Section A. Data

Appendix Table 1. Summary Statistics and Variable Sources (Unit of analysis = civil war)

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	Source
Wartime election	127	0.17	0.38	0	1	RGD (Huang 2016b)
Services	128	0.34	0.47	0	1	RGD (Huang 2016b)
Diplomacy	127	0.39	0.49	0	1	Huang 2016a
Mobilization capacity	108	0.78	0.63	0	2	NSA (Cunningham et al. 2013)
War duration (ln)	128	3.69	1.45	0	6.17	RGD (Huang 2016b)
Secessionist	128	0.36	0.48	0	1	Huang and Fortna (2012)
Territorial control	109	0.60	0.49	0	1	NSA (Cunningham et al. 2013)
Natural resource (rebel)	127	0.20	0.41	0	1	RGD (Huang 2016b)
Cold war	128	0.55	0.50	0	1	Coded by Authors
Marxist	128	0.23	0.43	0	1	RGD (Huang 2016b)
Any intervention	128	0.53	0.50	0	1	Wood et al. 2012
Relative rebel strength	108	1.13	0.83	0	4	NSA (Cunningham et al. 2013)
remittances	127	0.20	0.41	0	1	RGD (Huang 2016b)
External support to rebels	105	0.70	0.46	0	1	RGD (Huang 2016b)
Territorial control (strict coding)	109	0.12	0.33	0	1	NSA (Cunningham et al. 2013)

Appendix Table 2. Area Under the Curve for ROC

	AUC including factor	AUC excluding factor
Service provision	0.7656	0.7260
Diplomacy	0.7866	0.7190
Mobilization capacity	0.7783	0.7422

*Note: Higher AUC including the factor indicates increased predictive power

Appendix Table 3. Full Civil War Case List (Rebel Governance Data Huang 2016b)

Country name	Conflict	Start	End
USSR	Ukraine/UPA	1944	1950
Colombia	La Violencia	1948	1966
Myanmar/Burma	Karen rebellion 1	1948	1951
Myanmar/Burma	Communist insurgency	1948	1988
China	Re-annexation	1950	1951
Indonesia	Rep. S. Moluccas	1950	1950
Philippines	Huks	1950	1952
Bolivia	MNR rebellion in La Paz	1952	1952
Indonesia	Darul Islam	1953	1953
Argentina	Peron v. military	1955	1955
China	Tibetan uprising	1956	1959
Indonesia	Darul Islam, PRRI, Permesta	1956	1960
Cuba	Castro revolution	1958	1959
Lebanon	Nasserites v. Chamoun	1958	1958
Iraq	Shammar	1959	1959
Congo-Zaire	Katanga, Kasai, Kwilu, Eastern	1960	1965
Laos	Pathet Lao	1960	1973
Myanmar/Burma	various ethnic groups; Karen rebellion 2	1960	1995
Vietnam	NLF	1960	1975
Iraq	KDP (Kurds)	1961	1970
Algeria	post-independence strife	1962	1963
Yemen AR	Royalists	1962	1970
Cyprus	GC-TC civil war	1963	1967
Kenya	Shifta war (Somalis)	1963	1967
Rwanda	Tutsi uprising	1963	1964
Sudan	Anya Nya	1963	1972
Burundi	Hutu uprising	1965	1969
Chad	FROLINAT, various ...	1965	1979
Dominican Republic	Mil. coup	1965	1965
Guatemala	Communists;	1966	1972
Thailand	Communists (CPT)	1966	1982
Uganda	Baganda rebellion	1966	1966
China	Red Guards	1967	1968
Congo-Zaire	Kisangani mutiny	1967	1967
Nigeria	Biafra	1967	1970
Cambodia	FUNK; Khmer	1970	1975
Jordan	Fedeyeen/Syria v. govt	1970	1971

Oman	Dhofar rebellion	1971	1975
Pakistan	Bangladesh secession	1971	1971
Sri Lanka	JVP	1971	1971
United Kingdom	Northern Ireland	1971	1998
Burundi	Hutu uprising	1972	1972
Philippines	NPA	1972	1992
Zimbabwe	ZANU, ZAPU	1972	1979
Namibia	SWAPO; SWANU; SWATF	1973	1989
Pakistan	Baluchistan	1973	1977
Bangladesh	Chittagong Hills/Shanti Bahini	1974	1997
Ethiopia	Eritrean war of independence	1974	1991
Iraq	KDP, PUK (Kurds)	1974	1975
Angola	UNITA	1975	1991
Argentina	Montoneros, ERP, Dirty War	1975	1977
Indonesia	East Timor	1975	1999
Lebanon	Aoun; militias; PLO; Israel	1975	1991
Morocco/Western Sahara	Polisario	1975	1991
Ethiopia	Ogaden; Somalis	1976	1988
Indonesia	OPM (West Papua)	1976	1978
Indonesia	OPM (West Papua)	1976	1978
Mozambique	RENAMO; FRELIMO	1976	1992
South Africa	ANC, PAC, Azapo	1976	1994
Congo-Zaire	FLNC; Shabba 1 & 2	1977	1978
Afghanistan	Mujahideen, PDPA	1978	1992
Ethiopia	Ideological; Tigrean	1978	1991
Guatemala	Communists; Indigenous	1978	1994
Iran	Khomeini	1978	1979
Nicaragua	FSLN	1978	1979
Uganda	Tanzanian war	1978	1979
Cambodia	Khmer Rouge, FUNCINPEC, etc	1979	1991
El Salvador	FMLN	1979	1992
Iran	KDPI (Kurds)	1979	1984
Syria	Muslim Brotherhood	1979	1982
Chad	FARF; FROLINAT	1980	1994
Nigeria	Muslims; Maitatsine rebellion	1980	1985
Peru	Sendero Luminoso, Tupac Amaru	1980	1996
Nicaragua	Contras & Miskitos	1981	1990
Uganda	NRA/Museveni, etc	1981	1987
Sri Lanka	LTTE, etc.	1983	2002

