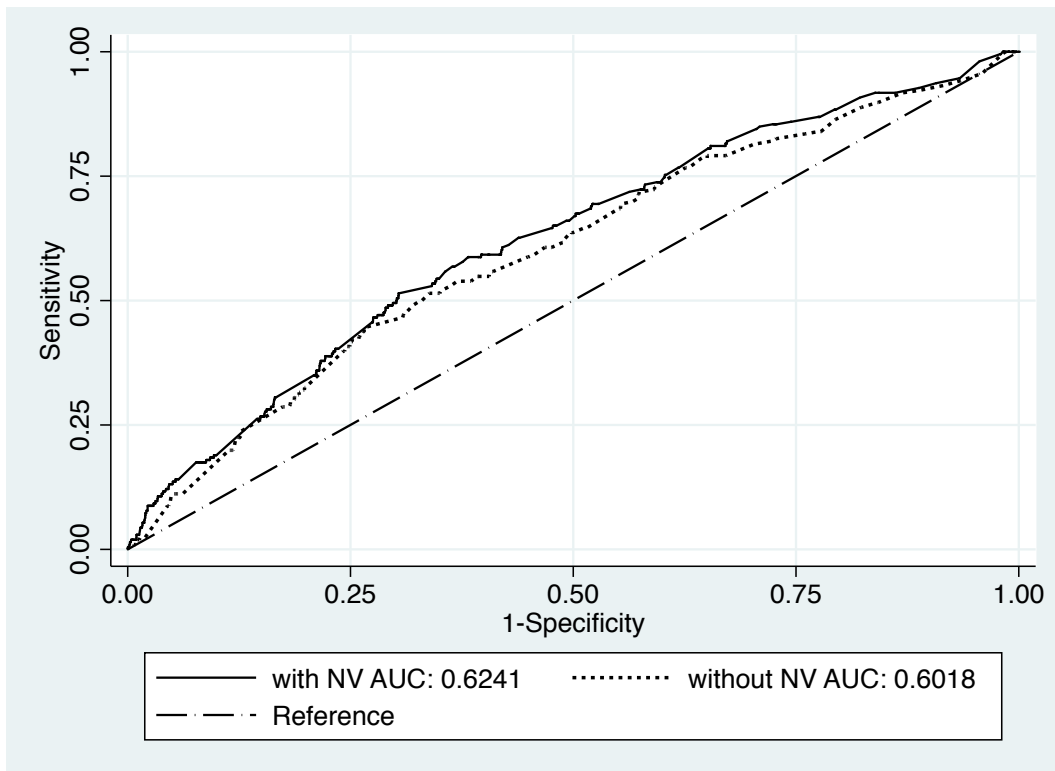


Figure 4. ROC for Table 1 Model 1 with and without nonviolence

The solid line (model with nonviolence) is above the dotted line (model without nonviolence). Both are above the dashed reference line. The greater AUC value line suggests that there is some predictive improvement gained by including the measure of nonviolence to predict concessions.

Creating similar plots for other models reveals that models with organizational strategy measures always perform better (i.e. have a greater AUC) than those without the measures.

The use of violence by organizations seeking self-determination has no statistically significant effect on the chance of concessions.¹⁴ In four out of the five models, the coefficient is positive, which could suggest that violence also increases the likelihood of concession. However, in all cases the coefficient is much smaller than the coefficient on nonviolence, and since both variables measure a percent, this would suggest that violence has a much smaller effect than non-violence. In addition, the standard errors on the variable are large, meaning that they do not come close to achieving significance in any of the five models.

Consistent with Cunningham (2011), the analysis in model 2 shows that self-determination movements are more likely to get concessions when they are more divided. Moving from the first to third quartile of the logged measure of the number of organization more than doubles the probability of concessions (from about 3% to 7%). The analysis in model 3 reveals that more democratic states are more likely to grant concessions to self-determination groups. A change in the polity2 score from -7 to 7 produces an almost 3% increase in the predicted probability of a concession (from 1% to about 5%) based on Model 3. Model 5 shows that more developed states are also more likely to grant concessions. Changing from the first to third quartile values on logged GDP has a similar positive effect, increasing the probability of concessions from 2% to about 5%. The analysis in model 4, meanwhile, reveals no effect of a history of independence demands in the movement. The coefficient is negative, but not close to statistically significant.

