

# The Singularity of State Repression

**Alexei Anisin**

Anglo-American University

Series in Politics



VERNON PRESS

Copyright © 2024 Vernon Press, an imprint of Vernon Art and Science Inc, on behalf of the author.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of Vernon Art and Science Inc.  
[www.vernonpress.com](http://www.vernonpress.com)

*In the Americas:*  
Vernon Press  
1000 N West Street, Suite 1200,  
Wilmington, Delaware 19801  
United States

*In the rest of the world:*  
Vernon Press  
C/Sancti Espiritu 17,  
Malaga, 29006  
Spain

Series in Politics

Library of Congress Control Number: 2023947804

ISBN: 978-1-64889-799-3

Product and company names mentioned in this work are the trademarks of their respective owners. While every care has been taken in preparing this work, neither the authors nor Vernon Art and Science Inc. may be held responsible for any loss or damage caused or alleged to be caused directly or indirectly by the information contained in it.

Every effort has been made to trace all copyright holders, but if any have been inadvertently overlooked the publisher will be pleased to include any necessary credits in any subsequent reprint or edition.

Cover designed by Vernon Press with resources from Freepik.

# Table of Contents

List of Figures	v
List of Tables	vii
Chapter 1 <b>Introduction</b>	1
Chapter 2 <b>The Modern State, State Repression, and Singularity</b>	19
Chapter 3 <b>Research Design</b>	41
Chapter 4 <b>Trends and Patterns of Protest Massacres</b>	65
Chapter 5 <b>The Protest Massacre Pathway</b>	91
Chapter 6 <b>The Politicide and Genocide Pathway</b>	111
Chapter 7 <b>The Civil War Pathway</b>	137
Chapter 8 <b>Conclusion</b>	167
References	177
Index	193



# List of Figures

Figure 4.1	Nineteenth-Century Protest Massacres and Fatalities	67
Figure 4.2	Twentieth-Century Protest Massacres and Fatalities	68
Figure 4.3	Twenty-first Century Protest Massacres	69
Figure 4.4	Symmetry Plot of Estimated Fatalities	70
Figure 4.5	Perpetrators of Protest Massacres	71
Figure 4.6	Box Plot of Fatalities and Violent Resistance	74
Figure 4.7	Temporal Variation in Protests	81
Figure 4.8	Geographic Settings	84
Figure 5.1	The Protest Massacre Process	99
Figure 6.1	The Politicide/Genocide Process	119
Figure 7.1	The Civil War Process	148



# List of Tables

Table 3.1	Process Types	45
Table 3.2	Variable Operationalization	60
Table 4.1	Fatalities, n=171	66
Table 4.2	Fatalities by Century	66
Table 4.3	Two Sample T-Tests: Perpetrators and Fatalities	72
Table 4.4	One-Way ANOVA	73
Table 4.5	Fisher's Exact Test on Temporality and Perpetrators	82
Table 4.6	Logistic Regression of Protest Strategies and Urban Geographic Location	85
Table 4.7	Multivariate Regression Analysis on Estimated Fatalities	86
Table 5.1	Descriptive Statistics of the Protest Massacre Pathway n=96	95
Table 6.1	Descriptive Statistics of the Politicide/Genocide Pathway n=20	115
Table 7.1	Descriptive Statistics of the Civil War Pathway n=53	145
Table 7.2	Myanmar Massacres	153
Table 7.3	Syrian Massacres	160



# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Burned cars, broken windows, and trash swirling underneath empty overpasses. It's mid-day and scorching hot in the Egyptian capital, Cairo. Close to two million people are protesting in the middle of Tahrir Square. Somewhere on the horizon, Ancient Egyptian pyramids stand but cannot be seen because the air is hazy from smoke pouring out of a burning government building – a building headed by Hosni Mubarak and his National Democratic Party (NDP). The Nile River flows nearby, and a sense of urgency is palpable as the sound of sirens and roaring crowds are both distant and near. On side-streets and alleyways near the square, masked protesters are throwing Molotov cocktails at security forces who are shooting back with rubber bullets. In spite of the government instilling a curfew, hundreds of people are dying each day as continuous clashes are taking place near Tahir Square and elsewhere throughout Cairo. Street cameras, mobile phones, and journalists with professional video cameras are recording protest-state interactions that are part of a revolutionary tide of dissent. The windows of police stations are broken and dozens of buildings are burning. Its Spring in 2011 – a year that will go down in history as one of revolution and the “Arab Spring.”

In less than a span of two weeks, protesters successfully lit the presidential building of long-reigning President Mubarak on fire, and to the surprise of many, the incumbent leader stepped down. Power was handed over to Egypt's Armed Forces Council, which resulted in the formation of a military junta. Political instability would ensue for two years after. Mohamed Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood gained electoral supremacy and attempted to curb democratic mechanisms in the constitution, which led to the formation of more mass protests and an eventual coup. Several massacres of protesters occurred in 2013, and Egypt experienced another revolution. Leading up to the Arab Spring, the country of Egypt had experienced nearly half of a century of poor democratic performance and a number of adverse socio-economic outcomes. According to the Polity IV data set (Marshall & Gurr, 2013), Egypt scored no higher than a -6 on its 20-point (-10 to +10) ranking until the year 2006, when the score optimistically crept up to a -3. After 2013, the score went back downwards, and at the time of writing this book, Egypt remains in the authoritarian classifications across different data sets on democratic performance.

If one is to glance back at the history of this fascinating region, they will quickly observe that similar processes of collective action and state repression

also arose during periods of political instability and violence. In 1919, Egypt was experiencing a period of colonization by the British Empire, who, in the 1880s, used its army and superior naval forces to install a pro-colonist government. This took power away from Ottomans in Egypt and its surrounding areas. The British carried out different measures to set up an economically friendly regime and ultimately safeguard the strategic importance of the Suez Canal. Until the uprising of 1919, the British kept a tight grip on Cairo – Tahrir Square was dominated by British armed forces and military barracks were set up nearby along the Nile River. After the start of WWI, a number of nationalist political elites in Northern Africa demanded that the British ease their grip on governmentality in the region. This was accompanied by the formation of independence movements in both Egypt and Sudan. In March of 1919, close to 1,000 people were killed as riots arose and protest-state interactions ensued throughout Cairo and nearby villages. British security forces responded with severe forms of repression, which temporarily reinstated order, and the political status quo was upheld for the time being (Kitchen, 2015). By early 1922, however, Egyptians won their independence.

Two millennia prior, another set of colonial rulers displayed a show of force towards native Egyptians. In one of the longest reigning dynasties of Ancient Egypt – the Ptolemies were headed by ethnic Macedonian rulers who gained power over most of Egypt in 305 BC (alongside Alexander the Great). Through 15 different rulers, the Ptolemies governed Egypt until 30 BC. Their aims were not much different than other colonizers, as they sought to squeeze “every drop of profit out of their territory, regardless of the consequences” (Wilkinson, 2010, p. 318). The Ptolemies placed a significant land tax across the lower part of Egypt and a harvest tax on the upper. They charged local elites fees for holding office, and village scribes were coerced to pay commissions for basic services (Wilkinson, 2010, p. 318). This led to great economic production, but native Egyptians eventually revolted by 245 BC. In response, the Ptolemies carried out severe repression which lasted more than three decades. By 16 BC, a rebel leader was victorious over state forces. He took over Thebes and was named the new pharaoh. Meanwhile, however, many in the South did not agree with those in the North, which led to a civil war (Wilkinson, 2010, p. 319). Political instabilities of this sort ensued until the downfall of the Ptolemaic regime just before the new millennium.

The commonality inherent to all of these incidents is that they are marked by processes that feature different dynamics and mechanisms of state repression. History has shown us that regardless of the type of ruling structure that is in place in a given polity, incumbent leaders will draw upon their police, security forces, or armed forces to deal with opposition who challenge their reign. In modern times, agents of the state are contracted to state institutions and

usually are directed by the incumbent leader or executive branch. When dissent arises from members or groups belonging to a populace and the political status quo is threatened, rulers will utilize their protective services and agents to deal with these threats in a law-like fashion. Davenport (2007) referred to this empirical pattern as a *law of coercive responsiveness*, which is defined as follows, “when challenges to the status quo take place, authorities generally employ some form of repressive action to counter or eliminate the behavioral threat; in short, protest-state interactions are empirically marked by a “Law of Coercive Responsiveness” (Davenport, 2007, p. 7).

The law of coercive responsiveness is applicable to non-institutional forms of dissent and protest – it tells us that when protesters challenge a political status quo, agents of ruling structures will respond with repression to protect their incumbency and political interests. These dynamics most commonly tend to arise within the territorial jurisdiction of a state. Incumbent leaders order their agents to carry out repression in order to offset current protest mobilization, the occurrence of future (and presumably larger) threats, and in some instances, to send a signal to would-be challengers that order must be upheld and preserved. Over the last two centuries of history, the law of coercive responsiveness has come into play when either spontaneous or organized collective action has been publicly applied by civilians to challenge a political status quo. This has happened on local, regional, state, and federal levels (Anisin, 2019). As Koopmans (1997) noted, “the confrontation between protesters and repressive authorities is the most visible, concrete, and spectacular form of state-movement interaction” (Koopmans, 1997, p. 149). Yet even in light of the identification of this law, we still know little about what transpires after it manifests empirically. What impact does state repression, especially severe bouts of repression, have on socio-historic change?