Sudan	SPLM, SPLA, NDA, AnyanyaII	1983	2005
Zimbabwe	Ndebele guerillas	1983	1987
India	Sikhs	1984	1993
Turkey	PKK (Kurds)	1984	1999
Iraq	Kurds; Anfal	1985	1996
Yemen PR	Faction of Socialist Party	1986	1986
Israel	Intifada; Palestinian conflict	1987	1997
Sri Lanka	JVP II	1987	1989
Burundi	Org. massacres on both sides	1988	1988
Papua New Guinea	BRA (Bougainville)	1988	1998
Somalia	SSDF, SNM (Isaaqs)	1988	1991
Liberia	Doe v. rebels; NPLF; ULIMO; NPF; LPC; LDF	1989	1997
Senegal	MFDC (Casamance)	1989	2004
Indonesia	Aceh	1990	1991
Mali	Tuaregs; Maurs	1990	1995
Rwanda	Hutu vs. Tutsi groups	1990	1993
Uganda	Kony (pre-LRA)	1990	1992
Azerbaijan	Nagorno-Karabakh	1991	1994
Burundi	Hutu groups (Palipehutu) v. govt	1991	2006
Djibouti	FRUD	1991	1994
Georgia	South Ossetia	1991	1992
Haiti	Cedras v. Aristide	1991	1995
Iraq	Shiite uprising	1991	1993
Moldova	Transdniestria	1991	1992
Sierra Leone	RUF, AFRC, etc.	1991	1996
Yugoslavia	Croatia/Krajina	1991	1991
Afghanistan	Taliban v. Burhanuddin Rabbani	1992	1996
Algeria	FIS, AIS, GIA, GSPC	1992	2002
Angola	UNITA	1992	1994
Bosnia	Rep. Srpska/Croats	1992	1995
Croatia	Krajina, Medak, Western Slavonia	1992	1995
Georgia	Abkhazia (& Gamsakhurdia)	1992	1994
Tajikistan	Popular Democratic Army; UTO	1992	1997
Congo-Brazzaville	Lissouba v. Sassou-Nguesso	1993	1997
Angola	Cabinda; FLEC	1994	2006
Egypt	Gamaat Islamiya; Islamic Jihad	1994	1997

Pakistan	MQM:Sindhis v. Mohajirs	1994	1999
Russia	Chechnya 1	1994	1996
Rwanda	RPF; genocide	1994	1994
Yemen	South Yemen	1994	1994
Central African Republic	Factional fighting	1996	1997
Congo-Zaire	ADFL (Kabila)	1996	1997
Nepal	CPN-M/UPF (Maoists)	1996	2006
Angola	UNITA	1997	2002
Chad	MDJT	1997	2002
Sierra Leone	Post-Koroma coup violence	1997	2001
Congo-Brazzaville	Cobras v. Ninjas	1998	1999
Congo-Zaire	RCD, etc v. govt	1998	2002
Guinea-Bissau	Vieira v. Mane mutiny	1998	1999
Yugoslavia	Kosovo	1998	1999
Indonesia	Aceh	1999	2005
Liberia	Anti-Taylor resistance/LURD	1999	2003

Section B. Detailed Notes on Rebel Groups with Wartime Elections & Service Provision

Angola – National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola) (UNITA)

- *Duration*: 1975-1991.[1] There is no evidence that UNITA organized elections during the 1992-94 or the 1997-2002 wars.
- *Use of elections*: "The Party Congresses were held every four years. At the Congress, every party official was elected. The elected representatives from the Village Committee formulated party policy and military strategy…The average Cell contained three to four members, with each Cell reporting to the Village Committee. A representative of the Village Committee reported to the district committee, which funneled information to the Regional Commissars. They in turn answered to the Central Committee. Conversely, decisions made at the Party Congress filtered down through the same chain of command" (James 1992, 100-101).
- *Level of elections:* Village committee (James 1992, 100-101)
- *Social service provision*:[2] "UNITA functioned primarily as a sovereign administration and control organ, and assisted in the establishment of health clinics and schools…. The respect for local tradition and language, the establishment of social services and provision of material goods organised by the insurgents, established the loyalty of civilians to UNITA. This village system was a core element of UNITA administration on the local level. In its central organisation, UNITA established modern bureaucratic institutions comprising a president, ministries and a constitution" (Bakonyi and Stuvøy 2005, 370).

