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**Political Regimes and Regime Transitions in Africa,  
1910–1994**

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Michael Bratton and Nicolas van de Walle

ICPSR 6996



POLITICAL REGIMES AND REGIME TRANSITIONS IN AFRICA,  
1910-1994

(ICPSR 6996)

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First ICPSR Version  
August 1997

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Bratton, Michael, and Nicolas van de Walle.  
POLITICAL REGIMES AND REGIME TRANSITIONS IN  
AFRICA, 1910-1994 [Computer file]. ICPSR  
version. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State  
University [producer], 1996. Ann Arbor, MI:  
Inter-university Consortium for Political and  
Social Research [distributor], 1997.

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## DATA COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

Michael Bratton and Nicolas van de Walle

POLITICAL REGIMES AND REGIME TRANSITIONS IN AFRICA, 1910-1994  
(ICPSR 6996)

**SUMMARY:** This data collection focuses on political regimes and regime transitions in 47 countries in sub-Saharan Africa. The first part of the dataset contains information on the characteristics of post-colonial political regimes from independence to December 31, 1989 (63 variables). Economic variables include GNP per capita, inflation, structural adjustment programs, overseas development assistance, and external debt, while social indicators concern ethnic and religious fragmentation. Political variables provide a listing of every national election in Africa from independence to 1989, for totals of 106 presidential and 185 parliamentary contests, the number of political parties, association groups, and media outlets in each country in 1975 and 1989, and type of political regime, including the duration of each regime in years and the total number and mode of previous regime transitions up to 1989. The second part of the dataset covers the political dynamics of regime transitions for the five-year period from the beginning of 1990 to the end of 1994 (36 variables). The researchers created a standardized framework to identify and categorize the key events and features of political transitions, concentrating on landmark events such as political protests, liberalization reforms, elections, and changes of government in each country. In addition, the researchers assembled a complete set of standard election results for every multiparty contest in Africa between 1990 and 1994, along with information on whether observers ruled the vote as free and fair, whether incumbents were ousted, and whether losers accepted the results.

**UNIVERSE:** Sub-Saharan African countries.

**SAMPLING:** Researchers used an inclusive method of case selection covering 47 countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Information was gathered for two time periods: from independence to December 31, 1989, and from the beginning of 1990 to the end of 1994.

**NOTE:** (1) Users should consult the codebook to obtain the value labels. (2) The codebook is provided as a Portable Document Format (PDF) file. The PDF file format was developed by Adobe Systems Incorporated and can be accessed using the Adobe Acrobat Reader. Information on how to obtain a copy of the Acrobat Reader is provided through the ICPSR Website on the Internet.

EXTENT OF COLLECTION: 1 data file + machine-readable documentation (PDF) + SAS data definition statements + SPSS data definition statements

EXTENT OF PROCESSING: DDEF.ICPSR/ REFORM.DOC/ REFORM.DATA

DATA FORMAT: Logical Record Length with SAS and SPSS data definition statements

File Structure: rectangular

Cases: 47

Variables: 99

Record Length: 289

Records Per Case: 1

RELATED PUBLICATION:

Bratton, Michael, Nicolas van de Walle, et al. POLITICAL REGIMES AND REGIME TRANSITIONS IN AFRICA: A COMPARATIVE HANDBOOK. MSU Working Papers on Political Reform in Africa, No. 14. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, Dept. of Political Science, 1996.

**CODEBOOK**

**POLITICAL REGIMES AND REGIME  
TRANSITIONS IN AFRICA**

by Michael Bratton  
and Nicolas van de Walle



## INTRODUCTION

What political scientists understand about African politics, they have gleaned largely from intimate knowledge of individual countries. While the case study method may illuminate a wealth of fascinating detail about political processes in particular settings, it cannot establish generalizations about continent-wide trends or test explanatory theories. Because of the paucity of systematic comparative analysis across African countries, analysts are hard put to make definitive statements about the nature and causes of contemporary political changes in Africa. Yet the existence within Africa of a large number of countries, each embarked on experiments with political regime forms in the 1990s, virtually cries out for systematic, cross-national comparison.

In this publication, we take a modest step toward comparative analysis of recent political developments in Africa by presenting a set of quantitative data on political regimes and regime transitions. The data set contains information for 47 countries in sub-Saharan Africa. An inclusive method of case selection was used, covering all countries on the subcontinent. In other words, we did not choose cases according to values on a dependent variable (say, whether they had held a multiparty election), but included every country regardless of its experience with regime transition.

The data set contains 99 variables, and falls naturally into two parts, reflecting the fact that information was gathered for a project that seeks to explain transitions in terms of the politics and institutions of preceding regimes. The first part of the data set therefore contains information on the characteristics of postcolonial *political regimes* from independence to December 31, 1989 (63 variables); the second part refers to the political dynamics of *regime transitions* for the five year period from the beginning of 1990 to the end of 1994 (36 variables).

