**Online Appendix, How State Capacity Helps Autocrats Win Elections**

Table A: Indicators of manipulation

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Indicator** | **Question** | **Mina** | **Max** | **Source** |
| *Subtle* | | | | |
| Media bias | In the run-up to the election, were there allegations of media bias in favor of the incumbent? | 0: no | 1: yes | NELDA |
| Domestic monitors operate freely | In this national election, were election monitors from all parties and independent domestic election monitors allowed to monitor the vote at polling stations across the country? | 0: no | 1: yes | V-Dem |
| Opposition prevented from running | Were opposition leaders prevented from running? | 0: no | 1: yes | NELDA |
| Vote counting irregularities | In this national election, was there evidence of other *intentional* voting irregularities by incumbent and/or opposition parties, and/or vote fraud? Examples include use of double IDs, intentional lack of voting materials, ballot-stuffing, misreporting of votes, and false collation of votes. This question does not refer to lack of access to registration, harassment of opposition parties, manipulation of the voter registry or vote-buying. | 0: yes. There were systematic and almost nationwide other irregularities. | 4: none. There was no evidence of intentional other irregularities. | V-Dem |
| *Visible and costly* | | | | |
| Election violence | Was there significant violence involving civilian deaths immediately before, during, or after the election? | 0: no | 1: yes | NELDA |

a For V-Dem variables, min and max refer to the scores assigned by the experts. The actual variable used in analyses represents the median values of the probability distributions generated by V-Dem based on expert assessments and taking into account disagreement and measurement error (Coppedge et al. 2018b, 29). These have different min and max scores (See Table B).

Table B: Descriptive Statistics

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **Observations** | **Mean** | **Std. Dev.** | **Min** | **Max** |
| State territorial control (3 year average) | 505 | 91.05 | 8.81 | 43.95 | 100 |
| 60% of votes | 324 | 0.39 | 0.49 | 0 | 1 |
| 60% of seats | 397 | 0.55 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 |
| Vote share | 324 | 54.54 | 19.36 | 5.5 | 97.7 |
| Seat share | 397 | 61.6 | 22.38 | 2 | 100 |
| Media bias | 470 | 0.40 | 0.49 | 0 | 1 |
| Media access | 512 | 0.13 | 1.18 | -2.23 | 2.63 |
| Opposition prevented from running | 471 | 0.24 | 0.43 | 0 | 1 |
| Other voting irregularities | 512 | -1.01 | 1.06 | -3.05 | 2.36 |
| Domestic monitors operate freely | 497 | 0.67 | 0.47 | 0 | 1 |
| Election violence | 477 | 0.30 | 0.46 | 0 | 1 |
| Pre-election violence (QED) | 215 | 1.20 | 1.28 | 0 | 3 |

Table C: The state’s capacity to control its territory and large majority electoral victories, regime age variables shown

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
|  | 60% of votes | | | Vote share | 60% of seats | | | Seat share |
| State territorial control | 0.163\*\* (0.074) | 0.094\*\* (0.045) | 0.540\*\*\* (0.181) | 0.349\*\* (0.175) | 0.115\*\*\* (0.037) | 0.134\*\*\* (0.047) | 0.241\*\* (0.109) | 0.608\*\*\* (0.174) |
| GDP/cap | -0.830 (0.633) | -0.894 (0.586) | -0.339 (0.882) | -4.107 (2.595) | -1.185\*\*\* (0.453) | -1.924\*\*\* (0.627) | -0.920 (0.821) | -4.510 (2.846) |
| Growth | 8.895\*\*\* (3.081) | 9.310\*\* (3.726) | 11.855\*\*\* (3.791) | 22.302\*\* (11.173) | 5.440\*\*\* (2.050) | 9.185\*\*\* (3.199) | 5.904\*\* (2.447) | 14.025 (11.827) |
| Oil and gas | 0.037 (0.151) | 0.162 (0.144) | -0.031 (0.169) | -0.082 (0.687) | 0.116 (0.109) | 0.175 (0.148) | 0.002 (0.233) | -0.170 (0.609) |
| Majoritarian electoral system | -1.066 (0.751) | -0.794 (0.554) | -3.545\*\*\* (0.879) | -1.161 (2.947) | 0.658 (0.458) | 0.845 (0.651) | -1.380 (1.221) | 3.394 (2.630) |
| Party regime |  | 2.933\*\*\* (0.959) |  |  |  | 2.665\*\*\* (1.034) |  |  |
| First multiparty election |  | -0.789 (0.607) |  |  |  | -1.091\* (0.649) |  |  |
| Regime age | -0.038 (0.099) | -0.079 (0.132) | -0.051 (0.097) | 0.148 (0.377) | -0.032 (0.081) | -0.227\*\* (0.108) | -0.078 (0.094) | 0.768\*\* (0.380) |
| Regime age^2 | 0.002 (0.003) | 0.002 (0.004) | 0.001 (0.003) | 0.005 (0.013) | 0.004 (0.003) | 0.008\*\* (0.003) | 0.005\* (0.003) | -0.008 (0.011) |
| Regime age^3 | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000\* (0.000) | -0.000\*\*\* (0.000) | -0.000\*\* (0.000) | -0.000 (0.000) |
| Constant | -9.429 (7.978) | -2.968 (5.798) |  | 51.508\*\* (25.701) | -2.211 (3.883) | 2.681 (5.202) |  | 30.330 (24.597) |
| Observations | 270 | 242 | 150 | 270 | 333 | 284 | 195 | 333 |