Azerbaijan - Nagorno-Karabakh

- *Duration*: 1991-1994
- *Use of elections*: Elections for the territory's parliament, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh, was held on December 28, 1991. The parliament subsequently elected a president and prime minister (Panossian 2001).
- *Level of elections*: Parliamentary
- *Social service provision*: Nagorno-Karabakh "began to form the trappings of an independent state in 1992; regular elections have been held for the office of president and for the national assembly, and organs of government including ministries of foreign affairs, defense, agriculture, health, and economics have been formed" (Croissant 1998, 70). "Local authorities have been able to construct something resembling a state, with its own foreign ministry (which charges visitors $25 for visas), armed forces, police, and court system" (King 2001, 536). "The

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[1] As noted in the methodology section of our article, the start and end years are from the dataset in Doyle and Sambanis (2006).

[2] Consistent with the focus of our paper, "social service provision" in this Appendix refers only to whether or not the rebel group ran its own schools or health clinics.

Karabakh government has a well-developed ministerial and administrative structure, it operates its own state budget approved by the parliament, it provides social services, runs the educational system, and even operates a university" (Panossian 2001).

Bangladesh - Chittagong Hills Tracts, Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti (PCJSS), Shanti Bahini (Peace Force)

- *Duration*: 1974-1997
- *Use of elections*: "The 'Central Committee' of the PCJSS served as the executive organ"(Shelley 1992, 112). "There was also a Party Congress, 'comprising all the district level leaders. This Party Congress sits every three years to elect a Central Committee'" (Shelley 1992, 113). "At the village level, the JSS [political arm] runs three parallel organisations in the 'liberated areas': the Gram Panchayet (village council) administers the village, raises revenue and decides judicial cases…[etc]…" (Ali 1993, 185). "A Gram Panchayat is elected by the people of that village…[and] has a chairman, vice chairman, general secretary, members and accountant." (Barua 2001, 107).
- *Level of elections*: Village committee, called Gram Panchayat (translates to village council) (Barua 2001, 107)
- *Social service provision*: No evidence of schools or health programs.

Cambodia - National United Front of Kampuchea (Front uni national du Kampuchéa/Khmer) (FUNK)/Khmer Rouge/Communist Party of Cambodia (CPK)

- *Duration*: 1970-1975
- *Use of elections*: The CPK had "village committees" in its "liberated" areas (Kiernan 1985, 319; Chindawongse 1991, 144). The village chiefs were elected by local residents and "was empowered to select the remainder of his staff: a deputy secretary, economic commissioner, cultural commissioner, and health and social welfare commissioner" (Kiernan 1985, 317).
- *Level of elections*: Village committee (Kiernan 1985, 317)
- *Social service provision*: No evidence of schools or health programs.

El Salvador - Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional) (FMLN)

- *Duration*: 1979-1992
- *Use of elections*: Chalatenango, the FPL (Fuerzas Populares de Liberacion Farabundo Marti, an organization that was part of the FMLN) established PPLs (poder popular local – local popular power) in 1981-1982 in what became "an experiment in popular democracy and political participation" (Pearce, quoted in Montgomery 1995, 120). "The primary task of the PPL is to administer and organize the population in the zone of control…. Each PPL is democratically elected by the civilian population from among their own ranks. They represent the first opportunity for poor peasant farmers to organize their own communities and participate in their own

government"(ibid). "Each PPL was elected by a 'locality,' about 500 people, which was divided into four bases, or hamlets. In each locality the 'popular assembly,' or town meeting of the entire population, was the highest authority. Between meetings of the popular assembly, decision-making resided in a PPL junta of seven elected officials: a president, a vice-president, and secretaries for legal affairs; political education and information; health and education; production, commerce, and trade; and self-defense. Candidates were nominated from each hamlet and elected by the popular assembly for a period of six months" (Montgomery 1995, 120). San Vicente, Cusatlan, and Usulutan: "As the FPL did in Chalatenango, the PRTC [Partido REvolucionario de los Trabajadores Centroamericanos, another organization that was part of the FMLN] encouraged the establishment of local revolutionary government in an area of San Vicente known as the Cerros de San Pedro (Hills of St. Peter) and elsewhere in central El Salvador. There Consejos Farabundistas (administrative councils) were created and divided into four sections, the first three of which were popularly elected" (Montgomery 1995, 121). At least in the town of Guazapa, if not also elsewhere, there were "judicial authorities" that were elected by the population (McClintock 1998, 60).

- *Level of elections*: Village committee/council called PPLs and regional council called Consejos Farabundistas, which also acted as judicial authorities (McClintock 1998, 60)
- *Social service provision*: "There was a universal effort… to organize collective or cooperative farms; to introduce literacy classes for civilians and guerrillas and compulsory education for children; and to institute medical care in areas where most people had never seen a doctor. By 1981, the FMLN had produced workbooks and teachers' guides for literacy campaigns that were in widespread use" (Montgomery 1995, 122). Bonner (1984, 118) writes of rebel "health schools." Montgomery (1995, 115) mentions that the FPL and the ERP "provided medical care and other forms of assistance" to their supporters. A member of the General Command in a quote mentions rebel hospitals (ibid).

