Single-Party Incumbency Advantage in Vietnam: A Conjoint Survey Analysis of Public Electoral Support

Online Appendix

Not Intended for Publication

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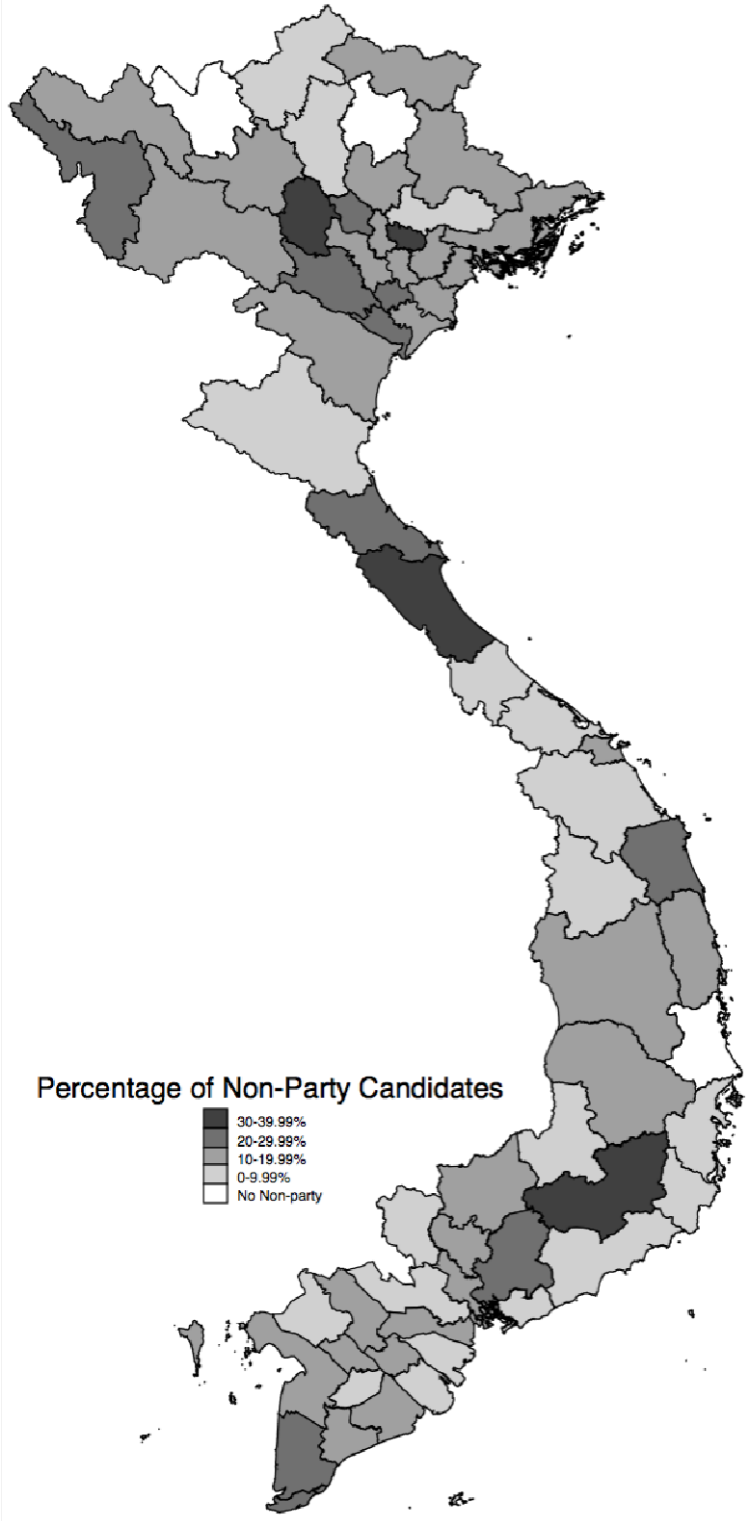
Appendix A: Non-Party Candidates by Province in 2007-2016 (3 Elections)