Note: Models 1-3 and 5-7 are logistic regression models. Models 4 and 8 are OLS. All models with robust standard errors clustered on country. Models 3 and 7 are country fixed effects models. \* *p* < 0.10, \*\* *p* < 0.05, \*\*\* *p* < 0.01

Table D1: Predicted probabilities for logistic regression models of Table 1, Table 2, Table 3, and Table 4

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *60% of votes* | | *60% of seats* | | *Media bias* | | *Opposition prevented* | | *Monitors operate freely* | | *Election violence* | | | |
| *State territorial control* | |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | |  | |  |
| *MIN* | 2.51 | (-2.79-7.81) | 9.05 | (-1.93- 20.02) | 22.87 | (6.90-38.85) | 16.11 | (0.54-31.68) | 93.22 | (85.38- 101.06) | 73.66 | | (52.41- 94.91) | |
| *MAX* | 47.52 | (36.72-58.31) | 63.22 | (54.82- 71.61) | 49.08 | (40.41- 57.76) | 25.22 | (19.31-31.13) | 69.31 | (60.19- 78.42) | 20.19 | | (14.22- 26.16) | |
| *Diff.* | 45.00\*\*\* | (30.96- 59.06) | 54.17\*\*\* | (38.12-70.22) | 26.21\* | (4.13-48.29) | 9.11 | (-0.10-0.28) | -23.91\*\*\* | (-38.76- -9.05) | -53.47\*\*\* | | (-78.35 --28.59) | |

Note: Predicted probabilities with covariates held at observed values. 90% confidence intervals in parentheses. Levels of statistical significance denote whether predicted probabilities are significantly different for state territorial control at the minimum and maximum observed in the sample. \* *p* < 0.10, \*\* *p* < 0.05, \*\*\* *p* < 0.01.

Table D2: Predicted probabilities for Figure 3

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *60% of votes* | | *60% of seats* | | |
| Media bias |  |  |  |  | |
| No | 29.69 | (21.68-37.70) | 44.31 | (35.82- 52.80) | |
| Yes | 43.20 | (32.14-54.25) | 60.85 | (52.07- 69.63) | |
| *Diff.* | 13.50\* | (1.87-25.14) | 16.54\*\*\* | (6.72- 26.36) | |
| Opposition prevented | |  |  |  | |
| No | 33.95 | (26.21-41.69) | 51.92 | (44.51-59.34) | |
| Yes | 37.86 | (26.90-48.83) | 50.61 | (39.94-61.29) | |
| *Diff.* | 3.91 | (-6.30-14.11) | -1.31 | (-11.30-8.67) | |
| Absence of ballot stuffing and vote counting manipulation | | |  |  | |
| Min | 48.60 | (32.26-64.94) | 64.94 | (52.36-77.51) | |
| Max | 18.13 | (3.22-33.04) | 30.25 | (11.87-48.63) | |
| *Diff.* | -30.47\* | (-58.64--2.30) | -34.69\*\* | | (-62.78- -6.59) | |
| Monitors operate freely | |  |  |  | |
| *No* | 53.16 | (38.39- 67.92) | 62.23 | (49.96-74.49) | |
| *Yes* | 28.97 | (20.74- 37.20) | 45.97 | (37.90- 54.03) | |
| *Diff.* | -24.19\*\* | (-40.10-8.28) | -16.30\* | (-30.05-2.47) | |

Note: Predicted probabilities with covariates held at observed values. 90% confidence intervals in parentheses. Levels of statistical significance denote whether predicted probabilities are significantly different when explanatory variable of interest changes from 0 to 1 (dichotomous) or min to max (continuous). \* *p* < 0.10, \*\* *p* < 0.05, \*\*\* *p* < 0.01.

Table E1: The state’s capacity to control its territory and large victories, additional controls

