

Online Appendix

Table A1. Descriptive Statistics

	N	Missing	Mean	Median	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Repression index	2967	1645	3.613	3	2.408	0	8
Police militarization	4612	0	0.640	1.000	0.480	0	1
Number of protests	1811	2801	23.581	4	63.638	0	987
Polity IV score	4511	101	0.562	0	7.367	-10	10
Latent judicial independence	4610	2	0.411	0.333	0.302	0.010	0.991
NHRI presence	4612	0	0.242	0.000	0.428	0	1
Log GDP (constant 2010 USD)	3942	670	10.665	10.646	0.920	8.286	13.177
Log population	4515	97	7.104	7.039	0.653	5.284	9.126

Table A2. Frequency Count of Police Militarization

Levels	Counts	% of Total	Cumulative %
0	1659	36.0 %	36.0 %
1	2953	64.0 %	100.0 %

Figure A1. Bar Plot of Police Militarization

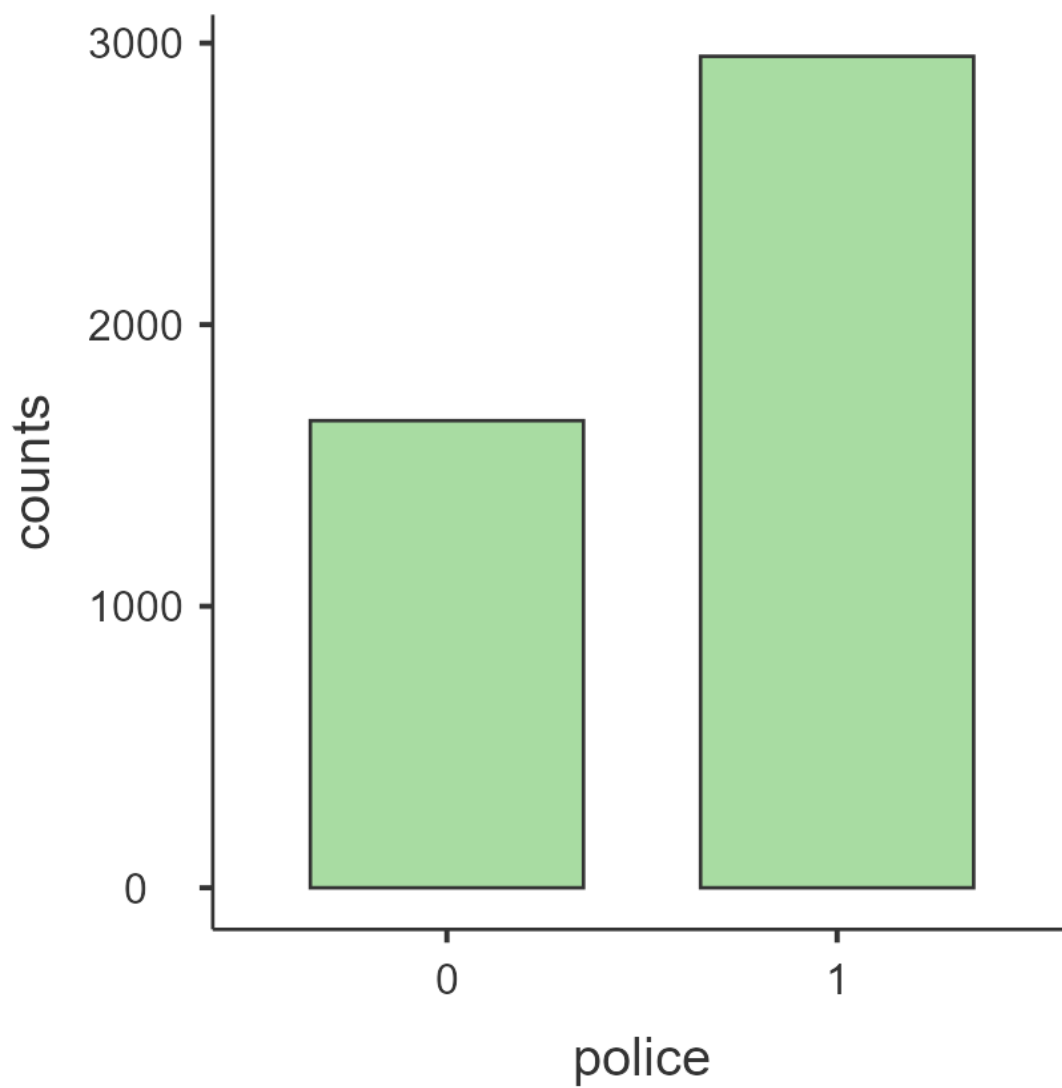
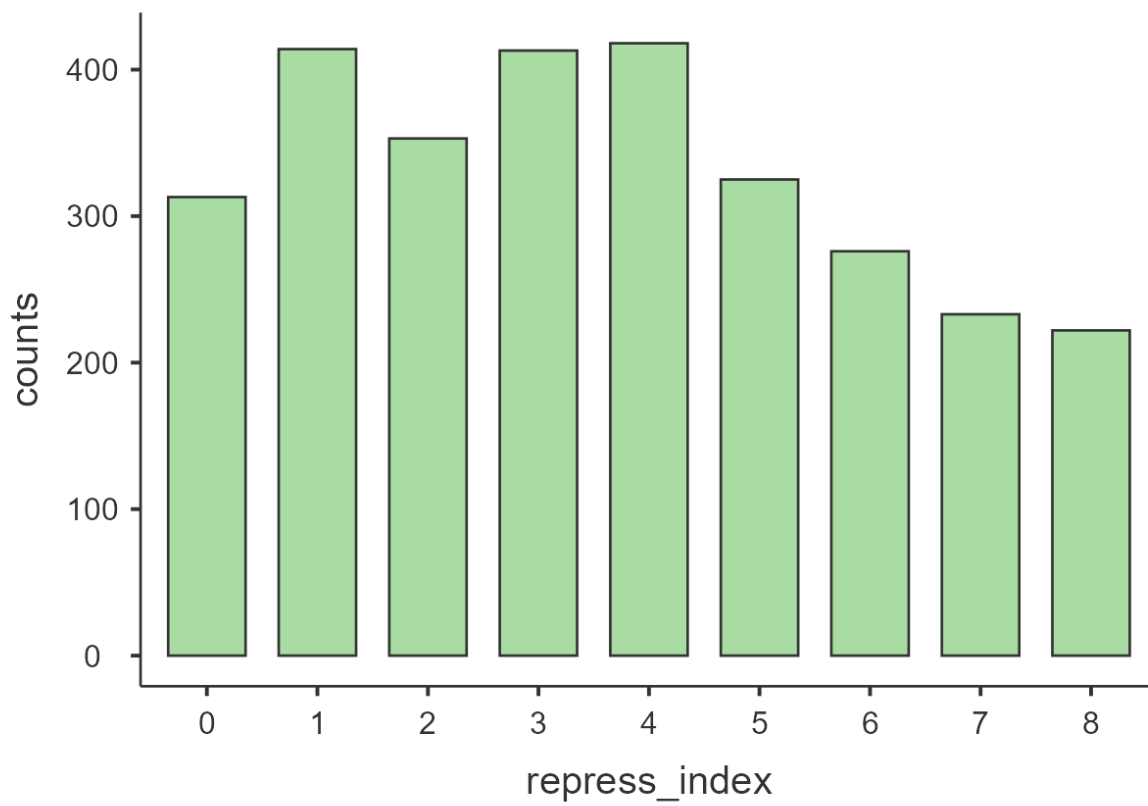


Table A3. Frequency Count of Repression Index

Levels	Counts	% of Total	Cumulative %
0	313	10.5 %	10.5 %
1	414	14.0 %	24.5 %
2	353	11.9 %	36.4 %
3	413	13.9 %	50.3 %
4	418	14.1 %	64.4 %
5	325	11.0 %	75.4 %
6	276	9.3 %	84.7 %
7	233	7.9 %	92.5 %
8	222	7.5 %	100.0 %

