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Introducing the transnational conflict in Africa dataset

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Introducing the Transnational Conflict in Africa Dataset

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The Conflict Research Programme at the London School of Economics aims to understand why contemporary violence is so difficult to end and to analyze the underlying political economy of violence with a view to informing policy. The research sites are Iraq, Syria, South Sudan, Somalia and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Allard Duursma, Noel Twagiramungu, Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe and Alex de Waal

ABSTRACT

This occasional paper is the counterpart to the paper, 'Redescribing Transnational Conflict in Africa' (Twagiramungu et al. 2019). It introduces the transnational conflict in Africa (TCA) dataset, which can be used to study the neglected transnational dimensions of armed conflicts in Africa. The TCA dataset is built by combining, augmenting, and revising several existing datasets, each of which captures some elements of transnational conflict, including interstate wars, external state support in interstate wars, low-intensity confrontations between states, external interventions in civil wars, and external support to rebels or coup-makers. The methodology underlying the TCA is explained and some descriptive statistics concerning the dimensions of transnational conflict in Africa are presented. The final section discusses some challenges and concludes that the conventional wisdom that Africa has experienced little interstate conflict is misleading. In order to fully explain the internationality of wars in Africa, including so-called 'civil wars' as well as other forms of political violence such as military coups, one needs to look at regional and interstate dynamics, as opposed to solely dynamics within a country.

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INTRODUCTION

This occasional paper introduces the transnational conflict in Africa (TCA) dataset, which can be used to study the neglected transnational dimensions of armed conflicts in Africa. It is the counterpart to the paper, 'Redescribing Transnational Conflict in Africa' (Twagiramungu et al. 2019). The TCA dataset is built by combining, augmenting, and revising several existing datasets, each of which captures some elements of transnational conflict. We broadly define transnational conflict as armed conflict that extend or operate across national boundaries including interstate wars, external state support in interstate wars, low-intensity confrontations between states, external interventions in civil wars, and external support to rebels or coup-makers (Bremer, 1992; Salehyan, 2010; see: Tamm, 2016; Toft and Duursma, 2018).

This paper should be considered along its twin article: Re-describing Transnational Conflict in Africa, published concurrently. The twin article reflects on the implications of the TCA for both research and practice, while this paper focuses on the methods utilized in the TCA dataset.

This paper first explains the need for capturing transnational conflict in Africa, after which the coding procedures for the TCA dataset are described. Next, some descriptive statistics are presented. The subsequent section discusses the challenges and possible options for future research. The final section concludes that the conventional wisdom that Africa has experienced little interstate conflict is stood on its head: the majority of African conflicts must be considered internationalized-internal.

The Need for Capturing Transnational Conflict in Africa

The emergence of conflict data is tied to the behavioural revolution in the social sciences. In the late 1950s, several scholars began to study armed conflict through using formally stated arguments and systematic empirical analysis (Gleditsch et al., 2014; Clayton, 2014). Building on the pioneering work of Lewis Fry Richardson, who had gathered conflict data on what he described as 'deathly quarrels' from the 1930s and published a seminal study on these data in 1948 (Richardson, 1948), David Singer established the Correlates of War (COW) project at the University of Michigan in 1963 (Small and Singer, 1982). The rationale for the start of the COW project was to uncover the causes of large-scale armed fighting between states, though COW project later also began looking at civil wars.

The COW data has helped generate many important insights, yet the COW data on interstate wars in Africa seriously underrepresents the level of transnational conflict in Africa. For instance, based on COW data, Lemke concluded that Africa was distinct from other continents in that it had disproportionately many fewer interstate wars (Lemke, 2003: 119). While it is true that the number of interstate armed conflicts in Africa is relatively low in comparison to other regions of the world, Africa has seen very high levels of external support in 'civil wars', as well as many low-intensity violent confrontations between states.

Several datasets exist that capture some elements of interstate and transnational violent conflict in Africa. The Militarized Interstate Dispute (MID) dataset compiled by the Correlates of War (COW) project focuses on low-intensity military confrontations between states (Jones et al., 1996). The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) External support dataset focuses on external support to conflict parties in the form of troops, funding, logistics, military equipment, intelligence, and safe havens (Pettersson, 2011). These datasets have been used to generate important findings with regard to the role of MIDs (Senese and Vasquez, 2008; Mitchell and Prins, 1999) and external support (Salehyan et al., 2011; Sawyer et al., 2015) respectively. Yet, a comprehensive dataset that captures a wide array of transnational conflict does currently not exist.

The TCA not only integrates existing data on armed conflict in Africa. Through a process of research based on secondary sources and expert interviews, the TCA also includes new data for cases that fall beyond the temporal scope of existing datasets or cases that are overlooked in the existing datasets. The next section explains the coding procedures that

have guided the structure of the TCA.

Merging the Existing Datasets

The unit of analysis in the TCA dataset is the conflict-dyad year. A conflict dyad consist of a pair of actors that pursue incompatible goals through violence or coercive politics. The TCA dataset records observations on conflict dyads in each calendar year between 1960 and 2010. Table 1 below provides an overview of which datasets have been used to capture different types of transnational violence. It should be noted that since the unit of analysis is the conflict dyad-year, we do not draw on disaggregated incident data like the data produced by the Armed Conflict Location and Event Dataset (ACLED (Raleigh et al., 2010) or the UCDP Georeferenced Event Dataset (GED) (Sundberg and Melander, 2013).

