

Appendix

See Table A.1.

Table A.1 Democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa, annual country averages

Year	Polity IV	Freedom House	Freedom House: Political Rights	Freedom House: Civil liberties
1990	-4.78 (4.97)	5.36 (1.30)	5.62 (1.41)	5.11 (1.28)
1991	-2.53 (5.38)	4.90 (1.49)	5.19 (1.73)	4.62 (1.35)
1992	-1.33 (5.82)	4.65 (1.55)	4.89 (1.81)	4.40 (1.39)
1993	-0.63 (5.85)	4.73 (1.60)	4.81 (1.94)	4.65 (1.35)
1994	-0.11 (5.74)	4.75 (1.65)	4.69 (1.99)	4.81 (1.39)
1995	-0.02 (5.60)	4.57 (1.69)	4.56 (2.00)	4.58 (1.47)
1996	-0.07 (5.42)	4.56 (1.69)	4.60 (2.01)	4.52 (1.46)
1997	-0.33 (5.30)	4.60 (1.66)	4.69 (1.99)	4.52 (1.44)
1998	-0.43 (4.94)	4.44 (1.56)	4.58 (1.96)	4.29 (1.32)
1999	0.24 (4.76)	4.47 (1.55)	4.50 (1.88)	4.44 (1.34)
2000	0.72 (4.88)	4.44 (1.57)	4.48 (1.90)	4.40 (1.35)
2001	1.07 (5.03)	4.43 (1.49)	4.42 (1.73)	4.44 (1.35)
2002	1.52 (5.12)	4.32 (1.52)	4.35 (1.80)	4.29 (1.34)
2003	1.37 (5.08)	4.24 (1.59)	4.38 (1.83)	4.10 (1.43)
2004	1.63 (5.22)	4.18 (1.61)	4.31 (1.80)	4.04 (1.47)
2005	1.87 (5.23)	4.10 (1.62)	4.23 (1.85)	3.98 (1.49)
2006	2.04 (5.29)	4.14 (1.63)	4.27 (1.86)	4.00 (1.49)
2007	2.20 (5.23)	4.16 (1.60)	4.27 (1.86)	4.04 (1.44)

(continued)

Table A.1 (continued)

Year	Polity IV	Freedom House	Freedom House: Political Rights	Freedom House: Civil liberties
2008	2.04 (5.36)	4.21 (1.64)	4.35 (1.88)	4.06 (1.49)
2009	2.02 (5.12)	4.32 (1.62)	4.46 (1.81)	4.19 (1.52)
2010	2.28 (5.01)	4.32 (1.65)	4.46 (1.84)	4.19 (1.55)
2011	2.40 (5.08)	4.30 (1.65)	4.42 (1.84)	4.19 (1.55)
2012	2.15 (4.94)	4.42 (1.67)	4.51 (1.90)	4.33 (1.54)

Notes Means for all countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (N = 48). Standard deviations are provided in brackets. Freedom House scores are on a scale of 7 to 1, where 7 indicates the worst and 1 the best freedom rating. The combined Polity IV autocracy-democracy score ranges from -10 to +10, with -10 indicating a strongly autocratic and +10 a strongly democratic regime

See Table A.2.

Table A.2 Democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa per year after founding elections

