

Strategies of Resistance Project Data Appendix

A. Summary Statistics

Table 1. Organization-level Summary Statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Exclusive use of nonviolence	12,017	0.10	0.31	0	1
Exclusive use of violence	12,017	0.10	0.30	0	1
Mix of nonviolence and violence	12,017	0.04	0.19	0	1
Change from NV [1=violence, 2=mix, 3=none]	12,017	0.14	0.61	0	3
Change from violence [1=nonviolence, 2=mix, 3=none]	12,017	0.10	0.53	0	3
Change from mix [1=nonviolence, 2=violence, 3=none]	12,017	0.03	0.27	0	3
Change from none [1=nonviolence, 2=violence, 3=mix]	12,017	0.12	0.44	0	3
Fragmentation	11,987	1.54	0.82	0	3.66
Group population	9,928	7.37	1.36	3.92	10.23
Independence claim	11,987	0.61	0.49	0	1
Concentration	10,363	0.92	0.28	0	1
Active civil war	12,016	0.29	0.46	0	1
Democracy	11,867	0.62	0.49	0	1
Country population	12,016	10.73	1.75	5.25	14.07
GDP (log)	12,016	8.01	1.33	4.42	10.58

Table. 2. Movement-level Summary Statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Exclusive use of nonviolence	5,549	0.07	0.26	0	1
Exclusive use of violence	5,549	0.13	0.33	0	1
Mix of nonviolence and violence	5,549	0.08	0.27	0	1
Change from NV [1=violence, 2=mix, 3=none]	5,549	0.09	0.48	0	3
Change from violence [1=nonviolence, 2=mix, 3=none]	5,549	0.11	0.53	0	3
Change from mix [1=nonviolence, 2=violence, 3=none]	5,549	0.05	0.31	0	3
Change from none [1=nonviolence, 2=violence, 3=mix]	5,549	0.10	0.44	0	3
Fragmentation	3,903	0.87	0.76	0	3.66
Group population	4,426	7.07	1.36	3.79	10.22
Independence claim	3,903	0.49	0.50	0	1
Concentration	4,539	0.87	0.34	0	1
Active civil war	5,549	0.14	0.34	0	1
Democracy	5,487	0.42	0.49	0	1
Country population	5,549	10.36	1.69	5.25	14.07
GDP (log)	5,549	7.39	1.42	3.87	10.58

B. Binary coding of each tactic use

The research assistants used the following sources to code each tactic for each organization on a yearly basis. Each source and the process followed is described here. RAs used data from these sources for any available years based on the source.

- Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP).** The UCDP Encyclopedia of conflicts provides a profile for each rebel actor in the conflict, as well as a description of the dyad in conflict (state vs. rebels). This information includes a summary as well as yearly information for all years that the conflict reached a 25 battle-death threshold. This source was employed primarily to code the violence indicators. UCDP indicates the following with respect to their primary sources: “The data presented by UCDP is based on information taken from a selection of publicly available sources, printed as well as electronic. The sources include news agencies, journals, research reports, and documents of international and multinational organizations and NGOs.”
- Minorities at Risk Profile (MAR).** The MAR program provides a general summary of each SD movement, as well as a detailed timeline. MAR uses a variety of sources for these profiles including news reports, academic journal articles, and books. An example of source

information for the Hazaras in Afghanistan is provided in the footnote.¹ The time span covered by the MAR timelines varies by case.

- **Searchable News Reports and Archives:** Research assistants searched each set of terms for each year with the inclusion of the organization’s name and aliases. For example, Corsican National Liberation Front-Union of Combatants was active from 2002 – 2005 in the Corsican group in France. The RA coding economic cooperation entered this name (and its aliases and acronyms) as well as strike, boycott, tax refusal. This returned a set of reports. When the RA found evidence of the organization’s participation in economic noncooperation, they moved on to the next year. The number of reports per organization-year varied widely depending on the geographic region (“hot spots” in the Middle East received more media attention, for example, than lesser known conflicts in South America), by the tactics employed by the organization (violence tended to receive more media coverage), and by the year of activity (there was more media coverage after 1980). RAs read through approximately 10 reports per year for each term in each of searchable databases before moving on to another source (excluding duplicate reports within a specific search program). For example, an RA would read 30 reports from searchable archives for the Corsican organization and the term “boycott” in a single year before coding a zero on boycott for that organization-year. Table A below indicates the search terms used in both the Lexis Nexis and Factiva program, as well as instructional notes to the RAs. A sample of sources for 12 cases is included in Table B below. Two movement cases were randomly selected in each region.
 - **Lexis Nexis Academic** (Nexis Uni). This service includes more than 40,000 news sources dating back to 1970. RAs searched only in English language reports.
 - **Keesing’s Record of World Events.** Keesing’s in an independent archive that provides news summaries from 1960 onward. Keesing’s employs its own writers and editors and publishes weekly reports on politics.
 - **Factiva.** This service provides access to “full-text access to over 8,000 business sources including national and international newspapers, magazines, wire services, web sites and industry (trade) sources. It covers “business news articles in a wide range of topic areas: companies, industries, markets, products, brands, and general financial articles.”² The dates covered vary by source, but begin in 1979. All sources used were in English (originally or translated).

¹ [1] Ahady, Anwar-ul-Haq. 1991. “Afghanistan, State Breakdown.” in Jack Goldstone, Ted R. Gurr and Frank Moshiri, eds. *Revolutions of the Late Twentieth Century*, Boulder: Westview, 162-93. [1] Ahady, Anwar-ul-Haq. 1991. “Conflict In Post-Soviet-Occupation Afghanistan.” *Journal of Contemporary Asia*. 21:4. 513-28. [3] Ahady, Anwar-ul-Haq. 1994. “The Changing Interests of the Regional Powers and the Resolution of the Afghan Conflict.” *Asian Affairs: An American Review*. 21:2. 80-93. [4] Jawad, Nassim. 1992. *Afghanistan: A Nation of Minorities*. Minority Rights Group. [5] Nerwell, Richard S. 1989. “Post-Soviet Afghanistan: The Position of Minorities.” *Asian Survey*. 29:11. 1090-1108. [6] Lexis/Nexis. Various news reports. 1990-2006. [7] Nyrop, Richard F. and Donald M. Seekins, eds. 1986. [8] *Afghanistan: A Country Study*, The American University. Roy, Olivier. 1990. *Islam and Resistance in Afghanistan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [9] Sarabi, Humayun. 2006. “Politics and Modern History of Hazara: Sectarian Politics in Afghanistan.” The Fletcher School, Tufts University.

² Description quote from University of Maryland Database.

Table 3. Coding Search Terms Provided to Research Assistants

	Description	Search Terms
Economic noncooperation	<p>Reports of strikes, tax refusal or consumer boycotts that are either organized by the organization, or people from the organization have participated.</p> <p>* For all variables, do not code events that have not yet occurred.</p>	Strike, boycott, tax refusal
Protest and demonstration	<p>Rally, protest, or demonstration either organized by the organization, or people from the organization have participated.</p> <p>*These need to be events, not just the use of the word protest.</p>	Rally, march, protest, demonstration
Non-violent intervention	<p>Sit-ins, occupations, or blockades reported; either organized by the organization, or people from the organization have participated.</p>	Sit-in, blockade, occupation
Social noncooperation	<p>Hunger strike, self-immolation or other self-harm reported; either organized by the organization, or people from the organization have participated.</p>	Hunger strike, self-immolation, self-harm
Institutional action	<p>Organization registers as political party, participates in an election, participates in an electoral campaign. Both national and local elections included.</p> <p>*Running in transnational elections (i.e., European Union) does not count.</p> <p>*Running in elections in occupied territory counts (i.e., Palestinian legislative elections).</p> <p>* Party registration can be described as “formed” or “announced” instead of “registered”, depending on the reporter. You can count these instances as institutional action.</p> <p>* Passing a bill or supporting/opposing legislation does not count.</p>	Registers, political party, election, candidate
Political noncooperation	<p>Organization boycotts an election or withdrawals from political office or coalition <i>in the government</i>.</p> <p>*Does not include cases where org. leave/join non-state coalitions or groups.</p> <p>*Does not include walk-outs or boycotts of parliament (without a withdrawal)</p> <p>*Boycott of office must be from central office (unless it is a local government with</p>	Boycott, withdrawal

