# MUTINY IN AFRICA, 1950-2018

Rebecca Schiel, PhD
Postdoctoral Researcher
University of Central Florida & Chr. Michelsen Institute

Jonathan Powell, PhD
Associate Professor
University of Central Florida

Christopher Faulkner, PhD
Visiting Assistant Professor, Centre College

## ABSTRACT

The majority of literature on civil-military relations has focused on coups d'état. Yet, studying lesser forms of military insubordination can offer valuable insight on the true condition of states' civil-military relations. This paper introduces a data collection effort on mutinies across Africa from 1950-2018, revealing several interesting trends. First, most African countries have experienced mutinies, with these events increasing in frequency in the post-Cold War period. Second, while mutinies rarely escalate into coups, they are associated with an increased likelihood of coups in the future. This dataset provides a useful tool to explore the complexity of states' civil-military relations.

*Introduction*

On four different occasions in 2017, the government of Côte d'Ivoire was confronted with mutinies from multiple elements of their armed forces. Defined as "an act of collective insubordination, in which troops revolt against lawfully constituted authority for primary goals other than political power," mutinies are distinct from other forms of military disobedience such as coups in that they do not target power, but are quite important events with serious implications for civil-military relations (Dwyer, 2015b; Rose, 1982: 562-3). In the case of Côte d'Ivoire, the initial events began in early January when soldiers seized control of the country's second largest city, Bouaké, demanding bonuses, increased pay, and improved living conditions. The mutiny quickly spread, striking at least eight additional cities. The following month, soldiers from the Forces Spéciales mutinied in Adiaké, protesting their exclusion from the negotiated agreement which resolved the January mutiny. After two months of relative stability, thousands of active soldiers again took to the streets on the heels of mutineer spokesman Sergeant Fofana's declaration that the mutineers would absolve the government of the remaining payment owed from the negotiated agreement in January (Schiel et al., 2017). In December, a fourth mutiny broke out in Bouaké with soldiers setting up roadblocks and taking control of key areas of the city. The mutiny quickly spread to Abidjan, where shooting and at least one death were reported. The mutineers were the same as those involved in the January mutiny and their demands again centered on unpaid bonuses. After four days an agreement was reached and soldiers returned to their barracks (Monks and Agnero, 2018).

Côte d'Ivoire's most recent spell of mutinies offers a glimpse into the fragility of civil-military relations and the important consequences of these events. For Côte d'Ivoire, the mutinies only ended with the government's costly promise to provide roughly 8,500 soldiers the

equivalent of $19,000 each. This was no small amount given the country's per capita GDP at the time was approximately $1,400. The overall direct financial commitment would amount to an estimated $150 to $160 million, an incredible burden for any country and especially problematic for one with a small economy that—following the collapse of cocoa prices—was already in a pronounced decline.

While fiscal costs alone can be damaging, other countries have seen even more dire outcomes of mutinies. What began as a small, localized mutiny in 2012 Mali, for example, dramatically escalated when Captain Amadou Sanogo and a group of supporters departed the Kati barracks for Bamako, promptly removing the government. It would be difficult to overstate the fallout associated with this mutiny-turned-coup. The event acted as a direct assault on Mali's two-decade democracy and prompted a failed countercoup, leading to the massacre of members of the presidential guard—the Red Berets. Finally, and most importantly, the government disorder following the coup contributed to the loss of half the country's territory to insurgents, prompting an international intervention.

Events such as those seen in 2012 Mali, given the resulting change in government, have received a disproportionate share of scholarly attention. Unfortunately, limited scholarship has focused on the type of event that acted as a precursor to that coup—mutiny. This is a curious gap in the literature, especially considering the important economic, political, and human consequences that mutinies can have. The literature to date has generally either focused on specific historical episodes or on mutiny-plagued sub-regions, limiting our ability to make more general inferences regarding the phenomenon (Dwyer, 2017; Parsons, 2003). Finally, as discussed below, mutinies are increasing in frequency, making it all the more important to better understand these forms of military disobedience. The data introduced in this paper are an effort

to overcome prior shortcomings, to document the occurrence of mutiny throughout the African continent, and to provide a publicly available tool which scholars can use to further study these important events.

Our data include detailed information on 159 mutinies in Africa from 1950-2018. We build on earlier efforts of recording mutinies, in particular the work of Dwyer (2017) in three distinct ways. First, where Dwyer only focused on West and Central Africa, our analysis covers all countries across the continent. Second, compared with prior efforts that focused in West and Central Africa from 1960-2014, in our coding efforts we identify an additional 35 instances of mutiny over the same geographic and temporal coverage (Dwyer 2017). Finally, in addition to the geographic expansion, we expand the temporal period by examining additional years, beginning in 1950 and ending in 2018.[1]

The paper proceeds in six parts. First, building on prior work, we provide a clear definition of mutiny while carefully distinguishing mutinies from other forms of military disobedience such as desertion/defection. Second, we offer details on the types of events included in the data as well as the types we exclude. Third, we provide an in-depth overview of our data gathering and coding procedures. Fourth, we present the resulting data, illustrating both temporal and geographic variation in the occurrence of mutiny, while also distinguishing mutiny trends from those of coups. Fifth, we illustrate the utility of the data by including models that examine mutinies and coups, where we find clear evidence of the distinctiveness of these events. We conclude with a discussion of opportunities for application of the data in future research.

*Defining mutiny*

---

[1] Those countries which were independent prior to 1950 enter the data in 1950. Those countries which became independent after 1950 enter the data on their date of independence.

Scholars have long been aware of important differences between various aspects of military insubordination. Morrison and Stevenson, for example, drew an explicit distinction between coups and mutinies. Coups they defined as "violence or the threat of it by one or more parts of the power elite against other parts." Mutinies, meanwhile, they described as "violence on the established order by groups which are part of its own instruments of force, such as the police, etc." (Morrison and Stevenson, 1971: 351). Though a useful starting point, subsequent studies have refined these descriptions. Most notably, Dwyer (2015b), building on the prior work of Rose (1982), defines mutiny as "an act of *collective* insubordination, in which *troops* revolt against lawfully constituted authority for *primary goals other than political power*."