¹⁴ These findings on organizational use of nonviolence and violence are robust to the inclusion of multiple different measure of civil war onset and occurrence.

In Table 2, I shift from looking at nonviolence generally to focusing on the specific nonviolent strategies we have data on here. Those analyses reveal some interesting variation in the impact of specific strategies.

Table 2. The Effect of Nonviolence by Type on Concessions (Logit regression movement-year, 1960 – 2005)

VARIABLES	(1) Concessions	(2) Concessions	(3) Concessions	(4) Concessions	(5) Concessions
Percent economic noncoop	0.542 (0.830)	0.160 (1.095)	0.167 (0.824)	0.574 (0.791)	0.670 (0.800)
Percent protest	0.874* (0.392)	0.804+ (0.439)	0.788* (0.390)	0.852* (0.378)	0.475 (0.382)
Percent nvintervention	1.012+ (0.589)	1.143+ (0.643)	0.680 (0.507)	0.984+ (0.551)	0.790 (0.515)
Percent social	1.272+ (0.755)	1.071 (0.842)	1.436+ (0.789)	1.267+ (0.744)	1.424+ (0.770)
Percent political	0.491 (0.769)	0.272 (0.897)	0.687 (0.826)	0.469 (0.753)	0.717 (0.741)
Percent institutional	-0.000 (0.413)	-0.804 (0.498)	-0.469 (0.427)	0.005 (0.408)	-0.590 (0.433)
Percent violence state	-0.100 (0.323)	-0.710 (0.433)	-0.169 (0.386)	-0.037 (0.322)	-0.166 (0.376)
Percent violence outgroup	0.612 (0.383)	0.378 (0.452)	0.700 (0.473)	0.632+ (0.371)	0.685 (0.432)
Log num orgs		0.487** (0.108)			
Polity2			0.093** (0.013)		
Ever independence demand				-0.195 (0.180)	
Log GDP pc					0.467** (0.065)
Constant	-2.683** (0.178)	-2.895** (0.211)	-3.171** (0.192)	-2.585** (0.206)	-6.501** (0.597)
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** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

+all strategy variables are lagged one year, time since concessions, t, t2 and t3 included but not reported

All nonviolent strategies return positive coefficients across all models, which is consistent with the general expectation in hypothesis 1. The different strategies vary in statistical significance, with protest significant at the 0.05 or 0.10 level across most models. Nonviolent intervention and social noncooperation are also significant at the 0.10 level in some models. Violence against the state is never a significant predictor of conflict, while violence against out-group civilians is significant at 0.10 when accounting for whether the group makes independence claims. Figure 5 shows the increase in the predicted probability of accommodation as the percent of organizations using protest in the previous year increases (holding all other strategies at their mean or mode and based on model 1).

