

Reactionary Utopia

Political Radicalization and Violence in the Russian Empire

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Zhuravskaya et al. (2021):

- ▶ Post-imperial syndrome → inward-focused ideologies, xenophobia, and nostalgia.
- ▶ Central Eastern Europe and Russia:
 - ▶ Collapse of two empires: Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union
 - ▶ Significant large-scale social experiments (among others):
 - ▶ Abolition of serfdom in 1861.
 - ▶ Rise of the Bolsheviks during the 1917 Revolution.
- 👍 Local radicalization among non-Russian minorities in the long 19th century (this project).

- Q:** Did revolutionary violence help push Russia towards a more liberal democracy, or did it trigger a conservative backlash?
- ▶ Utilized local radicalization facilitated by the Imperial Secret Police from the 1880s to 1900s, involving:
 - ▶ Distributing propaganda (1)
 - ▶ Membership in anti-Tsarist organizations (2)
 - ▶ Plotting and executing (3) riots and (4) assassinations
 - ▶ Examined their impact on electoral outcomes of the 1917 Constituency Assembly in over 400 administrative districts (Castañeda Dower et al. 2021).
 - ▶ Research findings provide crucial insights:
 - 1 Increased local elite threat polarizes the electorate in 1917.
 - 2 Severity of the threat influences the popularity of moderate and conservative factions.
 - 3 Analysis indicates a significant surge in radicalization within both left and right-wing parties.

- 1 Political economy: Examining political preferences in industrializing economies (Galor 2011).
- 2 Emergence of political extremism in the first half of the 20th century:
 - ▶ Right-wing extremism (Voigtländer and Voth 2021).
 - ▶ Left-wing extremism (Castañeda Dower et al. 2021).
- 3 Factors contributing to the Russian Revolution:
 - ▶ Share of industrial workers and Bolshevik success (Castañeda Dower et al. 2021).
 - ▶ Complex relationship between industrialization and peasant protests (Kofanov 2020).
 - ▶ Peasant unrest, tsar's abdication, and the October Revolution (Finkel et al. 2017).

"Lower" Voltage Social Unrest

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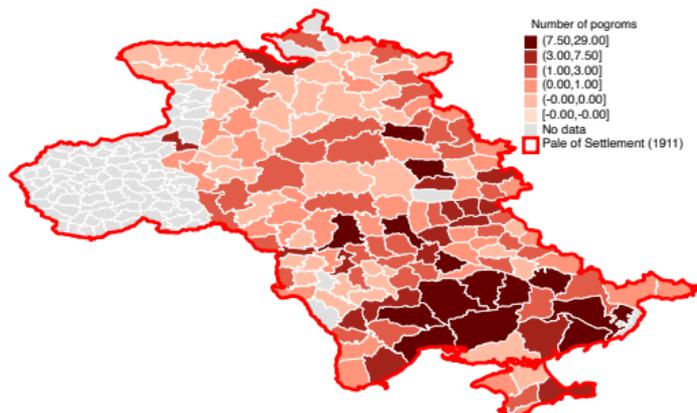
- ▶ 1861: Alexander II abolished serfdom without further social reforms → ≈ 40 million people.
- ▶ 1881: Alexander II assassinated by Narodnaja Volya, leading to a pogrom wave until 1884.²
- ▶ Alexander III attributed the assassination to liberal minority policies, resulting in the establishment of absolute autocracy.
 - ▶ Martial law introduced in the majority of Pale regions (until 1917), authorizing the police to:
 - ▶ Make preventive arrests,
 - ▶ Detain individuals for up to two weeks,
 - ▶ Conduct unrestricted searches of premises, and
 - ▶ Seize materials related to political crimes.
 - ▶ Policies restricting civil and property rights (taxation, education, residence) for Jews.
- ▶ 1880-90s: Rise of self-defense and revolutionary organizations within the Pale region.
- ▶ Young individuals : workers, intellectuals, high school and university students, and women.
- ▶ Highly educated, mostly from noble backgrounds, in their mid-20s.

²By 1880, five of the seven leading members of the People's Will were Jews: Abram Bath, Boris Orzhich, Natan Bogoraz, Zacharii Kogan, Chaim Lev Shternberg (Haberer 1995, p. 46).