The TCA draws on the COW dataset and the UCDP data on interstate wars for its observations on interstate war. The different definitions employed by these datasets, as well as the different unit of analysis used in these datasets, clearly show why it would be problematic to simply merge all the datasets on which the TCA draws. The COW project defines interstate war as a war that take place between or among states, which involves sustained combat, involves organized armed forces which are capable of 'effective resistance' on both sides, and results in a minimum of 1,000 battle-related combatant fatalities within a twelve month period (Small and Singer, 1982). In order to make the COW data compatible with the dyad-year format of the TCA dataset, the COW data on conflict episodes is transformed into annual observations by splitting a conflict episode up in the calendar years that fall within the range of the start date and end date of the conflict episode listed in the COW dataset. For example, the border war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, that began over the disputed area of Badme, which appears in the COW data as a single conflict episode, is split into three dyad-years of 1998, 1999, and 2000 respectively (on this war, see: Lyons, 2009).

Table 1: Definitions of Cases of Transnational Conflict

Type of TCA	Dataset	Definition
Interstate war	COW dataset, version 4.0 (Sarkees and Wayman, 2010)	A war that takes place between or among states, which involves sustained combat, involves organized armed forces which are capable of 'effective resistance" on both sides, and results in a minimum of 1,000 battle-related combatant fatalities within a twelve month period (Small and Singer, 1982)
	Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), dyadic dataset version 4-2015 (Pettersson and Wallensteen, 2015)	A contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two states results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year (Pettersson and Wallensteen, 2015)
Intervention in interstate war	UCDP, dyadic dataset version 4-2015 (Pettersson and Wallensteen, 2015)	A party enters an interstate armed conflict with troops to actively support one of the states in the conflict
External support in interstate war	UCDP External Support Data (Petterson, 2009)	The support of a state in an interstate conflict by providing weapons, logistics, training, funding, as well as the sharing of military intelligence and the provision of access to territory, and training (Pettersson, 2011)

Militarized interstate dispute	Dyadic MID Dataset, version 2.0 (Maoz, 2005), supplemented with the MID dataset, version 4.1, transformed into dyadic observations for the 2002-2010 period (Palmer et al., 2015).	A case of conflict in which a state threatens, displays or uses military force short of war against another state (Jones et al., 1996)
External intervention in civil war	UCDP, dyadic dataset version 4-2015 (Pettersson and Wallensteen, 2015)	A party enters a civil war with troops to actively support one of the primary parties in the conflict by providing weapons, logistics, training, funding, as well as the sharing of military intelligence and the provision of access to territory, and training (Pettersson, 2011)
External support in civil war	UCDP External Support Data (Petterson, 2009)	The support of a primary party in a civil war by providing weapons, logistics, training, funding, as well as the sharing of military intelligence and the provision of access to territory, and training (Pettersson, 2011)
External intervention in coup	on the Coups d'etat Dataset (Powell and Thyne, 2011)	A coup is an 'illegal and overt attempts by the military or other elites within the state apparatus to unseat the sitting executive" (Powell and Thyne, 2011). External intervention in a coup is captured in an 'invasion' variable in the Coups d'etat Dataset that indicates whether 'the attempt to unseat the sitting executive came from an external force" (Powell and Thyne, 2011)
External support in coup	Unique data on support in coups identified by Powell and Thyne	The provision of weapons, logistics, training, funding, as well as the sharing of military intelligence and the provision of access to territory, and training to coup-makers

The latest version of the COW data, version 4.0, covers the 1816-2007 period (Sarkees and Wayman, 2010). The temporal scope of the most recent COW data is, in theory, problematic because the TCA covers the 1960-2010 period. Yet, even if the temporal scope of the latest COW data would be extended up until 2010, the COW would not record any interstate wars in 2008, 2009, or 2010. The interstate conflict with the highest number of annual casualties within this period is the conflict between Eritrea and Djibouti in 2008, in which 35 battle-related deaths are recorded by the UCDP.

The TCA includes UCDP data on interstate armed conflicts that do not meet the COW's 1,000 battle-related combatant fatalities criteria. The UCDP defines interstate conflict as a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two states results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year. The UCDP does include an intensity variable which labels armed conflicts with at least 25 but less than 1,000 battle-related deaths as minor armed conflict and refers to conflicts with more than 1000 battle-related deaths in one calendar year as war. Since the COW project focuses on conflict episodes rather than conflict-years, the COW coders determine whether a given conflict experiences more than 1,000 battle-related deaths in a twelve month period rather than a calendar year. The UCDP focuses on conflict-years, which is why the UCDP coders record whether a conflict experienced 25 battle-related deaths in a given calendar year. Moreover, unlike the COW project, the UCDP also counts non-combatants as battle-related deaths if non-combatants die as a result of collateral damage in the form of civilians killed in crossfire and indiscriminate bombings (Gleditsch et al., 2002). For example, the border war

between Algeria and Morocco in 1963 does not meet the criteria for inclusion in the COW dataset, but is coded as an interstate armed conflict in the UCDP. Accordingly, this conflict is included in the TCA as an interstate conflict.

Another type of interstate conflict included in the TCA is external support provided by states to the primary conflict parties in interstate conflicts. The UCDP dataset on armed conflict includes a 'secondary party' category. A secondary party is defined as a party that enters an armed conflict with troops to actively support one of the primary parties in the conflict. The UCDP further specifies that only secondary support from state actors is coded. Moreover, an active troop participation of the forces of the external state is sufficient to be coded as a secondary party, which means that it does not need to meet the 25 battle-related deaths criteria to be included in the UCDP dataset (Pettersson, 2011). The TCA includes support in interstate conflicts as observations of transnational armed conflict. For example, the troop support of France and Zaire to Chad in the war between Libya and Chad in 1987 is coded as a transnational conflict dyad between Libya and France and a transnational conflict dyad between Libya and Zaire.

