Contents

List of Figures  ix
List of Tables  x
Acknowledgments xi
1 Introduction 1
  1.1 Introduction 1
  1.2 Case Selection 4
  1.3 Existing Explanations for Participation in Unarmed Resistance
    1.3.1 Grievances 8
    1.3.2 Selective Incentives 11
    1.3.3 Social Structures 12
  1.4 Definitions 17
    1.4.1 State-Controlled Mass Institutions 17
    1.4.2 Anti-regime Resistance 19
  1.5 The Argument 20
    1.5.1 Educational Institutions 25
    1.5.2 Disciplinary Institutions 28
    1.5.3 The Persistence of Participation 30
    1.5.4 Civil Society and the Nationwide Diffusion of Protest 32
  1.6 Scope Conditions 34
  1.7 Study Design 35
    1.7.1 Field Research and Methods 38
  1.8 Plan of the Book 43
# Contents

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

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
Contents

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

Bibliography 206
Index 218