Appendix for Paying to Party: Candidate Resources and Party Switching in New Democracies

1 Zambian Party Dynamics

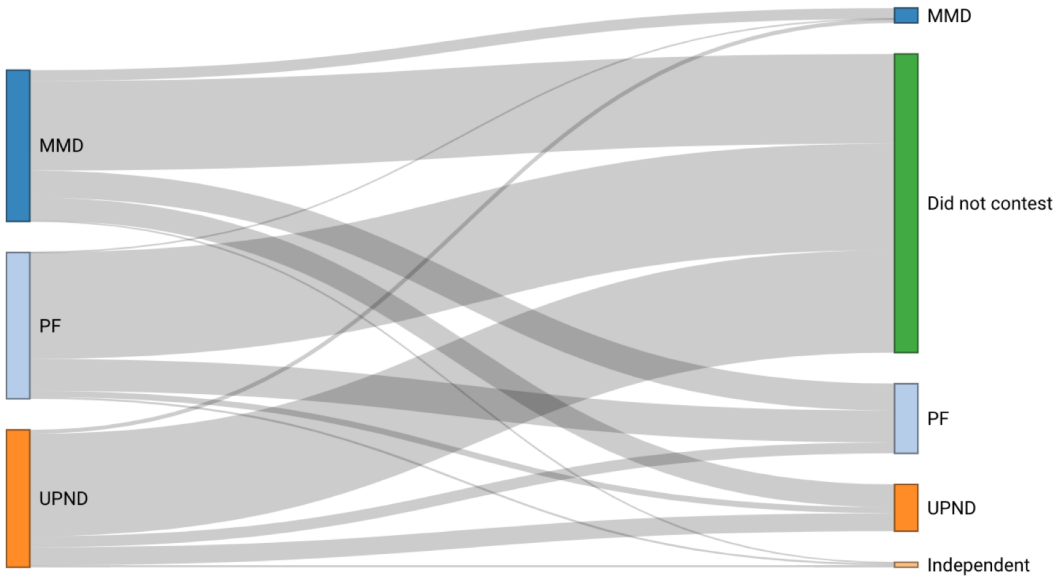


Figure A1: Party Switching across Zambian parties: 2011-2016: This figure includes candidates who contested as a candidate of a different party and those who did not contest in the subsequent election.

Figure A1 documents party switching behavior across Zambian parliamentary parties between 2011 and 2016. Among the 2011 parliamentary candidates for MMD, PF, and UPND, an overwhelming majority failed to contest as a candidate in the 2016 parliamentary election. This reflects the reality of candidacy in Zambia, wherein a large majority of incumbent parliamentarians are not renominated as the party candidate, as documented in Choi (2018). With the dwindling of MMD's fortunes, a large majority of MMD candidates either failed to contest or defected to the incumbent PF; only a select few defected to the opposition UPND or contested as an independent candidate.

Table A1: Candidacy Dynamics in Major Zambian Parties

Candidacy dynamics in	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016
MMD / PF / UPND					
Renominated by original party	48	30	58	82	61
	(32.65%)	(20.13%)	(14.39%)	(20.50%)	(14.12%)
Did not contest	97	92	312	289	300
	(65.98%)	(61.74%)	(77.42%)	(72.25%)	(69.44%)
Defected: On ballot as candidate	2	27	33	30	71
of different party/independent	(1.37%)	(18.12%)	(8.19%)	(7.50%)	(16.44%)
Number of candidates	147	149	403	400	432
MMD					
Renominated by MMD	48	30	29	45	11
	(32.65%)	(20.13%)	(19.33%)	(30.20%)	(7.38%)
Did not contest	97	92	104	101	90
	(65.98%)	(61.74%)	(69.33%)	(67.79%)	(60.40%)
Defected: On ballot as candidate	2	27	17	4	48
of different party/independent	(1.37%)	(18.12%)	(11.33%)	(2.68%)	(32.21%)
Number of candidates	147	149	150	149	149
PF					
Renominated by PF			4	19	32
			(3.85%)	(17.27%)	(21.62%)
Did not contest			99	81	107
			(95.19%)	(73.63%)	(72.29%)
Defect: On ballot as candidate			1	10	9
of different party/independent			(0.96%)	(9.10%)	(6.08%)
Number of candidates			104	110	148
UPND					
Renominated by UPND			25	18	18
			(16.78%)	(12.76%)	(13.33%)
Did not contest			109	107	103
			(73.15%)	(75.89%)	(76.29%)
Defected: On ballot as candidate			15	16	14
of different party/independent			(10.06%)	(11.34%)	(10.37%)
Number of candidates			149	141	135