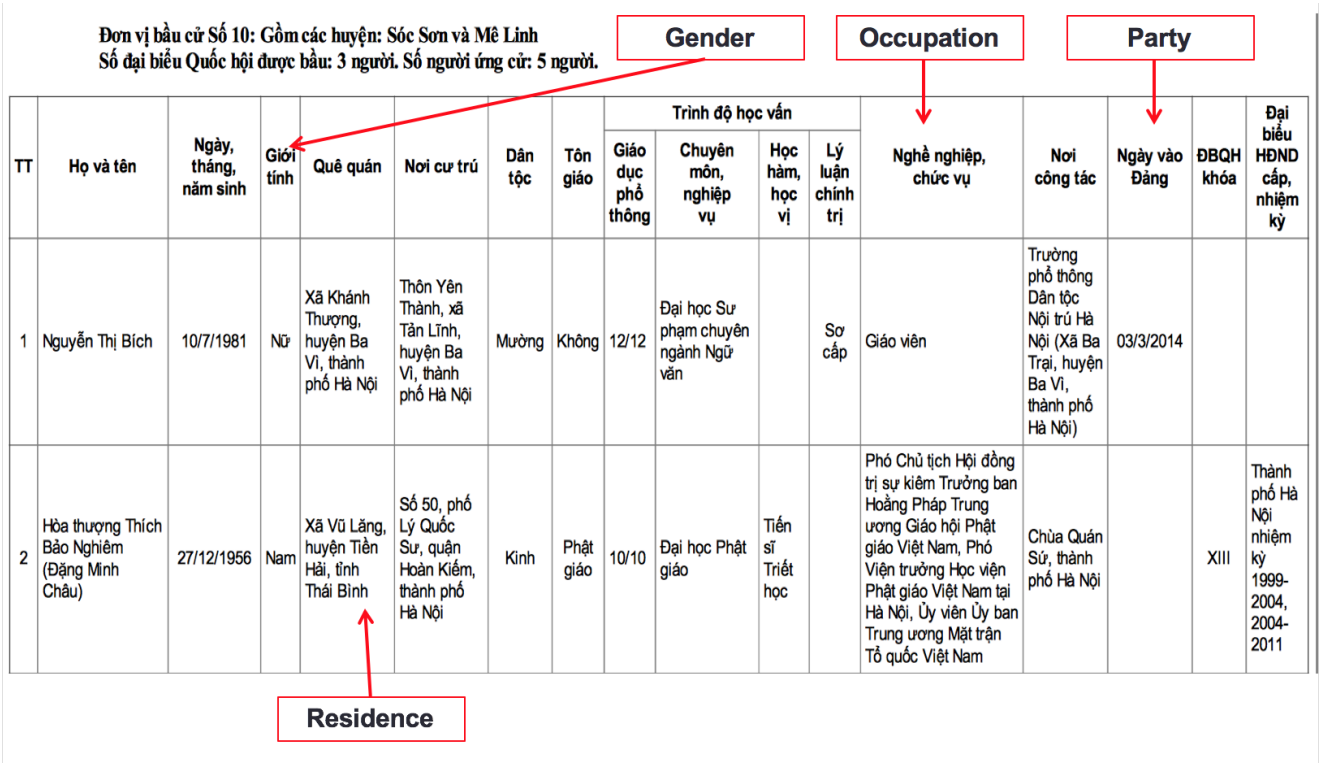


Appendix B: Entropy Balancing on Delegate Covariates

Variables	1. Before Balancing					
	Party Candidate			Non-Party Candidate		
	Mean	Variance	Skew	Mean	Variance	Skew
Birth Year	1969	71.05	0.02	1979	140.50	-1.30
Born in Southern Vietnam	55.0%	24.8%	-0.20	40.9%	24.4%	0.37
Incumbent VNA Delegate	23.8%	18.1%	1.23	6.5%	6.1%	3.55
Male	65.1%	22.7%	-0.63	32.3%	22.1%	0.76
Ethnic Minority	20.8%	16.5%	1.44	46.2%	25.1%	0.15
Degree (1. B.A; 2. M.A.; 3. Ph.D)	1.66	0.61	0.55	1.42	0.70	0.65
Teacher	8.7%	7.9%	2.94	25.8%	19.4%	1.11
Doctor	2.6%	2.5%	5.98	19.4%	15.8%	1.55
Business Person	1.8%	1.8%	7.23	19.4%	15.8%	1.55
Fatherland Front	15.1%	12.9%	1.95	14.0%	12.2%	2.08
Nominated by Central Institution	24.2%	18.4%	1.21	6.5%	6.1%	3.55
Self-Nominated	0.6%	0.6%	12.32	6.5%	6.1%	3.55
Variables	**2. After Balancing**					
	Party Candidate			Non-Party Candidate		
	Mean	Variance	Skew	Mean	Variance	Skew
Birth Year	1969	71.05	0.02	1969	226.50	-0.39
Born in Southern Vietnam	55.0%	24.8%	-0.20	55.0%	25.0%	-0.20
Incumbent VNA Delegate	23.8%	18.1%	1.23	23.8%	18.3%	1.23
Male	65.1%	22.7%	-0.63	65.1%	23.0%	-0.63
Ethnic Minority	20.8%	16.5%	1.44	20.8%	16.7%	1.44
Degree (1. B.A; 2. M.A.; 3. Ph.D)	1.66	0.61	0.55	1.66	0.82	0.60
Teacher	8.7%	7.9%	2.94	8.7%	8.0%	2.94
Doctor	2.6%	2.5%	5.98	2.6%	2.5%	5.98
Business Person	1.8%	1.8%	7.23	1.8%	1.8%	7.23
Fatherland Front	15.1%	12.9%	1.95	15.1%	13.0%	1.95
Nominated by Central Institution	24.2%	18.4%	1.21	24.2%	18.5%	1.21
Self-Nominated	0.6%	0.6%	12.32	0.6%	0.6%	12.32