We find this definition to be ideal for three specific reasons. First, the collective aspect suggests common grievances shared by actors across a larger group. This makes identifying such events possible and often signals widespread grievances across the military. Second, the definition is explicitly concerned with *troops*, not other elements of authority such as national police forces. This aids in clarifying specific actors as members of a state's armed forces. In line with Dwyer, we only consider cases by active duty troops to be mutinies, also excluding mutinous activities by veterans and demobilized soldiers (Dwyer, 2017). Finally, though coups can be thought of as a form of mutiny, the definition adopted here explicitly requires goals other than seizing power, at least at the event's outset. This distinction is vital as mutinies often underscore collective grievances within the military, but with motives falling short of regime overthrow.

These components are essential as academic attention has disproportionately examined coups at the expense of other types of events. Though important given the stakes, coups are but one form of military insubordination. While their presence or absence can help scholars understand

the degree of state stability, analyzing different forms of military disobedience can offer a more accurate depiction of the 'true' condition of states' civil-military relations (Huntington, 1957; Feaver 1999). Failure to consider lesser forms of military disobedience has led scholars to fall victim to the fallacy of 'coupism,' or the inclination to judge a state's civil-military relations solely on its coup activity (Croissant et al., 2010: 954). Consequently, scholars often ignore the complexity of civil-military relations, overlooking important interactions between soldiers and the state.

The tendency for an overreliance on coups as the primary indicator of the condition of states' civil-military relations is perhaps unsurprising as coups "dramatically symbolize the central problem of the military exploiting their coercive strength to displace civilian rulers" and can lead to severe consequences for the future trajectory of a state (Feaver, 1999: 218). However, mutinies can also have dramatic and long-lasting consequences, making a more systematic investigation of these incidents essential. The following sections describe an effort to address this shortcoming by documenting mutinies across the African continent from 1950 through 2018.

*Distinguishing (non-)mutiny*

A central challenge in identifying cases of mutiny involved vetting those events that may often be inaccurately labeled as mutiny. In our assessment, we identified at least 4 distinct categories of events that are often conflated with non-mutinous events. These included military coup attempts, veteran/demobilized soldier mutinies, desertion, and an 'other' events category that for myriad reasons failed to meet our operational criteria for mutiny. Below we briefly clarify our coding decisions while illustrating examples of events that are excluded.

First, we excluded military coup attempts given the distinct differences in goals but do include cases that first began as mutinies. For example, in Côte d'Ivoire on 23 December 1999 approximately 50 soldiers in Abidjan protested the non-payment of bonuses for their participation in the UN peacekeeping mission in Central African Republic (Toungara, 2001). Negotiations ultimately failed, leading to a coup against President Henri Konan Bédié (Arnold 1999; Schiel et al., 2017; Toungara 2001). Given the nature of the soldiers' initial demands and actions, we consider the events beginning on 23 December, and similar type events, to be mutinies that later evolved to become coups.

Other cases, such as a 1992 mutiny in Sierra Leone, were more ambiguous. Often depicted as spontaneous, Dwyer described this event as an effective bait-and-switch by commanding officers (2017: 110). Owing to hardships on the frontlines in the fight against the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), supporters of Valentine Strasser abandoned their posts and set out for the capital of Freetown, ostensibly to mutiny. The 'mutiny' would quickly spiral into a coup. Dwyer's interviews with the participants illustrate that while enlisted soldiers were adamant that they were traveling to the capital to mutiny, with no intention of seizing power, the involved officers portrayed the mutiny plot as a ruse to get enlisted soldiers to participate. Though perhaps a coup plot from the outset, many of the rank-and-file soldiers were convinced the effort had more limited goals and accordingly willingly engaged in mutiny. We ultimately include this event due to the quite overt and collective movement of soldiers from the frontlines to the capital for the explicit purpose of staging a mutiny.[2]

---

[2] The 1992 Sierra Leone mutiny is included in the dataset without the "likely" caveat (explained below). While the case required further research to determine that the coup did begin as a mutiny, the motives and actors point to a clear case of mutiny.

Second, mutinies by inactive soldiers such as veterans and previously demobilized forces are excluded. Such events include the 7 June 2012, mutiny in Angola, which saw upwards of 3,000 demobilized soldiers protest in demand of disability pensions and back pay (De Morais, 2012). The inactive nature of the participants falls short of the definition of mutiny.

Third, we excluded instances where a group of soldiers made the decision to desert/abandon their posts, thereby removing themselves from a state's armed forces. Actions to remove oneself from the state's armed forces suggest soldiers are not concerned with directly benefitting from a government's policy change. This stands in stark contrast to the goals of mutiny (Maringira, 2016). Prior data efforts such as the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED), have also distinguished between mutiny and desertion. [3] Yet, our review of the ACLED data suggests a variety of forms of insubordination are still frequently conflated. For example, the case description of a mutiny in 2005 Chad notes "dozens of soldiers deserted posts and joined rebel forces…" (*Agence France Presse,* 2005). Similar issues arose during our review of The Social, Political, and Economic Event Database (SPEED). For instance, SPEED recorded a mutiny in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in April 1997 (Nardulli et al., 2015), but the alleged mutiny saw soldiers of the 21st brigade desert and claim common cause with the rebels (French, 1997). Rather than organized insubordination with a common policy goal short of

---

[3] Upon a request for clarification, the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED) noted: "Mutineers must be members of the security services who have openly opposed the incumbent regime (through rioting, gun battles with the authorities or attempted coups), yet still identify as members of the military/police. A common mutineer demand would be wages as this demonstrates that they consider themselves servants of the state rather than rebels (e.g. the most recent mutinies in Ivory Coast). Soldiers who displace a leader they perceive as incompetent in order to run the state better would also be counted as mutineers as they still consider themselves part of the state apparatus (e.g. the 2012 Malian coup). If soldiers leave the military and form a separate militant organisation (e.g. as seen during the outbreak of the First Ivorian Civil War or more recently in Burundi), then they are not considered mutineers," (Raleigh et al., 2010).

attaining political power, such events represent soldiers no longer identifying themselves with the state.

Lastly, we encountered numerous 'other' events, including interpersonal violence and interforce fighting that may often be miscategorized as mutiny. For example, though ACLED codes a mutiny in Uganda on 6 February 1999, the case reflects infighting between police and soldiers (Raleigh et al., 2010). Here, members of the Ugandan Special Constables engaged in a physical confrontation with soldiers over the accidental burning of residential huts. As the actors involved were not active troops, and goals did not include common policy goals, events such as these were not included.

