The Origins of Destabilizing Events

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ABSTRACT

Destabilizing events such as those captured by SPEED's Societal Stability Protocol (SSP) – protests, politically motivated attacks, disruptive state acts, mass movements of people, irregular transfers of political power – do not happen in a vacuum. Rather, most are rooted in something. Developing the capacity to identify the origins destabilizing events can potentially lead to important advances in our understanding of civil unrest. It can also broaden the utility of event data and greatly enhance their explanatory potential. This document outlines the definitions and rationale for the Event Origins fields in the SPEED Societal Stability Protocol.

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The Origins of Destabilizing Events

Introduction

Destabilizing events such as those captured by SPEED's Societal Stability Protocol (SSP) – protests, politically motivated attacks, disruptive state acts, mass movements of people, irregular transfers of political power – do not happen in a vacuum. Rather, most are rooted in *something*. Developing the capacity to identify the origins destabilizing events can potentially lead to important advances in our understanding of civil unrest. It can also broaden the utility of event data and greatly enhance their explanatory potential. Properly collected event data, especially if augmented with measures of event intensity (number of protesters, type of weapon employed, number of people killed/injured, etc.), can capture changes in the level of civil unrest over time and across locales. While this capacity is important, the documentation of inter-temporal changes and cross-sectional differences leads to queries about the factors that generate them – as well as the dynamics of civil unrest over time and across locales. Data on event origins can make important contributions to answering these questions; they can provide the capacity to decompose civil unrest into distinct behavioral domains that are populated by actors with different concerns and time horizons – and who are motivated by different incentives.

Examples of event origins include such things as anti-government sentiments, socio-cultural animosities, class-based concerns, the desire for enhanced political rights, the lust for power and eco-scarcities. Knowing the proportion of destabilizing events that are rooted in these different factors could help explain differences in episodes of civil unrest (actor matrices, level of violence, longevity, density, spatial diffusion, post hoc reactions, etc.) across such diverse countries as Rwanda, the Philippines, Northern Ireland, Iran, India, Sierra Leone, Iraq and Sudan. Analyzing how destabilizing events unfold within these separate behavioral domains can also enhance our understanding of the dynamics of civil unrest. Authoritarian governments, for example, are likely to handle anti-government protests very differently than protests against recently arrived immigrants with distinctive religious traditions. What those governments do is likely to have very different consequences within each domain. Under some conditions, violent repression of anti-government protesters could deflate a rising opposition; under different circumstances it could stimulate an armed insurgency. Implicitly ignoring anti-immigrant agitation could lead to violent attacks and perhaps even a mass exodus, one that could stimulate unrest in a neighboring country. These dynamics could be markedly different, however, in a democracy, especially one with tolerant traditions or a different socio-cultural mix.

It is not possible to develop empirical insights into these inquiries without data on event origins. Thus, early in the SSP's development a commitment was made to examine the feasibility of capturing event origins. Two insights garnered from the pretest phase of the SSP suggested that this was a feasible undertaking. First, casual observations suggested that a relatively modest number of sources account for most destabilizing events. Not every discontent will lead individuals to engage in public protests, violent attacks, repressive actions, or other potentially illegal or event life-threatening activities. Thus, a violent attack could have its roots in a long-standing insurgency aimed at

securing freedom from a colonial power. Or it could stem from longstanding animosities between ethnic or religious groups. A protest by citizens may have it origins in some government action that threatens their core values, their standard of living, or their way of life. Repressive or disruptive state acts could be part of a desperate effort to hold onto power in the face of an organized campaign by incipient opposition movement or widespread popular dissatisfaction with the state's stewardship. A mass movement of people could be rooted in an ethnic cleansing campaign, a flood, or desertification. Coups could be the result of a bald-faced desire for power by young Turks in the military or dissatisfaction with the government's socialist policies by well-entrenched economic powers.

The second insight from the pretest phase of the SSP is that information on event origins is often contained in news reports. This reflects a general commitment in journalism to reporting information on "who, what, where, when, and why." Sometimes information on event origins is presented in a straightforward manner: few stories about political protests fail to describe what is being protested. Other times information on origins is contained in "clues" embedded in a story. It does not require a great leap of faith, for example, to infer that attacks between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, or Shiites and Sunnis in the Middle East, have their origins in socio-cultural cleavages. Moreover, it is reasonable to attribute an attack by Marxist guerillas can, at least in part, to class-based concerns. The same can be said about a strike for higher wages and better working conditions. It is also safe to infer that a strategically timed bombing of a government facility stems, at least partially, from anti-government sentiments.

The importance of identifying event origins and the feasibility of capturing them led to a multi-wave effort to capture event origins in the SSP. Based what was learned in the pretest, however, this effort began with the recognition that the information attained would be limited but useful. The limits stem from the type of information on origins contained in news reports. Not every news report contains explicit references to an event's origins, or even clues about those origins. Moreover, even when information on event origins is available it will often be meager and general. Knowing that an attack in India was initiated by Hindus on Muslims makes it possible to infer that the event is rooted in religious factors, but that assignment provides little additional information on the contextual factors that stimulated the attack. Also, information that a mass demonstration or a sit-in is protesting government policies supports an inference that it stems from anti-government sentiments; but it is often difficult to capture much more information on the precise nature of those sentiments (corruption, repression, economic policies, etc.).

Even when ample information on event origins is contained in a news report other problems exist. Event origins are more challenging to discern than the names of the people and places involved in an event. Moreover, events often stem from multiple sources (class-based concerns and anti-government sentiments; the desire for political freedom and the desire for political power). Thus, a reporter may simply misconstrue the origins of an event, or at least not recognize its diverse origins. Finally, even when

correct information on event origins is contained in a news report, it may not be captured accurately in the information extraction process. Two significant challenges exist here. Coders may misconstrue event origins for the same reason that reporters misconstrue them: identifying origins correctly and exhaustively is more challenging than properly identifying weapons or injuries. Compounding this challenge are the difficulties in developing research instruments that reliably and exhaustively capture the array of event origins that occur in a highly diverse and changing world.

While the information deficiencies are troubling and the methodological challenges are daunting, these considerations do not mitigate against an effort to identify event origins. The fact that not every event will have information on origins, for example, is unfortunate but not dispositive. Missing data are a problem with virtually all social science research. But as long as the missing data are not "patterned" this will not undermine the utility of the origins data. Potential problems in this regard are government sensitivities to criticism and norms concerning attributions about various racial or religious groups. These factors may be a problem with some news outlets in some countries during some time frames. But the data collected in both the pretest and production phase of coding suggest that these are not a major issue with the news sources used here for the time frame examined. This is because even where sensitivities exist it is still often possible to make reasonable inferences about origins (e.g., a report about a bombing of a Chinese birth control clinic does not have to mention that it was the result of anti-government sentiments; the arrest of blacks violating South Africa's apartheid policies does not have to state explicitly that the event is rooted in socio-cultural animosities).