### **Aggregated Data on State Repression**

Scholarly research on state repression and protest has made vast advances over the last two decades. Part of this can be attributed to the general tendency of social science to shift to more data-oriented approaches to inquiry and to the explosion of what many refer to as “big data.” We are now in the age of information, and there exist more publicly accessible facts, figures, and statistics than ever before at any point in human history. More data sets on armed conflict and political violence continue to be produced year in and year out; scholars are accessing archives, media reports, government reports, and direct video evidence of protest, collective action, state repression, human rights violations, civil wars, wars between states, and other types of violence to code observations into publicly accessible data. Data sets are nowadays widely available to access for the public free of charge. Not only do these developments

PAGES MISSING  
FROM THIS FREE SAMPLE

## References

- Abdul Reda, A., Sinanoglu, S., & Abdalla, M. (2021). Mobilizing the masses: measuring resource mobilization on Twitter. *Sociological Methods & Research*, p.0049124120986197. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0049124120986197>
- Acemoglu, D., Vindigni, A., & Ticchi, D. (2010). Persistence of civil wars. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 8(2-3), 664-676.
- Al Arabiya News. (2011, October 25). Syrian army deserters kill 10 troops, Assad to meet Arab League committee Wednesday. <https://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/10/25/173715>
- Al Jazeera 2011a. (2011, April 18). Syria protesters killed in Homs. *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2011/4/18/syria-protesters-killed-in-homs>
- Al Jazeera 2021a. (2021, February 11). New arrests in Myanmar, as US moves to sanction coup leaders. *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/2/11/new-arrests-in-myanmar-as-us-moves-to-sanction-coup-leaders>
- Al Jazeera 2021b. (2021, March 3). UN: 38 killed in 'bloodiest day' since coup hit Myanmar. *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/3/3/un-envoy-says-38-dead-in-bloodiest-day-since-coup-hit-myanmar>
- Al Jazeera 2021c. (2021, March 27). 'Day of shame': Dozens of anti-coup protesters killed in Myanmar. *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/3/27/myanmar-coup-leaders-put-on-show-of-force>
- Alder, D. D. (1983). Decision-making amid public violence; The Vienna riots, July 15, 1927. *Austrian History Yearbook*, 19(01), 239-260.
- Al-Hatem, F (2011, May 31). Syrians are tired of Assad's 'reforms'. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/may/31/syrians-assad-bill-fair-elections> [accessed 10 January 2023].
- Ali, H., Ben Hammou, S., & Powell, J. M. (2022). Between coups and election: constitutional engineering and military entrenchment in Sudan. *Africa Spectrum*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00020397221136581>
- Amnesty International. (2004, June 2). China: 15 years after Tiananmen, calls for justice continue and the arrests go on. *Amnesty International*. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa17/020/2004/en/>
- Amnesty International. (2021, March 11). Myanmar: Vast arsenal and notorious troops deployed during nationwide 'killing spree' protest crackdown – new research. *Amnesty International*. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2021/03/myanmar-arsenal-troops-deployed-crackdown/>
- Anderton, C. H. (2016). Datasets and trends of genocide, mass killing, and other civilian atrocities". In: C. H. Anderton., & Brauer J. (Eds.). *Economic Aspects of Genocide, Mass Atrocity, and their Prevention*. pp.52-101. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aneshensel, C. S. (2012). *Theory-based Data Analysis for the Social Sciences*. London: Sage Publications.

- Anisin, A. (2014). The Russian Bloody Sunday massacre of 1905: a discursive account of nonviolent transformation. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 2(4), 643-660.
- Anisin, A. (2016a). Violence begets violence: Why states should not lethally repress popular protest. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 20(7), 893-913.
- Anisin, A. (2016b). Repression, spontaneity, and collective action: the 2013 Turkish Gezi protests. *Journal of Civil Society*, 12(4), 411-429.
- Anisin, A. (2018). Social causation and protest mobilization: why temporality and interaction matter. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 6(3), 279-301.
- Anisin, A. (2019). Comparing protest massacres. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 32(2), 258-274.
- Anisin, A. (2020a). Debunking the myths behind nonviolent civil resistance. *Critical Sociology*, 46(7-8), 1121-1139.
- Anisin, A. (2020b). The revolutions of 1989 and defection in Warsaw Pact states. *Democracy and Security*, 16(2), 151-178.
- Anisin, A. (2021). Identity, repression, and the collapse of Apartheid. *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, 43(2), 308-337.
- Anisin, A. (2022). Military defection during the collapse of the Soviet Union. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, 16(2), 26-53.
- AP News. (2021, March 28). Myanmar forces kill scores in deadliest day since coup. *AP News*. <https://apnews.com/article/aung-san-suu-kyi-min-aung-hlaing-myanmar-5bd5fd1e20adc5c5e16a0bb2a3db3102>
- Arjona, A. (2015). Civilian resistance to rebel governance. In Arjona, A., Kasfir, N. & Mampilly, Z. eds., *Rebel Governance in Civil War*. pp.1-20. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Azab, M., & Santoro, W. A. (2017). Rethinking fear and protest: Racialized repression of Arab Americans and the mobilization benefits of being afraid. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 22(4), 473-491.
- Bahrampour, T. (2011a, April 17). 13 killed as protests continue despite Assad's pledges to lift Syria's emergency rule. *The Washington Post*. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/syria-protests-continue-despite-presidents-promises-to-lift-emergency-laws/2011/04/17/AFw0fMuD\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/syria-protests-continue-despite-presidents-promises-to-lift-emergency-laws/2011/04/17/AFw0fMuD_story.html)
- Bahrampour, T. (2011b, April 19). Syrian forces fire on protesters in Homs as crackdown intensifies. *The Washington Post*. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/syrian-forces-fire-on-protesters-in-homs-as-crackdown-intensifies/2011/04/19/AFuvaW4D\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/syrian-forces-fire-on-protesters-in-homs-as-crackdown-intensifies/2011/04/19/AFuvaW4D_story.html)
- Bates, R. H., Grief, A., Levi, M., Rosenthal, J. L., & Weingast, B. R. (1998). *Analytical Narratives*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Beach, D., & Pedersen, R. (2014). *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Beach, D. (2016). It's all about mechanisms—what process-tracing case studies should be tracing. *New Political Economy*, 21(5), 463-472.
- Bengtsson, J. (2012). *Aung San Suu Kyi: A Biography*. Washington D.C.: Potomac Books.
- Black, I. (2011, November 17). Syria defiant in face of Arab League warnings over crackdown. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/>

- nov/17/syria-defiant-arab-league-turkey?utm\_source=twitterfeed&utm\_medium=twitter
- Black, I., & Kamali Dehghan, S. (2009, June 16). Iranian Uprising Turns Bloody. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jun/15/iran-elections-protests-mousavi-attacks>
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Buente, M. (2011). Burma's transition to 'Disciplined Democracy': Abdication or institutionalization of military rule?. *GIGA Working Paper No 177*, <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1924279>
- Bunge, M. (1997). Mechanism and explanation. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 27(4), 410-465.
- Carman, H. J. (1927). The Vienna riots and Austria's problem. *Current history (1916-1940)*, 26(6), 968-971.
- CBC News. (2021, March 11). 12 protesters killed in Myanmar as military defies call for restraint. CBC News. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/myanmar-protesters-killed-deadly-violence-1.5946118>
- Center of Human Rights in Iran. (2014, January 6). Basij commander admits forces shot at 2009 protesters. <https://iranhumanrights.org/2014/01/basij-shot/>
- Chapman, P. (2007). *Bananas: How the United Fruit Company Shaped the World*. New York City: Grove Atlantic.
- Chenoweth, E., & Stephan, M. J. (2011). *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Chenoweth, E., & Lewis, O. A. (2013). Unpacking nonviolent campaigns: Introducing the NAVCO 2.0 dataset. *Journal of Peace Research*, 50(3), 415-423.
- Chermak, S. M., Freilich, J. D., Parkin, W. S., & Lynch, J. P. (2012). American terrorism and extremist crime data sources and selectivity bias: An investigation focusing on homicide events committed by far-right extremists. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 28, 191-218.
- Chiang, A. Y. (2021). Violence, non-violence and the conditional effect of repression on subsequent dissident mobilization. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 38(6), 627-653.
- Chicago Sun Times. (2011, March 23). 15 killed in clashes in southern Syria. *Chicago Sun Times*. <https://web.archive.org/web/20140125104634/http://www.suntimes.com/news/world/4472184-418/15-killed-in-clashes-in-southern-syria.html>
- Chong, D. (1991). *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- City of Vienna. (2022). February 1934 - Austrians take up Arms. *Vienna Public Relations*. <https://www.wien.gv.at/english/history/commemoration/february-1934.html>
- Clark, N. L. (1994). *Manufacturing Apartheid: State corporations in South Africa*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- CNN. (2009, July 26). Global protests staged over post-election crackdown in Iran. *CNN*. <http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/meast/07/25/iran.world.protests/index.html#cnnSTCText>

- CNN. (2011, April 26). Dozens of Syrians reported killed in Daraa. *CNN*. <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/meast/03/25/syria.unrest/index.html?hpt=T1>
- CNN. (2021, March 24). 15 killed in clashes between protesters, security forces in Syria. *CNN*. <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/meast/03/23/syria.protests/index.html>
- Cohen, Y., Brown, B. R., & Organski, A. F. K. (1981). The paradoxical nature of state making: The violent creation of order. *American Political Science Review*, 75(4), 901-910.
- Cole, J. H., & Gramajo, A. M. (2009). Homicide rates in a cross section of countries: evidence and interpretations. *Population and Development Review*, 35(4), 749-776.
- Coleman, K. (2015). The Photos That We Don't Get to See: Sovereignities, Archives, and the 1928 Massacre of Banana Workers in Colombia. pp.104-36. In: Bender, D.E. and Lipman, J.K., eds. *Making the Empire Work: Labor and United States Imperialism*. New York City: New York University Press.
- Collier, P., Hoeffler, A., & Söderbom, M. (2004). On the duration of civil war. *Journal of Peace Research*, 41(3), 253-273.
- Collins, R. (2004). *Interaction Ritual Chains: Princeton Studies in Cultural Sociology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Collins, R. (2008). *Violence: A Micro-Sociological Theory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Craver, C. F. (2006). When mechanistic models explain. *Synthese*, 153(3), 355-376.
- Craver, C. F. (2007). *Explaining the Brain: Mechanisms and the Mosaic Unity of Neuroscience*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Daragahi, B., & Hajjar, R. (2011, June 10). 48 reported killed as Syria forces continue attacks on protesters. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/world/la-xpm-2011-jun-10-la-fg-syria-violence-20110611-story.html>
- Davenport, C. (1995). Multi-dimensional threat perception and state repression: An inquiry into why states apply negative sanctions. *American Journal of Political Science*, 39(3), 683-713.
- Davenport, C. (2007). State repression and political order. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 10, 1-23.
- Davenport, C., & Appel, B. (2022). *The Death and Life of State Repression: Understanding Onset, Escalation, Termination, and Recurrence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Davies, T. (2014). *NGOs: A New History of Transnational Civil Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Davies, T. (2019). Transnational society as a mirror of international society: a reinterpretation of contemporary world order. *International Theory*, 11(3), 264-292.
- Dedinger, B., & Girard, P. (2021). How many countries in the world? The geopolitical entities of the world and their political status from 1816 to the present. *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, 54(4), 208-227.
- Degaut, M. (2019). Out of the barracks: The role of the military in democratic revolutions. *Armed Forces & Society*, 45(1), 78-100.