This table describe the Entropy Balancing Procedure (Hainmueller 2012) to address observed differences between party candidates and non-party candidates. The first panel shows mean, variance, and skew between delegates before balancing. The second panel shows the same statistics afterwards and demonstrates much more balance on confounders. *Source:* Authors' estimated results VNA election results database.

Appendix C: Sample Electoral District Information



Đơn vị bầu cử Số 10: Gồm các huyện: Sóc Sơn và Mê Linh
Số đại biểu Quốc hội được bầu: 3 người. Số người ứng cử: 5 người.

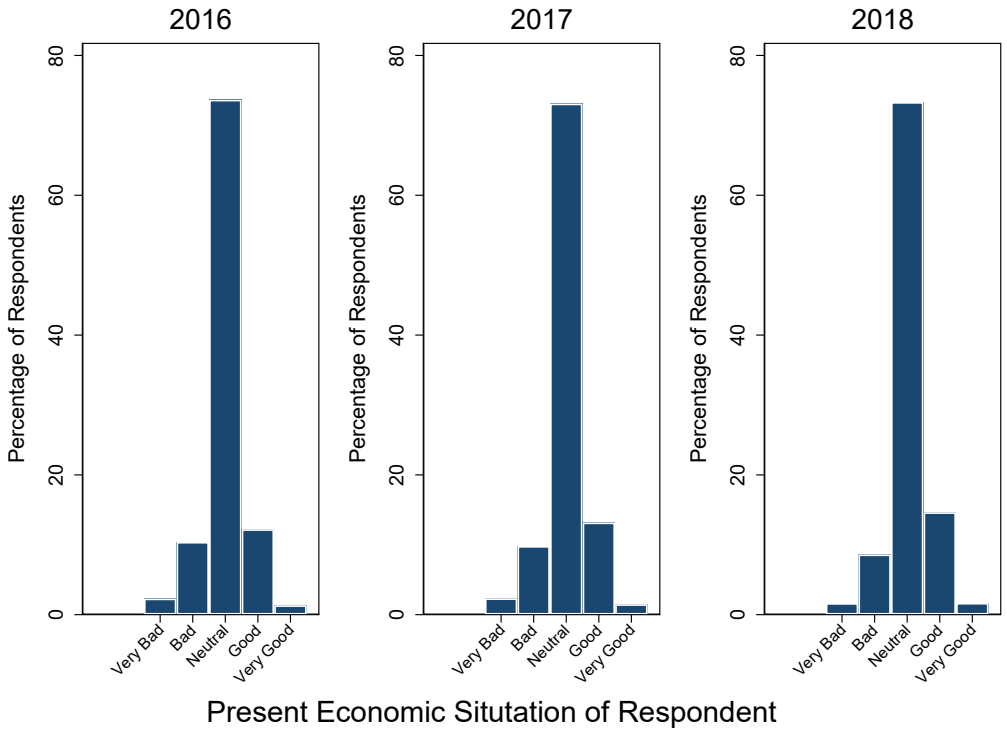
TT	Họ và tên	Ngày, tháng, năm sinh	Giới tính	Quê quán	Nơi cư trú	Dân tộc	Tôn giáo	Trình độ học vấn				Nghề nghiệp, chức vụ	Nơi công tác	Ngày vào Đảng	ĐBQH khóa	Đại biểu HĐND cấp, nhiệm kỳ
								Giáo dục phổ thông	Chuyên môn, nghiệp vụ	Học hàm, học vị	Lý luận chính trị					
1	Nguyễn Thị Bích	10/7/1981	Nữ	Xã Khánh Thượng, huyện Ba Vì, thành phố Hà Nội	Thôn Yên Thành, xã Tản Lĩnh, huyện Ba Vì, thành phố Hà Nội	Mường	Không	12/12	Đại học Sư phạm chuyên ngành Ngữ văn		Sơ cấp	Giáo viên	Trường phổ thông Dân tộc Nội trú Hà Nội (Xã Ba Trại, huyện Ba Vì, thành phố Hà Nội)	03/3/2014		
2	Hòa thượng Thích Bảo Nghiêm (Đặng Minh Châu)	27/12/1956	Nam	Xã Vũ Lăng, huyện Tiền Hải, tỉnh Thái Bình	Số 50, phố Lý Quốc Sư, quận Hoàn Kiếm, thành phố Hà Nội	Kinh	Phật giáo	10/10	Đại học Phật giáo	Tiến sĩ Triết học		Phó Chủ tịch Hội đồng trị sự kiêm Trưởng ban Hoằng Pháp Trung ương Giáo hội Phật giáo Việt Nam, Phó Viện trưởng Học viện Phật giáo Việt Nam tại Hà Nội, Ủy viên Ủy ban Trung ương Mặt trận Tổ quốc Việt Nam	Chùa Quán Sứ, thành phố Hà Nội		XIII	Thành phố Hà Nội nhiệm kỳ 1999-2004, 2004-2011

