

## CODEBOOK

Democratization after Civil War: A Brush-Clearing Exercise  
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Virginia Page Fortna and Reyko Huang

| <b>Dependent Variables<sup>1</sup></b>   |                                   |  |
|--|-----------------------------------|--|
| Baseline democracy                       | pol0, pol2, pol5, ...10, 20       | Polity score at 0, 2, 5, 10, and 20 years after the end of war   |
| Democratization                          | poldif2, poldif5, ...10, 20       | Polity score change, measured as the difference between the Polity score at year 2, 5, etc. and Polity score in the year the war ended ( <i>pol0</i> ) |
| Alternate baseline                       | pol00                             | Polity score the year before the war ended   |
| Democratization with alternate baseline  | poldif002, poldif005, etc.        | Polity score change, measured using Polity score from the year before the war ended ( <i>pol00</i> ) as the baseline                                   |
| X-Polity variables                       | xpol0, xpoldif2, xpoldif002, etc. | Same as above, but using X-Polity scores   |
| <b>Independent Variables<sup>2</sup></b> |                                   |  |
| Victory                                  | milout                            | War outcome = military victory   |
| Government victory                       | govwin                            | War outcome = government victory   |
| Rebel victory                            | rebwin                            | War outcome = rebel victory  |
| Settlement                               | settle                            | War outcome = negotiated settlement  |
| Truce                                    | truce                             | War outcome = truce or ceasefire   |
| Identity war                             | wartype                           | =1 if ethnic/religious war; 0 otherwise  |

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<sup>1</sup> Polity scores are from Polity IV (v. 2008) (Marshall and Jaggers 2005); X-Polity scores are from Vreeland (2008).

<sup>2</sup> All of the independent variables, except where noted, are from or are based on Doyle and Sambanis (2006).

|                             |  |   |
|-----------------------------|--|---|
| Cost of war                 | <i>logcost</i>                                 | Natural log of deaths and displacements   |
| Duration of war             | <i>Inwardur</i>                                | Natural log of war duration in months   |
| Intensity of war            | <i>intense</i>                                 | <i>logcost /wardur</i>  |
| Military size               | <i>Inarmypce</i>                               | Natural log of the per capita size of the military  |
| Prewar Polity               | <i>pollag, pollag1, pollag2</i>                | Prewar 5-year average Polity score (see below for details on missing data)  |
| Prewar X-Polity             | <i>xpollag, xpollag1, xpollag2</i>             | Same as above, using X-Polity   |
| Economic development        | <i>Inidev5</i>                                 | Natural log of electricity consumption per capita for the year war ended or the closest available year                                      |
| GDP (alternate development) | <i>gdpPEND</i>                                 | GDP at the end of the war   |
| Oil wealth                  | <i>oil</i>                                     | =1 for countries whose oil exports are valued at more than 30% of GDP   |
| Rebel aim                   | <i>aim</i>                                     | 1 = center; 2 = mixed/ambiguous; 3 = exit/autonomy. Source: Fearon (2004) and our own research. <sup>3</sup>                                |
| Rebel aim = exit            | <i>aim3</i>                                    | =1 if rebels aim for exit or autonomy (that is, <i>aim</i> = 3); 0 otherwise  |
| Post-Cold War               | <i>postcw</i>                                  | = 1 if war ended in or after 1989   |
| Decade dummies              | forties, fifties, sixties, seventies, eighties | Dummy variables indicating the decade in which war ended  |
| Peacekeeping                | <i>anypko2</i>                                 | =1 if any peacekeeping deployed. Includes observer, traditional, multidimensional and enforcement mission by any party; excludes mediation. |

<sup>3</sup> Notes on the coding of cases that are missing in Fearon (2004) are available from the authors upon request.

|                      |                       |  |
|----------------------|-----------------------|--|
| War resumption       | war2, war5, ...10, 20 | Dummy variables indicating start of the same or a separate civil war in the same country by 2, 5, 10, or 20 years after end of war. Updated using Gleditsch et al. (2006). |
| Successful secession | secedes               | =1 for cases of successful secession   |

## Missing observations in Polity

We deal with missing observations in Polity (-66, -77, and -88) in the following manner.

- For *pol00*, *pol0*, *pol1*, *pol2*: If missing, use value from the previous year. If previous year is missing, use value from the following year. If both are missing, code as missing.
- For *pol5*, *pol10*, *pol20*: If missing, use value from closest available year within two years. Otherwise, leave as missing.
- *pollag1* and other versions of *pollag*: If there are missing observations in the 5 years prior to the war, take the average of a minimum of two years' observations. Otherwise, leave as missing.
- The same rules apply to the coding of X-Polity scores.