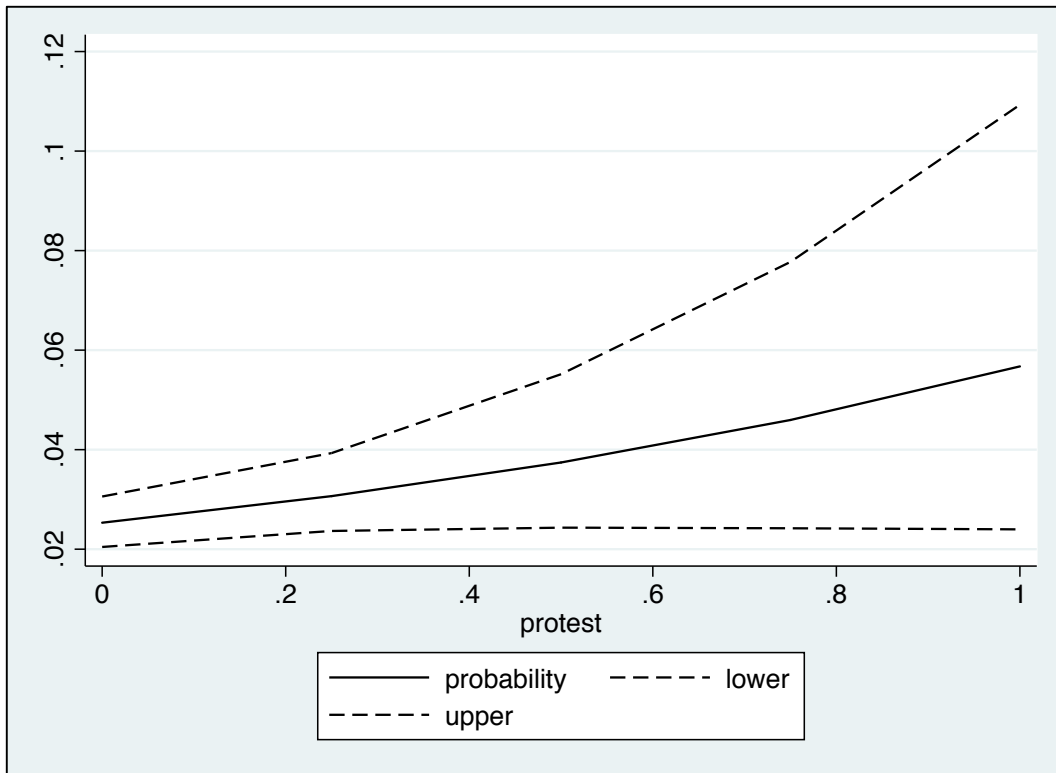


Figure 5. Change in probability of concession by percent organizations using protest

Tables 1 and 2 reveal that nonviolence works for organizations seeking greater self-determination, and that violence does not work (or at least not consistently enough to be a

statistically significant predictor or accommodation). Additionally, the results suggest that, while nonviolence generally leads to concessions, protests and nonviolent intervention can be particularly successful strategies. Protests, though they sometimes turn violent, are generally regarded as the central alternative to violent dissent. Indeed, mass nonviolent campaigns nearly always include large-scale protests. As such, the choice to protest could be seen as a deliberative way to juxtapose the choice to opt for nonviolence, calling attention to the movement's means as well as goals.

Further analyses

The analyses in Table 1 and 2 examine the role of nonviolence measured as a percent of organizations in the movement using it. That coding allows me to capture the extent to which nonviolence is used in a movement, but any use of nonviolence may have similar effects. Appendix Tables 1 and 2 present similar models using a dummy for the use of non-violence in the previous year as well as a count of organizations that used non-violence in the previous year. These analyses reveal some differences from the main models. In the models using either the dummy variable for the use of nonviolence or a count of organizations using nonviolence instead of the percentage variable, nonviolence returns a positive coefficient on all models, but with reduced significance when controlling for other factors beyond the use of violence.

Appendix Table 3 and 4 show the models with the dummy and country measures of non-violent strategies. The findings in these models are similar to Table 2 in the paper, though with some changes in the degree of statistical significance. Of particular note is the finding on the use of nonviolent intervention. Appendix Table 3 shows the same models as Table 2 above, but with strategy dummies. These analyses reveal a robust positive association between whether protest and nonviolent intervention occurred in the previous year and concessions to the movement. Indeed, the probability of concessions more than doubles when nonviolent intervention occurred. Protests

in the previous year lead to a similar positive effect on the probability of concessions. The symbolic power of nonviolent intervention is consistent with the argument here that nonviolence can be used to frame the movement with an eye toward overcoming the three legitimacy struggles identified here. Additionally, because nonviolent intervention is often symbolic, we have some reason to believe that the power of such nonviolent action does not depend on the percent of organizations using them, but on whether they are used at all. The results in Appendix Table 3 lend support to this expectation.

