Coding Rules

Version 1.0

Basic Definitions

Definition of the Universe:
Country-years with autocratic government 1946-2010 in independent countries with more than a million inhabitants as of 2009.

Date of Coding: January 1 unless the coding rules explicitly say otherwise.

This means that the date for “regime beginning” is the calendar year after the start date of the event that marks the beginning of the regime. The reason for using this rule rather than following Cheibub et al. (who code as of Dec. 31) is that we want to be able to use institutional information for the year of regime collapse (in the Cheibub et al. data, the institutions of the final autocratic year are those of the regime that follows it, which is often democratic). Coding on January 1 also makes it possible to use all the data on coups rather than omitting coups in the first regime-year because we can’t tell whether they were coups that brought the regime to power or coups that changed leadership after seizure.

When gathering information, note actual dates. When coding, use status as of Jan 1.

Some cases have “0” years, that is, the year of seizure is included in the dataset (to make merging with the Cheibub et al. and other data easier), but these years should not be coded.

Definition of Autocratic Regime: A regime is a set of formal and/or informal rules for choosing leaders and policies. An important element of this set of rules is the identity of the group from which leaders can be chosen (e.g., in a regime led by professional military officers, the group from which leaders can be drawn is officers of very high rank).

Autocratic regime Autocratic regimes begin when any one of the following occurs:

- The government leader achieves power through some means other than a direct, reasonably fair competitive election in which at least ten percent of the population (equivalent to about 40 percent of the adult male population) was eligible to vote; or indirect election by a body at least 60 percent of which was elected in direct, reasonably fair competitive elections; or constitutional succession to a democratically elected executive.

  - Elections are not considered reasonably competitive if one or more large party is not allowed to participate; and/or if there are reports of widespread violence,
jailing, and/or intimidation of opposition leaders or supporters; and/or if there are credible reports of vote fraud widespread enough to change election outcomes (especially if reported by international observers); and/or if the incumbent so dominates political resources and the media that observers do not consider elections fair.

– Regimes are not coded autocratic if an elected executive is ousted by the military, non-constitutional legislative action, or popular pressure, but is succeeded by a constitutionally mandated successor and the successor behaves in accordance with the constitution. (Such governments may be unconstitutional, but they are not autocratic regimes because they continue to follow the democratic rules concerning succession, length of term, means of choosing the next executive, and legislative-executive relationship.)

• Or the government achieved power through competitive elections, as described above, but subsequently changed the formal or informal rules such that competition in subsequent elections was limited.

– Events and rule changes that should be coded as causing a transition from democracy to autocracy in electoral regimes:
  * Opposition parties representing more than 20 percent of voters banned or not allowed to run candidates in elections
  * Most opposition parties forced to merge with the ruling party
  * Legislature closed unconstitutionally
  * Reports of widespread violence and/or intimidation of opposition leaders or supporters; exclusion of opposition deputies from the legislature; the jailing of opposition leaders
  * Credible reports of vote fraud widespread enough to change election outcomes (especially if reported by international observers)
  * Annulment of election results.

– Start of autocracy dated from change in rules if formal rules are changed; from date legislature closed; from date of campaign in which violence was first reported; from election in which fraud reported; date when annulment occurred; date when deputies were excluded or when opposition leaders were jailed (but coded as of the following Jan 1).

– The following irregularities are not coded as autocratic:
  * Reports of vote buying (because it is very common in democracies)
  * Scattered reports of fraud
  * Fraud complaints by the opposition without supporting evidence or corroboration by neutral observers
  * Opposition boycott of election in the absence of other evidence of unfairness
• Or if competitive elections are held to choose the government, but the military either prevents one or more parties that substantial numbers of citizens would be expected to vote for from competing, or dictates policy choice in important policy areas (e.g., foreign policy in the Middle East). We label such regimes Indirect Military Rule.

• The start date for monarchical regimes is the first year of the dynasty if the country is independent; or the first year of independence.

• Once a country-year is coded as autocratic, successive years in the same country are coded as part of the same regime until one of the events identified below as ending a regime occurs.

**Autocratic regimes end when any of the following occur:**

• A competitive election (as defined above) for the executive, or for the body that chooses the executive, occurs and is won by a person other than the incumbent or someone closely allied with the incumbent; and the individual or party elected is allowed to take office. The end date is the election, but the regime is only coded as ending if the candidate or party elected is allowed to take power.

  – Remember that in cases of indirect military rule, the incumbent leader is the top military officer. If leaders of an indirect military regime change the rules such that all major parties and population groups are permitted to compete in fair elections, and the civilian winner is allowed to take office and to make policy in areas previously reserved for the military, code this change as democratization. The autocratic end date is the date of the election, but cases are not included unless the person election is allowed to take office.

  – If a country has both a popularly elected president and a PM chosen by the elected legislature, and it is not clear which has most political power, loss of either office by the incumbent party indicates the end of the autocratic regime.

• Or the government is ousted by a coup, popular uprising, rebellion, civil war, invasion, or other violent means, and replaced by a different regime (defined as above, as a government that follows different rules for choosing leaders and policies). Regimes should be coded as ending if:

  – Civil war, invasion, popular uprising, or rebellion brings to power individuals from regions, religions, ethnicities, parties, or tribes different from those who ruled before (i.e., the group from which leaders can be chosen has changed).

  – A coup (defined as the overthrow of the incumbent leader by members of the military of the regime being ousted) replaces the government with one supported by different regions, religions, ethnicities, parties, or tribes. If a coup simply replaces an incumbent general from one military faction with a general from another
without changing the group from which leaders are selected, code this as a leader change, not a regime change.

– Assassinations are treated like coups, i.e., if the assassinated incumbent is replaced by someone else from within the same ruling group, we do not code it as a regime end. If the assassinated incumbent is replaced by someone from a different group, as described above, we count the assassination as a regime end.

• Or the ruling group markedly changes the rules for choosing leaders and policies such that the identity of the group from which leaders can be chosen or the group that can choose major policies changes. Examples of regime changes implemented by leaders of the incumbent regime include:

  – The new regime leader after a regular autocratic succession (e.g., the dictator dies and is succeeded by his constitutional successor) replaces the most important members of the ruling group with individuals drawn from a different region or ethnicity and changes the basic rules of how the regime functions.

  – Transitions from military rule to indirect military rule, which occur when military regime leaders allow the election of a civilian government that has many of the powers of a democratic government, but military leaders maintain substantial control over leader and policy choice, either by preventing parties that large numbers of citizens would be expected to vote for from competing or directly controlling the selection of important cabinet posts and policies. Indirect military regimes are coded as distinct from the prior military-led regime because many in the leadership are chosen through fair elections, and these elected officials control important aspects of policy; they are not simply puppets. Transitions from indirect military rule are coded from the date of the election of the civilian government.

    * Transitions from indirect military rule to other forms of autocracy occur when the elected civilian junior partner of an indirect military regime is removed from office by the senior military partner or some other group. These changes usually occur via coup.

*Country-Years Are Excluded from the Data Set If:

• Country is democratic (defined as above)

• Country has a provisional government charged with conducting elections as part of a transition to democracy, if the elections actually take place and the candidate and party elected are allowed to take office; or if a provisional government that is following the rules set up as part of a transition to democracy exists on Jan 1, but is ousted before the transition is complete by a group different from the one that held power before the provisional government was established; or if the provisional government remained in power on Jan 1, 2010, the last date coded
- To be considered transitional, the majority of top leaders cannot have been top members of the prior autocratic regime during the months preceding the change in leadership.

- If instead of holding elections, the provisional government converts itself into the “permanent” government, it is coded as autocratic.

- If elections are held but elected leaders are not permitted to take office, coding depends on who prevents them from taking office and who governs instead.
  * If actors from the old regime prevent those who won elections from taking office and return to power themselves, the provisional government and the one that succeeds it are coded as a continuation of the autocratic regime that preceded the provisional government.
  * If actors from the old regime prevent those who won the elections from taking office but replace them with a government drawn from a different group than the one that ruled before (e.g., the military that used to rule replaces elected civilians with a civilian whose base of support lies partly outside the military), we code the new government as a new autocratic regime.
  * If actors from the old regime prevent those who won the elections from taking office but the old regime is ousted by a group that forms a government based on a different support group, using different rules for choosing leaders and policies, we code the new government as a new autocratic regime.

- Country is not independent

- Cases are excluded if foreign troops occupy the country, and the occupier governs it; or if occupation is the only thing that prevents the country from being coded as democratic. Cases are not excluded if a foreign power influences the (autocratic) government but allows it to make many decisions.