*Beginning/end distinction*

Following Dwyer's lead, a single instance of mutiny is recorded when a mutiny begins (2017). This is the case if a mutiny occurs in a single location and lasts one day or if it spreads to multiple cities and continues over multiple days. For instance, the January 2017 mutiny in Côte d'Ivoire spread to as many as eight cities and lasted for two days. This is recorded as a single observation in our data. We code a new event when one mutiny is concluded before a new mutiny begins. This can occur when an agreement is reached, when mutineers return to their barracks, or when mutineers are killed or arrested. The May 1993 mutinies in Central African Republic provide an instructive example. A mutiny on 15 May 1993 lasted one day and concluded with an agreement and mutineers returning to their barracks. Quiet returned to the streets of Bangui for three days before a second mutiny broke out on 19 May (*Agence France Presse,* 1993a, b). Though separated by only four days, we count these as separate mutinies

because the first concluded before the second began. This is a unique advantage of our coding efforts as we are able to identify event start dates at the day-month-year level.

*Location distinction*

As the 2017 January mutiny in Côte d'Ivoire illustrates, mutinies can quickly spread. Thus, we were careful not to conflate the incidence of mutiny with its geographic scope. The ACLED dataset, for example, is a 'location' and 'event' dataset and does an excellent job in identifying the location(s) of various actions (Raleigh et al., 2010). However, users should exercise caution as to not conflate entries as independent events. For example, Martin's recent assessment of civil-military relations in Côte d'Ivoire reports over 40 mutinous events in the country in 2017 alone (Martin, 2018). Aside from using a far broader definition that combines different types of activities, a review of the data suggests that ACLED records a conflict event as a distinct/separate event if they occur in different locations, leading to duplicates. The January 2017 mutiny, for instance, spread to eight distinct locations, each of which would be included as an individual entry in the ACLED dataset (Raleigh et al., 2010). Though our effort is primarily concerned with identifying distinct events of mutiny, we also recorded location information for each event.[4]

*Data Collection*

Collecting longitudinal data on mutinies is a challenging task, one which few scholars have undertaken. Our data collection first began by utilizing two news databases, ProQuest Historical

---

[4] In recording the location of a mutiny we identified and reported the initial location of the mutiny. For mutinies which originated in one city and spread to additional locations, we include additional location information. More information on the location information can be found in the codebook.

New York Times and Lexis Nexis Academic. Coders received clear guidelines on the definition of mutiny and used this definition to identify potential instances of mutiny utilizing these databases and additional sources. When coders encountered any confusion on the actors, motives, or distinctions between events, they were informed to still record these cases. In short, we intentionally included, for further consideration, any case that could potentially qualify as a mutiny.

In addition, and heeding the call by Demarest and Langer for scholars to carefully reflect on biases in source material, we also assessed region-specific outlets, including *Africa Research Bulletin*, *Africa Confidential*, and country- or event-specific secondary sources, such as academic books and journal articles (Demarest and Langer, 2018). The results of this initial round of coding left the authors with the "candidate case" batch from which the authors then vetted to confirm an event as mutiny or remove it from the dataset. This initial effort resulted in a total of 191 possible cases of mutiny.

Each of the 191 possible cases were then independently reviewed, including reviewing the original source material and seeking new data when necessary to make a final decision as to whether confirm or omit an event. After reaching individual coding decisions, the authors discussed independent classifications, and in the case of disagreement, consulted all available source material to reach consensus.

This final exercise yielded 159 events, of which 150 cases of mutiny were confirmed and nine were coded likely, lower-confidence events. We made the decision to qualify our level of confidence in this process as the description of events for several cases were less

straightforward.[5] This strategy affords users an opportunity to exclude these low-confidence cases. A *likely* mutiny in Madagascar provides a useful illustration of these type of events. On 22 July 2012, soldiers of the Intervention Forces Regiment began shooting at the Ivato military base for undisclosed reasons. When the government sent an officer to negotiate with the soldiers, he was killed. The soldiers eventually capitulated and were arrested (*Radio France Internationale*, 2012). The motive for the event, while appearing to be an attempt to spoil negotiations between the current and former presidents, was not clear (Greenwood, 2012). Attempting to discern intent from actions, we might assume that since the soldiers did not try to overthrow the government that this case is a mutiny. However, the lack of additional information as to the soldiers' specific motives qualifies our level of confidence, which we denote in the data.

The remaining 32 events from the initial effort were identified as veteran mutinies, national police mutinies, cases of prolonged mutinies coded by others as separate events, and events labeled in other data sources as mutinies for which no corroborating evidence could be found. Among the cases ultimately excluded from our data, six were found in events datasets, including ACLED, SPEED, SCAD, and Dwyer, for which we could find insufficient corroborating information, ultimately labeled as missing (Dwyer, 2017; Nardulli et al., 2015; Raleigh et al., 2010; Salehyan et al., 2012). Though unlikely that every instance of mutiny was captured in our data gathering procedure, largely due to reporting biases, we are confident our final sample offers a robust overview of mutinous events across Africa through 2018. We return to this point below with a brief comparison of our dataset to the work of Dwyer.

---

[5] Of the 159 cases in the dataset, nine are labeled *likely*, suggesting a lower level of confidence in the coding of the event than those identified as confirmed mutinies. Each *likely* mutiny has a note explaining why the case received this classification.

*The dispersion of mutiny*

Aside from conflating mutinies with coups, it is also easy to assume that these events coincide both geographically and temporally. Though some coup-plagued countries are also mutiny-prone, this would be an inaccurate categorization. Coup and mutiny event counts, utilizing data on coup attempts from Powell and Thyne (2011), aggregated by country are only correlated at .45 and continent-yearly aggregates at .23.[6] Though some coups directly result from mutinies, and though there are likely theoretical associations between the two, descriptively these events are quite distinct in occurrence. Our reading of cases suggests that out of the 159 mutinies in the data, only eight (5%) escalated into a failed or successful coup (Republic of Congo 1966; Burkina Faso 1983; Sierra Leone 1992, Guinea 1996; Côte d'Ivoire 1999, Côte d'Ivoire 2002, Madagascar 2009, and Mali 2012). Dwyer (2017) codes an additional case of mutiny turned coup in Togo 1963. However, the initial mutineers in the Togo case were demobilized soldiers protesting their exclusion from the armed forces, while active duty soldiers would go on to assassinate then-President Sylvanus Olympio in a coup (Horowitz, 2000: 482; Houngnikpo, 2010: 219). Variance amongst these distinct events is best illustrated by some countries which lack historical legacies of military coups, yet have experienced mutiny (e.g., Senegal 1999, Cameroon 2015 & 2017).