Fig. 1: Pale of Settlement in contemporary borders

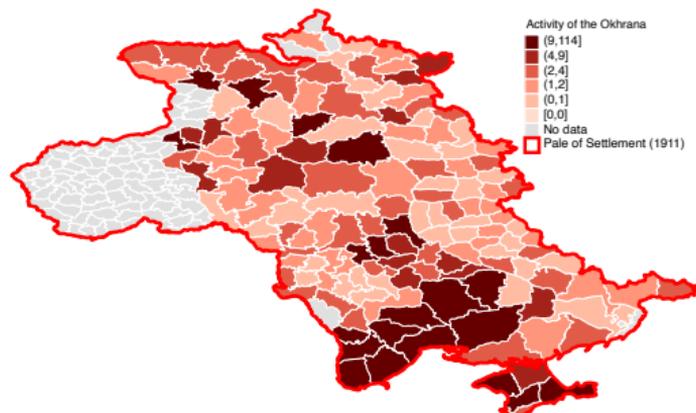


Fig. 2: Tsarist repression in the Pale of Settlement



Data source: Grosfeld et al. (2021), Kessler and Markevich (2017)

(a) Pogroms 1880-1913



Data source: Grosfeld et al. (2022), Grigoriadis (2023), Kessler and Markevich (2017)

(b) Revolutionary activity 1886-1900

- ▶ In 1883, the Okhrana became the first professional secret police, focusing on:
 - ▶ Monitoring émigré and revolutionary groups both domestically and abroad.
 - ▶ Investigating known centers of conspiratorial activity.
 - ▶ Targeting locations of the production of bombs, and smuggling weapons and explosives.
- ▶ The structure, strategy, and secrecy of the Okhrana included:
 - 1 Centralized and specialized operations → high effectiveness with a relatively small staff.
 - 2 A divide-and-conquer approach → scout for spies and study different oppositional parties.
 - 3 Coordinated actions → "liquidation" arrests and perustration.
- ▶ In St. Petersburg (Zuckerman 1996, p. 38, footnotes 45, 46, 47):
 - ▶ Average revolutionaries could not evade the political police for more than three months.
 - ▶ Underground activists had to assume the presence of traitors within their ranks.
 - ▶ Contrasts with descriptions of an (1) ineffective Tsarist bureaucracy and (2) secret police agents seen as mediocre within their frame of reference³

³See Scharpf and Gläbel (2020) and Gregg and Matiashvili (2022).

“the living symbol of all that is most repressive, cruel, mean, and vile about autocracy”

(p. 129 Nicolaievsky 1934, citing terrorist Evno Azev).

“the omnipotence of the political police” allowed tsarism to survive

(p. 21 Andrew and Gordievsky 1990, citing Marxist Peter Struve).

“All of them had been shadowed, searched, arrested, kept in jail, and sentenced to exile by the political police of the imperial government. [...] ”

(p. 317 Pipes 1979, on the influence of Okhrana on leading Bolsheviks).

- 1 Okhrana Data from Hoover Archives (Grigoriadis 2023):
 - ▶ Individuals monitored by province (1886-1900).
 - ▶ The dataset includes leading anarchists and Bolsheviks such as Kropotkin, Lenin, and Figner.
- 2 Constituency Assembly 1917 Data on Over 400 Districts (Protasov 1997; Protasov et al. 2014):
 - ▶ Utilized the Arzamas project for parties' left-right scale (Castañeda Dower et al. 2021).
 - ▶ Additional lists based on demand for redistribution and national interests.
- 3 Controls account for geography, and other historical variables:
 - ▶ "Middlemen data" on Jewish Integration into the Countryside from Grosfeld et al. (2020). (e.g., Under Alexander II, residence and employment restrictions were largely ignored.)
 - ▶ "Serfdom data" from Buggle and Nafziger (2021). (i.e. podzolic soil index, lat-lon, distances, etc., for potential land redistribution demands.)
 - ▶ Sh. industrial workers, ethnic markers from 1897 Census Data (Kessler and Markevich 2017). (e.g., Lenin: Industrial workers played a crucial role in the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution.)