- Country has no government or has multiple governments, no one of which controls most of the resources of the state.
  - Cases are not excluded because of civil war if one government still controls significant territory and the capital.
Autocratic Regime Features

1. *Identity of Regime Leader*  
   (Jan 1 Leader)
   - Family name of regime leader on Jan 1. Usually the regime leader is the executive, but if the literature treats someone other than the executive as the leader, use his name (e.g., Somoza when a puppet occupied the Nicaraguan presidency). If in doubt about which is the family name or if more than one leader has the same family name, include other names.
     - If the case is a monarchy, then the regime leader is the monarch or some other member of the royal family, e.g., the regent, not the PM (unless a hereditary PM permanently dominates the monarch, as in Nepal during the 1940s).
       * During periods when a monarch is incapacitated and a regent or regency council is appointed to replace him, code the regent or the most powerful member of the regency council as the regime leader.
     - If a regime has been included in the data set despite having fair elections because the military limits competition or controls important policy choices (that is, the regime is coded as indirect military rule), we treat the highest military authority as the regime leader, not the elected president or PM.
   - Code 9 if there is no leader on Jan 1.

2. *Does a foreign government impose the regime?*  
   (foreign imposd)
   - Coded 1 if one or more foreign power(s) have large numbers of troops stationed in the country in order to interfere in the country’s internal affairs, and/or observers believe that a foreign power controls who or what party can hold executive office (e.g., Poland after World War II).
     - Do not use this code when foreign troops occupy a base for strategic or security reasons and do not seem to interfere in the country’s internal affairs (e.g., the U.S. in South Korea in the 21st century).
     - Use this code only when evidence suggests that foreigners were decisive in bringing a regime or leader to power or maintaining him/it there.
     - If foreign troops intervene to prevent a coup or victory by an insurgency and then withdraw, code the year of the intervention as 1, but decide how to code subsequent years depending on whether the foreign power continues to intervene.
   - Coded 0 otherwise

3. *How Did the Regime Achieve Power?*  
   (seizure)
• Coded 1 if the armed family and followers of a leader established the rule of his family, either replacing a previous ruling family within a territory or extending the leader’s territory to encompass lands previously controlled by other families.
  – Use this code if a person who had been the hereditary leader, or one of the claimants to hereditary rule, of all or part of the national territory was handed power by the colonial ruler at independence.
  – “Hereditary” is defined as a system of leadership succession controlled by one extended family, regardless of the specific rules that determine the selection of individuals.
• Coded 2 if regime achieved power by military coup
  – “Military coup” is defined as a seizure of power by officers from the armed forces of the ousted regime.
  – Use this code even if the military hand formal power to the civilian of their choice.
  – Use this code if the executive of the previous regime seems to have handed power voluntarily to the military.
  – Do not use this code for seizures by insurgencies led by ex-officers.
  – Handovers to the military in the context of popular uprisings, where the military acts as a facilitator of regime change, are coded as popular uprisings not coups.
• Coded 3 if power is seized by insurgents, revolutionaries, or combatants fighting a civil war. Insurgency, revolution, and civil war are defined as involving armed conflict (to distinguish them from popular uprisings).
• Coded 4 if power achieved through foreign imposition or invasion
  – Use this code if the colonial power handed over to a monarch whose family had not been hereditary rulers of the territory (or part of it) gaining independence.
  – Use this code if the colonial power played a dominant role in choosing someone to rule who had not been democratically elected (or chosen by an elected body) in a pre-independence election, and who had not led the insurgency or popular uprising that led to independence.
  – Use this code if a leader who had not been democratically elected remained in office after the country became independent from the Soviet Union or other previously encompassing state.
• Coded 5 if regime brought to power by popular uprising
  – Popular uprising defined as widespread, mostly unarmed demonstrations, riots, and/or strikes
• Coded 6 if government was originally elected in elections (including elections before independence) that met the criteria for being coded as democratic (described above), but subsequently changed the rules or repressed the opposition such that subsequent elections were no longer fair and competitive.
– Use this code if the governing group originally achieved power in an election considered fair, even if one party won nearly all votes because it was associated with a very popular cause, e.g., independence.

– Criteria that indicate a transition to autocraticism even if the same incumbent remains in office:
  * Opposition parties representing more than 20 percent of voters banned or prevented from fielding candidates
  * Opposition parties forced to merge with the ruling party
  * Legislature closed unconstitutionally, even if it is later reopened after the elimination of some of its members
  * Widespread reports of violence and/or intimidation of opposition leaders or supporters; exclusion of opposition deputies from the legislature; arrest of opposition leaders
  * Credible reports of vote fraud widespread enough to change the election outcome. Reports are credible if they come from international or other neutral observers
  * Annulment of election results or refusal to step down after losing an election

• Coded 7 if regime leaders dramatically altered the rules for selecting leaders and policies, changing the groups included in the ruling coalition (the reason it is coded as a new regime). For example, transitions between direct and indirect military rule are coded as rule changes because the military rules alone under direct military rule, but it shares power with elected civilians during indirect military rule.

4. Role of the Regime Leader
(leader role)
The purpose of this item is to identify how the regime leader achieved office and/or whose support put him there. Code the way he originally achieved office and then continue using the same code until either he loses office or the regime loses power.

In cases that seem to fall on the margin between two codes, e.g., when a ruling party and the military jointly select a leader, ask yourself which one’s support could the incumbent not survive without.

• Coded 0 if the incumbent was chosen by a clerical body
• Coded 1 if the incumbent originally achieved executive office in a democratic election prior to “autocraticization.”
  – Use this code if the incumbent first achieved office in a democratic election before independence.
• Coded 2 if the incumbent was chosen by a dominant party that controlled or supported the regime (regardless of whether he was also elected by voters)
– Use this code if the ruling party played an important role in the selection, even if other elite actors such as top military officers also influenced it.
– Use this code for leaders selected by the dominant party of an encompassing state before independence (e.g., leaders who remained in office after independence from the Soviet Union).
– Use this code if the leader had been an important party leader before accession to power, even if you find no description of party decision making at the time of succession.
– Do not use this code if the leader formally selected by the dominant party was a close relative of the former leader of the same regime and has achieved his high party position because of this relationship (e.g., Kim Jong Il in North Korea).
– Use this code if the incumbent was chosen by a party that became the regime support party after independence, if he was not also elected in a democratic election before independence and if he did not lead an insurgency that overthrew the previous regime or spearheaded the fight for independence.

- Coded 3 if the incumbent was chosen by a military governing body
  – Use this code if one faction of the military ousts another and most officers acquiesce in the change of leadership.
  – Use this code for cases in which you have coded the Minister of Defense or Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces as the leader in an indirect military regime.
  – Do not use this code if the individual selected by the military is a close relative of the former leader of the same regime (e.g., Faure Gnassingbe in Togo).

- Coded 4 if the incumbent led or was chosen by an insurgency that overthrew the previous regime.

- Coded 5 if the civilian incumbent succeeded a previous civilian autocratic leader in a routine autocratic succession other than via party selection
  – Use this code when a civilian vice president or other constitutional successor succeeds a president after his death, illness, or retirement.

- Coded 6 if the incumbent is an interim or provisional leader, or if he was chosen by a provisional government

- Coded 7 for cases that don’t fit any of the other codes. These include situations in which you cannot identify a body upon which the leader depends for support, situations in which the incumbent discarded or marginalized his initial supporters within a year (demonstrating he did not depend on their support), situations in which one faction of a ruling group eliminates or marginalizes others, and for incumbents selected in chaotic situations in which the groups involved in the regime seem to be changing.
– Use this code for father to son (or other close relative) transitions in regimes that lack rules about hereditary succession.
• Coded 8 if foreigners played a dominant role in choosing the incumbent
• Coded 9 if the current leader achieved his position via traditional hereditary succession.
  – Use this code when a ruling family chooses the regime leader, even if he is a regent or relative who takes control informally when the family loses confidence in the person who is formally monarch.
  – Do not use this code for non-traditional transitions between relatives (e.g., Papa Doc to Baby Doc Duvalier in Haiti).

5. Is the Regime Supported by a Dominant Party?
(support party)
Parties, to paraphrase Schumpeter, are teams organized to gain and/or maintain control of government. They are organized networks of individuals, linked to the regime leader or ruling group, that perform many of the following functions: convey the government’s messages and rules to citizens; report problems and opposition to the center; mobilize voters if elections are held; mobilize citizens into campaigns, work, defense, and spying on each other; recruit and/or vet the loyalty of officials; recruit and/or vet candidates if elections occur; staff administrative offices; and distribute goods and services to citizens. Some parties perform more of these functions than others. “Movements” that perform some of these functions should be coded as parties.

