

REPLICATION DATA NOTES
for
“Do Terrorists Win? Rebels Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes”
Forthcoming *International Organization*

Data build on Cunningham, Gleditsch, and Salehyan 2009, version 2.4 (hereafter CGS). See Cunningham, David E., Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Idean Salehyan. 2009. "It Takes Two: A Dyadic Analysis of Civil War Duration and Outcome." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53: 570-97.

Variables not described here are described in the Cunningham, Gleditsch, and Salehyan data notes, available at http://privatewww.essex.ac.uk/~ksg/data/NSAEX_codebook.pdf

ID Variables:

VPFid	dyad id number
side_a	Government side (from CGS)
side_b	Rebels' name (from CGS)
firstob	marks first observation for case
firstob2	marks first observation or Jan 1 1989 for wars that started before then
lastob	marks last observation for case
keepobs	marks all observations starting on or after Jan 1 1989
warends	marks observations in which war ends
startdate	observation start date
enddate	observation end date
enddate2009	observation enddate updated through 2009. Differs from enddate only for outcomechanged = 1 cases (see below)
Intimeatstate	natural log of time since war began

Cluster Variables:

js_countryID	country code (from Stanton, based on COW country codes)
conflictcluster	conflict ID

War Outcome Variables:

outcomeF

- 0 government victory
- 1 no/low activity
- 2 ongoing
- 3 agreement
- 4 rebel victory

Based on UCDP outcome coding (via CGS), reordered from worst to best from rebels' perspective, and with the following changes:

- Used UCDP Termination Data v.2.1 & my own research to update the following wars that ended between 2003 and 2007 (i.e., listed as ongoing in CGS):

-

VPFid	side_a	side_b	enddate	outcomeF
22	Burundi	Palipehutu-FNL	31dec2003	3
59	Indonesia	GAM	31dec2003	3
71	Nepal	CPN-M/UPF	31dec2003	3
92	Sri Lanka	LTTE	31dec2003	0
93	Sudan	SPLM	31dec2003	3

- 2 cases coded as low/no activity by UCDP are recoded to reflect agreements reached within the following 5 years:

VPFid	side_a	side_b	enddate	outcomeF
77	Philippines	MNLF	31dec1993	3
99	United Kingdom	PIRA/IRA	15dec1993	3

VPFid 77 Philippines-MNLF 1993 – peace agreement reached in 1996 created an Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (according to UCDP agreement data)

VPFid 99 U.K.-Provisional IRA 1993 – Good Friday Agreement signed in 1998

- Corrected 2 cases:

VPFid	side_a	side_b	enddate	outcomeF
20	Burundi	CNDD	08may1998	3
100	United Kingdom	Real IRA	18aug1998	1

VPFid 20 Burundi-CNDD – Miscoded as “ongoing” in CGS (though with an end date of May 8 1998). The CNDD stopped fighting in 1998 at the start of the Arusha negotiations, and signed the Arusha peace agreement in 2000.¹ Recoded as “agreement.”

¹ CGS Data Notes, p.150; UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia. A more extremist splinter group the CNDD-FDD (VPFid 21) continued to fight until 2003 (when it too reached an agreement).

VPFid 100 U.K. - Real IRA – Miscoded as “agreement” in CGS. The Real IRA rejected the Good Friday Agreement and continued fighting (at levels below 25 bd/year).² Recoded as “low/no activity.”

outcomechanged marks the changes above, for robustness checks

- 0 outcome unchanged
- 1 updated to 2009
- 2 outcome changed to reflect agreement within 5 years of “low activity” ending
- 3 corrected

outcomechanged1 same as above, but only changed for the final observation

rebelwinF dummy variable for rebel success (victory and agreements)

- 0 outcomeF < 3
- 1 outcomeF = 3 or 4

outcomeWL trichotomous outcome variable (win/lose/ongoing)

- 0 government victory or low/no activity: outcomeF= 0 or 1
- 1 ongoing: outcomeF =2
- 2 rebel victory or agreement: outcome F= 3 or 4

² CGS Data Notes, p.213.

