**Online appendix**

**Table 3 – Explaining strategies of electoral manipulation in African elections (1986–2012) *–* Alternative democracy measure**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Vote buying** | **Election administration** | **Government intimidation** | **Opposition violence** |
| *Trade-offs: other strategies of electoral manipulation* |   |   |   |   |
| Vote buying (0-4) |   | -0.091\* | 0.263\*\*\* | 0.117  |
| Election administration manipulation (0-4) | -0.234\* |   | 0.733\*\*\* | -0.024  |
| Government intimidation (0-4) | 0.297\*\*\* | 0.324\*\*\* |   | 0.464\*\*\* |
| Opposition violence (0-4) | 0.167\*\* | -0.122\*\* | 0.190\*\*\* |   |
| *Contextual effects: democratization* |   |   |   |   |
| Freedom House / Polity IV combined democracy score t-1 (0-10) | 0.153\* | -0.127\*\*\* | -0.063 | -0.077  |
| Freedom House / Polity IV combined democracy score squared t-1 (0 - 100) | -0.011+ | 0.006 | 0.006 | 0.005  |
| *Contextual effects: economic development, poverty & natural resources* |   |   |   |   |
| GDP per capita (current US$, 120-12,156) | -2.880E-5 | -6.420E-5+ | 3.450E-5 | -1.430E-5 |
| Life expectancy at birth (years, 37-74) | -0.007 | -0.003 | 0.014+ | -0.005  |
| Rural population (% of total population, 14-93) | -0.008 | 0.016\*\* | -0.011 | 0.017+  |
| Net oil exports value per capita (constant 2000$, -180 - 3,232) | 6.90E-5 | 1.109E-4 | 1.970E-5 | -2.208E-4 |
| *Contextual effects: civil war* |   |   |   |   |
| Civil war in year of election? (0-1) |   |   |   | 0.324\*\*  |
| *Control variable: type election* a |   |   |   |   |
| Presidential | 0.049 | -0.038 | -0.031 | 0.022  |
| Concurrent | 0.065 | -0.039 | 0.061 | 0.041  |
| *Constant* | 2.259\*\* | 1.276\*\* | -0.303 | 0.255  |
| R-squared (within) | 0.267 | 0.606 | 0.393 | 0.323 |
| N level 1 (elections) | 237 | 237 | 237 | 209 |
| N level 2 (countries) | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 |

Time series cross-section analyses, fixed effects. P-values: + 0.1, \* 0.05, \*\* 0.01, \*\*\* 0.001. (two-sided). a. Legislative is reference category.

**Table 4 – Explaining strategies of electoral manipulation in African elections (1986–2012) *–* T > 4 elections**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Vote buying** | **Election administration** | **Government intimidation** | **Opposition violence** |
| *Trade-offs: other strategies of electoral manipulation* |   |   |   |   |
| Vote buying (0-4) |  | -0.118\* | 0.272\*\*\* | 0.068 |
| Election administration manipulation (0-4) | -0.297\* |  | 0.702\*\*\* | 0.021 |
| Government intimidation (0-4) | 0.329\*\*\* | 0.337\*\*\* |  | 0.479\*\*\* |
| Opposition violence (0-4) | 0.206\*\* | -0.110\*\* | 0.177\*\* |  |
| *Contextual effects: democratization* |   |   |   |   |
| Freedom House civil liberties score reversed t-1 (1-7) | 0.305\* | -0.359\*\*\* | -0.13 | -0.145 |
| Freedom House civil liberties score reversed t-1 (1-49) | -0.029 | 0.032\*\* | 0.01 | 0.016 |
| *Contextual effects: economic development, poverty & natural resources* |   |   |   |   |
| GDP per capita (current US$, 120-12,156) | -4.79E-5 | -7.79E-5\* | 4.64E-5 | -2.26E-5 |
| Life expectancy at birth (years, 37-74) | -0.009 | -0.003 | 0.015+ | -0.001 |
| Rural population (% of total population, 14-93) | -0.01 | 0.015\* | -0.012 | 0.016+  |
| Net oil exports value per capita (constant 2000$, -180 - 3,232) | 2.24E-5 | 2.216E-4\* | -1.132E-4 | 6.52E-5 |
| *Contextual effects: civil war* |   |   |   |   |
| Civil war in year of election? (0-1) |   |   |   | 0.391\*\*  |
| *Control variable: type election* a |   |   |   |   |
| Presidential | 0.055 | -0.035 | -0.032 | 0.009 |
| Concurrent | 0.045 | -0.002 | 0.101 | -0.013 |
| *Constant* | 2.247\*\* | 1.767\*\* | -0.041 | 0.135 |
| R-squared (within) | 0.295 | 0.601 | 0.431 | 0.339 |
| N level 1 (elections) | 208 | 208 | 208 | 183 |
| N level 2 (countries) | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 |

Time series cross-section analyses, fixed effects. P-values: + 0.1, \* 0.05, \*\* 0.01, \*\*\* 0.001. (two-sided). a. Legislative is reference category.