The Single-Party Dictator's Dilemma
Information in Elections without Opposition

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Web Appendix 1: Descriptive Statistics on Key Variables

Variables Used in Analysis	All Delegates					Central Nominees				
Dependent Variables	**N**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Low**	**High**	**N**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Low**	**High**
Vote Share	493	73.40	11.00	50.03	99.07	153	77.05	10.77	51.46	99.07
Elected to National Assembly (Dummy)	875	0.56	0.50	0.00	1.00	164	0.93	0.26	0.00	1.00
Electioneering Mechanisms	**N**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Low**	**High**	**N**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Low**	**High**
District Competitiveness Index	875	4.62	1.75	1.00	11.00	164	3.65	1.53	1.00	8.00
Delegate in Easy (5/3) District	875	0.70	0.46	0.00	1.00	164	0.72	0.45	0.00	1.00
Elite Candidates	**N**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Low**	**High**	**N**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Low**	**High**
Central Nominated Candidate	875	0.19	0.39	0.00	1.00	164	1.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
Member of Central Committee	875	0.09	0.28	0.00	1.00	164	0.34	0.47	0.00	1.00
Member of Politburo	875	0.01	0.11	0.00	1.00	164	0.06	0.24	0.00	1.00
Candiate Demographics	**N**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Low**	**High**	**N**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Low**	**High**
Male Dummy	875	0.65	0.48	0.00	1.00	164	0.87	0.34	0.00	1.00
Minority Dummy	875	0.19	0.39	0.00	1.00	164	0.09	0.28	0.00	1.00
Religious (Dummy)	875	0.03	0.18	0.00	1.00	164	0.03	0.17	0.00	1.00
Age (Years)	875	47.32	31.81	22.00	80.00	164	51.69	8.91	37.00	80.00
Degree (1 HS to 5 Professor)	875	44.95	9.19	22.00	80.00	164	1.96	1.03	0.00	5.00
Candidate ran in home district	875	0.59	0.49	0.00	1.00	164	0.26	0.44	0.00	1.00
Candiate Political Controls	**N**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Low**	**High**	**N**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Low**	**High**
Member of Communist Party	875	0.83	0.37	0.00	1.00	164	0.93	0.25	0.00	1.00
Incumbency (Previous Terms in NA)	875	0.24	0.57	0.00	4.00	164	0.74	0.91	0.00	4.00
Member of Local Legislature (Dummy)	875	0.25	0.44	0.00	1.00	164	0.05	0.23	0.00	1.00
Private Business Owner	875	0.08	0.27	0.00	1.00	164	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Provincial-Level Controls	**N**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Low**	**High**	**N**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Low**	**High**
South	875	0.53	0.50	0.00	1.00	164	0.52	0.50	0.00	1.00
Transfers	875	159.16	107.28	28.97	618.15	164	161.79	109.01	28.97	618.15
Transfers*South	64.82	77.46	0.00	0.00	165.00	164	64.16	77.84	0.00	307.93
GDP per Capita (LN)	875	15.47	0.54	4.57	17.64	164	15.46	0.54	14.57	17.64
Secondary School Gradudates	875	92.44	6.31	74.74	99.87	164	92.44	6.33	74.74	99.87
Corruption*	875	0.48	0.08	0.29	0.60	164	0.48	0.08	0.29	0.60
Telephones per Capita	875	0.28	0.20	0.06	0.99	164	0.27	0.20	0.06	0.99

