

Online Appendix to:
When Autocratization is Reversed:
Episodes of U-Turns since 1900

List of U-Turn Episodes, 1900-2023

Table A1. U-Turn Episodes

country	autocratization	democratization	type
Algeria	1992-1993	1994-1999	Authoritarian Manipulation
Argentina	1930-1931	1932-1933	Authoritarian Manipulation
Argentina	1943-1945	1946-1948	Authoritarian Manipulation
Argentina	1949-1956	1957-1959	Authoritarian Manipulation
Argentina	1962-1962	1963-1964	Authoritarian Manipulation
Armenia	1993-2008	2010-2019	Democratic Reaction
Bangladesh	1975-1976	1977-1980	Authoritarian Manipulation
Bangladesh	1982-1983	1986-1992	Democratic Reaction
Bangladesh	2002-2007	2009-2010	Authoritarian Manipulation
Belgium	1914-1915	1918-1921	International Intervention
Belgium	1940-1941	1944-1950	International Intervention
Benin	2018-2021	2022-2023*	Authoritarian Manipulation
Bolivia	2006-2020	2021-2023*	Democratic Reaction
Brazil	2016-2021	2022-2023*	Democratic Reaction
Burkina Faso	2014-2015	2016-2016	Democratic Reaction
Burundi	1987-1988	1992-1993	Authoritarian Manipulation
Central African Republic	2003-2004	2005-2006	Authoritarian Manipulation
Chile	1924-1928	1932-1937	Democratic Reaction
Comoros	1999-2000	2002-2005	Authoritarian Manipulation
Costa Rica	1917-1918	1919-1924	Democratic Reaction
Costa Rica	1948-1948	1949-1954	Democratic Reaction
Cuba	1904-1907	1909-1909	International Intervention
Cuba	1928-1934	1936-1941	Authoritarian Manipulation
Czechia	1930-1940	1945-1947	International Intervention
Denmark	1940-1944	1945-1946	International Intervention
Dominican Republic	1964-1964	1966-1967	International Intervention
Ecuador	1906-1906	1911-1912	Democratic Reaction
Ecuador	1932-1936	1938-1939	Democratic Reaction
Ecuador	1960-1964	1967-1969	Democratic Reaction
Ecuador	1970-1973	1978-1980	Democratic Reaction
Ecuador	2007-2013	2017-2018	Authoritarian Manipulation
Egypt	1952-1953	1956-1964	Authoritarian Manipulation
Estonia	1932-1935	1938-1939*	Authoritarian Manipulation
Estonia	1991-1992	1993-1993	Other
Fiji	1987-1988	1992-1997	Authoritarian Manipulation
Fiji	2000-2001	2002-2003	Democratic Reaction
Finland	1939-1940	1945-1949	International Intervention
France	1939-1941	1945-1948	International Intervention
Gambia, The	1993-1995	1996-1998	Authoritarian Manipulation
Ghana	1958-1966	1969-1971	Authoritarian Manipulation
Greece	1922-1923	1924-1924	Authoritarian Manipulation
Greece	1925-1926	1927-1927	Authoritarian Manipulation
Guinea-Bissau	2012-2013	2014-2019	Authoritarian Manipulation

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country	autocratization	democratization	type
Haiti	1992-1992	1993-1997	International Intervention
Haiti	2001-2004	2006-2012	International Intervention
Hungary	1919-1919	1920-1923	Democratic Reaction
India	1971-1975	1977-1978	Authoritarian Manipulation
Ivory Coast	2000-2000	2001-2001	Democratic Reaction
Kuwait	1976-1976	1981-1982	Authoritarian Manipulation
Kuwait	1986-1986	1991-1993	International Intervention
Lesotho	2015-2017	2018-2023*	Authoritarian Manipulation
Liberia	1980-1981	1985-1986	Authoritarian Manipulation
Liberia	2003-2004	2005-2007	International Intervention
Luxembourg	1940-1941	1945-1947	International Intervention
Madagascar	2006-2010	2013-2018	Authoritarian Manipulation
Malawi	1999-2005	2009-2013	Democratic Reaction
Malaysia	1969-1970	1972-1975	Authoritarian Manipulation
Maldives	2010-2017	2018-2023*	Democratic Reaction
Mali	2007-2013	2014-2014	International Intervention
Malta	1958-1959	1962-1964	Authoritarian Manipulation
Moldova	2001-2006	2009-2011	Democratic Reaction
Moldova	2012-2017	2019-2021	Democratic Reaction
Myanmar/Burma	1942-1943	1945-1953	Democratic Reaction
Nepal	2000-2003	2007-2009	Democratic Reaction
Nepal	2012-2013	2014-2016	Democratic Reaction
Netherlands	1940-1941	1945-1949	International Intervention
Niger	1999-1999	2000-2005	Authoritarian Manipulation
Niger	2009-2010	2011-2012	Democratic Reaction
North Macedonia	2000-2000	2002-2003	International Intervention
North Macedonia	2005-2013	2017-2023*	Democratic Reaction
Norway	1940-1943	1945-1946	International Intervention
Pakistan	1999-2000	2002-2010	Democratic Reaction
Peru	1948-1949	1950-1957	Authoritarian Manipulation
Peru	1990-1992	1996-2002	Democratic Reaction
Philippines	1941-1942	1943-1947	International Intervention
Republic of Vietnam	1963-1964	1966-1968	Authoritarian Manipulation
Rwanda	1973-1974	1979-1982	Authoritarian Manipulation
Seychelles	1972-1978	1979-1980	Authoritarian Manipulation
Solomon Islands	1998-2001	2002-2004	International Intervention
South Korea	1961-1962	1963-1964	Authoritarian Manipulation
South Korea	2008-2013	2016-2017	Democratic Reaction
Sri Lanka	2004-2006	2010-2018	Democratic Reaction
Sudan	1958-1959	1964-1968	Democratic Reaction
Sudan	1969-1969	1972-1987	Other
Suriname	1975-1975	1976-1976	Other
Suriname	1980-1981	1985-1989	Authoritarian Manipulation
Suriname	1991-1991	1992-1992	Authoritarian Manipulation
Syria	1949-1952	1953-1955	Authoritarian Manipulation
Syria	1958-1959	1961-1962	Authoritarian Manipulation

Table A1. U-Turn Episodes

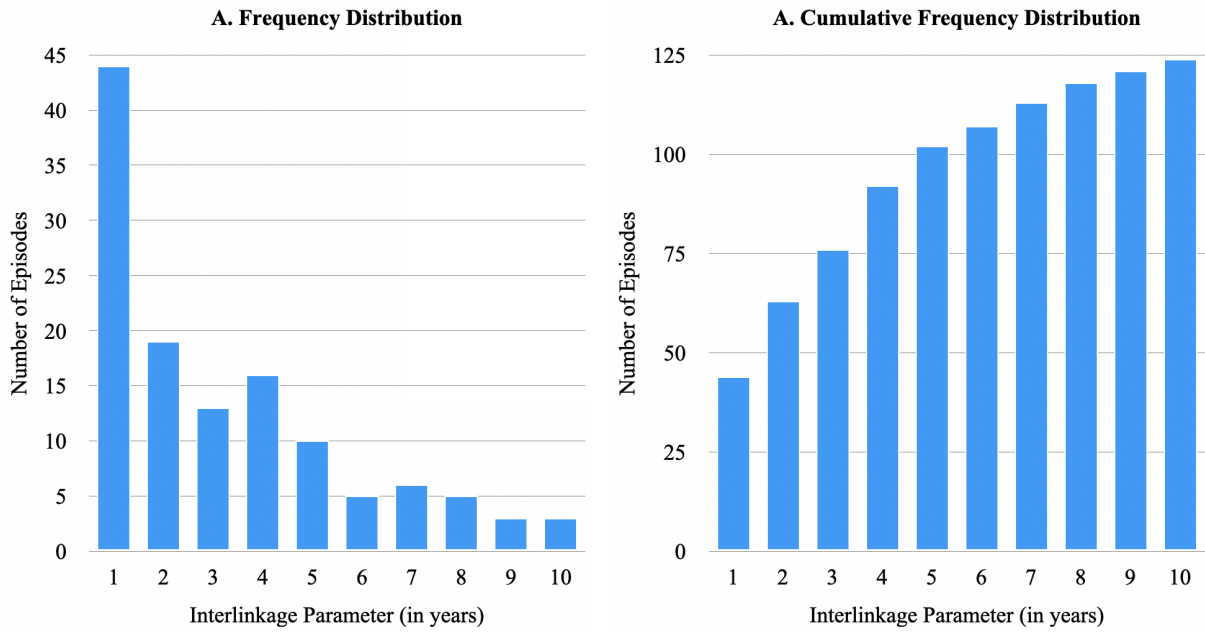
country	autocratization	democratization	type
Thailand	1976-1977	1979-1989	Authoritarian Manipulation
Thailand	1991-1991	1992-2001	Democratic Reaction
Thailand	2005-2007	2008-2012	Authoritarian Manipulation
Thailand	2013-2014	2018-2023*	Authoritarian Manipulation
Tunisia	2013-2022	2023-2023*	Authoritarian Manipulation
Türkiye	1954-1961	1962-1967	Authoritarian Manipulation
Türkiye	1980-1981	1983-1992	Authoritarian Manipulation
Uganda	1985-1986	1989-1995	Authoritarian Manipulation
Ukraine	1996-2000	2005-2007	Democratic Reaction
Ukraine	2010-2014	2019-2020	Democratic Reaction
Uruguay	1933-1933	1934-1947	Authoritarian Manipulation
Zambia	2010-2017	2021-2023*	Democratic Reaction
Zimbabwe	1978-1978	1979-1981	Other

* censored cases

Distributions with Different Interlinkage Parameters

Figure A1 shows distribution of number of U-Turn episodes depending on the duration of the interlinkage period. Interlinkage parameter defines the number of years a U-Turn episode is allowed to remain in “stasis” (i.e., no movements larger than 0.01 on the EDI in any direction) between the end of autocratization and the start of democratization. Following the ERT logic for operationalizing episodes of regime transformation, we set the default interlinkage parameter to 5 years because it is the typical amount for an electoral cycle for most countries.

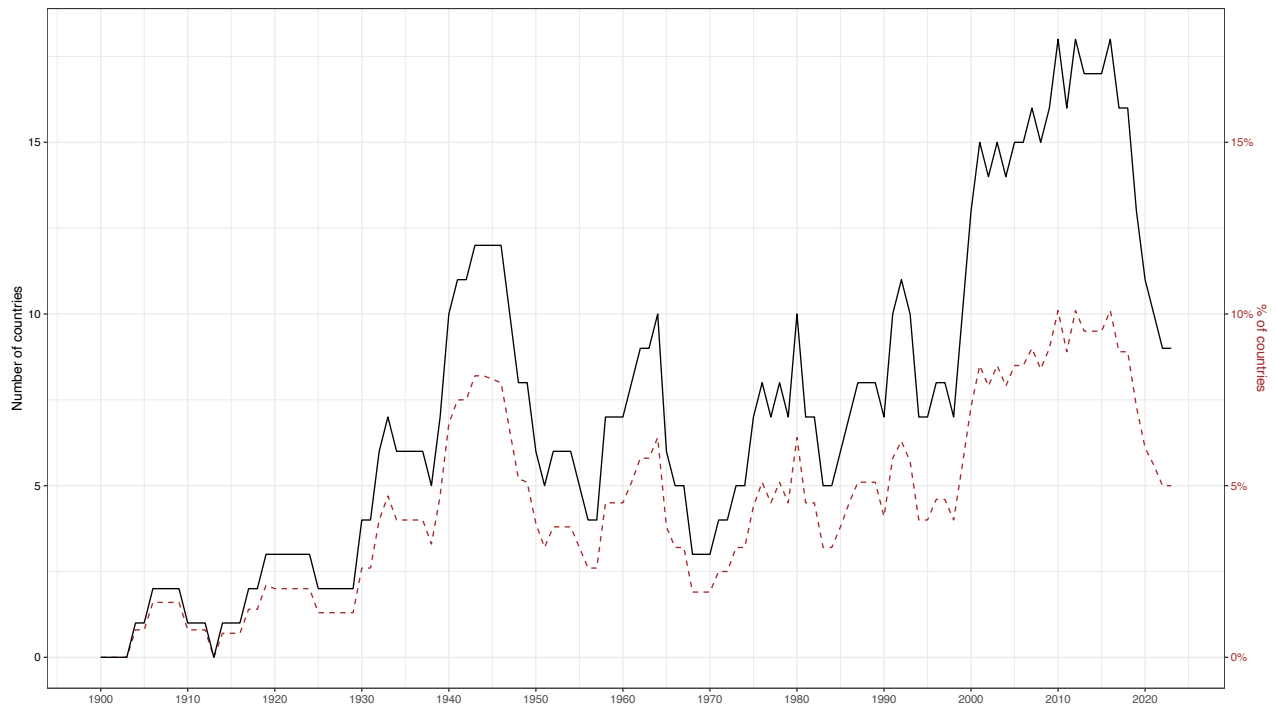
Figure A1. Number of Episodes by Interlinkage Parameter



Episodes of U-Turns, 1900-2023

Figure A2 shows the historical distribution of U-Turns in time since 1900. The black solid line represents the absolute number of countries that were in a U-Turn episode each year (left y-axis), while the red dotted line indicates the percentage of countries that this number represents (right y-axis). The latter line is added to the graph to confirm that presented historical trends are not driven by the increase in the number of countries over time. To illustrate, 8% of all countries (12 out of 147) were in a U-Turn episode during the noticeable peak in the mid-1940s, while 10% across all countries (18 out of 179) were in a U-Turn episode during another noticeable peak in the early 2010s.

Figure A2. Episodes of U-Turns, 1900-2023



Percentage of Countries Affected by U-Turns, 1900-2023

Figure A3, Figure A4, and Figure A5 replicate Figure 1, Figure 2, and Figure 5, respectively, showing the percentage of countries affected by U-Turns (and their types).

Figure A3. Episodes of Democratization, Autocratization, and U-Turn, 1900-2023

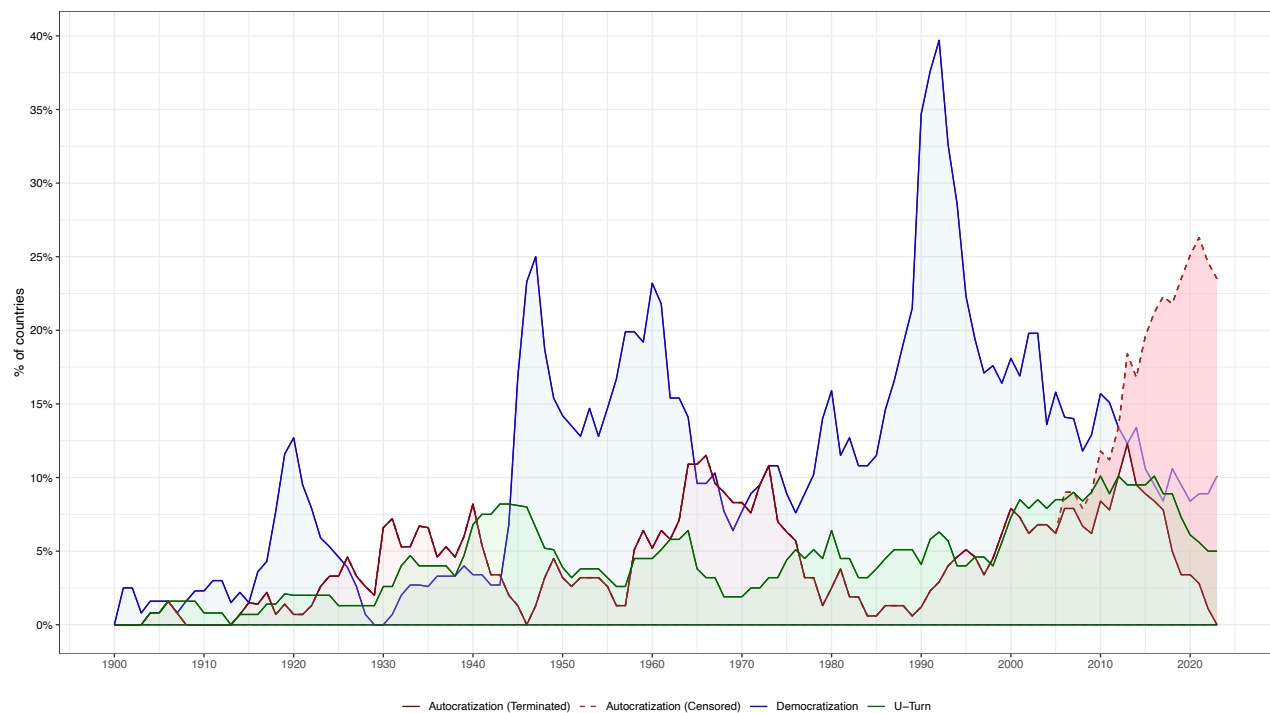


Figure A4. Episodes by Regime Types, 1900-2023

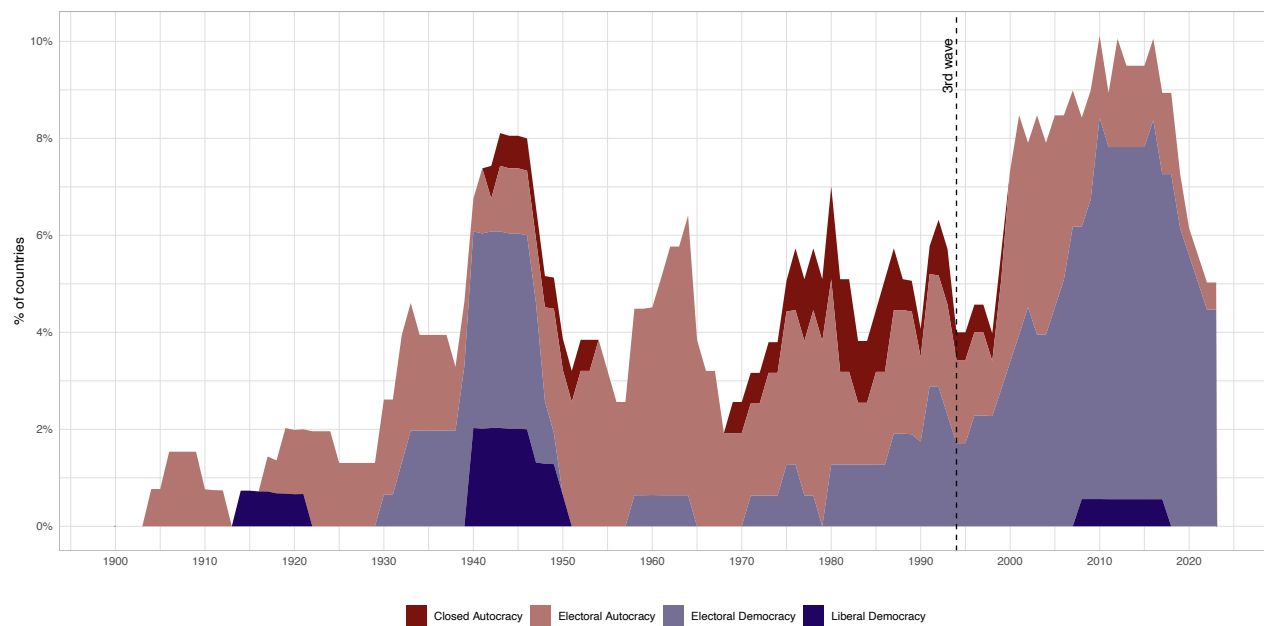
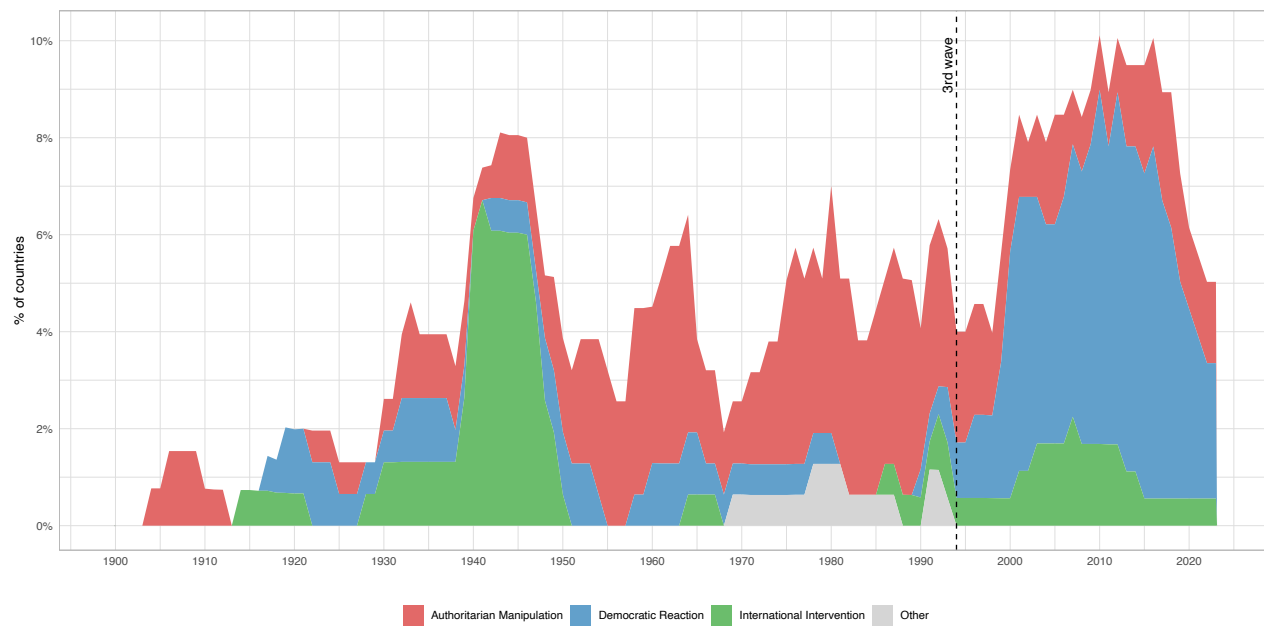


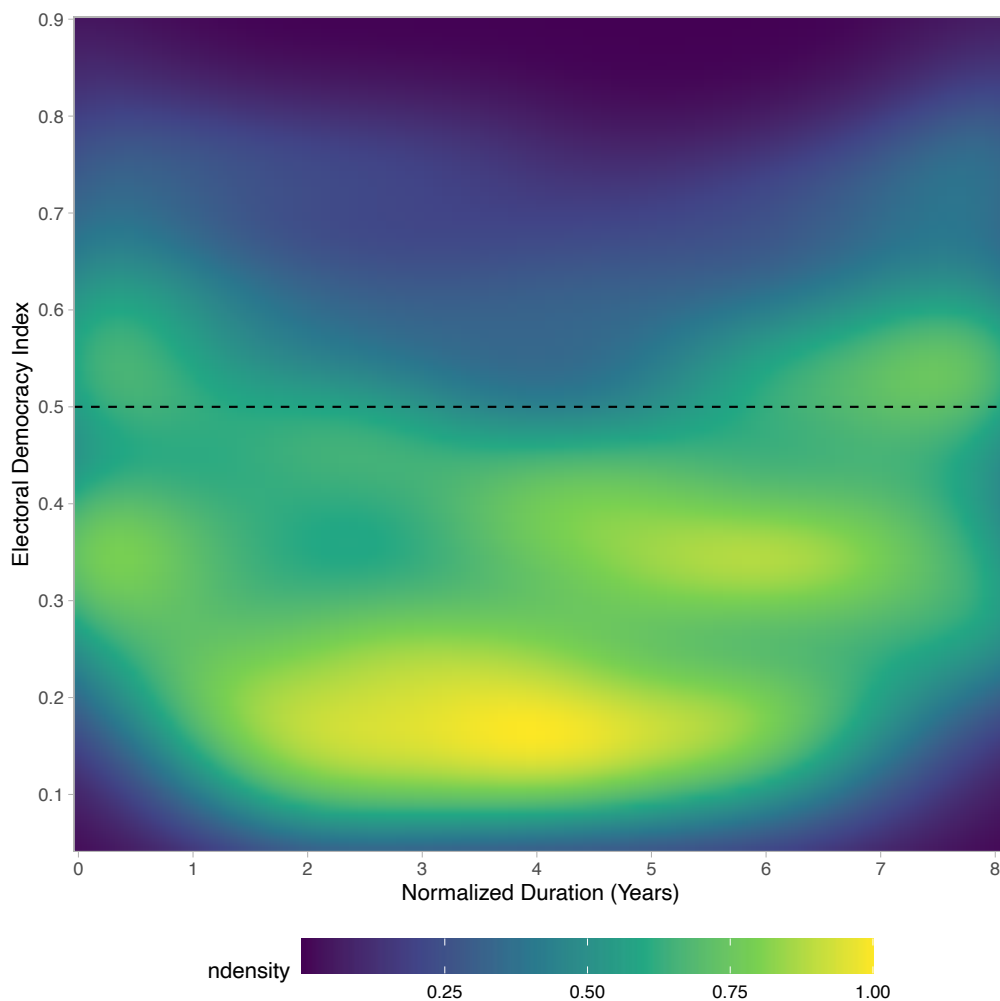
Figure A5. Types of U-Turns Across Time, 1900-2023



Changes in EDI Levels during U-Turn Episodes

Figure A6 depicts the development of a U-Turn episode across the Electoral Democracy Index and time. Colors visualize the density of the EDI distribution across time, scaled to a maximum of 1. Time is normalized to an average duration of a U-Turn ($t=8.1$ years). This figure illustrates that U-Turn episodes tend to follow a very distinct U-shaped path.

Figure A6. Density Plot - Electoral Democracy Index during Average U-Turn Episode



U-Turns of the Current Period

Figure A7 compares an average U-Turn of the current period (the ongoing “third wave of autocratization”, $N=36$) to an average U-Turn before 1993 ($N=66$). Figure A7 reveals that “modern” U-Turns (i) start and end at higher EDI levels (0.56 vs. 0.43 and 0.56 and 0.46, respectively), and (ii) last longer than their historical predecessors (8.4 years vs. 7.9 years, respectively). Additionally, the autocratization phase of a “modern” U-Turn lasts longer than before (3.6 years vs. 2.0 years), while the duration of the democratization phase is slightly shorter (3.5 years vs. 2.7 years). The latter, however, is likely to be driven by the inclusion of 9 “censored” (ongoing) U-Turns, which make up 25 percent of all “modern” U-Turns.

Figure A7. Average U-Turns, 1900-1993 vs. 1994-2023

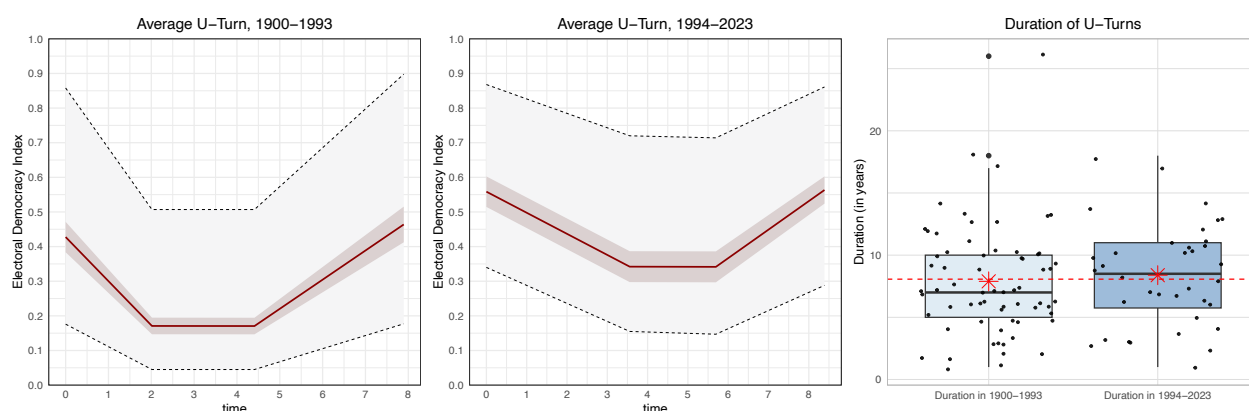
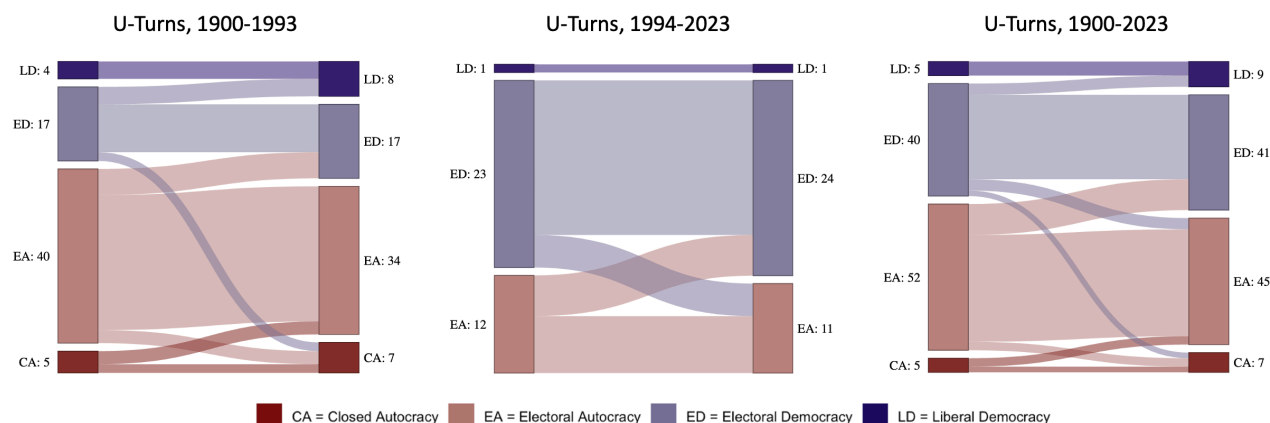


Figure A8 shows differences between U-Turns of the “third wave of autocratization” and their predecessors using the Regimes of the World typology. This figure is similar to Figure 3, however, now only start and end points are shown. The distribution in terms of regime types is quite similar at start and end-points of U-Turn episodes in both periods. However, “modern” U-Turns predominantly start in electoral democracies (23 out of 36), while before the current period they predominantly started in autocracies (45 out of 66).

Figure A8. U-Turns by Regime Types, 1900-1993 vs. 1994-2023



Average U-Turns of the Current Period, by Types

Figure A9 and Figure A10 show differences in the dynamics of different U-Turn types between the current period and the period before the “third wave of autocratization.” The two figures show that (i) both “authoritarian manipulation” and “democratic reaction” types of U-Turn start nowadays at slightly higher EDI levels than before; (ii) autocratization phase of all types of U-Turns lasts significantly longer (for “democratic reaction” the difference has risen from 2.6 to 4.2 years); (iii) there is no clear pattern for “international intervention” across time.