- Della Porta, D. (2018). Radicalization: A relational perspective. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 21, 461-474.
- Dorff, C. (2019). Violent and nonviolent resistance in contexts of prolonged crisis: the civilian perspective. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 4(2), 286-291.
- Dorff, C., Gallop, M., & Minhas, S. (2022). Network competition and civilian targeting during civil conflict. *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-19. doi:10.1017/S0007123422000321
- Doyle, K. (2003). Forgetting is not justice. Mexico bares its secret past. *World Policy Journal*, 20(2), 61-72.
- Drury, J., & Reicher, S. (2000). Collective action and psychological change: The emergence of new social identities. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 39(4), 579-604.
- Drury, J., & Reicher, S. D. (2020). Crowds and collective behaviour. In: M. A. Hogg (Ed.), *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Psychology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190236557.013.304>
- Dubofsky, M. (2002). The Lattimer massacre and the meaning of citizenship. *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of mid-Atlantic Studies*, 69(1), 52-57.
- Dunlop, C. A., & James, O. (2007). Principal-agent modelling and learning: the European Commission, experts and agricultural hormone growth promoters. *Public Policy and Administration* 22(4), 403-422.
- DW News. (2011a, April 8). Syrian violence. DW News. <https://www.dw.com/en/syrian-security-forces-kill-anti-government-protesters/a-6498276>
- DW News. (2011b, April 16). Concessions in Syria. *DW News*. <https://www.dw.com/en/syria-to-lift-decades-old-emergency-law-after-weeks-of-protests/a-14994791>
- Dwyer, P., & Ryan, L. (2015). *Theatres of Violence: Massacre, Mass Killing and Atrocity Throughout History, Vol. 11*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Earl, J. (2003). Tanks, tear gas, and taxes: Toward a theory of movement repression. *Sociological Theory*, 21(1), pp. 44-68
- Edwards, B., & McCarthy, J. D. (2004). Resource and social movement mobilization. pp. 116-152. In, Snow, D.A., Soule, S.A., Kriesi, H. (Eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Eikenberry, K. W., & Krasner S. D. (2017). Civil wars & global disorder: threats & opportunities. *Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences*. <https://www.amacad.org/daedalus/civil-wars-global-disorder-threats-opportunities>
- Ellefsen, R. (2018). Relational dynamics of protest and protest policing: strategic interaction and the coevolution of targeting strategies. *Policing and Society*, 28(7), 751-767.
- Ellefsen, R. (2021). The unintended consequences of escalated repression. *Mobilization*, 26(1), 87-108.
- Espinosa, D. (2014). *Jesuit Student Groups, the Universidad Iberoamericana, and Political Resistance in Mexico, 1913-1979*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Fadal, L. (2011, March 25). Protesters shot as demonstrations expand across Syria. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/protesters>

- shot-as-demonstrations-expand-across-syria/2011/03/25/AFTnewWB\_story.html
- Falciola, L. (2016). Frames of injustice across borders: Revolutionary left and police repression in Italy, France, and the USA. pp.185-202. In: Alvarez, A. M and Tristan, E. R., *Revolutionary Violence and the New Left*. London: Routledge.
- Falleti, G., & Mahoney, J. (2015). The comparative sequential method. In: Mahoney, J., & Thelen, K., *Advances in Comparative-historical Analysis*. pp. 211-239. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fatton, R. (1986). *Black Consciousness in South Africa: the Dialectics of Ideological Resistance to White Supremacy*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Fearon, J. D., & Laitin, D. D. (2003). Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war. *American Political Science Review*, 97(1), 75-90.
- Fearon, J. D. (2017). Civil war & the current international system. *Dædalus*, 146(4), 18-32.
- Flock, E. (2011, March 24). Syria protests erupt, dozens killed according to reports. *The Washington Post*. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/blogpost/post/syria-protests-erupt-dozens-killed-according-to-reports/2011/03/24/AbnLKKPB\\_blog.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/blogpost/post/syria-protests-erupt-dozens-killed-according-to-reports/2011/03/24/AbnLKKPB_blog.html)
- France24. 2011a. (2011, April 18). Syrian mourners vent anger at regime. *France 24*. <https://www.france24.com/en/20110418-mass-funeral-anti-regime-protests-syria-assad-bashar-homs>
- France24. 2011b. (2011, June 10). Protesters killed across Syria as army cracks down. *France 24*. <https://www.france24.com/en/20110610-troops-launch-deadly-crackdown-syrian-cities-jisr-shughur-protests-border>
- France24. (2021, February 27). New deaths mark bloodiest day yet in Myanmar's nationwide anti-coup protests. *France 24*. <https://www.france24.com/en/asia-pacific/20210228-several-people-killed-as-police-open-fire-on-myanmar-protesters>
- Francisco, R. (2004). After the massacre: mobilization in the wake of harsh repression. *Mobilization: an International Quarterly*, 9(2), 107-126.
- Frankel, P. H. (2001). *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and its Massacre*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Frueh, J. (2003). *Political Identity and Social Change: The Remaking of the South African Social Order*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Gates, S., & Humes, B. D. (1997). *Games, Information, and Politics: Applying Game-theoretic Models to Political Science*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press
- Gehlbach, S., Sonin, K., & Svulik, M. W. (2016). Formal models of nondemocratic politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 19, 565-584.
- George, A. L., & Bennett, A. (2005). *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
- Gerring, J. (2008). The mechanistic worldview: Thinking inside the box. *British Journal of Political Science*, 38(1), 161-179.
- Gersovitz, M., & Kriger, N. (2013). What is a civil war? A critical review of its definition and (econometric) consequences. *The World Bank Research Observer*, 28(2), 159-190.

- Ginkel, J., & Smith, A. (1999). So you say you want a revolution: A game theoretic explanation of revolution in repressive regimes. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 43(3), 291-316.
- Goldsmith, B. E., & Butcher, C. (2018). Genocide forecasting: Past accuracy and new forecasts to 2020. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 20(1), 90-107.
- Graham, M. W. (1930). The constitutional crisis in Austria. *American Political Science Review*, 24(01), 144-157.
- Greener, B. K., & Fish, W. J. (2014). *Internal Security and Statebuilding: Aligning Agencies and Functions*. London: Routledge.
- Gurr, T. (2011). *Why Men Rebel*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.
- Hallward, M., Masullo, J., & Mouly, C. (2017). Civil resistance in armed conflict: leveraging nonviolent action to navigate war, oppose violence and confront oppression. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 12(3), 1-9.
- Harff, B., & Gurr, T. (1988). Toward empirical theory of genocides and politicides: Identification and measurement of cases since 1945. *International Studies Quarterly*, 32(3), 359-371.
- Harff, B., & Gurr, T. (1998). Systematic early warning of humanitarian emergencies. *Journal of Peace Research*, 35(5), 551-579.
- Harkness, K. A. (2022). The ethnic stacking in Africa dataset: When leaders use ascriptive identity to build military loyalty. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 39(5), 609-632.
- Hathaway, O. A. (2007). Why do countries commit to human rights treaties?. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 51(4), 588-621.
- Hazlett, C. (2011). *New Lessons Learned? Improving Genocide and Politicide Forecasting*. Washington D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.
- Head, J. (2021, May 22). Myanmar: The small embattled town that stood up to the army. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-57197081>
- Hedström, P., & Swedberg, R. (1998). *Social Mechanisms: an Analytical Approach to Social Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Helps, B. (2017). Resource Mobilization and Social Media Deployment in Berlin's Refugee Aid Movement. Pp. 83-105. Eds. Shaked Spier, In *Chandos Information Professional Series, Collective Action 2.0*, Witney: Chandos Publishing.
- Hess, D., & Martin, B. (2006). Repression, backfire, and the theory of transformative events. *Mobilization: an International Quarterly*, 11(2), 249-267.
- Hill, D. W. (2010). Estimating the effects of human rights treaties on state behavior. *The Journal of Politics*, 72(4), 1161-1174.
- Hill, D. W., & Jones, Z. M. (2014). An empirical evaluation of explanations for state repression. *American Political Science Review*, 108(3), 661-687.
- Hirsch, E. L. (1990). Sacrifice for the cause: Group processes, recruitment, and commitment in a student social movement. *American Sociological Review*, 55(2), 243-254.
- Hobelt, L. (2015). An embarrassment of options: Fascism and Catholicism in Austria. In: Nelis, J., Morelli, A. and Praet, D. *Catholicism and Fascism in Europe 1918-1945 (Vol. 26)*. pp. 211-239. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag.
- Hoddie, M., & Smith, J. M. (2009). Forms of civil war violence and their consequences for future public health. *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(1), 175-202.