Appendix D: Regression Results based on Conjoint Analysis

DV Vote for Candidate=1	PAPI Survey 2016		PAPI Survey 2017		PAPI Survey 2018	
	Multiway Clustering	Respondent Clustering	Multiway Clustering	Respondent Clustering	Multiway Clustering	Respondent Clustering
	(1)	(2)	(6)	(7)	(6)	(7)
Party Member	0.144***	0.142***	0.112***	0.117***	0.134***	0.120***
	(0.013)	(0.006)	(0.015)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.007)
Constant	0.425***	0.428***	0.443***	0.441***	0.432***	0.439***
	(0.008)	(0.003)	(0.008)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.004)
Observations	25,684	25,826	23,360	23,468	21,046	21,240
R-Squared	0.021	0.020	0.013	0.014	0.018	0.014
Clusters	.	12913	.	11734	.	10620
Strata	125	.	125	.	125	.
Primary Sampling Units	207	.	207	.	207	.
Post-Stratification Units	63	.	63	.	63	.

Linear probability model. Multiway clustering uses the survey weights from the PAPI survey to address non-independence simultaneously at the province, district, and commune level. Respndent clustering is recommened by Hainmueller et al. (2013) to address the fact that each respondent evaluates two candidates (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1)

Appendix E: Levels of Economic Satisfaction in Vietnam

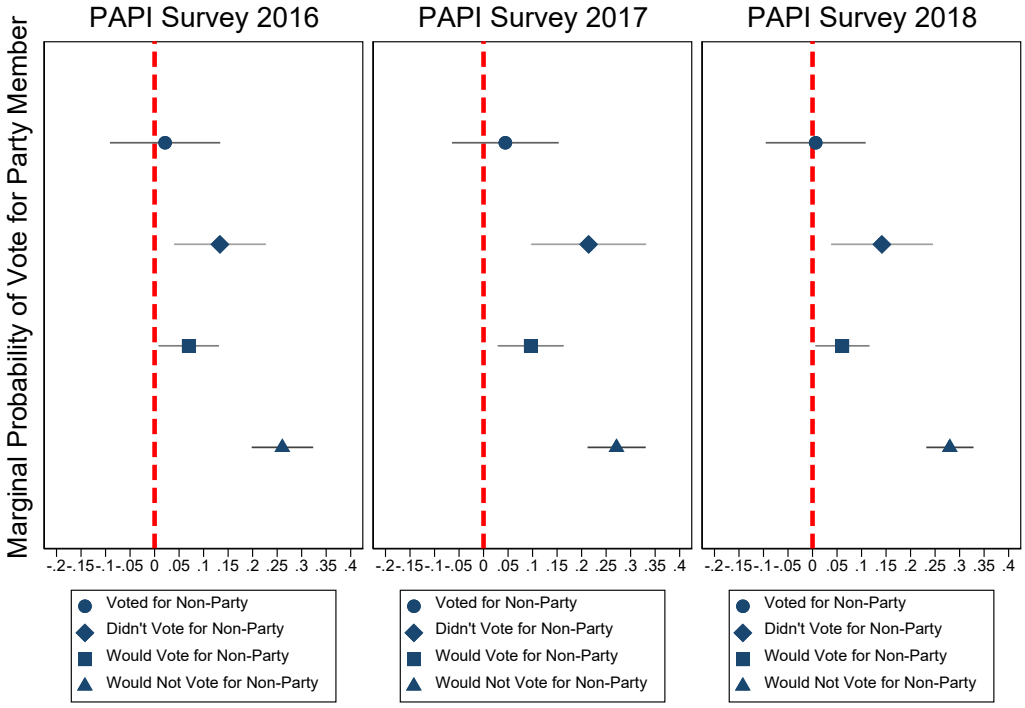


A011. As for your own family, how do you rate your economic situation today? Is it …?

