

Appendix Figures

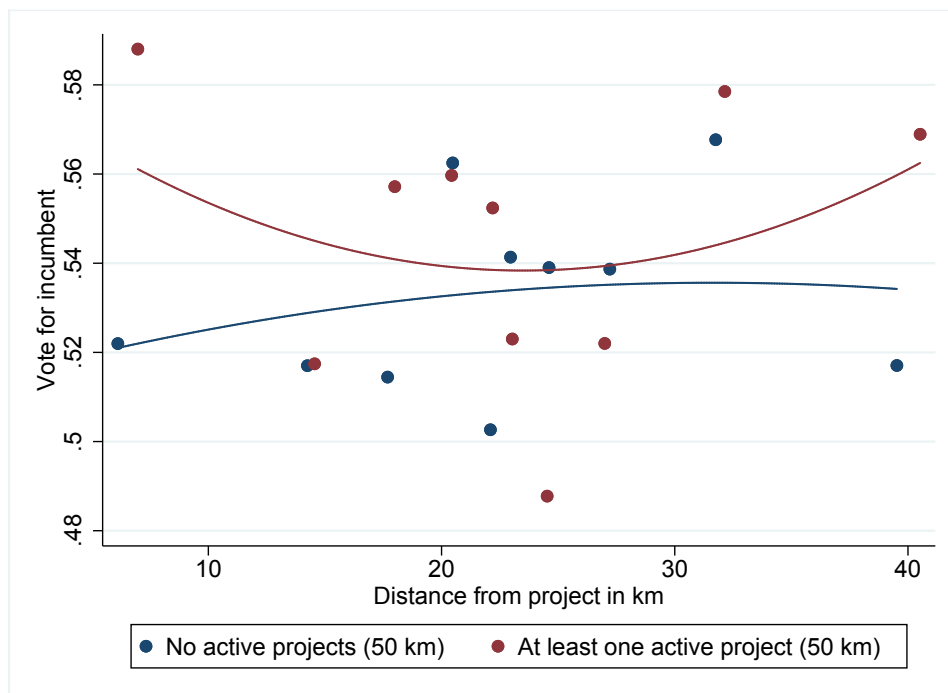


Figure A1: Distance to project and voting for incumbent. World Bank aid.

Notes: The figure shows a binned scatterplot by active status where the dots represent equal sized bins. The estimates are residualised for country, year, and project fixed effects, age, age squared, gender, and urban. The sample only includes areas that are already having or that will get an aid project within 50 km and excludes areas where aid has been suspended.

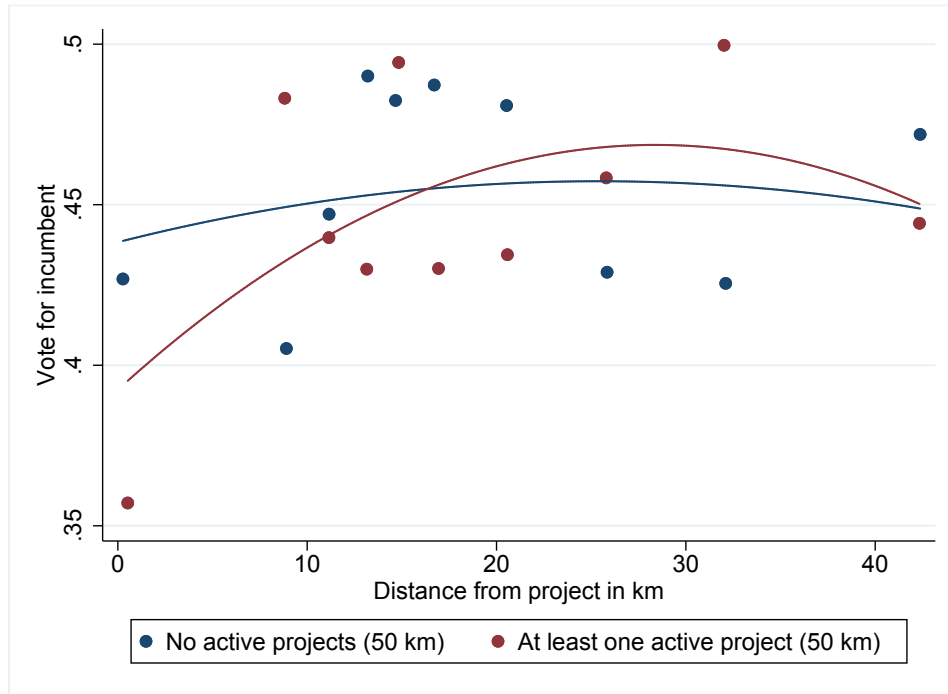


Figure A2: Distance to project and voting for incumbent. Chinese aid.