	sufficient autonomy – e.g. Northern Irish Assembly).	
Violence against the state	<p>Any violence was against government or people working for government (military and police forces included).</p> <p>*The organization must be attacking or at least fighting back. Attacks by the state alone do not count.</p> <p>*Civilians armed by the state or paramilitaries supported by the state are counted as the state.</p> <p>*Police and militias in occupied territories (i.e., Palestine) are counted as organizations, not the state.</p> <p>*Officials running for office are coded as civilians.</p>	Fight, attack, bomb, target
Fatal violence against the state	<p>Violence was against government or people working for government (military and police forces included) wherein at least one person died (regardless of who that person is).</p> <p>*The organization must be attacking or at least fighting back. Attacks by the state alone do not count.</p> <p>*Attacks on former members of an organization are attacks on civilians.</p>	Fight, attack, death, deadly, kill
Violence against another organization	<p>Any violence against another organization operating within the same group in the dataset. Specify the organization.</p> <p>*Fighting within an organization does not count.</p>	<p>Fight, attack, bomb, target, kidnap</p> <p>*report must indicate a target organization</p>
Fatal violence against another organization	<p>Violence against another organization operating within the group wherein at least one person died (regardless of who that person is). Specify the organization.</p> <p>*Fighting within an organization does not count</p>	<p>*same as above, but report must indicate a target organization.</p> <p>Fight, attack, death, deadly, kill</p>
Violence against in-group civilians	<p>Any violence against civilians of the group’s population. The “group” is identified in the code sheet.</p> <p>* Report must state clearly who civilian targets were so that you can identify them</p>	<p>*same as above, but report must indicate a target population.</p> <p>Fight, attack, bomb, target</p>

	<p>as in-group civilians. Unspecified civilians cannot be coded as in-group.</p> <p>*Note: If reporting is extremely biased (consistently does not report ethnicity of civilian victims), allowances for ingroup coding are made. Check with PI.</p> <p>* If the “group” resides in Country A and Country B, when coding orgs. in Country A, all individuals and organizations in Country B are outgroup civilians, even if they are part of the same “group”. Ex: Iraqi Kurds are outgroup for Turkish Kurds, and vice versa.</p> <p>*Do not code instances where civilians are “collateral damage”. Indiscriminate violence, such as landmines is codeable.</p> <p>*Attacks on former members of an org. are attacks on civilians.</p>	
Fatal violence against in-group civilians	<p>Violence against civilians in the group’s population wherein at least one person died (regardless of who that person is).</p> <p>* Report must state clearly who civilian targets were so that you can identify them as in-group civilians. Unspecified civilians cannot be coded as in-group.</p> <p>*the “group” is identified in the code sheet.</p>	<p>*same as above, but report must indicate a target population. Fight, attack, death, deadly, kill</p>
Violence against out-group civilians	<p>Any violence against civilians outside of the group’s population.</p> <p>* Report must state clearly who civilian targets were so that you can identify them as out-group civilians. Unspecified civilians cannot be coded as out-group. If something is unclear, ask Lead graduate RAs.</p> <p>* If the “group” resides in Country A and Country B, when coding orgs. in Country A, all individuals and organizations in Country B are outgroup civilians, even if they are part of the same “group”. Ex: Iraqi Kurds are outgroup for Turkish Kurds, and vice versa.</p> <p>*Do not code instances where civilians are “collateral damage”. Indiscriminate violence, such as landmines is okay.</p>	<p>*same as above, but report must indicate a target population that is not the group population. Fight, attack, bomb, target</p>

	<p>*Attacks on former members of an org. are attacks on civilians.</p> <p>*Does not include attacks on foreign militaries (do not code these cases).</p>	
Fatal violence against out-group civilians	<p>Violence against civilians outside of the group's population wherein at least one person died (regardless of who the person is).</p> <p>* Report must state clearly who civilian targets were so that you can identify them as out-group civilians. Unspecified civilians cannot be coded as out-group. If something is unclear, ask Lead graduate RAs.</p>	<p>*same as above, but report must indicate a target population that is not the group population. Fight, attack, death, deadly, kill</p>

Table 4. Sample Sources Across Regions

Region	Case	Sources
Africa	Afars in Ethiopia	BBC; Xinhua General News Service; The Indian Ocean Newsletter; UCDP
Africa	Anjouanese in Comoros	Agence France Presse; Keesing's Record of World Events; BBC; Reuters News
Latin America	Indigenous Peoples in Chile	Keesing's Record of World Events; EFE News Services; IPS-Inter Press Service
Latin America	Indigenous Peoples in Nicaragua	New York Times; BBC; Associated Press; IPS-Inter Press Service; United Press International; Globe and Mail; Xinhua General News Service; Washington Times
North Africa/Middle East	Kurds in Iraq	Boston Globe; National Public Radio; Atlanta Journal-Constitution; Times London; Reuters News; St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri); New York Times; Agence France Presse; BBC; Keesing's Record of World Events; UCDP; The Globe and Mail (Canada); United Press International; The Guardian (London); Middle East Economic Digest; Press Association; The Independent (London); Xinhua General News Service; Saint Paul Pioneer Press (Minnesota); Turkish Daily News; Kurdistan Nuw (daily newspapers in Soran; Kurdish published by Patriotic Union of Kurdistan); Dow Jones International News; RIA Novosti; MAR; Washington Post Foreign Service; Deutsche Presse-Agentur; Defense & Foreign Affairs Daily; Guardian Weekly
Middle East/North Africa	Berbers in Algeria	Reuters News; BBC; Agence France Presse; Associated Press; ANSA English Media Service; The Guardian (London); United Press International; Mideast Mirror; World Markets Analysis; Africa News
Western Europe/North America	Quebecois in Canada	MAR; The Toronto Star; The Ottawa Citizen; The Record (Kitchener- Waterloo, Ontario; The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec); Keesing's Record of World Events; Calgary Herald (Albert Canada); Globe and mail; The Vancouver Sun (British Columbia); Reuters News; Associated Press; New York Times; Canadian Press; Edmonton Journal; United Press International
Western Europe/North America	Walloon in Belgium	Keesing's Record of World Events; Associated Press; The Wall Street Journal; Agence France Presse; The Spectator; The Irish Times; Reuter's News; West European Politics
Eastern Europe	Gaguaz in Moldova	United Press International; BBC
Eastern Europe	Hungarians in Slovakia	BBC; MAR; Associated Press; CTK National News Wire; Agence France Presse; TASR- Tlacova Agentura Slovenskej Republiky; Czech News Agency

Asia	Acehnese in Indonesia	The Advertiser; Japan Economic Newswire; Agence France Presse; The Indonesian National News Agency; Jakarta Post; UCDP; Associated Press; BBC; Deutsche Presse-Agentur; Keesing's Record of World Events; Xinhua general news service; Newsworld; Asia Pulse Pte Limited
Asia	Malay Muslims in Thailand	BBC; Japan Economic Newswire; Bangkok Post; Agence France Presse; Xinhua General News Service; The Nation (Thailand); Associated Press; The Straits Times; Keesing's Record of World Events; Reuters News; United Press International; Deutsche Presse-Agentur; The Washington Times

RAs coded a tactic positively (and included source information) if they found a credible report in the sources listed above. If the report did not provide sufficient information to clarify participation by the organization, RAs continued to search for further reports and did not code the tactic positively. An additional review of each worksheet verified that all identified events met the criteria for inclusion in the dataset and were properly documented. An additional check of the recorded source was made for any questionable positive coding during the reviewing process.

C. Inter Coder Reliability

The data collection involved a number of research assistants (both undergraduate and graduate). All research assistants began with a training set, wherein every RA coded the same case (the Chittagong Hill organizations in Bangladesh). This included 98 organization-year observations across seven Chittagong organization. We compared the number of events positives across the research assistants. Table C reports the kappa statistic for each pair of research assistants.³ We report a weighted kappa because this is a comparison of count of positive codings (rather than binary indicators). A kappa statistic less than or equal to zero indicates no agreement, with increasing values indicating more agreement. A kappa of 0.41 – 0.60 is considered “fair” by the metric’s developer Cohen (1960), and McHugh (2012) suggest that 80% is an acceptable inter-coder agreement rate. The training data yields an average rate of agreement in the pairwise comparison of 81.95% and a mean kappa of 0.50.

