Table A1. List of countries included in the cross-national analysis, N = 88

Albania	Ecuador	Kenya	Norway	Thailand
Angola	Egypt	Korea, South	Pakistan	Turkey
Argentina	El Salvador	Latvia	Panama	Ukraine
Australia	Estonia	Lebanon	Paraguay	United Kingdom
Austria	Finland	Lithuania	Peru	Uruguay
Bangladesh	France	Macedonia	Philippines	United States
Belgium	Germany	Malaysia	Poland	Venezuela
Benin	Georgia	Mali	Portugal	Zambia
Bolivia	Ghana	Mauritius	Romania	
Botswana	Greece	Mexico	Russia	
Brazil	Guatemala	Moldova	S. Africa	
Bulgaria	Honduras	Mongolia	Senegal	
Canada	Hungary	Morocco	Serbia	
Chile	India	Mozambique	Slovakia	
Colombia	Indonesia	Namibia	Slovenia	
Costa Rica	Ireland	Netherlands	Spain	
Croatia	Israel	New Zealand	Sweden	
Czech Rep.	Italy	Nicaragua	Switzerland	
Denmark	Japan	Niger	Taiwan	
Dom. Rep.	Jamaica	Nigeria	Tanzania	

Table A2. Variable Description for National Level Analysis

Variable Name	Variable Description
Clientelistic exchange	Cross-national aggregate measure of clientelistic exchange. Source: Kitschelt et al., 2010. Democratic Accountability Project.
Government Effectiveness	Country level of public good provision. Government Effectiveness (2008). Source: World Governance Indicator, World Bank.
Historical State Capacity	Infant Mortality Rates around 1925. Source: Data are combined from Abouharb and Kimball (2007) dataset and historical data on IMR collected by the authors.
Trust	Interpersonal trust. Percentage of respondents who agree, "most people can be trusted". Source: World Value Survey.
Wealth	Current wealth. GDP PC (2002). Source: World Development Indicators, World Bank.
Democratic Longevity	Democratic Stock. Source: Gerring et al., 2005.
Political Regime (Polity)	Polity IV index of democracy. Source: Polity IV project. http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm
Party Fractionalization	Party Fractionalization Index. Source: CSES, 2010.
Religious Fractionalization	Index of religious fractionalization. Alesina 2003.
No. of Regime Transitions	Total number of regime transitions to and from democracy. Source: Cheibub, Gandhi and Vreeland, 2010.
Latitude	Absolute value of the latitude of the country divided by 90 (to take values between 0 and 1).
British Colonial Origin	Indicator of the British Colonial Origin. Source: La Porta et al. 1999.

Colonial Legacies	Western oversees colonialism. Classification of the former Western colonial ruler: the last colonizers whose rule lasted for more than ten years. Source: Hadenius and Teorell, 2007.
Horizontal Health Inequality (1992-2002)	This is a variable computed by authors based on two concentration indexes developed from household surveys as measures of socioeconomic inequalities of IMR in developing countries, and of public healthcare use across regions in developed countries. The scores represent Lorenz curve deviations from infant mortality rates and public healthcare use rates associated with specific income quintiles for non-OECD countries, and with income quintiles and geographical regions for OECD countries. Positive values imply skewed healthcare outcomes benefitting the rich; negative values – inequalities benefitting the poor. Source: Authors, based on Van Doorslaer and Masseria 2004, Wagstaff 2002.
Historical Relative Political Extraction (1960-1970)	Composite indicator that "approximates the ability of governments to appropriate portions of the national output to advance public goals". It is averaged between 1960 and 1970. Source: Relative Political Capacity Project. Dataset from Kugler & Tammen, 2012. Relative Political Performance Data Set Documentation 2013: 11.
Relative Political Allocation (2007-2009)	Composite indicator that measures how public expenditures are prioritized in the government budget and reflects on the ability of states to optimally allocate resources that contribute to public goods provision. It evaluates the share of public revenues provided to competing national priorities contrasted to the optimal allocation based on maximizing economic growth. We use RPA that is calculated from four different results of income level-specific group regression. Source: Relative Political Capacity Project, Kugler & Tammen, 2012. Relative Political Performance Data Set Documentation 2013: 13-17.