## Prewar Polity scores for post-colonial and newly independent states

- Breakaway states that gain independence after the war lack prewar Polity scores. For these states, prewar scores are based on those of their contiguous metropoles. This applies to Azerbaijan (USSR), Bangladesh (Pakistan), Bosnia (Yugoslavia), Croatia (Yugoslavia), Eritrea (Ethiopia), Georgia (USSR), Moldova (USSR), Namibia (South Africa), and Tajikistan (USSR).
- For post-colonial states emerging from Western or Japanese colonialism: Algeria, Angola, China (1946, 1947), Congo-Zaire (1960), India (1946), Indonesia/East Timor, Kenya (1963), Korea, and Myanmar/Burma (1948), we code prewar democracy levels (*pollag1*) as the mean score of all cases, equal to -3.3 on the -10 to 10 Polity scale and 5.2 on the 0 to 13 X-Polity scale. In alternative specifications we code these first as the midpoints on the respective scales (*pollag*), often considered “neutral” in the literature, or second, simply as missing (*pollag2*).

- The assumption behind the different coding rules for contiguous and non-contiguous territories is that the former are likely to have been governed in the same manner as the metropoles themselves, while that is less likely the case with overseas territories (see Gerring et al. 2005: 341).

## List of Cases

| Country                  | Conflict                       | War start | War end | Score at war end | Democratization over Time |              |               |               |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|---------|------------------|---------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
|                          |                                |           |         |                  | Over 2 years              | Over 5 years | Over 10 years | Over 20 years |
| Afghanistan              | Mujahideen, PDPA               | 1978      | 1992    | -8               | 0                         | 1            |               |               |
| Afghanistan              | Taliban v. Burhanuddin Rabbani | 1992      | 1996    | -7               | 0                         |              |               |               |
| Algeria                  | post-independence strife       | 1962      | 1963    | -8               | -1                        | -1           | -1            | -1            |
| Angola                   | UNITA                          | 1975      | 1991    | -3               | 2                         | 1            | 0             |               |
| Angola                   | UNITA                          | 1992      | 1994    | -1               | -1                        | -2           | -1            |               |
| Argentina                | Peron v. military              | 1955      | 1955    | -6               | 5                         | 5            | 5             | 12            |
| Argentina                | Montoneros, ERP, Dirty War     | 1975      | 1977    | -9               | 0                         | 1            | 17            | 16            |
| Azerbaijan               | Nagorno-Karabakh               | 1991      | 1994    | -3               | -3                        | -4           | -4            |               |
| Bangladesh               | Chittagong Hills/Shanti Bahini | 1974      | 1997    | 6                | 0                         | 0            |               |               |
| Bolivia                  | MNR rebellion in La Paz        | 1952      | 1952    | -4               | 0                         | 1            | 1             | -3            |
| Bosnia                   | Rep. Srpska/Croats             | 1992      | 1995    |                  |                           |              |               |               |
| Burundi                  | Hutu uprising                  | 1965      | 1969    | -7               | 0                         | 0            | 0             | 0             |
| Burundi                  | Hutu uprising                  | 1972      | 1972    | -7               | 0                         | 0            | 0             | 4             |
| Burundi                  | Org. massacres on both sides   | 1988      | 1988    | -7               | 0                         | 1            | 6             |               |
| Cambodia                 | FUNK; Khmer                    | 1970      | 1975    | -6               | -1                        |              |               | 7             |
| Cambodia                 | Khmer Rouge, FUNCINPEC, etc    | 1975      | 1991    | 1                | 0                         | 0            | 1             |               |
| Central African Republic | Factional fighting             | 1996      | 1997    | 5                | 0                         | 0            |               |               |
| Chad                     | FROLINAT, various factions     | 1965      | 1979    | -7               | 0                         | 3            | 0             | 5             |
| Chad                     | FARF; FROLINAT                 | 1980      | 1994    | -4               | 2                         | 2            | 2             |               |
| Chad                     | FARF; FROLINAT                 | 1994      | 1997    | -2               | 0                         | 0            |               |               |
| China                    | PLA                            | 1946      | 1949    | -8               | 0                         | 0            | 0             | 0             |
| China                    | China (KMT) vs. Taiwanese      | 1947      | 1947    | -5               | -3                        | -3           | -3            | -4            |
| China                    | re-annexation                  | 1950      | 1951    | -8               | 0                         | 0            | 0             | 0             |
| China                    | Tibetan uprising               | 1956      | 1959    | -8               | 0                         | 0            | 0             | 1             |