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In addition, to the data on external state participation in conflicts, the TCA uses the UCDP External Support Dataset to code non-troop support to the primary parties in interstate conflict, including financial support and the provision of weapons (Pettersson, 2011). Hence, the weapons, training, and funding the US provided to Chad during the war between Chad and Libya in 1987 is coded as a transnational conflict dyad between the US and Libya.

The TCA relies on the Militarized Interstate Disputes (MID) dataset compiled by the COW project in order to capture instances of conflicts between states that fall below the 25 battle-related deaths threshold em-

ployed by the UCDP. MIDs are defined by the COW project as cases of conflict in which a state threatens, displays or uses military force short of war against another state (Jones et al., 1996). The original MID data is not dyadic, but Zeev Maoz has compiled a frequently used dyadic dataset on the basis of the MID data. This Dyadic MID Dataset, version 2.0, set incorporates historical research on individual dyads rather than just taking all possible dyadic combinations (Maoz, 2005). Since the dyadic MID dataset coded by Maoz only covers the 1816-2002 period, the TCA is extended with the most recent MID data, version 4.1, which covers the 2002-2010 period (Palmer et al., 2015). Based on the dispute narratives of the MID dataset version 4.1 and the same coding procedure as Maoz, the most recent MID data is subsequently transformed into dyadic data. The vast majority of disputes involving African actors involve only two actors. Only one MID consists of more than two states. This makes the coding of a dyadic dataset for African MIDs between 2003 and 2010 a fairly straightforward task. The only MID that involved more than one state was Rwanda invading the DRC North Kivu region in April 2004, attacking the DRC towns of Masisi and Rutshuru while looking for Interahamwe rebels and occupying the territory. Fighting spilled over to Burundi in August 2004, when Hutu extremist rebels, supported by Congolese forces, attacked a Tutsi refugee camp in Gatumba, near Bujumbura, killing 160 people. Both Rwanda and Burundi subsequently threatened retaliation measures in eastern Congo (MID dispute number 10402). This MID episode is coded as a MID between Rwanda and the DRC and a MID between Burundi and the DRC.

The TCA draws on the UCDP External Support Dataset to capture external involvement in civil wars in Africa between 1960 and 2010. In the UCDP External Support Dataset, troop support refers to the active participation in the 'civil war' with troops, while non-troop support refers to the provision of weapons, logistics, training, funding, as well as the sharing of military intelligence and the provision of access to territory (Pettersson, 2011). The observations on external support to conflict parties in civil wars are treated as additional dyads of transnational conflict in the TCA. For instance, based on the external non-troop support that Biafra received in 1967 in the civil war in Nigeria, the TCA creates five addi-

tional transnational conflict dyads in which France, China, Israel, Portugal, and South Africa support Biafra against the Government of Nigeria (De St. Jorre, 1972; Stremlau, 1977; Červenka, 1977: 98 and 251; Meyers, 1974: 365).

The UCDP External Support Dataset codes external support from 1975 onwards. To mitigate this temporal gap, the TCA codes external support for the 1960-1974 period, using the same categories and coding rules of the UCDP External Support Dataset. The coding of these cases is mostly based on secondary sources, including historical monographs on civil wars and journal articles, but sometime based on interviews with experts and eye-witnesses. All added observations in the dataset are accompanied by an analytical summary and a source on which this summary is based. For example, in the war between Congo-Kinshasa and the Conseil National de Liberation (CNL), the US and Belgium supported the Tshombe's government with weapons, but also with troops from 24 November 1964 onwards when parachutists were dropped into rebel-held Stanleyville in a joint American-Belgian operation. Moreover, from February 1964 onwards, UN planes provided logistical support to the Congolese army fighting the rebels. After the UN withdrew in June 1964, Belgium replaced the UN planes (McKeon, 1966: 397; Wallerstein, 1967: 80-81; Meyers, 1974: 364). Accordingly, the TCA includes two observations for the transnational conflict dyad between the US and the CNL in 1964 and 1965 and two observations for the transnational conflict dyad between Belgium and the CNL for the same years. The TCA also include a transnational conflict dyad-year between the UN and the CNL in 1964. Finally, Algeria, Sudan, Egypt, Congo-Brazzaville, Uganda, Angola, China, and the Soviet Union supporting the CNL with access to territory and/or weapons creates several additional transnational conflict dyads between these countries on the one side and Congo-Kinshasa on the other side (Červenka, 1977: 84-92; McKeon, 1966: 397; Meyers, 1974: 363-364).

In addition to external support in armed conflict, the TCA includes data on external support to coup-mak-

> **In addition to external support in armed conflict, the TCA includes data on external support to coup-makers.**

ers. To this purpose, the TCA draws on the Coups d'état Dataset by Powell and Thyne, in which coups are defined as 'illegal and overt attempts by the military or other elites within the state apparatus to unseat the sitting executive' (Powell and Thyne, 2011). Powell and Thyne include an 'invasion" variable in their dataset that captures whether 'the attempt to unseat the sitting executive came from an external force' (Powell and Thyne, 2011). The 'invasion' variable used by Powell and Thyne is fairly strict in that it only considers support from states that have actually invaded the country in which a coup takes place. The TCA therefore adds another variable that codes whether coup-makers have received support from countries that are not directly involved in an interstate conflict with the country in which the coup takes place, but support the coup-makers through the provision of weapons, logistics, training, funding, as well as the sharing of military intelligence and the provision of access to territory, essentially the same types of support considered by the UCDP. Expressions of moral support or the recognition of the legitimacy of the coup-makers are thus not coded as instances of support in the dataset. For instance, Israeli financial support to Idi Amin's coup in Uganda in 1971 is coded as external support, whereas the recognition of the Idi Amin regime by Great Britain after the coup had taken place is not coded as external support.

