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# The Rise Predicts the Fall: <br> How the Method of Leader Entry Affects the Method of Leader Removal in Dictatorships* 

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#### Abstract

How does the way a non-democratic leader takes power affect the stability of her government? Prior research identifies irregular leader entries-those violating the regime's norms for leader selection-to be especially likely to foreshadow subsequent unconstitutional transitions. This paper shows how some forms of irregular leader entry can actually protect leaders from most threats of forced removal from power. When leaders use a strong and loyal coalition of supporters to overthrow their predecessors and their entire ruling regimes, as they do in successful rebellions, popular uprisings, and major regimechanging coups, they explicitly prove their strength to any potential rivals. These leaders are substantially less likely to be ousted than leaders who take power in ways that do not convey strength so convincingly, such as normal succession and elite reshuffling. We analyze an original dataset of non-democratic leader transitions and show that accounting for the strength demonstrated during a leader's entry to power substantially improves our ability to predict how and when the leader will eventually leave office.


[^1]How does the way a non-democratic leader takes power affect the stability of her government? Previous research shows irregular ${ }^{1}$ transitions can undermine governance by increasing the likelihood of political violence, slowing economic growth, and perpetuating cycles of unconstitutional regime change (Alesina et al., 1996; Barro, 1991; Campos and Nugent, 2002; Chiozza and Goemans, 2011; Collier et al., 2003; Feng, 1997; Fosu, 2002; Gleditsch and Ruggeri, 2010; Goemans, Gleditsch and Chiozza, 2009; Gupta, 1990; Igbal and Zorn, 2008; Jones and Olken, 2005, 2009; Jong-A-Pin, 2009; Londregan and Poole, 1990; Lehoucq and PérezLinán, 2014; Miller, 2012; Thyne et al., 2014). This link between irregular leader change and regime fragility is well-established. Some researchers even approximate a state's capacity to govern with the way its leader claimed power, with regular entries marking strong states and irregular entries defining especially weak ones (Huntington, 1968; Gleditsch and Ruggeri, 2010).

But by amalgamating many different forms of irregular entry, this literature overlooks how more specific transition types can influence the kinds of threats a leader will face during her time in power. Irregular entry is a broad concept that includes significant and disruptive transitions like rebellions and foreign invasions as well as less consequential internal reshuffles and succession disputes. This inclusive concept does not differentiate contentious transitions between rivals within the same ruling clique from transitions that completely oust the ruling elite and overturn the political structures that kept them in power. We draw on work on opposition coordination in dictatorships (Casper and Tyson, 2014; Edmond, 2013; Geddes, 1999; Kuran, 1989; Karklins and Peterson, 1993; Lohmann, 1993; Little, 2015) to argue that we can learn much more about the political consequences of leader entry by disaggregating these irregular transitions into two substantively important types: irregular regime replacement and irregular regime reorganization.

Foundational research on leader survival in dictatorships suggests all non-democratic leaders should be very interested in conveying strength and invulnerability. Doing so convincingly increases one's chances of keeping power, while doing so unconvincingly invites challenges and compels dictators to make concessions, share power, and accept constraints (Boix

[^2]and Svolik, 2013; Svolik, 2009; Magaloni, 2008; Gandhi and Przeworski, 2007; Gandhi, 2008; Smith, 2005). This pressure to appear strong gives rise to a classic signaling problem: all dictators, strong and weak alike, do what they can to appear invulnerable while their challengers must attempt to discern which claims of strength are actually credible. We contend that some leaders prove the strength and loyalty of their supporting coalitions by forcibly overthrowing their predecessors and overhauling their political systems. These forms of irregular regime replacement include successful rebellions, popular uprisings, and major regime-changing coups d'état. In each of these entry types a sufficiently strong coalition accepted considerable risks and costs to install their chosen leader. This credible show-of-strength can deter aspiring rivals from plotting their own attempts to dislodge the new leader from office.

Other forms of irregular leader entry do not convincingly convey the strength of a new leader's coalition of supporters. There is much more ambiguity around leader strength when they enter by irregular regime reorganization, as in reshuffles among the ruling elite, extraordinary appointments during political crises, or unestablished election or selection processes. These leaders may have very strong support underlying their claims to power-and most leaders in this position work very hard to persuade their new constituents of their invulnerabilitybut their claims of strength cannot be as credible as those made by new leaders who proved the strength of their supporting coalitions while forcibly ousting a predecessor's regime. Following regime reorganizations, new leaders can only attempt to persuade potential rivals of their strength with propaganda, public demonstrations, and repression. There is much less ambiguity around the strength of a leader's hold on power when that leader forced her way in with a strong coalition that would presumably rise up to the leader's defense. Below, we estimate nondemocratic leaders who entered office through regime replacement to be three to five times less likely to be forced from power relative to those who entered by irregular regime reorganization.

Non-democratic leaders who take power through irregular regime replacement are unlikely to suffer similar challenges relative to other dictators, but there are two notable caveats to this argument: this stabilizing effect is short-lived and limited to only a few types of threats. Strong supporting coalitions deter challenges that would require a rival to compete with and
overcome a leader's coalition (i.e. direct confrontation through war, street protests, and other forms of complete regime change), but they may encourage tactics that circumvent direct engagement with a new leader's coalition, such as assassination. Furthermore, political allegiances shift while new leaders consolidate power and develop new alliances. Over time a leader's entry coalition can become decreasingly representative of the support she enjoys in the present. Thus, the more time a leader has been in power, the less reliably her method of entry predicts the threats she will face while in office.

The paper makes three contributions to the literature on political instability in dictatorships. First, the distinction between irregular regime replacement and irregular regime reorganization greatly improves our ability to forecast different threats to non-democratic rulers. Second, the paper introduces new data that describe eleven forms of leader exit and eight forms of leader entry. These data will allow for more nuanced cross-national studies of authoritarian breakdowns and transitions. Finally, we refine the established wisdom about the "coup traps" (Londregan and Poole, 1990; Lehoucq and Pérez-Linán, 2014) and "conflict traps" (Collier et al., 2003) that purportedly condemn dictatorships to long cycles of instability. Some leaders are ensnared in these traps and suffer short-lived and tumultuous tenures, but those who forcefully take power with strong coalitions credibly signal their strength, deter rivals, and earn a short reprieve from these kinds of challenges.

## The Argument

We derive our argument about how specific forms of entry predict the threats leaders will face from four claims. First, a leader's political survival relies upon her ability to maintain a strong supporting coalition, but in non-democracies allegiances are private and therefore prone to misperception. Second, leader entry by forced regime replacement reveals valuable information about the true strength of the leader's coalition, and this information cannot be signaled as convincingly by other forms of entry. Third, political rivals use this information to form their estimates of a leader's coalition strength and their chances of success should they try to seize
power. And fourth, the value of any information about leader coalition strength to be gleaned from the leader's entry into power depreciates quickly, as does the influence this information has on those looking to challenge the leader.

## Political Allegiances and Uncertainty in Non-Democratic States

Leaders stay in power by maintaining a strong and loyal coalition of supporters (Ames, 1987; Bueno de Mesquita et al., 2003; Chiozza and Goemans, 2011; Svolik, 2012; Sudduth, 2017). Leaders of democracies do this by attracting a bloc of voters that is large enough to defeat rival voting coalitions at the polls. Political competition is less transparent in non-democratic states, but leader coalitions in these systems are typically comprised of adequate shares of the public, the military, and the political elite. ${ }^{2}$ Non-democratic leaders stay in power by ensuring that their coalition remains strong enough to overcome any rival coalitions. They do this by simultaneously incentivizing loyalty among their supporters with private goods provisions while obstructing rivals with repression and the threat or use of political violence (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2006; Bell, 2011; Bueno de Mesquita et al., 2003; Bueno de Mesquita and Smith, 2015; Conrad, 2011; Gandhi and Przeworski, 2007; Svolik, 2008, 2012).

A defining characteristic of non-democratic politics is the absence of regular, transparent, and competitive contests for power that reveal the true size and strength of a leader's coalition of supporters. This is certainly true where there are no elections to allow opposition leaders to vie for power against the incumbent, though it is also true where election results are manipulated so as to obscure a leader's true level of support (Beaulieu and Hyde, 2009; Daxecker, 2014; Levitsky and Way, 2010; González-Ocantos, Kiewiet de Jonge and Nickerson, 2015). Even in the increasing share of non-democratic regimes with multi-party elections, these contests are usually superficial and the results typically favor the incumbent due to outright distortion of the vote tallies or by policies that place challengers at an insurmountable structural disadvantage (Gandhi, 2008; Schedler, 2006, 2013). ${ }^{3}$

[^3]Non-democratic leaders intensify uncertainty about the size of their supporting coalitions by exaggerating their support and exacerbating opposition coordination problems (Edmond, 2013; Lohmann, 1993; Kuran, 1989). These efforts suppress movements to remove non-democratic leaders from office because regime opponents cannot accurately juxtapose the strength of the opposition movement against that of the leader's supporting coalition. Lohmann's 1994 study of East Germany describes a country that could have democratized much earlier had the opposition understood its relative strength. Of the uncertainty before the eventual collapse of the German Democratic Republic, she writes:
> "While elections were held regularly, there was no opposition party, and election outcomes were manipulated. Periodic intraparty purges effectively eliminated any opposition within the ruling party. The freedom of press, radio, and television guaranteed in Article 27 of the GDR constitution was a farce... public opinion polls that indicated a dramatic decrease in public support for the regime in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s were classified and not accessible to anyone but high-level functionaries" (pg. 44).

The uncertainty around leader coalitions is worsened by strong incentives to misrepresent allegiances in non-democratic systems. In democracies, leaders provide their large electorates with public goods that are largely non-excludable, meaning the goods one receives from the government are minimally influenced by one's political affiliations (Boix, 2003; Brown and Mobarak, 2009; Deacon, 2009; Bueno de Mesquita et al., 2003; Lake and Baum, 2001; Olson, 1993). ${ }^{4}$ The same cannot be said of non-democratic states. Where opposition leaders and their followers are repressed, there are strong incentives to publicly voice support for an incumbent whom one may not support privately-known political opponents can face lower levels of goods provision or even state-sponsored violence (Bueno de Mesquita et al., 2003; Kuran, 1989, 1991). ${ }^{5}$ For these two reasons-(1) the absence of mechanisms that force public declarations of support for competing candidates for executive office and (2) the strong incentives to feign

[^4]support for the incumbent-political allegiances in non-democracies are private and prone to miscalculation. This increases the value of events that reveal a leader's true level of support.

## Leader Transitions as Information-Revealing Events

The problem described above resembles a classic signaling game. Non-democratic leaders hold private information about the strength of the coalitions keeping them in power. They also have incentives to exaggerate their strength to any potential rivals, all of whom possess less information about the leader's true strength. The likely outcome of this signaling problem is what formal theorists call a pooling strategy; all dictators do what they can to convey strength. Whether strong or weak, these leaders have incentives to hold sham elections, make examples of political rivals, glorify their successes, control state media, hold militaristic celebrations and parades, and create new holidays and national myths. Any potential challengers must attempt to discern credible signals of strength from empty bluffs, but guessing incorrectly can have devastating consequences. So how can the opposition determine which leaders are truly strong and which ones are feigning support? ${ }^{6}$

The central argument of this paper is that some, though not all, forms of leader entry provide a credible snapshot of the support a new leader enjoys when she takes power. Forms of entry that unequivocally advertise a strong supporting coalition provide the most unambiguous signal of strength. Leaders achieve this by forcibly seizing power and replacing the preceding political system. When a new leader takes power at the head of a rebel army or popular protest movement, the strength and loyalty of her coalition is evinced by their victory over the previous government. Potential opponents can have no doubt that the new leader has the support of a loyal and risk-acceptant bloc of supporters. Major coups that overturn the entire ruling regime (rather than less consequential reshuffling coups) also demonstrate that the new leader's coalition is strong and loyal enough to resist threats to the new government. When popular protests overwhelm a government and place a chosen leader in power, observers can infer that public opposition to subsequent regime change would be great enough to discourage efforts to remove

[^5]the new incumbent by force. In this way, coming to power through irregular regime replacement can be a boon to new leaders hoping to avoid counter-coups and reactionary uprisings.

| Table 1: How Leader Entry Signals Leader Strength |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Entry Type | Definition | Uncertainty about Leader Strength |
| Regular Entry | Entry consistent with constitutional or established rules for leader selection, such as normal succession, selection by party/junta elites, or popular election. | Moderate. New leader has no chance to display her strength when she inherits the status quo regime. Entry does not reveal whether she is strongly supported or passively accepted by those beyond the ruling inner circle. |
| Irregular Reorganization | Entry either violates rules/norms or occurs where there are no established rules/norms AND leader rose without forcefully ousting the old regime, as in reshuffles or unestablished election, succession, or selection processes. | High. A reshuffle between insiders in the governing clique may reveal a new leader's popularity among the ruling elite, but it can also advertise the weakness of the regime to political rivals outside the ruling clique. |
| Irregular <br> Replacement | Entry violates established rules or norms for leader change AND change results from the coordinated use of force, as in rebellions, major regime changing coups, and protest movements. | Low. The new leader took power with a sufficiently strong and loyal coalition of supporters. The new leader's strength is made credible by her success in forcing the previous leader from office against the will of the ruling elite. |

When leaders enter power in other ways they cannot convey strength so persuasively. For example, leaders who take power during intra-junta/party reshuffles demonstrate that they have the support of a critical share of the divided ruling elites, but these entries do nothing to deter outsiders who hope to overturn the entire political system. Rather, these regime reorganizations only show that the new leader is the strongest member of an increasingly fractured government. Even when these leadership disputes turn violent, as in many "palace coups" or "reshuffling coups," new leaders only prove that they can force the allegiances of regime insiders. These irregular regime reorganizations allow leaders to arise from internal discord and do not credibly demonstrate that the new coalition is strong enough to take control of the state and thwart threats from regime outsiders.

Regular entries that follow a regime's established norms for leader transition are a hall-
mark of stable dictatorships, but these transitions reveal relatively little about the size and loyalty of a new leader's coalition. Loyalties do not automatically transfer from a monarch to an heir or from a president to a vice president, and this is why new leaders are so frequently challenged shortly after succeeding their predecessors. Historical studies of Europe's hereditary monarchies suggest succession mechanisms provide stability by dissuading intra-regime infighting, (Kokkonen and Sundell, 2014; Kurrild-Klitgaard, 2000), but family monarchies are increasingly rare (Brownlee, 2007) and these norms may not dissuade regime outsiders. Isabel Perón of Argentina was the clear chosen successor of Juan Perón-she was his wife and vice president-yet she suffered multiple coup attempts and was deposed less than two years after taking power. Kim Jong Un continues to serve as the North Korean President, but his succession was followed by numerous purges, executions, and other demonstrations of strength. International observers continue to question the strength of his coalition, warning that a potential rival could emerge. He did not force his way into office in a complete regime replacement, so we can only speculate about his true level of support within the North Korean military elite.

## Which Threats Are Deterred By Credible Signals of Strength?

The unambiguous signal of strength that occurs when a new leader forcibly replaces her predecessor should deter challengers, though some forms of leader removal should be more sensitive to leader coalition strength than others. Specifically, strong coalitions should deter coalition competition that pits a leader's supporters against an opposition coalition in a direct contest for state control. These forms of removal include civil wars where rebel groups directly engage with forces defending the incumbent's government, coup attempts that seek to overthrow (rather than reshuffle) the government, and popular movements where opposition groups confront the incumbent's supporters in the streets. Coalition-competing threats should be deterred by reliable information about leader coalition strength because the viability of these challenges crucially depends upon opponents' beliefs about the relative strength of the leader's coalition. ${ }^{7}$

[^6]Table 2: How Involuntary Leader Exits Are Affected By Signals of Leader Strength

| Removal Type | Definition | SENSITIVITY TO LEADER STRENGTH |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Coalition <br> Competing | Unconstitutional removal in which <br> a coalition of regime outsiders <br> overthrows the ruling government <br> in a direct competition for power. | High. The viability of the attempt <br> depends upon the relative strength <br> of the incumbent's supporters <br> vis-á-vis the opposition coalition. |
| Coalition <br> Circumventing | Unconstitutional removal where <br> regime outsiders evade direct <br> competition with the incumbent's <br> coalition by using assassins or <br> turning to foreign superpowers. | Low. The viability of the challenge <br> is minimally influenced by leader <br> strength because challengers avoid <br> direct coalition competition or use <br> substantially stronger foreign allies. |
| Coalition | The leader is forced from power <br> involuntarily during reshuffling <br> Comong members of the regime, | Low. The viability of the challenge <br> is minimally influenced by leader <br> strength because challengers emerge <br> from within the regime and convince <br> or pseudo-legal impeachments. |
| others to reallocate political power. |  |  |

Other threats to leaders eschew direct competition between the coalitions of the leader and an opposition movement and, therefore, should not be similarly deterred by demonstrations of leader coalition strength. We call these forms of removal coalition circumvention. Assassins, for example, remove a leader from power with no intention of overcoming the leader's supporters and placing an opposition member in power. When the ruler of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Laurent Kabila, was assassinated by a child soldier in 1999, the young assassin surely was not attempting to place himself or another regime outsider in office. This threat to Kabila occurred despite the strength of his supporting coalition. Kabila's formidable coalition-his son is now approaching two decades in power-could have been a primary motivation for using a removal tactic that would intentionally circumvent coalition competition. Opponents also circumvent competition with they enlist global or regional superpowers to remove the incumbent from office. Non-democratic leaders suffer foreign overthrows relatively infrequently (we count only 24 since 1950), but when they do they are typically overthrown by states that are far too strong to be meaningfully deterred by the way in which a leader came
to power. American actions against Mohammad Mossadeg (Iran, 1953) and Mullah Omar (Afghanistan, 2001) typify the overwhelming strength of the foreign country during these transitions, as do French actions against Bokassa (C.A.R., 1979) and Soviet moves against Nagy (Hungary, 1956), Karmal (Afghanistan, 1986), and Tsedenbal (Mongolia, 1984).

Having had a strong coalition at the time of entry does little to protect leaders from threats emerging from within the coalition. These kinds of threats do not force challengers to overcome the coalition that put the leader in power. Rather, they constitute reshuffles among coalition members that demote the incumbent leader. We call these internal realignments and reshuffles coalition collapse. This form of removal includes two ways that leaders are involuntarily replaced by members of their own governments: reshuffling coups and legal processes like impeachment. Because these forms of removal do not require challengers to overcome the leader's united coalition, these threats should be minimally affected by any signals sent by a leader's method of entry into office.

It follows from this argument that the irregular regime replacements that send the most unambiguous signals of leader coalition strength should dissuade the coalition competing threats that are most sensitive to the strength of an incumbent's supporting coalition. Forms of removal that are minimally affected by coalition strength vis-à-vis outsiders should not be similarly deterred by irregular regime replacement. Accordingly:

H1: Non-democratic leaders coming to power via irregular regime replacement are less likely to suffer removal by coalition competition.

H2: Non-democratic leaders coming to power via irregular regime replacement are no less likely to suffer removal by coalition circumvention or collapse.

## Signals of Strength Will Fade Over Time

The argument requires a final caveat. The importance of any signal fades with time, both because the information conveyed by the signal is less recent and, in this context, because political realities often force dictators to reconstitute their supporting coalitions. Work on the institutionalization of non-democratic governments highlights both of these time-sensitive mechanisms. When necessary, dictators rebuild their coalitions using strategies like purging, ideological re-
alignment, and political party formation (Sudduth, 2017; Gandhi, 2008; Magaloni, 2008; Svolik, 2012). Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir, for example, famously rose to power in a coup supported by fundamentalist Islamists like the theocrat Hassan al-Turabi. Islamism was prominent in the early years of his regime, but al-Bashir severed his ties to this movement once he consolidated power and gained the ability to personalize his regime. Over the course of alBashir's 25 years in office his government has gone from courting al Qaeda and aggressively pursuing Islamization to jailing Hassan al-Turabi and calling the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization. This is a clear example of how the way a leader entered power becomes less relevant as political conditions change with time.