The fact that much information on event origins is overly general (class-based, ethnically rooted, anti-government, etc.) is lamentable. But even this level of generality can generate important insights. Thus, just knowing that a set of events are rooted in anti-government sentiments could explain why post hoc reactions on the part of the police or military are more violent. Moreover, being able to separate events based on socio-cultural animosities from those based on economic or class-based concerns may help to explain why one set is more durable (i.e., more difficult to resolve in a timely manner). Finally, it is possible to construct more refined tools for capturing event origins. Thus, anti-government sentiments can be broken down into economic policies, military activities, corruption, human rights violations, etc. It can also indicate whether or not the event is aimed at the domestic government or an international government. Socio-cultural animosities can be identified as being racial, religious, ethnic, etc. The desire for political rights can identify whether those concerns are for more freedom or for independence. When the information is available, the use of more elaborate data collection tools can provide more refined and useful insights.

It is both troubling and undeniable that information on event origins is more susceptible to identification error than information on weapons, places, victims, etc. But random errors in fully identifying event origins are no more troubling than randomly missing data. This is particularly true because the data on event origins is most useful when aggregated over locales and time frames. Isolated misinterpretations of unclear or

complex events will largely be washed out in the aggregation process, somewhat weakening the results (depending on the extent of the errors) but not undermining the utility of the data. When aggregated by province and month a misattribution of an event origin by a reporter (or a coder) will be become little more than noise. For example, when trying to examine changes in the level of ethnic animosities within a given locale isolated errors will not obscure significant shifts. The same can be said about analyzing differences in the level of violent anti-government attacks across regime types. Where discontent with a government is significant this will be clear when a series of events is aggregated.

It should also be noted that, while nothing can be done about misattributions by news reporters, it is possible to minimize coder error through the design of refined data collection instruments (e.g., the development of extensive and highly pretested list sets, options for coding multiple event origins, the development of explanatory materials, etc.) as well as the training and testing of coders. In addition, identifying and verifying event origins through the use of clues in the data (e.g., names of insurgent groups, actor characteristics, etc.) rather than simply relying on the attributions of coders can also minimize coding error. These topics will be addressed more fully in the following sections. They describe the on-going development of the event origins component of the SSP and its translation into a set of variables depicting different event origins. Then some preliminary data on event origins is displayed.

Developing the Initial Event Origins Component of the SSP

The SSP was developed by the creation, pretesting and refinement of separate components (date, place, event ontology, actor, effect, origins, etc.). Some of these components are generic to all SPEED protocols (e.g. Security of Property Rights, Electoral Integrity, Legal Supremacy, etc.), such as the data and place components; others are protocol-specific, such as the event ontology, effect and event origins. Each component has an integrated group of question sets, most of which are constructed as close-ended "list sets" that are highly nested (i.e., response activated). The design of each component has its origins in an examination of 100,000 news reports that were randomly generated from the post-WWII era in the 2006-07 academic year. Question sets were constructed to extract the required information (date, latitude and longitude of the event, event type, actor types and affiliations, etc.) in a reliable and efficient manner. The development of each component was subjected to multiple pretests and required several iterations. Feedback was routinely received from coders and supervisors as to problems and potential solutions.

Because of its complexity the event origins was one of the last components to be constructed. An initial list set of origins was constructed from an analysis of the news reports on the destabilizing events that were contained in the 2006-07 sample. This list set received intensive scrutiny during the 2008-09 academic year as multiple pretests were constructed using trained coders. These pretests used a list set and an open-ended question that coders could use to specify event origins that were not contained in the list

set. The results were examined and a nested structure was developed. The question set that was developed from this process, Event Origins 1.0, had fourteen tier 1 options that coders could use to designate the origins of the event being coded:

- Basic human needs
- Personal security
- Work matters
- Governance matters
- War/military matters
- Public facility related matters
- Social group cleavages
- Human/political rights
- Ideological beliefs
- Religious matters
- Cultural matters
- Weather-related matters
- Environment-related matters
- Natural resource related matters
- Other origins
- Unspecified origins

Coders could select as many options as needed to accurately describe the origins of an event. Selecting one of these options would activate a more detailed set of origins. For example, if a coder indicated that the events was rooted in "Basic human needs," he/she would be asked to specify whether those needs were food, water, land, fuel, etc. If a coder indicated that the event was rooted in "Social group cleavages" she/he would be prompted to specify what type of cleavages were involved: religious, ethnic, tribal, racial, national origins, etc. Here again, coders could specify as many options as needed. These follow-up questions were useful both for gathering more specific information on event origins and providing coders with concrete referents that were helpful in clarifying the meaning of origin categories and the boundaries between them. Finally other types of follow-up questions were also employed. For example, if "Governance matters" or "War/military matters" were selected, coders were asked to designate if the origins were in the actions of the domestic government/military or a foreign government/military. The Event Origins 1.0 question set is presented in Appendix I.

The description of the Event Origins List Set 1.0 is outlined in A Conceptual Introduction to the Societal Stability Protocol. This information was translated into training materials and procedures that were used in conjunction with a year-long implementation of the SSP in 2008-09, which resulted in the generation of nearly 30,000 codings. The breakdown of event origins from these codings is reported in Table 1. It was possible to identify event origins in 56.4% of the codings. As is clear from Table 1, Governance Matters and Social Group Cleavages are the most frequent categories selected. Personal Security, Work Matters, Human/political Rights, and Ideological Beliefs were also selected with some frequency.

Table 1
Frequency Distribution of the Event Origins Data

Event Origins	Proportion of all Codings	Number of Codings
Basic Human Needs	1.3	319
Personal Security	6.1	1530
Work Matters	4.25	1058
Governance Matters	21.6	5368
War/military matters	4.9	1228
Public Facility Related Matters	0.1	33
Social Group Cleavages	14.3	3553
Human/political Rights	4.8	1183
Ideological beliefs	3.6	898
Religious Matters	1.1	279
Cultural Matters	0.2	61
Weather-related matters	0.4	101
Environment-related Matters	0.1	29
Natural Resource Related Matters	0.2	38

Creating the Event Origins Variables

Based on the distributions of the event origins variables depicted in Table 1, five dummy origins variables were constructed: anti-gov sentiments (**ANTIGOV**), socio-cultural animosities (**SC-ANIM**), class-based concerns (**CLASS**), desire for enhanced political rights (**PRGHTS**), and basic human needs (**BASIC**). If an event was rooted in one of these origins categories the corresponding variables was assigned a score of 1; all other codings were assigned a '0'. Assignment to one of these origins categories was based on data from the event origins section as well as data on actor and event types. The following descriptions outline the procedures used to score the event origins variables. The **ANTIGOV** origins variable was assigned a '1' if

- The "Governance matters" origins category was checked and the event related to the domestic government; this assignment accounts for 49.5% of all codings in the category.