Table 5. Cohen’s Kappa

Coder pairing		Percent agreement	Expected agreement	kappa	std. err.	Z	prob>z
r2	r1	79.52%	64.69%	0.42	0.1595	2.63	0.0042
r3	r1	84.21%	63.96%	0.5618	0.1539	3.65	0.0001
r3	r2	85.71%	64.60%	0.5964	0.1645	3.63	0.0001
r4	r1	77.73%	64.11%	0.3796	0.1329	2.86	0.0021
r4	r2	78.06%	63.99%	0.3907	0.1506	2.59	0.0047
r4	r3	85.29%	65.31%	0.5761	0.1582	3.64	0.0001

³ Cohen’s Kappa is one of a number of ways to assess inter-coder reliability (see Lombard, Snyder-Duch, and Braken 2002).

r5	r1	71.83%	61.11%	0.2755	0.1113	2.48	0.0066
r5	r2	76.37%	61.15%	0.3919	0.1528	2.56	0.0052
r5	r3	86.19%	62.79%	0.6289	0.1624	3.87	0.0001
r5	r4	80.10%	64.43%	0.4406	0.1617	2.72	0.0032
r6	r1	83.04%	64.54%	0.5216	0.1432	3.64	0.0001
r6	r2	80.48%	62.45%	0.4801	0.1611	2.98	0.0014
r6	r3	87.39%	63.03%	0.6591	0.1762	3.74	0.0001
r6	r4	84.69%	67.35%	0.5312	0.154	3.45	0.0003
r6	r5	79.12%	62.95%	0.4364	0.1587	2.75	0.003
r7	r1	91.35%	66.70%	0.7403	0.1613	4.59	0
r7	r2	79.46%	64.67%	0.4188	0.1647	2.54	0.0055
r7	r3	87.62%	64.15%	0.6546	0.1642	3.99	0
r7	r4	84.03%	65.01%	0.5437	0.144	3.77	0.0001
r7	r5	77.04%	63.48%	0.3713	0.1374	2.7	0.0034
r7	r6	81.70%	63.78%	0.4947	0.1575	3.14	0.0008
Mean		81.95%	64.01%	0.50063333			

Table 6 reports agreement by variable for a randomly selected set of cases with two coders. This includes 102 organization-year observations in eight movements. The two sets of codings are compared for each observation and the percent agreement is the number of observations where the coding matched (both coded zero or both coded as one). The percent agreement across variables ranges from 80.38% to 100% suggesting a high degree of inter-coder reliability.

Table 6. Inter-coder Agreement

Variable	% agreement
Economic noncooperation	99.02%
Protests and demonstrations	80.39%
Nonviolent intervention	99.02%
Social noncooperation	98.04%
Institutional action	91.18%
Political noncooperation	97.06%
Violence against the state	94.12%
Fatal violence against the state	96.08%
Violence against another organization	99.02%
Fatal violence against another organization	99.02%
Violence against in-group civilians	99.02%
Fatal violence against in-group civilians	100.00%
Violence against out-group civilians	97.06%
Fatal violence against out-group civilians	98.04%

D. Potential bias from news sources

Generating data from news reports poses a challenge with respect to bias. In particular, recent studies have shown bias in news-based data on violence related to cell phone coverage (Weidmann 2016) and ruralness (Dafoe and Lyall 2015). Yet, Mueller and Raoh (2018) show that news events can be used to predict violence, suggesting that bias introduced by the news-based data collection may not necessarily be problematic in all situations.

It is not immediately clear if the same challenges are true for data on nonviolence. As disruptive events, such data can be compared to violence. However, differences in media attention to fatalities and specific types of violence (such as terrorism) may not carry over to data on nonviolent tactics.

Based on existing work on bias in data collection (including Snyder and Kelly 1977, Gallop and Weschel 2017, and Weidmann 2016), we identify a key factor that might contribute to non-random bias in the data – country level media openness. This factor can impede or facilitate reports on contentious political behavior and is also likely to be correlated with openness more generally in the country. For our analysis of tactic switching, we address this by provide a set of models controlling for media openness from freedom house (see appendix table 7). “The Freedom of the Press report assesses the degree of media freedom in 199 countries and territories, analyzing the events and developments of each calendar year.” This provides a coding of Free, Partly Free, or Not Free from 1980 – 2005.⁴ Figure 1 shows the distribution of observations in the data across levels of media freedom.

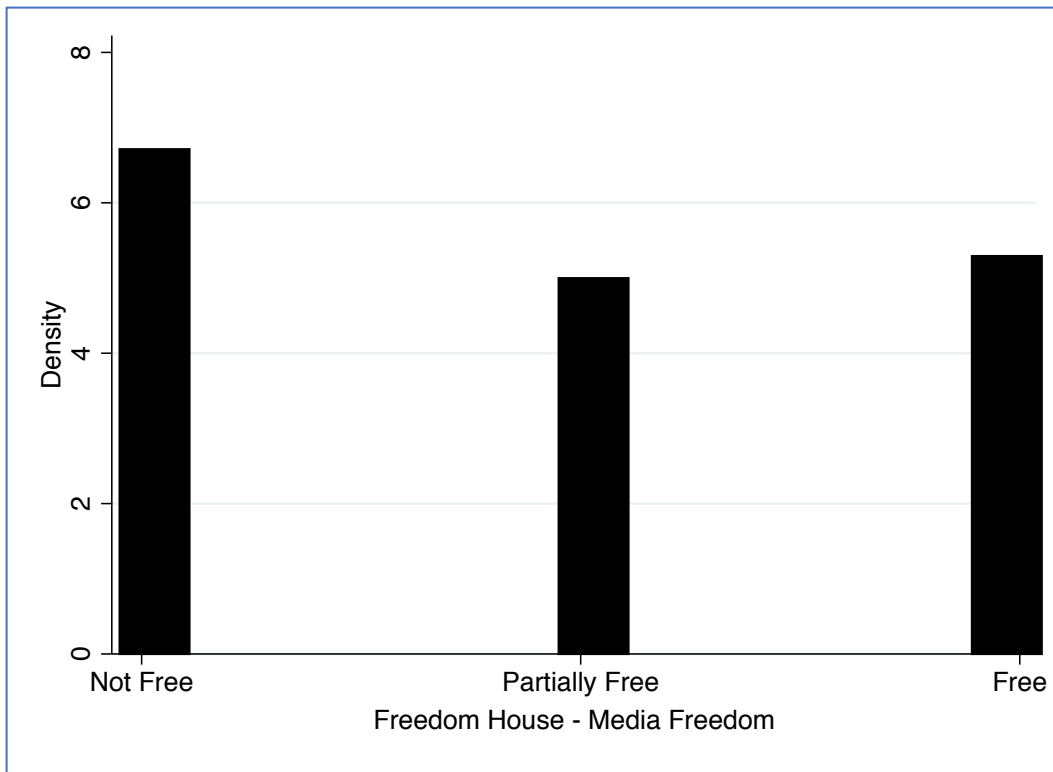


Figure 1. Levels of Media Freedom

⁴ Freedom House data excludes 1984.

We also recommend analysts employ the method advanced by Gallop and Weschel (2017) to assess the extent to which a particular finding is sensitive to possible bias. Following this approach, analysts could create new versions of the independent variable (or dependent variable) produced by different distributions of media freedom.⁵ Using these simulated versions of the variable that account for different levels of bias, analysts can see how consistent their results are.

⁵ For example, the Gallop and Weschel technique allows us to recreate measures of nonviolent tactics if we assume “free” countries are twice as likely to yield reports of specific events, to 3 times as likely, etc.