Even where leaders are somewhat less intentional about reshaping their supporting coalitions, we would argue that the passage of time depreciates the value of the information provided by a leader's entry and therefore weakens any deterrent effect that an irregular regime replacement might have on subsequent political challenges. Fidel Castro's successful revolution in Cuba provided opponents with a much better understanding of Fidel's military strength in the early 1960s than it did in the early 2000s. Thus, we posit an additional conditional hypothesis:

H3: The magnitude of any relationship between leader entry type and leader exit type will fade with a leader's time in office.

## Data

Our dataset of non-democratic leader transitions consists of leader-year panels for the 773 individuals who took control of a non-democratic government between 1950 and 2016 and then held power for at least one week. ${ }^{8}$ To generate this leader list, we first used the data and coding rules produced by Cheibub, Gandhi and Vreeland (2010) to identify periods of non-democratic rule in every sovereign state. Cheibub, Gandhi and Vreeland (2010) use a

[^7]procedural definition of democracy that labels governments non-democratic if executive offices are not filled through legitimate and contested elections. According to this definition, 141 countries were non-democratic at some point between 1950 and 2016.

Next, we consulted several datasets and codebooks (Cheibub, Gandhi and Vreeland, 2010; Goemans, Gleditsch and Chiozza, 2009; Svolik and Akcinaroglu, 2007) to create a list of leaders serving during these non-democratic periods, taking special care to correctly assign leaders to regimes during years that experienced major regime change. These sources occasionally disagree about the identity of a country's chief leader because some favor nominal heads-of-government while others list the de facto or "effective" leader. We resolved these differences by doing case research to identify de facto leaders. Finally, we excluded the short-lived tenures of "leaders" who merely served as placeholders (i.e. Kebreau in Haiti). We recoded 93 (out of 773) leaders in our dataset as placeholders and excluded them from our analyses. Our main findings do not substantially change when they are included, though including them increases the estimated probability of a voluntary resignation and decreases estimated likelihoods of all irregular forms of leader removal. We provide a complete list of our leaders, placeholders, and transition types in a supplementary appendix. ${ }^{9}$

## Leader Entry Types

We assign each leader one of eight entry types. Most non-democratic leader transitions are regular and voluntary, meaning that they are not forced by a major crisis and they occur with the consent of the outgoing regime. If such transitions occur as part of a precedented process for leader selection, as in regular elections, succession structures, and normal selection by the party/junta, then we label these Regular Selection/Election. Leaders entering this way include most heirs in monarchies, rising party members, and winners of precedented elections. If the entry was unprecedented but otherwise peaceful and voluntary, as in first-time transi-

[^8]tions between regime founders and their heirs (e.g. Fidel to Raul Castro in Cuba) or initial appointments at state independence (e.g. Sékou Touré in Guinea), we code the entry as First Selection/Election. We make this distinction so we can determine whether regular forms of leader entry better insulate leaders from challenges if those regular entries are legitimized by historical precedent. These two types of leader entry describe about half of the 773 leaders in the dataset, with 259 entering by Regular Election/Selection (33.5\%) and 172 (22.3\%) rising through First Election/Selection.

Nearly half of all non-democratic leaders entered in more tumultuous "irregular" transitions, but we differentiate between six different forms of irregular entry. When governments are compelled to choose a new leader during a major crisis, such as a popular protest or assassination, we call this Forced Election/Selection. These entries are different from other irregular entries in that the outgoing government chooses the new leader during the crisis. These entries are not common (88 of 773, or 11.4\%), but high-profile examples include Egypt's Hosni Mubarak following the killing of Anwar Sadat and Nigeria's Olusegun Obasanjo, who first entered office when a botched coup attempt failed to oust the ruling regime but succeeded in killing the leader of the junta in which Obasanjo served. These entries can also occur during war if a war forces the old leader out, yet does not put a rebel leader in power. The rebellion against Charles Taylor in Liberia's second civil war (1999-2003) removed Taylor, but when he vacated office his position transferred to a regime insider, Vice President Moses Blah, rather than someone affiliated with the rebel movement. This ascent, despite being triggered by war, is a Forced Election/Selection.

All other forms of entry occur without the consent of the government. Foreign Installation (20 leaders, 2.6\%) occurs when new leaders are put in place by the governments of other countries. These transitions require more than foreign assistance (as in some coups and rebellions). Instead, the foreign government must be the main armed force that selects the new leader. Successful Rebellion (27 leaders, 3.5\%) and Successful Protest (4 leaders, 0.5\%) occur when governments are forced from power and the leaders of the rebel or protest movements claim power for themselves. Finally, we follow Aksoy, Carter and Wright (2015) by making
a distinction between two types of coups: the Reshuffing Coup that puts a new individual in charge of the extant political regime and the Regime-Changing Coup in which the new leader significantly and immediately changes political institutions and/or the nature of executive power. ${ }^{10}$ Taken together, Reshuffling Coups (95 leaders, 12.3\%) and Regime-Changing Coups (108 leaders, 14.0\%) account for one in four non-democratic leader entries.

Next, we classify these eight types into the broader theoretically-relevant categories discussed above (also see Table 3 below). The only regular methods are Regular Election/Selection and First Election/Selection. In both cases power is transferred voluntarily by the previous government. Irregular regime reorganizations occur when the change is involuntary, yet the ruling regime is minimally changed, as in a Forced Election/Selection or Reshuffling Coup. Irregular regime replacements occur during a Regime-Changing Coup, Successful Protest, or Successful Rebellion. Foreign Installation is a distinct category.

## Leader Exit Types

Because we theorize that strong leader coalitions dissuade some strategies for leader removal but not others, we also classify leader exits into several types. Voluntary Resignation occurs when leader exit is completely voluntary ( 378 leaders, $48.9 \%$ ) or forced only by failing health (8 leaders, 1.0\%). An additional 53 leaders (6.9\%) exited through Natural Death. Rumors surround leader deaths and resignations in dictatorships, but we code these events as healthinduced unless there is very strong evidence that false health reports were used as a pretext for a more nefarious plot to force the leader from power.

We code two kinds of involuntary removal from within the regime (coalition collapse). A Reshuffing Coup occurs when a leader is forcibly removed by a secret internal faction that splits her coalition. These coups do not overthrow the entire government, but instead change the leadership structure among the ruling elite. 83 of the non-democratic leaders who entered power after $1950(10.7 \%)$ lost power this way. Leaders can also be forced out under legal pretenses. These instances of Legal Removal are involuntary and undermine the internal cohesion

[^9]of the regime, but they use available legal structures for removal rather than subversive coup conspiracies. We count only 19 cases ( $2.5 \%$ ), including Razak's faction of Malaysia's UMNO party successfully overcoming Tunku Abdul Rahman, the country's first prime minister. These forms of coalition collapse similarly pit one faction of the ruling coalition against the other, though the former is usually a secret conspiracy while the latter is often a prolonged and public legal battle.

We divide threats emerging from outside the ruling coalition into two broad categories: coalition competition and coalition circumvention (refer to Table 2). Coalition-competing methods of leader removal are most likely to be deterred by a strong leader because they require a challenger to forcibly remove the governing coalition. The three types of coalition-competing removal are: Regime-Changing Coup (66 leaders, 8.5\%), Protest (31 leaders, 4.0\%), and Rebellion ( 28 leaders, $3.6 \%$ ). Note that the number of leaders to leave power in these ways will not perfectly align with the number of leaders to enter in these ways. For example, 31 leaders were forced out by protests but only 4 leaders entered through protest. A primary cause for this is democratization; those who enter after successful protests often democratize and this is a dataset of non-democratic leaders.

Our last two forms of leader removal are Assassination (19 leaders, 2.5\%) and Foreign Overthrow (24 leaders, 3.1\%). We consider both of these exit types to be different from the coalition-competing challenges listed above because neither is particularly deterred by leader strength. Assassination attempts that are not linked to larger conspiracies and are not deterred by a leader's coalition strength because "lone-wolf" assassins have no intention of combating a leader's coalition of supporters. Foreign governments with the capacity to overthrow other states' incumbents are much stronger than their targets.

## Control Variables

We anticipate any consequences of leader entry type to be tempered by the amount of time a leader has held power, so the models also include Leader Tenure measured in logged years and some models also include multiplicative interactions of tenure with specific entry types.

| Table 3: A Typology of Leader Entry and Exit |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| LEADER ENTRY |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { REGULAR } \\ \text { EnTRy } \end{gathered}$ | IRREGULAR REPLACEMENT | Irregular REORGANIZATION | Foreign Installation |  |
| Regular Selection First Selection | Rebellion Protest Regime Coup | Reshuffle Coup Forced Selection | Installation |  |
| LEADER EXIT |  |  |  |  |
| Voluntary <br> Resignation | Natural Death | Coalition <br> Competition | COALITION <br> Circumvention | Coalition Collapse |
| Election/Selection Health Reasons | Death | Rebellion Regime Coup Protest | Foreign Action Assassination | Reshuffle Coup Legal Removal |

Age is included so we can better separate the effects of tenure longevity from other time trends like waning health and perceptions of leader frailty. We include Logged pcGDP to capture a state's level of economic development, anticipating that states with a lower per capita gross domestic product will be more prone to irregular forms of leader change. Economic Growth is measured as the annual change in per capita gross domestic product and we expect higher rates of economic growth to decrease the risk of irregular forms of leader change. Both economic variables are drawn from The Maddison Project (Bolt and van Zanden, 2014). Different nondemocratic political systems are likely to suffer different kinds of challenges. Using the data by Cheibub, Gandhi and Vreeland (2010), we account for whether the regime is a monarchic, military, or civilian dictatorship. Monarch and Military Dictator are dichotomous variables indicating whether the regime's decision-making relies on family and kin networks, or the armed forces within juntas. The base category in our analyses is a civilian dictatorship. In addition, we control for Party which is a dichotomous variable indicating whether there is any de facto party ruling the regime.

Conflict involvement is also linked to leader survival (Bueno de Mesquita et al., 2003; Goemans, 2008; Chiozza and Goemans, 2011; Debs and Goemans, 2010), so we use several
control variables to indicate the presence of conflict, a leader's role in the conflict, and recent performance in conflict. We include a dichotomous Civil War variable that is equal to 1 when states are presently involved in a civil war, drawn from the UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset v.4-2012 (Gleditsch et al., 2002; Themnér and Wallensteen, 2012). We expect that ongoing war increases the risk of an irregular leader replacement. We also include Logged Military Personnel to capture an additional aspect of state militarization (Singer, 1987). Leaders are rewarded for success in international conflicts and may be punished for defeat (Debs and Goemans, 2010), so we also include three measures of recent Victory, Defeat, and Draw in prior conflicts. Following this work, we expect these effects to depreciate with time and capture this with a decay function. ${ }^{11}$ The original source of this data on qualifying crises and results is the International Crisis Behavior dataset (Brecher and Wilkenfeld, 2000).

## Analysis

Leaders confront simultaneous threats of many different forms of removal, and consequently the risk of one type must be evaluated relative to the risk of any others. Statistical models that predict the risk of only one form of leader exit are insufficient because they cannot provide adequate information about these competing threats. For example, a model that estimates the risk of removal by coalition competition could not differentiate between one leader who faces a low risk because she is very likely to stay in power and another leader who faces a low risk because she is much more likely to voluntarily resign, die in office, or be overthrown by a foreign power. Understanding leader exit requires an estimation strategy that is more sensitive to the simultaneous threats leaders suffer.

We overcome this problem by using multinomial logit models that predict the relative likelihoods of six possible outcomes each year a leader is in power:(1) staying in power, (2) removal by coalition competition, (3) removal by coalition circumvention, (4) removal by coalition collapse, (5) voluntary resignation, or (6) natural death. ${ }^{12}$ This method produces a

[^10]unique prediction for each of the six possible outcomes for each year of a leader's tenure and these predictions always sum to 1 (or $100 \%$ ). We use "staying in power" as the base category and present the results for each of the five exit types.

In Table 4 we interact each entry category with the $\log$ (Tenure) variable to see how each form of entry influences the risk of each form of exit during a leader's time in power. We use $\operatorname{Ir}$ regular Replacement Entry as our base category so that all estimates are relative to leaders who entered power in this way. A positive coefficient on another entry type means those leaders are more likely than a leader who entered through irregular regime replacement to experience that kind of leader exit in their first year in power. Our hypotheses would therefore expect strong positive relationships between the other entry types and coalition-competing removal with negative interactions between the other entry types and time in power (H1 and H3). Meanwhile, we would expect there is no statistically significant relationships between each entry type and coalition-circumventing or coalition-collapsing removal (H2). As many implications of interaction terms can be difficult to diagnose from these coefficients alone, we graphically illustrate the effect of leader entry type on each exit type calculated as the first difference in Figures 1 and 2.

The first column of results in Table 4 shows how leader entry influences the risk of a coalition-competing exit (removal by rebellion, protest, or regime-changing coup). The positive and significant coefficients for Regular Entry and Irregular Reorganization Entry show that, as predicted, leaders coming to power in these ways are significantly more likely than leaders who entered in regime replacements to suffer these kinds of challenges early in their tenures. Furthermore, in accordance with the third hypothesis, the negative coefficients on the interaction terms between these entry categories and leader tenure indicate this effect diminishes over a leader's time in power.

To visualize this, we plot the effect of irregular regime replacement entry on the risk of a coalition-competing exit across leader tenure in Figure 1. The effect of irregular regime replacement entry is calculated as the first difference, a change in the risk of a coalition-

[^11]Table 4: Multinomial Logit Analysis of Manner of Losing Office in Dictatorships

|  | Model 1 |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Dependent Variable Exit Manner | Coalition <br> Competing | Coalition Circumventing | Coalition Collapsing | Voluntary Resignation | Natural Death |
| Base Category |  |  |  |  |  |
| Entry Manner | Irregular Replacement Entry |  |  |  |  |
| Independent Variables |  |  |  |  |  |
| Regular Entry | $\begin{gathered} 1.885 * * * \\ (.660) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.823 \\ (1.247) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .306 \\ (.446) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.198 \\ (.505) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.055 \\ & (1.223) \end{aligned}$ |
| Regular $\times \log$ (Tenure) | $\begin{aligned} & -.510^{*} \\ & (.273) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .868 \\ (.627) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.358 \\ & (.265) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .379 * \\ & (.224) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .360 \\ (.435) \end{gathered}$ |
| Irregular Reorganization Entry | $\begin{gathered} 2.575 * * * \\ (.535) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .425 \\ (1.021) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .352 \\ (.533) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .483 \\ \text { (. } 466 \text { ) } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.743 \\ (.954) \end{gathered}$ |
| Reorganization $\times \log$ (Tenure) | $\begin{gathered} -.776 * * * \\ (.287) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .209 \\ (.720) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .424 \\ (.311) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .108 \\ (.267) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .334 \\ (.429) \end{gathered}$ |
| Foreign Entry | $\begin{gathered} .741 \\ (1.806) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.045 \\ (.955) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -14.380 * * * \\ (.745) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.638 \\ (2.301) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -13.132 * * * \\ (1.498) \end{gathered}$ |
| Foreign $\times \log$ (Tenure) | $\begin{gathered} .349 \\ (.851) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .840 \\ (.672) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .771^{*} \\ & (.422) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.104^{*} \\ & (.664) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.399 \\ (.485) \end{gathered}$ |
| $\log$ (Tenure) | $\begin{gathered} .632 * * * \\ (.204) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.591 \\ (.441) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.507 * * \\ (.222) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.453 * * \\ (.213) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .090 \\ (.347) \end{gathered}$ |
| Controls |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\ln$ (GDP/capita) | $\begin{gathered} -.354 * * * \\ (.136) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .025 \\ (.150) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.209 \\ (.129) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .116 \\ (.138) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.329 \\ (.217) \end{gathered}$ |
| GDP Growth | $\begin{gathered} -3.235 * * * \\ (.867) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.80 \\ (1.686) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.172 \\ (.600) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.544 \\ (.777) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.030 \\ (.224) \end{gathered}$ |
| Military Dictatorship | $\begin{gathered} -.082 \\ (.300) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .252 \\ (.501) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .714 * * \\ & (.340) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .657 * * * \\ (.251) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .056 \\ (.527) \end{gathered}$ |
| Monarchy | $\begin{gathered} -2.082 * * * \\ (.796) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.497 \\ (.583) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.373 \\ (.591) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.777 \\ (.608) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.476 * * \\ (.618) \end{gathered}$ |
| Party | $\begin{gathered} -2.057 * * * \\ (.399) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.428 \\ (.547) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.739 * * \\ (.339) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.058 * * \\ & (.429) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.284 \\ (.672) \end{gathered}$ |
| Ln(Military Personnel) | $\begin{aligned} & -.166^{*} \\ & (.096) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .078 \\ (.151) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.074 \\ (.075) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .048 \\ (.061) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .135 \\ (.118) \end{gathered}$ |
| Civil War | $\begin{gathered} 1.861 * * * \\ (.274) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .899^{*} \\ & (.473 \text { ) } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .392 \\ (.347) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .250 \\ & (.232) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.647 \\ (.562) \end{gathered}$ |
| War Victory | $\begin{gathered} -2.383^{*} \\ (1.243) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -7.184 * * \\ (2.946) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -5.272 \\ & (3.693) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.305 \\ (1.462) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.180^{* *} \\ (.583) \end{gathered}$ |
| War Defeat | $\begin{aligned} & .962^{*} \\ & (.513) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.095 * * * \\ (.587) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .533 \\ (.725) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.010 \\ (.689) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .710 \\ (.565) \end{gathered}$ |
| War Draw | $\begin{gathered} -.569 \\ (.489) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.251 \\ (1.032) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.813 \\ (.627) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.846 \\ (.658) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .484 \\ (.656) \end{gathered}$ |
| Age | $\begin{gathered} .041 * * * \\ (.013) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .048 * * \\ & (.021) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .025 * * \\ & (.011) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .045 * * * \\ (.010) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .061 * * * \\ (.012) \end{gathered}$ |
| Constant | $\begin{gathered} -3.682 * * * \\ (.943) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -7.130 * * * \\ (1.332) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.565 * * * \\ (.901) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -7.388 * * * \\ (.942) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -6.529 * * * \\ (1.532) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Log Likelihood Observations |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -1459.863 \\ 3613 \end{gathered}$ |  |  |

Note: Robust country-clustered standard errors are in parentheses. ${ }^{*} p<0.10 ;{ }^{* *} p<0.05 ; * * * p<0.01$. We provide the first differences predicted from this model in Figures 1 and 2.
competing exit a leader would suffer when her entry type is switched from either regular or irregular reorganization to irregular replacement when all other variables in the model are held constant at their means or medians. We used Model 1 in Table 4 to estimate the first differences. As predicted by our first hypothesis, Figure 1 shows that leaders who enter through irregular regime replacements are less likely to suffer removal by coalition competition than

Figure 1: Effect of Irregular Replacement Entry on Coalition-Competing Removal


Note: We show the change in predicted probabilities of coalition-competing removal when we change entry manner from either regular (the left panel) or irregular reorganization (the right panel) to irregular replacement. We use Model 1 in Table 4 to estimate the first difference.
either leaders who enter through regular (the left panel) or irregular reorganizations (the right panel) early in their tenure. This advantage, however, gradually wanes and irregular replacement entry stops having a significantly negative effect after approximately 9 (v.s. regular entry) or 8 (v.s. irregular reorganization entry) years in power. This is congruent with our expectation that the way a leader entered office should become less relevant the longer the leader stays in power. Regarding the control variables, the results of the first column in Table 4 corroborate previous research that finds these kinds of threats to be less likely when states enjoy greater economic prosperity, more success in foreign armed conflicts, and either party-based or monarchical political institutions (Debs and Goemans, 2010; Magaloni, 2008; Kokkonen and Sundell, 2014; Londregan and Poole, 1990).

