



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

INCUMBENT REELECTION AND ELECTORAL ACCOUNTABILITY: A case study of the 2022 Brazilian Elections

Nes, Demi van de

Citation

Nes, D. van de. (2022). *INCUMBENT REELECTION AND ELECTORAL ACCOUNTABILITY: A case study of the 2022 Brazilian Elections*.

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [student](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3485886>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Since the democratization of Latin America, various countries allowed their incumbents to run for reelection. Most of these incumbent leaders were reelected in sequential presidential elections. With the democratic dividend theory in mind, this paper analyzed which factors increase the likelihood of incumbent reelection chances.

Democratic dividend theory argues that democracies provide more merits to their population than non-democracies due to higher levels of democratic accountability (Cheibub & Przeworski, 1999). Democratic accountability – the extent to which the position of the leaders depends on their population – is at the core of democracies and forms the basis of the legitimacy of democratic regimes (Olsen, 2013). To reach legitimacy, the electorate must expose their consent to the regime, which is done through accountability (Olsen, 2013). The population could punish or reward its leaders for their past actions and thereby weaken or strengthen their leaders' position. Therefore, to stay in power, a democratically elected leader needs to act in the best interest of the population (Cheibub & Przeworski, 1999).

The rewarding and punishing of democratically elected leaders are exercised through elections. The electorate holds their government accountable for their past actions by either reelecting or rejecting them (Barreda, 2014; Kenney, 2003). Via elections, the electorate can hold their government accountable, i.e., electoral accountability. In other words, the electorate could approve an official's position through elections and thereby, ensure the legitimacy of the democratic rule in a country (Cheibub & Przeworski, 1999). Therefore, the officials need to act in the interest of their electorate, i.e., provide merits for their electorate. These merits, or demerits, could impact the future position of democratically elected leaders. Thus, this raises the question of for which merits is electoral accountability most prone. Or in our case, *to which provided merits, and demerits, is the Latin American electoral accountability prone regarding the reelection of incumbents?*

The analysis consists of two parts: I) a cross-country multi-level regression analysis on the impact of various variables on the likelihood of incumbent reelections, and II) a case study on the 2022 Presidential elections in Brazil, based on semi-structured interviews with experts in the field. The first analysis showed a significant positive relationship between GDP growth and the likelihood of incumbent reelection, *ceteris paribus*. Moreover, the variable corruption 'control ratings' is also significant and positively related to the likelihood of incumbent reelection. This complies with hypothesis I: *Economic setbacks in the last year of an incumbent's term decrease their chances of reelection*, and hypothesis III: *A higher level of corruption decreases the incumbent's chances of reelection*. Other variables had no significant relationship with the incumbent's

chances of reelection. Referring to the theory, these outcomes show that electoral accountability is prone to economic voting (GDP growth) and corruption. An incumbent running for reelection could increase its reelection chances by providing merits concerning the GDP growth and corruption ratings.

The second analysis re-emphasized the importance of economic factors in the 2022 Brazilian Presidential elections, and democratic elections in general. According to the interviewees, GDP growth, inflation, and unemployment play an important role in the possible reelection of Bolsonaro. As the current Brazilian economic situation is not in its best shape, Bolsonaro's reelection chances could be reduced. Corruption is seen as a less important issue than during the 2018 elections. As the interviewees argue, Bolsonaro is not known as a corrupt politician and even after firing former Minister of Justice Sergio Moro, Bolsonaro did not collapse in the polls. This raises the question of how strong the corruption vote is in Brazil. Other influencing variables opted during the interviews are the position of the Evangelicals and health care.

These results bring an answer to the question *which provided merits, and demerits, is the Latin American electoral accountability prone to the reelection of incumbents?* Based on the conducted analysis, electoral accountability is strong in GDP growth and corruption. E.g., improvements in the GDP growth and corruption control impact the reelection likelihood of Latin American incumbents positively. However, electoral accountability in other policy fields, such as democratization, freedom of the press, receiving foreign money, the presence of rally events, unemployment ratings, and inflation, is not strong. Based on this conclusion, the question raised could be if the electorate only cares about GDP growth and corruption control, and whether those other policy fields are outside the scope of the government's accountability. If this is the case, the legitimacy of these policies could be questioned.

As already discussed in the quantitative analysis, the lack of significance of the various proposed factors and the reelection of incumbents could lie with other (de)merits. Concerning economics, the economic diversity of Latin American countries differs. Therefore, some countries are more prone to changes in international interest rates and commodity prices. In the qualitative analysis, these factors have been highlighted by Campello too. Especially concerning Brazil, a low-saving-commodity-exporting country, changes in international interest rates and commodity prices might be influential. Campello argued that these internationally determining variables are out of the reach of the Brazilian government to impact. However, they express themselves in domestic economic factors, i.e., GDP, unemployment, and inflation. Therefore, it might be interesting to reconduct the analysis, including these international economic factors instead of domestic economic variables, which are impacted by the international variables.

Besides excluding possibly other influential variables, other limitations could have impacted the quantitative results, e.g., the inclusion of inflation, which has also been highlighted in the interview with Campello.²⁶ Latin America faced episodes of hyperinflation. Although this period was mainly present during the 1980s, some hyperinflation dates were also included in our analysis. This could cause a bias in our analysis. It might be beneficial to exclude this data from the analysis as it could determine whether inflation has a significant impact on the reelection likelihood of incumbents.

A third limitation concerns the design of the dataset. The statistical analysis included 46 cases divided over 11 countries. However, due to the high level of missing cases, none of the models included all cases. This decreases the accuracy of the models and the entire analysis. The analysis would gain more strength if either more cases, or less variables were included. All these statistical improvements in the analysis, allow for further in-depth research on the effect of electoral accountability on incumbent leaders.

Nevertheless, the findings of this paper pose several implications. First, for the Latin American region, the importance of economic voting is re-emphasized. For democratic leaders focusing on reelection, the economic situation in their country could be of great importance. Although the quantitative analysis shows that especially GDP growth is of importance, the qualitative analysis argues differently. Therefore, it is impossible to conclude whether the electoral accountability is impacted by one specific economic variable or by the overall living standard in general. Nonetheless, for incumbents, knowing that their accountability to the electorate is likely to be based (partly) on the economic situation might be helpful in further reelection situations. With this knowledge, both the incumbents and new candidates for the presidency could design their policies and election campaigns to gain the presidential seat.