☐ 4. Very good ☐ 3. Good ☐ 2. Neither good nor bad

☐ 1. Bad ☐ 0. Very bad ☐ ***888. [Don't Know]*** ☐ ***999. [Refuse to Answer]***

Appendix F: Effects of Party Membership for Different Levels of Preference Falsification



Replicates Models 2, 6, 10 by Voter Type; Range bars=95% CIs.

Appendix G: Full Question Wording Direct Questions about National Assembly

D101d. Has election for the National Assembly deputies been held in your locality in 2016?

□ 1. Yes *[Go to D101da]* □ 0. No *[Go to D102]*
□ *888. [DK] [Go to D102]* □ *999. [RA] [Go to D102]*

D101da. Did you cast the vote for the candidates for National Assembly deputies yourself in that election?

□ 1. Yes *[Go to D101d1]* □ 0. No *[Go to D101db]*
□ *888. [DK] [Go to D102]* □ *999. [RA] [Go to D102]*

D101db. Why didn't you cast the vote yourself *[Single choice]*?

□ 1. No one informed me about the vote. *[Go to D102]*
□ 2. I was busy so that I asked a family member to vote on my behalf. *[Go to D102]*
□ 3. People from the Election Board casted the vote on my behalf. *[Go to D102]*
□ 4. I didn't participate as I didn't want to vote for "suggested" candidates. *[Go to D102]*
□ 5. Even if I voted, it would not help selecting qualified candidates to represent for the people in my community. *[Go to D102]*
□ 7. Other (please specify)..... *[Go to D102]*
□ *888. [DK] [Go to D102]* □ *999. [RA] [Go to D102]*

D101d1. Prior to the election, were you invited to participate in the neighbourhoods meeting to assess the qualification of any potential candidates for National Assembly deputies?

□ 1. Yes *[Go to D101d1a]* □ 0. No *[Go to D101d2]*
□ *999. [RA] [Go to D101d2]*

D101d1a. Did you participate in any of the meetings?

□ 1. Yes □ 0. No □ *888. [DK]* □ *999. [RA]*

D101d2. At the election in your locality, did you get any instruction from any local public offcial to vote for any specific candidate?

□ 1. Yes □ 0. No □ *888. [DK]* □ *999. [RA]*

D101d3. Of the candidates for National Assembly deputies for selection, were there any women candidates?

□ 1. Yes *[Go to D101d3a]* □ 0. No *[Go to D101d5]*
□ *888. [DK] [Go to D101d5]* □ *999. [RA] [Go to D101d5]*

D101d3a. Did you vote for her/them?

□ 1. Yes □ 0. No □ *888. [DK]* □ *999. [RA]*

D101d5. Were any candidates non-Party members?

 1. Yes *[Go to D101d5a]* 0. No *[Go to D101d5b]*
888. [DK] [Go to D101d5b] *999. [RA] [Go to D101d5b]*

D101d5a. Did you vote for them?
 1. Yes *[Go to D101d7]* 0. No *[Go to D101d7]*
888. [DK] [Go to D101d7] *999. [RA] [Go to D101d7]*

D101d5b. If one non-Party member candidate was on the ballot, would you have voted for them?
 1. Yes 0. No *888. [DK]* *999. [RA]*

D101d7. Was the counting of the votes done in public?
 1. Yes 0. No *888. [DK]* *999. [RA]*

Appendix H: Full Question Wording of Conjoint Question

D102a. Now imagine two candidates for **the National Assembly**. The first candidate is a *[age1/2] year old [gender1/2] candidate from [province1/2] with a [education 1/2/3/4] degree. This candidate is a [nomination1/2] [party1/2] with a career background [career1/2/3/4]. [policy1/2/3/4/5]]*.

The second candidate is a *[age1/2] old [gender1/2] candidate from [province1/2] with a [education 1/2/3/4] degree. This candidate is a [party1/2] with a career background [career1/2/3/4]. [policy1/2/3/4/5]].* Which candidate would you vote for? Please feel free to look at the candidate's profile on the screen.