The method of leader entry does not have a similar effect on irregular removal by coalition circumvention (assassinations and overthrows) and coalition collapse (internal reshuffles and legal removals), as evinced by the statistically insignificant effects provided in the sec-
ond and third columns in Table 4. The first differences reported in Figure 2 also confirm this point. ${ }^{13}$ Leaders coming to power via irregular regime replacement are no less likely to suffer removal by coalition circumvention (the top row) or collapse (the bottom row) than leaders coming to power via regular processes (the left panel) or irregular reorganizations (the right panel). Though the difference of the risk of coalition-collapsing exit between irregular regime replacement and irregular reorganization entry is statistically significant after 3 years in power (see the bottom-right panel), the effect of irregular replacement entry is insignificant at the very beginning of a leader's tenure when the value of the information provided by a leader's entry should be the strongest. These results thus show that the insulating effects of leader entry by complete regime replacement are limited to coalition-competing forms of removal, and this is congruent with our expectations (H2). Assassins, foreign powers, and internal factions are not deterred by leaders who force their way into office with a credible show-of-strength. Instead, leaders who prove strength through irregular regime replacement are only insulated from extracoalition threats that would require rivals to compete with and overcome the leader's strong coalition.

Our initial test collapsed many forms of leader entry into four theoretically-relevant categories: regular entry, irregular regime replacement, irregular regime reorganization, and foreign installation. However, there could be important variation within these broader categories. Table 5 presents two models in which we disaggregate these entry types to examine whether our findings are driven by anomalous results for a more specific means of taking power. Most importantly, we separate irregular replacements into two groups: regime-changing coups and successful protests/rebellions. Model 2 shows the effects of these specific entry types relative to regular forms of entry. Model 3 does the same but uses forms of irregular regime reorganization as the base category for comparison. ${ }^{14}$

[^12]Figure 2: Effect of Irregular Replacement Entry on Coalition-Circumventing and Collapsing Removal


Note: We show the changes in predicted probabilities of coalition circumvention removal (the top panel) and coalition collapse removal (the bottom panel) when we change entry manner from either regular (the left panel) or irregular reorganization (the right panel) to irregular regime replacement. We use Model 1 in Table 4 to estimate the first difference.

The results of these tests provide very strong justification for categorizing these entry types according to the strength they convey to potential challengers. Beginning with the results for coalition-competing removal, we see very similar results for the two disaggregated forms of irregular regime replacement, and importantly, coalition-competing challenges are least likely to occur against leaders who took power in these ways. There is no meaningful difference between leaders entering through successful rebellions or protests and those entering through major regime-changing coups (the respective coefficients are -2.14 and -1.84 in Model 2, -2.80 and -2.52 in Model 3). In Figure 3, we chart the near-identical effects of these two forms of irregular regime replacement on coalition-competing leader removal.

Table 5: Multinomial Logit Analysis of Manner of Losing Office in Dictatorships

|  | Model 2 |  |  |  |  | Model 3 |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Dependent Variable <br> Exit Manner | Coalition Competing | Coalition Circumventing | Coalition Collapsing | Voluntary Resignation | Natural Death | Coalition Competing | Coalition Circumventing | Coalition Collapsing | Voluntary Resignation | Natural Death |
| Base Category |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Entry Manner | Regular Entry |  |  |  |  | Irregular Reorganization Entry |  |  |  |  |
| Irregular Replacement Entry |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Rebel Entry | $\begin{gathered} -2.135 * * * \\ (.646) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.319 \\ (1.422) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -2.288^{*} \\ & (1.227) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.837 * * \\ & (.763) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2.495 * * \\ & (1.037) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.797 * * * \\ (.576) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.421^{* *} \\ (1.174) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.410^{* *} \\ (1.210) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.223 \\ (.798) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2.406 * * \\ & (1.173) \end{aligned}$ |
| Rebel $\times \log$ (Tenure) | $\begin{gathered} .470 \\ (.388) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .038 \\ (.634) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.100 * * * \\ (.353) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.262 * * \\ (.564) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.423 \\ (.479) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .727^{*} \\ & (.416) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .584 \\ (.673) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .312 \\ (.347) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.988^{*} \\ & (.579) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.428 \\ (.497) \end{gathered}$ |
| Regime-Change Coup Entry | $\begin{gathered} -1.836^{* *} \\ (.782) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.511^{*} \\ (1.395) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.193 \\ (.455) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.376 \\ (.577) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.165 \\ (1.683) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.524 * * * \\ (.613) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .159 \\ (1.081) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.221 \\ (.535) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.054^{* *} \\ (.517) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.073 \\ (1.515) \end{gathered}$ |
| Regime-Change Coup $\times \log$ (Tenure) | $\begin{aligned} & .518^{*} \\ & (.291) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.120 \\ & (.692) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .329 \\ (.273) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.138 \\ & (.244) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.429 \\ (.650) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .774^{* * *} \\ & (.296) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.446 \\ (.766) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.470 \\ (.312) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .122 \\ & (.284) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.482 \\ (.626) \end{gathered}$ |
| Irregular Reorganization Entry |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Reshuffling Coup Entry | $\begin{gathered} .131 \\ (.833) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.844 \\ (1.296) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .134 \\ (.557) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .816 * * \\ & (.378) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.469 \\ (1.371) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| Reshuffling Coup $\times \log$ (Tenure) | $\begin{gathered} .158 \\ (.369) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.054 \\ & (.629) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .632 * * \\ & (.314) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.425 * \\ & (.258) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .064 \\ (.515) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| Forced Selection Entry | $\begin{gathered} 1.462^{* *} \\ (.706) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.594 * * * \\ (1.296) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.205 \\ (.512) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .463 \\ (.459) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .408 \\ (1.381) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| Forced Selection $\times \log$ (Tenure) | $\begin{aligned} & -1.194^{*} \\ & (.676) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -20.681 * * * \\ (1.466) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.148 * * * \\ (.300) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.094 \\ (.313) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.008 \\ (.482) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| Regular Entry |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Regular First-Election Entry |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -.594 \\ (.727) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.654 \\ (1.221) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .172 \\ (.529) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.321 \\ (.409) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.670 \\ (2.178) \end{gathered}$ |
| Regular First-Election $\times \log$ (Tenure) |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} .153 \\ (.356) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .305 \\ (.714) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.071 * * * \\ (.308) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.015 \\ (.250) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .189 \\ (.762) \end{gathered}$ |
| Regular Election Entry |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -.916 \\ (.764) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -3.021 \\ (2.132) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.320 \\ (.469) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.839 * * \\ (.368) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .437 \\ (1.099) \end{gathered}$ |
| Regular Election $\times \log$ (Tenure) |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} .452 \\ (.411) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .966 \\ (1.019) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.509^{*} \\ & (.303) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .520 * * \\ & (.248) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.186 \\ (.392) \end{gathered}$ |
| Foreign Entry | $\begin{aligned} & -1.120 \\ & (1.686) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.887 \\ (1.362) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -16.387 * * * \\ (.760) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.397 \\ (2.223) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -13.576 * * * \\ (1.509) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.880 \\ (1.757) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.564 \\ (.837) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -14.837 * * * \\ (.816) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -3.070 \\ (2.168) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -11.955^{* * *} \\ (1.420) \end{gathered}$ |
| Foreign $\times \log$ (Tenure) | $\begin{gathered} .847 \\ (.829) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.028 \\ (.744) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.154 * * * \\ (.402) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .714 \\ (.643) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.715 \\ (.503) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.137 \\ & (.876) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .613 \\ (.662) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .361 \\ (.415) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.037 * \\ & (.620) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.750 \\ (.519) \end{gathered}$ |
| Log(Tenure) | $\begin{gathered} .125 \\ (.192) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .299 \\ (.473) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.866^{* * *} \\ (.191) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.069 \\ (.129) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .459 \\ (.326) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.141 \\ (.265) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.362 \\ (.576) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.083 \\ (.197) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.337 * \\ & (.192) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .504 \\ (.317) \end{gathered}$ |
| Controls |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\ln$ (GDP/capita) | $\begin{aligned} & -.354 * * \\ & (.138) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.014 \\ (.159) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.204 \\ (.127) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .122 \\ (.139) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.325 \\ (.219) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.372 * * * \\ (.135) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .022 \\ (.163) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.224^{*} \\ & (.130) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .070 \\ (.141) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.369 \\ (.226) \end{gathered}$ |
| GDP Growth | $\begin{gathered} -3.064 * * * \\ (.850) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.291 \\ & (1.755) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.153 \\ (.633) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.522 \\ (.775) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.005 \\ & (.181) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -3.176 * * * \\ (.866) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.556 \\ (1.733) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.152 \\ (.584) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.504 \\ (.770) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.013 \\ (.194) \end{gathered}$ |
| Military Dictatorship | $\begin{gathered} -.147 \\ (.399) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .032 \\ (.661) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .688^{*} \\ & (.351) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .730^{* * *} \\ & (.257) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .745^{*} \\ & (.431) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.116 \\ & (.327) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.007 \\ (.603) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .609^{*} \\ & (.361) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .818^{* * *} \\ (.249) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .689 \\ (.510) \end{gathered}$ |
| Monarchy | $\begin{gathered} -2.176 * * * \\ (.815) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.616 \\ (.623) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.287 \\ (.585) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.800 \\ & (.595) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.435^{* *} \\ (.671) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.078 * * * \\ (.792) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.503 \\ (.579) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.360 \\ (.581) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.832 \\ (.549) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.527 * * \\ (.735) \end{gathered}$ |
| Party | $\begin{gathered} -2.108^{* * *} \\ (.409) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.444 \\ (.572) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.688^{*} \\ & (.351) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .993 * * \\ & (.427) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.604 \\ & (.751) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.042 * * * \\ (.417) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.334 \\ (.566) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.684 * * \\ (.332) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .925^{* *} \\ & (.395) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.528 \\ -.528(.835) \end{gathered}$ |
| Ln(Military Personnel) | $\begin{gathered} -.152 \\ (.095) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .085 \\ (.154) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.078 \\ (.076) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .046 \\ (.062) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .116 \\ (.131) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.178^{*} \\ & (.096) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .055 \\ (.156) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.080 \\ (.077) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .006 \\ (.062) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .109 \\ (.149) \end{gathered}$ |
| Civil War | $\begin{gathered} 1.857 * * * \\ (.272) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .999 * * \\ & (.473) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .425 \\ (.347) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .215 \\ (.232) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.716 \\ (.536) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.867 * * * \\ (.275) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .951 * * \\ & (.483) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .425 \\ (.350) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .244 \\ (.232) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.691 \\ (.539) \end{gathered}$ |
| War Victory | $\begin{aligned} & -2.311^{*} \\ & (1.219) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -7.464 * * \\ (3.261) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -6.110 \\ (4.083) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -2.456 \\ & (1.539) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.080 * \\ & (.619) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -2.359 * \\ & (1.206) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -7.292 * * \\ (3.162) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -5.213 \\ & (3.701) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.174 \\ (1.330) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.153^{* *} \\ (.577) \end{gathered}$ |
| War Defeat | $\begin{aligned} & 1.011^{* *} \\ & (.482) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.608 * * * \\ (.647) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .491 \\ (.733) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.178 \\ (.675) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .679 \\ (.568) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .943^{*} \\ & (.515) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.310 * * * \\ (.626) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .656 \\ (.730) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.108 \\ (.660) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .757 \\ & (.528) \end{aligned}$ |
| War Draw | $\begin{gathered} -.539 \\ (.496) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.625 \\ (1.241) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.787 \\ (.626) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.801 \\ (.651) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .463 \\ (.605) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.538 \\ (.483) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.330 \\ (1.100) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.800 \\ (.640) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.806 \\ (.659) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .445 \\ (.626) \end{gathered}$ |
| Age | . 039 *** | . $049^{* *}$ | .022** | . $045^{* * *}$ | . 067 *** | . 041 *** | .048** | .024** | . $049 * * *$ | . $068{ }^{* * *}$ |
| Constant | $\begin{gathered} (.013) \\ -1.716^{*} \\ (.947) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} (.024) \\ -8.879 * * * \\ (1.942) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} (.010) \\ -2.148^{* *} \\ (.988) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} (.010) \\ -7.600^{* * *} \\ (1.118) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} (.014) \\ -7.795 * * * \\ (1.608) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} (.013) \\ -.969 \\ (1.002) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} (.022) \\ -6.596^{* * *} \\ (1.659) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & (.011) \\ & -2.025^{*} \\ & (1.081) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} (.011) \\ -6.702 * * * \\ (.994) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} (.014) \\ -7.637 * * * \\ (1.662) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Log Likelihood Observations |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \hline-1441.7293 \\ 3613 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \hline-1445.123 \\ 3613 \end{gathered}$ |  |  |

Note: Robust country-clustered standard errors are in parentheses. $* p<0.10 ; * * p<0.05 ; * * * p<0.01$. We provide the first differences predicted from these models in Figure 2 and Table 7.

Figure 3: Effect of Rebel and Regime-Change Coup Entry on Coalition-Competing Removal


Note: We show the changes in predicted probabilities of coalition-competing removal when we change entry manner from regular or irregular reorganization entry to rebel or regime-change coup entry. We use Models 2 and 3 in Table 5 to estimate these first differences.

Figure 3 shows the changes in predicted probabilities of coalition-competing removal when we change entry manner from regular (the top panel) or irregular reorganization (the bottom panel) to rebel (the left panel) or regime-changing coup (the right panel). The effects of rebel entry and regime-changing coup entry look very similar and, as predicted by our first hypothesis, they are negative and significant during the first few years of a new leader's time in power. In other words, the coalition-competing removals are least likely to occur against leaders who took power through successful rebellions or major regime-changing coups. These stabilizing effects of the disaggregated forms of irregular regime replacement entry, though, gradually diminish and leader entry has no statistically significant effect on the risk of a coalitioncompeting exit once a leader has spent approximately 6-8 years in office.

The results for the two forms of regular entry are also statistically indistinguishable from each other (coefficients of -.59 and .-92 in Model 3). There is a larger difference between the two forms of regime reorganization, but this is not surprising. Leaders entering through forced election/selection (coefficient of 1.46, Model 2) have a greater risk of a coalition-competing removal than those entering through a reshuffling coup (coefficient of 0.13 , Model 2) because reshuffles are responses to internal divisions while forced election/selection typically occurs when regimes are already threatened by burgeoning popular protests or insurgencies. Since many of these forced selections are desperate attempts to stave off an impending crisis, the very high risk of a subsequent coalition-competing challenge is to be expected.

The results also show that most leaders who enter through irregular regime replacement generally do not enjoy a similarly low risk of removal by coalition collapse or coalition circumvention. Leaders rising through rebellion are slightly less likely to suffer coalition collapse in their first year in power, though the statistical significance of this effect is relatively weak and derived from a small sample of leaders. Leaders entering through regime-changing coups are somewhat more likely than regular entry leaders to suffer coalition-circumventing forms of removal early in their tenures, but there is no similar effect vis-à-vis leaders who came to power through irregular reorganizations.

## Coup Entry and Coup Exit

Our findings seemingly challenge the well-known "coup trap" hypothesis, which is the idea that a coup greatly increases the chances of a subsequent coup attempt (Londregan and Poole, 1990; Belkin and Schofer, 2003; Powell, 2012). This argument implies that leaders who enter office via coup are more likely to be removed via coup. In contrast, our analysis shows that leaders who come to power by a regime-changing coup are significantly less likely to fall in another regime-changing coup, especially in the first few years after they take power. Here, we show that we can reconcile these complementary findings.

Table 6 present the results from four slightly different logit models. Models 4 and 5

Table 6: Logit Analysis of Coup Exit in Dictatorships

|  | Model 4 | Model 5 | Model 6 | Model 7 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Dependent Variable: Exit Manner | Regime-Change Coup |  | Reshuffl | g-Coup |
| Base Category: Entry Manner | Non-Coup |  |  |  |
| Independent Variables |  |  |  |  |
| Regime-Change Coup Entry | $\begin{gathered} -2.375 * * \\ (.924) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.767 * * \\ (.792) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.065 \\ (.556) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .099 \\ (.416) \end{gathered}$ |
| Regime-Change Coup $\times \log$ (Tenure) | $\begin{gathered} .394 \\ (.406) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} .150 \\ (.308) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| Reshuffling Coup Entry | $\begin{gathered} -.082 \\ (.785) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .186 \\ (.609) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .275 \\ (.505) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .795^{* *} \\ & (.363) \end{aligned}$ |
| Reshuffling Coup $\times \log$ (Tenure) | $\begin{gathered} .215 \\ (.389) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} .478 \\ (.293) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| $\log$ (Tenure) | $\begin{aligned} & .178 \\ & (.220) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .265 \\ (.194) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.576 * * * \\ (.174) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.417 * * * \\ (.115) \end{gathered}$ |
| Controls |  |  |  |  |
| $\ln$ (GDP/capita) | $\begin{gathered} -.509^{* * *} \\ (.188) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.520 * * * \\ (.190) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.225 \\ (.151) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.207 \\ (.158) \end{gathered}$ |
| GDP Growth | $\begin{gathered} -.319 \\ (1.088) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.372 \\ (1.129) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.365 \\ (.852) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.365 \\ & (.953) \end{aligned}$ |
| Military Dictatorship | $\begin{gathered} -.169 \\ (.530) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.110 \\ (.529) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .612 \\ (.388) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .675^{*} \\ \text { (.393) } \end{gathered}$ |
| Monarchy | $\begin{gathered} -2.443 * * * \\ (.832) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.429 * * * \\ (.829) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.240 \\ (.635) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.205 \\ (.630) \end{gathered}$ |
| Party | $\begin{gathered} -2.866 * * * \\ (.479) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.860^{* * *} \\ (.488) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.823 * * \\ (.389) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.803 * * \\ & (.373) \end{aligned}$ |
| Ln(Military Personnel) | $\begin{aligned} & -.223 * \\ & (.126) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.220^{*} \\ & (.126) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.073 \\ & (.088) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.075 \\ (.087) \end{gathered}$ |
| Civil War | $\begin{gathered} 1.537 * * * \\ (.387) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.544 * * * \\ (.386) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .483 \\ (.333) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .474 \\ (.327) \end{gathered}$ |
| War Victory | $\begin{aligned} & -2.124 \\ & (1.536) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -2.196 \\ & (1.540) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -4.991 \\ & (4.808) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -4.943 \\ (4.600) \end{gathered}$ |
| War Defeat | $\begin{gathered} .065 \\ (.972) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .181 \\ (.905) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .111 \\ (1.017) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .091 \\ (1.013) \end{gathered}$ |
| War Draw | $\begin{gathered} -2.139 * * \\ (1.012) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.107 * * \\ (1.011) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.199 \\ (.769) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.196 \\ & (.777) \end{aligned}$ |
| Age | $\begin{aligned} & .040^{* *} \\ & (.019) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .040 * * \\ & (.018) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .018 \\ (.011) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .017 \\ (.011) \end{gathered}$ |
| Constant | $\begin{gathered} -.613 \\ (1.247) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.728 \\ (1.234) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.239 * * \\ (1.081) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.538^{*} * \\ (1.105) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Log Likelihood | -189.0286 | -189.41068 | -271.83226 | -272.8182 |
| Observations | 3613 | 3613 | 3613 | 3613 |

examine whether leaders entering through regime-changing and reshuffling coups face different risks of being overthrown in a regime-changing coup. Models 6 and 7 instead examine the effects of two types of coup entry on the risk of being overthrown in a reshuffling coup. To evaluate the substantive effect of each type of coup entry, we also calculate the first difference of the risk of being ousted via each type of coup when we change entry manner from non-coup entry to either regime-changing coup or reshuffling coup entry in Figures 4 and 5.

The results in Table 6 show leaders who enter in a regime-changing coup are exceptionally unlikely to lose power in a regime-changing coup; the coefficients on Regime-Change Coup Entry (Models 4 and 5) are negative and significant. We illustrate this result in Figure 4). Meanwhile, leaders who enter in reshuffling coups are neither more nor less likely to suffer a regime-changing coup relative to leaders who entered in other ways (right panel of Figure 4. This finding rebukes the established wisdom regarding coup traps, at least as it applies to regime-changing coups.

Figure 4: Effect of Different Types of Coup Entry on Regime-Change Coup Exit


[^13]But the same is not true of reshuffling coups (Models 6 and 7). Here, we see that while leaders entering in regime-changing coups are no more likely to fall in a reshuffling coup than leaders entering in a non-coup manner (See Figure 5, left), leaders who come to power in reshuffling coups are significantly more likely to suffer this type of threat (See Figure 5, right). Though the effect of reshuffling coup entry is insignificant in the first two years of leader tenure, it becomes positive and significant for the remainder of a leader's time in power (Figure 5, right).