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | 60% votes | 60% seats | 60% votes | 60% seats | 60% seats | 60% seats |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | *Excluding cases with restriction on seat share* |
| State territorial control | 0.161\*\* (0.075) | 0.121\*\*\* (0.038) | 0.110\* (0.058) | 0.151\*\*\* (0.058) | 0.116\*\*\* (0.037) | 0.114\*\*\* (0.037) |
| GDP/cap | -0.702 (0.654) | -1.236\*\* (0.491) | -0.885 (0.662) | -1.860\*\*\* (0.690) | -1.191\*\*\* (0.457) | -0.996\*\* (0.452) |
| Growth | 8.749\*\*\* (3.076) | 6.039\*\*\* (2.141) | 9.875\*\*\* (3.641) | 9.317\*\*\* (3.280) | 5.374\*\*\* (2.059) | 6.318\*\*\* (2.139) |
| Oil and gas | 0.016 (0.150) | 0.112 (0.111) | 0.037 (0.158) | 0.124 (0.160) | 0.118 (0.110) | 0.078 (0.109) |
| Majoritarian electoral system | -1.118 (0.736) | 0.666 (0.476) | -0.659 (0.663) | 1.318\* (0.716) | 0.629 (0.458) | 0.669 (0.480) |
| Reserved seats for women | 0.527 (1.130) | -1.428\* (0.746) |  |  |  |  |
| Civil war |  |  | -0.823 (1.009) | 0.632 (1.151) |  |  |
| Restrictions on seat share |  |  |  |  | 0.639 (1.182) |  |
| Regime age | -0.035 (0.100) | -0.058 (0.082) | -0.035 (0.109) | -0.150 (0.106) | -0.035 (0.081) | -0.048 (0.084) |
| Regime age^2 | 0.002 (0.003) | 0.005\* (0.003) | 0.002 (0.004) | 0.008\*\* (0.003) | 0.004 (0.003) | 0.004 (0.003) |
| Regime age^3 | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000\*\* (0.000) | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000\*\* (0.000) | -0.000\* (0.000) | -0.000\* (0.000) |
| Constant | -10.157 (7.865) | -2.136 (3.999) | -4.312 (6.773) | -0.252 (5.586) | -2.216 (3.907) | -3.425 (3.963) |
| Observations | 267 | 329 | 224 | 257 | 333 | 311 |

Note: Logistic regression models with robust standard errors clustered on country in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.10, \*\* *p* < 0.05, \*\*\* *p* < 0.01.

Table E2: The state’s capacity to control its territory and large victories, additional controls

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | 60% votes | 60% seats | 60% votes | 60% seats | 60% votes | 60% seats |
|  |  |  | *Excluding cases of opposition victory* | | *Excluding monarchies* | |
| State territorial control | 0.121\*\* (0.058) | 0.142\*\*\* (0.050) | 0.130\* (0.068) | 0.147\*\*\* (0.051) | 0.118\*\* (0.058) | 0.130\*\*\* (0.046) |
| GDP/cap | -0.908 (0.643) | -1.675\*\*\* (0.604) | -0.794 (0.717) | -1.760\*\*\* (0.641) | -0.916 (0.650) | -1.733\*\*\* (0.616) |
| Growth | 8.787\*\*\* (3.348) | 7.424\*\*\* (2.582) | 8.564\*\* (3.444) | 8.215\*\*\* (2.784) | 9.769\*\*\* (3.462) | 10.288\*\*\* (3.041) |
| Oil and gas | 0.071 (0.142) | 0.091 (0.135) | 0.072 (0.149) | 0.121 (0.140) | 0.051 (0.140) | 0.084 (0.131) |
| Majoritarian electoral system | -0.785 (0.642) | 0.842 (0.591) | -0.796 (0.679) | 1.027 (0.645) | -0.798 (0.674) | 0.638 (0.608) |
| Opposition victory | -1.093 (1.114) | -3.013\*\* (1.379) |  |  |  |  |
| Regime age | 0.005 (0.112) | -0.067 (0.095) | -0.005 (0.129) | -0.110 (0.104) | -0.017 (0.107) | -0.127 (0.090) |
| Regime age^2 | 0.001 (0.004) | 0.005\* (0.003) | 0.001 (0.004) | 0.007\*\* (0.003) | 0.002 (0.004) | 0.008\*\*\* (0.003) |
| Regime age^3 | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000\*\* (0.000) | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000\*\* (0.000) | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000\*\*\* (0.000) |
| Constant | -5.192 (6.631) | -0.665 (4.844) | -6.877 (7.836) | -0.420 (5.267) | -4.745 (6.498) | 1.067 (4.716) |
| Observations | 244 | 286 | 228 | 268 | 236 | 271 |

Note: Logistic regression models with robust standard errors clustered on country in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.10, \*\* *p* < 0.05, \*\*\* *p* < 0.01

Table F: The state’s capacity to control its territory and large victories, robustness checks

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
|  | 55% votes | 58% votes | 62% votes | 65% votes | 55% seats | 58% seats | 62% seats | 65% seats |
| State territorial control | 0.077\* (0.046) | 0.149\*\* (0.067) | 0.111\*\* (0.055) | 0.072 (0.045) | 0.040 (0.028) | 0.096\*\*\* (0.036) | 0.123\*\*\* (0.042) | 0.141\*\*\* (0.037) |
| GDP/cap | -0.938\* (0.564) | -0.888 (0.608) | -0.702 (0.493) | -0.216 (0.534) | -0.763\*\* (0.380) | -1.208\*\*\* (0.455) | -1.068\*\* (0.469) | -0.794\* (0.415) |
| Growth | 6.627\*\* (3.007) | 8.196\*\*\* (2.786) | 6.688\*\* (2.611) | 5.604\*\* (2.622) | 5.316\*\*\* (1.867) | 4.878\*\* (2.112) | 4.693\*\* (2.048) | 2.139 (1.958) |
| Oil and gas | 0.019 (0.171) | -0.022 (0.125) | 0.038 (0.125) | -0.005 (0.119) | 0.061 (0.101) | 0.144 (0.116) | 0.105 (0.115) | 0.034 (0.106) |
| Majoritarian electoral system | 0.016 (0.634) | -0.725 (0.738) | -0.817 (0.604) | -0.518 (0.522) | 0.323 (0.429) | 0.523 (0.462) | 0.666 (0.475) | 0.871 (0.537) |
| Regime age | -0.070 (0.089) | -0.043 (0.086) | -0.014 (0.098) | -0.026 (0.090) | -0.010 (0.069) | -0.045 (0.078) | -0.022 (0.087) | 0.015 (0.088) |
| Regime age^2 | 0.004 (0.003) | 0.002 (0.003) | 0.001 (0.003) | 0.002 (0.003) | 0.003 (0.002) | 0.004\* (0.002) | 0.003 (0.003) | 0.003 (0.003) |
| Regime age^3 | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000\* (0.000) | -0.000\*\* (0.000) | -0.000\* (0.000) | -0.000\* (0.000) |
| Constant | -0.201 (5.431) | -7.357 (7.036) | -5.948 (5.717) | -6.538 (5.572) | 1.903 (3.128) | -0.089 (3.957) | -4.111 (4.302) | -8.564\*\* (3.817) |
| Observations | 270 | 270 | 270 | 270 | 333 | 333 | 333 | 333 |

