Threats to Leaders' Political Survival and Pro-Government Militia Formation

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Replication Data Codebook

Purpose of Codebook

The following codebook corresponds to a replication data-set created for the article, "Threats to Leaders' Political Survival and Pro-Government Militia Formation," currently conditionally accepted at *International Interactions*. The variables are presented in the codebook in the order that they are listed in the corresponding .dta file:

`master_pgm_rr.dta`.

Country, COW Code and Year

'country' and 'ccode' are names of the country corresponding to a particular observation, a year and a three-digit code from the Correlates of War Data-set corresponding to a particular country (Singer et al., 1972). The range of time corresponds to the available range from Carey et al. (2013)'s Pro-Government Militia Database: 1981 to 2007.

group_dummy, groupformation and groupdissolve

These three variables correspond to the PGM incidence variable withing the Carey et al. (2013) data. The 'group_dummy' variable is coded as 1 when their data lists a country as having at least one active PGM. The 'groupformation' variable is a dichotomous variable for when the data reports one or more PGMs being formed in the particular country and year. 'groupdissolve' is a dichotomous variable for one or more groups disbanding or no longer being active in a particular year based on reported activity ranges listed in the dataset.

identity

Also from the Carey et al. (2013) data. Coders listed several criteria which fit the membership composition of a particular pro-government militia. When a PGM that is coded as being formed in a particular year by the 'groupformation' variable has either 'ethnic' or 'religious' characteristics, it receives a 1; otherwise a zero.

civilwar

Is the country experiencing a civil conflict in this particular year? Data on civil conflict is taken from the Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO) Armed Conflict Database (Gleditsch et al., 2002; Themner and Wallensteen, 2011), with 25 battle deaths in a particular year being the threshold for conflict.

numberofgroups

Ordinal variable for the number of active pro-government militias in a given year taken from the mentioned Carey et al. (2013) data.

foreigntroops

Dichotomous variable of whether there is a foreign military presence in a country in a given year. There is no consideration for whether the presence is supportive in this particular variable. Data comes from the updated Integrated Military Intervention (IMI) Data-set (Pearson and Baumann, 1993; Pickering and Kisangani, 2009).

leaderirregularentry

Dichotomous variable for whether the leader in power in a particular country in that particular year came to power through extra-constitutional means, as defined by the ARCHIGOS data-set (Goemans et al., 2009).

overthrowdummy

Dichotomous variable for year in which a leader was removed by extra-constitutional means according to the mentioned ARCHIGOS data-set.

Cubic Polynomials: nomilitia, nomilitiasq, nomilitiacub

Cubic polynomials are included in logistic regression models to account for duration dependence in years where there is no active pro-government militias. The variables are generated in accordance with Carter and Signorino (2010).

coup

Specifies whether the overthrow in 'overthrowdummy' came as a result of a coup based on coup and coup attempt data from Powell and Thyne (2011).

lpop and lcgdp

Data on national population and per capita GDP was obtained from the Penn World Tables (Heston et al., 2012). Both were log-transformed by convention.

X-Polity and X-Polity squared

POLITY scores capture democracy on a scale from -10 to 10 (Marshall et al., 2011). However, some components of the measure correlate with conflict-related outcomes. Vreeland (2008)'s measure disaggregates the POLITY IV measure to remove the correlated components, producing the revised X-Polity measure. A squared X-Polity variable is also included to account for non-linear effects.

Ethnolinguistic Fractionalization

Data on ethnolinguistic fractionalization does not vary over time and is taken at the country level from the *Atlas Narodov Mira* (Bruk et al., 1964) and encoded by Roeder (2001). Only the 1985 version is used.

recentcoupattempt

Using Powell and Thyne (2011)'s data on coup attempts, a trend variable was generated for each year since a country experienced a coup attempt (with one being the year in which a country experienced a coup attempt). The trend was inverted, where $\frac{1}{1+years}$ to create an diminishing trend from one to zero, representing the anticipated declining impact of a coup attempt on pro-government militia formation.

milexgdp

Data on military expenditures as a percentage of GDP generated by dividing data on military expenditures from the Correlates of War National Material Capabilities Data (Singer et al., 1972) with national GDP data from the Penn World Tables.

leader

Name of leader that was deposed in a given year. Reported only for years where 'overthrow-dummy' is one.

fate

Description of leader's fate after overthrow, taken from Archigos data on leaders. Reported only for years in which leader was overthrown.