Second, specific to the highlighted situation in Brazil, and especially for Bolsonaro, it is too soon to predict or assume the possible reelection of Bolsonaro. Time already caught up by Moro's withdrawal and Alckamin's appointment as Lula's running-mate (Moro, 2022a, 2022b; Paraguassu, 2022). Therefore, when reading this paper, some part may have become inaccurate. Nevertheless, the importance of the economic situation was stressed as well. As the Brazilian electorate has been impacted by the economic situation before (e.g., the reelection of Lula), the current economic situation might be an interesting environment for a new election. During the 2022 elections in Brazil, to gain votes, the opposition could frame the current economic situation negatively. Especially, as Lula – possibly Bolsonaro's biggest opponent – lifted Brazil out of desperate economic times. If the Brazilian electoral accountability is prone to economic (de)merits, this could harm Bolsonaro's election outcomes. However, as stressed before, a lot can happen before October 2022.

²⁶ See transcript in Appendix 8, interview Campello.

Third, knowing which (de)merits impact the Latin American electoral accountability could assist the evaluations and analysis of Latin American elections. When the experts and journalists are aware of the (de)merits to which the Latin American electorate is prone and for which types of policies the incumbent leaders could be punished or rewarded, it could ease the analysis of the possible loss or win of an incumbent. Furthermore, on the theory of democratic dividend, the importance of economic voting and corruption creates a base to which (de)merits the electorate is prone. These outcomes assume a certain level of democratic legitimacy on such policies.

For further research, it might be interesting to dive further into the notion of economic voting, as both the qualitative and quantitative analyses highlight the importance of economic factors in the reelection of incumbents. Knowing to which economic factors the Latin American electoral accountability is prone, and to which economic policies or situations an incumbent could be rewarded or punished, could increase the relationship between economic voting and electoral accountability in the region.

In short, the conducted analyses emphasized the importance of economic voting and, to an extent, corruption ratings for Latin American electoral accountability. In the view of the democratic dividend theory, incumbents could increase their reelection chances when offering merits on these policy areas. Contrary, demerits concerning the economic situation or corruption ratings could decrease the incumbent's popularity and therefore, its corruption chances. Projecting these outcomes on our case, the Brazilian 2022 Presidential elections, one could assume that the current economic situation is going to play a major role. When this is the case, Bolsonaro's prospect is not too good.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agência Brasil. (2020, April 17). *Mandetta anuncia saída do Ministério da Saúde*. Retrieved January 13, 2022, from <https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/saude/noticia/2020-04/mandetta-anuncia-saida-do-ministerio-da-saude>

Agência Brasil. (2021, February 26). *Primeiro caso de covid-19 no Brasil completa um ano*. Retrieved January 13, 2022, from <https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/saude/noticia/2021-02/primeiro-caso-de-covid-19-no-brasil-completa-um-ano>

Al Jazeera. (2021a, March 30). *Bolsonaro, under pressure over COVID crisis, reshuffles cabinet*. *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/3/29/brazil-foreign-defence-ministers-resign-in-blow-to-bolsonaro>

Al Jazeera. (2021b, March 30). *Brazil replacing military chiefs after Bolsonaro cabinet shake-up*. *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/3/30/brazil-replacing-military-chiefs-after-bolsonaro-cabinet-shake-up>

Amaral, C. (2018, September 8). *Suspeito disse que atentado contra Bolsonaro foi “a mando de Deus”, segundo boletim de ocorrência*. *G1*. <https://g1.globo.com/mg/minas-gerais/noticia/2018/09/06/suspeito-disse-que-atentado-contra-bolsonaro-foi-a-mando-de-deus-segundo-boletim-de-ocorrencia.ghtml>

Anderson, C. (1995). *Blaming the Government: Citizens and the Economy in Five European Democracies*. Armonk, NY [etc.]: M.E. Sharpe.

Andeweg, R. B., & Irwin, G. A. (2014). *Governance and Politics of the Netherlands*. Macmillan Publishers.

- Arnold, J. R. (2011). Political awareness, corruption perceptions and democratic accountability in Latin America. *Acta Politica*, 47(1), 67–90. <https://doi.org/10.1057/ap.2011.21>
- AS/COA. (2018, October 28). *Poll Tracker: Brazil's 2018 Presidential Election*. Retrieved January 3, 2022, from <https://www.as-coa.org/articles/poll-tracker-brazils-2018-presidential-election>
- Asamoah, J. K. (2018). The concept of agency theory in electoral democracy. *Journal of African Elections*, 66–82. <https://doi.org/10.20940/jae/2018/v17i2a4>
- Baekgaard, M., Christensen, J., Madsen, J. K., & Mikkelsen, K. S. (2020). Rallying around the flag in times of COVID-19: Societal lockdown and trust in democratic institutions. *Journal of Behavioral Public Administration*, 3(2). <https://doi.org/10.30636/jbpa.32.172>
- Baffes, J., & Nagle, P. (2021, October 21). *The Commodity Markets Outlook in eight charts*. World Bank. Retrieved April 5, 2022, from <https://blogs.worldbank.org/developmenttalk/commodity-markets-outlook-eight-charts>
- Balloussier, A. V. (2021, December 20). Datafolha: Lula é melhor presidente do Brasil para 43% dos evangélicos; 19% escolhem Bolsonaro. *Folha de S.Paulo*. <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2021/12/datafolha-lula-e-melhor-presidente-do-brasil-para-43-dos-evangelicos-19-escolhem-bolsonaro.shtml>
- Barreda, M. (2014). The Quality of Democratic Accountability: A Comparative View of Latin America. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 47(2), 307–326. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0008423914000432>

BBC News. (2022, March 16). US central bank raises interest rates for first time since 2018. *BBC News*. Retrieved April 5, 2022, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-60768818>

BBC News Mundo. (2018, March 20). Mujer, negra, lesbiana y pobre: quién era Marielle Franco, la concejala de Río de Janeiro cuyo brutal asesinato hizo que multitudes a salieran a protestar en Brasil. *BBC News Mundo*. <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-43469308>

Benites, A., & Bedinelli, T. (2020, April 24). Sergio Moro acusa Bolsonaro de interferência política na PF e deixa Governo. *El País Brasil*. <https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2020-04-24/sergio-moro-acusa-bolsonaro-de-interferencia-politica-na-pf-e-deixa-governo.html>

Benton, A. L. (2005). Dissatisfied Democrats or Retrospective Voters? *Comparative Political Studies*, 38(4), 417–442. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414004273856>

Bessems, M. (2020, April 24). Politieke crisis in Brazilië: minister Justitie stapt op na ruzie met Bolsonaro. *NOS*. <https://nos.nl/artikel/2331622-politieke-crisis-in-brazilie-minister-justitie-stapt-op-na-ruzie-met-bolsonaro>

Bohn, S. R. (2011). Social Policy and Vote in Brazil: Bolsa Família and the Shifts in Lula's Electoral Base. *Latin American Research Review*, 46(1), 54–79. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2011.0003>

Brazil Constitution (1988). Retrieved from <https://www.globalhealthrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Brazil-constitution-English.pdf>