Or

- The "War/military matters" origins category was checked and the event related to the domestic military; this assignment accounts for 8% of all codings in the category.

Or

- The "Public facility related matters" origins category was checked; this assignment accounts for .5% of all codings in the category.

Or

- Data from the actor type question set indicated that the domestic government was the target of the event initiator(s); this assignment accounts for 37% of all codings in the category.

Or

- Data from the event type section indicated the event was an irregular transfer of power (e.g. a coup) or an unrealized irregular transfer of power (e.g., conspiracy, attempt); this assignment accounts for 5% of all codings in the category.

The **SC-ANIM** origins variable was assigned a '1' if
- The second-tier designations of the "Social Group Cleavages" origins category indicated that the event was rooted in cleavages involving ethnic, racial, religious, national identity, tribal or kinship groups; this assignment accounts for 40.5% of all codings in the category.

Or

- Data from the actor type question set indicated that the a socio-cultural group from one of the above categories (ethnic, racial, religious, etc.) was either the initiator of the event or the target of the event's initiator(s) ; this assignment accounts for 59.5% of all codings in the category.

The **CLASS** origins variable was assigned a '1' if
- The "Work matters" origins category was checked; this assignment accounts for 36% of all codings in the category.

Or

- The second-tier designations of the "Ideological beliefs" origins category indicated that the event was rooted in communism or socialism; this assignment accounts for 19% of all codings in the category.

Or

- The second-tier designations of the "Social Group Cleavages" origins category indicated that the event was rooted in class-based groups; this assignment accounts for 0% of all codings in the category.

Or

- Data from the actor type question set indicated that the event was initiated by, or targeted at, a group affiliated with class concerns (e.g., a Marxist insurgent group, a labor union); this assignment accounts for 7% of all codings in the category.

Or
- Data from the actor type question set indicated that a worker or farmer/peasant was either the initiator of the event or the target of the event's initiator(s); this assignment accounts for 20% of all codings in the category.

Or
- Data from the event type section indicated the event was a job action that was not targeted at the government (i.e., it was not a general strike); this assignment accounts for 18% of all codings in the category.

The **PRGHTS** origins variable was assigned a '1' if
- The "Human/political rights" origins category was checked; this assignment accounts for 48% of all codings in the category.

Or
- The second-tier designations of the "Social Group Cleavages" origins category indicated that the event was rooted in political groups; this assignment accounts for 19.5% of all codings in the category.

Or
- The second-tier designations of the "Ideological beliefs" origins category indicated that the event was rooted in democracy; this assignment accounts for 3.5% of all codings in the category.

Or
- Data from the actor type question set indicated that the event was initiated by, or targeted at, a group affiliated with political rights or independence concerns (e.g., a independence movement, a women's rights groups); this assignment accounts for 29% of all codings in the category.

The **BASIC** origins variable was assigned a '1' if
- The "Basic human needs" origins category was checked; this assignment accounts for 17% of all codings in the category.

Or
- The "Personal Security" origins category was checked; this assignment accounts for 83% of all codings in the category.

Examining the Event Origins Data

Table 2 reports the frequency of the five event origins variables; over 56% of the codings fell within one of these categories. As it indicates, the two leading event origins are anti-government sentiments and socio-cultural group animosities, both of which account for over 20% of the codings with origins. Class based concerns and the desire for enhanced political rights account for just over 10% each, with basic needs accounting for just over 7%. About 29% of the codings had multiple event origins attributed to them. Nearly one-third of these (32%) were rooted in both anti-government sentiments and socio-cultural animosities; another 29% had their origins in both socio-cultural animosities and the desire for enhanced political rights. Twenty percent of the codings were rooted in anti-government sentiments and class-based concerns; another 20% had their origins in anti-government sentiments and the desire for enhance political rights.

Figure 1 and 2 display the distribution of these event origins over time (1946-2005) for two composite variables, the Intensity of Political Protest and the Intensity of Political Violence. These two variables capture the intensity of civil unrest for the two most frequent modes of popular discontent, protests and violence.[1] These data displays reveal that socio-cultural animosities are far more likely to generate violent expressions of discontent than events rooted in other origins categories. They also show that the marked increase in violence over the past several decades are the result of anti-government sentiments and socio-cultural animosities. In contrast, discontent rooted in class concerns seems to be waning.

Table 2
Frequency Distribution of Event Origins

Event Origins	Proportion of all Codings	Number of Codings
Anti-government Sentiments	23.7	5892
Socio-cultural Group Animosities	22.2	5519
Class Concerns	11.9	2953
Desire for Enhanced Political Rights	10.1	2511
Basic Needs	7.4	1833

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[1] The derivation of these composite variables is reported in <u>Gauging the Intensity of Civil Unrest:</u>
   http://www.clinecenter.illinois.edu/research/publications/SPEED-Gauging_the_Intensity_of_Civil_Unrest.pdf

Refinement of Event Origins: The Event Origins Component, 2.0

The insights provided by Figure 1 and 2, as well as those generated by other analyses using the event origins data, suggest that these data – if implemented on a larger sample of destabilizing events – have considerable potential to enhance our understanding of civil unrest. This potential, combined with the experience of extracting and analyzing information on event origins from a the 2009-10 implementation of the SSP, also led to a reassessment of the approach being used. This reassessment led to the elimination and restructuring of some event origin categories and the addition of others. It also led to a different approach to extracting information on origins and the development of new training materials and procedures.

The event origins categories were reexamined in light of the distribution of the data, the conceptual clarity of the derived variables, and the comprehensiveness of the conceptual scheme. The limited number of cases dealing with religious and cultural matters, as well as the difficulty coders had understanding these categories, led to their elimination. The categories dealing with weather, environment and natural resources were eliminated for the same reason. However, the elimination of these categories was combined with a reconceptualization and relabeling of the "Basic human needs" category. In the new scheme it has been replaced with an "Eco-scarcities" category, which is described more fully below. This should capture many of the events that would have been categorized under the weather, environment and natural resources categories. Likewise the "Work matters" category was replaced by an "Economic or class-based concerns" category. Finally, the human rights component of the "Human/Political rights" category was eliminated and the category was renamed to "Desire for self-determination/political rights." This new label more accurately captures the types of origins captured in these events. To capture events rooted in human rights violations a second-tier category was added to the Governance Matters category.