Table 1: Descriptive statistics for explanatory variables (imputed values)

Variable	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum	Observations
<i>Panel B: Geographic control variables</i>					
Latitude	54.02	3.85	44.60	69.58	449
Longitude	37.94	7.97	24.30	63.29	449
Coal Territory 0/1	0.41	0.49	0.00	1.00	449
Podzol Soil	0.36	0.37	0.00	1.00	449
Length Growing Period	156.95	32.86	69.86	213.32	449
Distance to St. Petersburg	9.43	3.84	0.32	20.02	449
Distance Provincial Capital	1.25	0.98	0.00	8.65	449
<i>Panel C: Demographic control variables</i>					
Number of tertiary educated 1897	179.92	671.36	13.00	12447.00	438
Sh. Eastern Slavic language speakers 1897	0.85	0.20	0.05	1.00	438
Share industrial workers 1897	0.07	0.05	0.02	0.27	438
Serfs % (1858)	0.40	0.25	0.00	0.85	449
Change in gender ratio 1913-17	-0.08	0.68	-9.31	0.90	379
<i>Panel D: Middlemen control variables</i>					
Sh. Jews among craftsmen	0.45	0.21	0.04	0.80	121
Sh. Jews among creditors	0.59	0.26	0.05	1.00	121
Sh. Jews among traders	0.79	0.21	0.08	0.98	121

Fig. 3: Archival material from the Okhrana Paris records at Hoover Institution

№№ спис- ной ре- визы	Фамилия, имя и отчество.	№№ спис- ной ре- визы	Фамилия, имя и отчество.
15283	Вриггаловъ, Илья.	4307	Врошштейнъ, Петръ Ильичъ.
90	Вриггаловъ, Шмуэль-Хаимъ Шимоновъ.	7314	
10206	Вригглантовъ, Вячеславъ.	11926	Врошштейнъ, Симонъ Юлиановъ.
6112	Вригглантовъ, Иосифъ.	1229	Врошманъ, Кларъ, псевдонимъ (назв.).
12694	Вригъ, Абрамъ-Леховъ Исаковъ.	14786	Врошнеръ, Морисъ.
12696	Вригъ, Мошеяъ Трателевъ.	14787	Врошнеръ, Хаимъ.
11357	Вригвольтъ-Тибо, Адамъ Иосифовъ.	11960	Врошнейтъ, Отто.
10020	Вригвертъ-Суражскій, Рахмиль Феле- довъ.	8321	Врошневичъ, Роканъ Юзефовъ.
16135	Врионъ, Илья-Мошея Вульфоваъ.	93	Врудиксонъ, Болеславъ Игнатьевичъ.
13461	Врифтъ, Оскаръ Шауленъ, кн. Ми- халъ.	3485	Врудный, Исаакъ Иосифовъ.
12907	Врицковъ, Брониславъ Павловичъ.	1230	Вружель, Пейсахъ Исаковъ.
10394	Врицкъ, Исаакъ-Шимонъ Гершовъ.	10838	Вружера, Гершонъ Шимонъ.
7852	Врицковъ, Владимиръ Петровичъ.	9375	Врушштейнъ, Германъ Соломоновичъ.
16867	Врошко, Прохоръ Федоровъ.	12696	
15839	Вродатскій, Исаакъ Людвиговъ.	4125	Вружъ, Иорданъ-Неухъ Абрамовъ.
14785	Вродская, Екатерина.	15297	Вружъ, Мошеяъ Исаакъ.
91	Вродская, Рахиль Рушинова.	9193	Вружбергъ, Фейга.
3606	Вродскій, Валерій Давидовъ.	83	Вружера, Беренъ Мошковъ.
2866	Вродскій, Гаврилъ Михалъ Рушиновъ.	2870	Вружера, Пауль Пейсаховъ.
12289	Вродскій, Густавъ Гавриловичъ.	94	Вружера, Шимонъ Мошковъ.
3939	Вродскій, Олександръ Наранковъ.	16072	Вружъ, Фридрихъ.
10395	Вродскій, Исаакъ Ароновъ.	8522	Вружера, Леопольдъ Абрамовъ.
8015	Вродскій, Францъ Давидовъ.	3873	Вружневъ, Эдуардъ Отто.
15526	Вродъ, Августъ.	4148	Вружновскій, Илья Илья.
9932	Вродъ, Игнацій Францисъ.	7760	Вружновъ-де-Чонградъ, Фердинандъ Эдуардовъ.
2867	Врововскій, Антонъ Людвиговъ.	12188	Врушова, Михаилъ Григорьевъ.
15627	Вроковъ, Владимъ Михайловичъ.	12100	Врусовъ, Михаилъ Захаровъ.
10758	Врозъ, Софья-Валла Маргоушева.	4426	Вручкова, Хая Хадарова.
7769	Вружесъ, Вера Эдуардова.	16528	Вручинскій, Василій Васильевичъ.
1228	Вружескичъ, Михаилъ Александровъ.	6170	Врушштейнъ, Марья Яковлевна.
5346	Врушштейнъ, Абрамъ Мошеевичъ.	8017	Врушко, Елизавета Ивановна (наз.).
352	Врушштейнъ, сынъ - же Исаковскій, Тропай, Лева (Левъ) Давидовъ.	15309	Врушкъ, Ильякъ Маркусовъ.
10206	Врушштейнъ, Монпане Альберъ Штежа Альберъ.	11232	Врушмаръ, Гавриилъ Исаковъ.
		2962	Врушмаръ, Борисъ.
		10651	Врушмановъ, Илья Ивановичъ.
		95	Врушмановъ, Николай Ивановичъ.