Note: Logistic regression models with robust standard errors clustered on country in parentheses. \* *p* < 0.10, \*\* *p* < 0.05, \*\*\* *p* < 0.01.

Table G: The state’s capacity to control its territory and subtle manipulation, regime age variables shown

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | Media bias | | | Opposition prevented | | |
| State territorial control | 0.038\* (0.023) | 0.045\* (0.025) | 0.108\*\* (0.051) | 0.016 (0.023) | 0.009 (0.021) | 0.024 (0.052) |
| GDP/cap | 0.333 (0.246) | 0.316 (0.265) | 0.622 (0.667) | 0.543\*\* (0.246) | 0.501\*\* (0.251) | 0.459 (0.545) |
| Growth | 2.752 (1.721) | 1.960 (1.709) | 2.169 (2.232) | -1.908 (1.668) | -1.916 (1.661) | -1.880 (1.905) |
| Oil and gas | 0.185\*\*\* (0.064) | 0.176\*\*\* (0.065) | 0.216\* (0.118) | -0.037 (0.072) | -0.065 (0.074) | 0.087 (0.090) |
| Party regime |  | -0.107 (0.400) | -0.373 (1.128) |  | -0.651 (0.463) | -1.481 (1.785) |
| First multiparty election |  | -0.455 (0.381) |  |  | 0.472 (0.360) |  |
| Regime age | 0.016 (0.065) | -0.019 (0.075) | -0.019 (0.083) | -0.069 (0.055) | -0.049 (0.059) | -0.017 (0.069) |
| Regime age^2 | -0.001 (0.002) | -0.000 (0.002) | -0.000 (0.003) | 0.002 (0.002) | 0.002 (0.002) | -0.000 (0.002) |
| Regime age^3 | 0.000 (0.000) | -0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) |
| Constant | -6.819\*\*\* (2.623) | -6.761\*\* (2.941) |  | -6.578\*\* (2.568) | -5.855\*\* (2.364) |  |
| Observations | 413 | 390 | 280 | 415 | 392 | 233 |

Note: Logistic regression models with robust standard errors clustered on country. Models 3 and 6 with country fixed effects. \* *p* < 0.10, \*\* *p* < 0.05, \*\*\* *p* < 0.01.

Table H: The state’s capacity to control its territory and subtle manipulation, regime age variables shown, continued

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  | Other voting irregularities | | | Domestic monitors operate freely | | |
| State territorial control | -0.004 (0.009) | -0.004 (0.009) | -0.016\* (0.009) | -0.132\* (0.071) | -0.126\*\* (0.062) | -0.257\*\* (0.111) |
| GDP/cap | 0.349\*\*\* (0.130) | 0.383\*\* (0.149) | 0.340 (0.212) | 0.521 (0.630) | 1.046\* (0.627) | 1.323 (0.919) |
| Growth | -0.828\*\* (0.415) | -1.055\*\* (0.437) | -1.254\*\* (0.494) | -1.081 (2.144) | -1.252 (2.339) | -3.534 (2.189) |
| Oil and gas | -0.042 (0.036) | -0.036 (0.039) | 0.003 (0.045) | 0.214 (0.262) | 0.191 (0.234) | 0.667\*\* (0.297) |
| Party regime |  | 0.208 (0.387) | -0.233 (0.579) |  | 1.137 (1.368) | 0.158 (1.867) |
| First multiparty election |  | 0.206 (0.127) |  |  | -0.167 (0.561) |  |
| Regime age | -0.040 (0.025) | -0.021 (0.030) | -0.029 (0.028) | 0.010 (0.123) | -0.014 (0.134) | 0.279 (0.203) |
| Regime age^2 | 0.001 (0.001) | 0.000 (0.001) | 0.000 (0.001) | -0.001 (0.004) | -0.001 (0.004) | -0.021\* (0.011) |
| Regime age^3 | -0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000\*\* (0.000) |
| Constant | -2.985\*\*\* (1.149) | -3.489\*\*\* (1.269) | -1.806 (1.769) | 10.905\* (6.269) | 5.959 (5.235) |  |
| Observations | 449 | 393 | 395 | 436 | 381 | 167 |

Note: Models 1-3 are OLS models and 4-6 are logistic regression models. Models 3 and 6 with country fixed effects. All models with robust standard errors clustered on country. \* *p* < 0.10, \*\* *p* < 0.05, \*\*\* *p* < 0.01.