Notes: The figure shows a binned scatterplot by active status where the dots represent equal sized bins. The estimates are residualised for country, year, and project fixed effects, age, age squared, gender, and urban. The sample only includes areas that are already having or that will get an aid project within 50 km and excludes areas where aid has been suspended.

Appendix Tables

	Table A1: Variable descriptions	
Variable	Description	Data Source
$Incumbent_i$	The main outcome variable: A dummy equal to 1 for individuals who report that they would vote for the incumbent leader at the time of the survey and 0 for those that reported support to other candidates or did not want to vote. Otherwise missing	Afrobarometer
$Incumbent2_i$	Voting on the extensive margin: Different from <i>incumbent</i> in that also those refusing to answer the question and those that do not know are given the value 0.	Afrobarometer
$Incumbent3_i$	Voting on the intensive margin: Different from <i>incumbent</i> in that those not voting, refusing to answer or who do not know are given missing.	Afrobarometer
$Active_i$	A dummy equal to 1 if the respondent lives within 50 or 25 kilometers of an active aid project at the time of the Afrobarometer survey. Observations that have a completed project within the distance are excluded.	AidData
$Future_i$	Dummy equal to one if respondent lives in area that will receive an aid project in the future. Observations that have a completed project within the distance are excluded.	AidData
α_i	Project area fixed effect.	AidData

$Rural_i$	Dummy equal to one if respondent lives in a urban area as defined by the Afrobarometer	Afrobarometer
Electoral competition	A measure of electoral success of smaller parties. The variable is calculated by subtracting from 100 the percentage of votes won by the largest party (the party which wins most votes) in parliamentary elections or by the party of the successful candidate in presidential elections.	Varhanen(2016)
Electoral Democracy	An index which is a weighted average of indices measuring freedom of expression, freedom of association and clean elections.	V-dem dataset
Turnout	An indicator variable taking the value 1 if the respondent reports to have voted in the last election.	Afrobarometer
Economic conditions	Self-reported living conditions as reported in the response to the question: "In general, how do you rate your living conditions compared to those of other [people from the same country]" (ranging from Much worse(-2) via Same(0) to Much better(2)).	Afrobarometer
Trust	Answer to the question: "How much do you trust each of the following [institution]?" (ranging from Not at all(0) via Just a little(1) , Somewhat(2) to A lot(3))	Afrobarometer

Table A2: Robustness without controls.

	(1)	(2)
	Incumbent	Incumbent
Active 50 km	-0.079 (0.058)	
Active 25 km		-0.097 (0.084)
Mean dep. var	0.47	0.44
No. of observations	15083	10545
R-squared	0.12	0.10
Project FE	Yes	Yes

Notes: All regressions control for country, year, and mine fixed effects. Robust SE clustered at the Afrobarometer cluster level in parentheses.

Table A3: Robustness without controls: Chinese aid.

	(1)	(2)
	Incumbent	Incumbent
Active 50 km	-0.079 (0.058)	
Active 25 km		-0.097*** (0.033)
Mean dep. var	0.47	0.44
No. of observations	15083	10545
R-squared	0.12	0.10
Project FE	Yes	Yes

Notes: All regressions control for country, year, and project fixed effects. Robust SE clustered at the Afrobarometer cluster level in parentheses.

Table A4: Different samples for the interaction analysis.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Incumbent WB	Incumbent WB	Incumbent China	Incumbent China
Active 50 km	0.14*** (0.049)	0.12*** (0.031)	-0.033 (0.055)	-0.089 (0.063)
Mean dep. var	0.51	0.52	0.45	0.46
No. of observations	19052	30504	7161	11626
R-squared	0.23	0.19	0.20	0.13
Project FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: All regressions control for country, year, and project fixed effects, age, age squared, gender, and urban. Robust SE clustered at the Afrobarometer cluster level in parentheses. Columns 1 and two show results for world bank aid whereas columns 3 and 4 show results for Chinese aid.

