

**Online Appendix for
International Scrutiny and Pre-Electoral Fiscal Manipulation in Developing
Countries**

Countries Included in Empirical Analysis

Albania	Ghana	Panama
Algeria	Guatemala	Papua New Guinea
Argentina	Guinea-Bissau	Paraguay
Azerbaijan	Guyana	Peru
Belarus	Haiti	Philippines
Bolivia	Honduras	Poland
Botswana	Hungary	Rumania
Brazil	India	Russia
Bulgaria	Indonesia	Rwanda
Burkina Faso	Iran	Sierra Leone
Burundi	Jordan	Singapore
Cambodia	Kazakhstan	Slovakia
Cameroon	Kenya	Slovenia
Chad	Korea, Republic of	South Africa
Chile	Kuwait	Sri Lanka
China	Kyrgyz Republic	Swaziland
Colombia	Lesotho	Syria
Congo	Lithuania	Thailand
Costa Rica	Madagascar	Togo
Cote D'Ivoire	Malawi	Trinidad and Tobago
Croatia	Malaysia	Tunisia
Czech Republic	Mali	Turkey
Dominican Republic	Mauritius	Uganda
Ecuador	Mexico	Ukraine
Egypt	Moldova	Uruguay
El Salvador	Mongolia	Venezuela
Estonia	Morocco	Yemen
Ethiopia	Namibia	Yugoslavia
Fiji	Nepal	Zambia
Gabon	Nicaragua	Zimbabwe
Gambia	Nigeria	
Georgia	Pakistan	

Supplementary Coding Information for Unpublished Data

All election data were compiled from two existing datasets on election events between 1990 and 2004. Because the election event data are not annual, *Election* and *Monitored Election* were each coded as one if any election in a given country-year met the criteria described below.

Election

The *Election* variable represents a dichotomous indication of whether or not an election for national level office took place, and in which multiparty competition was technically possible. It was coded from three questions from the ____ data that serve as a competitive election screen (codebook and data access available at http://____). Elections with no legal opposition political parties, no parties allowed in practice, or with no choice of candidates on the ballot are not considered competitive elections. This screen is intentionally not based on evaluations of the relative “closeness” of the vote share or aggregate democracy scores such as *POLITY* or Freedom House, and allows for the possibility of elections with very popular incumbent parties as well as competitive elections in regimes with low levels of democracy or restricted political and civil rights. *Election* =1 if the answers to Questions 3-5 (listed below) were coded as “yes” for any election held in a given country-year.

Inter-coder reliability. The election data were coded by a team of undergraduate RAs. Approximately 20% percent of the election events were coded by two different RAs to assess the rate of inter-coder reliability. For the three questions used in this paper, rates of inter-coder agreement were consistently high:

- Q3. Was opposition allowed? For yes/no coding, 94% agreement between coders. For yes/no/unknown/unclear coding, 91% agreement.
- Q4. Was more than one party legal? For yes/no coding, 97% agreement between coders. For yes/no/unknown/unclear coding, 96% agreement.
- Q5. Was there a choice of candidates on the ballot? For yes/no coding, 98% agreement between coders. For yes/no/unknown/unclear coding, 97% agreement.

Monitored Election

Data on monitored elections were coded by the author, as described in _____. For all elections, *Monitored Election* is coded as one if an official delegation of foreign observers was present to observe and report on the electoral process and at least one of the organizations present was a “high quality” organization. Organizations are only defined as high-quality organizations if they have previously issued a negative report about an election and they are generally respected as valid sources of information. Once an international observer organization has issued a negative report of an election in any country, this coding assumes that from that point forward, their reputation should be known to other governments. Negative reports are defined as those that seriously question the outcome of the election (the winner) or the legitimacy of the process. Examples from negative reports include phrases like “spectacularly flawed”, “plagued by election fraud,” or “intentional efforts to manipulate the election.” Most reports from election monitors contain some criticism or make recommendations for improving future elections. These standard criticisms are not included as negative reports. All reports were coded once by the author and once by a research assistant. Disagreements were evaluated through further research

of each case with an emphasis on whether criticism of the election was made publicly available. “Friendly” international observer groups which are extremely unlikely to criticize election fraud or manipulation are excluded for the majority of the analysis, as these delegations are unlikely to constrain the ability of governments to manipulate elections, as assumed by our theory.