Table 7. Multinomial Logistic Analysis of Tactic Switching (Organization Level) with Control for Media Freedom

	<u>From Nonviolence to</u>			<u>From Violence to</u>			<u>From Mix to</u>			<u>From None to</u>		
	violence	mix	none	NV	Mix	none	violence	NV	none	NV	mix	none
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Fragmentation	0.347 (0.405)	0.114 (0.260)	0.152 (0.104)	0.853** (0.327)	0.083 (0.210)	-0.076 (0.127)	0.303 (0.309)	0.037 (0.214)	0.155 (0.269)	0.179 (0.107)	-0.245* (0.117)	0.186 (0.281)
Group population	-0.158 (0.202)	0.214 (0.139)	0.216** (0.066)	-0.266 (0.199)	0.022 (0.163)	-0.088 (0.065)	0.309 (0.190)	0.139 (0.140)	-0.086 (0.136)	0.246** (0.071)	-0.111 (0.073)	-0.028 (0.132)
Independence claim	0.076 (0.741)	-0.461 (0.464)	-0.497** (0.152)	0.380 (0.701)	0.118 (0.468)	0.531* (0.217)	-0.627 (0.566)	-0.190 (0.424)	-0.380 (0.449)	-0.426** (0.162)	0.554* (0.222)	-0.700 (0.441)
Concentration	13.493** (0.486)	1.832 (0.981)	0.362 (0.247)	13.080** (0.368)	1.349 (1.042)	0.096 (0.405)	1.688 (1.012)	1.507 (1.010)	14.168** (0.313)	0.391 (0.244)	0.010 (0.403)	1.478 (1.061)
Active civil war	1.088* (0.495)	0.277 (0.334)	-0.107 (0.158)	0.316 (0.475)	2.116** (0.412)	0.276 (0.160)	-0.060 (0.408)	1.905** (0.397)	0.063 (0.353)	-0.163 (0.162)	0.846** (0.172)	0.651 (0.345)
Democracy	-0.946 (0.581)	-0.629 (0.727)	0.189 (0.262)	-1.206 (0.764)	0.672 (0.353)	-0.077 (0.231)	-0.208 (0.596)	0.096 (0.395)	0.781 (0.526)	0.325 (0.256)	-0.013 (0.249)	-0.556 (0.673)
Country population	0.030 (0.149)	-0.008 (0.135)	0.028 (0.050)	0.028 (0.177)	0.051 (0.117)	-0.083 (0.067)	-0.141 (0.147)	0.098 (0.112)	0.053 (0.135)	-0.002 (0.055)	-0.035 (0.065)	0.114 (0.128)
GDP (log)	-0.009 (0.217)	0.351 (0.196)	0.342** (0.081)	-0.260 (0.304)	0.371* (0.151)	-0.174 (0.109)	0.093 (0.224)	0.505** (0.177)	-0.188 (0.171)	0.394** (0.085)	-0.207 (0.112)	-0.039 (0.222)
Media Freedom	1.079* (0.432)	0.517 (0.440)	-0.061 (0.132)	0.755* (0.356)	-0.475* (0.231)	-0.035 (0.134)	0.637 (0.327)	-0.310 (0.248)	-0.397 (0.301)	-0.298* (0.124)	0.058 (0.148)	0.294 (0.372)
Constant	-19.521** (2.399)	-10.811** (2.550)	-8.131** (0.998)	-16.270** (3.824)	-11.554** (2.173)	-0.874 (1.317)	-8.326** (3.082)	-13.430** (2.289)	-18.340** (1.990)	-8.630** (1.079)	-0.909 (1.369)	-7.032* (2.855)
Observations	7,917	7,917	7,917	7,917	7,917	7,917	7,917	7,917	7,917	7,917	7,917	7,917

Robust standard errors in parentheses, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

