Autonomy Retraction and Secessionist Conflict

Abstract

Case study evidence suggests both that ethnic groups with autonomous institutional arrangements are more prone to engage in secessionist conflict, while other studies suggests that autonomy dampens the demand for more direct rule and thus is associated with less secessionist conflict. Quantitative investigations of the effect of autonomy on separatism have found little support for a clear empirical link between autonomy and conflict. We argue that this discrepancy stems in part from conflating two distinct situations in the implicit reference category—non-autonomy. The lack of autonomy is too heterogeneous to serve as a useful baseline for evaluating the effect of autonomy, since it contains both groups that have never had autonomy and groups that had autonomy, but lost it. We hypothesize that, while groups that were never autonomous may be unlikely to mobilize due to a lack of collective action capacity, and currently autonomous groups may possess the capacity, but lack the desire, groups that have lost autonomy retain *both* powerful incentives and the capability to strive for secession. Using a new data set of 347 ethnically distinct groups in 103 states between 1960 and 2003, we provide strong evidence that autonomous groups are the *most* likely to secede, while currently autonomous are significantly less so, and never-autonomous groups are the *least* likely to secede. These findings remain robust even when controlling for other confounding factors such as political exclusion, regime type, region and gdp per capita..

Does political autonomy satisfy the demand for more self-determination, or rather foster the capacity and whet the appetite for independence? Some scholars see autonomy as the main mechanism to resolve tensions and redistributive issues between the central government and spatially-concentrated, culturally-distinct groups (Bermeo 2002; Bermeo and Amoretti 2003; Diamond 1999; Stepan 1999). Others studies show that autonomy can actually exacerbate relations between the state and ethnic groups, for it cultivates the capacity for self-rule without significantly reducing desire for more of it (Brancati 2009; Bunce 1999; Coppieters 2001; Cornell 2002; Roeder 1991). We argue that this discrepancy stems in part from conflating two distinct situations in the implicit reference category—non-autonomy. The lack of autonomy is too heterogeneous to serve as a useful baseline for evaluating the effect of autonomy, since it contains both groups that have never had autonomy and groups that had autonomy, but lost it. We hypothesize that, while never autonomous groups may be unlikely to mobilize due to a lack of collective action capacity--and currently autonomous groups may possess the capacity, but lack the desire--groups that have lost autonomy retain *both* powerful incentives and the capability to strive for secession.

Lost autonomy, we suggest, increases the likelihood of separatism by fostering ethnic resentment, reducing the viability of traditional political strategies, and significantly weakening the central government's ability to make credible commitments. Moreover, retracting autonomy does not *necessarily* curb the group's collective action capacity that was gained under autonomy, and may even increase the cost of free riding within the group due to enhanced group solidarity, thus making it a particularly powerful basis for secession. We develop this logic, and then three major empirical implications

using a new data set with 347 ethnically distinct groups in 103 states between 1960 and 2003. The results indicate that formerly autonomous groups are the *most* likely to secede, while currently autonomous are significantly less so, and never-autonomous groups are the *least* likely to secede, consistent with the theoretical expectations. We then illustrate our argument with a discussion of two different cases--the Assamese in India and Tibet in China. We conclude with a discussion of the several limitations to our study, and with implications for understanding the link between group autonomy and secessionist conflict. These cases were selected to show the strength of influence lost autonomy has on separatist activity across varying levels of democracy, and also how lost autonomy does not automatically lead to violent conflict, but rather instills ethnic groups with the capabilities to maintain secessionist campaigns.

The State of the Debate

Proponents argue that political decentralization is the primary means by which a large multi-ethnic state can hold itself together while simultaneously relieving ethno-regional tensions. Most recently, decentralization has been touted as a potential solution to political issues in Iraq and Afghanistan. . Nonetheless, it has its detractors, opponents and skeptics who argue that centrifugal concessions to ethnic groups create a "slippery slope" of increased demands for self-determination In this view, autonomy is unlikely to satisfy a group's demands for self-rule, and is more likely to reinforce ethnic particularism and prejudices, which provide group leaders with both symbolic and material resources to mobilize local populations against the central state. In short, they argue, autonomy provides the basis for secessionism (Cornell, 2002, p. 252-256; Hale 2000; Kymlikca 2008).

To be certain, several attempts to resolve this discrepancy exist, but as Hechter and Okamoto (2001) put it: the empirical record is "murky": autonomy apparently has no consistent empirical relationship with separatist activity, even though theories are logical coherent and there is case study evidence to support both arguments (Cornell 2002, Roeder 1991) Below, we outline what is to the best of our knowledge a novel approach to addressing this discrepancy between theory and empirics, and advancing the debate between proponents and opponents of autonomy as a solution to ethnic conflict.

Our Approach

We begin by suggesting that the implicit baseline category of "non-autonomous" groups may be a central reason for some of the confusion. "Non-autonomous" status, we argue, masks two distinct scenarios: one in which an ethnic group has *never* been autonomous, and another in which an ethnic group *lost* their autonomy. We expect groups with no history of autonomy will be unlikely to display separatist behavior, since on average they lack both the potential leadership and grievances required to facilitate secessionist collective action (Cuffe and Siroky 2012). Groups that have never been autonomous may (or may not) possess grievances against the central state, yet for reasons widely discussed in the literature they lack the collective action capacity required to launch a sustained separatist campaign. By contrast, currently autonomous groups are more likely to have the capacity to overcome collective action problems, which leads us to expect somewhat more separatist activity than groups that have never

been autonomous, but this capacity is irrelevant if autonomous groups lack the desire for secession because the status quo satisfies their demand for indirect rule.[1]

We expect significantly more separatist activity from groups that were recently deprived of autonomy. The retraction of autonomy reduces the cost of "exit" for a group, while also providing tools to overcome collective action problems such as leadership and political infrastructure similar to those enjoyed by groups that remain autonomous. Retracted autonomy also considerably weakens the government's ability to make credible commitments that might prevent tensions from escalating, making "voice" seem less likely to yield positive results (North and Weingast 1989).   We summarize our theoretical framework in Table 1, and derive the following two hypotheses.