Table A5: Different effects on countries with stable incumbents.

	(1) Incumbent	(2) Incumbent
Active 50 km	0.073* (0.041)	-0.086 (0.067)
Countries without change in incumbency	0.16 (0.21)	0.24*** (0.063)
Active*No change in incumbency	-0.034 (0.043)	0.040 (0.069)
Mean dep. var	0.53	0.47
No. of observations	40621	14983
R-squared	0.18	0.13
Project donor	World Bank	China

Notes: All regressions control for country, year, and project fixed effects, age, age squared, gender, and urban. Robust SE clustered at the Afrobarometer cluster level in parentheses. Column 1 and two show results for world bank aid whereas columns 2 shows results for Chinese aid.

Table A6: Aid and incumbency 2: World Bank aid.

	(1) incumbent2	(2) incumbent2	(3) incumbent2	(4) incumbent2	(5) incumbent2
Active 50 km	0.070*** (0.025)			0.099* (0.053)	0.11*** (0.029)
Future aid 50 km			-0.010 (0.014)		
Active 25 km		0.060** (0.027)			
Electoral competition				0.045 (0.052)	
Active*Electoral competition				-0.095* (0.051)	
Electoral democracy index					0.20*** (0.047)
Active*Electoral democracy					0.048 (0.030)
Mean dep. var	0.40	0.38	0.42	0.51	0.52
No. of observations	52917	38308	83864	19052	38884
R-squared	0.14	0.15	0.08	0.23	0.15
Project FE	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Notes: All regressions control for country and year fixed effects, age, age squared, gender, and urban. Column three includes active 50 km as a control. Robust SE clustered at the Afrobarometer cluster level in parentheses.

Table A7: Aid and incumbency 3: World Bank aid.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	incumbent3	incumbent3	incumbent3	incumbent3	incumbent3
Active 50 km	0.066** (0.029)			0.099* (0.053)	0.13*** (0.032)
Future aid 50 km			0.0098 (0.016)		
Active 25 km		0.062* (0.032)			
Electoral competition				0.045 (0.052)	
Active*Electoral competition				-0.095* (0.051)	
Electoral democracy index					0.22*** (0.059)
Active*Electoral democracy					0.047 (0.031)
Mean dep. var	0.55	0.52	0.57	0.53	0.55
No. of observations	38988	28029	61580	19052	29056
R-squared	0.19	0.21	0.10	0.23	0.21
Project FE	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Notes: All regressions control for country, year, and project fixed effects, age, age squared, gender, and urban. Column three includes active 50 km as a control. Robust SE clustered at the Afrobarometer cluster level in parentheses.

Table A8: Aid and incumbency with country specific year fixed effects: World Bank aid.

	(1)
	Incumbent
Active 50 km	0.014 (0.031)
Mean dep. var	0.53
No. of observations	40621
R-squared	0.22
Project FE	Yes
Country*Year FE	Yes

Notes: The regression controls for country times year fixed effects in addition to project fixed effects, age, age squared, gender, and urban. Robust SE clustered at the Afrobarometer cluster level in parentheses.

Table A9: Aid and incumbency 2: Chinese aid.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	incumbent2	incumbent2	incumbent2	incumbent2	incumbent2
Active 50 km	-0.020 (0.049)			-0.012 (0.059)	-0.065 (0.057)
Future aid 50 km			-0.037*** (0.013)		
Active 25 km		-0.031 (0.031)			
Electoral competition				-0.029 (0.038)	
Active*Electoral competition				-0.013 (0.055)	
Electoral democracy index					0.25** (0.11)
Active*Electoral democracy					0.0068 (0.047)
Mean dep. var	0.35	0.32	0.41	0.45	0.46
No. of observations	20094	14504	85069	8588	14983
R-squared	0.09	0.07	0.09	0.17	0.11
Project FE	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Notes: All regressions control for country, year, and project fixed effects, age, age squared, gender, and urban. Column three includes active 50 km as a control. Robust SE clustered at the Afrobarometer cluster level in parentheses.

