

# The Programmatic Coup: Ideology, the Military and Political Violence

## Online Appendix

### *Wald Tests*

**Table A1: Comparison of coefficients on programmatic and nonprogrammatic coups**

	<b>Torture</b>	<b>Killings</b>	<b>Repression</b>
Model 1	0.02105	0.01177	0.01845
Model 2	0.06459	0.04490	0.05877
Model 3	0.09193	0.06857	0.07849

Note: Entries are p-values from Wald tests assessing whether the effects of programmatic and nonprogrammatic coups are significantly different.

*Different Post-coup Time Windows*

In the main text, we use three-year post-coup windows. Here we re-run all models with 1, 2, 4, and 5-year post-coup windows.

**Table A2: Coup types and torture**

	One-year window		Two-year window		Four-year window		Five-year window	
Programmatic coup	0.32***		0.41***		0.34***		0.28**	
	(0.09)		(0.11)		(0.10)		(0.09)	
Non-programmatic coup	0.04		0.03		-0.005		0.04	
	(0.14)		(0.15)		(0.17)		(0.15)	
Any coup		0.27**		0.27**		0.22*		0.18*
		(0.09)		(0.09)		(0.09)		(0.08)
Prior torture	0.77***	0.77***	0.77***	0.77***	0.77***	0.77***	0.77***	0.77***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Coup agency	-0.14	-0.13	-0.05	-0.13	-0.03	-0.11	-0.16	-0.21
	(0.17)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Casualties	0.0003***	0.0003***	0.0003***	0.0003***	0.0001*	0.0002**	0.0001	0.0001
	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Protest	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Polity	-0.05***	-0.05***	-0.05***	-0.05***	-0.05***	-0.05***	-0.05***	-0.05***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Prior democracy	0.12*	0.11*	0.11†	0.11*	0.12*	0.12*	0.13*	0.13*
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Cold War	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Past coups	0.04**	0.05**	0.05**	0.05**	0.06**	0.06**	0.05*	0.05*
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Population	0.0002	0.0002	0.0002	0.0002	0.0002	0.0002	0.0002	0.0002
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
GDP/capita	-0.0000**	-0.0000**	-0.0000**	-0.0000**	-0.0000**	-0.0000**	-0.0000**	-0.0000**
	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)
GDP growth	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.04	-0.04
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Observations	7,934	7,934	7,934	7,934	7,934	7,934	7,934	7,934
R <sup>2</sup>	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89

Note:

†p<0.1; \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001

Robust standard errors clustered in country

**Table A3: Coup types and political killings**

	One-year window		Two-year window		Four-year window		Five-year window	
Programmatic coup	0.36***		0.34***		0.24*		0.16†	
	(0.11)		(0.10)		(0.10)		(0.10)	
Non-programmatic coup	0.03		-0.03		-0.12		-0.08	
	(0.15)		(0.16)		(0.18)		(0.17)	
Any coup		0.21*		0.21*		0.11		0.07
		(0.09)		(0.09)		(0.10)		(0.10)
Prior killings	0.81***	0.80***	0.80***	0.80***	0.80***	0.80***	0.81***	0.81***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Coup agency	-0.06	-0.05	0.03	-0.05	0.17	0.08	0.07	0.02
	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Casualties	0.0002**	0.0002*	0.0001†	0.0002*	0.0000	0.0001	0.0000	0.0000
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Protest	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Polity	-0.04***	-0.04***	-0.04***	-0.04***	-0.04***	-0.04***	-0.04***	-0.04***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Prior democracy	0.11*	0.10†	0.10†	0.10†	0.11*	0.11*	0.13*	0.13*
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Cold War	0.09**	0.10**	0.09**	0.10**	0.09**	0.09**	0.09**	0.09**
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Past coups	0.04**	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***	0.07**	0.07**	0.06**	0.07**
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Population	0.0001	0.0001	0.0001	0.0001	0.0001	0.0001	0.0001	0.0001
	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)
GDP/capita	-0.0000***	-0.0000***	-0.0000***	-0.0000***	-0.0000***	-0.0000***	-0.0000***	-0.0000***
	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)
GDP growth	-0.24*	-0.24*	-0.24*	-0.24*	-0.24*	-0.24*	-0.25*	-0.25*
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Observations	7,934	7,934	7,934	7,934	7,934	7,934	7,934	7,934
R <sup>2</sup>	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89

Note:

†p<0.1; \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001  
Robust standard errors clustered in country