In order to characterize the old regimes we drew primarily on established sources. Economic indicators were drawn largely from the World Bank's World Development Report (1991) which documented the state of African economies in 1989. Social indicators -- on characteristics like ethnic or religious fragmentation -- were drawn together from a more disparate range of standard, but sometimes underused, compendia.<sup>1</sup> But our principal objective was to add value to the existing stock of knowledge about the political characteristics of authoritarian regimes in Africa. To this end, we compiled a listing of every national election in Africa from independence to 1989, for totals of 106 presidential and 185 parliamentary contests.<sup>2</sup> We assembled indicators on the numbers of political parties, associational groups, and media outlets in 1975 and 1989. In addition, we classified countries across time into different types of political regimes, noting the duration of each regime in years and the total number and mode of previous regime transitions for all 47 countries up to 1989.

The sources for all data are recorded in the attached bibliography.

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<sup>1</sup> For example: the ethnic fragmentation scores are from Donald Morrison et al. The Black Africa Handbook (1989); the percentage of the population adhering to different religions came from the CIA World Factbook (1988); data on church-run schools and medical facilities were uncovered in David Barrett (ed.), World Christian Encyclopaedia (1982).

<sup>2</sup> The reader should note that information on elections in postcolonial African regimes up to 1989 is presented in summary form in the electronic version of the data set and in the codebook reprinted here. The 11 relevant variables are marked with an asterisk (\*) in the codebook. This data is presented in complete, raw form under the country profiles in this publication.

For the second part of the data set, we generated new data to describe the contemporary round of regime transitions, 1990 to 1994. First we created a standardized framework that identified and categorized the key events and features of political transitions. We were most interested in landmark events such as political protests, liberalization reforms, elections, and changes of government in each country. We also wanted to summarize the forms taken by national conferences, military interventions, and external influences, among other features of political transitions. Using Africa South of the Sahara (1994, 1995),<sup>3</sup> as a consistent source, we then gathered qualitative factual accounts about each aspect of the transition and deposited these narratives under the headings in the framework. In addition, we assembled a complete set of standard election results for every multiparty contest in Africa between 1990 and 1994,<sup>4</sup> along with information on whether observers ruled the vote as free and fair, whether incumbents were ousted, and whether losers accepted the results. Research assistants exhaustively recorded details of all these designated features of regime transitions and the authors systematically checked the accounts for reliability.

From this depository of qualitative facts, the authors constructed a matrix of 36 quantitative indicators concerning the nature of regime transitions. It covered the 42 African countries that had authoritarian regimes on January 1, 1990, excluding long-standing multiparty systems. Each author and one assistant independently coded or counted the data from the information bank in order to enter numerical values into the cells of the matrix. In instances of intercoder disagreements (about 15 percent of all values), we jointly reviewed the available facts about the case until consensus could be established. Where the primary source was silent or apparently incomplete, we made reference to other publications of record, to journalists' reports, or to the authors' knowledge of particular countries.

Operational definitions of all concepts and decision rules for data coding are specified in the attached codebook. A word of caution is in order about the limitations of the regime transitions data. We have most confidence in those variables that are underpinned by objective indicators, for example, the occurrence of a national constitutional conference or a presidential election. We nonetheless concede that there is an element of subjectivity in the coding of a few of the regime transition variables. For some, such as whether an election was "free and fair", we had to rely on the judgements of others, as reflected in the written reports of official election observers. In other cases (for about a dozen variables) the coders relied on their own judgements after reviewing the available evidence on the case. How else can one determine whether a government employed a little or lot of "repression", or whether an opposition was "cohesive" or "fragmented"? Because of such constraints, we did not attempt to gauge all regime transition variables at an interval level of measurement. Indeed, many transition variables (14 out of 36), were coded into ordinal or nominal categories, and a few of these (5 out of 14) were "dummy" variables with just two categories.

The data set is available in machine-readable format from the International Consortium for Political and Social Research, University of Michigan.

We have done our best to eliminate errors and gaps in the information presented below but, inevitably, some will remain. We invite readers to submit additions, corrections and comments for possible incorporation in later versions of the data set.

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<sup>3</sup> London, Europa Publications, 1994, 24th ed.

<sup>4</sup> Africa Research Bulletin (1990-1994).

## CODEBOOK

### PART I: POLITICAL REGIMES (INDEPENDENCE TO 1989)

Variable: Country Name  
Variable label: CNTRYNME  
Definition: Name of country  
Values: Angola - Zimbabwe  
Value labels: not applicable (n/a)  
Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1995)  
Notes: See source

Variable: Country Code  
Variable label: CNTRYCDE  
Definition: Number on alphabetical country list  
Values: 1-47  
Value labels: 1=Angola to 47=Zimbabwe  
Source: n/a  
Notes: Coded by authors

Variable: Region  
Variable label: REGION  
Definition: Geographical region within sub-Saharan Africa  
Values: C, E, S, W  
Value labels: C=Central, E=East, S=Southern, W=West  
Source: Economic Regions of Sub-Saharan Africa (1985)  
Notes: See source

Variable: Population  
Variable label: POP  
Definition: Total population in millions, 1989  
Values: .067-113.8  
Value labels: n/a  
Source: World Development Report (1991)  
Notes: Population figures are rounded to the nearest hundred thousand except in cases where the total population is less than one million. In these cases, the population figures are estimated to the nearest thousand. Population figures are based on the most recent population censuses mostly in the 1980s with a few from the 1970s or 1960s. Refugees not permanently settled in the country of asylum are considered to be part of the population of their country of origin.