<Figure 1 about here>


Temporal trends are illustrated in Figure 1. We report annual mutiny counts for the continent alongside a count of attempted coups (Powell and Thyne, 2011). Aside from an observed spike in both coup and mutiny activity in the early 1990s, our assessment indicates important

---

[6] Spearman correlation coefficients reported.

differences over time. Coups, for example, were far more prevalent than mutinies during the Cold War, while the opposite has become the case after 1990. While some point to an improvement in the continent's civil-military relations in the post-Cold War period, particularly under the African Union, the previous emphasis on coups obfuscates an increasing trend for mutinies (e.g., Souaré, 2014; Powell et al., 2016). Though an appraisal of these mechanisms is beyond the scope of this paper, available scholarship offers some clues. For example, the increased emphasis on combating unconstitutional changes of government could prompt aggrieved soldiers to attempt to remedy their grievances in manners other than removing the government. The democratic wave that commenced during the 1990s, meanwhile, could allow soldiers to more freely mutiny. Within these democracies, the active nature of civil society and the strategies and tactics employed by civilian organizations in their negotiations with the government served as templates for the military, potentially emboldening them to mutiny in an effort to remedy grievances (Dwyer, 2015b, 2017).

<Figure 2 about here>

Mutinies have also tended to geographically cluster in West and Central Africa, as illustrated in Figure 2. The most mutiny prone countries include, unsurprisingly given their history of civil conflicts, Cote d'Ivoire (16) and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (16). Regional standouts Cape Verde, Namibia, Botswana, Mauritius, and Malawi have the distinction of having been both mutiny and coup-free during the period of investigation. However, much like coups, the vast majority of the continent has experienced mutinies, with strong clusters also occurring in both the Horn and Southern Africa. Such dispersion is important, as it indicates the phenomenon

is not limited to any one particular region. This suggests, for example, that the issues discussed in Dwyer's (2017) work on West and Central Africa are applicable to a wider geographical range. Table 1 reports all instances of mutiny recorded in the dataset, including the day-month-year of the event.

<center>&lt;Table 1 about here&gt;</center>

*Comparison with Dwyer*

In a check of our application of the definition and robustness of our search procedures, we directly compared our efforts to that of Dwyer (2017). Dwyer identified 71 instances of mutiny across a sample of 23 West and Central African states between 1960-2014. Our data (right) are illustrated alongside events reported in Dwyer (left) in Figure 3 (2015b, 2017). An identical count for a country does not indicate all events are necessarily identical across the datasets. As a general rule, however, our decisions regarding events identified by Dwyer are in strong agreement. An important difference is that our collection resulted in 35 additional cases in these countries over the same time period.

<center>&lt;Figure 3 about here&gt;</center>

Of the 71 mutinies, we documented evidence for 69 of these events. The cases of 1982 Sierra Leone and 1997 Burkina Faso were the only episodes for which we could not find sufficient evidence to justify including the case. A far more common outcome was the identification of events not previously identified. In total, we found evidence of 35 additional cases of mutiny in the same country-years examined in Dwyer (2017). For example, in April 1999, Senegalese

soldiers set up a roadblock to protest unpaid wages from service in a peacekeeping mission in the Central African Republic (*PanAfrican News Agency,* 1999). The event is a textbook example of the type of peacekeeping-related mutiny described by Dwyer (2015a; 2017). In another incident, soldiers in Guinea-Bissau blocked roads in Bissau in a mutiny demanding backpay (*Agence France Presse,* 1999).

In seven cases our investigation of an event coded by Dwyer as a mutiny suggested it did not meet the criteria of a mutiny. In some cases, such as 2000 Côte d'Ivoire, reports suggested that the rebellious individuals were Ivorian civilians and we found no indication of active involvement by current elements of the military (*Africa Research Bulletin,* 2000; Onishi, 2000). Other events, such as 2003 Burkina Faso, featured evidence that was either not supportive of a mutiny or was too ambiguous to definitively categorize as such. In this case, at least twelve soldiers were arrested for allegedly plotting a coup against President Compaoré (*Agence France Presse,* 2003; *Africa Research Bulletin,* 2003).

The overall consistency in interpretation between these independent data gathering efforts, involving different search criteria, procedures, and sources, points to the robust nature of the current data. This does not discount the potential for other events to have eluded both efforts due to reporting bias, and we wish to be specifically clear about this point. Occasionally, we found vague references to earlier events. This included both media reports as well as scholarship, such as Decalo's brief description of a mutiny in Benin (Decalo, 1973). An in-depth review of available sources, however, did not reveal details of the event and thus, was excluded.

*Empirical Assessment*

One major motivating factor for this data collection effort stemmed from the singular focus on coups in prior civil-military relations literature. As indicated, this predominant focus on

coups is understandable given the lack of available data on lesser forms of military

insubordination. Yet, the ability to measure alternative forms of insubordination can offer

scholars a more nuanced and precise understanding of the condition of civil-military relations in

a given country. The empirical assessment that follows illustrates the utility of these data by

posing two questions. First, we ask if similar factors precipitate differing forms of

insubordination, specifically coups and munities. Second, we aim to determine the relationship

between a prior history of one form of insubordination on another. Utilizing data on both coups

and mutinies, the following analysis first shows that robust determinants in the coup literature

(civil-military legacies, anti-coup norms, and military regimes) are not associated with mutinies.

Secondly, we uncover that while prior mutinies are positively associated with future coups, prior

coups do not predict future mutinies. In the following sections we describe the data and methods

utilized in the empirical analysis.


*Dependent Variables*

We conduct a series of empirical tests using two distinct dependent variables. Our unit of

analysis throughout is country-month from 1950-2018. In our first set of analyses we utilize

*mutiny* as the dependent variable (Table 2). Here we operationalize mutiny as described above,

as "an act of *collective* insubordination, in which *troops* revolt against lawfully constituted

authority for *primary goals other than political power*" (Dwyer, 2015b; Rose, 1982). Next, we

shift our focus to coup attempts as the main dependent variable (Table 3). The data are drawn

from Powell and Thyne (2011; 252) who define coup attempts as "illegal and overt attempts by

the military or other elites within the state apparatus to unseat the sitting executive." For models

utilizing measures of coup successes or failures, we again follow the standard from Powell and

Thyne (2011) and define a failed coup as one that did not see plotters seize executive power for seven days or more and successful events as those that did. Each model in Tables 2 and 3 then controls for the effects of time since a specific mutiny or coup event. Given the dichotomous dependent variables, we utilize logistic regression.