The TCA uses data on domestic conflicts and coups without external involvement as a reference category, making it possible to compare the magnitude of interstate conflict and transnational conflict to the level of domestic conflict in Africa. The TCA draws on the UCDP Conflict Dataset for its observations on civil war dyad-years (Gleditsch et al., 2002), while it uses the Coups d'état Dataset by Powell and Thyne to identify coups in Africa between 1960 and 2010 (Powell and Thyne, 2011).

Many of the observations included in the datasets on interstate conflict overlap. For instance, the Second Ogaden War between Somalia and Ethiopia in 1977 is included in the COW (COW war number 187) and the UCDP data (UCDP conflict ID 589). When an in-

terstate conflict appears in both the COW and the UCDP data, the observations are merged into a single observation. Furthermore, before an interstate dispute escalates into intestate war interstate, it is sometimes preceded by a MID. Consequently, MID dyad-years in some instances overlap with the first year of an interstate war. Interstate wars and MIDs are made mutually exclusive categories in the TCA by coding the conflict dyad-years that appear both in the interstate war datasets and the MID dataset as an interstate war. For example, the Algeria-Morocco border dispute appears in the MID dataset, but is coded in the TCA as an interstate conflict because it also appears in the UCDP.

The category that captures the external support provided to conflict parties in civil wars in the TCA is not made mutually exclusive with observations on interstate conflict. Indeed, while the provision of external support to a rebel party to fight an enemy state can be used as substitute for a direct military confrontation, it can also be employed as a complimentary strategy in the context of an interstate armed conflict (Salehyan, 2010). For instance, when Tanzania invaded Uganda in 1978 to overthrow Idi Amin's regime, it simultaneously heavily supported the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) which was fighting alongside Tanzanian troops. Uganda and Tanzania are thus coded as being embroiled in two types of transnational conflict in 1978 in the TCA.

Revising and Supplementing the Existing Datasets

Part of the work on the TCA has consisted of evaluating the coding of cases in the existing datasets, as well as adding observations. An example of the evaluation of cases in the existing datasets is the re-coding of some interstate civil wars into external support. Since instances of interstate conflict, external support, and intrastate conflict in Africa often overlap, distinguishing between these types of conflicts is not always straightforward. This is reflected in some different coding decisions made by the COW project and the UCDP. For example, the COW project codes the involvement of Cuba in the Ogaden war between Somalia and Ethiopia as an interstate war between Cuba and Somalia (in addition to the interstate war between Somalia and Ethiopia), whereas the UCDP codes this observation as external support from Cuba to Ethiopia in the form of troops. With this particular observation, the TCA follows the UCDP in coding the involvement of Cuba in the Ogaden war as external support rather than an additional interstate war between Cuba and Somalia. The TCA has changed sixteen observations included in the existing datasets, of which 4 concerned the re-coding of a MID into an interstate war in order to make the interstate war and MID categories mutually exclusive. Twelve observations were re-coded from a COW interstate war observation to an external support observation.

The TCA includes observations on cases that are missed in the existing datasets because they fall outside of the temporal coverage of these datasets, observations on cases that do fall within the temporal coverage but have been overlooked, and observations on cases that do not fit within the categories of the existing datasets. Table 2 below shows that 546 cases in the TCA have been added, which is around 12.5 percent of the total of cases included in the TCA. Most of these added cases – 502 – were added because they fell out of the temporal scope of UCDP External Support Dataset, which covers the 1975-2009 period. Only 13 cases were added that have been overlooked by existing datasets and 31 cases in the TCA have been added because of a newly created category of transnational violence included in the TCA, namely external support to coup-makers.

Examples of observation added to the TCA which fell out of the temporal scope of UCDP External Support

Table 2: An Overview of Unidentified Cases of interstate and transnational armed politics

	Added	Missing	Overlooked	New Category
Total cases in the TCA	546	502	13	31
Percentage of observations in the TCA	12.15%	11.18%	0.29%	0.69%

Dataset is the support provided by Libya, Nigeria, and Sudan to FROLINAT in Chad between 1966 and 1970, during the war between the Chadian government and the FROLINAT (Pittman, 1984: 299).

The TCA also includes many added observations in the 1960-1974 period on external support to liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies and to the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa. Most of this was non-troop support (Clapham, 1996: chapter 2; Guimaraes, 2016), but one exception is the troop support of Tanzania to the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO). Throughout the guerrilla war between the Mozambican independence movement and Portugal which started in 1964, Tanzania deployed its own troops in Mozambique and helped FRELIMO to secure military equipment and training from Algeria, the Soviet Union and China (Mwakikagile, 2006; Emerson, 2014: 173). Another exception is the Cuban troop support to the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) during the liberation war in Guinea-Bissau (Weisburd, 2010: 79). South Africa and Rhodesia supported Portugal with troops during the liberation war in Angola (Tvedten, 1997; Beit-Hallahmi, 1987).