Figure 1
Intensity of Political Protest, by Event Origins
(Five-year moving average)
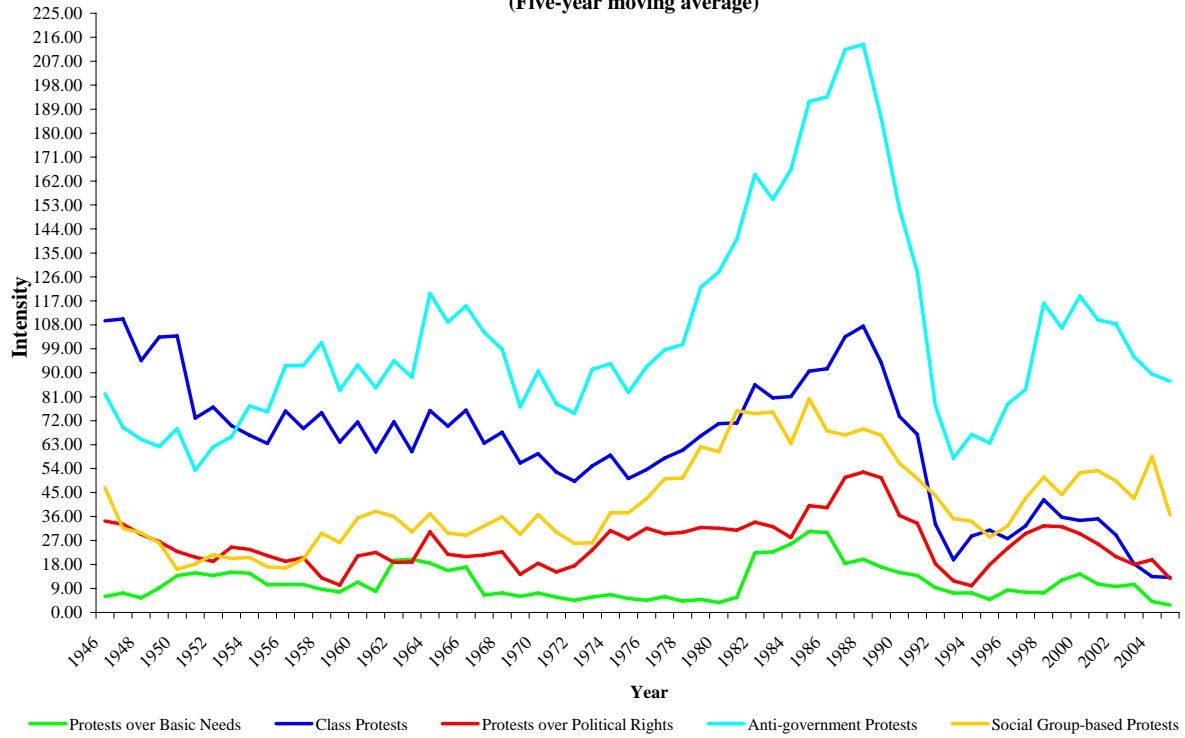
Figure 2
Intensity of Political Violence by Event Origins
(Five-year moving average)
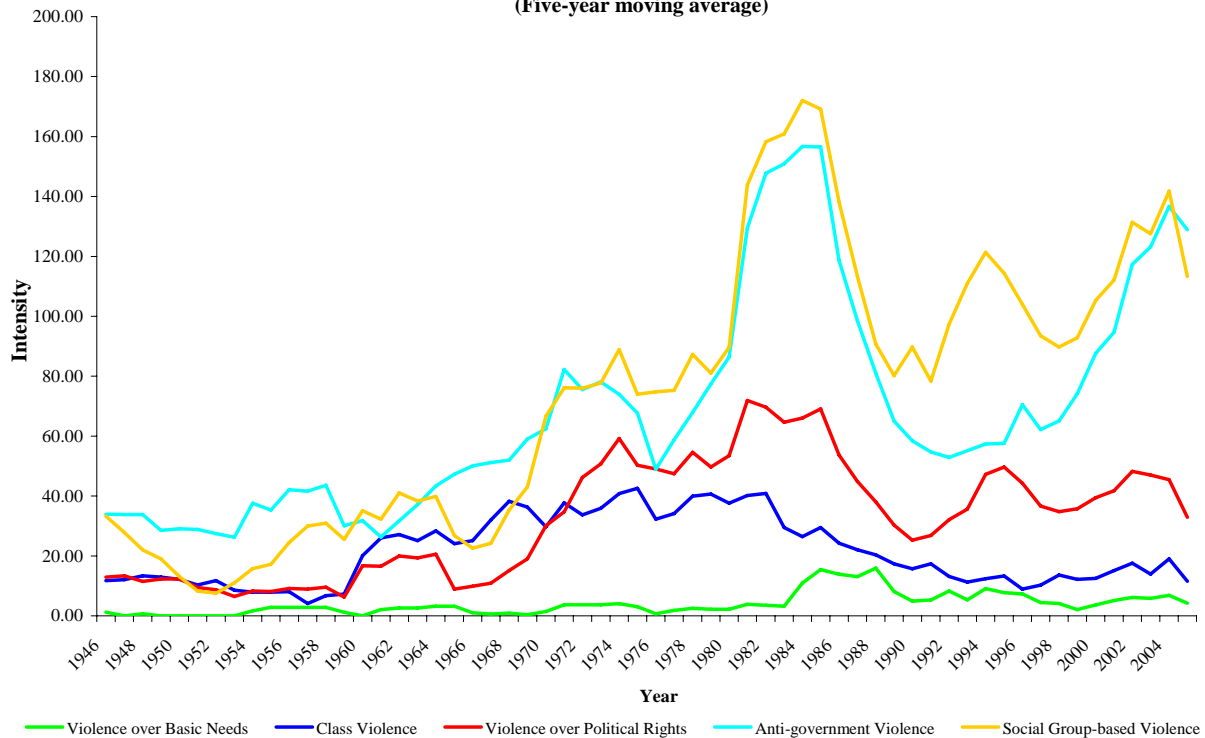
An examination of the five event origins variables described above led to reflections about the comprehensiveness of the conceptual scheme that undergirded the event origins component of the SSP. These reflections uncovered some important gaps in the scheme, most particularly with respect to the origins of events involving state initiators. These gaps were confirmed by the supervisors in charge of the coding process, who noted that coders often could not adequately code such cases. Thus, two new categories were added to the scheme: "Desire for political power" and "Threat to the public order." A "Desire for retribution" category was added as well. It is expected that this will be used largely as a secondary origins designation (i.e., a supplement to "Social group animosities," for example). These categories are described more fully below.

Reflections on the experiences derived from a year-long implementation of the Event Origins Component, 1.0, in addition to the greater clarity derived from the construction and analysis of the five event origins variables, led to other changes. The most important is the introduction of a summary list set. This list set is the last query on the SSP and it directly follows the more detailed specification of Event Origins 2.0 list set (See Appendix II). It is designed to help coders focus on the entire milieu of circumstances surrounding the description of the event in the news report and identify all of the applicable origins. It is supplemented with newly developed training materials that provide clear and concrete guidelines. It also contains an open-ended question that allows coder to specify other applicable origins of the same genre depicted in the list set. These open-ended responses will be scrutinized to determine if other common origins should be added to the list set. The summary list set and a set of coding guidelines is reported below.