Table 1: Theoretical Expectations

	Low Capacity	**High Capacity**
Weak Motives	Never autonomous, included groups	Currently autonomous groups
Strong Motives	Never autonomous, excluded groups	Historically autonomous groups

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[1] We are of course cognizant that the meaning of autonomy is contextual, and may vary not only from place to place but also over time. Perhaps more important for our purposes here is to be aware of the possible measurement error that could be introduced by including autonomies in autocracies where the degree of self-rule is merely *pro forma*. In China, for instance, formal autonomy is mainly a fiction—Xinjiang and Tibet are arguably less autonomous than Shanghai or Guangdong—and we do our best to account for this crucial nuance in our coding of autonomy status across countries.

Hypothesis 1: Groups that have been deprived of autonomy are more likely to pursue separatism than currently autonomous groups.

Hypothesis 1a: Autonomous groups will be more likely to pursue separatism than groups with no history of autonomy.

Data Description and Measurement

The data utilized in our analyses are culled from three primary sources: the Ethnic Power Relations dataset, the Minorities at Risk Project, and our own classification of select ethnic groups drawing upon our own and others' regional expertise.[2] The unit of analysis throughout is the ethnic group. Groups were split into two different datasets covering different historical periods: the first begins at the end of the Second World War and continues until the fall of the Soviet Union and the third wave of democratization; the second dataset covers the period from that time to the present. .[3] We refer to these two periods in the analysis below as "pre-Third Wave" and "post-Third Wave". We did this to account for the differential opportunities and pressures on separatist ethnic groups during and after the end of the Cold War. [4] The "pre-Third Wave" period covers 277 ethnic groups, and the post-Third wave data set contains 302 groups. [5]

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[2] We used the 2003 release of the MAR data. To these data, we added 15 ethnic groups from the former USSR and Russia.

[3] This included 1995, 2000, and 2003. 1990 was left out of the data as we felt this date was too close to the revolutions in Eastern Europe to provide reliable information.

[4] All variables were aggregated on the group level for every 5-year period in each data. The modal value was used for all variables, in the case of multiple modes the mean value between the modes was used. A list of groups that changed autonomy status or separatism status (or both) in the data are available in the online appendix.

[5] The difference between the datasets does not imply ethnic groups disappeared; rather groups displayed varying levels of missingness, particularly in the period immediately after the Second World War.

Our chief independent variable is a trichotomous measure of a group's autonomy status. Autonomy was defined using the same criteria as the Minorities at Risk (MAR) project, and each group was coded as either autonomous, never autonomous, or lost autonomy (MAR 2009).[6] Groups that are currently autonomous were easy to parse out. The trick was to separate the cases of lost autonomy from groups that were never autonomous, which required going back to the historical record in some cases. In other situations, qualitative information in MAR was sufficient to determine whether the group lost autonomy and, if so, when.[7]

In addition to the groups' autonomy status, we also include a measure of the group's spatial concentration. If a group is highly concentrated, it is more likely to provide in-group social and economic services to its members, a key role that must be played by rebel organizations aiming at secession (Toft, 2003; Mampilly, 2010). We base our coding of spatial concentration on MAR's four-point ordinal scale.[8]

To account for potential differences across regime types, we include a tri-chotomous measure of a nation's regime type, following Epstein et al (2006), and we formulate the following hypothesis.

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[6] The classification of the cases originates in the MAR variable, *PRSTAT*, which describes the prior status of each individual group from never autonomous to autonomous and cephalous all the way to former states and republics. We also created an index of separatism, which follows MAR's separatism index (SEPX), and codes the presence of sustained political or violent separatism over the past half century.

[7] All groups with an "autlost" value greater than 1 were coded as having lost their autonomy, and those with an "autlost" value less than 1 were coded as never autonomous. We coded groups with an "autlost" value of 1 in two ways: if the group had a recognized year of loss of autonomy, we coded them as having lost autonomy. If the group had no specific date, then we coded them as never autonomous.

[8] This variable measures percentage of an ethnic group living within a particular region of the state. Non-Mar groups added were assigned according to these criteria.

Hypothesis 2: Separatism is more common in hybrid regimes and democracies as compared to autocracies.

In the average hybrid regime, state capacity to restrict group activity is less than in the average autocracy and democracy. In democracies, groups faces a lower probability of violent repression from the state, lowering the costs of separatist activity. Both situations leads us to expect a higher incidence of separatism in hybrid regimes and democracies than in autocracies. We have no specific expectations of likelihood of separatism in hybrid regimes and democracies. On the one hand, hybrid states may have lower capabilities to restrict or repress separatist conflict, democracies face far higher costs for restricting minority protests, limit the state's options.

Hypothesis 3: The number of excluded groups within a state will increase likelihood of separatism on the group level.

Using the Ethnic Power Relations data, we include a measure of the total number of excluded groups in the state and expect that, all else equal, the likelihood that a group engages in separatist activity increases with the number of excluded groups (Wucherpfennig et al 2012). We also control for potentially confounding factors, such as GDP per capita at the national level and region of the globe. [9]

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[9] The model below uses the mean GDP for the time period in question. We are aware of some difficulties, especially considering many ethnic conflicts did not start in 1945 and we would expect the value of GDP *at the beginning of conflict* to make a major difference. To account for these issues, we tested a variety of GDPPC calculations, including the geometric mean throughout the period, and a factor broken by quintiles. None of the varying models showed substantive differences.