Figure A9. Dynamics of an Average U-Turn Episode, by Type, 1900–1993

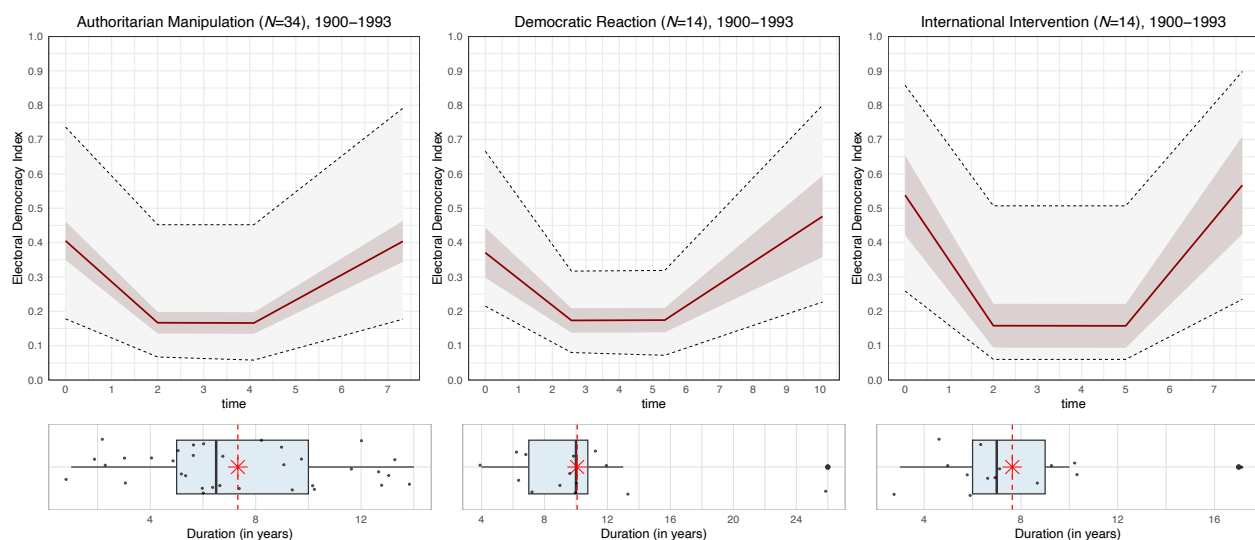
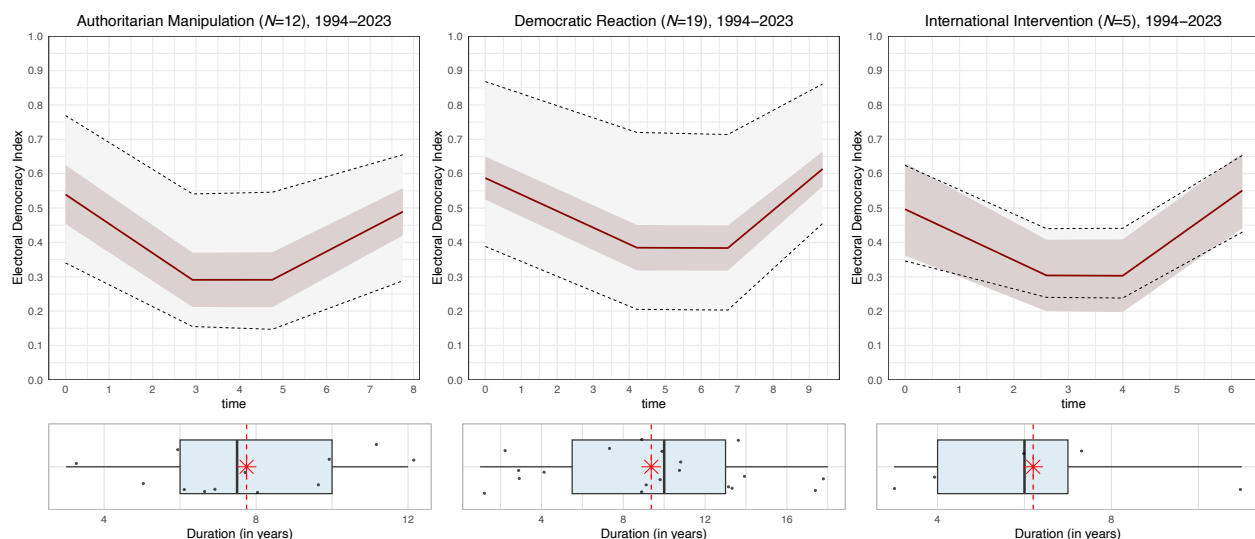


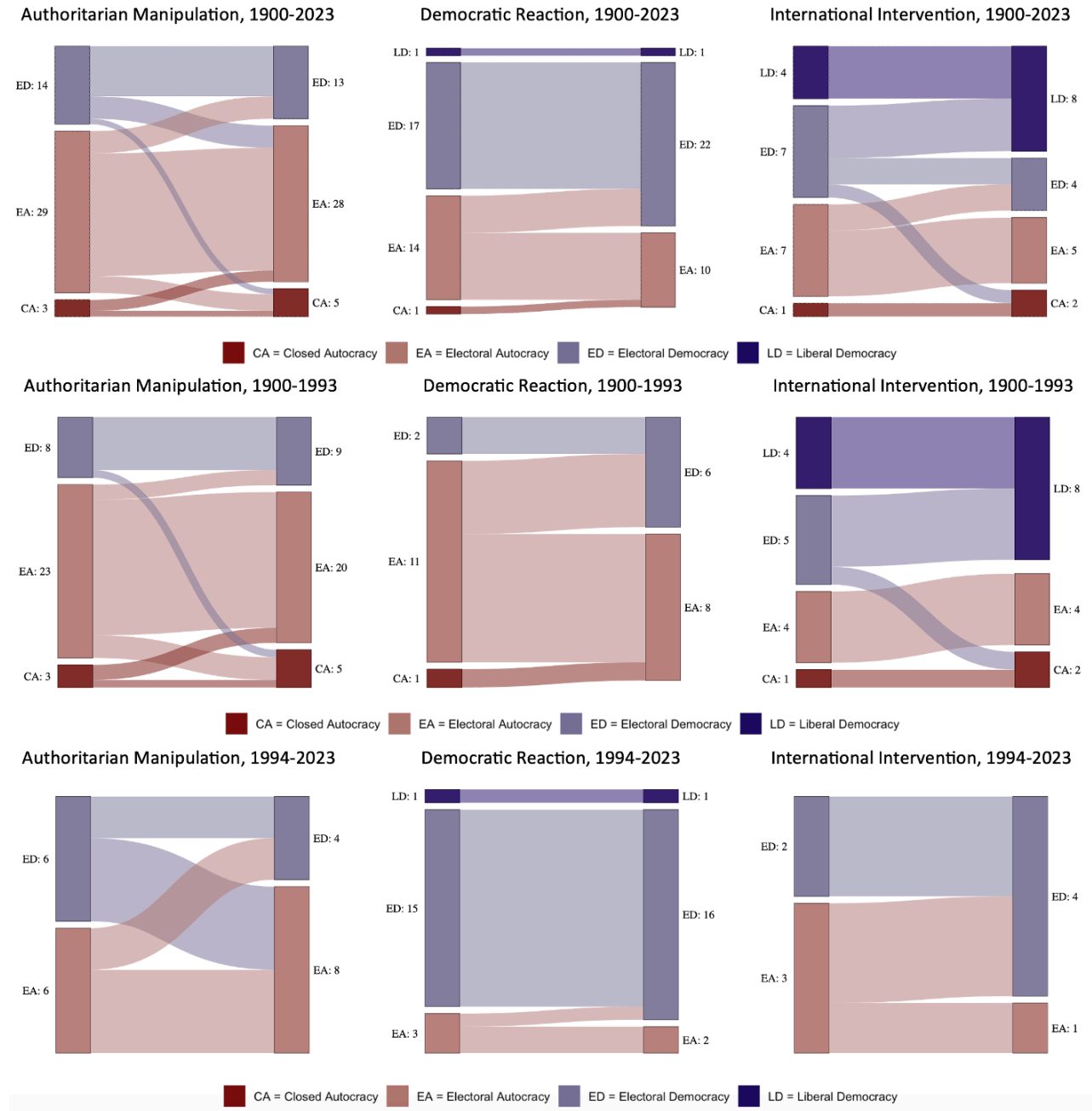
Figure A10. Dynamics of an Average U-Turn Episode, by Type, 1994–2023

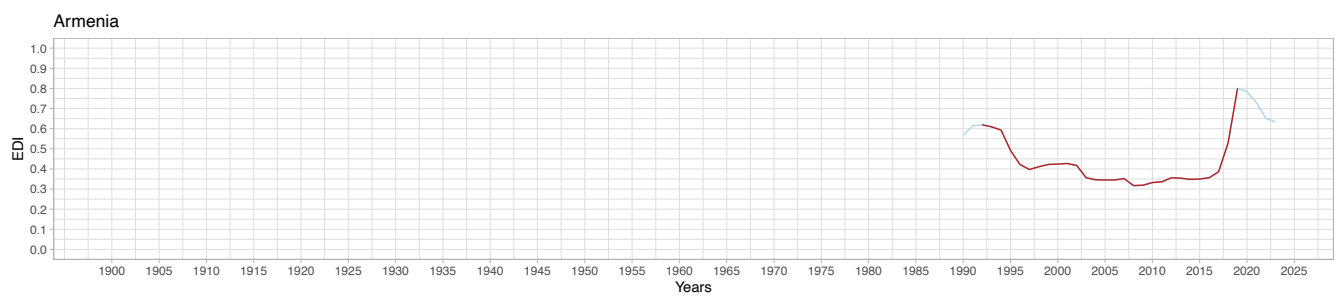
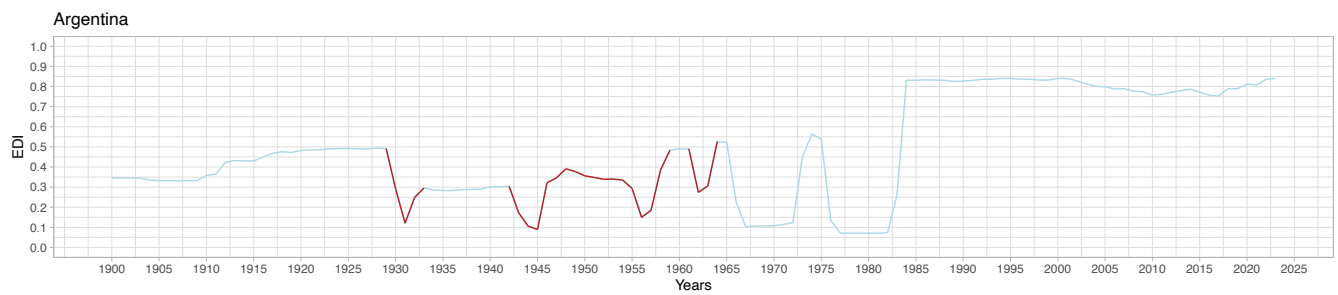
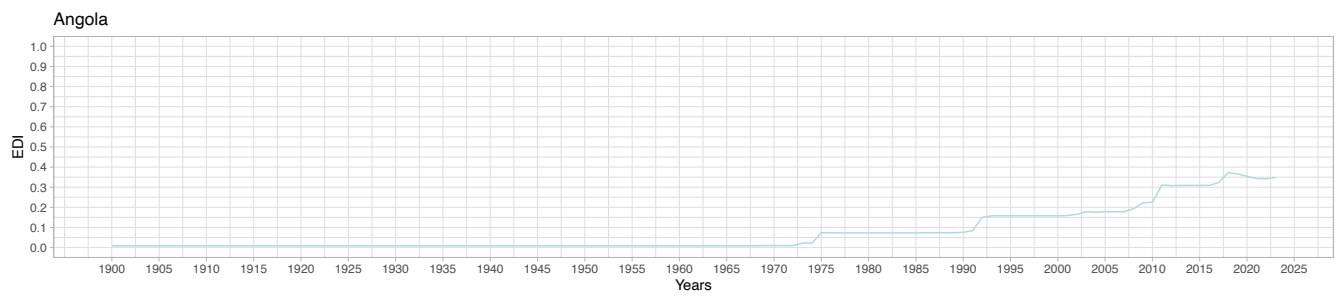
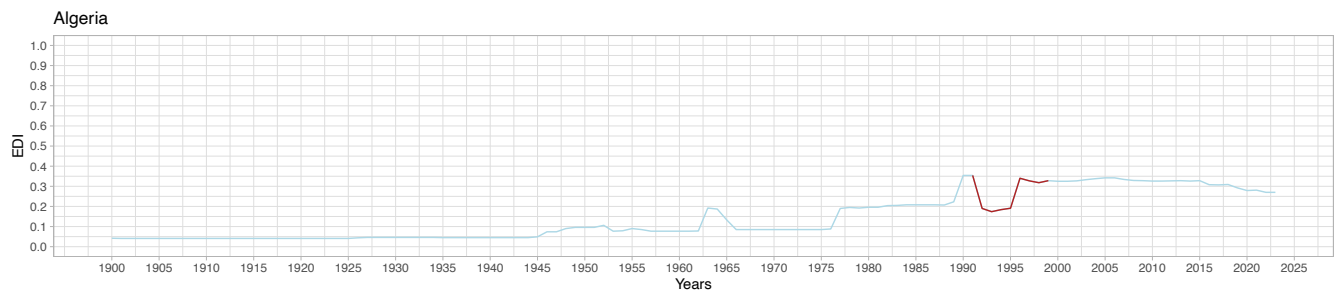
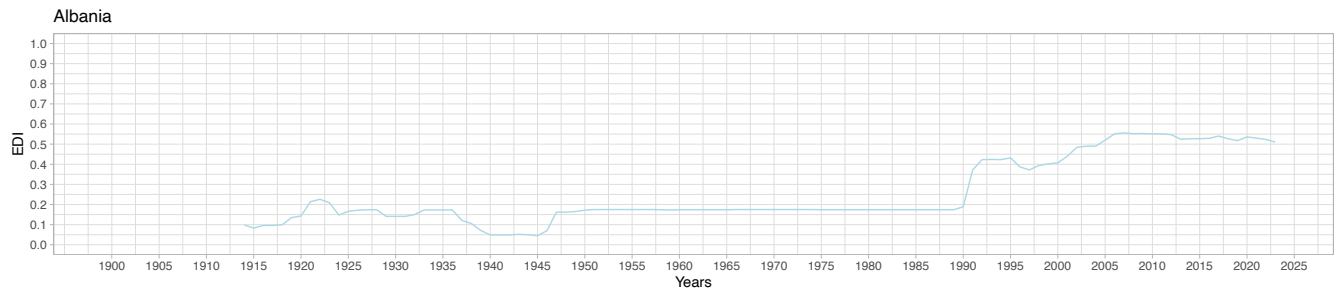
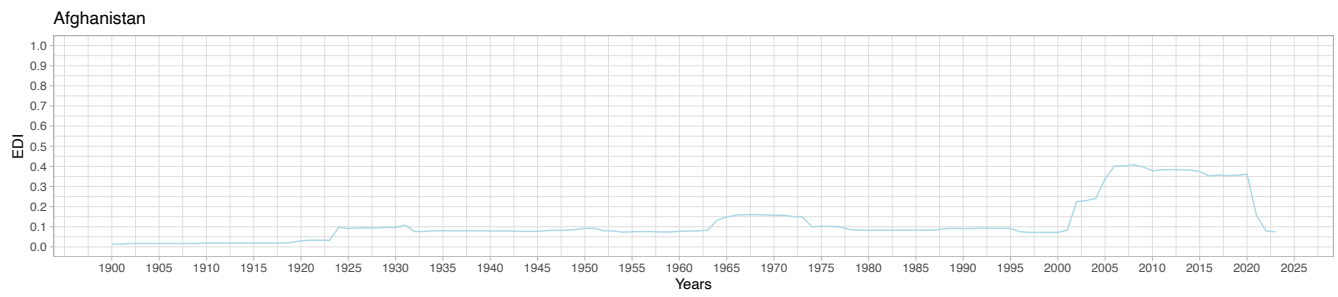


Types of U-Turns, by Regime Types, 1900-2023

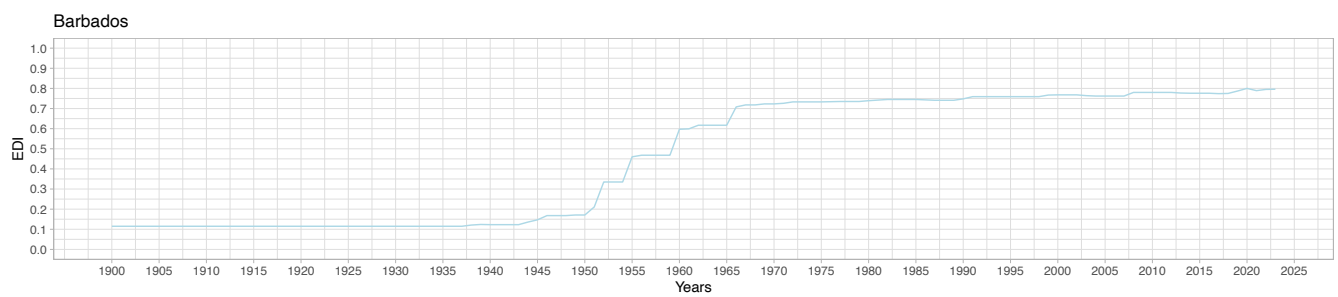
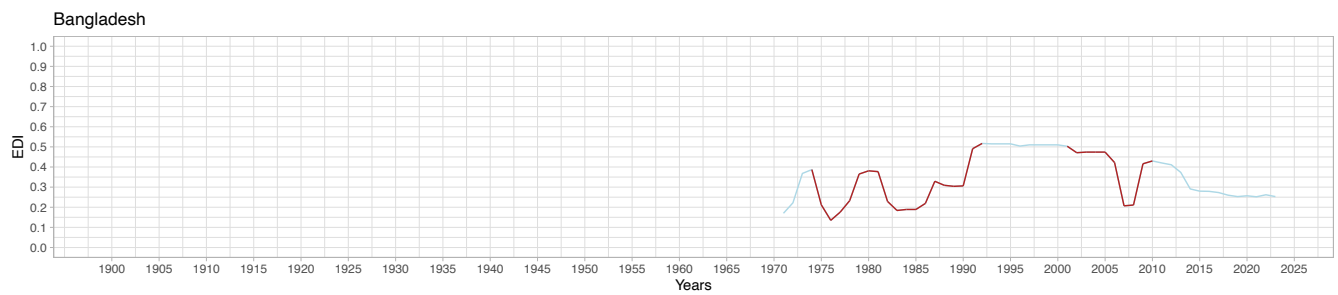
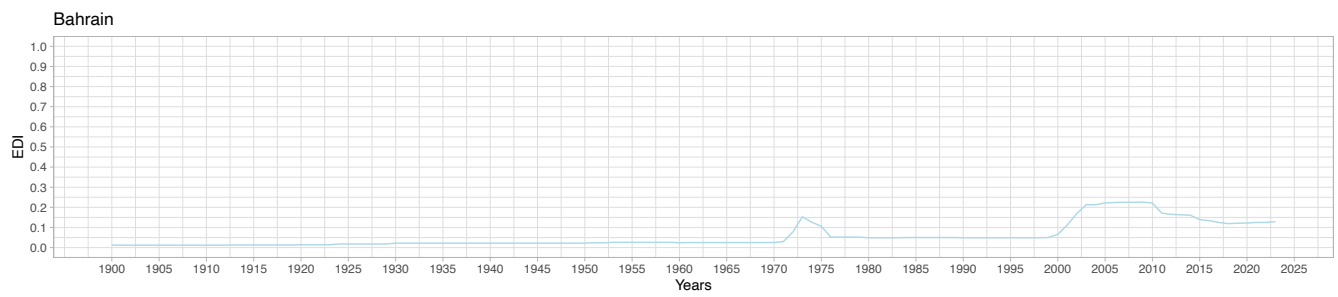
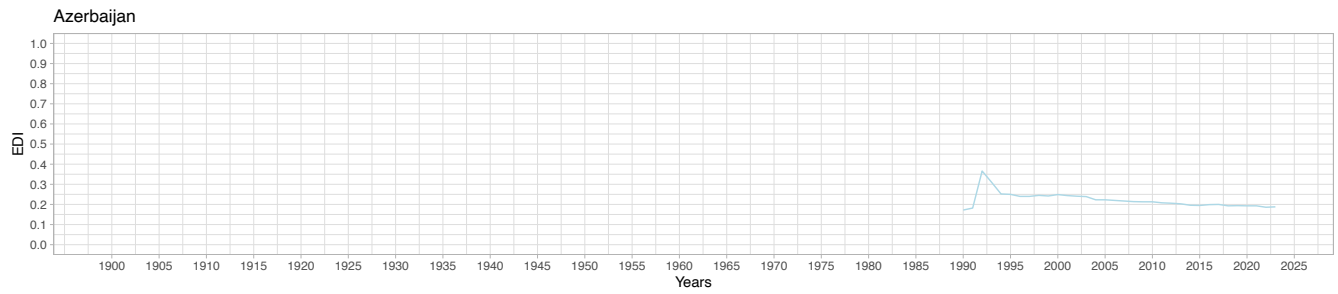
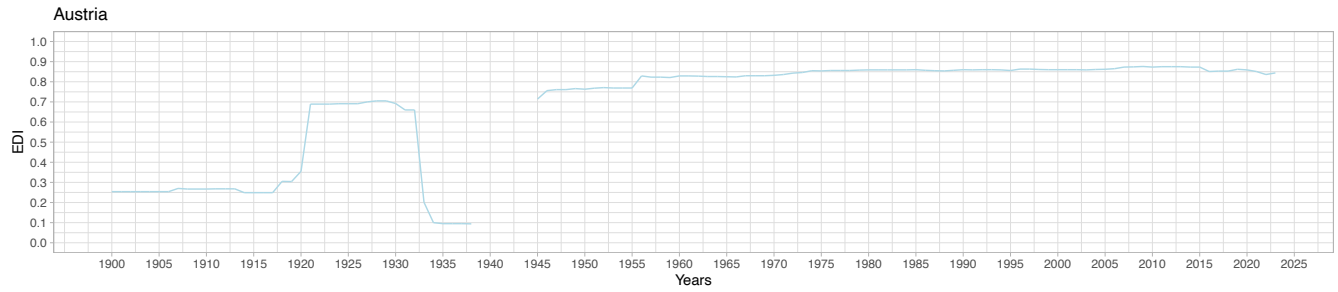
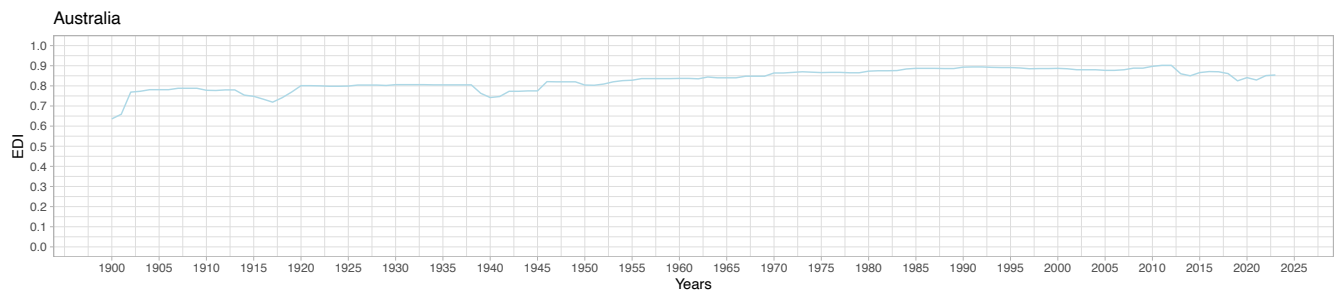
Figure A11 shows how U-Turn types' start- and end-points are distributed across Regimes of the World. Similar to Figure A8, only start and end points are shown.

Figure A11. Types of U-Turns, by Regime Type

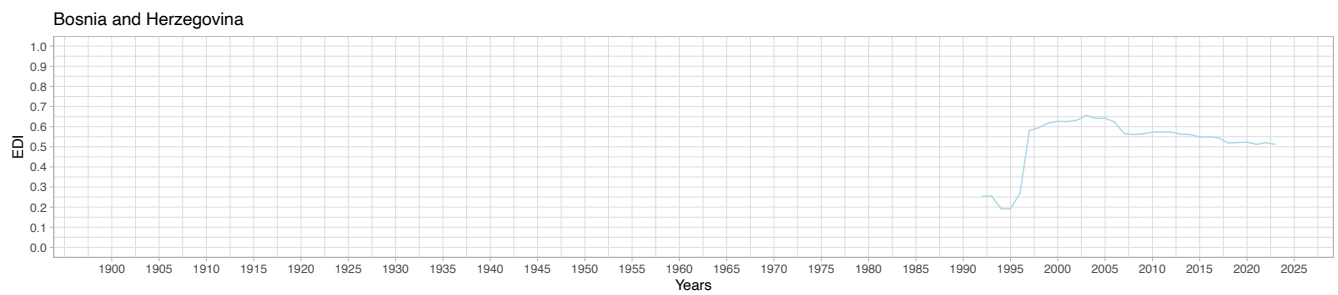
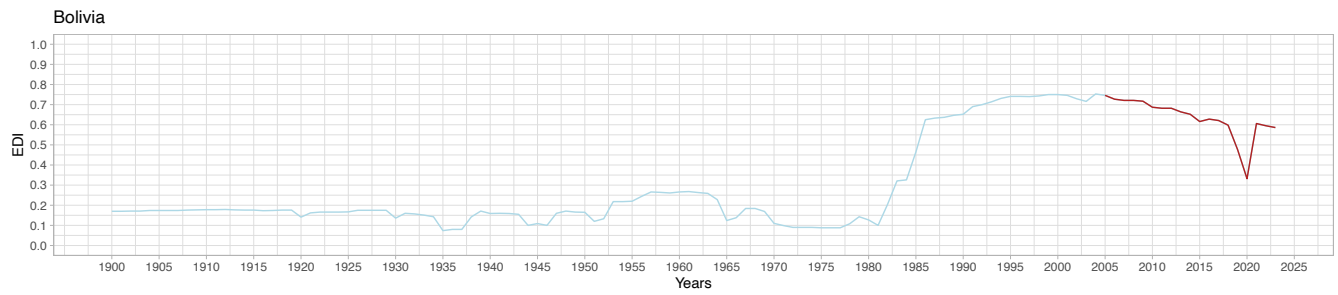
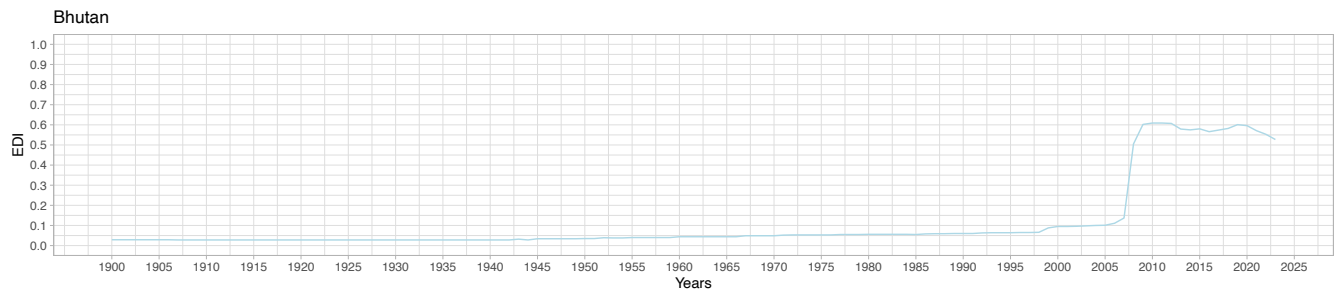
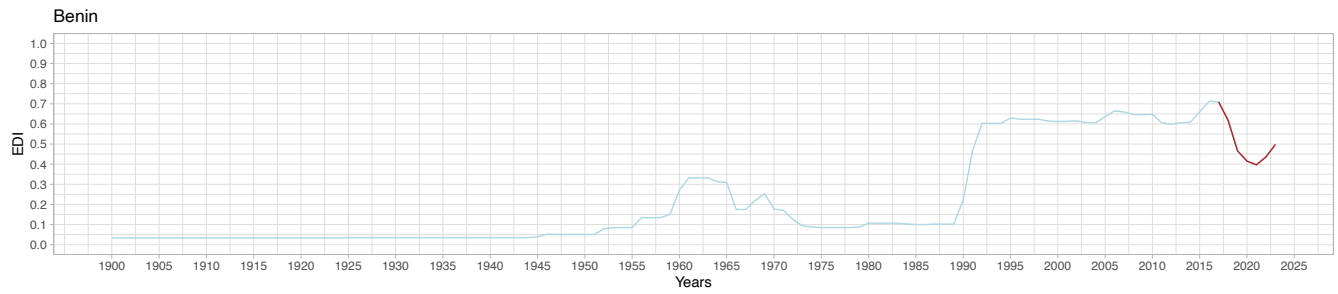
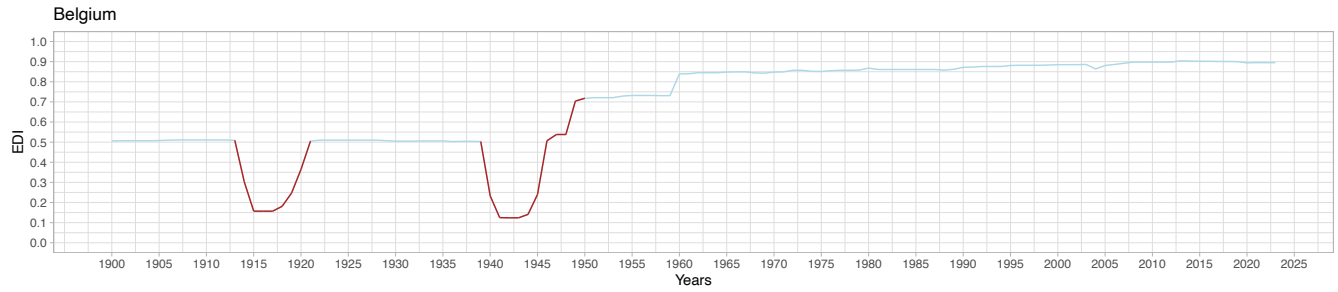
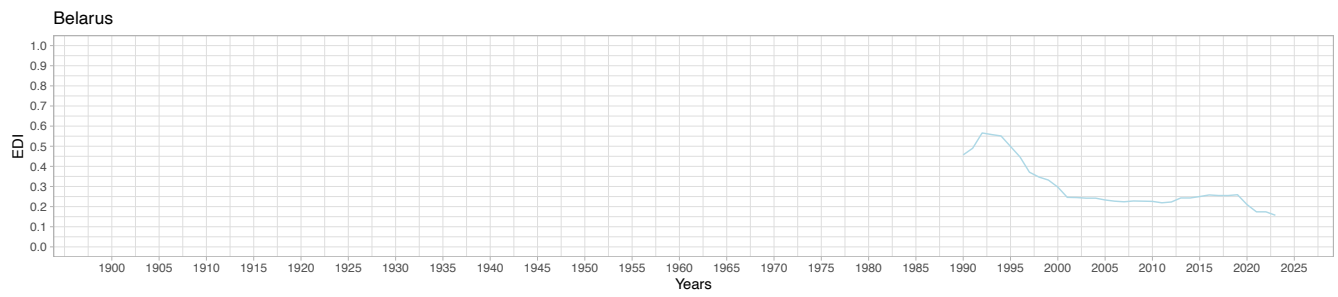




