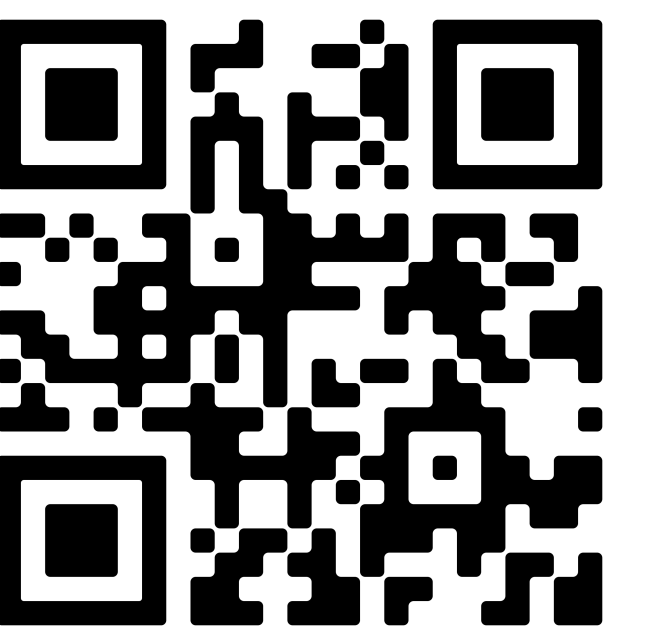




Do Parallel Institutions Improve The Success Rates of Political Resistance Campaigns?

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Abstract

What is the impact of parallel institution-building on non-state actors' strategic campaigns? Non-state campaigns, both violent and nonviolent, occasionally attempt to develop independent institutions for the provision of public goods and services and for the execution of political tasks. In this paper, I employ the Nonviolent and Violent Campaign Outcomes 2.1 (NAVCO) dataset to measure how building parallel institutions affects the longevity and success rates of campaigns. Using survival analysis, I show that education and social welfare institutions can help campaigns achieve their goals, but that this effect diverges based on the violence of a campaign.

- **Hypothesis 1:** Social welfare and educational institutions help political resistance campaigns achieve their goals.
- **Hypothesis 2:** Campaigns with traditional or new media systems last longer and have higher rates of success than those without.
- **Hypothesis 3:** Violent campaigns are benefitted by building education systems, while nonviolent campaigns are benefitted by social welfare systems.

Data Sources and Variables

Core data: Nonviolent and Violent Campaign Outcomes 2.1 (NAVCO 2.1) Dataset.

Dependent variables: Longevity and success of a campaign.