Variable: Size

Variable label: SIZE

Definition: Geographical area in thousand square kilometers, 1989

Values: 0.5-2506

Value labels: n/a

Source: World Development Report (1991)

Notes: Area is the total surface area comprising land area and inland water.

Variable: Colonial Power

Variable label: COLONIAL

Definition: Name of colonial power before independence

Values: 0-6

Value labels: 0=Not Colonized, 1=Britain, 2=France, 3=Portugal, 4=Belgium, 5=Spain, 6=UN

Source: Black Africa: A Comparative Handbook (1989)

Notes: In cases where the colonial power changed over time, the variable was coded as the colonial power immediately prior to independence. In cases of condominium, a judgment was made as to the "dominant" power.

Variable: Bordering Countries

Variable label: BORDERS

Definition: Number of contiguously bordering countries

Values: 0-9

Value labels: n/a

Source: An Atlas of African Affairs (1994)

Notes: See source

Variable: Date of Independence

Variable label: DATEINDP

Definition: Date of political independence (month/day/year)

Values: 5/31/10 - 3/21/90

Value labels: n/a

Source: Black Africa: A Comparative Handbook (1989)

Notes: The dates of independence for countries that were never colonized by European powers are scored as missing data.

Variable: GNP per Capita

Variable label: GNPPC

Definition: Gross national product per capita, in US \$, 1989

Values: 80-4230

Value labels: n/a

Source: World Development Report (1991)

Notes: See source

Variable: Economic Growth

Variable label: GROWTH

Definition: Average annual rate of growth in GNP per capita, percent, 1965-1989

Values: -8.2 to +8.5

Value labels: n/a

Source: World Development Report (1991)

Notes: See source

Variable: Energy Consumption

Variable label: ENERGY

Definition: Energy consumption per capita in kilograms of oil equivalent, 1989

Values: 0-4581

Value labels: n/a

Source: World Development Report (1991) and Social Indicators of Development (1994)

Notes: See sources

Variable: Manufacturing

Variable label: MANUF

Definition: Manufacturing output as a percentage of gross domestic product, 1989

Values: 1-25

Value labels: n/a

Source: World Development Report (1991), African Statistical Yearbook (1990/91), and World Tables (1992)

Notes: Manufacturing is a subgroup within the category "industry" distinct from mining; construction; and electricity, water, and gas. It is the value added in all other branches.

Variable: Agricultural Labor Force

Variable label: AGLABOR

Definition: Percentage of total labor force engaged in agriculture, 1989

Values: 12.40-92.90

Value labels: n/a

Source: African Statistical Yearbook (1992) and Social Indicators of Development (1994)

Notes: Agriculture covers forestry, hunting, and fishing as well as agriculture.

Variable: Inflation

Variable label: INFLATN

Definition: Average annual percentage rate of price inflation, 1980-1989

Values: -1.0 to +108.1

Value labels: n/a

Source: World Development Report (1991)

Notes: Missing data for 13 countries.

Variable: Structural Adjustment Programs

Variable label: ADJPROGS

Definition: Number of structural adjustment and stabilization programs initiated with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, 1980-1989

Values: 0-14

Value labels: n/a

Source: Jespersion (1992)

Notes: This variable records the number of structural adjustment and stabilization programs initiated without reference to whether these programs were subsequently implemented.

Structural adjustment and stabilization programs include Stand-By Arrangement (SBA); Structural Adjustment Facility (SAF); Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF); Extended Fund Facility (EFF); Structural Loans/Credits (SAL); Economic Recovery/Rehabilitation (ER); and Sector Adjustment Loans (SECAL).

Variable: Aid Flows

Variable label: AIDFLOWS

Definition: Overseas development assistance from all sources as percentage of GNP, 1989

Values: 1.1-59.2

Value labels: n/a

Source: World Development Report (1991)

Notes: Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) consists of net disbursements of loans and grants made on concessional financial terms by all bilateral agencies and multilateral sources. It includes the value of technical and cooperation and assistance.

Variable: External Debt

Variable label: DEBT

Definition: Total external debt as percentage of GNP, 1989

Values: 8.0-426.8

Value labels: n/a

Source: World Development Report (1991)

Notes: Missing data for three countries. External debt is the sum of public, publicly guaranteed, and private non-guaranteed long-term debt, use of IMF credit, and short-term debt.

Variable: Debt Service

Variable label: SERVICE

Definition: Total debt service as percentage of exports, 1989

Values: 3.5-158.8

Value labels: n/a

Source: World Development Report (1991)

Notes: Missing data for three countries. See previous definition for total debt. Exports are goods and services, including workers' remittances.

Variable: Urbanization

Variable label: URBAN

Definition: Percentage of population living in towns, 1989

Values: 5.4-58.9

Value labels: n/a

Source: World Tables (1992) and African Statistical Yearbook (1990/91)

Notes: The World Bank relies upon different nations' definitions of what they consider to be urban areas, towns, and cities.

