Coding Instructions for the
Mass Mobilization in Autocracies Database, version 3.0

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1 Introduction

The Mass Mobilization in Autocracies Database is a new data collection that tracks incidents of political protest in autocratic countries. The MMAD contains detailed information on these incidents with spatial and temporal coordinates. The MMAD is based on media reports from different sources. This document describes the general conventions guiding the MMAD data collection and the variables it contains. For more detailed information on the MMAD, see Chapter 4 in Weidmann and Rød (2019).

2 General Conventions

2.1 Definition of a Mass Mobilization Event

The focus of interest in the MMAD is a mass mobilization event, defined as *a public gathering of at least 25 people with an expressed political motivation either opposing or supporting a) central, regional, or local government, or b) other non-governmental institution.* The definition entails the following inclusion criteria:

1. There was an actual, observable public gathering, i.e. we do not code intentions to mobilize. The public criterion also excludes prison riots.

2. The event involved at least 25 people. We acknowledge that it is difficult to get accurate numbers of participants, so in the majority of cases it is impossible to verify this criterion with high certainty. This is why we err on the side of caution and only exclude events that in all likelihood do *not* reach the 25 participants threshold, as for example a sit-in protest of two dissidents.

3. Mobilization was of political nature in a broad sense, i.e. an expressed political motive must be identified. By political, we refer to matters of, or relating to, the government or the public affairs of a country. These criteria exclude non-political rioting and street fighting, for example in reaction to sports results.

4. Mobilization explicitly opposed or supported (a) the central, regional, or local government, i.e. we do not code events directed at another state's government or international and supranational organizations (e.g. the mobilization in Muslim countries as reaction to the film *Innocence of Muslims*); or (b) any other *domestic* public or private non-governmental actor (e.g. TV and radio stations).

2.2 Unit of Analysis: Event Report

The unit of analysis in the MMAD is the *event report*. An event report is an observation of a mass mobilization event (as defined above), reported by a media source. Event reports have precise spatial and temporal coordinates, which means that they are coded for a single day and a single location (typically, a city). Event reports differ from events in the sense that there can be multiple reports about a single event. In order to preserve uncertainty about reported events, we include all (potentially conflicting) reports, such that the user can decide on a procedure to deal with this uncertainty.

Many news reports contain too little information for us to clearly discern a mass mobilization event and the necessary information about it. Three criteria need to be fulfilled in order for an event report to be coded from a news article: First, the nature of the incident needs to conform with our definition of a mass-mobilization incident (see above). In addition, we need to be able to identify the date and the location (city) of the incident. That is, events with unclear dates and unclear locations are not included.

2.3 Identifying Autocracies

We rely upon the classification of autocracies offered by Geddes, Wright and Frantz (2014*a,b*). It offers a near ideal match for MMAD. First, it distinguishes autocracies from all non-autocracies by identifying all regimes that are neither autocracies nor democracies (e.g. foreign occupied countries, warlord societies and provisional governments). This ensures that autocracies are not treated as a residual category in which all nondemocratic regimes fit. Surely, citizens cannot mobilize either against or in support of a domestic central government if none exists. Second, dates for the start and end of regimes are included. Aiming to cover the period 2003-2012, MMAD 1.0 comprise data from 69 countries. Since the data from Geddes, Wright and Frantz (2014*a*) stop in 2010, we assess the nature of regimes in 2011 and 2012. One country of interest gained independence in the period of analysis (South Sudan).[1] The cities belonging to South Sudan are treated as part of the new unit. For MMAD 2.0 and the period 2013-2015, we rely on preliminary codings for an update of the GWF data set that go up until 2014.[2] In order to identify authoritarian regimes in 2015, we verified if the regimes that were classified as authoritarian in 2014 remained in power. If this was not the case, we conducted our own assessment based on the GWF criteria. For MMAD 3.0 that additionally covers the period 2016-2018, we rely on the "Regimes of the World" classification offered by Lührmann, Tannenberg and Lindberg (2018). We retrieve their codings from Coppedge et al. (2019) and select all countries that are classified as closed or electoral autocracies.[3] The advantage of this classification is a strong overlap of more than 90% with the coding by Geddes, Wright and Frantz (2014*a*) (Lührmann, Tannenberg and Lindberg, 2018), which ensures continuity in our sample selection. We exlude all countries with an interregnum period[4] to ensure that only countries with an identifiable regime in place are part of our sample. Similar to Geddes, Wright and Frantz (2014*a*), we also exclude countries with populations less than one million[5]. All country periods covered by MMAD version 3.0 are displayed in Table 1