**Table A4: Coup types and repression**

	One-year window		Two-year window		Four-year window		Five-year window	
Programmatic coup	0.21**		0.22**		0.10		0.06	
	(0.07)		(0.07)		(0.07)		(0.07)	
Non-programmatic coup	0.03		0.01		-0.11		-0.11	
	(0.12)		(0.12)		(0.13)		(0.12)	
Any coup		0.14*		0.14*		0.02		-0.01
		(0.07)		(0.07)		(0.08)		(0.07)
Past Repression	0.88***	0.88***	0.88***	0.88***	0.87***	0.87***	0.88***	0.88***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Coup agency	0.12	0.05	0.09	0.05	0.12	0.08	0.05	0.02
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Casualties	-0.0001 <sup>†</sup>	-0.0000	-0.0001*	-0.0000	-0.0000	-0.0000	-0.0000	0.0000
	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)
Protest	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Polity	-0.02***	-0.02***	-0.02***	-0.02***	-0.02***	-0.02***	-0.02***	-0.02***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Prior democracy	0.01	0.001	0.0001	0.001	-0.01	-0.01	-0.004	-0.003
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Cold War	0.06*	0.06*	0.06*	0.06*	0.06*	0.06**	0.06*	0.06**
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Past coups	0.01	0.02*	0.02*	0.02*	0.03 <sup>†</sup>	0.03 <sup>†</sup>	0.03 <sup>†</sup>	0.03 <sup>†</sup>
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Population	0.0002	0.0002	0.0002	0.0002	0.0002	0.0002	0.0002	0.0002
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
GDP/capita	-0.0000**	-0.0000**	-0.0000**	-0.0000**	-0.0000**	-0.0000**	-0.0000**	-0.0000**
	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)	(0.0000)
GDP growth	-0.40***	-0.39***	-0.39***	-0.39***	-0.40***	-0.40***	-0.41***	-0.41***
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Observations	7,742	7,742	7,742	7,742	7,742	7,742	7,742	7,742
R <sup>2</sup>	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.89

Note:

<sup>†</sup>p<0.1; \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001

Robust standard errors clustered in country

*Post-Coup Periods Only*

We estimate our three base models limiting the universe to post-coup periods only. The excluded category in all models is three-year spells following nonprogrammatic coups.

**Table A5: Only post-coup observations**

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Programmatic coup	0.42* (0.19)	0.44** (0.18)	0.32** (0.14)
Lagged DV	0.57** (0.09)	0.65*** (0.08)	0.76*** (0.06)
Observations	425	425	416
R <sup>2</sup>	0.27	0.38	0.54
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.26	0.37	0.54
F Statistic	76.77***	126.99***	241.36***

*Note:*

†p<0.1; \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001

Robust standard errors clustered in country

*Nonprogrammatic Coups as Excluded Category*

We construct a three-level factor with programmatic coups, nonprogrammatic coups, and non-coups. Nonprogrammatic coups are the excluded category.

**Table A6: Non-programmatic coups as excluded category**

	(1)	(2)	(3)
No coup	-0.06 (0.16)	0.05 (0.17)	0.07 (0.14)
Programmatic coup	0.32 <sup>†</sup> (0.19)	0.33 <sup>†</sup> (0.18)	0.24 <sup>†</sup> (0.14)
Lagged DV	0.77 <sup>***</sup> (0.02)	0.80 <sup>***</sup> (0.02)	0.87 <sup>***</sup> (0.01)
Coup agency	0.03 (0.22)	0.12 (0.22)	0.13 (0.14)
Casualties	0.0002 <sup>***</sup> (0.0001)	0.0001 (0.0001)	-0.0000 (0.0000)
Protest	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.05 <sup>***</sup> (0.01)
Polity	-0.05 <sup>***</sup> (0.01)	-0.04 <sup>***</sup> (0.01)	-0.02 <sup>***</sup> (0.003)
Prior democracy	0.11 <sup>*</sup> (0.05)	0.10 <sup>†</sup> (0.05)	-0.01 (0.04)
Cold War	0.04 (0.03)	0.09 <sup>**</sup> (0.03)	0.06 <sup>*</sup> (0.02)
Past coups	0.05 <sup>**</sup> (0.02)	0.06 <sup>**</sup> (0.02)	0.02 <sup>†</sup> (0.01)
Population	0.0002 (0.0001)	0.0001 (0.0002)	0.0002 (0.0001)
GDP/capita	-0.0000 <sup>**</sup> (0.0000)	-0.0000 <sup>***</sup> (0.0000)	-0.0000 <sup>**</sup> (0.0000)
GDP growth	-0.03 (0.13)	-0.24 <sup>*</sup> (0.12)	-0.40 <sup>***</sup> (0.07)
Observations	7,934	7,934	7,742
R <sup>2</sup>	0.89	0.89	0.89
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.89	0.89	0.89
F Statistic	4,990.10 <sup>***</sup>	4,744.78 <sup>***</sup>	4,952.88 <sup>***</sup>

*Note:* <sup>†</sup>p<0.1; \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001

Robust standard errors clustered in country