Coups and Democracy*

Nikolay Marinov
nikolay.marinov@yale.edu
Yale University

Hein Goemans
hgoemans@mail.rochester.edu
University of Rochester

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Abstract

We use new data on coup d'états and elections to document a striking development: whereas the vast majority of successful coups before 1991 installed durable rules, the majority of coups after that have been followed by competitive elections. We argue that after the Cold War international pressure influenced the consequences of coups. In the post-Cold War era those countries that are most dependent on Western aid have been the first to embrace competitive elections after the coup. Our theory also sheds light on the pronounced decline in the number of coups since 1991. While the coup d'état has been and still is the single most important factor leading to the downfall of democratic government, our findings indicate that the new generation of coups has been far less harmful for democracy than their historical predecessors.

'I came in on a tank, and only a tank will evict me.'
Abu Zuhair Tahir Yahya, PM of Iraq, 1968[1].
'The first measure will be to recall the previous parliament and make sure the proceedings are constitutional.'
Muhammad Naguib, President of Egypt, 1952.[2]

To many observers, the fall of Hosni Mubarak in Egypt looked much like a coup. The natural, most pressing question of the day seemed to be: was it a good or a bad coup?[3] By 'good' most people mean a development that furthers democracy, the rule of law, economic growth. As it turns out, we have few tools, theoretical and empirical, to address this question at present. Coups have been a staple of twentieth century politics. Their aftermath, however, has eluded systematic scrutiny.

We seek to change that. We study the occurrence of competitive elections after coups. Since elections are a necessary condition for democracy, understanding how and under what conditions forceful seizures of executive power lead to liberalizing outcomes is a point of considerable interest. As it turns out, there is considerable variation: it could be months, or decades to the next election. Table 1 shows that, historically, most coup d'états were not followed by elections, at least not in the five years after. Whoever took power opted to rule without popular consent. The figure also shows a remarkable reversal: after 1991, most coups were, in fact, followed by elections. As we will argue, important factors changed with the end of the Cold War,

[1]Luttwak 1969, 149.

[2]Finer 1988, 32.

[3]See 'Analysis: Military coup was behind Mubarak's exit', *Washington Post*, February 11 2011.

helping to account for this reversal.

With few exceptions, scholars to date have focused on the causes of coups.[4] What is needed, we would argue, is a more thorough understanding of the consequences, how they vary and how this variation might, in turn, feed back into the incentives of potential coup-plotters.

We consider explanations based on domestic factors and forces. Economic development, economic growth and who leads a coup may help account for the occurrence of elections after coups. But they are unable to fully explain the reversal we observe. External actors can significantly affect the value of holding power after a coup succeeds; more importantly, what outsiders want is at least somewhat historically contingent. With the end of the Cold War, the West has began to promote free elections in the rest of the world. While elections have not always been free and fair, nowadays nine out of every ten countries in the world hold regular elections that are significantly more competitive than the forms of political contestation most of these countries had before 1990.[5] Outside forces may be unable to intervene quickly enough to forestall a rapid power grab, but foreign donors have ample time to influence the direction of the new and vulnerable regime.

Our empirical section exploits original elections data and data on 249 coups between 1945 and 2004. We use official development assistance as a proxy for Western pressure to hold elections. We show that dependence on Western aid tends to make countries more likely to hold competitive elections after coups - but this result only holds for the post-Cold War cases.

Our identification strategy exploits the fall and break up of the So-

[4]Londregan and Poole 1990; Alesina et al. 1996; Jackman 1976; Zuk and Thompson 1982; Jackman 1978; Johnson, Slater, and McGowan 1984; Belkin and Schofer 2003.

[5]The source of this data is the NELDA dataset, see Hyde and Marinov 2012.

viet Union, a development arguably exogenous to the inherent propensity of countries to experience post-coup elections. The fall of the Soviet Union had two main, potentially related, consequences. First, countries in need of aid could no longer "shop around" and play off the west against the Soviet Union, there was no more aid to be had from the Soviet Union. Second, the fall of the Soviet Union also affected Western views about the potential and need for the promotion of democracy.

[Table 1 about here]

Table 1: Coups Ending in Elections $\leq$ 5 Years

	1945-1990	**1991-2006**
Elections in 5 years	59	31
No	159	12

Our argument seeks to contribute to the literature in three ways. We study an important and relatively neglected choice faced by all coup leaders before the new regime has taken shape: what is to be done with power? We agree with intuitions in the literature that regime insiders are often split on this issue in principle, with some prepared to withdraw from power and call for elections while others being determined to set policy by themselves.[6] We show that foreign pressure can play a role in swaying this consequential choice. We also

[6]Geddes 1999; Svolik 2009.

hope to help open a debate on other consequences of coups,[7] such as when do they make civil wars more or less likely.

Second, our research has important implications for the staying power of democratic political institutions. By one count, three out of every four failures of democracy are the result of a successful coup d'état.[8] This makes forceful power seizures the biggest single danger to democracy. If the international community can affect the consequences coup-plotters face after they succeed in their attempt to grab power, democratic failures need not last long. The anticipation of elections may also affect the incentives of potential plotters to attempt a coup in the first place. Thus, democratic institutions may be more durable and less frail due to the changing post-coup trajectories of countries.

Third, we aim to contribute to a vibrant literature on the international influences on democratization. Initial attention in the literature sought to identify broad causal processes between relatively macro-concepts such as membership in international organizations and democratization.[9] Scholars have started to look more into micro-processes, for example, by examining the role of outsiders in countries' elections.[10] By linking foreign pressure and post-coup election choices, we parse out the calculus of leaders who can do much to affect the liberalizing trajectory of their countries. Perhaps surprisingly, the international community may have even more leverage with coup-entrepreneurs than with authoritarian incumbents more generally. While we only look at the role of aid-dependence, this research agenda can be extended to

[7]Roessler 2011.

[8]Based on democracy data from Przeworski et al. 2000, with subsequent extensions by Cheibub, Gandhi, and Vreeland 2010.

[9]Pevehouse 2002.

[10]Hyde 2007; Kelley 2008; Donno 2010; Corstange and Marinov 2012.

cover the role of international organizations, conditionality in trade agreements and other international influences on leaders' post-coup political choices.

A Theory of Elections After the Coup

Existing Literature

We define the coup d'état as the seizure of effective executive authority through the threat or use of force. The actors perpetrating the coup may include the military, the police, a domestic armed group, a member of the governing elite, or some other set of domestic actors. The use of force may be overt, such as fighting in the capital, or may come in the form of tacit support by the military and security apparatus of the power grab.[11]

Traditionally, the problem of the coup d'état has been viewed as a problem of political instability. Instability, whether manifested in institutional gridlock or mass protests, invites members of the ruling elite or military to supplant the government and take the reins of power in their own hands. There are many explanations of the causes of political instability but two stand out. One examines a country's level of economic modernization and the development of its political institutions, tracing the roots of instability to lack of congruity between the two. As economic modernization transfigures urban and rural communities around the world, there is pressure on governments to meet the demands of a new class of politically-conscious and mobilized individu-

[11]Where the use of power is less than obvious, we need specific evidence that a threat was actually made to conclude that a coup has taken place. More definitional discussion available in the data section, other choices are part of the replication dataset and online appendix.

als. When governments fail to deliver, instability follows.[12] A related argument views the problem of political instability as a problem of political legitimacy. Governments become illegitimate when they fail to deliver on the expectations of their citizens. Economic performance is an important measure of how governments are able to meet expectations. Thus, economic decline can be profoundly destabilizing while economic growth may solidify a government's claim to legitimacy.[13] Other extant explanations focus on how and why the army – often a player – intervenes in politics.[14] Often the army sees itself as the bulwark against chaos, and justifies its intervention in government by invoking threats to a country's institutional stability, economic welfare, or foreign policy direction..[15] This tendency is reinforced where the army holds a special place in society, for example, due to events surrounding the origin of the state.[16]

These insights have made important progress possible but they are not very informative on what shapes post-coup choices. Why would a successful leader of a forceful takeover of power move to organize elections remains something of a puzzle. After all, such actors are adept at grabbing power through irregular, unconstitutional means. That may make them resilient once in office, or at least it may indicate that they are not interested in (democratic) constitutional procedures.

[12]Deutsch 1961. In a similar vein, Samuel Huntington noted that economic modernization could ultimately transform traditional societies into stable polities but the process itself could be profoundly destabilizing Huntington 1968.

[13]McGowan and Johnson 2003; Londregan and Poole 1990; Przeworski and Limongi 1997.

[14]Karakatsanis 1997; Feaver 1999.

[15]Johnson, Slater, and McGowan 1984.

[16]Cheibub 2006.

More importantly, we argue that the existing literature ignores how the potential consequences of coups affect the incentives of potential coup plotters.

If it were the case that elections conducted by coup-entrepreneurs were mere façade, serving to establish their hold on power, the question would be trivial. While this kind of elections do occasionally take place, the focus of this article is on the case of competitive elections, substantially fair and free of fraud. In such elections, coup-leaders rarely compete and, even when they do, only sometimes emerge victorious. Thus, the conceptual puzzle is, why would coup-leaders agree to hold elections, the consequences of which may substantially reduce their power over a country's affairs?

Even though not all coups start in autocracies, following a coup a country is almost by any definition an autocracy. That makes the literature on authoritarian regime breakdown and democratic transitions a good starting point. One well-known proposition in that literature argues that democratization and economic development are systematically related.[17] One plausible hypothesis would then be that the holding of competitive elections after coups is related to a country's level of economic development: all else equal, a more developed country is more likely to face pressure to hold elections [18]

While we do not believe that this argument is wrong, we believe that its explanatory power is limited. To demonstrate why, we offer a simple, two-stage decision-making timeline in the appendix. The kinds

[17]Lipset 1959.

[18]Przeworski and Limongi 1997; Boix and Stokes 2003; Boix 2011. In fact, the nature of the causal arguments made (modern societies are hard to govern by authoritarian means; people become autonomous and resist government direction) implies that this relationship should hold irrespective of whether the coup displaces an authoritarian or democratic government.

of factors that enable coup-leaders to succeed in a coup would often be systematically related to their ability to stay in power. In the case of economic development, it is easier to grab power via a coup in a underdeveloped countries. This induces attrition in the sample of observed events, weakening the relationship between development and time to elections. Countries at higher level of economic development may be more likely to experience elections after coups but they are unlikely to have a coup in the first place, and so are not under observation at the stage we are focusing on.

Our Argument

In order to understand why some coups lead to elections, we should consider the relationship between pre-coup policy, what a coup leader would favor as an ideal post-coup policy, and the policy outcome elections would produce. Suppose the pre-coup status quo corresponds to the median voter's preferred point, as would typically be the case 'soon' after free and fair, competitive elections. Under these conditions, the only coups that would occur would be those seeking to install a durable (military) government in place. This fits many observed events: Franco's coup in Spain was a response to a socialist victory at the polls in 1936. The military was not interested in elections because they were bound to produce the same "radical" left-wing policy outcome.

While those coups may have become paradigmatic of how we think of the forceful seizure of power, we would argue that they do not tell the whole story. When the pre-coup status quo policy outcome moves away from the preferences of the median voter, we may see a 'guardian coup': the military takes power from a corrupt and inept civilian administration, and promises to return the country to elections after

reforming the system. The 1960 coup in Turkey, the 1974 coup in Portugal, and the recent Bangladeshi coup in January of 2007 fit this description. In such cases, the actions of the army are greeted by popular enthusiasm, as is the promise to hold fresh elections after purging corrupt politicians. When unpopular governments move status quo policy away from the median voter's ideal point (through corruption or repression against the opposition), coup-leaders may have enough to gain from seizing and then relinquishing power in terms of policy to make the grab of power and its subsequent transfers worthwhile.