Table I: The state’s capacity to control its territory and subtle manipulation, alternative models

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) |
|  | Free media access | |
| State territorial control | -0.022\* (0.012) | -0.018\* (0.010) |
| GDP/cap | 0.126 (0.140) | 0.098 (0.141) |
| Growth | -0.035 (0.371) | -0.247 (0.387) |
| Oil and gas | 0.003 (0.037) | 0.009 (0.037) |
| Party regime |  | -0.672 (0.436) |
| First multiparty election |  | -0.149 (0.092) |
| Regime age | 0.013 (0.018) | 0.010 (0.018) |
| Regime age^2 | -0.000 (0.001) | -0.000 (0.001) |
| Regime age^3 | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) |
| Constant | 1.054 (1.104) | 1.236 (1.127) |
| Observations | 449 | 393 |

Note: OLS regression models with robust standard errors clustered on country. \* *p* < 0.10, \*\* *p* < 0.05, \*\*\* *p* < 0.01.

Table J: Subtle manipulation strategies and large victories

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
|  | 60% of votes | 60% of seats | 60% of votes | 60% of seats | 60% of votes | 60% of seats | 60% of votes | 60% of seats |
| Media bias | 1.061\* (0.549) | 1.377\*\*\* (0.509) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Opposition prevented |  |  | 0.313 (0.493) | -0.110 (0.517) |  |  |  |  |
| Absence of ballot stuffing and vote counting manipulation |  |  |  |  | -0.545 (0.352) | -0.500\* (0.277) |  |  |
| Domestic monitors operate freely |  |  |  |  |  |  | -2.248\*\* (1.044) | -1.264\* (0.711) |
| GDP/cap | -0.767 (0.577) | -1.296\*\* (0.533) | -0.771 (0.585) | -1.258\*\* (0.523) | -0.461 (0.605) | -0.773\* (0.430) | -0.553 (0.614) | -0.910\*\* (0.452) |
| Growth | 8.848\*\*\* (3.346) | 8.687\*\*\* (2.696) | 9.315\*\*\* (3.232) | 10.075\*\*\* (2.671) | 7.974\*\*\* (2.906) | 5.759\*\*\* (2.030) | 8.782\*\*\* (2.874) | 5.601\*\*\* (1.954) |
| Oil and gas | 0.020 (0.135) | 0.031 (0.127) | 0.056 (0.135) | 0.092 (0.127) | -0.052 (0.136) | -0.003 (0.101) | -0.011 (0.138) | 0.059 (0.111) |
| Majoritarian electoral system | -0.640 (0.644) | 0.878 (0.555) | -0.621 (0.663) | 1.017\* (0.585) | -0.864 (0.761) | 0.487 (0.480) | -0.618 (0.757) | 0.559 (0.487) |
| Regime age | 0.003 (0.102) | -0.110 (0.088) | -0.006 (0.098) | -0.109 (0.086) | -0.037 (0.092) | -0.040 (0.077) | -0.021 (0.092) | -0.039 (0.080) |
| Regime age^2 | 0.001 (0.003) | 0.007\*\* (0.003) | 0.002 (0.003) | 0.006\*\* (0.003) | 0.002 (0.003) | 0.004\* (0.002) | 0.001 (0.003) | 0.004\* (0.002) |
| Regime age^3 | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000\*\*\* (0.000) | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000\*\*\* (0.000) | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000\*\* (0.000) | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000\*\* (0.000) |
| Constant | 4.275 (4.358) | 8.790\*\* (3.956) | 4.654 (4.504) | 9.034\*\* (4.001) | 2.277 (4.761) | 4.788 (3.254) | 4.841 (4.841) | 7.125\*\* (3.573) |
| Observations | 251 | 299 | 255 | 302 | 274 | 337 | 268 | 327 |

Note: Logistic regression models with robust standard errors clustered on country. \* *p* < 0.10, \*\* *p* < 0.05, \*\*\* *p* < 0.01.

Table K: Alternative mediation analysis

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) |
|  | 60% of votes | |
| State territorial control | 0.163\*\* (0.074) | 0.125\* (0.070) |
| Media bias |  | 0.782 (0.671) |
| Opposition prevented from running |  | -0.359 (0.508) |
| Absence of voting irregularities |  | -0.136 (0.393) |
| Domestic monitors operate freely |  | -1.706 (1.137) |
| GDP/cap | -0.830 (0.633) | -0.724 (0.708) |
| Growth | 8.895\*\*\* (3.081) | 9.986\*\*\* (3.746) |
| Oil and gas | 0.037 (0.151) | -0.003 (0.155) |
| Majoritarian | -1.066 (0.751) | -0.645 (0.741) |
| Regime age | -0.038 (0.099) | -0.026 (0.105) |
| Regime age^2 | 0.002 (0.003) | 0.001 (0.003) |
| Regime age^3 | -0.000 (0.000) | -0.000 (0.000) |
| Constant | -9.429 (7.978) | -6.024 (8.208) |
| Observations | 270 | 241 |
| pred prob as state capacity min🡪max | +45.00\*\*\*  percentage points | +40.51\*\*\*  percentage points |

Note: Logistic regression models with robust standard errors clustered on country. pred prob denotes the percentage point change in the predicted probability of the incumbent receiving at least 60% of votes as state capacity increases from its minimum to its maximum. \* *p* < 0.10, \*\* *p* < 0.05, \*\*\* *p* < 0.01.