Table A10: Aid and incumbency 3: Chinese aid.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	incumbent3	incumbent3	incumbent3	incumbent3	incumbent3
Active 50 km	-0.060 (0.065)			-0.023 (0.063)	-0.11 (0.071)
Future aid 50 km			-0.038*** (0.014)		
Active 25 km		-0.084** (0.036)			
Electoral competition				-0.037 (0.046)	
Active*Electoral competition				-0.022 (0.059)	
Electoral democracy index					0.33** (0.13)
Active*Electoral democracy					0.014 (0.063)
Mean dep. var	0.49	0.47	0.56	0.47	0.49
No. of observations	14300	9978	62104	7161	10979
R-squared	0.13	0.11	0.10	0.20	0.14
Project FE	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Notes: All regressions control for country, year, and project fixed effects, age, age squared, gender, and urban. Column three includes active 50 km as a control. Robust SE clustered at the Afrobarometer cluster level in parentheses.

Table A11: Aid, trust in parliament, and incumbency.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Trust president	Incumbent	Trust president	Incumbent
Active 50 km	0.12** (0.054)	0.044* (0.026)	0.059 (0.095)	-0.077 (0.057)
Trust parliament		0.098*** (0.0041)		0.10*** (0.011)
Mean dep. var	1.61	0.53	1.49	0.47
No. of observations	38656	38656	14467	14467
R-squared	0.19	0.22	0.12	0.16
Project donor	World Bank	World Bank	China	China

Notes: All regressions control for project, country and year fixed effects, age, age squared, gender, and urban. Robust SE clustered at the Afrobarometer cluster level in parentheses.

Table A12: Aid, trust in ruling party, and incumbency.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Trust president	Incumbent	Trust president	Incumbent
Active 50 km	0.16** (0.061)	0.036 (0.023)	0.047 (0.10)	-0.072 (0.048)
Trust ruling party		0.14*** (0.0053)		0.16*** (0.015)
Mean dep. var	1.58	0.53	1.43	0.47
No. of observations	39182	39182	14606	14606
R-squared	0.19	0.26	0.13	0.24
Project donor	World Bank	World Bank	China	China

Notes: All regressions control for project, country and year fixed effects, age, age squared, gender, and urban. Robust SE clustered at the Afrobarometer cluster level in parentheses.

Coding of incumbency

Round	Country	Q type ⁸	Year of survey	Incumbent
5	Algeria	2	2013	National Liberation Front (FLN)
6	Algeria	2	2015	FLN
3	Benin	2	2005	Kerekou
4	Benin	2	2008	Independent
5	Benin	2	2011	Boni
6	Benin	2	2014	Boni
2	Botswana	4	2003	Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)
3	Botswana	2	2005	BDP
4	Botswana	2	2008	BDP
5	Botswana	2	2012	BDP
6	Botswana	2	2014	BDP
4	Burkina Faso	2	2008	Congress for Democracy and Progress (CDP)
5	Burkina Faso	2	2012	CDP
6	Burkina Faso	2	2015	
5	Burundi	2	2012	National Council for the Defense of Democracy (CNDD-FDD)

⁸Question asked in survey: 1. What did you vote? 2. What would you vote in presidential election? 3. What would you vote in a national election (president and prime minister)? [In Lesotho only prime minister]. 4. Do you feel close to any political part, if so which?

6	Burundi	2	2014	CNDD-FDD
5	Cameroon	2	2013	Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (RDPC)
6	Cameroon	2	2015	RDPC
2	Cape Verde	4	2002	African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV)
3	Cape Verde	2	2005	PAICV
4	Capo Verde	3	2008	PAICV
5	Capo Verde	2	2011	Movement for Democracy (MpD)
6	Capo Verde	2	2014	MpD
5	Côte d'Ivoire	2	2013	Rally of the Republicans (RDR)
6	Côte d'Ivoire	2	2014	RDR
5	Egypt	2	2013	Freedom and Justice Party (FJP)
6	Egypt	2	2015	
5	Ethiopia	3	2013	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF)
6	Gabon	2	2015	Gabonese Democratic Party (PDG)
2	Ghana	4	2002	New Patriotic Party (NPP)
3	Ghana	2	2005	NPP

4	Ghana	2	2008	NPP
5	Ghana	2	2012	National Democratic Congress (NDC)
6	Ghana	2	2014	NDC
5	Guinea	2	2013	Guinean People's Assembly (RPG)
6	Guinea	2	2015	RPG
2	Kenya	4	2003	National Rainbow Coalition/ Liberal Democratic Party (NARC/LDP)
3	Kenya	2	2005	NARC
4	Kenya	2	2008	Party of National Unity (PNU)
5	Kenya	2	2011	PNU
6	Kenya	2	2014	The National Alliance (TNA)
2	Lesotho	4	2003	Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD)
3	Lesotho	3	2005	LCD
4	Lesotho	3	2008	LCD
5	Lesotho	2	2012	LCD
6	Lesotho	2	2014	All Basotho Convention (ABC)
4	Liberia	2	2008	Unity Party (UP)
5	Liberia	2	2012	UP