[Programmer: Fill in the boxes with the characteristics of Candidate 1 and Candidate 2]		
	Candidate 1	Candidate 2
Age	*[age_1/2]*	*[age_1/2]*
Gender	*[gender_1/2]*	*[gender_1/2]*
Province	*[province_1/2]*	*[province_1/2]*
Education	*[education_1/2/3/4]*	*[education_1/2/3/4]*
Nomination	*[nomination 1/2]*	*[nomination 1/2]*
Party Membership	*[party status_1/2]*	*[party status_1/2]*
Career	*[career_1/2/3/4]*	*[career_1/2/3/4]*
Policy	*[policy_1/2/3/4/5]*	*[policy_1/2/3/4/5]*

[Interviewer: Please show the tablet screen with two options, and select the one that the respondent tells you].

☐ 1. Candidate 1 ☐ 2. Candidate 2 ☐ *888. [DK]* ☐ *999. [RA]*

D102b.. Now imagine two candidates for **the National Assembly**. The first candidate is a *[age1/2] year old [gender1/2] candidate from [province1/2] with a [education 1/2/3/4] degree. This candidate is a [nomination1/2] [party1/2] with [experience 1/2/3] experience working in the government. [policy1/2/3/4/5]]*.

The second candidate is a *[age1/2] old [gender1/2] candidate from [province1/2] with a [education 1/2/3/4] degree. This candidate is a [party1/2] with [experience 1/2/3] experience working in the government. [policy1/2/3/4/5]].* Which candidate would you vote for? Please feel free to look at the candidate's profile on the screen.

[Programmer: Fill in the boxes with the characteristics of Candidate 1 and Candidate 2]		
	Candidate 1	Candidate 2
Age	*[age_1/2]*	*[age_1/2]*
Gender	*[gender_1/2]*	*[gender_1/2]*
Province	*[province_1/2]*	*[province_1/2]*

Education	*[education_1/2/3/4]*	*[education_1/2/3/4]*
Nomination	*[nomination 1/2]*	*[nomination 1/2]*
Party Membership	*[party status_1/2]*	*[party status_1/2]*
Policy	*[policy_1/2/3/4/5]*	*[policy_1/2/3/4/5]*
Experience	*[experience 1/2/3]*	*[experience 1/2/3]*

[Interviewer: Please show the tablet screen with two options, and select the one that the respondent tells you].

☐ 1. Candidate 1 ☐ 2. Candidate 2 ☐ *888. [DK]* ☐ *999. [RA]*

Appendix I: Full Question Wording of Follow-Up Question

D102a1/b1/c1/d1. What <u>is the most</u> important factor in choosing this candidate?

- ☐8. Their policy priorities match your own
- ☐6. They have the ability to work within the system
- ☐5. They will not bring major change
- ☐4. They have relevant education
- ☐3. They have leadership skills
- ☐2. They have relevant work experience
- ☐1. They represent your locality
- ☐7. Other (please specify)……☐ ***888. [DK]*** ☐ ***999. [RA]***