Data source: Grigoriadis (2023).

Table 2: Social background and monitored crimes, all years (long)

			Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per
<i>By crime</i>						
Valid	0	Other	43	0.68	2.45	2.45
	1	Propaganda	259	4.09	14.75	17.20
	2	Membership	757	11.95	43.11	60.31
	3	Riots	102	1.61	5.81	66.12
	4	Assassinations	595	9.39	33.88	100.00
	Total			1756	27.71	100.00
<i>By social origin</i>						
Valid	2	Medium-skilled	2226	35.13	52.16	52.16
	3	High-skilled	1333	21.04	31.23	83.39
	1	Unskilled	709	11.19	16.61	100.00
	Total			4268	67.36	100.00
<i>By gender</i>						
Valid	1	Male	4870	76.86	76.86	76.86
	0	Female	1466	23.14	23.14	100.00
	Total			6336	100.00	100.00

- ▶ People under investigation at the province level (1886-1900, N=1,667):
 - 1 Suppression of Narodnya Volya after the 1881 regicide.
 - 2 Surge in terrorism in the early 20th century.
 - ▶ Rapid industrialization, political repression, and russification policies led to elevated tensions along social, ethnic, religious, and national lines.
- ▶ Data Cover:
 - 1 First, father's, and last names.
 - 2 Educational and social origin.
 - 3 Date(s), location, and degree of revolutionary warfare.
- ▶ Removing double counts in data captures each new revolutionary emerging (Hirshleifer).
- ▶ Missing data are imputed⁴ and consolidated using district population.

⁴Method: Chained ordered logit

Table 3: Geographic distribution of individuals under surveillance

	Frequency	Percentage	Cum. Percentage
Belarus	103	6.18	6.18
Georgia	1	0.06	6.24
Latvia	39	2.34	8.58
Lithuania	78	4.68	13.26
Moldova	42	2.52	15.78
Poland	337	20.22	35.99
Russia	683	40.97	76.96
Ukraine	384	23.04	100.00
Total	1,667	100.00	

