

## Online appendix

The self-defeating game: how state capacity and policy choice affect political survival

Dustin Gilbreath and Koba Turmanidze

**Table A1. Countries and elections**

#	Country	Number of elections
1	Afghanistan	1
2	Albania	4
3	Algeria	8
4	Angola	3
5	Argentina	14
6	Armenia	6
7	Australia	12
8	Austria	14
9	Azerbaijan	10
10	Bahrain	2
11	Bangladesh	7
12	Belarus	9
13	Belgium	5
14	Benin	3
15	Bolivia	8
16	Botswana	6
17	Brazil	7
18	Bulgaria	6
19	Burkina Faso	8
20	Burundi	1
21	Cabo Verde	1
22	Cambodia	2
23	Cameroon	5
24	Canada	11
25	Central African Republic	6
26	Chad	5
27	Chile	9
28	Colombia	7
29	Comoros	4
30	Congo, Dem. Rep.	7
31	Congo, Rep.	1
32	Costa Rica	8
33	Cote d'Ivoire	4
34	Croatia	10
35	Cyprus	10
36	Czech Republic	9
37	Denmark	12
38	Djibouti	5

39	Dominican Republic	13
40	Ecuador	8
41	Egypt, Arab Rep.	9
42	El Salvador	22
43	Equatorial Guinea	7
44	Estonia	4
45	Ethiopia	5
46	Fiji	8
47	Finland	15
48	France	6
49	Gabon	8
50	Gambia, The	11
51	Georgia	6
52	Germany	9
53	Ghana	6
54	Greece	11
55	Guatemala	4
56	Guinea	5
57	Guinea-Bissau	5
58	Guyana	7
59	Haiti	4
60	Honduras	7
61	Hungary	5
62	India	8
63	Indonesia	8
64	Iran, Islamic Rep.	10
65	Iraq	3
66	Ireland	10
67	Israel	3
68	Italy	9
69	Jamaica	9
70	Japan	21
71	Jordan	5
72	Kazakhstan	7
73	Kenya	4
74	Korea, Rep.	14
75	Kuwait	1
76	Kyrgyz Republic	4
77	Latvia	6
78	Lebanon	4
79	Lesotho	5

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80	Liberia	2
81	Lithuania	8
82	Macedonia, FYR	7
83	Madagascar	8
84	Malawi	4
85	Malaysia	7
86	Mali	4
87	Mauritania	6
88	Mauritius	7
89	Mexico	12
90	Moldova	6
91	Mongolia	10
92	Morocco	5
93	Mozambique	4
94	Myanmar	1
95	Namibia	4
96	Nepal	3
97	Netherlands	12
98	New Zealand	10
99	Nicaragua	5
100	Niger	5
101	Nigeria	4
102	Norway	9
103	Pakistan	3
104	Panama	7
105	Papua New Guinea	7
106	Paraguay	8
107	Peru	8
108	Philippines	9
109	Poland	9
110	Portugal	6
111	Romania	6
112	Russian Federation	8
113	Rwanda	1
114	Senegal	9
115	Sierra Leone	3
116	Singapore	8
117	Slovak Republic	8
118	Solomon Islands	1
119	South Africa	9
120	Spain	11

121	Sri Lanka	10
122	Sudan	2
123	Suriname	1
124	Sweden	10
125	Switzerland	7
126	Syrian Arab Republic	2
127	Tajikistan	4
128	Tanzania	4
129	Thailand	11
130	Togo	8
131	Trinidad and Tobago	9
132	Tunisia	6
133	Turkey	7
134	Uganda	2
135	Ukraine	9
136	United Kingdom	8
137	United States	18
138	Uruguay	5
139	Venezuela, RB	10
140	Yemen, Rep.	4
141	Zambia	5
142	Zimbabwe	9