• Coded 1 if a party exists for the explicit purpose of supporting the regime or its leaders
  – A “regime support party” is defined as a party that seeks to maintain the current regime, that is, the current set of rules for choosing leaders and policy.
  – If a government that came to power in fair elections has “autocraticized” the regime, code the party in power after autocraticization as a regime support party.
  – Usually the regime support party is a single party, but there are a small number of cases (e.g., Algeria and Guatemala in certain years) in which competition among members of the regime elite is organized into competing parties linked to current or potential leaders who all support the regime. Code these cases as having a support party.
  – Code “fronts” made up of a dominant party and smaller, dependent allied parties (such as those in many communist regimes) as regime support parties.
  – If no party supports the regime at its inception, but a party is later created or coopted to support it, code 1 beginning Jan 1 after party creation or cooptation.
  – If the regime is supported by an organized movement that seems to behave like a party, code it as having a party.
Regime support parties often begin as mergers of pre-existing parties or groups; however, not all coalitions of groups that support the regime for awhile are regime support parties.

* Initial mergers that stabilize into organizations performing some of the functions of parties should be coded as parties.
* Do not code coalitions of multiple separately organized groups that maintain their own separate leaderships as regime support parties. If leaders of the separate groups can maintain their autonomy and capacity to lead their followers out of the alliance, it is not a regime support party.
* Do not code short-lived or fluid coalitions, into and out of which groups migrate, as regime support parties, even if they were organized by the regime leader or his close allies.
* Do not code parties organized by individuals temporarily close to the dictator to support their own policy positions or political careers as regime support parties (e.g., Russian parties in the early 1990s).

- Coded 0 if the regime has no support party
  - If multiple parties exist (as in oligarchic regimes, some monarchies, and some military-led dictatorships), but no party is identified as the regime support party, code as 0. A party that supports a particular leader or legislative faction is not a regime support party; nor is a party that supports a monarch at a particular time but could end its support without undermining the monarchy.

6. *Party Leader*

If the regime is ruled by a “front”, code the leader of the most important party in the front. If you find no information about whether the chairman or the secretary general is more important, code the chairman as party leader. If the Political Handbook lists the regime leader as first in its list of party leaders and you find no mention of a different party leader in the country specialist literature, code the regime leader as the party leader.

- Coded 1 if the regime’s leader also leads the support party
  - If the regime leader is chair of the party and someone else is the secretary general, code the chair as the party leader unless country experts treat the secretary general as the more important figure in the party.
- Coded 2 if the party leader is a relative of the regime leader
- Coded 3 if the party leader was chosen by the regime leader (but is not the regime leader or a relative) or by a party executive committee chosen by the regime leader
- Coded 4 if the regime leader influences or controls the selection of party leaders
- Coded 5 if the party leader is not the regime leader or his relative, and a process of selection by party elites or someone else is described by experts or observers that
seems independent of the regime leader. Evidence that suggests independence includes:

- Party leader has been in office longer than the regime leader
- Regime leader’s faction or candidate loses a party election
- Speculation among observers during the months before a party congress about who the next party leader will be

- Coded 7 if the party leader was imposed by foreigners
- Coded 8 if, despite looking hard, you can find no mention of a party leader either in the country specialist literature or in the Political Handbook of the World
  - Use this code if there is no party leader on Jan 1
- Coded 9 if there is no support party or movement that was coded above as a party

7. Party History

If the regime is ruled by a “front”, code the history of the most important party in the front. “Most important” is defined as meaning the one with the greatest ability to determine outcomes, not necessarily the one with the most popular support or most cabinet ministers.

- Coded 1 if the party that supports the regime had existed prior to the seizure of power and participated as an important party (received more than ten percent of the vote) in competitive elections in a democratic or oligarchic regime, before or after independence
  - Use this code for parties that had participated successfully in electoral politics even if they were later banned.
- Coded 2 if the party that supports the regime existed prior to the seizure of power and was organized to lead the revolutionary, insurgent, or nationalist movement that eventually achieved power, but had not attracted more than ten percent of the vote in competitive elections
- Coded 3 if the party that supports the regime was organized to run for office in the election just prior to the incumbent’s accession to executive office (e.g., party organized by Hugo Chavez to support his initial presidential campaign).
- Coded 4 if the party that supports the regime had supported a prior autocratic regime but had not participated in earlier democratic or oligarchic elections.
- Coded 5 if the party that supports the regime was created after the seizure of power
- Coded 6 if the party that supports the regime had existed for some time before the regime acceded to power, but either played a minor role in electoral politics or was prohibited from competing (whether because it was banned or because the prior regime did not have competitive elections) and did not lead an insurgency
- Use this code for parties that achieved power with foreign help or via alliance with the military, not by virtue of their ability to organize electoral support or organize an effective insurgency.

- Coded 9 if there is no support party or movement you coded above as a party

8. **Party Penetration of Society**
   (local orgzns)

   For this item, consider all members of “fronts” as part of the ruling party.

   - Coded 1 if the party that supports the regime has local-level branch organizations that do something that links party militants to ordinary citizens (e.g., they organize competitive local election campaigns; or they distribute fertilizer or other important inputs to local farmers; or Committees for the Defense of the Revolution perhaps under a different name actively enforce regime policy).

   - Use this code if the regime holds local elections or legislative elections that permit any kind of competition, whether among candidates of the ruling party or among different parties.

   - Use this code if country specialists report that patron-client networks extend into every village in all regions of the country.

   - Coded 0 if the party that supports the regime has little effect on citizens

      - Evidence of little effect includes:

         * Reports of few active branches
         * Reports of cadres’ unwillingness to spend time outside the capital
         * Reports by country specialists that the party is more formal than real
         * You find no mention of the party except that it was organized to support the president’s election campaign

   - Coded 9 if there is no support party or movement that you coded above as a party

9. **Party’s Control of Office**
   (party mins)

   For this item, consider all members of “fronts” as part of the ruling party.

   In determining proportions, use ministers other than the regime leader as the denominator.

   If no cabinet exists on Jan 1, code the first cabinet formed after Jan 1.

   - Coded 2 if all cabinet ministers (except possibly those often given to military officers, e.g., Defense, War, Navy) are ruling party members

      - Use this code for legal single-party regimes (that is, where other parties are banned) if you find no information to the contrary mentioning independent technocratic or apolitical cabinet ministers.
• Coded 1 if some but less than a third of cabinet members are not party members. You may need to rely on words like “few” or “most” if you can’t find the party ID for cabinet members.
• Coded 0 if a third or more of cabinet positions go to non-party members. Again, you may need to rely on words like “most”.
• Coded 7 if the regime leader occupies more than two cabinet positions himself, regardless of how many ministers are party members
• Coded 8 if you can find the identity of cabinet members, but neither the Political Handbook nor other sources identify them by party
• Coded 9 if there is no support party or movement that you coded above as a party

10. Are Most Members of the Party Executive Committee (Politburo, Standing Committee, Presidium) Civilian? (excom civn)

If there are multiple organs said to make policy when the party congress is not in session, code the more important one as the party executive committee. In general, the fewer members, the more powerful.

Include the party chair as part of the executive committee when coding this.

• Coded 2 if all members of the party executive committee are civilians or had been officers in insurgent or revolutionary armed forces before the regime’s accession to power
  – If the insurgent armed forces were transformed into the official military after the seizure of power, and the individuals in question have remained in the military, code as 2 for the first five years after the regime’s accession to power. After that, code them as regular military officers.
• Coded as 1 if the party executive committee includes a mix of civilians and active or retired officers from the formal armed forces or the police or security services, but less than two-thirds are active or retired officers
• Coded 0 if at least two-thirds of the party executive committee are active or retired officers in the formal armed forces or members of the police or security services
• Coded 7 if the party executive committee is dissolved and new members have not been chosen as of Jan 1.
• Coded 8 if you find no mention of a party executive committee despite looking hard.
• Coded 9 if there is no support party or movement that you coded above as a party

11. Is the party Multiethnic and Multiregional? (multiethnic)

This item aims at identifying regimes with a narrow regional or ethnic base.
For this item, consider all members of “fronts” as part of the regime support party. Usually the code will remain the same from year to year within a regime, but sometimes a new leader purges a multiethnic party of most officials from a region or tribal group.

- Coded 1 if party leadership includes substantial representation from all major (defined as 10% or more of the population) ethnicities, regions, religions, etc.
  - Use this code if the country is ethnically homogeneous and contains no politically important regional differences. The rationale for this is that the absence of politicization of differences that exist within all countries depends partly on government policies.
  - Use this code if you find no mention of ethnic, regional, religious, or clan differences in the country specialist literature.