Ethiopia – Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF)

- *Duration*: 1978-1991
- *Use of elections*: "Anyone over the age of sixteen and a member of a TPLF mass association could stand for election to baitos [local council] which assumed responsibility through three standing committees for administration (justice, security, and self-defence), economics (agriculture, cottage industry, road building, and technical development), and social affairs (health, education, relief and rehabilitation)" (Young 1997, 189).
- *Level of elections*: Local council, called baitos (Young 1997, 189).
- *Social service provision*: "The TPLF made a major contribution to rural administration and development in the province. As soon as the Front was able to establish itself in an area, it organized mass associations based on interest groups such as peasants, women, youth, merchants and workers….Administration at the local level was initially carried out by provisional administrative committees which grouped about 11 villages and usually operated for two or three years to give the people the necessary experience and confidence, after which baitos, or councils, were

established….The role of peasants in their own administration symbolized the Tigrayan revolution, and most clearly distinguished the TPLF project from the authoritarian regimes of Haile-Selassie and the Derg." (Young 1998, 43). "Derg terror tactics gave the Front an increasing capacity to respond to peasant demands for schools, land reforms, local administrations, and improvements in the condition of women." The TPLF established rural schools, and "encouraged women to play an active role in the struggle"(Young 1998, 42). "The establishment of rural schools met peasant interests in educating their children, while for the TPLF they served to deepen political and national consciousness and provide training for those who could be utilized in the struggle" (Young 1998, 42). In 1978 the TPLF founded REST (Relief Society of Tigray) as a humanitarian organization "with a mandate to co-ordinate relief programmes, rehabilitation, and development both in Tigray and among Tigrayan refugees in neighbouring Sudan. The founding of REST reflected the TPLF's need for a specialized body to handle relief and development, and also to respond to the Derg's efforts to restrict the flow of humanitarian and economic assistance to areas of Tigray that were coming under the control of the Front….The establishment of REST also reflected the growing recognition by the TPLF leadership of the importance of international assistance and the fact that NGOs and foreign governments found it politically more acceptable to deal with a designated relief agency than with a liberation movement. REST is largely funded by NGOs (which may in turn receive finances from governments) in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Europe, and also by REST Support Committees which publicise the plight of Tigray's peoples and solicit assistance on their behalf" (Young 1997, 121).

Ethiopia - Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF)

- *Duration*: 1974-1991
- *Use of elections*: "At the apex of the system was the Political Bureau elected by the Central Committee, which was elected by members of the First Congress in 1977. Rules for the election of the leadership at the latter were slanted in favour of veteran fighters… Reinforcing democratic centralism and the power of the leadership were three organizational structures within the Front: a clandestine party, the political cadres and the security organization….These internal organizations were paralleled by a skein of outward-reaching ones: mass organizations of women, students and workers both within Eritrea and abroad; secret cells in villages and towns people's militias in the villages; and people's assemblies in the liberated areas" (Pool 1998, 28-29). "Village elections were held as often as every three-to-four months as people learned to evaluate the performance of their new officials and to oust those who didn't measure up. Quotas were set for women's representation in the new assemblies, and marriage laws were reformed to free women from arrangements that in many cases kept them in life-long bondage. These and other such measures antagonised some conservatives, but they were accompanied by the provision of social and economic services - health care, early childhood education, adult literacy, agricultural extension, veterinary assistance and so on - that were often channeled through the new associations and committees rather than directly administered by the front" (Connell 2001, 355).

- *Level of elections*: Village committee (Connell 2001, 355). Village leaders then further elected mid- to high- level leadership including the Central Committee and the Political Bureau (Pool 1998, 28-29).
- *Social service provision*: "The EPLF's socio-economic programme, be it land reform or the provision of social services, deepened its ties to the rural population and established reciprocal bonds between this population and the Front. By 1975, with the escalation of fighting between the Fronts and the Ethiopians, the EPLF had established an alternative government and, in the base areas, a liberated sanctuary for those fleeing from Ethiopian atrocities" (Pool 1998, 31). "The EPLF's most decisive interventions came in the areas of land reform, village democratisation and gender equality. Organisers surveyed land tenure in rural Eritrea-which varied widely from one region to another - and set about reorganizing it on a more egalitarian basis through newly elected village administrations. The EPLF midwifed these committees into existence through a system of sectoral representation based on new mass organisations of peasants, women, workers and youth, themselves segmented by class position. Each sub-set selected its own representative, producing a People's Assembly of mostly poor women and men of all ages. Though this formulaic approach was modified as the years wore on, it signaled a commitment to empower the disenfranchised majority through entirely new social and political mechanisms" (Connell 2001, 355). "And although the goal was to establish the autonomous functioning of village institutions along EPLF lines, EPLF cadres remained a kind of court of appeal for disputes which could not be resolved by village institutions and for disputes between villages. The establishment of this overarching authority reinforced the governmental character of EPLF, already partially developed through the provision of rudimentary veterinary and medical services" (Pool 1998, 30). "Providing health care for peasants and pastoralists in areas which had no medical facilities generated significant rural support….In addition, it insulated the growing numbers in the base areas from local epidemics" (Pool 2001, 81). "In the valleys of mountainous Sahel Province, the EPLF built workshops, repair shops, schools, a hospital and a pharmacy" (Pool 1998, 32). "The Eritrean Relief Association (ERA), established by the EPLF in 1975, functioned as an arm of the Front and raised money for Eritrean refugees, as well as those displaced within Eritrea. Of equal importance was the recognition that the ERA gained from NGOs in the West; by the time of the famine of the 1980s, it operated as an internationally legitimated quasi-governmental aid organization distributing relief supplies (Pool 1998, 33). The EPLF had "armed propaganda squads going into villages, initiating discussions, with the younger generation in particular, organizing the villagers into cells and providing basic services" (Pool 1998, 30). In Nakfa, the EPLF built schools, hospitals, pharmaceutical production centers (Ciment 2007, 158).