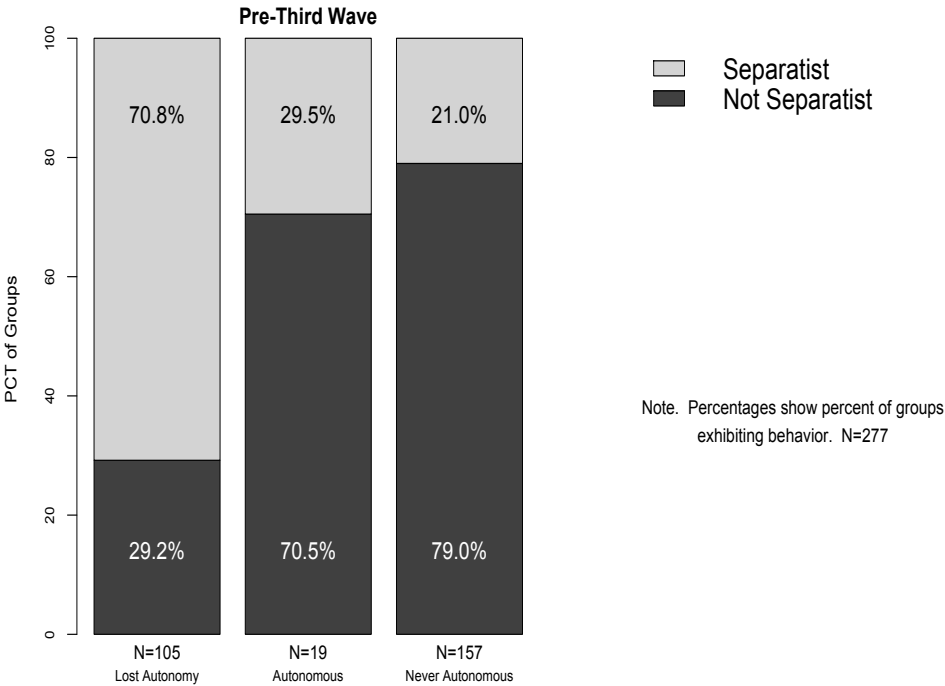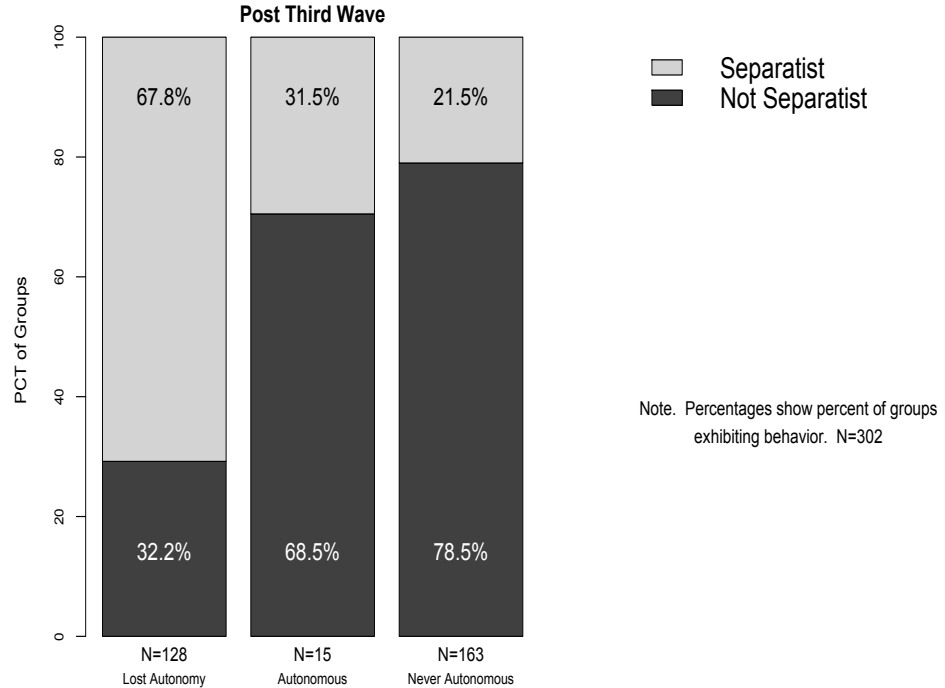**Figure 1: Pre-Third Wave analysis of Autonomy status and Separatism.**

Pre-Third Wave

PCT of Groups

70.8%	29.5%	21.0%
29.2%	70.5%	79.0%

N=105
Lost Autonomy

N=19
Autonomous

N=157
Never Autonomous

☐ Separatist
■ Not Separatist

Note. Percentages show percent of groups
exhibiting behavior. N=277

Figure 2-Post-Third Wave analysis of autonomy status and separatism

Post Third Wave

PCT of Groups

67.8%	31.5%	21.5%
32.2%	68.5%	78.5%

N=128
Lost Autonomy

N=15
Autonomous

N=163
Never Autonomous

☐ Separatist
■ Not Separatist

Note. Percentages show percent of groups
exhibiting behavior. N=302

Data Analysis and Results

As Figures 1 and 2 show, the bivariate evidence is consistent with our first two hypotheses about the importance of lost autonomy for predicting separatist activity. Our second hypothesis that autonomous groups should be slightly more prone to separatism than groups that have never been autonomous also appears to be compatible with the evidence. To investigate these hypotheses further, we estimate a logistic regression model on the group-level data and the on the country-level data while controlling for several potentially confounding factors.

$$P\ (Separatism)_{Group}$$
$$= \ \beta_0 + \beta(Autonomy\ Status) + \beta(Regime\ Type)$$
$$+ \beta(Group\ Concentration) + \beta(Excluded\ Groups_{country}) + \beta(Region)$$
$$+ \beta(GDPPC) + \ \varepsilon$$

The results remain supportive of our first two hypotheses. We find that the loss of autonomy increased the likelihood of separatism both before and after the Third Wave of democratization, consistent with Hypothesis 1. Yet, the results also indicate that there was no significant difference in the likelihood of separatist activity between currently autonomous groups and group that have never been autonomous, which is contra our expectations from Hypothesis 2. After the Third Wave, separatism became more likely in both democracies and hybrid regimes compared to autocracies, consistent with Hypothesis 3, yet we found little evidence of such an effect prior to the third wave of democratization.