Appendix J: Full Regression Results of Conjoint Analysis for Table 5

	PAPI Survey 2016				PAPI Survey 2017				PAPI Survey 2018 Jobs				PAPI Survey 2018 Experience			
DV Vote for Candidate=1	All	No Falsify	Econ. Neutral	Full Spec	All	No Falsify	Econ. Neutral	Full Spec	All	No Falsify	Econ. Neutral	Full Spec	All	No Falsify	Econ. Neutral	Full Spec
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
Party Member	0.142***	0.070**	0.151***	0.104***	0.111***	0.096***	0.105***	0.088**	0.142***	0.101***	0.153***	0.134***	0.127***	0.018	0.122***	0.023
	(0.012)	(0.031)	(0.013)	(0.037)	(0.013)	(0.034)	(0.016)	(0.038)	(0.012)	(0.035)	(0.014)	(0.043)	(0.012)	(0.039)	(0.014)	(0.048)
Gov. Nominated	0.066***	0.086**	0.069***	0.051	0.055***	0.044	0.047***	-0.000	0.054***	0.080**	0.051***	0.081*	0.062***	0.081**	0.063***	0.084*
	(0.012)	(0.033)	(0.013)	(0.038)	(0.011)	(0.034)	(0.015)	(0.041)	(0.010)	(0.034)	(0.012)	(0.046)	(0.011)	(0.039)	(0.012)	(0.046)
Young Candidate	0.021	0.022	0.016	-0.026	0.075***	0.084**	0.085***	0.094*	0.058***	0.089**	0.042***	0.068	0.057***	0.104***	0.076***	0.131***
	(0.014)	(0.042)	(0.016)	(0.042)	(0.011)	(0.040)	(0.013)	(0.048)	(0.013)	(0.038)	(0.015)	(0.041)	(0.012)	(0.032)	(0.014)	(0.040)
Male	-0.019*	-0.057	-0.017	-0.100***	-0.008	-0.041	-0.000	-0.044	-0.002	-0.049	0.004	-0.034	0.032***	0.057	0.021*	0.048
	(0.011)	(0.034)	(0.012)	(0.037)	(0.012)	(0.037)	(0.013)	(0.039)	(0.012)	(0.040)	(0.015)	(0.045)	(0.010)	(0.036)	(0.011)	(0.046)
Home Province	0.105***	0.094***	0.111***	0.095**	0.066	-0.106	0.067	-0.169	-0.002	-0.010	-0.001	-0.006	-0.002	-0.008	-0.001	-0.023
	(0.011)	(0.034)	(0.013)	(0.044)	(0.045)	(0.150)	(0.044)	(0.160)	(0.007)	(0.031)	(0.008)	(0.044)	(0.007)	(0.030)	(0.009)	(0.041)
Mass Organization	0.066***	0.104***	0.067***	0.134***	0.047***	0.012	0.039**	-0.042	0.004	-0.052	-0.010	-0.074				
	(0.012)	(0.033)	(0.014)	(0.036)	(0.013)	(0.049)	(0.017)	(0.060)	(0.017)	(0.051)	(0.020)	(0.057)				
Doctor					-0.005	-0.046	-0.009	0.023	-0.029*	-0.082	-0.036	-0.117*				
					(0.018)	(0.060)	(0.020)	(0.071)	(0.018)	(0.051)	(0.023)	(0.062)				
Lawyer					0.004	-0.110**	-0.006	-0.015	0.015	-0.065	-0.013	-0.101				
					(0.019)	(0.052)	(0.023)	(0.065)	(0.016)	(0.053)	(0.021)	(0.071)				
Bachelors					0.112***	0.271***	0.123***	0.184***	0.116***	0.210***	0.112***	0.268***	0.094***	0.202***	0.112***	0.216***
					(0.019)	(0.055)	(0.023)	(0.062)	(0.020)	(0.064)	(0.025)	(0.073)	(0.020)	(0.057)	(0.023)	(0.065)
Masters					0.150***	0.226***	0.168***	0.168**	0.159***	0.225***	0.161***	0.226***	0.138***	0.202***	0.139***	0.170**
					(0.019)	(0.067)	(0.024)	(0.068)	(0.021)	(0.066)	(0.025)	(0.082)	(0.021)	(0.063)	(0.024)	(0.066)
Doctorate					0.178***	0.279***	0.217***	0.238***	0.160***	0.292***	0.162***	0.313***	0.165***	0.188***	0.161***	0.200***
					(0.019)	(0.057)	(0.022)	(0.059)	(0.020)	(0.068)	(0.023)	(0.082)	(0.018)	(0.065)	(0.024)	(0.072)
Trade	-0.072***	-0.071	-0.069***	-0.010	-0.045**	-0.044	-0.048**	-0.119*	-0.045**	-0.059	-0.066***	-0.068	-0.030	-0.069	-0.028	-0.029
	(0.017)	(0.049)	(0.018)	(0.058)	(0.019)	(0.062)	(0.023)	(0.069)	(0.021)	(0.056)	(0.023)	(0.060)	(0.019)	(0.060)	(0.022)	(0.064)
Poverty	0.117***	0.138***	0.119***	0.228***	0.111***	0.173***	0.116***	0.208***	0.055***	0.049	0.055**	0.033	0.065***	0.032	0.051**	0.056
	(0.017)	(0.047)	(0.018)	(0.057)	(0.017)	(0.059)	(0.021)	(0.069)	(0.019)	(0.057)	(0.022)	(0.063)	(0.018)	(0.052)	(0.023)	(0.060)
Environment	0.012	0.018	0.019	0.099*	0.024	0.018	0.004	0.087	-0.007	-0.011	-0.005	-0.026	0.014	0.004	0.004	0.036
	(0.016)	(0.049)	(0.018)	(0.054)	(0.021)	(0.071)	(0.020)	(0.081)	(0.017)	(0.060)	(0.023)	(0.071)	(0.020)	(0.058)	(0.021)	(0.066)
No Policy					-0.133***	-0.146***	-0.149***	-0.109*	0.004	-0.018	-0.001	-0.024	0.011	-0.001	0.002	0.007
					(0.018)	(0.054)	(0.020)	(0.065)	(0.014)	(0.051)	(0.016)	(0.068)	(0.015)	(0.055)	(0.017)	(0.063)
Experience=0 year													-0.238***	-0.288***	-0.242***	-0.345***
													(0.013)	(0.043)	(0.016)	(0.053)
Experience=5 year													-0.062***	-0.125***	-0.043**	-0.108*
													(0.015)	(0.045)	(0.016)	(0.056)
Only non-falsifiers	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Only economy neutral	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	25,684	2,442	19,104	1,804	23,360	2,058	17,212	1,512	10,549	1,208	7,750	852	10,491	1,133	7,758	841
R-Squared	0.060	0.053	0.064	0.083	0.063	0.113	0.073	0.127	0.041	0.059	0.044	0.069	0.079	0.097	0.083	0.121
Baseline Probability	0.501	0.514	0.503	0.522	0.502	0.504	0.502	0.496	0.498	0.500	0.498	0.503	0.501	0.501	0.501	0.507
F	63.66	7.501	54.78	9.125	34.35	7.249	22.95	6.358	14.70	3.011	14.25	2.566	47.76	6.384	37.29	4.888
Strata	125	125	125	124	125	123	125	121	125	120	125	114	125	120	125	116
Primary Sampling Units	207	207	207	202	207	202	207	193	207	192	207	177	207	189	207	173
Post-Stratification Units	63	63	63	63	63	63	63	63	63	63	63	63	63	63	63	63