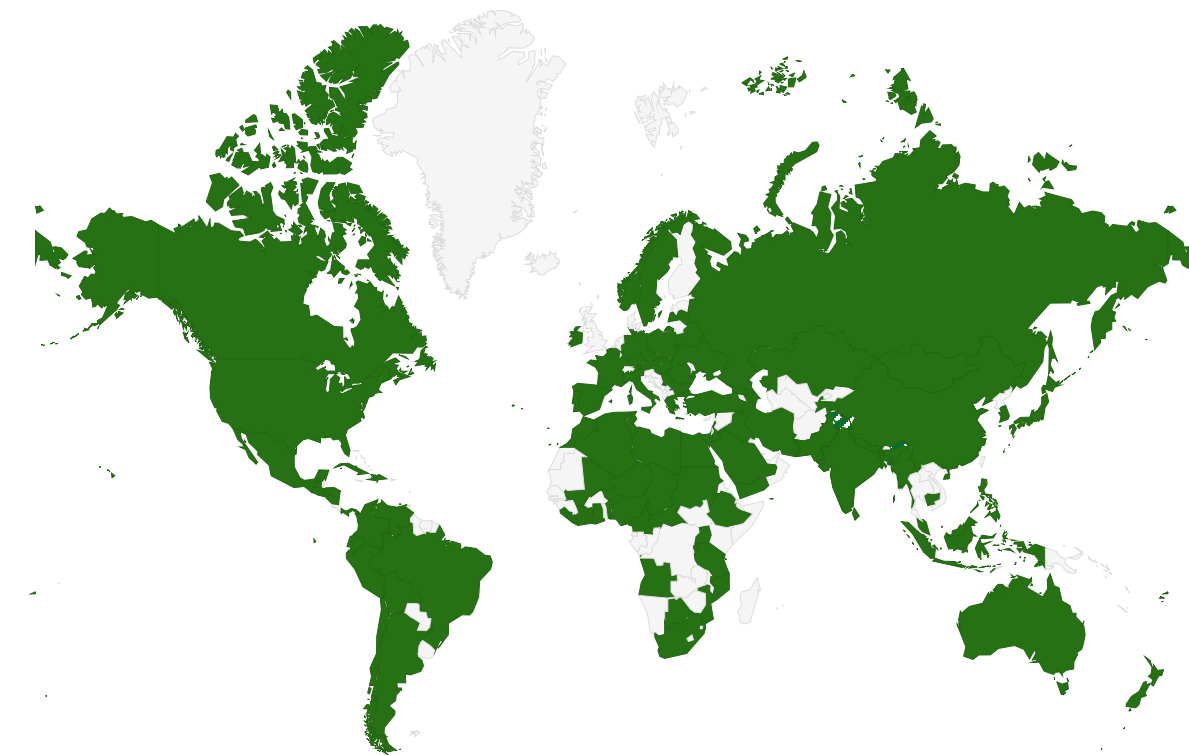
Figure A2. Bar Plot of Repression Index

The Sample

Figure A3 provides a map assembled using the *googleVis* package in R highlighting the countries represented within the data after dataset cleanup (Gesmann and Castillo 2011). Before listwise deletion, the spatial domain included 110 countries, the breadth of the State Security Forces data (De Bruin 2021b); after listwise deletion, we had information on 102 countries. Figure A3 demonstrates sufficient geographic variation in the data. Potential regions for concern include the Balkans, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia.

The temporal domain of 1994 to 2010 is due to data constraints across the response, explanatory, and control variables. The inverted CIRI index (the repression index) contains data from 1981 to 2010; figure A4 represents the average score on the repression index over time, with a line separating the periods before and after 1994 (the most recent year with information across all variables).

Figure A3. Map of Countries Represented in Data Analysis



Note: Shaded countries are those represented in the sample.

Figure A4. Time Series Plot for Temporal Bias

Note: Dotted line indicates the year 1994 where listwise deleted data begins.

