UCDP Conflict Issues Dataset Codebook

Version 23.1
Uppsala Conflict Data Program

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When using this data, please always cite:

Always include the Version number in analyses using the dataset.

The official abbreviation of this dataset is **UCDP CID**

The official full name of this dataset is **UCDP Conflict Issues Dataset.**

The current version of the dataset is **23.1**

Data extracted from UCDP systems on 2023-01-30

Contents

Introduction

Why conflict issues?

In this project we focus on the study of conflict issues declared by rebel groups in civil wars and armed conflicts. Whereas issues hold a prominent position in the study of *inter-state* conflicts issues have not received equal recognition in the most common type of conflict in the post-World War II era: *intra-state* conflicts (civil wars). The focus on issues[1] stated by rebels, as opposed to those stated by governments, is a result of the rebel side wanting to change the existing order, while status quo is the standard preferred alternative for governments. Additionally, instead of seeking underlying motivations or trying to detect covert aims, we focus on concrete demands declared by rebel groups. We do this for three reasons. First, it is our firm conviction that what rebel groups state matters and that there is an intrinsic value in capturing what rebel groups raise as the issues involved in a conflict. Second, while the civil war literature has examined underlying motivations for rebellion (such as in the greed and grievance debate) stated conflict issues have rendered less attention and existing data on this dimension suffer from several shortcomings. UCDP's data on incompatibilities, for example, only distinguishes between two categories (terrritory and government), and is time-invariant with a focus on the first stated goal of incompatibility. The UCDP CID dataset, in contrast, approaches this issue (pun intended) with a

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[1] In this codebook, we use different words to signify what rebels groups 'want'; i.e. what conflict issues they raise. The different words, such as 'request', 'demand', and 'ask for' do not imply any differences in how we code different categories.

comprehensive approach that allows numerous simultaneous conflict issues and account for the fact that conflict issues may vary over time. Thereby we are not only interested in the conflict issues in the initial phase of a conflict – that might have motivated the initiation of an insurgency – but also consider later stages of a conflict. Our examination, therefore, encompasses conflict issues raised by insurgent groups across the full cycle of a civil war. Third, we focus on conflict issues because we can conceptualize and operationalize this as being something concrete and identifiable. In our conceptualization of conflict issues we include both a rebel group's concrete concerns and their concrete proposals for changes. The focus is, thus, on group's demands rather than vague ideas such as 'freedom' or complaints about 'marginalization'.

Beyond issues, the UCDP CID also contains actor characteristics that contextualize the content of the coded issues by recording what type of group – for instance socialist or nationalist – that stated a particular issue. The actor characteristics capture the group's ideology, religion, ethnicity and geographical scope of demands.[2] Concerning ideology, the CID captures overall ideological leanings, such as Socialism, Nationalism, Islamism and separates into subgroups where relevant/possible. In terms of religion and ethnicity, we code if a group claims to represent the interests of a specific religion or ethnicity, or if it is mobilized along ethnic or religious lines. Concerning geographical scope, we note if a group makes sub-national, national, regional, or global-level demands. Combining conflict issues with these actor characteristics allows the user to both identify the form of change as well as its probable content.

Definition of Conflict Issues

Based on the reasoning above, our definition of a conflict issue reads:

> *A conflict issue is:*
>
> *"a statement suggesting concrete changes to societal structures or*
>
> *policies controlled by other actors"*

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[2] Please note that these characteristics are not mutually exclusive but that a group can have several of them and that the actor characteristics are not coded over time but at the group level.

Some of the definition's components require operational clarification.

- ○ "Statement" entails that it must come from the actor itself, and not be inferred by a secondary party (such as a scholar or analyst).
- ○ "Concrete" means that an issue and the change it will incur relates to a concrete type of reform. Asking for "justice" or "equality" is abstract, while stating that one wants to reach "justice" or "equality" through creating a democratic state is concrete.
- ○ "Structures or policies" implies that a conflict issue must target a political structure (such as a system of governance, or the territory over which a system of governance holds sway) or the contents of policies directed by a government (such as who receives citizenship or certain religious freedoms). "Political" is here defined broadly, and entails not only structures and policies regarding political rights (such as freedom of speech and freedom of association), but also economic issues, such as types and levels of economic distribution, as well as changes to the judiciary and security sectors.
- ○ We also use the concept "Policies" broadly. In addition to formal policies, concerning issues such as citizenship and elections, we additionally apply the term to less formalized state behavior. For instance, targeting an ethnic minority with violence is likely not a formalized policy of all governments that do it; yet, if a rebel group demands and end to the collective targeting of their group, this counts as a demand on a policy (i.e. as a conflict issue).
- ○ Operationally we focus on "organized armed non-state actors", entailing that in the UCDP CID a statement must come from a non-state actor recognized as a warring party in the UCDP dyadic dataset (version 18.1). We thus only include conflict issues pronounced by 'rebel groups' and exclude conflict issues stated by governments.

A Typology of Issues

Our starting point for the structure of the dataset is an abductively derived typology of issues in civil wars. This typology is constructed around a four-tier hierarchical system. Tier 1 separates between issues related to Conflict Goals, Conflict Dynamics and Conflict Resolution (explained in greater detail below); Tier 2 contains ten thematic categories (such

as 'distribution of resources', 'state structures' and 'negotiations'); Tier 3 subdivides the data into 35 more specific categories (distinguishing, for example, between economic redistribution structures and natural resource distribution within the distribution of resources category). Tier 4 encompasses 120 categories capturing the specific issue picked up from the rebel group's statements (such as requesting autonomy, protection from collective targeting, or recognition of wrongdoing).

A first decision when constructing our dataset concerned whether to approach issues inductively or deductively. Though Holsti (1991) warns that theoretically derived typologies tend to create categories that define procedures and distributions rather than the actual stake or issue, the process warranted some basis in previous theory to bring order and to link data to existing research. In the end, we applied an abductive approach (see, for instance, chapter 4 in Jackson 2016), starting with existing conceptualizations of conflict issues and overarching categories, pursued some initial empirical enquiry, and then looped back to develop the typology further.

UCDP's government/territory dichotomy was used as the point of departure to create a first scheme of conflict issues (Gleditsch et al. 2002). We then divided government incompatibility into issues concerning 'state structures', 'governance', and 'political rights'. Montesquieu's (1989) division of power inspired us to divide state structures into distinct categories for the legislative, executive, and judicial powers. Concerning incompatibilities over territory, we created sub-dimensions for autonomy, federalism, and separatism. In the next step, we scrutinized groups' stated goal of incompatibility in UCDP's Conflict Encyclopedia and the affiliated source material. This process exposed that whereas some demands were predominantly raised at the group's inception, others appeared later, leading to a decision to separate issues into three distinct phases of a 'conflict cycle' (henceforth referred to as Tier 1 in the typology). *Conflict Goal Issues* includes demands related to a group's preferred political and societal system or functioning after conflict, the *Conflict Dynamics Issues* cluster contains demands related to, for example, military conduct or foreign involvement, whereas *Conflict Resolution Issues* includes issues about how to end a conflict including demands related to ceasefires and peace agreements. Typically, Conflict Goal Issues are declared early in the conflict; Conflict Dynamics Issues often occur because of the conflict; Conflict Resolution Issues predominantly enter in the latter phases. These three clusters at Tier 1 allow users to select issues from the specific conflict phase they are interested in. An important consequence of this approach is that the data include issues of

varying nature where some are more comparable than others. Thus, while the CID includes both 'distribution of resources' and 'transitional justice', we do not argue that these are comparable types of issues. Instead, we believe that for many purposes comparisons within each cluster (goals/dynamics/resolution) might be more pertinent than analysis across all of them.

When scrutinizing conflict issues we also encountered demands that ranged from rather narrow to more total, which is in line with how others have classified goals in conflict and non-violent conflict as being on a scale from minimalist to maximalist (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011; Cunningham et al. 2017). Whereas some Marxist groups demanded a complete overhaul of the economic system, other groups requested more humble economic reforms. To not conflate total and less extensive goals, we decided to distinguish many of the identified issues in terms of their scope. For example, we have separate categorizations for 'oust full executive', 'oust head of executive', and 'reform executive'.[3]

Form of Change, or Content of Change?

Another difficulty at this stage of the typology-building process concerned whether to classify issues based on the *form of change* or the *content of change* demanded. Though we saw the value of differentiating between issues based on content – for example, through classifying outcomes in the form of ethnic or religious content – we also saw a risk with such pre-defined classifications. Comparing the Khmer Rouge and the Islamic State captures the dilemma. Both movements proclaimed as one of their main goals the overthrow of the government and the creation of a new political system: the form of change is thus the same. The contents of such change, however, starkly differs with the Islamic State wishing to create an Islamic state and the Khmer Rouge a Communist one. Likewise, Islamist groups and indigenous groups may both demand religious or cultural rights (form of change), but deviate widely on their content (Islamist versus traditional religion).

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[3] We also discovered issues not formulating a demand for one's own group, but denying something for another group. In Northeast India, for example, several groups have, as part of the prevailing sons-of-the-soil dynamic, asked for *decreases* in the rights of other groups (often termed 'settlers' in their vocabulary) rather than increases for themselves. Several categories subsequently exist as mirror images, such as 'religious rights' and 'restrictions on religious rights'.

To cover both the form and content of change we decided to let issues be focused on the pronouncements of the form of change (of a policy or a structure) pursued[4] and chose to also collect 'actor characteristics' capturing the group's ideology, religion, ethnicity and geographical scope of the demands. Combining conflict issues with these actor characteristics allows the user to both identify the form of change as well as its probable content. For instance, the issue of Change judicial system is easily interpreted as being a change towards a system of sharia when a group is coded as Islamist. Concerning ideology, the CID captures overall ideological leanings, such as Socialism, Nationalism, and Islamism, and separates into subgroups where relevant such as dividing socialism into Maoist, Leninist, and Marxist. In terms of religion and ethnicity, we code if a group claims to represent the interests of a specific religion or ethnicity, or if it is mobilized along ethnic or religious lines. Concerning geographical scope, we note if a group makes sub-national, national, regional, or global-level demands, which allows the user to separate between localized groups and those with regional, or global, scopes. [5]

Specifying the Tiers

At Tier 1, our typology distinguishes between three, not mutually exclusive, broad clusters of issues: *Conflict Goals*, *Conflict Dynamics*, and *Conflict Resolution*. We use these clusters to sort issue at the most basic level, with these three overarching clusters we capture issues that predominantly take place during different phases of the conflict and which we believe are conceptually different.

In our first cluster, *Conflict Goal issues,* we include issues that relate to a rebel groups preferred political, economic, and societal system after conflict. In a simplified form, conflict goals reflect answers to questions such as: what are the rebel groups' goals with engaging in conflict? What aspects of existing societal structures do the insurgent groups want to change? This cluster thus includes factors such as independence, autonomy, ousting the government, change of political system, political rights, economic reforms and distribution of resources. Conflict goals issues often relate to the ultimate aim with the conflict and rebel

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[4] Regarding changing the political system we made an exception to this rule and there specify a range of political systems, such as Islamic state, Socialist state, and democratic state.

[5] Note that these characteristics are not mutually exclusive but that a group can have several of them and that the actor characteristics are not coded over time but at the group level.

groups typically raise these demand in an early phase of the conflict. Rebel groups, however, sometimes change their aims so issues in this category can also be raised in later stages of the conflict. Likewise, a rebel group might add or remove conflict goals during the conflict. Therefore, we do not restrict this category to rebel groups 'final' ambitions but also include (1) issues that are stepping stones in the process of reaching this ultimate ambition and (2) goals that the rebels might have that are not directly related to their ultimate ambition. Thus, if a rebel group's prime goal is independence, we also include other aspects of the society that the group declares it wants to change. A group seeking independence might also desire other changes of existing society such as restructuring of the security forces and changing the judicial system. This cluster captures all of these aspects of the existing society that the insurgency group wants to change.

The second cluster, *Conflict Dynamics issues*, focuses on issues relating to aspects of the battlefield and political dynamics of the ongoing conflict. The mainstay of issues that end up under this broad heading are also ones that accrue not as motivations for the initiation of an insurgency, but which in different forms relate to the conflict's dynamics themselves. These are, for instance, complaints about the military conduct of government forces, increases (or decreases) in levels of foreign involvment and highlighting atrocities committed by foes. A rebel group might for instance want to increase (or decrease) the involvment of foreign troops in a conflict, such as a UN peacekeeping mission, or protests abuses conducted by government (or other) forces. These issues are distinct from conflict goals as they do not concern a possible post-conflict state, but instead mainly the means (political, economic, or military) by which a conflict is fought as well as the direct consequences of such dynamics.

Our third cluster, *Conflict Resolution issues*, focuses on the issues rebel groups declare in relation to how the conflict should be resolved or how the process towards resolution should be structured. The process of reaching a solution is the prime foci and not the situation after the conflict is resolved (as we capture this in conflict goals issues). A key part of this category are issues concerning negotiatons, ceasefires, and peace agreements. We capture several aspects of these components such as call for, structure of, and opposition to negotiations. This category also contains issues related to transitional justice, and liability. These issues are distinct from conflict goals as they say little about the contents of a post-conflict state and instead focus on the process of transitioning from war to peace and how that process should be structured.

These conflict phases correspond to Tier 1 and are coded as 1 through 3. These numeric codes have no relationship with the numeric system at Tiers 2 through 4. At Tier 2 we sort issues into ten categories corresponding to an overarching theme. The Conflict Goal cluster is separated into five thematic categories: Territory, State Structures, Governance, Political Rights and Distribution of Resources. The three thematic categories within the Conflict Dynamics Cluster are: Foreign Involvement, Violent Targeting, and Refugees, IDPs and Prisoners. Finally, the Conflict Resolution cluster encapsulates two themes: Negotiations, Ceasefires and Peace Agreements, and issues related to Transitional Justice and Liability. These thematic categories are denoted by numeric scores in the thousands, from 1000 (Territory) to 10 000 (Transitional Justice and Liability). At Tier 3 more closely specified categories are identified using numeric scores in the hundreds. Issues related to separatism, for instance, are denoted with code 1100, indicating that it belongs to Territory (1000) at Tier 2 and Separatism (the 100 in 1100). Tier 4 is the lowest category, and uses a numeric code in ones and tens. Independence at Tier 4 is, as an example, denoted by code 1101, again indicating Territory (1000) and Separatism (1100) as higher-level categories. Tier 4 is accompanied by the variable issue_text, which provides the issue's name in text format.

Example:

The issue named 'Parliamentary power-sharing' (demanding that power is shared with rebels in parliament) is coded at Tier 4 as 2303. This numeric code is thus an identifier for this issue. The number 2303 also indicates that the issue is sorted under 2300, indicating that it is under the heading 'Parliament', which captures all issues related to changes/reforms in the sphere of a country's parliament. 2303 also indicates that the issue belongs under the category of State structures (2000). Lastly, the issue is sorted as a Conflict Goal (numeric code of 1). All issues are traceable in the same manner.

Data collection methods

Dataset structure

The dataset is supplied in two different formats. The first is structured in the form of dyad-issue-years. Each unit of observation (row) is thus an issue stated by a rebel group in a specific calendar year and in relation to a specific dyad. A rebel group thus appears multiple

times in the same year if they are involved in several dyads/conflicts and/or if they state more than one conflict issue. The second dataset is structured as a dyad-year dataset with 120 dummies representing each of the existing categories at Tier 4. Each unit of observation is thus a dyad-year. For both datasets one specific issue can, however, only be coded once per calendar year. We base the selection for inclusion of rebel groups on groups active in armed conflicts in the UCDP Dyadic Dataset version 18.1.

The datasets' temporal span is 1989-2017, entailing that any rebel group involved in an armed conflict according to UCDP criteria within this period are included in the dataset. We code all years that the rebel groups is active. In addition, we include one year before and one year after this activity. Several armed conflicts started, however, before 1989. To create a baseline of issues for the groups with a start date before 1989 we have included the initial year of formation. To avoid a dataset covering different periods, we have replaced the year with a code (1000).

- The both datasets also include actor characteristics (further described below) for all actors in the dataset.
- All IDs are compatible with standard UCDP IDs from the Non-State Actor Dataset and the UCDP Armed Conflict Dataset.
- For direct merging, the dataset is compatible with the UCDP Dyadic Dataset, version 18.1.

The datasets are both yearly in structure. However, not all rebel groups state conflict issues every year and some years are thus blank/have no observations for a particular group. For example, Group A is founded in 1992 and states five conflict goal issues at its inception. No issues were then declared in 1993 and 1994, before the group stated three conflict dynamics issues in 1995 and two conflict resolution issues in 1996. The issues are recorded only for those years they were identified as being stated meaning that Group A has observations for 1992, 1995, and 1996.

Coding procedure

All coding has been carried out by research assistants and research interns that all worked full-time during their time in the project. All coders underwent a two-week training

program with a project manager. The coding completed by coders has also been discussed at a weekly coding meeting presided over by a project manager or the principal investigators. The principal investigators also vetted the finalized coding.

The coding of each group followed a set baseline process for identifying statements to code. Within this set process, coders also branched out to other promising sources of information. The levels of secrecy and will to communicate of armed groups varies substantially and deviations from the protocol were thus often necessary in order to identify statements for coding. The dataset includes references for all coded issues. For copyright reasons, the dataset does not include the actual statement from the rebel group.

The Coding Process
- A coder begins with checking a rebel group's 'first stated goal of incompatibility' in the UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia, checking the sources this information is based on (through UCDP systems back end).
- The coder proceeds to process all other information in the Conflict Encyclopedia concerning a specific rebel group and its source material.
- The coder proceeds to identify official documents related to the group, such as manifestos, pamphlets, communiques etc.
- The coder proceeds to check a list of specified sources, with the sources delved into depending on the conflict. These sources are, amongst others, the Africa Research Bulletin, Africa Confidential, South Asian Terrorism Portal, Their Words' Directory of Armed Non-State Actor Humanitarian Commitments; Banned Thought, the AP Archive (http://www.aparchive.com), Small Arms Survey, Mapping Militant Organisations and Big, Allied and Dangerous
- The coder identifies official websites, Facebook pages, Twitter accounts, and YouTube channels affiliated with a rebel group.
- The coder utilizes Factiva to identify more information. The coder here uses a set of search strings related to the rebel group's name and any identified leaders or spokespeople.
- At all stages of the process web searches are allowed to follow up any lead on possible statements or documents related to a group

- Coding is submitted to a weekly meeting for discussion
- Coding is vetted by a project manager and one of the principal investigators
- Coding enters the dataset

From statements to conflict issues

Our approach is to always take conflict issues directly from the mouths/papers of the rebel groups that pronounce them: from interviews, manifestos, communiques, party conferences or other primary sources. Having identified such sources we extract statements regarding what the rebels are fighting for. Sources that reference such activities are also qualified if they are formulated as presenting more or less exactly what the leader/spokesperson said. For instance, if a report or news article states "Mr. Sundberg also said that autonomy was the primary issue on the rebels' agenda" this counts as a direct statement. We thus derive statements direct from the horse's mouth and do not rely on sources may be 'tainted' by an author's particular perspective.

In determining what qualifies as a conflict issue we apply the above definition. One important aspect is to decide whether or not a stated demand/goal/issue is concrete enough to be coded. As a general rule something is too vague if it can be seen as being only a moral, ethical, or political value, such as "We are fighting for the brotherhood of the Touareg people" or "we are fighting to bring justice to our people". These demands are too abstract for our definition, especially because they do not contain specific changes to structures or policies of the state on which the demands are levied.