Finally, contradictory to hypothesis 3 *and* the findings presented in Wucherpfennig et al (2012), we do not find evidence that the number of excluded

groups within a given state is associated with more separatist activity.[10] We find that, after the Third Wave, GDP per capita reduces separatism slightly, but that it had no discernable effect on separatism before the Third Wave.

Table 2: Results of Logistic Regression

	Group-level Variables		Country-level Variables		Dichotomous Autonomy Classification		Full Model	
	Pre-Third Wave	Post-Third Wave	Pre-Third Wave	Post-Third Wave	Pre-Third Wave	Post-Third Wave	Pre-Third Wave	Post-Third Wave
(Intercept)	-1.55 (0.74)**	-2.37 (0.99)*	0.22 (1.89)	3.6 (1.5)*	-2.12 (2.24)	0.04 (1.73)	-1.92 (2.33)	0.11 (1.8)
Lost Autonomy	1.96 (0.4)**	1.86 (0.68)*	--	--	--	--	2.02 (0.39)**	2.08 (0.63)**
Non-Autonomous	-0.06 (0.4)	0.17 (0.69)	--	--	1.08 (0.37)**	1.4 (0.57)*	-0.01 (0.39)	0.31 (0.63)
Partial Democracy	--	--	-0.68 (0.55)	1.35 (0.37)**	-0.4 (0.64)	1.43 (0.4)**	-0.66 (0.72)	1.6 (0.48)**
Democracy	--	--	0.56 (0.71)	1.43 (0.51)*	0.65 (0.77)	1.98 (0.59)**	0.52 (0.84)	1.87 (0.63)**
Group Concentration	0.64 (0.22)**	0.85 (0.18)**	--	--	0.85 (0.2)**	1.04 (0.17)**	0.63 (0.23)**	0.9 (0.19)**
E. Europe and Fmr USSR	0.18 (0.84)	-0.45 (0.68)	-0.6 (0.95)	-0.03 (0.49)	-0.07 (1.24)	0.31 (0.61)	0.04 (1.28)	-0.2 (0.73)
Latin America	-3.6 (1.06)**	-2.92 (0.86)**	-3.59 (1.09)*	-2.6 (0.84)**	-4.18 (1.25)**	-3.38 (0.91)**	-3.65 (1.16)**	-2.97 (0.89)**
N. Africa and Middle East	-0.35 (0.84)	-0.01 (0.81)	0.07 (0.69)	1.17 (0.58)*	0.01 (0.84)	1.36 (0.72)	-0.33 (1.01)	1.08 (0.88)
Sub-Saharan Africa	-1.7 (0.66)*	-1.55 (0.65)*	-0.89 (0.54)	-0.98 (0.52)	-1.46 (0.62)*	-1.5 (0.58)*	-1.69 (0.66)*	-1.59 (0.64)*
Western Democracies	0.03 (0.63)	0.24 (0.68)	-0.77 (1.19)	1.39 (0.77)	-0.12 (1.42)	1.92 (1.04)	-0.69 (1.68)	1.63 (1.21)
Excluded Groups	-0.03 (0.02)	0 (0.02)	--	--	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Logged GDPPC	--	--	0.01 (0.33)	-0.66 (0.23)	-0.06 (0.41)	-0.69 (0.27)*	0.06 (0.43)	-0.6 (0.31)*
N	282	306	282	306	282	306	282	306
Clusters	83	103	83	103	83	103	83	103
AIC	283.99	319.56	353.59	378.16	325.52	334.02	287.96	303.52
Log Likelihood	-131.99	-149.78	-167.79	-180.08	-150.76	-155.01	-130.98	-138.76

Note: Standard Errors in parentheses. * indicates p<.05, ** indicates p<.01

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[10] These results hold using a simple dichotomous autonomy classification. However, excluded groups becomes significant when we remove clustering by country.

The results indicate that our core claim about autonomy retraction is supported

by the evidence in both time periods, and at both the country-level and the group-level.

We show that losing autonomy is far more likely to lead to separatism than autonomy

per se. Specifically, before the Third Wave our results indicate groups that had lost their

autonomy were 33% more likely to engage in separatism. After the Third Wave, groups

who have lost autonomy are almost (48%) twice as likely to secede as autonomous

groups. The results in table 3 also indicate that, for a dichotomous autonomy

classification, non-autonomous groups were more likely to engage in separatism. These

findings emphasize the contribution of our findings to the literature, illustrating the

importance of evaluation a group's likelihood to secede based on both their current

status but also if their autonomy has been retracted.

The relationship between regime type and separatism is not quite as clear.

Holding all other variables at their respective means, prior to the Third Wave groups in

democracies had a 9% higher likelihood of separatism (22%) compared to autonomous

groups, however contradictory to Hypothesis 3, groups in hybrid regimes were 5% less

likely to engage in separatist action relative to groups compared to autocracies. After

the third wave, however, our findings support hypothesis 2, with separatism less likely

in autocracies as compared to hybrid regimes and democracies.

In Figure 3, we illustrate the substantive effect of losing autonomy on the

likelihood of separatist activity. The violin plot shows the distribution of the combined

probabilities generated by the Pre and Post-Third Wave models in Table 3 (Hintze and

Nelson 1998). The plot shows, first, that groups which have lost autonomy are much

more likely to engage in separatist activity than currently autonomous or never

autonomous groups. Second, examining the full distribution of predictions, it shows that there is more variation among previously autonomous groups than among currently autonomous or never autonomous groups. That said, of the vast majority of previously autonomous groups (81%) have a greater than .5 predicted probability of separatism, compared to .05 and .11 for autonomous and never autonomous groups, respectively.

Figure 3.