The support by South Africa to coup-makers in Lesotho, who referred to themselves as the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA), in 1986 is an example of an observation added as part of a category of transnational conflict not recorded in any of the existing datasets (Pherudi, 2001). The military intervention of Senegal in Gambia on 31 September 1981, in support of the Gambian government to counter a coup conducted by the National Revolutionary Council (NRC), also falls within this category of coups with a transnational element (Richmond, 1993).

Dimensions of Transnational Conflict in Africa, 1960-2010

Having described the methodology behind the TCA, this section provides a brief overview of the dimensions of transnational conflict in Africa between 1960 and 2010. Figure 1 below shows the relative frequency of the different types of transnational conflict in Africa between 1960 and 2010. It shows that outright interstate war is indeed quite rare in Africa, constituting only around 0.8 percent of the transnational armed conflict in Africa (and a much smaller percentage of all armed conflicts). External support from other states to either one of the primary interstate warring parties is more common: 2

*Figure 1: The Distribution of Transnational Conflict in Africa*
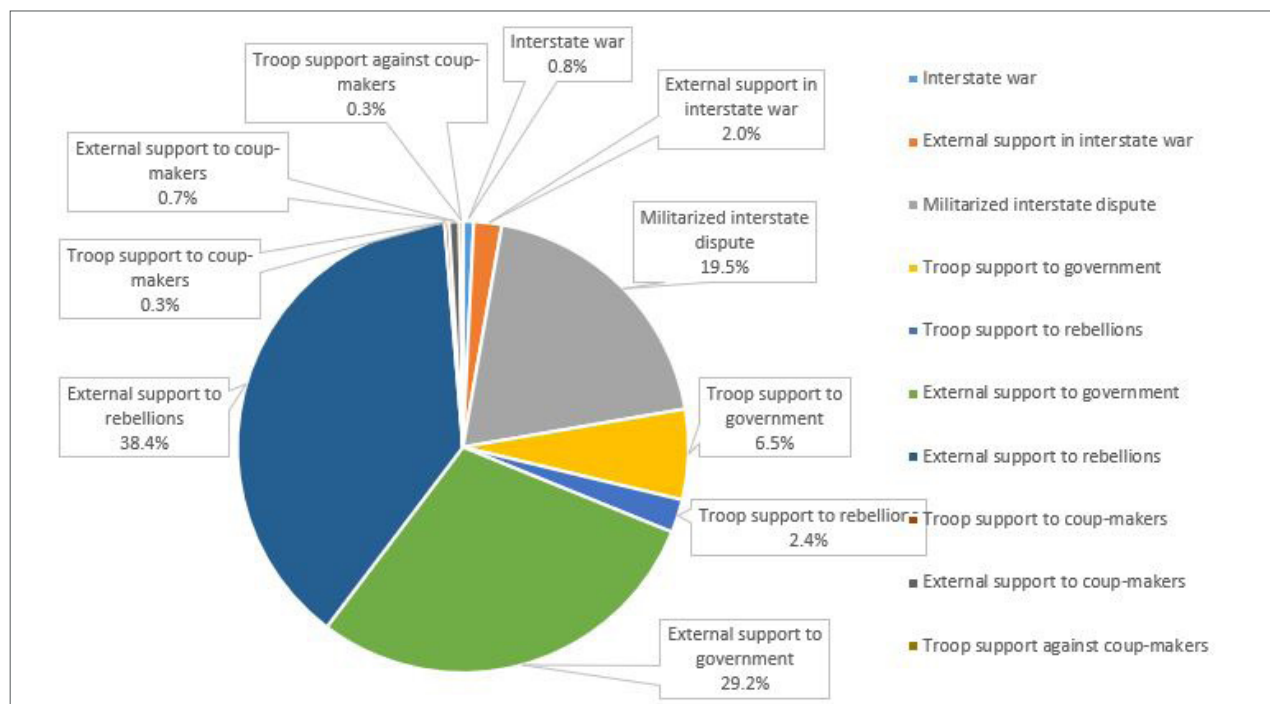
percent of the transnational conflict dyads belongs to this category (the conflict dyad is coded as being between the external supporter and the enemy of the state that is being supported in these cases). Low-intensity disputes make up a fairly substantial portion of the transnational conflict in Africa, namely 19.5 percent.

These data also show that troop support in the context of domestic conflict is less common than external support in the form of the provision of weapons, logistics, training, funding, as well as the sharing of military intelligence and the provision of access to territory, and training. While troop support to the government side (6.5 percent) is more common than troop support to armed opposition (2.4 percent), ex-

2010 related to troop support to coup-makers. This figure is 0.7 percent for non-troop support to coup-makers and 0.3 percent for the support to an incumbent government in order to thwart a coup. This relatively low proportion of external support in the context of coups may seem striking given that the Coups d'état dataset identifies 371 coups in Africa between 1960 and 2010 (Powell and Thyne, 2011), as opposed to 713 civil wars identified by the UCDP (Pettersson and Wallensteen, 2015). However, civil wars commonly take place over an extended period time, providing ample time for external support relations to be formed.