- Human Rights Watch. (2010, February 11). The Islamic Republic at 31. *Human Rights Watch*. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2010/02/11/islamic-republic-31/post-election-abuses-show-serious-human-rights-crisis>
- Human Rights Watch. (2011, March 24). Syria: Security Forces Kill Dozens of Protesters. Human Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2011/03/24/syria-security-forces-kill-dozens-protesters>
- Human Rights Watch. (2022, March 14). Military crackdown in Hlaing Tharyar continues. *Human Rights Watch*. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/03/14/year-no-justice-myanmar-massacre>
- Huntington, S. P. (1995). Armed forces and democracy: Reforming civil-military relations. *Journal of Democracy*, 6(4), 9-17.
- Idler, A., Belén Garrido, M., & Mouly, C. (2015). Peace territories in Colombia: Comparing civil resistance in two war-torn communities. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 10(3), 1-15.
- Ishii, S. (2014). *Introduction to Singularities*. Tokyo: Springer.
- Jacobs, A., & Buckley, C. (2014, June 2). Tales of Army Discord Show Tiananmen Square in a New Light. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/03/world/asia/tiananmen-square-25-years-later-details-emerge-of-armys-chaos.html>
- Jentzsch, C., & Masullo, J. (2022). Violent or non-violent action? Wartime civilian resistance in Colombia and Mozambique. *Political Geography*, 99, 102761. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2022.102761>
- Jonsson, S. (2013). *Crowds and Democracy: The Idea and Image of the Masses from Revolution to Fascism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kalyvas, S. N. (2006). *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Karklins, R., & Petersen, R. (1993). Decision calculus of protesters and regimes: Eastern Europe 1989. *The Journal of Politics*, 55(3), 588-614.
- Ketchley, N., & Barrie, C. (2020). TRENDS: Fridays of revolution: Focal days and mass protest in Egypt and Tunisia. *Political Research Quarterly*, 73(2), 308-324.
- Kim, H., Whitten-Woodring, J., & James, P. (2015). The role of media in the repression-protest nexus: A game-theoretic model. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 59(6), 1017-1042.
- Kippen, N. (2021). *Democratisation of Myanmar. Second Edition*. London: Routledge.
- Kitchen, J. E. (2015). Violence in defence of empire: The British army and the 1919 Egyptian revolution. *Journal of Modern European History*, 13(2), 249-267.
- Kochel, T. R. (2022). *Policing Unrest: On the Front Lines of the Ferguson Protests*. New York: New York University Press.
- Koefoed, M. (2017). Constructive resistance in Northern Kurdistan: exploring the peace, development and resistance nexus. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 12(3), 39-53.
- Kohler, U., & Kreuter, F. (2012). *Data Analysis Using Stata, 2nd Edition*. College Station: Stata Press.

- Koopmans, R. (1997). Dynamics of repression and mobilization: The German extreme right in the 1990s. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 2(2), 149-164.
- Krakowski, K. (2017). Resisting displacement amid armed conflict: Community-level conditions that make people more likely to stay. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 12(3), 68-84.
- Landis, E. S. (1969). Repressive legislation of the Republic of South Africa. *The United Nations*. [https://books.google.cz/books?id=\\_udAAAAIAAJ&q=suppression+of+communism+act+Apartheid&dq=suppression+of+communism+act+Apartheid&hl=en&sa=X&redir\\_esc=y](https://books.google.cz/books?id=_udAAAAIAAJ&q=suppression+of+communism+act+Apartheid&dq=suppression+of+communism+act+Apartheid&hl=en&sa=X&redir_esc=y)
- Laub, Z. (2021, March 17). Syria's civil war: The descent into horror. *The Council of Foreign Relations*. <https://www.cfr.org/article/syrias-civil-war>
- Lemkin, R. (1944). *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Division of Intentional Law.
- Lessmann, C., & Steinkraus, A. (2019). The geography of natural resources, ethnic inequality and civil conflicts. *European Journal of Political Economy*, (59), 33-51.
- Lichbach, M. (1992). Nobody cites nobody else: Mathematical models of domestic conflict. *Defence Economics*, 3(4), 341-357.
- Lichbach, M. (1995). *The Rebel's Dilemma*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Lichbach, M. (1996). *The Cooperator's Dilemma*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Lombard, M., Snyder-Duch, J., & Bracken, C. C. (2002). Content Analysis in Mass Communication: Assessment and Reporting of Intercoder Reliability. *Human Communication Research*, 28(4), 587-604.
- Lui, A. (2000). Looking back at Tiananmen square. *Peace Review*, 12(1), 139-145.
- MacFarquhar, N., & Stack, L. (2011, April 1). Syrian protesters clash with security forces. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/02/world/middleeast/02syria.html>
- Machamer, P., Darden, L., & Craver, C. (2000). Thinking about mechanisms. *Philosophy of Science*, 67(1), 1-25.
- Machamer, P. (2004). Activities and causation: The metaphysics and epistemology of mechanisms. *International Studies in the Philosophy of Science*, 18(1), 27-39.
- Mahoney, J., & Thelen, K. (2015). *Advances in Comparative-historical Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mahoney, J. (2015). Process tracing and historical explanation. *Security Studies*, 24(2), 200-218.
- Maizland, L. (2022, September 22). China's repression of Uyghurs in Xinjiang. *Council on Foreign Relations*. <https://www.cfr.org/backgroundunder/china-xinjiang-uyghurs-muslims-repression-genocide-human-rights>
- Mansley, D. R. (2013). *Collective Violence, Democracy and Protest Policing*. London: Routledge.
- Marsh, K. (2011, April 3). Syrian mourners say government snipers carried out massacre. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/apr/03/syria-demonstrations-douma-funerals>

- Marsh, K., & Tisdall, S. (2011, April 22). Syrian troops shoot dead protesters in day of turmoil. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/apr/22/syria-protests-forces-shoot>
- Marshal, M. G., & Gurr, T. (2013). *Polity IV project: political regime characteristics and transitions, 1800-2013*. <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4x.htm>
- Mas, A., Lagadeuc, Y., & Vandenkoornhuyse, P. (2020). Reflections on the predictability of evolution: toward a conceptual framework. *Iscience*, 23(11), 101736.
- Masullo, J. (2021). Civilian contention in civil war: How ideational factors shape community responses to armed groups. *Comparative Political Studies*, 54(10), 1849-1884.
- Mathabane, M. (1986). *Kaffir Boy: The True Story of a Black Youth's Coming of Age in Apartheid South Africa (Vol. 86)*. New York: Macmillan.
- McAdam, D., Tarrow, S., & Tilly, C. (2008). Methods for measuring mechanisms of contention. *Qualitative Sociology*, 31, 307-331.
- McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1977). Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82(6), 1212-1241.
- McCauley, C. (2020). Killing them to save us': lessons from politicized for preventing and countering terrorism. In: Schmid, A. P. *Handbook of Terrorism Prevention and Preparedness*. pp.144-172. The Hague: ICCT Press.
- McEvers, K. (2011, April 29). Protesters Take to The Streets In Syria. *NPR News*. <https://www.npr.org/2011/04/29/135846442/protesters-take-to-the-streets-in-syria>
- McPhillips, K. (1977). *Oldham: The Formative Years*. Manchester: Neil Richardson.
- Meade, T. A. (2022). *A History of Modern Latin America: 1800 to the Present*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.
- Merriam-Webster. (2022). Massacre. *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/massacre#synonyms>
- Midlarsky, M. (2011). *Origins of Political Extremism: Mass Violence in the Twentieth Century and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Merriam Webster. (2023). Singularity. *Merriam Webster Dictionary*. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/singularity>
- Mitchell, N. J. (2004). *Agents of Atrocity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Moore, W. H. (1998). Repression and dissent: Substitution, context, and timing. *American journal of political science*, 42(3): 851-873.
- Moore, W. H. (2000). The repression of dissent: A substitution model of government coercion. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44(1), 107-127.
- Mouly, C., Garrido, M. B., & Idler, A. (2016). How peace takes shape locally: The experience of civil resistance in Samaniego, Colombia. *Peace & Change*, 41(2), 129-166.
- Muller, E. N., & Opp, K.D. (1986). Rational choice and rebellious collective action. *American Political Science Review*, 80(2), 471-487.
- Muller, W. C. (2003). Austria: Imperfect parliamentarism but fully-fledged party democracy. In: Strom, K, Muller, W., & Bergman T. eds, *Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies*. pp.221-252. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Myanmar Now. (2021, February 28). Video: soldiers gunned down a few protesters in Yangon crackdown on Sunday. *Twitter Account*. [https://twitter.com/Myanmar\\_Now\\_Eng/status/1365858318837641219?ref\\_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etfweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1365858318837641219%7Ctwgr%5E316824fecc0ec7dc2d617f396a390ad4071847d0%7Ctwcon%5Es1\\_c10&ref\\_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.aljazeera.com%2Fnews%2F2021%2F2%2F28%2Fone-reported-dead-many-hurt-as-myanmar-police-fire-at-protesters](https://twitter.com/Myanmar_Now_Eng/status/1365858318837641219?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etfweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1365858318837641219%7Ctwgr%5E316824fecc0ec7dc2d617f396a390ad4071847d0%7Ctwcon%5Es1_c10&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.aljazeera.com%2Fnews%2F2021%2F2%2F28%2Fone-reported-dead-many-hurt-as-myanmar-police-fire-at-protesters) [accessed 10 January 2023].
- Nassauer, A., & Legewie, N. M. (2019). Analyzing twenty first century video data on situational dynamics—issues and challenges in video data analysis. *Social Sciences*, 8(3), 100. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci8030100>
- Nassif, H. B. (2020). *Endgames: Military Response to Protest in Arab autocracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nepstad, S. E. (2013). Mutiny and nonviolence in the Arab Spring: exploring military defections and loyalty in Egypt, Bahrain, and Syria. *Journal of Peace Research*, 50(3), 337-349.
- Nicholson, D. (2012). The concept of mechanism in biology. *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, 43(1), 152-163.
- Norval, A. (1996). *Deconstructing Apartheid Discourse*. London: Verso.
- Nosil, P., Flaxman, S. M., Feder, J. L. & Gompert, Z. (2020). Increasing our ability to predict contemporary evolution. *Nature Communications*, 11(1), 1-6.
- Novak, M. (1996). *The Guns of Lattimer*. New York: Transaction Publishers.
- O'Connor, C., & Joffe, H. (2020). Intercoder reliability in qualitative research: debates and practical guidelines. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 19, 1-13.
- O'Brien, K. J., & Deng, Y. (2015). Repression backfires: Tactical radicalization and protest spectacle in rural China. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 24(93), 457-470.
- Olson, M. (1965). *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Opp, K. D. (1999). Contending conceptions of the theory of rational action. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 11(2), 171-202.
- Opp, K. D. (2001). Collective political action. *Analyse & Kritik*, 23(1), 1-20.
- Otto, S. (2013). Coding one-sided violence from media reports. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 48(4), 556-566.
- Oweis, K. Y. (2011a, April 21). Syria's Assad ends state of emergency. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-syria-idUSTRE72N2MC20110421>
- Oweis, K. Y. (2011b, April 22). Almost 90 dead in Syria's bloodiest day of unrest. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-syria-protests-idUSTRE73L1SJ20110422>
- Oweis, K. Y. (2011c, August 14). Tank, navy attack on Syria's Latakia kills 26: witnesses. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-syria-idUSTRE77D0LP20110814>
- Paddock, R. (2021, February 28). Military crackdown in Myanmar escalates with killing of protesters. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/28/world/asia/myanmar-protests.html>
- Perkoski, E., & Chenoweth, E. (2018). Nonviolent resistance and prevention of mass killings during popular uprisings. *International Center on Nonviolent*