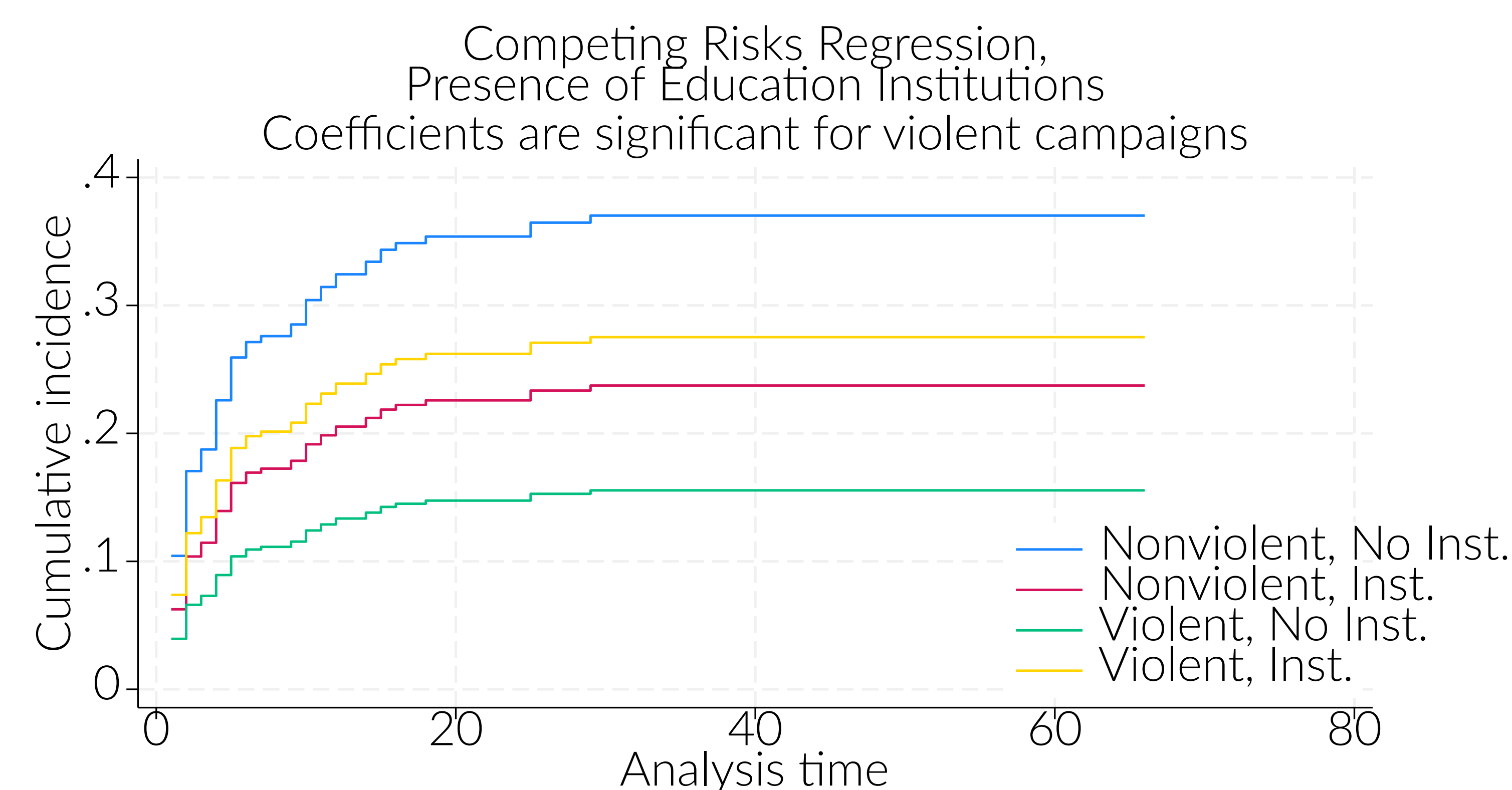
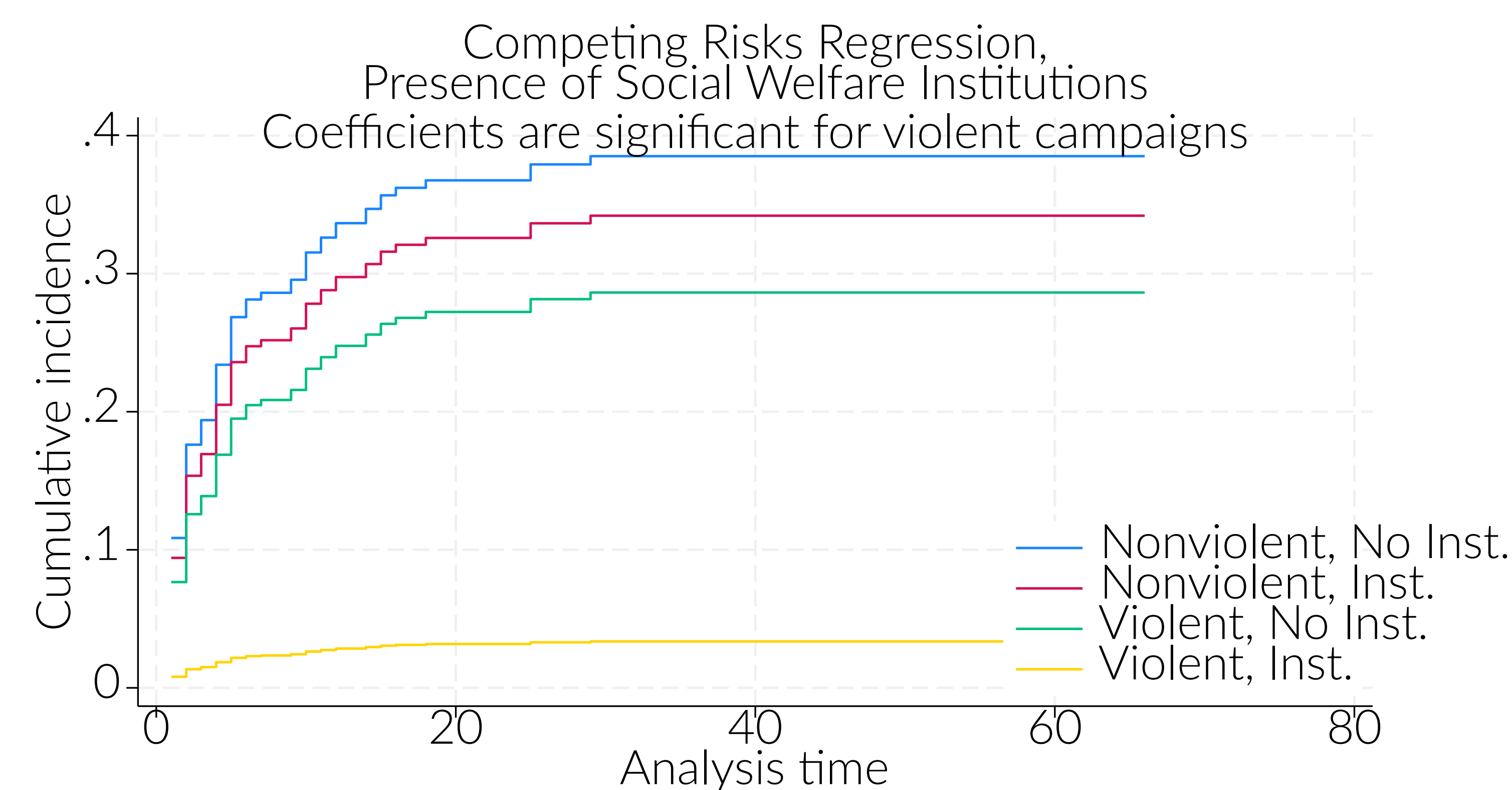
