

## Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i>	ix
<i>List of Tables</i>		x
<i>Acknowledgments</i>		xi
I Introduction		I
I.1 Introduction		I
I.2 Case Selection		4
I.3 Existing Explanations for Participation in Unarmed Resistance		7
I.3.1 Grievances		8
I.3.2 Selective Incentives		11
I.3.3 Social Structures		12
I.4 Definitions		17
I.4.1 State-Controlled Mass Institutions		17
I.4.2 Anti-regime Resistance		19
I.5 The Argument		20
I.5.1 Educational Institutions		25
I.5.2 Disciplinary Institutions		28
I.5.3 The Persistence of Participation		30
I.5.4 Civil Society and the Nationwide Diffusion of Protest		32
I.6 Scope Conditions		34
I.7 Study Design		35
I.7.1 Field Research and Methods		38
I.8 Plan of the Book		43

2	The Rise of Anti-regime Resistance	46
2.1	The 1967 War and Palestinian Society Under Occupation	49
2.2	Military Rule, Mass Imprisonment, and Censorship	54
2.3	The Resurgence of Palestinian Nationalism and Deepening Nationalist Grievances	60
2.4	The Initial Weakness of Palestinian Civil Society	65
2.5	The Camp David Accords and New Avenues for Political Participation	67
2.6	Repression, Institution-Building, and the Growing Coordination of Protest	71
2.7	The First Intifadah and Its Aftermath	76
2.8	Conclusions	81
3	Educational Institutions and Participation in Resistance	82
3.1	Introduction	82
3.2	The Primacy of Palestinian Schools in Resistance	85
3.3	Causal Mechanisms	88
3.3.1	Wide Social Networks	89
3.3.2	Communication and Coordination	93
3.3.3	Safety in Numbers and the Risks of Protest	95
3.4	Hypotheses	97
3.5	Survey Design	100
3.5.1	Mitigating Bias in Survey Research	102
3.6	Main Survey Measures	104
3.6.1	Participation in Anti-regime Resistance	104
3.6.2	Measuring and Modeling Integration into Educational Institutions	107
3.7	Results	108
3.7.1	Details of Statistical Models	112
3.7.2	Accounting for Missing Data and Selection Bias	113
3.7.3	Additional Robustness Checks	115
3.8	Testing the Causal Mechanisms	116
3.8.1	The Impact of Schooling on the Type of Resistance	118
3.9	Alternative Explanations	119

*Contents*

vii

3.9.1	National Identity and Grievances	120
3.9.2	Political Interest and Awareness	122
3.9.3	Relative Deprivation	124
3.10	Conclusions	126
4	Disciplinary Institutions and Participation in Resistance	128
4.1	Introduction	128
4.2	Integration into Disciplinary Institutions, Networks, and Protest Participation in Palestine	131
4.3	Testing the Argument	139
4.3.1	Robustness Checks	142
4.4	Testing the Causal Mechanisms	146
4.4.1	Alternative Explanations: Radicalization	148
4.5	Conclusions	151
5	Beyond State Institutions: Civil Society and the Coordination of Resistance	152
5.1	Introduction	152
5.2	The Rise of Civic Networks and a Nationwide Protest Movement	155
5.2.1	The Making of a Network: The Case of the Shabiba Youth Movement	157
5.2.2	The Expansion of Civic Networks	160
5.2.3	Civic Networks as Information Conduits and Rising Protest Coordination	163
5.3	Civic Networks and Participation in Resistance: An Empirical Analysis	166
5.3.1	Controlling for Selection into Civic Networks	167
5.3.2	Civic Networks and Participation in Anti-regime Resistance	170
5.4	Conclusions	173
6	Conclusions	175
6.1	Introduction	175
6.2	Academic Contributions and Implications	176
6.3	Beyond Palestine: State Institutions and Resistance in Comparative Perspective	180
6.3.1	State Schools in South Africa's Struggle against Apartheid	181

6.3.2	State Institutions and Protest against Egypt's Mubarak Regime	185
6.3.3	State Institutions and Technological Change	193
7	Methodological Appendix	196
7.1	Survey Design	196
7.1.1	Sampling Procedure and Sample Characteristics	198
7.2	Survey Administration, Questionnaire Design, and Data Structure	203
	<i>Bibliography</i>	206
	<i>Index</i>	218