Variable: Ethnic Fragmentation

Variable label: ETHNIC

Definition: The effective number of ethnic groups in the country

Values: 1.0-9.8

Value labels: n/a

Source: Adapted from Londregan et al., based on data in Morrison et al.

Notes: The formula used is as follows:

$$\frac{1}{s_1^2 + s_2^2 + \dots + s_n^2}$$

where  $s_i$  is the share of the national population belonging to ethnic group  $i$ .

Variable: Traditional Religion

Variable label: PCTTRAD

Definition: Percentage of population adhering to traditional religions, circa 1985

Values: 0-72

Value labels: n/a

Source: CIA World Factbook (1988), Africa South of the Sahara (1989)

Notes: See sources; includes nominal adherents

Variable: Catholic

Variable label: PCTCATH

Definition: Percentage of population adhering to Catholicism, circa 1985

Values: 0-96

Value labels: n/a

Source: CIA World Factbook (1988), Africa South of the Sahara (1989)

Notes: See sources; includes nominal adherents; includes syncretic churches

Variable: Protestant

Variable label: PCTPROT

Definition: Percentage of population adhering to Protestant denominations, circa 1985)

Values: 0-88

Value labels: n/a

Source: CIA World Factbook (1988), Africa South of the Sahara (1989)

Notes: See sources; includes nominal adherents; includes syncretic churches

Variable: Muslim

Variable label: PCTMUSL

Definition: Percentage of population adhering to Islam, circa 1985

Values: 0-92

Value labels: n/a

Source: CIA World Factbook (1988), Africa South of the Sahara (1989)

Notes: See sources; includes nominal adherents

Variable: Radios

Variable label: RADIOS89

Definition: Number in of radio receivers in thousands, circa 1989

Values: 30-10,600

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1990)

Notes: UNESCO estimates

Variable: Televisions

Variable label: TELEV89

Definition: Number of television receivers in thousands, circa 1989

Values: 0-3700

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1990)

Notes: UNESCO estimates

Variable: Political Parties, 1975

Variable label: PARTY75

Definition: Number of legally registered political parties, 1975

Values: 0-11

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1976-77)

Notes: See sources; excludes banned organizations, fronts, and parties in exile

Variable: Number of Political Parties, 1989

Variable label: PARTY89

Definition: Number of legally registered political parties, 1989

Values: 0-28

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1990)

Notes: See source; excludes banned organizations, fronts, and parties in exile

Variable: Political Parties, 1993

Variable label: PARTY93

Definition: Number of legally registered political parties

Values: 0-38

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1994)

Notes: See source; excludes banned organizations, fronts, and parties in exile

Variable: Trade Unions, 1989

Variable label: UNION89

Definition: Number of legally registered trade unions, 1989

Values: 0-66

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1990)

Notes: See source; includes independent trade unions and official trade union confederations; excludes affiliated organizations of official confederations

Variable: Business Associations, 1975

Variable label: BUSIN75

Definition: Number of business associations, 1975

Values: 0-97

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1976-77)

Notes: See source; includes chambers of commerce, trade associations, employers' associations; excludes statutory boards

Variable: Business Associations, 1989

Variable label: BUSIN89

Definition: Number of business associations, 1989

Values: 0-77

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1990)

Notes: See source; includes chambers of commerce, trade associations, employers' associations; excludes statutory boards

Variable: Church Schools, 1973

Variable label: CHURSCH

Definition: Number of church-operated secondary schools, 1973

Values: 0-1560

Value labels: n/a

Source: World Christian Encyclopedia (1982)

Notes: See source

Variable: Church Medical Institutions, 1973

Variable label: CHURMED

Definition: Number of church-operated hospitals and clinics, 1973

Values: 0-860

Value labels: n/a

Source: World Christian Encyclopedia (1982)

Notes: See source

Variable: Daily Newspapers, 1975

Variable label: DAILY75

Definition: Number of local newspapers published daily, 1975

Values: 0-22

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1976-77)

Notes: See source

Variable: Daily Newspapers, 1989

Variable label: DAILY89

Definition: Number of local newspapers published daily, 1989

Values: 0-25

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1990)

Notes: See source

Variable: Daily Newspapers, 1993

Variable label: DAILY93

Definition: Number of local newspapers published daily, 1989

Values: 0-22

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1994)

Notes: See source

Variable: Periodicals, 1975

Variable label: PERIOD75

Definition: Number of local periodical publications, 1975

Values: 0-87

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1976-77)

Notes: See source; includes weeklies, bi-weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies; includes popular, professional, and academic publications

Variable: Periodicals, 1989

Variable label: PERIOD89

Definition: Number of local periodical publications, 1989

Values: 0-83

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1990)

Notes: See source; includes weeklies, bi-weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies; includes popular, professional, and academic publications

Variable: Periodicals, 1993

Variable label: PERIOD93

Definition: Number of local periodical publications, 1993

Values: 0-80

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1994)

Notes: See source; includes weeklies, bi-weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies; includes popular, professional, and academic publications