Finally, where the status quo policy is closer to what the coup plotters can get in post-coup elections, we may not see any coups, and if we did, they would not be followed by a transition to democracy. Potential coup plotters with policy preferences farther away from the median voter than the current government, should be less likely to launch coups, because they may be pressured to hold elections which would produce policies even more unfavorable to them than the current government's policies. For a mathematical formalization of the argument, see the appendix.

What kind of factors are likely to push coup-leaders toward elections? The existence and history of democratic political institutions in the country can be important. Democratic institutions tend to consolidate in part by creating widely-shared norms and expectations among the population at large about the desirability of electing one's own leaders. Coups in established democracies may result in swifter return to elections, due to the difficulty the new rulers face in stymieing popular expectations. Even if the coup-leaders accuse the democratic government of mismanagement and use that as a pretext to seize power, they would have to deal with mounting expectation to return to the barracks once their job is done. The probability of successfully re-

taining power without elections may be lower in such cases. Because coup-leaders have to hand over power, their incentive to commit a coup may be lower in the first place.

It is also potentially important to consider the identity of the actors who participate in the coup. Professional militaries are often the culprits but other regime insiders – ministers, or former members of the military (who may have turned rebels) may sometimes be responsible.

In cases where military-lead coups produce military regimes, Barbara Geddes has argued that corporate interests pull the military back to the barracks, creating factions and splits within the leadership.[19] The empirical record suggests that debates about what to do with power are indeed common among successful military coup-leaders. In the 1960 Turkish case, the army moved to take away power from an inept and increasingly authoritarian Menderes government. Soon, disagreement emerged between the army's commander in chief, General Cemal Gürsel, and some of the younger officers. Gürsel favored a quick return to civilian administration and prevailed in the end.[20] A similar rift within the Egyptian Free Officer movement emerged between the formal leader of the army General Muhammad Naguib and the young charismatic Nasser after the coup on 23 July 1952.[21] If military regimes are more prone to factions, coups led by military actors may be more likely to lead to a speedy handover of power in elections.[22]

[19]To quote Geddes: 'military regimes ... carry within them the seeds of their own disintegration'. See Geddes 1999, 122.

[20]Finer 1988; Yalman 1968, 33.

[21]LaCouture 1970, 100.

[22]To take another example, after the 1962 coup d'état in Peru, the ranking officer of the military junta, General Ricardo Pérez Godoy similarly favored a return to negotiations with the elected Congress. His viewpoint lost to younger members of the junta who wanted to remake the political composition of the elected legislature. See Needler 1966.

If factionalism works to lower the probability of retaining power without elections, it is also important to note that a professional military may be better at putting together a government and staving off challenges to its rule - in short, at staying in power without elections. The net effect on time to elections after coups is, therefore, not as clearcut. Recent work notes that the incentives of the military may be more complex than currently thought.[23]

While societal demands for elections and the identity and skill of the perpetrating actors may play a role in a state's post-coup trajectory, scholars have recently began to acknowledge the important of outside factors as forces for democratization. It is well-known that coup-leaders care intensely about international reactions to their undertakings. In his first communiqué, Colonel Jean-Bédel Bokassa of the Central African Republic, for example, hurried to announce, among policy changes such the 'abolishment of the bourgeoisie', one important continuity - that 'all foreign agreements shall be respected'.[24] The Greek colonels intensely lobbied the U.S. government for speedy recognition, and argued that their hold on power depended on successfully securing American support.[25] In Guatemala, General Manuel Orellana, who ousted the Conservative government in 1931, tendered his resignation before the National Congress when the US withheld recognition.[26] Coup leaders have often made negotiations with for-

[23]Powell 2012.

[24]Luttwak 1969, 175.

[25]State Department, 'Memorandum regarding U.S. policy toward Greece following the 4/21/67 military coup in that country – issued: 27 February 1968; declassified 15 March 1996. The Greek colonels had to cope with the 'freezing' of the EEC association agreement which catalyzed domestic protest. See Coufoudakis 1977.

[26]'Provisional President Elected in Guatemala', *The Hartford Courant*, January 1 1931.

eign donors a top priority upon seizing office. Major Daouda Malam Wanke, head of the presidential guard that deposed the corrupt leader of Niger in 1999, assured the European Union that elections would be held soon in order to secure a life-line of Western aid. One of the poorest countries in the word, Niger lives off foreign aid – deriving up 80 % of its operating budget, somewhat varying over time. The September 2003 coup in Guinea-Bissau, the coup in Mali in 1991, and others, tell similar stories.

Such sensitivity to potential international reactions should not come as a surprise, since many countries depend on the outside world for key resources. Country leaders can try to isolate themselves from foreign pressure by relying on small groups of loyal supporters, but coup-entrepreneurs have to contend with an especially precarious domestic situation. Foreign support may coordinate expectations among wavering backers and cause them to fall in line, whereas foreign condemnation may undermine domestic confidence in the ability of the regime to deliver indispensable outside resources.

The reaction of the international audience to a coup depends on many factors. There was relatively little Western pressure to hold elections during the Cold War period. The United States and the former colonial powers in Europe displayed an ambiguous attitude toward coups and coup plots: sometimes helping, sometimes thwarting, and sometimes doing nothing. The American involvement in Allende's removal has given US democratization policy of the period a poor reputation. The United States sometimes opposed coups in support of freely elected governments.[27] Because the world was thought to

[27]President Kennedy, for example, supported the coup in Argentina but opposed the army takeover in Peru in 1962. Kennedy recalled being asked by his brother Edward why support one and not the other, and joked that he himself could only tell the difference after 'thinking about it for a while'. See 'Meeting on Peruvian Recognition' in Naftali

be a chessboard of West vs. East, attitudes toward both the extra-constitutional seizure of power and views on whether to pressure for elections varied depending on which side of the ideological conflict the relevant actors took. The same applied to the policies of the other major donors. After the Cold War ended, dependent countries could not credibly threaten to defect to the USSR as a source of foreign aid. This gave Western powers more of a bargaining leverage to ask for elections than was previously the case.

After the Cold War, however, major players in international affairs including the United States and the European Union, professed a commitment to defend democracy, including by punishing attempts to bring down elected incumbents. In fact, since 1997, the US President has been bound under an act of US Congress to suspend foreign aid to another country in the case of a coup d'état.[28] A comparable commitment was made by the EU in 1991.[29] The insistence on competitive elections reflects normative concerns with the political rights of others, but also rests on an understanding that a liberal international order is in the long-term strategic interests of the West.[30]

We are not claiming that pressure to hold elections is universally applied by foreign donors. Geopolitical considerations can still play a role. We are merely arguing that there has been a shift, on average, toward asking for the restoration of democratic institutions. Even if

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2001, 39.

[28]See §508, Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1997 – §101(c) of title I of Public Law 104-208.

[29]Smith thus records how the EU suspended aid after the coups Burundi 1993, Comoros 1995, Gambia 1997, Haiti 1991, Niger 1996, Pakistan 1999 and Sierra Leone 1997. See Smith 2003, 205-208.

[30]Ikenberry 2000.

the demands are not for fresh elections but for the reinstatement of a previously elected democratic incumbent, this shift implies that we are more likely to observe elections after a coup after the Cold War ended than before. Furthermore, the effect should be strongest among states most dependent on access to Western-provided benefits.

The end of the Cold War has also been marked by an increase in the prevalence and lethality of civil wars. The occurrence of a coup d'état is sometimes seen as a manifestation of a civil war that did not take off. The bad news is that the country may still be at risk.[31] Pressing for elections in this context may be seen (whether rightly or wrongly) as a stabilizing factor by the international community.[32]

All these factors give the international community reasons to press the country on liberalization. We argue that this has important implications for coup leaders. We should also note that the effect of international pressure on the probability that a coup d'état will succeed is probably limited. Outsiders can do little to affect the rapid chain of events often associated with a power grab. Even in cases in which Western militaries have 'boots on the ground', there has been a reluctance to get drawn into a local struggle for power.[33] While the events surrounding the execution of a coup d'état occur often too quickly for direct outside intervention to make a difference, the aftermath of a successful seizure of power presents the new leaders with a difficult and potentially protracted consolidation phase. The international community is presented with ample opportunities to press conditions

[31]Kalyvas and Balcells 2010, 418-422.

[32]Collier 2010; Brancati and Snyder 2011.

[33]Thus, LeVine scours French military interventions in Africa and finds only 3 after 1990 in which the French actively tried to intervene in the direction of an unfolding coup - a sharp contrast to events before 1990. See Le Vine 2004, 381.

on the country's leaders, while the new leaders worry about having sufficient resources to stave off challenges to their untested grip on power. Some coup-leaders may succeed in 'coup-proofing' their hold on power while others who are more dependent on foreign support may face greater hurdles. Unlike the case of economic development and coups, we would not expect attrition in the case of estimating the impact of foreign aid on time to elections after coups. Coups happen as easily in aid-dependent states as elsewhere, and the full range of values of that independent variable is available at the second stage.

We expect outsiders' demands for elections to be potentially decisive in determining a coup-leader's strategy, especially where outside actors control a country's access to substantial resources. We can think of several ways to gauge this proposition. We focus on Western development aid flows as a particularly prominent example where the international audience can have significant leverage. Our focus on Western development aid flows has several distinct advantages. First, because a broad range of countries is highly dependent on aid flows we should be able to find effects not just for a narrow sample but for a relatively large sample of post-coup decisions. Second, the list of countries most dependent on foreign aid changes relatively little – if at all – from the Cold War to the post-Cold War era. In other words, it is not the demand for foreign aid, but the democratic conditionality of foreign aid that has fundamentally changed with the end of the Cold War.[34]

There is a large literature on how foreign aid impacts democracy. Many scholars are skeptical that the effects are positive, blaming the

[34]Crawford 2000.

politically-motivated targeting of aid by donor governments.[35] A well-known null finding argues the case for no effects.[36] Others see in aid a much more pernicious influence on freedoms, citing the 'curse' of unearned income.[37] A recent study of autocratic regimes sees a conditional effect, depending on the size of the ruling coalition.[38]

We differ from most studies of aid and freedoms in that we do not look at broad regime trajectories but focus on trajectories conditional on a successful coup d'état. We agree that democratic conditionality is key for whether aid helps democracy.[39] The effects of conditionality on coup-leaders may be systematically different from the impact on the broader population of country leaders. A coup-leader's tenuous, at least initially, grip on power may give more leverage to outsiders. Leaders new to power may also have fewer strategic relationships with donors, thus enabling a more principled conditionality policy. The occurrence of a coup may be more obvious than the gradual slippage of freedoms, enabling a more immediate and coordinated international response.

We also aim to contribute to the literature on the international dimensions of democratization.[40] We agree that Western linkage and leverage matter.[41] We aim to show how it does in the context of a forceful, unconstitutional seizure of power. Much of the extant literature

[35]Schraeder, Hook, and Taylor 1998; Alesina and Dollar 2000; Burnside and Dollar 2000.

[36]Knack 2004.

[37]Smith 2008; Djankov, Montalvo, and Reynal-Querol 2008; Morrison 2009.

[38]Wright 2009.

[39]Dunning 2004; Bermeo 2011.

[40]Whitehead 1996; Gleditsch and Ward 2006; Bush 2011.