Appendix Table 1: Alternative Model Specifications

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
	1980-2004	Random Effects	Country Fixed Effects	Year Fixed Effects	Country-Year Fixed Effects
Government Balance, lagged	-0.39 ** (0.11)	-0.53 ** (0.03)	-0.58 ** (0.03)	-0.52 ** (0.03)	-0.58 ** (0.03)
Monitored Election under IMF	-0.18 (0.44)	-0.43 (0.45)	-0.45 (0.47)	-0.44 (0.45)	-0.45 (0.47)
Monitored Election not under IMF	-1.82 ** (0.64)	-2.05 ** (0.63)	-1.83 ** (0.65)	-2.11 ** (0.63)	-1.90 ** (0.65)
Unmonitored Election under IMF	-0.15 (0.38)	0.00 (0.40)	-0.06 (0.42)	-0.06 (0.40)	-0.14 (0.42)
Unmonitored Election not under IMF	-0.71 * (0.38)	-0.49 ^ (0.36)	-0.46 (0.37)	-0.49 (0.37)	-0.45 (0.37)
GDP per capita (logged)	0.42 * (0.20)	0.47 * (0.23)	-1.51 (1.15)	0.46 * (0.22)	-1.96 (1.20)
GDP Growth	0.10 ** (0.02)	0.09 ** (0.02)	0.10 ** (0.02)	0.09 ** (0.02)	0.10 ** (0.02)
Trade (logged)	-0.01 (0.29)	0.51 (0.34)	0.36 (0.63)	0.42 (0.33)	-0.25 (0.68)
Population between 15 and 64	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.05)	0.02 (0.08)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.09)
Population over 65	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.10 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.20)	-0.09 (0.07)	0.01 (0.20)
Under IMF Agreement, Non Election Year	-0.11 (0.30)	0.07 (0.27)	0.06 (0.30)	0.06 (0.27)	0.05 (0.30)
Constant	-4.63 ^ (2.72)	-6.86 ** (2.29)	3.86 (6.74)	-5.54 * (2.53)	13.69 (8.88)
Adjusted R2	0.21	0.24	0.42	0.25	0.43
Observations	1543	978	978	978	978
Wald tests:					
Monitored election under IMF ≠ Unmonitored election under IMF:	0.948	0.408	0.473	0.464	0.568
Monitored election not under IMF ≠ Unmonitored election not under IMF:	0.098	0.024	0.055	0.020	0.043
Monitored election under IMF ≠ Monitored election not under IMF:	0.022	0.022	0.057	0.019	0.047
Unmonitored election under IMF ≠ Unmonitored election not under IMF:	0.162	0.314	0.428	0.374	0.540

^p < 0.1, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01. Standard Errors in parentheses. One-tailed tests for election variables; two-tailed tests for all other variables.

Appendix Table 2: Alternative Dependent and Election Monitoring Variables

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
	Change in Expenditure	Change in Revenue	IFS	Brender & Drazen	All Election Monitors
Lagged dependent variable	-0.12 ** (0.02)	-0.16 ** (0.03)	-0.40 ** (0.08)	-0.45 ** (0.08)	-0.38 ** (0.08)
Monitored Election under IMF	-0.76 ^ (0.57)	-0.75 * (0.43)	-0.37 (0.40)	0.20 (0.63)	-0.05 (0.28)
Monitored Election not under IMF	1.49 ^ (1.11)	-0.91 (0.84)	-1.96 ** (0.69)	-1.63 * (0.90)	-1.18 ** (0.44)
Unmonitored Election under IMF	0.01 (0.47)	-0.10 (0.37)	0.00 (0.37)	0.42 (0.34)	-0.25 (0.59)
Unmonitored Election not under IMF	-0.14 (0.46)	-0.73 * (0.44)	-0.56 ^ (0.39)	-0.10 (0.40)	-0.63 ^ (0.45)
GDP per capita (logged)	0.20 (0.15)	0.39 * (0.16)	0.35 ^ (0.19)	0.68 ** (0.17)	0.36 * (0.17)
GDP Growth	-0.01 (0.03)	0.04 ^ (0.02)	0.09 ** (0.02)	0.07 ** (0.03)	0.09 ** (0.02)
Trade (logged)	0.46 * (0.22)	1.14 ** (0.30)	0.51 * (0.21)	0.44 * (0.20)	0.50 * (0.22)
Population between 15 and 64	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Population over 65	0.13 ^ (0.08)	0.10 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.08 * (0.03)	-0.09 (0.06)
Under IMF Agreement, Non Election Year	-0.15 (0.32)	-0.24 (0.24)	0.05 (0.23)	0.52 ^ (0.29)	0.05 (0.21)
Constant	1.60 (1.96)	-2.99 ^ (1.77)	-5.96 ** (2.15)	-6.68 ** (1.72)	-5.82 ** (2.06)
Adjusted R2	0.16	0.37	0.25	0.28	0.24
Observations	916	928	927	447	978
Wald tests:					
Monitored election under IMF ≠ Unmonitored election under IMF:	0.236	0.195	0.497	0.759	0.759
Monitored election not under IMF ≠ Unmonitored election not under IMF:	0.153	0.842	0.070	0.090	0.332
Monitored election under IMF ≠ Monitored election not under IMF:	0.062	0.859	0.025	0.118	0.009
Unmonitored election under IMF ≠ Unmonitored election not under IMF:	0.811	0.273	0.233	0.227	0.540