Year	Polity IV	Freedom House	Freedom House: Political Rights	Freedom House: Civil liberties
Introduction	0.90 (5.30)	4.43 (1.38)	4.34 (1.71)	4.51 (1.17)
+1	0.82 (5.23)	4.37 (1.51)	4.27 (1.79)	4.46 (1.35)
+2	0.92 (5.15)	4.34 (1.52)	4.24 (1.79)	4.44 (1.42)
+3	0.41 (5.22)	4.46 (1.51)	4.39 (1.85)	4.54 (1.29)
+4	0.41 (5.10)	4.48 (1.57)	4.44 (1.87)	4.51 (1.36)
+5	-0.08 (4.70)	4.54 (1.51)	4.59 (1.82)	4.49 (1.31)
+6	0.54 (4.69)	4.45 (1.45)	4.51 (1.73)	4.39 (1.27)
+7	0.66 (4.60)	4.31 (1.40)	4.40 (1.66)	4.23 (1.27)
+8	0.79 (4.68)	4.28 (1.36)	4.33 (1.66)	4.23 (1.15)
+9	1.13 (4.41)	4.25 (1.43)	4.33 (1.77)	4.18 (1.20)
+10	1.81 (4.57)	4.21 (1.39)	4.31 (1.71)	4.10 (1.17)
+11	2.14 (4.70)	4.06 (1.48)	4.15 (1.73)	3.97 (1.29)
+12	2.16 (4.83)	4.04 (1.48)	4.13 (1.65)	3.95 (1.38)
+13	2.19 (4.79)	4.05 (1.49)	4.15 (1.69)	3.95 (1.36)
+14	2.31 (4.75)	4.07 (1.52)	4.16 (1.71)	3.97 (1.41)
+15	2.50 (4.66)	4.11 (1.59)	4.18 (1.79)	4.03 (1.48)

Note Means for all countries in Sub-Saharan Africa that introduced multi-party elections between 1990 and 2012 (N = 41). "Introduction" marks the year of the first post-90 founding elections for each country. Standard deviations are provided in brackets. Freedom House scores are on a scale of 7 to 1, where 7 indicates the worst and 1 the best freedom rating. The combined Polity IV autocracy-democracy score ranges from -10 to +10, with -10 indicating a strongly autocratic and +10 a strongly democratic regime

See Table A.3.

Table A.3 Democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa per election cycle

Election	Polity IV	Freedom House	Freedom House: Political Rights	Freedom House: Civil liberties	n
1st	1.21 (4.82)	4.51 (1.31)	4.50 (1.63)	4.53 (1.14)	113
2nd	1.03 (4.93)	4.27 (1.35)	4.31 (1.65)	4.24 (1.16)	84
3rd	2.28 (5.00)	3.85 (1.50)	3.90 (1.77)	3.80 (1.29)	61
4th	2.67 (4.81)	3.78 (1.59)	3.85 (1.79)	3.71 (1.49)	52
5th	5.50 (4.26)	2.82 (1.41)	2.82 (1.67)	2.82 (1.23)	22
6th	6.44 (3.83)	2.65 (1.47)	2.40 (1.69)	2.90 (1.30)	11
7th	8.33 (1.25)	2.00 (0.41)	1.67 (0.47)	2.33 (0.47)	3
8th	8.00 (1.22)	2.00 (0.35)	1.75 (0.43)	2.25 (0.43)	4
9th	9.00 (1.00)	2.00 (0.50)	2.00 (1.00)	2.00 (0.00)	2

Note Means for all elections in Sub-Saharan Africa of the respective rank order in an uninterrupted election series. Presidential and parliamentary elections are counted as separate election series. Standard deviations are provided in brackets. Freedom House scores are on a scale of 7 to 1, where 7 indicates the worst and 1 the best freedom rating. The combined Polity IV autocracy-democracy score ranges from -10 to +10, with -10 indicating a strongly autocratic and +10 a strongly democratic regime

See Table A.4.

Table A.4 Electoral experience and democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa, as of 2012

Electoral experience	Freedom House	Polity IV
Total number of elections	-0.408** (0.141)	0.221 (0.156)
Longest election series	-0.536*** (0.112)	0.400** (0.128)
Length of current election series	-0.504*** (0.117)	0.384** (0.121)

Note All countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (N = 48). Total number of elections, longest election series, and length of current election series include elections that were held before 1990, if they were linked in an uninterrupted series with elections after 1990. Countries that did not hold multi-party elections between 1990 and 2012 were assigned values of "0" for these variables. * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$. Spearman Correlations, with standard errors in brackets. Freedom House scores are on a scale of 7 to 1, where 7 indicates the worst and 1 the best freedom rating. The combined Polity IV autocracy-democracy score ranges from -10 to +10, with -10 indicating a strongly autocratic and +10 a strongly democratic regime

See Table A.5.