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**Table A2. Logit Estimates of the effect of state capacity on losing elections (Base models)**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
State capacity (lagged)	-0.36 (0.31)	-0.23 (0.30)	-0.38 (0.31)	-0.26 (0.30)
State capacity volatility	2.70** (1.05)	1.68* (0.96)	4.36* (2.23)	2.25* (1.26)
State capacity growth	-2.07* (1.15)	-2.37** (1.11)	-4.70** (2.36)	-2.29* (1.36)
Natural Resources (lagged)	-2.22* (1.17)	-3.16*** (1.15)	-2.23* (1.19)	-3.19*** (1.16)
GDP growth (lagged)	-3.30** (1.67)	-3.26* (1.72)	-3.42** (1.70)	-3.31* (1.70)
Economic crisis	0.38** (0.18)	0.30 (0.19)	0.36** (0.18)	0.31 (0.19)
Partly free	-0.50** (0.20)		-0.40 (0.25)	
Not free	-1.95*** (0.44)		-1.88*** (0.57)	
Year	0.01* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Potential fraud		-0.78*** (0.22)		-0.61** (0.28)
State capacity volatility * Partly free			-2.01 (2.35)	
State capacity volatility * Not free			-1.33 (3.02)	
State capacity growth * Partly free			2.89 (2.67)	
State capacity growth * Not free			4.12 (3.63)	
State capacity volatility * Potential fraud				-2.06 (2.25)
State capacity growth * Potential fraud				-0.82 (2.60)
Constant	-27.36* (16.62)	-20.33 (16.67)	-26.72 (16.91)	-21.01 (16.71)
<i>N</i>	973	969	973	969
Log likelihood	-562.32	-569.23	-561.38	-568.71

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

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**Table A3. Logit Estimates of the effect of state capacity on losing elections  
(Base models with random effects)**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
State capacity (lagged)	-0.32 (0.31)	-0.16 (0.31)	-0.33 (0.31)	-0.19 (0.31)
State capacity volatility	3.18*** (1.14)	2.27** (1.13)	4.38* (2.27)	2.81** (1.36)
State capacity growth	-2.09* (1.16)	-2.31* (1.19)	-4.18 (2.77)	-1.89 (1.57)
Natural Resources (lagged)	-2.45** (1.09)	-3.62*** (1.08)	-2.44** (1.09)	-3.64*** (1.08)
GDP growth (lagged)	-4.00** (1.80)	-3.99** (1.78)	-4.00** (1.82)	-4.04** (1.79)
Economic crisis	0.41** (0.20)	0.33* (0.19)	0.40** (0.20)	0.34* (0.19)
Partly free	-0.56*** (0.20)		-0.48* (0.26)	
Not free	-2.11*** (0.38)		-2.07*** (0.53)	
Year	0.02* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.01* (0.01)
Potential fraud		-0.78*** (0.20)		-0.60** (0.28)
State capacity volatility * Partly free			-1.48 (2.54)	
State capacity volatility * Not free			-0.88 (3.65)	
State capacity growth * Partly free			2.36 (3.10)	
State capacity growth * Not free			2.95 (3.81)	
State capacity volatility * Potential fraud				-2.08 (2.28)
State capacity growth * Potential fraud				-1.50 (2.51)
Constant	-31.01* (16.10)	-26.59 (16.31)	-30.75* (16.14)	-27.31* (16.34)
Insig2u	-0.69* (0.37)	-0.59* (0.35)	-0.71* (0.38)	-0.58 (0.36)
Sigma_u	0.71 (0.13)	0.75 (0.13)	0.70 (0.13)	0.75 (0.13)
Rho	0.13 (0.04)	0.14 (0.04)	0.13 (0.04)	0.15 (0.04)
<i>N</i>	973	969	973	969
Log likelihood	-553.43	-558.85	-553.00	-558.30

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

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**Table A4. Logit Estimates of the effect of state capacity on losing elections (Additional models)**

	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
State capacity (lagged)	-0.23 (0.30)	-0.29 (0.34)	-0.23 (0.30)	-0.33 (0.34)
State capacity volatility	1.90** (0.94)	2.90*** (1.04)	1.11 (1.22)	1.90* (1.06)
State capacity growth	-1.92* (1.06)	-2.31** (1.05)	-0.50 (1.30)	-3.67*** (1.17)
Natural Resources (lagged)	-3.45*** (1.21)	-2.50** (1.12)	-3.59*** (1.22)	-2.64** (1.15)
GDP growth (lagged)	-3.40** (1.71)	-2.86 (1.83)	-3.63** (1.69)	-2.92 (1.82)
Economic crisis	0.32 (0.20)	0.37* (0.19)	0.34* (0.20)	0.35* (0.19)
Opposition vote share	1.16*** (0.41)		0.00 (.)	
Year	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Polity IV score		0.12*** (0.02)		0.00 (.)
State capacity volatility * Opposition vote share			4.84 (4.39)	
State capacity growth * Opposition vote share			-8.96* (5.09)	
State capacity volatility * Polity IV score				0.25 (0.16)
State capacity growth * Polity IV score				0.27 (0.18)
Constant	-19.59 (17.16)	-10.10 (17.74)	-18.65 (17.05)	-11.79 (17.87)
<i>N</i>	981	967	981	967
Log likelihood	-582.05	-549.84	-580.03	-548.30