Our project identifies and records when issues are stated. These are then recorded on a year-by-year basis. On rare occasions, rebel groups choose to overtly change their issues by withdrawing what they have previously stated. If a rebel group retracts earlier statements or specifically state that they no longer are pursuing a specific issue we record this. A specifically withdrawn issue is marked by a score of 1 in the 'Dropped' variable.

Please note also that one sentence or statement can contain more than one issue. If a rebel group, for instance, lists that they "demand freedom of expression and freedom of association" this indicates two issues. Another example, from UNRG in Guatemala, is illustrative:

"Work and land form us as men and women, hence from it we get the means to live and we get what we are: peasants, workers, professionals, technicians. Therefore, the right to land and all means to produce it, ==as well as decent, safe and well-paid work==, is the least we have to fight for. And as a result of this land and this work, ==decent housing and sufficient and nutritious food is the least we can ask for==, along with a ==complete, scientific education and efficient and free medical care for us and our children.=="

==LABOR RIGHTS== + ==BASIC NEEDS== + ==PUBLIC SERVICES==

In some instances one statement can be coded as several issues at once, in a different manner from the one above. Most often this occurs when a statement refers to an issue and then also refers to an international dimension (which are coded in the Increase Foreign Involvement and Decrease Foreign Involvement categories). For instance, a group can call for negotiations and in the same statement ask that a foreign government be the mediator. In this statement none of the specific issues take precedence, but the statement is instead coded as being a Call for negotiations and Increased Foreign Involvement: Foreign mediator/facilitator. The same can happen when a group asks for an international criminal court: coded as Accountability/prosecution and as IFI: International court.

One issue also does not 'swallow' another issue. For instance, although Civil rights is a broad category this does not entail that Hold Elections or Citizenship is subsumed beneath it. We always code what is stated, so that if a stated demand in the form of a sentence contains both a call for political rights and holding of elections BOTH these issues are coded.

Fighting for or fighting against?

Rebel groups do not always fight in order to *gain* or *receive* something for themselves/their group. In some instances, rebels also wish to *restrict* or *remove* the rights of other groups. The most common is that groups fight for something: groups will most often ask for more political rights for their groups, ask for a fairer distribution of natural resources or a bigger portion for themselves, or for their own language to be recognized. But there are instances where rebels ask for the rights of others to be removed, changed, or otherwise altered. In Northeast India, for example, several groups want to restrict the rights of 'settlers'.

Because requests to remove things from other groups relate to, for example, political or religious rights, we include such demands but differentiate fighting to gain something and fighting to remove something for others. Certain categories thus have two sides to the coin. One example is 'religious rights' and 'restrictions on religious rights'. A group can thus ask, for instance, for civil rights for themselves (coded as an issue) AND for restriction of civil rights for others (coded as a second issue). Note that we include <u>clear</u> statements of wanting to withdraw something. Simple opposition to democracy, for instance through stating that "we don't approve of democratic government" does not qualify. The statements needs to clearly explicate a change in existing structures or policies, not just disapproving of something.

Umbrella coding

Many civil wars have more than one group fighting a government. Quite often these groups are splinter groups (one group having broken off from another), or represent a fragmented opposition that still represents the general oppositional movement. In reports, books, articles and other sources groups are thus sometimes approached through what we might call an 'umbrella perspective', meaning that writers, reporters and commentators do not really separate between whether group X1, X2 or X3 have specified a particular goal or issue. In such a situation, a coder uses the Umbrella-variable, coding an issue from a statement and assigning it to all groups that fit the description given in the statement. Umbrella is then coded as 1, and otherwise 0.

Example:

"In a statement issued in Portugal on 23 August, they reminded the world that the Frente Libertacao do Enclave do Cabinda (FLEC) does not accept that Cabinda is an integral part of Angola. They demanded a referendum on self-determination for the enclave, to be overseen by the Organisation for African Unity and the United Nations."

The above statement clearly includes the issue of 'Referendum' but it is not easy to know if the statement refers to FLEC-R or FLEC-FAC. The issue is subsequently coded for *both* groups, but marked with Umbrella=1 to denote insecurity.

Coding of 'insurgents' and 'irregulars'

A number of UCDP dyads are gatherings of several groups and come with the suffix 'insurgents' (such as Kashmir insurgents and Pattani insurgents) 'or irregulars' (such as Croatian Irregulars and Serbian irregulars). The insurgents and irregular dyads group together violence committed by a variety of irregular militias/insurgents. These actors are thus not unitary and may contain different groups with relatively different issues. For the sake of compatibility with other UCDP data, CID has stayed with UCDP's categories and coded them as one group. When coding these actors the coder identified which militias or irregulars group that have been included in the UCDP's coding from the UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia and tracked statements related to all of these groups. To allow the user to distinguish between different subgroups within these dyads, we include a category entitled 'insurgent_subgroup' that notes the specific group that stated the issue, whenever possible.

Coding Syria

Because Syria constitutes a particularly difficult case, we needed another strategy for the dyad Government of Syria vs Syrian insurgents. The UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia declares:

> "While the UCDP always strives to distinguish between different armed groups in any given conflict, this has proven impossible in the present case. From the start, a number of different militias were involved in the conflict, making it difficult to attribute events to specific actors.
>
> As the conflict has progressed, these difficulties remained, making it virtually impossible to adequately reflect the ongoings on the ground. The conflict currently involves a great number of actors, whose relationship to one another is often both complex and fluid. Some reporting speak of up to 1200 armed opposition groups, and reporting is frequently unable to adequately represent these and their actions. Thus the opposition is coded in the aggregate, as Syrian insurgents.
>
> Groups subsumed under the Syrian insurgents-heading include Ahrar al-Sham, HTS (often referred to as Jabhat al-

Nusra li al-Sham), and a multitude of groups that branded themselves FSA (Free Syrian Army). It should however be stressed that numerous other groups are also included."

For the CID data, we have selected two groups from the "Syrian Insurgents": HTS and FSA. For every recorded issue we declare which of the two groups stated the issue. Please note that this relates to Syria (Government) and that the dataset includes two other conflicts in Syria (Syria: Islamic State and Syria: Rojava Kurdistan) where CID tracks down the issues stated from the groups involved in these conflicts.

Coding IS dyads

With its different affiliates in various parts of the world detecting the issues declared by various IS groups brings about some difficulties. A main aspect to consider is how tightly the different groups are tied to IS' central command. A first decision when coding IS was to code IS acting in Syria and Iraq as the same group. This constitutes IS central command and the group does not recognize the border between Syria and Iraq as a real border. We thus recorded the issues declared by IS central on two dyads: Government of Iraq vs Islamic State and Government of Syria vs Islamic State.

The IS central command does not compose a separate actor from the other IS dyads in the Middle East. CID therefore code all the relevant statements/issues from the central command (in Syria/Iraq) for each of the different IS dyads in the region for their respective applicable years. In addition, we also conducted additional searches to capture issues for the individual dyads in the Middle East. How much the IS central command influences other IS factions decrease with space and for all IS dyads outside of the Middle East (in Africa, Asia, and Europe) we have followed the usual coding procedure. The focus has then been to find and code statements of the national/local IS group and not from central command.

Variables in the UCDP CID Dataset

Dyad-issue-year version

Variable name	Content	Type
conflict	The unique identifier of the conflict in text.	String
conflict_id	The unique identifier of the conflict.	Integer
dyad	The unique identifier of the dyad in text.	String
dyad_id	The unique identifier of the dyad.	Integer
side_b	Identifying the opposition actor of side B in the conflict. Note that this is a primary party to the conflict.	String
side_b_id	Unique identifier of the opposition actor of side B in the conflict. Note that this is a primary party to the conflict.	Integer
insurgent_subgroup	Denotes which specific rebel group/groups have been coded as representatives of broader categories of insurgents/rebels, such as 'Pattani insurgents', 'Kashmir insurgents' etc etc.	String
issue_text	The type of issue coded for side B in a specific calendar year in text. Corresponds to the numeric code at Tier 4	String
tier_1	Denotes the coded issue's place at Tier 1. Conflict Goals=1 Conflict Dynamics=2 Conflict Resolution=3 9999 denotes no issues recorded.	Integer
tier_2	Denotes the coded issue's numeric code at Tier 2. See system described below. 9999 denotes no issues recorded.	Integer
tier_3	Denotes the coded issue's numeric code at Tier 3. See system described below. 9999 denotes no issues recorded.	Integer
tier_4	Denotes the coded issue's numeric code at Tier 4. See system described below. 9999 denotes no issues recorded.	Integer
year	The year of observation (1989-2017). The code 1000 denotes baseline issues (coded in any year before 1989).	Integer
source	Sources used in the coding	String
umbrella	Denotes if the issue was coded based on the 'umbrella rules' specified in this codebook	Integer
active_year	Denotes if the dyad was active (1) or inactive (0) according to the UCDP Armed Conflict Dataset.	Integer
dropped	Denotes if a specified issue was dropped – rather than stated – in a given year (0=no, 1=yes).	Integer
splinter	Denotes if a side B is a splinter group originating from another side B. (0=no, 1=yes)	Integer
incompatibility	Denotes the UCDP's coding of the incompatibility. 1=territory, 2=government, 3=territory and government	Integer
ethnicity_1 through ethnicity_4	Denotes the ethnic group/s the actor purportedly represents or mobilizes from. See system described in section 11.	String
geography_1 through geography_4	Denotes the various geographic levels in relation to which issues have been stated by the actor. See system described in section 11.	Integer
ideology_1 through ideology_4	Denotes the various identified ideologies of the actor. See system described in section 11.	Integer
religion_1 through	Denotes the religious group/s the actor purportedly	Integer

Variable name	Content	Type
religion_3	represents or mobilizes from. See system described in section 11.	
version	The version of the dataset. Follows UCDP conventions, where first two digits are year of publication and third digit a number within that year. This codebook corresponds to dataset version 23.1	Float

Dyad-year version

Variable name	Content	Type
dyad_id	The unique identifier of the dyad.	Integer
conflict_id	The unique identifier of the conflict.	Integer
conflict	The unique identifier of the conflict in text.	String
location	Location of the incompatibility as per UCDP	String
side_b	Identifying the opposition actor of side B in the conflict. Note that this is a primary party to the conflict.	String
side_b_id	Unique identifier of the opposition actor of side B in the conflict. Note that this is a primary party to the conflict.	Integer
insurgent_subgroup	Denotes which specific rebel group/groups have been coded as representatives of broader categories of insurgents/rebels, such as 'Pattani insurgents', 'Kashmir insurgents' etc etc.	String
umbrella	Denotes if the issue was coded based on the 'umbrella rules' specified in this codebook	Integer
splinter	Denotes if a side B is a splinter group originating from another side B. (0=no, 1=yes)	Integer
incompatibility	Denotes the UCDP's coding of the incompatibility. 1=territory, 2=government, 3=territory and government	Integer
year	The year of observation (1989-2017). The code 1000 denotes baseline issues (coded in any year before 1989).	Integer
active_year	Denotes if the dyad was inactive (1) or active (0) according to the UCDP Armed Conflict Dataset.	Integer
ethnicity_1 through ethnicity_4	Denotes the ethnic group/s the actor purportedly represents or mobilizes from. See system described in section 11.	String
geography_1 through geography_4	Denotes the various geographic levels in relation to which issues have been stated by the actor. See system described in section 11.	Integer
ideology_1 through ideology_4	Denotes the various identified ideologies of the actor. See system described in section 11.	Integer
religion_1 through religion_3	Denotes the religious group/s the actor purportedly represents or mobilizes from. See system described in section 11.	Integer
N variables with numeric codes	Each numeric code signifies a dummy variable where a score of 1 equals that this specific issue was stated in the given year. -99 entails that an issue was actively dropped by a group. The numeric codes each signify a type of stated issue as per the coding scheme below.	Integer
version	The version of the dataset. Follows UCDP conventions, where first two digits are year of publication and third digit a number within that year. This codebook corresponds to dataset version 23.1	Float

Coding of issue variables

CONFLICT GOALS ISSUES

1 Territory (1000)

Our first category of conflict issues are those that concern territory. An overarching definition is that these are issues that concern what territory should be under whose sovereignty (independence, irredentism, etc.), or how such sovereignty should be shared vertically within a state (devolving power to municipalities, autonomy, federalism, etc.). They all concern not so much who holds power at the center, but rather how power should be moved from the center to lower levels of 'government', and how boundaries should be drawn around new centers of power at lower levels.

1.1 Separatism (1100)

1.1.1 Independence (1101)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish to become an independent state. We do not define further what attributes make for independence vis-à-vis other types of self-rule, but attempt to capture intentions where rebels wish for a state of their own as the ultimate goal. Both semantic wording and context feed into this category, because words such as "self-determination" and "independence" can mean different things in different contexts. This category capture these concepts when they relate to a desire to create an actual independent state.

Examples:

"Independence is a requirement to obtain resolutely." (Polisario)

"Indeed, even today, 51 years after the annexation, the entire Manipur observers October 15 as an 'anti-merger' day. UNLF is thus seeking to revert to the independent, sovereign nation." (PREPAK, India)

1.1.2 Irredentism (1102)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish to detach a piece of territory from one independent state and join said territory to another state. The word "irredentism" does not need to be used. The important component here is dislocation of an area from one state and joining it with another:

Examples:

"This merely strengthened the separatists' resolve, and on July 18, they issued an open letter to the prime minister, declaring that Anjouan belonged to the Anjouanais and that, as from July 14, 1997, it was officially part of the Republic of France." (MPA/Republic of Anjouan)

""Pressed on the fate of Unionists in a post-withdrawal united Ireland, the IRA officer said that they `must be put in control of their own destiny. They are a tiny national minority who must be given guarantees within any united Ireland.'" (PIRA)

1.2   Unification (1200)

1.2.1   Unification of states (1201)

This issue is coded whenever a group specifies that they wish for several existing states to be united into one state/entity. This entails that the pieces of territory discussed are genuine independent states, which will be joined together. Taking a piece on an existing state and joining it with an existing state counts as irredentism.

Examples:

"We are opposed to the fake borders that have been established by the colonialists banning people from Iraq to go to Jordan or the Saudi to go to Yemen. We are saying that all Muslim countries be united as one and they also want the same thing." (al-Shabab – Somalia)

"Bundu dia Kongo advocates the transformation of all of central Africa into a single confederal-type country. This country is called the Central Africa Confederation, the CAC, functioning like the Helvetic confederation (=Switzerland)" (BDK, DRC).

1.3   Self-rule (1300)

1.3.1   Autonomy (1301)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish to have autonomy, self-rule, or self-determination. We do not define further what attributes make for an autonomy, self-rule, or self-determination solution vis-à-vis other types of territorial decentralization, but instead code mainly on semantic meaning: if rebels ask for autonomy, self-rule, or self-determination we code these under the larger heading of "autonomy". This cover the broader universe of solutions that are not geared towards full independence, nor are as limited in their demands as decentralization. Note, however, that not all mentions of "self-determination" or "self-rule" are necessarily coded here as context also matters (see notes on Independence).

Examples:

 "To the extent that the previous agreements signed with the Malian State have failed because of lack of implementation, and in order to regain political stability to allow a resumption of development of our regions, we demand a political, socio-economic and cultural autonomy duly reflected." (ATNMC)

"recognize the existence of this new Tuareg political organization and that they also accept that the Tuareg regions reach a complete autonomy which takes into account all the peculiarities." (ATNMC)

"Self-rule is the least that we will now accept with the Malian Government. There will not be any negotiations about development or development projects if there is no self-rule. Either independence or self-rule for the Sahara." (CMA, Mali) (Also coded as independence)

1.3.2   Federalism (1302)
This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish to have a federal solution. We do not define further what attributes make for a federal solution vis-à-vis other types of self-rule, but code based on semantic meaning.

Examples:
 "Realize the full and unimpeded implementation of a federal system; and, ensure regional self-rule" (NRA founding declaration)

1.3.3   Confederation/union (1303)
This issue is coded whenever a group specifies that they wish to have a confederate or similar type of union solution. We do not define further what attributes make for a confederal solution vis-à-vis other types of self-rule, but code based on semantic meaning. Wishing to join two existing states together as one is coded a unification of states while this category represents some form of union/federation of existing states.

Examples:
 "At a news conference called as the United Nations Human Rights Commission was opening its annual six-week session in Geneva, he also made clear his movement would be pushing at peace talks next month for a confederal state in the north and the largely Christian south." (SPLM/A)

1.4   Adjustments to administrative arrangements (1400)

1.4.1   Decentralization (1401)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish to have some form of decentralization of power from the national level to lower levels of administrative. Forms of decentralization that do not qualify as Autonomy or Federalism are included here.

This category includes municipal reforms, unspecified changes to focus on "regions", the wish to create 'autonomous communities', and unspecified decentralization reforms (as long as these devolve power to regions, municipalities or other lower levels of administrative divisions). The key attribute of decentralization is the devolution of power from the central level to lower levels of government: but note that this is also the case for Federalism and Autonomy. Thus, take care to think about where such devolutions should be coded. Finally, the creation of "regional development plans" or similar entities should not be included, as these do not necessarily entail a devolution of political power.

Examples:

 "Legislate in order to strengthen the municipal power by creating the necessary institutions at the local and municipal level, with which the civil authority becomes popular and makes decentralization possible at the level of the village, region and municipal governments, proceeding to abolish the figure of the military commissioner and the authority and administration assigned to the owners and administrators of private and state farms". (URNG).

1.4.2   Change of administrative divisions (1402)

This issue is coded when a rebel group wants to change the administrative structure of a country in terms of its administrative divisions (regions, states, municipalities, districts etc.). It can relate to changes of administrative regions like uniting administrative units previously divided or to the splitting of administrative units into smaller parts. Redrawing boundaries for whatever reasons also qualify. Note that this category should not contain obvious devolution of powers to the new administrative divisions though. Transferring powers to lower levels of administrative divisions always counts as decentralization, federalism or autonomy.

Examples:

 "The political right of own and specific representativeness must be explicit and positive and be expressed at all levels of society. It is substantial for a comprehensive solution, to find the modalities of administrative division that combine linguistic expressions, legal forms and traditions and economic needs." (URNG)

"Dissatisfied, the KDP submitted a detailed autonomy plan in late April, one which would give the Kurds freedom over virtually all matters except foreign affairs, finance and national defence. It also required inclusion of the Kirkuk. Khaniqin and north-west Mosul oilfields within the autonomous region, and a proportionate share of their revenues." (KDP)

2   State structures (2000)

The second overarching category of conflict issues deal with issues of state structures. These issues concern who controls power at the center of a state, or how such power is structured. In the conceptualization used here, the state has five pillars: the government (the executive), parliament (the legislative), the judiciary (courts and court system), the security branch (police and military), and the bureaucratic structure (the structures that actually administer civilian policies). Issues that end up here are those that aspire to:

- Replace the existing structure partially or fully (replace the judiciary with one based on Sharia law, change the entire form of government from an autocracy to a democracy, etc.).
- Change the composition of an existing structure (oust the president, but retain the same type of governing system)
- Share power in the structures, but retain the same of governing system/structure.

2.1 Change political system (2100)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish to change the form of government of a country. The change can be in any form, from democracy to autocracy or vice-versa, to an Islamic state, or to a socialist state. The main defining attribute of this issue is a demand to change the basic system of governance of a state. We take no heed here to what the actual status quo is: even if a state is – by all definitions – a democracy and rebels state that they wish to change the system to a democracy this is coded. Similarly it does not matter that the Taleban ask for an Islamic state in what already is the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. The key attribute of this category is an expressed wish to change the system, rather than smaller aspects of it or who is at its helm. Please note that a statement can be so broad so as to fit into multiple categories. Sub-categories are available below.