Conclusion

Existing work has demonstrated that mass nonviolent campaign can be more effective than violence for social movements in achieving their maximal goals, particularly those movements associated with regime change aspirations. This study leverages novel data to show that nonviolence also has the potential to be successful beyond mass campaigns and at achieving smaller, more incremental, goals that movements have. In the sample of self-determination disputes from 1960 – 2005, movements that use nonviolence are much more likely to get concessions from the state than either those that use violence or that do neither.

The finding that nonviolence works at lower levels— that everyday nonviolent dissent used as part of long-running, fragmented, movements is paying off—suggests that nonviolence is not only a weapon of the masses. Mass movements may play a role in major structural changes for states, but smaller scale nonviolence is playing a critical role in gaining concessions from the state, many of which constitute incremental progress toward movement goals. This should, at the very least, lead us (scholars and policy makers) to rethink what it means to say nonviolence works or not.

Finally, the analyses here never reveal a statistically significant effect of violence on concessions. The apparent lack of success for violent strategies is particularly important because

movements for national self-determination are often characterized by violence, both at low and high levels. Very few of these movements will achieve the goal of total secession, but many of those that have done so employed large-scale violence at some point (such as South Sudan, Eritrea, and East Timor). Yet, when we examine lesser concessions, looking at the myriad of ways that governments accommodate such movements, it is clear that violence is not the path to success. Chenoweth and Stephan's (2011) important study shows that non-violence is generally a more successful strategy for groups seeking democratization, regime change, or other center-seeking goals. By looking more broadly at the use of nonviolence and the granting of concessions to self-determination movements, this study suggests that is a more successful strategy than violence for movements with territorial goals as well.

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Appendix

Appendix Table 1. The Effect of Any Nonviolence on Concessions (Logit regression movement-year, 1960 – 2005)

IV: Strategy dummy

VARIABLES ⁺	(1) Concessions	(2) Concessions	(3) Concessions	(4) Concessions	(5) Concessions
Any nonviolence	0.711** (0.216)	0.201 (0.237)	0.411+ (0.229)	0.694** (0.209)	0.276 (0.204)
Any violence	0.175 (0.200)	-0.322 (0.205)	0.187 (0.211)	0.234 (0.208)	0.209 (0.188)
Log num orgs		0.514** (0.141)			
Polity2			0.088** (0.013)		
Ever independence demand				-0.237 (0.184)	
Log GDP pc					0.445** (0.064)
Constant	-2.732** (0.175)	-2.834** (0.219)	-3.162** (0.193)	-2.618** (0.194)	-6.332** (0.589)
Observations	5,407	3,656	5,347	5,407	5,407

Robust standard errors in parentheses

** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

+all strategy variables are lagged one year, time since concessions, t, t2 and t3 included but not reported

Appendix Table 2. The Effect of Nonviolence by Type on Concessions (Logit regression movement-year, 1960 – 2005)

IV: Strategy count

VARIABLES+	(1) concessions	(2) concessions	(3) concessions	(4) concessions	(5) concessions
Number any nonviolence	0.206* (0.086)	0.044 (0.086)	0.106 (0.096)	0.199* (0.087)	0.047 (0.091)
Number any violence	-0.026 (0.078)	-0.174* (0.071)	-0.018 (0.078)	-0.007 (0.077)	0.020 (0.073)
Log num orgs		0.592** (0.133)			
Polity2			0.091** (0.013)		
Ever independence demand				-0.220 (0.180)	
Log GDP pc					0.458** (0.064)
Constant	-2.592** (0.173)	-2.891** (0.235)	-3.077** (0.192)	-2.480** (0.205)	-6.357** (0.588)
Observations	5,407	3,656	5,347	5,407	5,407

Robust standard errors in parentheses

** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

+all strategy variables are lagged one year, time since concessions, t, t2 and t3 included but not reported