- Conflict*. <https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/nonviolent-resistance-and-prevention-of-mass-killings-perkoski-chenoweth-2018-icnc.pdf>
- Phillips, D. L. (2020). *Frontline Syria: from Revolution to Proxy War*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Philpott, D. (1995). Sovereignty: an introduction and brief history. *Journal of International Affairs*, 48(2), 353–68.
- Pierskalla, J. H. (2010). Protest, deterrence, and escalation: The strategic calculus of government repression. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 54(1), 117–145.
- Poe, S., & Tate, N. (1994). Repression of human rights to personal integrity in the 1980s: A global analysis. *American Political Science Review*, 88(4), 853–872.
- Powell, J. M. & Thyne, C. L. (2011). Global instances of coups from 1950 to 2010: A new dataset. *Journal of Peace Research*, 48(2), 249–259.
- Power, S. A. (2018). The deprivation-protest paradox: How the perception of unfair economic inequality leads to civic unrest. *Current Anthropology*, 59(6), 765–789.
- Przeworski, A. (1991). *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reuters. (2011, May 13). Syrian forces kill 6 democracy protesters – activist. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-syria-protests-killings-idUKTR E74C69W20110513>
- Reuters 2021a. (2021, April 8). Armed clashes break out in Myanmar between troops and anti-junta protesters, US expands sanctions. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-politics/eleven-killed-as-myanmar-protesters-fight-troops-with-hunting-rifles-firebombs-media-idUSKBN2BV0EH>
- Reuters 2021b. (2021, March 27). Myanmar security forces kill over 100 protesters in 'horrifying' day of bloodshed. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-myanmar-politics-idUSKBN2BJ02H>
- Reuters 2021c. (2021, April 10). Myanmar security forces with rifle grenades kill over 80 protesters - monitoring group. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/myanmar-security-forces-with-rifle-grenades-kill-over-80-protesters-monitoring-2021-04-10/>
- RFA News. (2021, April 10). Ethnic army alliance kills 14 Myanmar police in dawn raid as death toll mounts in Bago. *RFA News*: <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/shan-attacks-04102021171521.html>
- RFA News. (2022, October 28). After setbacks on the ground, Myanmar junta holds power by ruling the skies. *RFA News*. <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/myanmar/airpower-10282022131143.html>
- RIA Novosti. (2011, April 8). At least 19 police killed in Syria clashes. *RIA Novosti*. <https://web.archive.org/web/20130928123738/http://en.rian.ru/world/20110408/163440945.html>
- Rummel, R. J. (1997). *Death by Government*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Sabucedo, J. M., Dono, M., Alzate, M., & Seoane, G. (2018). The importance of protesters' morals: Moral obligation as a key variable to understand collective action. *Frontiers in Psychology*, (9), 418.

- Sands, P. (2011, April 25). Syria president appoints new government, orders protesters freed from jail. *UAE News*. <https://www.thenationalnews.com/uae/syria-president-appoints-new-government-orders-protesters-freed-from-jail-1.420171>
- Scarpetta, O. (1991). Political traditions and the limits of democracy in Colombia. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, (5), 143-166.
- Schatz, S. (2011). *Murder and Politics in Mexico: Political Killings in the Partido de la Revolución Democrática and its Consequences*. Vol. 10. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Seidel, T. (2017). 'We refuse to be enemies': political geographies of violence and resistance in Palestine. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 12(3), 25-38.
- Semelin, J. (2001). In consideration of massacres. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 3(3), 377-389.
- Semelin, J. (2002). From massacre to the genocidal process. *International Social Science Journal*, 54(174), 433-442.
- Semelin, J. (2007). *Purify and Destroy: The Political Uses of Massacre and Genocide*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Shackel, P. (2019, March 13). How an 1897 massacre of Pennsylvania coal miners morphed from a galvanizing crisis to forgotten history. *The Smithsonian Magazine*. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/how-1897-massacre-pennsylvania-coal-miners-morphed-galvanizing-crisis-forgotten-history-180971695/>
- Shah, P., McCandlish, D. M., & Plotkin, J. B. (2015). Contingency and entrenchment in protein evolution under purifying selection. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 112(25), E3226-E3235.
- Shadid, A. (2011, April 23). Syrian forces open fire at protesters' funerals. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/24/world/middleeast/24syria.html>
- Sharp, G. (1973). *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. 3 Vols. Boston: Porter Sargent.
- Simpson, A., & Farrelly, N. (2022, July 29). As Myanmar suffers, the military junta is desperate, isolated and running out of options. *The Conversation*. <https://theconversation.com/as-myanmar-suffers-the-military-junta-is-desperate-isolated-and-running-out-of-options-187697>
- Sly, L. (2011, June 6). Syria says protesters killed 120 soldiers. *The Washington Post*. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/syria-claims-security-forces-killed-by-protesters/2011/06/06/AGJuYNKH\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/syria-claims-security-forces-killed-by-protesters/2011/06/06/AGJuYNKH_story.html)
- Solomon, J. A., Brett, S., Brown, C. G., & Manuel, A. (1997). *Implausible Deniability: State Responsibility for Rural Violence in Mexico*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Spencer, E. G. (1992). *Police and the Social Order in German Cities: The Düsseldorf District, 1848-1914*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press.
- Sowell, D. (1992). *The Early Colombian Labor Movement: Artisans and Politics in Bogotá, 1832-1919*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Stanley, B. (2017). The city-logic of resistance: subverting urbicide in the Middle East City. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 12(3), 10-24.
- Stott, C., & Reicher, S. (1998). Crowd action as outgroup process: Introducing the police perspective. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 28(4), 509-529.

- Straus, S. (2006). *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Straus, S. (2015). Triggers of mass atrocities. *Politics and Governance*, 3(3), 5-15.
- Suarez, C. (2017). 'Living between Two Lions': civilian protection strategies during armed violence in the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 12(3), 54-67.
- Subedi, D. B. & Bhattarai, P. (2017). The April uprising: How a nonviolent struggle explains the transformation of armed conflict in Nepal. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 12(3), 85-97.
- Svensson, I., & Finnbogason, D. (2021). Confronting the caliphate? Explaining civil resistance in jihadist proto-states. *European Journal of International Relations*, 27(2), 572-595.
- Tarrow, S. (1994). *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action, and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- The Guardian. (2011, April 19). Syria unrest: Homs protest in pictures. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2011/apr/19/syria-homs-protests-shots>
- Thein-Lemelson, S. M. (2021). 'Politicide' and the Myanmar coup. *Anthropology Today*, 37(2), 3-5.
- Thomson, A. (2008). *US Foreign Policy Towards Apartheid South Africa, 1948–1994: Conflict of Interests*. New York: Springer.
- Tilly, C. (1978). *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading: Addison-Wesley.
- Tilly, C. (2000). Processes and mechanisms of democratization. *Sociological Theory*, 18(1), 1-16.
- Tuzimek, A. (2011, April 24). Security forces kill mourners in Syria. *DW News*. <https://www.dw.com/en/security-forces-kill-mourners-in-syria/video-6511718>
- Uekert, B. (1995). *Rivers of Blood: A Comparative Study of Government Massacres*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Ulfelder, J., & Valentino, B. (2008). Assessing risks of state-sponsored mass killing. Available at SSRN 1703426.
- Uluğ, Ö. M., & Acar, Y. G. (2019). Names will never hurt us': A qualitative exploration of çapulcu identity through the eyes of Gezi Park protesters. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 58(3), 714–729.
- UNICEF Myanmar. (2021, March 19). Occupation of schools by security forces in Myanmar is a serious violation of children's rights. *UNICEF Myanmar*. <https://www.unicef.org/myanmar/press-releases/occupation-schools-security-forces-myanmar-serious-violation-childrens-rights>
- United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (2021, March 15). On the 10th anniversary of the popular uprising: 227,413 Syrian civilians documented killed, including 14,506 by torture, with 149,361 detained/forcibly disappeared, and 13 million others displaced. *United Nations*. <https://reliefweb.int/report/syrian-arab-republic/10th-anniversary-popular-uprising-227413-syrian-civilians-documented>
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2019). Global study on homicide, 2019 Edition. *United Nations*. <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/global-study-on-homicide.html>