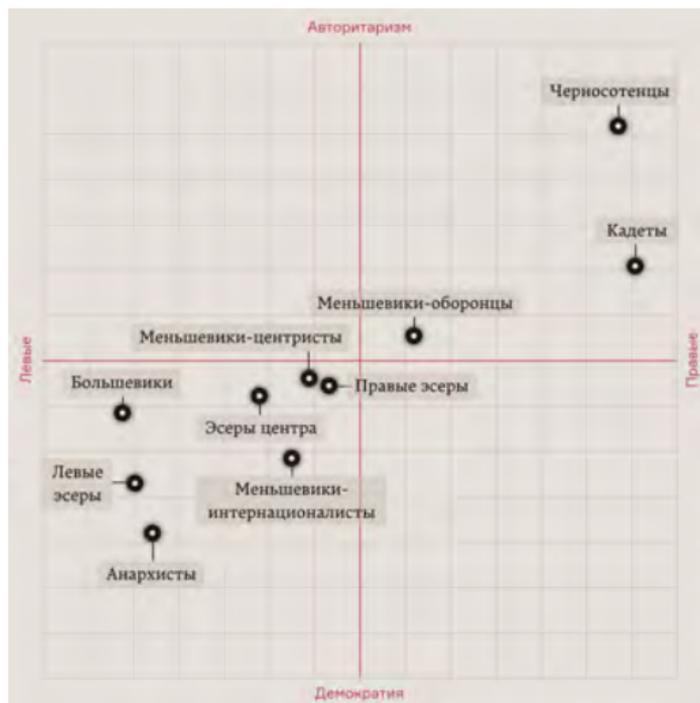
- 1 While comprehending what the Okhrana observed and its high effectiveness, a pivotal question remains: What did it miss?
 - ▶ Triangulate Okhrana data with collective biographies of Russian terrorists before 1905.
 - ▶ Include memoirs of individuals like Savinkov (1917), Kravchinskij (1883), and Thun (1883), cross-referenced with Soviet revolutionary member lists.
 - ▶ Out of the 888 names recorded in these sources, Okhrana covered around 10% of terrorists active after (!) 1900, women severely underrepresented (1/4 vs. 1/2 in control group)
- 2 Was it top-down repression or bottom-up radicalization (as we argue)? Likely the latter!
- 3 Was it anti-Semitic? Exploit ethnic markers by examining the share of Jewish revolutionaries.
 - ▶ Utilize the Ashkenazi Jewish first, father's, and last names dictionary from Beider (2001).
 - ▶ Follow Bindler et al. 2023 on name coding to address potential anti-Jewish bias.
 - ▶ 36% had Jewish given names, compared to 37% Jews in urban areas (Spitzer 2015).

Table 4: Jewish background and monitored crimes, all years (long)

			Freq.	Per.	Val. Per.	Cum. Per	
Valid	1	Jewish given name	2270	35.83	35.83	35.83	
	0		4066	64.17	64.17	100.00	
	Total		6336	100.00	100.00		
Valid	1	Jewish patronymic	1633	25.77	100.00	100.00	
	Missing		.	4703	74.23		
	Total			6336	100.00		
Valid	1	Jewish surname	3306	52.18	52.18	52.18	
	0		3030	47.82	47.82	100.00	
	Total			6336	100.00	100.00	

Assembly data: Arzamas project – Who are you in 1917 Russia?

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Data source: Arzamas Project – Who are you in 1917 Russia? <https://arzamas.academy/materials/1269>

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Table 5: Descriptive statistics for dependent variables (imputed values)

Variable	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum	Observations
<i>Panel A: Individual Parties</i>					
Mensheviks	0.042	0.120	0.00	0.95	391
SRevol	0.568	0.250	0.00	0.97	391
Bolsheviks	0.234	0.214	0.00	0.78	391
Jewish lists	0.016	0.042	0.00	0.38	391
Liberals	0.008	0.014	0.00	0.10	391
Kadets	0.047	0.045	0.00	0.29	391
<i>Panel B: By Faction</i>					
Far Left	0.249	0.226	0.00	0.89	391
Mod. Left	0.019	0.088	0.00	0.74	391
Center	0.608	0.243	0.00	0.99	391
Mod. Right	0.068	0.136	0.00	0.90	391
Cons. Right	0.055	0.046	0.00	0.29	391

Estimation strategy:

$$POL_{ij} = \beta \times Okhrana_{ij} + X_{ij}\gamma + \phi_j + \epsilon_{ij} \quad (1)$$

where:

- ▶ POL_{ij} is our set of policy indicators similar to the *Manifesto Project Database*⁵:
 - ▶ Polarization, center of gravity, left-right electoral groups, vote shares⁶, minimum and maximum left-right orientation and a party-specific median party dummy variable.
- ▶ $Okhrana_{ij}$ collects (1) total number of individuals monitored and (2) by political warfare employed; i.e. assassination, riots, propaganda, membership
- ▶ $X_{ij}\gamma$ is a set of controls and ϕ_j measure constituency effectsd

⁵We use the Election Level Do-File to create our indicators

⁶Vote shares are mechanically related.