[41]Levitsky and Way 2010.

tends to focus on elections or on democratization broadly defined. The main idea in the elections' centered literature is to improve the quality and bite of elections: whether by international observation, legal help, or coordinating mass responses to vote theft.[42] We want to focus on one specific causal process (aid dependendence on incentives), when it comes to international influence on democracy, and on one pathway (coups to elections) in order to improve causal inference.

The argument we develop has implications for what whether and what kind of coups will be committed before and after the end of Cold War. To the extent that holding elections after coups can reduce the 'prize' to be gained by seizing power, factors that make post-coup elections more likely are bound to make coups less likely. Thus, to the extent that coups are in relative decline, one of the reasons may have to do with perceptions of their changing payoffs. Also, our argument implies that a greater proportion of the coups committed post-Cold War will be guardian coups, cases where the preferences of the coup-leaders are not incompatible with the median voter's. Since they expect to be asked to hold elections, actors would only risk to gamble on a coup if the resulting policy shift toward the median voter is worthwhile.

Hypotheses

Our theoretical development, derived with the help of the model offered in the appendix, suggests the following testable hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1. *Higher levels of economic development increase the probability of a post-coup election*

[42]McFaul 2007; Tucker 2007; Beissinger 2007; Bunce and Wolchik 2010; Kelley 2012.

Hypothesis 2. *Coups committed against existing democracies are more likely to result in elections.*

Hypothesis 3. *Coups committed by the military increase the probability of a post-coup election.*

Hypothesis 4. *Greater dependence on Western aid flows increases the probability of post-coup elections, but only in the post-Cold War era*

If modernization theory is correct, per Hypothesis 1 we would expect to see fewer coups in countries with high levels of economic development. This would make it harder to detect the effects in empirical tests.

Hypothesis 2 recognizes the effects of pre-existing institutions. We will require the country to have a tradition of democratic elections, in order to better capture the effect of institutionalization.

Hypothesis 3 seeks to trace differences in observed trajectories to the identity and organization of the actors seizing power. The military may be systematically different from other actors when it comes to ruling without popular mandate. This may or may not be the case, depending on whether military actors are not also better at staving off challenges to their rule.

Finally, Hypothesis 4 seeks to connect the changing international norms and expectations to the decision to hold elections. Specifically, it seeks to uncover the potential effects of leverage afforded by countries' dependence on foreign aid. When conditionality changes, we

would expect to see discernible effects on the the timing of competitive elections.

While these hypotheses are not mutually exclusive, our identification strategy is strongest on identifying the effect of 4.

Data

To test these potential causal relationship requires appropriate data on coups and elections. Below, we briefly outline our data.

Our coup d'état dataset is based on a database on political leaders *Archigos*.[43] *Archigos* codes the identity of all leaders in 164 countries in the world 1875 – 2004 and includes information about the manner in which leaders assumed and left office. We look at how power is transferred between two leaders to identify the set of events that may qualify as coups. *Archigos* first codes a variable to identify all 'irregular' exits by a leader, from there, it codes a number of additional variables to distinguish between the different types of irregular exits. An irregular exit occurs when constitutional or customary provisions for how power is supposed to change hands in a country are not observed. Not all irregular exits are coups. We use additional variables to tell us whether the case involved the use of force, whether force was used or merely threatened, whether the military, rebels, government insiders, and whether foreigners were involved in the events. A coup occurs where force is threatened or used, military, government insiders or rebel actors are involved, and foreign actors play a minor role.

A change in power within a military junta, if it involves the threat or use of force, is considered a coup. Social revolutions and popular

[43]Goemans, Gleditsch, and Chiozza 2009.

uprisings are generally not considered that, unless at some point a group of actors connected to the government threatens or uses force to remove the government in place. Unsupported assassinations, where the perpetrator or perpetrators lack the basic organization or resources to take power, are not considered a coup. Likewise, where the forcible ouster of a regime is accomplished solely by foreign actors, the case is not considered a coup.

Based on this information, we identify 249 instances of a coup d'état between 1949 and 2004.[44] Figure 1 illustrates the prevalence of coups over time. It also shows the number of countries with coup-installed leaders in office.

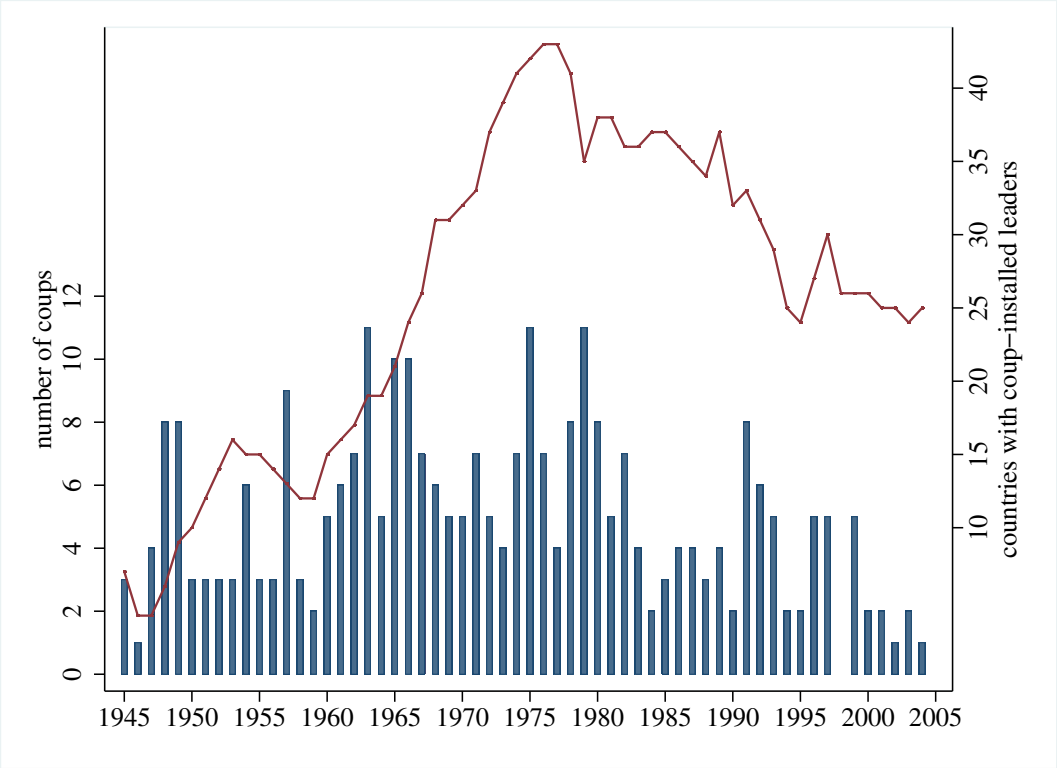
[Figure 1 about here]

While our definition captures a broad consensus, differences with previous operationalizations inevitably remain.[45] The basic insight we share with the literature is the emphasis on the use or threat of force in effecting regime change, and the notion that the transfer of power

[44]There are a number of alternative datasets. A recent paper by Belkin and Schofer features a dataset with 339 coup events, attempted or successful, between 1945 and 2000. Alesina and Roubini present data on 112 countries, between 1960 and 1982. Their source of coup data is the Jodice and Taylor 1983 *World Handbook of Social and Political Indicators*. Londregan and Poole use the same source. McGowan has data on 48 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa from 1946 to 2001. The data includes successful coups, unsuccessful coups, and plots to overthrow a leader. One of the most recent efforts to collect coup events data is by Monty G. Marshall and Donna Ramsey at the Center for Systemic Peace. Powell and Thyne offer a dataset which is in many ways close to how we approach the problem of what counts as an event. See Belkin and Schofer 2003; Alesina et al. 1996; Londregan and Poole 1990; McGowan 2003; Powell and Thyne 2011.

[45]One alternative definition of the coup d'état sees coups as '... events in which existing regimes are suddenly and illegally displaced by the action of relatively small groups, in which members of the military, police, or security forces of the state play a key role, either on their own or in conjunction with a number of civil servants or politicians' See McGowan and Johnson 2003; also see Jackman 1978.

Figure 1: What happened to the coup d'etat?



should violate constitutional or customary procedure. We disagree with some existing operationalizations in one or more of the following ways.

First, we do not include unsuccessful coups. Coup plots and failed attempts are difficult to establish systematically and independently of potentially questionable claims and interpretations by governments.[46]

Second, we do not require the irregular transfer of power to result in substantially new policies to qualify as a coup. We feel that whether or not the actors who seize power choose to adopt new policies matters

[46]We do allow, however, leaders to be in office for a brief period of time, such as a week. Because we record the time a coup leader keeps office, our data allows us to straightforwardly make other judgement calls.

but should more properly be conceived of as a dependent variable in its own right. In fact, policy choice may be endogenous per our argument, making a definition of coups along those lines problematic.

Third, we allow the perpetrators of the coup d'état to be members of the government security apparatus but also to be members of the government itself (e.g., Daud Khan to Taraki in Afghanistan), or rebel forces battling the government (e.g., Habre to Deby in Chad). We do so because the emphasis on extra-constitutionality and use of force associated with coups should cover such events. In so doing, we claim to mainly differ from many other approaches in being consistent.

Some existing datasets propose to adopt a more narrow view of the coup d'état, suggesting that only takeovers by government insiders (as opposed to insurgents) qualify. Upon scrutiny, however, we have found those claims to be inconsistently applied. For example, in about one third of the cases in which we find that rebels effected the government takeover, the Marshall and Marshall dataset codes that a coup d'état has taken place. The authors do not clarify why these cases count but not the other two thirds of similar transfers of power we identify. We aim to be always consistent in applying our basic definition to all cases in the record.

An important advantage of using the Archigos dataset is that we know the full universe of cases from which we are deriving observations. Because Archigos records all leadership transfers, we can select a subset of those we deem fit the description of coups without worrying that some transfers have not been recorded in the first place. Thus, while other coding decisions can be made on which transfer is a coup, we are confident that all candidates for successful coups are contained in the data. We are also consistent in applying coup coding decisions to all transfers of power that meet a particular rule. The degree of

correlation between our data and other sources ranges between 65 % and 82 %, suggesting that we both depart from and share substantial agreement with previous work. In the online appendix to this article, we offer replication results with alternative data.

Data on elections comes from the National Elections Across Democracy and Autocracy (NELDA) dataset.[47] This dataset codes all national-level elections in 165 countries – Presidential, Legislative, and Parliamentary, – together with a variety of attributes. Some of the attributes coded allow us to determine whether an election was competitive. A competitive election is defined as one in which: (1) political opposition is allowed; with more than one candidate allowed to run for office; (2) multiple parties are allowed; (3) the office of the incumbent leader is contested.

We combine the coup and elections data to generate our unit of analysis – the time to election after a successful coup. Coup-spells thus form the basic building block of our data. A country enters a coup spell in the year it experiences a successful coup, and exits when it holds a competitive election.[48] A country which is currently in a coup spell and experiences a fresh coup has its current spell censored and enters a fresh coup-spell. The format of the data is country-year.

Our dependent variable is the termination of the coup spell by an election (*coupfail*), and we allow this process to have an underlying duration. Conceiving of the problem in this way allows us to group observations and deal appropriately with cases that are censored.[49]

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[47]Hyde and Marinov 2012.

[48]In cases in which more than one coup takes place in a year, only the last one enters the analysis.