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[1] East Timor and Kosovo also gained independence, but they are not included as autocracies in our set of countries

[2] We would like to thank Joseph Wright for sharing the preliminary codebook with us. All errors are our own.

[3] The selection is based on the variable v2x_regime.

[4] To identify interregnum periods, we rely on V-Dem's v2regint variable.

[5] We draw on World Bank (2019) to check population sizes. Where data is missing, we rely on alternative sources.

(Appendix). Please note that the sample of countries might need adjustments in order to match the researcher's specific goals.

3 Sources and Coding Procedure

The MMAD identifies information from news reports about protest. News reports are extracted from the Lexis-Nexis database using a direct access through their Web Service Kit (WSK). Sources are limited to three agencies: Associated Press (AP), Agence France Presse (AFP) and BBC Monitoring. The latter is a reporting service that relies mostly on local sources, which are provided in English. Details of the coding philosophy, the source selection procedure and the search keywords used are provided in Chapter 4 in Weidmann and Rød (2019, available at `http://mmadatabase.org/`).

3.1 The MMAD Online Coding Tool

All coding takes place within the MMAD online coding tool. After the database has been populated with the retrieved articles, coders are assigned tasks by the administrator. Typically, the coding tasks are divided into countries for the entire period of interest (e.g. Saudi Arabia January 1, 2003 - December 31, 2012), but tasks can also cover shorter time periods. When a coder has been assigned a task, all the articles associated with this task will appear on the coding interface of the database (e.g. all articles retrieved for Saudi Arabia January 1, 2003 - December 31, 2012). The assigned articles are sorted by publication date.

When the coder enters the online tool, s/he first sees the list of assigned tasks. By clicking on one of these tasks, the coder is presented each article sequentially, ordered by date. Each article is presented along with the option of adding events based on it. Here, the coder can decide to add no events (if the article does not report about anything relevant for the MMAD), or to add one or more event reports by filling in the details about each of them. Figure 1 shows the coding view for a single article and one event that has been added.

4 Variables

4.1 Values and Labels

The following list specifies the variables included in the MMAD and the values they can take. In general, we code missing values (NA) if the corresponding information cannot be ascertained from the news report. This NA rule applies to all variables except side and scope as described below. NA values are not permitted for date and location (since both are required for an event to be included). For all variables, NA values are coded as empty strings.

All variables with text input (such as *Actors* and *Issue*, see below) should be entered with alphanumeric characters and apostrophes only (no special characters such as commas, quotes etc.), unless explicitly specified otherwise. Exceptions include the separator (`;`) for multiple entries and the issue direction (`for:` or `against:`). Separators should not be followed by a whitespace. All words should be lower cased, with the exception of proper names (e.g. Obama, Islamists).

4.2 Event Coordinates

Event date (Type: date)

Date of incident, **required field**.

Three rules govern the coding of event dates. First, note that sometimes the article is written on a different day than the actual event took place. It is therefore not always correct to code the publication date of the article, and coders should always double-check whether the publication date is the same as the event date in the article text.

Figure 1: Coding screen of the MMAD online coding tool.