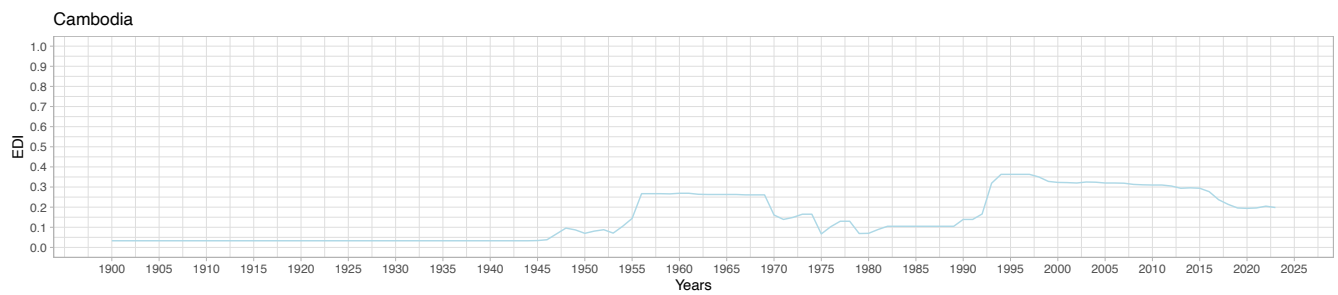
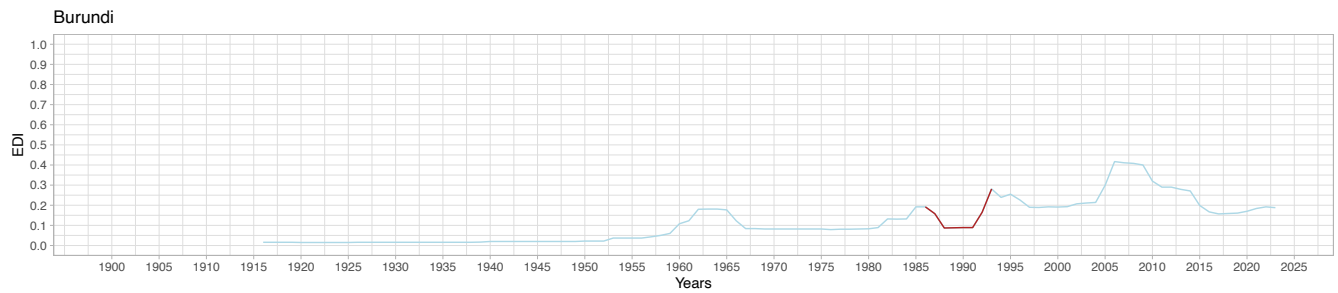
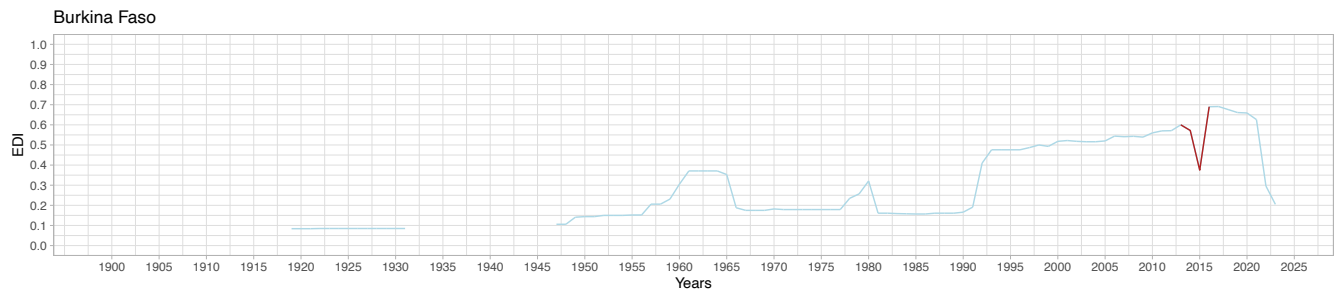
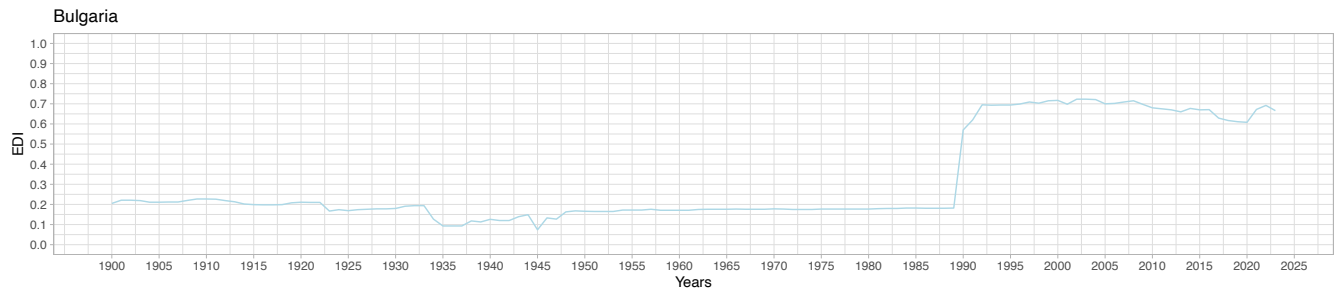
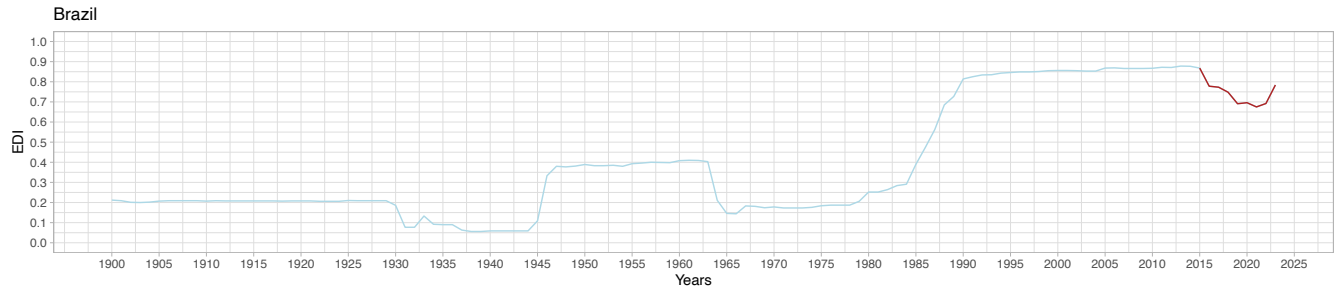
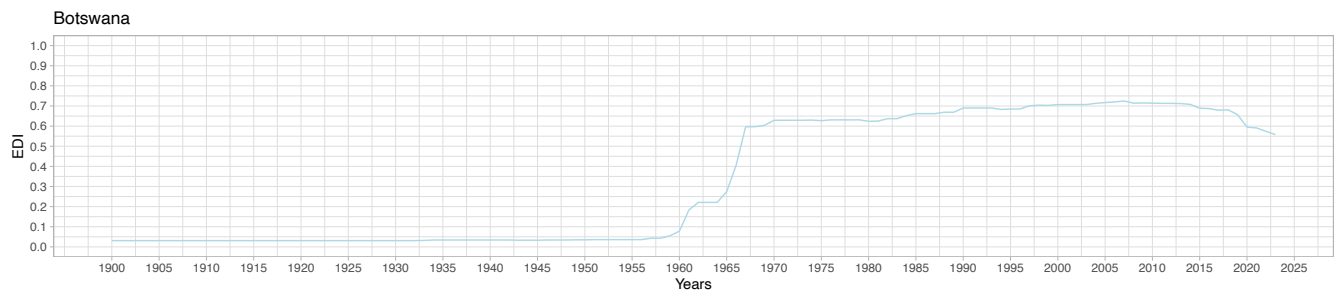
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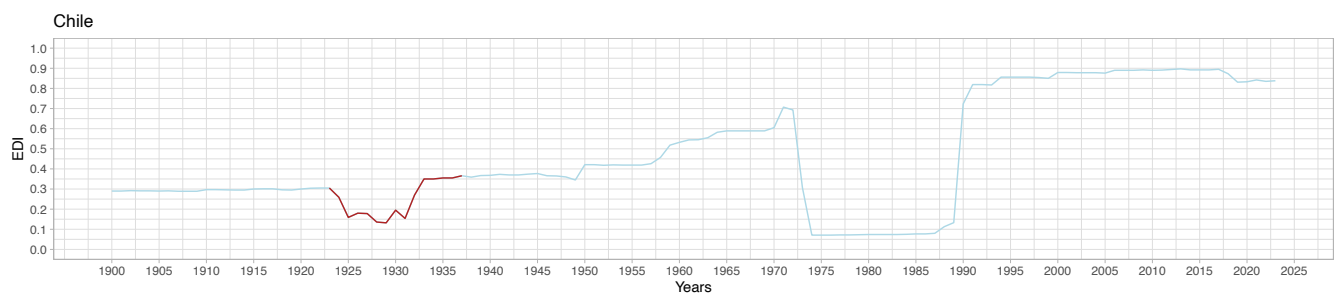
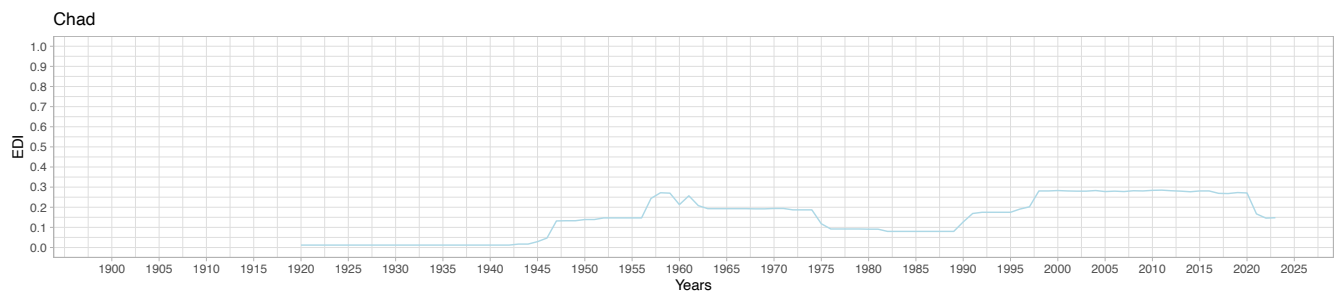
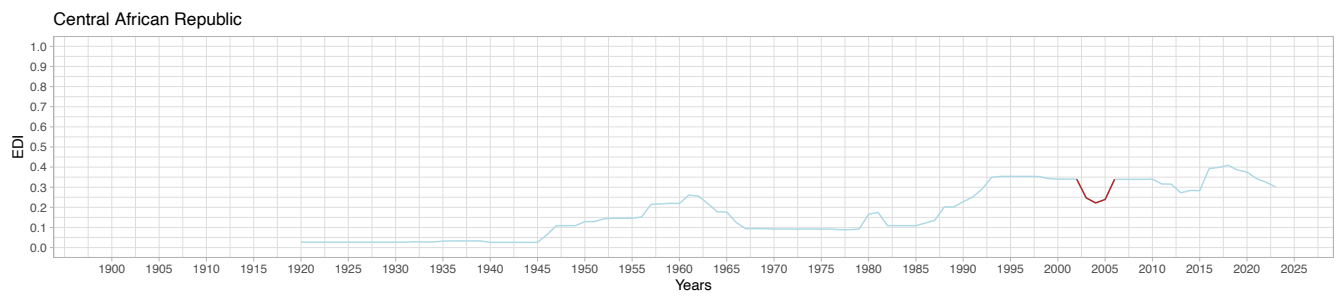
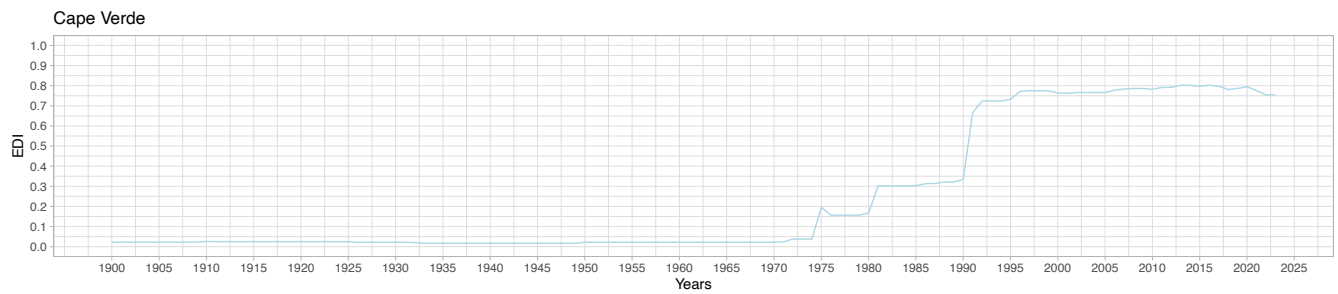
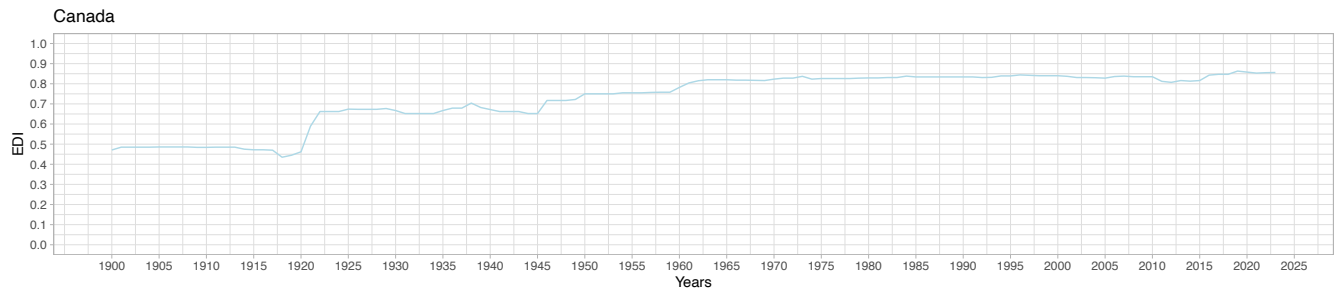
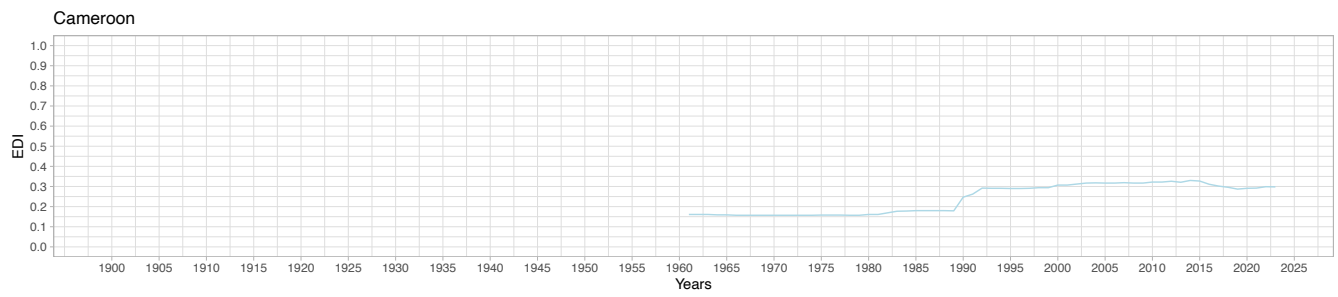
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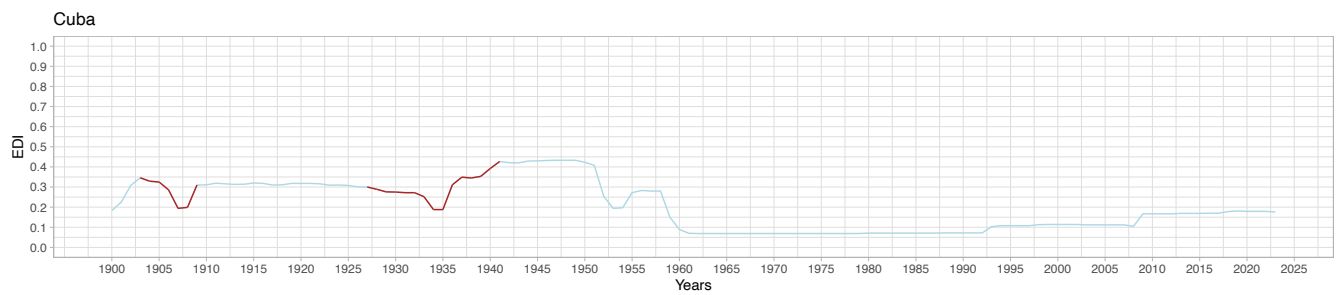
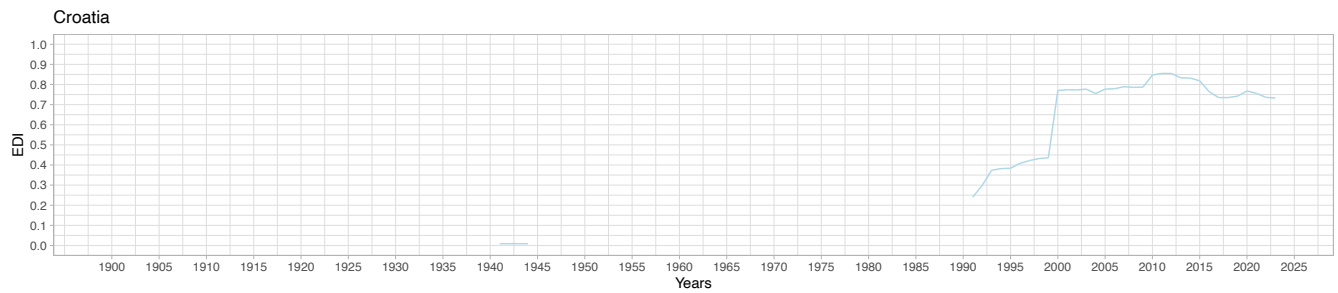
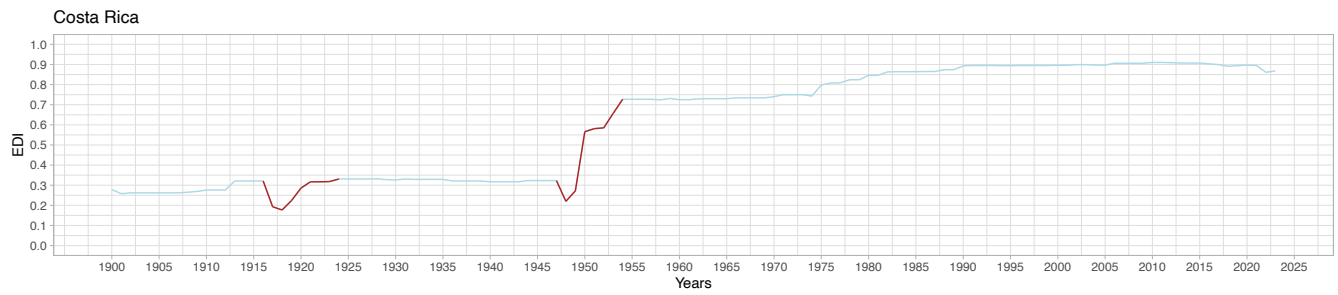
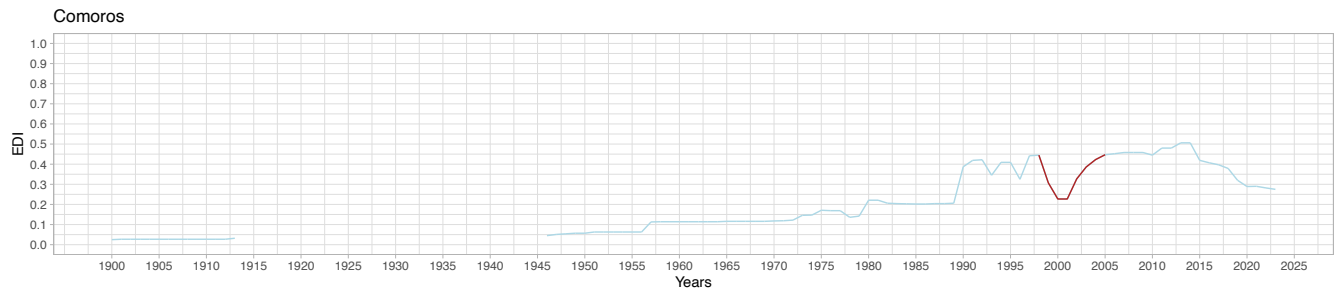
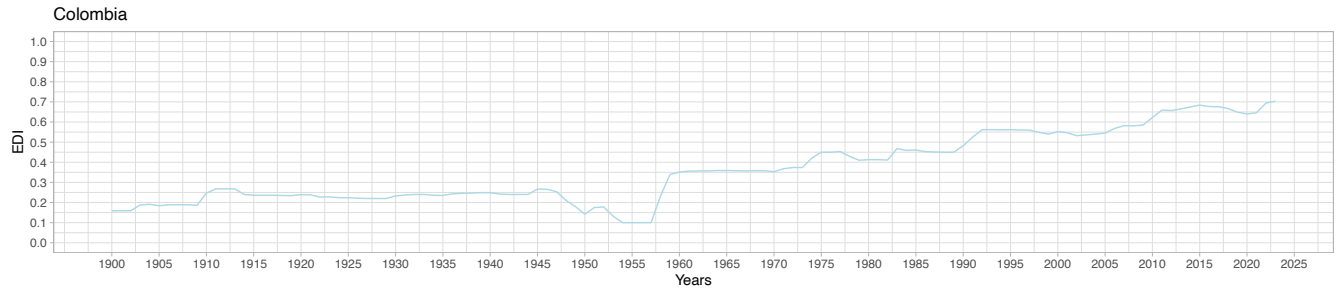
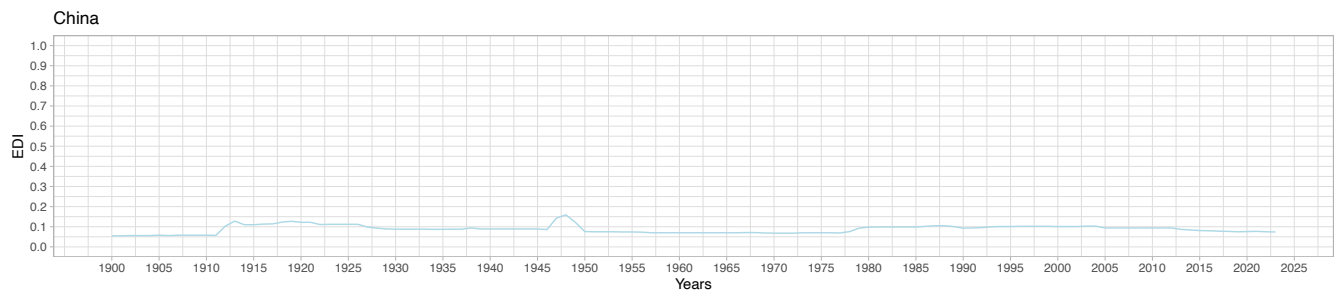
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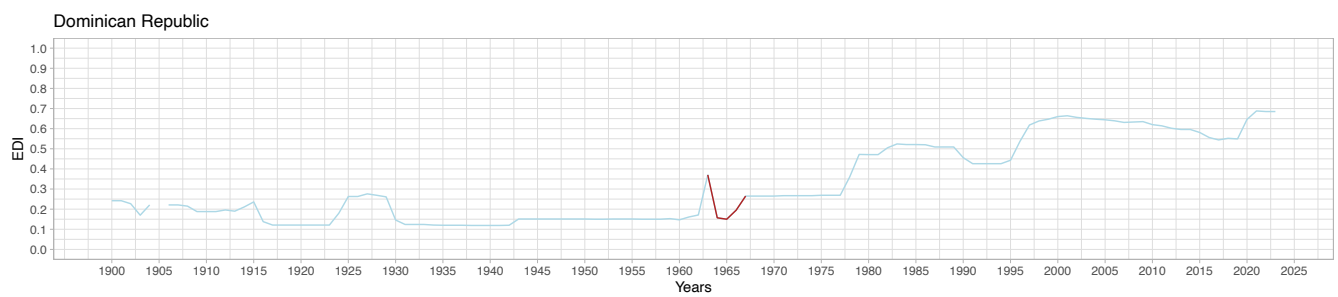
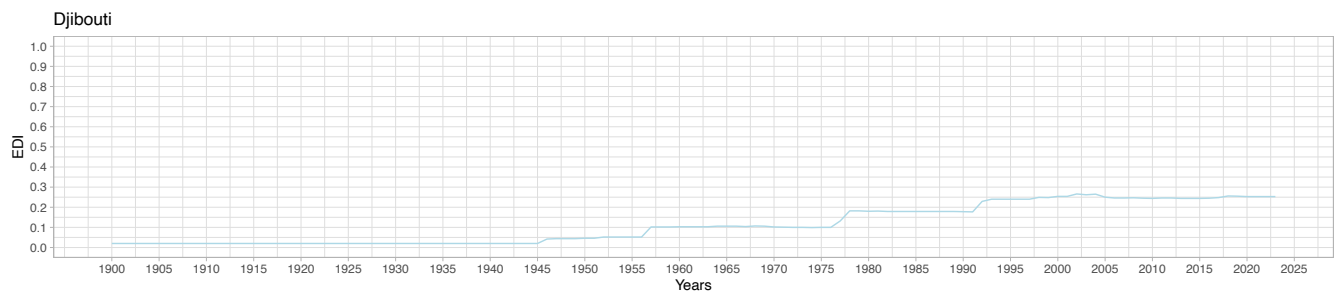
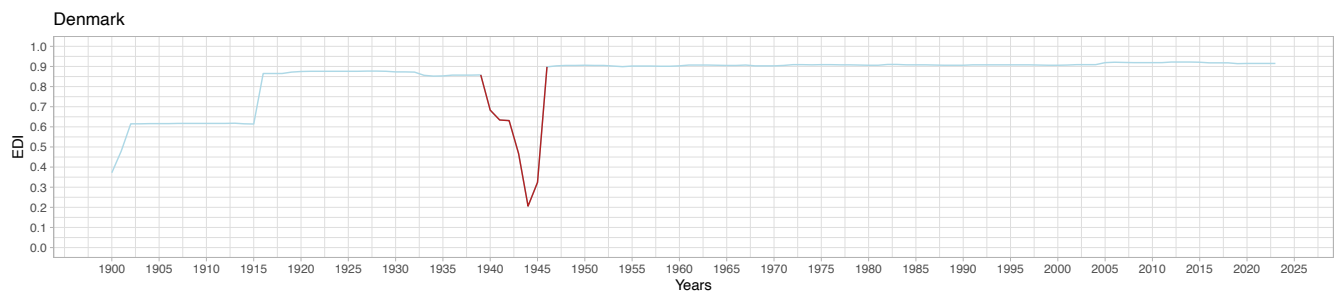
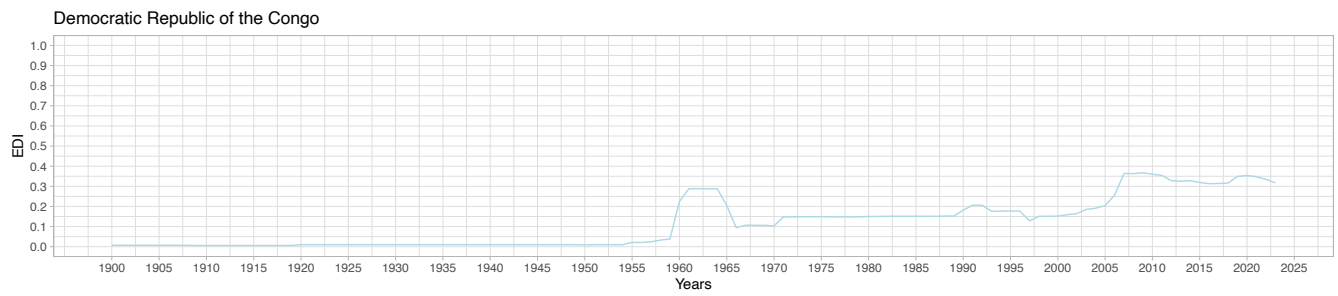
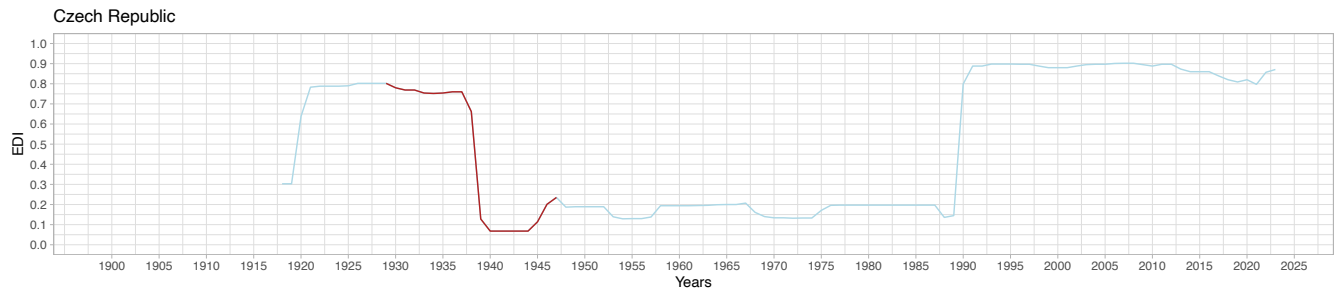
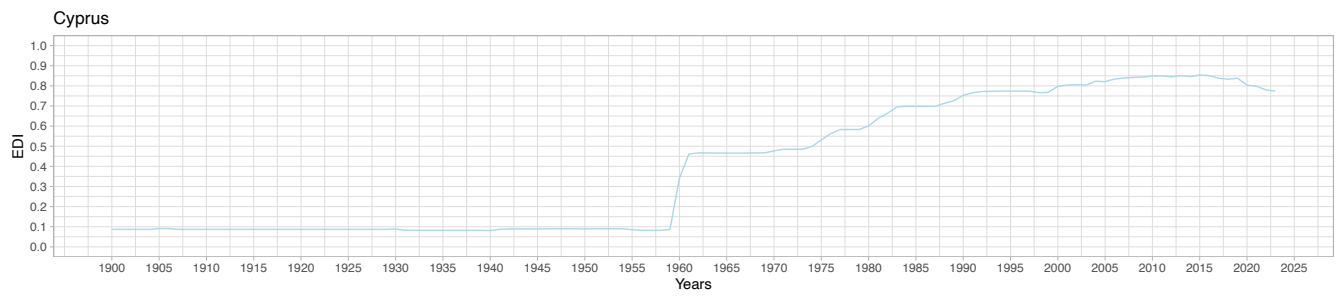
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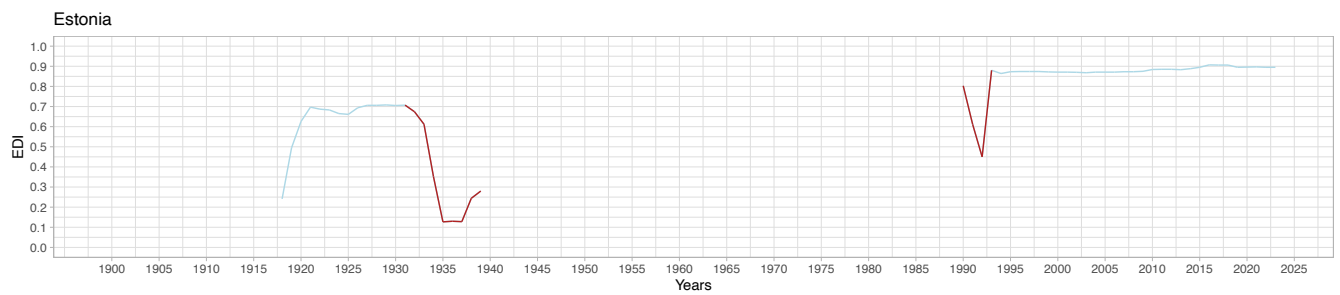
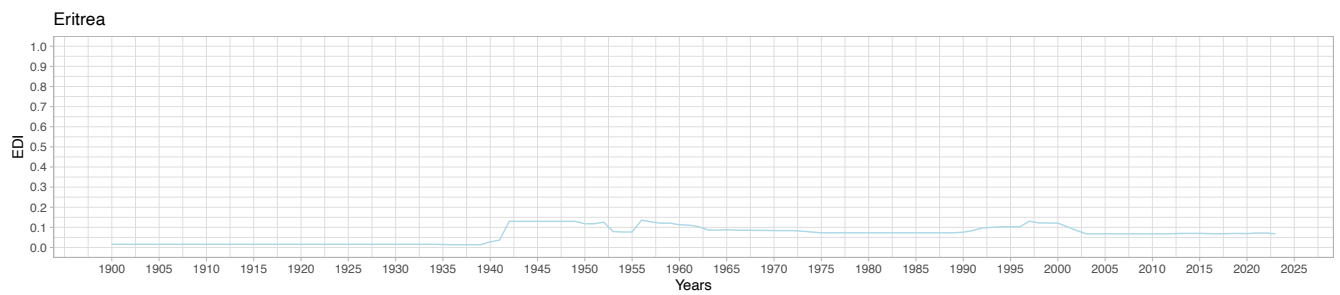
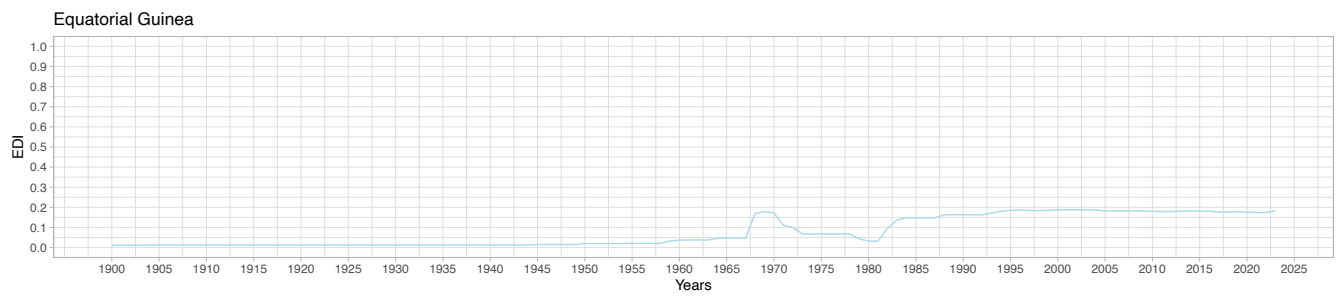
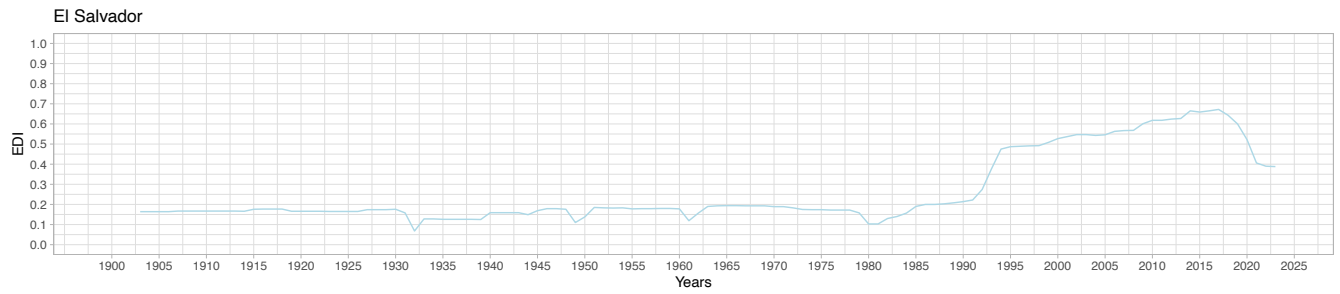