Figure A2: Candidacy Dynamics in the MMD

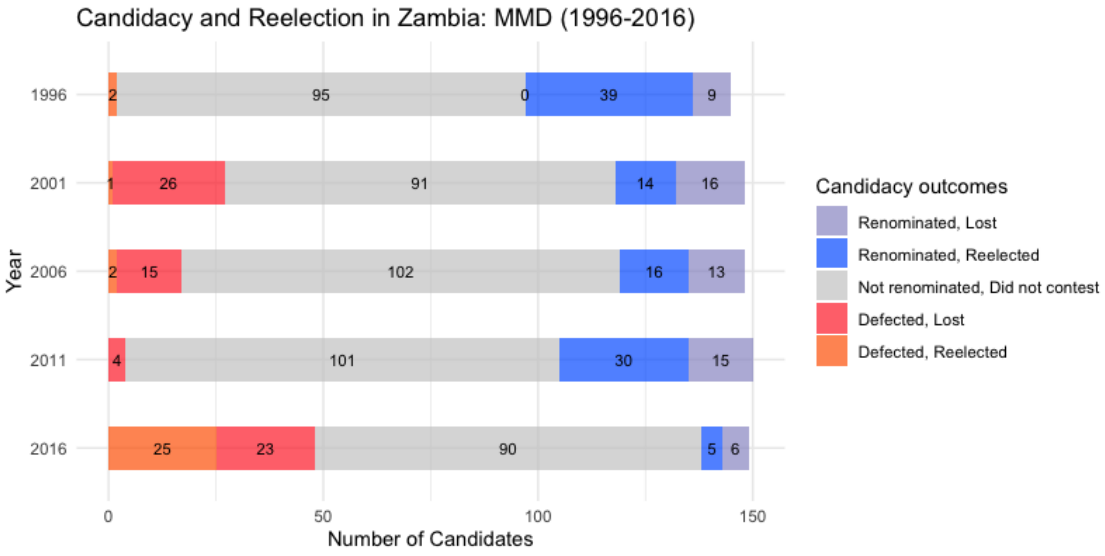


Figure A3: Candidacy Dynamics in the PF

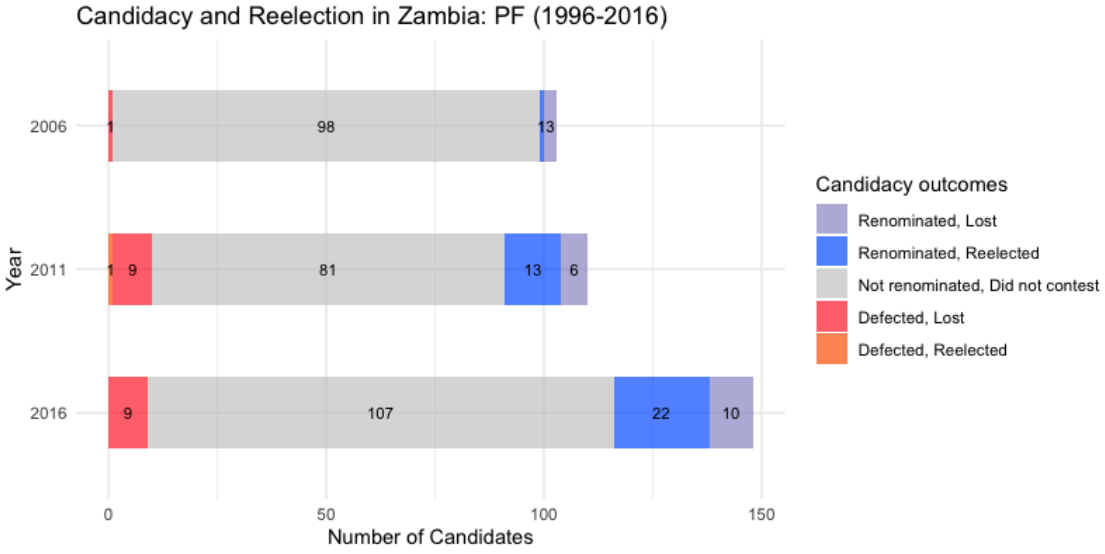
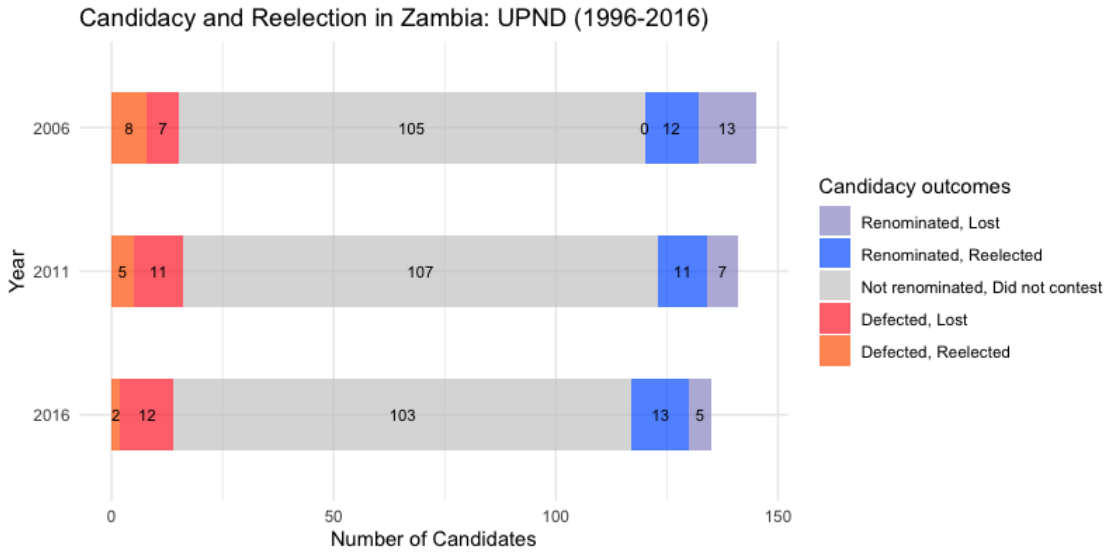


Figure A4: Candidacy Dynamics in the UPND



Figures A2, A3, A4 document the patterns of candidacy across candidates of the three major Zambian parties: MMD, PF, and UPND. The figures categorize party candidates from the previous election cycle (t-1) according to whether the candidate was i) renominated by the party but lost in the election, ii) renominated by the party and was reelected, iii) was not renominated by the party and did not contest (did not appear on the ballot), iv) switched parties (defected) but lost in the election, and v) switched parties (defected) and was reelected in election at time (t). Across all elections and all parties, the single largest group of candidates were not renominated by their original party, and did not contest. The rate of switching remains relatively low and stable across most election years, with the exception for MMD candidates in 2016; a total of 48 candidates defected to other parties or ran as an independent.

2 Zambian Parties: Renomination and Relection by Party

Table A2: Probability of Candidate Victory, by Renomination Status, MMD Candidates

	Dependent variable:				
	Incumbent won in next election: MMD Candidates				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Renominated	0.761	0.500	0.500	0.674	0.013
	(0.054)	(0.050)	(0.074)	(0.087)	(0.185)
Switched (Mean)	0.028	- 0.000	- 0.000	0.000	0.273
	(0.035)	(0.024)	(0.042)	(0.067)	(0.069)
Year	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016
Observations	124	131	69	73	51
Note:	Standard errors in parentheses. p<0.1; p<0.05; p<0.01				

Table A2 presents the probability of reelection for incumbent politicians in election t, conditional on whether they remained with the party they contested with in election t-1 for candidates affiliated with MMD. With the exception of 2016, MMD candidates who stayed with the party (and did not defect to a different party) enjoyed a decisive 50–76%p bump in their probability of reelection than those who defected to other parties. This advantage ceased to exist in the 2016, as MMD's electoral fortunes dwindled; candidates who stayed with MMD (reelection rate: 28.6%) were no more likely than candidates who switched to different parties to be reelected (reelection rate: 27.3%).