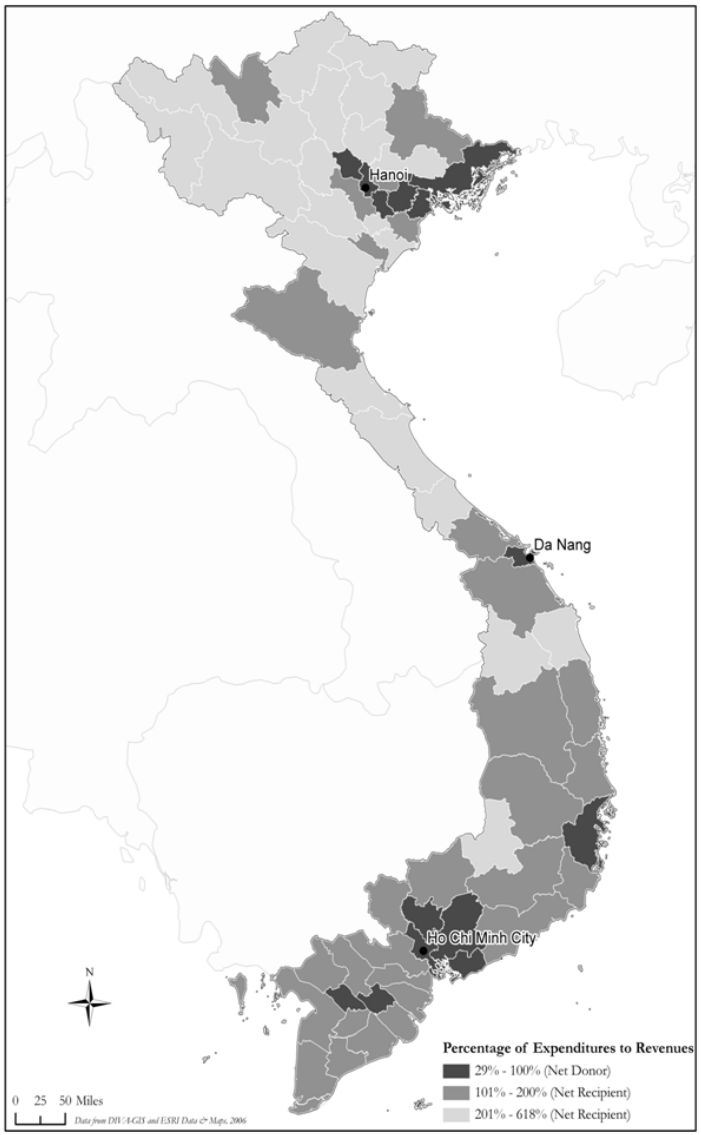
Dummy = Dichotmous Variable; LN = Natural Log; *Proportion of Small Businesses answering that provincial official officials use regulations to extract rents.