Georgia - South Ossetia

- *Duration*: 1991-1992
- *Use of elections*: Having been an oblast within Georgia, South Ossetia had its own legislature in the form of the South Ossetian Regional Soviet as well as its own executive. The Supreme Soviet of South Ossetia held elections (e.g. in 1990) (Cornell 2002, 267).

- *Level of elections*: National, executive office, specifically, the national assembly (Cornell 2002, 267)
- *Social service provision*: No evidence of schools of health programs.

Georgia - Abkhazia

- *Duration*: 1992-1994
- *Use of elections*: "Abkhazia had its own executive and a legislature in the form of the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet, with elected members…" (Chervonnaya 1994).
- *Level of elections*: National, executive office, specifically, the national assembly (Chervonnaya 1994)
- *Social service provision*: No evidence of schools or health programs.

Iraq – Kurds[3]

- *Duration*: 1985-1996
- *Use of elections*: Elections were held in Kurdistan on May 19, 1992. A parliament composed of 105 seats and a two-party government was created as a result (McDowall 2004, 382).
- *Level of elections*: National, executive office, specifically, the national assembly (McDowall 2004, 382)
- *Social service provision*: Although the Kurds attempted to establish their own governing institutions during the 1980s (by the late 1980s, Kurdish guerrillas controlled 3,800 square miles of territory, according to one observer [see Gunter 1992, 41]), it was not until after the end of the Gulf War, when the Kurds enjoyed the safe haven provided by Coalition forces, that they began to build the administrative institutions of a de facto state. A number of ministries were also established: industry and electricity; culture and information; humanitarian aid and cooperation; finance and economy; agriculture and irrigation; municipalities and tourism; health and social affairs; military affairs/peshmergas; reconstruction and development; religious endowments; education; works and housing; interior; and transport and communications (Gunter 1992, 94-95). Note, however, that by 1995 the Kurdish government had become largely ineffective due to a war between the PUK and the KPD. After August 1996,

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[3] "By the mid-1980s there was a plethora of Kurdish factions, some of which allied together while others fought against each other. This makes the coding of this case complicated; the two main Kurdish groups, the KDP (now led by Barzani's sons) and the PUK (led by Talabani), at times cooperated against the Saddam Hussein regime and at other times fought against each other (and in 1996, the KDP allied with Saddam to fight against the PUK). It would thus be equally complicated to distinguish the KDP war from the PUK war, and in any case all factions were fighting for some form of autonomy from the government. The rebels are therefore the anti-regime Kurds in general" (Huang 2016b, RGD Coding Notes, p. 70). In May 1987 various Kurdish factions overcame a history of antagonism and came together to form the Kurdish Front, composed of the KDP, PUK, KSP, KPDP, Pasok, the Toilers' Party as well as the ICP and the Assyrian Democratic Movement (McDowall 2004, 352).

the administrative institutions once again became functional, as described in Stansfield (2003). There was "de facto partition of the liberated area for much of the decade" (McDowall 2004, 387). Although there are few details on social service provision by the Kurdish government, we might take the existence of ministers of education, health/social affairs, and humanitarian affairs to be evidence of efforts in these various areas (see Stansfield 2003), and such efforts would be consistent with their record of social service provision (Huang 2016b, Coding notes 71).

Moldova – Transdnistria

- *Duration*: 1991-1992
- *Use of elections*: Trans-Dniester held its own local elections (Akalaev 1996, section 6). "The President along with a bicameral Supreme Soviet (legislature) were elected by the population of Transnitria. The upper chamber, the Council of Nationalities, was to reflect the Transnistrian self-understanding of constituting a multi-ethnic state, whereas the lower chamber, the Council of the Republic, was elected from regular territorial constituencies (SMDs)" (Blakkisrud and Kolstø 2011, 200). The first presidential election was held in 1991 (Troebst 2003, 461).
- *Level of elections*: National, executive office, specifically, the national assembly and the office of the president (Blakkisrud and Kolstø 2011, 200)
- *Social service provision*: No evidence of schools or health programs.