[49]Beck, Katz, and Tucker 1998. But also see Dafoe 2012 on threats to causal inference caused by inappropriate models of path dependence. We follow Dafoe's recommendations

The two datasets we combine provide us information on 164 countries, observed between 1945 and 2004, and yield 249 distinct coup-spells. The average duration of a spell is 8 years, and the range spans from under a year to 36 years (Libya).

We study elections rather than democracy because elections are well-defined, measurable events. But we also study elections because they really do matter. It behooves us, therefore, to first examine how elections affect the tenure of coup leaders. The NELDA dataset allows us to track whether the actor who led the coup is out of power after the elections, in both the Cold War and Post-Cold War eras. The results are unambiguous: in 78% (Cold War) to 76% (Post-Cold War) of cases, coup leaders lost power after an election. These elections can therefore be characterized as a meaningful source of transfers of power. There is additional information—only for the Post-Cold War era—on the nature of elections which shows that international observers agreed that more than 82 % of all post-coup elections were free and fair.[50] We also checked the liberalization trajectories of countries experiencing coups with the Polity dataset. We found that post-1991 coups lead to substantially more liberalization than they did before, supplying yet another 'face' validity confirmation of the idea that elections matter.[51]

Table 1 shows that the Cold War is associated with a significant flip in the time to elections for coups: approximately three-quarters of coups result in elections in under five years, in contrast to the pattern before.[52]

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when implementing the strategy.

[50]Hyde 2011.

[51]See the online appendix.

[52]To check whether this shift can be attributed to the end of the Cold War, we ran a structural change point model with a potential structural break for each year between

When it comes to our Hypothesis 4 specifically, we can do more to visualize the over-time variation in the data. We can base our identification strategy on the observation that the end of the Cold War constitutes an exogenous shock in the West's willingness to tie various benefits to progress toward democracy.

We start out by observing that the period in which the coup occurs amounts to being assigned either to a control group (= pre-1991) or to a treatment group (= post-1991). In the treatment framework often used in experimental research, we have different 'dosages' of treatment. In this case, highly aid-dependent countries are treated more than countries at low levels of aid dependence by the end of the Cold War. More highly treated units should differ when it comes to their propensity to adopt elections.

We divide countries in two categories: high-levels of dependence and low-levels of foreign aid dependence. The cut-off point is 6 % of GDP derived from aid, roughly the median in our sample. We will perform comparisons within each group, trying to see how the end of the Cold War produces different outcomes in each group. We construct next a binary indicator of whether the country experiencing a coup held elections in 5 years or less. This representation of our dependent variable is simple and intuitive.

Table 2 provides a simple comparison of the average incidence of coups followed by elections, by aid dependence and period. Consistent with our expectations, we see a much greater share followed by elections after 1991 for the high-dependence group. The table adds a simple t-test of means, revealing that only the high-dependence group

1960 and 2001. In effect, for every year between 1960 and 2001, we examined whether the data generating process was significantly different in subsequent years. In results not reported here, we found that 1991 stands out as a structural break in the data generating process.

exhibits a statistically-significant mean shift across the two periods.

[Table 2 about here]

Table 2: Proportion of Coups Ending in Elections $\leq$ 5 Years

			Difference of means
	1960-1990	**1991-2006**	**two-way t-test**
Low Dependence	$0.29^{n=91}$	$0.48^{n=29}$	$0.19_{se=0.10}$
High Dependence	$0.18^{n=59}$	$0.64^{n=45}$	$0.45^{***}_{se=0.08}$

The four groups shown on this table are not necessarily comprised of comparable observations. Countries experiencing coups may be different in important ways. For the counterfactual comparison framework to be plausible, we need to eliminate these types of differences as much as possible so that treated (post-1991) coup events are as similar as possible to control ones (pre-1991). We turn to regression analysis next.

Analysis of Post-Coup Elections

We divide our sample into two sets of 'coup spell' years: those observed before 1991 and those observed after. Our choice of regression model for the grouped-duration data we have is the probit, which shares many of the advantages of duration models while being relatively intuitive

and straightforward to interpret.[53]

With the country-year (of a country during a coup spell) as our unit of observation, we estimate a model in which the dependent variable is whether or not a country experienced competitive elections in a year. Our main independent variable is dependence on Western aid, defined as the ratio of the total aid receipts reported to the OECD and the country's GDP in year, lagged one year.[54] What we expect to find is that aid dependence should have no effect on whether elections are held before the end of the Cold War but should be positively related to the occurrence of elections after that, per Hypothesis 4.

We include a number of other variables in the estimation. First of all, because we want to know whether the process of adopting elections is path-dependent, we include a measure of the number of years since the coup. It may be that the longer a country remains in a coup-spell, the less likely it is to adopt elections as leaders consolidate their power base, or become more unpopular and therefore more wary of a competitive contest. It could also be that the effect goes the other way, with the need to rebuild legitimacy through competitive elections going up over time. We only include a linear counter of years since the coup - our inclusion of more complex forms such as cubic splines did not add explanatory power to the model. We include a weighted average of the 10 year history of coups, ranging from 0 for countries

[53]One suggestion would be to consider a Heckman-style switching model. This approach has limited appeal because it would have to rest on problematic assumptions, such as the assumption that we have a variable predicting coup onset that is unrelated to the timing of post-coup elections, and a number of demanding distributional and modeling assumptions. Especially in the context of a binary outcome variable in the outcome equation, these technical (and mostly unverifiable) assumptions pile up quickly, making any resulting model hard to defend.

[54]Source of OECD data: `http://www.oecd.org`. Analysis of longer lags yields substantively similar results.

with no coups in the last ten years to a theoretical maximum of 1 for a country hypothetically experiencing 10 coups in each of the last 10 years. The idea is to capture how the path-dependence of coups may affect the willingness of coup-leaders to move to elections faster (thus avoiding a fresh coup in highly coup-prone settings).

Second, we use the NELDA dataset to generate and include a binary measure of whether or not the country was an electoral democracy when the coup occurred. The idea is to see whether institutions are sticky: if countries that have a tradition of electing their government revert to having elections faster, that would be evidence for the residual bite of institutions. Because we are interested in the effect of institutionalized democracy, we code this variable as one for countries that have had electoral democracy for at least seven years.[55]

Next, we include a logged and lagged measure of GDP per capita, measured in constant 1995 dollars. It may be that domestic pressures to adopt elections are greater in societies at a higher level of socio-economic development, as per Hypothesis 1. Especially because a country's aid dependence and levels of GDP per capita are likely correlated (in a negative direction), we need to include this variable as a covariate in the model. We include a lag of economic growth in the regression as well: arguments tying the behavior of political actors to legitimacy and crises suggest that how a country is doing may play a role in the decision to move to elections.[56] The source of the GDP data are the Penn World Tables.

We also include a dummy for whether or not the country is a former French colony. This is an effort to pick up the presence and impact

[55]We discuss alternative cutoff rules in the online appendix.

[56]Przeworski and Limongi 1997.

of French troops. We know that unlike other colonial powers France has been willing to station troops in colonies and use them in support of or against the government in place.[57] Presence of foreign troops is another aspect in which the international community may affect the time of elections after coups in a particular country. While this may differ by the source of troops and period, we know a fair amount about French troops and former colonies to make this covariate theoretically relevant.

We draw on the *Archigos* dataset to include a variable measuring whether military actors committed the initial seizure of power. We do so in an attempt to capture the different calculations and capabilities of the military in the post-coup strategic environment (Hypothesis 3).

[Table 3 about here]

Table 3: Summary Statistics

Variable	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**	**Min**	**Max**
Post-Coup Election	0.075	0.264	0	1
Aid Dependence	0.093	0.128	0	0.951
ln(GDP per capita)	6.448	1.304	3.898	11.468
Economic Growth	0.031	0.081	−0.574	0.614
French Colony	0.357	0.479	0	1
Pre-Coup Elect. Democracy	0.326	0.468	0	1
Military Actors	0.598	0.490	0	1
Years since Coup	7.520	7.877	0	36
N = 1,285				

[Table 4 about here]

[57] Le Vine 2004.

Table 3 presents basic descriptive characteristics of the the data.

Table 4 shows results of the probit analysis. We include an only pre-1990 and an only post-1991 models (models I and II), to give a sense of what a fully interactive model on the full sample would look like.[58] Our theoretical argument posits a changing effect only for the aid dependence variable. Yet, it is easy to suppose that actors in French colonies were given different messages by Paris depending on the period. It may also simply be of interest to not restrict the effects of the variables to be the same across the two periods.

In line with Hypothesis 4, during the Cold War, Aid Dependence has no statistically significant relationship with the probability that a country moves to the ballot box after a coup. This is evident in the split sample models, and the difference between Aid Dependence during the Cold War and Post-CW $\times$ Aid Dependence is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 3.73, p < .0535$ two tailed tests) in the interactive model.

In substantive terms, Figure 2 illustrates that for the pre-1990 period, the probability of elections in a year was between 0.03 and 0.05. Varying aid dependence does little to alter the picture. For the post-1990 period, setting aid dependence at the 25-th percentile lowers the probability to 0.13, whereas setting aid dependence at its 75-th percentile increases the probability to 0.30.[59] The predicted probabilities are in line with the simple t-test shown on Table 2: the increase in the likelihood of having post-coup elections is strongest for the most aid-dependent states.

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[58]Including all interaction terms in model III would produce coefficients equal in effect to - when appropriately interpreted - to the coefficients from the reduced samples. We include the interaction deemed of theoretical interest in Model III.

[59]Simulations in Clarify, holding other variables at the median. See King, Tomz, and Wittenberg 2000.

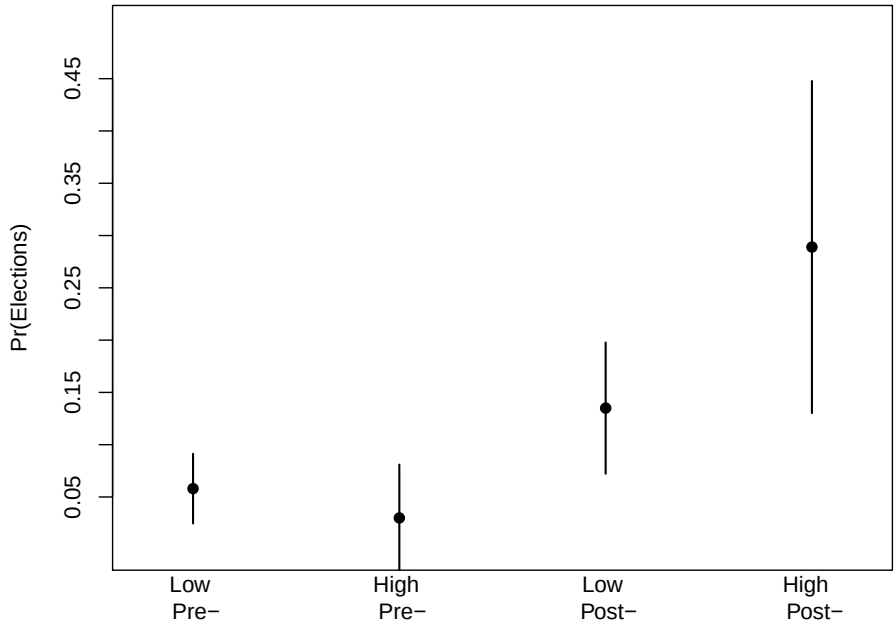

Figure 2: Predicted Probability of Competitive Election After Coup by High and Low Level of Aid Dependence and Pre- and Post- Cold War Period

[Figure 2 about here]

The modernization hypothesis, Hypothesis 1, culled from the existing literature fares less well. GDP per capita has no significant effect on the probability of elections after the coup; in results not reported here, we find that the introduction of an additional variable – Post-CW × GDP per capita – failed to show a significant relation in the Post-Cold War era as well.[60] This non-finding is consistent with selection-induced attrition in the economic development variable. While the mean GDP per capita in countries that are in a coup spell is 1,404 dollars (1995

[60] Adding this variable reduced the fit of the model and neither its coefficient nor that of the linear combination of GDP per capita and Post-CW × GDP per capita came anywhere near statistical significance.

constant terms), the mean for all countries observed between 1960 and 2001 in the data is 5,235 dollars. Thus, it may be the case that the variation in the economic development variable that remains in the sample selected into a coup spell is insufficient to identify with precision the effect of modernization on the adoption of elections. Or it may be that the modernization hypothesis is too crude to track down the factors at play in the decision to hold elections after coups.