Clientelistic exchange

The variable captures the degree to which parties engage in clientelistic goods provision. It is a a cross-national measure of clientelistic exchange based on an expert survey. The survey assesses the prevalence of clientelistic goods provision in exchange for votes between individual parties and voters in 88 countries. The country-level measure is comprised of five types of exchanges on a four-point ordinal Likert scale (1-negligible effort; 4-high effort): (1) to distribute consumer goods, (2) to give preferential access to social policy entitlements, (3) to give employment in the public sector, (4) to give preferential access to public contracts, and (5) to give influence over regulatory proceedings. Higher levels indicate that more private goods are being targeted to narrow electoral constituencies, i.e., that there are high levels of clientelism.

The aggregate level of clientelism is weighted by vote shares of individual political parties in a country. Adding these five individual measures of political accountability yields a minimal value on the un-weighted composite measure of five, and a maximum value of twenty. Higher levels indicate more widespread practice of clientelistic exchange. The weighted national-level measure of accountability is weighted by the electoral support of the political party k in legislative elections. The empirical values of *Clientelistic Exchange* range between six and eighteen and have a mean value of thirteen. The range for developed countries is 5.79 to 15.06; for developing countries: 10.55 to 18.53.

We use the composite indicator b15nwe (see the Codebook for the Dataset) as our dependent variable. b15nwe is obtained as a national mean of b15, weighted by b.3.1 (average electoral support received in legislative elections t and t-1 by party k):

$$\text{b15nwe} = \frac{\sum \text{b3.1}_k \times \text{b15}_k}{\sum \text{b3.1}_k}.$$

Sources:

Kitschelt, Herbert, Kent Freeze, Kiril Kolev, and Yi-Ting Wang. 2009. "Measuring Democratic Accountability: An Initial Report on an Emerging Data Set." *Revista de Ciencia Politica* 29, no. 3: 741-773.