Table L: The state’s capacity to control its territory and visible and costly manipulation, regime age variables shown

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | Violence | | | |
| State territorial control | -0.071\*\*\* (0.023) | -0.072\*\*\* (0.024) | -0.053\*\* (0.026) | -0.040 (0.067) |
| GDP/cap | 0.216 (0.282) | 0.202 (0.319) | -0.054 (0.308) | 0.767 (0.678) |
| Growth | 0.956 (1.469) | 0.697 (1.532) | 0.690 (1.683) | -0.647 (1.709) |
| Oil and gas | -0.047 (0.067) | -0.066 (0.069) | -0.026 (0.072) | -0.176\*\* (0.075) |
| Party regime |  | 0.012 (0.423) |  | -0.907 (0.620) |
| First multiparty election |  | -0.025 (0.410) |  |  |
| Civil war |  |  | 0.629 (0.672) |  |
| Regime age | -0.005 (0.058) | -0.016 (0.073) | 0.006 (0.065) | 0.015 (0.074) |
| Regime age^2 | -0.001 (0.002) | -0.000 (0.002) | -0.001 (0.002) | -0.001 (0.002) |
| Regime age^3 | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) |
| Constant | 3.930 (2.479) | 4.193 (2.858) | 4.288 (2.873) |  |
| Observations | 420 | 397 | 352 | 265 |

Note: Logistic regression models with robust standard errors clustered on country. Model 4 with country fixed effects. \* *p* < 0.10, \*\* *p* < 0.05, \*\*\* *p* < 0.01.

Table M: The state’s capacity to control its territory and pre-election violence

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | Pre-election violence | | | |
| State territorial control | -0.061\*\*\* (0.011) | -0.061\*\*\* (0.011) | -0.053\*\*\* (0.013) | -0.026 (0.027) |
| GDP/cap | -0.014 (0.126) | -0.005 (0.137) | -0.043 (0.125) | 0.147 (0.555) |
| Growth | -0.414 (0.755) | -0.376 (0.736) | -0.471 (0.756) | -1.388 (0.851) |
| Oil and gas | -0.043 (0.033) | -0.044 (0.034) | -0.040 (0.032) | -0.017 (0.043) |
| Party regime |  | 0.109 (0.208) |  |  |
| First multiparty election |  | 0.148 (0.208) |  |  |
| Civil war |  |  | 0.485\* (0.258) |  |
| Regime age | -0.024 (0.032) | -0.016 (0.043) | -0.013 (0.032) | -0.020 (0.046) |
| Regime age^2 | -0.000 (0.001) | -0.000 (0.001) | -0.000 (0.001) | -0.000 (0.002) |
| Regime age^3 | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) |
| Constant | 7.317\*\*\* (1.343) | 7.135\*\*\* (1.414) | 6.665\*\*\* (1.465) | 2.630 (5.068) |
| Observations | 208 | 208 | 208 | 208 |

Note: OLS models with robust standard errors clustered on country. Model 4 with country fixed effects. \* *p* < 0.10, \*\* *p* < 0.05, \*\*\* *p* < 0.01.

Table N: Sample country-years with at least one multiparty authoritarian election, 1946-2017