Second, if there are reports of protest over multiple days, then code *only* the event that is reported. Do not backtrack or duplicate event reports. In the example below, only code the event that is reported, not the four previous days of protest:

- "Several dozen Kyrgyz opposition activists entered the fifth day of a hunger strike on Monday amid an escalating standoff between the impoverished ex-Soviet republic's president and his opponents ... The 91 opposition activists, who started their hunger strike on Thursday, lay on mattresses in nine traditional felt tents that they set up in front of the parliament building in the capital Bishkek. Banners attached to the tents said, 'Reforms without Bakiyev' " (Associated Press Worldstream, April 9, 2007).

A useful rule for backtracking is a distinction between reference events and news events. The former are protests that are used to contextualize a situation, while the latter are protests that are the focus of the article. In the above example, the section "the 91 opposition activists, who started their hunger strike on Thursday" is the reference to contextualize, while the news is the report of a 'hunger strike on Monday'.

Third, do not code plans for future protest. Example:

- "Opposition groups are planning to launch nationwide rallies on Wednesday to press for Bakiyev's resignation" (Associated Press Worldstream, April 9, 2007).

Location (Type: integer)

City of incident as per the GeoNames database, **required field**.

Two rules govern the coding of location. First, as discussed above, if the city / village-level location is not mentioned, then do not code as event report.[6] When the location has more than one hit in the Geonames database, always code the highest level (e.g. PPLA rather than PPL. See the entire list of classifications under the letter "P" here: `http://www.geonames.org/export/codes.html`). The integer value for each entry refers to the ID assigned to the location in the Geonames database.

Second, if an article reports multiple protests in one city at the same day, then code as multiple protests. Example:

- "A rally began in the city of Osh at around 1000 [local time] today. About 7,000 people from the region's every district and town gathered in front of the Osh regional state administration. They carried placards 'No room for Bakiyev in Osh', 'We support the new government' and 'We need peace and accord' ... In the meantime, about ten mini-buses carrying Kurmanbek Bakiyev's supporters arrived in the central square to hold a rally in the square" (BBC Monitoring, April 15, 2010). In this example, the city of Osh is be coded as having experienced two events.

4.3   Participant Variables

Actors (Type: text)

Who were the actors involved in the mass mobilization incident? In a general sense, this string variable captures the label given to the actors involved in the news report. If more than one actor is given in the article, we separate them by a semicolon.

Three rules govern the coding of actors. First, do not spell out actors if it does not provide information about the actors. For example `demonstrators / protesters / people` do not add anything to our understanding of who the actors were. These terms should only be included if there is a description of actors' attributes attached to it, for example `pro-democracy activists`.

Second, keep it short. For example do not code `group of young people` but `young people`. Two other examples are `Jordanian trade unionists` which should be coded as `trade unionists` and `editors of seven newspapers` which should be coded as `editors`.

Third, do not use terms that refer to other variables unless it describes actors' attributes. For example `hundreds of pro-democracy demonstrators` should be `pro-democracy demonstrators` because hundreds refer to the number of participants.

Following the rules given above, actors can be identified in two ways. First, actors may be identified by the name of the organizing body. Example:

- "About 50 activists of the Ata-Jurt movement erected two army tents..." (Associated Press, January 8, 2005). In this example, the actors are `Ata-Jurt movement activists`.

Second, actors may be identified by the individual or the cause the mass mobilization incident is supporting or opposing. Examples:

- "A protest action organized by Roza Otunbayeva's supporters in front of the Kyrgyz parliament is continuing" (BBC Monitoring, January 10, 2005). In this example, the actors are `Otunbayeva supporters`.

- "A regional government spokesman said about 10 000 pro-democracy protesters stormed the police headquarters in Jalal-Abad..." (Associated Press, March 20, 2005). In this example, the actors are `pro-democracy protesters`.

Other labels of actors include `pro-government supporters`, `workers`, `miners`, `villagers`, `relatives`, `young people`, etc.

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[6]In some cases the location may not be found in the Geonames database. In these rare instances, the error is likely due on the side of the report (e.g. typos).