Methods:

- ▶ Commencing with Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression,
- ▶ Addressing revolutionary spillovers through spatial clustering (Colella et al. 2020) for:
 - 1 Analyzing the motivations of local groups considering revolutionary actions, and
 - 2 Examining the transmission of information that may incite similar actions among local actors.
 - 3 Examples include transregional terrorists, literature, and the economic and physical consequences of bombings.
- ▶ Strengthening our results with Propensity Score Matching (PSM) and Coarsened Exact Matching (CEM).

Next → Exploring our main party and faction results.

Table 6: ATT & Sensitivity Analysis: Benefactors by party in European Russia

Variable	Mensheviks	SRevol	Bolsheviks	Jewish lists	Liberals	Kadets
<i>Panel A: Kernel-Based Matching</i>						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
ATT – Okhrana	0.028* (0.017)	-0.023 (0.038)	-0.012 (0.039)	0.000 (0.007)	0.004* (0.002)	0.021*** (0.005)
Demographics	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographics	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Treated	159	159	159	159	159	159
Control	179	179	179	179	179	179
$\Gamma(\text{sigm+} < 0.05)$	108	108	107	40	82	108
Observations	338	338	338	338	338	338

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. Standard error in parentheses. NNM ==1. Common support is imposed. The dependent variables refer to different political factions. Mensheviks encompasses the vote share for the center, leftist, and rightist factions of the Menshevik party. SRevol represents the vote share for the Social Revolutionaries, while Bolsheviks refers to any list where the Bolsheviks were the leading party. Jewish lists refers to the vote share for Jewish lists, such as Fareynikte, the Bund, or the Zionists. Liberals denotes the vote share for the Commercial Industrialists and Landowners, and Constitutional Democratic Party (referred to as 'Kadets') represents the vote share for the most conservative party electable in the 1917 assembly. The demographic controls came from two sources: Buggle and Nafziger (2021) and Kessler and Markevich (2017) and include district location factors, such as latitude, longitude, and global distance to St. Petersburg and to the provincial capital. Other factors are the length of the growing season, presence of coal territories, and type of soil. Additionally, we account for the proportion of individuals with tertiary education, the proportion of Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians, and the proportion of workers in industrial sectors. These factors are measured based on the 1897 population levels and weighted by district population levels. We further include the share of serfs in 1858 and the missing men due to World War I as controls for each district.

Table 7: Spatial Correction with Arbitrary Clustering: Factions in European Russia (50 km cutoff)

	Far Left (1)	Mod. Left (2)	Center (3)	Mod. Right (4)	Cons. Right (5)
<i>Radicalization:</i>					
Okhrana	0.024 (0.023)	-0.007 (0.005)	-0.031 (0.023)	-0.001 (0.012)	0.015** (0.007)
Male (1 if male)	-0.033 (0.030)	0.009 (0.007)	0.039 (0.030)	0.003 (0.015)	-0.018** (0.009)
<i>By crime:</i>					
Assassinations	-0.075* (0.040)	-0.057** (0.026)	0.214*** (0.050)	-0.031 (0.038)	-0.051*** (0.012)
Riots	0.060 (0.277)	-0.406** (0.191)	0.806** (0.352)	-0.077 (0.285)	-0.382*** (0.088)
Membership	0.013 (0.060)	0.071* (0.038)	-0.205*** (0.073)	0.038 (0.066)	0.083*** (0.020)
Propaganda	0.207*** (0.064)	0.118** (0.051)	-0.406*** (0.095)	0.030 (0.028)	0.051*** (0.015)
Constituency FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographics	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographics	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 8: Spatial Correction with Arbitrary Clustering: Individual Parties in European Russia (50 km cutoff)