**Country Year**

Afghanistan 2010

Albania 1991

Algeria 1995

Algeria 1997

Algeria 1999

Algeria 2002

Algeria 2004

Algeria 2007

Algeria 2009

Algeria 2012

Algeria 2017

Angola 1992

Angola 2008

Angola 2012

Angola 2017

Argentina 1946

Argentina 1954

Argentina 1958

Argentina 1960

Argentina 1963

Argentina 1965

Argentina 1973

Argentina 1983

Armenia 1995

Armenia 1996

Armenia 1998

Armenia 1999

Armenia 2003

Armenia 2007

Armenia 2008

Armenia 2012

Armenia 2017

Azerbaijan 1995

**Country Year**

Azerbaijan 1996

Azerbaijan 1998

Azerbaijan 2000

Azerbaijan 2001

Azerbaijan 2003

Azerbaijan 2005

Azerbaijan 2006

Azerbaijan 2008

Azerbaijan 2010

Azerbaijan 2015

Bahrain 2014

Bangladesh 1973

Bangladesh 1986

Bangladesh 1988

Bangladesh 2014

Belarus 1995

Belarus 2000

Belarus 2001

Belarus 2004

Belarus 2006

Belarus 2008

Belarus 2010

Belarus 2012

Belarus 2016

Bolivia 1947

Bolivia 1956

Bolivia 1958

Bolivia 1960

Bolivia 1962

Bolivia 1966

Bolivia 1979

Botswana 1969

Botswana 1974

**Country Year**

Botswana 1979

Botswana 1984

Botswana 1989

Botswana 1994

Botswana 1999

Botswana 2004

Botswana 2009

Brazil 1966

Brazil 1970

Brazil 1974

Brazil 1978

Brazil 1982

Bulgaria 1990

Burkina Faso 1970

Burkina Faso 1978

Burkina Faso 1992

Burkina Faso 1997

Burkina Faso 1998

Burkina Faso 2002

Burkina Faso 2005

Burkina Faso 2007

Burkina Faso 2010

Burkina Faso 2012

Burundi 1965

Burundi 1993

Burundi 2015

Cambodia 1993

Cambodia 1998

Cambodia 2003

Cambodia 2008

Cambodia 2013

Cameroon 1992

Cameroon 1997

**Country Year**

Cameroon 2002

Cameroon 2004

Cameroon 2007

Cameroon 2011

Cameroon 2013

CAR 1993

CAR 2005

CAR 2011

Chad 1997

Chad 2001

Chad 2002

Chad 2006

Chad 2011

Chile 1989

Colombia 1958

Congo, Dem 2006

Congo, Dem 2011

Congo, Rep 1961

Congo, Rep 2002

Congo, Rep 2007

Congo, Rep 2009

Congo, Rep 2012

Congo, Rep 2017

Costa Rica 1949

Cuba 1954

Cuba 1958

Djibouti 2013

Dominican Republic 1970

Dominican Republic 1974

Dominican Republic 1978

Ecuador 1979

Egypt 1950

Egypt 1979

**Country Year**

Egypt 1981

Egypt 1984

Egypt 1987

Egypt 1990

Egypt 1993

Egypt 1995

Egypt 1999

Egypt 2000

Egypt 2005

Egypt 2007

Egypt 2010

Egypt 2015

El Salvador 1964

El Salvador 1966

El Salvador 1967

El Salvador 1968

El Salvador 1970

El Salvador 1972

El Salvador 1974

El Salvador 1977

El Salvador 1978

El Salvador 1984

El Salvador 1985

El Salvador 1988

El Salvador 1989

El Salvador 1991

El Salvador 1994

Equatorial Guinea 2013

Ethiopia 2010

Ethiopia 2015

Gabon 1990

Gabon 1993

Gabon 1996

Gabon 1997

**Country Year**

Gabon 1998

Gabon 2001

Gabon 2005

Gabon 2006

Gabon 2009

Gabon 2011

Gambia 1966

Gambia 1972

Gambia 1977

Gambia 1982

Gambia 1987

Gambia 1992

Gambia 1997

Gambia 2001

Gambia 2002

Gambia 2006

Gambia 2007

Gambia 2011

Gambia 2012

Georgia 1995

Georgia 1999

Georgia 2000

Ghana 1969

Ghana 1979

Ghana 1992

Ghana 1996

Ghana 2000

Guatemala 1958

Guatemala 1959

Guatemala 1961

Guatemala 1966

Guatemala 1970

Guatemala 1974

Guatemala 1978

Guatemala 1985

**Country Year**

Guatemala 1990

Guatemala 1991

Guatemala 1994

Guatemala 1995

Guinea 1995

Guinea 1998

Guinea 2002

Guinea 2003

Guinea 2013

Guinea Bissau 1994

Haiti 1946

Haiti 2000

Haiti 2011

Haiti 2015

Honduras 1971

Honduras 1981

Hungary 1990

Indonesia 1955

Indonesia 1971

Indonesia 1977

Indonesia 1982

Indonesia 1987

Indonesia 1992

Indonesia 1997

Indonesia 1999

Iran 1960

Iran 1967

Iran 1971

Iran 2009

Iran 2012

Iran 2016

Iraq 1953

Ivory Coast 1990

Ivory Coast 1995

Ivory Coast 2001

**Country Year**

Jordan 1956

Jordan 1993

Jordan 1997

Jordan 2003

Jordan 2007

Jordan 2010

Jordan 2013

Jordan 2016

Kazakhstan 1994

Kazakhstan 1995

Kazakhstan 1999

Kazakhstan 2004

Kazakhstan 2005

Kazakhstan 2007

Kazakhstan 2011

Kazakhstan 2012

Kazakhstan 2016

Kenya 1966

Kenya 1992

Kenya 1994

Kenya 1997

Kenya 2002

Korea, South 1950

Korea, South 1952

Korea, South 1954

