

# **Appendix to “Glee and Grievance: Emotive Events and Campaign Size in Nonviolent Resistance”**

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## **Overview**

This document is an appendix to “Glee and Grievance: Emotive Events and Campaign Size in Nonviolent Resistance.” It provides details of: (1) replication materials; (2) descriptive statistics on *participatory performative acts* and *spectacles*, based on our coding, as well as descriptive statistics on all variables used in the analysis; (3) results of robustness tests; (4) the codebook for the two key indicators of *emotive events* that are operationalized in the paper, plus a further variable that was coded alongside the project but not included in the analysis.

## **Replication Materials**

All raw data and the ‘do’ files that will allow for replication of the results presented in the main paper, including the results of robustness tests, are available as supplementary materials.

## **Descriptive Statistics**

Here, we provide a summary of the frequency in nonviolent campaigns of the two sets of emotive events that we coded for this study (according to the codebook below): *participatory performative acts* and *spectacles*.

Overall, our coding reveals that nonviolent campaigns make use of spectacles quite rarely. Table A1 shows that only 90 out of the 369 (24.39%) campaign years we examined offered a spectacle at some point during the year. On the other hand, 217 (58.81%) campaign years included some form of participatory performative act. Explaining why campaigns make use of participatory performances more often than spectacles is outside the scope of this paper. However, we offer three speculative arguments, by way of discussion. First, participatory performances play two roles; they offer selective affective benefits to those who join the performance *and* they can constitute acts of protest unto themselves because the subject matter of the collective performance is typically political. Spectacles, by contrast, may offer affective benefits to participants on the ground but the content of the entertainment may be essentially apolitical (e.g. pop songs), and so the spectacle may rally participants without constituting a substantive act of protest itself, thereby making it potentially less attractive to campaign

organizers as a strategy. Second, spectacles may be relatively risky enterprises; performers, because they are the focus of attention, might become targets for repression (we point to the Russian band Pussy Riot as an example), making recruitment difficult. Third, spectacles that are meant to reach large audiences require setting up heavy equipment (such as stages and sound systems) in advance of events, telegraphing plans to regime authorities. Spectacles may therefore be particularly difficult to defend from repression and surveillance, and feasible only when activists feel the regime lacks the will or capacity to use harsh tactics.

*Table A1: Frequency of Participatory Performative Acts and Spectacles*

<i>Participatory Performative Act</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Cumulative percentage</i>
Absent	152	41.19	41.19
Rare/incidental	103	27.91	69.10
Episodic	62	16.80	85.90
Routinized/institutionalized	52	14.09	100
Total	369	100	
<i>Spectacle</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Cumulative percentage</i>
Absent	279	75.61	75.61
Rare/incidental	40	10.84	86.45
Episodic	21	5.69	92.14
Routinized/institutionalized	29	7.86	100
Total	369	100	

Table A2 below further provides descriptive statistics on all the variables used in the analyses.

*Table A2: Descriptive Statistics*

Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max
Campaign size	357	1.142857	0.941721	0	3
Large or extremely large campaign	357	0.361345	0.481064	0	1
Emotive events $\geq 2$	357	1.521008	1.826069	0	6
Representation Disadvantaged	355	0.159313	0.874681	-1.956	2.892
Inflation	355	66.01008	636.8891	-11.449	11749.63
Electoral Democracy	355	0.356194	0.191962	0.077	0.9

GDP per Capita	355	8.369183	1.745538	0	10.62
Civil Society Repression	355	0.049293	1.169494	-3.182	2.793
Fiscal Capacity	355	0.258276	1.115063	-2.036	2.462
Civil Society Participation	355	0.514958	0.239334	0.056	0.968
Population (logged)	357	16.77506	1.67856	11.522	20.835
Campaign Duration	357	5.420168	10.39298	0	49
Repression	357	2.45098	0.983562	0	3
Campaign Support	350	0.402857	0.491175	0	1
Withdrawal of Support	347	0.07781	0.268259	0	1
Military Expenditure	277	2.645296	2.393072	0	16.9
GDP per Capita Change	357	0.051737	0.145954	-0.64	0.57
Infant Mortality	355	40.99972	32.86064	1.9	136