The effect of economic Growth is of some interest. During the Cold War economic Growth decreased the probability of an election, in line with a "legitimacy" argument in which the coup leader could use economic growth to buy off any opposition. In the Post-Cold War era, however, this effect dissipates. Even coup-leaders who preside over growing economies cannot rely on that as grounds for postponing elections in the period after 1991. While this result calls for further research, it is nonetheless noteworthy.

The effect of democratic political institutions is to increase pressure for elections, in line with Hypothesis 2. comparing models (1) and (2) would suggest, somewhat surprisingly, that an Electoral Democracy that was overthrown by a coup during the Cold War era was more likely to subsequently hold elections.[61] The evidence on Hypothesis 2, tracking institutionalization, is, therefore, somewhat mixed. It could be that the model (2) sample has most coups occurring against electoral democracies, by virtue of the increasing prevalence of the elections, thus reducing the availability of sufficient variation in this independent variable.

We also note that the time elapsed since the country entered a coup spell has a negative effect on the likelihood of elections, confirming the

[61] Using other definitions and measures of democracy, for example, the Cheibub, Gandhi, and Vreeland 2010 definition did not make a difference.

hypothesized effect by Svolik and findings by others.[62]

If the coup was launched by Military Actors, this significantly *reduced* the probability of a post-coup election, going against Hypothesis 3.[63] How does the direction of the effect square with findings by Geddes, who argues that military dictatorships are more prone to exit?

The discrepancy could be due to at least three factors. First, we study the timing of post-coup elections which shares some ground with but is not the same as the liberalization of dictatorships. Some dictatorships may not have come to power through coups and thus the research questions we ask and the research design may be different. Perhaps even more relevant is Geddes' emphasis on 'consolidated' dictatorships, understood as regimes that have been in existence for at least three years. We include many shorter-lived cases.

Second, Wright posits an interactive effect between aid dependence and whether the regime is military-lead, arguing that greater dependence on aid slows down democratization for military regimes.[64] This might explain the apparent discrepancy with Geddes' prediction. Our data, however, are not rich enough to allow us to introduce an interaction effect between aid dependence and military leadership. Thus, we cannot arbitrate definitively on the relative importance of military leadership in coups.

Third, the impact of the military on post-coup elections maybe complex. On the one hand, these are more professionally-capable soldiers, able to stave off challengers. On the other hand, they might want

[62]Svolik 2009; Bienen and Van De Walle 1989.

[63]If we include the interaction effect of Post-CW $\times$ Military Actors and calculate the linear combination, the coefficient remains negative but fails to reach statistical significance ($p < .278$)

[64]Wright 2009.

to go to the barracks. The net effect on longevity in office, without elections, is unclear.

Overall, the results on Table 4 help shed light on why elections are much more likely to follow coups after the end of the Cold War. Dependence on Western donors for development aid, and potentially for growth spurring policies help explain why countries that before would have remained under a post-coup dictatorship now are much more likely to experience competitive elections. Importantly, economic development, rising as it maybe for most of the world, plays little role in explaining the observed variation in the timing of elections after the coup.

Table 5 shows additional specifications on the full sample of interest. Model (1) includes only hypothesized variables and excludes the interactive term for aid dependence. While most of the results discussed so far are replicated, we see that in this version the model indicates that aid dependence is always associated with a faster onset of elections. As model (2) shows, this is purely an artifact of failing to account for the important changes that accompany the end of the Cold War. While the interactive effect of aid and the end of the Cold War barely misses statistical significance, the linear combination of aid and the aid interaction term is significant at the $p < 0.05$ level. Model (3) attempts to distinguish between the benefits of a longer vs shorter history of electoral democracy in the country (variable Pre-Coup Short Dem., less than seven years of democracy). We see that longer-term democratic consolidation, at a minimum seven years of experience with democracy (and two elections), is associated with a faster return to after coup elections but not the shorter-term measure. This is consistent with Hypothesis 2. Model (4) is a less constrained model with a fuller set of covariates. The findings largely mirror the

findings presented in models (1) and (2) of Table 5.

[Table 5 about here]

We confine the analysis to the years prior to 2001 due to data availability. We believe the dynamics we describe are in place post-2001, the war on terror and the rise of China notwithstanding. We expect that the dynamic may be somewhat weakened but the insistence on and legitimacy of elections is still much more in place than during the Cold War.

Discussion

Our theory and the empirical evidence suggest that coups arise in a non-random manner. We deal with this in a variety of ways. We try to understand theoretically how the non-randomness arises.[65] We seek to understand the implications for our estimation strategy and we seek to formulate a clear argument about the exogenous variation underpinning our identification strategy.

One may be concerned that many factors change with the end of the Cold War apart from increased willingness to tie benefits to democratization by the international community. For example, one may believe that domestic publics have become disenchanted with dictatorial rule, resulting in domestic pressure on successful coup-leaders to hold elections and also discouraging the incidence of coups.[66]

[65] Online appendix.

[66] Hagopian and Mainwaring talk about lack of support among the civilians for for military rule as one explanation for the declining incidence of the coup d'état in Latin America. See Hagopian and Mainwaring 2005.

We agree that the end of the Cold War increased the willingness of countries to hold elections for many reasons. The indicator variable for the end of the Cold War in Model III on Table 4 shows that we are more likely to see elections after coups in the present period. At some level, this simply says that there are other reasons for the popularity of elections currently, and the dummy captures those trends.

In and by themselves, the presence of other changing covariates is not a concern for our estimates unless these covariates are both omitted and correlated to the main independent variables of interest. We would need a reason to believe, for example, that the level of domestic demand for elected government is related systematically to levels of aid dependence. Without ruling out this possibility, we also cannot readily identify an alternative explanation that would challenge our identification strategy.

Because, as we suggested earlier, there might be attrition in the values of the dependent variable, it may be argued that we should run a model of coup occurrence to check whether our intuitions are right. When we do so, we find that high-levels of economic development are a strong predictor that a country will stay free of coups, which can help explain (via selection on observables) why the coefficient of economic development on time to elections is positive but insignificant.[67] Thus, our intuition is correct, and the tests of our arguments constitute 'hard' tests.

Our theory rests on a presumed shift in Western attitudes as far as foreign aid to countries with coups is concerned. Is it the case that we actually observe such conditionality in action? Are anecdotal reports merely rhetorical flourishes by policy-makers, or is there a general pat-

[67] Available as an online appendix.

tern whereby coup-leaders are indeed punished for failing to schedule and hold elections?

For one, we would expect to see differences in how the immediate aftermath of the unconstitutional seizure of executive power affects aid receipts. If pre-1991 Western policies were inconsistent and predicated on ad hoc, geo-strategic considerations, we would not expect to see a decline in outside assistance across the board. By contrast, if the post Cold War period is any different, we would expect to see post-coup aid diminish.

The data bears out this expectation. Comparing Western aid receipts for the year of the coup to aid receipts for the preceding year, we see a 20 % decline for the 35 coups beginning after 1991 and no drop for the 150 coups beginning in the 1960-1990 period (for which data is available). A $t-$test of equality of means reveals that the difference in aid decline is statistically significant.[68] This translates into about 25 million dollars of aid lost by countries in the year of the coup after 1991, and 9 million gained for the period before.[69]

[Table 6 about here]

For another, we would expect aid receipts to decline the longer a country resists the movement to elections after the end of the Cold War, but we would expect no similar effect for the 1960-1990 sample. Table 6 shows evidence that this is indeed the case from an OLS re-

[68]Test looks at fall of aid receipts. Aid receipts are defined as percentage of gross domestic product derived from aid.

[69]This gain cannot be distinguished from 0 because aid changes are widely spread.

gression of Western aid receipts after coups.[70] As the variable Years Since Coup indicates, aid did not change the longer coups endured before the end of the Cold War. In the Post-Cold War era, however, the linear combination of Years Since Coup and Post-Cold War × Years Since Coup yields a coefficient of −0.002, with a standard error of less than 0.001, and a p-value less than .001. In other words, after the Cold War each year without an election after a coup significantly decreased foreign aid. Not surprisingly, the difference between the Cold War era and the Post-Cold War era is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$).[71]

We next look at the number of coups perpetrated by rebels in our data.[72] This could give us clues on whether there is a trend toward more coups by rebel fighters, as may be the case in a period marked by more (and changing) civil wars. Should we find this to be case, it is possible that the move to elections after coups reflects concerns specific to rebels. It may also indicate to us that one causal pathway through which dependence on Western benefits leads to elections is Western concern for avoiding a civil war. We find that 24 of 165 coup events were rebel-led in the period 1960-1990. This compares to 3 out of 43 post-1990 events being rebel-led. If anything, the prevalence of such actors has declined. It is, therefore, unlikely that rebel-leadership is

[70] Aid receipts are defined as receipts as percentage of GDP

[71] Growth again had a significantly different effect after the Cold War. Whereas during the Cold War, it had no significant effect on aid, during the Post-Cold War era, economic growth significantly reduced aid, and this trend was significantly different ($p < 0.001$). The linear combination of Growth and Post-Cold War × Growth was again significant (coefficient −0.297, standard error 0.052, significant at $p < 0.001$). We include a control for when the coup spell began to check whether extant coups were treated differently. They were — leaders already in office received more aid, possibly because of weaker application of conditionality.

[72] Rebels are actors who are not members of the state's security apparatus. A rebel coup occurs when such actors capture swiftly the central government.

responsible for faster onset of elections after the end of the Cold War.[73]

Finally, we offer some observations on the relative importance of international and domestic factors in the recent trend toward competitive elections after coups. The domestic-based explanations we derive in the theoretical section mostly do not fare well in our tests. Neither economic development nor military leadership show strong and consistent results across the periods we examine. Economic growth seem more important by comparison. International pressure, proxied by aid dependence plays a role along the lines predicted by the theoretical discussion. Countries that are former French colonies move much faster to adopt election post-Cold War, another testament to possibly international factors (French influence) at work. It seems that much of what has changed about the consequences of successful coup d'états has to do with changing international norms and pressures.

Conclusion

We do not endorse coups, neither during or after the Cold War. Their occurrence indicates that the military or some other actor may intervene with ease in politics. The dangers of extra-constitutionality are real and likely to lurk in the background for quite a while in countries that experience a coup. We claim merely that the consequences of coups today tend to be significantly different. In the first decade after the end of the Cold War, we saw a window of opportunity for swift pressure and possibly durable democratic openings after coups. Thus,

[73]Including a variable for rebel-led coups in the regression models of onset of elections adds no predictive power.

we conclude that the more recent crop of coups is 'better'.[74]

Ideally, all coups are like the Portugal 1974 one: ending an autocratic spell, ushering in a swift transition to democracy, and placing the military under strong civilian control. We are closer to the Portugal-like coups today than we have ever been before; we do not want to push our claims any further in this regard.