	Mensheviks (1)	SRevol (2)	Bolsheviks (3)	Jewish lists (4)	Liberals (5)	Kadets (6)
<i>Radicalization:</i>						
Okhrana	0.023** (0.010)	-0.036* (0.021)	-0.001 (0.023)	0.007** (0.003)	0.002 (0.001)	0.013** (0.007)
Male (1 if male)	-0.030** (0.013)	0.042 (0.028)	0.003 (0.029)	-0.008* (0.004)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.015* (0.009)
<i>By crime:</i>						
Assassinations	0.050* (0.027)	0.118** (0.054)	-0.021 (0.027)	-0.036** (0.016)	-0.006** (0.003)	-0.045*** (0.012)
Riots	-0.015 (0.161)	0.576 (0.389)	0.401* (0.206)	-0.225* (0.117)	-0.078*** (0.021)	-0.304*** (0.087)
Membership	-0.026 (0.039)	-0.108 (0.084)	-0.077* (0.041)	0.063** (0.027)	0.012*** (0.004)	0.072*** (0.020)
Propaganda	-0.098* (0.054)	-0.332*** (0.077)	0.230*** (0.064)	-0.002 (0.012)	0.007 (0.005)	0.044*** (0.016)
Constituency FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demographics	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Geographics	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

- 1 We leveraged a unique dataset on espionage activities in the Russian Empire to examine their impact on political preferences.
- 2 Cultural and economic disparities, as documented by the Okhrana, influenced the positions of parties on both ends of the political spectrum.
- 3 The robust security apparatus temporarily secured political support during a unique democratic experiment amidst two authoritarian regimes.
 - ▶ Meritocratic recruitment attracted exceptionally skilled individuals.
 - ▶ Merit-based promotion and rewards fostered incentives for unwavering loyalty (Scharpf and Gläbel 2020; Browder 1997).

The Okhrana, however, did not prevent the formation of subversive networks abroad or the erosion of hope among educated Russians (Fischer 1997; Hillis 2021).

- ▶ Uprisings by non-Russian minorities and revolutionary challenges to the Tsar's rule led to his assassination and the expansion of the Okhrana.
- ▶ The Russian government's failure to effectively manage social change, choosing containment over direction, resulted in widespread unrest (Morrissey 2012).
- ▶ Analyzing Alexander II's goals provides insight into the obstacles faced by Gorbachev.
- ▶ There are dangers of unleashing pent-up popular sentiment after years of autocratic oppression, potentially causing national mobilization and economic hardship (Zubok 2021).

- ▶ Is the impact truly attributed to the Okhrana, or is it a reflection of the 1905-07 experience?
 - ▶ Despite its inability to prevent the assassinations of major government officials, the Okhrana proved remarkably successful domestically afterward.
 - ▶ Verify by cross-referencing with Hartwell (2022)'s data on terror events and killings 1867-1914.
 - ▶ Examine differences in political support between the 1906 Duma elections and the 1917 Constituent Assembly for the largest parties/factions.

"Higher" Voltage Social Unrest

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- ▶ 1902-11: Three interior ministers assassinated; Durnovo survived two attempts.
- ▶ 1903-04: Anarchist groups in major Russian cities and Western Europe.
- ▶ 1903-09: 190 government officials, including 58 police officers, assassinated.
- ▶ 1905: Bloody Sunday → widespread protests and growth of revolutionary organizations.
- ▶ 1905-07: Over 9,000 casualties from terrorist attacks in Russia.
- ▶ 1906-14: Crushed opposition through show trials and mass executions.
- ▶ 1908-mid 1910: 19,957 terrorist acts and robberies; 7,634 casualties throughout the empire.

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Questions?

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"Overlooked No More": Aristocrat Sofia Perovskaya⁷

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- ▶ Sophia Perovskaya, an aristocrat, was executed on April 15, 1881, for a political crime after leading the 1881 assassination of Tsar Alexander II.
- ▶ Became known as Russia's first female terrorist and the first woman to be executed for a political crime in Russia.
- ▶ Credited with helping to push the empire down the road to revolution.