Linear probability with marginal probabilities shown. Standard errors, clustered at province, district, and commune in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1). 2018 results are divided into two panels based on whether respondents was exposed to career or experience treatment. "No falsification" includes only the respondents who said in a direct question that they would vote for a non-party candidate (see Appendix E for the question). "Econ neutral" includes only those who were neither positive nor negative on current economic situation (see Appendix E). The full specification includes the subset that was both neutral and directly expressed willingness to support non-party candidate.

Appendix K: Balance by Treatment Conditions

Confounder		Constant		Treatment 1: No Policy		Treatment 2: Experience		Treatment 1 * Treatment 2		Observations
(1)	Respondent is male==1	0.472***	(0.008)	0.010	(0.015)	-0.001	(0.013)	0.003	(0.029)	28,366
(2)	Age	49.714***	(0.250)	-0.131	(0.359)	-0.118	(0.258)	-0.084	(0.516)	28,340
(3)	Years in commune	37.749***	(0.451)	-0.351	(0.471)	-0.191	(0.357)	0.710	(0.723)	28,198
(4)	Commune resident==1	0.990***	(0.001)	0.001	(0.003)	0.000	(0.002)	0.007**	(0.003)	28,360
(5)	Ethnic Vietnamese (kinh)	0.879***	(0.012)	-0.006	(0.009)	0.010	(0.007)	0.022*	(0.013)	28,264
(6)	Level of education (1-10)	5.110***	(0.061)	0.066	(0.063)	0.143**	(0.056)	-0.071	(0.102)	28,338
(7)	Household members	4.542***	(0.038)	0.031	(0.064)	-0.029	(0.039)	0.019	(0.116)	28,366
(8)	Employed in agriculture==1	0.383***	(0.012)	-0.012	(0.015)	-0.001	(0.013)	0.007	(0.025)	28,366
(10)	Professional employment==1	0.090***	(0.006)	0.004	(0.008)	0.003	(0.007)	-0.006	(0.016)	28,366
(11)	Works in government=1	0.097***	(0.005)	0.001	(0.008)	0.007	(0.007)	0.002	(0.016)	28,366
(12)	Works for state enterprise==1	0.029***	(0.004)	-0.004	(0.004)	-0.002	(0.004)	0.021**	(0.010)	28,366
(13)	Works for private sector=1	0.033***	(0.003)	0.008	(0.007)	0.005	(0.004)	-0.009	(0.010)	28,366
(14)	Party member=1	0.104***	(0.005)	0.009	(0.009)	0.003	(0.008)	-0.002	(0.017)	28,366
(15)	Labor union member=1	0.019***	(0.002)	-0.001	(0.004)	0.005	(0.003)	0.009	(0.008)	28,366
(16)	Voted for non-party=1	0.565***	(0.029)	0.019	(0.061)	-0.096*	(0.051)	0.130	(0.113)	1,226
(17)	Would vote for non-party=1	0.503***	(0.014)	-0.004	(0.033)	-0.020	(0.022)	0.021	(0.059)	6,088

Each row represents an OLS regression. Standard errors, clustered at province, district, and commune in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1).