Figure A5. Plot of First Differences in Predicted Probabilities for Repression Level

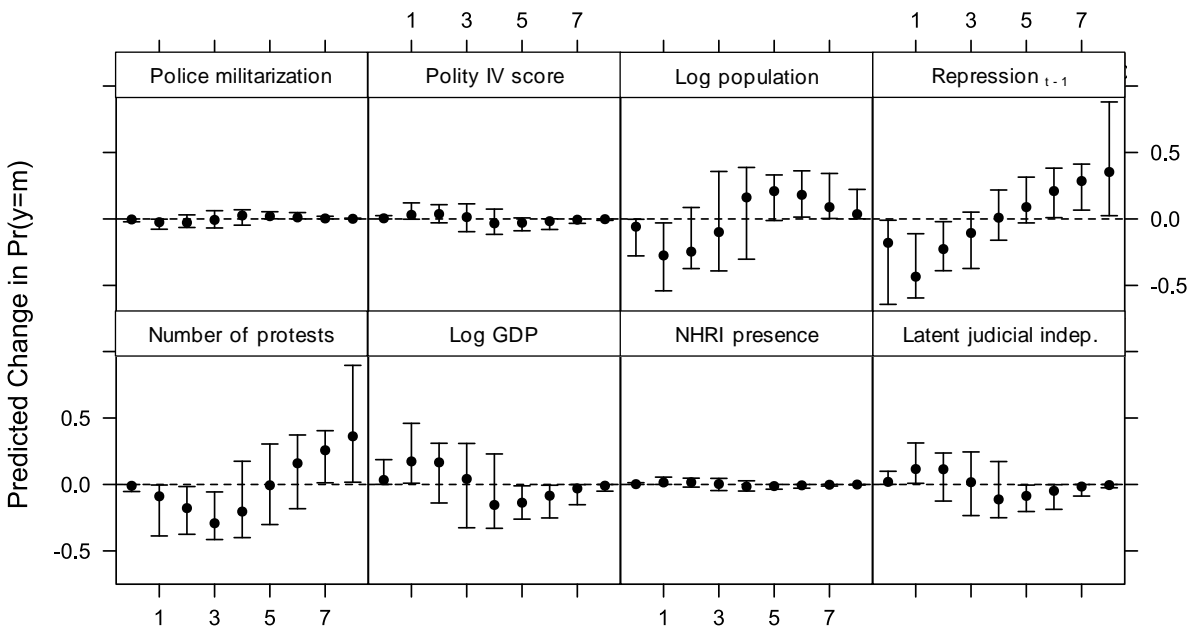


Table A4. Uncontrolled Ordered Logit and Linear Regression of Police Militarization and Repression

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	<i>ordered logistic</i> (1)	<i>OLS</i> (2)
Police militarization	1.134*** (0.071)	1.400*** (0.088)
Constant		2.718*** (0.071)
Observations	2,967	2,967
R ²		0.078
Adjusted R ²		0.078
Pseudo-R ²	0.021	
Residual Std. Error		2.312 (df = 2965)
F Statistic		250.736*** (df = 1; 2965)
<i>Note:</i>		*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A5. Police Militarization and Repression Under Centralized Control

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Repression Index (Inverted CIRI)		
	<i>ordered logistic</i> (1)	<i>partial proportional odds</i> (2)	<i>OLS</i> (3)
Police militarization	0.403*** (0.136)	0.377*** (0.142)	0.150* (0.076)
Number of protests	0.005*** (0.002)	0.006*** (0.002)	0.002*** (0.001)
Polity IV score	-0.043** (0.017)	-0.048*** (0.018)	-0.032*** (0.010)
Latent judicial independence	-1.118** (0.502)		-0.294 (0.283)
NHRI presence	-0.365*** (0.127)	-0.333** (0.129)	-0.221*** (0.074)
Log GDP (constant 2010 USD)	-0.610*** (0.142)	-0.633*** (0.147)	-0.327*** (0.081)
Log population	1.289*** (0.206)		0.788*** (0.115)
Repression _{t-1}	1.136*** (0.054)	1.111*** (0.053)	0.661*** (0.023)
Constant			1.382*** (0.160)
Observations	981	981	981
R ²			0.758
Adjusted R ²			0.756
Log Likelihood		-1,352.222	
Residual Std. Error			1.067 (df = 972)
F Statistic			379.922*** (df = 8; 972)

Note:

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table A6. Analysis of Repression Outcomes with Political Terror Scale Substitution