Taken together, the results reported in this section reveal that while regime-changing coups deter subsequent regime-changing coups as our theory predicts, reshuffling coups encourage subsequent reshuffling coups. In accordance with prior literature, leaders who come to power via a reshuffling coup are significantly more likely to be overthrown via a reshuffling coup. By disaggregating coups by type, we find that the coup trap is the result of successive waves of reshuffling coups. Our argument is thus consistent with the coup trap argument; leaders who enter in major regime-changing coups are much less likely to be overthrown, yet the "coup trap" greatly increases the chances that leaders rising in reshuffling coups will be targeted by subsequent reshuffling coups.

Figure 5: Effect of Different Types of Coup Entry on Reshuffling Coup Exit


Note: We show the changes in predicted probabilities of reshuffling coup removal when we change entry manner from non- coup entry to regime-change coup or reshuffling-coup entry (Model 6, Table 6).

## The Rise Predicts the Fall

About $60 \%$ of the non-democratic leaders who come to power via coup, civil war, or protest are still in power three years later, and this rate is not significantly different than that for nondemocratic leaders who were elected or selected in regular constitutional processes. Yet, this similarity obscures an important difference: leaders with regular entries are more likely to be removed by rival coalitions while those who took power by removing their predecessor's entire governments were more likely to voluntarily resign. This provides some support for Machiavelli's observation that those who overcome the greatest difficulty in coming to power are those who have the least trouble keeping it. We show that this classical insight is consistent with the modern literatures on coordination and signaling; leaders who convey the strength of their supporting coalitions at the dawn of their tenures prove to be more resilient against similar challenges once in power.

Our analysis shows that after controlling for relevant political and economic factors, leaders who rise to power by coup, civil war, or protest are several times less likely to suffer these kinds of irregular regime changes compared to non-democratic leaders who came to power by other means. We claim the relative invulnerability enjoyed by these leaders is attributable to the show-of-strength that occurs when a new leader takes office with the explicit support of a strong, loyal, and risk-acceptant coalition of supporters. This demonstration of support helps leaders deter potential threats more effectively than leaders who came to power in ways that do not convey a strong coalition.

Beyond our core finding linking coordinated irregular entry to a lower risk of similar types of leader removal, the paper highlights what we can learn by looking beyond the constitutionality of non-democratic leader transitions and focusing more on the causes and consequences of specific forms of transition. We show that some forms of entry more explicitly convey the level of support a new incumbent enjoys, and we have also shown that some types of challenges are more sensitive to this kind of information. These insights should allow for more accurate predictions of war and coup in at-risk states, and they should also improve our
understanding of how dictators choose to placate or repress political opposition. Future work could continue to refine this argument and consider factors that were not included in this study, such as how ethnic cleavages or the level of violence in a previous transition might affect subsequent political stability. If some entry types deter challenges, then leader entry could also affect levels of repression and concessions including public goods provision and political reform.

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Supporting Appendix A: Our Dataset and Coding Criteria

This dataset codes eight forms of leader entry according to the following coding tree:

1. Did the ruling political regime choose the new leader or agree to the process for leader selection?

YES 1a. Was this decision a response to an unexpected political crisis brought on by regime opponents, such as an assassination, protest, or war?
YES Code as Forced Election/Selection. Leaders here should include those entering after assassinations, those appointed by the regime in response to protests, etc. but should not include leaders that were not explicitly chosen by the predecessor or the appropriate officials within the predecessor's ruling regime.
NO 1b. Was this the first transition between individual leaders within the predecessor's regime (unprecedented), or was the predecessor the most recent of multiple leaders to have served under the existing ruling order (unprecedented)?
PRECEDENTED Code as Regular Election/Selection. Leaders here should include those were (s)elected under long-established dominant party systems, successors in established hereditary monarchies, etc. This code should not be applied to leaders who took power in systems that did not have established patterns/norms of leader transition.
UNPRECEDENTED Code as First Regular Transition. This category encompasses the leaders who come to power within a regime that has not yet established precedented patterns for leader transition. The first leaders to succeed regime founders (e.g. Raul Castro) or those who come to power in a regime's first elections (e.g. Francois Duvalier) belong in this category.

NO 2. The new leader was forced upon the predecessor's government by:
A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT Code as Foreign Installation. Leaders belong in this category if foreign governments were the most important actors in the leader transition. Foreign support for rebel groups or coup plotters is not sufficient. Typically, the foreign role will be much greater in these cases (e.g. Castillo Armas in Guatemala, 1957 or Harmid Karzai in Afghanistan, 2001).
COUP CONSPIRATORS 2a. Did the coup plotters seek to replace the leader while mostly preserving existing regime norms and institutions?
YES Code as Reshuffle Coup. Sometimes called "shuffling coups," these are transitions in which conspirators put a new individual in charge of the existing order. These are less likely to bloody coups.
NO Code as Regime-Change Coup. These transitions occur when entire political regimes are removed and replaced. In addition to leader replacement, the successful coup plotters significantly change institutions and the nature of executive power in the country.
A MASS MOVEMENT 2 b . Did the movement achieve a military victory over the government?
YES Code as Successful Rebellion. This category should include only leaders who were chosen by successful rebels after a military campaign against the government. Leaders chosen by the ruling regime in response to an increasingly threatening rebellion should be coded as Irregular Election/Selection because the predecessor's government selected the new leader.
NO Code as Successful Protest. This category should include only leaders who were chosen by successful protesters/strikers after a non-militarized campaign against the government. Leaders chosen by the ruling regime in response to an increasingly threatening protest should be coded as Irregular Election/Selection because the predecessor's government selected the new leader.

This dataset codes eight forms of leader exit according to the following coding tree:

1. Did the leader die a natural death in office?

YES Code as Natural Death.
NO See Question 2.
2 Was the leader assassinated outside the context of a larger coup conspiracy or political conflict?
YES Code as Assassination. Note that killings that occur as a result of bloody coups or rebel victories should be coded elsewhere.

NO See Question 3.
3. Was the leader forced out by an immediate political crisis, or did the leader resign voluntarily?

RESIGNED Code as Voluntary Resignation. These usually occur with elections, successions, and abdications that are not immediate responses to major political crises.

FORCED 4. The leader was forced out primarily by:
A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT Code as Foreign Overthrow. Leaders belong in this category if foreign governments were the most important actors in the leader transition. Foreign support for rebel groups or coup plotters is not sufficient. Typically, the foreign role will be much greater in these cases (e.g. Hussein in Iraq, 2003).
COUP CONSPIRATORS 4a. Did the coup plotters seek to replace the leader while mostly preserving existing regime norms and institutions?
YES Code as Reshuffle Coup. Sometimes called "shuffling coups," these are transitions in which conspirators put a new individual in charge of the existing order. These are less likely to be bloody coups.
NO Code as Regime-Change Coup. These transitions occur when entire political regimes are removed and replaced. In addition to leader replacement, the successful coup plotters significantly change institutions and the nature of executive power in the country.
A MASS MOVEMENT 4b. Did the movement coerce the government through military force?
YES Code as Rebellion. This category should include only leaders who were forced out during a rebel campaign against the government.
NO Code as Protest. This category should include only leaders who were forced out by protesters/strikers after a non-militarized campaign against the government.
A LEGAL PROCESS Code as Legal Removal. Constitutional impeachments, involuntary removals by juntas or politburos (via legal deliberations rather than secretive coups), etc. qualify here. For these to not be counted as Voluntary Resignations, there needs to be strong evidence that the leader was removed by an unusual and legal process (i.e. not a Leader Coup) against her wishes.


| 91001 | 91 | 11 | 1954 Lozano Diaz |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 91002 | 91 | 10 | 1956 Hector Caraccioli |
| 91003 | 91 | 10 | 1963 Lopez Arellano |
| 91004 | 91 | 12 | 1972 Lopez Arellano |
| 91005 | 91 | 4 | 1975 Melgar Castro |
| 91006 | 91 | 8 | 1978 Paz Garcia |
| 92001 | 92 | 9 | 1950 Osorio |
| 92002 | 92 | 9 | 1956 Lemus |
| 92003 | 92 | 10 | 1960 Castillo |
| 92004 | 92 | 1 | 1961 Portillo |
| 92005 | 92 | 1 | 1962 Rodolfo Cordon |
| 92006 | 92 | 7 | 1962 Rivera |
| 92007 | 92 | 7 | 1967 Sanchez Hernandez |
| 92008 | 92 | 7 | 1972 Molina |
| 92009 | 92 | 7 | 1977 Romero Mena |
| 92010 | 92 | 10 | 1979 Majano Ramos |
| 92011 | 92 | 12 | 1980 Duarte |
| 92012 | 92 | 5 | 1982 Magana Borjo |
| 93001 | 93 | 9 | 1956 Luis Somoza Debayle |
| 93002 | 93 | 5 | 1963 Shick Gutierrez |
| 93003 | 93 | 8 | 1966 Guerrero Gutierrez |
| 93004 | 93 | 5 | 1967 Anastasio Somoza Debayle |
| 93005 | 93 | 7 | 1979 Daniel Ortega |
| 95001 | 95 | 5 | 1951 Arosomena, A. |
| 95002 | 95 | 10 | 1952 Remon Cantero |
| 95003 | 95 | 1 | 1955 Guizado |
| 95004 | 95 | 1 | 1955 Arias Espinosa |
| 95005 | 95 | 10 | 1956 Guardia Jr., E. |
| 95006 | 95 | 10 | 1968 Torrijos Herrera |
| 95007 | 95 | 7 | 1981 Florez Aguilar |
| 95008 | 95 | 3 | 1982 Dario Paredes |
| 95009 | 95 | 8 | 1983 Noriega |
| 100001 | 100 | 8 | 1950 Laureanco Gomez |
| 100002 | 100 | 11 | 1951 Roberto Urdaneta Arbelaez |
| 100003 | 100 | 6 | 1953 Rojas Pinillia |
| 100004 | 100 | 5 | 1957 Paris |
| 101001 | 101 | 11 | 1950 Perez Jimenez |
| 101002 | 101 | 3 | 2013 Nicolas Maduro |
| 110001 | 110 | 5 | 1966 Burnham |
| 110002 | 110 | 8 | 1985 Hoyte |
| 115001 | 115 | 11 | 1975 Ferrier |
| 115002 | 115 | 2 | 1980 Bouterse |
| 115003 | 115 | 12 | 1990 Kraag |
| 130001 | 130 | 7 | 1963 Castro |
| 130002 | 130 | 3 | 1966 Yerovi Indaburu |
| 130003 | 130 | 11 | 1966 Arosemena Gomez |
| 130004 | 130 | 2 | 1972 Rodriguez Lara |
| 130005 | 130 | 1 | 1976 Poveda Burbano |
| 135001 | 135 | 6 | 1950 Noriega |
| 135002 | 135 | 7 | 1950 Odria |
| 135003 | 135 | 7 | 1962 Perez Godoy |
| 135004 | 135 | 3 | 1963 Lindley Lopez |
| 135005 | 135 | 10 | 1968 Velasco Alvarado |
| 135006 | 135 | 8 | 1975 Morales Bermudez |
| 135007 | 135 | 11 | 2000 Valentin Paniagua |


| 1956 Regular Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1957 Regime-Change Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1971 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1975 Reshuffle Coup | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Removed by Military Power Struggle |
| 1978 Reshuffle Coup | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Removed by Military Power Struggle |
| 1982 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1956 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1960 Regular Election/Selection | Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| 1961 Reshuffle Coup | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| 1962 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1962 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1967 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1972 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1977 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1979 Regular Election/Selection | Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| 1980 Reshuffle Coup | Legal Removal | Irregular | Removed by Military Power Struggle |
| 1982 Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1984 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1963 Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1966 Regular Election/Selection | Natural Death | Irregular | Natural Death |
| 1967 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1979 Regular Election/Selection | Rebellion | Regular | Rebellion |
| 1990 Successful Rebellion | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1952 Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1955 Regular Election/Selection | Assassination | Regular | Assassination by Unsupported Individual |
| 1955 Forced Election/Selection | Legal Removal | Regular | Regular |
| 1956 Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1960 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1981 Regime-Change Coup | Natural Death | Irregular | Natural Death |
| 1982 Forced Election/Selection | Legal Removal | Irregular | Removed by Military Power Struggle |
| 1983 Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1990 First Election/Selection | Foreign Overthrow | Irregular | Foreign |
| 1951 Regular Election/Selection | Resignation, Health | Regular | Regular |
| 1953 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1957 Reshuffle Coup | Protest | Irregular | Removed by Military Power Struggle |
| 1958 Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1958 Forced Election/Selection | Protest | Irregular | Protest |
| First Election/Selection | Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| 1985 First Election/Selection | Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| 1992 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1980 First Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| 1988 Regime-Change Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1991 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1966 Regime-Change Coup | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Protest |
| 1966 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1968 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1976 Regime-Change Coup | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| 1979 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1950 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1956 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1963 Regime-Change Coup | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| 1963 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1975 Regime-Change Coup | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| 1980 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 2001 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |


| 140001 | 140 | 4 | 1964 Castello Branco |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 140002 | 140 | 3 | 1967 Costa de Silva |
| 140003 | 140 | 9 | 1969 Military Junta |
| 140004 | 140 | 10 | 1969 Medici |
| 140005 | 140 | 3 | 1974 Geisel |
| 140006 | 140 | 3 | 1979 Figueiredo |
| 145001 | 145 | 5 | 1951 Ballivian Rojas |
| 145002 | 145 | 4 | 1952 Paz Estenssoro |
| 145003 | 145 | 6 | 1956 Siles Zuazo |
| 145004 | 145 | 8 | 1960 Paz Estenssoro |
| 145005 | 145 | 11 | 1964 Barrientos Ortuna |
| 145006 | 145 | 1 | 1966 Ovando Candia |
| 145007 | 145 | 8 | 1966 Barrientos Ortuna |
| 145008 | 145 | 4 | 1969 Siles Salinas |
| 145009 | 145 | 9 | 1969 Ovando Candia |
| 145010 | 145 | 10 | 1970 Torres |
| 145011 | 145 | 8 | 1971 Banzer Suarez |
| 145012 | 145 | 7 | 1978 Pereda Asbun |
| 145013 | 145 | 11 | 1978 Padilla Aranciba |
| 145014 | 145 | 8 | 1979 Guevara Arze |
| 145015 | 145 | 11 | 1979 Natusch Busch |
| 145016 | 145 | 11 | 1979 Gueiler Tejada |
| 145017 | 145 | 7 | 1980 Garcia Meza Tejada |
| 145018 | 145 | 8 | 1981 Torrelio Villa |
| 145019 | 145 | 7 | 1982 Vildoso Calderon |
| 150001 | 150 | 5 | 1954 Pareira |
| 150002 | 150 | 7 | 1954 Stroessner |
| 150003 | 150 | 2 | 1989 Rodriguez Pedotti |
| 155001 | 155 | 9 | 1973 Pinochet |
| 160001 | 160 | 9 | 1955 Lonardi |
| 160002 | 160 | 11 | 1955 Aramburu |
| 160003 | 160 | 5 | 1958 Frondizi |
| 160004 | 160 | 3 | 1962 Guido |
| 160005 | 160 | 10 | 1963 Arturo Illia |
| 160006 | 160 | 6 | 1966 Ongania |
| 160007 | 160 | 6 | 1970 Lanusse |
| 160008 | 160 | 6 | 1970 Levingston |
| 160009 | 160 | 3 | 1971 Lanusse |
| 160010 | 160 | 3 | 1976 Videla |
| 160011 | 160 | 3 | 1981 Viola |
| 160012 | 160 | 11 | 1981 Liendo |
| 160013 | 160 | 12 | 1981 Galtieri |
| 160014 | 160 | 6 | 1982 Saint-Jean |
| 160015 | 160 | 7 | 1982 Bignone |
| 165001 | 165 | 6 | 1976 Demichelli |
| 165002 | 165 | 9 | 1976 Mendez Manfredini |
| 165003 | 165 | 9 | 1981 Alvarez Armalino |
| 221001 | 221 | 4 | 2005 Albert |
| 223001 | 223 | 11 | 1989 Hans-Adam II |
| 230001 | 230 | 11 | 1975 Juan Carlos |
| 230002 | 230 | 11 | 1975 Arias Navarro |
| 235001 | 235 | 9 | 1968 Caetano |
| 235002 | 235 | 4 | 1974 Spinola |
| 235003 | 235 | 9 | 1974 Costa Gomes |
| 265001 | 265 | 7 | 1950 Ulbricht |


| 1967 Regime-Change Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1969 First Election/Selection | Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Retired Due to III Health |
| 1969 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1974 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1979 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1985 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1952 Reshuffle Coup | Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Rebellion |
| 1956 Regime-Change Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1960 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1964 Regular Election/Selection | Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| 1966 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1966 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1969 Regular Election/Selection | Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| 1969 Regular Election/Selection | Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| 1970 Reshuffle Coup | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| 1971 Reshuffle Coup | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| 1978 Reshuffle Coup | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| 1978 Reshuffle Coup | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| 1979 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1979 Regular Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| 1979 Regime-Change Coup | Protest | Irregular | Regular |
| 1980 Forced Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Removed by Other Government Actors |
| 1981 Regime-Change Coup | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| 1982 Reshuffle Coup | Legal Removal | Irregular | Removed by Military Power Struggle |
| 1982 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1954 Regime-Change Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1989 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Military Coup |
| 1993 Regime-Change Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1990 Regime-Change Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1955 Regime-Change Coup | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| 1958 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1962 First Election/Selection | Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| 1963 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1966 First Election/Selection | Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| 1970 Reshuffle Coup | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| 1970 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1971 First Election/Selection | Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| 1973 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1981 Regime-Change Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1981 First Election/Selection | Resignation, Health | Regular | Retired Due to III Health |
| 1981 Regular Election/Selection | Legal Removal | Regular | Military Coup |
| 1982 Forced Election/Selection | Legal Removal | Irregular | Military Coup |
| 1982 Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1983 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1976 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Military Coup |
| 1981 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1985 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Regular Election/Selection | Still in Power | NA | NA |
| Regular Election/Selection | Still in Power | NA | NA |
| 1975 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1976 Regular Election/Selection | Legal Removal | Regular | Regular |
| 1974 First Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| 1974 Regime-Change Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1976 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1971 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |

981 Viola
981 Liendo
1982 Saint-Jean
982 Bignone
1976 Demichelli
976 Mendez Manfredini
981 Alvarez Armalino
2005 Albert
1989 Hans-Adam II
975 Arias Nas
968 Caetano
974 Costa Gomes

| 265002 | 265 | 5 | 1971 Honecker | 10 | 1989 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 265003 | 265 | 10 | 1989 Krenz | 12 | 1989 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 265004 | 265 | 12 | 1989 Gysi | 10 | 1990 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Foreign | 0 |
| 290001 | 290 | 3 | 1956 Ochab | 10 | 1956 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 290002 | 290 | 10 | 1956 Gomulka | 12 | 1970 Regular Election/Selection | Protest | Regular | Protest | 0 |
| 290003 | 290 | 12 | 1970 Gierek | 9 | 1980 Regular Election/Selection | Protest | Regular | Natural Death | 0 |
| 290004 | 290 | 9 | 1980 Kania | 10 | 1981 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 290005 | 290 | 10 | 1981 Jaruzelski | 12 | 1990 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 305001 | 305 | 4 | 1953 Raab | 4 | 1961 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 310001 | 310 | 7 | 1956 Gero | 10 | 1956 Forced Election/Selection | Foreign Overthrow | Irregular | Protest | 0 |
| 310002 | 310 | 10 | 1956 Nagy | 11 | 1956 Forced Election/Selection | Foreign Overthrow | Irregular | Foreign | 0 |
| 310003 | 310 | 11 | 1956 Kadar | 5 | 1988 Foreign Installation | Voluntary Resignation | Foreign | Regular | 0 |
| 310004 | 310 | 5 | 1988 Grosz | 10 | 1989 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 310005 | 310 | 10 | 1989 Szuros | 5 | 1990 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 315001 | 315 | 3 | 1953 Zapotocky | 11 | 1957 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Natural Death | 0 |
| 315002 | 315 | 11 | 1957 Novotny | 1 | 1968 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 315003 | 315 | 1 | 1968 Dubcek | 8 | 1968 Regular Election/Selection | Foreign Overthrow | Regular | Foreign | 0 |
| 315004 | 315 | 8 | 1968 Svoboda | 8 | 1968 Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Foreign | 1 |
| 315005 | 315 | 8 | 1968 Husak | 12 | 1989 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Foreign | Regular | 0 |
| 339001 | 339 | 4 | 1985 Alia | 4 | 1992 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 344001 | 344 | 5 | 1991 Tudjman | 11 | 1999 First Election/Selection | Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death | 0 |
| 344002 | 344 | 11 | 1999 Pavletic | 2 | 2000 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 344003 | 344 | 2 | 2000 Tomcic | 2 | 2000 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 344004 | 344 | 2 | 2000 Mesic | 11 | 2000 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 345001 | 345 | 5 | 1980 Kolisevski | 5 | 1980 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 345002 | 345 | 5 | 1980 Mijatovic | 5 | 1981 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 345003 | 345 | 5 | 1981 Kraigher | 5 | 1982 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 345004 | 345 | 5 | 1982 Stambolic | 5 | 1983 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 345005 | 345 | 5 | 1983 Spiljac | 5 | 1984 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 345006 | 345 | 5 | 1984 Djuranovic | 5 | 1985 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 345007 | 345 | 5 | 1985 Vlajkovic | 5 | 1986 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 345008 | 345 | 5 | 1986 Hasani | 5 | 1987 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 345009 | 345 | 5 | 1987 Mojsov | 5 | 1988 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 345010 | 345 | 5 | 1988 Dizarevic | 5 | 1989 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 345011 | 345 | 5 | 1989 Milosevic | 10 | 2000 Regular Election/Selection | Protest | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346001 | 346 | 12 | 1990 Izetbegovic | 10 | 1998 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346002 | 346 | 10 | 1998 Radisic | 6 | 1999 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346003 | 346 | 6 | 1999 Jelavic | 2 | 2000 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346004 | 346 | 2 | 2000 Izetbegovic | 10 | 2000 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Retired Due to III Health | 0 |
| 346005 | 346 | 10 | 2000 Radisic | 6 | 2001 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346006 | 346 | 6 | 2001 Krizanovic | 2 | 2002 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346007 | 346 | 2 | 2002 Belkic | 10 | 2002 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346008 | 346 | 10 | 2002 Sarovic | 4 | 2003 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346009 | 346 | 4 | 2003 Borislav Paravac | 6 | 2003 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 346010 | 346 | 6 | 2003 Dragan Covic | 2 | 2004 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346011 | 346 | 2 | 2004 Sulejman Tihic | 10 | 2004 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346012 | 346 | 10 | 2004 Borislav Paravac | 6 | 2005 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346013 | 346 | 6 | 2005 Miro Jovic | 2 | 2006 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346014 | 346 | 2 | 2006 Sulejman Tihic | 11 | 2006 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346015 | 346 | 11 | 2006 Radmanovic | 7 | 2007 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346016 | 346 | 7 | 2007 Zeljko Komsic | 3 | 2008 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346017 | 346 | 3 | 2008 Silajdzic | 11 | 2008 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346018 | 346 | 11 | 2008 Radmanovic | 7 | 2009 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346019 | 346 | 7 | 2009 Zeljko Komsic | 3 | 2010 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346020 | 346 | 3 | 2010 Silajdzic | 11 | 2010 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |


| 346021 | 346 | 11 | 2010 Radmanovic | 7 | 2011 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 346022 | 346 | 7 | 2011 Zeljko Komsic | 3 | 2012 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | NA | NA | 0 |
| 346023 | 346 | 3 | 2012 Izetbegovic | 11 | 2012 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | NA | NA | 0 |
| 346024 | 346 | 11 | 2012 Radmanovic | 7 | 2013 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | NA | NA | 0 |
| 346025 | 346 | 7 | 2013 Komsic | 3 | 2014 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346026 | 346 | 3 | 2014 Izetbegovic | 11 | 2014 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346027 | 346 | 11 | 2014 Ivanic | 7 | 2015 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 346028 | 346 | 7 | 2015 Covic | 3 | 2016 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Still in Office | 0 |
| 346029 | 346 | 3 | 2016 Izetbegovic |  | Regular Election/Selection | Still in Power | NA | NA | 0 |
| 347001 | 347 | 2 | 2008 Thaci | 12 | 2014 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 350001 | 350 | 4 | 1967 Kollias | 12 | 1967 Regime-Change Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 350002 | 350 | 12 | 1967 Papadopoulos | 11 | 1973 First Election/Selection | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 350003 | 350 | 11 | 1973 Ionannides | 7 | 1974 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular | 0 |
| 352001 | 352 | 8 | 1960 Makarios | 7 | 1974 First Election/Selection | Foreign Overthrow | Regular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 352002 | 352 | 7 | 1974 Sampson | 7 | 1974 Foreign Installation | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Irregular, Other | 1 |
| 352003 | 352 | 7 | 1974 Clerides | 12 | 1974 Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 352004 | 352 | 12 | 1974 Makarios | 8 | 1977 Regular Election/Selection | Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death | 0 |
| 352005 | 352 | 8 | 1977 Kyprianou | 2 | 1988 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 352006 | 352 | 2 | 1988 Vassiliou | 2 | 1993 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 352007 | 352 | 2 | 1993 Clerides | 2 | 2003 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 352008 | 352 | 2 | 2003 Tassos Nikolaou Papadopoulos | 2 | 2008 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 352009 | 352 | 2 | 2008 Dimitris Christofias | 2 | 2013 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 352010 | 352 | 2 | 2013 Nikos Anastasiadis |  | Regular Election/Selection | Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office | 0 |
| 355001 | 355 | 2 | 1950 Chervenkov | 4 | 1956 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 355002 | 355 | 4 | 1956 Zhivkov | 11 | 1989 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 355003 | 355 | 11 | 1989 Mladenov | 7 | 1990 Regular Election/Selection | Protest | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 355004 | 355 | 7 | 1990 Lukanov | 12 | 1990 Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 360001 | 360 | 3 | 1965 Ceausescu | 12 | 1989 First Election/Selection | Protest | Irregular | Protest | 0 |
| 360002 | 360 | 12 | 1989 Roman | 10 | 1991 Successful Protest | Protest | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 365001 | 365 | 3 | 1953 Malenkov | 3 | 1953 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 365002 | 365 | 3 | 1953 Khrushchev | 10 | 1964 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 365003 | 365 | 10 | 1964 Brezhnev | 11 | 1982 Regular Election/Selection | Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death | 0 |
| 365004 | 365 | 11 | 1982 Andropov | 2 | 1984 Regular Election/Selection | Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death | 0 |
| 365005 | 365 | 2 | 1984 Chernenko | 3 | 1985 Regular Election/Selection | Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death | 0 |
| 365006 | 365 | 3 | 1985 Gorbachev | 8 | 1991 Regular Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 365007 | 365 | 1 | 2000 Putin |  | Regular Election/Selection | Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office | 0 |
| 370001 | 370 | 9 | 1991 Shushkevich | 1 | 1994 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 370002 | 370 | 1 | 1994 Hryb | 7 | 1994 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 370003 | 370 | 7 | 1994 Lukashenko |  | Regular Election/Selection | Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office | 0 |
| 371001 | 371 | 10 | 1991 Ter-Petrosyan | 2 | 1998 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 372001 | 372 | 4 | 1991 Gamsakhurdia | 1 | 1992 First Election/Selection | Rebellion | Regular | Rebellion | 0 |
| 372002 | 372 | 1 | 1992 loseliani | 3 | 1992 Successful Rebellion | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular | 1 |
| 372003 | 372 | 3 | 1992 Shevardnadze | 11 | 2003 First Election/Selection | Protest | Regular | Protest | 0 |
| 372004 | 372 | 11 | 2003 Burdjanadze | 1 | 2004 Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 373001 | 373 | 9 | 1991 Mutalibov | 3 | 1992 First Election/Selection | Protest | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 373002 | 373 | 3 | 1992 Mamedov | 5 | 1992 Forced Election/Selection | Rebellion | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 373003 | 373 | 6 | 1993 H. Aliyev | 8 | 2003 Forced Election/Selection | Resignation, Health | Regular | Retired Due to III Health | 0 |
| 373004 | 373 | 8 | 2003 Ilhma Aliyev |  | First Election/Selection | Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office | 0 |
| 402001 | 402 | 7 | 1975 Pires | 4 | 1991 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 403001 | 403 | 6 | 1975 da Costa | 3 | 1991 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | NA | NA | 0 |
| 404001 | 404 | 9 | 1974 Cabral | 11 | 1980 Successful Rebellion | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 404002 | 404 | 11 | 1980 Vieira | 5 | 1999 Reshuffle Coup | Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 404003 | 404 | 5 | 1999 Mane | 5 | 1999 Regime-Change Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular | 1 |
| 404004 | 404 | 5 | 1999 Sanha | 2 | 2000 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular | 0 |
| 404005 | 404 | 9 | 2003 Henrique Pereira Rosa | 10 | 2005 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |


| 404006 | 404 | 3 | 2009 Raimundo Perreira |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 404007 | 404 | 9 | 2009 Sanha |
| 404008 | 404 | 1 | 2012 Pereira |
| 404009 | 404 | 4 | 2012 Kuruma |
| 404010 | 404 | 5 | 2012 Nhamadjo |
| 411001 | 411 | 8 | 1979 Nguema Mbasogo |
| 420001 | 420 | 2 | 1965 Jawara |
| 420002 | 420 | 7 | 1994 Jammeh |
| 432001 | 432 | 9 | 1960 Keita |
| 432002 | 432 | 11 | 1968 Traore |
| 432003 | 432 | 3 | 1991 Amadou Toure |
| 432004 | 432 | 3 | 2012 Sanogo |
| 432005 | 432 | 4 | 2012 Traore |
| 433001 | 433 | 8 | 1960 Senghor |
| 433002 | 433 | 1 | 1981 Diouf |
| 434001 | 434 | 1 | 1960 Maga |
| 434002 | 434 | 10 | 1963 Soglo |
| 434003 | 434 | 1 | 1964 Apithy |
| 434004 | 434 | 11 | 1965 Congacou |
| 434005 | 434 | 12 | 1965 Soglo |
| 434006 | 434 | 12 | 1967 Alley |
| 434007 | 434 | 8 | 1968 Zinsou |
| 434008 | 434 | 12 | 1969 Paul-Emile de Souza |
| 434009 | 434 | 5 | 1970 Maga |
| 434010 | 434 | 4 | 1972 Ahomadegbe |
| 434011 | 434 | 10 | 1972 Kerekou |
| 435001 | 435 | 11 | 1960 Ould Daddah |
| 435002 | 435 | 7 | 1978 Ould Mohamed Salek |
| 435003 | 435 | 4 | 1979 Ould Bouceif |
| 435004 | 435 | 6 | 1979 Ould Ahmed Louly |
| 435005 | 435 | 1 | 1980 Ould Haidalla |
| 435006 | 435 | 12 | 1984 Sidi Ahmed Taya |
| 435007 | 435 | 8 | 2005 Ould Mohamed Vall |
| 435008 | 435 | 8 | 2008 Ould Abdel Aziz |
| 435009 | 435 | 4 | 2009 dit M'Bare |
| 435010 | 435 | 8 | 2009 Ould Abdel Aziz |
| 436001 | 436 | 10 | 1960 Diori |
| 436002 | 436 | 4 | 1974 Kountche |
| 436003 | 436 | 11 | 1987 Seibou |
| 436004 | 436 | 1 | 1996 Mainassara |
| 436005 | 436 | 4 | 1999 Wanke |
| 436006 | 436 | 2 | 2010 Djibo |
| 437001 | 437 | 8 | 1960 Houphouet-Boigny |
| 437002 | 437 | 12 | 1993 Konan Bedie |
| 437003 | 437 | 12 | 1999 Guei |
| 437004 | 437 | 10 | 2000 Laurent Gbagbo |
| 438001 | 438 | 10 | 1958 Toure |
| 438002 | 438 | 3 | 1984 Beavogui |
| 438003 | 438 | 4 | 1984 Conte |
| 438004 | 438 | 12 | 2008 Dadis Camara |
| 438005 | 438 | 12 | 2009 Sekouba Konate |
| 439001 | 439 | 8 | 1960 Yameogo |
| 439002 | 439 | 1 | 1966 Lamizana |
| 439003 | 439 | 11 | 1980 Zerbo |
| 439004 | 439 | 11 | 1982 J. P. Ouedraogo |

2009 Regular Election/Selection 2012 Regular Election/Selection 012 Regular Election/Selectio 2012 Reshuffle Coup 2014 First Election/Selection Reshuffle Coup 1994 First Election/Selection Regime-Change Coup 968 First Election/Selection 991 Regime-Change Coup 1992 Regime-Change Coup 2012 Regime-Change Coup 2013 First Election/Selection 980 First Election/Selection 2000 Regular Election/Selection 1963 First Election/Selection 1964 Regime-Change Coup 1965 First Election/Selection 1965 Reshuffle Coup 967 Reshuffle Coup 968 Regime-Change Coup 969 First Election/Soup 969 First Election/Se 1970 Reshuffle Coup 972 First Election/Selectio 1991 Regime-Change Coup崖 979 Resime-Change Coup 1979 Regime-Change Coup 1979 First Election/Selection 980 Regular Election/Selection 1984 Reshuffle Coup 005 Reshuffle Coup 2007 Regime-Change Coup 2009 Regime-Change Coup 2009 First Election/Selection Regular Election/Selection 1974 First Election/Selection 1987 Regime-Change Coup 1993 First Election/Selection 1999 Regime-Change Coup 1999 Regime-Change Coup 2011 Regime-Change Coup 993 First Election/Selectio 999 First Election/Selection 2000 Regime-Change Coup 2011 Forsed Election/Selection 184 First Election/Selection 984 First Eletion/Sectio 2008 Regime-Change Coup 009 Regime-Change Coup 010 Forced Election/Selection 966 First Election/Selectio 980 Regime-Change Coup 982 Regime-Change Coup 1983 Regime-Change Coup

| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| Still in Power | Irregular | Still in Office |
| Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Legal Removal | Irregular | Regular |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| Legal Removal | Irregular | Removed by Military Power Struggle |
| Natural Death | Irregular | Natural Death |
| Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Removed by Military Power Struggle |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| Natural Death | Irregular | Natural Death |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| Protest | Irregular | Protest |
| Rebellion | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Natural Death | Irregular | Natural Death |
| Resignation, Health | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |


| 439005 | 439 | 8 | 1983 Sankara |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 439006 | 439 | 10 | 1987 Campaore |
| 439007 | 439 | 11 | 2014 Zida |
| 439008 | 439 | 11 | 2014 Kafando |
| 450001 | 450 | 7 | 1971 Tolbert |
| 450002 | 450 | 4 | 1980 Doe |
| 450003 | 450 | 11 | 1990 Sawyer |
| 450004 | 450 | 3 | 1994 Kpormapkor |
| 450005 | 450 | 9 | 1995 Sankawulo |
| 450006 | 450 | 9 | 1996 Perry |
| 450007 | 450 | 8 | 1997 Taylor |
| 450008 | 450 | 8 | 2003 Moses Zeh Blah |
| 450009 | 450 | 10 | 2003 Bryant |
| 451001 | 451 | 3 | 1967 Juxon-Smith |
| 451002 | 451 | 4 | 1968 Stevens |
| 451003 | 451 | 11 | 1985 Momoh |
| 451004 | 451 | 5 | 1992 Strasser |
| 451005 | 451 | 1 | 1996 Bio |
| 451006 | 451 | 5 | 1997 Koroma |
| 452001 | 452 | 2 | 1966 Ankrah |
| 452002 | 452 | 4 | 1969 Afrifa |
| 452003 | 452 | 9 | 1969 Busia |
| 452004 | 452 | 1 | 1972 Acheampong |
| 452005 | 452 | 7 | 1978 Akuffo |
| 452006 | 452 | 6 | 1979 Rawlings |
| 452007 | 452 | 12 | 1981 Rawlings |
| 461001 | 461 | 1 | 1963 Grunitzky |
| 461002 | 461 | 1 | 1967 Dadjo |
| 461003 | 461 | 4 | 1967 Eyadema |
| 461004 | 461 | 2 | 2005 Faure Gnassingbe |
| 461005 | 461 | 2 | 2005 Bonfoh |
| 461006 | 461 | 5 | 2005 Faure Gnassingbe |
| 471001 | 471 | 1 | 1960 Ahidjo |
| 471002 | 471 | 11 | 1982 Biya |
| 475001 | 475 | 1 | 1966 Ironsi |
| 475002 | 475 | 7 | 1966 Gowon |
| 475003 | 475 | 7 | 1975 Ramat Mohammed |
| 475004 | 475 | 2 | 1976 Obasanjo |
| 475005 | 475 | 12 | 1983 Buhari |
| 475006 | 475 | 8 | 1985 Babangida |
| 475007 | 475 | 8 | 1993 Shonekan |
| 475008 | 475 | 11 | 1993 Abacha |
| 475009 | 475 | 6 | 1998 Abubakar |
| 481001 | 481 | 8 | 1960 Mba |
| 481002 | 481 | 11 | 1967 Bongo |
| 481003 | 481 | 6 | 2009 Rogombe |
| 481004 | 481 | 10 | 2009 Ondimba |
| 482001 | 482 | 8 | 1960 Dacko |
| 482002 | 482 | 1 | 1966 Bokassa |
| 482003 | 482 | 9 | 1979 Dacko |
| 482004 | 482 | 9 | 1981 Kolingba |
| 482005 | 482 | 3 | 2003 Francois Bozize |
| 482006 | 482 | 3 | 2013 Djotidia |
| 482007 | 482 | 1 | 2014 Nguendet |
| 482008 | 482 | 1 | 2014 Samba-Panza |