Variable: Publishers, 1975

Variable label: PUBLIS75

Definition: Number of publishing houses, 1975

Values: 0-56

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1976-77)

Notes: See source; includes government and private publishers; includes local affiliates of international publishers

Variable: Publishers, 1989

Variable label: PUBLIS89

Definition: Number of publishing houses, 1989

Values: 0-83

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1990)

Notes: See source; includes government and private publishers; includes local affiliates of

international publishers

Variable: Publishers, 1993

Variable label: PUBLIS93

Definition: Number of publishing houses,

Values: 0-82

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1994)

Notes: See source; includes government and private publishers; includes local affiliates of international publishers

Variable: Constitutional Form

Variable label: CONSTIT

Definition: Form of constitution at independence

Values: 0, 1, 2, 3

Value labels: 0=monarchy, 1=presidential, 2=presidential/parliamentary, 3=parliamentary

Source: Stepan and Skatch (1993)

Notes: See source

Variable: Personal Dictatorship

Variable label: DICTATOR

Definition: Total number of years under regime of personal dictatorship, independence to 1989

Values: 0-26

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1990)

Notes: Coded and counted by authors

Variable: Military Oligarchy

Variable label: MILITARY

Definition: Total number of years under regime of military oligarchy, independence to 1989

Values: 0-18

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1990)

Notes: Coded and counted by authors

Variable: Plebiscitary One-Party Regime

Variable label: PLBSCTRY

Definition: Total number of years under plebiscitary one-party regime, independence to 1989

Values: 0-23

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1990)

Notes: Coded and counted by authors

Variable: Competitive One-Party Regime

Variable label: COMPTIVE

Definition: Total number of years under competitive one-party regime, independence to 1989

Values: 0-24

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1990)

Notes: Coded and counted by authors

Variable: Settler Oligarchy

Variable label: SETTLER

Definition: Total number of years under regime of settler oligarchy, independence to 1989

Values: 0-33

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1990)

Notes: Coded and counted by authors

Variable: Multiparty Polyarchy

Variable label: POLYACHY

Definition: Total number of years under regime of multiparty polyarchy, independence to 1989

Values: 0-25

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1990)

Notes: Coded and counted by authors

Variable: Regimes

Variable label: NUMREGIM

Definition: Number of different political regime types, independence to 1989

Values: 1-4

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1990)

Notes: Coded and counted by authors

Variable: Regime Changes

Variable label: REGCHANG

Definition: Number of changes of political regime, independence to 1989

Values: 1-10

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1990)

Notes: Coded and counted by authors

Variable: Military Coups

Variable label: MILTCOUP

Definition: Number of successful military coups, independence-1989

Values: 0-6

Value labels: n/a

Source: Foltz (1994)

Notes: See source; excludes attempted coups

Variable: Number of Elections\*

Variable label: NUMELEC

Definition: Number of direct presidential and legislative elections, independence to 1989

Values: 0-14

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa Research Bulletin (1964-1990); Chronicle of Parliamentary Elections (various years); Elections Since 1945: A Worldwide Reference Compendium (1989); Africa South of the Sahara (various years); Keesing's Contemporary Archives (various years, 1959-1989); African Contemporary Record (various years); African Recorder (various years), Africa Confidential (various years), and country-specific sources listed in the bibliography at the end of this publication

Notes: Calculated from the raw data presented in the text of this publication.

This includes all presidential and national legislative elections after the date of independence or 1959, which ever occurs first. Indirect elections and upper house or regional assembly legislative elections are excluded. When an election has more than one round, only the second round is counted. Generally, referenda are excluded except if it is a vote on a further term or continuation in office for a president. If a coup occurs the next day, the election is counted; however, if a coup or intervention occurs during an election and an election is not completed, then it is not counted. An election is counted despite fraud, manipulation, massive abstentions or boycotts by the opposition. When only unopposed party candidates are nominated and no polling takes place, then it is not an election. By-elections and make-up elections due to fraud or violence are not counted as separate elections. When official results are reported despite voting having been annulled in some constituencies, the partial results are used. However, if voting occurs and is annulled in all constituencies, then the election is not counted.

Variable: Number of Legislative Elections\*

Variable label: NUMLEGS

Definition: Number of direct legislative elections, independence to 1989

Values: 0-8

Value labels: n/a

Source: See previous variable

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\* Variables marked with an asterisk (\*) appear in summary form in the table of data by variable but in raw form in the list of data by country.

Notes: This variable is calculated from the raw data presented in the text of this publication and is based on the information provided in the previous variable.

Variable: Number of Presidential Elections\*

Variable label: NUMPRES

Definition: Number of direct presidential elections, independence to 1989

Values: 0-6

Value labels: n/a

Source: See previous variable

Notes: This variable is calculated from the raw data presented in the text of this publication and follows the decision rules noted in the previous variable.

Variable: Number of Competitive Elections\*

Variable label: COMPELEC

Definition: Number of direct elections with multiparty competition, independence to 1989

Values: 0-6

Value labels: n/a

Source: See previous variable

Notes: This variable is calculated from the elections data presented in the text of this publication.