|                    |                                  |      |      |    |    |    |    |     |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|------|------|----|----|----|----|-----|
| China              | Red Guards                       | 1967 | 1968 | -9 | 1  | 1  | 2  | 2   |
| Colombia           | La Violencia                     | 1948 | 1966 | 7  | 0  | 0  | 1  | 1   |
| Congo-Brazzaville  | Lissouba v. Sassou-Nguesso       | 1993 | 1997 | -6 | 0  | 2  |    |     |
| Congo-Brazzaville  | Cobras v. Ninjas                 | 1998 | 1999 | -6 | 1  | 2  |    |     |
| Congo-Zaire        | Katanga, Kasai, Kwilu, Eastern   | 1960 | 1965 | -9 | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0   |
| Congo-Zaire        | Kisangani mutiny                 | 1967 | 1967 | -9 | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0   |
| Congo-Zaire        | FLNC; Shabba 1 & 2               | 1977 | 1978 | -9 | 0  | 0  | 0  |     |
| Congo-Zaire        | AFDL (Kabila)                    | 1996 | 1997 |    |    |    |    |     |
| Costa Rica         | NLA                              | 1948 | 1948 | 10 | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0   |
| Croatia            | Krajina, Medak, Western Slavonia | 1992 | 1995 | -5 | 0  | 12 |    |     |
| Cuba               | Castro revolution                | 1958 | 1959 | -8 | 1  | 1  | 1  | 1   |
| Cyprus             | GC-TC civil war                  | 1963 | 1967 | 9  | -2 | -2 | 1  | 1   |
| Cyprus             | TCs; GCs; Turkish invasion       | 1974 | 1974 | 10 | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0   |
| Djibouti           | FRUD                             | 1991 | 1994 | -7 | 1  | 9  | 9  |     |
| Dominican Republic | Mil. coup                        | 1965 | 1965 | -4 | 1  | 1  | 1  | 10  |
| El Salvador        | FMLN                             | 1979 | 1992 | 7  | 0  | 0  | 0  |     |
| Egypt              | Gamaat Islamiya; Islamic Jihad   | 1994 | 1997 | -6 | 0  | 0  |    |     |
| Ethiopia           | Eritrean war of independence     | 1974 | 1991 | -8 | 2  | 2  | 1  |     |
| Ethiopia           | Ideological; Tigrean             | 1978 | 1991 | -8 | 9  | 9  | 9  |     |
| Ethiopia           | Ogaden; Somalis                  | 1976 | 1988 | -8 | 0  | 9  | 9  |     |
| Georgia            | South Ossetia                    | 1991 | 1992 | 4  | 0  | 1  | 1  |     |
| Georgia            | Abkhazia (& Gamsakhurdia)        | 1992 | 1994 | 4  | 1  | 1  | 3  |     |
| Greece             | EDES/ELAS; EAM                   | 1944 | 1949 | 4  | 0  | 0  | 0  | -11 |
| Guatemala          | Communists;                      | 1966 | 1972 | 1  | -4 | -4 | -8 | 2   |
| Guatemala          | Communists; Indigenous           | 1978 | 1994 | 3  | 5  | 5  | 5  |     |
| Guinea-Bissau      | Vieira v. Mane mutiny            | 1998 | 1999 | 3  | 2  | -4 |    |     |
| Haiti              | Cedras v. Aristide               | 1991 | 1995 | 7  | 0  | -9 |    |     |
| India              | Sikhs                            | 1984 | 1993 | 8  | 1  | 1  | 1  |     |
| India              | Partition and ethnic rioting     | 1946 | 1948 |    |    |    |    |     |