6	Liberia	2	2015	UP
3	Madagascar	2	2005	Tiako I Madagasikara (TIM)
4	Madagascar	2	2008	TIM
5	Madagascar	2	2013	TIM
6	Madagascar	2	2014/2015	New Forces for Madagascar (HVM)
2	Malawi	4	2002	United Democratic Front (UDF)
3	Malawi	2	2005	UDF
4	Malawi	2	2008	Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)
5	Malawi	2	2012	People's Party (PP)
6	Malawi	2	2014	PP
2	Mali	4	2002	Touré/Mouvement
3	Mali	2	2005	Touré/Mouvement
4	Mali	2	2008	
5	Mali		2012	
6	Mali	2	2014	Rally for Mali (RPM)
5	Mauritius	3	2012	Labour
6	Mauritius	2	2014	Labour
5	Morocco	3	2013	Justice and Development Party (PJD)
6	Morocco	2	2015	PJD

2	Mozambique	4	2002	The Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO)
3	Mozambique	2	2005	FRELIMO
4	Mozambique	3	2008	FRELIMO
5	Mozambique	2	2012	FRELIMO
6	Mozambique	2	2015	FRELIMO
2	Namibia	4	2003	South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)
3	Namibia	2	2006	SWAPO
4	Namibia	2	2008	SWAPO
5	Namibia	2	2012	SWAPO
6	Namibia	2	2014	SWAPO
5	Niger	2	2013	Nigerien Party for Democracy and Socialism (PNDS)
6	Niger	2	2014	PNDS
2	Nigeria	4	2003	PDP
3	Nigeria	2	2005	PDP
4	Nigeria	2	2008	PDP
6	Nigeria	2	2014	PDP
5	Nigeria	2	2012	PDP
6	Sao Tome and Principe	2	2015	Independent Democratic Action (ADI)
2	Senegal	4	2002	Senegalese Democratic Party PDS
4	Senegal	2	2008	PDS

5	Senegal	2	2013	Alliance for the Republic (APR)
6	Senegal	2	2014	APR
3	Senegal	2	2005	PDS
5	Sierra Leone	2	2012	All People's Congress (APC)
6	Sierra Leone	2	2015	APC
2	South africa	4	2002	African National Congress (ANC)
3	South Africa	3	2006	ANC
4	South Africa	2	2008	ANC
5	South Africa	3	2011	ANC
6	South Africa	2	2015	ANC
5	Sudan	2	2013	National Congress (NC)
6	Sudan	2	2015	NC
5	Swaziland	2	2013	
6	Swaziland	2	2015	
2	Tanzania	4	2003	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)
3	Tanzania	2	2005	CCM
4	Tanzania	2	2008	CCM
5	Tanzania	2	2012	CCM
6	Tanzania	2	2015	CCM
5	Togo	2	2012	Union for the Republic (UNIR)

6	Togo	2	2014	UNIR
5	Tunisia	2	2013	Congress for the Republic (CPR)
6	Tunisia	2	2015	Nidaa Tounes
2	Uganda	4	2002	National Resistance Movement (NRM)
3	Uganda	2	2005	NRM
4	Uganda	2	2008	NRM
5	Uganda	2	2011/2012	NRM
6	Uganda	2	2015	NRM
2	Zambia	4	2003	Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD)
3	Zambia	2	2005	MMD
4	Zambia	2	2009	MMD
5	Zambia	2	2013	Patriotic Front (PF)
6	Zambia	2	2014	PF
2	Zimbabwe	4	2004	The Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF)
3	Zimbabwe	2	2005	ZANU-PF
4	Zimbabwe	2	2009	ZANU-PF
5	Zimbabwe	2	2012	ZANU-PF
6	Zimbabwe	2	2014	ZANU-PF

Notes by Country

Below are country specific comments on choices made when coding *Incumbent*.