- Coded 0 if party leadership is dominated by people from only certain ethnicities, regions, clans, or religions. Rely on experts. You won’t usually find quantitative data on the ethnicity of party leaders.
  - Do not use this code for cases in which small (less than ten percent of the population) ethnic, regional, or religious groups are excluded.
  - Do not use this code for situations in which one ethnic or regional group has more than its “fair” share of leadership positions, but its share seems to depend mostly on which groups had more access to education before independence or which groups produced the first insurgent leaders, rather than intentional choices by political leaders in the current regime.

- Coded 8 if you find no information about party leadership
- Coded 9 if there is no support party or movement that you coded above as a party

12. *Is Succession Controlled by the Party?*

(heir party)

If the regime leader is the first for this regime, this item refers to his constitutional successor or heir apparent. If the incumbent regime leader is not the first, this item refers to the succession that brought the current leader to office.

The purpose of this item is to help identify which groups are most important in regime leaders’ support bases.

For regime leaders other than the first, code this item with reference to the time at which the current regime leader achieved office, and then use the same code for every year of the same man’s rule thereafter. For first regime leaders, code heirs apparent as of Jan 1 after they are identified (by either observers or actors), and then use the same code as long as they remain heirs apparent. If a different heir apparent is later identified, code him as of Jan 1, and then thereafter as long as he remains heir apparent.

If there is a formal successor, e.g., vice president, but country specialists identify someone else as the likely successor, rely on the country specialists for your coding.
• Coded 1 if the regime’s first leader is in power and his heir apparent is a high party official but not a close relative of the leader; or if the current leader is not the regime’s first leader and he was himself a high party official (but not a close relative of a previous leader in the same regime) before achieving the top office.
  – The heir apparent need not be the formally identified successor, e.g., vice president; he may be the person experts and journalists expect would succeed the incumbent.

• Coded 0 otherwise
  – Use this code if the regime has no support party; or it has a support party, but the successor is/was not a high party official.
  – Use this code regardless of whether the heir is a high party official if the heir apparent or successor is/was a close relative of the leader he is expected to succeed (or succeeded).
  * Close relatives include parents, spouses, grandparents, children (including adopted and step-children), grandchildren, spouses of children and grandchildren, siblings, spouses of siblings, half-siblings, spouses of half-siblings, uncles, spouses of aunts, and first cousins.

• Coded 9 if the first leader remains in power, there is no formal succession procedure, and country specialists cannot identify an heir apparent or a procedure that would be expected to select the successor (e.g., the next highest ranking military officer or a party procedure for dealing with succession).

13. *Is Succession Controlled by the Regime Leader and His Family? (heir family)*

The purpose of this item is to help identify which groups are most important in regime leaders support bases.

For regime leaders other than the first, code this item with reference to the time when the current regime leader achieved office, and then use the same code for every year of the same man’s rule thereafter. For first regime leaders, code heirs apparent as of Jan 1 after they are identified (by either observers or actors), and then use the same code as long as they remain heirs apparent. If a different heir apparent is later identified, code him as of the next Jan 1, and then thereafter as long as he remains heir apparent.

If there is a formal successor, e.g., vice president, but country specialists identify someone else as the likely successor, rely on the country specialists for your coding.

• Coded 1 if the current regime leader is a member of the same family as a leader before him within the same regime; or if the current regime leader is the first for this regime, and his formal successor or heir apparent is from his own family.
  – Family is defined as close relatives, as above.

• Coded 0 otherwise
• Coded 9 if the first leader remains in power, there is no formal succession procedure, and country specialists cannot identify an heir apparent or a procedure that would be expected to select the successor (e.g., the next highest ranking military officer or a party procedure for dealing with succession).

14. **Is There Opposition in the Legislature?**  
(leg competn)

This question refers to who occupies seats in the legislature, not who runs in elections. A legislature is defined as a body capable of enacting laws that is different from the executive (e.g., military ruling councils that combine executive and legislative functions are not legislatures.) Purely advisory bodies are not legislatures.

If a constituent assembly also functions as a legislature in the sense of passing ordinary laws, or if it continues meeting after producing a constitution, count it as a legislature. Otherwise do not count it. “Elected” in this item refers to direct, national elections, not selection of deputies through indirect elections by lower-level bodies.

The regime support party, if one exists, is the same as the one coded as “1” in Item 10. Any party that was not coded as “1” in Item 10 is, for the purpose of coding this question, an “opposition” party, even if you read that deputies from it supported the dictator. In other words, for this item, “opposition” means only “not part of the regime support party or front”.

If there are two houses and only one is elected, code the elected one; if there are two elected houses, code the lower one.

Code the years between regular elections using the seat distribution immediately after the election unless you read that deputies have been excluded or have disappeared from the legislature, deputies have changed parties, or that parties that once formed part of the front have deserted it. If any of these changes have happened, code the new distribution of seats on Jan 1 after the change.

On Jan 1 of each year, code the legislature that exists on that date (even if it has not met yet because of very recent elections or has not met recently because the constitution does not prescribe yearly meetings). This means that if a legislature that was elected prior to the beginning of the current regime exists and is allowed to function, you should code it. If, however, only a selected or small number of the legislators elected before the current regime came to power are allowed to continue in office, code the legislature in existence as appointed (code 7) since its members have in effect been chosen by regime leaders.

When coding a holdover legislature elected during a previous regime, opposition refers to deputies from parties other than the current regime support party, which might be different from the ruling party when they were elected.

If a legislature is elected and meets but is then closed, code it during the time it meets according to the codes below. Beginning Jan 1 after the legislature is closed, code the
country-year as having no elected legislature (code as 8) until new legislative elections take place.

- Coded 0 if the legislature includes 25% or more deputies from “opposition” parties elected in competitive elections, regardless of whether it also includes independents. “Opposition” can include deputies who were originally elected as candidates of the support party but who have split from it to form or join other parties. (Include any appointed deputies and independents in the denominator.)
  - Use this code for legislatures elected during dictatorships not allied with a support party that allow pre-existing parties to compete in legislative elections. In other words, if the dictatorship is not supported by a party (coded 0 in Item 10), all parties are “opposition” parties.

- Coded 1 if the legislature includes some deputies from opposition parties elected in competitive elections but less than 25% (regardless of whether it also includes independents). (Include any appointed deputies and independents in the denominator.)

- Coded 2 if the legislature includes independent deputies elected in competitive elections but not deputies from opposition parties. Use this code if all deputies are independents, that is, if parties are banned or candidates are not allowed to identify themselves by party.

- Coded 3 if all deputies in the legislature are from the ruling party or front, but some or all were elected in competitive, multi-candidate elections.

- Coded 4 if the legislature includes deputies from parties closely allied with the regime support party (sometimes called Front parties) that ran on separate lists, but not real opposition parties or independents.

- Coded 5 if all deputies were chosen in uncompetitive elections in which only one candidate or list per district was allowed to run.
  - Use this code if all deputies in the legislature are from the ruling party even if other parties were allowed to run in the election.
  - Use this code if one party swept pre-independence elections in which other parties were allowed to run.

- Coded 6 if the national legislature is selected indirectly, that is, if deputies are chosen by lower level bodies, or a hierarchy of bodies, the lowest level of which is elected.

- Coded 7 if most or all members of the legislature were appointed by regime leaders

- Coded 8 if there is no legislature
  - If no legislature exists, or if an existing legislature is closed after the seizure of power, code as 8 from Jan 1 of the first year without a legislature until Jan 1 after the first legislative election.
– Use this code for the Jan 1 following an annulled election unless the preexisting legislature continues to function after the annulled election, and then for subsequent years until Jan 1 after a new election is held.
– Use this code for the Jan 1 following the closure of a legislature, and then for subsequent years until Jan 1 after a new legislative election is held.

15. Do the Regime Leader’s Relatives Occupy High Government, Party, or Military Posts? (leader relatvs)

• Coded 1 if none of the regime leader’s relatives occupy very influential offices in the government, ruling party, or military
  – “Relatives” are defined as including spouses, parents, grandparents, children (including adopted and step children), grandchildren, siblings, half-siblings, uncles, aunts, half-uncles, half-aunts, first cousins, and the spouse of all of these.
  – Use this code if you find no mention of relatives in the secondary literature.
• Coded 0 if one or more of the regime leader’s relatives occupy high offices in the government, ruling party, or military.