Korea, South 1956

Korea, South 1958

Korea, South 1960

Korea, South 1963

Korea, South 1967

Korea, South 1971

Korea, South 1973

Korea, South 1978

Korea, South 1981

Korea, South 1985

**Country Year**

Korea, South 1987

Kuwait 2009

Kuwait 2012

Kyrgyzstan 1995

Kyrgyzstan 2000

Kyrgyzstan 2007

Kyrgyzstan 2009

Kyrgyzstan 2011

Kyrgyzstan 2015

Laos 1960

Liberia 1985

Madagascar 1965

Madagascar 1970

Madagascar 1993

Malawi 1994

Malaysia 1959

Malaysia 1964

Malaysia 1969

Malaysia 1974

Malaysia 1978

Malaysia 1982

Malaysia 1986

Malaysia 1990

Malaysia 1995

Malaysia 1999

Malaysia 2004

Malaysia 2008

Malaysia 2013

Mauritania 1992

Mauritania 1996

Mauritania 1997

Mauritania 2001

Mauritania 2003

Mauritania 2007

Mauritania 2009

**Country Year**

Mauritania 2013

Mexico 1946

Mexico 1949

Mexico 1952

Mexico 1955

Mexico 1958

Mexico 1961

Mexico 1964

Mexico 1967

Mexico 1970

Mexico 1973

Mexico 1976

Mexico 1979

Mexico 1982

Mexico 1985

Mexico 1988

Mexico 1991

Mexico 1994

Mexico 1997

Mexico 2000

Mongolia 1992

Mongolia 1993

Morocco 1963

Morocco 1977

Morocco 1984

Morocco 1993

Morocco 1997

Morocco 2002

Morocco 2007

Morocco 2011

Morocco 2016

Mozambique 1994

Mozambique 1999

Mozambique 2004

Mozambique 2009

**Country Year**

Mozambique 2014

Myanmar 1960

Myanmar 2010

Namibia 1994

Namibia 1999

Namibia 2004

Namibia 2009

Nepal 1959

Nepal 1991

Nicaragua 1947

Nicaragua 1950

Nicaragua 1957

Nicaragua 1963

Nicaragua 1967

Nicaragua 1972

Nicaragua 1974

Nicaragua 1984

Nicaragua 1990

Nicaragua 2016

Niger 2016

Nigeria 1979

Nigeria 1992

Nigeria 1999

Pakistan 1970

Pakistan 1988

Pakistan 2002

Pakistan 2008

Panama 1984

Panama 1989

Paraguay 1963

Paraguay 1968

Paraguay 1973

Paraguay 1978

Paraguay 1983

Paraguay 1988

**Country Year**

Paraguay 1989

Paraguay 1991

Paraguay 1993

Peru 1956

Peru 1963

Peru 1980

Peru 1995

Peru 2000

Philippines 1981

Philippines 1984

Philippines 1986

Poland 1989

Romania 1946

Russia 1995

Russia 1996

Russia 1999

Russia 2000

Russia 2003

Russia 2004

Russia 2007

Russia 2008

Russia 2011

Russia 2012

Russia 2016

Rwanda 2003

Rwanda 2008

Rwanda 2010

Rwanda 2013

Senegal 1978

Senegal 1983

Senegal 1988

Senegal 1993

Senegal 1998

Senegal 2000

Serbia 1992

**Country Year**

Serbia 1996

Serbia 2000

Sierra Leone 1977

Singapore 1984

Singapore 1988

Singapore 1991

Singapore 1993

Singapore 1997

Singapore 2001

Singapore 2006

Singapore 2011

Singapore 2015

South Africa 1948

South Africa 1953

South Africa 1958

South Africa 1961

South Africa 1966

South Africa 1969

South Africa 1970

South Africa 1974

South Africa 1975

South Africa 1977

South Africa 1981

South Africa 1984

South Africa 1987

South Africa 1989

South Africa 1994

Sri Lanka 1982

Sri Lanka 1988

Sri Lanka 1989

Sri Lanka 1994

Sudan 2010

Sudan 2015

Swaziland 1972

Syria 1947

**Country Year**

Syria 1971

Syria 2012

Syria 2016

Taiwan 1989

Taiwan 1991

Taiwan 1992

Taiwan 1995

Taiwan 1996

Taiwan 1998

Taiwan 2000

Tajikistan 1994

Tajikistan 1995

Tajikistan 1999

Tajikistan 2000

Tajikistan 2005

Tajikistan 2006

Tajikistan 2010

Tajikistan 2015

Tanzania 1995

Tanzania 2000

Tanzania 2005

Tanzania 2010

Thailand 1946

Thailand 1948

Thailand 1949

Thailand 1969

Thailand 1979

Thailand 1983

Thailand 1986

Thailand 1988

Togo 1994

Togo 1998

Togo 1999

Togo 2002

Togo 2003

**Country Year**

Togo 2005

Togo 2007

Togo 2010

Togo 2013

Tunisia 1994

Tunisia 1999

Tunisia 2004

Tunisia 2009

Turkey 1946

Turkey 1950

Turkey 1983

Uganda 2006

Uganda 2011

Uganda 2016

Uzbekistan 2009

Uzbekistan 2015

Venezuela 2006

Venezuela 2010

Venezuela 2012

Venezuela 2015

Yemen 1993

Yemen 1997

Yemen 1999

Yemen 2003

Yemen 2006

Zambia 1968

Zambia 1991

Zambia 2001

Zambia 2006

Zambia 2008

Zambia 2016

Zimbabwe 1985

Zimbabwe 1990

Zimbabwe 1995

Zimbabwe 1996

**Country Year** Zimbabwe 2000

Zimbabwe 2002

Zimbabwe 2005

Zimbabwe 2008

Zimbabwe 2013