Figure 2 shows the total number of transnational conflict dyads over the decades. Figures 3 and 4 show

Figure 2: Temporal Trend of Transnational Conflict in Africa
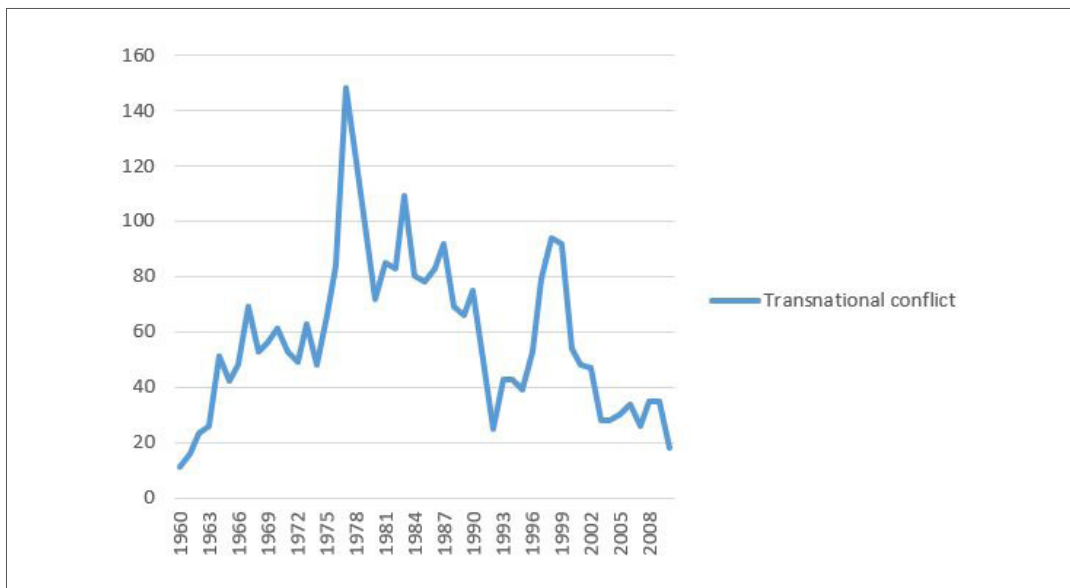
ternal non-troop support has more frequently been provided to armed opposition (38.4 percent) than to the government side (29.2 percent). Transnational conflict dyads in which an external actor supports an armed opposition movement in its fight against a government is in fact the most common type of transnational conflict dyad. There were 1,205 of these types of conflict dyads in Africa between 1960 and 2010.

By contrast, external support to coup-makers has been less common. Only 0.3 percent of the transnational conflict dyads in Africa between 1960 and

the data for internationalized internal and internal dyads. The TCA data classify 86 percent of conflict dyads as 'internationalized internal' and 14 percent as 'internal', roughly reversing the proportions in the UCDP which are 18 percent and 82 percent respectively. This is represented in Figures 3 and 4.

Challenges and Future Research

It follows from the TCA that the conventional wisdom that Africa has experienced little interstate conflict is misleading. In order to fully explain the internationality of wars in Africa, including so-

called 'civil wars' as well as other forms of political violence such as military coups, one needs to look at regional and interstate dynamics, as opposed to solely dynamics within the civil war country.

Classifying categories and types of conflicts in which various African armed forces have been involved are instances of the use of force for political reasons beyond national borders is not always a straightforward task. Future research should examine types of transnational conflict that do not necessarily fall within the categories of existing datasets. We identi-

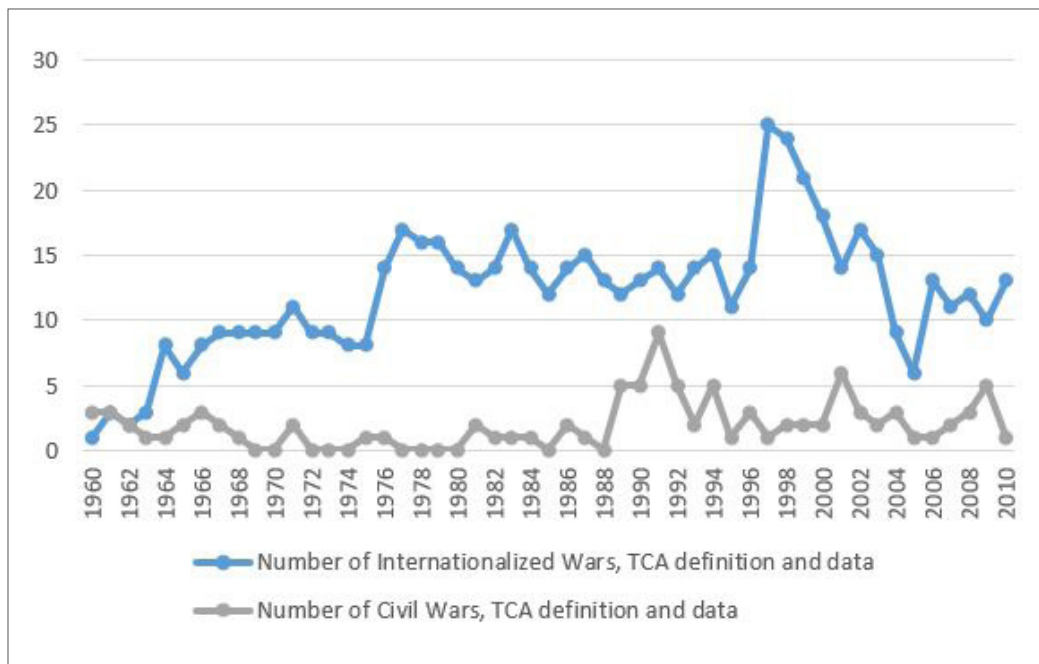*Figure 3: Internationalized-Internal and Internal Dyads, UCDP coding*
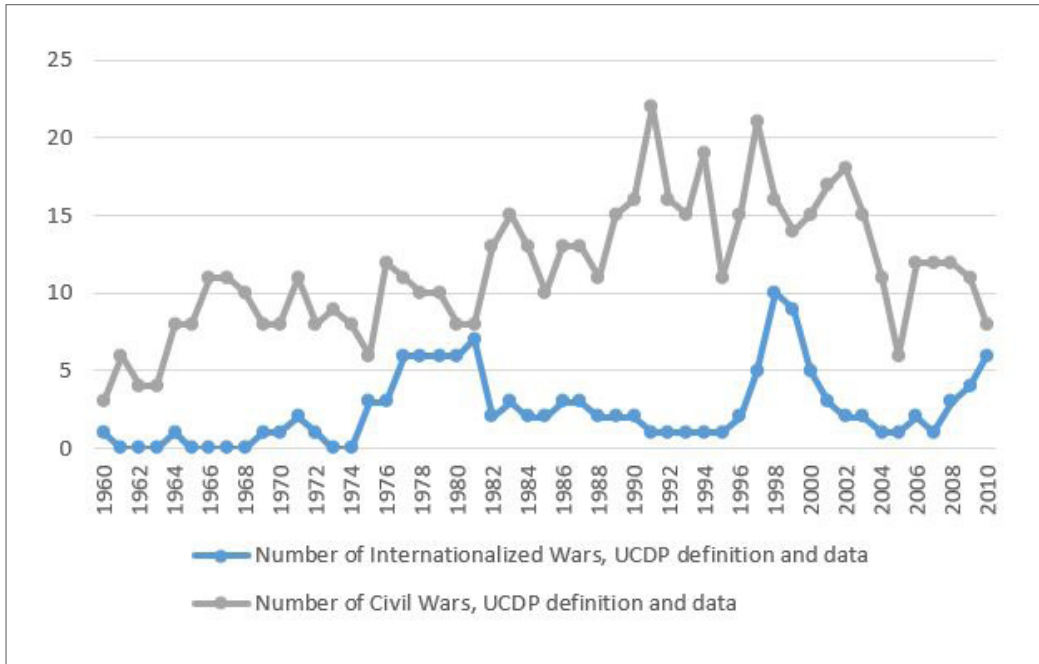
Figure 4: Internationalized-Internal and Internal Dyads, TCA Coding