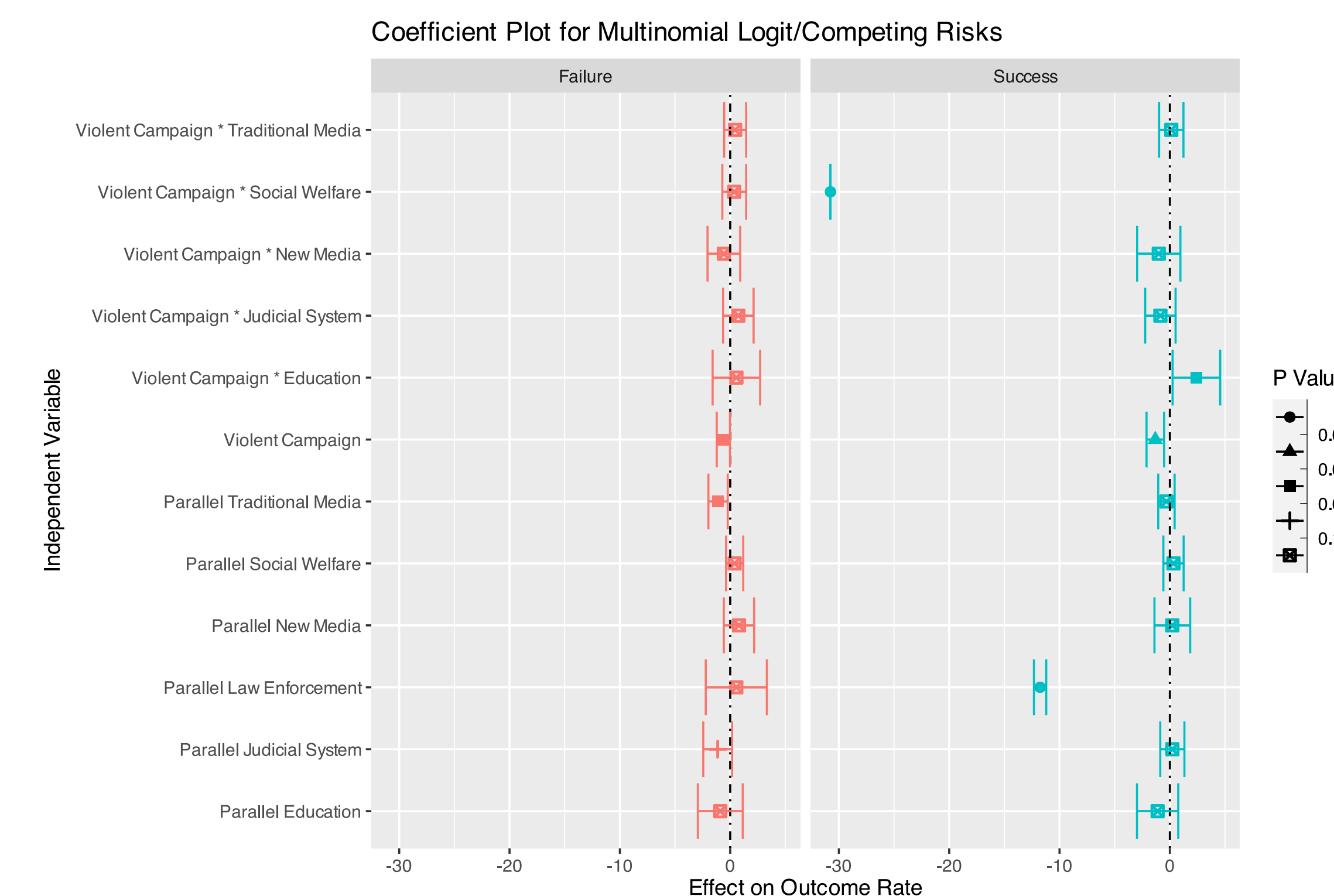
Independent variables:

- Traditional and new media institutions
- Educational and social welfare services
- Law enforcement
- Political party
- Primary method of campaign (nonviolence vs. violence)

Control variables:

- Repression or support of campaign by regime
- Campaign size
- International support of regime
- Cold War, GDP per capita, and colonization history

Campaign Success: Competing Risks



Methods and Model Specifications

Longevity models: Aggregate each campaign and its indicators, measure affect of indicators on length of campaign.

- Linear regression with country fixed effects.

Success models: Use disaggregated campaign-year data in survival modeling.

- Competing risks with success of campaign as end-state of interest and failure as the competing event.
- Multinomial logistic regression on success, failure, and campaign ongoing as a robustness check.

Interpretation

- **Education benefits violent campaigns:** Competing risks and multinomial regression coefficients show significant increases in rates of success for violent campaigns that run educational systems.
- **Social welfare may harm violent campaigns:** Campaigns that use violence and also provide social welfare services tend to fail at higher rates than those that do not.
- **Judicial systems and traditional media lengthen campaigns, education systems shorten them:** Fixed-effects models show that parallel institutions can affect campaign length in divergent directions.

Implications, Limitations, Further Research

Implications:

1. Institutionalization is not a panacea, especially for violent campaigns.
2. Civil resistance campaigns may not get much benefit from investment in parallel institutions.
3. Violent campaigns may have severe negative impacts by building certain non-state institutions.

Limitations:

1. Low number of observations: fixed effects do not fit well, CIs are large.
2. Results can only describe *presence* of parallel institutions, not the nature of them.