Variable: Years Since the Last Competitive Election\*

Variable label: YRSCOMP

Definition: Years since last election with multiparty competition, prior to 1989

Values: 1-34

Value labels: n/a

Source: See previous variable

Notes: This variable is calculated from the elections data presented in the text of this publication.

Variable: Date of Last Election\*

Variable label: DATELAST

Definition: Date of the last parliamentary election before 1990

Values: 12/14/69 - 10/07/89

Value labels: n/a

Source: See previous variable

Notes: The first or only day of polling (and not when the results are announced) is the date of the election. This variable is calculated from the raw data presented in the text of this publication and follows the decision rules noted in the previous variable.

Variable: Number of Legislative Parties\*

Variable label: PARTYLEG

Definition: Number of parties winning seats in the legislature in the last parliamentary election before 1990

Values: 0-6

Value labels: n/a

Source: See previous variable

Notes: Seats nominated or appointed by a president or seats reserved for chiefs or representatives of organizations (when reported) are included as seats attributed to the winning party. When opposition parties are not permitted, then all seats are counted for the winning party. This variable is calculated from the raw data presented in the text of this publication and follows the decision rules noted in the previous variable.

Variable: Percentage of Seats\*

Variable label: PCTSEAT

Definition: Percentage of elected legislative seats obtained by the winning party in the last parliamentary election before 1990

Values: 56.0-100.0

Value labels: n/a

Source: See previous variable

Notes: This variable is calculated by adding the number of seats won by election to the number of uncontested seats. Official election results are used despite claims by the opposition of manipulation. Results from the day or days on which polling occurred are used without reference to subsequent make-up elections or by-elections. Unfilled seats are not counted.

Variable: Mean Percentage of Seats\*

Variable label: MEANSEAT

Definition: Mean percentage of elected legislative seats obtained by the winning party in parliamentary elections, independence to 1989

Values: 38.3-100.0

Value labels: n/a

Source: See previous variable

Notes: See sources; mean calculated from all elections for which data are available

Variable: Voter Turnout, Percentage of Registered Voters\*

Variable label: PCTTURN

Definition: Percentage of registered voters casting ballots in the last legislative election before 1990

Values: 30.0-99.8

Value labels: n/a

Source: See previous variable

Notes: Voter turnout is defined as the number of votes cast divided by the official number of registered voters. By using this formula, missing values for one variable are calculated when the other two values are known. If different sources gave different figures, an average is used. In cases where the reported number of voters exceeded the number of registered voters, voter turnout was not calculated.

Variable: Voter Turnout, Mean Percentage of Registered Voters\*

Variable label: MEANTURN

Definition: Mean percentage of registered voters casting ballots in legislative elections, independence to 1989

Values: 49.75-100.00

Value labels: n/a

Source: See previous variable

Notes: Official numbers of registered voters are used, which may have been manipulated in some cases. Mean is calculated from all elections for which data are available.

Variable: Voter Turnout, Percentage of Population\*

Variable label: PCTVOTE

Definition: Percentage of total population casting ballots in the last legislative election before 1990

Values: 7.46-77.40

Value labels: n/a

Source: World Development Report (annual, 1970-1989) and Demographic Yearbook (annual, 1959-1970) plus sources from the previous variable

Notes: Voter turnout as a percentage of total population is calculated as votes cast divided by population. United Nations population estimates are based on official census data.

Variable: Voter Turnout, Mean Percentage of Population\*

Variable label: MEANVOTE

Definition: Mean percentage of total population casting ballots in legislative elections, independence to 1989.

Values: 5.35-73.95

Value labels: n/a

Source: World Development Report (annual, 1970-1989) and Demographic Yearbook (annual, 1959-1970) plus sources from the previous variable

Notes: See sources; mean calculated from all elections for which data are available

Variable: Winners' Mean Share of Presidential Votes\*

Variable label: MEANPRES

Definition: Mean percentage of total votes obtained by winning candidates in presidential elections, independence to 1989.

Values: 0.00-100.00

Value labels: n/a

Source: This variable is calculated from the elections data presented in the text of this publication.

Notes: Mean calculated from all elections for which data are available

PART II: REGIME TRANSITIONS  
(1990-1994)

Variable: Frequency of Political Protests, 1985-1994

Variable label: PROTFREQ

Definition: Absolute number of protests expressing political demands, 1985 to 1994

Values: 0-26

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (annual, 1986-1995)

Notes: Includes street demonstrations, boycotts, strikes, and riots. To be coded as “political,” protests had to include explicit demands for political rights or changes in political rulers. Protests driven by, and directed at, economic grievances alone were not counted.