*Independent Variables*

Our selection of independent variables reflects our two primary motives: 1) to explore how predominant measures in the civil-military relations literature influence mutinies specifically and 2) to examine the relationship between a prior history of one form of military insubordination on the other. To address this latter point and control for the effects of a civil-military legacy we utilize five models in each table, where each model controls for a various form of a prior event. We address temporal dependence by including a count of the months since last coup or mutiny event, as well as squared and cubed polynomials. Next, we utilize a measure of real GDP per capita (logged), drawn from the World Bank, to determine if the negative effects of economic development on coups attempts are replicated in the study of mutinies (e.g., Londregan and Poole, 1990). Third, we include a measure for economic growth as prior literature has shown that slowed growth or temporary negative shocks can increase coup attempts (e.g., Kim 2016). Fourth, past literature has suggested a negative effect of democracy on coups (e.g., Powell 2012) and we therefore include a dichotomous measure of democracy from the Rulers, Elections, and Irregular Governance (REIGN) dataset (Bell, 2016). Next, to test whether mutinies, like coups, are more likely in states with military regimes, we include a dichotomous measure indicating whether a state was classified as a military regime in a given month, also drawn from the REIGN dataset (Bell 2016). Finally, we include controls for two

time periods. First, we control for the Cold War (1960-1991), as coups are known to have occurred more frequently during this time period. Second, controlling for anti-coup norms associated with regional organizations, we control for the African Union time period.

*Results*

Table 2 presents the results of our first five models where mutiny is the dependent variable. Each model utilizes a specific measure of time since a prior civil-military event (e.g. coup or mutiny). In model 1 we control for prior mutinies, model 2 controls for prior coup attempts, model 3 for prior successful coups, model 4 for prior failed coups, and model 5 for both prior mutinies and coup attempts.

<Table 2 about here>

Examining Table 2, several trends emerge. First, similar to findings in the coup literature, the effects for both economic development and growth exhibit a negative and significant effect on mutinies. Second, unlike coups, neither military regimes nor regional anti-coup norms illustrate significant effects on the likelihood of mutinies. Further differentiated from coups, the effect of the Cold War time period is negative and significant, suggesting that mutinies were less likely during this era. Third, only in models 1 and 5, when controlling for a history of prior mutiny, does the measure of time since a civil-military event have a negative and significant effect on the occurrence of mutinies. Prior coup attempts, successes, and failures illustrate no statistically significant effect on the occurrence of mutinies in a given country-month. Finally, in model 5 when we introduce controls for both prior mutinies and coup attempts, only the time

since mutiny term has a negative and significant effect. As the amount of time since a previous mutiny increases, the likelihood of a future mutiny decreases, but the effect is inconclusive for the time since a coup attempt. This suggests more work is necessary to understand how attempts to overthrow a regime can impact military mutinies.

Turning to Table 3, we employ a dichotomous measure of coup attempt as the dependent variable and, in similar fashion to Table 2, control for time since various forms of civil-military events across each model. Model 1 controls for prior coup attempts, model 2 for prior successful coups, model 3 for prior failed coups, model 4 for prior mutinies, and model 5 controls for both prior mutinies and coup attempts. Examining the results, we can see that in model 4 the effect of time since a prior mutiny has a negative and significant effect on the likelihood of a coup attempt. Unlike in Table 2 (models 2-5) where the measure recording the time since prior coup events had no significant effect on mutinies, it appears that as the time since a mutiny increases, the likelihood of a coup attempt decreases. At one year after a mutiny, there is an approximate 2.1% chance of a coup attempt in a given country-year. This decreases to 1.9% at year two and to 1% ten years after a mutiny. In other words, coup risk declines by about 53% percent from year one to year ten. Next, in model 5, time since a coup attempt maintains a negative and significant effect though time since mutiny, while negative, loses its significance (with a p value of .12). A final note concerns the lack of significance of a known coup determinant, the Cold War time period. Across all models presented in Table 3 the Cold War variable fails to achieve traditional levels of statistical significance and the coefficient sign is sensitive to model specification. While the Cold War period has been identified as a meaningful predictor of coups in extant literature, several studies do indicate its lack of robustness (e.g, Arbatli and Arbatli 2014; Powell et al., 2016).

In addition to the models in Tables 2 and 3, several alternative model specifications were considered, with the results reported in the appendix. First, Tables A1 and A2 exclude the nine cases that were classified as likely mutinies. Next, Tables A3 and A4 exclude the democracy indicator to address concerns of multicollinearity with the military regime variable. Tables A5 and A6 utilize fixed effects. Finally, Tables A7 and A8 include a new variable labeled *English speaking* to control for potential reporting bias. The variable is dichotomous where 1= English is either *an* or *the* official language in the country and 0 otherwise. Regardless of the model specification, the results are also robust to those reported in the main analyses (Tables 2 and 3). In an important trend in considering reporting bias, the results consistently demonstrate that English-speaking countries see significantly *fewer* mutinies recorded in our data. While further explorations can provide additional attention to dynamics such as colonial legacies, this preliminary investigation indicates that a reliance on English-language sources did not result in a sample of mutinies disproportionately tilted toward English-speaking states. To the contrary, the data point to the opposite effect.

The empirical exercise above demonstrates the utility of the new data on mutinies and underscores the important differences that arise when considering mutinies as distinct events from coups. While economic indicators such as GDP per capita and economic growth can assist in explaining the likelihood of mutiny, neither predominant determinants of coups (e.g. military regime, Cold War or African Union time periods), nor a history of prior coup activity can help to predict the future occurrence of mutinies. Alternatively, a prior history of mutiny is positively associated with future coups suggesting these events can prove to be useful signals for the true condition of a state's civil-military relations.