^p < 0.1, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01. Standard Errors in parentheses. One-tailed tests for election variables; two-tailed tests for all other variables.

Appendix Table 3: IMF Selection Models

	Model 1	Model 2 with year controls, not reported
Under IMF Agreement, lagged	2.10 ** (0.10)	2.15 ** 0.11
GDP per capita, lagged	-0.14 * (0.05)	-0.13 * 0.06
GDP Growth, lagged	-0.02 ^ (0.01)	-0.02 ^ 0.01
Current Account, lagged	-0.02 * (0.01)	-0.02 ** 0.01
Government Balance, lagged	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 0.01
POLITY, lagged	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 ^ 0.01
Constant	-0.13 (0.40)	-0.27 0.49
Pseudo R2	0.44	0.46
Obs	993	993
% correctly predicted:	0.87	0.87

^p < 0.1, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01. Standard Errors in parentheses.

Appendix Table 4: Alternative Hypotheses Models

	Model 1	Model 2
	IMF Hazard	
	Rate 2	GDP Growth
Government Balance, lagged	-0.40 **	-0.39 **
	0.09	(0.08)
Monitored Election	-2.38 **	-0.93 **
	0.89	(0.39)
Monitored Election x IMF Hazard Rate	1.17 *	
	0.57	
Monitored Election x GDP Growth		0.02
		(0.06)
Unmonitored Election	-0.46	-0.11
	0.36	(0.40)
Unmonitored Election x IMF Hazard Rate	0.01	
	0.30	
Unmonitored Election x GDP Growth		-0.04
		(0.06)
GDP per capita (logged)	0.41 *	0.34 ^
	0.18	(0.17)
GDP Growth	0.10 **	0.09 **
	0.02	(0.02)
Trade (logged)	0.31	0.50 *
	0.23	(0.22)
Population between 15 and 64	0.01	0.01
	0.03	(0.02)
Population over 65	-0.08	-0.09
	0.07	(0.06)
Under IMF Agreement		0.27 ^
		(0.15)
IMF Hazard Rate	0.03	
	0.13	
Constant	-5.55 *	-5.98 **
	2.26	(2.03)
Adjusted R2	0.26	0.24
Observations	917	978

^p < 0.1, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01. Standard Errors in parentheses.

One-tailed tests for election variables; two-tailed tests for all other variables.

Appendix Table 5: Summary Statistics, Tables 1-3

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Obs.</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Standard Dev.</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Max.</i>
Government Balance	978	0.04	3.64	-34.24	28.07
Election	978	0.28	0.45	0	1
Monitored Election	978	0.10	0.29	0	1
Unmonitored Election	978	0.18	0.38	0	1
Election Under an IMF agreement	978	0.16	0.36	0	1
Election Not Under and IMF agreement	978	0.12	0.32	0	1
Monitored Election Under IMF	978	0.07	0.25	0	1
Monitored Election Not Under IMF	978	0.03	0.16	0	1
Unmonitored Election Under IMF	978	0.09	0.28	0	1
Unmonitored Election Not Under IMF	978	0.09	0.29	0	1
GDP per capita (logged)	978	7.00	1.13	4.66	10.12
GDP Growth	978	3.49	5.33	-50.25	35.22
Trade (logged)	978	4.21	0.53	2.58	6.07
Population between 15 and 64	978	58.70	6.59	46.42	73.79
Population over 65	978	5.47	3.68	1.22	16.76
Under IMF Agreement	978	0.55	0.50	0	1
Under IMF Agreement, Non Election Year	978	0.39	0.49	0	1
Current Account Balance	942	-3.11	7.84	-44.84	38.92
External Debt as a % of Exports	906	3.03	4.29	0.02	68.62
History of Default	978	0.45	0.50	0	1
Financial Crisis	978	0.19	0.39	0	1
UN GA Voting Record	879	0.29	0.11	0.09	0.59
State Ownership, Press	602	0.30	0.39	0	1