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

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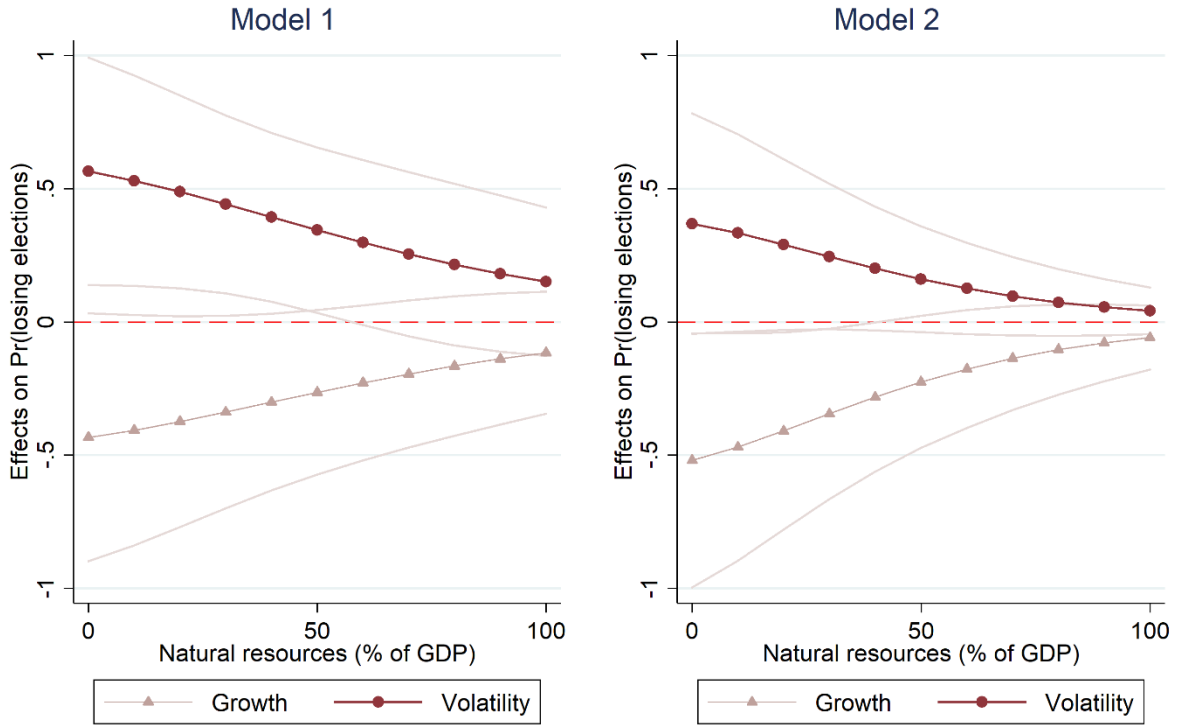
**Table A5. Logit Estimates of the effect of state capacity on losing elections  
(Additional random effects models)**