Some of the events that drive coup-leaders to elections would be idiosyncratic and difficult to generalize about. Our findings indicate that some of the systematic reasons behind the switch have to do, to a significant degree, attributable to international influences. The literature on the international dimensions of democratization has recognized the importance of promoting rights and freedoms, increasing electoral integrity and structuring incentives for leaders to abide by the democratic bargain they strike with their populations. We show how outside incentives have profoundly altered the calculus of rulers who formerly took power in order to stick with it. Somewhat paradoxically, it may be precisely those rulers who are most vulnerable to outside pressure and it is those cases that conditionality has the best chance.

[74]Some recent coups provide few reasons for condemnation. When President Yala of Guinea-Bissau was finally overthrown in a bloodless coup on 14 September 2003, the international community saw little by way of loss. Well-known experts in development economics have also offered a limited endorsement of coups. See Paul Collier, 'A coup for democracy', *The Guardian*, January 15 2009.

Appendix

We offer a simple two-stage optimization problem in which a coup-plotter decides on attempting to grab power, and on whether to hold elections after that.

Consider the following time-line:

1. A coup plotter chooses between attempting a coup or sticking with the status quo. If the status quo is chosen, the actor gets $t_{sq} \in [0, 1]$ in expected utility, which can be thought of as the benefit of some policy outcome or as a transfer of resources.
2. If attempted, the coup succeeds with probability $\alpha \in (0, 1)$. Failure yields 0 in expected utility.
3. If the attempt succeeds, the coup entrepreneur decides between calling for elections or retaining power. Calling for elections brings expected utility of $t_m \in [0, 1]$, which is simply where the median voter would set the policy outcome or the transfer of resources.
4. If they attempt to stay in power, the coup-plotters succeed with probability $\beta \in (0, 1)$. Failure yields 0 as a payoff (and power changes hands without elections); success yields a payoff of 1.

In this setup, the actor will attempt to keep power after a coup if:

$$\beta - t_m \geq 0$$

A coup will be attempted if:

$$\alpha V - t_{sq} \geq 0,$$

where V, the expected continuation payoff after a successful coup, is:

$$V = \begin{cases} \beta & \text{if } \beta - t_m \geq 0, \\ t_m & \text{if } \beta - t_m < 0. \end{cases}$$

To derive comparative statics, we imagine that both α and β are functions of some main independent variable or variables of interest x and of some covariates of interest y. We will assume that α and β are continuous and second-order differentiable functions of the parameters. For simplicity, we will assume that the second-order derivative with respect to x is 0. The marginal effect of a change in x for a value of the argument $x = x^*$ and for a specific draw of the covariates $y = y^*$ on whether to attempt a coup depends on the impact on the probability of successfully grabbing power and on the change in the post-coup continuation stage:

$$\frac{\partial}{\partial x}\left[\alpha V^* - t_{sq}\right] = \frac{\partial \alpha(x^*, y^*)}{\partial x} V(x^*, y^*) + \frac{\partial V(x^*, y^*)}{\partial x} \alpha(x^*, y^*), \quad (1)$$

where the marginal change in the post-coup continuation value is:

$$\frac{\partial V(x^*, y^*)}{\partial x} = \begin{cases} \frac{\partial \beta(x^*, y^*)}{\partial y} & \text{if } \beta - t_m \geq 0, \\ 0 & \text{if } \beta - t_m < 0. \end{cases} \quad (2)$$

The key factors motivating choices will be status quo policy, the policy outcome under competitive elections, and the probabilities of successfully seizing and holding on to power.

We can think about how factors that may be influencing either the probability of successful power seizure (α), or the probability of surviving in power without elections (β) (or both) play out. It is useful to consider some realistic restrictions on how specific factors may influence α and β.

First, and perhaps least likely, it could be that $\frac{\partial\alpha(x^*,y^*)}{\partial x}$ and $\frac{\partial\beta(x^*,y^*)}{\partial x}$ are signed differently. This would mean that the same factor, at least under some conditions, makes coups easier to pull off, but then makes it harder for the coup-leaders to stay in power without elections.

Second, it could be that $\frac{\partial\alpha(x^*,y^*)}{\partial x}$ and $\frac{\partial\beta(x^*,y^*)}{\partial x}$ are both increasing or both decreasing in terms of changes in the independent variable x. We will only consider the increasing case as the decreasing case is analogous. Consider state strength. It is easier to commit coups in weak states, and it is easier to avoid a call for elections (because civil society is underdeveloped, for example). In this case, an increase in state weakness, by (1) and (2), makes it both more attractive to commit a coup and to attempt to keep power. This implies that a selection dynamic is at work: we are most likely to witness coups where elections are least likely.

Third, it could be that $\frac{\partial\alpha(x^*,y^*)}{\partial x} > 0$ and $\frac{\partial\beta(x^*,y^*)}{\partial x} = 0$. In this case, a causal factor facilitates coups but has no bearing on whether elections are chosen.

Fourth, it could be that $\frac{\partial\alpha(x^*,y^*)}{\partial x} = 0$ and $\frac{\partial\beta(x^*,y^*)}{\partial x} > 0$. Substantively, this says that a variable has no (or negligible) impact on whether power can be seized from the government but would make elections more or less likely at the second stage. In this case, no selection dynamic is at work, and we can estimate the effect of the causal factor in observational data.

We also note that calling for elections reduces the prize coup-plotters may look forward to and so the attractiveness of seizing power in the first place decreases: by expression (1), this is given by $\frac{\partial V(x^*,y^*)}{\partial x}\alpha(x^*,y^*)$, a quantity that is generally not 0. This tends to discourage precisely the types of coups that would otherwise lead to an attempt to stay in power ($\beta > t_m$). Even without affecting directly the ability of local

actors to perpetrate a coup, insistence on elections would tend to bring down the appetite for coups.

Table 4: Probit Model of the Likelihood of a Post-Coup Election

	(1) **1960-1990**	(2) **1991–**	(3) **Both**
Aid Dependence	-0.286	1.014**	-0.746
	(0.741)	(0.475)	(0.793)
GDP per capita	-0.00349	-0.0317	0.0114
	(0.0646)	(0.0860)	(0.0552)
Economic Growth	-2.506***	0.417	-0.776
	(0.783)	(0.812)	(0.686)
Ex-French Colony	-0.309	0.424**	0.0448
	(0.191)	(0.188)	(0.135)
Pre-Coup Dem.	0.332**	0.189	0.307**
	(0.157)	(0.210)	(0.135)
Military Actors	-0.624***	-0.247	-0.444***
	(0.157)	(0.176)	(0.117)
Years since Coup	-0.0331***	-0.0152	-0.0217***
	(0.0108)	(0.0108)	(0.00690)
Post Cold War			0.462***
			(0.130)
Post x Aid Dep.			1.695*
			(0.878)
Constant	-1.076**	-0.936*	-1.421***
	(0.504)	(0.554)	(0.413)
Log-pseudolikelihood	-210.3	-127.8	-347.9
Wald χ^2	52.62	21.05	73.37
Observations	1,247	329	1,576

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 5: Probit Model of the Likelihood of a Post-Coup Election: Additional Specifications

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Aid Dependence	0.705*	-0.168	-0.169	-0.214
	(0.418)	(0.740)	(0.743)	(0.711)
GDP per capita	0.0107	0.00501	0.00889	-0.00750
	(0.0612)	(0.0611)	(0.0608)	(0.0547)
Economic Growth				-2.540***
				(0.779)
Ex-French Colony				-0.279
				(0.191)
Pre-Coup Dem.	0.468***	0.454***	0.432***	0.375**
	(0.133)	(0.135)	(0.140)	(0.159)
Pre-Coup Short Dem.			0.306	
			(0.312)	
Military Actors	-0.362***	-0.344***	-0.335***	-0.578***
	(0.120)	(0.121)	(0.122)	(0.150)
Years since Coup				-0.0235***
				(0.00748)
Post Cold War	0.562***	0.441***	0.426***	0.192
	(0.114)	(0.131)	(0.132)	(0.208)
Post x Aid Dep.		1.375	1.394*	1.271*
		(0.843)	(0.836)	(0.754)
Post x Econ Growth				2.915***
				(0.975)
Post x Pre-Coup Dem.				-0.247
				(0.224)
Post x Ex-French Colony				0.715***
				(0.248)
Post x Military				0.303
				(0.230)
Constant	-1.813***	-1.719***	-1.743***	-1.168***
	(0.434)	(0.440)	(0.438)	(0.411)
Log-pseudolikelihood	-361.0	-359.7	-359.3	-339.3
Wald χ^2	47.53	46.04	51.51	131.69
Observations	1,581	1,581	1,581	1,576

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 6: OLS of Aid Receipts After Coups

Variable	**Aid % of GDP**	
	b	Rob.Std.Err
GDP	-0.037^{***}	0.001
Economic Growth	0.028	0.035
Cold War Coup	0.098^{***}	0.011
Years since Coup	-0.001	0.002
Post-Cold War	0.102^{***}	0.011
Post-CW $\times$ Growth	-0.325^{***}	0.060
Post-CW $\times$ Years since Coup	-0.001^{***}	0.001
Constant	0.820^{***}	0.029
R-squared	0.4219	
Number of Obs.	1607	

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Coups and Democracy

Marinov and Goemans in *BJPolS*

Online Appendix

May 24, 2013

1 Coup Occurrence

Our argument posits some relationships between the coup and post-coup stages. It would be instructive to estimate a model of coup occurrences, with the same variables, to see whether the selection dynamic we posit appears to be at work. For example, we believe that rising levels of GDP per capita fails to explain the movement to elections after coups because most richer countries never experience coups – and so, even if they *would* experience a faster onset of post-coup elections, we would not be able to observe the event in a range of the explanatory variable allowing us to estimate its impact.

Table 1 presents results of analysis of a probit estimation of likelihood of coups. We again include a weighted average of the 10 year history of coups, which we expect to significantly increase the probability of a coup as countries may be caught in "coup traps". Not only does this variable thus capture the path-dependence of coups, it may also be the case that this variable would capture some of the differences between countries' propensity to experience the event, differences not adequately summarized by the covariates.

Table 1 shows the results of the estimation. We find that a country's wealth is signed as expected and highly statistically significant as a predictor of coups. Richer countries, before and now, are less likely to experience a coup event. The selection dynamic we posited is at work, helping to explain the attrition in the values of the wealth variable in the coup sample. Thus, Hypothesis 1, linking wealth to post-coup elections is not necessarily wrong: it is simply difficult to test in observed post-coup samples. The *observed* variation across the two periods we are looking at in the timing of post-coup elections is explained by variables other than rising global wealth.

Our findings on the importance of a country having electoral democracy in place are of considerable interest. Electoral democracies are less likely to experience coups, an effect that is strengthened after the end of the Cold War. Theoretically, this finding sits nicely with the idea that there is more of an insistence on the holding of elections after the coup: if a potential plotter knows that they would have to hold elections after they seize power, and the country is already an electoral democracy, then coup plotters can expect post-coup policy to be set where it already is: at the median voter's preferred point. That makes the

actual gains from undertaking a risky grab of power minimal and potentially not worth the effort. This requires us to believe that the existence of electoral democracy in a country tends to result in greater pressure for elections in the post-1991 period. Whether this results from some normative shift among domestic audiences or whether some other mechanism is at work merits further research. In combination with the findings on elections after the coup, the finding on electoral democracy has a special meaning: coups after the Cold War are less likely to come to countries that already have elections and more likely to steer the countries they affect toward the holding of elections.