The Origins Summary List Set: An Overview and Explanation

- Anti-government sentiments
- Group-based animosities
- Economic or class-based concerns
- Desire for self-determination/political rights
- Desire for political power
- Imminent threat to public order

- Imminent threats to personal security

- Desire for retribution

- Eco-scarcities

- Other

The following guidelines were designed to assist coders in accurately characterizing origins using the summary list set.

Anti-Government Sentiments

Whenever an event is rooted in the initiator's unhappiness over government actors, policies or actions this option should be checked. Put differently, events that properly fall within this origins category are *reactions* to some governmental action or series of actions – though they can also be reactions to government inaction (e.g., failure to respond to a situation that calls for collective action). These reactions can be either to the national government or one or more foreign governments (e.g., Afghans in Kabul protesting the policies of the U.S. government). Normally, supporting documentation for these summary categorizations will be provided in one or more of three subsections on the initial Origins list set: *Governance matters* (Overall government performance; Specific political leaders; Partisan animosities; Tax increases; Economic policies/management; Non-economic domestic policies; Repression of human/political rights; Corruption; Conduct of electoral policies; Judicial/legal actions; Other domestic acts; Foreign policies/actions; Other government actions/policies); *War/military matters* (War; Military occupations; Military deployments; Non-combat conduct/actions; Capacity to provide security; Role in the government of the country; Other military matters); or *Public facility related matters* (Adequacy of facilities; Location of facilities; Closure of facilities; Other).

Examples of events that would be categorized here are:
- Demonstrations protesting the government's handling of an economic recession

- A hunger strike in response to the government's legalization of abortion
- Assassinations of government officials in response to the arrest of an insurgent leader
- Anti-war protests
- Pickets demanding that a corrupt leader resign
- Bombings to protest the suspension of the constitution
- Protests against the intervention of the military into support an unpopular leader
- A march to protest the location of a nuclear dump site
- Workers striking to protest the imposition of martial law

Socio-Cultural Group Animosities

Whenever an event is rooted in animosities between social groups (ethnic, tribal, kinship, racial, religious, etc.) this category should be checked. Normally, supporting documentation for these categorizations will be provided in the initial Origins list set under one of the subsections of the *Social Group Cleavages* option (Ethnic groups; Racial groups; Religious sects; National origins groups; Tribal/clan ties), which provide more detailed information on the origins of the event being coded. Also, the initiator, target or victim list set should indicate that a social group was involved in the event. Examples of events that would be categorized here are:

- An suicide attack in a bazaar in a Shiite neighborhood
- A fire bombing of a temple
- A demonstration against Albanian refugees in Greece
- A hunger strike to protest racial discrimination
- Hutu attacks against Tutsi women
- Han Chinese attacks on Uighurs
- Police beatings of black protesters in Soweto

Economic or Class-Based Concerns

Whenever an event is rooted in economic issues or class-based concerns this category should be checked. Events that properly fall within this origins categorization are those that are compatible with Marxism or economic determinism. At a very basic level these philosophical perspectives see social relations as being shaped by class tensions derived from differences in wealth and social status – as opposed to the need for self-preservation, group-based animosities, or the desire for self-determination. Normally supporting documentation for these categorizations will be provided in the main Origins list set under the *Labor/employment relations* option (Availability of jobs; Pay levels; Working conditions; Treatment of other workers; Unionization/labor rights), and/or the subsections of the *Ideological Beliefs* option (Marxism; Socialism). However, the involvement of Marxist insurgent groups or Communist Party officials as initiators, targets or victims in an event may also lead to the selection of this option. Finally, this option may be relevant in some instances in which workers or activists are protesting government economic policies that bear on class relations. What would not be properly categorized here would be general strikes by workers targeting an illegitimate government or the imposition of martial law.

Examples of events that would be categorized here would be:
- A labor strike protesting low wages or decrepit working conditions
- A Marxist insurgency
- A sit-in organized by students to protest Nike's treatment of workers in Honduras
- Anti-globalization activists protesting the wages paid to workers in developing nations by multi-national firms
- A political rally organized by the Communist Party to protest government tax policies
- Bombing of a plant that just announced mass lay-offs because of the purchase of new labor-saving devices

Desire for Self-Determination/Enhanced Political Rights

Whenever an event is rooted in the initiator's desire for self-determination – or to enhance the status of fundamental political rights (freedom of expression, freedom of association, political equality, voting rights, etc.) – this option should be checked. In contrast to events that should be placed within the "anti-government sentiments" category, events that are properly placed in this category are grounded in the *structure of government* as opposed to *specific government officials or actions*. Supporting documentation for these categorizations will be provided in the *Political Rights* option (Equality; Treatment of dissidents; Right to self-determination; Other political freedoms) of the Origins list set. The target in these types of events will often be the government.

Examples of events that would be categorized here would be:
- Attacks on government facilities by anti-apartheid activists
- Sit-ins in restaurants to protest voting laws that discriminate against minorities
- Armed struggles for political independence against colonial rulers
- Insurgent attacks aimed at securing independence for a region within a country
- Marches aimed at securing equal rights for women

Desire for Political Power

Whenever an event is rooted in the initiator's desire for political power/control this option should be checked; this category includes both situations in which the initiator is attempting to maintain or strengthen the status quo (i.e., protect the present structure of political power) or change it (i.e., acquire control of the government). Supporting documentation for these categorizations will normally be provided in the *Desire for Political Power* option (Maintain political power, Enhance Political Power, Secure Political Power) of the Origins list set. Events that are rooted in the desire to maintain political power are differentiated from those rooted in a threat to public order (see below) because the latter involve a *reaction to an imminent threat*. Some events can be properly categorized as being rooted in both the desire to maintain political power and public order – but only when there is a palpable and imminent threat. Proactive actions that strengthen the government's grip on power would not justify categorization as an effort to maintain public order. Events that are rooted in the desire to change the structure of government

power are differentiated from the desire for self-determination or enhanced rights when the control of political power is more important than the form of political power. A democracy movement that aims to replace a colonial government would be properly categorized in both. However, a civil war that takes place between competing factions after independence would not be categorized as an effort for self-determination or enhanced political rights; nor would a guerilla movement determined to control an oil or diamond-rich province.