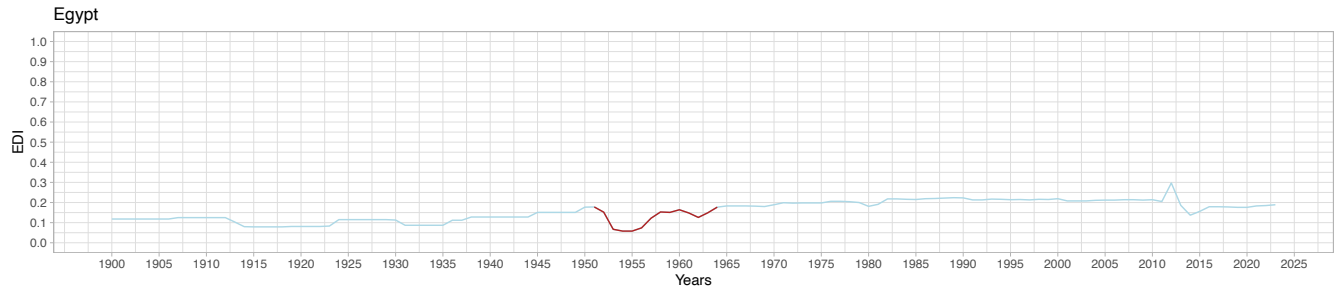
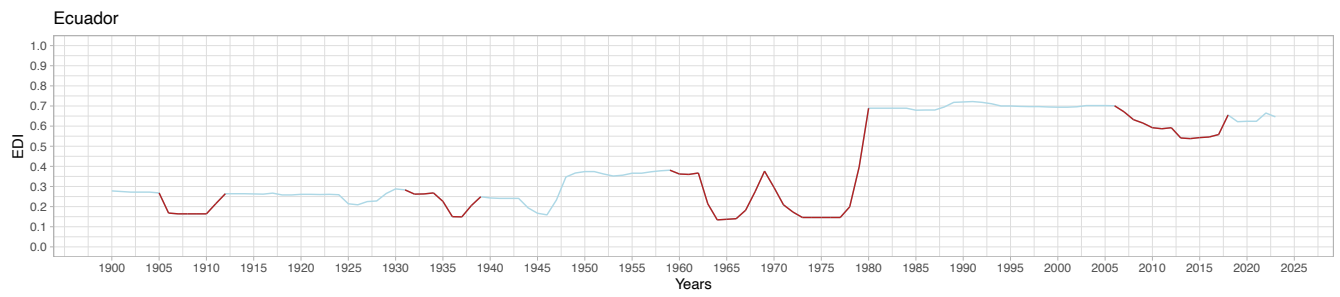
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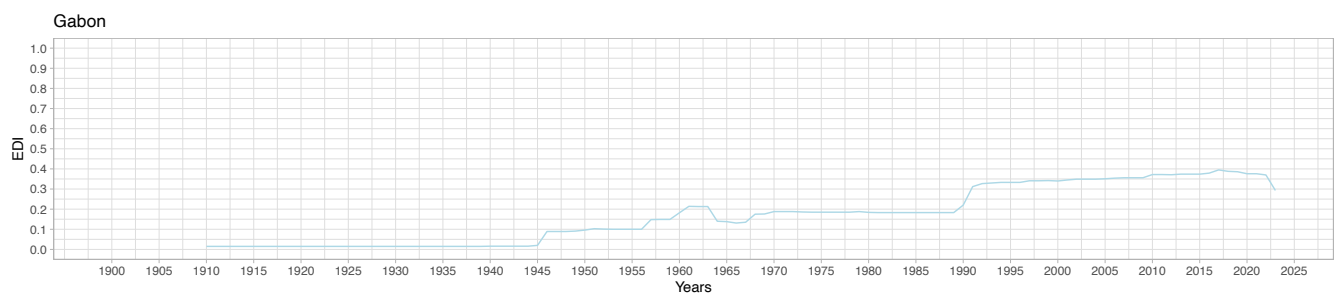
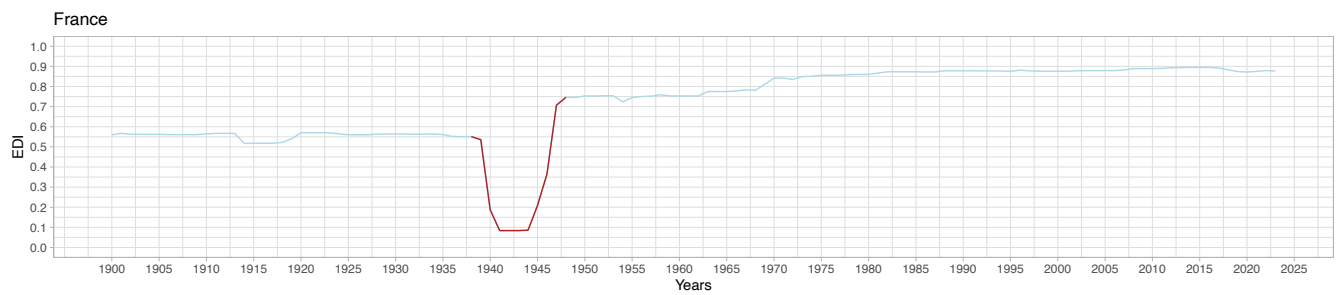
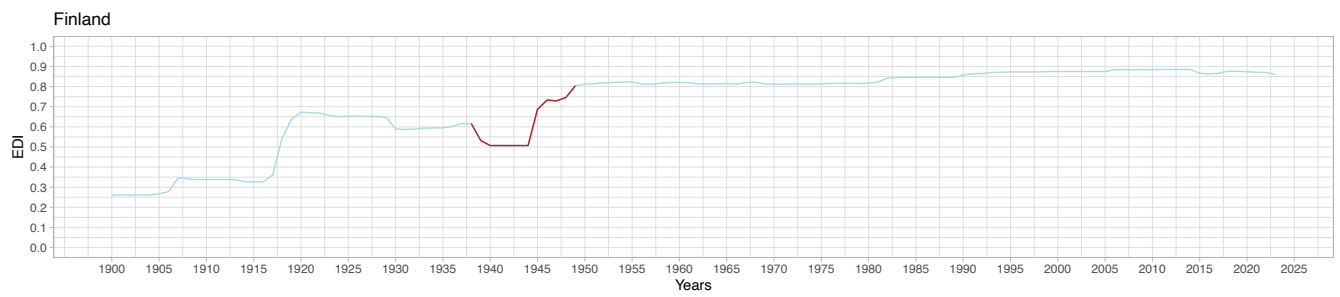
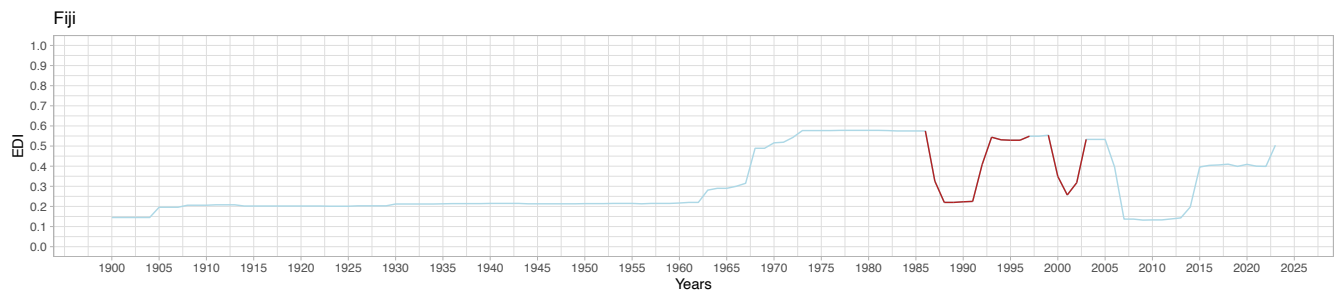
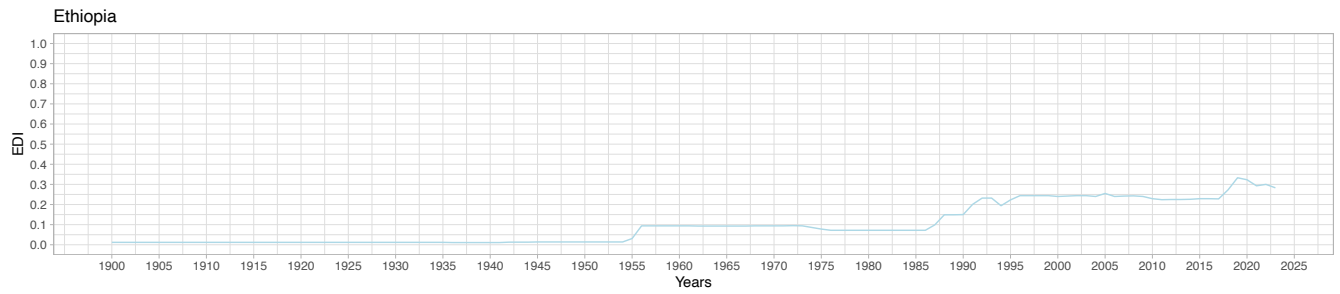
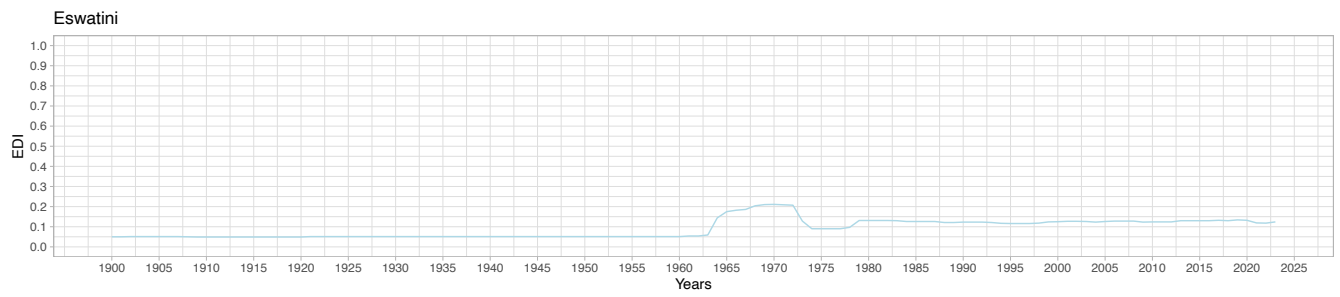
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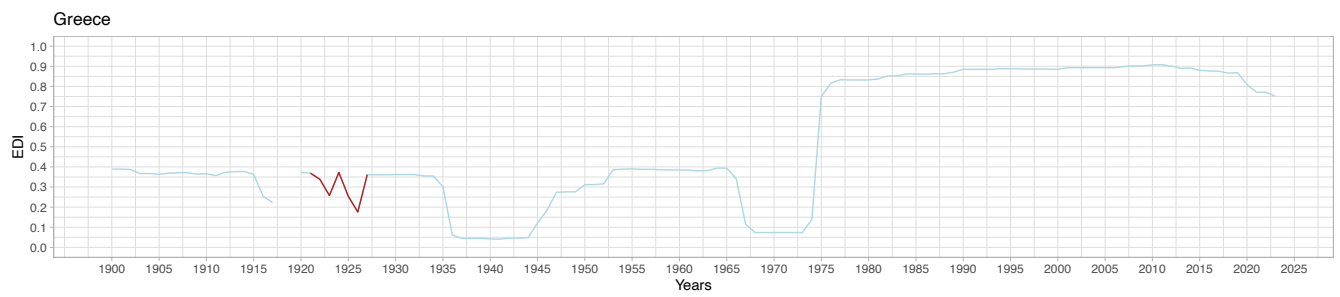
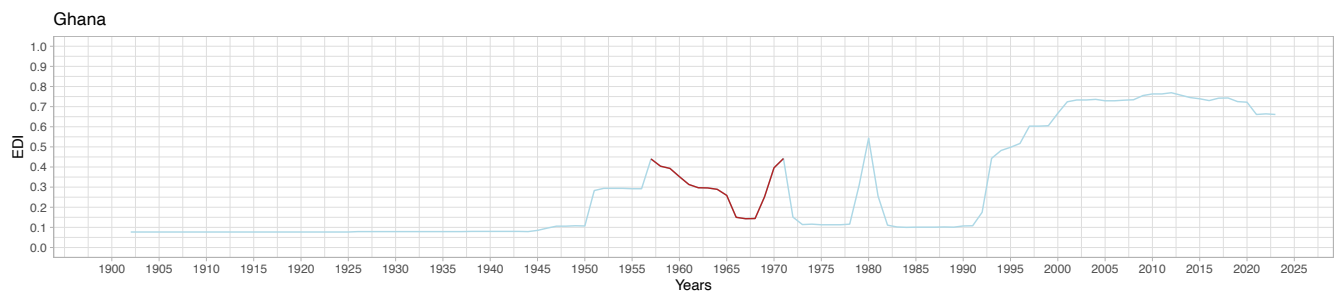
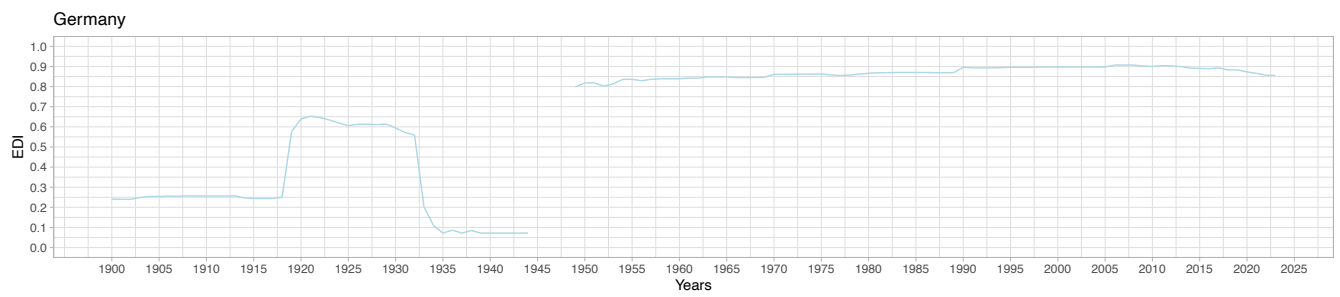
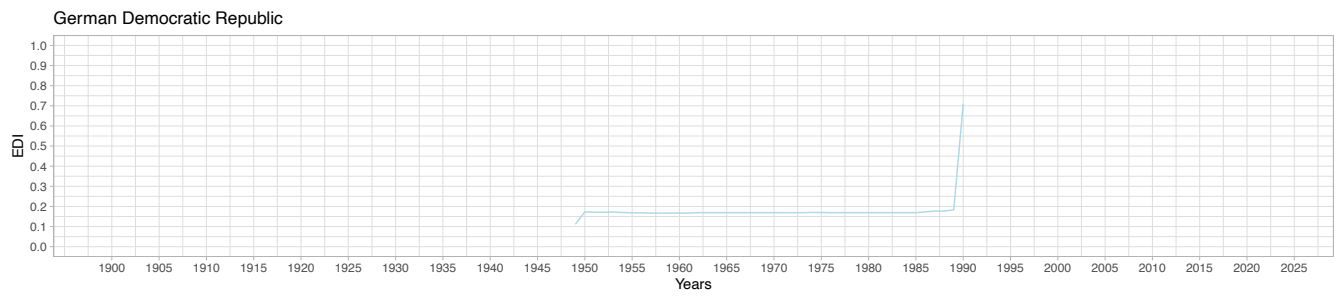
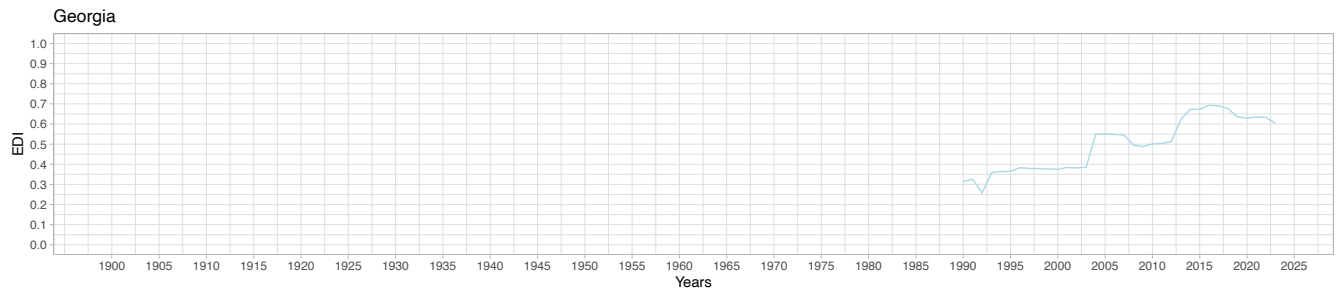
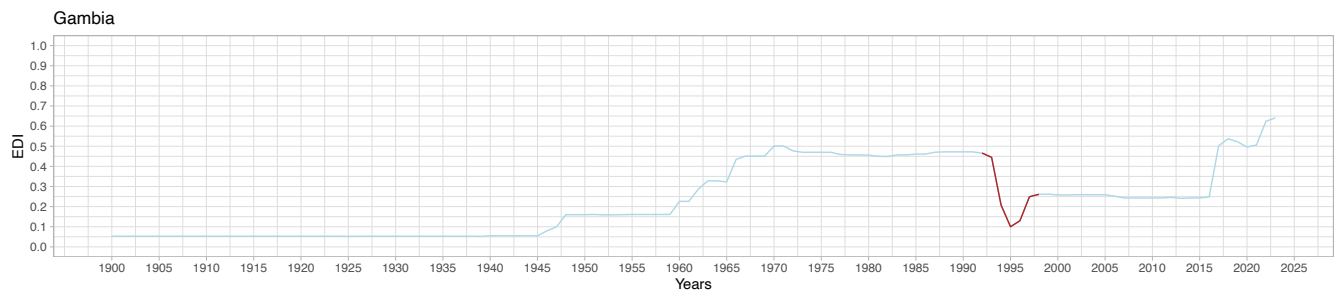
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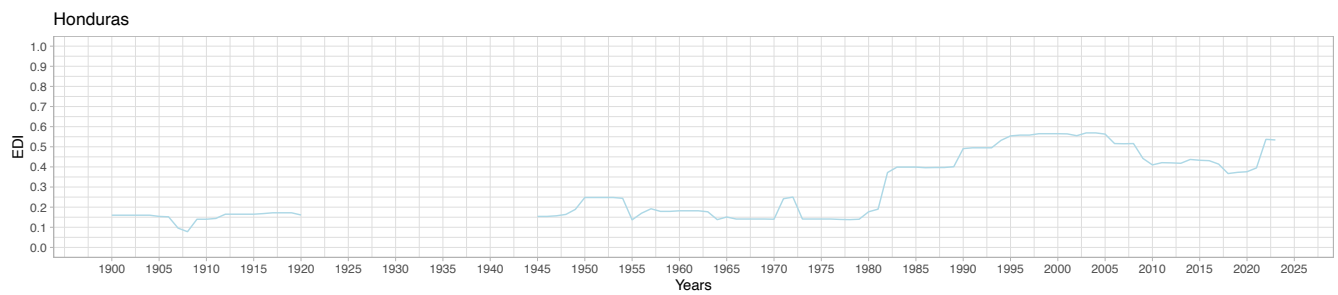
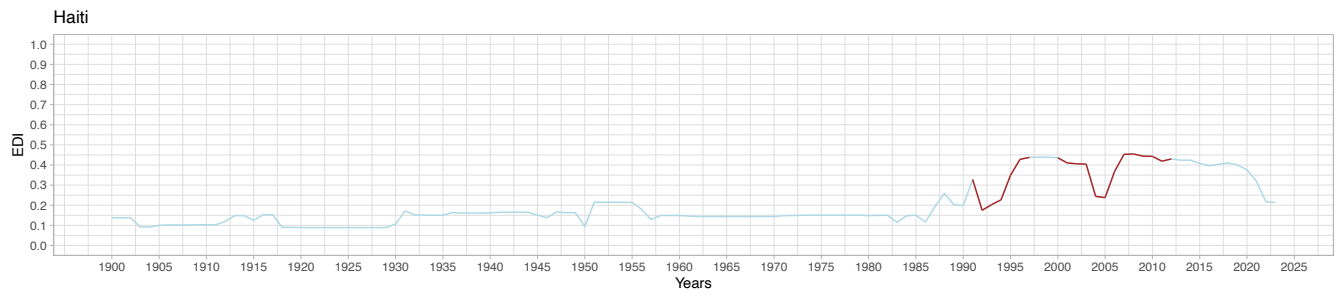
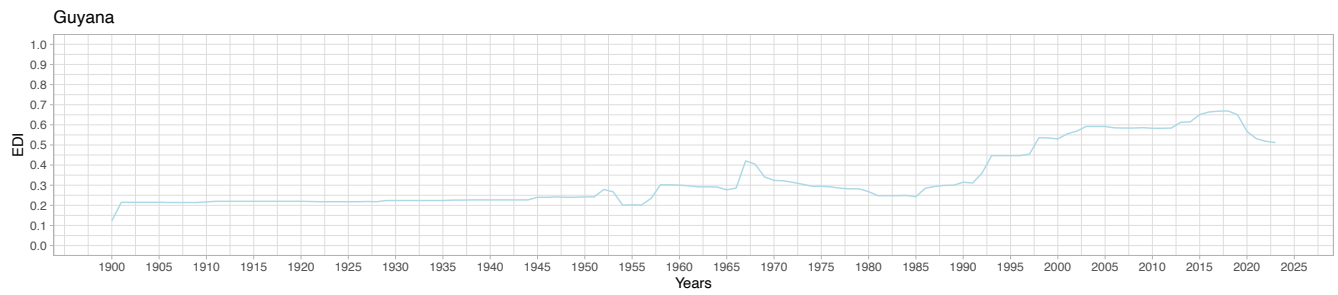
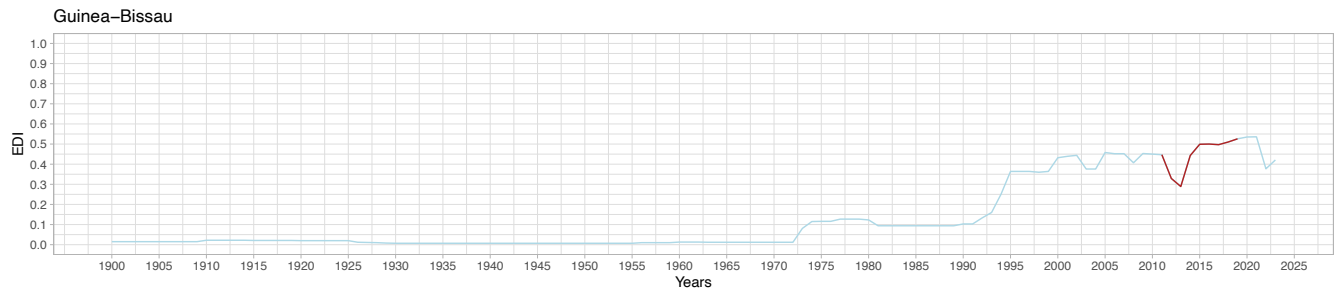
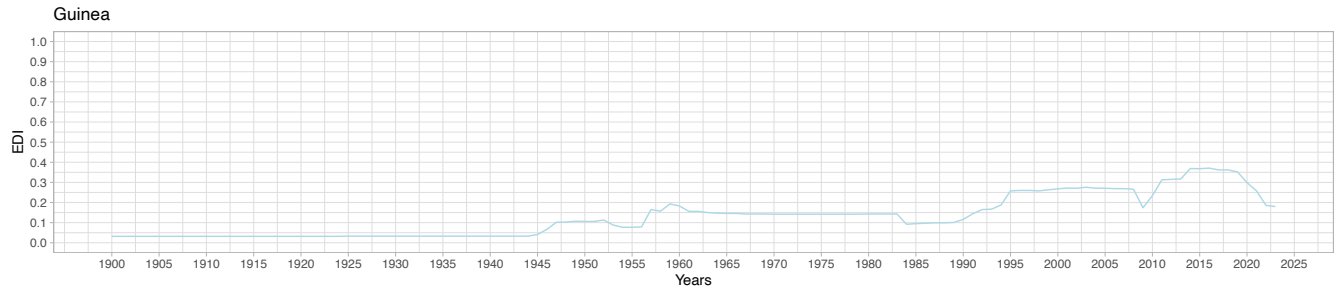
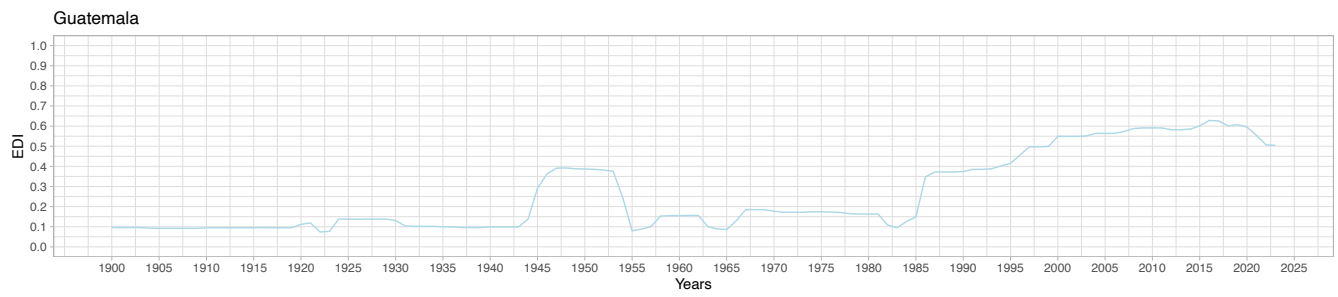
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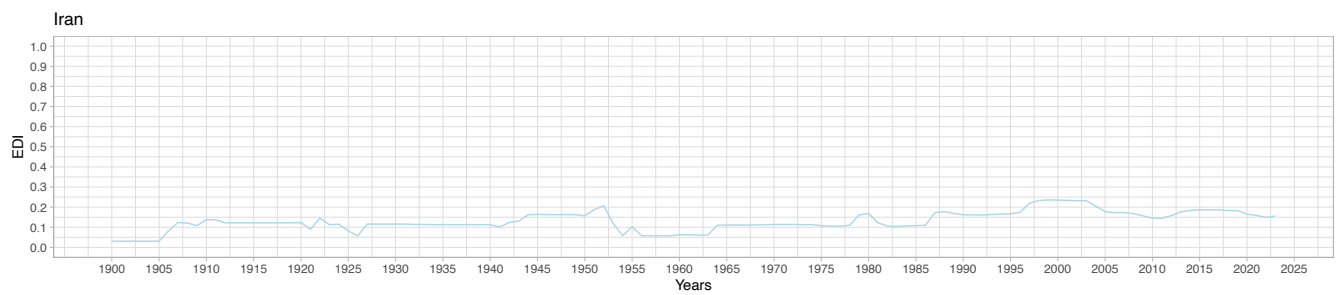
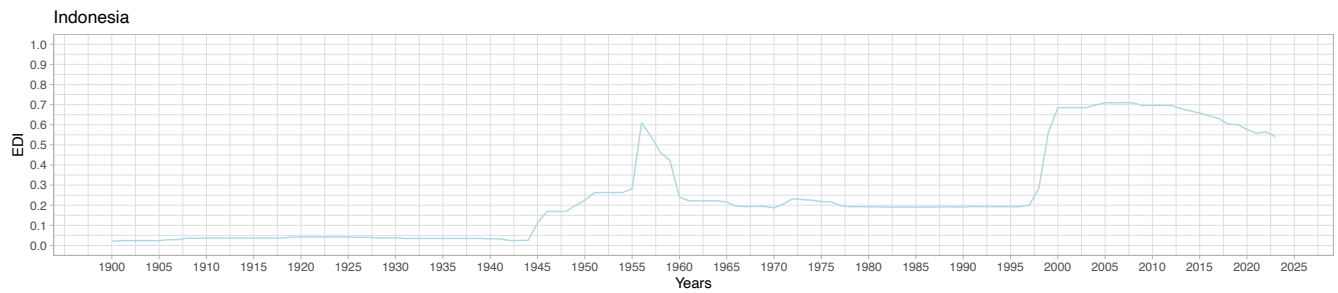
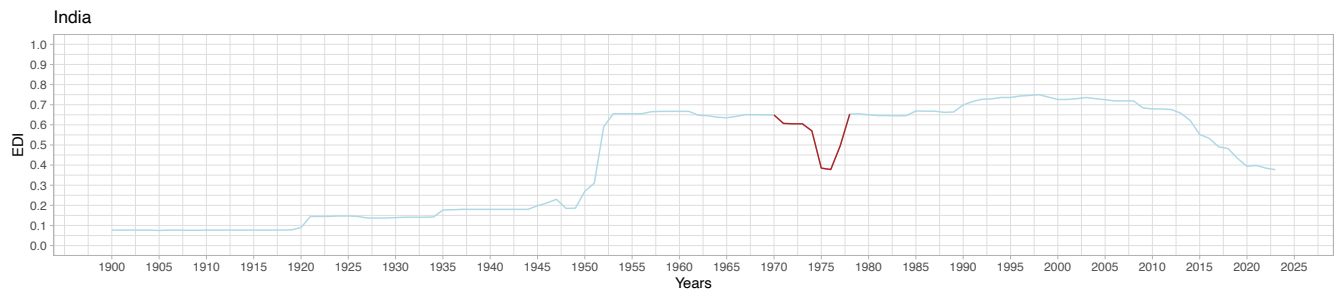
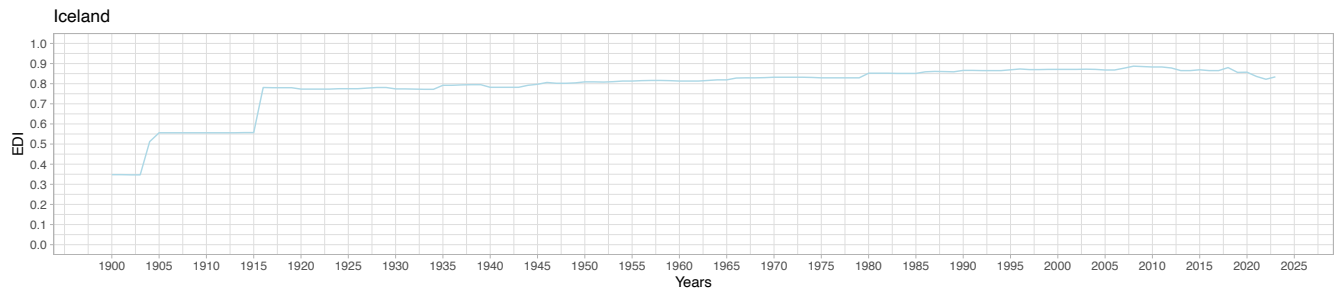
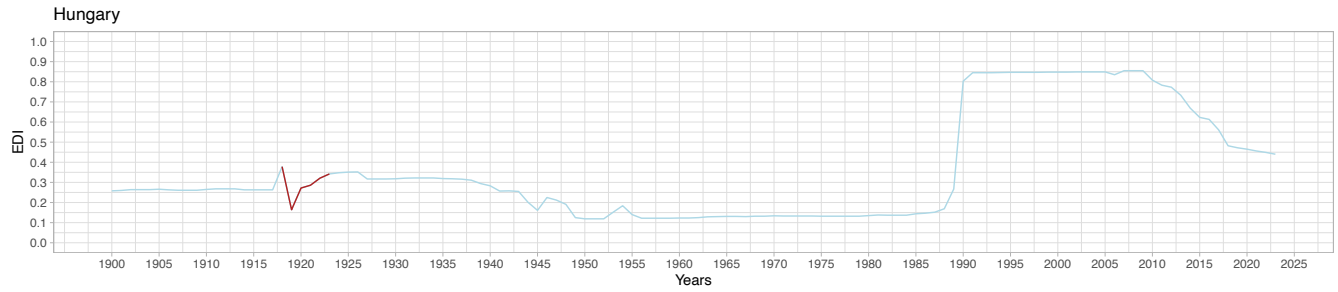
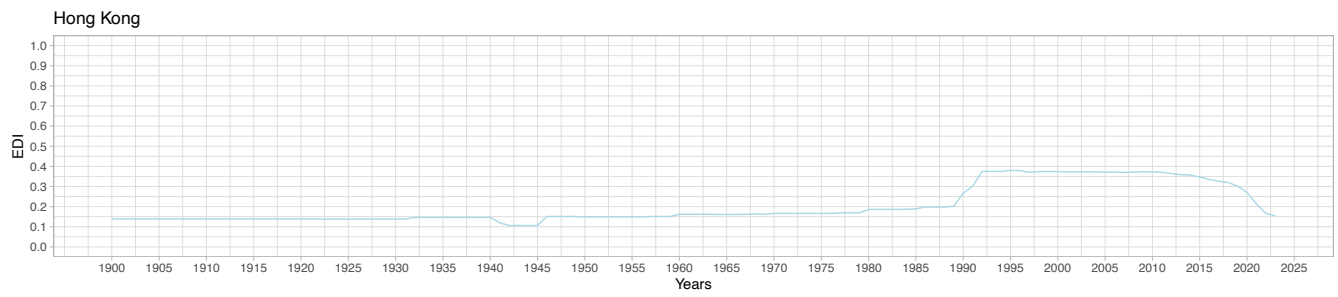
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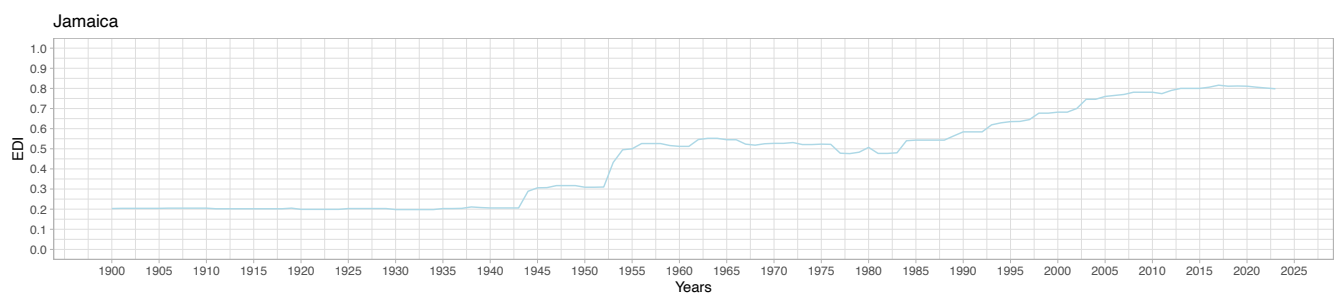