Morocco/Western Sahara - Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Rio de Oro (Frente Popular de Liberación de Saguía el Hamra y Río de Oro) (POLISARIO)

- *Duration*: 1975-1991
- *Use of elections*: Polisario had an eleven-member cabinet headed by a President of Ministry Council, which was equivalent to a prime minister. It had a 41-member Saharawi National Council, out of which 21 were elected (Saxena 1981, 84). It has been appointing members to the Saharawi National Council since 1976 (Zunes 1987, 40). The SADR, headed by the president, also had a parliament that performed legislative functions (Saxena 1995, 151). It was at a more local level, however, that a kind of "direct democracy" was practiced. "Mass meetings, known as people's base congresses, were held in each camp every one or two years; and it was at these assemblies that elections would be held, by show of hands, for delegates to the General People's Congress" (Hodges 1983, 341). These delegates elected the secretary general of the Polisario and the organization's senior ranks (Wilson 2016, 76). The system was overhauled in the 1990s (Wilson 2016, 77).
- *Level of elections*: Mid-level leadership called delegates to the General People's Congress (Hodges 1983, 341)
- *Social service provision*: "From the beginning, the Polisario Front prioritised education, established mixed schools for children, and created adult literacy campaigns to educate the largely illiterate community. At the end of the Spanish colonial era, only 5 per cent of all Sahrawis could read and write. Today, children's education is obligatory and literacy rates in the camps are believed to have reached 90 per cent.

Children attend crèches and nursery schools, and then complete their primary education locally" (Refugee Studies Centre 2005: 4).

Nepal - Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M), Maoists

- *Duration*: 1996-2006
- *Use of elections*: The CPN(M) "formed joint people's committees which existed in parallel with local government bodies. This led to the creation of numerous ward, village, area and district level people's committees, which were publicly proclaimed as people's governments" (Sharma 2004, 41). "These people's governments are formed through elections based on class representation" (see Sharma 2004, 45).
- *Level of elections*: Ward, district, and village committee (Sharma 2004, 41)
- *Social service provision*: "Since 1996, the CPN-M has organized its own separate medical services partly in preparation for a possible increase in war casualties. The Maoists started to motivate doctors in the cities and paramedical personnel in villages through their political programs. As a result of these efforts, they recruited a small group of paramedics, who after receiving both ideological and medical training, became paramedics in combat groups or self-defense groups in the villages. The main aim behind this was to provide first aid to the insurgents during and after the combat operations… The Maoists brought health workers with first aid training to the remote villages… Maoists have created health departments at all levels, from central to regional and districts levels" (Devkota and Teijlingen 2009, 380-381). "Maoists now claim to have established thirty-five schools in their base areas. Their aim is to establish a model Janavadi school in each district under their control. The most prominent among these schools is the Thawang model school, supposedly housing forty students…" (Riaz and Basu 2007, 144).

Peru - Sendero Luminoso

- *Duration*: 1980-1996
- *Use of elections*: "In the countryside, the delegates of the 'people's organizations' in a village form a 'people's assembly,' which in turn elects the commissar on the 'people's committee'" (Strong 1992, 100). "'People's committees' are set up secretly in villages, communities and urban districts; dozens of these in turn form a 'support base,' of which in February 1990 there were twenty-four…Each 'people's committee' compromises five 'commissars.' The most important are the 'committee secretary' and the 'security commissar,' both of whom are members of the communist party itself. The former is responsible for political orientation and the latter for internal security and the co-ordination of the People's Guerrilla Army" (ibid).
- *Level of elections*: Village committee and village committee executive (Strong 1992, 100)
- *Social service provision*: "'People's committees' are set up secretly in villages, communities and urban districts; dozens of these in turn form a 'support base,' of which in February 1990 there were twenty-four…. Each 'people's committee' compromises five 'commissars.' The most important are the 'committee secretary' and the 'security commissar,' both of whom are members of the communist party itself. The former is responsible for political orientation and the latter for internal

security and the co-ordination of the People's Guerrilla Army. The production commissar organizes agriculture and trade as well as the exchange of goods with other committees; he looks after widows' lands and the 'orphans of war.' The commissar of 'communal affairs' resolves judicial problems, officiates at marriages, concedes divorces –which are granted when one of the parties so requests – and runs the health service. Medicines are obtained by 'confiscation' from hospitals and health posts; traditional, herbal medicine is encouraged" (Strong 1992, 100). People's Aid of Peru, composed of Sendero supporters, "provided legal, medical, financial, and other professional services" (McClintock 1998, 72). Strong (1992, 207) mentions the Shining Path's Secondary School Revolutionary Front. According to Strong (1992, 100), Sendero Luminoso schools taught Spanish, mathematics, and social and natural sciences. "In exchange for their participation and their contributions, civilians in Sendero received an education. Each community had popular schools that taught people to read and write in addition to the political and ideological line of the movement" (Weinstein 2007, 191).

Russia - Chechnya

- *Duration*: 1994-1996
- *Use of elections*: In November 1991, presidential and parliamentary elections were held in Chechnya, from which Dudaev emerged as president. Despite enjoying de facto independence prior to the war's outbreak, the Dudaev regime achieved little in the way of governance (Huang 2016b, Coding notes 115). "Reflecting the international zeitgeist of late 1991, as nationalist movements in the USSR and Yugoslavia sought to legitimize the assertion of independence through the ballot box, Dudaev and the OKChN called presidential and parliamentary elections in Chechnya in October 1991. They considered the elections to be a referendum on independence. The elections were far from being free and fair, and were disputed amid allegations of intimidation and vote-rigging: Dudaev and the OKChN triumphed. According to official Chechen sources Dudaev was elected president of Chechnya with 85 percent of the vote on a 77 percent turnout…" (Hughes 2007, 25).
- *Level of elections*: National office, specifically, the office of the president (Hughes 2007, 25)
- *Social service provision*: No evidence of schools or health programs.