Web Appendix 2: Bivariate Correlations of Key Variables

	Independent Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1	Vote Share	1																							
2	Elected to National Assembly (Dummy)	NA	1																						
3	District Competitiveness Index	-0.1291*	-0.2984*	1																					
4	Delegate in Easy (5/3) District	0.3026*	0.1130*	0.2407*	1																				
5	Central Nominated Candidate	0.2283*	0.3529*	-0.2691*	0.0182	1																			
6	Member of Central Committee	0.3056*	0.2701*	-0.1633*	0.0604	0.4283*	1																		
7	Member of Politburo	0.2052*	0.0949*	-0.1001*	0.0477	0.2239*	0.3512*	1																	
8	Male Dummy	0.1737*	0.1723*	-0.1072*	-0.0205	0.2201*	0.1494*	0.0569	1																
9	Minority Dummy	0.0855	-0.0437	0.0568	0.0635	-0.1300*	-0.056	-0.0251	-0.1923*	1															
10	Religious (Dummy)	-0.0733	-0.0297	-0.0479	-0.0720*	-0.0071	-0.0567	-0.0199	0.0166	0.1367*	1														
11	Age (Years)	0.1909*	0.3094*	-0.1830*	-0.0121	0.3523*	0.2314*	0.1165*	0.3989*	-0.2000*	0.1428*	1													
12	Degree (1 HS to 5 Professor)	0.0154	0.2455*	-0.1324*	-0.051	0.3701*	0.2396*	0.0619	0.1302*	-0.2240*	-0.0935*	0.1619*	1												
13	Candidate ran in home district	0.1731*	-0.0487	0.0674*	0.1218*	-0.3248*	-0.0879*	-0.0863*	-0.1040*	0.2550*	0.036	-0.1754*	-0.2499*	1											
14	Member of Communist Party	0.1359*	0.2449*	-0.0943*	0.0529	0.1274*	0.1365*	0.0479	0.1980*	-0.1339*	-0.2266*	0.2540*	0.1699*	-0.0866*	1										
15	Incumbency (Previous Terms in NA)	0.1466*	0.3292*	-0.1938*	-0.0067	0.4158*	0.3483*	0.3114*	0.1039*	0.0066	0.0109	0.2862*	0.1299*	-0.0772*	0.1135*	1									
16	Member of Local Legislature (Dummy)	0.1424*	0.1565*	-0.0198	0.0159	-0.2204*	-0.0198	-0.0629	0.1029*	0.0811*	-0.0057	0.1116*	-0.0819*	0.1361*	0.1478*	-0.0872*	1								
17	Private Business Owner	-0.1649*	-0.2291*	0.0801*	-0.0555	-0.1405*	-0.0896*	-0.0315	0.0299	-0.0780*	0.0406	-0.0954*	-0.1115*	-0.0605	-0.3714*	-0.1164*	-0.0933*	1							
18	South	-0.3850*	-0.0327	-0.0884*	-0.2262*	-0.0119	-0.0846*	-0.0484	0.0531	-0.1576*	0.1251*	0.0638	0.0483	-0.2040*	0.0681*	0.0112	-0.0104	0.0068	1						
19	Transfers	0.3832*	0.0345	0.1571*	0.2804*	0.0128	0.0459	-0.0224	-0.029	0.4387*	-0.0384	-0.1083*	-0.1531*	0.1756*	0.0362	-0.0212	0.0950*	-0.1393*	-0.3502*	1					
20	Transfers*South	-0.1519*	-0.0074	-0.0579	-0.0622	-0.0056	-0.0747*	-0.0662	0.0344	-0.0244	0.1177*	0.0037	-0.0522	-0.0871*	0.0710*	0.001	0.0216	-0.0497	0.7961*	-0.0143	1				
21	GDP per Capita (LN)	-0.3853*	-0.0429	-0.0593	-0.2816*	-0.0116	-0.0211	0.0292	0.0445	-0.2891*	0.0479	0.1418*	0.1630*	-0.3401*	-0.0381	0.0213	-0.0774*	0.1213*	0.3386*	-0.7369*	-0.0673*	1			
22	Secondary School Gradudates	0.0905*	-0.0005	0.0493	0.0122	-0.0001	0.0458	0.0493	-0.0498	-0.1288*	-0.0788*	0.0299	0.0531	0.0466	-0.0780*	0.0225	-0.018	0.0844*	-0.5629*	-0.1957*	-0.6207*	0.1302*	1		
23	Corruption**	0.1055*	-0.0018	0.0622	-0.0299	-0.0036	0.0534	0.0658	-0.0384	0.015	-0.1177*	0.0184	0.0452	-0.0569	-0.0852*	0.0071	0.0018	0.0710*	-0.6097*	0.0131	-0.6580*	0.0315	0.6452*	1	
24	Telephones per Capita	-0.3029*	-0.036	0.0489	-0.2323*	-0.0098	-0.0101	0.056	0.0015	-0.1885*	0.0349	0.0856*	0.2047*	-0.3161*	-0.0468	0.0465	-0.0442	0.1132*	0.1645*	-0.5651*	-0.1322*	0.7230*	0.2614*	0.1779*	1

Dummy = Dichotmous Variable; LN = Natural Log; * Significant at the 0.05 level; **Proportion of Small Businesses answering that provincial official officials use regulations to extract rents.