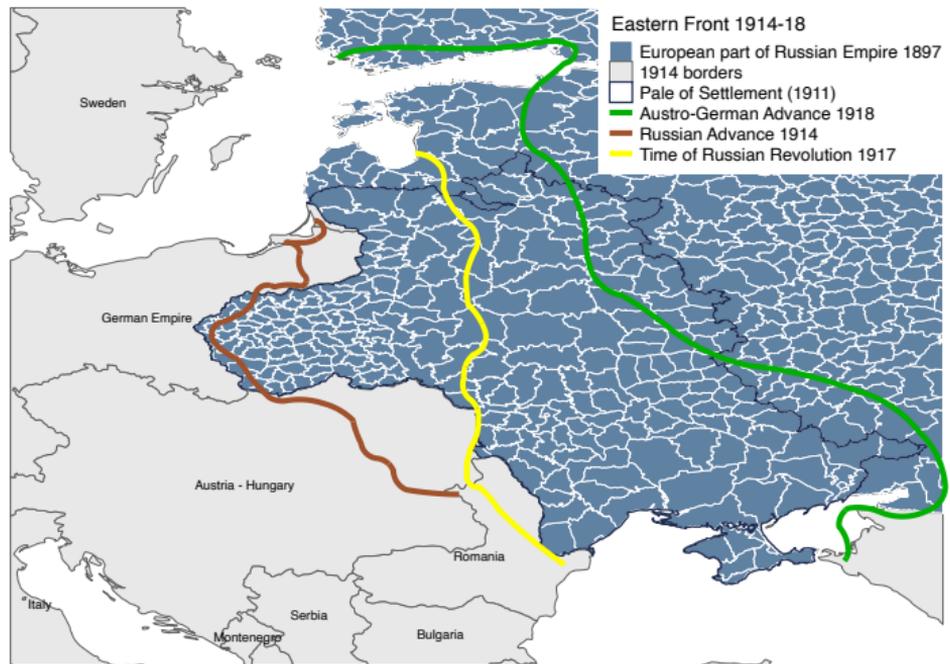


⁷ Source: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/30/obituaries/overlooked-sophia-perovskaya.html>

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Assembly data: Eastern Front at the time of Russian Revolution 1917

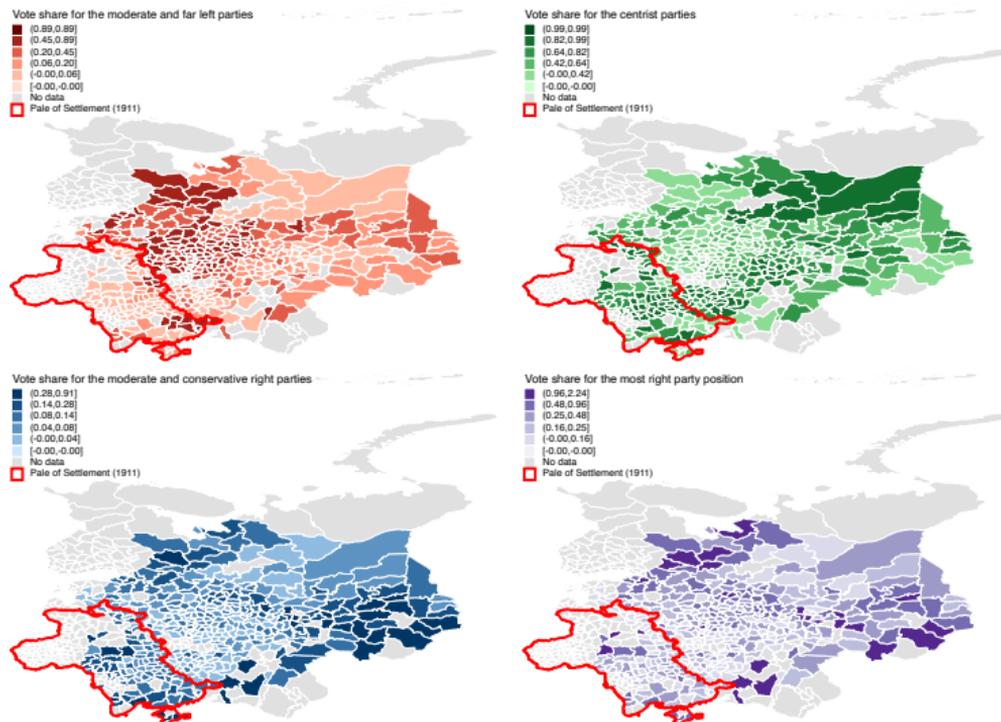
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Data source: Kessler and Markevich (2017), Transcultural Empire (2017), Encyclopædia Britannica (World War I)

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Fig. 5: Voting behavior in the 1917 Constituency Assembly



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