South Africa - African National Congress (ANC)

- *Duration*: 1976-1994
- *Use of elections*: The "street committee system" emerged out of grassroots efforts to create alternative governing structures to those of the state. The system "involved organizing each township on the basis of small geographic constituencies that could serve as units of political participation, representation, and control" (Price 1991, 205-206). In a typical town, an elected committee represented each street. "In turn, the townships were subdivided into areas, each with an area committee of sixteen to twenty members, elected by the street committees within its zone. The area committees each elected two representatives (usually one youth and one older person) to what was called Area Committee Council (ACC). It met three to four

times monthly and was the apex of a system of geographic representation. Also created was the Forum, which brought together representatives from the existing UDF-affiliated youth, student, civic, and women's organizations…. The Forum was the main policymaking body for the township, while the ACC dealt primarily with managing the delivery of urban services and administering social and political control" (ibid). Its civic organizations began to thrive in the 1980s (Darracq 2008, 592).

- *Level of elections*: "Street committee system" consisting of area committees and the Area Committee Council (Price 1991, 205-206)
- *Social service provision*: Efforts to establish schools and health programs were largely bottom-up grassroots initiatives (at least initially) rather than top-down ANC leadership devised programs. They were supported and facilitated by the UDF (United Democratic Front, the legal entity working within South Africa), which worked in tandem with the exiled ANC in insurrections against the government and whose leadership included ANC cadres (Huang 2016b, Coding notes 122). Thus, while they were not ANC initiatives per se, they were "inspired" and legitimated by the ANC (see Price 1991, 204, 216). Furthermore, when the ANC was unbanned in 1990, it established local party branches based on the preexisting UDF area committees (Darracq 2008, 592). In protest against the state-provided education system, activists founded the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) in March 1986. The NECC and UDF began to lay out elaborate plans for an alternative education system, though the June 1986 declaration of a state of emergency put an end to such efforts. As Price (1991, 214) writes, the resistance had formed in the NECC "what was in effect an alternative Ministry of Education…UDF-affiliated health professionals [also] began to treat patients extra-curricularly and to train community workers in first aid. NAMDA, an UDF-affiliated medication association formed in 1982, began to give this effort a national focus by sponsoring emergency service groups for treating detainees in at least twenty townships…. That NAMDA came to view itself as a protoalternative ministry of health is indicated by the theme of its 1987 conference, 'Towards a National Health Service,' as well as by the fact that it began planning for the implementation of a national health-care system to serve the black population (Price 1991, 214-215).

Sri Lanka - Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP II) (People's Liberation Front)

- *Duration*: 1987-1989
- *Use of elections*: The Central Committee at this time consisted of 11 members (Gunaratna 1990, 37). The politbureau had 13 members in 1987-1989. The politbureau "which was elected by the Central Committee was responsible for all the policy decisions" (Gunaratna 1990, 37). "The central committee had control over the JVP district committees and over the JVP propaganda committee…. District committees headed by District Secretaries functioned in all districts except in the North and the East. They administered JPV activities in the district. The districts were further divided into Zones consisting of two or three electorates. The electoral committees were set up with a Zone leader…. The electorates were further divided into Town Committees. The JVP activities within the police area became the responsibility of the respective committee…. District Committees were involved in

political activities i.e. recruitment, propaganda and fund collection" (Gunaratna 1990, 44).

- *Level of elections*: Village committee, mid-level leadership, and executive office of the Central Committee (leadership council) (Gunaratna 1990, 37-44)
- *Social service provision:* There is some mention of indoctrination-style "education camps," (Gunaratna 1990) and the existence of a JVP National Committee on education (Chandraprema 1991, 16).

Sudan – Anya Nya

- *Duration*: 1963-1972
- *Use of elections*: At the village level, the Anya Nya left the administration of villages to the villagers. Those who came to power did so through village elections (Wakoson 1984, 136). "In each locality or group of settlements there was a village committees [sic] usually consisting of from five to ten members depending on the population of the area" (Wakoson 1984, 150).
- *Level of elections*: Village committees (Wakoson 1984, 150).
- *Social service provision*: In the later stages of the war (around 1970-1972), there was a "Commissioner of Education" "who set about organizing small forest schools of about 200 pupils each" (O'Ballance 1977, 136). "There were about 500 elementary schools under Anya Nya administration" (Wakoson 1984, 167). There was a Commissioner of Health, who "began to establish forest dispensaries and small medical posts, as well as starting a medical training centre for personnel to staff them." However, "his problem was the almost complete absence of drugs, medicines and equipment" (O'Ballance 1977, 136).