fy three new possible categories. A first possible new category relates to fighting between non-state actors that have a transnational character, a phenomenon not currently captured in existing datasets. According to the UCDP, a secondary party supporting one of the conflict parties with troops 'is always a state actor who shares the position in the incompatibility with one of the primary parties in the conflict' (Pettersson, 2011). The TCA extends these criteria by also including troop support from non-state actors. Telling examples in this regard are the intervention of Congolese Jean-Pierre Bemba's Movement for the Liberation of the Congo (MLC) in the Central African Republic (CAR) and Liberian Charles Taylor's support to the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in Sierra Leone in 1991. The MLC rebel troops from DRC intervened in 2002-2003 to support the government of Ange-Felix Patassé in CAR. Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) intervened in Sierra Leone in 1991 to help a proxy rebellion by the RUF. More complex cases falling in this category involve coalitions pitting a coalition of one or more national armies along with their proxy armed groups against another coalition of one or more national armies along with their proxy armed groups. A telling example is the fight over the towns of Kurmuk and Geissan on border between Ethiopia and Sudan. As recalled by de Waal, in November 1989, the 'SPLA and Ethiopian troops, crossed the border at Kurmuk and were poised to take the town of Damazin, and the nearby Blue Nile dam that generated Khartoum's electricity supply. The Sudanese army was helpless – and was saved only by a secret commando action by the EPLF, which [at the invitation of and in coordination with the Sudanese] defeated the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and the Ethiopians in January 1990' (de Waal, 2015: 43).

A second new possible category of transnational dimension currently not well captured in existing datasets concerns mercenary-led armed operations. In some instances, governments sponsor mercenary-led operations to overthrow another government. This was the case in 1981 when four African states, namely, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Morocco, and Togo sponsored a failed attempt led by French mercenary Bob Denard to overthrow the government of Benin (Dossou-Yovo, 1999). In other instances, a state deploys its troops to protect a friendly govern-

ment against a mercenary-led operation as it was the case in Seychelles in 1981 when 400 Tanzanian troops intervened to save the government from a mercenary-led coup orchestrated from South Africa and led by the infamous 'Mad' Mike (Fawthrop, 1982).

Finally, a third possible new category, though one not included in the TCA, pertains to a situation in which a conflict party establishes its military bases in a foreign country without the consent or official support of the host government. The situation of Uganda's Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in South Sudan, CAR and DRC is a case in point. Similarly, the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) from Rwanda, the National Forces of Liberation (FNL) from Burundi, the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) from Uganda did not have consent to establish bases in the DRC. These observations are not included in the TCA because the governments of the countries where these rebel groups are based were not in conflict with the governments that fought these rebel groups. Yet, these cases are illustrative of yet another transnational dimension of conflict in Africa.

In conclusion, it follows from the TCA that when existing datasets on interstate wars, MIDs, external support, intrastate wars, and coups are combined, the conventional wisdom that Africa has experienced little interstate conflict is stood on its head: the majority of African conflicts must be considered internationalized-internal. The great number of internationalized civil wars is reflected in the great number of external support dyads in which foreign leaders support a foreign rebel party as a way to indirectly fight a rival state. Hence, what conventionally is considered a 'civil war' is in fact often simultaneously an indirect confrontation between rival states using proxies. The TCA fully captures these primarily internationalized-internal armed conflicts, alongside a large number of observations on low-level confrontations between states. Hence, the TCA is crucial for our understanding of the transnational nature of conflict in Africa. Solely focusing on civil wars or interstate conflicts would overlook cases in which rebels or coup plotters are militarily or financially supported or supported with troops.