*Future study*

The brief description of the data and illustration of its utility accentuates the importance of mutinies in Africa. Mutinies have not only served as precursors to coups (e.g., Sierra Leone April 1992, Mali March 2012), but have also preceded the outbreak of civil war (e.g., Cote d'Ivoire September 2002), have undermined military performance during conflict (e.g., Nigeria May 2014, DRC January 1998), and have threatened the peace following the cessation of civil war (e.g., post-conflict Mozambique experienced nine mutinies from 1993 to 1994). In certain instances, mutinies have been peaceful affairs, with little to no damage to property or harm to people (e.g., São Tomé and Príncipe February 2014). Other mutinies have been accompanied by banditry (e.g., Zimbabwe January 2009), violence against civilians (e.g., Guinea February 1996), and larger unrest (e.g., Central African Republic May 1996). Finally, as illustrated in the empirical tests, known determinants of coups do not have similar effects on mutinies. Perhaps most strikingly, while prior coups do not indicate an increase in future mutinies, prior mutinies are positively associated with future coups.

Given the diversity of outcomes following mutinies, the variance in both scale and tactics employed, and their increasing frequency, scholars would be wise to continue to investigate these events. For instance, while we have briefly illustrated the contribution of the data collection effort by highlighting important differences in the determinants of mutinies and coups, the data can prove useful for both the re-examination of, or new questions on the effects of these different forms of civil-military insubordination as well as their consequences. More work is undoubtedly necessary, but the empirical data and tests presented here offer scholars a wealth of information on mutinies across the African continent and adds to the vital foundation established by Dwyer.

With this data, future work could examine the types of regimes most susceptible to mutiny and how responses to mutinies impact the future of civil-military relations. This is a key advantage of the dataset that can assist scholars in overcoming the "fallacy of 'coupism'" as we continue to deepen our understanding of civil-military interactions.

Works Cited:

*Africa News* (1999) West Africa; IRIN-WA update of events in West Africa, 9 December.

*Africa Research Bulletin* (2000) October: political, social, and cultural series. 37 (10).

*Africa Research Bulletin* (2003) October: political, social, and cultural series, 40 (10).

*Agence France Presse* (1993a) Presidential palace siege ends peacefully, soldiers win back pay,

*Agence France Presse* (1993b) Troops mutiny over wage arrears, 19 May.

*Agence France Presse* (1996) Central African soldiers start receiving back pay. 21 April.

*Agence France Presse* (2003) Burkina Faso coup plot foiled, 12 soldiers arrested: Official, 7
    October.

*Agence France Presse* (2005) Chad threatens to pursue 'mutineers' into Sudan. 2 November.

Arbatli, CE and Arbatli E (2014) External threats and political survival: Can dispute involvement
    deter coup attempts? *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 33 (2): 115-152.

Arnold S (1999) Mutiny turns into coup bid – to the surprise of all. *Agence France Presse,* 24
    December.

*Associated Press* (1994) Former South Africa homeland soldiers arrested for mutiny. 21 June.

*BBC Monitoring Africa,* (2013) Chadian police detain weekly newspaper's managing editor over
    "mutiny" story, 17 October.

Bell C (2016) The Rulers, Elections, and Irregular Governance Dataset (REIGN), Broomfield,
    CO: OEF Research. Available at oefresearch.org

Benamsse J (1996) Military revolt gains strength in Central African Republic. *Associated Press,*
    19 April.

Croissant A, Kuehn D, Chambers P, and Wolf S (2010) Beyond the fallacy of coup-ism:
    conceptualizing civilian control of the military in emerging democracies.
    *Democratization* 17 (5): 950-975.

Decalo S (1973) Regionalism, politics, and the military in Dahomey. *The Journal of Developing
    Areas,* 7 (3): 449-478.

Demarest L and Langer A (2018) The study of violence and social unrest in Africa: a
    comparative analysis of three conflict event datasets. *African Affairs* 117(467): 310-325.

De Morais RM (2012) Angola: Demobilized soldiers protest in the ministry of defense. *AllAfrica
    Global Media,* 7 June.

Dwyer M (2015a) Peacekeeping abroad, trouble making at home: mutinies in West Africa. *African Affairs* 114 (455): 206-225.

Dwyer M (2015b) Tactical communication: mutiny as a dialogue in West and Central Africa. *Africa Spectrum* 50 (1): 5-23.

Dwyer M (2017) *Soldiers in revolt: army mutinies in Africa*. London: Hurst & Company.

Feaver P (1999) Civil-military relations. *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 211-241.

French H (1997) Zairian soldiers mutiny as rebels near second city. *New York Times,* 7 April.

Greenwood F (2012) Soldiers mutiny in Madagascar proves unsuccessful. *Public Radio International,* 22 July.

Horowitz D (2000) *Ethnic groups in conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Houngnikpo M (2000) The military and democratization in Africa: a comparative study of Benin and Togo. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 28 (2): 210-229.

Huntington S (1957) *The soldier and the state: the theory and politics of civil military relations.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Kim NK (2016) Revisiting Economic Shocks and Coups. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60 (1): 3-31.

Londregan J and Poole K (1990) Poverty, the Coup Trap, and the Seizure of Executive Power. *World Politics* 42 (2): 151-183.

Maringira G (2016) When the military became militarized: Accounts of Zimbabwean national army deserters in exile in South Africa. *African Security Review* 25 (1): 21-30.

Martin P (2018) Security sector reform and civil-military relations in postwar Côte d'Ivoire. *African Affairs* 117 (468): 522-533.

Monks, K and Agnero E (2018) Military mutiny ends peacefully in Ivory Coast. *CNN* 2 January 2018.

Morrison D and Stevenson H (1971) Political instability in independent black Africa: more dimensions of conflict behavior within nations. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 15 (3): 347- 368.

Nardulli P, Althaus S, and Hayes M (2015) A progressive supervised-learning approach to generating rich civil strife data. *Sociological Methodology* 45 (1):148-183.

Onishi N (2000) Popular uprising ends junta's rule over Ivory Coast. *New York Times,* 26 October.

*PanAfrican News Agency* (1999) Seychelles; negotiations over Senegalese soldiers' pay postponed', 8 April.

Parsons T (2003) *The 1964 army mutinies and the making of modern East Africa.* Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Powell J and Thyne C (2011) Global instances of coups from 1950 to 2010: a new dataset. *Journal of Peace Research* 48 (2): 249-259.

Powell J, Lasley T, and Schiel R (2016) Combating coups d'état in Africa, 1950–2014. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 51 (4): 482-502.

*Radio France Internationale* (2012) Madagascar; Troops mutiny ahead of political summit, 22 July.