Uganda – National Resistance Army

- *Duration*: 1981-1986
- *Use of elections*: Ngoga describes the elaborate organizational structure the NRA erected in areas of its control. It was a pyramid structure, in which "the members of village executive committees elected parish resistance councils, and so on up through the county and district levels to the National Resistance Councils (NRC)." The "lower-level resistance councils concentrated on managing the affairs of their localities, while providing food and intelligence for the central command, recruiting and screening new recruits, manning road blocks and maintaining order" (Ngoga 1998, 96-97). Kasfir (2005: 271) writes that village elections "created the first democratic governments ever instituted in Ugandan villages."
- *Level of elections*: Village level (Kafir 2005, 271).
- *Social service provision*: No evidence of schools or health programs.

Vietnam – Viet Cong/NLF

- *Duration*: 1960-1975
- *Use of elections*: There were 30 provincial committees of the NLF. These were the chief operational units of the NLF and were tasked with administering the liberation

associations, assigning military duties to local guerilla units, and spreading propaganda (Pike 1966, 113; Lanning and Crag 1992, 81). The provincial committee controlled district committees, which had village and hamlet cells under them. "By September [1968], the NLF announced that administrative organs had been established by 'popular elections' at the provincial level and below 'in all plain, jungle, and mountainous areas in the 44 provinces of South Vietnam….' Taking the form of village people's councils, village people's liberation committees, and district and provincial people's liberation committees, the new NLF apparatus apparently was carrying on a full range of governmental functions, though the emphasis clearly fell on security and war-directed production" (Lewis and Werner 1969, 24).

- *Level of elections*: Village level (see above)
- *Social service provision*: The village-level agitprop section had "a cadre for education, to arouse the masses to set up adult education classes in the evenings and to maintain schools for children" (Pike 1966, 134). "The NLF opened or seized from the GVN [South Vietnam government] numerous elementary schools, three to six grades; adult education classes usually called the mass education program; supplementary cultural schools; one normal school (established in September 1963 to train NLF teachers); and special cadre classes, as, for example, a six-month course in English for NLF representatives going abroad…. The NLF claimed 1,500 elementary and adult education classes in operation in April 1963, and 3,000 (with 200,000 students) in April 1964. The Patriotic Teachers' Association of South Vietnam…was formed at what was called an educational congress in May 1964, with a 30-man executive committee named to administer the curricula in the liberated area…. The committee also aided in the printing of textbooks, usually twenty- or thirty-page mimeographed texts" (Pike 1966, 281-282). "Medical care, an obvious morale factor, received considerable attention in the liberated area, although it remained a crude affair even by Vietnamese standards. Each combat hamlet was expected to maintain a medical-aid station, which consisted of an elaborate first-aid kit (valued at an estimated U.S. $50) manned by a first-aid cadre, usually a woman; the hamlet also maintained one or more midwives, a traditional figure in rural Vietnam" (Pike 1966, 294). Later in the war, "more elaborate medication installations were created, usually clusters of thatch-roofed buildings that served as base hospitals for the guerrillas and sometimes for civilians" (ibid). See also Lanning and Crag (1992, 133-134).

Yugoslavia - Croatia

- *Duration*: 1991
- *Use of elections*: Citizens voted for parties in the Croatian Parliament (Sekelj 2000, 57). Croatia held a parliamentary election in April 1990 (Tanner 1997, 221, 227).
- *Level of elections*: National office, specifically, the national assembly (Sekelj 2000, 57)
- *Social service provision*: Since Croatia was an established republic of Yugoslavia, the coding here must reflect the existence of a full-fledged proto-state: Croatia had an executive with a president, a legislature, a foreign minister, a police force, and official propaganda channels, collected taxes, and provided social services (Ramet 2006; Tanner 1997). Though evidence is scant, the territory presumably also managed its own education and health system.

Zimbabwe – Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)

- *Duration*: 1972-1979
- *Use of elections*: "The guerrillas suggested married adults form village committees and unmarried youths over the age of fifteen form youth wings. These two groups came to be referred to as parents and youth….A committee comprised a chairman, secretary, treasurer, security officer, organizer, 'logistics' representative and a political commissar." These members were elected (Kriger 1992, 118).
- *Level of election*: Village committee
- *Social service provision*: "The education department's headquarters were first established in Chimoio, where a school known as Chindunduma, named after one of the battles of the first chimurenga or liberation war in 1896, was set up (Chung 2006, 143) "Late in 1977, Dzingai Mutumbuka was appointed secretary for education. He was one of the first lecturers to leave his university post to join the struggld… Dzingai decided to prepar a long-term education plan that would include not only the provision of primary and secondary education, but also research, curriculum development, teacher training, and administrative training. He also made plans for dozens of young people from the refugee camp schools in Mozambique to attend universities in friendly African countries, such as Sierra Leone, which then had one of the best university systems in Africa, as well as in Nigeria and Tanzania. The objective was to establish an education system in the Mozambican camps that would not only be educationally sound, but would also incorporate ZANU's political agenda of national unity and national consciousness, socialism, antiimperialism, anti-colonialism, and anti-racism. He also went on an aggressive recruiting campaign in Africa and overseas to attract young Zimbabwean graduates to come and teach in our schools, and he succeeded in attracting quite a number. Sheiba Tavarwisa, one of the first women to join the liberation struggle, was the deputy secretary for education…" (Chung 2006, 203-206).

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