Terrorism

- Trebels** low or high casualty terrorist rebels
0 rebels do not use a systematic strategy of low or high casualty terrorism
1 rebels use a systematic strategy of low or high casualty terrorism

Originally from Stanton's 2008 variable *rterrorbomb* (updated/corrected with data from Stanton 2013)³ which codes:

whether or not a rebel group used bombs to attack civilian targets during the course of the civil war; here [Stanton refers] not to artillery bombings or shelling of towns or cities, but to the use of smaller scale bombs, such as car and bus bombs, suicide bombs, or improvised explosive devices (IEDs), to attack very specific civilian targets – often buses, restaurants, markets, and other public areas in a town or city.⁴

- HCTrebels** high casualty terrorist rebels
0 rebels do not use a systematic strategy of high-casualty terrorism
1 rebels use a systematic strategy of high-casualty terrorism

from Stanton 2013 *rhighcasualty*. This variable excludes groups whose terrorist attacks on civilian targets consisted only of infrastructure (e.g., power stations, pipelines, bridges) which impose costs on civilians, but in which casualties are rare.⁵ There are 7 groups in the data who conduct only low-casualty terrorism (that is Trebels=1 but HCTrebels=0): FIS, ELN, FMLN, OLF, URNG, Naxalites/PWG, ANC.

NB: HCTrebels is the measure of terrorism used here. Trebels is included for the sake of comparison.

Notes on Merging Stanton's data with CGS:

Treated as a match if same country (i.e., CGS *side_a* same as Stanton's *government*), overlapping dates (see below), and same rebels ((i.e., CGS *side_b* same as Stanton's *rebels*).⁶

³ Stanton, Jessica. *Strategies of Violence and Restraint in Civil War*. PhD Diss., Columbia University, 2008; *Terrorism in the Context of Civil War*. *Journal of Politics* 75: 1009-22. In the updated data set, this variable is called *rterrorism*. It includes both low- and high-casualty terrorism (see below).

⁴ Does not include the use of suicide bombs or IEDs to attack military bases or convoys, only "cases where bombs were aimed at unambiguously civilian targets." Stanton 2008, p.17.

⁵ Stanton 2013, p.1015.

⁶ In some cases slightly different acronyms were refer to the same group (e.g. SPLM is the military wing of the SPLA in Sudan; UCK is also known as KLA in Kosovo).

Because CGS data disaggregates rebel groups, there were cases where one observation in Stanton's data covered more than one observation in the CGS data. If Stanton refers to the separate groups specifically (e.g., Fatah/Hamas), then I applied her coding to each group in CGS. If Stanton referred to a group by a more generic name such as an ethnic group that might have been represented by more than one rebel group or faction, I applied her coding to the groups in CGS if the dates overlapped, and if *rterrorbomb* was coded as 0, on that theory that if any of the groups used terrorism, the umbrella category would be coded as using terrorism. If *rterrorbomb* was coded 1, then I did additional research to confirm that each of the groups within that umbrella category was responsible for terrorist attacks.⁷

⁷ If Stanton's coding was applied to more than one distinct group in the CGS data, all but one is marked **casecopied**=1 so that these can be dropped for robustness checks.

Other Independent Variables:

o_rebstrength	rebel strength relative to government
0	much weaker
1	weaker
2	parity
3	stronger
4	much stronger

from CGS's measure (*rebstrength*) of relative rebel strength (re-ordered from weakest to strongest). Note: there are no cases in these data in which the rebels are much stronger than the government

Aims

independenceC	goal is independence (Coggins)
0	not fighting for independence
1	fighting for independence according to Coggins 2011 ⁸

NB: Coggins' definition includes a formal declaration of full independence. Coggins codes the movement, not the specific group.⁹

transformC	goal is to transform society
0	not fighting to transform society (or fighting for independence)
1	fighting to transform society

Coded based on case descriptions in the CGS Non-State Actor data coding notes, Minorities at Risk (MAR), START's Terrorist Organization Profiles (TOPs), UCDP's case summaries, and case specific sources.¹⁰

⁸ Coggins, Bridget. 2011. Friends in High Places: International Politics and the Emergence of States from Secessionism. *International Organization* 65(3): 433-67.