Table A.5 Electoral competitiveness and democratization (non-founding elections)

Indicator	Corr.	N
Polity IV (post-election)	-0.531***	170
Freedom House (post-election)	0.466***	186
• Political Rights	0.474***	186
• Civil liberties	0.426***	186
Turnout (%)	0.026	169
Quality of electoral process (% acceptable)	-0.350***	156
Opposition participation (% full)	-0.489***	186

Notes Based on all non-founding direct national multi-party elections in Sub-Saharan Africa between 1990 and 2012 (N = 238). Pearson correlations with electoral dominance as dependent variable. Significance tests two-tailed. * $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$. Electoral dominance is the share of votes or seats won by powerholders in first-round presidential and parliamentary elections, respectively. For other indicators, see the notes to Table 2.7

See Table A.6.

Table A.6 Violent/non-violent political mobilizations by societal groups in Sub-Saharan Africa

Year	Violent	Non-violent	Total
1990	14.49% (10)	85.51% (59)	100% (69)
1991	20.15% (27)	79.85% (107)	100% (134)
1992	28.57% (26)	71.43% (65)	100% (91)
1993	18.18% (16)	81.82% (72)	100% (88)
1994	18.18% (22)	81.82% (99)	100% (121)
1995	10.91% (12)	89.09% (98)	100% (110)
1996	18.27% (19)	81.73% (85)	100% (104)
1997	15.38% (20)	84.62% (110)	100% (130)
1998	18.18% (28)	81.82% (126)	100% (154)
1999	25.71% (36)	74.29% (104)	100% (140)
2000	17.28% (33)	82.72% (158)	100% (191)
2001	15.48% (26)	84.52% (142)	100% (168)
2002	15.70% (27)	84.30% (145)	100% (172)
2003	18.87% (30)	81.13% (129)	100% (159)
2004	23.53% (32)	76.47% (104)	100% (136)
2005	18.87% (30)	81.13% (129)	100% (159)
2006	24.00% (36)	76.00% (114)	100% (150)
2007	28.91% (37)	71.09% (91)	100% (128)
2008	20.66% (25)	79.34% (96)	100% (121)

(continued)

Table A.6 (continued)

Year	Violent	Non-violent	Total
2009	17.33% (26)	82.67% (124)	100% (150)
2010	16.81% (19)	83.19% (94)	100% (113)
2011	23.13% (34)	76.87% (113)	100% (147)
2012	22.07% (49)	77.93% (173)	100% (222)

Notes Based on all major political mobilizations by societal groups in countries in Sub-Saharan Africa with over one million inhabitants (N = 42). Numbers in brackets are absolute numbers. Violent mobilizations are riots that addressed local or national governments with grievances. Non-violent mobilizations are demonstrations and strikes with the same addressees. See the codebook of the Social Conflict in Africa Database for more details (Salehyan and Hendrix 2011). Social conflicts that mentioned the opposition as actors were excluded from this categorization.

See Table A.7.

Table A.7 Organized/spontaneous political mobilizations by societal groups in Sub-Saharan Africa

Year	Organized	Spontaneous	Total
1990	47.83% (33)	52.17% (36)	100% (69)
1991	53.73% (72)	46.27% (62)	100% (134)
1992	57.14% (52)	42.86% (39)	100% (91)
1993	60.23% (53)	39.77% (35)	100% (88)
1994	58.68% (71)	41.32% (50)	100% (121)
1995	57.27% (63)	42.73% (47)	100% (110)
1996	54.81% (57)	45.19% (47)	100% (104)
1997	56.15% (73)	43.85% (57)	100% (130)
1998	53.90% (83)	46.10% (71)	100% (154)
1999	62.14% (87)	37.86% (53)	100% (140)
2000	55.50% (106)	44.50% (85)	100% (191)
2001	57.74% (97)	42.26% (71)	100% (168)
2002	55.81% (96)	44.19% (76)	100% (172)
2003	52.83% (84)	47.17% (75)	100% (159)
2004	54.41% (74)	45.59% (62)	100% (136)
2005	47.17% (75)	52.83% (84)	100% (159)
2006	54.67% (82)	45.33% (68)	100% (150)
2007	44.53% (57)	55.47% (71)	100% (128)
2008	55.37% (67)	44.63% (54)	100% (121)
2009	57.33% (86)	42.67% (64)	100% (150)
2010	37.17% (42)	62.83% (71)	100% (113)
2011	35.37% (52)	64.63% (95)	100% (147)
2012	37.84% (84)	62.16% (138)	100% (222)

