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).

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:

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

Cluster Variables:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>js_countryID</td>
<td>country code (from Stanton, based on COW country codes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conflictcluster</td>
<td>conflict ID</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 – Mis coded 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. 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). 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

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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 `rtierrbomb` (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 [Stanon 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 `rhigheasualty`. 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`).\(^6\)

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\(^3\) 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 `rtierrterror`. 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 rterr bomb 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 rterr bomb was coded 1, then I did additional research to confirm that each of the groups within that umbrella category was responsible for terrorist attacks.\textsuperscript{7}

\textsuperscript{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**  
rebet 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.\(^10\)

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\(^9\) 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.cidem.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 (e.g. 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 ~≠ govrel)

from Svensson 2007 and Lindberg 2008 and the sources listed in Lindberg’s appendix.\textsuperscript{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

Country characteristics:

**demdum**  democracy
0  Polity score < 6
1  Polity score ≥ 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 2003

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

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