1987 Reshuffle Coup
2014 Regime-Change Coup
2014 Regime-Change Coup
2015 First Election Selection
1980 Regular Election/Selection 1990 Regime-Change Coup 1994 Foreign Installation 1995 First Election/Selection 1996 Regular Election/Selection 997 Regular Election/Selection 003 Regular Election/Selection 2003 Forced Election/Selection 2006 First Election/Selection 1968 Regime-Change Coup 1985 Regime-Change Coup 992 First Election/Selection 1996 Regime-Change Coup 1996 Reshuffle Coup 1998 Regime-Change Coup 1969 Regime-Change Coup 969 First Election/Selection 1972 Regular Election/Selection 1978 Regime-Change Coup 979 Reshuffle Coup Tesur Coup 1979 Regime-Change Coup 001 Regime-Change Coup 1967 Reshuffle Coup
1967 Reshuffle Coup
2005 First Election/Selection 2005 Regular Election/Selection 005 Regular Election/Selection Regular Election/Selectio 1982 First Election/Selection Regular Election/Selection 966 Regime-Change Coup 1975 Reshuffle Coup 1976 Reshuffle Coup 1979 Forced Election/Selection 1985 Regime-Change Coup 1993 Reshuffle Coup 993 First Election/Selection 1998 Reshuffle Coup 1999 First Election/Selection 967 First Election/Selectio 009 Regular Election/Sele 009 Relelio Regular Election/Selection Regular Election/Selectio 1979 Regime-Change Coup 81 Forein Intallation 981 Foreign Installation Regime-Change Coup 2013 Successful Rebellion 2014 Successful Rebellion 2014 First Election/Selection 2016 Regular Election/Selection

| Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| Rebellion | Irregular | Rebellion |
| Voluntary Resignation | Foreign | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Rebellion | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Foreign Overthrow | Irregular | Foreign |
| Legal Removal | Irregular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Removed by Military Power Struggle |
| Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Removed by Military Power Struggle |
| Natural Death | Irregular | Natural Death |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Retired Due to III Health |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Assassination | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Natural Death | Irregular | Natural Death |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Natural Death | Regular | Irregular, Other |
| Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| Foreign Overthrow | Irregular | Foreign |
| Regime-Change Coup | Foreign | Military Coup |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Rebellion | Regular | Rebellion |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Still in Office |


| 483001 | 483 | 8 | 1960 Tombalbaye |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | :--- |
| 483002 | 483 | 4 | 1975 Malloum |
| 483003 | 483 | 3 | 1979 Oueddei |
| 483004 | 483 | 6 | 1982 Habre |
| 483005 | 483 | 12 | 1990 Deby |
| 484001 | 484 | 8 | 1960 Youlou |
| 484002 | 484 | 8 | 1963 Debat |
| 484003 | 484 | 9 | 1968 Raoul |
| 484004 | 484 | 1 | 1969 Ngouabi |
| 484005 | 484 | 3 | 1977 Opango |
| 484006 | 484 | 2 | 1979 Nguesso |
| 484007 | 484 | 10 | 1997 Nguesso |
| 490001 | 490 | 9 | 1960 Kasavubu |
| 490002 | 490 | 11 | 1965 Mobutu |
| 490003 | 490 | 5 | 1997 Laurent Kabila |
| 490004 | 490 | 1 | 2001 Joseph Kabila |
| 500001 | 500 | 10 | 1962 Obote |
| 500002 | 500 | 1 | 1971 Amin |
| 500003 | 500 | 4 | 1979 Yusuf Lule |
| 500004 | 500 | 6 | 1979 Binaisa |
| 500005 | 500 | 5 | 1980 Paulo Muwanga |
| 500006 | 500 | 12 | 1980 Obote |
| 500007 | 500 | 7 | 1985 Okello |
| 500008 | 500 | 1 | 1986 Museveni |
| 501001 | 501 | 12 | 1963 Kenyatta |
| 501002 | 501 | 8 | 1978 Moi |
| 510001 | 510 | 11 | 1961 Nyerere |
| 510002 | 510 | 11 | 1985 Mwinyi |
| 510003 | 510 | 11 | 1995 Mkapa |
| 510004 | 510 | 12 | 2005 Kikwete |
| 510005 | 510 | 11 | 2015 Magufuli |
| 516001 | 516 | 7 | 1962 Mwambutsa |
| 516002 | 516 | 7 | 1966 Ntare |
| 516003 | 516 | 11 | 1966 Micombero |
| 516004 | 516 | 11 | 1976 Bagaza |
| 516005 | 516 | 9 | 1987 Buyoya |
| 516006 | 516 | 7 | 1996 Buyoya |
| 516007 | 516 | 4 | 2003 Ndayizeye |
| 517001 | 517 | 10 | 1961 Kayibanda |
| 517002 | 517 | 7 | 1973 Habyarimana |
| 517003 | 517 | 4 | 1994 Sindikubwabo |
| 517004 | 517 | 7 | 1994 Paul Kagame |
| 520001 | 520 | 10 | 1969 Siad Barre |
| 522001 | 522 | 6 | 1977 Gouled Aptidon |
| 522002 | 522 | 5 | 1999 Guelleh |
| 530001 | 530 | 9 | 1974 Andom |
| 530002 | 530 | 11 | 1974 Banti |
| 530003 | 530 | 2 | 1977 Mengistu Marriam |
| 530004 | 530 | 5 | 1991 Gebre Kidan |
| 530005 | 530 | 5 | 1991 Meles Zenawi |
| 530006 | 530 | 8 | 2012 Desalegn |
| 531001 | 531 | 5 | 1993 Afeworki |
| 540001 | 540 | 11 | 1975 Neto |
| 540002 | 540 | 9 | 1979 Dos Santos |
| 541001 | 541 | 6 | 1975 Machel |
|  |  |  |  |


| 1975 | First Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Regular |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | Military Coup


| 541002 | 541 | 11 | 1986 Chissano | 2 | 2005 | First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 541003 | 541 | 2 | 2005 Guebuza | 1 | 2015 | Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 541004 | 541 | 1 | 2015 Nyussi |  |  | Regular Election/Selection | Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office | 0 |
| 551001 | 551 | 10 | 1964 Kaunda | 11 | 1991 | First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 551002 | 551 | 1 | 2002 Levy Mwanawasa | 8 | 2008 | First Election/Selection | Natural Death | Regular | Retired Due to III Health | 0 |
| 551003 | 551 | 8 | 2008 Banda | 9 | 2011 | Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 552001 | 552 | 11 | 1965 Smith | 5 | 1979 | Regular Election/Selection | Rebellion | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 552002 | 552 | 5 | 1979 Muzorewa | 12 | 1979 | Successful Rebellion | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 552003 | 552 | 3 | 1980 Mugabe |  |  | First Election/Selection | Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office | 0 |
| 553001 | 553 | 7 | 1964 Banda | 5 | 1994 | First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 560001 | 560 | 12 | 1954 Strijdom | 8 | 1958 | Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Natural Death | 0 |
| 560002 | 560 | 8 | 1958 Swart | 9 | 1958 | Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 560003 | 560 | 9 | 1958 Verwoerd | 9 | 1966 | Regular Election/Selection | Assassination | Regular | Assassination by Unsupported Individual | 0 |
| 560004 | 560 | 9 | 1966 Donges | 9 | 1966 | Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 560005 | 560 | 9 | 1966 Vorster | 9 | 1978 | Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 560006 | 560 | 9 | 1978 Botha | 1 | 1989 | Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 560007 | 560 | 1 | 1989 Heunis | , | 1989 | Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 560008 | 560 | 3 | 1989 Botha | 8 | 1989 | Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 560009 | 560 | 8 | 1989 deKlerk | 5 | 1994 | Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 565001 | 565 | 3 | 1990 Nujoma | 3 | 2005 | Successful Rebellion | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 565002 | 565 | 3 | 2005 Pohamba | 3 | 2015 | First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 565003 | 565 | 3 | 2015 Geingob |  |  | Regular Election/Selection | Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office | 0 |
| 570001 | 570 | 1 | 1986 Lekhanya | 5 | 1991 | Regime-Change Coup | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 570002 | 570 | 5 | 1991 Ramaema | 4 | 1993 | Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular | 0 |
| 571001 | 571 | 9 | 1966 Khama | 7 | 1980 | First Election/Selection | Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death | 0 |
| 571002 | 571 | 7 | 1980 Masire | 3 | 1998 | Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 571003 | 571 | 3 | 1998 Mogae | 3 | 2008 | Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 571004 | 571 | 3 | 2008 Ian Khama |  |  | Regular Election/Selection | Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office | 0 |
| 572001 | 572 | 9 | 1968 Subhuza II | 8 | 1982 | First Election/Selection | Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death | 0 |
| 572002 | 572 | 8 | 1982 Dzeliwe Shongwe | 8 | 1983 | Regular Election/Selection | Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Removed by Other Government Actors | 1 |
| 572003 | 572 | 8 | 1983 Ntombe Thwala | 4 | 1986 | Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 572004 | 572 | 4 | 1986 Mswati |  |  | First Election/Selection | Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office | 0 |
| 580001 | 580 | 6 | 1960 Tsiranana | 10 | 1972 | First Election/Selection | Protest | Regular | Protest | 0 |
| 580002 | 580 | 10 | 1972 Ramanantsoa | 2 | 1975 | Forced Election/Selection | Legal Removal | Irregular | Removed by Military Power Struggle | 0 |
| 580003 | 580 | 2 | 1975 Ratsimandrava | 2 | 1975 | Forced Election/Selection | Assassination | Irregular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 580004 | 580 | 2 | 1975 Gilles Andriamahazo | 6 | 1975 | Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular | 1 |
| 580005 | 580 | 6 | 1975 Ratsiraka | 3 | 1993 | First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 580006 | 580 | 3 | 2009 Rajoelina | 1 | 2014 | Regime-Change Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular | 0 |
| 581001 | 581 | 7 | 1975 Abdallah | 8 | 1975 | First Election/Selection | Foreign Overthrow | Irregular | Rebellion | 0 |
| 581002 | 581 | 8 | 1975 Soilih | 5 | 1978 | Foreign Installation | Foreign Overthrow | Irregular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 581003 | 581 | 5 | 1978 Bob Denard | 12 | 1989 | Foreign Installation | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Removed by Other Government Actors | 0 |
| 581004 | 581 | 12 | 1989 Djohar | 9 | 1995 | Forced Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 581005 | 581 | 9 | 1995 Bob Denard | 10 | 1995 | Regime-Change Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Foreign | 1 |
| 581006 | 581 | 10 | 1995 el-Yachroutu | 1 | 1996 | First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 581007 | 581 | 1 | 1996 Djohar | 3 | 1996 | Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 581008 | 581 | 3 | 1996 Abdoulkarim | 11 | 1998 | First Election/Selection | Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death | 0 |
| 581009 | 581 | 11 | 1998 Massounde | 4 | 1999 | Regular Election/Selection | Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 581010 | 581 | 4 | 1999 Azali Assoumani | 1 | 2002 | Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular | 0 |
| 581011 | 581 | 1 | 2002 Hamada Madi | 5 | 2002 | First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 581012 | 581 | 5 | 2002 Azali Assoumani | 5 | 2006 | Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 591001 | 591 | 4 | 2004 Michel |  |  | Regular Election/Selection | Still in Power | NA | NA | 0 |
| 600001 | 600 | 3 | 1956 Mohammed V | 2 | 1961 | First Election/Selection | Natural Death | Irregular | Natural Death |  |
| 600002 | 600 | 2 | 1961 Hassan II | 7 | 1999 | Regular Election/Selection | Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death | 0 |
| 600003 | 600 | 7 | 1999 Muhammad VI |  |  | Regular Election/Selection | Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office | 0 |
| 615001 | 615 | 7 | 1962 Ben Khedda | 9 | 1962 | First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |


| 615002 | 615 | 9 | 1962 Bella | 6 | 1965 Regular Election/Selection | Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Military Coup | 0 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 615003 | 615 | 6 | 1965 Boumedienne | 12 | 1978 Reshuffle Coup | Natural Death | Irregular | Natural Death | 0 |
| 615004 | 615 | 12 | 1978 Bitat | 2 | 1979 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 615005 | 615 | 2 | 1979 Benjedid | 1 | 1992 Regular Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 615006 | 615 | 1 | 1992 Boudiaf | 6 | 1992 Regime-Change Coup | Assassination | Irregular | Rebellion | 0 |
| 615007 | 615 | 7 | 1992 Kafi | 1 | 1994 Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 615008 | 615 | 1 | 1994 Zeroual | 4 | 1999 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 615009 | 615 | 4 | 1999 Bouteflika |  | Regular Election/Selection | Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office | 0 |
| 616001 | 616 | 2 | 1956 Muhammad al-Amin | 7 | 1957 First Election/Selection | Legal Removal | Regular | Removed by Other Government Actors | 0 |
| 616002 | 616 | 7 | 1957 Ben Ali Bourguiba | 11 | 1987 Forced Election/Selection | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Removed by Other Government Actors | 0 |
| 616003 | 616 | 11 | 1987 Zine Al-Abidine Ben Ali | 1 | 2011 Reshuffle Coup | Protest | Irregular | Protest | 0 |
| 616004 | 616 | 1 | 2011 Mebazaa | 12 | 2011 Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 616005 | 616 | 12 | 2011 Marzouki | 12 | 2014 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 620001 | 620 | 12 | 1951 Idris | 9 | 1969 First Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 620002 | 620 | 9 | 1969 Qaddafi | 8 | 2011 Regime-Change Coup | Foreign Overthrow | Irregular | Rebellion | 0 |
| 625001 | 625 | 11 | 1958 Abboud | 11 | 1964 Regime-Change Coup | Protest | Irregular | Protest | 0 |
| 625002 | 625 | 11 | 1964 al-Khalifa | 6 | 1965 Successful Protest | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular | 0 |
| 625003 | 625 | 5 | 1969 Nimeiri | 4 | 1985 Regime-Change Coup | Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 625004 | 625 | 4 | 1985 Abdul Rahman Swaredahab | 5 | 1986 Regime-Change Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular | 0 |
| 625005 | 625 | 6 | 1989 Al-Bashir |  | Regime-Change Coup | Still in Power | Irregular | Still in Office | 0 |
| 626001 | 626 | 7 | 2011 Kiir |  | Forced Election/Selection | Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office | 0 |
| 630001 | 630 | 4 | 1951 Mohammad Mossadeg | 8 | 1953 First Election/Selection | Foreign Overthrow | Irregular | Removed by Other Government Actors | 0 |
| 630002 | 630 | 8 | 1953 Mohammad Reza | 1 | 1979 Foreign Installation | Protest | Irregular | Protest | 0 |
| 630003 | 630 | 2 | 1979 Ayatollah Khomeini | 6 | 1989 Successful Protest | Natural Death | Irregular | Natural Death | 1 |
| 630004 | 630 | 6 | 1989 Khamenei | 8 | 1989 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 1 |
| 630005 | 630 | 8 | 1989 Rafsanjani | 8 | 1997 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 630006 | 630 | 8 | 1997 Khatami | 8 | 2005 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 630007 | 630 | 8 | 2005 Ahmadinejad | 8 | 2013 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 630008 | 630 | 8 | 2013 Rouhani |  | Regular Election/Selection | Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office | 0 |
| 640001 | 640 | 5 | 1960 Gursel | 11 | 1961 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular | 0 |
| 640002 | 640 | 9 | 1980 Evren | 11 | 1983 Regime-Change Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular | 0 |
| 645001 | 645 | 5 | 1953 Faisal II | 7 | 1958 Regular Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 645002 | 645 | 7 | 1958 Karrim Kassem | 2 | 1963 Regime-Change Coup | Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 645003 | 645 | 2 | 1963 Salem Aref | 4 | 1966 Regime-Change Coup | Natural Death | Irregular | Natural Death | 0 |
| 645004 | 645 | 4 | 1966 Rahmen Aref | 7 | 1968 First Election/Selection | Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 645005 | 645 | 7 | 1968 Hassan Al-Bakr | 7 | 1979 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular | 1 |
| 645006 | 645 | 7 | 1979 Saddam Hussein | 4 | 2003 Regular Election/Selection | Foreign Overthrow | Regular | Foreign | 0 |
| 645007 | 645 | 4 | 2003 Tommy Ray Franks | 4 | 2003 Foreign Installation | Voluntary Resignation | Foreign | Regular | 1 |
| 645008 | 645 | 4 | 2003 Jay Garner | 5 | 2003 Foreign Installation | Voluntary Resignation | Foreign | Regular | 1 |
| 645009 | 645 | 5 | 2003 Paul Bremer | 6 | 2004 Foreign Installation | Voluntary Resignation | Foreign | Regular | 0 |
| 645010 | 645 | 6 | 2004 Iyad Allawi | 5 | 2005 Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 645011 | 645 | 5 | 2005 al-Jaafari | 5 | 2006 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 645012 | 645 | 5 | 2006 al-Maliki | 9 | 2014 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 651001 | 651 | 7 | 1952 Naguib | 11 | 1954 Regime-Change Coup | Legal Removal | Irregular | Regular | 0 |
| 651002 | 651 | 11 | 1954 Nasser | 9 | 1970 Forced Election/Selection | Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death | 0 |
| 651003 | 651 | 9 | 1970 Sadat | 10 | 1981 First Election/Selection | Assassination | Regular | Irregular, Other | 0 |
| 651004 | 651 | 10 | 1981 Mubarak | 2 | 2011 Forced Election/Selection | Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Protest | 0 |
| 651005 | 651 | 2 | 2011 Tantawi | 6 | 2012 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular | 0 |
| 651006 | 651 | 7 | 2013 Mansour | 6 | 2014 First Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Regular | 0 |
| 651007 | 651 | 6 | 2014 al-Sisi |  | Regime-Change Coup | Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office | 0 |
| 652001 | 652 | 2 | 1958 Nasser (president of UAR) | 9 | 1961 First Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 652002 | 652 | 9 | 1961 Al-kuzbari | 12 | 1961 Regime-Change Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular | 1 |
| 652003 | 652 | 12 | 1961 El-Kudsi | 3 | 1962 First Election/Selection | Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Military Coup | 0 |
| 652004 | 652 | 3 | 1962 Zahreddin | 4 | 1962 Reshuffle Coup | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Regular | 0 |
| 652005 | 652 | 4 | 1962 El-Kudsi | 3 | 1963 Reshuffle Coup | Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup | 0 |


| 652006 | 652 | 3 | 1963 Atassi, L. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 652007 | 652 | 7 | 1963 Al-Hafiz |
| 652008 | 652 | 2 | 1966 El-Atassi, N. |
| 652009 | 652 | 11 | 1970 Al-Khatib |
| 652010 | 652 | 2 | 1971 Al-Assad H. |
| 652011 | 652 | 6 | 2000 Bashar al-Assad |
| 660001 | 660 | 9 | 1976 Sarkis |
| 660002 | 660 | 9 | 1982 Gemayel, Amin |
| 660003 | 660 | 9 | 1988 Aoun |
| 660004 | 660 | 11 | 1989 Moawad |
| 660005 | 660 | 11 | 1989 Elias Hrawi |
| 660006 | 660 | 11 | 1998 Emile Lahoud |
| 663001 | 663 | 7 | 1951 Abdullah El-Hashim |
| 663002 | 663 | 9 | 1951 Ibn Abdullah-Hashim |
| 663003 | 663 | 8 | 1952 Hussein Ibn Talal El-Hashim |
| 663004 | 663 | 2 | 1999 Abdullah Ibn Hussein El-Hashimi |
| 670001 | 670 | 11 | 1953 Saud |
| 670002 | 670 | 11 | 1964 Faisal |
| 670003 | 670 | 3 | 1975 Khalid |
| 670004 | 670 | 6 | 1982 Fahd |
| 670005 | 670 | 1 | 1996 Abdullah |
| 670006 | 670 | 1 | 2015 Salman |
| 678001 | 678 | 9 | 1962 Al-Badr |
| 678002 | 678 | 9 | 1962 AL-Sallal |
| 678003 | 678 | 11 | 1967 Al-Iryani |
| 678004 | 678 | 6 | 1974 Al-Hamadi |
| 678005 | 678 | 10 | 1977 Al-Ghashmi |
| 678006 | 678 | 7 | 1978 Saleh al-Hashidi |
| 679001 | 679 | 5 | 1990 Saleh al-Hashidi |
| 679002 | 679 | 2 | 2012 Hadi |
| 679003 | 679 | 2 | 2015 Houthi |
| 680001 | 680 | 11 | 1967 Al-Shaabi |
| 680002 | 680 | 6 | 1969 Ali Rubayyi |
| 680003 | 680 | 6 | 1978 Ali Nassir Hassani |
| 680004 | 680 | 12 | 1978 Ismail |
| 680005 | 680 | 4 | 1980 Ali Nassir Hassani |
| 680006 | 680 | 1 | 1986 Attas |
| 690001 | 690 | 1 | 1950 Abdullah As-Sabah |
| 690002 | 690 | 11 | 1965 Sabah As-Sabah |
| 690003 | 690 | 1 | 1978 Jabir As-Sabah |
| 690004 | 690 | 8 | 1990 Saddam Hussein |
| 690005 | 690 | 4 | 1991 Jabir As-Sabah |
| 690006 | 690 | 1 | 2006 Saad Salim at Sabah |
| 690007 | 690 | 1 | 2006 Jabir Ahmad Al Sabah |
| 692001 | 692 | 8 | 1971 Isa Ibn Al-Khalifah |
| 692002 | 692 | 3 | 1999 Hamad Isa Ibn Al-Khalifah |
| 694001 | 694 | 9 | 1971 Ahmed Ath-Thani |
| 694002 | 694 | 2 | 1972 Khalifah Ath-Thani |
| 694003 | 694 | 6 | 1995 Amad Al Thani |
| 694004 | 694 | 6 | 2013 Tamim Al Thani |
| 696001 | 696 | 12 | 1971 An-Nahayan |
| 696002 | 696 | 11 | 2004 Khalifa Al Nahayan |
| 698001 | 698 | 7 | 1970 Qabus Bin Said |
| 700001 | 700 | 9 | 1953 Sardar Mohammad Daud Khan |
| 700002 | 700 | 3 | 1963 Mohammad Yusuf |