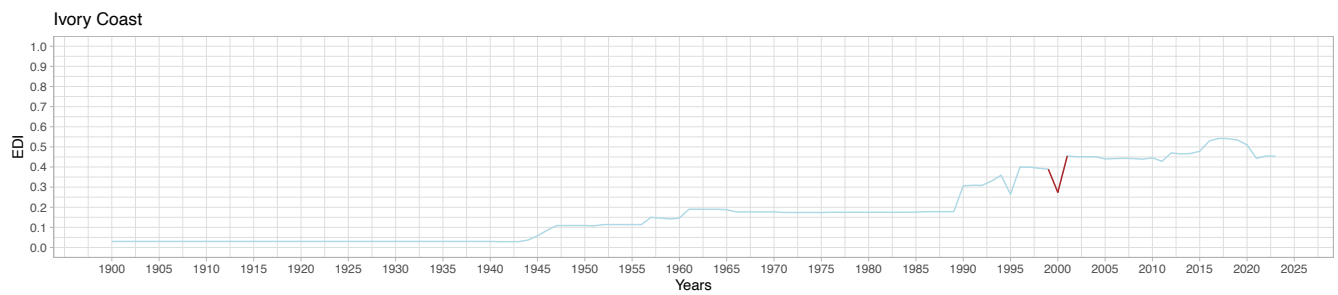
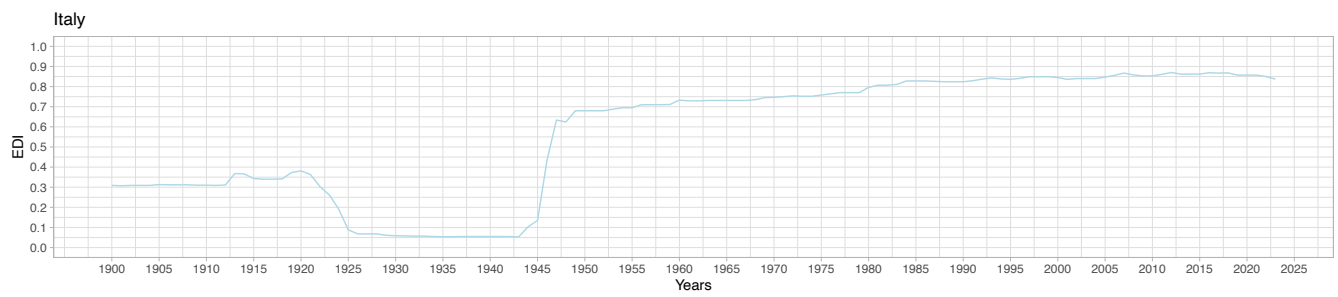
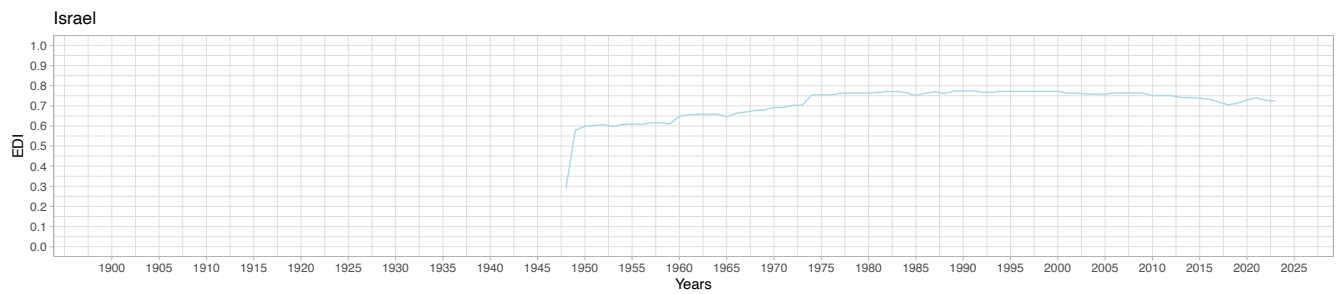
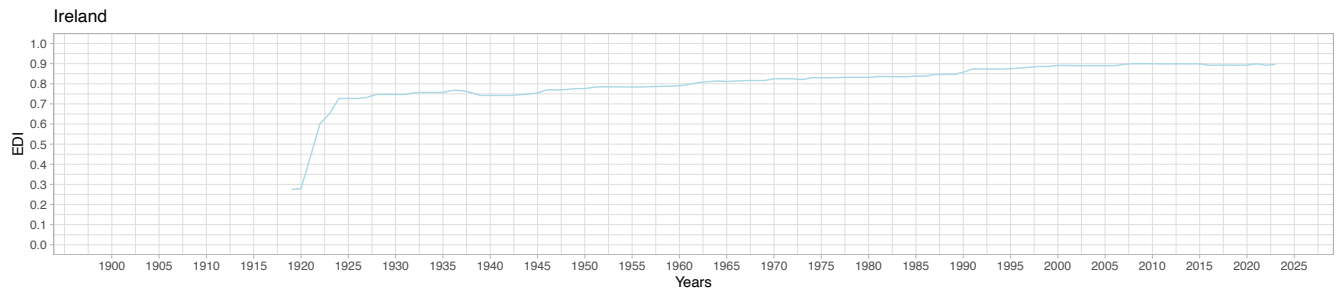
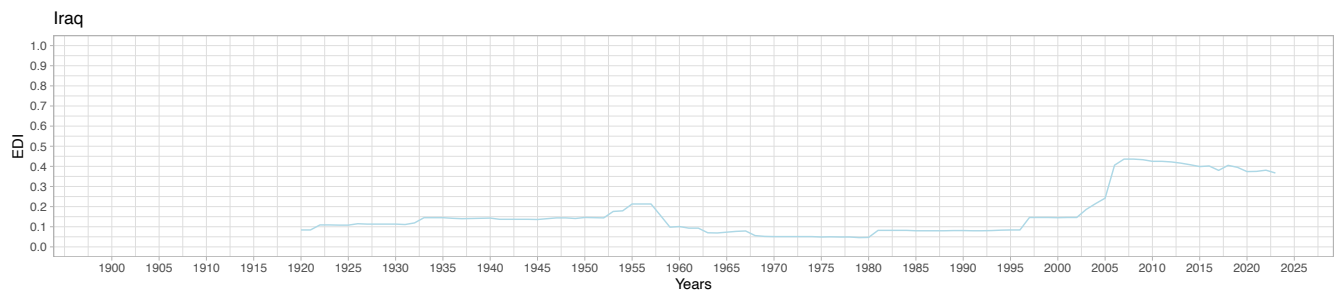
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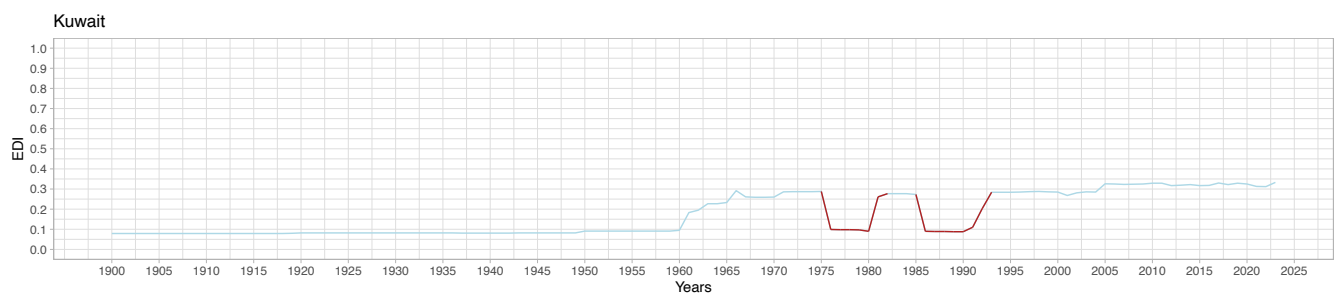
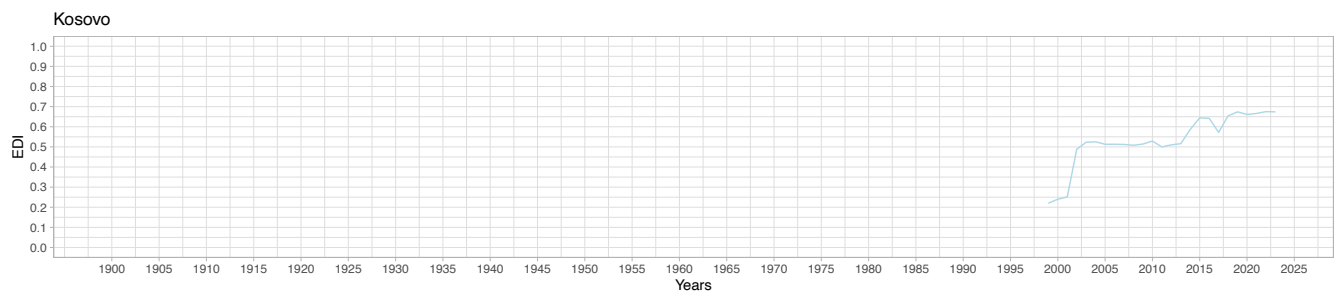
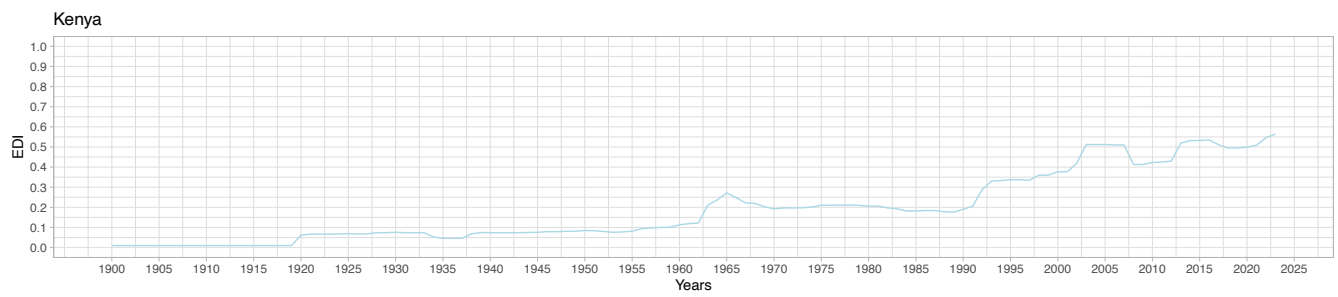
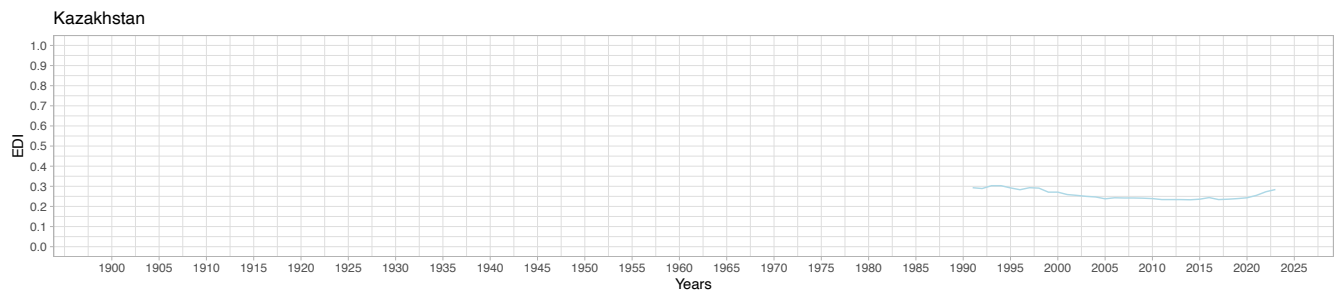
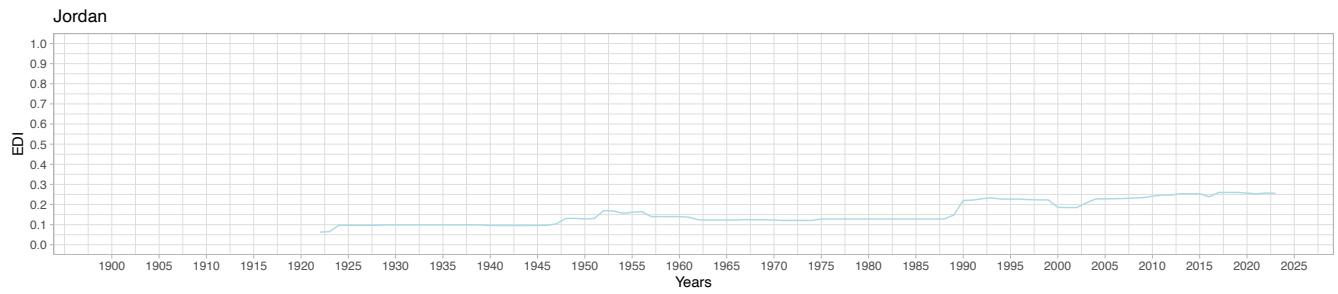
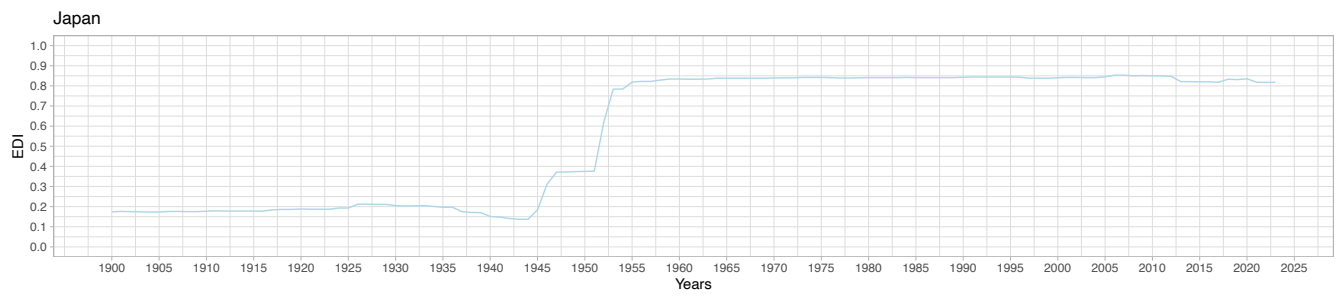
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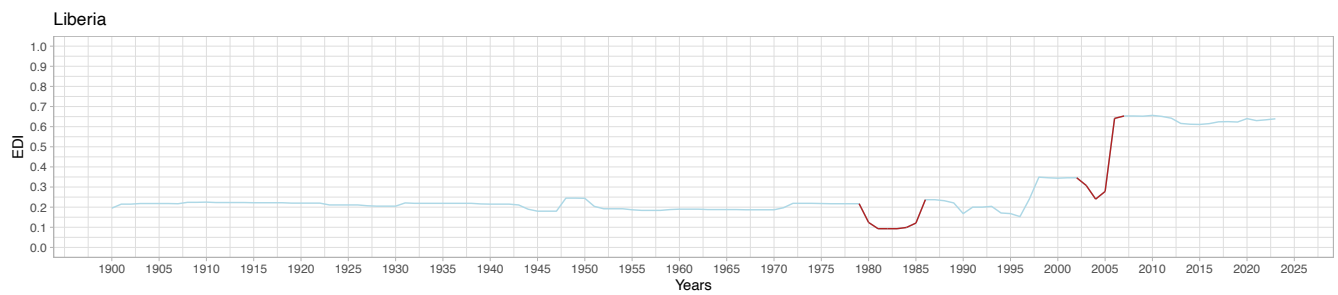
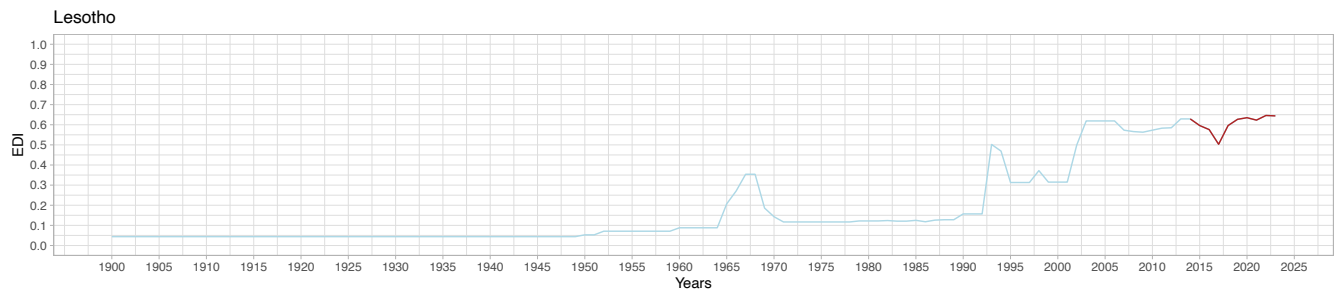
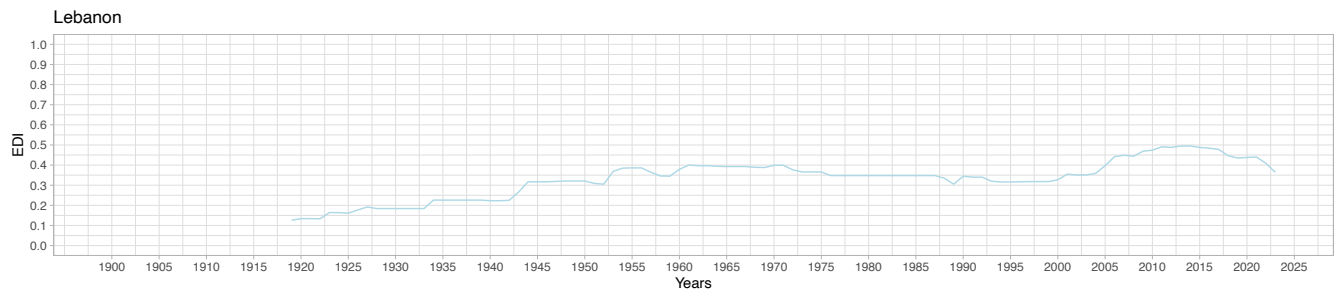
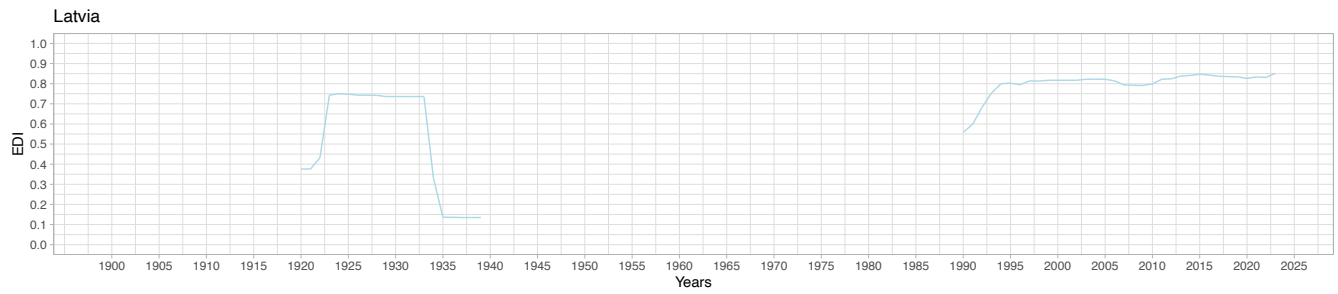
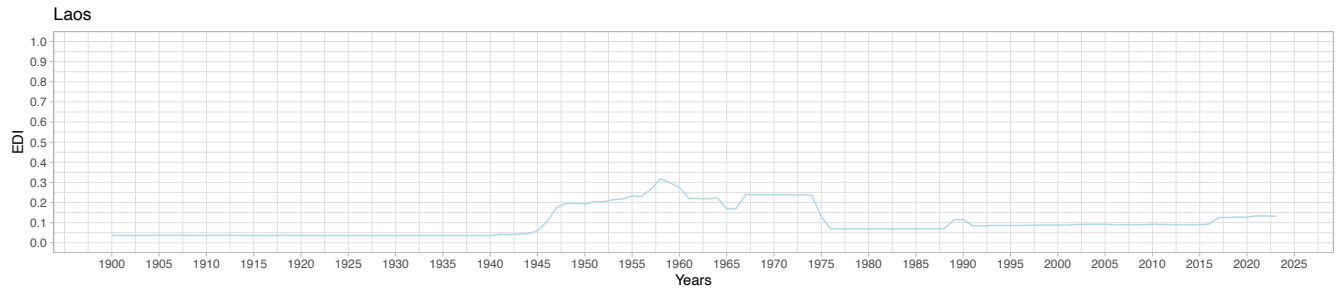
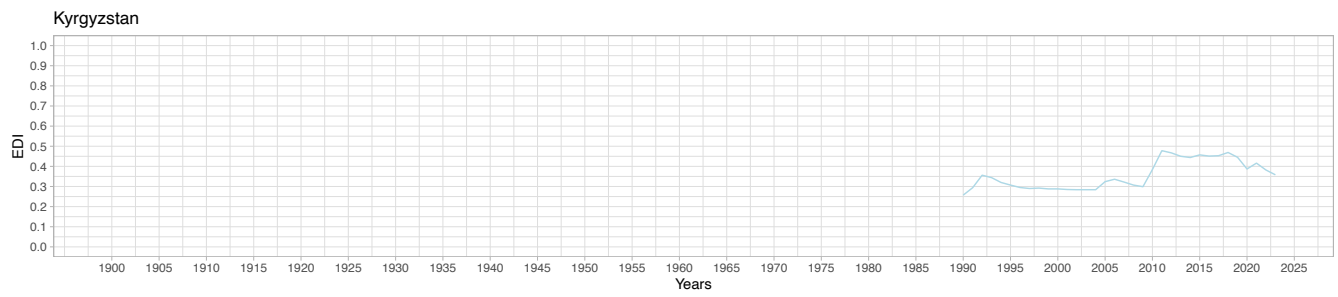
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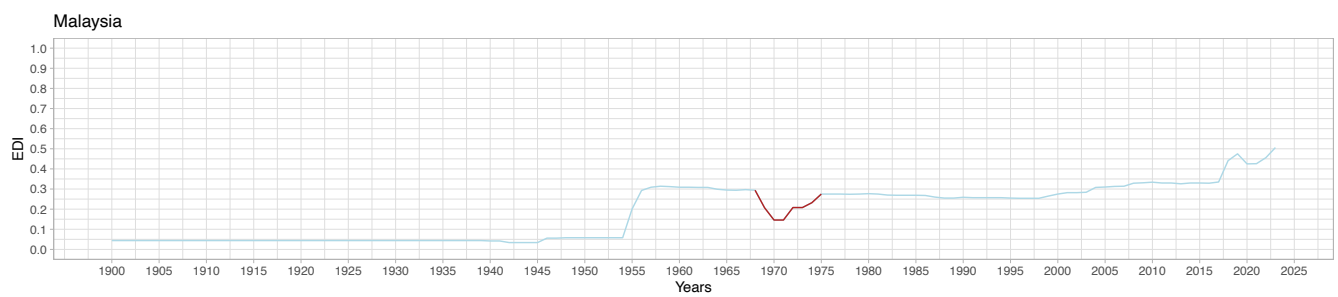
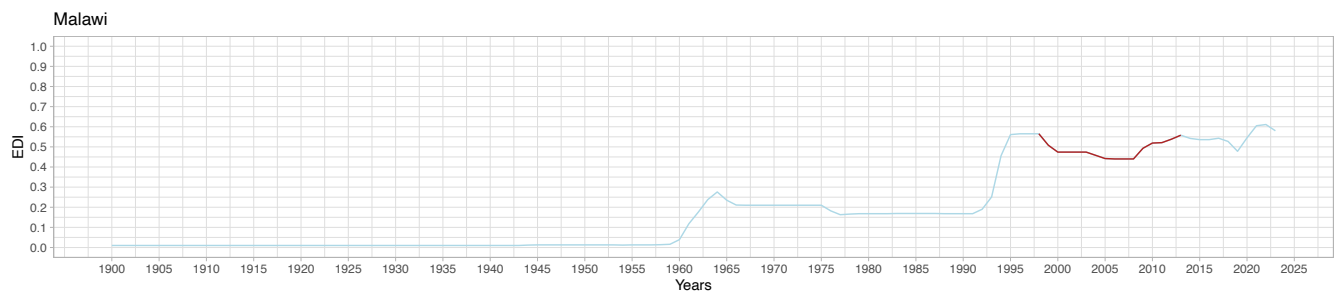
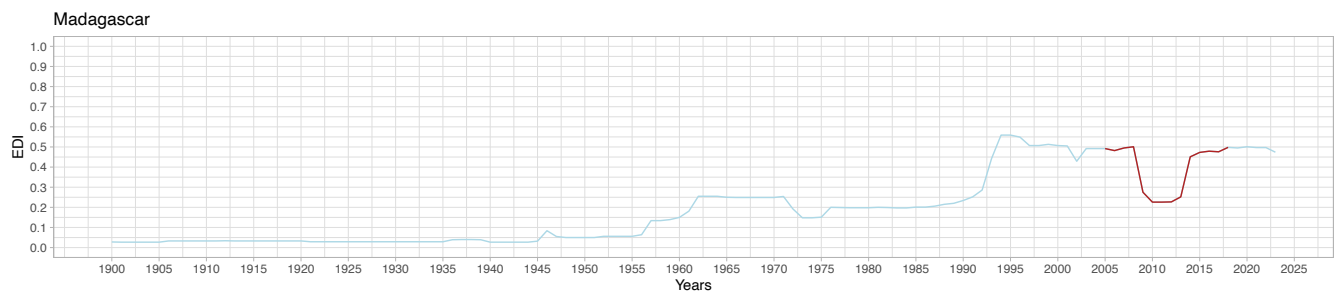
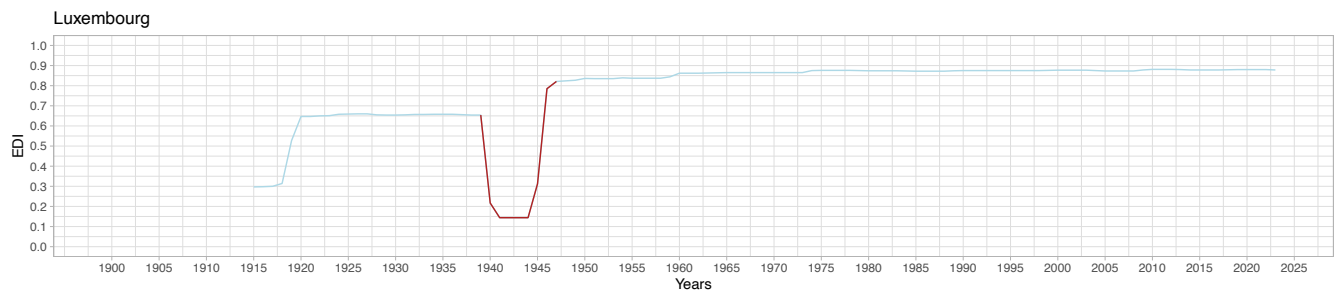
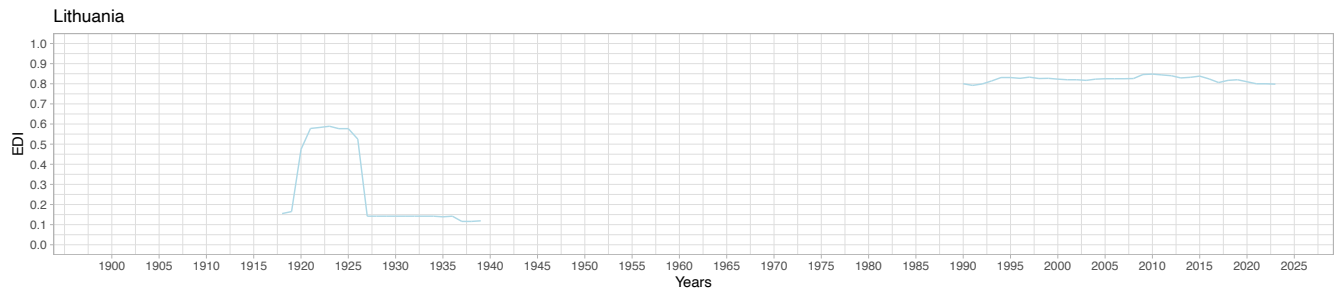
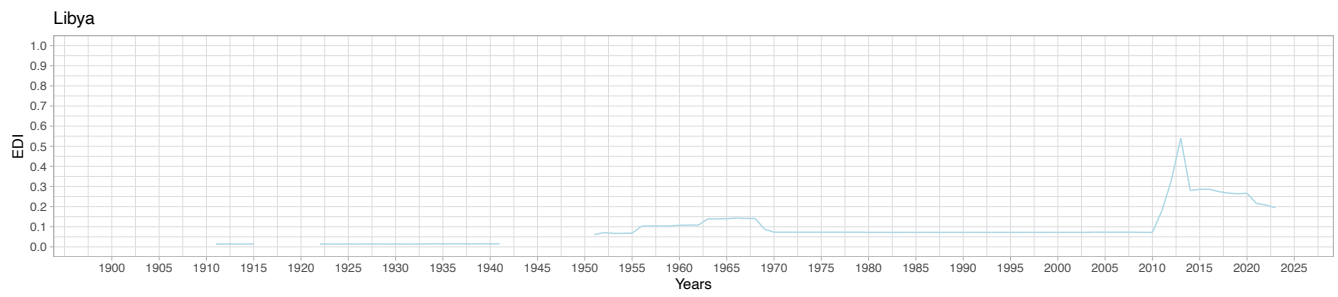
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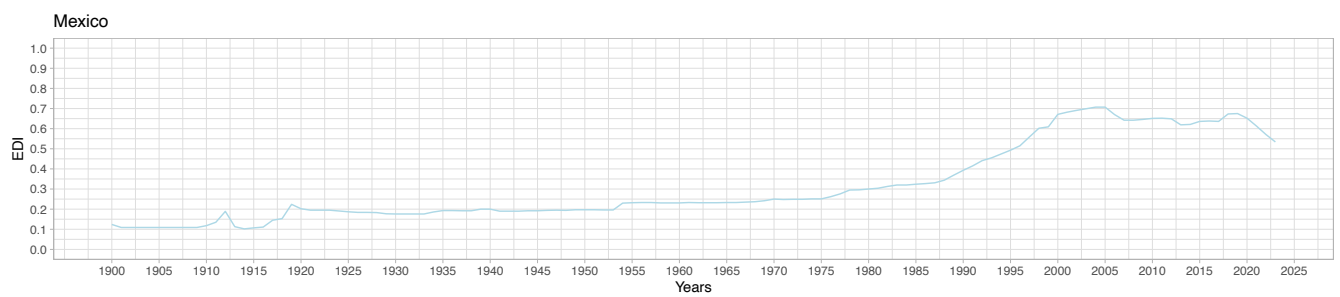
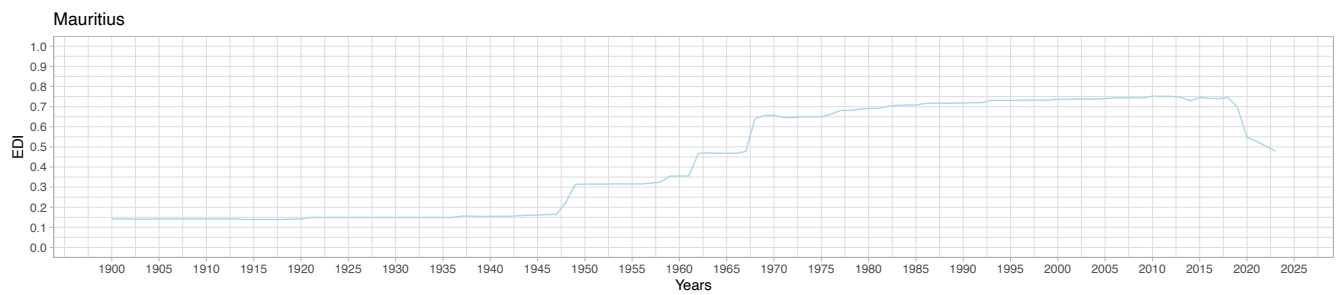
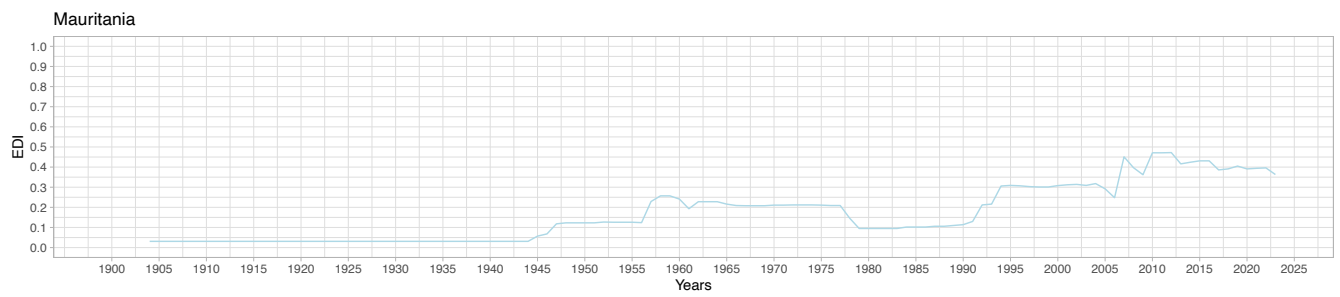
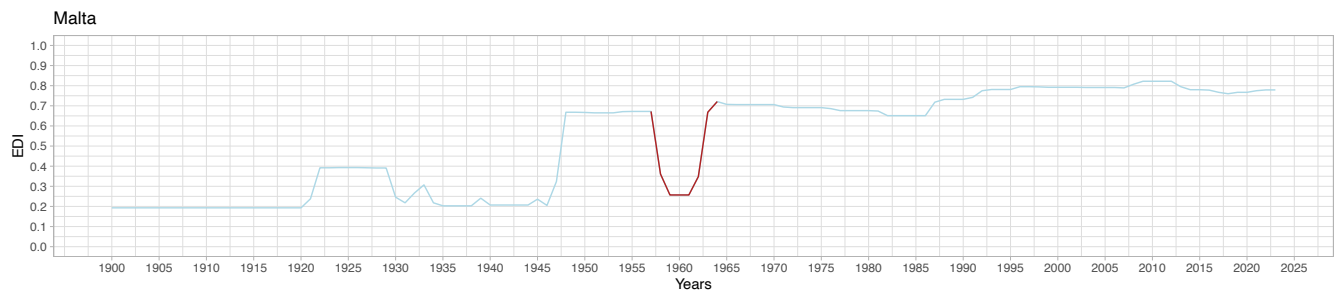
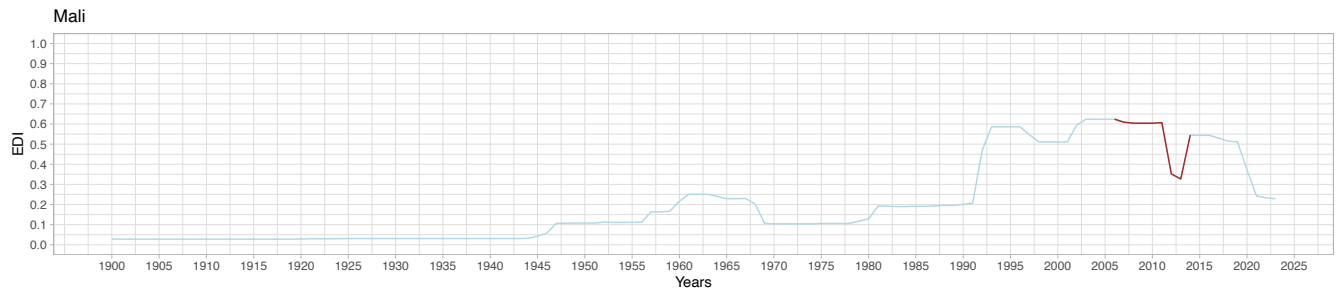
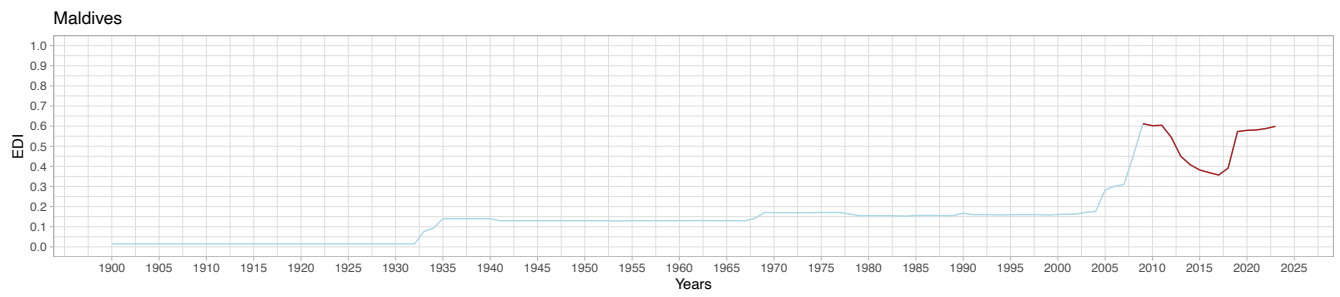