Web Appendix 3: Transfers-Dependence by Province in 2006



Web Appendix 4: Vote Totals and Seat Competitiveness for Elite Candidates			
Candidate/Type (N)	**Electoral Result**	**Electoral District Competitiveness**	
		5/3 District	*Strength of Opposition*
Nguyen Tan Dung (Prime Minister)	99.07	YES	1
Nguyen Sinh Hung (Deputy PM)	97.06	YES	2
Phung Quang Thanh (Minister of Defense)	95.67	YES	3
Nong Duc Manh (General Secretary)	91.35	YES	1
Ho Duc Viet (Chair of VCP Org'l Comission)	89.72	YES	5
Nguyen Minh Triet (President)	89.68	YES	2
Nguyen Phu Trong (President of VNA)	88.12	YES	5
Pham Gia Khiem (Deputy PM)	86.44	YES	4
Nguyen Van Chi (Chair of VCP Inspectorate)	80.31	YES	4
Le Hong Anh (Minister of Public Security)	73.24	NO	3
Politburo Avg. (10)	***89.07***	***90.0%***	***3.00***
Central Committee Avg. (75)	***81.34***	***78.7%***	***3.69***
Central Nominee Avg. (164)	***77.05****	***71.5%***	***3.65***
Other Avg. (711)	***71.75****	***69.2%***	***4.85***

* Number applies to winners only. Losing percentages were not announced publically.

Web Appendix 5: Provincial Determinants of Candidate Placement

Independent/Dependent Variable	5/3 District		Power Ranking	
Model	*Central Nominee*	*Central Committee*	*Central Nominee*	*Central Committee*
South	-0.212**	-0.562***	0.561*	-0.424
	(0.108)	(0.170)	(0.299)	(0.618)
Transfers	0.00137**	0.00171**	0.00384**	0.00180
	(0.000669)	(0.000676)	(0.00188)	(0.00283)
Male Dummy	0.262*	-0.0609**	0.145	-0.00410
	(0.139)	(0.0301)	(0.385)	(0.702)
Religious (Dummy)	-0.306		-0.498	
	(0.195)		(0.569)	
Age (Years)	-0.00116	-0.0624**	0.0914	-0.0258
	(0.0399)	(0.0257)	(0.123)	(0.197)
Degree (1 HS to 5 Professor)	-0.00451	0.00398	-0.0127	-0.0324
	(0.00395)	(0.00347)	(0.0148)	(0.0217)
GDP per Capita (LN)	-0.00509	0.269**	-0.0650	0.0251
	(0.140)	(0.130)	(0.287)	(0.518)
Secondary School Gradudates	0.00487	0.00959**	0.00535	-0.0397
	(0.00619)	(0.00478)	(0.0226)	(0.0335)
Corruption	-1.113	-2.558***	0.981	-2.201
	(0.695)	(0.808)	(1.784)	(3.118)
Telephones per Capita	0.0856	0.0651	0.797	1.857**
	(0.282)	(0.172)	(0.697)	(0.830)
Constant			2.922	9.191
			(5.011)	(8.061)
Observations	164	75	164	75
Clusters	64	64	64	64
R-squared	0.162	0.424	0.065	0.092
ll	-82.35	-22.38	-296.8	-139.2
chi2	33.54	36.38		

Robust standard errors, clustered at province level, in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1;
Dummy = Dichotmous Variable; LN = Natural Log; Models 1& 2 display marginal probabilities from Probit Model. Models 3 and 4 display coefficients from OLS Regression.

Web Appendix 6: Actual and Simulated District Competitiveness Scores

(Difference in Means)

Candidate Type	*N*	*Actual*	*Random*	*Diff*	*T-Statistic*	*P-Value*
Central Nominees	165	3.646	4.622	-0.976	-4.567	0.0000
		(0.120)	(0.177)	(0.214)		
Central Committee	75	3.693	4.680	-0.987	-2.869	0.0047
		(0.189)	(0.287)	(0.344)		
Politburo	10	3.000	5.200	-2.200	-3.091	0.0063
		(1.934)	(0.533)	(0.712)		
Other Candiates	691	4.875	5.001	-0.126	-1.182	0.2373
		(0.065)	(0.084)	(0.106)		

Mean values with standard errors in parentheses. Actual is the district competitiveness faced by delegated, while Random provides the district competitiveness calculated after candidates were assigned to districts randomly.