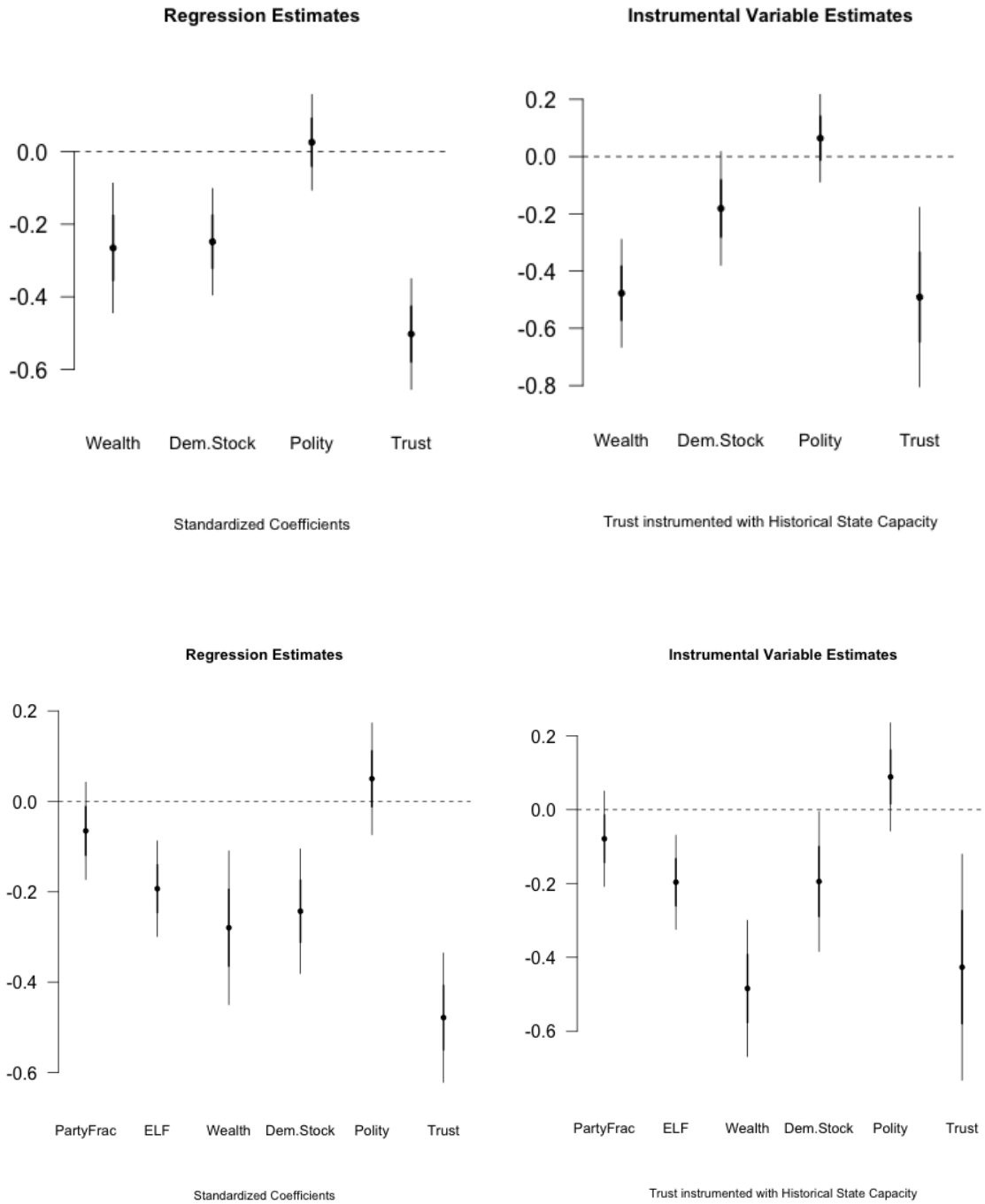Democratic Accountability Project. 2009. Kitschelt, Herbert. 2010. Democratic Accountability and Citizen-Politician Linkages around the World. Duke University. At: https://web.duke.edu/democracy/index.html. Documentation and Codebook: http://sites.duke.edu/democracylinkage/.

Table A3. Variable Description for Individual Level Analysis

Variable Name	Variable Description
Clientelistic exchange before elections	"In your view, how often are voters bribed in this country's elections?" Respondents had to rank their answer on a scale from 1 (not often at all) to 4 (very often).
Trust in Civil Service	"(…) could you tell me how much confidence you have in the civil service: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence, or none at all?" The question asked respondents to rank their level of confidence on a scale from 1 (none at all) to 4 (a great deal).
Income	"On this card is an income scale on which 1 indicates the lowest income group and 10 the highest income group in your country. We would like to know in what group your household is. Please, specify the appropriate number, counting all wages, salaries, pensions and other incomes that come in."
Education	"What is the highest educational level that you have attained?" (1 – No formal education; 2 – Incomplete primary school; 3- Complete primary school; 4- Incomplete secondary school (vocational); 5-- Complete secondary school (vocational); 6- Incomplete secondary school (university - preparatory); 7- Complete secondary school (university – preparatory); 8 – Some university-level education, without degree; 9 – University- level education, with degree.
Age	"(…) you are ____years old (write in age in two digits)."
Sex	Male (1), female (0).
Public sector	"Are you working for the government or public institution, for private business or industry, or for a private non-profit organization? If you do not work currently, characterize your major work in the past! Do you or did you work for: 1- Government or public institution; 0 – Otherwise."
Unemployed	"Are you employed now or not? 1- Unemployed; 0 – Employed"
Political ideology	"In political matters, people talk of "the left" and "the right." How would you place your views on this scale, generally speaking?" Respondents located themselves between 1 (left) to 10 (right).
Level of development Wealth	Log (GDP per capita) (purchasing power parity USD), 2002. World Development Indicators.