Number of participants (Type: text)

Estimate of number of participants. Can be both an *integer number* or a *phrase*. In cases where a number is given, enter the number in digits, even if the text spells it out in words. When entering numbers, do not insert whitespaces or commas. Some sources do not report numbers, but phrases such as "dozens", "scores", or "hundreds". In these cases, we provide the exact phrase used to describe the event. Moreover, if the article phrases the number of participants as `more than / around / ca 3000`, code as `3000`. If more than one estimate is given in the article, we separate them by a semicolon (;). Examples:

- "More than 20 000 people rallied in Jalal-Abad". In this example, the value is `20000`.

- "Dozens of protesters gathered outside a court building in the capital ..." (Agence France Presse, March 11, 2009). In this example, the value is `dozens`.

- "The movement headquarters said that currently, there are up to 5,000 people in the square. However, according to law enforcement bodies' estimates, not more than 1,500 people are taking part in the rally" (BBC Monitoring, November 3, 2006). In this example, the value is `5000;1500`.

4.4 Issue Variables

Issue (Type: text)

What is the reported issue / motivation for incident? Ideally described by one or two terms using the original wording in the event report. More than one issue can be reported for each incident, we separate them by a semicolon (;). Before noting each issue, coders add either `for:` or `against:` to indicate whether the protest supported or opposed the issue at hand. Examples:

- "About 300 members of the youth wing of the united Kyrgyz opposition have lined up in front of the windows of the office of Kyrgyz President Kurmanbek Bakiyev in Government House. They are carrying multicoloured flags and chanting: 'Bakiyev, go.'... [Passage omitted: covered details; the protesters are demanding the president's resignation and an early presidential election]" (BBC Worldwide, April 17, 2007). In this example, the issue is `for:president's resignation;for:early elections`.

- "At the moment, about 200 people are moving towards a stadium where they want to continue the protest campaign against the unfair court ruling against the former defence minister, the deputy head of the district administration said" (BBC Monitoring, February 10, 2010). In this example, the issue is `against:unfair court ruling`.

- "Hundreds of car owners started a protest action in the Kyrgyz capital today against a ban on the use of cars with steering wheels on the right, which will come into force in 2010" (BBC Monitoring, February 24, 2007). In this example, the issue is `against:new law`.

Side (Type: categorical)

If 1, the protest was anti-government. Anti-government is understood in a broad sense. It is not necessary that protesters demand the resignation of the central government, but that they are protesting actions made or sanctioned by it. This includes national, regional and local authorities' actions. If 0, the protest is explicitly pro-government, staged to show support for the government or the government's actions. If 3, protest was directed at a domestic public or private non-governmental institution. Note that if side takes the value 3, scope takes the value NA because we cannot clearly define a scope for many non-governmental institutions. Examples:

- "A rally against [Speaker of the Kyrgyz parliament Omurbek] Tekebayev started yesterday [9 February] in his small home area - [southwestern] Dzhalal-Abad Region's Bazar-Kurgan District. About 500 people, who gathered in front of the building of the district state administration,

condemned the Speaker's recent statement, in which, as the protesters said, he made statements insulting the president. 'It is extremely disrespectful to the president. Such a person has no right to hold the post of speaker of parliament. Leave the post,' the protesters said" (BBC Monitoring, February 12, 2006). In this example, the protest is `pro-government`, because the demonstrators are showing their support for the president.

- "Today the peaceful rally organized by the opponents of the authorities was held in the capital" (BBC Monitoring, April 29, 2006). In this example, the protest is `anti-government`.

- "From 2,000 to 3,000 people have gathered at a rally in the town of Balykchy ... to demand a speedy investigation into the murder of Rysbek Akmatbayev ... Akmatbayev's supporters were also demanding that Prime Minister Feliks Kulov resign. Some participants in the rally believe that Akmatbayev's murder was 'politically motivated', the report said" (BBC Monitoring, May 12, 2006). In this example, the protest is `anti-government` for two reasons: the protesters are demanding 1) the investigation of a murder believed to be politically motivated and 2) the resignation of the prime minister.