| 7 | 1963 Regime-Change Coup |
| :---: | :---: |
| 2 | 1966 Forced Election/Selection |
| 11 | 1970 Reshuffle Coup |
| 2 | 1971 Reshuffle Coup |
| 6 | 2000 First Election/Selection Regular Election/Selection |
| 9 | 1982 Regular Election/Selection |
| 9 | 1988 Forced Election/Selection |
| 11 | 1989 Regular Election/Selection |
| 11 | 1989 Regular Election/Selection |
| 11 | 1998 Forced Election/Selection |
| 11 | 2007 Regular Election/Selection |
| 9 | 1951 Forced Election/Selection |
| 8 | 1952 First Election/Selection |
| 2 | 1999 Regular Election/Selection Regular Election/Selection |
| 11 | 1964 First Election/Selection |
| 3 | 1975 Reshuffle Coup |
| 6 | 1982 Forced Election/Selection |
| 1 | 1996 Regular Election/Selection |
| 1 | 2015 Regular Election/Selection Regular Election/Selection |
| 9 | 1962 Regular Election/Selection |
| 11 | 1967 Regime-Change Coup |
| 6 | 1974 Regime-Change Coup |
| 10 | 1977 Regime-Change Coup |
| 6 | 1978 Forced Election/Selection |
| 5 | 1990 Forced Election/Selection |
| 2 | 2012 First Election/Selection |
| 2 | 2015 Regular Election/Selection Successful Rebellion |
| 6 | 1969 First Election/Selection |
| 6 | 1978 Reshuffle Coup |
| 12 | 1978 Successful Rebellion |
| 4 | 1980 First Election/Selection |
| 1 | 1986 Regular Election/Selection |
| 5 | 1990 Reshuffle Coup |
| 11 | 1965 First Election/Selection |
| 12 | 1977 Regular Election/Selection |
| 8 | 1990 Regular Election/Selection |
| 4 | 1991 Foreign Installation |
| 1 | 2006 Foreign Installation |
| 1 | 2006 First Election/Selection |
|  | Regular Election/Selection |
| 3 | 1999 First Election/Selection |
|  | Regular Election/Selection |
| 2 | 1972 First Election/Selection |
| 6 | 1995 Reshuffle Coup |
| 6 | 2013 Reshuffle Coup |
|  | First Election/Selection |
| 11 | 2004 First Election/Selection |
|  | Regular Election/Selection Reshuffle Coup |
| 3 | 1963 Forced Election/Selection |
| 11 | 1965 Forced Election/Selection |


| Voluntary Resignation |  | Removed by Military Power Struggle |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Assassination | Regular | Rebellion |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Regular |
| Assassination | Regular | Assassination by Unsupported Individual |
| Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Retired Due to III Health |
| Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| Still in Power | Regular | Natural Death |
| Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Assassination | Irregular | Irregular, Other |
| Assassination | Regular | Assassination by Unsupported Individual |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Rebellion | Regular | Still in Office |
| Still in Power | NA | NA |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Removed by Other Government Actors |
| Rebellion | Regular | Rebellion |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Irregular, Other |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| Foreign Overthrow | Regular | Foreign |
| Foreign Overthrow | Foreign | Foreign |
| Natural Death | Foreign | Natural Death |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Removed by Other Government Actors |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Removed by Other Government Actors |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Still in Power | Irregular | Still in Office |
| Legal Removal | Irregular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |


| 700003 | 700 | 11 | 1965 Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 700004 | 700 | 10 | 1967 Abdallah Yakta |
| 700005 | 700 | 11 | 1967 Nur Ahmad Etemadi |
| 700006 | 700 | 6 | 1971 Abdul Zahir |
| 700007 | 700 | 12 | 1972 Mohammad Musa Shafiq |
| 700008 | 700 | 7 | 1973 Sardar Mohammad Daud Khan |
| 700009 | 700 | 4 | 1978 Taraki |
| 700010 | 700 | 3 | 1979 Amin |
| 700011 | 700 | 12 | 1979 Karmal |
| 700012 | 700 | 5 | 1986 Najibullah |
| 700013 | 700 | 4 | 1992 Mojadidi |
| 700014 | 700 | 6 | 1992 Burhanuddin Rabbani |
| 700015 | 700 | 9 | 1996 Mullah Omar |
| 700016 | 700 | 12 | 2001 Hamid Karzai |
| 700017 | 700 | 9 | 2014 Ashraf Ghani |
| 701001 | 701 | 10 | 1990 Niyazov |
| 701002 | 701 | 12 | 2006 Berdymukhammedov |
| 702001 | 702 | 8 | 1991 Kadreddin Aslonov |
| 702002 | 702 | 9 | 1991 Nabiyev |
| 702003 | 702 | 9 | 1992 Iskandrov |
| 702004 | 702 | 11 | 1992 Rakhmonov |
| 703001 | 703 | 10 | 1990 Akayev |
| 703002 | 703 | 4 | 2005 Bakiyev |
| 703003 | 703 | 4 | 2010 Otunbayeva |
| 703004 | 703 | 12 | 2011 Atambayev |
| 704001 | 704 | 3 | 1990 Karimov |
| 705001 | 705 | 4 | 1990 Nazarbaev |
| 710001 | 710 | 10 | 1976 Hua Guofeng |
| 710002 | 710 | 9 | 1980 Deng Xiaoping |
| 710003 | 710 | 2 | 1997 Jiang Zemin |
| 710004 | 710 | 3 | 2003 Hu Jintao |
| 710005 | 710 | 11 | 2012 Xi Jinping |
| 712001 | 712 | 1 | 1952 Tsedenbal |
| 712002 | 712 | 8 | 1984 Batmonkh |
| 712003 | 712 | 3 | 1990 Ochirbat |
| 731001 | 731 | 7 | 1994 Kim Jong-II |
| 731002 | 731 | 12 | 2011 Kim Jong Un |
| 732001 | 732 | 5 | 1961 Chang Do Yong |
| 732002 | 732 | 7 | 1961 Hee Park |
| 732003 | 732 | 10 | 1979 Choi Kuy Hay |
| 732004 | 732 | 8 | 1980 Park Choong Hoon |
| 732005 | 732 | 8 | 1980 Chun Doo Hwan |
| 760001 | 760 | 3 | 1952 Wangchuk, Jigme Dorji |
| 760002 | 760 | 7 | 1972 Wangchuck, Jigme Singye |
| 760003 | 760 | 7 | 1998 Lyonpo Jigme Thinley |
| 760004 | 760 | 7 | 1999 Lyonpo Sangay Ngedup |
| 760005 | 760 | 7 | 2000 Lyonpo Yeshey Zimba |
| 760006 | 760 | 8 | 2001 Lyonpo Khandu Wangchuk |
| 760007 | 760 | 8 | 2002 Lyonpo Kinzang Dorji |
| 760008 | 760 | 8 | 2003 Lyonpo Jigme Thinley |
| 760009 | 760 | 8 | 2004 Lyonpo Yeshey Zimba |
| 760010 | 760 | 9 | 2005 Lyonpo Sangay Ngedup |
| 760011 | 760 | 9 | 2006 Lyonpo Khandu Wangchuk |
| 760012 | 760 | 7 | 2007 Lyonpo Kinzang Dorji |
| 770001 | 770 | 10 | 1951 Nazimuddin |

1967 Abdallah Yakta
1967 Nur Ahmad Etemad
971 Abdul Zahi
Mohammad Musa Shafiq
1978 Taraki
1979 Amin
1986 Najibullah
1992 Mojadidi
Burhanuddin Rabbani
1996 Mullah Oma
2014 Ashraf Ghan
1990 Niyazov
erdymukhammedov
991 Kadreddin Aslo
1992 Iskandrov
1992 Rakhmonov
1990 Akayev
2010 Otunba
011 Atambayev
1990 Karimov
1976 Hua Guofeng
1980 Deng Xiaoping
1997 Jiang Zemin
2012 Xi Jinping
1952 Tsedenbal
990 Ochirba
1994 Kim Jong-II
961 Chang Do Yong
1961 Hee Park
979 Choi Kuy Hay
1980 Chun Doo Hwan
952 Wangchuk, Jigme Dorji
972 Wangchuck, Jigme Singy
998 Lyonpo Jigme Thinley
Lyonpo Sangay Ngedu
001 Lyou Kha
002 Lyonpo Kinzang Dorji
2003 Lyonpo Jigme Thinley
2005 Lyonpo Sangay Ngedup
2007 Lyonpo Kinzang Dorji
1951 Nazimuddin

1967 Regular Election/Selection 1967 Regular Election/Selectio 1972 Regular Election/Selection 1972 Regular Election/selection Regular Election/Selectio 1978 Regime-Change Coup 1979 Regime-Change Coup 1979 Reshuffle Coup 986 Foreign Installation 1992 Foreign Installation 992 Successful Rebellion 1996 First Election/Selection 2001 Successful Rebellion First Election/Select 06 First Election/Selection Regular Election/Selection 991 First Election/Selection 1992 Forced Election/Selection 92 Forced Election/Selection First Election/Selection 2005 First Election/Selection 2010 Forced Election/Selection 2011 Forced Election/Selection

Regular Election/Selectio
First Election/Selection 1980 First Election/Sele 1997 Regular Election/Selectio 2003 Regular Election/Selection 2012 Regular Election/Selection Regular Election/Selectio 1984 Regular Election/Selectio 990 Forced Election/Selection 1997 Regular Election/Selectio 2011 First Election/Selection Regular Election/Selection 961 Regime-Change Coup 1979 Reshuffle Coup
1980 Forced Election/Selection 1980 Forced Election/Selection 1988 First Election/Selection 1972 Regular Election/Selection 1998 Regular Election/Selection 1999 First Election/Selection 2000 Regular Election/Selectio 001 Regular Election/Selectio Election/Selection 004 Regular Election/Selection 005 Rerlation 2005 Regular Election/Selectio 2006 Regular Election/Selectio 2007 Regular Election/Selectio 008 Regular Election/Selectio 1953 Forced Election/Selection

| Resignation, Health | Regular | Retired Due to III Health |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Removed by Other Government Actors |
| Foreign Overthrow | Irregular | Removed by Other Government Actors |
| Foreign Overthrow | Irregular | Foreign |
| Rebellion | Irregular | Rebellion |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Rebellion | Regular | Rebellion |
| Foreign Overthrow | Irregular | Rebellion |
| Voluntary Resignation | Foreign | Regular |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Legal Removal | Regular | Regular |
| Rebellion | Irregular | Rebellion |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Still in Power | Regular | Regular |
| Protest | Regular | Protest |
| Protest | Regular | Protest |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Foreign Overthrow | Regular | Foreign |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Removed by Military Power Struggle |
| Assassination | Irregular | Removed by Other Government Actors |
| Protest | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |


| 770002 | 770 | 4 | 1953 Mohammed Ali |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 770003 | 770 | 8 | 1955 Chaudhri M. Ali |
| 770004 | 770 | 9 | 1956 Shahid Suhrawardy |
| 770005 | 770 | 10 | 1957 Chundrigar |
| 770006 | 770 | 12 | 1957 Khan Noon |
| 770007 | 770 | 10 | 1958 Ayub Khan |
| 770008 | 770 | 3 | 1969 Yahya Khan |
| 770009 | 770 | 7 | 1977 Zia |
| 770010 | 770 | 8 | 1988 Ishaq Khan |
| 770011 | 770 | 10 | 1999 Musharraf |
| 771001 | 771 | 4 | 1971 Syed Nazrul Islam |
| 771002 | 771 | 1 | 1972 Sheikh Mujib Rahman |
| 771003 | 771 | 8 | 1975 Moshtaque Ahmed |
| 771004 | 771 | 11 | 1975 Ziaur Rahman |
| 771005 | 771 | 5 | 1981 Sattar |
| 771006 | 771 | 3 | 1982 Ershad |
| 771007 | 771 | 1 | 2007 Fakhruddin |
| 775001 | 775 | 10 | 1958 Ne Win |
| 775002 | 775 | 3 | 1962 Ne Win |
| 775003 | 775 | 7 | 1988 Sein Lwin |
| 775004 | 775 | 8 | 1988 Maung Maung |
| 775005 | 775 | 9 | 1988 Saw Maung |
| 775006 | 775 | 4 | 1992 Than Shwe |
| 775007 | 775 | 3 | 2011 Thein Sein |
| 775008 | 775 | 3 | 2016 Htin Kyaw |
| 780001 | 780 | 1 | 1989 Premadasa |
| 780002 | 780 | 5 | 1993 Wijetunge |
| 781001 | 781 | 7 | 1965 Nasir |
| 781002 | 781 | 11 | 1978 Gayoom |
| 790001 | 790 | 2 | 1951 Tribhuvan |
| 790002 | 790 | 3 | 1955 Mahendra |
| 790003 | 790 | 1 | 1972 Birendra |
| 790004 | 790 | 11 | 1990 Krishna Prasad Bhatterai |
| 790005 | 790 | 10 | 2002 Lokendra Bahadur Chand |
| 790006 | 790 | 6 | 2003 Surya Bahadur Thapa |
| 790007 | 790 | 6 | 2004 Sher Bahdur Deuba |
| 790008 | 790 | 2 | 2005 Gyanendra |
| 800001 | 800 | 9 | 1957 Pote Sarasin |
| 800002 | 800 | 12 | 1957 Thanon Kittakachorn |
| 800003 | 800 | 10 | 1958 Sarit |
| 800004 | 800 | 12 | 1963 Thanon Kittakachorn |
| 800005 | 800 | 10 | 1973 Sanya |
| 800006 | 800 | 2 | 1975 Seni Pramoj |
| 800007 | 800 | 10 | 1976 Thanin Kraivichien |
| 800008 | 800 | 10 | 1977 Sangad |
| 800009 | 800 | 11 | 1977 Kriangsak |
| 800010 | 800 | 3 | 1980 Prem |
| 800011 | 800 | 3 | 1991 Panyarachun |
| 800012 | 800 | 4 | 1992 Kraprayoon |
| 800013 | 800 | 9 | 2006 Chulanont |
| 800014 | 800 | 5 | 2014 Prayuth Chan-ocha |
| 811001 | 811 | 11 | 1953 Sihanouk |
| 811002 | 811 | 3 | 1970 Lon Nol |
| 811003 | 811 | 4 | 1975 Pol Pot |
| 811004 | 811 | 1 | 1979 Heng Samrin |


| 1955 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1956 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1957 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1957 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1958 Regular Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Removed by Other Government Actors |
| 1969 Regime-Change Coup | Protest | Irregular | Protest |
| 1971 Forced Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| 1988 Regime-Change Coup | Assassination | Irregular | Irregular, Other |
| 1988 Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 2008 Regime-Change Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1972 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1975 Regular Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| 1975 Regime-Change Coup | Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| 1981 Reshuffle Coup | Assassination | Irregular | Military Coup |
| 1982 Forced Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| 1990 Regime-Change Coup | Protest | Irregular | Protest |
| 2009 Forced Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Regular |
| 1960 Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1988 Regime-Change Coup | Protest | Irregular | Regular |
| 1988 Forced Election/Selection | Protest | Irregular | Regular |
| 1988 Forced Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| 1992 Regime-Change Coup | Resignation, Health | Irregular | Retired Due to III Health |
| 2011 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 2016 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Still in Office |
| Regular Election/Selection | Still in Power | NA | NA |
| 1993 Regular Election/Selection | Assassination | Regular | Irregular, Other |
| 1994 Forced Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1978 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Retired Due to III Health |
| 2008 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1955 Successful Rebellion | Natural Death | Irregular | Natural Death |
| 1972 First Election/Selection | Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| 1990 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1991 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 2003 Forced Election/Selection | Protest | Regular | Regular |
| 2004 Forced Election/Selection | Protest | Regular | Regular |
| 2005 Forced Election/Selection | Legal Removal | Regular | Regular |
| 2006 Forced Election/Selection | Rebellion | Regular | Protest |
| 1957 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1958 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1963 Regular Election/Selection | Natural Death | Irregular | Natural Death |
| 1973 Regular Election/Selection | Protest | Regular | Protest |
| 1975 Successful Protest | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1975 Regular Election/Selection | Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Regular |
| 1977 Reshuffle Coup | Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Regular |
| 1977 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1980 First Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| 1988 Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1992 Regime-Change Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| 1992 First Election/Selection | Protest | Regular | Regular |
| 2008 Reshuffle Coup | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Regime-Change Coup | Still in Power | Irregular | Still in Office |
| 1970 First Election/Selection | Regime-Change Coup | Regular | Military Coup |
| 1975 Regime-Change Coup | Rebellion | Irregular | Rebellion |
| 1979 Successful Rebellion | Foreign Overthrow | Irregular | Foreign |
| 1985 Foreign Installation | Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |


| 811005 | 811 | 1 | 1985 Hun Sen |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | :--- |
| 811006 | 811 | 9 | 1993 Ranaridd |
| 811007 | 811 | 7 | 1997 Hun Sen |
| 812001 | 812 | 12 | 1959 Nosavan |
| 812002 | 812 | 1 | 1960 Kou Abhay Og Long |
| 812003 | 812 | 5 | 1960 Somsanith |
| 812004 | 812 | 8 | 1960 Souvanna Phouma |
| 812005 | 812 | 12 | 1960 Boun Oum |
| 812006 | 812 | 6 | 1962 Souvanna Phouma |
| 812007 | 812 | 4 | 1964 Souvanna Phouma |
| 812008 | 812 | 12 | 1975 Phomivan |
| 812009 | 812 | 11 | 1992 Phounsavanh |
| 812010 | 812 | 2 | 1998 Siphandon |
| 812011 | 812 | 6 | 2006 Sayasone |
| 812012 | 812 | 4 | 2016 Vorachith |
| 816001 | 816 | 9 | 1969 Le Duan |
| 816002 | 816 | 7 | 1986 Truong Chinh |
| 816003 | 816 | 12 | 1986 Nguyen Van Linh |
| 816004 | 816 | 6 | 1991 Do Muoi |
| 816005 | 816 | 12 | 1997 Phieu |
| 816006 | 816 | 4 | 2001 Nong Duc Manh |
| 816007 | 816 | 1 | 2011 Phu Trong |
| 817001 | 817 | 1 | 1954 Pham Buu Loc |
| 817002 | 817 | 6 | 1954 Quat |
| 817003 | 817 | 6 | 1954 Ngo Dinh Diem |
| 817004 | 817 | 11 | 1963 Minh |
| 817005 | 817 | 1 | 1964 Khanh |
| 817006 | 817 | 11 | 1964 Van Huong |
| 817007 | 817 | 1 | 1965 Khahn |
| 817008 | 817 | 2 | 1965 Quat |
| 817009 | 817 | 6 | 1965 Van Thieu |
| 820001 | 820 | 8 | 1957 Rahman |
| 820002 | 820 | 4 | 1959 Razak |
| 820003 | 820 | 8 | 1959 Rahman |
| 820004 | 820 | 9 | 1970 Razak |
| 820005 | 820 | 1 | 1976 Hussein Bin Onn |
| 820006 | 820 | 7 | 1981 Mahatir Bin Mohammad |
| 820007 | 820 | 10 | 2003 Ahmad Badawi |
| 820008 | 820 | 4 | 2009 Najib Tun Razak |
| 830001 | 830 | 8 | 1965 Lee Kuan Yew |
| 830002 | 830 | 11 | 1990 Goh Chok Tong |
| 830003 | 830 | 8 | 2004 Lee Hsien Loong |
| 835001 | 835 | 10 | 1967 Hassanal Bolkiah |
| 850001 | 850 | 3 | 1966 Suharto |
| 850002 | 850 | 5 | 1998 Habibie |
| 950001 | 950 | 10 | 1970 Mara |
| 950002 | 950 | 5 | 1987 Rabuka |
| 950003 | 950 | 12 | 1987 Mara |
| 950004 | 950 | 6 | 1992 Rabuka |
| 950005 | 950 | 5 | 2000 Bainimarama |
| 950006 | 950 | 7 | 2000 Laisenia Qarase |
| 950007 | 950 | 12 | 2006 Senilagakali |
| 950008 | 950 | 1 | 2007 Bainimarama |
| 955001 | 955 | 6 | 1970 Tu'ipelehake |
| 955002 | 955 | 8 | 1991 Vaea |
|  |  |  |  |