Examples of events that would be categorized here would be:
- Attempts to maintain or enhance political power
- Government forces relocate villagers thought to support rebels
- Soldiers arrest hundreds of students accused of posting negative slogans
- Chinese government bans Falun Gong for being a "dangerous cult"
- Communist leaders charge former prime minister with treason following a successful communist coup
- Spanish police arrest an exiled opposition leader following his return to the country
- The Ukrainian prime minister takes direct control over Crimea's government by executive decree in order to crush the separatist movement
- East Germany enacts a law making it a crime to distribute materials that "bring scorn on the Communist system"
- Military leaders cancel elections expected to be won by an Islamic party
- The government revokes the citizenship of a television station owner who broadcast inflammatory information about the government
- Soldiers arrest hundreds of students accused of posting negative slogans about the government
- President Marcos imposes martial law after a failed assassination attempt

Attempts to acquire political power
- The army arrests plotters after discovering a conspiracy to overthrow the government
- The military mobilizes forces outside the capitol in an effort to pressure the civilian government
- An opposition candidate declares himself president of Nigeria, despite the elections being annulled by the government

Imminent Threat to Public Order

Whenever an event is rooted in the initiator's desire to address a threat to public order this option should be checked. Events that properly fall within this origins categorization are, by definition, *reactions* to some other destabilizing event (unruly demonstration, riot, disruption, politically motivated attack, etc.). Indeed, they will normally be linked to the precipitating event using **EXTRACT**'s **LINK** module. The events that are categorized here are differentiated from threats to personal safety (see below) in that the threat is not to the initiator but to the public order. Thus, in the vast majority of these cases the initiator will be a government official or a public safety official (police officer, soldier);

in the *Imminent Threat to Personal Safety*, the initiator will ordinarily be a non-governmental actor. Obviously, there will be some instances in which a public safety officer's personal safety is threatened when he or she is performing their official responsibilities. In these situations both categories should be checked. Supporting documentation for these categorizations will be provided in the *Imminent Threat to Public Order* option (Non-violent manifestation of discontent, Imminent violence, Specific acts of violence, On-going campaign of violence) of the Origins list set.

Examples of events that would be categorized here would be:
- Government troops take control of the railways in response to an ongoing strike by rail workers
- Police shoot looters who are ransacking a store after a major flood
- Police arrest several protestors that broke into a nuclear power facility to protest nuclear weapons
- A Massachusetts professor was indicted on seeking to overthrow the government for distributing communist documents
- Soldiers fire on insurgents who are attacking a village
- Cyprus imposes a curfew after a series of terrorist bombings
- The mayor of Cleveland declares a state of emergency as race riots rip the city

Imminent Threat to Personal Security

Whenever an event is rooted in a perceived threat to someone's person or property, this category should be checked. Events that properly fall within this category are those in which the initiator is responding to fears for personal security – as opposed to their disdain for a government, ethnic hatreds, class-based concerns, etc. These perceived threats can be aimed at the initiator or the initiator's family, friends, compatriots, etc. Normally, supporting documentation for these categorizations will be provided in the subsections of the *Imminent Threat to Personal Security* option (Ordinary criminal activity; Gang warfare/crime; Civil unrest; Terrorism; International threats) on the main Origins list set.

Examples of events that would be categorized here would be:
- A demonstration to protest drug-related gang warfare
- "Proactive" assassination of gang leaders
- Night vigil to "take back the streets" from criminals
- Brawl resulting from an attack on demonstrators
- A shooting of Hutu rioters by a Tutsi shop owner protecting his store

Desire for Retribution

Whenever an event is rooted in the initiator's desire to retaliate for some prior act that adversely affected the initiator – or someone or something that the initiator cares about – this option should be selected. This option will often be used in conjunction with another origins category (ethnic animosities, anti-government sentiments, imminent threats to personal safety, etc.). It will often be part of a "linked" event coding. Finally, supporting documentation for these categorizations will be provided in the *Retribution* option (Some

social group or its members; Political regime or its members; Political opponents; Businesses or their members; Other domestic organizations, or their members; Another country, or its citizens, groups) of the Origins list set.

Examples of events that would be categorized here would be:
- A mosque is bombed in retaliation for an assassination earlier in the day
- A police officer clubs a demonstrator who hit him with a rock
- Demonstrators block access to Parliament after it enacts a law barring religious dress
- Afghan elders are killed for collaborating with American forces

Eco-Scarcities

This origin should be chosen whenever an event is rooted in resource scarcities derived from ecological factors – as opposed to scarcities derived from economic inequalities or government policies. Events that properly fall within this category will be the result of some ecological development (a storm, flood, a drought, etc.). Normally, supporting documentation for these categorizations will be provided in the subsections of the *Eco-scarcities* option (Food; Water; Public health; Land; Fuel, Power supply for home; Overall quality of life) on the Origins list set. Moreover, further documentation may be found in the Context section within some options under the Type of Societal Turmoil list set (Wake of a natural disaster, Refugee crisis).

Examples of events that would be categorized here would be:
- An attack on a government supply truck by starving citizens in the wake of an earthquake
- Attacks related to control over a water hole in the midst of a drought
- Riots protesting rampant deaths caused by the unavailability of drinking water in the aftermath of a flood
- Demonstrations to protest daily power outages caused by the demise of a river that fed a hydroelectric plant
- Mass movement of citizens from a region devastated by a long-term drought
- Petitions to government to rebuild the local power infrastructure destroyed by a hurricane

Appendix I

Root List Set

[ORIGINS]   Attributed origins of the event
Instructions: Does it appear that the event being coded is rooted in

BASIC: Basic human needs
P_SCURTY: Personal security
WORK: Work matters
GOV: Governance matters
MIL: War/military matters
FACLTIES: Public facility related matters
SOC_GRP: Social group cleavages
RIGHTS: Human/political rights
IDEOLOGY: Ideological beliefs
RELIG: Religious matters
CULTURE: Cultural matters
WEATHER: Weather-related factors
ENVIRON: Environment-related factors
NAT_RES: Natural resource-related factors
UNSPEC: Unspecified
OTHER: Other

Branch List Sets [Response Activated]

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[BASC_ORG]   Does it appear that the event is rooted in concerns over the price, availability, quality, etc., of
Instructions:

FOOD: Food
WATER: Water
HEALTH: Public health
LAND: Land
FUEL: Fuel
POWER: Power supply for homes
GENERAL: Overall quality of life
OTHER: Other

———————————————————————————

[PSEC_ORG] **Instructions:**	Does it appear that the event is rooted in concerns over

CRIME:	Crime
C_UNREST:	Civil unrest
TERROR:	Terrorism
I_THRTS:	International threats
OTHER:	Other

[WORK_ORG] **Instructions:**	Does it appear that the event is rooted in concerns over

JOBS:	Availability of jobs
PAY:	Pay levels
CONDTNS:	Working conditions
SOLIDRTY:	Treatment of other workers
LAB_RGHT:	Unionization/labor rights
OTHER:	Other

[GOV_ORG] **Instructions:**	Does it appear that the event is rooted in concerns over

OVERALL:	Overall performance
LEADERS:	Specific political leaders
ACTS:	Specific actions or proposals
COMPETE:	Competition between leaders
TAXES:	Tax increases
ECON:	Economic policies/management
N_ECON:	Non-economic domestic policies
JUD_LGL:	Judicial/legal actions or processes
REPRESS:	Repression
CORRUPT:	Corruption
ELECTNS:	Conduct of electoral processes
FOREIGN:	Foreign policies/actions
SPYING:	Espionage
OTHER:	Other