As expected, we find that coup-history is a significant predictor of future coups. We do not find that economic growth leads to fewer coups, a non-finding possibly attributable to the complex relationship between economic performance and political instability. The French colony variable is also insignificant, possibly a reflection of the inability or unwillingness of outsiders to intervene with the fast-developing, possibly violent events that mark most coups.

We plot the overtime variation in the incidence of successful coup d'états. Figure 1 shows two trends. The bars indicate the number of coups in a given year. The line represents the number of countries with coup-installed leaders. There is an evident overtime decline in the incidence of coups. The popularity of coups peaked at the height of the Cold War between 1960 and 1980, with some years recording 10 or more extra-constitutional seizures of executive power. Before 1991, there was not a single year on record in which a coup did not succeed at least once. After the end of the Cold War, some years record no coups, and the maximum number of events we see in a single year does not come close to the maximum observed in the earlier period.

Our results indicate that growing levels of economic development may be partly responsible for the decline, and greater insistence on post-coup elections may also play a role.

Figure 1: What Happened to the Coup d'Etat? Fewer Coups, Fewer Coup-leaders in Power

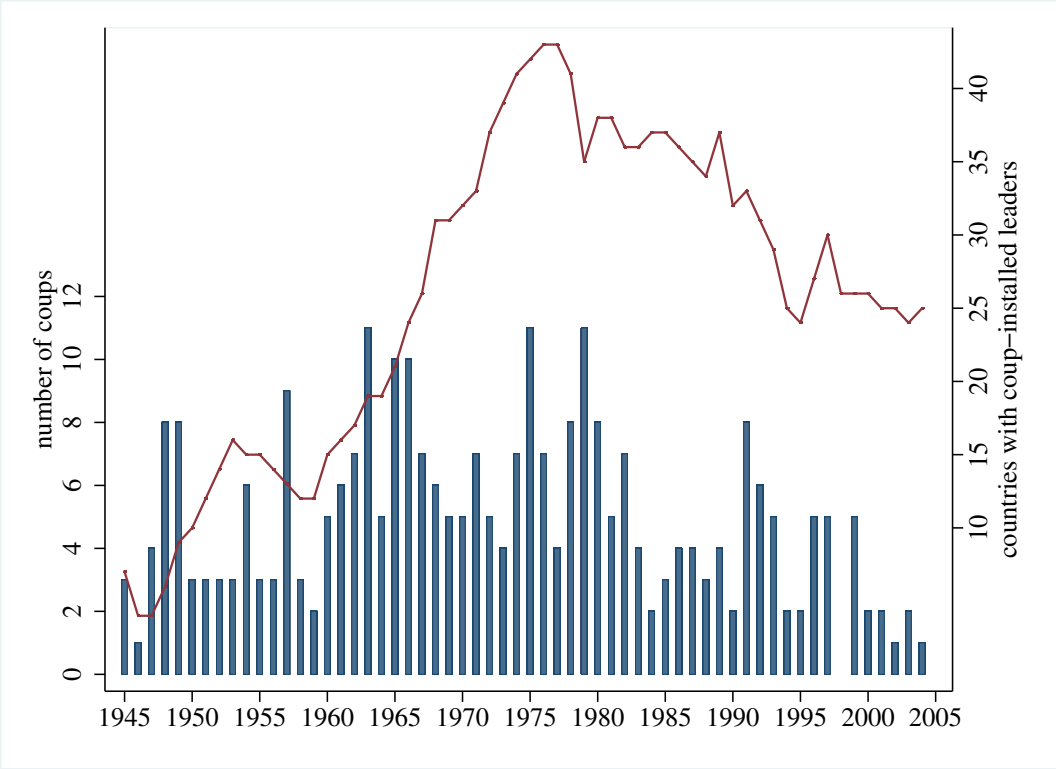


Table 1: **Probit Model of the Likelihood of a Coup**

Variables	(1) Pre-	(2) Post-	(3) Pre and Post
Aid dep	-0.365	0.457	-0.380
	(0.671)	(0.956)	(0.674)
log GDP pc	-0.191***	-0.211**	-0.188***
	(0.0704)	(0.106)	(0.0705)
Growth	0.485	0.567	0.500
	(0.874)	(0.509)	(0.573)
Ex-French Colony	0.0308	0.176	0.0673
	(0.161)	(0.195)	(0.145)
El Dem	-0.281**	-0.789***	-0.281**
	(0.123)	(0.224)	(0.123)
Coup History	4.770***	5.500***	4.836***
	(0.741)	(1.301)	(0.690)
Post Cold War			0.237
			(0.788)
Post x Aid Dep			0.753
			(1.030)
Post x GDP pc			-0.0432
			(0.104)
Post x El Dem			-0.456**
			(0.228)
Constant	-0.220	-0.179	-0.252
	(0.522)	(0.826)	(0.519)
Observations	1,856	1,193	3,049

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

2 Coup Dates in Archigos

Table 2: Coup Dates

Afghanistan	07sep53	19jun65	17jul73	27apr78	27dec79	16apr92
	29jun92	27sep96	13nov01			
Argentina	13nov55	29mar62	28jun66	08jun70	22mar71	29mar76
	11dec81	17jun82	18jun93			
Bangladesh	06nov75	30may81	20mar82			
Benin	27oct63	22dec65	17dec67	10dec69	26oct72	
Bolivia	16may51	11apr52	04nov64	26sep69	06oct70	22aug71
	24nov78	01nov79	17jul80	04aug81	19jul82	
Brazil	30oct45	24aug54	11nov55	02apr64		
Burkina Faso	03jan66	08feb74	25nov80	07nov82	04aug83	15oct87
Burundi	28nov66	01nov76	03sep87	21oct93	25jul96	
Cambodia	18mar70	10apr75	06jul97			
Central AR	01jan66	01sep81	15mar03			
Chad	01aug45	21jan49	13jun53	10may57	11sep73	13apr75
	23mar79	07jun82	02dec90			
Comoros	03aug75	13may78	18dec89	29sep95	30apr99	
Congo	04sep68	18mar77	05feb79			
Congo, DR	20apr48	10mar52	01jan59	14sep60	25nov65	15jul74
	16may97	15oct97	25dec99	16jan01		
Dominican R	30may61	19jan62	25sep63	27apr65		
Ecuador	03sep47	22jul52	07nov61	11jul63	15feb72	11jan76
El Salvador	14dec48	26oct60	25jan61	03aug79	15oct79	07dec80
Ethiopia	17feb64	23nov74	03feb77	14may87	27may91	06jan92
	22jul94	14jul00				
Ghana	24feb66	13jan72	05jul78	04jun79	31dec81	
Greece	15jul65	13dec67	25nov73			
Guatemala	08jul54	27oct57	31mar63	23mar82	08aug83	03apr84
	31may93					

Continued on next page

Table 2 continued from previous page

Guinea-Bissau	14nov80	07may99	14sep03			
Haiti	11jan46	10may50	12dec56	14jun57	07feb86	17sep88
	30sep91	29feb04				
Honduras	30apr51	19aug53	15jul56	21oct56	03oct63	12mar66
	04dec72	22apr75	07aug78			
Iraq	14jul58	03jul61	08feb63	17jul68	26oct79	
Laos	31dec59	10dec60	19apr64	02dec75	22nov89	
Lesotho	19nov68	01sep69	11feb75	12apr80	20jan86	09sep90
	26mar91	02may91	17aug94	06jul02		
Mauritania	26may47	18feb51	02mar62	10jul78	06apr79	17jul79
	04jan80	12dec84	18sep88			
Niger	15apr74	27jan96	11apr99			
Nigeria	29jul66	23jul70	29jul75	13feb76	31dec83	27aug85
	17nov93					
Pakistan	07oct58	20dec71	05jul77	18apr93	05nov96	12oct99
Panama	01oct48	20nov49	12oct68	03mar82		
Paraguay	03jun48	10sep49	06may54	03feb89		
Peru	30dec47	28oct48	19jul62	03mar63	01nov63	03oct68
	22feb72	05jul73	25apr74	29aug75	21aug91	27jun95
Sierra Leone	23mar67	19apr68	26jun78	24jan86	26jan91	29apr92
	17jan96	25may97				
Sudan	17nov58	23may69	22jul71	10aug83	06apr85	30jun89
Syria	19dec49	28feb50	28feb54	28sep61	28mar62	27jul63
	25feb66	13nov70	07sep92			
Thailand	25jul57	16sep57	13jan63	14apr67	06oct76	20oct77
	07nov87	23feb91				
Turkey	27may60	12mar71	20sep80	30jun97		
Uganda	25jan71	01sep76	12may80	27jul85	29jan86	
Venezuela	18oct45	24nov48	13nov50	30jan64	12jun65	
Yemen	13mar48	27sep62	05nov67	22jun69	13jun74	

3 Onset of Elections After Coups: Polity Scores

Figure 2 shows the average polity2 score of countries experiencing coups. Depending on the number of years since the onset of the coup, the average polity2 score will differ. As we can see, there is no or little liberalization for the pre-1991 period. Even many years after the onset of the coup, a country is likely to record a polity2 score in negative (undemocratic) category. This changes after 1991. Countries move quickly into positive territory on polity2. Coups after 1991 take place against more liberalized settings than their predecessors: the year before the coup (-1) on the x-axis shows countries close to 1 on polity2 for 1991 and later, and shows countries in negative polity2 terrirory for the preceding period. This is probably a function of the greater prevalence of elections after the Cold War ends. Still, seven years after a country undergoes a coup in the 1991 period, it is (1) more liberalized than a pre-1991 coup country at the same juncture, but also it is (2) more liberalized relative to where it starts off before the coup. While our dependent variable is time-to-elections, and not polity2, this discussion confirms that there the end of the Cold War is non-trivial watershed in the consequences of coups for democratization.