Predicted Likelihood of Separatism
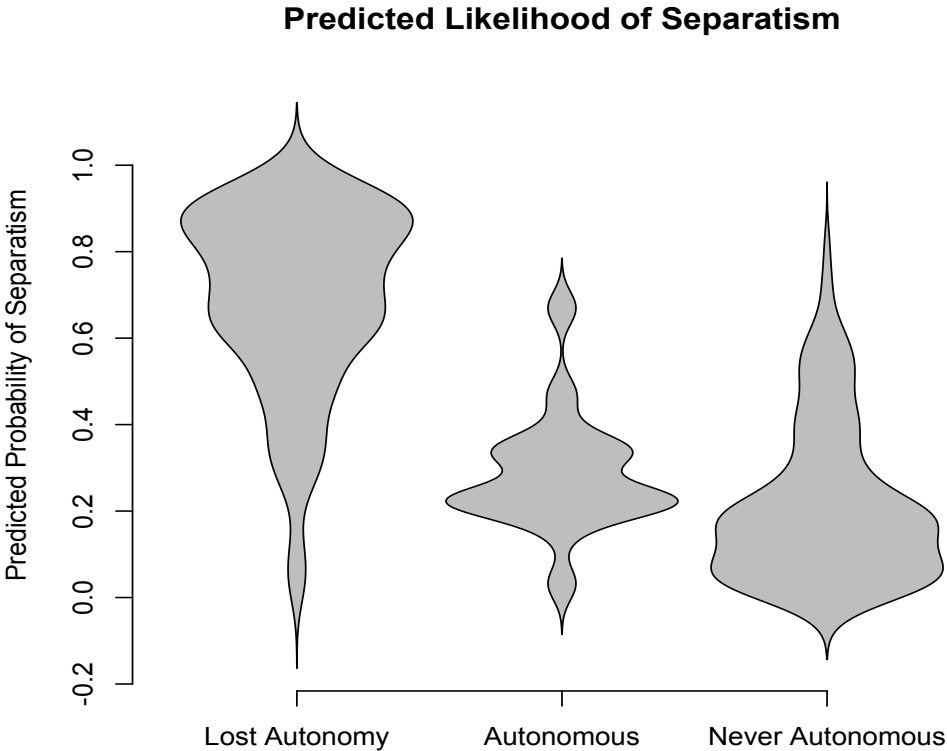
It is also important to validate our trichotomous conceptualization and operationalization of group autonomy by comparing it with a dichotomous measure of autonomy. In Figures 4 and 5, we show that our trichotomous classification out-performs a similar dichotomous classification in predicting separatism. Our model

predicted 67% of instances of separatism correctly, compared to 52% using the

dichotomous model in the pre-third wave period. After the Third Wave, our model

predicted 72% instances of separatism correctly, whereas a model using a dichotomous

classification predicted 64% correctly. Figure 4 illustrates these findings visually using

separation plots (Greenhill et al 2011).

Figure 4: Pre and Post -Third Wave Comparison of Dichotomous and Trichotomous Autonomy Classifications

Pre Third Wave Separation Plot with Dichotomous Autonomy Classification

Pre Third Wave Separation Plot with Trichotomous Autonomy Classification

Post Third Wave Separation Plot with Dichotomous Autonomy Classification

Post Third Wave Separation Plot with Trichotomous Autonomy Classification

Lighter-colored bars indicate a non-event; in this case, no separatist activity. Darker colors indicate an event; in this case, separatist activity. Thus, the larger proportion of dark regions towards the right side of the plot, where separatism is predicted to occur, the better the model at predicting separatist behavior. The larger the proportion of dark regions towards the left side, where separatism is predicted not to occur, the worse the model is performing.

Figure 5 shows ROC curves for the trichotmous and dichotomous models, and suggests that the models with the trichotmous operationalization of autonomy perform between 5-7% better than models with dichotomous measures of autonomy. We are the first to point out that the difference is not drastic. One obvious reason, which we highlighted in discussing the violin plots, is that formerly autonomous groups as a category is still quite heterogeneous, and calls for further disaggregation.

Figure 5: ROC plots comparing Dichotomous and Trichotomous Classifications in Both time periods.
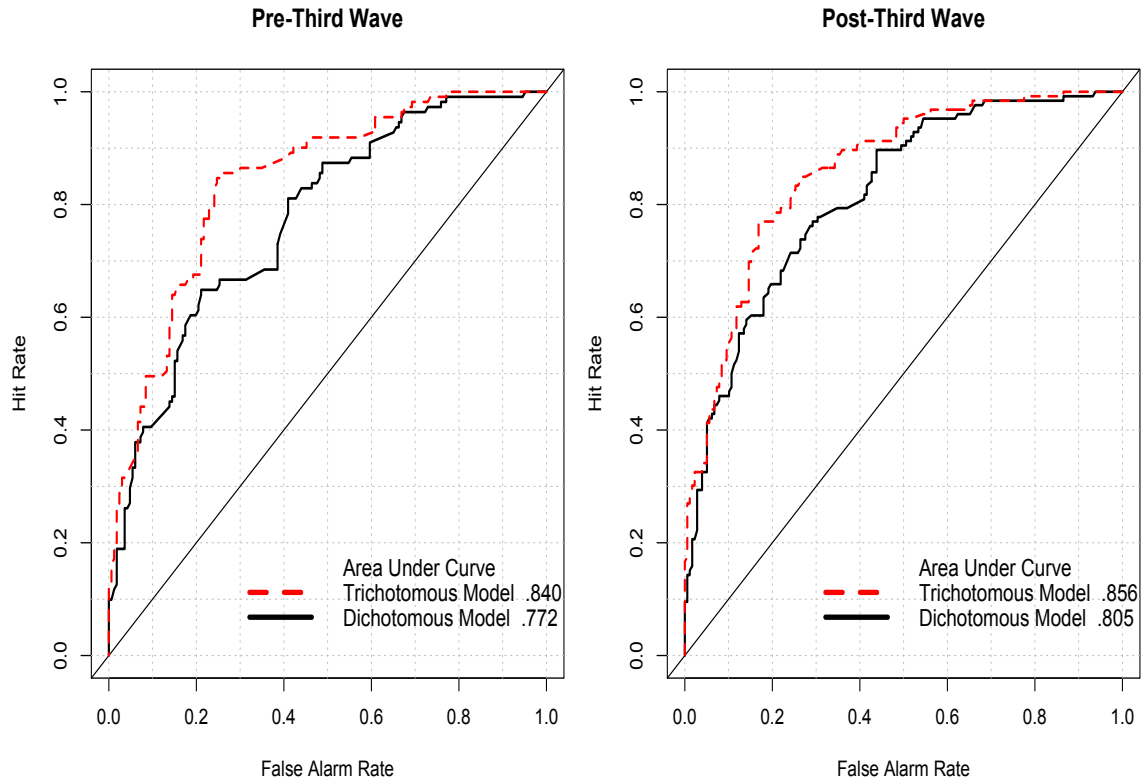
The data we possess do not allow us to assess the differences in the precise duration of prior autonomy, nor an effective measure of time since loss of autonomy. We suspect that groups with more extensive, longer, and recent experience with autonomy before it was rescinded will be more likely to pursue separatism than groups which lost more superficial or ephemeral autonomy, but further data disaggregation would be required to investigate these theoretical expectations.