2.1.1   CPS: Democracy (2101)

Examples:
 "We fight for the establishment of a democratic political regime that guarantees peace with social justice, respect for Human Rights and economic development with well-being for all who live in Colombia." (FARC)

2.1.2 CPS: Socialist state (2102)

Examples:
 "After overthrowing a power of a former Georgian Democratic republic on the territory of Abkhazia, the workers, peasants and soldiers of a Red Army of Abkhazia have founded the Soviet Socialist Republic of Abkhazia and established sovereignty and dictatorship of the proletariat rendering all state power to the Councils of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies." (Republic of Abkhazia)

"Therefore, EPR's fundamental objective, under the direction of the party and with the support of the entire people, is to confront and destroy the military power of the bourgeoisie and defeat every interventionist attempt of imperialism, in order to achieve the historical objectives of the proletariat: the seizure of political power, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism, also having the task of becoming the main safeguard of socialist society and the defense of the homeland." (EPR)

"After overthrowing a power of a former Georgian Democratic republic on the territory of Abkhazia, the workers, peasants and soldiers of a Red Army of Abkhazia have founded the Soviet Socialist Republic of Abkhazia and established sovereignty and dictatorship of the proletariat rendering all state power to the Councils of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies." (Republic of Abkhazia).

2.1.3 CPS: Islamic state (2103)

Examples:
 "The Russians have withdrawn but the war in Afghanistan has not finished. The suffering, the loss, the sacrifice in the cause of a free and truly Islamic Afghanistan, these remain; but the goal has not yet been reached." (Jam'iyyat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan)

"In a communiqué dated Monday 29 june, the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) reacted in those terms, following the attack on president Boudiaf: "The Islamic salvation front announced the good news to the algerian people regarding the inevitability of its hope to instate an Islamic state." (AIS)

2.1.4 CPS: Other/undefined system (2104)

Examples:
 ""We are fighting Indonesian colonialism," he said in the practiced cadence of a candidate on the stump. "We want to restore Aceh to its status as a kingdom." (GAM)

"Ranariddh said he supported the restoration of the monarchy, even though Sihanouk had said he did not want to reclaim the throne he relinquished in the 1950s to become national political leader" (FUNCINPEC).

"The LRA's stated aim to rule Uganda by the Bible's Ten Commandments." (LRA)

2.2 Executive

2.2.1 Oust full executive (2201)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish to oust the whole or large parts of a specific country's government (executive). The claim must be broader than wishing only to oust the leader of a state, but not as broad as wishing to change the full system that governs a state.

Examples:

"Therefore, if the rulers do not learn the lesson, all Sudan would collapse as a state. Sudan might disintegrate. We must seek salvation from ruin. We must get rid of the regime and its policies." (NRF)

"In Cairo the opposition National Democratic Alliance called for a popular uprising and army mutiny to overthrow the Islamist government that took power through a military coup in 1989. " (NDA)

"Tymoshenko condemned the actions of the authorities who have been ignoring the ongoing peaceful protests for 60 days. "The mafia in power deserved this a long time ago. In order to stop this, you [the authorities] have to immediately and voluntarily resign," she said." (Maidan)

2.2.2 Oust head of the executive (2202)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish to oust a leader of a state, such as a president or prime minister or other head of state. The main attribute of this issue is that a group demands the resignation of a specific person in power, and not a change to the full system or the full government/executive.

Examples:
"Taylor must go" (LURD)

"General Major Jérémie Ntiranyibagira is the new leader of the now Popular Forces of Burundi (FPB), whose objective has not changed since its creation in 2015: to oust President Pierre Nkurunziza by force." (FPB)

"… In reaction "against tyranny, nepotism, anti-national policy and the resentful attitude of Déby", the MDJT sets itself the objective of driving him out of power…" (MDJT)

""If the president does not resign, we will attack and bomb the government house." (National Guard and Mkhedrioni)

2.2.3 Reform executive structure (2203)

This issue is coded when a rebel groups demand changes to the executive structure. It concerns changes in bits and pieces of the executive arm of the government. Examples include wanting to abolish the presidency per se.

Examples:

"Each province in Afghanistan should be represented in the future government and the seats be distributed in line with the proportions of each's population, he stressed" (Hizb-i Wahdat, Afghanistan).

"In its proposals, FRUD is calling for political and ethnic re-adjustments in the upper echelons of the administration and army, granting real powers to the prime minister, implementing administrative decentralization, and authorizing new powers for parliament including the right to censure government." (FRUD)

2.2.4 Executive power-sharing (2204)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish to share power in a government position (the executive level) on a long-term basis. The rebels may ask for specific seats or quotas for themselves or for the group they (perceive themselves to) represent. Wanting shared presidency and rotating presidency also counts. Wanting changes to electoral rules to *ensure* that a specific group will be represented in a coming government also qualifies. Most often, if there is no evidence to the contrary, we classify calls for a Government of National Unity or Government of Unity as being demands for a power-sharing government, even if it does not specify quotas or what exact parties are to take part. If no time period for the power-sharing measures is mentioned, power-sharing in the executive will be coded by default.

The key attribute is that the demand will *ensure* representation. Asking for elections does *not count*, as this entails only a chance that representation will be given. Additionally, asking for representation in a government often means or comes with the proposal to dissolve a government to create the new power-sharing variety. In instances where this is mentioned we do NOT code "Oust full executive" simultaneously, but stick to the main point: that power at the top level should be shared (creating a new government always means dissolving the previous one).

Examples:

"On the 24th the same radio cited UNITA information secretary Jorge Valentim, who was in Cote d'Ivoire leading a UNITA delegation, as saying his organisation had proposed a government of national unity for Angola;…" (UNITA, Angola)

""Conneh said that once the situation stabilizes, government posts should be shared between the LURD, another rebel group MODEL and the Taylor's supporters." (LURD)

"Dien Del repeated guerrilla assertions that the purpose of the campaign was not an ultimate military victory but to press the Phnom Penh government to negotiate a power-sharing settlement." (KPNLF).

2.2.5 Executive power-sharing: interim (2205)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish to share power in a government position (the executive level) for an interim or transitional period of time. The rebels may ask for specific seats or quotas for themselves or for the group they (perceive themselves to) represent. Wanting shared presidency and rotating presidency also counts. Wanting changes to electoral rules to *ensure* that a specific group will be represented in a coming government also qualifies. Most often, if there is no evidence to the contrary, we classify calls for a Government of National Unity or Government of Unity as being demands for a power-sharing government, even if it does not specify quotas or what exact parties are to take part.

The key attribute is that the demand will *ensure* representation. Asking for elections does *not count*, as this entails only a chance that representation will be given. Additionally, asking for representation in a government often means or comes with the proposal to dissolve a government to create the new power-sharing variety. In instances where this is mentioned we do NOT code "Oust full executive" simultaneously, but stick to the main point: that power at the top level should be shared (creating a new government always means dissolving the previous one).

Examples:
"A Foreign Office spokesman said the soldiers were released with the help of the United Nations, particularly UN representatives from Jordan. The release came after reports that the West Side Boys had issued new demands, including the setting up of an interim regime in Sierra Leone to include their representation." (WSB, Sierra Leone)

"Agree on interim arrangements, including a national transitional government".
(SRF, Sudan)

2.2.6　　　Oust local executive (2206)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish to oust an executive but one below the national level (i.e. not the head of state). What counts here is a wish to oust a regional or state governor, a municipal or tribal chief, or any other similar holder of executive power at a lower level of analysis than the state.

Examples:

"At the Opera Square on Friday, a member of the Karabakh Committee demanded that the second-ranking party official in the republic, a Russian, be dismissed because of insensitivity to Armenians." (Republic of Armenia)

"From tomorrow the PKK is banning all Turkish political parties from the south-east, where most of Turkey's approximately 10 million Kurds live. A PKK statement said: "These parties are in collusion with Turkish authorities to destroy our people," adding that a Kurdish national congress would be established." (PKK)

2.3　　　Parliament (2300)

2.3.1　　　Oust parliament (2301)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish to oust the whole or large parts of a specific country's parliament (legislature).

Examples:
"Dissolving the National Assembly and calling elections within three months." (AIS)
"Parliament would be dissolved and a transitional council would be formed to administer the country" (Ansrallah)

2.3.2　　　Reform parliament (2302)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish to reform the parliament (legislature). It might be to change the number of Members of Parliament or change from two chambers to one or vice versa. As is the case concerning reforming the executive a key aspect here is that the full parliament is not ousted/abolished, but there are only changes made to an existing structure.

Examples:
"Parliament will be unicameral." (FARC)
"Expansion of the Legislative Power and democratization of the Municipal Power to guarantee a representative, participatory and pluralistic political system:…" (FMLN)

2.3.3 Parliamentary power-sharing (2303)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish to share power in a parliament (the legislative level). The rebels may ask for specific seats or quotas for themselves or for the group they (perceive themselves to) represent. Wanting changes to electoral rules to *ensure* that a minority will be represented in a coming parliament also qualifies. The key attribute is that the demand will ensure representation. Asking for elections does *not count*, as this entails only a change that representation will be given.

Examples:

"Members of the Democratic Peoples' Conference are elected according to the following: Forty percent (40%) of them are directly and democratically elected representatives from among ethnic, religious, ideological and cultural groups according to their population densities, and among social strata according to their organizational horizons; Sixty percent (60%) of the people's representatives are determined by general elections in which the general public participates." (SDF)

""The Touareg Coordination published its political agenda in the form of a document entitled 'Outline of the Resistance Programme'. In a nutshell, the rebels are making their claim to autonomous administration of the territory they claim a right to, and are asking for guarantees that their community will be represented in the government, National Assembly and the armed forces."" (CRA)

2.4 Judiciary (2400)

2.4.1 Change judicial system (2401)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish to change the whole or large parts of a state's judicial system. Wanting changes to one or a few laws does not qualify, rather this issue is coded when a large or total overhaul of how justice is administered is asked for. 'System' here entails both the infrastructure of, for instance, the courts system, but also the contents of a system, such as wanting to replace secular law with religious law, or vice-versa. One can think of large changes as a revamping of the judicial code such as Sharia law, or as a complete overhaul of a system of justice deemed by rebels to be corrupt.

Examples:

"Enforce Shari`a, unite against NATO forces in Afghanistan and perform "defensive jihad against the Pakistan army." (TTP declaration)

""We are going to govern the Macina ourselves and apply sharia law," the FLM promises in the text claiming the attacks last Friday." (FLM)

"Col Garang also restated his various demands, which include the lifting of the state of emergency enforced since April, a cancellation of Islamic Sharia law, the

abrogation of all agreements with Libya and Egypt and the formation of a provisional government of national unity" (SPLM/A)

2.4.2 Reform judicial system (2402)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish to change/reform parts/smaller parts of a state's judicial system. Completely changing the system or structure or doing the same to the full or large parts of the judicial system qualifies as Change judicial system. This instead concerns more minor changes, such as to certain laws of crime and punishment, abolishing specific judges or courts, and similar issues. 'System' here entails both the infrastructure of, for instance, the courts system, but also the contents of a system, such as wanting to replace secular law with religious law, or vice-versa.

Examples:

"The Supreme Court of Justice, the Constitutional Court, the Council of State and the National Council of the Judiciary will be elected by direct vote of all the judges and Magistrates of the country, prior democratization of the judicial system." (FARC).

"Consistency in distribution and responsibility of legislative, executive and judicial powers is a precondition of every genuine democracy. Thorough de-politicization of the judiciary and ensuring its absolute independence is among our first tasks." (Republic of Croatia)

2.4.3 Constitutional issues (2403)

This category includes demands related to the constitution, in the form of changes to it, the upholding of it, or the reversion back to an 'older' constitution (this might be one that has been changed through some decree or law, or been specified in a peace agreement). Note that this category requires that the rebel group specifically talks about the constitution. A change in the state structures might imply changes in the constitution, but are not included here if not explicitly stated. If a group states: we want to change the executive and our country needs a new constitution it is included as both a change in state structures and as Constitutional issues.

Examples:

 ""Today, the world has come to know that India's Republic Day is the day India's constitution was imposed on the people of this region so as to legalise their colonial occupation. "We have reiterated time and again that the destiny of the region lies only in interdependent unity and coexistence with sovereign independence and, therefore, this constitution should be rejected." (PREPAK, India).

"A new constitution should be drafted by representatives elected for the establishment of a people's democratic system." (CPN-M, Nepal).

"We need to have a peace agreement first with a new constitution. Putting [a] transitional government first is not realistic," he added." (SPLM/A-IO, South Sudan)

"Today members of the DPR Supreme Council voted for a single constitution of Novorossiya. It means that the DPR and LPR will share the same constitution," (DPR, Ukraine).

2.5   Security sector (2500)

2.5.1   Restructure military forces (2501)

This category includes declarations that a rebel group wish to restructure the military forces of a state. Restructuring the military forces can mean a purge of the present military (leadership or rank-and-file), restructuring of oversight mechanisms, new laws to affect change, fairer representation of ethnic groups, etc. The key attribute is that the demand would lead to changes in the organization of the military forces or the military structure. Wanting to abolish the institution of the military completely or fully demilitarizing society is also included. This category does NOT include minor changes, such as asking for the moving of military bases, changes in armaments, or statements related to the conduct of the military forces (such as their human rights record). Note also that a group asking for itself to be integrated into the military forces is coded security sector power-sharing, see below and not as Restructure military forces.

Examples:
"Elimination of the Civil Defense Patrols, the Development Poles and the SIPROCI." (URNG)

"There is also a need to reform the role of the army in the Guatemalan state." (URNG)

2.5.2   Restructure police forces (2502)

This category includes issue that specifies a rebel group´s wish to restructure the police forces of a state (this includes security services, as well as military, para-military and secret police). Restructuring the police forces can mean a purge of the present police (leadership or rank-and-file), restructuring of oversight mechanisms, new laws to affect change, etc. The key attribute is that the demand would lead to changes in the organization of the police forces or the police structure. This category does NOT code very minor changes, such as asking for the moving of police bases or forces, changes in armaments, or statements related to the conduct of the police forces (such as their human rights record). Note also that a group asking for itself to be integrated into the police forces is coded as security sector power-sharing, see below, and not as Restructure police forces.

Examples:

"Reorganization, investigation and elimination of the repressive police force and control the police and security forces at the judicial level." (URNG, also Accountability)

"PWG state Secretary Ramakrishna, in a statement, set conditions like ceasefire by government, transfer of police officials who are actively involved in 'suppressing ther evolutionary movement', putting an end to combing operations in villages and withdrawal of the rewards policy." (PWG)

"The second level is the level of security, or the worldly level. The security forces, which range from the army to the police and their branches, have to be dismantled." (Al-Mahdi army)

2.5.3 Disband para-military forces (2503)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish to disband, disarm, or otherwise abolish existing para-military forces of a state. This includes government-run or government-affiliated militias, such as the Janjaweed or obviously pro-government militias such as the ones in Colombia. Rebels can ask for these to be disarmed, disbanded or something similar. The key attribute is a reform of some sort that would lead to these groups no longer existing. Please note that some states have sections of their police forces classed as para-military. These are not included in this category but instead count as police forces. We do NOT code very minor changes, such as asking for the moving of bases or forces, changes in armaments, or statements related to the conduct of para-militaries (such as their human rights record).

Examples:

"An unidentified soldier, speaking on Radio Soleil, said the rebels had issued seven demands. One was that the Government disband a unit of 50 civilians reportedly being trained by the Swiss as a commandos. Some in the army feared the unit was being trained as an elite militia under Mr. Aristide's direct command." (Forces of Raol Cédras)

"This did not prevent Soro Guillaume from acknowledging that the "FANCI currently hold the most dangerous and deadly weapons". It is for this reason that on the one hand, he affirmed that the process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) concerns in the first place the regular forces, all the militias that the Ivorian regime maintains and other mercenaries …" (FRCI)

2.5.4 Security sector power-sharing (2504)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish for their own military forces to be integrated into the forces of a state's security sector

(military, police, para-military etc.). The integration may apply to all or only parts of the rebels' military forces. This is often referred to as 'military power-sharing'. The key attribute is that the forces and/or command structures of rebels and government are to be integrated to some extent. A second key attribute is that the issue is about a group's OWN forces. Asking for a specific ethnic group to be more fairly represented signifies wanting a Restructuring. NOTE that this issue can be coded simultaneously with Restructure military forces or Restructure police forces, but that they are not the same.

Examples:
"The people organized into popular militias, born from the autonomous rural and urban rounds of today, will be the backbone of this defense. From the union of the Tupacamarista Popular Army and the patriotic sectors of the armed forces, fed by the revolutionary military service of the people, the new Revolutionary Army will emerge." (MRTA)

""Major Paul Kagame, commander of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), said the talks to end the six-month civil war in the central African country would be held in neighbouring Zaire. "…"The central issue is for the integration of our armed forces into the Rwandan army and for Rwanda to begin without delay the democratisation process throughout the country," he told Reuters in an interview in the Ugandan capital Kampala." (RPF)

2.6 Bureaucratic structure (2600)

2.6.1 Bureaucratic setup (2601)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel groups specifies that they wish to restructure the bureaucratic or administrative machinery of the state. This machinery is different from the executive, legislative, security, and judiciary systems as it deals with the implementation of the decisions made by the aforementioned powers of government (at least the civilian parts). It thus concerns the structure of administration/bureaucracy, who should staff these structures, and how. Claims can be in regards to both a general overhaul/change of this system, or in terms of wanting to have changes in the representation of certain groups within this structure.

Examples:
 "Guarantee a fair participation in administering national political, economic, military and civil service institutions on the bases of population percentages of various regions." (NRF declaration)

"In a message to the press, the MNJ demands that civilian and military Touaregs should be given key administrative and army posts and that there should be a equitable division of revenue from uranium." (MNJ demands)

"To underscore his importance, Dostum has sent a 51-man delegation to Kabul to negotiate a fair share of jobs in the new administration. As the self-proclaimed

champion of the suppressed minorities of the North, he has told Kabul he wants better job and educational opportunities for the Tadjik, Uzbek and Hazara people." (Junbish-i Milli-yi Islami)

3 Governance (3000)

Governance demands are stated issues that deal not with the structure of a state's system, but with the contents and execution of state policies outside the realm of direct individual and group rights (which are in a category of their own).

3.1 Quality of governance

3.1.1 Rule of law (3101)

Rule of law demands are stated issues regarding a return to 'good governance': i.e. that the state should enforce certain laws or principles that are necessary for governance to be upheld. Political and religious rights are of course also related to quality of governance, but this category captures a sub-set of issues that relate to the legality of the state's wielding of power more generally. We code this issue whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish for the government of a state to uphold rule of law, thus going by semantics where possible. We do not use a detailed definition of what 'rule of law' entails beyond that these are demands that the laws of the land should be upheld/be supreme (see JEM example below).

Examples:
 "Prevent all kinds of religion-oriented persecutions and act against the Buddhist extremists who spread hatred among the peace-loving citizens of Myanmar which has laws but seriously lacks "enforcement of rule of law"" (ARSA declaration)

"Realization of the supremacy of the law and separation of powers in the country." (JEM)

"The Rule of law does not exist, because the Constitution is a dead letter and the government is in charge of constantly demonstrating it with its repressive actions" (EPR)

3.1.2 Law and order (3102)

This issue is coded when a rebel group demands better "law and order" in some form. This entails that a group is dissatisfied with the general security situation and have identified this as an issue they wish to address or for the government to resolve. Examples include, "our country is in chaos, we need to change the government to impose law and order in our country". Often, demands for law and order might be phrased using just "law and order" but if groups use other ways of referring to the same phenomena it should also be included as part of this category. "Piracy" for instance, should be coded as part of this category, as should law and order grievances related to crime in general.