**Models with Campaign Fixed Effects** (see discussion in main paper)

*Table A3: Ordered Logit and Logit Estimates on the  
Impact of Emotive Events on the Size of Nonviolent Campaigns, 1985-2013*

VARIABLES	(A1) Campaign size	(A2) Campaign size	(A3) Large or extremely large campaign	(A4) Campaign size	(A5) Campaign size
Emotive events	0.611*** (0.231)	0.512** (0.253)	0.240 (0.506)		
Emotive events $\geq 1$				1.083** (0.455)	
Emotive events $\geq 2$					1.289** (0.611)
Representation Disadvantaged		-0.540 (0.743)	-1.951** (0.968)	-0.448 (0.786)	-0.632 (0.729)
Inflation		-0.000224 (0.00332)	-0.00496 (0.00340)	8.11e-05 (0.00337)	-0.000327 (0.00326)
Electoral Democracy		-2.029 (3.835)	-6.416 (4.937)	-1.229 (4.066)	-2.314 (3.718)
GDP per Capita		-0.490 (1.983)	-1.301 (5.806)	-1.036 (2.062)	-0.454 (2.083)
Civil Society Repression		0.0657 (0.541)	0.922 (1.220)	0.195 (0.542)	0.146 (0.522)
Fiscal Capacity		-1.513 (1.121)	-2.835 (1.758)	-1.472 (1.203)	-1.616* (0.919)
Civil Society Participation		7.019*** (2.561)	9.861* (5.832)	6.532** (2.552)	7.124*** (2.574)
Population (logged)		3.043 (5.279)	3.200 (30.85)	4.143 (5.200)	3.009 (4.966)
Campaign Duration		-0.0930 (0.0761)	-0.0126 (0.626)	-0.0992 (0.0782)	-0.0900 (0.0766)
Campaign Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cut 1	-5.053*** (0.600)	45.48 (80.31)		59.70 (78.32)	45.31 (75.03)
Cut 2	-1.961*** (0.340)	48.79 (80.38)		63.01 (78.41)	48.62 (75.15)
Cut 3	1.961*** (0.340)	52.91 (80.63)		67.08 (78.67)	52.73 (75.41)
Constant			-39.64 (556.9)		
Pseudo R	0.4263	0.4497	0.3654	0.4473	0.4487
Observations	357	355	146	355	355

Note: Robust standard errors, clustered on the campaign level, are in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.1$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

**Models with Additional Control Variables** (see discussion in main paper)

*Table A4: Ordered Logit and Logit Estimates on the  
Impact of Emotive Events on the Size of Nonviolent Campaigns, 1985-2013*

VARIABLES	(A6) Campaign size	(A7) Large or extremely large campaign	(A8) Campaign size	(A9) Campaign size
Emotive events	0.416*** (0.141)	0.341** (0.133)		
Emotive events $\geq 1$			0.472 (0.330)	
Emotive events $\geq 2$				0.984*** (0.364)
Representation Disadvantaged	-0.00710 (0.197)	0.149 (0.243)	0.0150 (0.181)	0.0260 (0.197)
Inflation	-5.26e-05 (5.90e-05)	-0.000252** (0.000118)	-3.37e-05 (5.47e-05)	-6.95e-05 (5.40e-05)
Electoral Democracy	1.490 (1.938)	1.368 (1.786)	0.929 (1.994)	0.911 (1.984)
GDP per Capita	0.0333 (0.152)	0.132 (0.267)	0.0360 (0.150)	0.0465 (0.144)
Civil Society Repression	0.0593 (0.269)	-0.254 (0.303)	0.0861 (0.264)	0.0645 (0.267)
Fiscal Capacity	0.164 (0.178)	0.0387 (0.194)	0.232 (0.183)	0.207 (0.178)
Civil Society Participation	1.088 (1.699)	2.206 (1.530)	0.731 (1.885)	1.149 (1.861)
Population (logged)	0.307* (0.166)	0.310* (0.169)	0.330** (0.153)	0.304* (0.157)
Campaign Duration	-0.0556*** (0.0174)	-0.106*** (0.0237)	-0.0541*** (0.0189)	-0.0507*** (0.0194)
Repression	0.176 (0.160)	0.413** (0.210)	0.0854 (0.152)	0.170 (0.148)
Campaign Support	-0.0387 (0.329)	-0.154 (0.385)	0.0832 (0.371)	0.0628 (0.341)
Withdrawal of Support	-0.107 (0.646)	-0.529 (0.697)	0.0233 (0.663)	-0.0579 (0.645)
Military Expenditure	-0.0140 (0.0836)	-0.0778 (0.125)	0.0571 (0.0752)	0.0255 (0.0747)
GDP per Capita Change	0.334 (0.692)	0.401 (0.689)	0.153 (0.658)	0.127 (0.681)
Infant Mortality	0.00628 (0.00634)	0.00460 (0.00919)	0.00694 (0.00627)	0.00606 (0.00589)
Cut1	6.460** (2.555)		6.332*** (2.428)	6.322*** (2.405)
Cut2	8.222*** (2.618)		8.013*** (2.497)	8.055*** (2.475)
Cut3	10.29*** (2.762)		9.985*** (2.635)	10.06*** (2.610)
Constant		-9.643*** (3.601)		
Wald chi2	41.84***	51.84***	44.13***	44.58***
Observations	267	267	267	267