|  | 1993 First Election/Selection |
| :---: | :---: |
| 7 | 1997 Regular Election/Selection Reshuffle Coup |
| 1 | 1960 Reshuffle Coup |
| 5 | 1960 Forced Election/Selection |
| 8 | 1960 Regular Election/Selection |
| 12 | 1960 Reshuffle Coup |
| 6 | 1962 Reshuffle Coup |
| 4 | 1964 Regular Election/Selection |
| 2 | 1975 Forced Election/Selection |
| 1 | 1992 Successful Rebellion |
| 2 | 1998 Regular Election/Selection |
| 6 | 2006 Regular Election/Selection |
| 4 | 2016 Regular Election/Selection |
|  | Regular Election/Selection |
| 7 | 1986 First Election/Selection |
| 2 | 1986 Regular Election/Selection |
| 6 | 1991 Regular Election/Selection |
| 2 | 1997 Regular Election/Selection |
| 4 | 2001 Regular Election/Selection |
| 1 | 2011 Regular Election/Selection Regular Election/Selection |
| 6 | 1954 Regular Election/Selection |
| 6 | 1954 Regular Election/Selection |
| 1 | 1963 Regular Election/Selection |
| 1 | 1964 Reshuffle Coup |
| 1 | 1964 Reshuffle Coup |
| 1 | 1965 First Election/Selection |
| 2 | 1965 Reshuffle Coup |
| 6 | 1965 Forced Election/Selection |
| 4 | 1975 Reshuffle Coup |
| 4 | 1959 First Election/Selection |
| 8 | 1959 Regular Election/Selection |
| 9 | 1970 Regular Election/Selection |
| 1 | 1976 Forced Election/Selection |
| $7$ | 1981 Regular Election/Selection |
| 0 | 2003 Regular Election/Selection |
| 4 | 2009 Regular Election/Selection |
|  | Regular Election/Selection |
| 1 | 1990 First Election/Selection |
| 8 | 2004 Regular Election/Selection |
|  | Regular Election/Selection |
|  | First Election/Selection |
| 5 | 1998 Regime-Change Coup |
| $0$ | 1999 First Election/Selection |
| 4 | 1987 First Election/Selection |
| 2 | 1987 Reshuffle Coup |
| 6 | 1992 Forced Election/Selection |
| 5 | 1999 Regular Election/Selection |
| 7 | 2000 Reshuffle Coup |
| 2 | 2006 Successful Rebellion |
| 1 | 2007 Reshuffle Coup |
|  | First Election/Selection |
| 8 | 1991 First Election/Selection |
| $1$ | 2000 Regular Election/Selection |


| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Reshuffle Coup | Regular | Removed by Other Government Actors |
| Still in Power | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Regular |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Reglala |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Rebellion | Regular | Rebellian |
| Natural Death | Irregular | Natural Death |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Still in Office |
| Still in Power | NA | NA |
| Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Voluntary Resignation | Irregular | Protest |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Legal Removal | Irregular | Removed by Military Power Struggle |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Military Coup |
| Reshuffle Coup | Irregular | Foreign |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Legal Removal | Regular | Regular |
| Natural Death | Regular | Natural Death |
| Resignation, Health | Regular | Retired Due to IIl Health |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Still in Power | Regular | Still in Office |
| Voluntary Resignation | Regular | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation | Resesignation | Regular |
| Voluntary Resignation |  | NA |


| 955003 | 955 | 1 | 2000 Ulukalala Lavaka Ata (Tupou VI) | 2 | 2006 | Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | NA | NA | 0 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 955004 | 955 | 2 | 2006 Sevele | 12 | 2010 | Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | NA | NA | 0 |
| 955005 | 955 | 12 | 2010 Tu'ivakano | 12 | 2014 | Regular Election/Selection | Voluntary Resignation | NA | NA | 0 |
| 955006 | 955 | 12 | 2014 Pohiva |  |  | Regular Election/Selection | Still in Power | NA | NA | 0 |

## Supporting Appendix B: Additional Empirics

In this section, we run multinomial logit models by recoding the natural death cases as censored cases as a robustness check. The results are consistent with the results reported in the main text and support our hypotheses.

Table 7: Multinomial Logit Analysis of Manner of Losing Office in Dictatorships

|  | Model 1 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Dependent Variable | Coalition | Coalition | Coalition | Voluntary |
| Exit Manner | Competing | Circumventing | Collapsing | Resignation |
| Base Category |  |  |  |  |
| Entry Manner | Irregular Replacement Entry |  |  |  |
| Independent Variables |  |  |  |  |
| Regular Entry | 1.893*** | -1.810 | . 312 |  |
|  | ( . 661 ) | ( 1.244) | ( . 446 ) | ( . 504 ) |
| Regular $\times \log$ (Tenure) | -.514* | . 862 | -. 361 | . $374 *$ |
|  | ( . 273 ) | ( . 626 ) | ( . 265 ) | ( . 224 ) |
| Irregular Reorganization Entry | 2.580*** | . 430 | . 356 | . 488 |
|  | ( . 535 ) | ( 1.020) | (.533) | ( . 466 ) |
| Reorganization $\times \log$ (Tenure) | -. $778 * * *$ | . 206 | . 422 | . 106 |
|  | ( . 286 ) | ( .718) | ( .310) | ( .266) |
| Foreign Entry | . 735 | -. 051 | -13.744*** | -2.637 |
|  | ( 1.811 ) | (.955 ) | ( . 747 ) | ( 2.291 ) |
| Foreign $\times \log$ (Tenure) | . 355 | . 847 | .774* | 1.109* |
|  | ( .853) | ( . 673 ) | (.422) | ( . 661 ) |
| Log(Tenure) | .633*** | -. 591 | -.508** | -.453** |
|  | ( . 204 ) | ( . 441 ) | ( . 221 ) | ( .213) |
| Controls |  |  |  |  |
| $\ln$ (GDP/capita) | -.352** | . 028 | -. 207 | . 119 |
|  | (.136) | ( .150) | ( .130) | ( . 138 ) |
| GDP Growth | -3.237*** | -1.802 | -. 172 | -. 542 |
|  | ( .867) | ( 1.687 ) | ( . 601 ) | (.777) |
| Military Dictatorship | -. 083 | . 250 | .714** | .658*** |
|  | ( .300) | ( . 501 ) | ( .340) | ( . 251 ) |
| Monarchy | $-2.105 * * *$ | -. 520 | -. 389 | -. 804 |
|  | ( .797) | ( . 583 ) | (.592) | ( . 603 ) |
| Party | -2.055*** | -. 424 | -.737** | 1.060** |
|  | ( . 398 ) | ( . 547 ) | ( .339) | ( . 428 ) |
| Ln(Military Personnel) | -.167* | . 077 | -. 074 | . 046 |
|  | ( .096) | ( . 150 ) | ( . 075 ) | ( . 061 ) |
| Civil War | 1.866*** | .906* | . 395 | . 255 |
|  | ( .274) | ( . 473 ) | ( . 346 ) | ( .232) |
| War Victory | -2.394* | -7.197** | -5.288 | -2.333 |
|  | ( 1.244) | ( 2.948 ) | ( 3.697) | ( 1.459) |
| War Defeat | .955* | 3.088*** | . 528 | -. 016 |
|  | (.511) | ( . 586 ) | ( . 726 ) | ( .689) |
| War Draw | -. 574 | -1.259 | -. 818 | -. 855 |
|  | ( . 489 ) | ( 1.032 ) | ( .627) | ( . 660 ) |
| Age | .040*** | .047** | .025** | .044*** |
|  | ( .013) | ( . 021 ) | ( . 011 ) | ( .010) |
| Constant | -3.673*** | -7.123*** | $-2.562 * * *$ | -7.380*** |
|  | ( . 943 ) | ( 1.331) | (.902) | ( . 943 ) |
| Log Likelihood |  |  | -1287. |  |
| Observations |  |  | 361 |  |

$* p<0.10 ; * * p<0.05 ; * * * p<0.01$ (two-tailed). Robust standard errors are in parentheses clustered with country.

Table 8: Multinomial Logit Analysis of Manner of Losing Office in Dictatorships

|  | Model 2 |  |  |  | Model 3 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Dependent Variable <br> Exit Manner | Coalition <br> Competing | Coalition Circumventing | Coalition <br> Collapsing | Voluntary Resignation | Coalition <br> Competing | Coalition Circumventing | Coalition Collapsing | Voluntary Resignation |
| Base Category |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Entry Manner | Regular Entry |  |  |  | Irregular Reorganization Entry |  |  |  |
| Irregular Replacement Entry |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Rebel Entry | $\begin{gathered} -2.150^{* * *} \\ (.644) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.342 \\ (1.417) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -2.302^{*} \\ & (1.220) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.812 * * \\ (.760) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.810^{* * *} \\ (.573) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -2.438^{* *} \\ & (1.171) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -2.422 * * \\ & (1.202) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.202 \\ & (.796) \end{aligned}$ |
| Rebel $\times \log$ (Tenure) | $\begin{gathered} .470 \\ (.384) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .040 \\ (.629) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.099^{* * *} \\ (.344) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.258^{* *} \\ (.563) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .725^{*} \\ & (.413) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .583 \\ (.668) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .310 \\ (.338) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.986^{*} \\ & (.577) \end{aligned}$ |
| Regime-Change Coup Entry | $\begin{gathered} -1.838^{* *} \\ (.783) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2.505^{*} \\ & (1.393) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.194 \\ (.457) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.379 \\ & (.577) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.525^{* * *} \\ (.613) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .157 \\ (1.080) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.222 \\ (.536) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.056^{* *} \\ (.518) \end{gathered}$ |
| Regime-Change Coup $\times \log$ (Tenure) | $\begin{aligned} & .524^{*} \\ & (.292) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.112 \\ & (.691) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .334 \\ (.273) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.131 \\ (.244) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .778 * * * \\ & (.296) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.441 \\ (.765) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.466 \\ (.312) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .127 \\ (.284) \end{gathered}$ |
| Irregular Reorganization Entry |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Reshuffling Coup Entry | $\begin{gathered} .130 \\ (.834) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.837 \\ (1.293) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .134 \\ (.558) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .813 * * \\ & (.378) \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |
| Reshuffling Coup $\times \log$ (Tenure) | $\begin{gathered} .161 \\ (.369) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.048 \\ (.629) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .635 * * \\ & (.314) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.421 \\ (.258) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |  |
| Irregular Selection Entry | $\begin{gathered} 1.460^{* *} \\ (.705) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 3.587^{* * *} \\ & (1.294) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.204 \\ (.511) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .462 \\ \text { (.459) } \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |  |
| Irregular Selection $\times \log$ (Tenure) | $\begin{gathered} -1.194^{*} \\ (.675) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -20.672 * * * \\ (1.465) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.145 * * * \\ (.302) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.097 \\ (.311) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |  |
| Regular Entry |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Regular First-Election Entry |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -.590 \\ (.727) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.642 \\ (1.217) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .175 \\ (.530) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.315 \\ (.409) \end{gathered}$ |
| Regular First-Election $\times \log$ (Tenure) |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} .150 \\ (.356) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .297 \\ (.713) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.073 * * * \\ (.308) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.018 \\ (.249) \end{gathered}$ |
| Regular Election Entry |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -.919 \\ (.763) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -3.024 \\ (2.133) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.323 \\ (.469) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.841 * * \\ & (.367) \end{aligned}$ |
| Regular Election $\times \log$ (Tenure) |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} .453 \\ (.411) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .967 \\ (1.018) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.509^{*} \\ & (.303) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .521^{* *} \\ & (.247) \end{aligned}$ |
| Foreign Entry | $\begin{gathered} -1.135 \\ (1.690) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.866 \\ (1.358) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -16.383^{* * *} \\ (.761) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.407 \\ (2.217) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.893 \\ & (1.761) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.578 \\ (.835) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -14.206 * * * \\ (.816) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -3.079 \\ & (2.161) \end{aligned}$ |
| Foreign $\times \log$ (Tenure) | $\begin{gathered} .857 \\ (.831) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.015 \\ (.743) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.160 * * * \\ (.403) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .723 \\ (.641) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.145 \\ & (.878) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .622 \\ (.661) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .366 \\ (.416) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.045^{*} \\ & (.617) \end{aligned}$ |
| $\log$ (Tenure) | $\begin{gathered} .121 \\ (.192) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .292 \\ (.473) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.870^{* * *} \\ (.191) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.074 \\ (.129) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.143 \\ & (.265) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.365 \\ (.575) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.086 \\ (.196) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.339^{*} \\ & (.191) \end{aligned}$ |
| Controls |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\ln$ (GDP/capita) | $\begin{aligned} & -.352 * * \\ & (.138) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.011 \\ (.159) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.202 \\ & (.127) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .125 \\ (.140) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.370^{* * *} \\ (.135) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .025 \\ (.163) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.222 * \\ & (.130) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .073 \\ (.141) \end{gathered}$ |
| GDP Growth | $\begin{gathered} -3.063^{* * *} \\ (.850) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.290 \\ (1.755) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.154 \\ (.635) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.521 \\ (.774) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -3.176 * * * \\ (.865) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.552 \\ & (1.733) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.152 \\ (.584) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.501 \\ & (.770) \end{aligned}$ |
| Military Dictatorship | $\begin{gathered} -.153 \\ (.399) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .025 \\ (.661) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .683^{*} \\ & (.351) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .723 * * * \\ (.256) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.122 \\ & (.327) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.013 \\ (.603) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .605^{*} \\ & (.361) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .812 * * * \\ (.249) \end{gathered}$ |
| Monarchy | $\begin{gathered} -2.201 * * * \\ (.817) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.640 \\ (.622) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.304 \\ (.586)(.591) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.829 \\ (.794) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.100^{* * *} \\ (.579) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.526 \\ (.582) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.375 \\ (.546) \end{gathered}$ | -. 858 |
| Party | $\begin{gathered} -2.104^{* * *} \\ (.409) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.438 \\ (.572) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.685^{*} \\ & (.351) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .998 * * \\ & (.426) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.038 * * * \\ (.417) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.328 \\ (.566) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.681^{* *} \\ (.332) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .929 * * \\ & (.395) \end{aligned}$ |
| Ln(Military Personnel) | $\begin{gathered} -.153 \\ (.095) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .084 \\ (.154) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.079 \\ (.076) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .045 \\ (.062) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -.178 * \\ & (.096) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .054 \\ (.156) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.081 \\ (.077) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .005 \\ (.062) \end{gathered}$ |
| Civil War | $\begin{gathered} 1.862 * * * \\ (.272) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.005^{* *} \\ (.474) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .429 \\ (.346) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .222 \\ (.232) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.873 * * * \\ (.275) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .957 * * \\ & (.484) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .429 \\ (.350) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .251 \\ (.231) \end{gathered}$ |
| War Victory | $\begin{aligned} & -2.319^{*} \\ & (1.219) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -7.467 * * \\ & (3.258) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -6.136 \\ (4.100) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.480 \\ (1.538) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -2.369^{*} \\ & (1.206) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -7.310^{* *} \\ & (3.169) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -5.233 \\ (3.708) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -2.201^{*} \\ & (1.328) \end{aligned}$ |
| War Defeat | $\begin{gathered} 1.006 * * \\ (.481) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.602 * * * \\ (.647) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .486 \\ (.734) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.182 \\ (.675) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .937 * \\ & (.514) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.304^{* * *} \\ (.625) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} .651 \\ (.732) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.113 \\ (.660) \end{gathered}$ |
| War Draw | $\begin{gathered} -.543 \\ (.496) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.628 \\ (1.241) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.791 \\ (.626) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.809 \\ (.652) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.542 \\ (.482) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.335 \\ (1.099) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.805 \\ (.640) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.815 \\ (.661) \end{gathered}$ |
| Age | $\begin{gathered} .039 * * * \\ (.013) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .048 * * \\ & (.023) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .021^{* *} \\ & (.010) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} .044 * * * \\ (.010) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .040^{* * *} \\ & (.013) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .047 * * \\ & (.022) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .024 * * \\ & (.011) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & .049^{* * *} \\ & (.011) \end{aligned}$ |
| Constant | $\begin{aligned} & -1.697^{*} \\ & (.947) \\ & \hline \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -8.855^{* * *} \\ (1.936) \\ \hline \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.137 * * \\ (.988) \\ \hline \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -7.580 * * * \\ (1.121) \\ \hline \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -.951 \\ (1.000) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -6.578 * * * \\ (1.656) \\ \hline \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -2.016^{*} \\ & (1.081) \\ & \hline \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -6.683^{* *} * \\ (.996) \\ \hline \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Log Likelihood Observations | -1273.5628 |  |  |  | 3613 |  |  |  |

* $p<0.10 ;{ }^{* *} p<0.05 ;{ }^{* * *} p<0.01$ (two-tailed). Robust standard errors are in parentheses clustered with country.


## Supporting Appendix C: Additional Figures

Figure 6: Effect of Reshuffling-Coup, Forced Selection, First-Election and Regular-Election Entry on Coalition-Competing Removal



[^0]:    The Strathprints institutional repository (https://strathprints.strath.ac.uk) is a digital archive of University of Strathclyde research outputs. It has been developed to disseminate open access research outputs, expose data about those outputs, and enable the management and persistent access to Strathclyde's intellectual output.

[^1]:    *NOTE: The data and all computer code necessary to replicate the results and figures in this analysis will be made publicly available at the authors' homepage on publication. R and Stata 14 were used for all statistical analyses.
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[^2]:    ${ }^{1}$ Goemans, Gleditsch, and Chiozza (2009: 272) define regular leader transitions as those that occur "according to the prevailing rules, provisions, conventions, and norms of the country."

[^3]:    ${ }^{2}$ For more on how a leader's specific sources of support vary in different styles of dictatorship, see, among others: Gandhi (2008); Geddes (1999, 2003); Svolik (2012).
    ${ }^{3}$ For a more thorough exploration of electoral manipulation in dictatorships than space allows, see Schedler's

[^4]:    The Politics of Uncertainty (2013), Competitive Authoritarianism by Levitsky and Way (2010), and Political Institutions under Dictatorship by Gandhi (2008).
    ${ }^{4}$ Goods distribution is not perfectly equal in democracies (Bell, 2011; Keefer, 2007; Min, 2015; Ross, 2006), though disparities are smaller than what is observed in non-democracies.
    ${ }^{5}$ Bueno de Mesquita et al. (2003) call this the "loyalty norm" that helps to preserve non-democratic winning coalitions.

[^5]:    ${ }^{6}$ See, among others, the foundational "beer-quiche" game in which both beer-drinkers and quiche-eaters opt for beer so as to signal their toughness to a nearby bully (Cho and Kreps, 1987).

[^6]:    ${ }^{7}$ Little 2015 and Casper and Tyson 2014 similarly argue political rivals can make inferences about nondemocratic leader strength following elections and protests, respectively, though perceptions of both events may be prone to government manipulation and state-controlled media.

[^7]:    ${ }^{8}$ The "one-week rule" is standard practice in this research literature because many contested leader transitions see power change hands several times over the course of the conflict. Without an arbitrary threshold for time-in-power, many failed coups would produce temporary "leaders" who served for a few hours and never emerged from the initial conflict for power with any real capacity to govern. See, for example, the failed coup in Sudan that occurred 19-23 July 1971.

[^8]:    ${ }^{9}$ Using two independent coders, we were able to achieve an inter-coder reliability of $97 \%$ after the first attempt to construct the data. Additional sources were consulted to classify the more ambiguous cases, many of which involved uncertainty about the role of foreign actors or whether assassinations were part of larger coup or rebel conspiracies. We identified placeholders using the LEAD data and coding rules from Ellis, Horowitz and Stam (2015). All decisions and a leader-by-leader comparison to Archigos (4.1) are included in a supplementary appendix.

[^9]:    ${ }^{10}$ We expand their dataset to include more coups and a longer time period. We also recoded some coups. All of these decisions are included in the online appendix.

[^10]:    ${ }^{11}$ These variables are equal to $\frac{1}{t-t_{R}+1}$ where $t_{R}$ is the year of the outcome and $t$ is the year observed.
    ${ }^{12}$ As a robustness check, we ran multinomial logit models by coding the natural death as censored cases. The

[^11]:    results are reported in the online appendix and are consistent with the results shown in the main text.

[^12]:    ${ }^{13}$ The first differences in Figure 2 are calculated as the changes in predicted probabilities of coalition circumvention removal or coalition collapse removal when we change entry manner from either regular or irregular reorganization to irregular regime replacement. We use Model 1 in Table 4 for the estimation.
    ${ }^{14}$ Due to the extremely low number of leaders entering through successful protests, it is not feasible for us to further disaggregate this category.

[^13]:    Note: We show the changes in predicted probabilities of regime-change coup removal when we change entry manner from non- coup entry to regime-change coup or reshuffling-coup entry. We use Models 4 in Table 6 to estimate the first difference.