Table A4. Summary statistics

Variables	Observations	Mean	S.D.	Min.	Max.
Clientelistic Exchange	88	13.32	(3.34)	5.79	18.47
Government Effectiveness	88	.34	(.94)	-1.16	2.24
Trust	85	27.57	(20.47)	2.89	83.60
Historical State Capacity (log)	62	4.83	(.44)	3.78	5.42
Wealth (log)	88	8.61	(1.06)	6.17	10.26
Democratic Stock	88	70.63	(306.02)	-348.77	637.63
Polity IV	88	7.58	(3.40)	-6.00	10.00
Religious Fractionalization	88	.36	(.22)	.02	.78
Party Fractionalization	88	.75	(.13)	.37	.96
Regime Transition	88	1.31	(1.94)	.00	9.00
Latitude	88	.35	(.20)	.01	.71
British Colonial Origin	88			0	1
Colonial Legacies	88			0	1
Horizontal Health Inequality	46	.07	(.08)	-.04	.25
Historical Relative Political Extraction	67	.88	(.31)	.34	1.65
Relative Political Allocation	52	1.16	(.27)	.66	1.76
Variables – Individual Level Analysis					
Clientelism	41,205	2.44	(1.08)	1	4
Trust in Civil Service	69,453	2.42	(.88)	1	4
Income	71,425	4.90	(2.08)	1	10
Education	73,311	5.76	(2.41)	1	9
Age	73,909	42.29	(16.73)	16	99
Sex	73,988	1.53	(.50)	1	2
Sector	57,550	1.91	(.82)	1	4
Employment	73,694	3.29	(2.10)	1	8
Ideology	54,501	5.73	(2.31)	1	10

Figure A1. Comparison of OLS Regression Analysis and Instrumental Variables Analysis

Dependent Variable: Clientelistic Exchange (Source: Democratic Accountability Project)
Figure shows the comparison between an OLS regression analysis and 2SLS regression using standardized coefficients.

Cross-national aggregate measure of clientelistic exchange

Clientelism Score	Country
13.97	Albania
15.88	Angola
16.98	Argentina
8.13	Australia
9.27	Austria
14.80	Bangladesh
9.35	Belgium
14.05	Benin
15.23	Bolivia
11.28	Botswana
15.30	Brazil
15.81	Bulgaria
5.79	Canada
12.22	Chile
15.70	Colombia
12.66	Costa Rica
13.56	Croatia
10.63	Czech Republic
6.30	Denmark
17.93	Dominican Republic
16.49	Ecuador
17.69	Egypt
15.76	El Salvador
11.49	Estonia
7.98	Finland
9.36	France
13.98	Georgia
6.65	Germany
16.38	Ghana
12.32	Greece
15.59	Guatemala
16.46	Honduras
14.85	Hungary
15.68	India
14.81	Indonesia
9.24	Ireland
12.19	Israel
12.64	Italy
16.17	Jamaica

12.21	Japan
16.30	Kenya
12.13	Korea, Republic Of
10.52	Latvia
17.88	Lebanon
14.44	Lithuania
16.69	Macedonia, FYR
12.30	Malaysia
16.08	Mali
16.63	Mauritius
15.78	Mexico
13.93	Moldova
18.48	Mongolia
13.65	Morocco
12.88	Mozambique
14.49	Namibia
6.47	Netherlands
8.87	New Zealand
16.46	Nicaragua
15.32	Niger
15.05	Nigeria
6.10	Norway
14.20	Pakistan
17.28	Panama
17.58	Paraguay
13.51	Peru
17.32	Philippines
11.78	Poland
12.15	Portugal
14.64	Romania
12.86	Russia
18.05	Senegal
13.50	Serbia
11.22	Slovak Republic
10.89	Slovenia
12.38	South Africa
11.34	Spain
6.90	Sweden
6.48	Switzerland
15.07	Taiwan
16.47	Tanzania
13.29	Thailand
17.74	Turkey

14.41	Ukraine
6.39	United Kingdom
10.10	United States
11.64	Uruguay
16.99	Venezuela
15.11	Zambia

Source: Kitschelt et al., 2010. Democratic Accountability Project.