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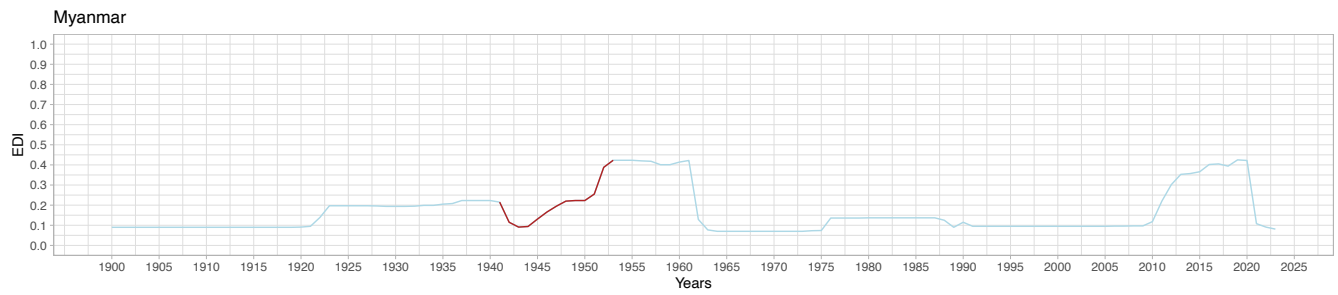
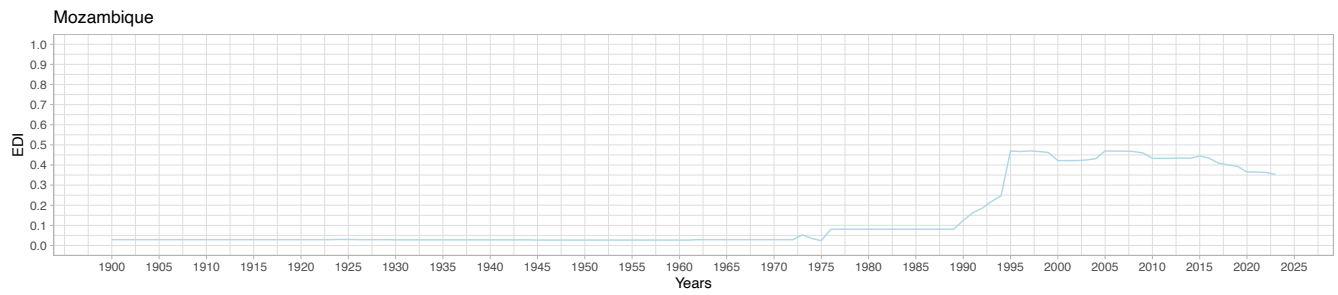
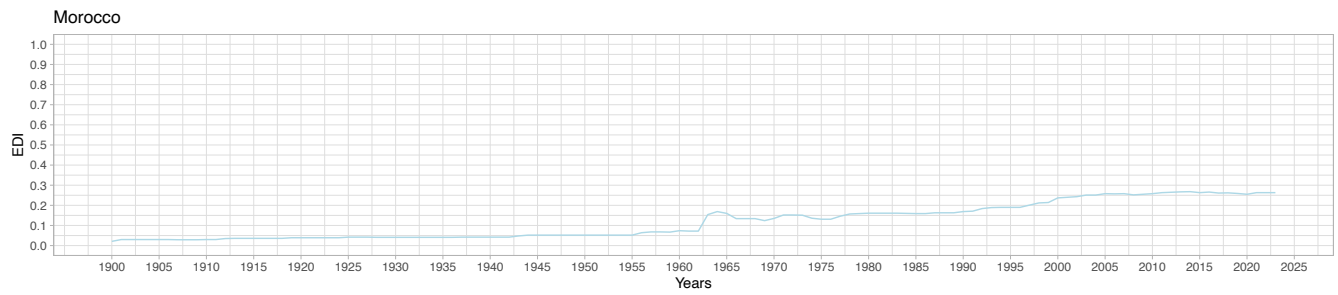
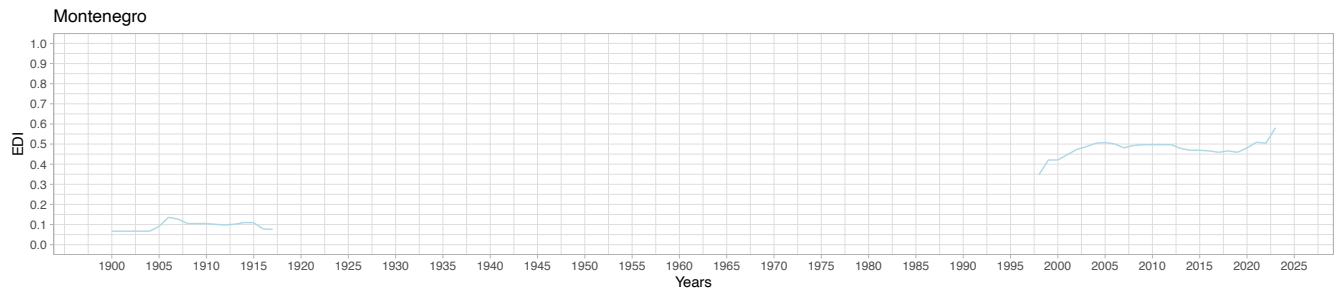
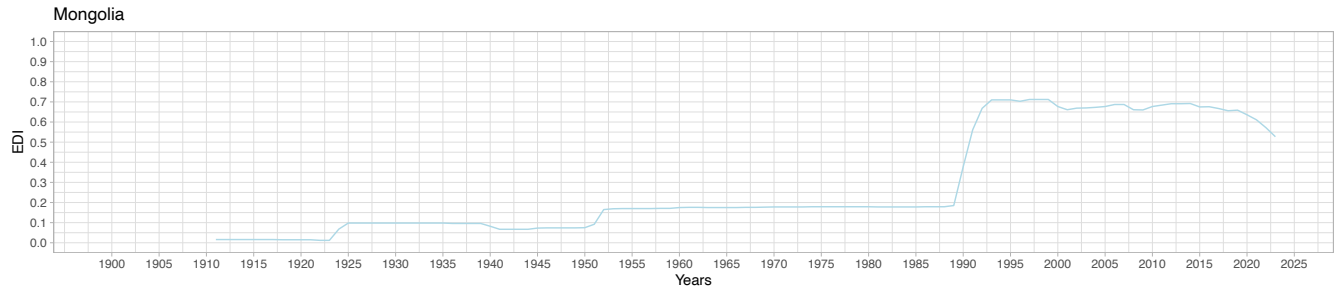
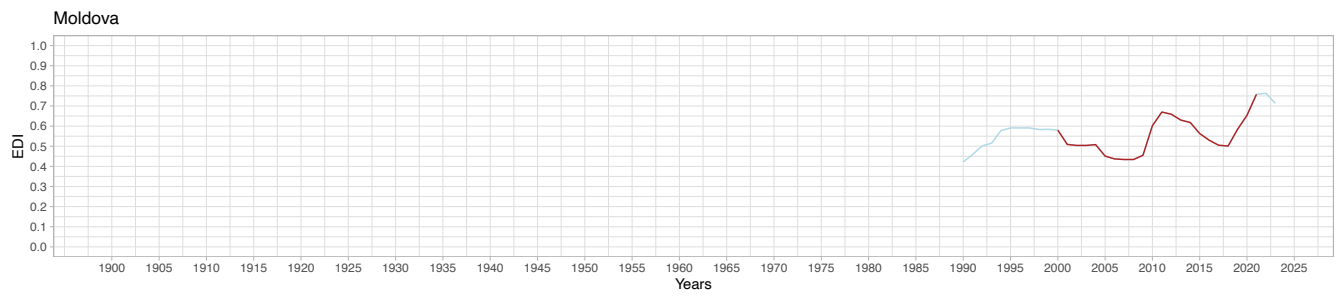
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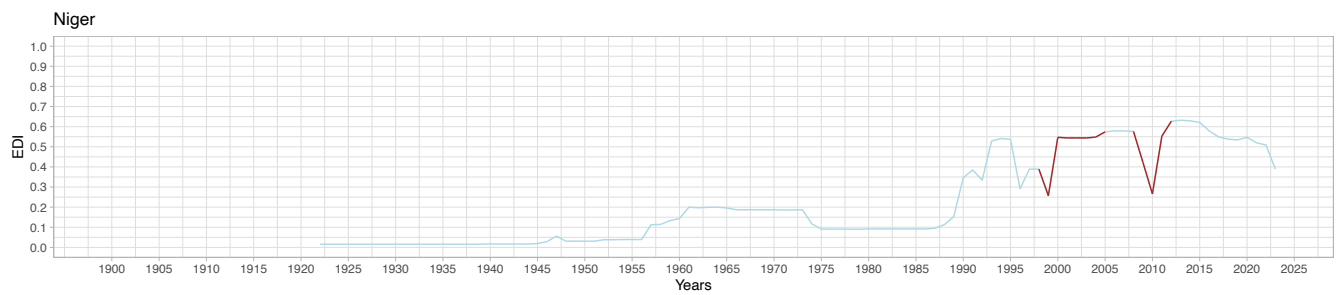
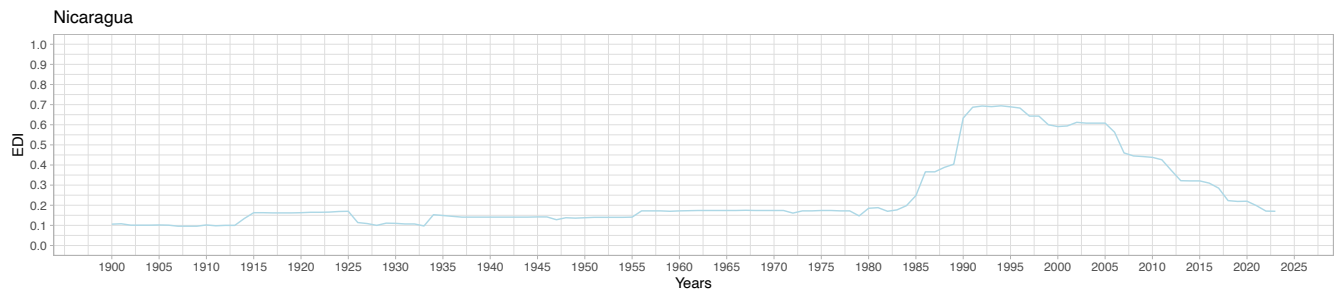
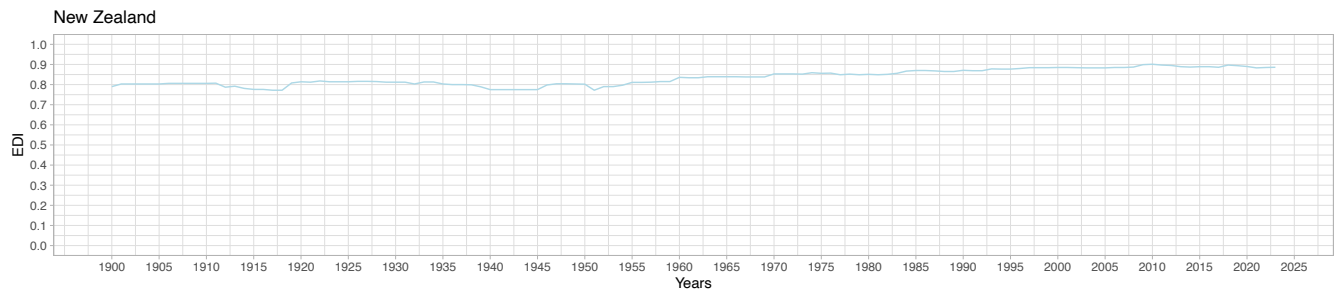
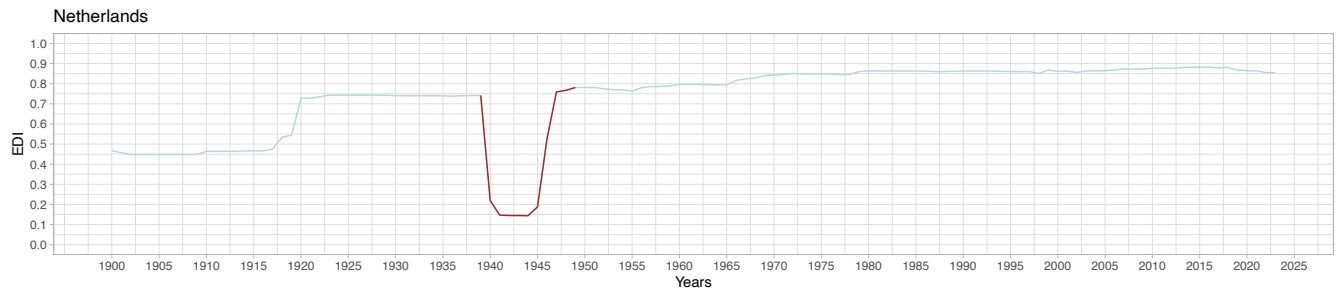
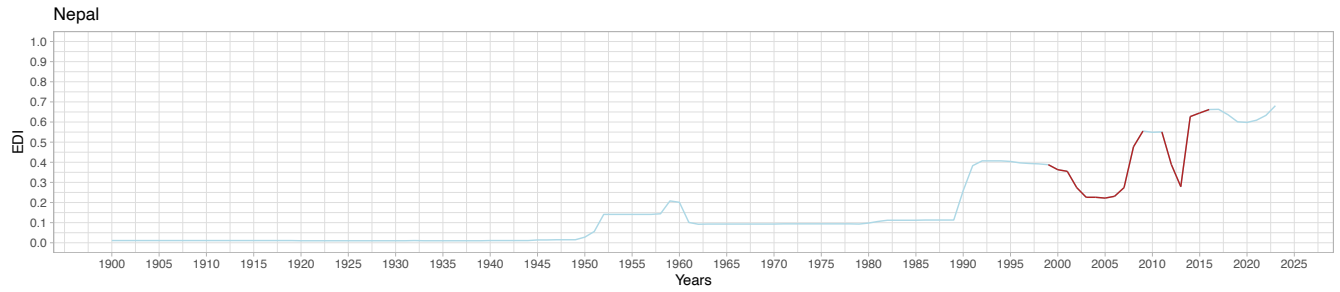
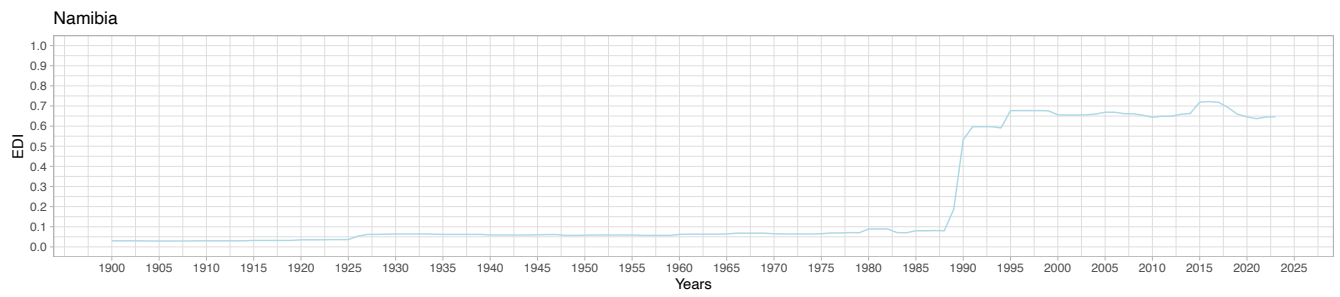
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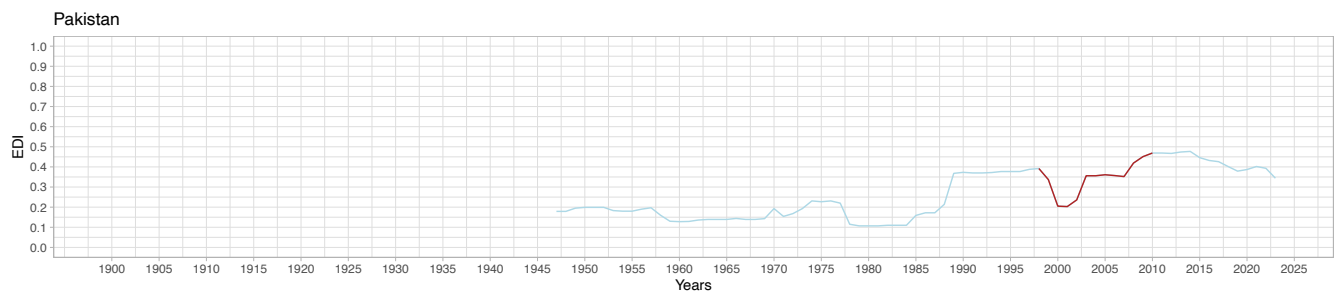
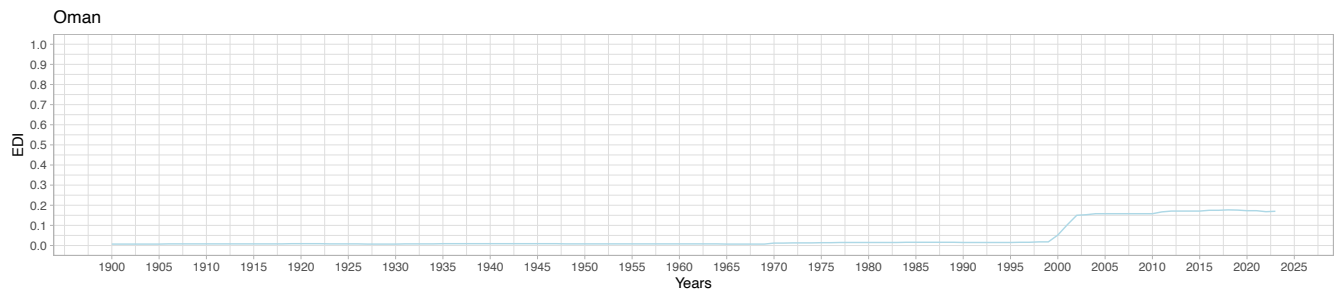
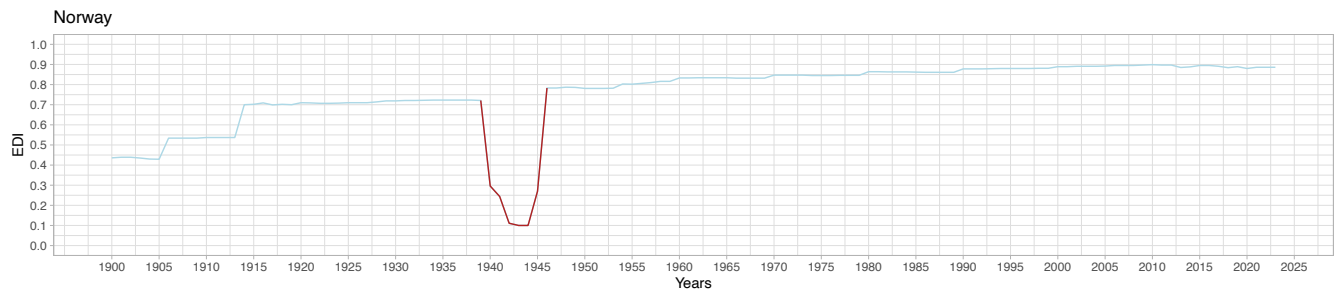
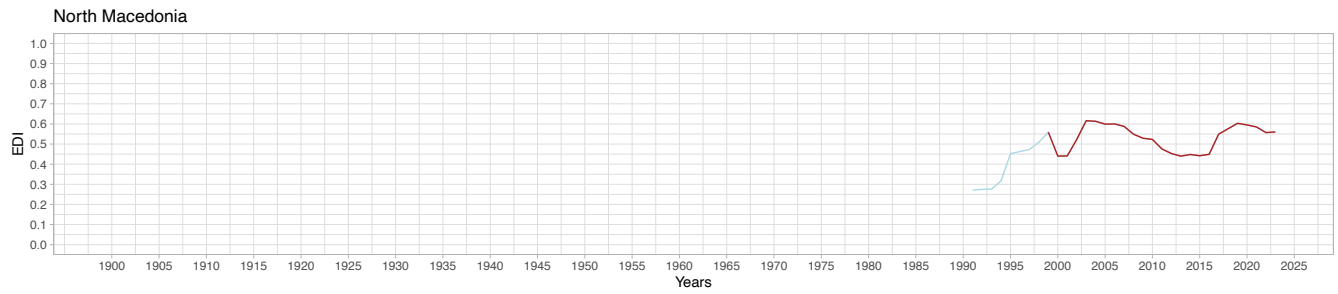
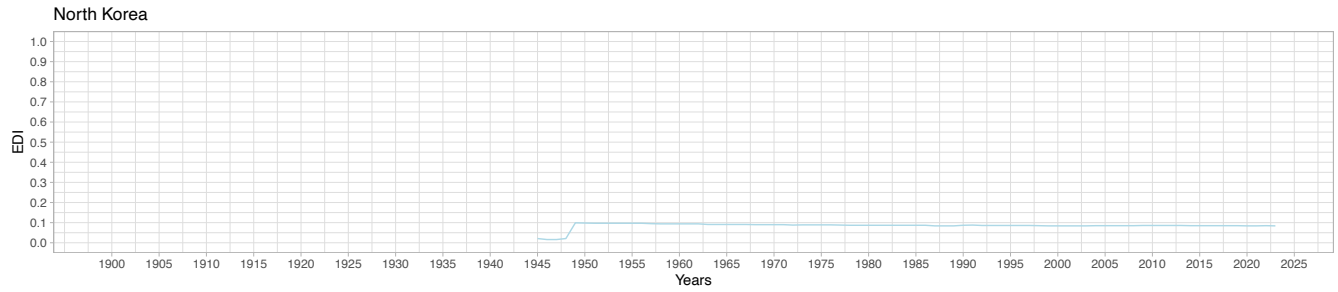
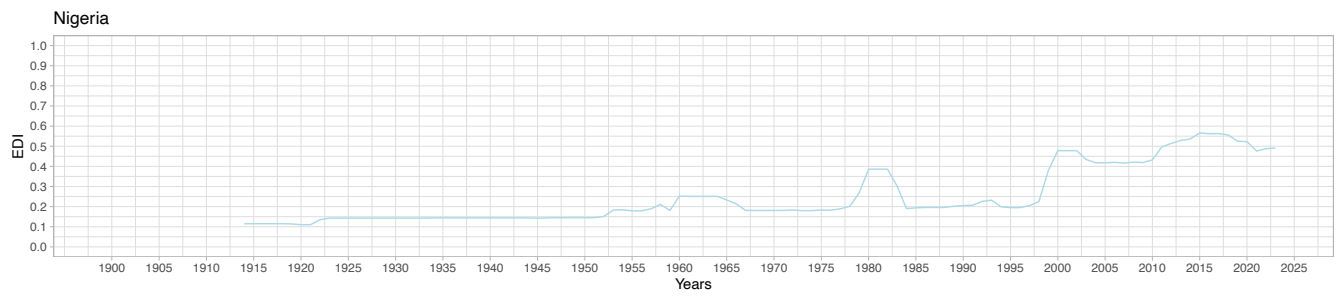
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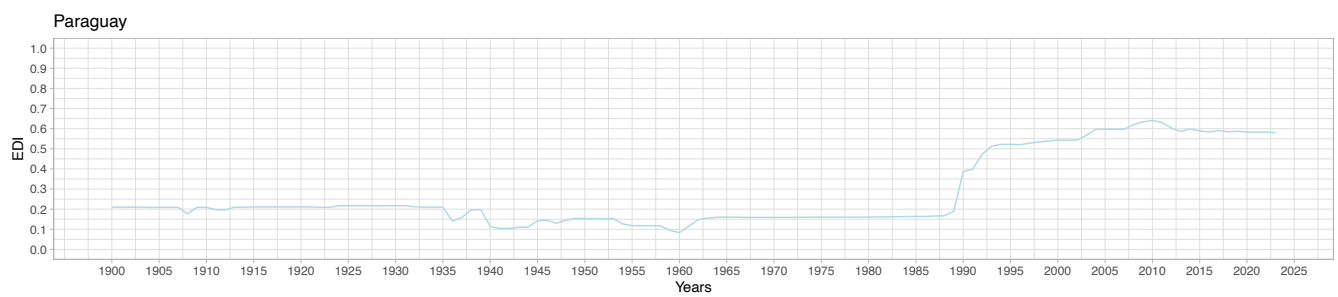
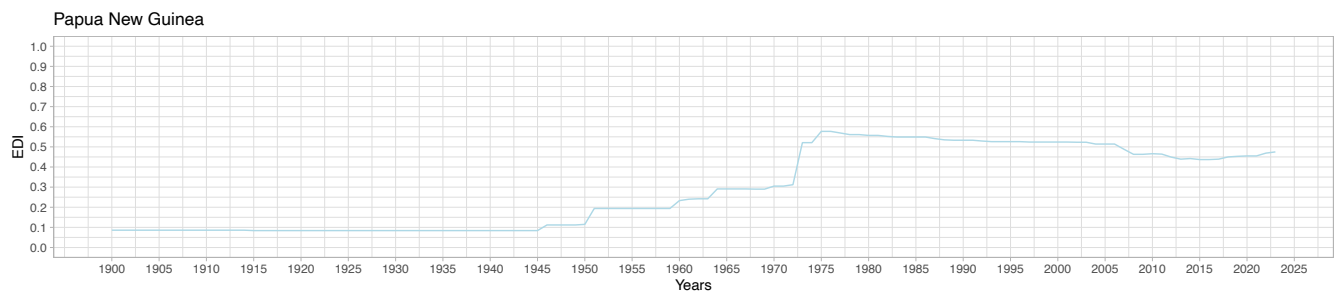
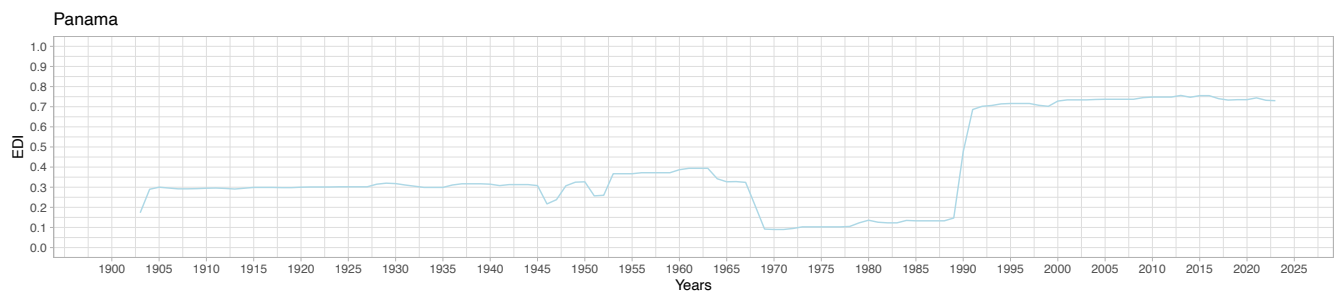
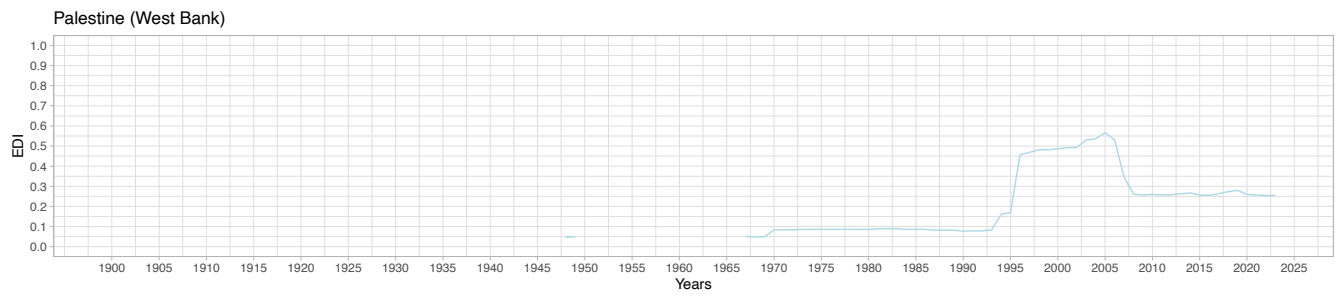
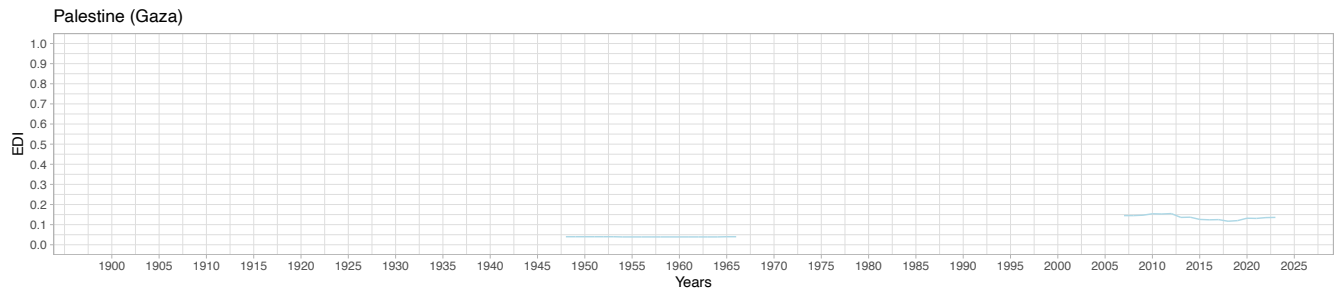
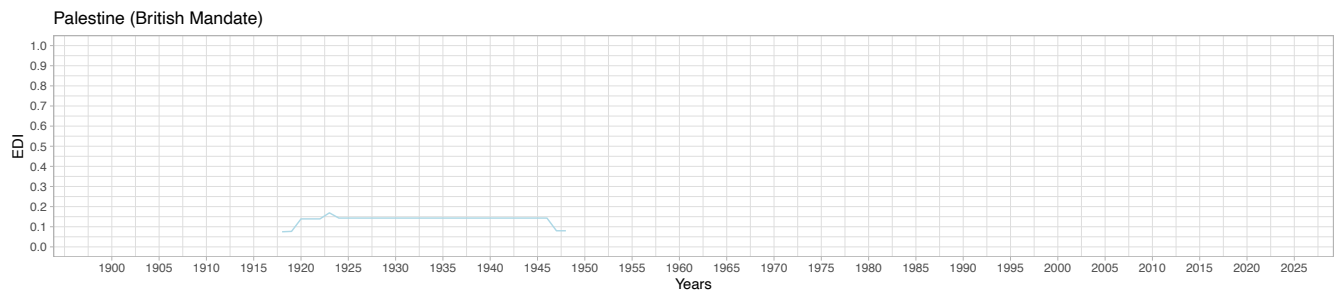
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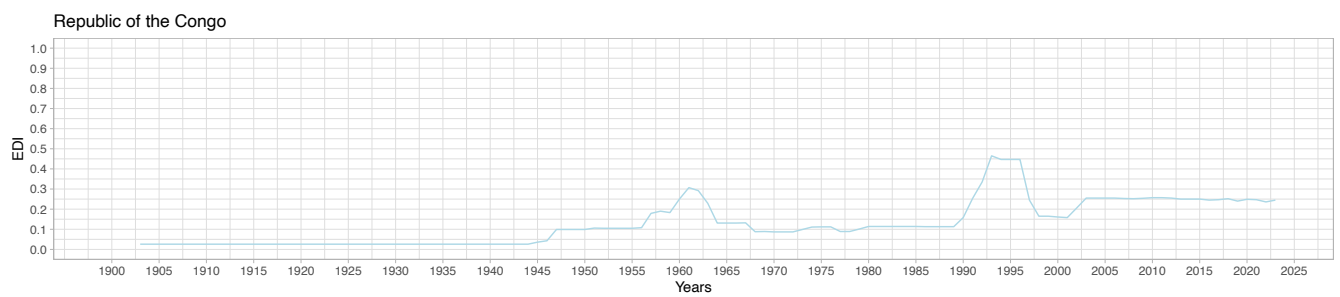
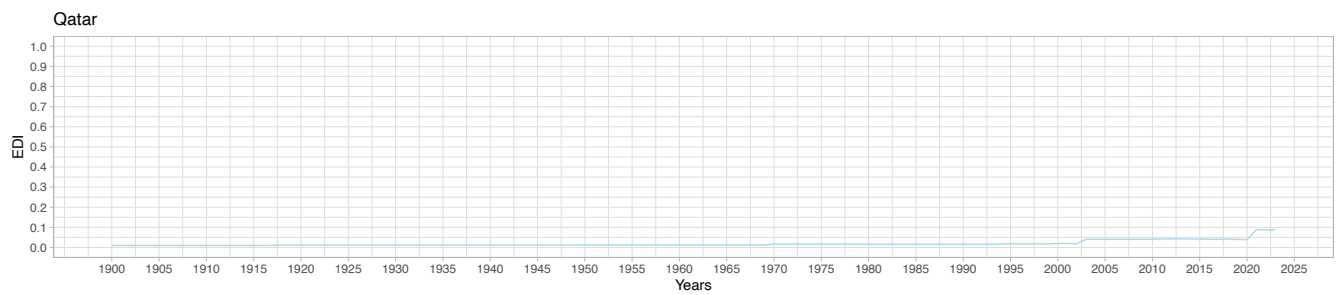
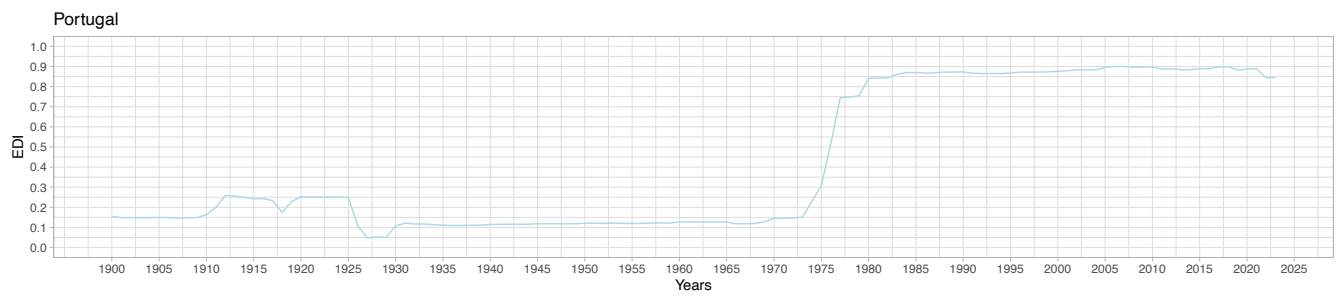