Briggs, R. C. (2015). The Influence of Aid Changes on African Election Outcomes. *International Interactions*, 41(2), 201–225. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2014.948155>

- Briggs, R. C. (2018). Receiving Foreign Aid Can Reduce Support for Incumbent Presidents. *Political Research Quarterly*, 72(3), 610–622. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912918798489>
- Brito, J., & Darlington, S. (2021, February 15). How Brazil gambled on unproven drugs to fight Covid-19. *CNN*. <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/02/14/americas/brazil-hydroxychloroquine-evidence-intl/index.html>
- Brooke, J. (1993, July 25). Conversations/Jair Bolsonaro; A Soldier Turned Politician Wants To Give Brazil Back to Army Rule. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/1993/07/25/weekinreview/conversations-jair-bolsonaro-soldier-turned-politician-wants-give-brazil-back.html>
- Buenos Aires Times. (2022, March 31). Former Brazilian judge, minister Sergio Moro ends campaign for president. *Buenos Aires Times*. Retrieved April 5, 2022, from <https://www.batimes.com.ar/news/latin-america/former-brazilian-judge-minister-sergio-moro-ends-campaign-for-president.phtml>
- Burki, T. (2021). No end in sight for the Brazilian COVID-19 crisis. *The Lancet Microbe*, 2(5), e180. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s2666-5247\(21\)00095-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/s2666-5247(21)00095-1)
- Caistor, B. N. (2015, December 11). Latin America: The “pink tide” turns. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-35060390>
- Câmara dos Deputados. (n.d.). *The Deputies*. Portal da Câmara dos Deputados. Retrieved December 21, 2021, from <https://www2.camara.leg.br/english/number-of-members-per-state>
- Cambridge Dictionary. (2021). Republic. In *Cambridge Dictionary*. Cambridge University Press. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/republic>

- Campello, D., & Zucco, C. (2016). Presidential Success and the World Economy. *The Journal of Politics*, 78(2), 589–602. <https://doi.org/10.1086/684749>
- Campello, D., & Zucco, C. (2020). *The Volatility Curse: Exogenous Shocks and Representation in Resource-Rich Democracies*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108894975>
- Canache, D., & Allison, M. E. (2005). Perceptions of Political Corruption in Latin American Democracies. *Latin American Politics & Society*, 47(3), 91–111. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lap.2005.0031>
- Carlin, R. E., & Hellwig, T. (2019). Policy Regimes and Economic Accountability in Latin America. *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(13–14), 2032–2060. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414019830731>
- Carta Capital. (2022, January 14). Exame/Ideia: Lula lidera, cresce na pesquisa espontânea e avança entre os evangélicos. *Carta Capital*. <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/politica/exame-ideia-lula-lidera-com-folga-cresce-na-pesquisa-espontanea-e-avanca-entre-os-evangelicos/>
- Casado, J. (2021, July 11). Percepção de corrupção no governo cresceu e é problema para Bolsonaro. *VEJA*. Retrieved April 5, 2021, from <https://veja.abril.com.br/coluna/jose-casado/percepcao-de-corrupcao-no-governo-cresceu-e-e-problema-para-bolsonaro/>
- Center for Systems Science and Engineering [CSSE]. (2020–2022). *COVID-19 Data Repository* [Dataset]. Johns Hopkins University.
- Cheibub, J. & Przeworski, A. (1999). Democracy, Elections, and Accountability for Economic Outcomes. In Przeworski, A., Stokes, S. C., & Manin, B. (Eds.), *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation* (pp. 222–249). Cambridge University Press.

- Cheibub, J. A., & Sin, G. (2020). Preference vote and intra-party competition in open list PR systems. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 32(1), 70–95. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0951629819893024>
- Child, D. (2019, January 1). Who is Jair Bolsonaro, Brazil's new far-right president? *Elections News | Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/1/1/who-is-jair-bolsonaro-brazils-new-far-right-president>
- Chile Constitution (1980). Retrieved from https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Chile_2012.pdf
- Chong, A., de la O, A. L., Karlan, D., & Wantchekon, L. (2011, December). *Looking beyond the incumbent: The effects of exposing corruption on electoral outcomes* (Working Paper 17679). National Bureau of Economic Research. <http://www.nber.org/papers/w17679>
- Chowdhury, S. K. (2004). The effect of democracy and press freedom on corruption: an empirical test. *Economics Letters*, 85(1), 93–101. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econlet.2004.03.024>
- Clarke, H. D., & Stewart, M. C. (1994). Projections, Retrospections, and Rationality: The “Bankers” Model of Presidential Approval Reconsidered. *American Journal of Political Science*, 38(4), 1104. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2111734>
- CNN Editorial Research. (2021, July 14). Jair Bolsonaro Fast Facts. *CNN*. <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/01/29/americas/jair-bolsonaro-fast-facts/index.html>
- Conectas. (2019, February 5). “Pacote anticrime” de Moro reedita soluções inconstitucionais e ineficazes. *Conectas*. https://conectas.org/noticias/pacote-anticrime-de-moro-reedita-solucoes-inconstitucionais-e-ineficazes?_ga=2.64030511.182721098.1644681127-1549793234.1644681127

Costa Rica Constitution (1949). Retrieved from https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Costa_Rica_2020?lang=en

Cowie, S. (2018, May 25). Lula begins prison sentence in Brazil after giving himself up to police. *The Guardian*.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/07/crowds-in-sao-paulo-block-lula-from-handing-himself-in>

DataFolha. (2021, December). *Pesquisa Nacional*.
http://media.folha.uol.com.br/datafolha/2021/12/20/P2ri345r2353IV9ns894-343402iSP1x2r21_AVaoBrzl.pdf

DataFolha. (2022, January 6). *11% vêem pandemia totalmente controlada*. Retrieved April 5, 2022, from <https://datafolha.folha.uol.com.br/opiniaopublica/2022/01/1989367-11-veem-pandemia-totalmente-controlada.shtml>

de Ferrari, I. (2014). The successor factor: Electoral accountability in presidential democracies. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(2), 193–230.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414014546442>

de la O, A. L. (2012). Do Conditional Cash Transfers Affect Electoral Behavior? Evidence from a Randomized Experiment in Mexico. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(1), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2012.00617.x>

Diário de Notícias. (2020, March 10). Bolsonaro e o coronavírus: “pequena crise” provocada por “fantasia” dos ‘media.’ *Diário de Notícias*.
<https://www.dn.pt/mundo/bolsonaro-e-o-coronavirus-pequena-crise-provocada-por-fantasia-dos-media-11909710.html>