Examples:
 "The Funcinpec manifesto lists four tasks that it will tackle immediately if it comes to power in the May 23-25 polls. These are restoring security in the country, framing

economic and fiscal laws, setting up a modern banking system, and putting in place a statistical apparatus to publish national economic data, which is currently lacking." (FUNCINPEC)

"Likewise, we are for a solution under a democratic and national concept to the problem of drug trafficking." (EPL)

""The Movement, concerned with the safety and stability of the Azawadian citizen at this stage, makes the security of people and property its priority as well as the fight against all acts of banditry" (CMA)

3.1.3 Corruption (3103)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish to fight against corruption within a state/government/country. Corruption is here viewed as a broad term, containing also embezzlement, nepotism, bribery, and similar types of activities. Note that we here refer to economic and political corruption, and not moral corruption. Note that stating that a government is corrupt does not qualify, as the type of corruption is then unclear (i.e. it could be general moral corruption): we also wish for the groups to specify that the corruption is an issue, and not only use it as a descriptive term.

Examples:
"The fight against corruption, embezzlement, nepotism and bribery, which now are scandalously committed in the government." (URNG)

""Corruption, smuggling, black marketing, bribery, and the practices of middlemen and so on should be eliminated" (CPN-M)

"Cases of corruption at various levels of the reactionary government have become more rampant and more conspicuous than ever before. Most shocking to the people are the cases of corruption being brought against the presidential couple and those closest to them." (CPP)

3.1.4 Foreign policy reform (3104)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group states a wish to reform foreign policies. The demand may be very large, such as changing the whole orientation of foreign policy through, for example, switching from the Eastern bloc to the Western bloc, or concern more minor issues such as relations with neighboring countries. The key attribute is a wish to change policies that explicitly deal with relationships with other countries. Joining an alliance, a political block, a union of countries, IGOs etc. are included.

Examples:
 "(i) improved diplomatic relations with neighbouring states;" (LRA)

"Chad had to withdraw from the Organisation of the Islamic Conference" (FARF).

"Establishment of an autonomous international policy, independent of the centers of power and that advocates for Latin American integration." (FARC).

"Sudan must fully normalize relations with its African and Arab neighbors, and desist from destabilizing its neighbors, especially those on its borders, and it must dedicate itself to work for international cooperation and stability." (SRF, Sudan).

3.2 Elections (3200)

3.2.1 Hold elections (3201)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they demand/call for/wish for elections to be held. Groups do not need to specify what types of elections or when these are to be held. The key attribute is instead simply that they wish for this form of decision-making institution to be erected. Demands for elections at any administrative level are recorded.

Examples:

""The political program of UNITA is simple and clear. We fight for and independent Angola, free of all foreign troops. We believe that peasants, not the state, should own farmland. We favor democratic elections, freedom of religion, and respect for tribal customs and languages." (UNITA)

"Frolina recommends a seven-point peace package to end the ethnic civil war in Burundi, he said, adding that it includes free choice of leaders, free political participation, fair elections, respect for minority and equitable distribution of power and opportunities" (Frolina, Burundi).

"The UFDD has let it be known that it is acting in order to end the mandate of the president, Idriss Déby, and that it wants early elections to be organized" (UFDD)

3.2.2 Opposition to elections (3202)

This is the same as above but instead of a desire to hold elections the group opposes it.

Examples:
"A radical mujahideen leader said on Thursday plans by Afghan rebels to hold elections for a democratic assembly were "un-Islamic" and unworkable because they allowed both good and bad people to vote" (Hizb-i Islami-yi Afghanistan - Khalis faction)

"The ONLF stated it would not allow the elections to be conducted in the Ogadeni areas" (ONLF)

"Vowing to continue fighting until the expulsion of the US-led forces from Afghanistan, Taleban leader Mola Omar has rejected the ongoing electoral process, draft of the new constitution, and the forthcoming Loya Jerga [traditional grand tribal assembly]." (Taleban).

3.2.3 Electoral reform (3203)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they demand reforms to the electoral process, electoral laws, or similar structures or processes that relate directly to how elections are carried out. This does not include asking for elections to be held, nor for changed or expanded voting rights (these are separate issue categories). Instead we

are only interested in reforms of the electoral system and structures: not the holding of elections themselves or which individuals are allowed to participate. Included in this category are also wishes for reforms that would include previously banned parties/organizations from participating in the electoral process. Additionally, wanting to push planned elections forward or backward in time is also included.

Examples:
 "This entails the demilitarization of society, the redefinition and putting in place of the armed institution and the legislative and constitutional reforms that support the agreements reached at the negotiating table, which includes reforms to the electoral law and others, so that they favor the participation and popular representation in the election processes…" (URNG)

""This means that we will be dealing with extremely sensible issues, including the second round of elections, how democratic elections should be organized to guarantee a free expression" (UNITA).

"We demand that the law on elections be discussed with Donbas and revoted in the Rada based on the outcomes of these discussions," the Donetsk news agency quoted DPR envoy Denis Pushilin and LPR envoy Vladislav Deinego as saying in a joint statement." (United Armed Forces of Novorossiya)

3.2.4 Electoral fraud (3204)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they are fighting the government due to electoral fraud (real or imagined). The coding is either based on semantic structure, or on a rebel group identifying a specific piece of a process that they believe was incorrect. A modern-day example is the pro-Trumpian slogan "Stop the Steal!", which implies that electoral fraud has been committed and should be rectified. Thus, groups do not have to state 'electoral fraud' specifically.

Examples:
 "A fascist reorganization of the judiciary is being carried out by an obscure sailor who was Velasco's security chief. It is not a coincidence that other henchmen of the Velasco fascist regime are in the shadow of the current government; manipulated and fraudulent elections are instruments to perpetuate oneself in government; and, the so-called "opposition" is the chorus that helps "legitimize" this spawn of "direct democracy"" (Sendero Luminoso).

"The elections in Colombia are a farce, disguised by the mainstream media. They are not democratic because the people cannot participate in equal conditions, because they slaughter it when they launch into the opposition, because consciences, votes, results are bought and sold and future official policies are endeavored to the highest bidder." (FARC).

"Proxy elections are helped by spending Crores of Indian Rupees in order to perpetuate colonialism through quislings, puppet regimes and fifth columnists under proxy election process by way of bribing the illiterate people and misleading the illiterate electorate. The Indian colonial regime can in no way justify the electoral process whatsoever, since the

people of Manipur cannot exercise their independent political will and resolve their destiny at the gunpoint of the massive racist Indian colonial army and several thousands of plain-clothes spies. Democratic world shall not give credence to election at gunpoint" (PLA, India).

4 Political rights and freedoms (4000)

A common demand among rebel groups are calls for improved rights or improved participation for citizens in different areas of policy. The broad category of Political rights subsumes demands for rights and participation in several different spheres, such as those deemed to be purely 'political' (citizenship rights, specific freedoms associated with democratic regimes etc.), religious, cultural, as well as those associated with gender and labor.

Of importance for understanding this category of coding is that we do not code according to 'who' the rights are asked for, but only what type of demands are being made. For instance, asking for voting rights for women is not a gender rights issue, but an issue of the right to vote (Voting rights). Likewise, demanding that workers should be allowed to participate in the political system is not a worker's right, but a demand for political participation. In the same way, religious rights include asking for specific things related to religious practices, rather than citizenships reforms or voting rights for a religious minority.

Issues that end up in the Gender rights category are instead only those related to a broad concept of gender-based behaviors: for instance, female genital mutilation, reproductive rights etc. For worker's rights things eligible for coding are actual demands related to the labor force, such as shorter workdays etc. A rebel group seeking improved rights for Sikhs, for example, can thus demand increased political, religious and cultural rights for the same group. It is the right demanded that we capture under the political rights umbrella.

4.1 Civil rights and freedoms (4100)

4.1.1 Civil rights (4101)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish for increased/changed civil rights. An important part of civil rights is the ability to participate so the category encompass both the rights in themselves and the rights to participate. This is a broad category, capturing such claims that are not more specific in regards to what types of rights or modes of participation a rebel group wishes for. Civil rights may be asked for in relation to the full population of a country, or for specific sub-groups (such as ethnic groups). Other key words that make it into this category is asking for "political rights" or "political participation", "fundamental freedoms", "one's rights", "to fully participate in the political system" etc. The key component is that the demand seems to be related to a category of freedoms, rights, and participatory modes related to the 'purely political' sphere of governance.

Examples:
"Guarantee fundamental freedoms to citizens." (Polisario)
"To end with cultural oppression and discrimination, the first thing that is needed is that the indigenous population, as a fundamental part of the Guatemalan People, participate in political power." (URNG)

In an opening statement, Mr. Cruz said that, independent of the request for military aid, the group was still pursuing a political solution that could lead to a restitution of civil rights and general elections (Contras/FDN).

""Noumazalay said Sassou Nguesso had no intention of overthrowing Lissouba but was trying to ensure political rights." (Cobras)

4.1.2 Restrictions on civil rights (4102)
Same as above but wishing to withdraw or restrict rather than bestow rights.

Examples:
"However, the people of reactionary classes who would play reactionary role during the people's revolution and act against the cause of the country and the people shall be deprived of all political rights for a definite period." (CPN-M, Nepal)

The charter outlaws "all taboos" including selling or consuming drugs and alcohol, and smoking. It "encourages" residents to pray "all together, and on time" in local mosques. It rejects gatherings, political parties, and flags or insignia, and says polytheistic or pagan shrines must be razed (IS).

"Eligible for these assemblies and entitled to vote should be only members of the Saharan peoples with pastoral tradition (Tuareg, Arabs, Kanouri, Fulbe, Bororó). The members of the other population groups like the Djerma and Haussa should be excluded to vote" (CRA, Niger).

""The number of people eligible to vote should be clearly determined, and, specifically, the Vietnamese never be allowed to vote because they are all communist Vietnam's invading forces" (KR, Cambodia)

4.1.3 Citizenship reforms (4103)
This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish for reforms in regards to citizenship and citizenship laws. This can refer to creating new laws, upholding existing ones, or abolishing others, as long as these deal with who has the right to be a citizen. This demand can be raised in relation to the full population of a country, or for specific sub-groups (such as ethnic groups). The key attribute is asking for changes regarding who is the citizen of a country and who is not.

Examples:
 "Restore rohingya ethnic rights coupled with former citizenship and unconditionally restore our ancestors' historical ethnic identity "rohingya" (ARSA declaration)

"Repeal 1982 citizenship law or equally apply the same law on all myanmar citizens under an international observation mechanism." (ARSA declaration)

4.1.4 Human rights (4104)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group states that they are fighting for human rights. This includes if a group demands safety for human rights defenders and human rights organizations. We do not define what human rights are, instead we go with semantic wording used by the rebel group itself. NOTE, however, that the rebels must pronounce clearly that human rights are a political sticking point that they are fighting for. It is thus not enough that they speak of human rights violations being committed.

Examples:

"In a country with a past and present history such as Guatemala's, the subject of Human Rights, and the prevailing, respecting, and verification of same, are an indispensable, essential starting point for any political solution." (URNG)

"The respect and promotion of the rights of the human person as laid out in the Universal declaration, the internationals treaties on Human rights, the internation convention against torture and consecrated by legal texts" (AIS, Algeria).

""We wanted to bring the Tutsi to accept the existence of Hutus, for power-sharing and to form a democratic regime that is respectful of Human rights," he said" (Palipehutu, Burundi).

"We want to build a society in East Timor which values democracy, Human rights and transparency, he said (Freitlin, Indonesia)."

4.1.5 Freedom of expression (4105)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they demand various freedoms related to expression of views, beliefs, and perspectives, irrespective of whether or not this already exists in the country. Included here are demands regarding freedom of expression, freedom of manifestation, freedom of the press and associated freedoms regarding the expression of views. The freedom demanded could relate to the entire country or to a specific group.

Examples:

"The Revolution will guarantee free political association, freedom of expression, and freedom of religious creed, as ways to enable the contribution of all citizens to the construction of the New Society." (URNG manifesto 1982)

""We who fight the battle for Western values of democracy, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, the right to own one's home and some land, have joined together" (UNITA, Angola).

"Freedom of expression and assembly, freedom of association and freedom of association with respect for state laws" (MPA/Republic of Anjouan, Comoros)

"Peace means freedom to express your mind, to express yourself even if it means you disagree. You see, this is the kind of freedom we want, he added (SPLM/A-IO, South Sudan."

4.1.6 Freedom of association (4106)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they demand freedom of association or related types of freedoms, irrespective of whether or not this already exists in the country. This includes freedom of association, freedom of organization, or any other freedom related to being allowed to congregate freely.

Examples:

"The Revolution will guarantee free political association, freedom of expression, and freedom of religious creed, as ways to enable the contribution of all citizens to the construction of the New Society." (URNG manifesto 1982).

"The memorandum demands New Delhi repeal all "repressive and draconian laws"; set up credible and time-bound processes of accountability to identify and punish those who have violated human rights; and, restore the right to peaceful assembly, association and demonstrations of Kashmiris" (Kashmir Insurgents, India).

"To allow freedom of expression, assembly and organization" (ABSDF, Myanmar, Burma).

"The movement's spokespersons often try to distance themselves from the issue of the Ten Commandments, and the same argument is put forward in yet another rebel document. 'Serious reflection on moral codes and religion may help us now and in the future,' it is claimed. The document continues by saying, however, that prayers 'are not compulsory' and Uganda needs 'freedom of association and belief" (LRA, Uganda).

4.1.7 Freedom of movement (4107)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish for the upholding or institutionalization of freedom of movement of people. They do not have to be more specific than this.

Examples:
"We demand beforehand the release of all political prisoners; then the return of political exiles, with guarantees for their security and their freedoms of movement and expression. (Forces of Paul Joseph Mukungubila, DRC).

Every individual legally in the Nagorno Karabakh republic is entitled to freedom of movement and choice of, with the exception of locations foreseen by law (Republic of Artsakh, Azerbaijan).

"Israel is imposing this siege on every Palestinian village and town. It is prohibiting the freedom of movement and travel of our people" (Fatah, Israel).

"Demands the free movement of persons and their property," (CMA, Mali).

4.1.8 Recognition as a political party (4108)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel groups specifies that they demand to become a legitimate and recognized political party in a country's political system. The demand can be in regard to the rebel group itself, or in regard to other rebel groups or banned organizations.

Examples:

"In an interview with Crisis Group, the president of the FDLR, Ignace Murwanashyaka, said that there would have to be an opening of Rwandan politics so that the FDLR could establish itself as a domestic political party" (FDLR)

"The incorporation of the FMLN into Salvadoran political life as a political party." (FMLN El Salvador)

"The RUF/SL shall be given every opportunity to transform itself into a political party during the transitional period" (RUF, Sierra Leonne).

""The opposition wants the ban on opposition parties lifted and a non-partisan state council set up" (UTO, Tajikistan).

4.1.9 Restrictions on freedom of expression (4109)

This issue include statements by rebel groups that stipulates that they want to restrict freedom of expression.

Examples:

"GIA also issued death threats to Algerian journalists working for the national radios and televisions, whom they accuse of covering the misdeeds of the regime." (GIA)

Authorities advised newspapers in Jammu and Kashmir state to desist from publishing statements, speeches and interviews of Kashmiri separatists. Hizb-ul-Mujahideen retaliated by warning against publication of government releases (Kashmir Insurgents)

""We, the mujahideen of Gao, Timbuktu and Kidal from now on refuse the broadcasting of all western music on radios on Islamic land," (MUJAO)

4.2 Religious rights and freedoms (4200)

4.2.1 Religious rights (4201)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish for increased/changed religious rights. A group may ask for religious rights in relation to the full population of a country, or for specific sub-groups (such as ethnic groups). Please note that asking for rights such as voting, but for a religious group, counts as civil rights.

Examples:

Noting that every individual, regardless of religious affiliation, has a right to fully practice his or her faith (ONLF).

"Freedom of thought and worship. Separation of Church and State. Elimination of all types of discrimination based on race, gender, social origin or religious belief." (Farc, Colombia)

"Because there were no other ways for us to achieve our rights as humans, our belief, our nationality, our identity, our religion. The regime has stamped upon us. As a last option, we adopted militancy to get our freedom" (Jondullah).

"Muslim women are forbidden from wearing their hijab, to the extent that even a basic head cover is forbidden. Any young woman who wears the hijab is expelled from the government schools" (ETIM, China).

4.2.2   Restrictions on religious rights (4202)

Same as above, but wishing to withdraw or restrict rather than bestow rights.

Examples:

After all, our Amir, before proclaiming the Caucasus Emirate, said much more important and fundamental things in his address. First of all, he said that he completely renounces tagut [worship of another God]. And he reminded everyone of this and stressed the very origin of the formula of faith. He said he renounces everything the tagut stands for. He rejects its court, its laws, its foundations and the borders it defined for the Muslim peoples and the form of rule which it imposed on them (Forces of the Caucasus Emirate).

"The enemies are the secularists and the establishment of the religion until our land, by the grace and grace of God, has become a land of monotheism without polytheism, a land of sunnah and followers. The idols that were worshiped besides God have been lifted, polytheism has been lifted, the Sunnah has been established" (Ansar al-Islam, Iraq).

4.2.3   Education system: increase religion (4205)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish for religious reforms that calls for more religion in the school system. Our children should be taught according to the Quran/Bible for example.

Examples:

"Rewrite the history [school] books based on an objective curriculum, and be committed to the cultural heritage of Lebanon in its Arab and Islamic milieu. […] Reinforce and protect religious education" (Hezbollah)

Protecting Algerian immigrants, ensuring Islamic education for them, and facilitating conditions for their return (AIS)

"They are our tomorrow and if we want to have a bright and prosperous tomorrow then we need to invest in our youth today. We have to intellectually prepare them for leading us tomorrow. And religious education is extremely important for providing a strong intellectual base to these young men (Taleban, Afghanistan).

4.2.4 Blasphemy (4206)

This issue is coded if a rebel group motivates it attacks or behavior with the blasphemous behavior of others. Or if the rebel groups declare that they are attacking specific buildings or similar things because they are blasphemous. This issue will often be coded in conjunction with religious or cultural heritage.

Examples:

""Those are not all civilians. Also the people associated with the blasphemousness Constitutional council are in the scale of the commencing (religion) fighters and enemies of Islam" (AQUIM, Algeria).

"Bhatti's assailants said he was targeted "because of his faith and because he belonged to a committee that was reviewing the blasphemy law". "We will keep on killing all those who will try to defame Islam or ask for a change in the blasphemy law," the pamphlets warned. Shortly after his murder, a ttp spokesperson claimed responsibility for his murder and vowed to keep on silencing all those who were looking for a change in the blasphemy law" (TTP, Pakistan).

"On Nov 1, Iyad Ag Ghaly, an al-Qaeda leader in Mali, threatened to kill "French crusaders" in revenge for the "case of Charlie Hebdo and its satirical cartoons offensive to the Prophet"." (Ansar Dine)

"As the Jihad against the Crusaders and their apostate allies continues in Somalia, the Mujahideen have been conducting a series of coordinated attacks against the coalition of disbelievers who are bent on desecrating the noble faith of Islam and contaminating it with the evil of democracy". (Al-Shabaab).