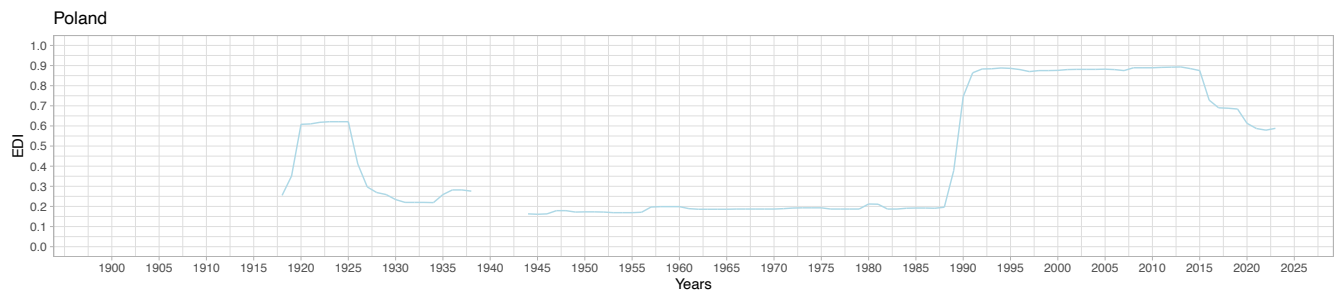
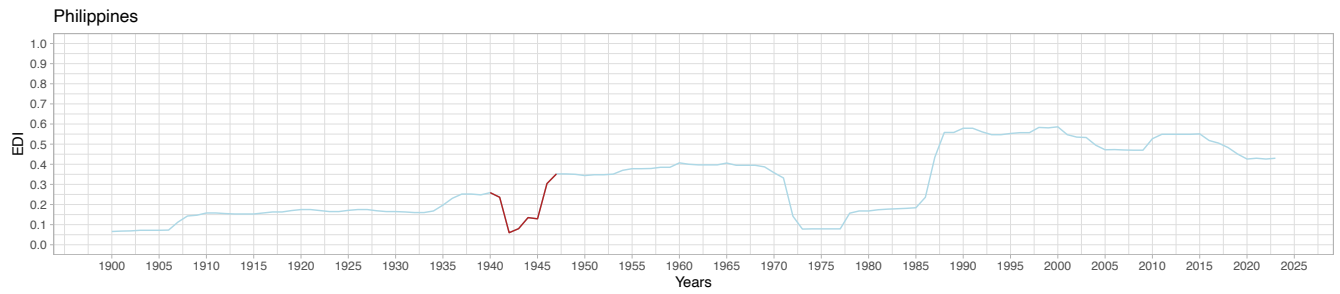
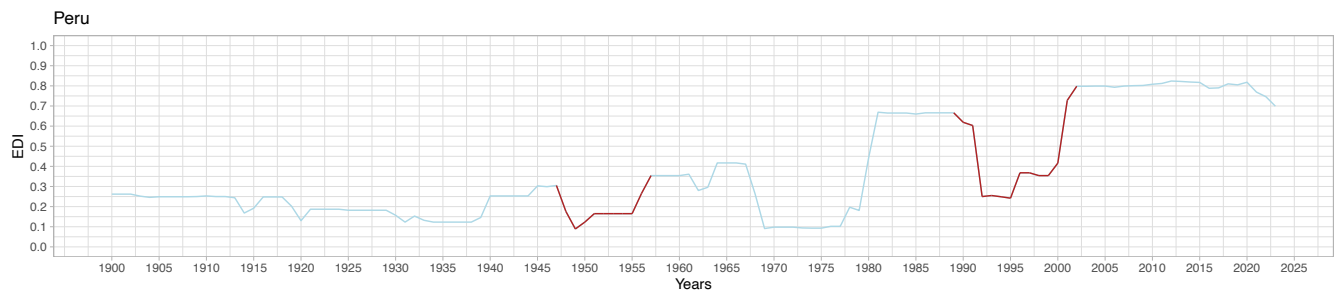
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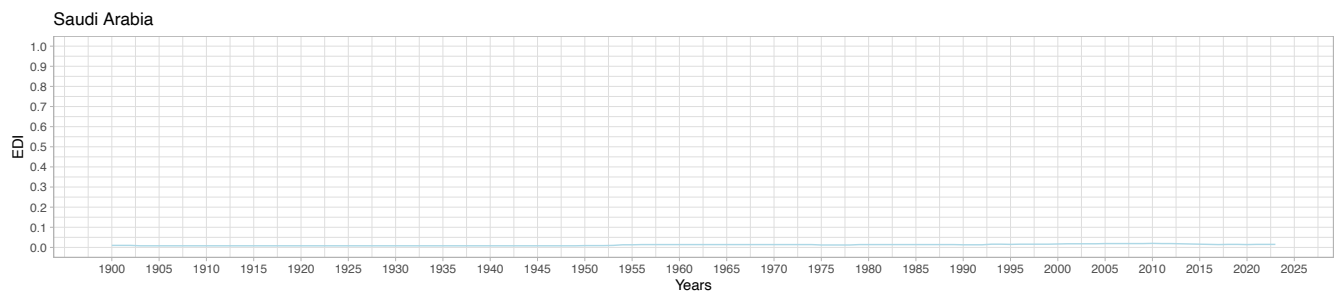
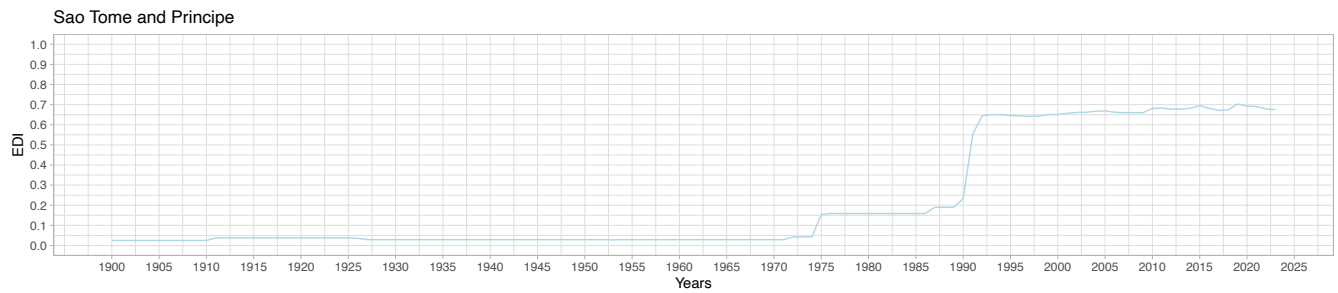
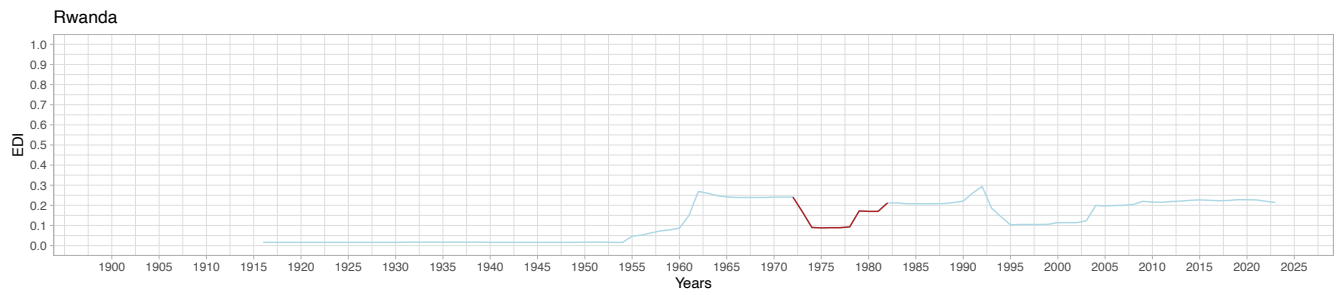
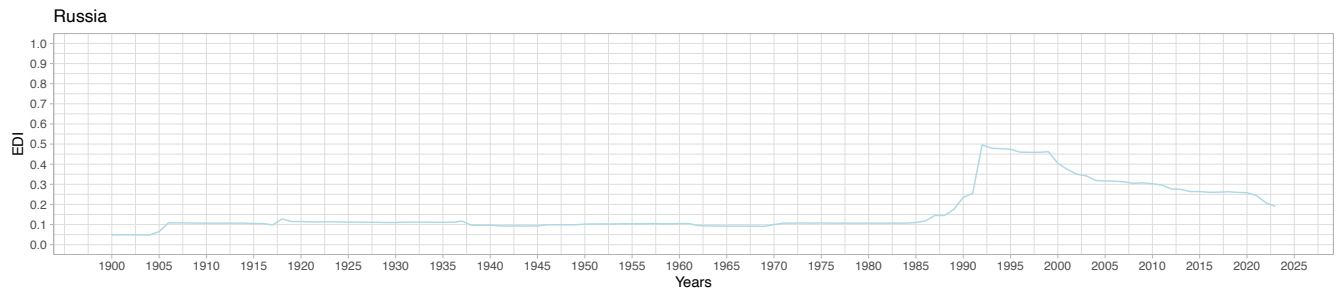
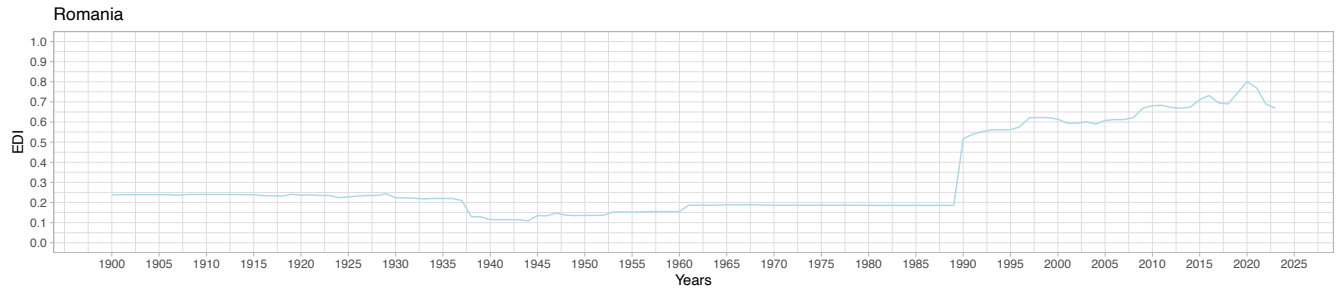
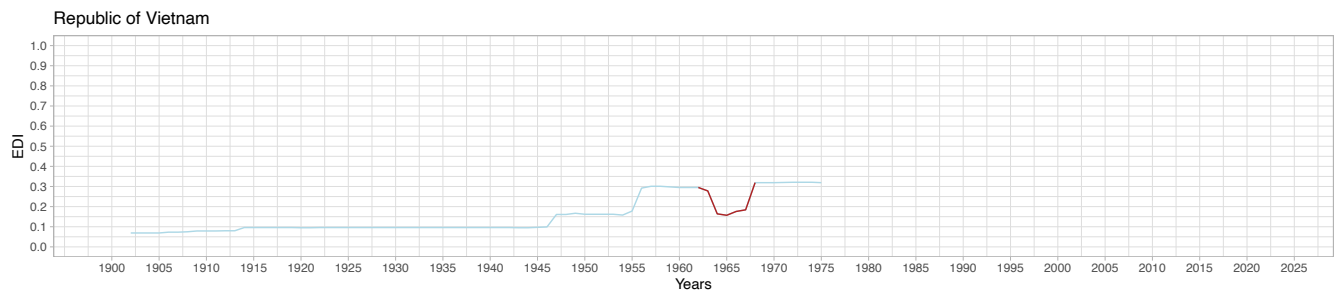
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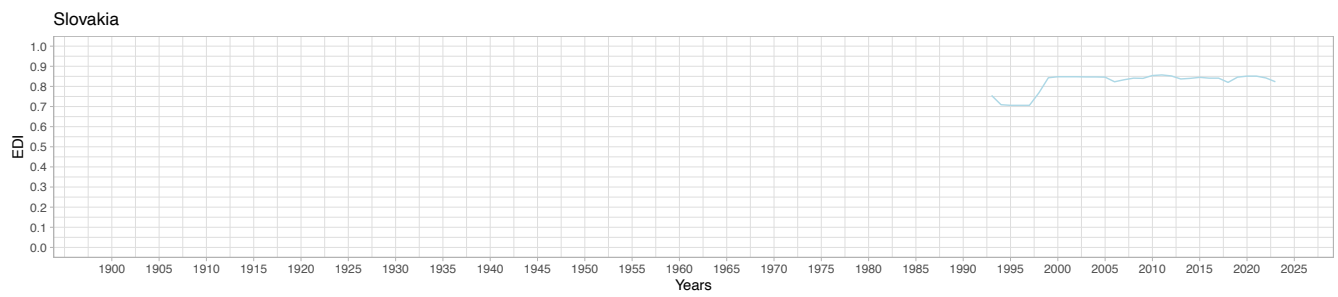
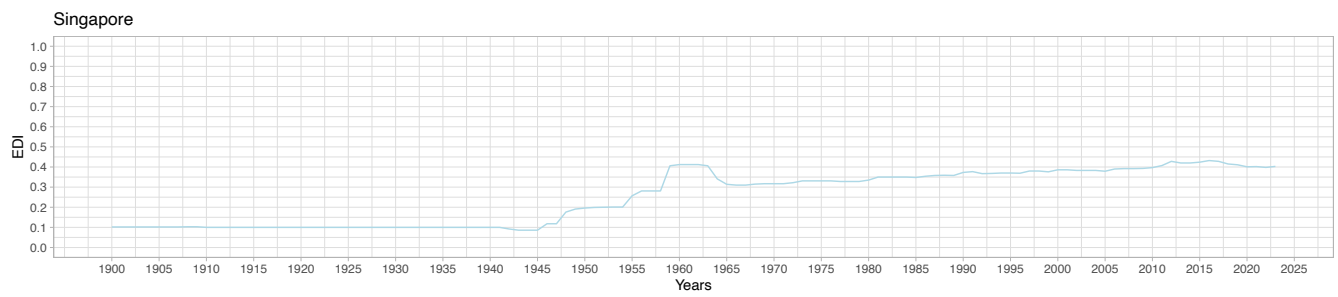
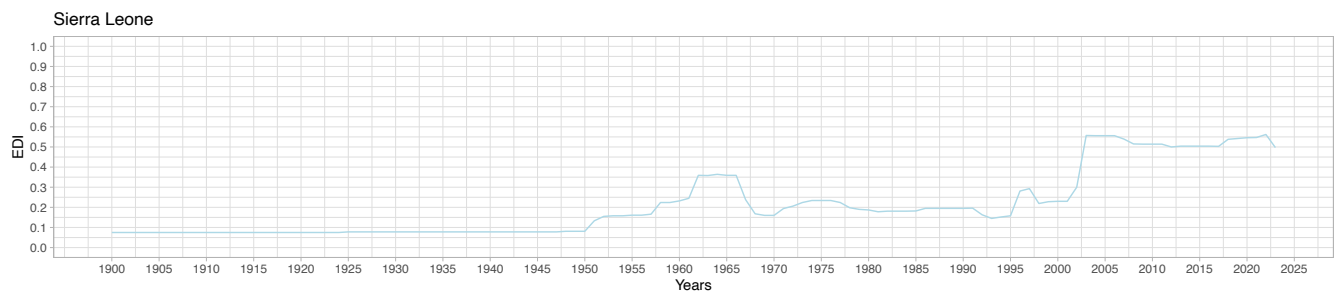
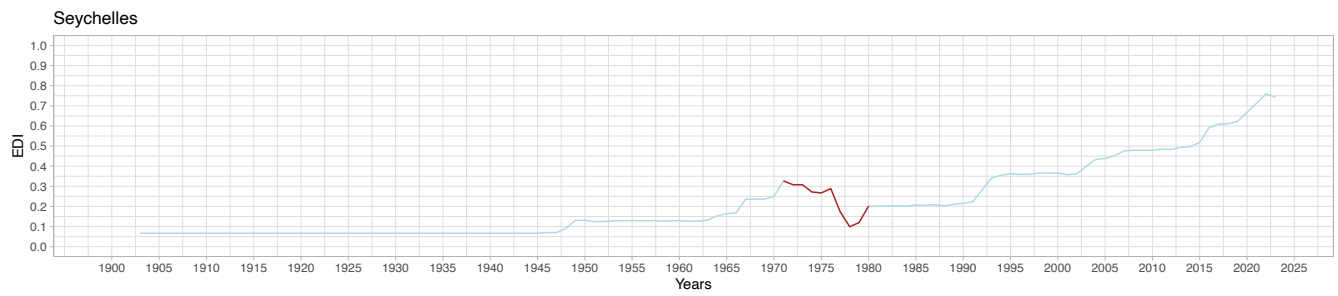
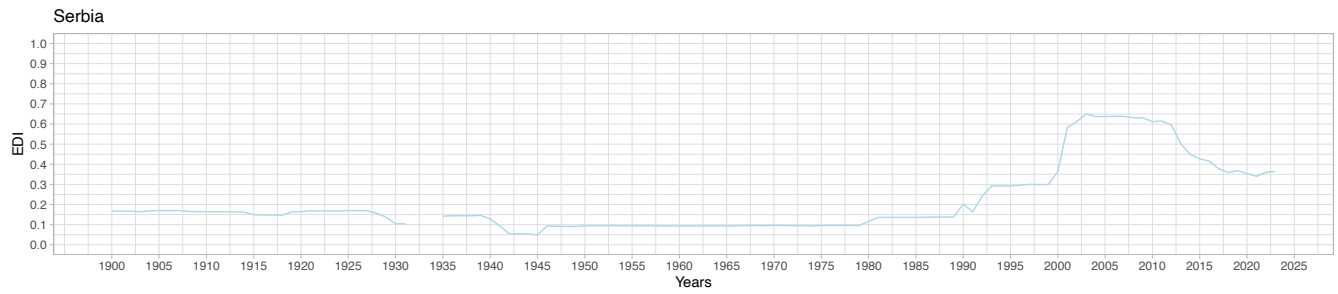
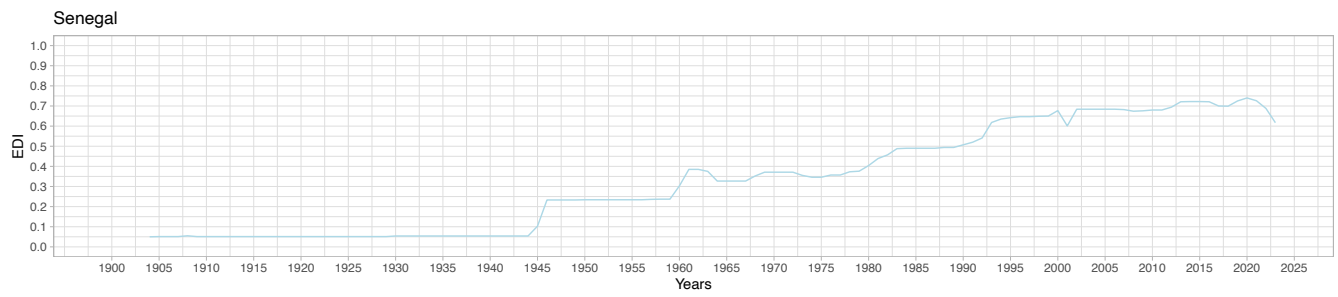
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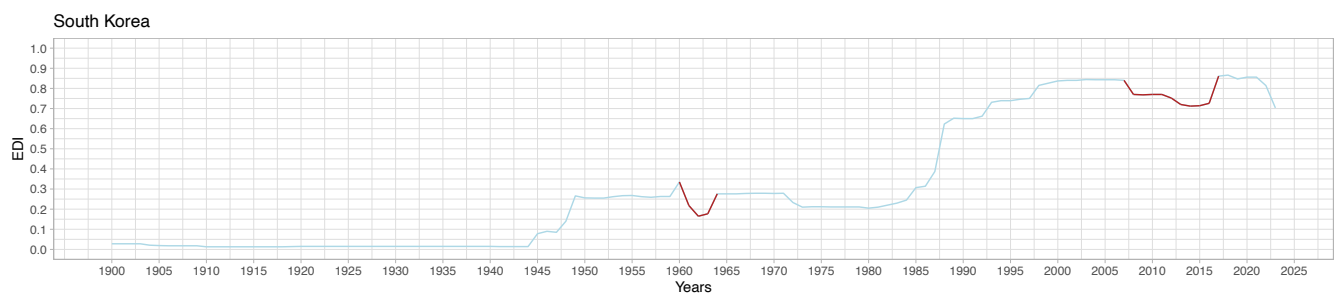
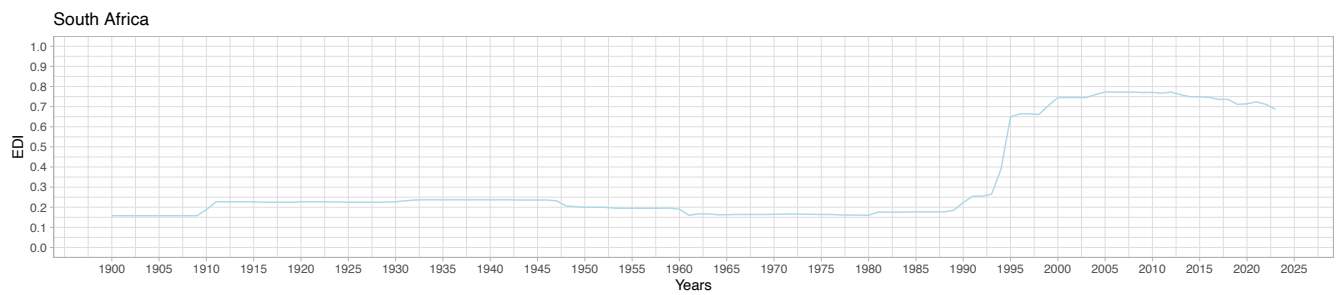
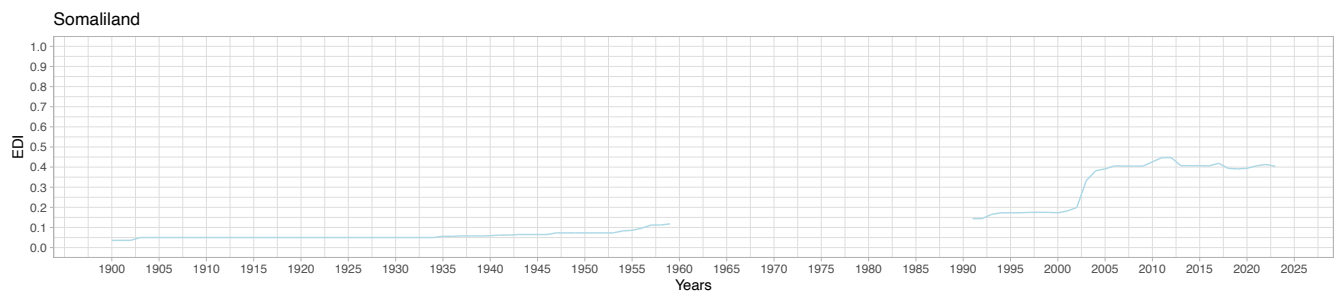
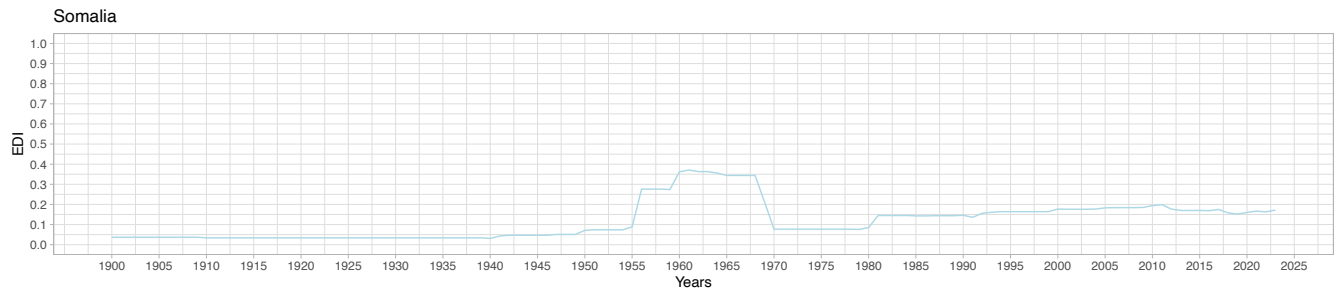
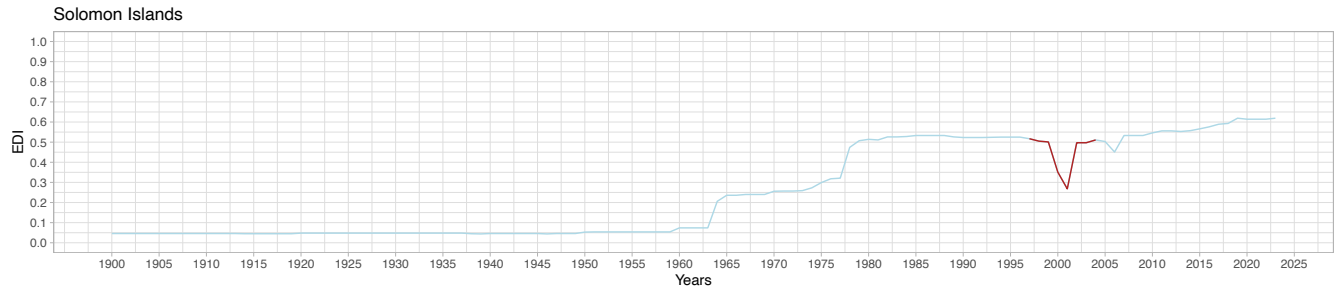
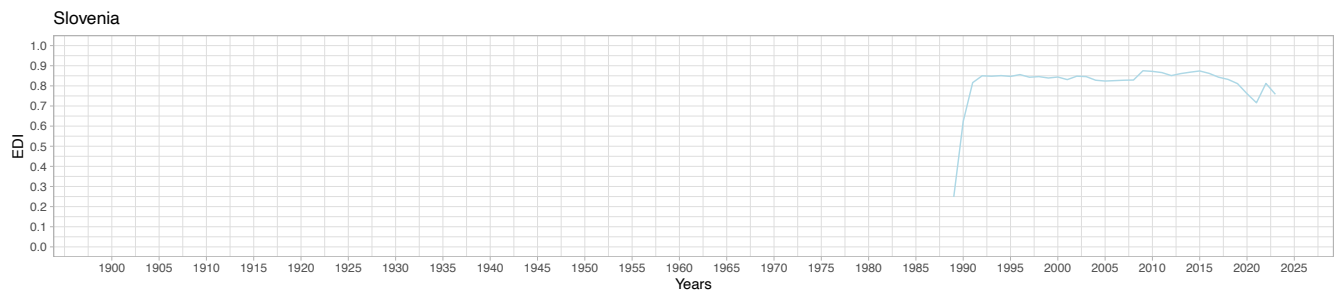
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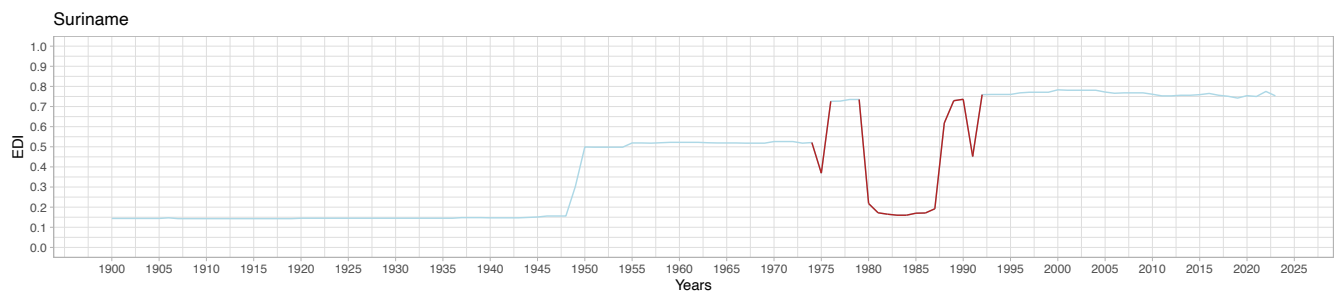
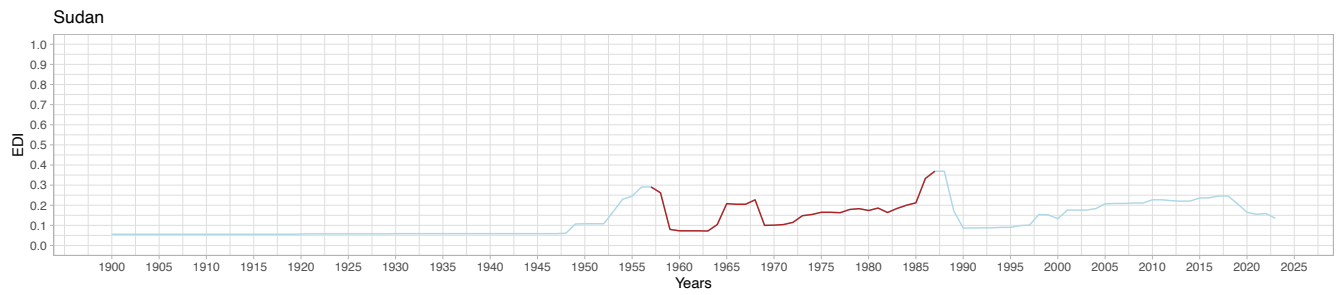
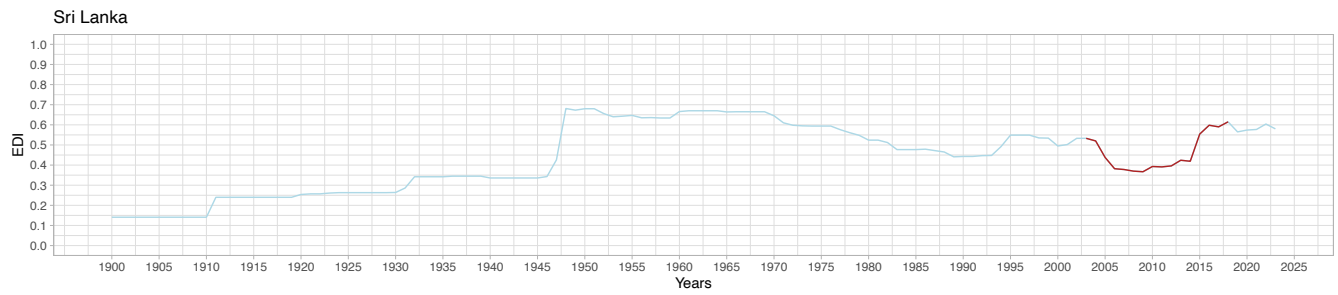
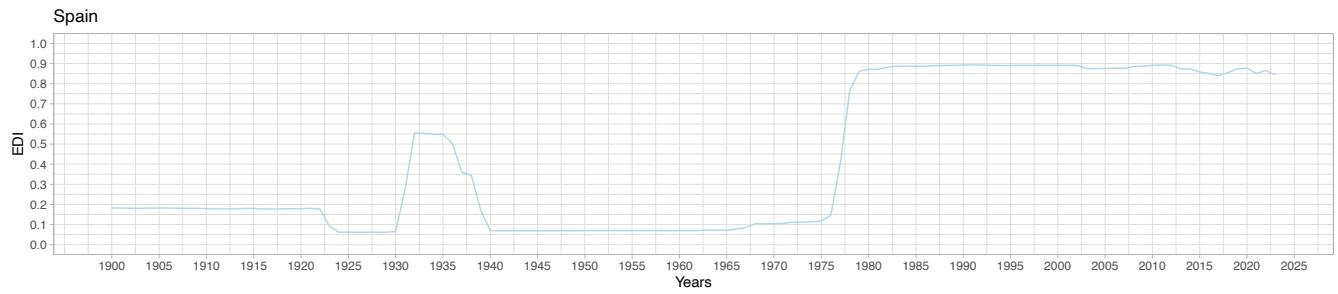
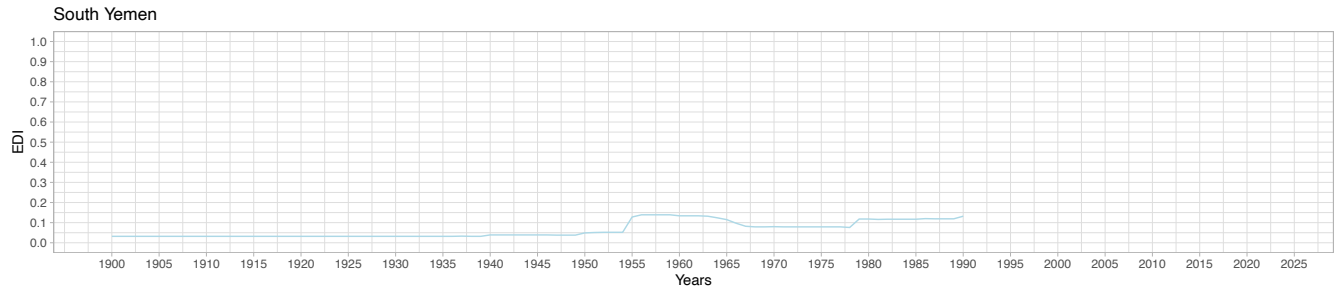
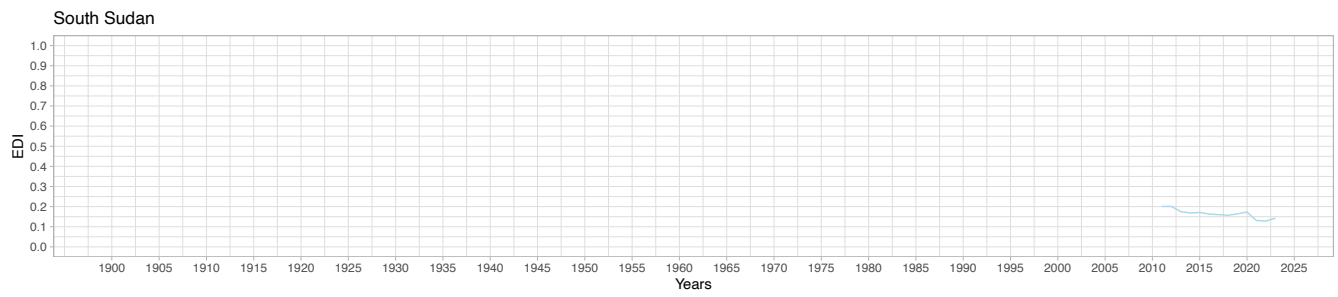
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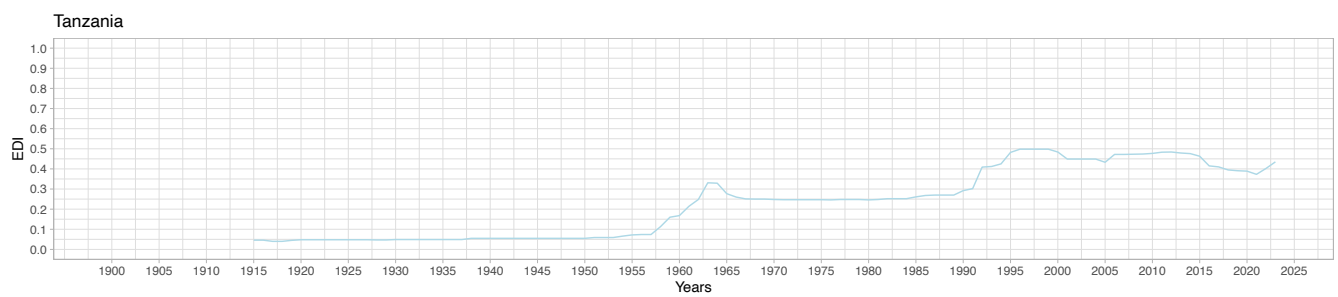