Kitschelt, Herbert. 2010. Democratic Accountability and Citizen-Politician Linkages around the World. Duke University. At: https://web.duke.edu/democracy/index.html.

Documentation and Codebook: http://sites.duke.edu/democracylinkage/.

Infant Mortality Rates, Suffrage and Horizontal Health Inequality

Country	Suffrage	IMR	IMR (m)	Health
Albania	1920	143	1	
Angola	1975		0	
Argentina	1947	121	1	
Australia	1962	53	1	-0.014
Austria	1918	119	1	-0.002
Bangladesh	1972		0	0.0669
Belgium	1948	100	1	-0.006
Bolivia	1952		0	0.2107
Botswana	1965		0	
Brazil	1932	171	1	0.251
Bulgaria	1944	152	1	
Canada	1918	93	1	0.004
Chile	1931	226	1	
Taiwan	1947	142	1	
Colombia	1957	122	1	0.1207
Costa Rica	1949	178	1	
Croatia	1945	143	1	
Czech Republic	1920	142	1	
Benin	1956		0	0.0799
Denmark	1915	80	1	-0.026
Dominican Republic	1942		0	0.1689
Ecuador	1929	167	1	
El Salvador	1939	191	1	
Estonia	1917	119	1	
Finland	1906	85	1	0.026
France	1945	95	1	0.005
Georgia	1919	219	1	
Germany	1918	105	1	-0.005
Ghana	1954		0	0.0929
Greece	1952	90	1	-0.035
Guatemala	1946	123	1	0.0818
Honduras	1954	112	1	
Hungary	1945	168	1	-0.007
India	1950	167	1	0.1488
Indonesia	1945	225	1	0.1954
Ireland	1918	68	1	-0.02
Israel	1948		0	
Italy	1925	119	1	0.008
Jamaica	1944	162	1	
Japan	1945	142	1	

Country	Suffrage	IMR	IMR (m)	Health
Kenya	1963		0	0.1533
South Korea	1948		0	
Lebanon	1957		0	
Latvia	1918	96	1	
Lithuania	1918	167	1	
Malaysia	1957	147	1	
Mali	1956		0	0.0752
Mauritius	1956	212	1	
Mexico	1953	216	1	0.029
Mongolia	1924	219	1	
Moldova	1940	205.5	1	
Morocco	1963		0	0.1165
Mozambique	1975		0	0.1156
Namibia	1989		0	0.0028
Netherlands	1919	58	1	-0.003
New Zealand	1919	44	1	
Nicaragua	1955		0	0.0939
Niger	1948		0	0.0504
Nigeria	1958		0	
Norway	1913	50	1	-0.003
Pakistan	1947		0	0.0511
Panama	1941	110	1	
Paraguay	1961		0	
Peru	1955		0	0.2224
Philippines	1937	139	1	0.1564
Poland	1918	151	1	
Portugal	1934	132	1	0.011
Romania	1946	192	1	
Russia	1917	219	1	
Senegal	1945		0	0.1125
Slovak Republic	1920	142	1	
Slovenia	1945	143	1	
South Africa	1930	68	1	
Spain	1931	137	1	-0.008
Sweden	1921	56	1	-0.003
Switzerland	1975	58	1	-0.005
Thailand	1932		0	
Turkey	1934		0	0.1883
Ukraine	1918	204	1	
Macedonia, FYR	1945	143	1	
Egypt	1956	128	1	0.2161
United Kingdom	1928	83	1	-0.019
Tanzania	1959		0	0.0403
United States	1920	89.5	1	0.023

Uruguay	1917	115	1	
Venezuela	1946	138	1	
Serbia	1945	143	1	
Zambia	1962		0	0.0952

Note:
Suffrage: Year of women's suffrage
IMR: Historical Infant Mortality Rates around 1925
IMR (m): Historical Infant Mortality Rates, missing data
Health: Horizontal Health Inequalities (1992-2002)