Assam and Tibet: Status Reversal and Endogeneity Problems

Our global-scale analysis shows a particularly strong link between retraction of autonomy and separatism. However two key questions remain: first, how does the

collective action capacity gained during autonomy endure under the new autonomy arrangement? This question addresses the potential concern that loss of autonomy merely increases grievances, but collective action capacity quickly dwindles, as the central state has clear incentives to limit the levels of group activity within the territory. Secondly, does the alternative hypothesis that groups loose their autonomy as a direct result of separatist activity hold? In addressing this alternative hypothesis, we seek to engage with a possible endogeneity problem given the often confusing nature of ethnic conflict. We turn to two case studies, Tibet in China and Assam in India, to address these questions.

Tibet is a classic example of lost autonomoy. The once independent nation was invaded (or some claim liberated) by Chinese forces following the Communist takeover of mainland China. Although officially listed as an autonomous region, we argue this autonomy exists as a façade, hiding Beijing's attempts to control Tibet outright. Tibetan calls for independence have earned worldwide praise, including a Nobel Peace Prize for the Dalai Lama. Scholarly work, however, disagrees on both the extent and success of the separatist movement in Tibet, with some claiming the movement is bound for success (Fuller et al 2002, Erogen 2002) while others argue the movement's perceived successes are down to outside factors (Mylonas and Han 2009, Cunningham and Beauliu 2010). Despite enjoying the benefits of distinct cultural and religious practices, ethnic Tibetans faced serious collective action problems in the face of Han-Chinese discrimination and invasion. The Tibetan Government in Exile (TGE) has facilitated solutions to these problems for over half a century, providing a rallying point for Tibetans worldwide and ensuring external pressure on Beijing. This enduring collective

action capacity still gives at least some suggestion that Tibet could eventually break away from China, ensuring the Tibetan separatist movement has outlasted dozens of others worldwide (eg Sri Lankan Tamils).

Our second question focus on the alternative hypothesis that argues autonomy is retracted as a state response to separatist movements. On the surface, Assam in India seems to fit this hypothesis well. A fully autonomous region, separatist activity amongst the Assamese began in earnest in the late 1970s with several hundred deaths (Darnell and Parikh 1988, 263), culminating in a general strike and demands for statehood in early 1989. The strike, and the drastic increase in violence that followed, caused the central government to use force to deprive Assam of its autonomy. The Assamese formally lost their autonomy in 1991, however the separatist movement had been active for at least 4, and potentially 15, years prior to that moment.

While we acknowledge the day-to-day chaos often brought around by ethnic conflict may confuse our chain of causality somewhat, we argue Assam provides support for our argument that lost autonomy leads to separatist movement. The Assamese reacted to increasing economic activity of the central Indian state in their traditional homeland. Our argument accounts for such perceptions, as we do not argue autonomy is merely political, it is also economic and political, and the infringement of any of these three sources of autonomy may result in a group developing strong motives for separatist activity in addition to the pre-existing capacity to solve collective action problems.

Conclusion

John Locke once observed men are unlikely to cause revolutions for trivial reasons (*The Second Treatise*). Our analysis shows that a tangible loss of autonomy is one non-trivial issue that promotes separatism . We are not suggesting that every group which loses autonomy will become separatist, but rather than retraction of autonomy increases grievances against the central state while not necessarily decreasing collective action capacity, thereby increasing the probability, all else equal, of secessionist conflict. These findings go some way to show the empirical "murkiness" within the academic literature is in part attributable to problems in concept formation and an overly broad operationalization of autonomy. By disaggregating and distinguishing between groups that have lost autonomy and those groups who have never been autonomous—both previously lumped together as non-autonomous--we advance an important debate about the effect of autonomy of collective action.

Future research has a number of further issues to investigate; foremost among them is how the intensity and longevity of autonomy that was lost influences the likelihood of secessionist conflict. Further research also needs to investigate the process of autonomy retraction. We have established the conceptual distinction and shown a statistical relationship, but have only scratched the surface of the political process that leads from autonomy retraction to secession. We have argued retracted autonomy increases grievances against the central state while failing to reduce collective action capacity, but the degree to which groups mobilizes *around* their sense of lost autonomy may lead to further insights about the types of secessionist movements we observe in the world.