Appendix Table 3. The Effect of Nonviolence by Type on Concessions (Logit regression movement-year, 1960 – 2005)

IV: Strategy dummy

VARIABLES+	(1) Concessions	(2) Concessions	(3) Concessions	(4) Concessions	(5) Concessions
Any economic	-0.419 (0.396)	-0.579 (0.387)	-0.569 (0.395)	-0.372 (0.391)	-0.345 (0.374)
Any protest	0.652** (0.244)	0.319 (0.238)	0.514* (0.233)	0.632** (0.237)	0.312 (0.213)
Any nvintervention	0.721* (0.307)	0.591* (0.300)	0.589* (0.286)	0.717* (0.299)	0.561+ (0.293)
Any social	0.190 (0.362)	0.201 (0.346)	0.230 (0.415)	0.163 (0.368)	0.100 (0.402)
Any political	0.057 (0.389)	0.033 (0.371)	0.129 (0.403)	0.038 (0.387)	0.156 (0.389)
Any institutional	0.000 (0.297)	-0.461+ (0.267)	-0.301 (0.278)	0.007 (0.299)	-0.355 (0.283)
Any violence state	0.085 (0.250)	-0.266 (0.229)	0.103 (0.281)	0.127 (0.256)	0.117 (0.265)
Any violence outgroup	0.029 (0.261)	-0.267 (0.249)	-0.036 (0.292)	0.050 (0.263)	0.028 (0.267)
Log num orgs		0.575** (0.134)			
Polity2			0.091** (0.013)		
Ever independence demand				-0.213 (0.182)	
Log GDP pc					0.456** (0.064)
Constant	-2.713** (0.176)	-2.854** (0.218)	-3.141** (0.193)	-2.607** (0.200)	-6.383** (0.588)
Observations	5,407	3,656	5,347	5,407	5,407

Robust standard errors in parentheses

** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

+all strategy variables are lagged one year, time since concessions, t, t2 and t3 included but not reported

Appendix Table 4. The Effect of Nonviolence by Type on Concessions (Logit regression movement-year, 1960 – 2005)

IV: Strategy count

VARIABLES ⁺	(1) Concessions	(2) Concessions	(3) Concessions	(4) Concessions	(5) Concessions
Number economic noncoop	-0.080 (0.288)	-0.069 (0.317)	-0.139 (0.307)	-0.070 (0.284)	-0.002 (0.281)
Number protest demonstration	0.230* (0.100)	0.104 (0.096)	0.180+ (0.105)	0.223* (0.101)	0.097 (0.101)
Number nvintervention	0.271 (0.246)	0.210 (0.219)	0.226 (0.233)	0.283 (0.247)	0.181 (0.229)
Number social noncoop	-0.027 (0.246)	0.106 (0.240)	0.051 (0.265)	-0.043 (0.251)	0.000 (0.271)
Number political nocoop	-0.108 (0.241)	-0.104 (0.242)	-0.045 (0.244)	-0.116 (0.242)	-0.007 (0.241)
Number institutional	0.126 (0.104)	-0.070 (0.111)	0.013 (0.114)	0.132 (0.104)	-0.025 (0.114)
Number violence state	-0.086 (0.123)	-0.224* (0.103)	-0.083 (0.132)	-0.075 (0.125)	-0.068 (0.131)
Number violence outgroup	0.038 (0.160)	-0.071 (0.144)	0.004 (0.169)	0.050 (0.158)	0.024 (0.168)
Log num orgs		0.587** (0.130)			
Polity2			0.090** (0.013)		
Ever independence demand				-0.222 (0.181)	
Log GDP pc					0.453** (0.064)
Constant	-2.642** (0.181)	-2.899** (0.232)	-3.107** (0.195)	-2.531** (0.211)	-6.324** (0.584)
Observations	5,407	3,656	5,347	5,407	5,407

Robust standard errors in parentheses

** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

+all strategy variables are lagged one year, time since concessions, t, t2 and t3 included but not reported