[GOV_FOCS]	Focus of Governance Concerns
Instructions:	
DOMESTIC:	Government of the country of event
FOREIGN:	Government of foreign country
BOTH:	Both
IO:	International Organization
OTHER:	Other

_____

[INTL_NME]	Foreign nations that the target of these concerns
Instructions:	For country names, please use the list module to specify the name
of all countries	

_____

[IO_NME]	International organizations that are the target of these concerns
Instructions:	For international organizations, please use the list module to
specify the name of all organizations	

_____

[MIL_ORG]	War, Military Affairs/ Actions
Instructions:	
WAR:	War
OCCUP:	Military occupations
DEPLOY:	Military deployments (troops, missiles, etc.)
N_COMBAT:	Non-combat conduct/actions
CAPACITY:	Capacity to provide security
POLITICAL:	Role in government of country
OTHER:	Other military matters

_____

[MIL_CONC]	Military concerns
Instructions:	Do these military concerns relate to:
DOMESTIC:	Military of the country of the event
FOREIGN:	Military of foreign country
BOTH:	Both domestic and foreign governments
MULTI:	International or Multi-national military forces

_____

[MILC_NME]   Foreign nations that the target of these concerns
Instructions: For country names, please use the list module to specify the name
of all countries

_____

[NGO_NME]   Multi-national forces that are the target of these concerns
Instructions: For international organizations, please use the list module to
specify the name of all organizations

_____

[FACL_ORG]   Does it appear that the facility concerns are rooted in
Instructions:

ADEQUATE: Adequacy of facilities
LOCATN: Location of facilities
CLOSURE: Closure of facilities
OTHER: Other

_____

[SGRP_ORG]   Which of the following social group cleavages is this event rooted
in
Instructions:

ETHNIC: Ethnic
RACIAL: Race
RELIGION: Religious sects
NATIONAL: National identity
TRIBAL: Tribal ties
KINSHP: Family ties
POLITICAL: Political groups
CLASS: Socioeconomic
INSURGNT: Insurgent groups
GANGS: Criminal gangs
IMMIGRNT: Immigrant status
REFUGEE: Refugee status
OTHER: Other

_____

| **[RGHT_ORG]** | Human/Political Rights |
| **Instructions:** | Does it appear that the event is rooted in concerns over |

EQUAL:	Equality
LIFE:	Regard for human life (physical abuse)
H_RGHTS:	Other human rights (sexual orientation, marriage, privacy, etc.)
P_RGHTS:	Political freedoms (association, expression, etc.)
DISIDNTS:	Treatment of opponents (harassment, etc.)
INDEP:	Political independence; self-rule
OTHER:	Other

| **[IND_SRCE]** | Independence source |
| **Instructions:** | Does concern for independence refer to |

SELF_DET:	Independence from colonial ruler/occupying force
SUCCESN:	Independence from present country
AUTONOMY:	Greater local control of affairs
OTHER:	Other

| **[RGHT_FOCS]** | Focus of Rights Concerns |
| **Instructions:** | Do these rights concerns relate to |

DOMESTIC:	Government of the country of the event
FOREIGN:	Government of one or more foreign countries
BOTH:	Both domestic and foreign governments
IO:	International org (UN, World Bank, IMF, etc.)
OTHER:	Other

[RGHT_NME] Foreign nations that the target of these concerns
Instructions: For country names, please use the list module to specify the name of all countries

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[RGHT_INME] International organizations that are the target of these concerns
Instructions: For international organizations, please use the list module to specify the name of all organizations

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[IDEO_ORG]　　Does it appear that the ideological views relate to
Instructions:

FASCSM:　　　Fascism
COMUNSM:　　Communism, Marxism
SOCLISM:　　　Socialism
DEMCRCY:　　Democracy
FREE_MKT:　　Free Markets
OTHER:　　　　Other

[RELG_ORG]　　Does it appear that the religious factors are rooted in
Instructions:

MOVEMENT:　　Religious movement
PROSLYTZ:　　Religious proselytizing
PERSCUTN:　　Religious persecution
DOGMA:　　　Dogma, religious beliefs
CLERICS:　　　Exhortations of clerics
CONTROL:　　Efforts to control institutions
OTHER:　　　　Other

[REL_MOVE]　　Religious Movement
Instructions:　　Is the religious movement rooted in

BUDDHISM:　　Buddhism
CHRISTAN:　　Christianity
HINDU:　　　　Hinduism
ISLAM:　　　　Islam
JUDAISM:　　　Judaism
OTHER:　　　　Other

[CULT_ORG]   Does it appear that the cultural factors are based on
Instructions:

LANG: Language threats, changes
FAMILY: Family structural changes
MARRIAGE: Marriage threats, changes
LIFESTYL: Lifestyle upsets (urbanization, industrialization, etc.)
SCI_TECH: Impact of science, technology, medicine, etc.
GLOBLSM: Globalization
OTHER: Other

[WTHR_ORG]   What type of weather-related phenomena is this event rooted in
Instructions:

FAMINE: Famine
DROUGHT: Drought
HEAT: Heat
COLD: Cold wave
FLOOD: Flood
AVALNCH: Landslide/avalanche
STORM: Storm (hurricane, tsunami, etc.)
WILDFIRE: Wildfire
OTHER: Other

[ENV_ORG]   What type of environmental developments is this event rooted in?
Instructions:

AIR: Air pollution
WATER: Water pollution
SOIL: Soil pollution, land damage
FOREST: Deforestation
ACTIONS: Damaging actions, practices
OTHER: Other

| **[RES_ORG]** | What type of natural resource competition is this event rooted in? |
| **Instructions:** | |

LAND:	Land
WATER:	Water
OIL:	Oil
NAT_GAS:	Natural gas
URANIUM:	Uranium
GOLD:	Gold
DIAMOND:	Diamonds
SILVER:	Silver
COPPER:	Copper
OTHER:	Other

_____

[ORG_SRCE]	Source of attribution
Instructions:	Please specify the source of the information for this attribution;
check all that apply	

STATE:	Stated by participants
ASSERT:	Asserted by news provider
INFER:	Inferred by the coder
EXTRNL:	External source of information
UNSPEC:	Unspecified
OTHER:	Other

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Appendix II

[ORIGINS]   Attributed origins of the event
Instructions: Does it appear that the event being coded is rooted in

GOV: Governance matters
MIL: War/military matters
FACLTIES: Public facility related matters
SOC_GRP: Social group cleavages
WORK: Labor/employment relations
RIGHTS: Political rights
IDEOLOGY: Ideological beliefs
P_POWER: Desire for political power
P_ORDER: Imminent threat to public order
P_SCURTY: Imminent threat to personal security
RETRIB: Desire for retribution
BASIC: Eco-scarcities
UNSPEC: Unspecified
OTHER: Other