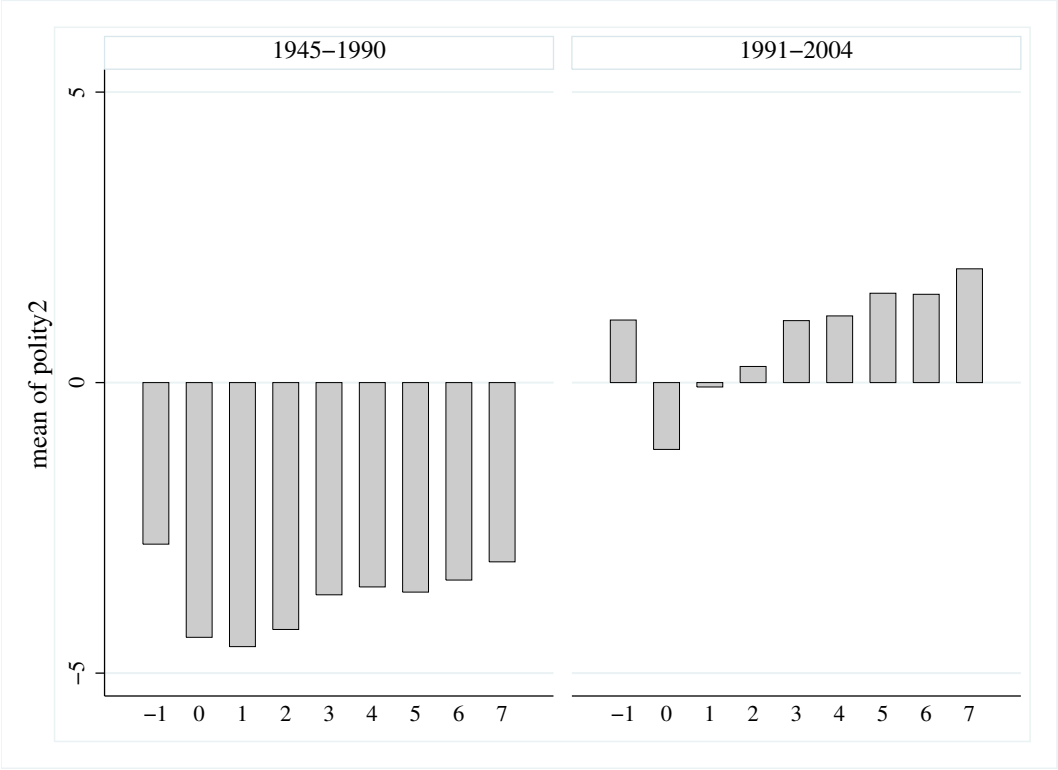


Figure 2: Countries' Changing Post-Coup Trajectories: Polity

4 Onset of Elections After Coups: Results with Different Decades

Table 3 shows results for different decades and results for whether democracy was in place longer (more than 10 years). In model (2), the 1960s are the baseline category. The 1970s dummy and the 1980's dummy cannot distinguish time to elections in those decades from the 1960s. The confirms the view that the end of the Cold War is an important dividing line. Models (3) and (4) contrast the case of coups against democracies that have been in place for 7 and 15 years, respectively. In either case, we are morel likely to see elections after a coup. This does not settle the question of what is the magic age (causing democracy to get institutionalized), but it indicates that it is not necessarily the case that representative institutions need to be in place for a very long period of time to have consequences.

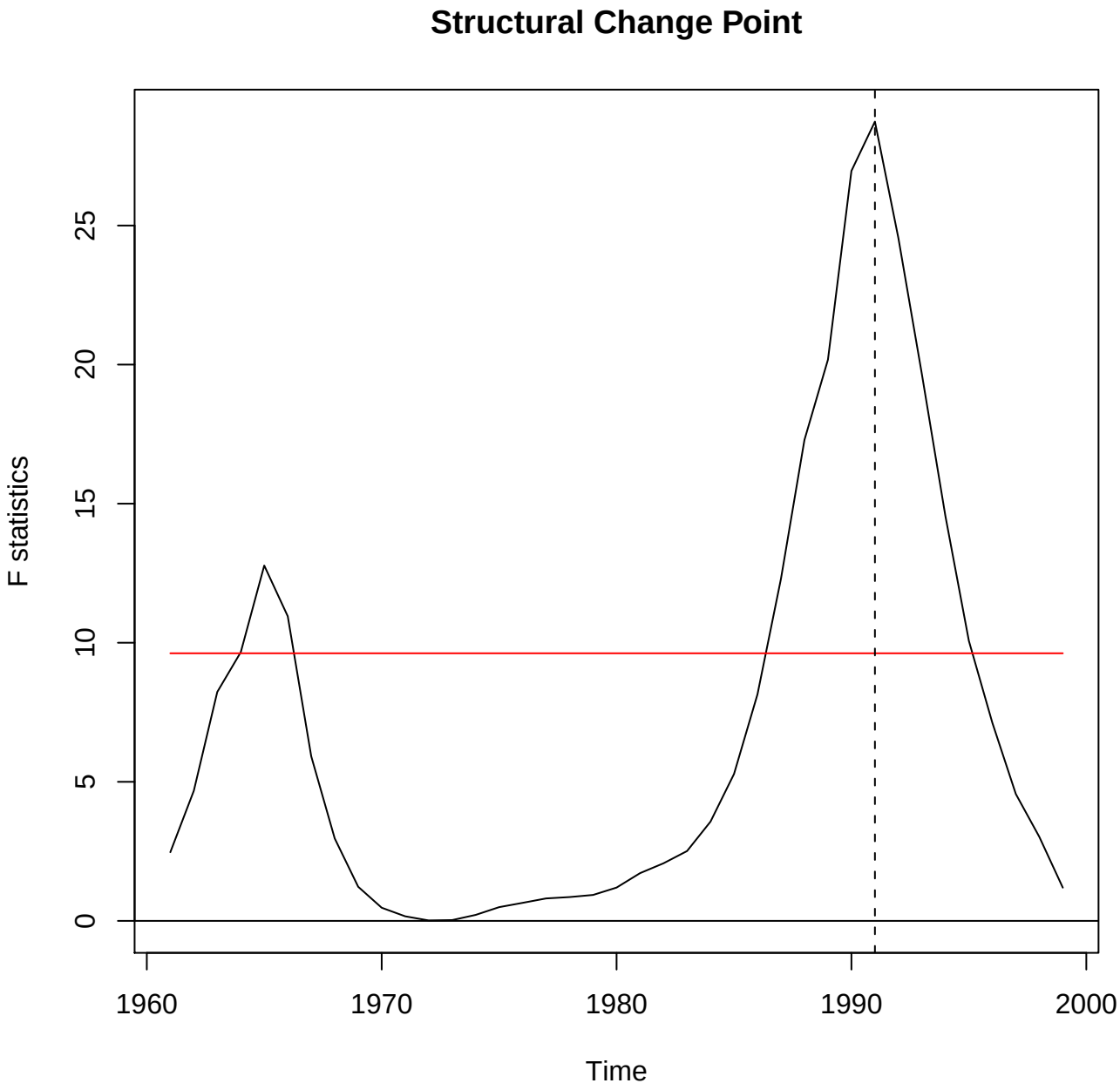
We provide another look at the variation in time to election over time, this time using a structural break approach. Figure 3 shows a test for structural breaks in the data, using time to election after coup as the dependent variable. Tests with R's *sctest* command using time to elections within 3 years indicate that the evidence for structural break in the data is strongest for 1991. Results are similar using 5 year interval as the cutoff date. Results for early 1960s reflect a change to shorter time to elections. That change is not as significant as the change with the onset of the post-CW period.

Table 3: Elections After Coups: Different Decades and Coups in Older Democracies

	(1) By CW	(2) By Dec	(3) Dem	(4) Old Dem
Aid Dependence	0.145	0.0566	-1.076	-1.145
	(0.390)	(0.405)	(0.880)	(0.891)
GDP per capita	0.0584	0.0579	0.0389	0.0277
	(0.0553)	(0.0560)	(0.0540)	(0.0549)
Economic Growth	-0.952	-0.843	-0.863	-1.023
	(0.639)	(0.647)	(0.682)	(0.657)
Ex-French Colony	-0.00713	-0.0201	0.112	0.115
	(0.107)	(0.106)	(0.124)	(0.129)
Years since Coup	-0.0211***	-0.0227***	-0.0165**	-0.0191***
	(0.00631)	(0.00663)	(0.00668)	(0.00663)
Pre-Coup Dem			0.367***	
			(0.129)	
Pre-Coup 15-yrs Dem				0.364**
				(0.159)
Post x Aid Dep			1.866**	2.001**
			(0.896)	(0.894)
1970s		-0.165		
		(0.164)		
1980s		0.144		
		(0.159)		
Post Cold War	0.685***	0.702***	0.507***	0.523***
	(0.109)	(0.156)	(0.124)	(0.124)
Constant	-1.871***	-1.853***	-1.879***	-1.731***
	(0.386)	(0.393)	(0.398)	(0.390)
Observations	1,591	1,591	1,588	1,591

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 3: Test for a Structural Break in Data: Does Time to Elections After Coup Change in year t? Test with R *sctest* command (*strucchange*) with a three-year cutoff criterion. See Zeileis (2006).



5 Results with Different Coup Datasets

Tables 4 and 5 show a comparison of results for the pre-1990 and post-1991 period respectively for five datasets of coups: (1) coup data by Goemans, Gleditsch, Chiozza and Choung (2004); (2) Alesina, Ozler, Roubini and Swagel (1996); (3) Belkin and Schofer (2003); (4) coup data by Monty G. Marshall and Donna Ramsey at the Center for Systemic Peace and (5) data by Powell and Thyne (2011). These datasets are the major existing efforts to collect data on a global scale. Since we are interested in time to elections after coups, we look at successful coups. The models reflect the availability of covariates across all the datasets (for example, not all datasets include the identity of the actors perpetrating the coup, so this information cannot be included).

Table 4 shows that results on the effect of aid dependence are the same for the period preceding the end of the Cold War: there is no significant effect. Table 5 shows that, by contrast, aid dependent states move to adopt elections faster in the post-1991 period. The effect is insignificant only in model (2) but then again, this model has significantly fewer observations than the other models, an artifact of the mid-1990s cutoff date for the data collection. Comparing Archigos to the other data, we see that the pattern is even stronger elsewhere. Inspection of the trends in the different datasets, often available in the original publication, indicate that time to election is also on average shorter for the period after the end of the Cold War.

Table 4: Elections After Coups: A Comparison of the Archigos, Alesina, Belkin and Schofer, Marshall and Marshall, Powell and Thyne Datasets - Cold War Period

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Variable	Arch	Ales	BelSch	MM	PowTh
Aid Dependence	-0.730	-1.360	-0.512	-0.634	-1.022
	(0.836)	(1.209)	(0.957)	(0.895)	(0.958)
GDP per capita	0.0591	0.175**	0.128	0.0972	0.0749
	(0.0637)	(0.0827)	(0.0809)	(0.0778)	(0.0774)
Economic Growth	-2.584***	-2.722***	-2.612***	-1.866**	-2.591***
	(0.721)	(1.012)	(0.880)	(0.750)	(0.827)
Ex-French Colony	-0.290*	-0.661***	-0.469**	-0.193	-0.226
	(0.162)	(0.239)	(0.183)	(0.179)	(0.176)
Years Since Coup	-0.0272***	-0.0281**	-0.0438***	-0.0588***	-0.0430***
	(0.00852)	(0.0123)	(0.0133)	(0.0165)	(0.0148)
Constant	-1.665***	-2.260***	-1.909***	-1.735***	-1.592***
	(0.457)	(0.591)	(0.567)	(0.544)	(0.547)
Observations	1,251	864	936	854	925

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 5: Elections After Coups: A Comparison of the Archigos, Alesina, Belkin and Schofer, Marshall and Marshall, Powell and Thyne Datasets - the Post-Cold War Period

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Variable	Arch	Ales	BelSch	MM	PowTh
Aid Dependence	0.749*	1.021	1.282**	0.999**	1.068*
	(0.425)	(0.709)	(0.646)	(0.405)	(0.596)
GDP per capita	-0.0233	-0.116	0.0357	-0.144	-0.138
	(0.0822)	(0.159)	(0.129)	(0.0928)	(0.0910)
Economic Growth	0.296	-0.132	-0.577	0.782	0.304
	(0.783)	(0.729)	(0.861)	(0.891)	(0.794)
Ex-French Colony	0.487***	0.821***	0.500**	0.643***	0.755***
	(0.180)	(0.304)	(0.217)	(0.210)	(0.215)
Years Since Coup	-0.0161	-0.0211	-0.0228*	-0.0183*	-0.0239**
	(0.0106)	(0.0240)	(0.0118)	(0.0110)	(0.0105)
Constant	-0.998*	-0.462	-1.342*	-0.432	-0.459
	(0.523)	(0.945)	(0.743)	(0.567)	(0.566)
Observations	341	139	218	248	254

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

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