4.3 Cultural rights and freedoms (4300)

4.3.1 Cultural rights (4301)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish for increased/changed cultural rights. Cultural rights here denote issues relating (mainly) to a group's cultural expressions. This category is coded if a rebel group mentions "identity", "ethnicity", "culture", "group", etc. Examples of this issue includes demand that specific types of culturally significant clothing/dance/expression should be allowed, but broader claims about cultural rights are also included. Please note that asking for rights such as voting, but for a cultural/ethnic group, counts as Civil rights.

Examples:

"Cambodia must, therefore, break completely and definitely with communism, in any form or version, eliminate its adverse consequences and take up a new authentic Khmer culture and traditions" (FUNCINPEC, Cambodia).

"Restore rohingya ethnic rights coupled with former citizenship and unconditionally restore our ancestors" historical ethnic identity "Rohingya"

"The second condition to guarantee that equality is to respect the culture and recognize the right of the indigenous population to maintain their identity" (URNG).

""The political program of UNITA is simple and clear. We fight for an independent Angola, free of all foreign troops. We believe that peasants, not the state, should own farm land. We favor democratic elections, freedom of religion, and respect for tribal customs and languages" (UNITA, Angola).

4.3.2 Restrictions on cultural rights (4302)

Same as above, but wishing to withdraw or restrict rather than bestow rights.

Examples:

´He added, however, that people in the region are not permitted to sing and dance: "According to the local tradition, singing and dancing are not permitted. People are fined for listening to music because this is a habit of the English [Westerners]. Pakistan can progress only when the government and the people together work for the religion of Islam." (Lashkar-e-Islam)

4.3.3 Language rights (4303)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish for increased language rights, such as the right to speak their own language, or use it in exchanges with the bureaucracy.

Examples:

"The militant group said the Kurdish people should escalate "democratic resistance" involving street protests and strikes to force the introduction of reforms like Kurdish-language education and broadcasting." (PKK)

"The cultural rights of a people begin with respect for their language, its value and the possibility of using it, creating with it and cultivating it (URNG).

"Interviewed today in Nagorno-Karabakh, Genrikh Pogosyan, a representative of the Armenians there, said the main question was not the status of the region's government but the freedom of Armenian residents to practice their culture, language and religion." (Republic of Armenia)

4.3.4   Education system: culture (4304)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish for reforms in the school system in relation to their cultural group. This can take the form of allowing schools for specific ethnic or minority groups. It can also relate to the language used in the schools.

Examples:

"Arabization of education at all levels." (Polisario)

"The State will guarantee bilingual education for all those areas of the country where there are minorities with diverse languages, also respecting their culture and incorporating their contributions for the construction of the nation." (MRTA)

"We must have the right to plan our culture, language, education and for our identity and to spend money on these plans" (Baloch Ittehad, Pakistan).

4.3.5   Protection of cultural heritage (4305)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that it wants particular cultural and/or religious heritage to be protected. We are here interested only in physical objects, such as monasteries, statues, libraries, mosques etc.

Examples:

Chit Shwe gave the example of the recent demolition of an old Shan palace in the town of Kengtung, to make way for a hotel, which dissidents say infuriated the local population. "They're trying to wipe out proof of our culture, our history," He said. (MTA)

"RPF condemns the destruction of the memorial construction of Heroes sacrificed in struggle of the national liberation. It is a cowardly and inhuman action of IOF (Indian Occupation Forces)" (PLA, India).

"The supreme aim of the Acheh Sumatra National Liberation Front is the survival of the people of Acheh Sumatra as a nation; the survival of their political, social, cultural, and religious heritage which are being destroyed by the Javanese colonialists" (GAM, Indonesia).

4.3.6   Destruction of cultural heritage (4306)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that it wants particular cultural and/or religious heritage to be destroyed. We are here interested only in physical objects, such as monasteries, statues, libraries, mosques etc. The Taliban attack on the Buddha statues in Bamiyan Valley (Afghanistan) is one example; ISIS attacks on Palmyra another.

Examples:

"Ansar Dine spokesman Sanda Ould Boumama told the AFP news agency the shrines would be destroyed, "all of them, without exception".

He went on: "God is unique. All of this is haram (forbidden in Islam)." (Ansar Dine)

4.4 Gender rights and freedoms (4400)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands reforms that target gender relations or issues about a specific gender. If a group demands that women should be able to vote, it is coded as a civil right since voting is a political right no matter if you are a woman or a man. Thus, demands that deals with issues such as fraternization between the sexes, clothing, or increased gender equality it is coded as gender rights. If a group demands that women should not be forced to wear some particular clothing – or that women must were some particular clothes – it belongs to this category.

This category is divided into gender rights and restriction of gender rights. To which category an issue belongs is perceived from the perspective of the subject of the rights. If an issue increases the chances for persons belonging to a particular sex to select according to their preferences, it is coded as gender rights if the conflict issue restricts such liberties it is perceived as restriction of gender rights. Thus, if the stated issue emphasizes that an individual person has the right to dress how s/he prefers (be it burka or bikini) it is coded as gender rights. In contrast, if an issue forbids women to wear particular clothes (be it burka or bikini) it is coded as restriction of gender rights. In addition, if the group emphasizes increased gender equality (or that it is fighting against patriarchal structures) it is coded as gender rights as the group argues that such moves would empower women to make their independent choices.

4.4.1 Gender rights (4401)

This category includes issues that increase the chances for persons belonging to a particular sex to select according to their preferences.

Examples:
 "Imperialist and feudal culture has increased the exploitation and patriarchal oppression of women on a massive scale. So-called dowry deaths, increased sexual exploitation, and growing violence and discrimination by the state, feudal and male chauvinist forces, on women, has led to the massive increase on women's oppression." (CPI-Maoist).

Recognition of the specificity of women victims. Women victims of the conflict will deserve special recognition, both for representing the main sector of the population that has suffered the rigors of war and the impacts of victimization structures formed by the ruling classes, as well as for the historical situations of discrimination and violence of the patriarchal regime, which violates their rights, exercises sexual violence and affects their sexual and reproductive rights. In view of a gender perspective, the specificity of the victims of the LGTBI community will also be considered. (FARC).

4.4.2 Restriction of gender rights (4402)

This category includes issues that restricts the chances for persons belonging to a particular sex to select according to their preferences.

Examples:

"Rebel commanders Barahami Sali and Amil Omar also demanded that female students in schools on Basilan be barred from wearing short pants during physical education lessons and be required to wear Moslem turbans." (ASG)

""It is henceforth forbidden for a male nurse to see a patient of opposite sex," announced an official of the movement." (Mujao, Mali).

The list of banned" activities, for example, goes well beyond just the obvious targets such as fraternisation between the sexes. It also includes banning women from wearing bras and banning men watching the World Cup" (al-Shabaab).

4.5 Labor rights and freedoms (4500)

4.5.1 Labor rights (4501)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish for reforms of rights regarding working conditions. This issue is specific to calls for rights in relation to labor conditions, thus if a rebel group demands that labor organizations should have the opportunity to organize or that wages should be increased etc. we code this as labor rights. If a rebel group instead demands that workers should have the right to vote, it is coded as political rights. The rights asked for here concern, thus, better working conditions, the right to form unions etc.

Examples:

"Labor benefits coupled with a fair and sufficient wage policy according to the price and service cost indexes are the irreplaceable elements both to implement social justice, and to make the development of the country's internal market, viable." (URNG)

"Permanent national agreement for salaries, prices, employment and credit with justice for the majorities: The agreement will be a permanent institutional policy between the State, workers, large, small and medium-sized entrepreneurs, cooperatives and other economic sectors to establish wages fair minimums, price stability, guarantee of employment and democratically distributed credit" (FMLN, El Salvador).

"Work opportunities must also be created near the communities and for this, it is necessary to assist the creation of production, distribution and consumption co-operatives in the communities. In addition, indigenous peoples should not be confined exclusively to the tasks considered the most unpleasant, nor demanding the greatest physical wear and tear such as mining and diving for lobsters. (Contras/FDN)

4.6 Children's rights and freedoms (4600)

4.6.1 Children's rights (4601)

This issue is coded if a rebel group demands that children's rights should be protected, taken into account etc. This category includes demands that specify that children should not be forced to work and have the right to go to school. As with, for instance, women and gender we are here concerned with rights that are specific to children and not just that children are mentioned. For instance, if a group states, "we are fighting because our children are starving", this falls under basic needs rather than children's rights.

Examples:

 "Reducing child labor and dealing with difficult cases through guidance, rehabilitation, and working effectively to find them schools" (Hezbollah)

""Our Judiciary is also working with codification of Child Rights. A dedicated division on Women and Children's Affairs is operating in the Police service and it is to be expanded with its own building and programs. Our policemen are continuously trained and put on courses on these issues." (LTTE)

4.7 Referendum (4700)

4.7.1 Referendum (4701)

This issue is coded if a rebel group demands the holding of a referendum. The topic of the referendum does not matter, just that they wish to have a referendum or, in some other way other than elections, let the people have their say or 'countersign' a specific change/law/peace agreement etc. This is a separate matter from asking for a national dialogue, which always concerns gathering the consensus or opinions of groups and certain interests. Examples can here be FARC's wish to have the final peace agreement approved by a referendum, or the SPLM's wish to end the transitional period of their peace agreement with a referendum for independence.

Examples:

"FLEC has consistently argued that a referendum, in which only Cabindans would vote, could finally end the conflict." (FLEC-FAC)

"In October 1991, the Supreme Council of the TMSSR established the Central Republican Commission for holding a nationwide referendum (voting) on the independence of the Republic" (PMR)

"It is this social contract that must lead us to a civil society that recognises intellectual and political pluralism and allows for the peaceful transfer of power through legal institutions and ballot boxes; in accordance with a national constitution crafted by the people and endorsed in a referendum" (NTC, Libya).

5 Distribution of resources (5000)

This set of issues relates to demands regarding how the state should distribute monetary, land, and natural resources (both extractable and those related to land/the environment) and other fiscal resources. It thus concerns what we might call the fiscal basis of the state both in terms of procurement of financial resources and their distribution.

5.1 State distribution systems (5100)

5.1.1 Change economic system (5101)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group wishes for changes in the economic system of a state. The economic system change encompasses large-scale changes mainly in how

resources are allocated (market or command), the basis for production (agriculture or industry), or who owns the means to production (public or private). Changes that affect the production-consumption model like circular economics by enforcement of recycling and sharing of resources are also coded. Smaller modifications to the entire system such as the abolition of interest collection or larger changes to a limited number of sectors such as nationalization of banks are not coded as change economic system but as economic reforms. Demands can be either to shift from a named 'type' of system to another, such as going from capitalism to a Marxist system, or simply mention a large-scale change in the system of economics.

Examples:

 "The properties of the great repressive rich will pass to the Revolutionary government, who will ensure that this wealth is used to solve the needs of the working people" (URNG manifesto)¨

""The model of the kind of society and economy I would like to see in Iran would be that of the Nordic countries. We would expect an open society where economic and personal diversity would prosper" (MEK, Iran).

"The ultimate solution lies in abolishing the wage-system, emancipating people from its bondage and reverting to the natural laws which defined relationships before the emergence of classes, forms of governments and man-made laws. These natural rules are the only measures that ought to govern human relations" (Forces of Muammar Gaddafi)

5.1.2 Economic reforms (5102)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group specifies that they wish for economic reforms at a level lower than the full economic system. These demands can take the form of changes to the tax system to favor a specific group, demanding that a larger share of government funds is directed towards a specific group, or other demands that change how economic resources are distributed within a state's system. Note that distribution here refers to income distribution i.e., between individuals often through taxation. This is a broad category of issues, where any reform or policy proposal that affects the distribution of economic resources, monetary policies, or regulations (e.g. a demand for a ban on interest collection not a demand for an Islamic economy) are coded. Issues regarding the privatization or nationalization of a limited number of sectors are also included.

Examples:

 "The content of a tax reform, which is urgent and unplayable, must be based on the universally accepted principle that the one who earns the most should contribute more. From there, the tax charges must be equitable and non-transferable." (URNG)

"The state would continue to control banks and foreign trade matters, although rationing would end and small businesses would be encouraged. […] discontinuation of rationing and a halt to "hyperinflation" and "administrative incompetence." (Contras/FDN)

5.1.3 Public services (5103)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group wishes for changes in the system of distributing public services such as healthcare, education, transport, infrastructure etc. These changes can be all encompassing (for all citizens) or ask for special focus on one or more particular groups. This category is sometimes close to the one of Basic needs, but should be distinguished based on the 'level' of the demands. Basic needs refers to the most basic needs for survival, while Public services regard demands that relate to other aspects of public services.

Examples:

"Improvement of standards of living for all people in the country and with equitable access to public services." (JEM, Sudan)

"Development of a compulsory and free education policy for all levels and generalized to all social classes." (Polisario)

""Dear compatriots, the Congolese people, population in the RCD -control led area: What then is the RCD programme?...promoting the social welfare of the Congolese people through specific measures, notably, in health, education and employment" (RCD)

5.1.4 Basic needs (5104)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands changes in policies concerning basic needs for human survival. It might relate to issues like housing, food, and water. This is a relative broad category and we include, for example, both demands that all have access to housing, or demands for hygienic or affordable housing, or access to sufficient food or water. Please note that we are concerned only with aspects pertaining to the physical.

Examples:

"There is an exaggerated poverty of the population, linked to the bad governance of Nkurunziza. When he came to power, all Burundians ate three times a day, but today they eat once a day. Our goal is to chase Nkurunziza and his clique" (RED-TABARA, Burundi).

"The movement that I have the honor to represent today reaffirms its availability to continue the dialogue and its determination to lead the fight in order to achieve a Mali where no citizen will die of hunger, will not know ignorance and exile for the one and only reason that he was born different." (MPA, Mali).

"Through municipal structures and regional development plans, give preference and strengthen aspects related to the housing problem. In the rural area, the requirements and quality of the houses that farms and agricultural production centers must obligatorily provide to their workers must be regulated and established." (URNG)

"People are fighting for basic necessities, for them this is not political," he said. "Even most of my volunteers would not fight if they could get a job and clean water." (NDPVF, Nigeria)

5.2 Natural resources (5200)

5.2.1 Land reforms (5201)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group wishes for land reforms. Land reforms refer to changes in laws regarding access to and ownership of land, and includes also wanting changed land rights. "Agrarian reform" and similar wordings also qualify if the context clearly links to changes in ownership of land. Giving back land to previous owners also qualifies as land reform (and not restoration or compensation) as such changes necessarily entail land reforms/the changing of ownership of land.

Examples:

"The Revolution will guarantee the realization of a true agrarian reform, providing land to those who work it individually, collectively and cooperatively" (URNG manifesto)

"We believe that peasants, not the state, should own farm land." (UNITA, Angola).

"Maintain the reforms made by the PDC and initiate the III stage of the agrarian reform" (FMLN, El-Salvador).

"The implementation of rural reforms, such as the return of land expropriated from small farmers" (MEK, Iran).

5.2.2 Water resources (5202)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group raises demands in relation to the sharing and access of water as a resource. This can concern who should own and be allowed to use specific watering holes, rivers, lakes, or any source of drinking water or water for cattle and irrigation. NOTE that more basic access to water, such as in citizens having water to drink for the day does not count (but is instead include in Basic needs). We are here concerned with larger issues of distribution at the system level.

Examples:

"The self-declared Republic's government dismissed the agreement in a latenight session on Thursday as unacceptable because it would leave Croatia in control of water, electricity and roads in Krajina." (Serbian Republic of Krajina).

"Redistributing the river waters of northern India to the benefit of the Punjab" (Sikh Insurgents, India).

"Land belongs to the citizens of Oromia. The Oromo people shall have full right to own land to build residential and commercial properties. Rural land shall only be owned by those who work on it privately, cooperatively and as large commercial farms. Underground water, rivers lakes, thermal resources and underground wealth such as precious metals, and radioactive minerals shall be property of the national state and its exploitation shall be regulated by the state and the proceeds shall be used for economic developments and improvement of living standard of citizens only. No foreign power shall have sovereign ownership on Oromia Rivers." (OLF, Ethiopia).

5.2.3 Revenues from natural resources (5203)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group wishes for changes in the distribution of wealth from natural resources, or a share of the same wealth. Extractable resources include fossil fuels (oil, coal, natural gas), metallic ores (iron, copper, silver, gold), minerals (diamonds, coltan), and biological supplies (timber, fisheries, wild game, natural rubber). Both the revenues from the natural resources as well as ownership of the actual resources counts.

Examples:

"He said that, although Aceh was among Indonesia's richest provinces in terms of natural resources, the local population have not benefited from this wealth" (GAM, Indonesia).

"The Turkestani people do not have control over their vast resources of raw minerals and they are not given the right to exploit and utilize them" (ETIM, China).

"While the government and (Australian mining company) CRA benefited from the mine they gave nothing back to the people." (BRA, Papua New Guinea)

"In the Republic of Abkhazia the land and other natural resources are the property of the people and shall be used and protected as a basis for life and activity of the citizens of the Republic of Abkhazia. The issues of ownership, use and disposal of natural resources shall be governed by the laws of the Republic of Abkhazia." (Republic of Abkhazia)

5.2.4 Protection of natural resources/the environment (5204)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands protection of natural resources, such as forests, wildlife, or water ways. The key here is not that the state or a group should benefit from extracting resources from natural resources, but that the environment should be preserved from harm/be conserved. The creation of wildlife protection areas or specific policies to save the environment are included.

Examples:

"There are five mining companies ready to be set up on the island which means total wipe-out of the all the environment on Bougainville," (BRA)

"Implementing policies for environmental sustainable reform and protection" (SRF)

"Support the struggle of the various patriotic and progressive classes, parties and mass organizations for better economic and social conditions, rehabilitation and protection of the environment…" (CPP)

5.2.5 Climate change (5205)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group states that they are fighting against/to stop climate change.

Examples:

"The war with the full weight of its barbarism cannot continue to be the course of the nation only to guarantee the growth of the interests of the financial capital, of landowners and narco - landowners, of the mafias in all national and transnational fields that aggravate every second the social and environmental crisis that deeply affects millions of Colombians in each winter season and that has endangered the existence of the planet."(FARC).

"In fact, the life of all mankind is in danger because of the global warning, which is largely due to emissions of the factories of the major companies; nonetheless, the representatives of those companies in the White House insist on not observing the Kyoto Accord, notwithstanding the fact that statistics speaks of the death and displacement of millions of people as a result, especially in Africa. The greatest of plagues and the most dangerous of threats to the lives of humans is taking place in an accelerating fashion as the world is being dominated by the democratic system, which confirms its utter failure to protect humans and their interests from the greed and avarice of the major companies and their representatives" (Al-Qaida).

CONFLICT DYNAMICS ISSUES

6 Foreign involvement (6000)

This category deals with rebel groups' demands for changes in relations with foreign countries in respect to the conflict. The category covers more specific demands and requests on foreign countries and organization.. The general defining characteristics of the sub-categories are that they deal not with solely internal matters, but with relations with foreign entities. Most of these requests are directed at what we term 'foreign actors', a term that encompasses foreign organized actors of most types. These include foreign governments, rebel groups in other countries, regional organizations, and international organizations. We are interested in the actors outside the primary dyad (i.e. a rebel group fighting a government). For that reason, we do not capture statements about the primary dyad even if the rebel group labels such issues as dealing with foreigners. For example, when Provisional IRA calls for British forces to leave Ireland this is not coded as removal of foreign forces or something similar as the British government is a primary party to the conflict. The external dimension is in focus.