- United Nations. (2022, June 14). UN expert releases new report documenting military junta's impact on Myanmar's children, urges immediate coordinated action to prevent "a lost generation." *United Nations Human Rights, Office of the High Commissioner*. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2022/06/un-expert-releases-new-report-documenting-military-juntas-impact-myanmars>
- University of Pennsylvania. (2015, June 8). Evolution is unpredictable and irreversible, biologists show. *ScienceDaily*. <[www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2015/06/150608213032.htm](http://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2015/06/150608213032.htm)>
- Valentino, B. (2004). *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Van Gaal, L. F., Mertens, I. L., & De Block, C. E. (2006). Mechanisms linking obesity with cardiovascular disease. *Nature*, 444(7121), 875-880.
- Vestergren, S., Drury, J., & Chiriac, E. H. (2018). How collective action produces psychological change and how that change endures over time: A case study of an environmental campaign. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 57(4), 855-877.
- VOA News 2011b. (2011, June 24). Syrian government forces continue crackdown. *VOA News*. <https://www.voanews.com/a/activists-at-least-15-killed-in-protests-across-syria-124534669/141290.html>
- VOA News. 2011a. (2011, April 8). Syrian forces fire on activists mourning Friday's victims. *VOA News*. <https://www.voanews.com/a/syrian-forces-fire-on-activists-mourning-fridays-victims-119533104/172864.html> [accessed 10 January 2023].
- Weber, M. (1965). *Politics as a Vocation*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Wilkinson, T. (2010). *The Rise and Fall of Ancient Egypt*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- William, T. (2020). *The Complexity of Evil: Perpetration and Genocide*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Williams, R. L. (2010). *The Colombian Novel, 1844-1987*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Wilson, M., & Daly, M. (2008). *A close look at conflict*. *Nature*, (451), 769-770.
- Wion News. (2021, March 19). Myanmar security forces kill nine as Indonesia, envoys call for end to violence. *Wion News*. <https://www.wionews.com/south-asia/myanmar-security-forces-kill-nine-as-indonesia-envoys-call-for-end-to-violence-371774>
- Wood, R. M. (2010). Rebel capability and strategic violence against civilians. *Journal of Peace Research*, 47(5), 601-614.
- Woodward, J. (2003). *Making Things Happen: A Theory of Causal Explanation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wucherpennig, J., Metternich, N. W., Cederman, L. E. & Gleditsch, K. S. (2012). Ethnicity, the state, and the duration of civil war. *World Politics*, 64(1), 79-115.
- Yang, M. (2022, August 5). The built-in brutality of Myanmar's military. *Foreign Policy*. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/08/05/myanmar-military-brutality-coup-executions/>
- Ye Lynn, K. (2021, March 27). 10 soldiers killed in Myanmar base attack: Rebel group. *Anadolu Agency*. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/10-soldiers-killed-in-myanmar-base-attack-rebel-group/2190195>

- Ynet News. (2011, April 1). At least 10 killed in Syria. *Ynet News*. <https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4050879,00.html>
- Yousaf, N. (2001). *Apartheid Narratives*. Amsterdam: Rodopi Press.
- Zarkin, J. (2023). The silent militarization: explaining the logic of military members' appointment as police chiefs. *Comparative Politics, Onlinefirst*. <https://doi.org/10.5129/001041523X16726700420784>
- Zhou, Q., & Qiu, H. (2020). Predicting online feminist engagement after MeToo: A study combining resource mobilization and integrative social identity paradigms. *Chinese Journal of Communication*, 13(4), 351-369.

# Index

## A

Abu Sayyaf, 143  
ACLED, 49  
Afghanistan, 143  
Afrikaans, 20  
Afrikaner, 127, 128  
agents, 2, 3, 7, 13, 21, 25, 26, 29, 30,  
31, 32, 38, 50, 96, 97, 104, 112,  
113, 114, 126, 133, 142, 143,  
155, 164, 170  
agricultural, 123, 125, 127, 137,  
155, 181  
Ahmadinejad, 103, 105  
air bombing, 120  
Aleppo, 80, 162  
Algeria, 75  
ammunition, 38, 76, 93, 101, 124,  
163  
amplification, 43, 117, 120, 133,  
144  
amplifying, 14, 15, 20, 40, 44, 46,  
47, 112, 118, 120, 133, 134, 144,  
150  
Anglo-Saxon, 33  
ANOVA, 12, 73, 74  
antagonization, 14, 46, 118, 134  
anti-apartheid movement, 20, 131  
Apartheid, 16, 20, 111, 127, 128,  
129, 130, 131, 178, 179, 186,  
187, 190, 192  
appendix, 54, 95, 112  
Arab Spring, 1  
Arakan Army, 157  
Argentina, 22  
armed forces, 2, 12, 14, 15, 19, 26,  
30, 31, 50, 54, 55, 60, 70, 71, 72,

76, 78, 88, 95, 97, 98, 103, 116,  
117, 121, 122, 123, 126, 142,  
146, 147, 148, 150, 153, 156,  
157, 161, 164  
Assad, 76, 77, 78, 79, 160, 161, 177,  
178, 187  
assassinations, 42, 138  
asymmetric, 20, 30, 105, 108, 132,  
160  
asymmetries, 7, 29, 30  
Aung San Suu Kyi, 152, 178  
Austrian Empire, 72  
authority, 23, 24

## B

Bago, 153, 156, 188  
Bangladesh, 150, 153  
Bantu, 128  
barricades, 25, 56, 103, 105, 155,  
156, 157  
Bashar al-Asaad, 159  
battlefield fatalities, 59, 138, 144  
BCM, 20, 131, 132  
Beijing, 97, 121  
Berlin, 122, 123, 183  
bias, 49, 52, 179  
binary, 52, 53, 65  
biological, 9, 44  
Black Consciousness Movement,  
20  
blockades, 55, 61, 73, 125  
Bolsheviks, 93  
Bolshevism, 93  
Bouazizi, 159  
boycotts, 20, 155  
broadcast, 103

- Bulgarian, 23  
 bullets, 1, 19, 38, 154, 155  
 Burma, 150, 152, 158, 179  
 Burmese Kingdom, 150
- C**
- Cairo, 1, 2  
 camps, 111, 114, 120, 122  
 Catholic, 92, 102, 124  
 causal inference, 38  
 causation, 37, 178, 185  
 censorship, 48, 65, 66, 120  
 Chin, 153  
 Chinese, 16, 97, 192  
 Chinland Defense Force, 153  
 Christian, 92, 101, 128  
 civil resistance, 5, 7, 14, 15, 20, 35,  
   55, 65, 72, 78, 79, 87, 96, 117,  
   137, 138, 139, 140, 146, 147,  
   148, 152, 156, 158, 160, 165,  
   172, 178, 179, 184, 186, 190  
 civil war, 2, 5, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 21,  
   31, 36, 39, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 56,  
   59, 60, 63, 75, 81, 84, 85, 92, 94,  
   95, 98, 99, 100, 104, 108, 112,  
   114, 117, 118, 120, 137, 138,  
   139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144,  
   145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150,  
   151, 156, 157, 158, 159, 162,  
   163, 164, 165, 170, 172, 180,  
   182, 185, 186, 191  
 civil war process, 11, 15, 16, 47, 81,  
   98, 100, 108, 141, 142, 143, 144,  
   147, 148, 149, 150, 156, 157,  
   158, 162, 164, 165  
 clandestine, 19, 70, 104, 111, 133,  
   158  
 cleavages, 33, 34, 92, 94, 101, 102,  
   106, 109, 114, 127, 170  
 Cold War, 122, 129, 130, 165  
 collective action, 1, 3, 12, 13, 14,  
   16, 27, 28, 29, 32, 81, 88, 93, 103,  
   104, 115, 120, 121, 126, 134,  
   137, 138, 140, 146, 155, 162,  
   173, 174, 175, 178, 186, 188, 191  
 collective good, 29  
 collective-action theory, 173  
 Collins, 7, 29, 31, 163, 168, 169,  
   170, 180  
 Colombia, 16, 98, 111, 112, 123,  
   124, 125, 127, 134, 139, 140,  
   144, 180, 184, 186, 189  
 Colorado, 33, 34  
 commanders, 26, 27, 97, 124, 148  
 Communist, 25, 97, 107, 121, 130,  
   140  
 comparative sequential analysis,  
   11, 14, 16, 40, 42, 45, 117, 167  
 Comparative sequential analysis,  
   10  
 concessions, 14, 27, 58, 77, 78, 83,  
   95, 97, 100, 118, 147  
 confrontational tension, 31, 163  
 Conservative, 124, 125, 127, 134  
 continuous, 1, 6, 15, 40, 44, 47, 52,  
   54, 74, 94, 142, 144, 149, 150,  
   156, 157, 158, 160, 165  
 corporation, 123, 124, 125, 126,  
   127, 133  
 Correlates of War project, 139  
 Cote d'Ivoire, 144  
 counter-balancing, 27, 143  
 coup, 1, 27, 102, 120, 137, 141, 143,  
   144, 149, 151, 153, 155, 158,  
   159, 163, 164, 177, 178, 182, 191  
 crossfire, 50  
 cross-national, 36, 45, 49, 170  
 crowd, 19, 20, 21, 31, 32, 57, 77, 78,  
   92, 104, 122, 129, 164, 168, 169,  
   174  
 CSA, 10