- Diário do Litoral. (2016, February 26). Pensando em 2018, Bolsonaro defende candidatura à presidência em Santos. *Diário Do Litoral*. <https://www.diariodolitoral.com.br/politica/pensando-em-2018-bolsonaro-defende-candidatura-a-presidencia-em-santos/80290/>
- Dietrich, S., Mahmud, M., & Winters, M. S. (2018). Foreign Aid, Foreign Policy, and Domestic Government Legitimacy: Experimental Evidence from Bangladesh. *The Journal of Politics*, *80*(1), 133–148. <https://doi.org/10.1086/694235>
- Dietrich, S., & Winters, M. S. (2015). Foreign Aid and Government Legitimacy. *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, *2*(2), 164–171. <https://doi.org/10.1017/xps.2014.31>
- Dolan, L. R. (2020). Rethinking Foreign Aid and Legitimacy: Views from Aid Recipients in Kenya. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, *55*(2), 143–159. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12116-020-09302-9>
- Dong, E., Du, H., & Gardner, L. (2020). An interactive web-based dashboard to track COVID-19 in real time. *The Lancet Infectious Diseases*, *20*(5), 533–534. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s1473-3099\(20\)30120-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/s1473-3099(20)30120-1)
- Donor Tracker. (2021, November 17). *United States*. Retrieved November 29, 2021, from <https://donortracker.org/country/united-states>
- Donovan, K., Kellstedt, P. M., Key, E. M., & Lebo, M. J. (2019). Motivated Reasoning, Public Opinion, and Presidential Approval. *Political Behavior*, *42*(4), 1201–1221. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-019-09539-8>
- Downs, A. (1957). An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy. *The Journal of Political Economy*, *65*(2), 135–150. <https://doi.org/10.1086/257897>

Election Resources. (n.d.). *Federal Elections in Brazil - Results Lookup*. Retrieved December 21, 2021, from <http://electionresources.org/br/deputies.php?election=2018&state=BR>

El Salvador Constitution (1983). Retrieved from https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/El_Salvador_2014?lang=en

Encarnación, O. (2018, May 11). The Rise and Fall of the Latin American Left. *The Nation*. <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/the-ebb-and-flow-of-latin-americas-pink-tide/>

Feierherd, G., Larroulet, P., Long, W., & Lustig, N. (2021). The Pink Tide and Inequality in Latin America. *Tulane Economics Working Paper Series*, 1–36. <http://repec.tulane.edu/RePEc/pdf/tul2105.pdf>

Ferigato, S., Fernandez, M., Amorim, M., Ambrogi, I., Fernandes, L. M. M., & Pacheco, R. (2020). The Brazilian Government's mistakes in responding to the COVID-19 pandemic. *The Lancet*, 396(10263), 1636. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s0140-6736\(20\)32164-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0140-6736(20)32164-4)

Field, A. (2009). *Discovering Statistics Using SPSS (Introducing Statistical Methods Series)* (Third Edition). SAGE Publications Ltd.

France 24. (2021, November 30). Brazil's Bolsonaro joins Liberal Party ahead of 2022 vote. *France 24*. <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20211130-brazil-s-bolsonaro-joins-liberal-party-ahead-of-2022-vote>

Freedom House. (n.d.). *Freedom in the World Research Methodology*. Retrieved March 2, 2022, from <https://freedomhouse.org/reports/freedom-world/freedom-world-research-methodology>

Freedom House. (1980–2017). *Freedom of the Press* [Dataset]. Freedom House. https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FOTP1980-FOTP2017_Public-Data.xlsx

Freedom House. (1973–2021). *Country and Territory Ratings and Statuses* [Dataset]. Freedom House. https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2021-02/Country_and_Territory_Ratings_and_Statuses_FIW1973-2021.xlsx

Frye, T. (2017). Do Economic Sanctions Cause a Rally around the Flag? *Columbia University: Center on Global Energy Policy*, 1–4. <https://energypolicy.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/SanctionsandRallyAroundtheFlagTimFrye0817.pdf>

G1. (2018a, March 29). Ônibus da caravana de Lula no Paraná são atingidos por tiros. *G1*. <https://g1.globo.com/pr/oeste-sudoeste/noticia/onibus-da-caravana-de-lula-sao-atingidos-por-tiros-no-oeste-do-parana-diz-assessoria.ghtml>

G1. (2018b, August 6). Bolsonaro anuncia general Hamilton Mourão como vice. *G1*. <https://g1.globo.com/politica/eleicoes/2018/noticia/2018/08/05/bolsonaro-anuncia-general-mourao-como-vice.ghtml>

G1. (2018c, September 7). Jair Bolsonaro leva facada durante ato de campanha em Juiz de Fora. *G1*. <https://g1.globo.com/mg/zona-da-mata/noticia/2018/09/06/ato-de-campanha-de-bolsonaro-em-juiz-de-fora-e-interrompido-apos-tumulto.ghtml>

G1. (2020, May 26). Entenda a acusação de Moro, a defesa de Bolsonaro e o que as investigações mostraram até agora. *G1*. <https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2020/05/23/entenda-a-acusacao-de-moro-a-defesa-de-bolsonaro-e-o-que-as-investigacoes-mostraram-ate-agora.ghtml>

- G1. (2021a, October 26). Fim da CPI - Os próximos passos jurídicos e o impacto político. *G1*. https://especiais.g1.globo.com/politica/cpi-da-covid/2021/cpi-covid-relatorio-final-bolsonaro-outros-investigados/?_ga=2.141603122.1053515154.1642063321-1918107820.1642063319
- G1. (2021b, October 27). CPI da Covid: veja as principais conclusões do relatório final. *G1*. <https://g1.globo.com/politica/cpi-da-covid/noticia/2021/10/20/cpi-da-covid-veja-as-principais-conclusoes-do-relatorio-final.ghtml>
- G1. (2021c, December 17). *Datafolha: Bolsonaro mantém pior avaliação de seu governo, com 53% de reprovação; aprovação é de 22%*. Retrieved April 1, 2022, from <https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2021/12/17/datafolha-bolsonaro-53percent-reprovacao-22percent-aprovacao.ghtml>
- Garmany, J., & Pereira, A. W. (2019). *Understanding Contemporary Brazil*. Routledge.
- Garrett, G., Jr. (2022, March 25). Voto dos evangélicos em Bolsonaro cresceu 21% em 4 meses, diz EXAME/IDEIA. *Exame*. Retrieved April 5, 2022, from <https://exame.com/brasil/voto-dos-evangelicos-em-bolsonaro-cresceu-21-em-4-meses-diz-exame-ideia/>
- Gélineau, F. (2007). Presidents, Political Context, and Economic Accountability. *Political Research Quarterly*, 60(3), 415–428. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912907304109>
- Granchi, G. (2020, May 20). *Covid-19: o que sabemos sobre cloroquina e hidroxicloroquina? Tire dúvidas*. UOL. Retrieved January 13, 2022, from <https://www.uol.com.br/vivabem/faq/covid-19-o-que-sabemos-sobre-cloroquina-e-hidroxicloroquina-tire-duvidas.htm>

Guanabara, R. (n.d.). *Partido Democrata Cristao (PDC- 1985–1993)*. Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil. Retrieved December 23, 2021, from <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-tematico/partido-democrata-cristao-pdc-1985-1993>

Guatemala Constitution (1985). Retrieved from https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Guatemala_1993?lang=en

Hagopian, F., & Mainwaring, S. P. (2005). *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge University Press.