16. Is the Regime Leader a Civilian? (leader civ)

• Coded 1 if the regime leader was a civilian before he came to power.
  – Do not use this code for officers who retired in order to take control of government or for officers who had been forced to retire, jailed or exiled by a previous government and then were put in office by those who seized power.
  – Use this code for monarchs unless they had been career officers before being named as successors.
• Coded 2 if the regime leader was an officer in an insurgent or revolutionary force immediately before coming to power.
  – For this item, “insurgent” refers to an armed opposition force that maintained itself for more than a couple of weeks and included some troops in addition to men who had been under the military command of the rebellious officer. In other words, do no code the leaders of rebellions by factions of the military as insurgents.
  – Quite a few insurgent officers were once regular military officers, but code them as insurgent officers if that was the experience closest in time to the seizure of power.
• Coded 0 if the regime leader was (1) a soldier or officer immediately before coming to power or (2) a recently (within 5 years) retired, cashiered, jailed, or exiled soldier or officer in the formal armed forces or security service who had not joined an insurgency
This code aims to identify leaders with a previous career in the military institution. Do not code as “0” men whose careers had been mostly civilian but who were later given high military or police rank by an earlier leader of the regime you are coding, either because they were his close relatives or to consolidate control over security or succession. Code relatives who have spent their careers in the military and built up a support base there (e.g., Tachito Somoza) as “0”, but code relatives who have been given ranks as honorifics or just prior to succession (e.g., Bashar Asad) as “1”.

17. Is Succession Controlled by the Military?

The purpose of this item is to help identify which groups are most important in regime leaders’ support base.

For regime leaders other than the first, code this item with reference to the time at which the current regime leader achieved office, and then use the same code for every year of the same man’s rule thereafter.

For first regime leaders, code heirs apparent as of Jan 1, after they are identified (by either observers or actors), and then use the same code as long as they remain heirs apparent. If a different heir apparent is later identified, code him as of Jan 1, and then thereafter as long as he remains heir apparent.

Coding decisions about heirs apparent should refer to their backgrounds at the time they are chosen.

Codes for non-first leaders refer to what they were doing before accession or being chosen as heir, so they do not change during an individual’s time in office as regime leader.

- Coded 1 if the current regime leader is not the first regime leader and was a civilian (but not a relative of the prior leader in the same regime) before his accession to office; or if the current regime leader is the first for this regime and his formal successor or heir apparent is a civilian (and not a relative).
  - For this item, “civilian” is defined as a person who had been neither an active duty military officer nor a leader of the insurgency that brought the regime to power during the five years prior to being chosen as regime leader or successor.

- Coded 2 if the current regime leader is not the first regime leader and was an officer in the insurgent or revolutionary force (but not a relative of the prior leader of the same regime) that brought the regime to power; or if the current regime leader is the first for this regime and his formal successor or heir apparent was an officer in the insurgent or revolutionary force (and not a relative of the current leader) that brought the regime to power.
  - If the insurgent armed forces were transformed into the official military after the seizure of power, and the individual in question has remained in the
military, code as “2” if he acceded to power or was identified as heir apparent during the first five years after the regime’s accession to power. After that, code him as a regular military officer.

- Coded 0 if the current regime leader is not the first regime leader and is now or had been an officer in the formal armed forces or security service during the five years before he was chosen regime leader (but is not a relative of the prior leader of the same regime); or if the current regime leader is the first for this regime and his formal successor or heir apparent is an officer in the formal armed forces or security service (but not a relative of the current leader).
  - If the insurgent armed forces were transformed into the official military after the seizure of power, and the individual in question has remained in the military, code as 2 if he acceded to power during the first five years after the regime’s accession to power. If he came to power or was identified as heir apparent after that, code him as a regular military officer.

- Coded 8 if the regime leader is not the first in this regime and is a relative of an earlier leader of the same regime; or if the regime leader is the first and his heir apparent is a relative.

- Coded 9 if the regime’s first leader is in power, there is no formal successor, and country specialists cannot identify a probable successor.

18. Are Most Members of the Cabinet Civilian? (cab civ)
This item is for the purpose of helping to identify the regime leader’s base of support. In this item, “civilian” is defined as a person whose main career has been outside the military or security service.

In determining proportions, use ministers other than the regime leader as the denominator (unless the regime leader holds a ministerial post).

If no cabinet exists on Jan 1, code the first cabinet formed thereafter.

- Coded 2 if members of the cabinet other than those who occupy the ministries of defense, war, army navy, etc., are civilians or officers in a former insurgency.
  - If insurgent forces are integrated into or replace the established military after the regime’s accession to power, classify former insurgent officers as insurgents for the first five years after they become regular military, police, or security officers. After that, classify them as regular military.

- Coded 1 if the most important members of the cabinet are civilians or insurgent officers, but some other than those who occupy the traditionally military ministries are officers in the military, police, or security forces. (Same 5 year condition as above.)
“Most important” defined as prime minister (if one exists), interior or state, and at least one other besides Defense that the literature mentions as important in a particular country, e.g., the ministry that deals with oil in oil exporting countries.

If you find statements like “8 of 14 ministers were civilian”, but do not find specific portfolios identified, code those in which the majority are civilian as “1”.

• Coded 0 if the most important members of the cabinet are active duty or recently retired military, police, or security officers. (Same 5 year condition as above, same definition of “important” as above.)

  • If you find statements like “8 of 14 ministers were officers”, but do not find specific portfolios identified, code those in which the majority are military as “0”.

• Coded 8 if the regime leader himself occupies more than two ministerial posts, regardless of whether the rest are civilian or military.

19. *If the regime Has a Support Party (coded 1 in Item 10), Does the Party Exercise Control over the Military?*  
(party milit)

“The military” refers to the formal military of the regime currently in power, regardless of whether it was originally an insurgent army.

The party’s level of control is likely to change over time.

• Coded 5 if the party imposes commissars, party advisers, or some kind of party committee on military units or garrisons. The task of these commissars is to insure ideological correctness and loyalty in the officer corps and to report dissenting views. Code as 5 any party organization that carries out these tasks at the battalion, unit, or garrison level.

• Coded 4 if the party influences the military, but does not impose commissars or committees.

  • Use this code if officers can help their careers by being party members.

• Coded 3 if the party interferes with the military, and the military also has substantial influence in the party.

  • Use this code when the institutions seem intertwined, and neither one seems stronger than the other.

• Coded 2 if country specialists report no party interference with the military, and the military appears to have some professional autonomy from the regime leader, that is, if the regime leader rarely interferes with promotions or postings.

  • Use this code if you find no discussion of the party with reference to the military.
• Coded 1 if the military seems to control the party.
  – For example, use this code if the military regime’s ruling body (e.g., Military Command Council) transforms itself into or also serves as the dominant part of the party executive committee.

• Coded 8 if the regime leader seems to control both the party and the military, and neither of these institutions seems to control the other.
  – Evidence that the regime leader controls the military includes but is not limited to:
    * The regime leader or a close relative is the real active duty commander of the army or armed forces (not just the formal or constitutional commander)
    * The regime leader promotes his supporters and retires or jails officers who disagree with him
    * The regime leader has personal control of the security service
    * Most of the highest military officers come from the regime leader’s family, clan, minority group, or home region

• Coded 9 if the regime is not led by a party or lacks a military

20. If the Regime Has a Support Party (coded 1 in Item 10), Does the Regime Leader Choose or Have Veto Power over Most Members of the Party Executive Committee (politburo, standing committee, etc.)?
  (party excom)

• Coded 2 if country specialists describe some real competition for seats on the party’s executive committee; or if individuals identified with a faction other than the one that supports the regime leader have seats on the party executive committee
  – Use this code if country specialists describe a party as internally “democratic”.
  – Use this code if country specialists mention that the regime leader cannot dismiss or retire certain individuals because they have important support bases either in the party or society.

• Coded 1 if the faction that supports the regime leader dominates the party executive committee, but country specialists describe no process by which the leader chooses, dismisses, or vetoes its members

• Coded 0 if country specialists say that the regime leader chooses or vetoes members of the party executive committee
  – Use this code if country specialists describe the party or its executive committee as dependent on the regime leader.
- If you can’t find other information, use this code if country specialists report that the regime or party leader has dismissed a member of the executive committee because he opposes a policy or is seen as a rival.

• Coded 8 if you find no mention of the party executive committee despite looking hard.
• Coded 9 if the regime is not supported by a party

21. Date the Regime Leader Currently in Office Became the Country’s Leader
(ldr 1st year)

• Fill in the year in which each leader identified in col I began his term in office. Code as of Jan 1 after the leader came to office for the span of consecutive years after the first, regardless of whether the regime was then autocratic. Use the same code for all consecutive years of each leader.