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Amnesty <i>ordered</i> <i>logistic</i> (1)	State <i>ordered</i> <i>logistic</i> (2)	Amnesty <i>cumulative</i> <i>link</i> (3)	State <i>cumulative</i> <i>link</i> (4)	Amnesty <i>OLS</i> (5)	State <i>OLS</i> (6)
Police militarization	0.329*** (0.122)	0.466*** (0.123)	0.305** (0.123)	0.508*** (0.126)	0.088** (0.036)	0.091*** (0.030)
Number of protests	0.003*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)			0.001*** (0.0002)	0.001*** (0.0002)
Polity IV score	0.011 (0.015)	0.021 (0.015)	0.005 (0.015)	0.017 (0.015)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.003 (0.004)
Latent judicial independence	-1.887*** (0.365)	-2.583*** (0.392)			-0.420*** (0.107)	-0.538*** (0.091)
NHRI presence	-0.262** (0.112)	-0.183 (0.116)	-0.282** (0.113)		-0.082** (0.034)	-0.051* (0.028)
Log GDP (constant 2010 USD)	0.359 (0.412)	0.096 (0.419)	0.383 (0.424)	-0.061 (0.430)	0.066 (0.125)	-0.016 (0.104)
Log population	1.179 (0.841)	1.590* (0.891)		2.040** (0.917)	0.433* (0.258)	0.489** (0.220)
Amnesty _{t-1}	2.317*** (0.082)				0.728*** (0.017)	
State _{t-1}		2.840*** (0.091)		2.736*** (0.091)		0.761*** (0.015)
Constant					0.876*** (0.079)	0.807*** (0.070)
Observations	1,494	1,654	1,494	1,654	1,494	1,654
R ²					0.693	0.787
Adjusted R ²					0.691	0.786
Log Likelihood			-1,325.143	-1,229.058		
Residual Std. Error					0.617 (df = 1485)	0.536 (df = 1645)
F Statistic					418.078*** (df = 8; 1485)	759.123*** (df = 8; 1645)

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A7. CIRI Disaggregated Outcomes as Partial Proportional Odds Models

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Disappearance (1)	Political Imprisonment (2)	Extrajudicial Killing (3)
Police militarization	0.008 (0.161)	0.041 (0.132)	0.670*** (0.127)
Number of protests	0.001 (0.001)	0.006*** (0.002)	0.006*** (0.002)
Polity IV score		-0.144*** (0.019)	0.041** (0.016)
Latent judicial independence			-1.947*** (0.455)
NHRI presence	-0.015 (0.152)	-0.245* (0.129)	-0.354*** (0.123)
Log GDP (constant 2010 USD)	-0.365** (0.156)	-0.314** (0.134)	
Log population	1.281*** (0.218)	1.213*** (0.189)	1.284*** (0.182)
Political imprisonment _{t-1}		2.060*** (0.103)	
Observations	1,654	1,654	1,658
Log Likelihood	-726.541	-948.749	-1,042.648

Note: * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table A8. U.S. Data Robustness Checks

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Repression Index (Inverted CIRI)				OLS	
	<i>ordered logistic</i>		<i>partial proportional odds</i>			
	U.S. Removed (1)	U.S. Recoded to 1 (2)	U.S. Removed (3)	U.S. Recoded to 1 (4)	U.S. Removed (5)	U.S. Recoded to 1 (6)
Police militarization	0.353*** (0.102)	0.352*** (0.102)	0.315*** (0.104)	0.318*** (0.104)	0.156*** (0.058)	0.149** (0.058)
Number of protests	0.006*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.002*** (0.0004)	0.002*** (0.0004)
Polity IV score	-0.023* (0.013)	-0.023* (0.013)	-0.032** (0.014)	-0.032** (0.014)	-0.019** (0.008)	-0.019** (0.008)
Latent judicial independence	-1.601*** (0.376)	-1.622*** (0.374)			-0.672*** (0.208)	-0.692*** (0.207)
NHRI presence	-0.205** (0.097)	-0.200** (0.096)	-0.195** (0.098)	-0.197** (0.097)	-0.150*** (0.056)	-0.141** (0.056)
Log GDP (constant 2010 USD)	-0.500*** (0.104)	-0.500*** (0.104)	-0.479*** (0.105)	-0.480*** (0.105)	-0.239*** (0.060)	-0.241*** (0.059)
Log population	1.130*** (0.147)	1.124*** (0.146)	1.127*** (0.148)	1.130*** (0.147)	0.665*** (0.083)	0.652*** (0.082)
Repression _{t-1}	1.149*** (0.042)	1.153*** (0.041)	1.133*** (0.041)	1.137*** (0.041)	0.685*** (0.017)	0.687*** (0.017)
Constant					-0.737* (0.386)	-0.615 (0.374)
Observations	1,633	1,650	1,633	1,650	1,633	1,650
R ²					0.786	0.786
Adjusted R ²					0.785	0.785
Log Likelihood			-2,260.041	-2,279.825		
Residual Std. Error					1.068 (df = 1624)	1.066 (df = 1641)
F Statistic					745.345*** (df = 8; 1624)	753.372*** (df = 8; 1641)