**D**

Dalai Lama, 152  
 Damascus, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 160, 162  
 Daraa, 76, 77, 79, 160, 162, 163, 180  
 defection, 14, 26, 27, 95, 96, 100, 117, 137, 141, 142, 148, 149, 160, 178  
 democracy, 5, 30, 32, 34, 35, 80, 92, 93, 97, 107, 108, 121, 122, 137, 152, 154, 155, 157, 158, 168, 169, 184, 186, 188, 189  
 democratic institutions, 4, 34, 92, 107, 108  
 Democratic Republic of Congo, 140  
 descriptive statistics, 13, 65, 66, 70, 89, 95, 115, 171  
 deserters, 161, 177  
 dichotomous, 12, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59  
 dichotomy, 6, 84  
 disaggregated, 7, 8, 12, 15, 38, 47, 55, 65, 75, 143, 167, 173  
 discourses, 49, 108, 134  
 discrimination, 5, 33, 123  
 discursive, 22, 37, 52, 94, 118, 120, 127, 128, 134, 178  
 disintegration, 101, 107  
 Dominican Republic, 113  
 duration, 13, 14, 44, 45, 46, 47, 56, 94, 108, 119, 120, 127, 138, 145, 166, 180, 191

**E**

Egypt, 1, 2, 29, 75, 106, 159, 184, 187, 191  
 El Barzon, 83

elections, 10, 34, 48, 92, 103, 123, 168, 177, 179  
 empire, 23, 39, 91, 92, 184  
 end-game, 14, 29, 95, 98, 100, 146  
 equifinal, 37  
 equifinality, 10, 37, 38  
 Ethiopia, 98  
 ethnic, 2, 5, 26, 27, 33, 34, 76, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 122, 130, 134, 141, 143, 144, 150, 152, 153, 156, 157, 158, 159, 163, 170, 183, 185  
 Ethnic stacking, 26  
 exploit, 30, 127, 129

**F**

facemasks, 154, 155  
 FARC, 112, 143  
 farming, 139  
 Fascists, 93  
 fear, 31, 154, 162, 178  
 Fisher's Exact Test, 82  
 fragmentation, 141  
 France, 35, 165, 182  
 Free Syrian Army, 160, 162  
 Fukuyama, 169

**G**

game-theoretic, 7, 139, 184  
 Gandhi, 152  
 general strike, 93, 123  
 generalize, 43, 168  
 genocide, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 37, 42, 43, 44, 46, 48, 51, 56, 59, 63, 85, 86, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 104, 108, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123, 127, 129, 133, 134, 135, 138, 141, 142,

143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150,  
151, 170, 172, 177, 185  
German, 22, 112, 113, 115, 123,  
185, 189  
Germany, 23, 35, 102, 122, 123  
globe, 54  
Google, 51, 53  
Great Depression, 127, 134  
Greek Civil War, 144  
Green Movement, 94, 103, 105,  
106  
grievances, 23, 25, 27, 28, 77, 78,  
102, 115, 123  
guerrilla warfare, 138, 143

## H

Hamburg, 174  
hegemony, 19, 97, 134, 164  
Heimwehr, 91, 101  
helicopters, 19  
Henry Hunt, 57  
hierarchical, 174  
homicides, 170  
Homs, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 160, 161,  
162, 164, 177, 178, 190  
Hosni Mubarak, 1  
human behavior, 170, 172, 174  
human rights, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 13, 32,  
34, 35, 36, 50, 87, 104, 105, 107,  
108, 154, 168, 169, 172, 175,  
183, 188  
hypothesis, 71, 82, 163, 171

## I

ideational, 134, 140, 186  
identities, 32, 33, 41, 70, 95, 116,  
145, 181  
ideological, 38, 52, 92, 102, 116,  
164, 169

incomplete information, 30, 50,  
142  
incumbent, 1, 2, 6, 8, 14, 15, 19, 21,  
26, 27, 28, 30, 74, 76, 78, 81, 84,  
94, 95, 96, 97, 102, 103, 104,  
105, 112, 116, 117, 118, 119,  
121, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127,  
128, 139, 142, 143, 144, 146,  
147, 148, 149, 151, 159, 161,  
163, 164, 165  
indeterminacy, 8, 145, 162, 174  
indeterminate, 8, 16, 17, 36, 38, 40,  
143, 158, 163, 164, 165, 167,  
171, 175  
India, 144, 153  
Indian Congress, 130  
indiscriminate, 6, 76, 137, 141,  
142, 155, 158  
Indonesia, 144, 191  
industrialization, 23, 33, 93, 127  
international community, 150  
interpersonal violence, 170  
Iran, 93, 103, 104, 105, 179  
Iraq, 98, 140  
Iron Curtain, 123  
irrational, 174  
Islamic, 140, 161, 162, 184

## J

Jewish, 115, 128  
Jews, 101, 115, 119  
jihadist, 140, 190  
Jordan, 75  
journalists, 1, 49, 77, 153, 156  
junta, 137, 152, 154, 156, 157, 163,  
188, 189

## K

Kachin, 157  
Kalyvas, 141, 142, 184

Karen National Union, 152  
 kidnapping, 111  
 Kurdish, 139, 163

## L

Lashio, 157  
 Latakia, 77, 78, 80, 160, 161, 187  
 Latin America, 144, 149, 186, 188  
*law of coercive responsiveness*, 3, 4,  
     8, 9, 21, 22, 25, 30, 36, 37, 39, 41,  
     47, 56, 88, 93, 94, 133, 142, 143,  
     146, 165, 168  
 Leipzig, 123  
 Lenin, 31  
 lethal, 4, 11, 15, 56, 61, 66, 72, 73,  
     79, 87, 95, 108, 112, 113, 114,  
     115, 117, 120, 122, 145, 155,  
     164, 170, 175  
 LexisNexis, 51  
 Liberals, 92, 127, 134  
 Liberia, 144  
 Libya, 147, 165  
 Linz, 102  
 lived experiences, 30  
 Ludlow, 34

## M

Mandalay, 153, 156  
 manufacturing, 57, 111  
 Maoist, 140  
 marches, 20, 77  
 Martin Luther King Jr, 42, 152  
 Marxist, 91, 92, 101, 122  
 mass killings, 4, 6, 9, 10, 13, 32, 58,  
     65, 74, 75, 87, 88, 112, 113, 134,  
     187  
 mechanisms, 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 11, 12,  
     14, 16, 21, 29, 33, 35, 36, 40, 42,  
     45, 46, 47, 48, 100, 106, 109,  
     119, 120, 133, 167, 168, 172,  
     178, 185, 186, 190  
 methodology, 4, 11, 52, 107  
 Mexico, 19, 21, 57, 65, 83, 181, 189  
 Mexico City, 19, 21, 57  
 Middle Ages, 39, 113  
 Middle East, 139, 149, 151, 158,  
     159, 189  
 military, 1, 2, 10, 19, 21, 25, 26, 27,  
     29, 37, 72, 101, 102, 103, 121,  
     122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 133,  
     137, 141, 143, 145, 150, 151,  
     152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157,  
     158, 159, 160, 162, 163, 164,  
     165, 179, 180, 183, 184, 187,  
     189, 191, 192  
 military junta, 1, 137, 141, 152,  
     157, 158, 163, 189, 191  
 militias, 26, 101, 144  
 Mindat, 153  
 minerals, 111, 129  
 minority, 34, 111, 122, 130, 141,  
     150, 159, 170  
 Mohamed Morsi, 1  
 Molotov cocktails, 1, 56, 61, 73,  
     105  
 monopoly over violence, 101, 141,  
     142  
 Morocco, 75  
 mosque, 76  
 mountainous terrain, 84  
 Muslim Brotherhood, 1  
 Myaing, 153, 155  
 Myanmar, 16, 79, 137, 138, 140,  
     147, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154,  
     156, 157, 158, 159, 163, 164,  
     165, 174, 177, 178, 179, 182,  
     183, 184, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191

**N**

National League for Democracy, 151, 158  
 National Liberation Army, 139, 157  
 National Party, 20, 128  
 natural sciences, 9  
 Nature, 30, 36, 144, 187, 191  
 Nazi Party, 102, 119  
 negotiations, 14, 25, 97, 100, 126, 139  
 Nelson Mandela, 129, 152  
 Nepal, 140, 190  
 New Orleans, 124  
 New York City, 174, 179, 180  
 NGO, 5, 14, 51, 108, 122, 137, 154  
 Nicaragua, 98  
 1953 East German uprising, 112  
 Nobel Peace prize, 152  
 noncombatants, 6, 74  
 nonviolence, 6, 7, 12, 29, 55, 61, 73, 87, 97, 129, 187  
 nonviolent civil resistance, 35, 96, 117  
 nonviolent direct action, 55, 60, 73, 75, 83, 104, 121, 132, 160, 168  
 norms, 4, 34, 107, 108  
 North African, 159  
 Nusra Front, 161

**O**

occupation, 55, 102, 126, 141, 155, 190  
 Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 162, 190  
 officers, 23, 26, 32, 51, 91, 97, 157  
 Olaya Herrera, 127  
 Olson, 27, 28, 173, 174, 187  
 Olympics, 19  
 Oman, 76

operationalization, 6, 39, 52, 59

**P**

Pan African Congress, 129  
 pandemic, 137  
 paradigm, 173  
 paramilitaries, 12, 26, 30, 50, 70, 72, 103, 112, 116, 142, 146  
 paramilitary force, 54  
 Paris, 34  
 participation, 4, 5, 29, 30, 139, 162  
 pathways, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 21, 37, 40, 41, 42, 44, 46, 56, 59, 65, 95, 96, 117, 118, 145, 146, 147, 150, 153  
 patterns, 4, 7, 9, 32, 43, 81, 89, 132, 138, 147  
 peace, 31, 36, 139, 157, 158, 169, 170, 186  
 Peoples Liberation Army, 122  
 Peterloo, 34, 57  
 picketing, 55, 123, 126, 154  
 Police, 24, 25, 54, 60, 72, 82, 83, 95, 115, 117, 129, 145, 153, 154, 155, 160, 189  
 Polish, 23  
 political instability, 2, 27, 37, 103, 112, 145, 161, 163, 170, 171  
 political violence, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 19, 21, 38, 39, 40, 42, 45, 46, 49, 66, 75, 91, 92, 93, 94, 126, 135, 138, 167, 168, 171  
 politicide, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 37, 39, 42, 43, 44, 46, 48, 51, 56, 59, 60, 63, 85, 86, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 104, 108, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 139, 142, 143,