Finally, if a recently deposed president's supporters stage protests, then code as `anti-government`. Example:

- "Gunfire broke out Thursday at a rally where the deposed president of Kyrgyzstan was speaking to supporters ... The gunfire crackled out seconds after Bakiyev began speaking to the crowd of about 5,000 in Osh, the largest city in the southern region that is Bakiyev's support base. After fleeing the capital last week, Bakiyev in recent days has made a series of public appearances, clearly testing how much support he has to try to resist the interim authorities who have taken control in the capital" (Associated Press, April 15, 2010).

Scope (Type: categorical)

Indicates which governmental level the mass mobilization is directed at. 0 = national, 1 = regional / state, 2 = local. For side = 3, scope is NA (see above).

4.5 Violence Variables

Level of violence by mass mobilization participants (Type: ordinal)

Ordinal level of violence from mass mobilization participants. NA = no report of level of violence from mass mobilization participants, 0 = explicit report of no violence, 1 = reports of property damage or clashes with civilians or security forces, 2 = reports of people injured, 3 = reports of people killed. Protesters blocking roads or railroads do not qualify as exerting violence, unless there is explicit reports that participants were damaging cars, equipment, or exerting physical violence against bystanders or security forces. We do not consider self-immolation as violence here, because the action is not directed at other people.

- "About a dozen demonstrators broke into the presidential compound in the Kyrgyz capital Friday to protest a court decision to uphold pardons for officers involved in the deaths of six peaceful demonstrators four years ago ... They were pushed out by security guards" (Associated Press, June 2 2006). In this example, the level of violence by participants is `1`. There are reports of property damage (broke into the presidential compound) and clashes with security forces (pushed out by security guards).

- "The crisis had deepened since a November 2 rally by the opposition movement For Reforms brought some 10,000 people into the streets, raising the prospect of a repeat of the revolution last year that brought Bakiyev to power. Violence broke out on Tuesday as hundreds of opponents and supporters of Bakiyev hurled bottles and stones at each other on the capital's central square. Riot police intervened, firing tear gas at the crowd and charging. At least 35 were wounded

during the clash, including 17 police officers, police spokesman Nurdin Dzhangarayev told AFP" (Agence France Presse, November 7, 2006). In this example, the level of violence by participants is 2. There are reports of people injured by participants, including police officers.

Level of official security forces engagement (Type: ordinal)

Ordinal level of official security forces engagement. NA = no report level of official security forces engagement, 0 = explicit report of no presence, 1 = reports of presence, 2 = reports of physical intervention. Includes crowd dispersal, arrests and beatings but excludes lethal intervention, 3 = reports of lethal intervention.

- "About 100 local residents gathered for the rally in front of the Ay-Churek cinema in the town of Uzgen [southern Osh Region] last week. They demanded that authorities release from custody M. Tashmatov, leader of the religious extremist organization in Uzgen District, and his associate A. Anarbayev, who were detained prior to that date. Those in the rally were very aggressive, and it took the police officers four hours to persuade them to go home. The protesters went home only after the prosecutor issued official warnings against eight most active protesters" (BBC Monitoring, February 24, 2009). In this example, the level of security forces engagement is 1. The report identifies police officers as being present and persuaded the protesters to go home, but not that they physically intervened.

- "About a dozen demonstrators broke into the presidential compound in the Kyrgyz capital Friday to protest a court decision to uphold pardons for officers involved in the deaths of six peaceful demonstrators four years ago ... They were pushed out by security guards" (Associated Press, June 2, 2006). In this example, the level of security forces engagement is 2. There are reports of physical intervention (protesters pushed out by security guards).

- "Thousands of protesters furious over corruption and spiraling utility bills seized internal security headquarters, a state TV channel and other levers of power in Kyrgyzstan on Wednesday after government forces fatally shot dozens of demonstrators and wounded hundreds" (Agence France Presse, April 7, 2010). In this example, the level of security forces engagement is 3. Lethal force was used and dozens of protesters were shot and killed.