Hague, R., Harrop, M., & McCormick, J. (2016). *Comparative Government and Politics*. Macmillan Publishers.

Haiti Constitution (1987). Retrieved from https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Haiti_2012?lang=en

Hamilton, A., & Hammer, C. (2018, January). *Can We Measure the Power of the Grabbing Hand? A Comparative Analysis of Different Indicators of Corruption* (Policy Research Working Paper 8299). World Bank Group. <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/113281515516828746/pdf/WPS8299.pdf>

Harrison, C. (2022, January 25). *Poll Tracker: Brazil's 2022 Presidential Election*. AS/COA. Retrieved February 7, 2022, from <https://www.as-coa.org/articles/poll-tracker-brazils-2022-presidential-election>

IBGE. (1995–2021). *Extended National Consumer Price Index | IBGE* [Dataset]. IBGE. <https://www.ibge.gov.br/en/statistics/economic/prices-and-costs/17129-extended-national-consumer-price-index.html?=&t=series-historicas>

International Foundation for Electoral Systems. (1988–2021). *IFES Election Guide | Elections* [Dataset]. International Foundation for Electoral Systems. <https://www.electionguide.org/elections/>

International Foundation for Electoral Systems. (n.d.-a). *IFES Election Guide | Elections: Brazil President 2018 (Round 1)*. Retrieved March 11, 2022, from <https://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/3071/>

International Foundation for Electoral Systems. (n.d.-b). *IFES Election Guide | Elections: Brazil President 2018 (Round 2)*. Retrieved March 11, 2022, from <https://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/3072/>

IPESPE. (2021, October). *Pesquisa IPESPE Avaliação Presidencial I Eleição 2022*. https://www.cartacapital.com.br/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/2021_10-RELATO%CC%81RIO-PESQUISA-IPESPE-AVALIAC%CC%A7A%CC%83O-PRESIDENCIAL-E-ELEICAO-2022.pdf

ISTOÉ Independente. (2020, December 19). Bolsonaro sobre vacina da Pfizer: “Se você virar um jacaré, é problema seu.” *ISTOÉ Independente*. <https://istoe.com.br/bolsonaro-sobre-vacina-de-pfizer-se-voce- virar-um-jacare-e-problema-de-voce/>

Jornal do Comércio. (2018, August 5). PRTB anuncia general Mourão como vice de Bolsonaro. *Jornal do Comércio*. https://www.jornaldocomercio.com/_conteudo/politica/2018/08/642037-prtb-anuncia-general-mourao-como-vice-de-bolsonaro.html

Jung, J. W., & Oh, J. (2019). Determinants of presidential approval ratings: Cross-country analyses with reference to Latin America. *International Area Studies Review*, 23(3), 251–267. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2233865919888373>

- Kalenborn, C., & Lessmann, C. (2013). The impact of democracy and press freedom on corruption: Conditionality matters. *Journal of Policy Modeling*, 35(6), 857–886. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpolmod.2013.02.009>
- Kaufmann, D., & Kraay, A. (1996–2020). *The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) project* [Dataset]. World Bank. <https://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/>
- Kaufmann, D., Kraay, A., & Mastruzzi, M. (2010, September). *The Worldwide Governance Indicators: Methodology and Analytical Issues* (World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 5430). World Bank. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1682130>
- Kenney, C. (2003). Horizontal accountability: concepts and conflicts. In S. Mainwaring & C. Welna (Eds.), *Democratic Accountability in Latin America* (pp. 55–76). Oxford University Press.
- Klasnja, M., & Titiunik, R. (2017). The Incumbency Curse: Weak Parties, Term Limits, and Unfulfilled Accountability. *American Political Science Review*, 111(1), 129–148. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003055416000575>
- Kotanidis, S. (2019, June). *Understanding the d'Hondt method Allocation of parliamentary seats and leadership positions*. European Parliamentary Research Service. [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2019/637966/EPRS_BRI\(2019\)637966_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2019/637966/EPRS_BRI(2019)637966_EN.pdf)
- Langevin, M. S. (2020, January 23). Brazil's crisis of political legitimacy has opened the door to rant-and-rave populist Jair Bolsonaro | LSE Latin America and Caribbean. *LSE Latin America and Caribbean Blog*. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/latamcaribbean/2017/11/29/brazils-crisis-of-political-legitimacy-has-opened-the-door-to-rant-and-rave-populist-jair-bolsonaro/>
- Lapper, R. (2021). *Beef, Bible and Bullets*. Amsterdam University Press.

- Lara, M. (2020, May 24). Mensagens, reunião e versões: a cronologia do caso Moro x Bolsonaro. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. <https://archive.ph/OOZbm#selection-2673.0-2684.0>
- Lederman, D., Loayza, N. V., & Soares, R. R. (2005). Accountability and corruption: Political institutions matter. *Economics and Politics*, 17(1), 1–35. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0343.2005.00145.x>
- Lee, J. R. (1977). Rallying around the Flag: Foreign Policy Events and Presidential Popularity. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 7(4), 252–256. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27547364>
- Leitão Gonçalves, J. L. R. (2018, March 24). Vereadora do PSOL, Marielle Franco é morta a tiros na Região Central do Rio. *G1*. <https://g1.globo.com/rj/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/vereadora-do-psol-marielle-franco-e-morta-a-tiros-no-centro-do-rio.ghtml>
- Lewis-Beck, M. S., & Ratto, M. C. (2013). Economic voting in Latin America: A general model. *Electoral Studies*, 32(3), 489–493. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2013.05.023>
- Lima De Oliveira, R. (2016). Government and Politics. In A. L. de Andrade Tosta & E. F. Coutinho (Eds.), *Brazil* (pp. 45–68). ABC-CLIO, LLC.
- Lins, C. (2022, January 20). PoderData: Lula vence cenários de 2º turno por ao menos 22 pontos. *Poder360*. <https://www.poder360.com.br/poderdata/poderdata-lula-vence-cenarios-de-2o-turno-por-ao-menos-22-pontos/>
- Londoño, E., & Andreoni, M. (2018, October 29). Brazil Election: How Jair Bolsonaro Turned Crisis Into Opportunity. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/29/world/americas/jair-bolsonaro-brazil-profile.html>