———————————————————————————————

[ORIG_OTH]   Other
Instructions: Other attributed origins, please specify

———————————————————————————————

[BASC_ORG]   Does it appear that the event derives from ecologically rooted
scarcities in such basic resources as
Instructions:

FOOD: Food
WATER: Water
HEALTH: Public health
LAND: Land
FUEL: Fuel
POWER: Power supply for homes
GENERAL: Overall quality of life
OTHER: Other

———————————————————————————————

[PSEC_ORG]   Does it appear that the event is rooted in concerns over
Instructions:

CRIME:	Ordinary criminal activity
GANGS:	Gang warfare/crime
C_UNREST:	Civil unrest
TERROR:	Terrorism
I_THRTS:	International threats
OTHER:	Other

[WORK_ORG]
Instructions:
Does it appear that the event is rooted in concerns over

JOBS:	Availability of jobs
PAY:	Pay levels
CONDTNS:	Working conditions
SOLIDRTY:	Treatment of other workers
LAB_RGHT:	Unionization/labor rights
OTHER:	Other

[GOV_ORG]
Instructions:
Does it appear that the event is rooted in concerns over

OVERALL:	Overall government performance
LEADERS:	Specific political leaders
COMPETE:	Partisian animosities
TAXES:	Tax increases
ECON:	Economic policies/management
N_ECON:	Non-economic domestic policies
REPRESS:	Repression of human/political rights
CORRUPT:	Corruption
ELECTNS:	Conduct of electoral processes
JUD_LGL:	Judicial/legal actions or processes
ACTS:	Other domestic acts
FOREIGN:	Foreign policies/actions
SPYING:	Espionage
OTHER:	Other

[GOV_FOCS]
Instructions:
Focus of governance concerns

DOMESTIC:	Government of the country of event

FOREIGN:	Government of foreign country
BOTH:	Both
IO:	International Organization
OTHER:	Other

[INTL_NME]	Foreign nations that the target of these concerns
Instructions:	For country names, please use the list module to specify the name
of all countries	

[IO_NME]	International organizations that are the target of these concerns
Instructions:	For international organizations, please use the list module to
specify the name of all organizations	

[MIL_ORG]	War, Military Affairs/ Actions
Instructions:	

WAR:	War
OCCUP:	Military occupations
DEPLOY:	Military deployments (troops, missiles, etc.)
N_COMBAT:	Non-combat conduct/actions
CAPACITY:	Capacity to provide security
POLITICAL:	Role in government of country
OTHER:	Other military matters

[MIL_CONC]	Military concerns
Instructions:	Do these military concerns relate to:

DOMESTIC:	Military of the country of the event
FOREIGN:	Military of foreign country
BOTH:	Both domestic and foreign governments
MULTI:	International or Multi-national military forces

[MILC_NME]	Foreign nations that the target of these concerns
Instructions:	For country names, please use the list module to specify the name
of all countries	

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[NGO_NME]   Multi-national forces that are the target of these concerns
Instructions: For international organizations, please use the list module to specify the name of all organizations

————————————————————————————

[FACL_ORG]   Does it appear that the facility concerns are rooted in
Instructions:

ADEQUATE: Adequacy of facilities
LOCATN: Location of facilities
CLOSURE: Closure of facilities
OTHER: Other

————————————————————————————

[SGRP_ORG]   Which of the following social group cleavages is this event rooted in
Instructions:

ETHNIC: Ethnic group
RACIAL: Racial group
RELIGION: Religious sects
NATIONAL: National identity group
TRIBAL: Tribal or clan ties
OTHER: Other

————————————————————————————

[RGHT_ORG]   Political Rights/Self-determination
Instructions: Does it appear that the event is rooted in concerns over

EQUAL: Equality
DISIDNTS: Treatment of dissidents
INDEP: Right to self-determination
P_RGHTS: Other political freedoms
OTHER: Other

————————————————————————————

[IND_SRCE]   Self-determination source
Instructions: Does concern for independence refer to

SELF_DET: Independence from colonial ruler/occupying force

SUCCESN: Independence from present country
AUTONOMY: Greater local control of affairs
OTHER: Other

[RGHT_FOCS]   Focus of Rights Concerns
Instructions: Do these rights concerns relate to

DOMESTIC: Government of the country of the event
FOREIGN: Government of one or more foreign countries
BOTH: Both domestic and foreign governments
IO: International org (UN, World Bank, IMF, etc.)
OTHER: Other

[RGHT_NME]   Foreign nations that the target of these concerns
Instructions: For country names, please use the list module to specify the name
of all countries

[RGHT_INME]   International organizations that are the target of these concerns
Instructions: For international organizations, please use the list module to
specify the name of all organizations

[IDEO_ORG]   Does it appear that the ideological views relate to
Instructions:

FASCSM: Fascism
COMUNSM: Communism, Marxism
SOCLISM: Socialism
DEMCRCY: Democracy
FREE_MKT: Free Markets
OTHER: Other

[POL_POW]   Does it appear that the event is rooted in concerns over
Instructions:

MAIN_POW: Maintain political power
ENH_POW: Enhance political power

| **SEC_POW:** | Secure political power |
| **OTHER**: | Other |

| **[PUB_ORD]**
Instructions: | Does it appear that the event is rooted in concerns over |

NON_VIOL:	Non-violence manifestations of discontent
IMM_VIOL:	Imminent violence
SPEC_VIOL:	Specific acts of violence
CONT_VIOL:	On-going campaign of violence
OTHER:	Other

| **[RTRB_TAR]**
Instructions: | Does the initiator's desire for retribution derive from the actions of |

S_GRP:	Some domestic social group
P_REG:	Political regime or member of it
P_OPP:	Political opponents
E_SYS:	Economic system or actors
INTL:	Another country
OTHER:	Other

| **[ORG_SRCE]**
Instructions:
check all that apply | Source of attribution
Please specify the source of the information for this attribution; |

STATE:	Stated by participants
ASSERT:	Asserted by news provider
INFER:	Inferred by the coder
EXTRNL:	External source of information
UNSPEC:	Unspecified
OTHER:	Other

| **[ORG_SUM]**
Instructions: | Summary of origins attributions
Does it appear that the even being coded is rooted in |

| **ANTI_GOV:** | Anti-government sentiments |
| **SOC_GRP:** | Group-based animosities |

CLASS: Economic or class-based concerns
POLITICAL: Desire for self-determination/political rights
POWER: Desire for political power
ORDER: Imminent threat to public order
PER_THRT: Imminent threats to personal security
RETRIB: Desire for retribution
SCARCITY: Eco-scarcities
OTHER: Other

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[ORIGIN_OTH] Other
Instructions: Other attributed origins, please specify