|                        |                                |      |      |    |    |    |    |     |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|------|------|----|----|----|----|-----|
| Indonesia              | Rep. S. Moluccas               | 1950 | 1950 | 0  | 0  | 0  | -5 | -7  |
| Indonesia              | Darul Islam                    | 1953 | 1953 | 0  | 0  | -1 | -5 | -7  |
| Indonesia              | Darul Islam, PRRI, Peresta     | 1956 | 1960 | -5 | 0  | 0  | -2 | -2  |
| Indonesia              | OPM (West Papua)               | 1976 | 1978 | -7 | 0  | 0  | 0  | 2   |
| Indonesia              | East Timor                     | 1975 | 1999 | 6  | 0  | 0  |    |     |
| Indonesia              | Aceh                           | 1990 | 1991 | -7 | 0  | 0  | 13 |     |
| Iran                   | Khomeini                       | 1978 | 1979 | 0  | -4 | -6 | -6 | 3   |
| Iran                   | KDPI (Kurds)                   | 1979 | 1984 | -6 | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0   |
| Iraq                   | Shammar                        | 1959 | 1959 | -5 | 0  | 0  | -2 | -4  |
| Iraq                   | KDP, PUK (Kurds)               | 1961 | 1970 | -7 | 0  | 0  | -2 | -2  |
| Iraq                   | KDP, PUK (Kurds)               | 1974 | 1975 | -7 | 0  | -2 | -2 | -2  |
| Iraq                   | Kurds; Anfal                   | 1985 | 1996 | -9 | 0  | 0  |    |     |
| Iraq                   | Shiite uprising                | 1991 | 1993 | -9 | 0  | 0  |    |     |
| Israel                 | Intifada; Palestinian conflict | 1987 | 1997 | 9  | 1  | 1  |    |     |
| Jordan                 | Fedeyeen/Syria v. govt         | 1970 | 1971 | -9 | 0  | -1 | -1 | 5   |
| Kenya                  | Shifta war (Somalis)           | 1963 | 1967 | 0  | -7 | -7 | -7 | -7  |
| Kenya                  | Rift valley ethnic violence    | 1991 | 1993 | -5 | 0  | 3  | 13 |     |
| Korea                  | Yosu Rebellion                 | 1948 | 1949 | -3 | 0  | -1 | -1 | 6   |
| Laos                   | Pathet Lao                     | 1960 | 1973 | -2 | -5 | -5 | -5 | -5  |
| Lebanon                | Nasserites v. Chamoun          | 1958 | 1958 | 2  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 3   |
| Lebanon                | Aoun; militias; PLO; Israel    | 1975 | 1991 |    |    |    |    |     |
| Liberia                | Doe v. rebels                  | 1989 | 1990 | -6 | 0  |    | 6  |     |
| Liberia                | NPLF; ULIMO; NPF; LPC; LDF     | 1992 | 1997 | 0  | 0  | 0  |    |     |
| Mali                   | Tuaregs; Maurs                 | 1990 | 1995 | 7  | -1 | -1 |    |     |
| Moldova                | Transdnestria                  | 1991 | 1992 | 5  | 2  | 2  | 3  |     |
| Morocco/Western Sahara | Polisario                      | 1975 | 1991 | -8 | 1  | 1  | 2  |     |
| Mozambique             | RENAMO; FRELIMO                | 1976 | 1992 | -6 | 12 | 12 | 12 |     |
| Myanmar/Burma          | Karen rebellion 1              | 1948 | 1951 | 8  | 0  | 0  | 0  | -15 |
| Myanmar/Burma          | Communist insurgency           | 1948 | 1988 | -6 | -1 | -1 | -1 |     |