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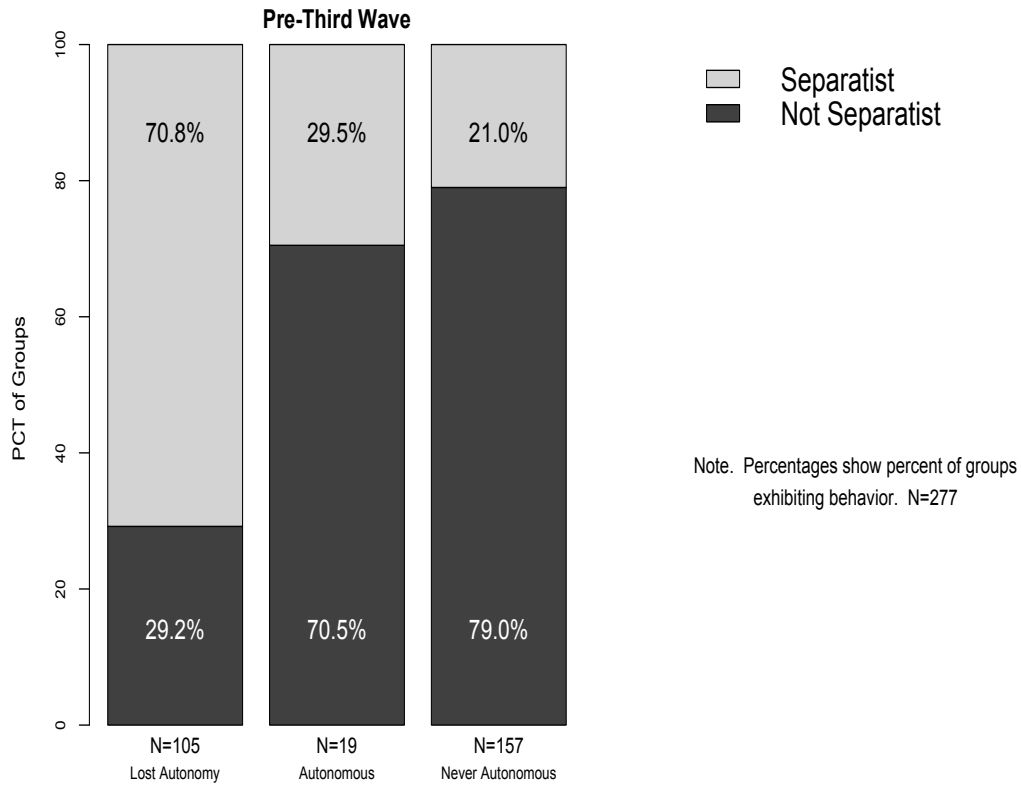
Table 2: Results of Logistic regressions

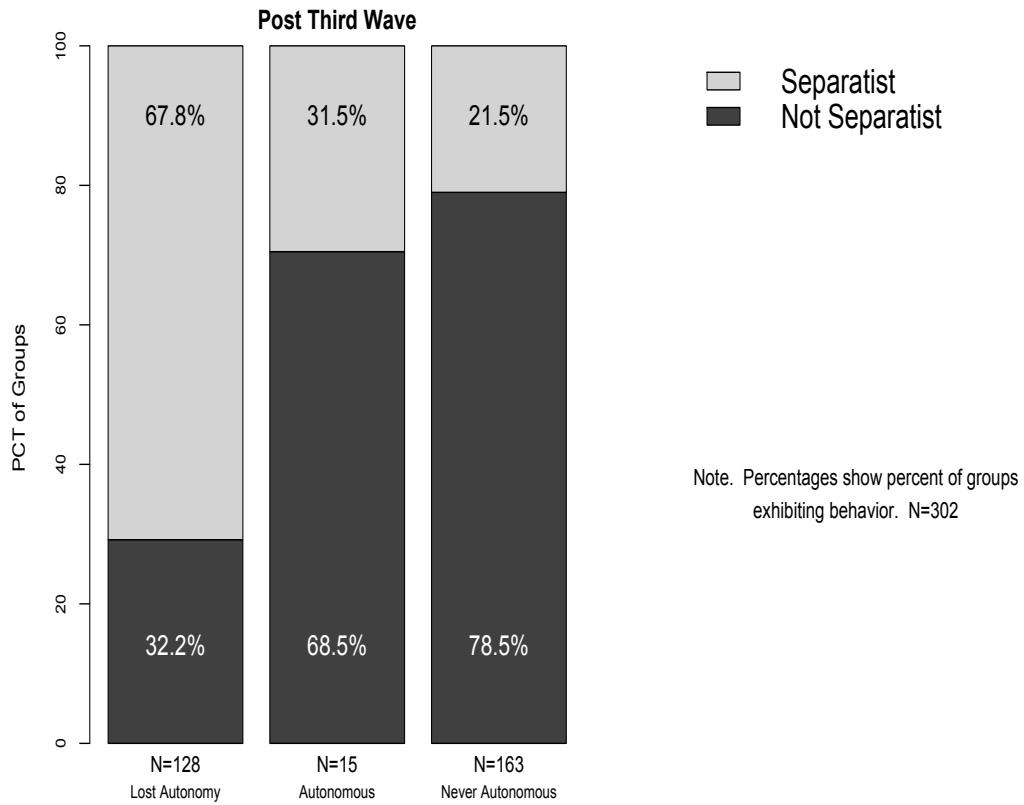**Figure 1: Pre-Third Wave analysis of Autonomy status and Separatism.**