Raleigh C, Linke A, Hegre H, and Karlsen J (2010) Introducing ACLED-armed conflict location and event data. *Journal of Peace Research* 47 (5): 651-660.

Rose E (1982) The anatomy of a mutiny. *Armed Forces & Society* 8 (4): 561-574.

Salehyan I, Hendrix C, Hamner J, Case C, Linebarger C, Stull E, and Williams J (2012). Social conflict in Africa: a new database. *International Interactions* 38 (4): 503-511;

Schiel R, Faulkner C, and Powell J (2017) Mutiny in Côte d'Ivoire. *Africa Spectrum* 52 (2):103-115.

Souaré I (2014) The African union as a norm entrepreneur on military coups d'état in Africa (1952-2012): an empirical assessment. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 52 (1); 69-94.

Toungara JM (2001) Ethnicity and political crisis in Côte d'Ivoire. *Journal of Democracy* 12 (3): 63-72.

*UN Integrated Regional Information Networks* (2004) Madagascar; Army reservists barricade parliamentarians. 28 May.

Table 1: Mutiny in Africa, 1950-2018

| Country | Mutiny | Country | Mutiny | Country | Mutiny |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Angola | 12/27/91 | Ethiopia | 4/26/74 | Mozambique | 7/29/92 |
| Benin | 1/28/72 | | 6/28/74 | | 8/1/92 |
| | 8/3/92 | | 7/3/05 | | 3/30/93 |
| | 1/19/00 | | 10/11/18 | | 10/25/93 |
| Burkina Faso | 5/18/83 | Gambia | 6/14/91 | | 12/27/93 |
| | 7/15/99 | | 2/3/92 | | 1/19/94 |
| | 10/7/07 | Ghana | 1/18/61 | | 6/6/94 |
| | 3/31/11 | | 3/29/80 | | 7/9/94 |
| | 4/15/11 | Guinea | 2/2/96 | | 7/18/94 |
| | 5/14/11 | | 5/2/07 | | 7/26/94 |
| | 5/29/11 | | 5/26/08 | | 8/2/94 |
| Burundi | 1/9/09 | | 6/17/09 | | 2/23/95 |
| Cameroon | 9/9/15 | | 3/31/10 | Niger | 12/1/63 |
| | 6/4/17 | | 10/26/09 | | 2/28/92 |
| Central African Republic | 5/15/93 | Guinea-Bissau | 3/17/93 | | 7/10/93 |
| | 5/19/93 | | 6/8/98 | | 6/2/97 |
| | 4/18/96 | | 11/3/99 | | 2/21/98 |
| | 5/18/96 | | 12/7/99 | | 5/30/98 |
| | 11/15/96 | | 10/6/04 | | 10/4/99 |
| | 6/20/97 | | 11/23/08 | | 11/4/99 |
| | 11/4/01 | | 12/26/11 | | 7/30/02 |
| Chad | 8/26/68 | Ivory Coast | 5/14/90 | Nigeria | 1/15/66 |
| | 9/9/81 | | 3/28/93 | | 5/3/70 |
| | 9/20/91 | | 12/23/99 | | 8/30/00 |
| | 5/17/04 | | 3/28/00 | | 7/5/08 |
| | 9/18/13 | | 7/4/00 | | 5/14/14 |
| Comoros Islands | 8/27/01 | | 9/19/02 | | 4/11/18 |
| Republic of the Congo | 6/27/66 | | 12/1/03 | | 8/12/18 |
| | 1/15/92 | | 1/2/06 | Sao Tome and Principe | 2/10/14 |
| | 2/14/96 | | 6/28/08 | Senegal | 4/8/99 |
| | 2/4/97 | | 8/18/08 | Seychelles | 8/17/82 |
| | 5/6/97 | | 9/26/08 | Sierra Leone | 4/28/92 |
| Democratic Republic of the Congo | 7/5/60 | | 11/18/14 | Somalia | 2/12/82 |
| | 9/22/60 | | 1/6/17 | | 6/19/10 |
| | 7/18/61 | | 2/7/17 | | 1/1/11 |
| | 11/1/61 | | 5/12/17 | | 12/20/12 |
| | 7/23/66 | | 12/28/17 | | 3/12/17 |
| | 7/5/67 | Kenya | 1/24/64 | | 5/24/17 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 9/23/91 | Lesotho | 1/23/94 | South Africa | 4/22/97 |
| | 10/22/91 | | 4/14/94 | | 11/26/08 |
| | 1/29/93 | | 3/4/95 | | 8/27/09 |
| | 2/24/93 | | 9/11/98 | South Sudan | 3/5/14 |
| | 9/20/97 | Liberia | 4/3/63 | Sudan | 10/30/65 |
| | 11/28/97 | | 12/21/04 | | 5/15/83 |
| | 1/21/98 | | 9/22/08 | Tanzania | 1/19/64 |
| | 6/16/09 | | 1/10/18 | | 1/1/83 |
| | 8/28/09 | Libya | 8/7/80 | Togo | 6/28/91 |
| | 2/15/12 | | 1/5/12 | | 10/22/92 |
| Eritrea | 1/21/13 | Madagascar | 3/8/09 | Uganda | 1/23/64 |
| Ethiopia | 2/27/74 | | 7/22/12 | | 2/19/77 |
| | 3/27/74 | Mali | 3/21/12 | Zimbabwe | 10/6/05 |
| | 4/7/74 | | 1/31/13 | | 11/27/08 |
| | 4/12/74 | | 9/30/13 | | 1/20/09 |