E. Comparison of Marginal Effects: All Models in Article Tables III and IV

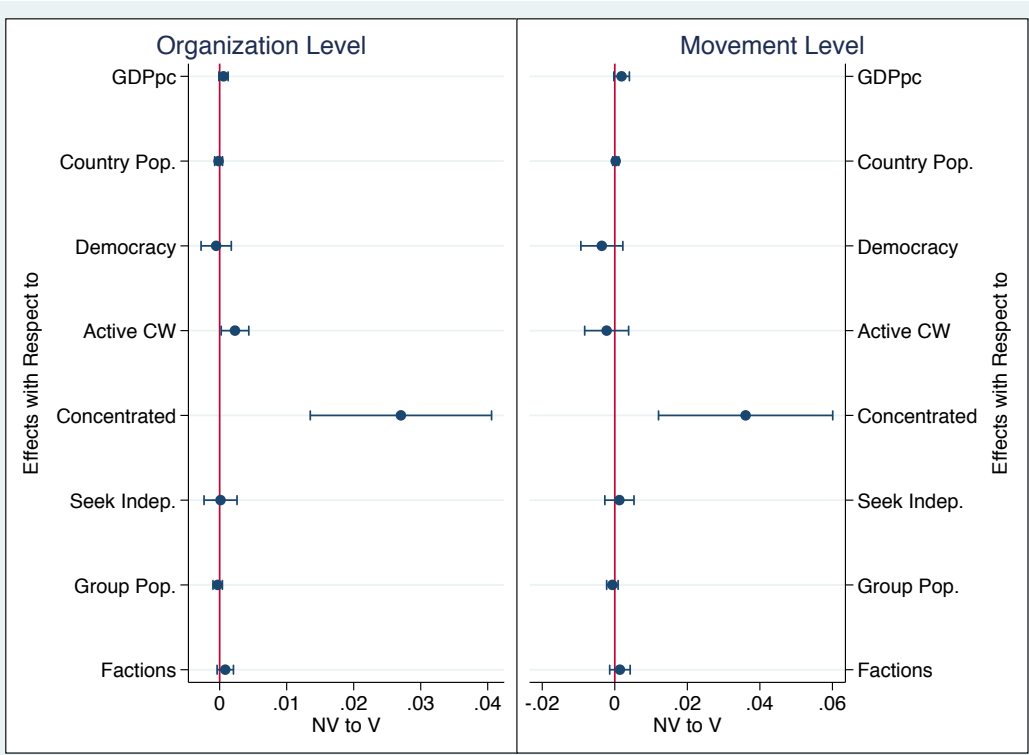


Figure 2. Marginal Effects on Change from Nonviolence to Violence

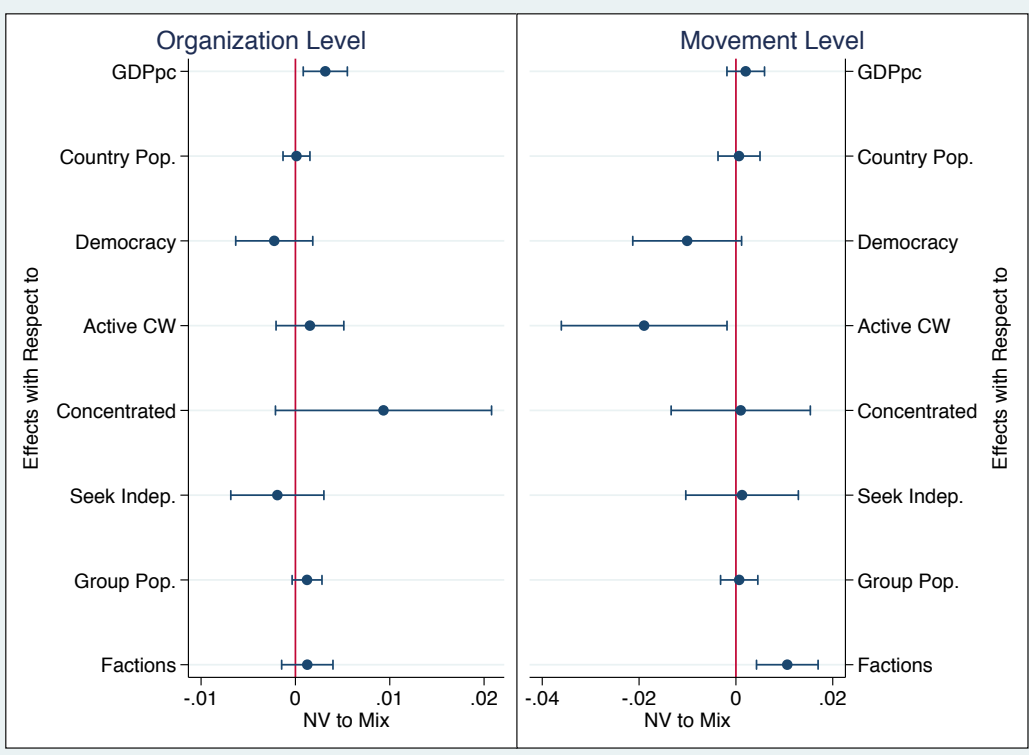


Figure 3. Marginal Effects on Change from Nonviolence to Mixed

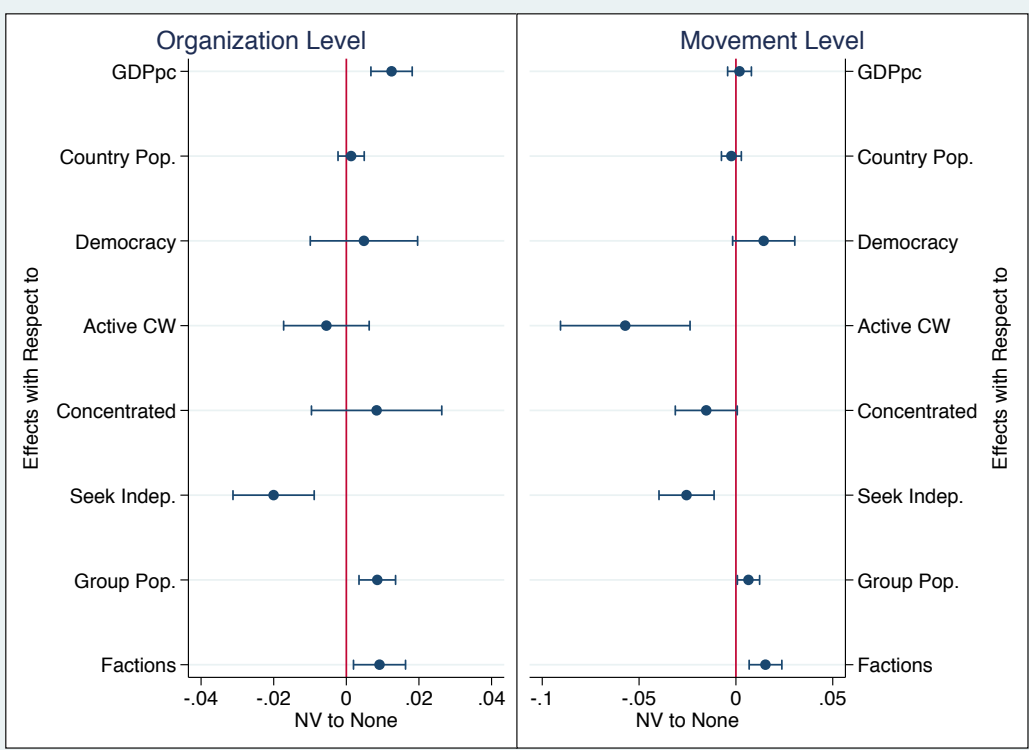


Figure 4. Marginal Effects on Change from Nonviolence to None

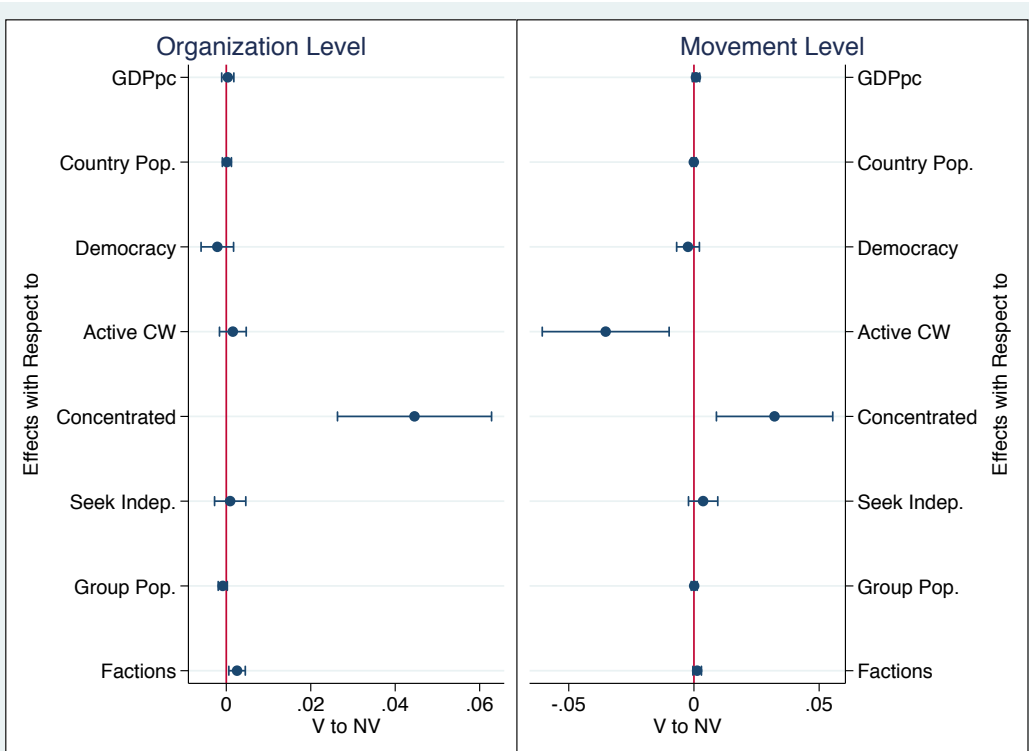


Figure 5. Marginal Effects on Change from Violence to Nonviolence