Table A3: Probability of Candidate Victory, by Renomination Status, PF/UPND Candidates

	Dependent variable:			
	Candidate Victory: PF/UPND Candidates			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Renominated	0.867	0.808	0.800	0.933
	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.126)	(0.078)
Switched (Mean)	- 0.000	- 0.000	0.200	0.067
	(0.041)	(0.044)	(0.082)	(0.051)
Party	PF	PF	UPND	UPND
Year	2011	2016	2011	2016
Observations	41	61	26	26
R^2	0.805	0.707	0.629	0.856

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. p<0.1; p<0.05; p<0.01

Table A3 presents the probability of reelection for incumbent politicians in election t, conditional on whether they remained with the party they contested with in election t-1 for candidates affiliated with PF. For both 2011 and 2016, PF and UPND candidates who stayed with the party (and did not defect to a different party) enjoyed a 80–93%p advantage in their probability of reelection those who defected to other parties.

3 Survey Sample

To assemble a sample of Zambian candidates, we collected candidate contact information from three sources: the legislative handbook, national party headquarters, and local electoral commissions. For those who had successfully elected, we obtained their phone numbers from the directory maintained by the Zambian parliament. For the first losers, we contacted the party offices and obtained lists of candidates who had run under that party label. We contacted local electoral commissions to collect any additional data, as in the case of independent candidates who were first losers.

The survey was conducted between February and June 2016. We employed three strategies to recruit participants into the survey. First, we enlisted the help of the party whips to encourage their party members to participate in the study. Second, Zambian research assistants called each winner and first loser to schedule an interview. Third, the authors followed-up with any candidates who were not initially reachable or who had yet to schedule interviews. We failed to obtain phone numbers for 112 candidates, of which 98 were first losers. This is primarily due to the fact that parties often do not maintain up-to-date contact information for failed candidates. Among the candidates we could not locate, 35 were from PF, 21 were from UPND, and 17 were from MMD. Eighteen candidates for whom we had contact information were unreachable (12 were winners). It is unknown whether they were refusing to participate by not answering or if the contact information we had was incorrect.

In the resulting sample, more than half (57%) of candidates indicated they had previously defected from one party to another. Further descriptive statistics are found in the table below.

Table A4: Descriptive Statistics of Candidate Survey Participants

Variable	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max.
Business owner	109	0.8165	0.3889	0	1
Civic leader	109	0.6514	0.8539	0	3
Prior election experience	109	0.4404	0.7750	0	4
Ruling party member	109	0.4679	0.5013	0	1
Losing candidate	109	0.5872	0.4946	0	1
Woman	109	0.1743	0.3811	0	1
Age	108	53.48	9.0641	36	78
University degree	108	0.5833	0.4953	0	1

4 Conjoint Experiment

Table A5: Conjoint Analysis Attributes

Attributes	Attribute levels
1. Party and the presidency	Party holds the presidency
	Party does not hold the presidency
2. Party support at the national level	51% of voters in the country support this party
	25% of voters in the country support this party
	5% of voters in the country support this party
3. Party support at the constituency	Chiefs in your constituency support this party
	Headmen in your constituency support this party
	Church leaders in your constituency support this party
	Voters in your constituency support this party
4. Party leadership selection	National executive committee appoints party leadership
	Party holds regular elections for party leadership
	Party leader directly chooses party leadership
5. Candidate adoption method	Party leader directly chooses parliamentary candidate
	Constituency-level committee chooses candidate
	National executive committee chooses candidate
	Party members vote in elections to choose candidate
6. Incentives offered for joining	A cabinet minister position
	A deputy minister position
	Adoption as the parliamentary candidate
	Financial support for your campaign in the next election
	Nothing significant
7. The party leader's ethnic group	From your ethnic group
	Not from your ethnic group
8. Relationship with the party leader	Are family or relatives
	Are former co-workers
	Are former schoolmates
	Belong to the same church
	Belong to the same social organization