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List of Country-periods in the MMAD

Country	Start	End
Afghanistan	2009-08-20	2014-06-14
Afghanistan	2016-01-01	2018-12-31
Algeria	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Angola	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Armenia	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Azerbaijan	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Bahrain	2016-01-01	2018-12-31
Bangladesh	2007-01-11	2008-12-29
Bangladesh	2013-01-01	2018-12-31
Belarus	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Botswana	2003-01-01	2015-12-31
Burkina Faso	2003-01-01	2015-12-31
Burundi	2003-01-01	2003-04-30
Burundi	2013-01-01	2018-12-31
Cambodia	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Cameroon	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Central African Republic	2003-03-15	2018-12-31
Chad	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
China	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Congo	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Cuba	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Democratic Republic of the Congo	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Egypt	2003-01-01	2012-06-30
Egypt	2013-01-01	2018-12-31
Equatorial Guinea	2016-01-01	2018-12-31
Eritrea	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Ethiopia	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Gabon	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Gambia	2003-01-01	2017-12-31
Georgia	2003-01-01	2003-11-23
Guinea	2003-01-01	2010-01-16
Guinea	2016-01-01	2018-12-31
Guinea-Bissau	2003-01-01	2003-09-14
Guinea-Bissau	2013-01-01	2014-12-31
Guinea-Bissau	2018-01-01	2018-12-31
Haiti	2003-01-01	2004-02-29
Haiti	2016-01-01	2018-12-31
Honduras	2016-01-01	2018-12-31
Iran	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Iraq	2017-01-01	2018-12-31
Ivory Coast	2003-01-01	2015-12-31
Jordan	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Kazakhstan	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Kenya	2017-01-01	2018-12-31
Kuwait	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Kyrgyzstan	2003-01-01	2012-12-31
Kyrgyzstan	2016-01-01	2017-12-31
Laos	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Lebanon	2018-01-01	2018-12-31
Lesotho	2017-01-01	2017-12-31

Liberia	2003-01-01	2003-08-11
Libya	2003-01-01	2012-12-31
Macedonia	2016-01-01	2016-12-31
Madagascar	2009-03-17	2013-12-31
Madagascar	2016-01-01	2018-12-31
Malaysia	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Mauritania	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Morocco	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Mozambique	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Myanmar	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Namibia	2003-01-01	2015-12-31
Nepal	2003-01-01	2006-04-24
Nicaragua	2016-01-01	2018-12-31
Niger	2009-06-26	2011-03-12
North Korea	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Oman	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Pakistan	2003-01-01	2008-08-18
Pakistan	2016-01-01	2018-12-31
Papua New Guinea	2016-01-01	2018-12-31
Qatar	2016-01-01	2018-12-31
Russia	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Rwanda	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Saudi Arabia	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Serbia	2016-01-01	2018-12-31
Singapore	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Somalia	2016-01-01	2018-12-31
South Sudan	2011-07-09	2018-12-31
Sri Lanka	2013-01-01	2015-12-31
Sudan	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Swaziland	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Syria	2003-01-01	2012-12-31
Syria	2016-01-01	2018-12-31
Tajikistan	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Tanzania	2003-01-01	2017-12-31
Thailand	2006-09-19	2007-12-23
Thailand	2014-05-22	2018-12-31
Togo	2003-01-01	2015-12-31
Togo	2017-01-01	2018-12-31
Tunisia	2003-01-01	2012-12-31
Turkey	2016-01-01	2018-12-31
Turkmenistan	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Uganda	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Ukraine	2016-01-01	2018-12-31
United Arab Emirates	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Uzbekistan	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Venezuela	2005-12-04	2018-12-31
Vietnam	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Yemen	2003-01-01	2012-12-31
Zambia	2003-01-01	2018-12-31
Zimbabwe	2003-01-01	2018-12-31

Table 1: Country-periods in the MMAD