Londoño, E., & Casado, L. (2021, March 31). Brazil's Armed Forces Chiefs Resign Abruptly Amid Cabinet Shake-Up. *The New York Times*.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/30/world/americas/brazil-bolsonaro-military-resignations.html>

Londoño, E., Darlington, S., & Casado, L. (2019, March 29). Brazil's President Tells Armed Forces to Commemorate Military Coup. *The New York Times*.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/29/world/americas/brazil-bolsonaro-coup.html>

Longhurst, R. (2009). Interviews: In-Depth, Semi-Structured. *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, 580–584. <https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-008044910-4.00458-2>

Louault, F. (2019, August 6). *Portrait of Jair Bolsonaro - President of the Federative Republic of Brazil*. Institut Montaigne. Retrieved December 23, 2021, from <https://www.institutmontaigne.org/en/blog/portrait-jair-bolsonaro-president-federative-republic-brazil>

Lula, [@LulaOficial]. (2022, January 13). *Bolsonaro continua tratando o covid com descaso. Só um psicopata como Jim Jones seria capaz de repetir as insanidades* [Tweet]. Twitter.
https://twitter.com/LulaOficial/status/1481697308186222600?s=20&t=1heNuilrF_HvnBoBX_X0mg

MacKuen, M. B., Erikson, R. S., & Stimson, J. A. (1992). Peasants or Bankers? The American Electorate and the U.S. Economy. *American Political Science Review*, 86(3), 597–611. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1964124>

Mainwaring, S. (1991). Politicians, Parties, and Electoral Systems: Brazil in Comparative Perspective. *Comparative Politics*, 24(1), 21. <https://doi.org/10.2307/422200>

Maia, M. (2021, March 21). Bolsonaro fala em “tiranos” e diz que “estão esticando a corda” sobre restrições. *Poder360*. <https://www.poder360.com.br/governo/bolsonaro-fala-em-tiranos-e-diz-que-estao-esticando-a-corda-sobre-restricoes/>

Malta, M., Vettore, M. V., da Silva, C. M. F. P., Silva, A. B., & Strathdee, S. A. (2021). Political neglect of COVID-19 and the public health consequences in Brazil: The high costs of science denial. *EClinicalMedicine*, 35, 100878. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eclinm.2021.100878>

Mantovani, K. (2018, May 8). General Mourão filia-se ao PRTB e pode ser candidato a presidente pelo partido. *Folha de S.Paulo*. <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/05/general-mourao-filia-se-ao-prtb-e-pode-ser-candidato-a-presidente-pelo-partido.shtml>

Marshall, E. (2018, September 7). Will knife attack on Jair Bolsonaro impact Brazil's election? *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/9/7/will-knife-attack-on-jair-bolsonaro-impact-brazils-election>

Marshall, E. (2021, August 27). *Brazilian population grows to over 213.3 million - TBR*. The Brazilian Report. Retrieved December 21, 2021, from <https://brazilian.report/liveblog/2021/08/27/population-grows-2021/>

Mattoso, C. (2019, February 5). Justice Minister Says New Self-Defense Bill "Is Not A License To Kill. *Folha de S.Paulo*. <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/internacional/en/brazil/2019/02/justice-minister-says-new-self-defense-bill-is-not-a-license-to-kill.shtml>

Mexico Constitution (1917). Retrieved from https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Mexico_2015?lang=en

Middlebrook, K. (2003). *Conservative Parties, the Right, and Democracy in Latin America*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Militão, E. (2020, May 10). Vírus da discórdia: entenda a crise da PF que separou Moro de Bolsonaro. *UOL Notícias*. <https://noticias.uol.com.br/politica/ultimas-noticias/2020/05/10/entenda-cri-se-policia-federal-jair-bolsonaro-sergio-moro-stf.htm>
- Miller, B., & Uriegas, F. (2019, August 15). Latin America's Biggest Corruption Cases: A Retrospective. *Americas Quarterly*. <https://www.americasquarterly.org/article/latin-americas-biggest-corruption-cases-a-retrospective/>
- Moisés, J. A. (1993). Elections, Political Parties and Political Culture in Brazil: Changes and Continuities. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 25(3), 575–611. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022216x00006672>
- Moro, S. [@SF_Moro]. (2022a, March 31). *Nota Oficial: O Brasil precisa de uma alternativa que livre o país dos extremos, da instabilidade e da radicalização. Por [Tweet].* Twitter. https://twitter.com/SF_Moro/status/1509608276182380549?s=20&t=Dgkf3aLVphl1H1aV1Irp9w
- Moro, S. [@SF_Moro]. (2022b, March 31). *Para ingressar no novo partido, abro mão, nesse momento, da pré-candidatura presidencial e serei um soldado da democracia para recuperar* [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/SF_Moro/status/1509608280003334151?s=20&t=Dgkf3aLVphl1H1aV1Irp9w
- Mueller, J. (1970). Presidential Popularity from Truman to Johnson. *American Political Science Review*, 64(1), 18–34. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1955610>

Nicolau, J. (2006). O sistema eleitoral de lista aberta no Brasil. *Dados*, 49(4), 689–720.
<https://doi.org/10.1590/s0011-52582006000400002>

Nicas, J. (2021, November 11). Trump Allies Help Bolsonaro Sow Doubt in Brazil's Elections. *The New York Times*.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/11/world/americas/bolsonaro-trump-brazil-election.html>

Noel, A. (2015, December 29). The Year the “Pink Tide” Turned: Latin America in 2015. *VICE*. <https://www.vice.com/en/article/wjazpy/the-year-the-pink-tide-turned-latin-america-in-2015>

Nohlen, D. (2005a). *Elections in the Americas A Data Handbook: Vol. I: North America, Central America, and the Carribean* (1st ed.). Oxford University Press.

Nohlen, D. (2005b). *Elections in the Americas: A Data Handbook: Vol. II: South America* (1st ed.). Oxford University Press.

