

Preliminary Coding Guidelines for Victorious Complementary Agents of Violence (VCAs) Dataset

Ore Koren

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- I. **Peace_spell_id**: the ID of the post-conflict period analyzed.
- II. **Country**: country of observation
- III. **Year**: year of observation
- IV. **Conflict length**: length of conflict
- V. **Conflict type**:
 - a. Independence: war fought by a group that later became the internationally recognized government. In this case the organizations fighting on the side of this group are VCAs.
 - b. Secession: war fought by the state against a group aiming to secede from the state. In this case the organizations supporting the state (e.g., pro-government militias) are the VCAs, as this war ended in state victory.
 - c. Regime change: civil wars fought by rebel groups against a government. In this case the VCAs are whichever groups that were on the winning side after the war, be they rebels or pro-state governments.
 - d. Mixed (i.e., conflicts with more than one motivation).
- VI. **War (y/n)**: the dependent variable. Denotes whether a civil war or other mass conflict (e.g., mass killing) was observed in a given year or not. If conflict was observed, the spell is terminated.
- VII. **VCAs**: variable identifying a pro-state paramilitary group
 1. A victorious complementary agent (VCA) is defined as an unregulated pro-state group (although it can still be subjugated to the military command, but it is used a military auxiliary) that is not an integral part of the state's military, or of the main group that became the state military after the war.
 - a. For example, the U.S. National Guard, the Italian Carabinieri, the Soviet Bogranishna, or civilian police volunteers like the Israeli Mishmar Ezrachi are not VCAs, as they are an integral part of the security apparatus.
 - b. Indonesian death squads, the German Freikorps, or the Peshmerga are VCAs, as they are individual units used by the state or by winning rebel groups.
 2. Coding standards:
 - a. A value of zero is assigned to cases where:
 - i. A VCA did not exist.

- ii. The VCA was well regulated and an integral part of the main security apparatus (e.g., has its own general) or the group that became the main apparatus after the war.
- b. A value of one is assigned to cases where the VCA:
 - i. Operated independently, and was not subjugated to the political leadership or the military chain of command, including groups that became the main military after the war, such as the MPLA in Angola during the war against Portugal, KLA in Kosovo (e.g., UNITA in Angola during the war against Portugal, FARK in Kosovo).
 - ii. Was an independent “contractor” of the political leadership (e.g., the Janjaweed, Interahamwe).
 - iii. Was given jurisdiction beyond that of an internal intelligence-gathering agency (the ability to assassinate on the spot, for example), e.g. “death squads.”
 - iv. Was a factional or tribal paramilitary organization sanctioned by the political leadership (e.g., civil defense forces [CDFs], militias).
 - v. Was an organization that answered directly to the leader – bypassing the state military – and/or was used for aggressive rather than defensive purposes (e.g., death squads, the German Freikorps).

VIII. Political integration: successful political integration of a VCA after conflict is defined as:

- 1. One if:
 - a. Members/leaders of the pro-state groups could/did join the ruling political party without significant limitations.
 - b. Members/leaders of the pro-state group could/did join the political party associated with the group that became the state’s official military without significant limitations.
 - c. Members/leaders of the pro-state group could form or join their own political party and peacefully compete in elections without significant limitations.
 - d. If either VIII1a, b, or c was not fulfilled, but the limitations faced were relatively negligible (e.g., the ruling party reserved only X seats for former VCA members).
- 2. Zero otherwise.

IX. Military integration: successful military integration is defined as:

- 1. One if:
 - a. Members/leaders of the VCA could/did join the official state military without any limitations on promotion or the units they were allowed to serve in (e.g., SFs).
 - b. Members/leaders of the VCA were given alternative venues to join the official state security apparatus (e.g., border guards, spy agency) and faced no limitations on promotions or number of joiners from the group.
- 2. Zero otherwise.

X. Type (VCA x): denotes the type of the group, out of broadly three categories:

1. *Ethnic/tribal*: informal armed groups formed by and representing local communities, including civil defense forces (e.g., Janjaweed, Interahamwe, Kamajors) are assigned a value of one, zero otherwise.
2. *Terror group*: groups (mostly right wing) formed by the political or military leadership (or the groups who became so after the war) specifically to repress populations, assassinate and kill enemies of the regime, especially civilians (e.g., El Salvador, paramilitarios in Colombia) were assigned a value of one, zero otherwise.
3. *Competing*: mostly in wars of independence, groups founded to fight the same occupier/enemy as the group that became the government and main security apparatus after the war but were distinct entities with largely independent agendas (e.g., Irgun in Israel, FARK in Kosovo) assigned a value of one, zero otherwise.
4. *Other*: all other VCAs that do not fall into these three categories are given a value of one, zero otherwise.

XI. Diff_main (VCA x): denotes the main difference between the VCA and the main group/state:

1. *Ethnicity/religion*: if the VCA hailed from a specific ethnic or religious affiliation different than the main group or the state's ruling party a score of one, zero otherwise.
2. *Politics/ideology*: if the VCA represented an ideologically distinct group from the ruling party/main rebel group (e.g., communist groups, rightwing militias), a score of one, zero otherwise.
3. *Other*: all other VCAs that do not fall into these three categories are given a value of one, zero otherwise.

XII. Conf_splinter (t-1): if the coalition between the VCA and the main group/state fractured by the last year of the conflict (t-1), assigned a value of one, zero otherwise.

XIII. Sources: include all the sources used in coding of these variables.

XIV. Notes: any other issues/idea/comments you have, potential problems, etc.