Table 2: Country-Month Logit of Mutinies, 1950-2018

| Mutiny | (1) Prior Mutiny | (2) Prior Coup Attempt | (3) Prior Coup Success | (4) Prior Failed Coup | (5) Prior Mutiny & Coup Attempt |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| GDP per Capita | -0.43670** | -0.59542** | -0.59375** | -0.63921** | -0.44569** |
| | (0.16764) | (0.22638) | (0.21618) | (0.21769) | (0.17075) |
| | | | | | |
| Economic Growth | -0.02677* | -0.04963** | -0.05151** | -0.04912** | -0.02359* |
| | (0.01125) | (0.01465) | (0.01330) | (0.01578) | (0.01095) |
| | | | | | |
| Democracy | -0.06535 | 0.16989 | 0.14471 | 0.08945 | -0.09980 |
| | (0.18938) | (0.29680) | (0.31058) | (0.31242) | (0.18625) |
| | | | | | |
| Military Regime | 0.36641 | 0.08636 | -0.05423 | 0.18361 | 0.47706 |
| | (0.57226) | (0.84794) | (0.84517) | (0.83227) | (0.62135) |
| | | | | | |
| Cold War | -1.35084** | -1.44351** | -1.52978** | -1.46872** | -1.24933** |
| | (0.32836) | (0.38455) | (0.41662) | (0.39921) | (0.36349) |
| | | | | | |
| African Union | -0.34471 | -0.43933 | -0.43905 | -0.47461 | -0.35796 |
| | (0.25096) | (0.39819) | (0.41424) | (0.40824) | (0.24572) |
| | | | | | |
| Time Since Last Mutiny | -0.03048** | - | - | - | -0.03186** |
| | (0.00718) | - | - | - | (0.00759) |
| | | | | | |
| Time Since Last Coup Event | - | -0.00001 | -0.00342 | 0.00367 | 0.00641 |
| | - | (0.00634) | (0.00627) | (0.00624) | (0.00438) |
| | | | | | |
| Constant | 0.09136 | 0.09136 | 0.09136 | 0.09136 | -0.14012 |
| | (1.27696) | (1.27696) | (1.27696) | (1.27696) | (1.14172) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 32,684 | 32,684 | 32,684 | 32,588 | 32,684 |

Standard errors clustered on country in parentheses.
+ $p<.1$ * $<.05$ ** $<.01$

Table 3: Country-Month Logit of Prior Mutiny & Coup History, Coup Attempts 1950-2018

| | (1) Prior Coup Attempt | (2) Prior Coup Success | (3) Prior Failed Coup | (4) Prior Mutiny | (5) Prior Mutiny & Coup Attempt |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Coup Attempt | | | | | |
| GDP per Capita | -0.26400** | -0.31427** | -0.32425** | -0.35995** | -0.25128* |
| | (0.09545) | (0.09801) | (0.11034) | (0.11744) | (0.10314) |
| | | | | | |
| Economic Growth | -0.01840 | -0.02258 | 0.00640 | -0.01532 | -0.01831 |
| | (0.02630) | (0.02418) | (0.02175) | (0.01874) | (0.02220) |
| | | | | | |
| Democracy | 0.09457 | 0.07455 | -0.52079 | 0.01423 | 0.00447 |
| | (0.19363) | (0.21990) | (0.36392) | (0.20991) | (0.18829) |
| | | | | | |
| Military Regime | 0.59139** | 0.58464* | 0.65940+ | 1.03475** | 0.72240** |
| | (0.22360) | (0.23725) | (0.35178) | (0.23150) | (0.22788) |
| | | | | | |
| Cold War | 0.02893 | -0.03821 | -0.38140 | 0.12224 | -0.07757 |
| | (0.20564) | (0.22454) | (0.27884) | (0.25728) | (0.23231) |
| | | | | | |
| African Union | -0.42324+ | -0.45048+ | -0.69544** | -0.69342** | -0.53523* |
| | (0.23451) | (0.25348) | (0.26690) | (0.26853) | (0.24347) |
| | | | | | |
| Time Since Last Mutiny | - | - | - | -0.00716* | -0.00437 |
| | - | - | - | (0.00345) | (0.00280) |
| | | | | | |
| Time Since Last Coup Event | -0.01054** | -0.00804* | -0.00901+ | - | -0.00823** |
| | (0.00312) | (0.00368) | (0.00538) | - | (0.00316) |
| | | | | | |
| Constant | -2.36749** | -1.97508** | -2.29511** | -1.76237* | -2.08782** |
| | (0.67684) | (0.71508) | (0.79475) | (0.89676) | (0.74960) |
| | | | | | |
| Observations | 32,684 | 32,684 | 32,588 | 32,684 | 32,684 |

Standard errors clustered on country in parentheses.
+ p<.1 *<.05 **<.01

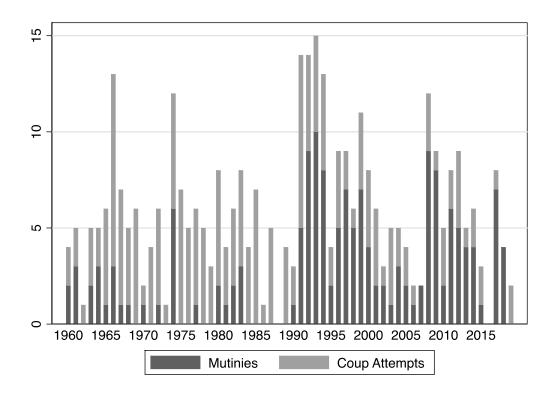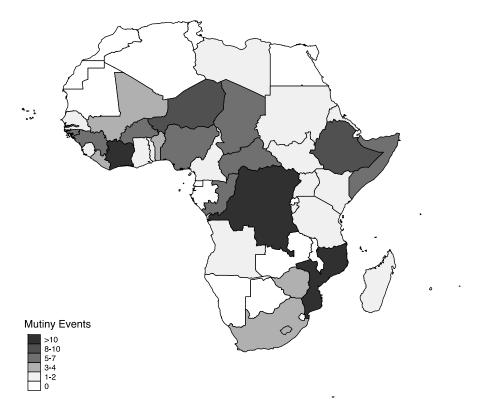Figure 1: Mutinies and Coups in Africa, 1960-2018

Figure 2. Mutinies in Africa, 1960-2018
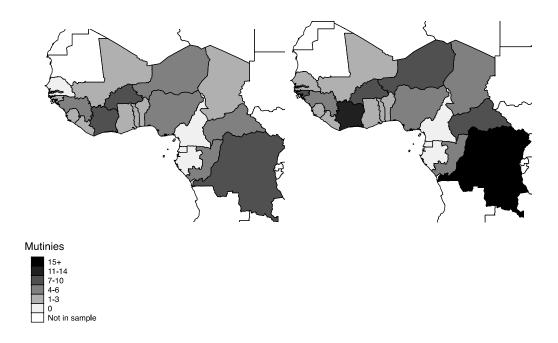
Mutinies

- 15+
- 11-14
- 7-10
- 4-6
- 1-3
- 0
- Not in sample

Figure 3. A Comparison of Mutiny in Africa, 1960-2014