Supplementary Materials: Electoral Accountability in the Developing World

François Gélineau, Ph.D.
Research Chair on Democracy and Parliamentary Institutions, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Université Laval, Québec (Québec), CANADA, G1V 0A6, Tel.: (418) 656-6-2131 x.3073, Email: francois.gelineau@pol.ulaval.

— APPENDIX 1 —
Surveys included in the analysis

Latin America (214 surveys) — www.latinobarometro.org

Africa (64 surveys) — www.afrobarometer.org
- Burkina Faso, Liberia: 2008
Zimbabwe: 1999, 2005

Asia (8 surveys) – www.asianbarometer.org
  Hong Kong: 2001
  Philippines: 2005
  South Korea: 2003
  Taiwan, Thailand: 2006

Middle East and North Africa (7 surveys) – www.arabbarometer.org
  Algeria, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Palestine: 2006
  Lebanon, Yemen: 2007
Survey questions used in the analysis

Dependent variable

VOTE: “If elections were held next Sunday, for which party would you vote?” or “If a presidential election were held tomorrow, which party’s candidate would you vote for?” Responses are political parties or candidates. Coded “1” for incumbent party/candidate, otherwise “0”. “Don’t know” and “No response” recoded as “0.”

APPROV: In Africa: “Do you approve or disapprove of the way the following people have performed their jobs over the past twelve months, or haven’t you heard enough about them to say: [President/Prime Minister’s name]?” In the Arab World: “Indicate how satisfied you are with the performance of the current [respondent’s country] government.” In Asia: “How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the [name of president, etc. ruling current] government?” In Latin America: “Do you approve or disapprove of the current administration headed by (NAME OF PRESIDENT)” Coded “1” (approve), “0” (disapprove). “Don’t know” and “No response” recoded as missing.

Independent variables

ECONOMY: Both retrospective and prospective evaluations were used. “Looking back, how do you rate the following compared to twelve months ago: Economic conditions in this country?” and “Do you think that in 12 months, in general, the country’s economic situation will be ‘a lot better’, ‘a little better’, ‘the same’, ‘a little worse’ or ‘a lot worse’?” Responses to both questions are coded “1” (worse) to “3” (better). “Don’t know” and “No response” recoded as missing.

AGE: in years, values below 18 recoded as missing.

GENDER: dummy variable where “1” is female and “0” is male.

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1 Recoding “Don’t know” and “No response” as missing resulted in the exclusion of too many cases. We compared the results obtained using both strategies and found that it did not affect the magnitude nor the statistical significance of the ECONOMY variable. The same justification applies to the variable INCUMID.
EDUC: recoded into three dummy variables identifying respondents with at least some primary (PRIMARY), at last some secondary (SECONDARY), and at least some post-secondary (UNIVERSITY). “Don’t know” and “No response” recoded as missing.

INCUMID: If the respondent feels close to any particular political party. “Which party is that?” Responses are political parties. Coded “1” for incumbent party, otherwise “0”. “Don’t know” and “No response” recoded as “0” (see footnote 1).

LEFTRIGHT: “People often talk about ‘left’ and ‘right’ in politics. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10?” Responses are coded “0” (left) to “10” (right). “Don’t know” and “No response” recoded as missing.

CRIME: “Have you or one of your relatives been victim of an assault, an aggression or a crime in the last twelve months?” Responses are coded “1” (yes) or “0” (no). “Don’t know” and “No response” recoded as missing.

RURAL: Coded “1” for rural primary sampling unit, otherwise “0.”

CORPRES: “How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven’t you heard enough about them to say: The President and Officials in his/her Office?” Responses are coded “1” (some, most or all of them) or “0” (none). “Don’t know” and “No response” recoded as missing.

MAJET: “What is your tribe? You know, your ethnic or cultural group.” Responses are tribe or ethnic groups. Coded “1” for majority ethnic group, otherwise “0.” “Don’t know” and “No response” recoded as missing.

CONFPOI: “How much trust do you have in political parties?” Responses are coded “1” (trust) or 0 (no trust). “Don’t know” and “No response” recoded as missing.

DEM: “Which of the following sentences do you most agree with? ‘Democracy is better than any other form of government’, ‘In some circumstances, an authoritarian government may be better than a democratic one’, ‘It doesn’t matter whether the regime is democratic or not’”. Responses are coded “1” (democracy is preferable to any other kind of government), otherwise “0.” “Don’t know” and “No response” recoded as missing.
**CORR:** From 1995 to 2003, the question used was: “Which of the following problems is the most important according to you?” Responses are coded “1” (corruption) or “0” (any other problem). “Don’t know” and “No response” recoded as missing.

From 2004 to 2009, the question was: “Did you or one of your relatives hear about a corruption act in the last twelve months?” Responses are coded “1” (yes) or “0” (no). “Don’t know” and “No response” recoded as missing.

**WASTA:** “During the past five years, have you ever used wasa to achieve something personal, family related, or a neighborhood problem?” Responses are coded “1” (yes) or “0” (no). “Don’t know” and “No response” recoded as missing.
Our analysis generated 244 different sets of outputs for the VOTE/full model and 201 sets of outputs for the APPROV/full model. The VOTE model produced 159 outputs (76%) with economic assessments reaching the conventional levels of statistical significance. The APPROV model produced 192 outputs (96%) with economic assessments being statistically significant. In the vast majority of cases, it appears that economic assessments are directly linked to incumbent support. Individuals with negative assessments are more likely to disapprove of the incumbent president/government, while those with positive assessments are more likely to support the incumbent. The fact that economic assessments are more often statistically significant in the APPROV model is not surprising given that the surveys used for the analysis are not formal election studies and are most often administered well outside of the electoral calendar.

Table 1 Statistical significance of the ECONOMY variable by model type and region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>VOTE/full model</th>
<th>APPROV/full model</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (n)</td>
<td>Not sig. (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab World</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>51</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
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</table>


Our analyses further indicate that economic assessments have a significant effect in the vast majority of cases in the APPROV models. While it is statistically significant in every Asian and Arab surveys, we only fail to detect an effect in 7 African (Botswana 2003; Burkina Faso 2008; Cape Verde 2008; Lesotho 2003; Mali 2002, 2008; Zimbabwe 20050 and 2 Latin American (Guatemala 2003, 2007) surveys. We thus fail to find evidence of an economic effect in 12 percent of the African cases and slightly less than 2 percent of the Latin American cases.
Despite this generalized pattern, both the full and reduced forms of the model offer limited explanatory power. On average, our analyses produce McFadden’s pseudo R-squared values of 0.09 and 0.12 for the VOTE and APPROV models, respectively. Our models are therefore slightly better at explaining variation in incumbent approval (APPROV) than they are at explaining vote intentions (VOTE). Further analyses indicate that the exclusion of the IDEOLOGY and CONTROLS variables substantially reduces the model fit, to a pseudo R-squared of 0.04 and 0.07 for the VOTE and APPROV models respectively.

Table 2 Pseudo R-Squared mean value by region and model type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>VOTE/full model</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Full Model</td>
<td>Reduced Model</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.03</td>
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<td>Arab World</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.05</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.04</td>
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## APPENDIX 5

Mean economic effect by model type and region

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VOTE</th>
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<th>APPROV</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Full Model</td>
<td>Reduced Model</td>
<td>Full Model</td>
<td>Reduced Model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
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<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-0.06</td>
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<td>-0.07</td>
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<td>-0.08</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
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<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
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<td>-0.08</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
– APPENDIX 6 –
Mean economic effect by country and year

VOTE

[Graph showing mean economic effect by country and year]
Supplementary Materials Reference List