Note: Robust standard errors, clustered on the campaign level, are in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.1$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

## Emotive Events Database Codebook

Compiled as a supplementary document for the project:

‘Glee and Grievance:

Emotive Events and Campaign Size in Nonviolent Resistance’

Last updated: 14 July, 2021 (earlier versions available upon request)

### Summary

The Emotive Events Database (EED) adds three new variables to a subset of the Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes (NAVCO) Dataset version 2.1 (Chenoweth & Shay, 2017). The EED adds these variables to all nonviolent NAVCO 2.1 campaign-years occurring between 1985 and 2013 (although campaigns which began prior to the study period were excluded from coding). The added variables are: *spectacle*, *participatory performative act*, and *mass protest*. The first two variables are intended to measure the use of emotive events by campaign organizers. By emotive events, we mean activities that evince rewarding or positive emotions in attending participants. The third variable (which is not used in the accompanying study), *mass protest*, measures the regularity with which campaigns gather participants in place to undertake campaign activities.

### Coding procedures

Graduate students were recruited as research assistants (RAs) to add EED variables to a subset of NAVCO campaigns. Some of these RAs had prior experience in coding characteristics of nonviolent campaigns for another research project, and they were assigned the campaigns they had previously coded (to leverage their existing expertise). In all other cases, campaigns were randomly assigned. With agreement of the NAVCO project, coders used sources cited in assigned NAVCO campaigns to search for information relevant to EED variables. When these sources provided insufficient information to code EED variables, coders undertook their own research to find pertinent information. This research was conducted on a case-by-case basis, following practices established by conventional coding projects like NAVCO and the Uppsala Conflict Data Program’s (UCDP) Geo-referenced Events Dataset (GED) (Sundberg and Melander, 2013). In practice, this means that RAs consulted digitized media archives, scholarly articles and books, and NGO and INGO reports, establishing a clear narrative of events pertaining to EED variables, often ‘triangulating’ between a range of sources. To maximize reliability and consistency among coders, RAs attended weekly coding

meetings with the project manager to discuss recent coding decisions. These meetings were intended to constantly reinforce and harmonize RAs' understandings of coding rules.

**Variable name: Spectacle**

**Description:** The presence of some kind of spectacle (e.g. theatrical, musical, cinematic, dance performance) or other form of entertainment, which is organized as part of a nonviolent campaign and is delivered to individuals who participate in the campaign.

**Coding rules:** This variable relates to the provision of some kind of performative entertainment to participants in a nonviolent campaign. That entertainment could take various forms but common spectacles include live music concerts, theatre productions, dance shows, film showings, and beyond. The content of the entertainment may, or may not, be directly related to the overall goals and/or moral claims of the campaign.

In this category, performative acts are produced by a small group of participants and made available to most, or all, other campaign participants. Thus, most campaign participants observe, rather than contribute to, the performance. At the same time, since the entertainment will ordinarily involve some kind of live show, the full entertainment experience will be exclusively available to campaign participants who are physically present in locations where performances are being shown.