remainedpolitics

Dichotomous variable for whether a particular leader remained active in a country's political process after being overthrown, coded from descriptions in previous variable. Reported only for years in which leader was overthrown.

type

The manner in which the leader was deposed according to Svolik and Akcinarogly (2006)'s dataset on regime change and autocratic regime types and the Archigos data. Reported only for years in which leader was overthrown.

military

Dichotomous variable on whether the leader belonged to the military. Taken from Archigos data. Reported only for years in which leader was overthrown.

foreign

Dichotomous variable on whether the leader was deposed with foreign assistance or directly by a foreign military. Coded from Svolik and Akcinarogly (2006)'s data-set. Reported only for years in which leader was overthrown.

mediascore

A measure of media freedom from Van Belle (2000); Whitten-Woodring and Van Belle (2014). The measure assigns a trichotomous measure on the basis of degree of repercussions for criticism of government and government officials in the public sphere, where "Free" is assigned to countries where "criticism of government and government officials is a common and normal part of the political dialogue in the mediated public sphere," "Imperfectly Free" to countries where there are some costs to criticism, but some criticism does occur, while "Not Free" is assigned to the remaining countries where it is not possible to safely criticize major policy failings.

Media_ai_tot

A measure of the number of country-specific human rights NGO news releases and background in a given year, obtained from Murdie and Davis (2012).

hrfilled

A count of the number of human rights NGOs that have members in a given country in a given year is also included to predict variance. Data on human rights NGO membership is taken from the Yearbook of International Associations (Smith and Wiest, 2005).

rpe_gdp and rpr

Relative political exctraction and relative political reach measures from Arbetman Rabinowitz et al. (2013). relative political extraction, is designed to predict a government's ability to extract revenue from its constituents. It is derived by obtaining the predicted value for total tax revenues as a percentage of GDP when regressed on indicators for time, per capita GDP, mineral production as a percentage of GDP, exports as a percentage of GDP, health expenditures as a percentage of GDP and OECD membership. The other measure, relative political reach, is designed to predict a government's ability to hold control over its territory. It is derived by obtaining the predicted value for labor force participation rate when regressed on indicators for time, per capita GDP, mineral production as a percentage of GDP, exports as a percentage of GDP, health expenditures as a percentage of GDP and OECD membership. Both measures are standardized to the average of surrounding countries.

antigovforeign

A dichotomous measure of foreign military presence, coded in the same way as 'foreigntroops,' but excluding those foreign military forces that are present in direct support of a government.

gfw_party, gfw_personal and gfw_military

Dichotomous indicators of whether a country has a single-party authoritarian, personalist or military regime in a given year (Geddes et al., 2014).

timesinceoverthrow, timesinceoverthrowsq and timesinceoverthrowcub

Cubic polynomials for time since last overthrow of a government, rather than time since last instance PGM was active.

log_dem_aid_gdp and log_aut_aid_gdp

Data on aid as a percentage of GDP received from either democracies or autocracies (Tierney et al., 2011). To separate aid received by each country according to regime type, donor countries are categorized by X-Polity score (democracies are X-Polity 6 or higher, autocracies are X-Polity -5 or lower) and create two measures for each country in a given year: cumulative aid received from democracies and cumulative aid from autocracies. These numbers are then divided by a measure of a country's total real GDP from the Penn World Tables (PWT) (Heston et al., 2012) and logged to standardize variation.

lexclpop and lnleaderpop

The natural log of the proportion of the population of a country that belongs to politically excluded ethnic groups and the natural log of the proportion of the population of a leader's ethnic group to

the total population of politically included groups. Calculated or extracted from the Ethnic Power Relations data-set (Wimmer et al., 2009).

trt and tr_filled

A measure of human rights prosecutions obtained through coding all "executive and/or judicial activities before, during, and resulting from criminal procedures brought against former state officials on charges of human rights violations." The measure includes "indictments, arrests, extraditions, detentions, and trials for violations of core human rights by state officials" (Kim, 2012). The data relies on US Department of State Country Reports on Human Rights Practices and codes a prosecution as having taken place in a given year when a prosecution meets these criteria. The data only includes countries that have experienced a democratic transition at some point between 1980 and 2006 and times that following those transitions. Transitions were coded using the POLITY IV index. The filled indicator codes missing data in the 'trt' variable as zeros.

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