- The purpose of this item is to avoid truncating the time in office of those leaders who came to power before the autocratic regime began, e.g., in a democratic election or before 1946.
- If the leader achieved office before independence, code as of Jan 1 after independence.
- For leaders who came to power when or after the regime did, this is simply the first year the leader’s name appears in the data set.
- For leaders who came to power before the start date of the regime, code as of Jan 1 after the individual actually become leader of the country or after the country became independent.

22. If the Regime Has a Support Party (coded 1 in Item 10), Do Country Specialists Describe the Party Executive Committee as a rubberstamp for the Regime Leader?
(party rbrstmp)

• Coded 1 if country specialists indicate that the party executive committee has some policy independence from the regime leader. Reports of policy debates within the party elite indicate independence.
• Coded 0 if country specialists describe the party executive committee as a rubberstamp or if they use other language to describe it as having no autonomy from the regime leader. If country specialists describe a party in this way at one time, code it as 0 throughout that leader’s time in office unless you find evidence to indicate that the party has gained greater autonomy.
  - Use this code if the leader disbands the executive committee.
• Coded 8 if you find no mention of the party executive committee despite looking hard, or no mention of the leader’s relationship to it
• Coded 9 if the regime is not supported by a party
23. *Regime Leader's Past Experience*  
(ldr exper)

In coding this item, you may want to refer to the codes for “leader role” and “seizure”, though the codes will not match for all cases. The leader whose experience you are coding is the same one identified in Col I of the first country-years spreadsheet.

This item helps identify the regime leader’s base of support, so you should code on the basis of the regime leader’s most important career experience as that is where he is most likely to have developed his most useful support network.

Use the same code from the leader’s accession to his ouster or the end of his regime.

- Coded 1 if the regime leader was/is an active duty or retired general or other top officer in the formal military prior to (within 5 years of) his accession to power (and he had not been part of the insurgency that brought the regime to power during the five years prior to his accession, and he is not a relative of the prior leader in the same regime). Code based on his rank before accession.
  - Use this code if he was/is a colonel in a military in which colonel was the top officer, or if he is/was a colonel and also chief of staff or commander-in chief.
  - Do not use this code if the leader is a close relative of an earlier leader in the same regime.
  - Do not use this code for leaders whose main role in the military was as political commissar or who were parachuted into the military to try to insure its loyalty or prepare for succession.

- Coded 2 if the regime leader is/was a lower ranked officer or NCO in the formal military prior to (within five years of) his accession to power (and he had not been part of the insurgency that brought the regime to power during the five years prior to his accession, and he is not a relative of the prior leader in the same regime). Code based on his rank before accession.
  - Do not use this code if the leader is a close relative of an earlier leader in the same regime.
  - Do not use this code for leaders whose main role in the military was as political commissar.

- Coded 3 if the regime leader was one of the leaders of an armed insurgency that brought the regime to power (and he is not a relative of the prior leader in the same regime).
  - Use this code for leaders whose experience just before the regime’s accession to power was in an insurgency, regardless of whether they had been officers in the formal military before joining the insurgency.
  - If the insurgent armed forces were transformed into the official military after the seizure of power, and the individual in question has remained in the military, code as 3 if he achieved office during the first five years after the
regime’s accession to power. If he achieved office after that, code him as a regular military officer (code 1 or 2).

- Use this code for leaders whose roles in party-led insurgencies included leadership in the armed wing, but not for leaders who were officers in the insurgency but whose only role was in the party’s political wing.

- Coded 4 if the regime leader’s prior career was as a leader in a party organized to run in competitive democratic or oligarchic elections (and he is not a relative of a prior leader in the same regime).
  - Use this code if the leader achieved power initially via competitive elections before or after independence, regardless of whether he was also once an officer. For subsequent leaders from a party that was once elected in competitive elections but has since become the regime’s support party, code as 5.
  - Do not use this code for men who had at some point led a party that ran in competitive elections but achieved their current position via insurgency (e.g., Museveni).

- Coded 5 if the regime leader’s career has been within the regime’s support party (and he is not a relative of a prior leader in the same regime).
  - Use this code for leaders whose role in party-led insurgencies included little involvement with the armed wing.
  - Use this code for leaders whose earlier career was in the regime support party of the (autocratic) country that occupied or ruled the country being coded before independence (e.g., ex-communist leaders in countries that gained independence from the Soviet Union).

- Coded 6 if the regime leader was chosen by prior regime leaders because of competence or loyalty, and he was not an officer, not a leader of an insurgency, and not an important party figure before achieving office (e.g., Salazar in Portugal).
  - Use this code for leaders who were selected by outgoing colonial powers but who had not won democratic elections before independence, had not led anti-colonial insurgencies, and were not hereditary rulers of all or part of the territory.

- Coded 7 if the regime leader is a close relative of a prior leader of the same regime, who was not himself a hereditary monarch.
  - Use this code regardless of whether the leader was also a high military officer or high party official.
  - Do not use this code for relatives who succeeded to leadership positions before the regime’s accession to power or before independence.

- Coded 8 if the regime leader is a member of the traditional ruling family and was chosen in the way that is traditional for the tribe or country in question.
  - Use this code for traditional rulers of territories who were handed power by outgoing colonial rulers.
• Coded 9 if the regime leader does not fit any of the other codes

24. If the Regime Leader Is/Was an Active Duty or Retired Military/Security Officer or NCO before Accession to Office, What Was His Rank before Achieving Power? (milit rank)
Use the same code from the leader’s accession to his ouster, death, or 12/31/2010.
If the regime came to power via insurgency, do not treat the first leader as a military officer (even if he was an officer in an insurgent armed force that subsequently became the official military of the new regime) unless he had remained in the military of the ousted government or been retired or dismissed from it without joining the insurgency (perhaps because he was in jail). If the insurgent armed force becomes the formal military of the new regime or is integrated into it and a subsequent leader comes from this new force, treat him as a military officer.

• Coded 3 if the regime leader was a general, admiral, or other highest ranking officer
• Coded 2 if the regime leader was a colonel, but colonel was the highest rank in the country; or he was a colonel and was also chief of staff or commander in chief.
• Coded 1 if he was a colonel of a military that included generals
• Coded 0 if his rank was major or below
• Coded 9 if the regime leader is not an active duty or retired military officer.
  – Use this code if the regime leader led an insurgency, even if he had been an officer in the formal military before joining the insurgency.
  – Use this code if the regime leader has an honorific rank acquired because he is a relative of a previous dictator in the same regime but has not actually had a career in the military.

25. If the Regime Leader Is/Was an Active Duty or Retired Military/Security Officer or NCO before Accession to Power, is there a procedure for regular succession or leadership rotation within the military-led government? (rotation)
If the regime came to power via insurgency, do not treat the first leader as a military officer (even if he was an officer in an insurgent armed force that subsequently became the official military of the new regime) unless he had remained in the military of the ousted government or been retired or dismissed from it without joining the insurgency (perhaps because he was in jail). If the insurgent armed force becomes the formal military of the new regime or is integrated into it and a subsequent leader comes from this new force, code him as a military officer.

• Coded 1 if the regime includes a procedure for regular succession or rotation of the executive among military officers
Rigged elections as a procedure through which military officers are chosen for the presidency should be coded “1” if the president is coded as the regime leader in col I, and the presidency changes hands as a result of these elections. Use this code if a succession procedure is in place, even if a leader dies or is ousted before the end of his agreed upon term.

- Coded 0 if there is no procedure for rotating the leadership among military officers.
- Use this code if a military leader fails to abide by the rotation procedure, beginning Jan 1 after he failed to step down at the end of his agreed upon term.
- Use this code if the law or constitution is changed to allow the current leader to remain in power beyond a term limit, beginning Jan 1 after the legal change.
- Use this code if, despite looking hard, you find no mention of succession or rotation.
- Use this code if a leader from the military remains in power more than five years and you find no mention of succession or upcoming elections.
- Use this code if a leader originally from the military has “civilianized” the regime, but remains in power.

- Coded 8 if the regime leader is an active duty or retired military officer, but he achieved power without the help of the military
- Coded 9 if the regime leader is not an active duty or retired military or security officer

26. If the Regime Leader Is/was an Active Duty or Retired Military/Security Officer or NCO before Accession to Power, is there a routine method or institution for consulting other top officers about policies and other decisions? (mil consult)

If the regime came to power via insurgency, do not treat the first leader as a military officer (even if he as an officer in an insurgent armed force that subsequently became the official military of the new regime) unless he had remained in the military of the ousted government or been retired or dismissed from it without joining the insurgency (perhaps because he was in jail). If the insurgent armed force becomes the formal military of the new regime or is integrated into it and a subsequent leader comes from this new force, code him as a military officer.