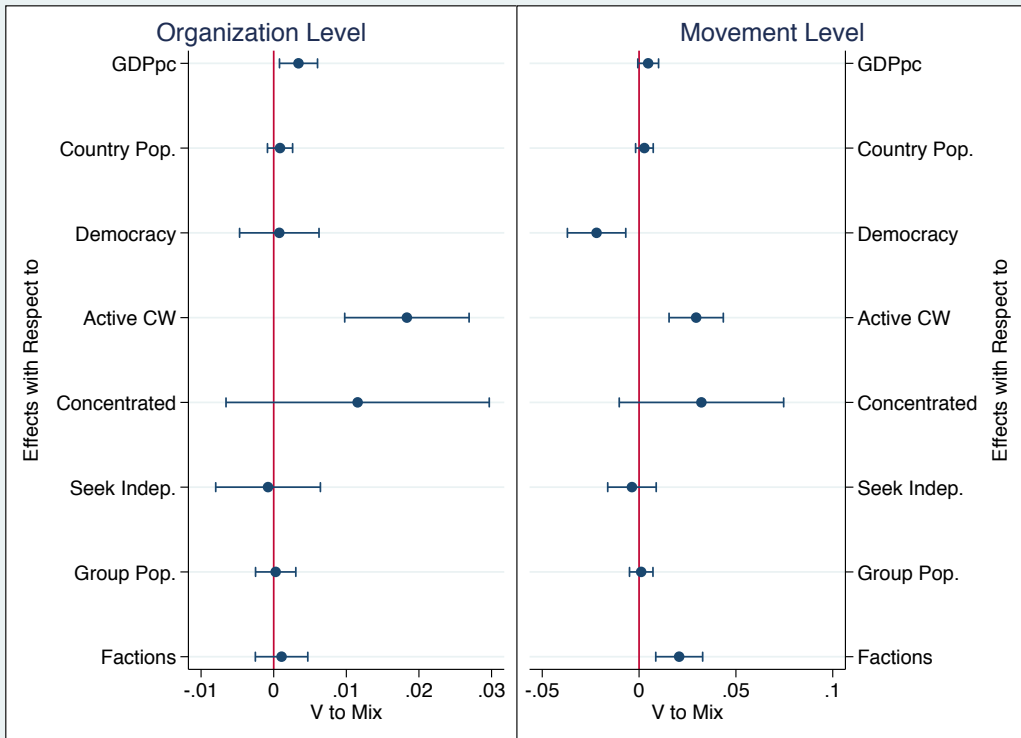


Figure 6. Marginal Effects on Change from Violence to Mixed

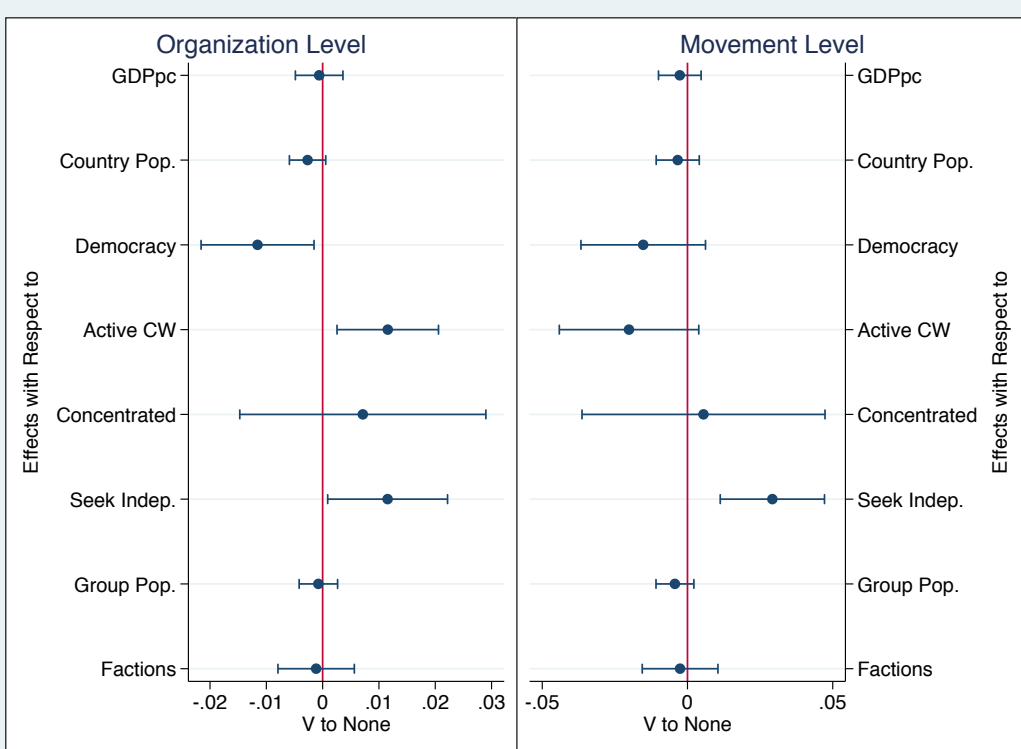


Figure 7. Marginal Effects on Change from Violence to None

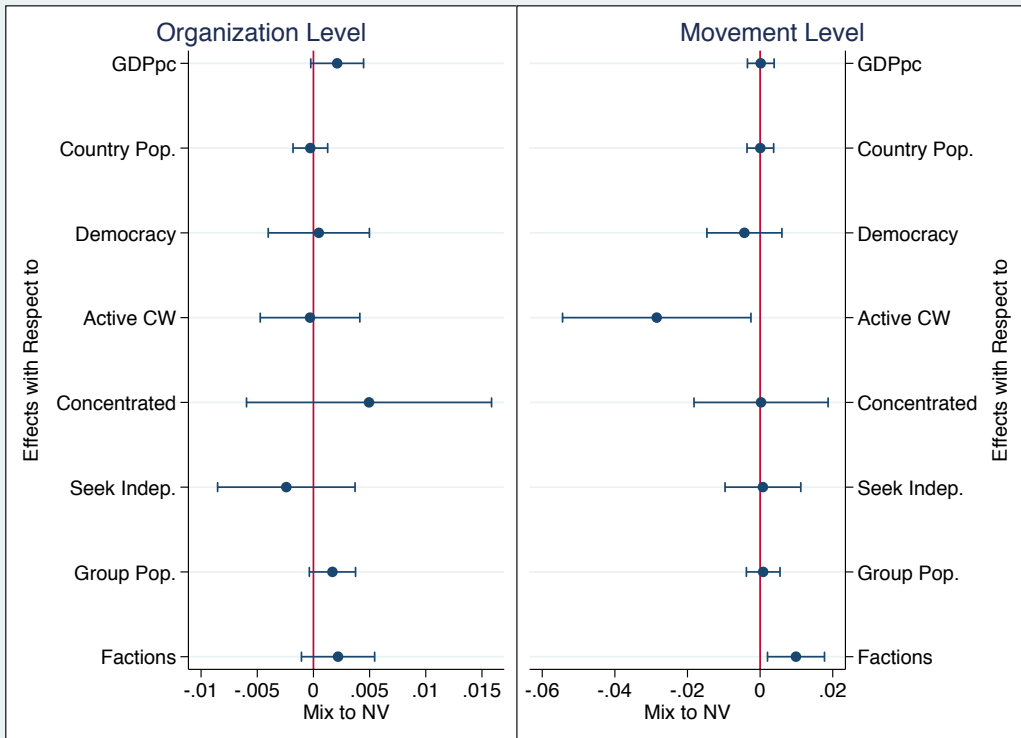


Figure 8. Marginal Effects on Change from Mixed to Nonviolence

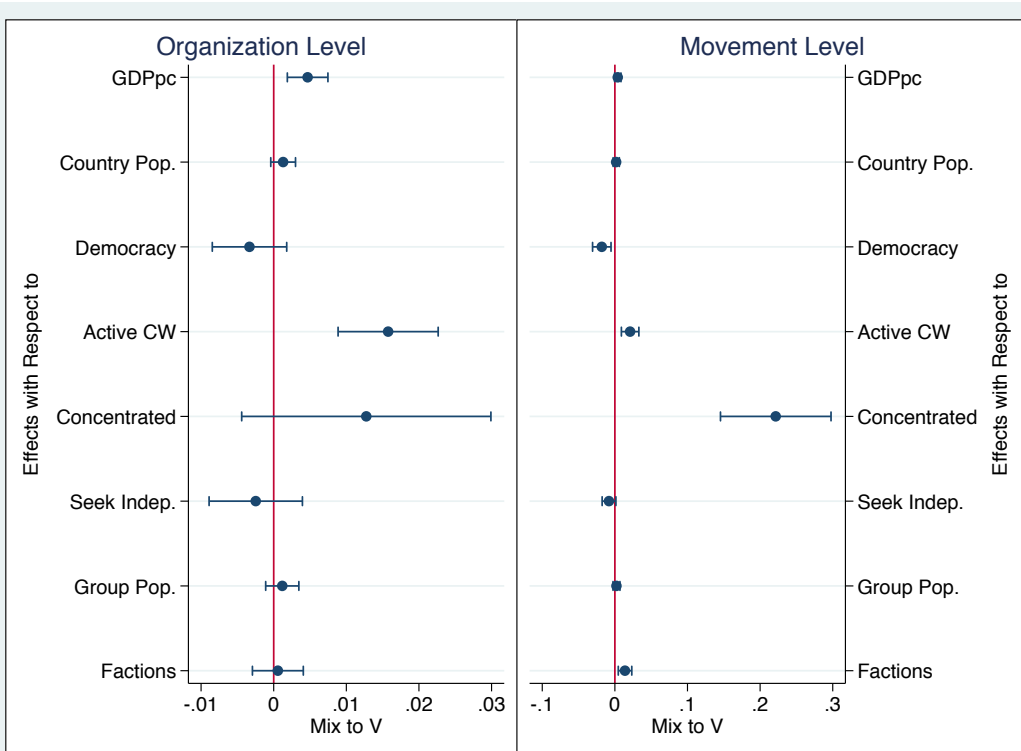


Figure 9. Marginal Effects on Change from Mixed to Violence

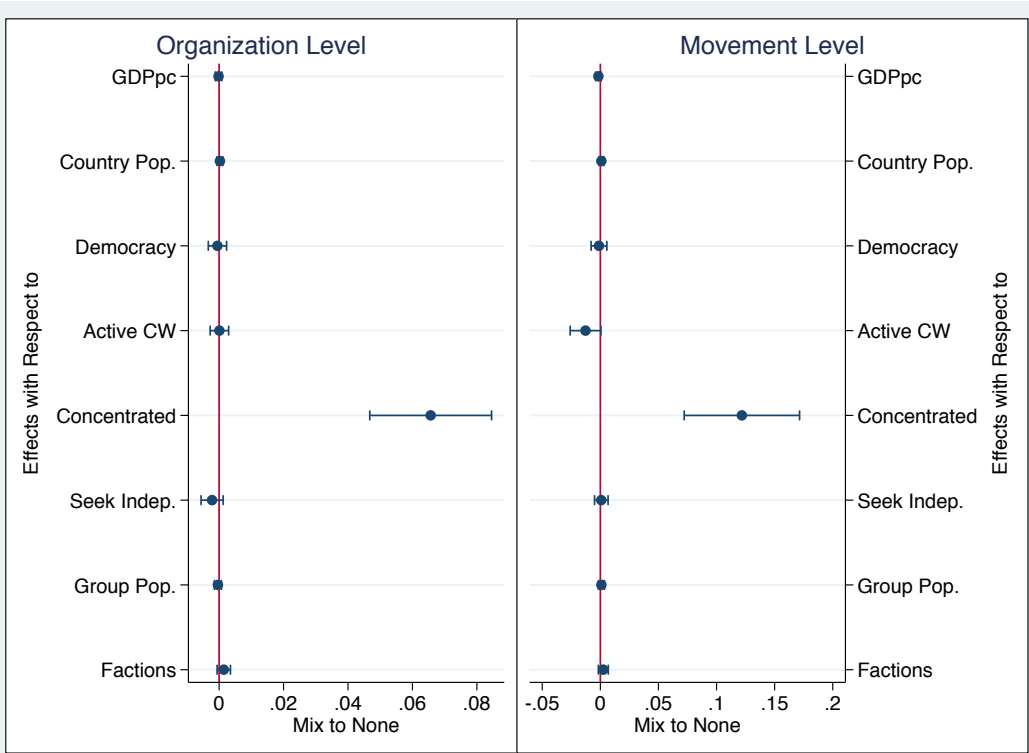