Figure 2-Post-Third Wave analysis of autonomy status and separatism

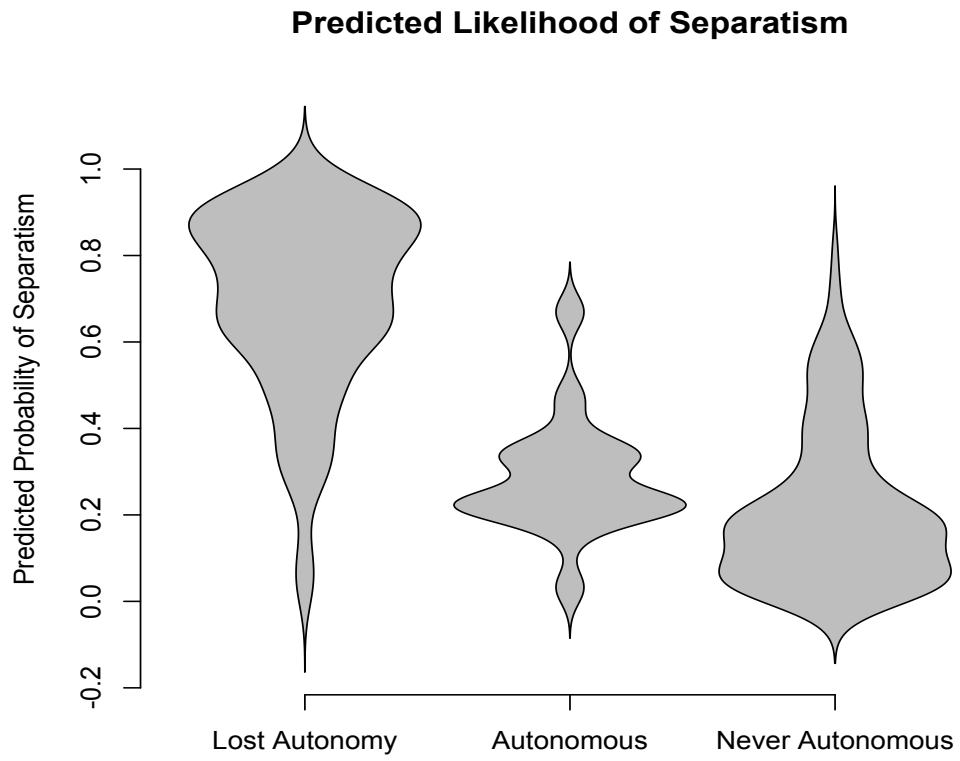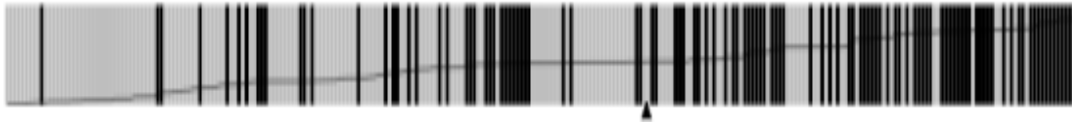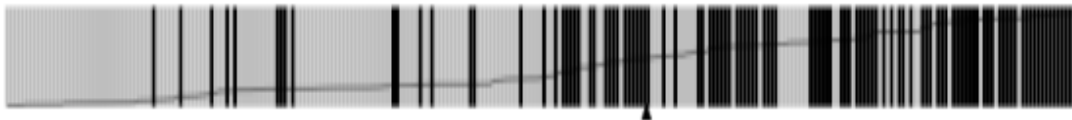**Predicted Likelihood of Separatism**

Figure 3. Violin Plot of Predicted Probability of Separatism

Pre Third Wave Separation Plot with Dichotomous Autonomy Classification

Pre Third Wave Separation Plot with Trichotomous Autonomy Classification

Post Third Wave Separation Plot with Dichotomous Autonomy Classification

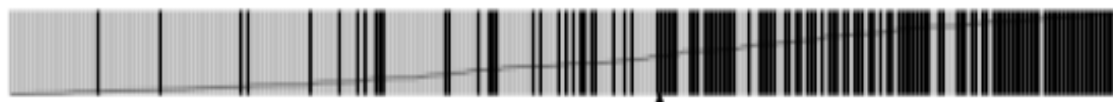Post Third Wave Separation Plot with Trichotomous Autonomy Classification

Figure 4: Pre and Post -Third Wave Comparison of Dichotomous and Trichotomous Autonomy Classifications
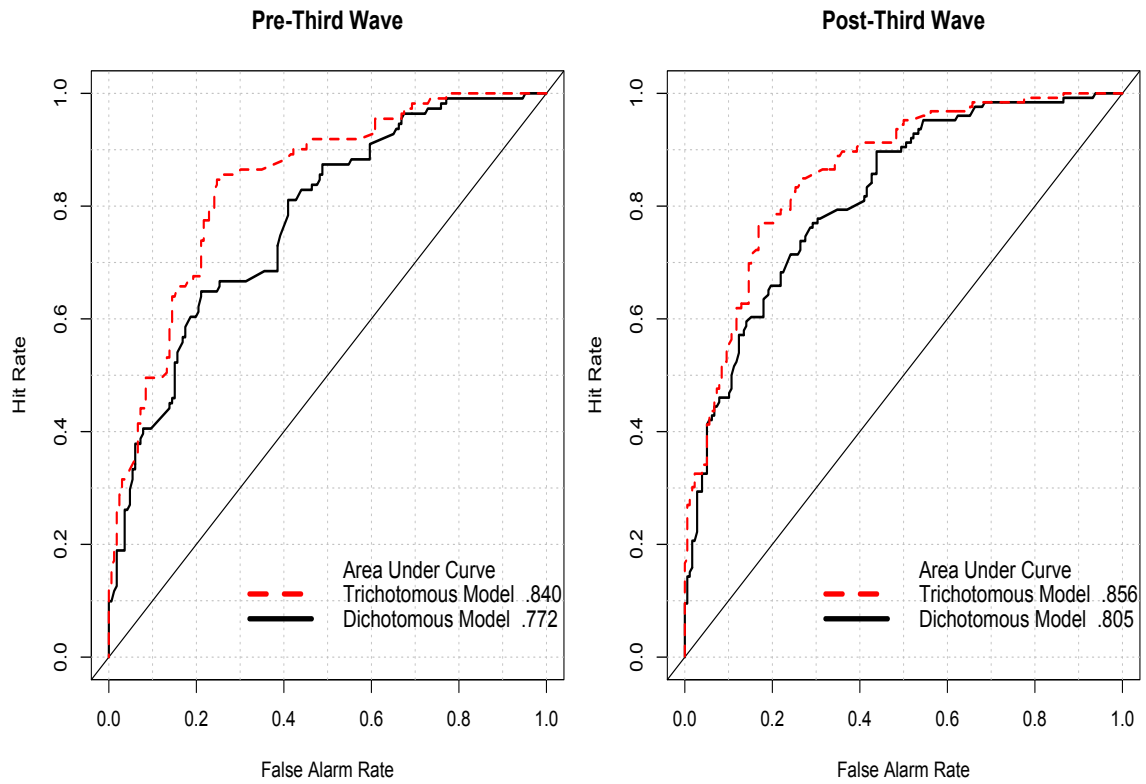
Figure 5: ROC plots comparing Dichotomous and Trichotomous Classifications in Both time periods.