- Coded 1 if the regime includes a consultative body in which officers are represented, or if country specialists describe some other routinized method of consultation. Consultation should include officers from all or most services, not just the one from which the ruler comes. Descriptions of disagreements or policy debates within the military’s ruling council are evidence of a consultative body.
- Coded 0 if the military leader does not consult with other officers, or if he only consults with individuals identified by country specialists as his own close allies.
- Use this code if country specialists describe the regime leader as making decisions without consultation, as having consolidated personal power, or as relying on family members or a small coterie of close advisers.
- Use this code if the regime has been civilianized, and the regime leader consults with few officers.

- Coded 8 if the regime leader is an active duty or retired military/security officer, and you find no mention of how decisions are made
- Coded 9 if the regime leader is not an active duty or retired military/security officer

27. *If the Regime Leader Is/Was an Active Duty or Retired Military/Security Officer or NCO before Accession to Power, has he refrained from creating a political party to support himself and the regime? (milit party)*

This question is about the regime’s support party, not about the regime leader’s personal adherence to a party.

If the regime came to power via insurgency, do not treat the first leader as a military officer (even if he as an officer in an insurgent armed force that subsequently became the official military of the new regime) unless he had remained in the military of the ousted government or been retired or dismissed from it without joining the insurgency (perhaps because he was in jail). If the insurgent armed force becomes the formal military of the new regime or is integrated into it and a subsequent leader comes from this new force, code him as a military officer.

Codes for this item should be consistent with codes for “Support Party” and “Party History”.

- Coded 3 if the regime leader’s supporters are not organized in a party
- Coded 2 if the regime leader allies with a pre-existing party, which becomes the regime’s support party, after his accession to office. Use this code from Jan 1 after the alliance meaning the time when the party became the regime’s support party, not the time when the leader personally joined it to the end of the regime or the Jan 1 after the party alliance is dissolved.
- Coded 1 if the regime leader or a close ally creates a party to support the regime after his accession to office. Use this code from Jan 1 after the creation of the party to the end of the regime or the Jan 1 after the party is dissolved.
- Coded 0 if the regime leader’s supporters were organized into a party prior to his accession to power, and that party now supports the regime.
- Coded 9 if the regime leader is not an active duty or retired military/security officer
28. *Does the Officer Corps of the Regime-Year You Are Coding Include Officers from More Than One Ethnic, Religious, or Regional Group (in Heterogeneous Societies)?*  
(mil ethnic)  
This may change over time.  
If the only military force in the country is formally a national police force or national guard, code it as the military.  
- Coded 2 if high ranking officers come from most of the larger, politically salient ethnic, religious, and regional groups  
  - Use this code if the society contains no politically salient ethnic, religious, or regional differences (same rationale as above).  
- Coded 1 if the society contains politically salient ethnic, religious, or regional differences, and one or a few regions, ethnicities, or religions are substantially overrepresented in the officer corps, but it also includes some high ranking officers from different backgrounds.  
- Coded 0 if the society contains politically salient ethnic, religious, or regional differences, but nearly all high ranking officers come from one or a few regions or groups.  
- Coded 9 if the country has no military or its military is being formed but is still very small, or if most officers are foreign

29. *Are Merit and Seniority the Main Bases for military promotion rather than loyalty to the regime leader or ascriptive characteristics?*  
(mil merit)  
Use the same codes for a leader’s entire time in office unless observers specifically mention changes in the leader’s promotion strategy.  
- Coded 2 if country specialists do not report that the regime leader promotes officers loyal to himself or from his ethnic, tribal, regional, or religious group, or that he forces officers not from his group into retirement for political reasons.  
- Coded 1 if country specialists report promotions of top officers loyal to the regime leader or from his group, but not widespread use of loyalty as a criterion from promotion or retirement.  
- Coded 0 if country specialists report promotions of large numbers of officers loyal to the regime leader or from his group, or large numbers of forced retirements.  
- Coded 9 if the country has no military or its military is being formed but is still very small, or if most officers are foreign.

30. *Has the regime leader had dissenting officers or officers from other partisan, ethnic, regional, religious, tribal, or clan groups murdered or imprisoned, either without a trial or after a trial regarded as unfair by country specialists or journalists?*
• Coded 1 if no officers of the military or security services have been imprisoned or executed without a reasonably fair trial

• Coded 0 if regime leaders murder military or security service opponents, or jail or execute them without a reasonably fair trial. Begin coding on Jan 1 after officers have been murdered, jailed, or executed, and continue coding as 0 until the current leader is ousted or the regime ends unless something you read leads you to believe that the leaders way of dealing with the military has changed.

  – Rely on country specialists and/or journalists for judgments about whether arrests for plotting or treason trials are government responses to real events. Do not use this code if the evidence leads you to believe that the person tried for treason really did try to overthrow the government by violent means and was given a reasonably fair trial.

• Coded 9 if the country has no military or its military is being formed but is still very small, or if most officers are foreign

31. Has the regime leader held a plebiscite to legitimate or consolidate his rule? (plebiscite)
A plebiscite is defined as a popular vote in which either only one candidate runs for executive office or voters are asked to choose “yes” or “no” in answer to questions about regime continuation, e.g., a vote on a constitution that provides a legal bases for the continuation of a regime that came to power illegally. Do not code referenda on constitutions that do not extend or ratify the regime leaders time in office as plebiscites. Do not code uncontested legislative elections as plebiscites.

Code as of Jan 1 after the first plebiscite and then continue using the same code until the regime ends or 2010.

  • Coded 1 if no plebiscites on the regime leader’s occupancy of the executive or the continuation of the regime have been held.

  • Coded 0 if one or more plebiscites have been held

32. Succession controlled by clan, tribe, or ethnic minority (heir clan)
The purpose of this item is to help identify the regime leader’s support base.

If the regime leader is the first of this regime, this item refers to his constitutional successor or heir apparent. If the incumbent regime leader is not the first, this item refers to the succession that brought the current incumbent to office.

  • Coded 1 if ethnic, regional, clan, or tribal identities are important in the politics of the country and the current regime leader is not a member of the same clan,
tribe, or ethnic group as the previous leader in the same regime; or if the first regime leader remains in office and the heir apparent is not a member of the same clan, tribe, or ethnic group as the regime leader

- Coded 0 if ethnic, regional, clan, or tribal identities are important in the politics of the country and the current regime leader is a member of the same clan, tribe or ethnic group as the previous leader in the same regime; or if the first regime leader is still in office and the heir apparent is a member of the same clan, tribe, or ethnic group as the regime leader

- Use this code if the leader being coded is not the first and came from the same family as the previous leader of the same regime; or if the leader being coded is the first and his heir apparent is from the same family.

- Coded 8 if observers say the country is ethnically and religiously homogeneous or that ethnic, regional, clan, or tribal identities are not important in politics

- Coded 9 if the first leader is in power, there is no constitutional successor, and observers cannot identify an heir apparent

33. Does access to high office depend on the personal favor of the regime leader? “High office” can include cabinet ministers, heads of important commissions (e.g., electoral tribunals), heads of important state agencies (e.g., state-owned oil industries), heads of security services, high ranking military officers, or membership in the ruling party executive committee.

This item aims to distinguish situations in which institutions such as the military or dominant party have procedures for determining who receives important posts or for identifying a small number of eligible individuals from situations in which leaders have very wide discretion. All political leaders, even democratic ones, have some discretion over top appointments. The item aims to identify cases in which the leader is unusually unconstrained by institutions or other political actors.

- Coded 0 if country specialists describe the regime leader’s discretion over appointments to high office, if they describe frequent purposeful rotation of offices by the regime leader, or if relatives of the regime leader occupy more than one of the kinds of positions described in the question.

- Coded 1 if country specialists describe party or military procedures for choosing the occupants of these offices, or if they describe other individuals or groups as having influence or veto power over appointments, or if you find no mention of the regime leader’s discretion despite looking hard.

34. Creation of paramilitary forces, a president’s guard, party militia, or new security forces outside the established military chain of command

(paramil)
This item aims to identify situations in which the regime leader has created an armed force loyal to him personally as a way of counterbalancing the formal military.

If more than one kind of paramilitary force exists or is created in a country-year, use the lowest code that applies.