Nugent, C. (2021, December 28). Why 2022 Might Be the Year Brazil Says Goodbye to President Bolsonaro. *Time*. <https://time.com/6130308/bolsonaro-brazil-2022-election/>

O'Donnell, G. A. (1998). Horizontal Accountability in New Democracies. *Journal of Democracy*, 9(3), 112–126. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.1998.0051>

OECD. (n.d.). *Brazil (BRA) Exports, Imports, and Trade Partners | OECD*. OECD - The Observatory of Economic Complexity. Retrieved April 5, 2022, from <https://oec.world/en/profile/country/bra#yearly-exports>

- OECD. (2021, December). *Evolução económica (dezembro 2021)*. <https://www.oecd.org/economy/retrato-economico-do-brasil/>
- O Globo. (n.d.). *Historia de partidos*. Retrieved December 23, 2021, from <http://estaticog1.globo.com/2013/10/historico/>
- Olsen, J. P. (2013). The Institutional Basis of Democratic Accountability. *West European Politics*, 36(3), 447–473. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2012.753704>
- O’Neil, P. H., Fields, K. J., & Share, D. (2015). *Cases in Comparative Politics* (5th ed.). W. W. Norton, Incorporated.
- Otoboni, J. (2020, November 15). Eleições 2020: Como pagar a multa por não votar e qual o valor dela? *CNN Brasil*. <https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/politica/eleicoes-2020-como-pagar-a-multa-por-nao-votar-e-qual-o-valor-dela/>
- OZY. (2018, October 4). Special Briefing: The Turmoil Surrounding Brazil’s Presidential Election. *OZY*. <https://www.ozy.com/news-and-politics/special-briefing-the-turmoil-surrounding-brazils-presidential-election/89331/>
- Panama Constitution (1972). Retrieved from https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Panama_2004?lang=en
- Paraguassu, L. (2022, April 14). Brazil Workers Party okays Alckmin as Lula’s running mate. *Reuters*. Retrieved April 14, 2022, from <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/brazil-workers-party-okays-alckmin-lulas-running-mate-2022-04-13/>
- Paraguay Constitution (1992). Retrieved from https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Paraguay_2011?lang=en

Paraná Pesquisas. (2022, April 13). *Paraná Pesquisas divulga pesquisa Nacional – Registro TSE -BR-08065/2022- Situação eleitoral para o Executivo Federal em 2022 e Avaliação da administração Federal – Abril/2022 – Paraná Pesquisas*. Retrieved April 15, 2022, from <https://www.paranapesquisas.com.br/pesquisas/parana-pesquisas-divulga-pesquisa-nacional-registro-tse-br-08065-2022-situacao-eleitoral-para-o-executivo-federal-em-2022-e-avaliacao-da-administracao-federal-abril-2022/>

Peruzzotti, E., & Smulovitz, C. (2006). Social Accountability: An Introduction. In E. Peruzzotti & C. Smulovitz (Eds.), *Enforcing the Rule of Law: Social Accountability in the New Latin American Democracies* (pp. 3–33). Amsterdam University Press.

Phillips, D. (2017, November 27). Brazil's ex-president Lula sentenced to nearly 10 years in prison for corruption. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/12/brazil-president-lula-convicted-corruption>

Phillips, D. (2018a, September 1). Brazilian court bars Lula from presidential election. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/01/brazilian-court-bars-lula-from-presidential-election>

Phillips, D. (2018b, October 4). Jair Bolsonaro: Brazil presidential frontrunner stabbed at campaign rally. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/06/brazil-jair-bolsonaro-far-right-presidential-candidate-stabbed>

Phillips, D. (2020, October 15). "He became a hero": Bolsonaro sees popularity surge as Covid-19 spreads. *The Guardian*. Retrieved April 1, 2022, from <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2020/oct/10/jair-bolsonaro-brazil-coronavirus-aid>

Phillips, M., Gall, C., Milhorance, F., & Novak, B. (2021, December 13). Inflationary Wave Changes Political Terrain for Right-Wing Populists. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/13/business/inflation-turkey-brazil-hungary.html>

Phillips, T. (2019, January 9). Trump of the tropics: the "dangerous" candidate leading Brazil's presidential race. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/19/jair-bolsonaro-brazil-presidential-candidate-trump-parallels>

Phillips, T. (2021, October 3). Mass protests in Brazil call for Jair Bolsonaro's impeachment. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/oct/02/mass-protests-in-brazil-call-for-bolsonaros-impeachment>

Poder360. (2021, December 6). "Não vou dizer que no meu governo não tem corrupção", diz Bolsonaro. *Poder360*. <https://www.poder360.com.br/governo/nao-vou-dizer-que-no-meu-governo-nao-tem-corrupcao-diz-bolsonaro/>

Power, T. J. (2009). Compulsory for Whom? Mandatory Voting and Electoral Participation in Brazil, 1986–2006. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 1(1), 97–122. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1866802x0900100105>

Prazeres, L. (2022, March 21). Como “brasileiro menos preocupado com corrupção” pode influenciar eleições? *BBC News Brasil*. <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-60802231>

Przeworski, A., Stokes, S. C., & Manin, B. (1999). *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. Cambridge University Press.

Público. (2021, October 26). Bolsonaro relacionou as vacinas da covid-19 com a sida e foi suspenso do YouTube. *Público*. <https://www.publico.pt/2021/10/26/mundo/noticia/bolsonaro-relacionou-vacinas-sida-suspenso-youtube-1982505>

Queiroz, V. (2022, April 13). Frente de Lula sobre Bolsonaro cai a 5 pontos, diz PoderData. *Poder360*. Retrieved April 14, 2022, from <https://www.poder360.com.br/poderdata/frente-de-lula-sobre-bolsonaro-cai-a-5-pontos-diz-poderdata/>

Remmer, K. L. (1991). The Political Impact of Economic Crisis in Latin America in the 1980s. *American Political Science Review*, 85(3), 777–800. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1963850>

Remmer, K. L. (1992). The process of democratization in Latin America. *Studies In Comparative International Development*, 27(4), 3–24. <https://doi.org/10.1007/bf02687137>

Repucci, S., & Slipowitz, A. (2021). *Freedom in the World 2021: Democracy under siege*. Freedom House. https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2021-02/FIW2021_World_02252021_FINAL-web-upload.pdf

- Reuters. (2020, December 14). *Brazil's Bolsonaro approval rating stays at highest level during pandemic*. Retrieved April 1, 2022, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-brazil-bolsonaro-idUSKBN28N0YT>
- Reuters. (2021a, March 30). Brazil to replace armed forces chiefs after Bolsonaro fires defense minister. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/article/brazil-politics-idINKBN2BM2IV>
- Reuters. (2021b, October 26). Facebook, YouTube take down Bolsonaro video over false vaccine claim. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/facebook-takes-down-bolsonaro-video-over-false-vaccine-claim-2021-10-25/>
- Reyes-Housholder, C. (2019). A Theory of Gender's Role on Presidential Approval Ratings in Corrupt Times. *Political Research Quarterly*, 73(3), 540–555. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912919838626>
- Ribeiro, J. M., & Moreira, M. R. (2016). A crise do federalismo cooperativo nas políticas de saúde no Brasil. *Saúde Em Debate*, 40(spe), 14–24. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0103-11042016s02>
- Roscoe, B. (2022, January 20). *PoderData: Lula vai a 42% e empata com a soma dos adversários*. Poder360. Retrieved February 1, 2022, from <https://www.poder360.com.br/poderdata/poderdata-lula-vai-a-42-e-empata-com-a-soma-dos-adversarios/>
- Rosenn, K. (2005). Federalism in Brazil. *Duquesne Law Review*, 43, 577–598. https://repository.law.miami.edu/fac_articles/165/
- Sankey, K. (2016, August 16). What Happened to the Pink Tide? *Canadian Dimension*. <https://canadiandimension.com/articles/view/what-happened-to-the-pink-tide>