6.1 Increase foreign involvement (6100)

Issues are coded in this category whenever a rebel group demands an increase in foreign involvement in a country or an armed conflict. Foreign involvement includes an increase of foreign forces, a demand for an increase in foreign influence, and similar statements. These requests are directed at what we term 'foreign actors', a term that encompasses foreign organized actors of most types. These include foreign governments, rebel groups in other countries, regional organizations, and international organizations. For further specifications, see sub-categories:

6.1.1 IFI: Military intervention/foreign forces (6101)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group requests an increase in foreign involvement through asking a foreign actor to intervene with military troops in the conflict. These requests may be in the form of an actual partial fighting force to support them, or concerning regional or international peacekeepers. The key attribute is the invitation of armed soldiers from foreign countries or organizations.

Examples:

"We want the United States or the western powers to lead a stabilisation force in to Liberia before that," Wilson said" (MODEL, Liberia).

"In the interview, UNITA President Dr Jonas Savimbi said UN peacekeeping forces should be deployed in Angola to guarantee the satisfactory conclusion of the Angolan peace process" (UNITA, Angola).

"We have asked the international community to disarm these killers and remove them from the camp. If this is not done we'll have to find our own solution" (AFDL, DRC).

6.1.2 IFI: Military support (6102)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group requests an increase in foreign involvement through requesting that they receive military support from a foreign actor, short of asking that actor for a military intervention. Note that the actor asked to provide such support must be an organized one in some way; i.e. a government or a rebel group. Requests for military support need not be specific in terms of what military support; the general request is enough. Note that asking for actual troops on the ground is not included.

Examples:

"We requested ammunition, especially for long-range artillery and RPGs (rocket-propelled grenades)." (KPNLF).

"We who fight the battle for Western values of democracy, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, the right to own one's home and some land, have joined together. Now we ask the West to join us. We in UNITA call upon the West, and the United States as the leader of the free world, to give us military and political support (UNITA)."

6.1.3 IFI: Political support (6103)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group requests an increase in foreign involvement by asking a foreign actor to give them political or religious support in their conflict. Requests for this type of support need not be specific, but a general request is enough.

Examples:

"25 years later we pay tribute to the innocent victims of the Sumgait tragedy, and call on the international community to express its firm and unambiguous position in relation to that crime against humanity" (Republic of Artsakh).

"Dear Benedict XVI, we would like to urge you to take a step in preventing his due execution on Sunday. Watching the atrocities of the Iranian regime on the Christmas Eve and execution of Mr. Latifi in this day might be seen as a sign of disrespect for this holy time and you as the highest level of religious authority should not stay silence in the face of such an inhuman act. In the name of Mr. Latifi and his family we urge you to break the silence and take appropriate action to stop his execution. Mr Latifi and all the political prisoners in the Iranian detention should be freed or at least be given opportunity to have a fair trial presided by independent judges" (PJAK).

"We call upon the international community, United Nations, human rights organizations and the democratic countries all over the world to standup with the Kurdish and Iranian people in their march for freedom, democracy and peace" (PJAK, Iran).

6.1.4 IFI: Financial support (6104)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group requests an increase in foreign involvement by asking a foreign actor to give them financial support in their conflict. Requests for this type of support need not be specific as to what means of support are given, but a general request is enough.

Examples:

"…calls on the masses and Arab and Islamic popular forces to unite with the cause of our people and support its steadfastness and resistance to occupation, as it is the first line of defense for our nation against the Zionist threat that threatens our present and future. The wealthy from our Arab and Islamic masses to more giving and giving" (Hamas)

"Then, focus would be on what could be called a mini- Marshall Plan for the territory, which the World Bank would be asked to design in consultation with East Timor" (Fretilin, Indonesia).

6.1.5 IFI: International monitoring (6105)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group requests an increase in foreign involvement by asking a foreign actor to supply some form of support in the form of monitors, observers, or technical assistance. Keywords to keep in mind are requests for organizations to "monitor", "observe", "supervise", and "support" different non-military processes. This request does not cover any direct financial, political, religious, or military support, but instead captures requests to have foreign actors involved in some sort of supportive role. Requests for mediation by foreign actors is a separate category.

Examples:

"They also undermined their commitment to changing the constitution to delete all references to the divisive and potentially explosive concept of "Ivorianness" and to hold "fresh and transparent elections under the supervision of the international com-munity.""

""The three resistance leaders – Prince Sihanouk, Mr Son Sann and the Khmer Rouge leader khieu Samphan – have accepted a blueprint calling for a UN transitional authority, disarmament of all forces and a UN-supervised election" (Funcinpec, Cambodia).

""In view of this serious act of aggression and violation of a peace accord, the MDJT urges the mediator, Libya, as well as other observers, to come and verify the real situation on the ground," the rebel statement said" (MDJT, Chad).

6.1.6   IFI: Support from diasporas/foreign fighters (6106)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group requests an increase in foreign involvement by asking for support from either a diaspora or from 'foreign fighters'. Requests for this type of support need not be specific as to what means of support are given, but a general request is enough. The key attribute is the request for support from these types of groups of 'interested' people, who are not, however, organized enough to be seen as a 'foreign actor'.

Examples: "The National Liberation Army yesterday issued a statement appealing for financial contributions from Albanians wherever they are." (UCK)

"I am calling on all fellow Chinese compatriots in the world, who have the same roots as our family, to give money and lend your hands to save our fellow Kokang Chinese people, or to speak out for our cause, to strengthen the prestige of our army!" (MNDAA, Burma).

"we must encourage the Filipinos in the motherland and abroad to unite with all other peoples in fighting for and building a fundamentally new and better world free from the scourge of imperialism and all reaction." (CPP, Philippines).

6.1.7   IFI: Sanctions (6107)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands an increase in foreign involvement through asking a foreign actor to impose sanctions on a group in the conflict (in the vast majority of cases this will mean asking for sanctions against the government they are fighting). In addition to sanctions, this category encompasses activities with a "sanctioning purpose" such as embargos and bans. The category includes different types of sanctions and sanctions directed towards a specific person, group of people, or an entire government.

Examples:

"Zairean rebels urged Swiss authorities on Tuesday to freeze any wealth that embattled President Mobuto Sese Seko may have on deposit in Switzerland and said they were seeking legal assistance from Berne in the case."

"We believe that the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) should pass from unaddressed statements to tough estimates and sanctions against Azerbaijan for its armed-force policy, for impeding a peaceful settlement, arousing hatred, and unleashing a new war in the region." (Republic of Artsakh).

""Ndiho also wanted international sanctions and a regional embargo, imposed on Burundi after Buyoya's coup, to be maintained." (CNDD, Burundi).

Rajavi urged the UN Security Council not to allow this regime to escape the consequences of its continuous violations of international law by taking firm and urgent measures against it, foremost among which should be the imposition of an arms and oil ban. (MEK, Iran).

6.1.8 IFI: Humanitarian aid (6108)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands an increase in foreign involvement through asking a foreign actor to provide humanitarian aid to a country or conflict. It is not important what type of aid is requested, as long as it is humanitarian in nature (not political, religious, or military).

Examples:

FRUD urged France to resume relief aid to the 150,000 to 200,000 residents of Djibouti's rebel-held area (FRUD).

"We called on the international community, and particularly Portugal, to adopt extremely urgent humanitarian initiatives for the civilian population, which does not have access to food or medication, particularly for women and children." (FLEC-FAC, Angola)

"Call on the international community and humanitarian organizations to send aid to the civilian victims of the bombings and contribute to the creation of shelters and centers for the protection of the population against the criminal action unleashed by the Cristiani government and the high command of the Armed Forces" (FMLN, El-Salvadore).

6.1.9 IFI: International investigation/court/tribunal (6109)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands an increase in foreign involvement through asking a foreign actor to establish or in any other fashion make use of an international criminal court/tribunal/investigation/inquiry in relation to events in a conflict. Simply asking for a TRC does not count, as that is its own category. Key here is that the court should be international or created by the international/regional community. NOTE! If a group is asking for an external actor to be involved in an investigation/court/tribunal, it deals with investigation/accountability/prosecution. Hence, if this category is coded make sure to also code Accountability/prosecution/Investigation.

Examples:

"The Séléka "requests that proceedings be initiated before the ICC in The Hague against François Bozizé", indicates the text. The rebellion accuses the Central African president of "acts of war crimes and crimes against humanity", speaking in particular of "arbitrary detentions and sequestrations" and "disappearances, assassinations and summary executions" (Seleka).

"`The Philippine government doesn't know how to respect an agreement,' says the peace negotiator of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. This is why his group is bringing the

botched --or initialed, depending on who is talking--memorandum of agreement on ancestral domain before the International Court of Justice or the Organization of Islamic Conference" (MILF).

"A committee, consisting of special representatives of Islamic Conference, UN's human rights organizations as well as representatives from ISAF forces and Islamic of Emirate of Afghanistan, should be formed to assess the very issue and conduct investigations into the civilian casualties across the country." (Taleban)

6.1.10 IFI: Foreign mediator (6110)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands an increase in foreign involvement through asking a foreign actor to become some form of mediator/facilitator in the conflict or country. NOTE! If a group is asking for an external actor to be involved in the negotiations, it affects the structure of negotiations. Hence, if this category is coded make sure to also code Structure of Negotiations (10.13).

Examples:

"To take this process to the end in a climate of "an unprecedented confidence crises between Algerians" suppose to call onto an "international mediation" continues FIS. The Arab league, The organization of African Unity, the Unted Nations, the organisation of the Islamic conference, are for specific reasons not in capacity to carry out this task, deems the Front, who invites "the European powers interested by peace in this region to propose steps likely to end the conflict" (AIS).

"Salif Sadio, commander-in-chief of part of the MFDC fighters, said in a statement sent Tuesday to Agence France-Presse (AFP), in Dakar, that he is "available for dialogue", while wishing that a possible consultation with the government of Senegal takes place "on neutral ground, outside Africa" (MFDC).

6.1.11 IFI: Recognition (6111)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands an increase in foreign involvement through asking a foreign actor to 'recognize' it. Recognition here means requests to be accepted as a legitimate actor, for instance through being accepted into the UN or other regional or international organizations, or just to be recognized as the representative of a group of people.

Examples:

"We'll work over expanding the geography of the subjects recognizing the Artsakh Republic in the coming years as well." (Republic of Artsakh)

"The parliament of the self-proclaimed "Luhansk People's Republic" has sent a letter to UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon requesting recognition of the republic's sovereignty and independence." (LPR, Ukraine)

"We are waiting for France to intervene in this political debate by recognising the legitimacy of the FRUD and therefore bringing about mediation between the FRUD and the government" (FRUD, Djibouti).

6.1.12 IFI: Use of foreign influence (6112)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands an increase in foreign involvement through asking a foreign actor to use its 'influence' or 'apply pressure' in the country, in the conflict, or on the international scene, to influence the conflict or the parties to a conflict. Requests can be relatively vague but must contain a reference to a foreign actor to do something in the sphere of influence or pressure. Requests for the presence of an actor in a conflict or negotiations process, without specifying what they are to do, default to this category.

Examples:

"Also by this message, the MNA challenges the international community to take a careful look at what is happening in Azawad and take its responsibilities to better guarantee peace and security as stipulated in international law" (CMA)

"Dudayev issued a statement early Wednesday urging international organizations to pressure Russia to stop the offensive, saying it was "not yet late" to resume talks." (Chechen Republic of Ichkeria)

"Rabbani asked all states having influence on the Taleban to help bring about new peace talks. "We hope that all the countries having influence on the Taleban will make a permanent and serious impact on them to continue the negotiations," he said." (UIFSA, Afghanistan).

6.2 Decrease foreign involvement (6200)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands an end to or a decrease in the level of foreign involvement in a country or an armed conflict. Foreign involvement includes a withdrawal of foreign forces, a demand for a reduction in foreign influence, and similar statements. Most of these requests are directed at what we term 'foreign actors', a term that encompasses foreign organized actors of most types. These include foreign governments, rebel groups in other countries, regional organizations, and international organizations. For further specifications, see sub-categories:

6.2.1 DFI: Withdrawal of military intervention/foreign forces (6201)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands a decrease in foreign involvement through asking a foreign actor to withdraw their military troops in the conflict. The demand can target both an actual partial fighting force that supports one side in the conflict, and regional or international peacekeepers. The key attribute is the wish to expel armed soldiers from foreign countries or organizations. Please note that this category only deals with actors outside the main conflict dyad. Hence, when ULFA states "ULFA's politics is the politics of liberation. As such, its agenda is the liberation of Assam from Indian occupation" this is not included because India is party to the main conflict.

Examples:

"UNITA set out the following four conditions for an eventual dialogue with the MPLA, namely (i) the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola,…" (UNITA).

"Mercenary forces from South Africa must leave Central African territory," (Seleka).

""In a similar BBC interview on Saturday, rebel leader Foday Sankoh laid down the withdrawal of Guinean and Nigerian troops from Sierra Leone as a precondition for peace talks." (RUF, Liberia).

6.2.2 DFI: Withdrawal of military support (6202)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands a decrease in foreign involvement through requesting that a foreign actor ceases to give military support to whatever side in the conflict (most often this will entail, however, that a group asks a government or actor to stop supporting its opponent in the form of a government). Note that the actor must be an organized one in some way; i.e. a government or a rebel group. Requests to stop military support need not be specific in terms of what military support; the general request is enough. Note that asking for the removal of actual troops on the ground is not included, but is coded as DFI: Withdrawal of military intervention/foreign forces.

Examples:

"Suspension of US military aid to the Salvadoran Armed Forces" (FMLN, El-Salvadore).

"We will increase our opposition to counter-insurgent military aid that, through Plan Colombia, seeks US imperialism. We call on the US government not to continue interfering with the internal affairs of our country, to cancel its criminal and warlike PLAN COLOMBIA that will only increase the conflict by transforming it into a homeland war."

6.2.3 DFI: Withdrawal of political support (6203)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group requests a decrease in foreign involvement by asking a foreign actor to decrease or cease giving political or religious support to an actor in the conflict (in the vast majority of cases such requests will target the removal of support for its adversaries in the government). Requests for the removal of this type of support need not be specific as to what means of support but a general request is enough.

Examples:

"We call on the countries that contributed to the catastrophe of Palestine, led by Britain, to atone for their sin by stopping their support for the Zionist entity and its aggression against our people and our sanctities" (FATAH, Israel).

"Dudayev called on the international community to question Russia's seat on the United Nations Security Council because "Moscow endangers world peace." (Chechen Republic of Ichkeria)

""The CNDD-FDD is appealing to the international community to take "serious steps against the genocidal regime of Maj [Pierre] Buyoya" suggesting amongst other things, the freezing of the cooperation between the European Union and Burundi. "The European Union should renounce its renewed cooperation with a regime which does not respect international humanitarian law" (CNDD-FDD, Burundi).

6.2.4 DFI: Withdrawal of financial support (6204)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group requests a decrease in foreign involvement by asking a foreign actor to decrease or cease giving financial support to an actor in the conflict (in the vast majority of cases such requests will target the removal of support for its adversaries in the government). Requests for the removal of this type of support need not be specific as to what means of financial support, but a general request is enough.

Examples:

"it is imperative that the international community begin to put actions behind its words and stop supporting the SLORC militarily, financially, and diplomatically" (KNU, Myanmar).

"We urge all international oil companies to refrain from entering into agreements with the Ethiopian government as it is not in effective control of the Ogaden, despite the claims it makes" (ONLF).

"So we would like to warn Kuwait, Kuwaiti leaders, if they finance the government of HassanGouled they will be financing civil war, so they will be contributing to the destruction of our country and our people." (FRUD, Djibouti).

6.2.5 DFI: Withdrawal of international monitoring (6205)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group requests a decrease in foreign involvement by asking a foreign actor in the form of a regional or international actor to decrease or end some form of support in the form of monitors, observers, or technical assistance. Keywords to keep in mind are requests to remove activities conducted by organizations to "monitor", "observe", "supervise", and "support" different non-military processes. This request does not cover any direct financial, political, religious, or military support, but instead captures requests to have foreign actors removed from some sort of supportive role. Requests for the removal of mediation by foreign actors is a separate category.

Examples:

"We hereby clarify that we do not recognize the United Nations, or any of its institutions and affiliates, as legitimate authorities to regulate or govern the affairs of our nation and we will not accept any compromise when it comes to our religion" (Al-Shabaab, Somalia).

""We recognize no authority in the measures taken by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the OAS because it has conspired with the genocidal Sandinista Regime to force our people to return to Nicaragua and be completely exterminated." (Contras, Nicaragua).

6.2.6   DFI: Withdrawal of sanctions (6206)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands a decrease in foreign involvement through asking a foreign actor to withdraw sanctions on a group in the conflict (in the vast majority of cases this will mean asking for the removal of sanctions on the own group or its leaders). In addition to sanctions, this category encompasses activities with a "sanctioning purpose" such as embargos and bans. NOTE: requests to be take of the list of terrorist organizations are coded here.

Examples:

"We would like to see a change in attitude in the Washington government. That instead of labeling the FARC as a terrorist organization with the slippery purpose of delegitimizing a political organization and at the same time justifying its intervention in an internal conflict, it would think of the universal right of peoples to rise against unfair and opprobrious regimes" (FARC).

""Listing Harkat-ul-Ansar among terrorists groups clearly reflects America's anti- Muslim policy," said a Harkat statement published in local newspapers. "America is a leading terrorist country of the world and has no right to declare any organisation as a terrorist group." (Kashmir Insurgents).

"In an interview for South African radio at his Jamba headquarters Jonas Savimbi said that… he hoped that the USA would come to the aid of UNITA with the repeal of the legislation that barred assistance to UNITA." (UNITA).

6.2.7   DFI: Removal of foreign mediator/facilitator (6207)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands a decrease in foreign involvement through asking a foreign actor currently involved as a mediator/facilitator to remove itself from the process/conflict. NOTE! If a group is asking for an external actor to not be involved in the negotiations, it affects the structure of negotiations. Hence, if this category is coded make sure to also code Structure of Negotiations.

Examples:

"[Unidentified reporter] What the UNITA leader said in the interview has raised serious problems with the Lusaka Protocol. He said he did not want to confine his troops, refused to talk to Blondin Beye and wanted Portugal out of the process."

""Starting today, the New Forces completely reject the South African mediation in the Ivory Coast," the group said in a statement signed by the rebels' spokesman, Sidiki Konate." (FRCI, Ivory Coast).

"He also called for new talks among Libyan factions without foreign mediators" (Forces of Khalifa al-Ghawil, Libya).

6.2.8   DFI: Removal of foreigners (6208)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands a decrease in foreign involvement through demanding that foreign citizens be removed, repatriated or expelled from the country. Note that this request should concern only civilians, and not military troops or mediators, which have their own categories.

Examples:

"FLEC , a militant group that wants independence of the northern oil-rich exclave of Cabinda, demanded China repatriate all its citizens from the region within two months or risk being "severely punished"." (FLEC-FAC, Nigeria).

"What will be wrong if you participate in the elections, win, and then decide about the destiny of the foreigners? Answer: Consider a few points in this regard: The first point is the country's independence and forcing the foreigners out." (Hizb-i Islami-yi Afghanistan)

""One of the most important demands of the area's natives is the departure of 400,000 Bengali Muslims who have settled in the CHT since the creation of Bangladesh." (JSS/SB, Bangladesh).

"We also advise you to pack your luggage and get out of our lands. We desire for your goodness, guidance, and righteousness, so do not force us to send you back as cargo in coffins." (al-Qaida).

6.2.9   DFI: Removal of foreign influence (6209)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands a decrease in foreign involvement through asking a foreign actor to stop using its 'influence' or 'apply pressure' in the country, in the conflict, or on the international scene, to influence the conflict or the parties to a conflict. Requests can be relatively vague but must contain a reference to a foreign actor to do stop doing something in the sphere of influence or pressure.