Note:

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table A9. Parallel Regression Violation Coefficient Estimates on Inverted CIRI Levels

	Levels	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
Intercept	0 1	0.478	0.798	0.599	0.549
	1 2	2.651***	0.689	3.849	0.000
	2 3	4.587***	0.685	6.69	0.000
	3 4	6.518***	0.698	9.338	0.000
	4 5	8.402***	0.710	11.836	0.000
	5 6	10.162***	0.723	14.049	0.000
	6 7	11.343***	0.736	15.421	0.000
	7 8	12.904***	0.752	17.163	0.000
Latent judicial independence	0 1	1.870***	0.640	2.923	0.003
	1 2	2.528***	0.459	5.508	0.000
	2 3	1.992***	0.471	4.230	0.000
	3 4	1.548***	0.497	3.118	0.002
	4 5	0.929*	0.498	1.865	0.062
	5 6	-0.311	0.504	-0.616	0.538
	6 7	0.685	0.604	1.133	0.257
	7 8	0.770	0.780	0.987	0.324

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A10. Frequency Count of Extrajudicial Killing

Levels	Counts	% of Total	Cumulative %
0	1273	42.7 %	42.7 %
1	971	32.6 %	75.2 %
2	739	24.8 %	100.0 %

Table A11. Frequency Count of Torture

Levels	Counts	% of Total	Cumulative %
0	418	14.0 %	14.0 %
1	1088	36.5 %	50.5 %
2	1478	49.5 %	100.0 %

Table A12. Frequency Count of Disappearances

Levels	Counts	% of Total	Cumulative %
0	2075	69.7 %	69.7 %
1	517	17.4 %	87.0 %
2	387	13.0 %	100.0 %

Table A13. Frequency Count of Political Imprisonment

Levels	Counts	% of Total	Cumulative %
0	1061	35.6 %	35.6 %
1	778	26.1 %	61.6 %
2	1145	38.4 %	100.0 %

Table A14. Mean Police Militarization by Country During Period of Study

	Country	N	Mean
Police militarization	Colombia	46	1.000
	Venezuela	46	1.000
	Ecuador	46	1.000
	Peru	46	1.000
	Brazil	46	1.000
	Bolivia	46	1.000
	Chile	46	1.000
	Argentina	46	1.000
	United States of America	46	0.000
	Canada	46	0.000
	Ireland	46	0.000
	Belgium	46	0.587
	France	46	1.000
	Spain	46	0.478
	Portugal	46	1.000
	German Federal Republic	46	0.130
	German Democratic Republic	26	0.962
	Poland	46	1.000
	Austria	46	0.870
	Hungary	46	0.000
	Czechoslovakia	28	0.893
	Czech Republic	18	0.000
	Slovakia	18	0.000
	Italy/Sardinia	46	1.000
	Yugoslavia	42	0.333
	Serbia	4	1.000
	Greece	46	1.000
	Bulgaria	46	1.000
	Rumania	46	0.457
	Russia (Soviet Union)	46	0.000
	Latvia	20	0.000
	Ukraine	20	0.000