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ONLINE APPENDIX 1 – TCA CODEBOOK

GENERAL

Variable	Label	Description
id	id	The unique identifier of all observations in the TVCPA. Each observation listed in the database is given a unique ID code
location	name of the location	Lists the name of the location of the TVCPA observation as provided in existing datasets or in the source on which added cases are based
name	conflict name	Lists the name of the TVCPA observation as provided in existing datasets or in the source on which added cases are based
year	year	Lists the year in which the TVCPA observation was active
actor_a	actor a	Lists the name of conflict actor a. Note: Since the unit of analysis in the TVCPA is the dyad-year, all observations in the TVCPA include only two actors. Conflicts involving more than two actors are split up in more than one dyad
client_a	client actor a	Lists the name of the actor receiving support for those observations in which a conflict actor in an interstate or intrastate war receives external support
actor_b	actor b	Lists the name of conflict actor b

INTERSTATE CONFLICT

Variable	Label	Description
interstatewar	Interstate war	Coded as 1 if the observation is an interstate war
cow	interstate war in cow	Coded as 1 if the observation is included in the Correlates of War (COW) dataset. Version 4.0 of the COW interstate war dataset is available at: http://www.correlatesofwar.org/data-sets/COW-war
cowid	cow id	The war number of the observation as included in the COW dataset
ucdpinterstate	interstate war in ucdp	Coded as 1 if the observation is included in Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) data on interstate wars. The UCDP/PRIO Dyadic Dataset version 4-2015 is available at: http://www.ucdp.uu.se/downloads/
ucdpid	ucdp conflict id	The conflict id of the observation as included in the UCDP dataset
war _interstate	warring support in interstate war	Coded as 1 if a conflict party to an interstate conflict receives warring support. Note on external support in interstate war observations in the TVCPA: The actor that provides the support is listed as actor A, the conflict party that receives support is listed as client A, and the conflict party that is fighting actor A and client A is listed as Actor B. In essence, this variable thus reflects a conflict dyad between the external supporter and the conflict party to which the supporter is hostile
nonwar_interstate	non-warring support in interstate war	Coded as 1 if a conflict party to an interstate conflict receives non-warring support
mid	militarized interstate dispute	Coded as 1 if the observation is a Militarized Interstate Dispute (MID)
midMaoz	mid Maoz (2005)	Coded as 1 if the observation is included in the Dyadic MID Dataset version 2.0. The Dyadic MID Dataset version 2.0 compiled by Zeev Maoz (2005) is avialble at: http://vanity.dss.ucdavis.edu/~maoz/dyadmid.html
midMaozid	mid Maoz (2005) id	Lists the dispute number of the observation as included in the Dyadic MID dataset
mid41	mid 4.1	Coded as 1 if the observation is included in the COW MID dataset version 4.1. The COW MID dataset version 4.1 is available at: http://www.correlatesofwar.org/data-sets/MIDs
mid41id	mid 4.1 id	Lists the dispute number of the observation as included in the COW MID dataset version 4.1

TRANSNATIONAL CONFLICT INVOLVING A NON-STATE ACTOR

Variable	Label	Description
war_gov	warring support to the government side	Coded as 1 if the government side in a civil war receives warring support. Note on external support in civil war observations in the TVCPA: The actor that provides the support is listed as actor A, the conflict party that receives support is listed as client A, and the conflict party that is fighting actor A and client A is listed as Actor B. In essence, this variable thus reflects a conflict dyad between the external supporter and the conflict party to which the supporter is hostile
war_reb	warring support to the rebel side	Coded as 1 if the rebel side in a civil war receives warring support
nonwar_gov	non-warring support to the government side	Coded as 1 if the government side in a civil war receives non-warring support
nonwar_reb	non-warring support to the rebel side	Coded as 1 if the rebel side in a civil war receives non-warring support
ucdpsupport	ucdp external support data	Coded as 1 if the observation is included in the UCDP External Support dataset. The UCDP External Support Dataset version 1.0-2011 is available at: http://www.ucdp.uu.se/downloads/
addedsupport	added external support data	The UCDP External Support Dataset only covers the 1975-2009 period. Consequently the TVCPA codes external support for the 1960-1974 period and 2010. The coding of these cases is based expert interviews and on secondary sources, including historical monographs on civil wars and journal articles. The "comment" variable described below, among others, includes analytical summaries of added cases of external support
coup_support	coup with external support	Coded as 1 if the observation is a coup in which the coup-makers received external support
gic	global instances of coups	Coded as 1 if the observation is Global Instances of Coups d'etat Dataset by Powell and Thyne. The Global Instances of Coups d'etat Dataset is available at: http://www.jonathanmpowell.com/coup-detat-dataset.html

NATIONAL CONFLICT

Variable	Label	Description
ucdpintrasate	ucdp intrasate	Codded as 1 if the observation is included in the UCDP data on intrastate armed conflicts
coup_no_support	coup without external involvement	Coded as 1 if the observation is a coup in which the coup-makers received no external support

ADDED AND CHANGED

Variable	Label	Description
added	observation added	Coded as 1 if an observation is not included in the existing datasets and is added to the TVCPA
changed	observation changed	Coded as 1 if an observation included in the existing datasets is re-coded
comment	comment	Provides a comment on why a certain observation has been added or changed
source	source	Lists the source on which the changed or added case is based

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