144, 145, 146, 147, 150, 151,  
158, 170, 172, 186  
politicide/genocide pathway, 14,  
43, 44, 46, 97, 115, 116, 117,  
118, 133, 145, 146, 147, 150  
POLITY, 33, 168  
Pretoria, 129  
principal, 21, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32,  
53, 87, 94, 104, 130  
principal-agent theory, 30  
principals, 21, 30  
privatization, 30, 43  
process tracing, 11  
processes, 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12,  
13, 14, 15, 16, 21, 23, 29, 32, 34,  
36, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46,  
47, 48, 56, 58, 60, 95, 100, 108,  
113, 117, 120, 124, 133, 134,  
141, 142, 144, 145, 147, 148,  
167, 168, 170, 172, 175, 183  
professionalized, 24, 26  
profit, 2, 127  
protest massacres, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14,  
15, 16, 19, 21, 34, 38, 39, 40, 41,  
42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 54,  
56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65,  
66, 70, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79,  
80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88,  
92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100,  
102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107,  
108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 115,  
116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121,  
122, 124, 126, 129, 130, 131,  
132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 141,  
142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147,  
149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155,  
156, 157, 158, 159, 161, 162,  
163, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169,  
171, 174, 175, 178  
Protest Size, 54, 60  
protester-state interactions, 14,  
21, 27, 30, 51, 56, 76, 87, 88, 103,

107, 108, 117, 121, 163, 169,  
171, 174  
Ptolemies, 2  
public policy, 30  
public sphere, 25

## Q

qualitative, 8, 12, 13, 29, 40, 59, 96,  
107, 118, 127, 132, 133, 149,  
152, 169, 187  
quantitative, 4, 6, 11, 17, 32, 35, 40,  
41, 112, 113

## R

raids, 79, 101, 164  
railroad, 125, 126  
Ramadan, 161  
rational-choice, 29  
reactive, 14, 40, 44, 46, 93, 106, 108,  
133, 138, 148  
regime transition, 5, 14, 30, 98,  
100, 103, 106, 107, 109, 144, 160  
regression, 9, 13, 82, 84, 85, 86, 175  
research design, 7, 16, 41, 42, 48  
resource mobilization theory, 28  
resources, 15, 28, 29, 105, 118, 143,  
146, 149, 165, 185  
revolution, 1, 9, 10, 14, 19, 22, 23,  
25, 29, 34, 49, 51, 93, 97, 98, 99,  
100, 104, 106, 107, 109, 121,  
144, 158, 160, 178, 180, 183, 184  
rock throwing, 55  
rocks, 56, 61, 77, 91, 105  
Rohingya, 141, 150, 151, 152  
Roma, 119  
Roman Empire, 24  
Russia, 159, 165  
Russian Revolution of 1917, 125  
Rwanda, 113, 134, 190

## S

- sample, 12, 13, 32, 39, 48, 49, 52,  
 53, 54, 57, 59, 66, 87, 115, 121,  
 166  
 Sardinian, 23  
 security forces, 1, 2, 12, 15, 21, 26,  
 27, 29, 30, 31, 50, 55, 60, 70, 71,  
 72, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 88, 95, 104,  
 105, 106, 116, 142, 146, 147,  
 150, 154, 155, 156, 157, 164,  
 180, 185, 188, 190, 191  
 Selective incentives, 27  
 selective violence, 142  
 self-amplifying, 14, 46, 133  
 self-emulation, 159  
 self-eroding, 14, 40, 44, 46, 93, 94,  
 95, 98, 99, 133, 150  
 self-reproducing, 14, 20, 40, 43,  
 112, 118, 120, 144, 165  
 sequences, 8, 11, 12, 21, 36, 38, 39,  
 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 56, 89, 167  
 Seven Party Alliance, 140  
 shaming, 14, 35, 36, 100, 119, 122,  
 150  
 Sharpeville, 111, 113, 129, 130,  
 131, 133, 134, 135, 182  
 Shining Path, 143  
 shooting, 1, 78, 111, 154, 157  
 singularity, 8, 10, 16, 17, 21, 35, 36,  
 37, 38, 39, 40, 44, 81, 104, 133,  
 142, 163, 167, 168, 171  
 Slavs, 119  
 social imaginary, 128  
 social inquiry, 4, 16, 40, 59, 107,  
 134, 167, 175  
 social media, 29, 49, 155  
 social movement, 8, 10, 11, 28, 38,  
 56, 58, 62, 63, 78, 88, 92, 97, 104,  
 105, 181, 183  
 social science, 3, 11, 49, 52, 138,  
 171, 175  
 social structures, 140  
 social welfare, 33  
 socialist, 24, 91, 101  
 Socialist Unity Party of Germany,  
 123  
 sociological, 7, 17, 21, 29, 31  
 soldiers, 24, 80, 97, 103, 122, 123,  
 126, 141, 148, 152, 153, 154,  
 157, 158, 161, 187, 189, 191  
 South Africa, 20, 98, 111, 112, 129,  
 130, 131, 132, 135, 179, 182,  
 185, 186, 190  
 South African, 16, 20, 127, 128,  
 129, 130, 131, 182  
 South East Asia, 149  
 Soweto, 20, 21, 113, 131, 132, 134  
 space, 8, 17, 23, 36, 37, 45, 175  
 spells, 35, 65, 87, 88, 151, 168, 172  
 stabbing, 111  
 state formation, 23, 24  
 state repression, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8,  
 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 20, 28, 33,  
 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 44, 45, 46,  
 48, 51, 56, 59, 65, 75, 76, 79, 81,  
 87, 88, 96, 101, 103, 104, 106,  
 107, 112, 113, 116, 133, 137,  
 138, 142, 145, 147, 150, 151,  
 157, 158, 161, 162, 163, 164,  
 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170,  
 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 180, 183  
 state-led violence, 8, 112, 114, 120  
 statistically significant, 5, 72, 73,  
 82, 86, 120  
 status quo, 2, 3, 25, 36, 39, 41, 81,  
 82, 88, 96, 106, 117, 122, 130,  
 133, 170  
 Steve Biko, 20, 131, 132  
 stones, 56, 61, 77, 80, 154  
 strife, 33, 91, 92  
 strikes, 33, 155, 156  
 Suppression of Communism Act,  
 130

Syria, 6, 16, 75, 76, 78, 80, 138, 147,  
158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163,  
164, 165, 174, 177, 178, 179,  
180, 181, 182, 184, 185, 186,  
187, 188, 189, 190, 192

## T

tax, 2, 24, 124  
tear gas, 38, 76, 154, 181  
technology, 34, 37, 54, 65, 66, 143  
Tehran, 103, 104, 105  
tension, 9, 19, 29, 31, 163  
territorial jurisdiction, 3, 22, 26  
Thailand, 102, 103  
Tiananmen Square, 16, 112, 121,  
184, 185  
time, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15,  
19, 22, 23, 24, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34,  
35, 36, 37, 39, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49,  
51, 54, 56, 57, 59, 65, 70, 76, 77,  
78, 79, 80, 81, 85, 88, 91, 92, 93,  
95, 98, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107,  
108, 112, 116, 117, 119, 122,  
123, 124, 126, 127, 132, 133, 137,  
141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 148,  
152, 153, 154, 156, 157, 159,  
161, 163, 164, 165, 167, 168,  
171, 172, 175, 191  
torturing, 111  
transparency, 16, 49, 53  
trends, 4, 5, 9, 41, 59, 65, 108, 145,  
168, 177  
triggers, 10  
Tunisia, 29, 75, 106, 159, 184  
TV network, 103

## U

Umkhonto we Sizwe, 129  
UN Security Council, 161  
UNICEF, 156, 190

union, 33, 126, 133  
United Fruit Company, 123, 124,  
125, 126, 127, 133, 179  
United Mine Workers of America,  
33  
United Nations, 21, 132, 137, 162,  
170, 185, 190, 191  
*Universe*, 48  
urban, 13, 20, 23, 50, 56, 58, 62, 78,  
79, 83, 84, 85, 91, 96, 117, 128,  
139, 144, 146, 147, 161, 164, 174  
USSR, 107, 129, 130  
Uyghur, 122

## V

variables, 4, 5, 12, 13, 16, 29, 36,  
38, 40, 41, 48, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56,  
57, 58, 59, 65, 70, 71, 72, 73, 81,  
83, 85, 86, 88, 147, 165  
V-Dem, 35  
Vienna, 16, 72, 91, 92, 93, 94, 102,  
107, 177, 179  
Vietnam, 19, 98  
viral, 20, 100, 119, 121, 131, 150,  
159  
Volk myth, 128

## W

Warsaw Pact, 25, 107, 122, 178  
weak states, 24, 145  
Weberian monopolies of violence,  
145  
*Why Men Rebel*, 28, 183  
workers, 33, 91, 93, 102, 104, 107,  
111, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127,  
128, 134, 153, 154

## X

Xinjiang province, 122

**Y**

Yangon, 153, 154, 155, 156, 187  
Yemen, 75, 140

**Z**

Zapatista, 143