Table A14. Mean Police Militarization by Country During Period of Study

Country	N	Mean
Belarus (Byelorussia)	20	0.600
Georgia	20	0.000
Azerbaijan	20	0.250
Sweden	46	0.000
Norway	46	0.000
Iceland	46	0.000
Cuba	46	0.000
Cape Verde	36	1.000
Haiti	46	0.000
Dominican Republic	46	1.000
Mali	46	1.000
Benin	46	1.000
Niger	46	0.000
Cote DIvoire	46	1.000
Liberia	46	0.152
Sierra Leone	46	0.000
Ghana	46	0.000
Cameroon	46	1.000
Nigeria	46	1.000
Central African Republic	46	1.000
Chad	46	0.957
Uganda	46	1.000
Tanzania/Tanganyika	46	1.000
Burundi	46	0.870
Rwanda	46	0.609
Djibouti	34	1.000
Ethiopia	46	0.783
Angola	36	1.000
Mozambique	36	1.000
South Africa	46	1.000
Botswana	45	1.000
Swaziland	43	1.000

Table A14. Mean Police Militarization by Country During Period of Study

Country	N	Mean
Morocco	46	1.000
Algeria	46	1.000
Tunisia	46	0.957
Libya	46	0.848
Sudan	46	1.000
Iran (Persia)	46	1.000
Turkey (Ottoman Empire)	46	1.000
Iraq	46	0.000
Egypt	46	0.913
Syria	46	0.609
Lebanon	46	1.000
Jordan	46	1.000
Israel	46	1.000
Saudi Arabia	46	1.000
Yemen (Arab Republic of Yemen)	20	1.000
Bahrain	40	1.000
Mexico	46	0.261
Afghanistan	46	0.913
Tajikistan	20	0.000
Kazakhstan	20	0.000
China	46	1.000
Mongolia	46	0.000
Taiwan	46	1.000
Korea, People's Republic of	46	0.000
Korea, Republic of	46	0.000
Japan	46	0.000
India	46	1.000
Pakistan	46	0.000
Bangladesh	40	0.900
Myanmar (Burma)	46	1.000
Sri Lanka (Ceylon)	46	0.609
Nepal	46	0.217

Table A14. Mean Police Militarization by Country During Period of Study

Country	N	Mean
Cambodia (Kampuchea)	46	1.000
Malaysia	46	1.000
Singapore	46	0.000
Philippines	46	0.565
Indonesia	46	1.000
East Timor	9	0.778
Guatemala	46	1.000
Australia	46	0.000
Honduras	46	0.522
El Salvador	46	1.000
New Zealand	46	0.000
Nicaragua	46	0.696
Panama	46	0.000
Fiji	41	0.122

Table A15. Two-Way Fixed Effects Robustness Check

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Repression Index (Inverted CIRI Physical Integrity Index)
Police militarization	0.359** (0.163)
Number of protests	0.001** (0.001)
Polity IV score	-0.052*** (0.015)
Latent judicial independence	-2.365*** (0.605)
NHRI presence	-0.376*** (0.106)
Log GDP (constant 2010 USD)	0.709 (0.521)
Log population	-0.085 (0.968)
Repression _{t-1}	0.347*** (0.024)
Observations	1,650
R ²	0.230
Adjusted R ²	0.167
F Statistic	56.970*** (df = 8; 1525)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A16. Impact of Interior Troops on Repression

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Repression Index (Inverted CIRI Index)		
	<i>OLS</i>	<i>ordered logistic</i>	<i>cumulative link</i>
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Interior troops	-0.082 (0.061)	-0.130 (0.106)	-0.117 (0.107)
Polity IV score	-0.021*** (0.008)	-0.028** (0.013)	-0.037*** (0.014)
Repression $t-1$	0.692*** (0.017)	1.170*** (0.041)	1.152*** (0.041)
Log GDP (in constant 2010 USD)	-0.242*** (0.060)	-0.509*** (0.104)	-0.485*** (0.105)
Number of protests	0.002*** (0.0004)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)
NHRI presence	-0.144*** (0.056)	-0.209** (0.096)	-0.205** (0.097)
Log population	0.668*** (0.082)	1.158*** (0.145)	1.161*** (0.146)
Latent judicial independence	-0.702*** (0.209)	-1.566*** (0.374)	
Constant	-0.609 (0.375)		
Observations	1,650	1,650	1,650
R ²	0.785		
Adjusted R ²	0.784		
Log Likelihood			-2,283.963
Residual Std. Error	1.067 (df = 1641)		
F Statistic	750.593*** (df = 8; 1641)		

Note:

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01