Figure A5: Conjoint Choice Task Setup

Round 1

	PartyA	PartyB
Party popularity in the constituency	Chiefs support this party	Headmen support this party
Party popularity at the national level	25% of voters in the country support this party	5% of voters in the country support this party
Party leadership selection	National executive committee appoints party leadership	National executive committee appoints party leadership
The party leader and you	are former schoolmates	belong to the same social organization
The party leader promised you	Adoption as the parliamentary candidate in your constituency	Nothing significant
Ethnic group of the party leader	From your ethnic group	From your ethnic group
Party and the Presidency	Party holds the presidency	Party does not hold the presidency
Candidate adoption process	Party Members vote in elections to choose parliamentary candidate	Constituency-level committee chooses parliamentary candidate

If you had to choose between them, which of these two parties would you prefer to be a member of?

Party A

Party B

5 Additional Analyses

Table A6: Candidate Experiences with Recruitment, Connections, and Defections: Additional Professions

	Recruitment	Connection	Defection
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Business owner	2.281	1.048	1.261
	(0.834)	(0.651)	(0.609)
Job: professional	-0.186	1.422	-0.605
	(0.591)	(0.663)	(0.588)
Job: civil servant	-0.595	0.450	-0.319
	(0.783)	(0.754)	(0.722)
Job: NGO	1.107	0.612	-1.020
	(0.910)	(0.846)	(0.775)
Organizational leader	0.546	0.770	0.166
	(0.288)	(0.340)	(0.283)
Prior election experience	0.052	0.259	0.765
	(0.297)	(0.309)	(0.407)
Ruling party member	0.641	0.037	1.424
	(0.506)	(0.504)	(0.530)
Losing candidate	-0.429	0.356	-0.927
	(0.498)	(0.507)	(0.508)
Woman	1.220	0.651	0.242
	(0.656)	(0.689)	(0.594)
Age	0.065	0.075	0.006
	(0.027)	(0.029)	(0.026)
University degree	-0.629	-0.288	0.847
	(0.513)	(0.510)	(0.527)
Constant	-6.009	-5.231	-1.681
	(1.979)	(1.963)	(1.704)
Observations	106	106	107

Note: Logit estimation. Standard errors in parentheses. p<0.01, p<0.05, p<0.10.

Table A7: Candidate Experiences with Recruitment, Connections, and Defections: Ethnicity

	Recruitment (1)	Connection (2)	Defection (3)
Business owner	2.201	0.779	1.295
	(0.866)	(0.668)	(0.623)
Organizational leader	0.799	0.725	0.194
	(0.322)	(0.358)	(0.286)
Prior election experience	0.013	0.098	0.890
	(0.312)	(0.315)	(0.412)
Ruling party member	1.164	-0.255	1.467
	(0.599)	(0.574)	(0.571)
Losing candidate	-0.177	0.214	-0.774
	(0.535)	(0.537)	(0.514)
Woman	1.395	0.358	0.204
	(0.710)	(0.718)	(0.595)
Age	0.058	0.083	0.005
	(0.028)	(0.031)	(0.025)
University degree	-0.988	-0.175	0.668
	(0.511)	(0.508)	(0.497)
Ethnic Lala grouping	0.804		-0.224
	(0.966)		(0.900)
Ethnic Lozi grouping	1.312	-0.395	0.490
	(0.813)	(0.798)	(0.715)
Ethnic Luvale grouping	0.684	-1.550	1.113
	(1.413)	(1.272)	(1.277)
Ethnic Ngoni grouping	-2.096	-1.610	-0.223
	(1.251)	(0.853)	(0.873)
Ethnic Nyanja grouping	-0.588	-1.939	0.837
	(0.986)	(0.948)	(0.932)
Ethnic Tonga grouping	0.675	-0.919	0.141
	(0.697)	(0.741)	(0.698)
Constant	-6.222	-4.060	-2.241
	(2.131)	(1.960)	(1.743)
Observations	106	98	107

Note: Logit estimation. Ethnic Bemba grouping is the omitted reference category. Standard errors in parentheses. p<0.01, p<0.05, p<0.10.