Figure 10. Marginal Effects on Change from Mixed to None

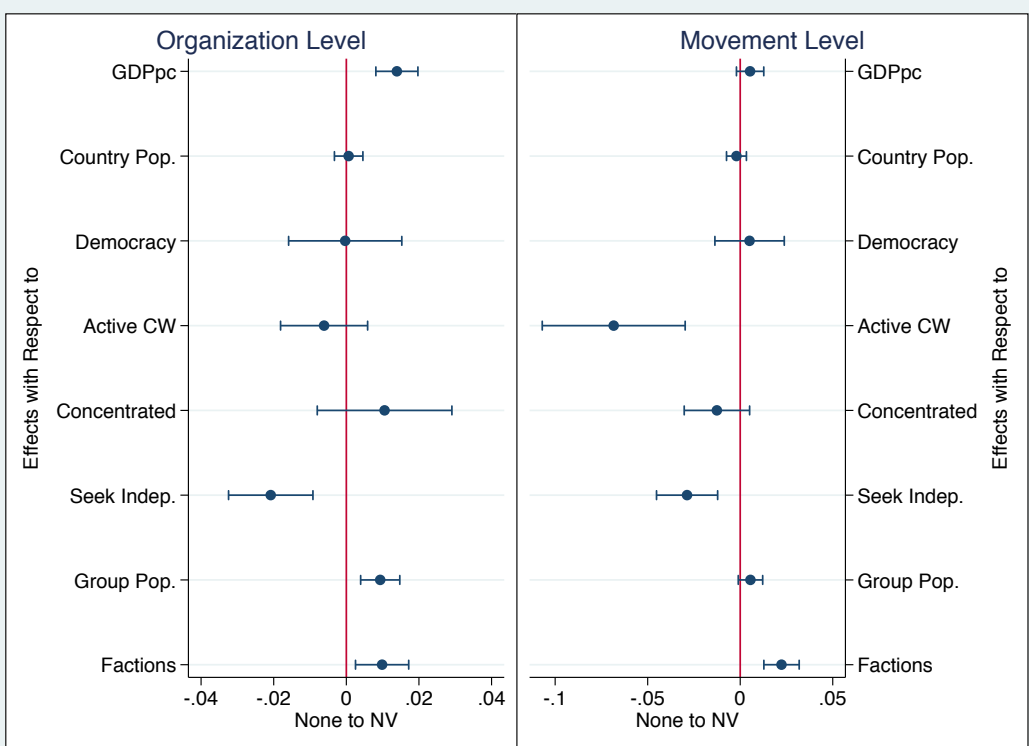


Figure 11. Marginal Effects on Change from None to Nonviolence

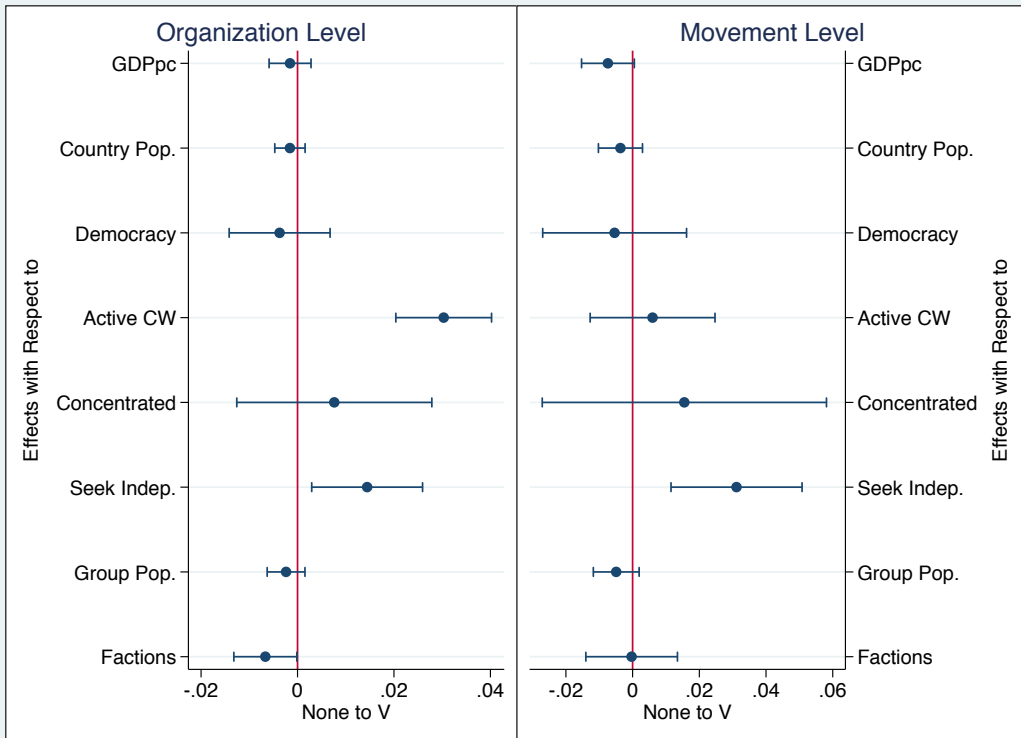


Figure 12. Marginal Effects on Change from None to violence

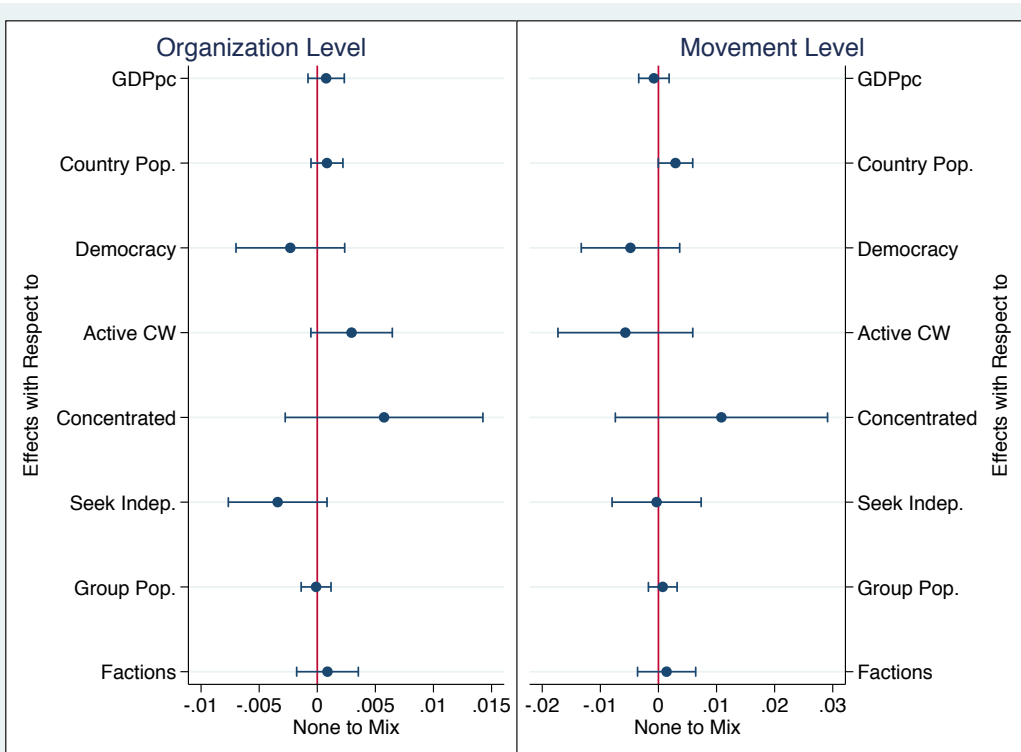


Figure 13. Marginal Effects on Change from None to Mixed

Table 8. Multinomial Logistic Analysis of Tactic Switching (Organization Level) with Previous Tactic Use