Notes Organized political mobilizations are those political mobilizations for which mobilizing organizations or coalitions could be identified. Spontaneous political mobilizations are demonstrations and riots with the same addressees where this was not possible. See the codebook of the Social Conflict in Africa Database for more details (Salehyan and Hendrix 2011). Social conflicts that mentioned the opposition as actors were excluded from this categorization.

See Table A.8.

Table A.8 Results of the Hausman test

Variable/indicator	Differences between model coefficients ^a			
	1	2	3	4
Quality of electoral process	0.57	0.72	0.65	0.65
Economic development	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Electoral experience	0.15	-0.13	0.05	-0.10
Electoral type	-0.01	0.02	0.02	0.00
Electoral rule	-0.38	-0.42	-0.54	-0.42
Intensity of social conflict	-0.06			
Electoral contestation by opposition	0.25	0.28	0.39	0.31
Political mobilization by opposition		-0.01	-0.09	-0.04
Political mobilization by societal groups		0.10		
• Pro-democratic mobilization			0.53	
• Socio-economic mobilization			-0.15	
• Organized mobilization				0.02
• Spontaneous mobilization				0.24
Political mobilization by ruling elites		0.11	0.13	0.08
Social conflict between societal groups		0.25	0.35	0.21
p (Hausman test)	0.991	0.969	0.698	0.975

Notes ^aResult of the subtraction of coefficients estimated by a random-effects model from coefficients estimated by a fixed-effects model

See Table A.9.

Table A.9 Descriptive statistics for study and control variables

Variable	Indicator	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
Electoral dominance	Share of seats (parliamentary) or votes (first-round presidential) won by powerholders	5.31	100.00	63.01	22.48	255
Quality of the electoral process	Composite indicator of election quality, from 0 (low) to 1 (high)	0.00	1.00	0.50	0.31	261
Economic development	GDP per capita/PPP (in constant 2005 intern. dollars) in year prior	74	15,912	1288.29	2597.08	278
Electoral experience	Rank number of current election in series	1	8	2.25	1.35	284

(continued)

Table A.9 (continued)

Variable	Indicator	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
Electoral framework	Election type (parliamentary = 1, presidential = 2)	1	2	1.48	0.50	284
	Electoral rule (PR = 1, plurality = 2)	1	2	1.38	0.49	284
Intensity of social conflict	Political mobilizations by all actors, 18–6 months prior	0	87	6.86	11.28	238
Mobilization threat	Major opposition parties, electoral participation	0	2	1.66	0.64	284
	Political mobilization by oppositional elites	0	8	0.32	1.03	238
	Political mobilization by societal groups	0	43	3.87	6.05	238
	• Pro-democratic	0	14	1.55	2.82	238
	• Socio-economic	0	29	2.32	3.97	238
	• Organized	0	23	2.02	3.49	238
	• Spontaneous	0	25	1.85	3.38	238
	Political mobilization by ruling elites	0	17	0.68	1.64	238
Social conflict between societal groups	0	39	1.94	4.84	238	

Notes Study population consists of all authoritarian elections in Sub-Saharan Africa between 1990 and 2012 (N = 284)

Reference

Salehyan I, Cullen SH (2011) Social Conflict in Africa Database: codebook and coding procedures. Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law, Austin, Texas