Web Appendix 7: Determinants of Favored Candidates: Replication Through Random District Assignment

Independent/Dependent	A. Candidates Per Seat (Marginal Probability of Easy District)			B. Power Ranking (1-11 Point Scale)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Centrally Nominated	-0.0207	0.0143	-0.0120	-0.397*	-0.174	-0.265
	(0.0402)	(0.0446)	(0.0350)	(0.203)	(0.235)	(0.222)
Politburo	0.0890	0.0893	-0.00668	0.616	0.712	0.440
	(0.125)	(0.120)	(0.113)	(0.539)	(0.504)	(0.645)
Constant			0.794***	4.982***	6.505***	6.135***
			(0.106)	(0.0832)	(0.440)	(0.485)
Provincial Fixed Effects	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Demographic Variables (Yes/No)	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	875	875	875	875	875	875
(Pseudo) R-Squared	0.000554	0.0178	0.495	0.00480	0.0319	0.247
Root Mean Squared Error			0.331	2.225	2.202	2.016
Log Likelihood	-513.8	-504.9				
Chi-Squared	0.561	16.48				

Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

This Table replicates Table 2, but with random assignment of delegates to districts. Models 1-2: Marginal Effects of Probit Implemented Using STATA (Dependent Variable: Candidates-Per-Seat Measured as Binary: 1 if 5/3 District and 0 if Other); Models 3-6: OLS Regression in STATA (Dependent Variable: Power Score measured 1 (easy district) to 11 (hard district)); Demographic Variables Include: Gender, Age, Ethnicity, Education, and Birthplace of Candidate; Provincial Fixed Effects include all 64 Provinces. Model 3 employs OLS, as several provincial fixed effects perfectly predict 1, causing a loss of many observations.

Appendix 8: Effectiveness of Manipulation on Probability of Election and Vote Share

Independent/Dependent Variable	Result	Vote Share
Model	*Provincial FE* (4)	*Provincial FE* (8)
District Competitiveness Index	-0.00860	-0.0200
	(0.00944)	(0.252)
Placement in Easy (5/3) District	-0.0932*	0.152
	(0.0544)	(1.394)
Male Dummy	0.0277	2.243*
	(0.0443)	(1.152)
Minority Dummy	0.0541	-0.622
	(0.0608)	(1.408)
Religious (Dummy)	-0.0945	-6.226***
	(0.125)	(2.144)
Age (Years)	0.0103***	0.260***
	(0.00278)	(0.0634)
Degree (1 HS to 5 Professor)	0.163***	0.379
	(0.0309)	(0.594)
Candidate ran in home district	0.0184	2.848***
	(0.0459)	(1.077)
Member of Communist Party	0.116*	2.550*
	(0.0647)	(1.402)
Incumbency (Previous Terms in NA)	0.441***	2.062***
	(0.0663)	(0.761)
Member of Local Legislature (Dummy)	0.194***	2.789***
	(0.0398)	(0.920)
Private Business Owner	-0.269***	-6.833***
	(0.0791)	(2.470)
Constant		50.34***
		(4.254)
Provincial Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Observations	875	492
Clusters	64	64
R-squared/Pseudo R-Squared	0.248	0.377
Log Likelihood	-599.7	
Chi-Squared	214.9	

This Table replicates Table 3 but delegates randomly assigned to districts. Robust standard errors, clustered at province level, in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1; Dummy = Dichotmous Variable; LN = Natural Log. For Models 1-4, dependent variable is whether candidate was elected to Vietnamese Natiional Assembly or not. Marginal Effects of Probit implemented in STATA, For Models 5 -9, OLS implemented in STATA, coefficients displayed.