⁹ This introduces slight error for a groups such as the SPLM of South Sudan which was part of a movement that ultimately achieved independence, but whose stated goal through much of the conflict was policy change within the whole of Sudan. This measurement error is the tradeoff for the measure's objectivity and replicability, however.

¹⁰ Detailed coding notes available from author. The CGS data notes are available at <<http://privatewww.essex.ac.uk/~ksg/eacd.html>>; MAR "minority group assessments" and "chronologies" are available at <<http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/data.asp>>; TOPs is available at <http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/>; UCDP summaries are available at UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia: <www.ucdp.uu.se/database>, Uppsala University (& from the UCDP app).

NB: independenceC and transformC are mutually exclusive, but not exhaustive – the omitted comparison category is groups with moderate goals (autonomy or power struggle).

Ethnic/identity conflicts that are not about autonomy/secession of a specific part of the country but about rights or rule of the whole country are coded as transformC = 1 if they are:

- majority groups fighting minority governments (eg various Hutu groups in Burundi & Rwanda, ANC in South Africa)
- minority groups fighting to change the fundamental political system
- minority groups fighting to depose a majority-led government (e.g., FPR/RPF in Rwanda)

Ethnic/identity conflicts are coded as transformC = 0 if they are:

- minority groups fighting for greater rights **within** a given political system (e.g., MQM in Pakistan)

Religious Difference

govrel government religion
rebrel rebel religion
diffreligion government & rebels from different religion
0 same religion (rebrel = govrel)
1 different religion (rebrel \neq govrel)

from Svensson 2007 and Lindberg 2008 and the sources listed in Lindberg's appendix.¹¹
religious categories for rebel and government religion include: Buddhist, Catholic, Orthodox Christian, Christian/Animist, Other or Mixed Christian, Hindu, Shia, Sunni, Other or Mixed Muslim, Sikh, Other.

act2 multiple dyads
0 1 dyad only in conflict
1 more than one rebel group involved in conflict
from CGS

¹¹ Lindberg, Jo-Eystein. Running on Faith? A Quantitative Analysis of the Effect of Religious Cleavages on the Intensity and Duration of Internal Conflicts. Master's Thesis, University of Oslo, 2008; Svensson, Isak. 2007. Fighting with Faith: Religion and Conflict Resolution in Civil Wars. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51: 930-49. Thanks to Adriana Lins de Albuquerque for help compiling these data.

Country characteristics:

demdum democracy

0 Polity score < 6

1 Polity score \geq 6

from CGS

demHCTrebels interaction term: democracy*HCTrebels

0 demdum = 0 &/or HCT rebels = 0

1 demdum = 1 & HCTrebels = 1

lnpop population

= natural log of country's population

from CGS

lngdppc GDP/capita

= natural log of GDP/capita

from CGS

Africa Sub-Saharan Africa

0 not in Sub-Saharan Africa

1 in Sub-Saharan Africa

lnmtnest mountainousness

= natural log of mountainous area

from Fearon & Latin 2003¹²

NB: time constant from year of firstob

warage years from war start to 1989

0 for wars that begin after Jan 1 1989

NB: time constant – i.e. notes years from start to Jan 1, 1989 for wars that began before then.

warstartyear year war started

= year(startdate) in firstob

pre1989start dummy for wars that began before 1989

0 war started 1989 or later

1 war started before 1989

¹² Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2003. Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *American Political Science Review* 97: 75-90.