This is an ordinal variable, in which the variable should be coded as 1 if a spectacle is observed at some point during a campaign-year but performances remain rare and isolated events. If forms of entertainment are provided on numerous occasions throughout a campaign-year but there is no clear calendar or pattern to the provision of entertainment, then a code of 2 is appropriate. If entertainment is provided alongside a campaign regularly (or even constantly), so that participants and/or outside observers come to expect that entertainment will be provided in a predictable fashion, then a code of 3 should be recorded. If no spectacles are observed, then a code of 0 should be allocated, and if information cannot be found, then the variable should be coded as -99.

**Coding:** 0=no spectacles; 1=rare/isolated; 2=episodic; 3=routinized/institutionalized; -99 = unknown.

**Variable name: Participatory Performative Act<sup>1</sup>**

**Description:** The presence of performative acts that are organized as part of a nonviolent campaign, and which involve the active participation of many, or most, campaign participants.

**Coding rules:** This variable relates to the organization and execution of performative acts in which many, if not most, campaign participants (present for a given campaign-event) become co-performers. Such participatory performative acts can take various forms but must entail the use of a performing or visual art, such as theatrical or dramatic acting, coordinated chanting or singing of protest songs, coordinated displays of costumes, coordinated dancing, and beyond. The content of the participatory performative acts may, or may not, be directly related to the overall goals and/or moral claims of the campaign.

In this category, performative acts are produced by many, if not most, campaign participants. Thus, rather than simply observing acts, a significant proportion of campaign participants actively contribute to the production of performative acts as co-performers.

This is an ordinal variable, in which the variable should be coded as 1 if a participatory performative act is observed at some point during a campaign-year but such performances remain rare and isolated events. If participatory performances are observed on numerous occasions throughout a campaign-year but there is no clear calendar or pattern to the production and delivery of such performances, then a code of 2 is appropriate. If participatory performative acts take place regularly (or even constantly) during a campaign, so that participants and/or outside observers come to expect that participation will involve contributing to a performative act, then a code of 3 should be recorded. If no participatory performative acts are observed, then a code of 0 should be allocated, and if information cannot be found, then the variable should be coded as -99.

**Coding:** 0=no participatory performative acts; 1=rare/isolated; 2=episodic; 3=routinized/institutionalized; -99 = unknown.

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<sup>1</sup> In the replication data for the article, the ‘participatory performative act’ variable is labelled ‘mass performance’. This reflects the shorthand label that was applied to ‘participatory performative act’ when the coding was recorded.

**Variable name: Mass Protest**

**Description:** The presence of direct, nonviolent action which is organized as part of a nonviolent campaign, and which involves the active participation of many, or most, campaign participants.

**Coding rules:** This variable refers to resistance methods of concentration (see Chenoweth and Stephan, 2011: 55), during which participants congregate in public spaces in large groups to symbolically or physically reject the authority of and/or withhold their obedience from a regime. These methods include a diverse array of tactics, such as occupations of public spaces (including sit-ins and the founding of protest-camps), protest marches, and demonstrations. This type of action excludes resistance methods of dispersion, for which campaign participants physically disperse from one another in the course of challenging a regime. These tactics include boycotts, strikes (when not accompanied by picketing or occupations), and stay-aways.

This is an ordinal variable which should be coded as 1 if resistance methods of concentration are observed at some point during a campaign-year but such tactics are manifested in rare and isolated events. If such tactics are undertaken on numerous occasions throughout a campaign-year but there is no clear calendar or pattern to their occurrence, then a code of 2 is appropriate. If a campaign uses tactics regularly (or even constantly), so that participants and/or outside observers come to expect that these tactics will be undertaken in a predictable fashion, then a code of 3 should be recorded. If no such tactics are observed, then a code of 0 should be allocated, and if information cannot be found, then the variable should be coded as -99.

**Coding:** 0=no direct action; 1=rare/isolated; 2=episodic; 3=routinized/institutionalized; -99 = unknown.

**Bibliography**

Chenoweth, E., & Shay, C. (2017). Updating Nonviolent Campaigns: Introducing NAVCO 2.1. Presented at the American Political Science Association, San Francisco.

Chenoweth, E., and Stephan, M.J. (2011). *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (New York: Columbia University Press).

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