|                  |                                  |      |      |     |    |    |    |     |
|------------------|----------------------------------|------|------|-----|----|----|----|-----|
| Myanmar/Burma    | Ethnic groups; Karen rebellion 2 | 1960 | 1995 | -7  | 0  | 0  |    |     |
| Namibia          | SWAPO; SWANU; SWATF              | 1973 | 1989 | 4   | 2  | 2  | 2  |     |
| Nicaragua        | FSLN                             | 1978 | 1979 | -8  | 3  | 7  | 7  | 16  |
| Nicaragua        | Contras & Miskitos               | 1981 | 1990 | 6   | 0  | 2  | 2  |     |
| Nigeria          | Biafra                           | 1967 | 1970 | -7  | 0  | 0  | 14 | 2   |
| Nigeria          | Muslims; Maitatsine rebellion    | 1980 | 1985 | -7  | 0  | 2  | 1  |     |
| Oman             | Dhofar rebellion                 | 1971 | 1975 | -10 | 0  | 0  | 0  | 1   |
| Pakistan         | Bangladesh secession             | 1971 | 1971 | 1   | 7  | -8 | -5 | 5   |
| Pakistan         | Baluchistan                      | 1973 | 1977 | -7  | 0  | 0  | 3  | 14  |
| Pakistan         | MQM:Sindhis v. Mohajirs          | 1994 | 1999 | -6  | 0  | 1  |    |     |
| Papua New Guinea | BRA (Bougainville)               | 1988 | 1998 | 10  | 0  | 0  |    |     |
| Paraguay         | Febreristas, Libs, Comms         | 1947 | 1947 | -5  | 0  | 0  | -4 | -3  |
| Peru             | Sendero Luminoso, Tupac Amaru    | 1980 | 1996 | 1   | 0  | 8  |    |     |
| Philippines      | Huks                             | 1950 | 1952 | 5   | 0  | 0  | 0  | -14 |
| Philippines      | NPA                              | 1972 | 1992 | 8   | 0  | 0  | 0  |     |
| Russia           | Chechnya 1                       | 1994 | 1996 | 4   | 0  | 3  |    |     |
| Rwanda           | Tutsi uprising                   | 1963 | 1964 | -5  | 0  | 0  | -2 | -2  |
| Rwanda           | Hutu vs. Tutsi groups            | 1990 | 1993 | -6  | 0  | 0  | 3  |     |
| Rwanda           | RPF; genocide                    | 1994 | 1994 | -6  | 0  | 0  | 3  |     |
| Sierra Leone     | RUF, AFRC, etc.                  | 1991 | 1996 | 4   | -9 | -2 |    |     |
| Somalia          | SSDF, SNM (Isaaqs)               | 1988 | 1991 | -7  | 0  |    |    |     |
| South Africa     | ANC, PAC, Azapo                  | 1976 | 1994 | 9   | 0  | 0  | 0  |     |
| Sri Lanka        | JVP                              | 1971 | 1971 | 8   | 0  | 0  | -2 | -3  |
| Sri Lanka        | JVP II                           | 1987 | 1989 | 5   | 0  | 0  | 0  |     |
| Sudan            | Anya Nya                         | 1963 | 1972 | -7  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0   |
| Syria            | Muslim Brotherhood               | 1979 | 1982 | -9  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 2   |
| Tajikistan       | Popular Democratic Army; UTO     | 1992 | 1997 | -5  | 4  | 4  |    |     |
| Thailand         | Communists (CPT)                 | 1966 | 1982 | 2   | 0  | 0  | 7  |     |
| Uganda           | Baganda rebellion                | 1966 | 1966 | 0   | -6 | -7 | -7 | -7  |

|                |                            | 1978 | 1979 |    |    |    |     |
|----------------|----------------------------|------|------|----|----|----|-----|
| Uganda         | Tanzanian war              |      |      |    |    |    |     |
| Uganda         | NRA/Museveni, etc          | 1981 | 1987 | -7 | 0  | 0  | 3   |
| Uganda         | Kony (pre-LRA)             | 1990 | 1992 | -7 | 3  | 3  | 3   |
| United Kingdom | Northern Ireland           | 1971 | 1998 | 10 | 0  | 0  |     |
| USSR           | Lithuania/BDPS             | 1944 | 1948 | -9 | 0  | 2  | 2   |
| USSR           | Latvia/LTSPA, etc.         | 1944 | 1947 | -9 | 0  | 0  | 2   |
| USSR           | Ukraine/UPA                | 1944 | 1950 | -9 | 0  | 2  | 2   |
| USSR           | Estonia/Forest Brthers     | 1944 | 1948 | -9 | 0  | 2  | 2   |
| Vietnam        | NLF                        | 1960 | 1975 | -3 | -4 | -4 | -4  |
| Yemen AR       | Yahaya rebellion           | 1948 | 1948 | -6 | 0  | 0  | 0   |
| Yemen          | South Yemen                | 1994 | 1994 | -2 | 0  | 0  | 0   |
| Yemen AR       | Royalists                  | 1962 | 1970 | -3 | 0  | -1 | -3  |
| Yemen PR       | Faction of Socialist Party | 1986 | 1986 | -7 | 0  | 3  | 5   |
| Yugoslavia     | Croatia/Krajina            | 1991 | 1991 | -3 | 0  | -2 | 10  |
| Yugoslavia     | Kosovo                     | 1998 | 1999 |    |    |    |     |
| Zimbabwe       | ZANU, ZAPU                 | 1972 | 1979 | 4  | 0  | -3 | -10 |
| Zimbabwe       | Ndebele guerillas          | 1983 | 1987 | -6 | 0  | 0  | 0   |

The shaded columns of this table indicate moves toward democracy (positive numbers), away from democracy (negative numbers) or no change (zeros). Blank cells indicate missing values, often because not enough time has passed to record democratization scores.