Variable: Frequency of Political Protests, 1988-1992

Variable label: PROTEST

Definition: Rank ordering of politically motivated protest expressing political demands, 1988-1992

Values: 0, 1, 2

Value labels: 0=none, 1=some, 2=frequent

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1994, 1995); project country files

Notes: See notes to previous variable; coded by authors; “frequent” includes “some” if the protests were especially violent

Variable: State Repression

Variable label: REPRESS

Definition: Use of state coercion by government against opposition political protestors entailing violence or threat of violence, 1990-1994

Values: 0, 1, 2

Value labels: 0=no evidence of repression, 1=mild use of state coercion (mostly threats, intimidation, and/or harassment of opposition), 2=systematic physical violence against leaders of opposition

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1994, 1995); project country files

Notes: Coded by authors

Variable: Political Liberalization

Variable label: POLLIB

Definition: Provision of *de jure* civil or political rights by a sovereign incumbent

Values: 0, 1, 2

Value labels: 0=no evidence of liberalization, 1=limited liberalization (civil rights short of provisions for multi-party competition), 2=extensive liberalization (political rights including provisions for multi-party competition)

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1994, 1995); project country files

Note: Coded by authors; subcodes: a=provisions for multi-party competition include stipulations against “ethnic,” “religious,” or “regionally” based parties, b=incumbent leader

changes during the transition process due to reasons unrelated to the process itself (e.g., the incumbent dies of natural causes) so coding is based on the actions taken by the second incumbent

Variable: Manipulation by Incumbents

Variable label: MANIP

Definition: Efforts by government to manipulate the transition process

Values: 0, 1, 2

Value labels: 0=no evidence of attempt to manipulate transition, 1=limited evidence of manipulation (i.e., only a few instances or lack of concerted effort), 2=extensive evidence of manipulation (i.e., many instances and/or serious attempts like coopting opposition, making concessions that were never followed through, rejecting legalization of particular parties, frequent reshuffles in government)

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1994, 1995); project country files

Notes: Coded by authors; indicated by evidence of incumbent's insincerity in implementing reform, or evidence of diversionary tactics employed by incumbents to thwart reform

Variable: Opposition Cohesion

Variable label: OPPCOH

Definition: Degree of opposition cohesion in respect of party formations and splits

Values: 0, 1

Value labels: 0=fragmented opposition, weak leadership and organization; 1=dominant opposition leader and relatively strong and cohesive organization

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1994, 1995); project country files

Notes: Coded by authors

Variable: Government Cohesion

Variable label: GOVTCOH

Definition: Degree of cohesiveness of the incumbent government during the transition

Values: 0, 1

Value labels: 0=elite shows signs of strain such as factionalization, defections, or coup attempts; 1=governing elite shows strong consensus and unity

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1994, 1995); project country files

Notes: Coded by authors

Variable: Military Intervention

Variable label: MILTROLE

Definition: Military intervention as a corporate group during the transition process and whether the intervention supports or opposes democratization

Values: -1, 0, 1

Value labels: -1=intervention, anti-democratic; 0=no intervention; 1=intervention, pro-democratic

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1994, 1995); project country files

Notes: Coded by authors

Variable: International Pressure

Variable label: INTLPR

Definition: International donor pressure in the form of explicit political conditions for aid or loans

Values: 0, 1, 2

Value labels: 0=no donor pressure, 1=some donor pressure, 2=explicit donor pressure to democratize including suspension of aid payments

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1994, 1995); project country files

Notes: Coded by authors

Variable: National Conference

Variable label: NATCON

Definition: A national conference is/is not held.

Values: 0, 1

Value labels: 1=conference is held (must be fixed in time and place and open to pluralistic participation), 0=conference is not held (0a=explicit or implicit control of conference by government through a "sham conference")

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1994, 1995); project country files

Notes: Coded by authors

Variable: Presidential Election

Variable label: PRESELEC

Definition: A competitive, multi-party presidential election is/is not held, 1990-1994

Values: 0, 2

Value labels: 0=no, 2=yes

Source: Africa Research Bulletin, Africa South of the Sahara (1994), Elections Today, and Keesing's Record of World Events

Notes: n/a

Variable: Presidential Election Date

Variable label: PRESDATE

Definition: Date of competitive, multi-party presidential election, 1990-1994

Values: 03/28/90 - 10/27/94

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa Research Bulletin, Africa South of the Sahara (1994), Elections Today, and Keesing's Record of World Events

Notes: The date marks the first or only day polling occurred.

Variable: Presidential Candidates

Variable label: PRESCAND

Definition: Number of candidates contesting the competitive, multi-party presidential election held between 1990-1994

Values: 0-19

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa Research Bulletin, Africa South of the Sahara (1994), Elections Today, and

Keesing's Record of World Events

Notes: Refers to the first or only round of voting.

Variable: Winning Candidate's Share

Variable label: PRESVOTS

Definition: Percentage of votes cast obtained by winning presidential candidate

Values: 36.35-96.49

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa Research Bulletin, Africa South of the Sahara (1994), Elections Today, and Keesing's Record of World Events

Notes: See sources

Variable: Presidential Election Voter Turnout

Variable label: PRESTURN

Definition: Percentage of registered voters casting ballots in the competitive, multiparty presidential election held between 1990 and 1994

Values: 16.00-97.31

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa Research Bulletin, Africa South of the Sahara (1994), Elections Today, and Keesing's Record of World Events

Notes: See PCTTURN; see sources

Variable: Legislative Election

Variable label: LEGSELEC

Definition: A competitive, multi-party legislative election is/is not held between 1990 and 1994

Values: 0, 1, 2

Value labels: 0=no election, 1=constituent assembly election or indirect election, 2=election is held