	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
State capacity (lagged)	-0.10 (0.31)	-0.18 (0.31)	-0.09 (0.31)	-0.21 (0.32)
State capacity volatility	2.50** (1.08)	3.12*** (1.09)	1.84 (1.41)	2.04 (1.26)
State capacity growth	-1.99* (1.12)	-2.55** (1.16)	-0.48 (1.41)	-4.00*** (1.54)
Natural Resources (lagged)	-3.94*** (1.11)	-2.97*** (1.12)	-4.06*** (1.12)	-3.08*** (1.12)
GDP growth (lagged)	-4.25** (1.79)	-3.85** (1.85)	-4.42** (1.79)	-3.77** (1.85)
Economic crisis	0.35* (0.19)	0.41** (0.20)	0.37* (0.19)	0.40** (0.20)
Opposition vote share	1.14*** (0.39)		0.00 (.)	
Year	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Polity IV score		0.13*** (0.02)		0.00 (.)
State capacity volatility * Opposition vote share			3.97 (5.09)	
State capacity growth * Opposition vote share			-9.34* (5.51)	
State capacity volatility * Polity IV score				0.22 (0.17)
State capacity growth * Polity IV score				0.33 (0.25)
Constant	-25.88 (16.36)	-9.56 (16.53)	-25.33 (16.36)	-11.35 (16.60)
Insig2u	-0.46 (0.34)	-0.76** (0.38)	-0.47 (0.34)	-0.77** (0.39)
Sigma_u	0.80 (0.13)	0.68 (0.13)	0.79 (0.13)	0.68 (0.13)
Rho	0.16 (0.05)	0.12 (0.04)	0.16 (0.05)	0.13 (0.04)
<i>N</i>	981	967	981	967
Log likelihood	-569.69	-541.68	-568.05	-540.40

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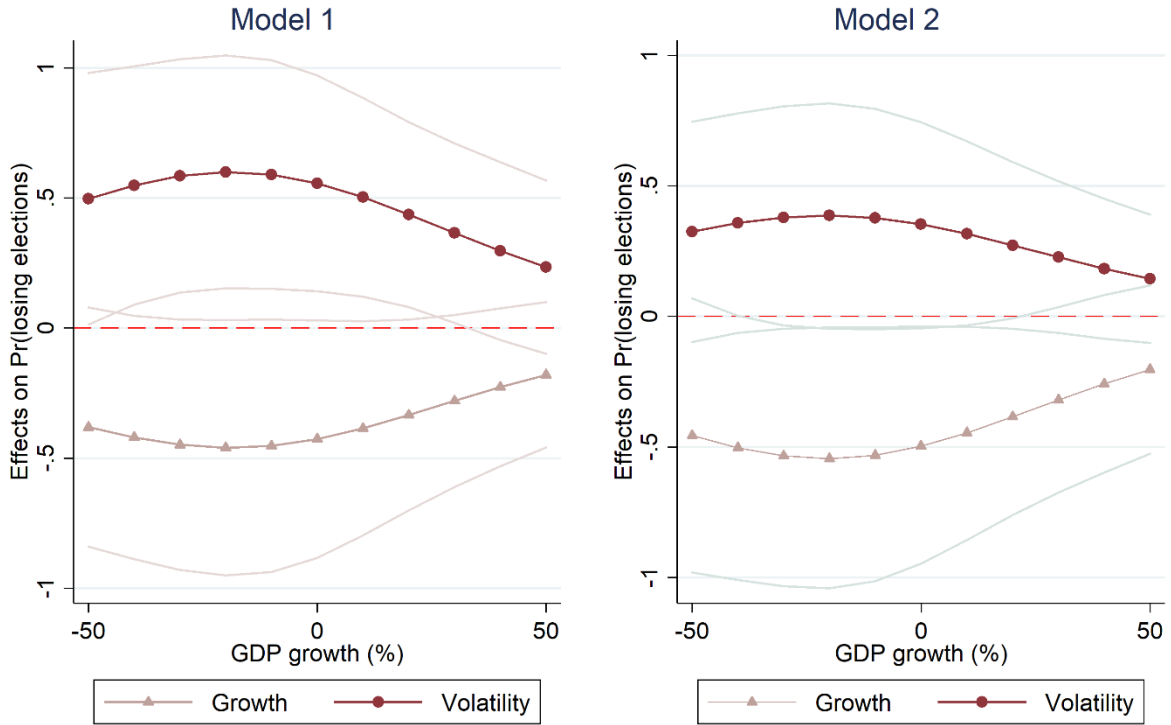
**Graph A1. State capacity as a function of natural resources**  
Marginal effects at 95% CIs



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**Graph A2. State capacity as a function of GDP growth**  
Marginal effects at 95% CIs





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**Graph A3. State capacity as a function of democracy indicators**  
Marginal effects at 95% CIs