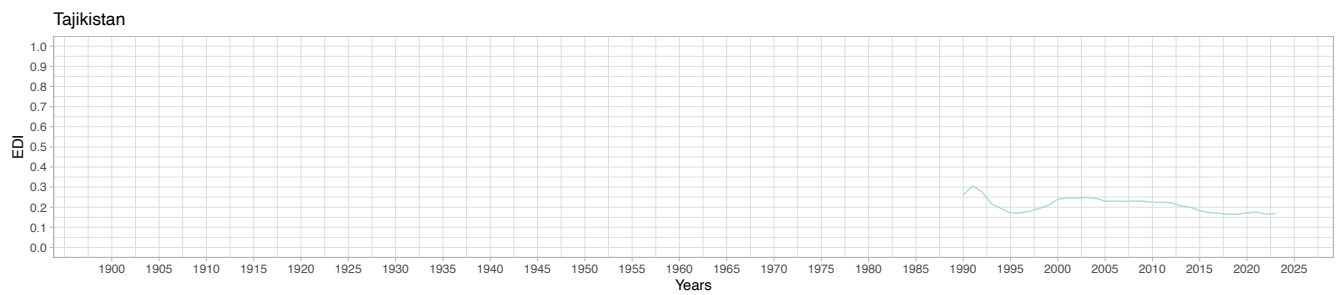
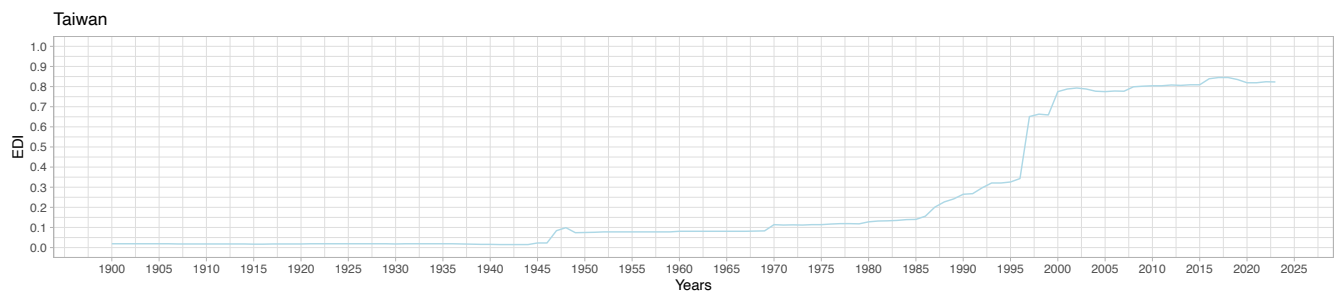
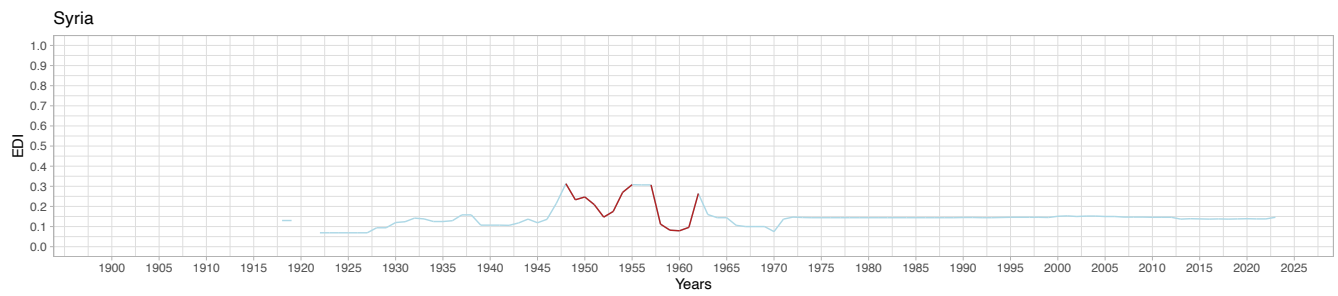
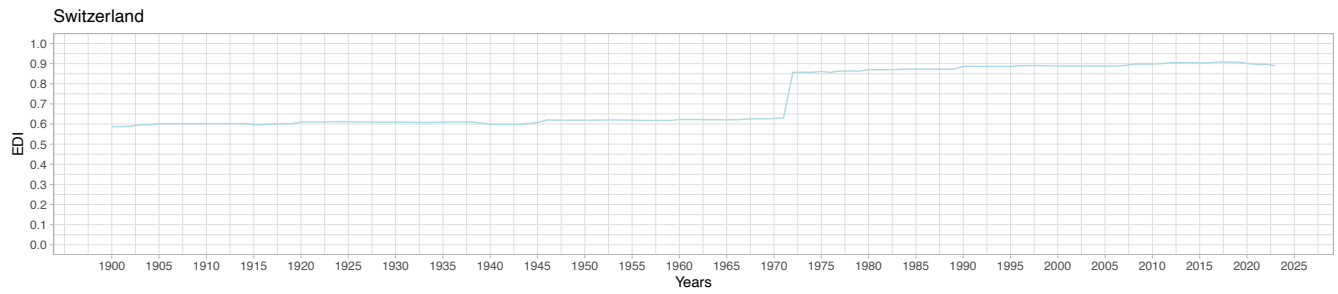
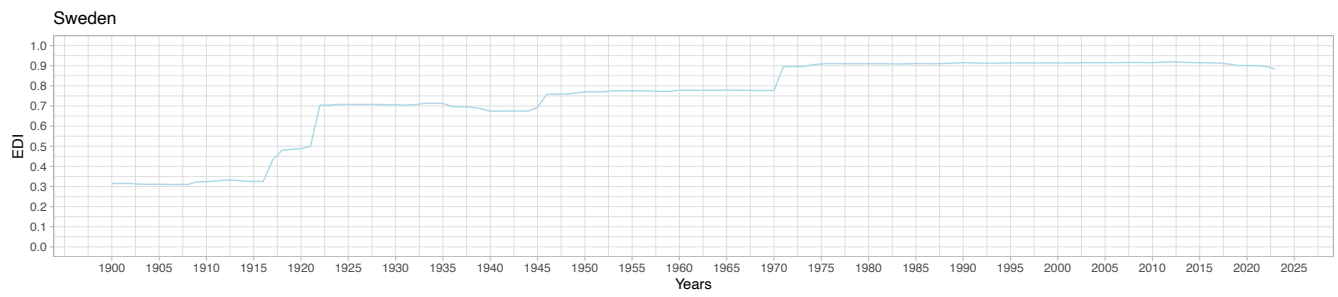
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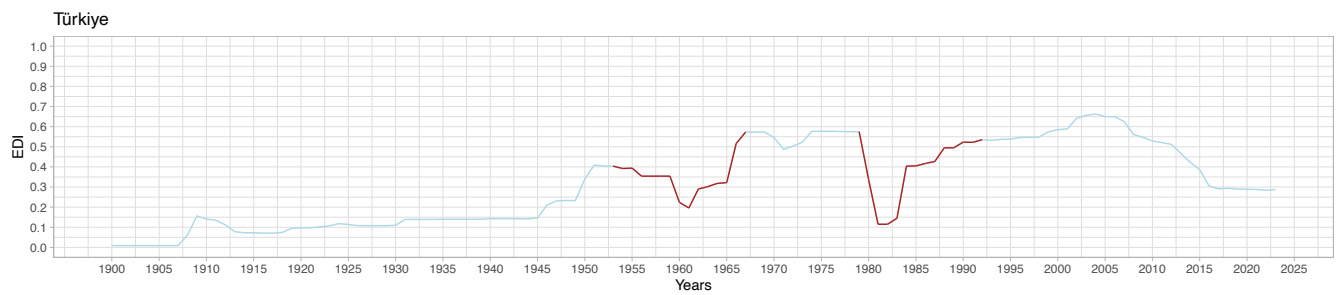
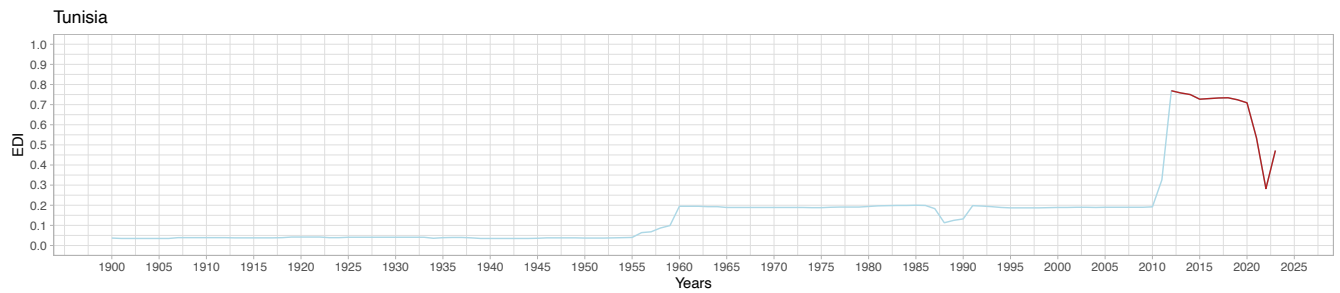
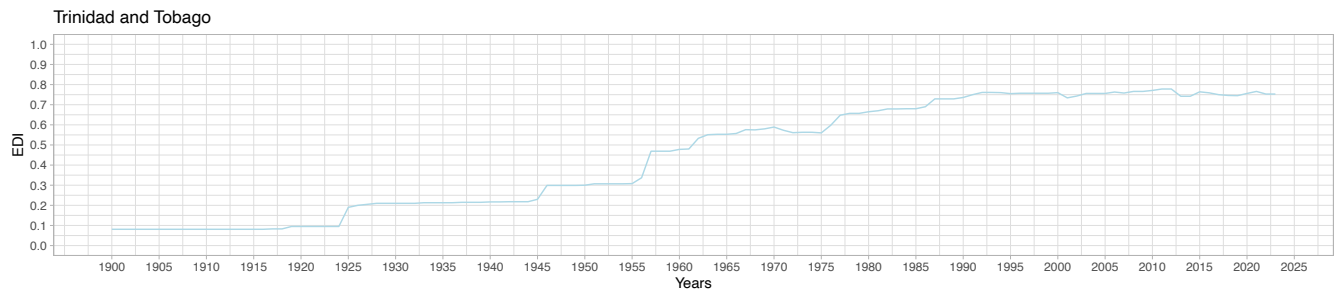
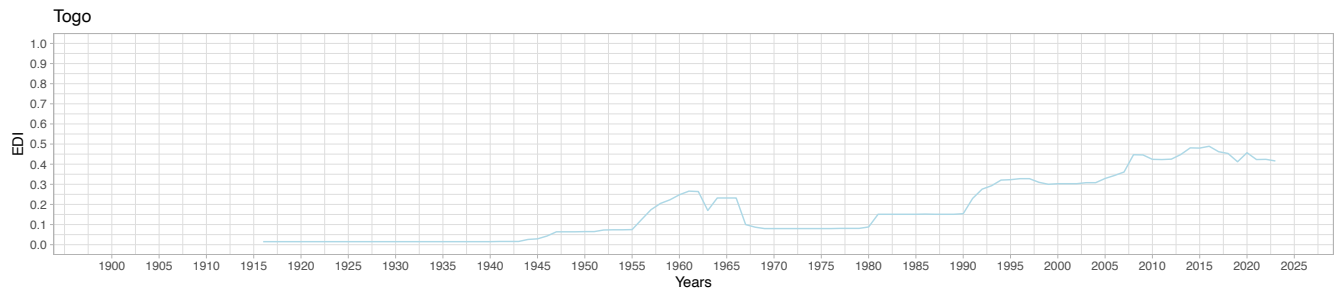
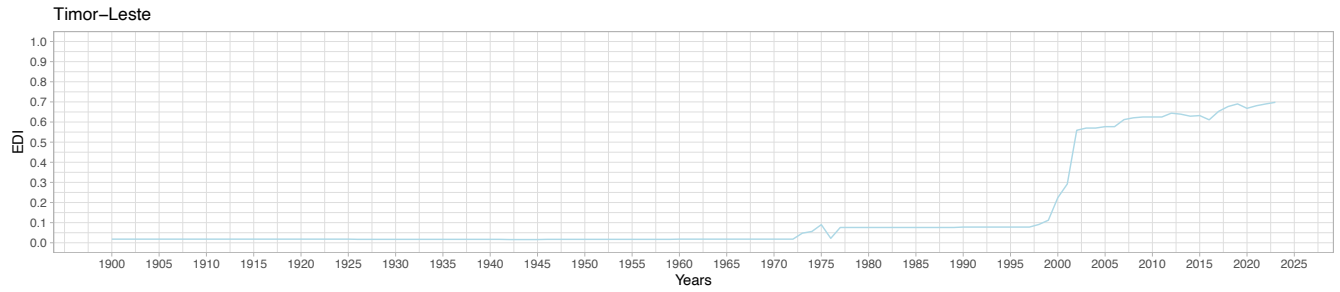
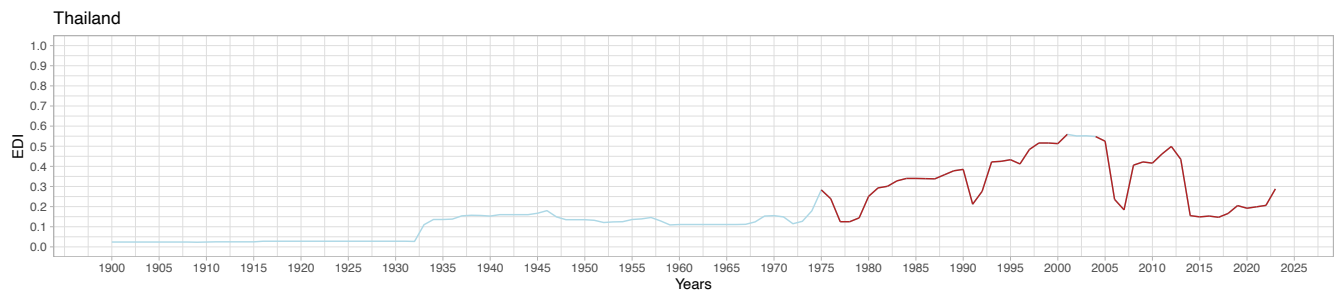
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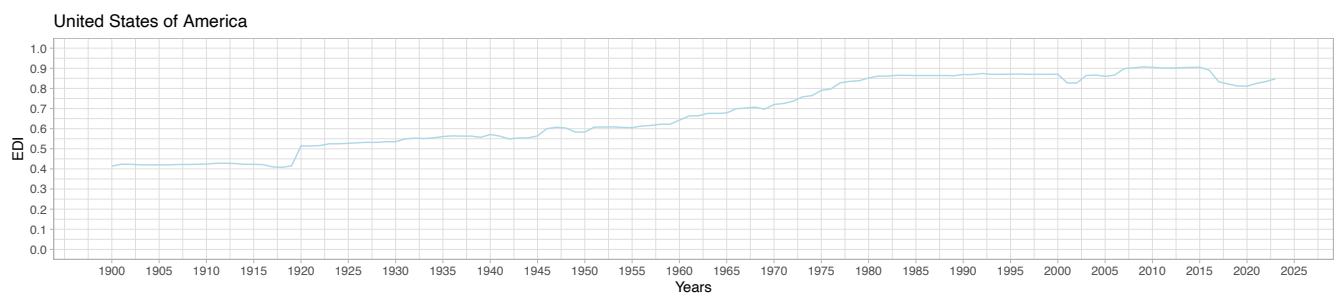
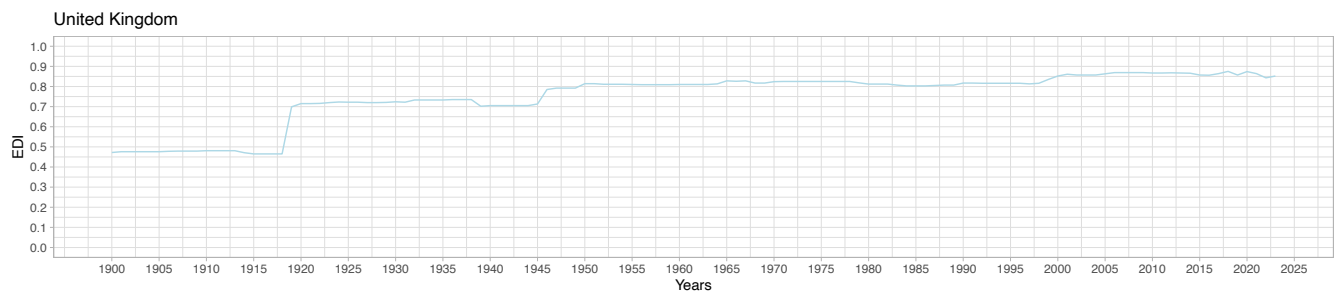
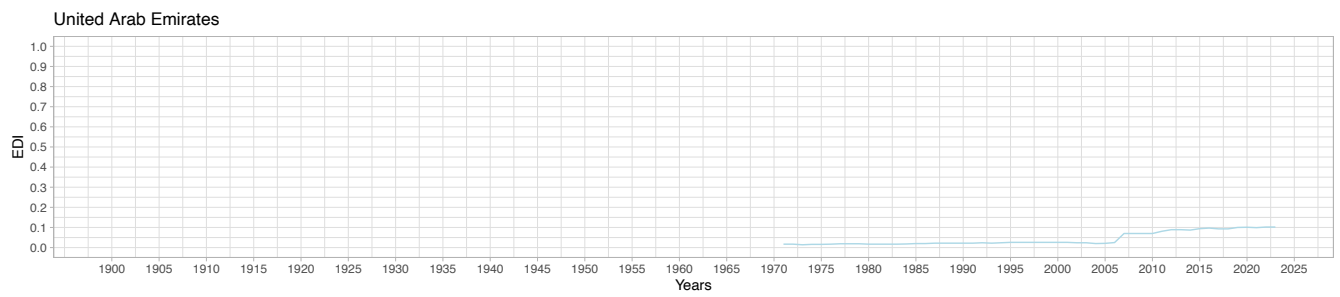
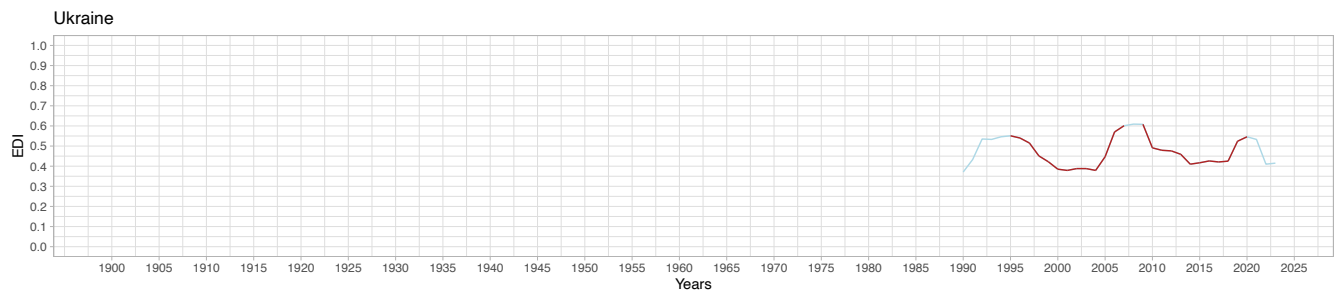
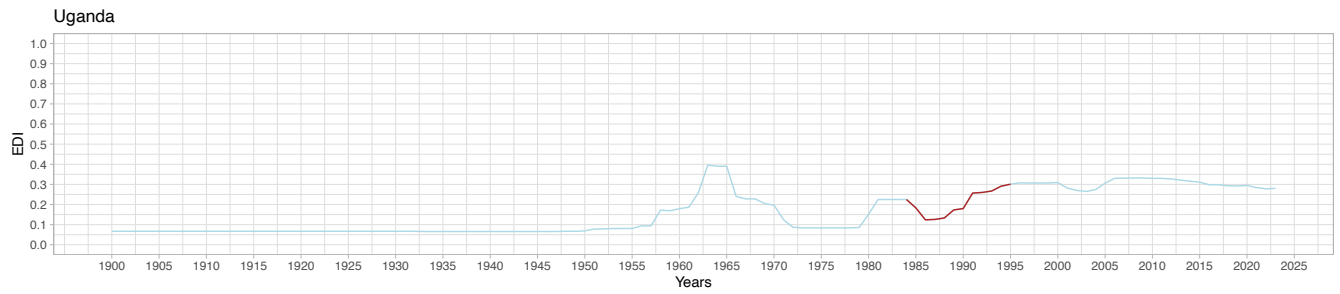
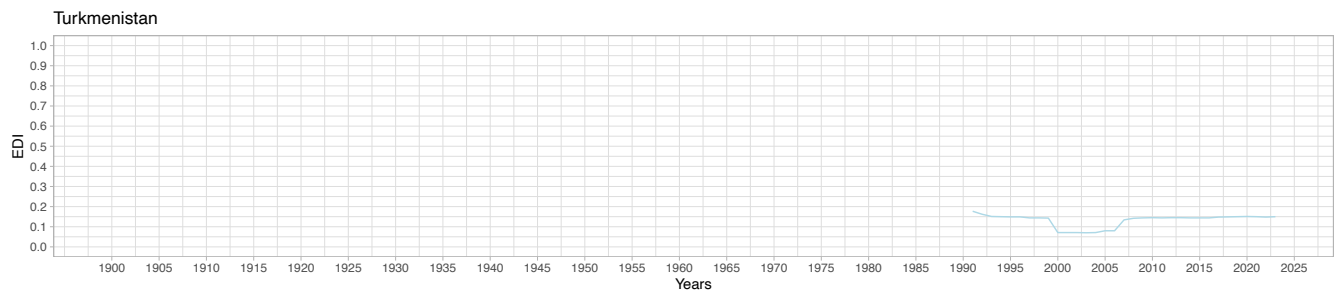
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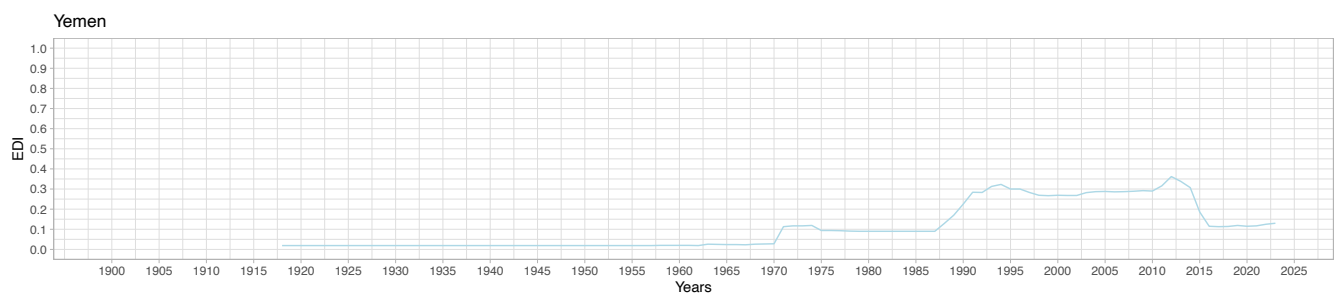
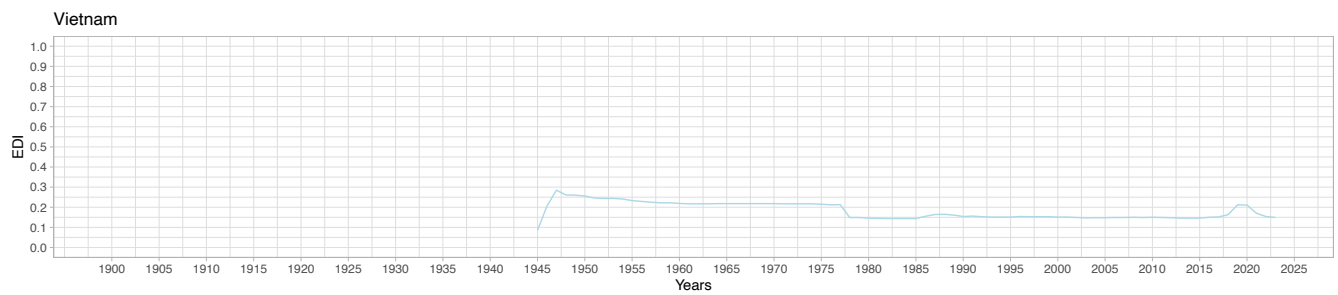
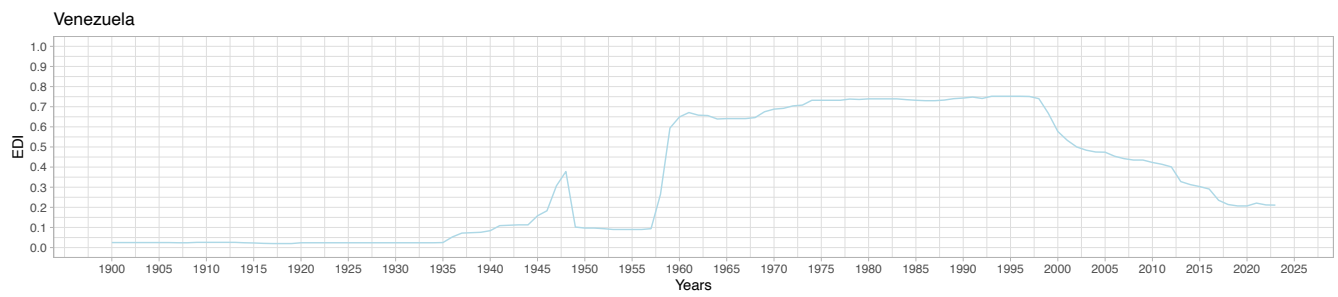
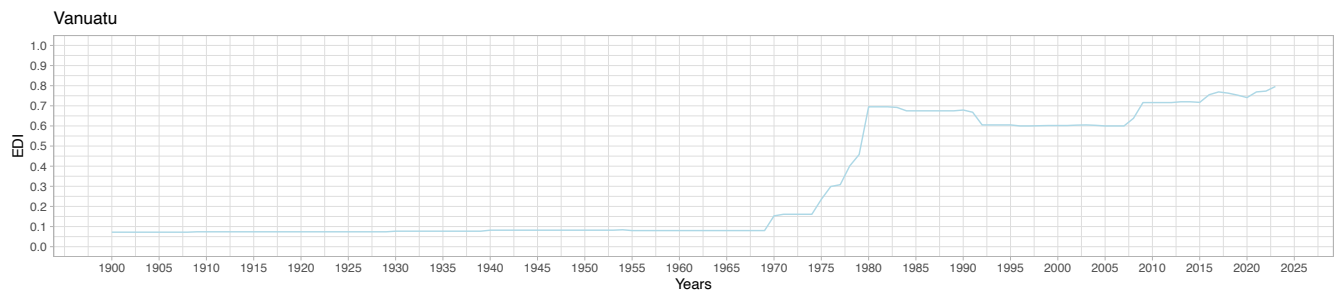
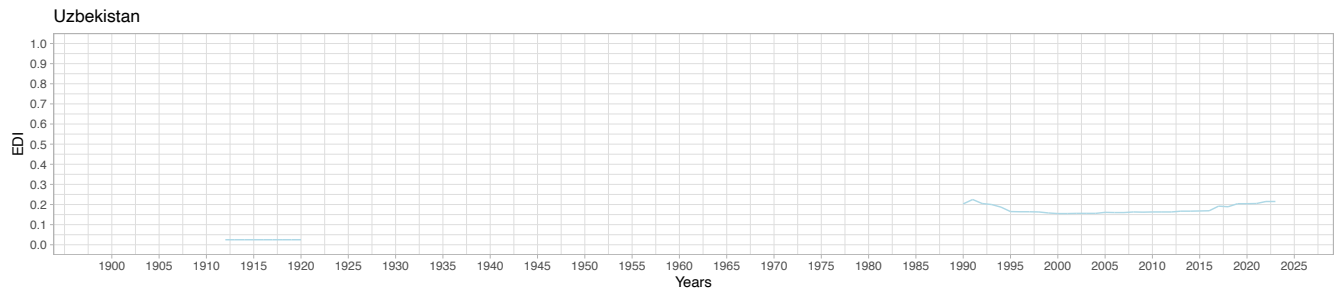
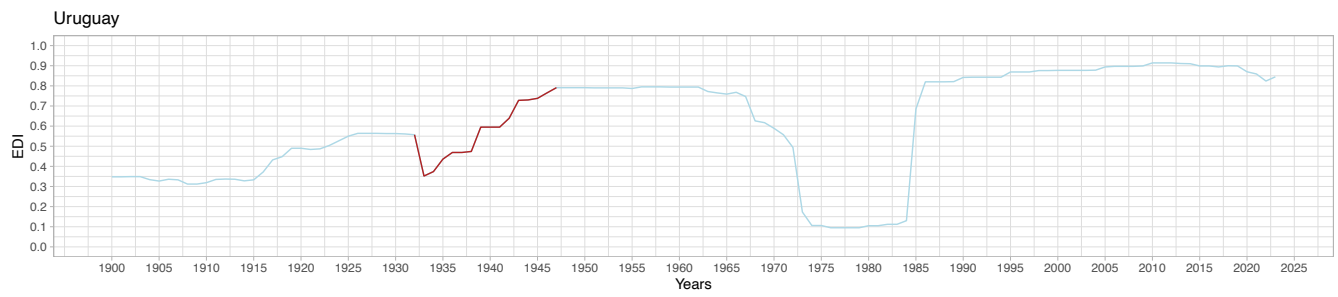
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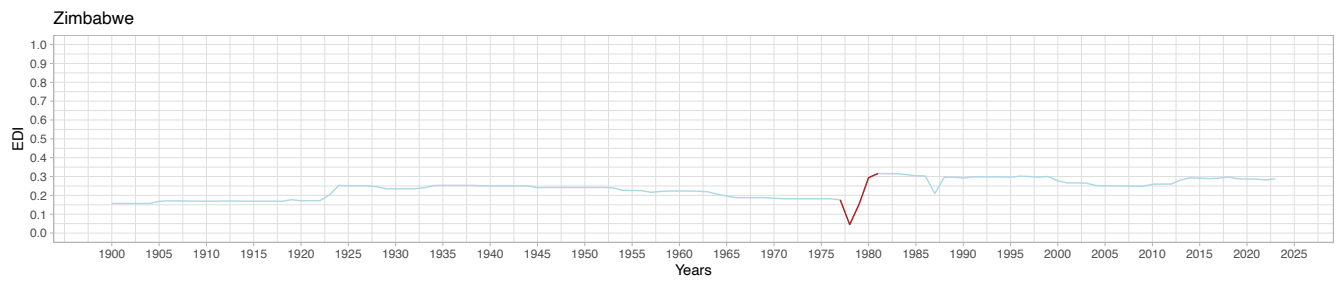
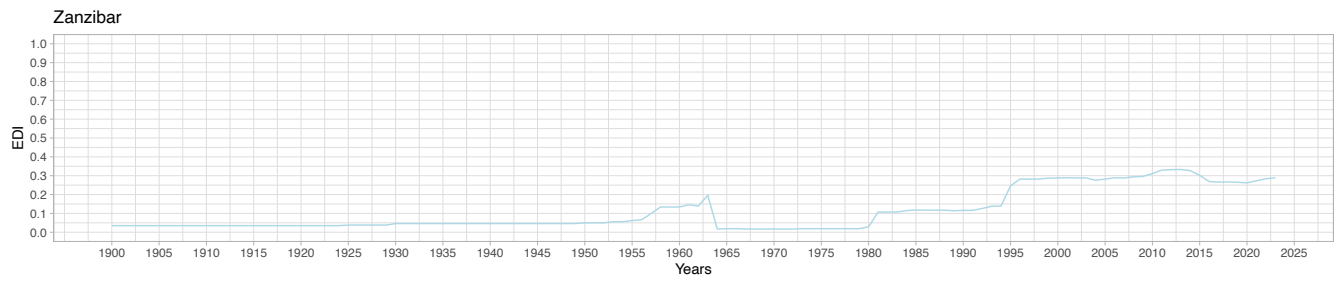
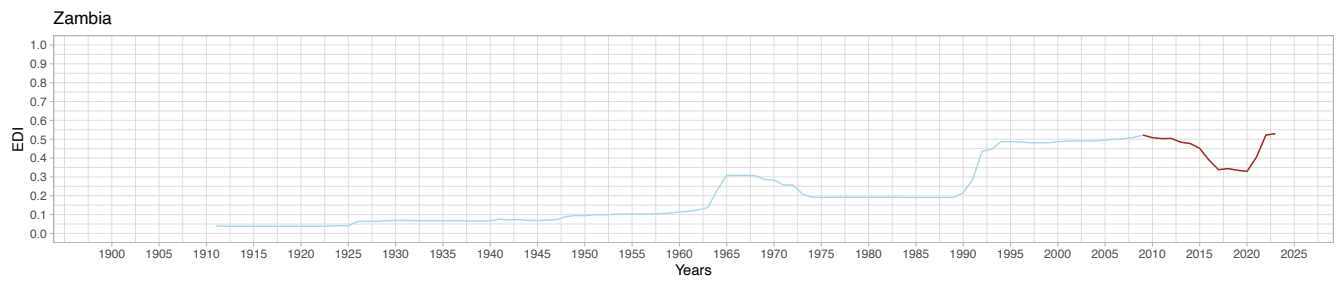
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