Examples:

"Leave Mali and its affairs alone. Leave Africa to its people. Stop interfering in our affairs, for we are not stopping our Jihad until you stop your aggression against Muslims." (AQIM, Mali).

"The OLF, once again, would like to ask the Kenyan authorities to desist from involving in the affairs of peoples outside its own territory and create obstacles to the genuine liberation struggle of the Oromo people. We wish to remind the Kenyan authorities that history will judge them harshly for any action they have taken and [they] will take against Oromo people's liberation struggle" (OLF, Ethiopia).

6.2.10 DFI: Withdrawal of humanitarian aid (6210)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands a decrease in foreign involvement through asking a foreign actor to stop/reduce providing humanitarian aid to a country or conflict. It is not important what type of aid, as long as it is humanitarian in nature (not political, religious, or military).

Examples:

"Three vehicles loaded with supplies and sent by the local organization Cri de Coeur returned from the north before dawn on Thursday. Assoumane Maga is a founding member of the group. "We received the information from our contact people that Ansar Dine said there is no problem if you have any kind of aid you want to bring to the people, please do it. But the only issue is we don't want you to bring something from international organizations - we only want [things] from Mali," he explained (Ansar Dine, Mali).'

7   Violent targeting (7000)

In this category, we code statements made by rebel groups in which they specify certain types of abuses, atrocities, targeting, and military action as grievances, complaints, or as something they wish to stop. These actions should have been conducted by the government, or actors affiliated with the government. It includes atrocities such as massacres, political killings and disappearances, imprisonment, genocide, politicide, torture and similar use of (mainly) physical means of destruction (mainly of people).

General guidelines to follow include that we only code specific types of atrocities and abuses of a physically coercive nature (see below for examples and lists). Vague and abstract references to 'persecution' or 'oppression' are not included.

7.1   Atrocities and abuses (7100)

7.1.1   Atrocities and abuses (7101)

This broad category captures atrocities and abuses. The core of this category are rebel group complaints that people are being abused or the targets of atrocities conducted by the government or its agents. The category is mainly concerned with capturing physical coercive actions of the following kind: killings, mass killings, extra-judicial killings, atrocities, torture, disappearances, imprisonment, mass imprisonment, forced displacement, assassinations, massacres, etc.

The group does not need to specify that they are fighting against the government directly as a result of these atrocities and abuses, nor do they have to specify in direct language that they seek to stop these things from happening. It is enough that the statement clearly identifies atrocities and abuses as a motivating factor for rebel behavior. Finally, historical descriptions of events that include atrocities should not be coded unless a clear link is made to present-day behavior.

Please note that:

o General and vague statements regarding 'persecution' do not qualify.

- o Specifying that atrocities have been carried out against an easily identifiable collective/group (such as a specific ethnicity) counts as Collective targeting.
- o If a statement meets the criteria of Military conduct or Collective targeting, it should be coded there instead.

Examples:

 "The immediate, true and effective cessation of torture. The cessation of death penalties, extra-judicial executions and reprisals against the civilian population." (AIS, Algeria).

"…until young Moslems are again safe, until the shackles are broken, torture and physical liquidation stop and the farce of the military courts is over" (al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya, Egypt).

7.2   Collective targeting (7200)

This issue is coded when a rebel group makes statements regarding their wish to protect themselves from some form of collective targeting, or identify some form of collective targeting (real or imagined) as a threat to their group. Note that this category codes similar types of targeting and threats to people as does Atrocities and abuses, but that this category should capture whenever rebels specify a collective group as the target (for instance, Hutus, Christians, Communists). Statements on abuses or targeting that are not group-specific should be coded as Atrocities and abuses.

The category is mainly concerned with capturing physical coercive actions of the following kind: killings, mass killings, extra-judicial killings, atrocities, torture, disappearances, imprisonment, mass imprisonment, assassinations, massacres, genocide, ethnic cleansing, forced displacement and politicide. I.e., general and vague statements regarding 'persecution', 'oppression', etc, do not qualify.

Note that the group does not need to specify that they are fighting against the government directly as a result of these atrocities and abuses, nor do they have to specify in direct language that they seek to stop these things from happening. It is enough that the statement clearly identifies collective targeting as some form of motivating factor for rebel behavior. Finally, also note that historical descriptions of events that include atrocities should not be coded unless a clear link is made to present-day behavior.

There are four types of collectives coded: Ethnic, Political, Religious, and Other groups.

7.2.1   Collective targeting: ethnic (7201)

Collective targeting regarding an ethnic group. Note that we use a wide definition of 'ethnic', thus encompassing the targeting of groups that are defined (or ascribed) a specific ethnicity or tribal identity (Acholi, Hutu, Tutsi, Nuer, Dinka etc.).

Examples:

"They accused the government of planning the complete annihilation of the Acholi as a tribe, and said they wanted to defend themselves against this" (LRA)

""Throughout the last 6 decades, we have been subjected to genocidal mass-killings; and all kinds of atrocities in the hands of the successive Burmese tyrannical regimes" (ARSA, Myanmar).

"Ethiopia's has forfeited its dubious claim of sovereignty over the Ogaden by committing acts tantamount to genocide against the Ogaden Somalis in violation of international Humanitarian law enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Geneva convention" (ONLF, Ethiopia).

"What must be discussed most urgently now is the Javanese naked wars of aggression, barbaric military occupations, and massacres of the non-Javanese peoples with total impunity by the Javanese military along the five-thousands kilometers of the equator, from Acheh/Sumatra to West Papua, with East Timor and Moluccas in-between." (GAM, Indonesia).

7.2.2 Collective targeting: political (7202)

Collective targeting regarding a political group. We here capture the targeting (real or imagined) of a specific political collective, such as members of political party, union, class etc.

Examples:

"The new rebel group's main objective is to protect Burundians who were being killed because they are protesting the violation of the country's constitution by President Pierre Nkurunziza who extended his time in power" (FPB, Burundi).

"The use of violence as a weapon of domination of oligarchy is now more diversified, today the repressive weapon illegal, commonly referred to as paramilitary, has in its hands the trophy of having perpetrated a political genocide in order to abort any popular uprising." (ELN, Colombia).

"the Communist Party of India-Maoist (CPI-Maoist), said the proposed second round of peace talks between the Naxalite outfits and the Government would not take place unless the latter stops operations against Naxalites and "killing Naxal sympathisers". (CPI-Maoist, India).

7.2.3 Collective targeting: religious (7203)

Collective targeting regarding a religious group. We here capture the targeting (real or imagined) of a specific religious collective, such as Christians, Sunni, Shia, or other religious group.

Examples:

"Abdel-Ghani, standing at a lectern piled with Islamic law books, said: "The government is trying to separate religion from the state. It wants to destroy Islam. It is waging a war on Islam and the Moslems." (al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya, Egypt).

"But since its coming to power, it is working in a planned manner to achieve the aim of establishing Hindu Rashtra…many Brahmanical Hindu-fascist organisations .. seriously are trying to implement their above-mentioned actual agenda with the aim of establishing Hindu Rashtra. In the name of cow protection, they are supporting the mass lynching of religious minorities and Dalits, which is growing and creating an atmosphere of terror." (CPI-Maoist, India).

"Despotic religious rule like fascism, like Nazism, has been imposed upon the Iranians, upon the people, and particularly against ethnic minorities like the Baloch, Kurd, Arab, Azeri, Turk and religious minorities like Sunni, Jews and the Christians" (Jondullah, Iran).

""In a message purportedly from its Dublin headquarters, the Provisional IRA said, in reference to its earlier accusations that Bradford had encouraged Protestant terrorists to murder members of Ulster's Catholic Irish nationalist minority, "armchair generals who whip up antinationalist murder gangs cannot expect to remain forever immune from the effects of their evil work." (PIRA, United Kingdom).

7.2.4   Collective targeting: other group (7204)

Collective targeting regarding a collective not captured by the three preceding categories. This can, in general, be any type of group that can be specified as a collective. Examples include groups within the caste-system in India, homosexuals, refugees, IDPs or similar. Note that some statements such as civilians, general population, etc. are excluded since they do not delineate a collective specific enough.

Examples:

"The violence continues and the assassination teams that the regime is sending to kill the refugees on the Sudanese-Chadian borders and in the camps of the displaced in Darfur continue to operate day and night" (JEM, Sudan).

""Everything about the Khomeini regime depends to some extent on the oppression of women. Whenever they feel threatened, they choose women as scapegoats," said Mujahedin spokesman Farid Suleimani. Javad Ghadiri, a veteran operations officer, said he thought women showed greater commitment to the struggle because of the Iranian government's gender policies."The mullah regime denies even the humanity of women. They stone them to death and make them wear the chador," he said" (MEK, Iran).

"But since its coming to power, it is working in a planned manner to achieve the aim of establishing Hindu Rashtra…many Brahmanical Hindu-fascist organisations .. seriously are trying to implement their above-mentioned actual agenda with the aim of establishing Hindu Rashtra. In the name of cow protection, they are supporting the mass lynching of religious minorities and Dalits, which is growing and creating an atmosphere of terror." (CPI-Maoist, India).

7.3 Call for collective targeting (7300)

Call for collective targeting is coded in the same manner as the category "Collective targeting/collective security" (and with the same sub-categories) but is coded in those instances where rebel groups are not fighting in defense of being targeted, but rather because they wish to

target another collective. Examples can include the stated wish to displace or destroy a certain ethnic or religious group. See above for examples on what is included in the available sub-categories.

7.3.1 Call for collective targeting: ethnic (7301)

Call for collective targeting regarding an ethnic group. Note that we use a wide definition of 'ethnic', thus encompassing the targeting of groups that are defined (or ascribed) a specific ethnicity or tribal identity (Acholi, Hutu, Tutsi, Nuer, Dinka etc.).

Examples:

""Its second-in-command called in a video last week for north African Muslims to "cleanse" their land of Spaniards and French." (AQIM, Algeria).

""We want no one else on our territory and we will fight for our true borders. The Croats must either move or die," he said." (Serbian irregulars, Croatia)

"The outlawed National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), said in a statement it had imposed a "ban" on the movement of Bangladeshi immigrants in Nagaland with immediate effect. "Bangladeshis are anti-Nagas and they need to be wiped out from Nagaland if we are to preserve our ethnic identity", the statement said. "Any Naga tribal found to be having matrimonial alliances with Bangladeshis will not be recognized and such violators will face immediate expulsion from the state". (NSCN, India).

"We have incited and urged the killing of Americans and Jews. That is true." (al-Qaida)

7.3.2 Call for collective targeting: political (7302)

Call for collective targeting regarding a political group. We here capture the targeting (real or imagined) of a specific political collective, such as members of political party, union, class etc.

Examples:

It also displayed leftist tendencies but was more pronounced in its separatist design when it declared it would fight for Manipur's independence and declared it would suppress "all counter-revolutionaries, Mayangs [outsider], neo-colonialist stooges and class enemies" and establish a classless society in Manipur." (PREPAK, India).

"O democrats, do not forget your persecution, we will fight you until there is not a single democrat left on earth, you will either return to Allah's religion or we will put you all to the bone with Allah's permission." (IS).

7.3.3 Call for collective targeting: religious (7303)

Call for collective targeting regarding a religious group. We here capture the targeting (real or imagined) of a specific religious collective, such as Christians, Sunni, Shia, or other religious group.

Examples:

"There will be no more Hindus, only Sikhs," says the so-called lieutenant-general of the Khalistan Commando Force and chief spokesman of the powerful Panthic Committee. "Even the word Hindu will disappear in India. They will all become Sikhs or they will be wiped out." (Sikh insurgents).

"The retreat of ex-Séléka elements from Bangui and the western parts of the country has sparked renewed attacks on the remaining members, associates, perceived supporters and members of Muslim civilian communities, who are now deliberately and systematically targeted by anti-balaka elements. These attacks involve killings, targeted assassinations, sexual violence, public lynching, looting and the destruction of property. Mob violence has reached unprecedented levels. Attacks have been publicly referred to by individuals claiming to represent anti-balaka elements as "cleansing operations". (anti-Balaka, Central African Republic).

"The Hour will not be established until the Muslims fight the Jews. The Muslims will continue killing them until the Jews hide behind stones and trees. Then the stone or the tree will say, "O Muslim, O slave of Allah, there is a Jew hiding behind me, so come and kill him"" (IS).

7.3.4 Call for collective targeting: other group (7304)
Call for collective targeting regarding a collective not captured by the three preceding categories. This can, in general, be any type of group that can be specified as a collective. Examples include groups within the caste-system in India, homosexuals, refugees, IDPs or similar. Note that some statements such as civilians, general population, etc. are excluded since they do not delineate a collective specific enough.

Examples:

""If the West intervenes, tens of thousands of Western soldiers would be killed. It would be total war, a war without mercy and without prisoners. We would poison their food and their water… There are no methods we would not use against them." (Serbian irregulars, Bosnia-Herzegovina).

""We are committed to the pledge of our military wing that there will be no peace for settlers of northern Zionist settlements if our people are not safe in their villages," (Hezbollah).

7.4 Military conduct (7400)

7.4.1 Military conduct (7401)
This issue is coded when rebel groups make specific demands asking for changes in specific actions or tactics (real or imagined) taken by a state's security forces (military, police, paramilitary, etc.). These actions, behaviors, or tactics should not, however, regard physical coercive actions aimed at humans (these would commonly be coded as part of Atrocities and abuses or Collective targeting).

The Military Conduct category includes actions such as: road blocks and other creations of checkpoints or security stations, house searches, the demolition of houses or other

infrastructure, the removal of programs of forced security measures (villages in security zones etc.), and forced recruitment. A key point is that rebel groups phrase this demand in terms of the tactics and conduct of the government (or associated militias).

This category does not include actions such as asking for the opponent to cease fighting, asking for a cessation of hostilities, asking for withdrawal to barracks, and asking the opponent to withdraw from a specific area.

Examples:

"3. Demand the abolishment of all military checkpoints in the FATA area." (TTP declaration)

"This criminal activity is part of the application of the dirty war deployed by the XI Brigade in the regions of Córdoba and Urabá. Members of the government army, counter-guerrilla forces and elite troops […] In the course of their action, they loot and destroy homes, rape women, assassinate leaders and popular fighters, and commit all kinds of outrages" (EPL, Colombia).

"An FRUD spokesman accused armed forces of deliberately using the population of these cities as human shields" (FRUD, Djibouti).

"The regime is violating international laws by conscripting very young children into the army." (OLF, Ethiopia).

7.5 Revenge/vengeance (7500)

7.5.1 Revenge/vengeance (7501)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group expresses that one of their reasons for engaging in conflict is revenge/vengeance for a specific event or series of events. Semantics are important for this issue. Words such as revenge, vengeance, to avenge should be present in the statement. Listing specific abuses and atrocities does not qualify (and is coded as Abuses and atrocities) unless the key words above are used in conjunction with an atrocity. Also NOTE that this issue is NOT coded in relation to specific attacks carried out for revenge. We are interested in revenge as a reason for the conflict at large, and not as explanations for tit-for-tat exchanges of attacks.

Examples:

"Both the MJP and the MPIGO say they are fighting to avenge General Guei's death and that they want President Gbagbo out of power."

"They are killing any Kurd they see. All these victims will not intimidate us, and will not make us surrender as Saddam thinks. We are determined to take revenge on this regime." (KDP, Iraq).

"The group's keenness to claim responsibility for each operation it carries out and its pledge to carry out more as part of what it calls "the battle for avenging the Muslims of Egypt" (Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis, Egypt).

8 Refugees, IDPs and prisoners (8000)

When a conflict has been of a particular duration issues concerning refugees/IDPs and prisoners tend to emerge. This category takes such issues into account. We do not concern ourselves with legal issues in this regard, for example whether or not someone is legally a refugee, a prisoner, or a prisoner of war. The rebel group's demands and how they formulate their demands takes precedence over such concerns.

8.1 Return of refugees/IDPs (8100)

8.1.1 Return of refugees/IDPs (8101)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group wishes for the return or resettlement of refugees or IDPs. A key attribute of this issue is identifying the plight of refugees/IDPs and wanting a change or action so that they may return to their place of origin to resettle.

Examples:

"d) Coordination and consolidation .of regional and international efforts to end the suffering of our refugees and displaced; and ensure … their repatriation to the original regions and villages." (NRF, Sudan)

"Immediately release our people from the idp camps and allow them to return to their places of origin in their villages inside arakan state and their houses rebuilt at the government's costs. " (ARSA Myanmar)

"The return of refugees to their land and to the communities from which they were expelled, with respect for their demands, as well as the demands of those displaced within the country." (URNG, Guatemala)

8.1.2 Non-refoulement of refugees/IDPs (8102)

Non-refoulement is a principle of international law, forbidding a country to send back to their home country (or place of origin) refugees/IDPs if they risk irreparable harms such as torture, inhuman treatment, punishment or prosecution at their place of origin. The principle of non-refoulement includes people who flee from armed conflict. Thus, this issue is coded whenever a rebel group states that they are against refoulement of refugees/IDPs. Rebels do not need to use this word. It is enough if they are against a return due to a concern about the safety of the refugees/IDPs. reasons of persecution.

Examples:

"A spokesman for "Aceh Merdeka" or the Free Aceh Movement, was quoted by AFP on April 8 as saying that the Acehnese villagers faced persecution and possible death if forced to return." (GAM, Indonesia).

"The KNU was also concerned civilian refugees had "recently been repatriated into war zones" - a reference to hundreds of Karen women and children reportedly pushed back into Burma this week by the Thai military." (KNU, Myanmar).

"Those refugees and legal residents from Ogaden swept up and extradited to Ethiopia by the Djiboutian regime have a clear and well-founded fear of persecution in Ethiopia. The fate of those individuals is therefore the responsibility of the Djiboutian government. The Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) condemns this heinous crime and calls on the international community to hold the government of Djibouti and the Ethiopian regime to account" (ONLF, Ethiopia).

8.2 Release of prisoners (8200)

8.2.1 Release of prisoners (8201)
This issue is coded whenever a rebel group wishes for the release of prisoners.

Examples:

"Hezb-i-Wahdat leader Abul Ali Mazari refused to hold talks with the government unless Rabbani first stepped down and there was an exchange of prisoners of war." (Hizb-i Wahdat, Afghanistan).

"The local news agency ZBIA, set up by Abdic backers, said their leader refused to meet the generals and would agree to meet only Mr. Izetbegovic He also demanded the Bosnian army release all prisoners taken in the Bihac area and that any negotiations be broadcast live on television and radio, the agency said." (Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia, Bosnia-Herzegocina).

"Casamance never dialogues and never negotiates under duress. It is therefore necessary to release all Casamarn political detainees: ais. Not one of them should stay in prison yet. It is a SINE QUA NON condition." (MFDC, Senegal).

CONFLICT RESOLUTION ISSUES

9 Negotiations, Ceasefires and Peace agreements (9000)
This theme of issues concerns the ways in which the rebel parties wish to resolve an ongoing conflict. We cover three general categories in the form of negotiations, ceasefires, and peace agreements.

9.1 Negotiations (9100)

9.1.1 Call for negotiations (9101)
This issue is coded whenever a rebel group states that they want to negotiate over the conflict's resolution. The category is a relatively open one, meaning that groups do not need to "demand" negotiations, but that a willingness to hold these or being "open" to negotiations is enough. What we wish to capture here are if groups see talks as a possibility and/or something they want vis-à-vis groups who are opposed to negotiations by not signaling a need or an openness towards these.

Examples:

"The rebel movement Unita called for peace talks with the government next year." (UNITA, Angola)

"FRUD repeated it was prepared to open negotiations with the government without any pre-conditions." (FRUD, Djibouti).