Source: Africa Research Bulletin, Africa South of the Sahara (1994), Elections Today, and Keesing's Record of World Events

Notes: a=constituent assembly election, b=indirect election

Variable: Legislative Election Date

Variable label: LEGSDATE

Definition: Date of competitive, multi-party legislative election held between 1990 and 1994

Values: 03/28/90 - 10/27/94

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa Research Bulletin, Africa South of the Sahara (1994), Elections Today, and Keesing's Record of World Events

Notes: Refers to the first or only day that polling occurred

Variable: Contesting Parties

Variable label: LEGSCAND

Definition: Number of political parties contesting the competitive, multi-party legislative election held between 1990 and 1994

Values: 0-23

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa Research Bulletin, Africa South of the Sahara (1994), Elections Today, and Keesing's Record of World Events

Notes: See sources

Variable: Legislative Parties

Variable label: LEGSPRTY

Definition: Number of political parties obtaining at least one seat in legislature following the competitive, multiparty legislative election held between 1990 and 1994

Values: 0-23

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa Research Bulletin, Africa South of the Sahara (1994), Elections Today, and Keesing's Record of World Events

Notes: Includes appointed seats

Variable: Winning Party's Share

Variable label: LEGSEATS

Definition: Percentage of seats in the legislature obtained by the winning political party

Values: 17.20-100.00

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa Research Bulletin, Africa South of the Sahara (1994), Elections Today, and Keesing's Record of World Events

Notes: See PCTSEAT; see sources

Variable: Legislative Voter Turnout

Variable label: LEGSTURN

Definition: Percentage of registered voters casting ballots in the competitive, multiparty legislative election held between 1990 and 1994

Values: 21.09-91.34

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa Research Bulletin, Africa South of the Sahara (1994), Elections Today, and Keesing's Record of World Events

Notes: See PCTSEAT; see sources

Variable: Free and Fair

Variable label: FREEFAIR

Definition: The presidential or legislative election was ruled free and fair by international election observers and/or domestic election monitors

Values: 0, 1, 2

Value labels: 0=no, 1=yes?, 2=yes

Source: Election observer reports; project country files

Notes: "Yes?" indicates that observers disagree among themselves or observers find major violations in the electoral process that do not alter the result of the election.

Variable: Incumbent Ousted

Variable label: INCBOUST

Definition: The incumbent presidential candidate loses the election

Values: 0, 1, 2

Value labels: 0=no, 1=yes?, 2=yes

Source: Africa Research Bulletin, Africa South of the Sahara (1994), Elections Today, and Keesing's Record of World Events

Notes: "Yes?" indicates that the incumbent does not run.

Variable: Loser Accepts

Variable label: LOSERACC

Definition: The losing candidates and parties accept the results of the election

Values: 0, 1, 2

Value labels: 0=no, 1=yes? (losers at first decline to recognize results but later relent), 2=yes

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1994, 1995); project country files

Notes: Coded by authors; indicated by losing parties refusal to take up seats in the legislature formed after the election

Variable: Political Protests Began

Variable label: PROTBEG

Definition: Number of months after January 1988 that political protests first began

Values: 0-54

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1994, 1995)

Notes: See PROTEST

Variable: Political Liberalization Began

Variable label: POLLIBEG

Definition: The number of months after January 1988 that political liberalization reforms were first introduced

Values: -3 to +66

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1994, 1995)

Notes: See POLLIB

Variable: Transition End

Variable label: TRANSEND

Definition: The number of months after January 1988 that a new government takes power following a competitive election

Values: 27-84

Value labels: n/a

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1994, 1995)

Notes: All incomplete transitions as of December 31, 1994 = 84

Variable: Political Liberalization

Variable label: LIBCHANG

Definition: Change in Freedom House civil liberties score, 1988-1992

Values: -2 to +4

Value labels: n/a

Source: Freedom in the World (1989, 1993)

Notes: See source

Variable: Advances and Setbacks in Liberalization

Variable label: BACKSLID

Definition: Change in Freedom House civil liberties score, 1992-1994

Values: -1 to +1

Value labels: n/a

Source: Freedom in the World (1993, 1995)

Notes: See source

Variable: Transition Outcome

Variable label: OUTCOME

Definition: The outcome of the political transition

Values: 0, 1, 2, 3

Value labels: 0=transition process never began, 1=transition process stalled (process begins but does not result in a competitive election by December 31, 1994), 2=transition process flawed (election occurs but either was fraudulent or the opposition refused to comply with the results), 3=democratic transition (a free and fair election occurs that losers accept).

Source: Africa South of the Sahara (1994, 1995); project country files

Notes: n/a

Variable: Extent of Democratization

Variable label: DEMCHANG

Definition: Change in Freedom House political rights score, 1988-1994

Values: -4 to +5

Value labels: n/a

Source: Freedom in the World (1989, 1995)

Notes: See source

Variable: Level of Democracy

Variable label: DEMLEVEL

Definition: Freedom House political rights score, 1994

Values: 1 to 7

Value labels: 1 = high, 7 = low

Source: Freedom in the World (1995)

Notes: See source

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