	<u>From Nonviolence to</u>			<u>From Violence to</u>			<u>From None to</u>		
	violence	mix	none	NV	Mix	none	NV	mix	none
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Fragmentation	0.382 (0.269)	0.057 (0.218)	0.243* (0.097)	0.778** (0.251)	0.015 (0.178)	-0.018 (0.117)	0.169 (0.092)	-0.144 (0.093)	0.102 (0.223)
Group population	-0.141 (0.181)	0.205 (0.132)	0.221** (0.062)	-0.234 (0.159)	-0.051 (0.138)	-0.019 (0.061)	0.196** (0.058)	-0.061 (0.060)	-0.049 (0.109)
Independence claim	0.050 (0.580)	-0.083 (0.378)	-0.524** (0.148)	0.271 (0.542)	0.104 (0.405)	0.382* (0.181)	-0.463** (0.128)	0.369* (0.162)	-0.513 (0.358)
Concentration	12.659** (0.411)	1.479* (0.601)	0.322 (0.242)	14.167** (0.344)	1.273 (1.040)	0.298 (0.378)	0.346 (0.205)	0.263 (0.325)	0.851 (0.660)
Active civil war	0.556 (0.496)	-0.292 (0.332)	0.033 (0.166)	0.464 (0.469)	1.866** (0.503)	0.371* (0.158)	0.017 (0.143)	0.744** (0.144)	0.360 (0.325)
Democracy	-0.169 (0.576)	-0.487 (0.418)	0.074 (0.187)	-0.702 (0.620)	0.048 (0.310)	-0.423* (0.172)	-0.014 (0.167)	-0.038 (0.167)	-0.414 (0.409)
Country population	-0.050 (0.144)	0.047 (0.111)	0.034 (0.046)	0.060 (0.161)	0.117 (0.096)	-0.084 (0.055)	0.005 (0.040)	-0.035 (0.049)	0.137 (0.108)
GDP (log)	0.221 (0.164)	0.469* (0.188)	0.340** (0.071)	0.133 (0.237)	0.220 (0.138)	0.001 (0.075)	0.273** (0.056)	-0.024 (0.068)	0.048 (0.144)
Prev. violence	1.767** (0.620)	0.539 (0.507)	-1.077** (0.237)				-1.094** (0.233)	1.007** (0.137)	0.132 (0.383)
Prev. mixed	-0.167 (0.596)	2.134** (0.491)	0.835** (0.306)	1.779* (0.827)	2.034** (0.421)	1.217** (0.342)	-0.019 (0.309)	0.220 (0.390)	0.907 (0.542)
Prev. nonviolence				-1.396 (0.723)	-0.208 (0.417)	-0.872** (0.285)	1.334** (0.123)	-0.972** (0.308)	0.293 (0.392)
Constant	-20.694** (1.748)	-13.066** (2.430)	-8.236** (0.935)	-21.028** (3.215)	-10.334** (2.127)	-2.793** (0.952)	-7.536** (0.785)	-3.175** (0.872)	-7.456** (1.857)
Observations	9,799	9,799	9,799	9,799	9,799	9,799	9,799	9,799	9,799

Robust standard errors in parentheses, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table 9. NAVCO Campaigns Linked to SD Organizations

NAVCO id	Campaign	Location	Primary method
218	Taliban/ Anti-Government Forces	Afghanistan	violent campaign
198	Shanti Bahini	Bangladesh	violent campaign
196	Serb militias	Bosnia-Herzegovina	violent campaign
48	Burma pro-democracy movement	Burma	nonviolent campaign
113	Kachin rebels	Burma	violent campaign
114	Karens	Burma	violent campaign
2	Afar insurgency	Djibouti	violent campaign
84	Fretilin	East Timor	nonviolent campaign
84	Fretilin	East Timor	violent campaign
230	Timorese resistance	East Timor	nonviolent campaign
230	Timorese resistance	East Timor	violent campaign
76	Eritrean-led rebels	Ethiopia	violent campaign
207	Somali rebels (Ogaden)	Ethiopia	violent campaign
88	Gamsakhurdia & Abkhazia	Georgia	nonviolent campaign
88	Gamsakhurdia & Abkhazia	Georgia	violent campaign
115	Kashmiri Muslim separatists	India	violent campaign
135	Mizo Revolt	India	violent campaign
144	Naga Rebellion	India	nonviolent campaign
144	Naga Rebellion	India	violent campaign
201	Sikh insurgency	India	violent campaign
87	GAM	Indonesia	violent campaign
111	KDPI	Iran	violent campaign
110	KDP Kurds	Iraq	violent campaign
251	Kurdish rebellion	Iraq	violent campaign
121	Kurdish Secession against Saddam	Iraq	violent campaign
220	Tauregs	Mali	violent campaign
69	Dniestr	Moldova	violent campaign

42	Biafrans	Nigeria	violent campaign
158	Ogoni movement	Nigeria	nonviolent campaign
97	IRA	Northern Ireland	nonviolent campaign
97	IRA	Northern Ireland	violent campaign
36	Baluchi rebels	Pakistan	violent campaign
40	Bengalis	Pakistan	violent campaign
164	Palestinian Liberation	Palestinian Territories	nonviolent campaign
164	Palestinian Liberation	Palestinian Territories	violent campaign
45	Bougainville Revolt	Papua New Guinea	nonviolent campaign
45	Bougainville Revolt	Papua New Guinea	violent campaign
139	Moro National Liberation Front	Philippines	nonviolent campaign
139	Moro National Liberation Front	Philippines	violent campaign
55	Chechen separatists	Russia	nonviolent campaign
55	Chechen separatists	Russia	violent campaign
205	Slovenian Independence	Slovenia	nonviolent campaign
73	ETA	Spain	violent campaign
125	LTTE	Sri Lanka	nonviolent campaign
125	LTTE	Sri Lanka	violent campaign
31	Anya Nya	Sudan	violent campaign
187	SPLA-Garang faction	Sudan	violent campaign
227	Tibetan Uprising	Tibet	nonviolent campaign
122	Kurdish rebellion	Turkey	violent campaign
46	Buganda Tribe	Uganda	violent campaign
243	Western Sahara Freedom Movement (POLISARIO)	Western Sahara	nonviolent campaign
243	Western Sahara Freedom Movement (POLISARIO)	Western Sahara	violent campaign
60	Croatian nationalists	Yugoslavia	nonviolent campaign
61	Croats	Yugoslavia	violent campaign

119	Kosovo Albanian	Yugoslavia	nonviolent campaign
119	Kosovo Albanian	Yugoslavia	violent campaign
120	Kosovo Albanian nationalist movement	Yugoslavia	nonviolent campaign
116	Katanga-led leftists	Zaire/DRC	violent campaign
161	PF-ZAPU guerillas	Zimbabwe	violent campaign

Table 10. External Data Sources

<i>Variable name</i>	Description and source
<i>Fragmentation</i>	The number of organizations active in the movement in that year (logged). This is based on Cunningham (2014)
<i>Group population</i>	The size of the movement's constituent population. This is based on Cunningham (2014)
<i>Independence claim</i>	Dummy variable indication of whether the group claimed independence or not. This is based on Cunningham (2014).
<i>Concentration</i>	Whether the group is geographically concentrated. This is based on the Minorities at Risk (MAR) database.
<i>Active civil war</i>	Dummy variable indication whether the country was undergoing a civil war that year. This is based on the Uppsala Armed Conflict Database
<i>Democracy</i>	This is based on Polity 2, and score 6 and above is coded as a democracy
<i>Country population</i>	The size of the country's population. This is based on Gleditsch (2002)
<i>GDP (log)</i>	The country's GDP (logged). This is based on Gleditsch (2002)

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