""The junta has been willing to negotiate since the first day. Not because its resources are scarce, or because it has personnel difficulties, that is not it. The junta is willing to negotiate because it is aware of the potential human loss, the material damage. In order to minimize this as much as possible, the junta believes the two sides should negotiate." (Military Junta for the Consolidation of Democracy, Peace and Justice, Guinea-Bissau).

9.1.2 Opposition to negotiations (9102)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group states that they are opposed to negotiations, ongoing or proposed.

Examples:

"In his latest reaction with regard to holding talks with Afghan government, Hekmatyar said that neither he nor his party has interest in holding dialogue with the government of Afghanistan," (Hizb-i Islami-yi Afghanistan)

""We can't waste time with negotiations while Gbagbo is taking advantage to reinforce his positions," secretary-general of the political wing of the rebel Patriotic Movement of Ivory Coast (MPCI) Guillaume Soro Kigbafori told Reuters in an interview." (MPCI, Ivory Coast).

""We have no reason to go there to talk with him when there is so much tension," (KIO, Burma).

9.1.3 Structure of negotiations (9103)

This issue is coded when a rebel groups demands certain structures of negotiations: ongoing or proposed. These demands should, however, concern the structure of negotiations and NOT the contents (i.e. which issues should be discussed). Typical examples of structures are: which parties should be included in the negotiations? Where should negotiations be held? Who should be the mediator? What order should negotiations take? The core attribute is making demands on how negotiations should take form and who should participate. Note that this category can be – and often is – coded in conjunction with other issues, such as wanting a change of mediator (Structure of negotiations) to get an international mediator (IFI: Foreign mediator/facilitator). Note, also, that preconditions for negotiations are not included, such as a group asking that prisoners be released before they will engage in a negotiating process.

Examples:

""We want the issue of the independence of Cabinda to be negotiated in Lisbon by the Portuguese government, the former colonial power and members of our movement," an official of the separatist group told Reuters in the Zairean capital Kinshasa." (FLEC-FAC, Angola).

"The participation of all political, economic, social and religious sectors in the negotiations is valuable and indispensable. Without that it will not be possible to solve the problems involved in the process." (URNG)

"It is obvious that without the full participation of the official Stepanakert in all the stages of negotiations it would be impossible to reach a comprehensive settlement of the Azerbaijan-Karabakh conflict. We will be consistent in the works implemented to restore the full format in the negotiations, expanding activities in all the interested instances." (Republic of Artsakh)

9.1.4 National dialogue (9104)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel groups makes a demand for some form of national dialogue initiative to decide on a state's future. A key attribute here is that such a dialogue/meeting does not predetermine the type of state that would follow in its wake, but rather that all/several parties should be engaged to discuss and decide on the governing system to come.

Examples:

"They also called for (a) an all-party "National Conference" followed by general elections" (LRA)

"We desire real peace, true democracy, human rights and the right to self-determination. To bring about these objectives, the Karen National Union would like to participate in a true National Convention" (KNU)

"Ethiopia's rebel Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) appealed on Thursday for a national dialogue to build on Ethiopia's peace deal with Eritrea and seek a comprehensive peace in the country and region" (OLF).

"The solution can be reached through a sincere dialogue and by peaceful, political means, for which reason we reaffirm the importance of the National Dialogue and of the National Dialogue's continuation, calling for increased participation and a greater diffusion of its reports and conclusions." (URNG)

9.2 Ceasefires (9200)

9.2.1 Call for ceasefire (9201)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands a ceasefire should be reached in the conflict. Unilateral ceasefires do NOT count. Instead the call should be aimed either at all parties to the conflict or at some party other than the rebel groups.

Examples:

"We order the immediate cessation of all conflicts between the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Croatian Defence Council (HVO). We call for the full support of the Croatian and Moslem people, because conflicts are useful only for the aggressor," (Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina).

"the Central Committee calls for an immediate and comprehensive cease-fire in the Gaza Strip and southern Lebanon" (Fatah).

The Lord's Resistance Army envoy, Dr. David Nyekorach Matsanga, said yesterday that he had talked to Kony, who asked him to appeal for a ceasefire."Kony called me and told me he wants to talk peace. I am calling upon President Museveni to call for a ceasefire. We should re-open the negotiations," (LRA, Uganda).

9.2.2 Call for implementation/abiding to ceasefire (9202)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands that a ceasefire should be abided to or implemented according to an agreement. Unilateral ceasefires do NOT count. The demand can be made in relation to either the full ceasefire or to 'parts' of it in the form of a specific geographic area.

Examples:

"the "security forces have not implemented the ceasefire and are continuing with crackdowns and search operations" (Kashmir insurgents).

"He also criticized the government panel for failing to implement items to which it agreed, such as the agreement on the cessation of hostilities between government and rebel troops" (MILF, Philippines).

"It is up to President Abd-Rabbuh Mansur Hadi to ensure that the cease fire is implemented on the ground" (Ansaallah, Yemen).

9.3 Peace agreement (9300)

9.3.1 Peace agreement implementation (9301)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel groups states that they wish for the implementation of a previously agreed upon peace agreement. A peace agreement is an agreement that addresses whole or parts of the incompatibility: i.e. it must be some form of political agreement beyond a ceasefire. It is coded irrespective of whether or not a peace agreement can truly be said to be implemented or not. The key component is that rebels are displeased with implementation. Note that it does not matter which part of a peace agreement the rebels ask for more/better/different implementation of: irrespective of such specificity we code it as peace agreement implementation and not as a new issue regarding the specific topic. For example, rebels in Mali have demanded that the cantonment part of a DDR peace agreement deal should be implemented. This is NOT coded as a demand for DDR, but as a demand for implementation of the peace agreement.

Examples:

"GAM stated: "We, ASNLF (GAM), feel that the Indonesian side is still not sincere in carrying out the clauses of the Agreement."

"The RCSS encourages the government to strictly adhere to the agreement and implement it accordingly" (RCSS, Burma).

"In the memorandum, the Séléka once again blames the power for the non-respect of various peace agreements signed between the government and the rebels, in particular the Libreville Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2008. "The various peace agreements (...) signed with the politico-military groups which have provided suitable solutions for global peace and the definitive end to the crisis are deliberately abandoned in oblivion", denounces the rebellion in this document. (Seleka, Cental African Republic).

9.3.2 Opposition to peace agreement (9302)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group states that they are opposed to a peace agreement. The rebel group can oppose a particular agreement or being against peace agreements in general. A peace agreement is an agreement that addresses whole or parts of the incompatibility: i.e. it must be some form of political agreement beyond a ceasefire.

Examples:

"Refuse future peace deals with the government of Pakistan." (TTP declaration)

"We denounce this private, illegal, exclusive... agreement, drawn up outside the Inter-Congolese Dialogue between the Kinshasa government and the MLC," the RCD and its allies said in a statement (RCD, Democratic Republic Congo).

"We reject the so-called Hebron security agreement, which does not provide the minimum conditions for the protection of our people" (Hamas).

"In its conclusion, the CNDD-FDD rejects the Arusha accord in its entirety and recalls that the national and international communities need to seek a negotiated peace settlement with sincerity and without pretence" (CNDD-FDD, Burundi)

""We are against signing any agreement with a military regime that does not favor democracy," the rebel leader told the Associated Press by telephone from a base in India's northeastern Nagaland state." (NCSN-K, Burma).

9.3.3 DDR issues (9304)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group states certain demands in relation to DDR (Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration). This can calls for, specific demands related to, or opposition to, a DDR process. We capture both ongoing and dealt with processes. DDR process is shorthand for all demobilization and reintegration processes. The main point is that these are issues that address disarmament, demobilization or reintegration. The demands can related to the rebel group itself or other rebel groups active in the conflict. Purges and changes to the security sector belonging to the state are coded as Restructure of military forces forces/Restructure of police forces.

Examples:

"The demands of its leaders in Bangui include the integration of antibalaka fighters into the army with appropriate ranks, demobilization packages, public work projects, and support to combatants who wish to reintegrate into the community." (anti-Balaka, Central African Republic).

"UFRA, which groups three Tuareg movements, abrogated the peace accord earlier this month. The rebels said that they wanted jobs and other social benefits before handing over the their guns in compliance with a disarmament timetable." (UFRA, Niger).

"According to opposition sources, the government side has proposed unilateral disarmament of the opposition's armed groups, and the opposition has suggested bilateral disarmament supervised by the UN, CSCE, Russia, Iran, Afghanistan and Kazakhstan." (UTO, Tajikistan).

10 Transitional justice and Liability (10000)

Issues under this heading are those that concern two larger spheres: transitional justice mechanisms and liability for actions committed during the conflict. These thus concern arrangements for post-conflict processes that relate not to rebel end-goals (which are commonly issues categorized under Conflict Goals) but rather to the restoration of societal relations.

10.1 Truth and reconciliation processes (10100)

10.1.1 Call for truth and reconciliation processes (10101)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands/calls for the creation of a truth, or truth and reconciliation commission (TRC, for short). A TRC is sometimes a very specific thing, what is coded in this category concerns, however, demands for any form of commission to find the truth about historic actions. Note, however, that such a commission's mandate should restricted to establishing the truth of matters, and not handing out legal punishment (that would be coded as Accountability and Prosecution). The demands for a TRC often include call for the set-up of the TRC.

Examples:

"Calls for the establishment of the independent international commission of inquiry; on the crimes committed by Mali since 1960 on the people of Azawad" (CMA, Mali).

"Frolina, has proposed for a general amnesty and formation of a truth commission to end the conflict in Burundi" (Frolina, Burundi).

"Francis Ona, says peace on the island can only come through reconciliation. But Mr Ona says the PNG government and its security forces are the obstacles to the reconciliation process." (BRA, Papua New Guinea).

"In order to ensure that the code of conduct is followed, and to monitor and investigate the status of the disappeared persons and prisoners, a powerful committee has to be formed with representation from national and international human rights organizations, major professional organizations / trade unions and civil society. " (CPN-M, Nepal).

"In the midst of this reality, we insisted that the important matter of the victims must be taken with sensible realism and adherence to the truth. Thus, under these reflections we proposed the immediate creation of a Commission of nationals and foreigners to study the history of the confrontation from the beginning of the violence, in order to prepare the material required to be able to address the agenda item with greater knowledge of dialogues referred to victims." (FARC, Colombia).

10.2   Liability (10200)

10.2.1   Accountability/prosecution/investigation (10201)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group demands that someone should be held accountable or prosecuted for actions taken (real or imagined). It could be an entire government, a person in government, or someone outside government. This category also includes demands for investigation. The reason for this is that groups calling for investigations of an incident (killing, massacre or something else) do so in order to hold someone accountable. Note that truth and reconciliation commissions is a separate category. Note that, in general, requests for revenge or vengeance are NOT coded as Accountability/prosecution, but has its own category. If a call for Accountability/prosecution also asks for an international court the issue will be coded in both categories (the second one being the IFI category).

Examples:

"Ending the unceasing genocide and prosecuting its perpetrators." (NRF, Sudan).

"Investigate and prosecute those responsible for the murder of Monsignor Oscar Arnulfo Romero and all those involved in the death squads" (FMLN, El-Salvador).

"It is an urgent necessity that the present Government honor what it has signed, and in order to return credibility and security to the negotiating process, the Government must demonstrate energy and firmness, clarifying immediately, with the corresponding legal dispositions, the flagrant violation of the right to life in the massacre of Xamán. This fact cannot go unpunished." (URNG)

"The insurgents, who want Vieira to stand trial for treason and corruption during his 19 years in power, claim that Lisbon had initially agreed to hand him over." (Military Junta for the Consolidation of Peace, Democracy and Justice, Guinea-Bissau).

10.2.2   Amnesties (10202)

This issue is coded when a rebel group demands amnesties should be provided for certain people or certain groups. Amnesty here entails that individuals or groups should be provided with impunity for any crimes committed during the conflict. The key attribute is the wish to remove people or groups from judicial accountability during the conflict.

Examples:

"The head of the self-proclaimed Luhansk People's Republic (LPR) Igor Plotnitsky, insists upon an urgent exchange of prisoners with the Ukrainian side, and on Kyiv adopting an amnesty law for the participants in the Donbas conflict." (LPR, Ukraine).

"Government radio said the rebels were optimistic about reaching a settlement with Robinson but that they also wanted immunity from prosecution." (Jamaat al-Muslimeen, Trinidad and Tobago).

"The PKK sees it compulsory to lift death penalties without a delay, realise a general amnesty encompassing all political prisoners including those of conscious, individuals carrying out political activity abroad and especially the armed forces in the mountains, in order to resolve the problem fundamentally and procure internal peace". (PKK, Turkey).

10.2.3   Recognition of wrongdoing (10203)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group wishes for a government to recognize wrongdoings or "crimes" committed by it. It also covers requesting the government to apologize for its actions. These actions can be real or imagined but should be phrased as having been an affront or a crime that needs redemption.

Examples:

"The militant All-India Sikh Students Federation issued a statement demanding that none of the newly electedmembers of parliament should take the oath until five demands had been met by the new government. The main demands were for a public apology by the government at the Golden Temple for the 1984 army operation and a promise of swift trials for those guilty of murder during the post-assassination riots." (Sikh insurgents, India).

"On the other hand, the FDLR has consistently raised demands that are non-negotiable for Kigali, such as recognition of a second genocide against the Hutu, and the opportunity to operate as a political party in Rwanda." (FDLR, Rwanda).

"The situation of plundering, discrimination and superexploitation imposed upon the indigenous majority should be recognized, assumed and corrected." (URNG, Guatemala).

10.2.4   Compensation/restoration (10204)

This issue is coded whenever a rebel group wishes for compensation or restoration from the government for 'crimes' committed, houses destroyed, or the like.

Examples:

"Coordination and consolidation .of regional and international efforts to end the suffering of our refugees and displaced; and ensure a fair compensation" (NRF, Sudan)

"Immediately release our people from the idp camps and allow them to return to their places of origin in their villages inside arakan state and their houses rebuilt at the government's costs. " (ARSA, Myanmar).

"The creation of a solidarity fund, supported by CEMAC, the European Union and our bilateral partners for the compensation of civilian victims of politico-military crises from 2002 to 2003 and from 2006 to the present." (CPJP, Central African Republic).

11   Actor characteristics operationalizations

The UCDP CID does not only contain conflict issues but also the characteristics of the groups making the demands/contesting the issues. The actor characteristics coded for each group are temporally invariant and capture the general geographic, religious, ethnic, and ideological orientation of groups.

The conflict issues in the dataset are all content neutral in the way that demanding a change in the system of government or the economic system captures only the demand for change and not what type of change is demanded; with some exceptions. For example, the issue redistribution of resources does not note if such redistribution is based on a socialist or capitalist logic. The actor characteristics data complements the conflict issues by identifying if a group seeks these changes in relation to a specific ideology, religion or ethnic group. It also provides information on the geographic orientation of a group, in the form of if claims/demands/issues are only sub-national or national in nature, or oriented towards, for instance, the global arena.

11.1   Ethnicity (ethnicity_1 through ethnicity_4)

The ethnicity variables capture the ethnic/communal orientation of a rebel group as per its own statements. Does the group state, or is it clear in other ways/from other sources that the rebel group either represents or purports to represent a specific ethnic group?

Note that the group represented/mobilized does not need to be a minority. Also note that these variables only capture if a group claims to represent/represent an ethnic group in a way that appears to be important for their cause. As an example, the CNDD-FDD in Burundi is composed mainly of Catholics. This is, however, not surprising seeing to how Burundi is mainly Catholic and this is not scored as the CNDD-FDD being based on Catholicism. In contrast, many rebel groups in Mali purport to represent and mobilize from the Tuareg group and specifically in favor of their 'interests'; they are subsequently scored as 'Tuareg' in the ethnicity variables.

There are four ethnicity variables (ethnicity_1 through ethnicity_4). Each variable specifies in string format which ethnicity/communal group a group purports to represent or mobilize/recruit from.

11.2   Geography (geography_1 through geography_4)

Is the group global, regional, national and/or subnational in its orientation? In other words, does the group make demands that deal with one or more of these different levels of analyses (they can make demands at all levels simultaneously)?

This variable captures if a group 'only' has demands for a specific region of a country to become autonomous, for instance, which entails a 'subnational' orientation. Groups that are oriented towards changing the governance of a whole state are commonly coded as having 'national'-level demands. Several groups, such as IS, have multiple orientations, stating demands on/related to both the state of a country ('national'), a full or parts of a region ('regional') and also a global Islamic revolution ('global').

There are four geography variables (geography_1 through geography_4). The code scheme below denotes the four different levels.

Global (1000)

Regional (2000)

National (3000)

Subnational (4000)

11.3 Ideology (ideology_1 through ideology_4)

Does the group state, or is it clear in other ways/from other sources that the rebel group either represents or purports to represent a specific or several specific political ideologies? We make no call as to whether or not a group is, for instance, truly Marxist, but here only code either what the group itself claims or how a group has been classified by other sources.

There are four ideology variables (ideology_1 through ideology_4). The code scheme below denotes the different categories available.

Socialism (1000)

      Maoist (1100)

      Communist (1200)

      Leninist (1300)

      Marxist (1400)

Decolonization (2000)

A group is coded as including decolonization in its ideology if it, in its language or in descriptions of it, make it clear that they see their struggle as one of decolonization. This can entail throwing out what is seen as a colonial power (Western Sahara as occupied by Morocco) but also in terms of arguing for the removal of "settlers" (as in much of Northeast India, where ethnic groups that are a majority in the country at large move to and settle in another region). The key here is that a group feels that they have either been colonized or that a state is conducting physical relocations to change the demography of a specified area. Wishing for foreigners to leave in general (such as removing foreign commercial interests) does not count, nor do general phrases regarding 'occupiers' being thrown out. It is key that phrasing regards an actual existence of colonizers or settlers, and not just foreign soldiers.

> Examples:
>
> "The Gwadar project has been planned in the interest of Punjabi and colonial powers and not for the welfare of Baloch people. It´s meant to bring demographic change in Balochistan; they want to bring in the Muhajirs –immigrants – and other people into Balochistan in order to unbalance demography. Gwadar is a death warrant for Baloch people."
>
> "the continued existence of their national homeland which is being confiscated and divided among Javanese colonialists settlers called

"transmigrants" // "According to the GAM figure, who was once imprisoned at the Tanjung Gusta Corrections Centre in Medan, the GAM has never committed arson and murders against or expelled Javanese, but has honourably asked foreigners, particularly ethnic Javanese, to return to their places of origin home first because the GAM is fighting for its independence"

Nationalism/conservatism (3000)

> Nationalist (3100)
>
> Kemalist (3300)
>
> Royalist (3500)
>
> Right-wing (3600)

Islamist (4000)

Anti-communist (5000)

Anti-Zionist (11000)

11.4   Religion (religion_1 through religion_3)

Does the group state, or is it clear in other ways/from other sources that the rebel group either represents or purports to represent a specific religious group as per the group itself? Note that the group represented/mobilized does not need to be a minority.

There are three religion variables (religion_1 through religion_3). Religion_1 specifies – when possible - the overarching religious orientation, and religion_2 specific branches or sects within the overarching category. Religion_3 specifies additional possible religious affiliations.

Muslim (1000)

> Sunni (1100)
>
> Shia (1200)

Christian (2000)

> Catholic (2100)
>
> Maronite (2200)
>
> Baptist (2300)
>
> Protestant (2400)
>
> Orthodox (2500)

Buddhist (3000)

Hindu (4000)

Sikh (5000)

Secular (6000)

Traditional (7000)

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