- Coded 3 if no paramilitary forces have been created
- Coded 2 if paramilitary forces are created to fight on the government’s side during civil wars or insurgencies (e.g., ORDEN in El Salvador, anti-communist paramilitaries in Thailand), or to carry out other tasks the military or security service wants accomplished. Code as 2 every subsequent year after the creation until the paramilitary force is disbanded or integrated into the regular military, or the regime ends.
- Coded 1 if a party militia or other irregular armed force organized by the regime support party has been created. Code as 1 every subsequent year after the creation until the militia is disbanded or integrated into the regular military, or the regime ends.
- Coded 0 if the regime leader creates a paramilitary force, a president’s guard, or new security forces apparently loyal to himself. Code as 0 every subsequent year after the creation until the paramilitary force is disbanded or integrated into the regular military, or the regime ends.
  - Use this code if you read that a military or paramilitary force has been recruited primarily from the regime leader’s tribe, home region, or clan; or that they report to him; or that they are newly garrisoned in the presidential palace.

35. *Does the regime leader personally control the security apparatus or political police? (secty app)*

This question aims to help identify regime leaders with unusual capacity to threaten other elite political actors.

- Coded 2 if the ruling party controls the security apparatus; or if it is controlled by an individual other than the regime leader who is not dependent on the regime leader’s favor
- Coded 1 if the security apparatus remains under the control of the formal military or the police carried forward from an earlier regime
- Coded 0 if the regime leader has personal control over one or more security services
  - Any of the following should be taken as evidence that the regime leader controls a security apparatus:
    * Statements by country specialists or journalists that he does
    * The regime leader directly appoints the head of a security service, especially if the person appointed is not from the military/police, or is from the military but his appointment ignores the normal military hierarchy
• The regime leader creates a new security force
• A relative of the regime leader heads a security force
• Someone described by country specialists or journalists as a friend or close ally of the regime leader heads the security force
  – If there is more than one security service, use this code if the regime leader controls one or more of them.

• Coded 9 if, despite looking hard, you find no mention of the political police, security apparatus, or other service tasked with controlling internal subversion or opposition to the regime

36. Elections for the regime leader (ldr elect)

Remember that the regime leader is not always the formal executive. In coding this item, your answers should refer to the individual identified as the “regime leader” in col I of the first country-year spreadsheet. Constitutional successors after an incumbent’s death, incapacity, or voluntary retirement should be coded as though the incumbent were still in power, but be suspicious about retirements. If you have doubt about whether a retirement was voluntary, code it as the replacement of one leader by another.

• Coded 7 if the leader was directly elected or chosen by a legislature elected during a prior democratic regime (and the regime has subsequently “autocraticized” under his leadership). Use this code from Jan 1 after the regime’s accession to power until one of the following happens: another leader replaces the current one for a reason other than constitutional succession after the incumbent’s death, incapacity, or voluntary retirement; the leader subsequently wins another election (which will be coded following the rules below); seven years pass after the regime’s accession to power under the same leader and without a new executive election; or the regime ends.
  – Use this code if the leader was elected in fair competitive elections or by an elected legislature before independence.
  – After seven years have passed without an executive election, code as “1” until another election occurs or the regime ends.

• Coded 6 if the leader was elected in multiparty or multicandidate elections after the regime achieved power. Use this code from Jan 1 after the election until one of the following happens: another leader replaces the current one for a reason other than constitutional succession after the incumbent’s death, incapacity, or voluntary retirement; the leader subsequently wins another election (which will be coded separately); seven years pass under the same leader and without a new executive election; or the regime ends.
  – After seven years have passed without an executive election, code as “1” until another election occurs or the regime ends.
• Coded 5 if the leader was chosen by a legislature or constituent assembly elected in multiparty elections after the regime achieved power. Use this code from Jan 1 after the election until one of the following happens: another leader replaces the current one for a reason other than constitutional succession after the incumbent’s death, incapacity, or voluntary retirement; the leader subsequently wins another election (which will be coded separately); seven years pass under the same leader and without a new legislative election and executive selection; or the regime ends.
  – After seven years have passed without another legislative election/executive selection or another executive election, code as “1” until another election occurs or the regime ends.

• Coded 4 if the leader was chosen by a legislature, constituent assembly, or electoral college that was either partly elected (whether in multiparty elections or not) and partly appointed or was indirectly elected; or was chosen in elections in which opposition candidates were permitted but opposition parties were not. Use this code from Jan 1 after the election until one of the following happens: another leader replaces the current one for a reason other than constitutional succession after the incumbent’s death, incapacity, or voluntary retirement; the leader subsequently wins another election (which will be coded separately); seven years pass under the same leader and without a new executive selection procedure; or the regime ends.
  – After seven years have passed without another executive selection or another executive, code as “1” until another election/selection occurs or the regime ends.

• Coded 3 if the leader was chosen in a direct or indirect election in which he was the only candidate. Use this code from Jan 1 after the election until one of the following happens: another leader replaces the current one for a reason other than constitutional succession after the incumbent’s death, incapacity, or voluntary retirement; the leader subsequently wins another election (which will be coded separately); seven years pass under the same leader and without a new executive selection procedure; or the regime ends.
  – Use this code regardless of whether no other candidates were allowed or no other candidates ran despite being allowed.
  – Use this code if a plebiscite was held on whether the president should continue in office.

• Coded 2 if the regime leader was directly elected (regardless of whether he faced competition) or chosen by an elected legislature during an autocratic regime prior to the beginning of the current one. Use this code from Jan 1 after the current regime’s accession to power until one of the following happens: another leader replaces the current one for a reason other than constitutional succession after the incumbent’s death, incapacity, or voluntary retirement; the leader subsequently wins another election (which will be coded separately); seven years pass under
the same leader and without a new executive selection procedure; or the regime ends.

- Use this code if the regime leader was elected in an undemocratic election or chosen by an undemocratically elected legislature before independence.

- Coded 1 if the regime leader has not been elected and was not chosen as monarch by a ruling family using traditional rules

- Coded 0 if the regime leader was chosen on the basis of traditional rules by a ruling family

- Use this code if a colonial power handed office to the hereditary ruler of all or part of a territory at the time it became independent.

37. Nominations for the legislature (leg noms)

This item is primarily about interference with nominations, that is, the regime inner circle’s control over which individuals representing what interests can get into the legislature. It aims at figuring out whether legislators who appear to represent opposition really do.

Legislatures are defined as bodies that have the formal power to make laws, even if in fact they only rubberstamp laws produced by regime leaders. Consultative councils, that is, groups that advise the ruler but do not have formal law-making power, are not legislatures. Treat constituent assemblies as legislatures if they also pass ordinary laws or if they continue functioning after producing a constitution.

Code this item as of Jan 1 after candidates are nominated (if the legislative election is then actually held). Continue using the same code until the next legislative campaign; seven years have passed since the last legislative election; or the regime ends.

- Coded 5 if a legislature that was elected during a previous democratic regime (that is, a government not included in this data set) exists and is allowed to function

  - Use this code if the current legislature was chosen in competitive elections before independence.

- Coded 4 if opposition parties or independents run in legislative elections and regime insiders do not interfere with opposition/independent candidate selection; and the ruling party selects its candidates in a process that allows some influence by local party leaders or members of factions other than that of the regime leader, or there is no regime support party

- Coded 3 if opposition parties or independents run in legislative elections and the ruling party or regime leader exercises veto power over opposition/independent candidates’ ability to run, interferes with opposition candidate registration, or in other ways makes it difficult for opposition candidates to run; and the ruling party selects its candidates in a process that allows some influence by local party
leaders or members of factions other than the regime leader’s, or there is no regime support party

– Use this code if no opposition parties are allowed to run, but multiple candidates from the ruling party compete.
– An opposition party boycott can be considered evidence that the ruling party interferes with their candidates’ ability to campaign.

• Coded 2 if opposition parties or independents run in legislative elections and the ruling party or regime leader exercises veto power over their candidates’ ability to run, interferes with opposition candidate registration, or in other ways makes it difficult for opposition candidates to run; and the regime leader or his close allies exercise veto power over candidate selection in the ruling party
– An opposition party boycott can be considered evidence that the ruling party interferes with their candidates’ ability to campaign.

• Coded 1 if the legislature or body with similar functions (but not including purely advisory bodies) is selected through a process of indirect election from lower bodies; or is made up of unelected local or tribal notables; or is selected by regime insiders as representatives of societal interests or (possibly banned) parties

• Coded 0 if the regime holds legislative elections but no opposition is allowed (that is, the Legislative Elections item above is coded 4 or 5).

• Coded 8 if a legislature exists that was selected under a previous autocratic regime (included in this data set) and it is allowed to function

• Coded 9 if there is no legislature or body with similar functions