Benin: The president between 2006 and 2011, Boni, was an independent candidate. In the 2007 parliamentary elections, Boni supported a coalition called FCBE, which got the largest share of votes. Therefore, we consider FCBE as the incumbent party.

Burkina Faso: President Blaise Compaoré faced a coup in October 2014. The Afrobarometer carried out a survey in the following year. In 2015, Burkina Faso was ruled by a transitional president, Michel Kafando. He was not from a political party. Therefore, respondents from Burkina Faso in the sixth round of the survey have missing on all the incumbent variables.

Cape Verde: Is a semi-presidential representative democracy where the president appoints the prime minister. From 2011 to 2015, the prime minister and the president were from different parties. Until round four, the Afrobarometer asked about prime minister in Cape Verde, while in round five and six, they asked about the president. Therefore, we consider the president as the incumbent in round five and six, and the party of the prime minister as the incumbent in the prior rounds. Cape Verde had an election in August 2011, the same year as the fifth round was carried out. In this election, Movement for Democracy's (MpD) candidate won against the candidate from the incumbent party. As the Afrobarometer carried out the survey in December 2011, we consider MpD the incumbent party in round five.

Egypt: Muhammed Mursi was removed in a coup in July 2013. Afrobarometer carried out the fifth survey round in March 2013. Therefore, Mursi was still incumbent at the time of the survey. In 2015, the year of the sixth round, Abdel Fattah al-Sisi was the sitting president. He had no party affiliation, and was not a response option in the Afrobarometer. Therefore, we give respondents from Egypt the value missing on the incumbent variables in

this round

Ethiopia: Afrobarometer carried out a survey in Ethiopia only in 2013. However, Afrobarometer raises questions on the comparability of Ethiopian results with those from other surveyed countries, in particular with regard to attitudes toward democracy. Therefore, Ethiopia is not included in the multi-country dataset. We also do not include Ethiopia.

Kenya: Kenya African National Union (KANU) had held the presidency uninterrupted since Kenyan independence. In 2002, The National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), a coalition consisting of Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and National Alliance Party of Kenya (NAK) among others, won the presidential election. Their presidential candidate was Mwai Kibaki, from Democratic Party which was now a part of NAK. The coalition dissolved in 2005 due to a disagreement regarding the division of power between the president and the prime minister. The disagreement led to a vote on a proposed change to the constitution. While, Kibaki and NAK led the yes-campaign, LDP led the no-campaign. The yes-campaign later established the new party Party of National Unity (PNU), while the no-campaigners created Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). Thus, we consider NARC and LDP to be the incumbent up until 2005. As LDP broke out of the coalition in 2005, we do not consider LDP to be incumbent in 2005. The other parties that joined NARC in 2002 are not separate response alternatives. In the election in 2007, Kibaki, now in PNU and this time supported by KANU, ran against Odinga and ODM. Kibaki claimed victory, but the result was contested and violence broke out in Kenya. Kibaki and Odinga achieved a diplomatic solution in 2008, forming a coalition government with Kibaki as president and Odinga as the prime minister. As the Afrobarometer in Kenya does ask about presidential candidate, we consider PNU and Kibaki as the incumbent president in this time period. The coalition between PNU and ODM held power until 2013 when Uhuru Kenyatta won the election, this time as the leader of The National Alliance (and later the Jubilee alliance).

Malawi: President Mutharika (Democratic Progressive Party) died suddenly in 2012.

Joyce Banda (People's Party) succeeded him and took office the in April. The fifth round of the Afrobarometer survey was carried out in June/July 2012, so Banda was incumbent at the time of the survey. In May 2014, the year of round six, Malawi had an election. Due to the election result, People's Party (PP) handed power to Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). Nevertheless, PP was still in power when Afrobarometer surveyed Malawi before in April/March.

Mali: In June 2002, the year of the second round of the Afrobarometer, Mali had a change in president. As Mali was surveyed in November and December, the new president, Touré, was the incumbent leader at the time of the survey. He ran as an independent candidate, but was supported by a coalition called Movement citoyen. In the spring of 2012, the year of round five, Mali had two different presidents due to a coup in March where the incumbent president agreed to resign. In the Afrobarometer, the overthrown president is not a response option (Touré). Therefore, we give respondents in Mali the value missing for incumbent in this round.

Swaziland: Is not a part of the analysis in this paper, as the survey has been conducted multiple rounds without asking respondents about voting.