Savarese, M. (2022a, March 29). Brazil's Bolsonaro shakes up administration, eyeing election. *ABC News*. Retrieved April 4, 2022, from <https://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/brazils-education-minister-resigns-amid-evangelical-scandal-83727298>

Savarese, M. (2022b, March 31). Judge who led Brazil's "Car Wash" probe ends presidency bid. *ABC News*. Retrieved April 5, 2022, from <https://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/judge-led-brazils-car-wash-probe-ends-presidency-83795320>

Scanlan, C. L. (2020). Preparing for the Unanticipated: Challenges in Conducting Semi-Structured, In-Depth Interviews. *SAGE Research Methods Cases*.
<https://doi.org/10.4135/9781529719208>

Schreiber, M. (2021, October 26). CPI da Covid: o que pode acontecer com Bolsonaro após a divulgação do relatório. *BBC News Brasil*.
<https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-58990125>

Schütze, R. (2009). *From Dual to Cooperative Federalism*. Oxford University Press.

Seabra, C. (2018, March 27). Dois ônibus da caravana de Lula são atingidos por quatro tiros no Paraná. *Folha de S.Paulo*.
<https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/03/onibus-da-caravana-de-lula-e-atingido-por-tres-tiros-segundo-organizadores.shtml>

Senado Notícias. (2018, September 25). *Como funciona a eleição dos senadores*. Retrieved December 16, 2021, from <https://www12.senado.leg.br/noticias/materias/2018/09/13/como-funciona-a-eleicao-dos-senadores>

- Singer, M. M. (2013). Economic Voting in an Era of Non-Crisis: The Changing Electoral Agenda in Latin America, 1982–2010. *Comparative Politics*, 45(2), 169–185. <https://doi.org/10.5129/001041513804634226>
- Smith, A. E. (2019, August 15). Bolsonaro's Evangelical Support Is Falling. Why? *Americas Quarterly*. <https://www.americasquarterly.org/article/bolsonaros-evangelical-support-is-falling-why/>
- Snijders, T. A. B., & Bosker, R. (1999). *Multilevel Analysis*. SAGE Publications.
- Sommet, N., & Morselli, D. (2017). Keep Calm and Learn Multilevel Logistic Modeling: A Simplified Three-Step Procedure Using Stata, R, Mplus, and SPSS. *International Review of Social Psychology*, 30(1), 203–218. <https://doi.org/10.5334/irsp.90>
- Sosa-Villagarcia, P., & Hurtado Lozada, V. (2021). Covid-19 and Presidential Popularity in Latin America. *Revista Latinoamericana de Opinión Pública*, 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.14201/rlop.23664>
- Stampini, M., & Tornarolli, L. (2012, November). *The growth of conditional cash transfers in Latin America and the Caribbean: did they go too far?* (IDB-PB-185). Inter-American Development Bank. <https://publications.iadb.org/publications/english/document/The-Growth-of-Conditional-Cash-Transfers-in-Latin-America-and-the-Caribbean-Did-They-Go-Too-Far.pdf>
- Tavares, J. (2022, March 29). Datafolha: Sobe a 53% os que acham que país terá mais corrupção. *Folha de S.Paulo*. Retrieved April 4, 2022, from <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2022/03/datafolha-sobe-a-53-os-que-acham-que-pais-tera-mais-corrupcao.shtml>

TeleSUR. (2018, August 30). TSE ha aprobado 9 candidaturas presidenciales en Brasil. *TeleSUR*. <https://www.telesurtv.net/news/brasil-tse-candidaturas-presendeciales-20180830-0010.html>

Terra. (2020, May 12). O que se sabe até agora sobre inquérito que investiga acusações de Moro contra Bolsonaro. *Terra*. <https://www.terra.com.br/noticias/brasil/o-que-se-sabe-ate-agora-sobre-inquerito-que-investiga-acusacoes-de-moro-contra-bolsonaro,bf99f96d9ceb097c3564c54bbb7ab286t5ltimki.html>

The Economist. (2021, June 5). Special Report: Brazil. *The Economist*, 439(9248), 1–12.

The Economist. (2022, February 24). Brazil's 10% inflation is eroding incomes and the president's popularity. *The Economist*. <https://www.economist.com/the-americas/2022/02/26/brazils-10-inflation-is-eroding-incomes-and-the-presidents-popularity>

The Guardian. (2015, April 29). Honduran judges throw out single-term limit on presidency. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/24/honduran-judges-throw-out-single-term-limit-on-presidency>

The Guardian. (2018, October 29). Who is Jair Bolsonaro? Brazil's far-right president in his own words. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/06/jair-bolsonaro-brazil-tropical-trump-who-hankers-for-days-of-dictatorship>

The Lancet. (2020). COVID-19 in Brazil: "So what?" *The Lancet*, 395(10235), 1461. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s0140-6736\(20\)31095-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0140-6736(20)31095-3)

The New York Times. (2021, 11 November). Bolsonaro Joins a Centrist Party in Brazil Ahead of 2022 Re-election Bid. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/10/world/americas/brazil-bolsonaro-liberal-party.html>

The Week. (2019, November 12). The fall of Evo Morales: was the 'pink tide' a success? *The Week UK*. <https://www.theweek.co.uk/104276/the-fall-of-evo-morales-how-did-the-pink-tide-change-latin-america>

The World Bank. (1991–2020). *Unemployment, total (% of total labor force) (modeled ILO estimate) - Brazil | Data* [Dataset]. The World Bank. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS?locations=BR>

The World Bank. (2010–2020). *GDP growth (annual %) - Brazil | Data* [Dataset]. The World Bank. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?end=2020&locations=BR&start=2010>

The World Bank. (2020, June). *COVID-19 in Brazil: Impacts and Policy Responses*. <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/152381594359001244/pdf/Main-Report.pdf>

Tribunal Superior Eleitoral. (1965, July 15). *Código Eleitoral - Lei nº 4.737, de 15 de julho de 1965*. Retrieved December 21, 2021, from <https://www.tse.jus.br/legislacao/codigo-eleitoral/codigo-eleitoral-1/codigo-eleitoral-lei-nb0-4.737-de-15-de-julho-de-1965#4>

Tosta, A. L., Coutinho, E., de Andrade Tosta, A. L., & de Faria Coutinho, E. (2016). *Brazil*. ABC-CLIO, LLC.

UNA SUS. (2020, February 27). *Coronavírus: Brasil confirma primeiro caso da doença*. Retrieved January 13, 2022, from <https://www.unasus.gov.br/noticia/coronavirus-brasil-confirma-primeiro-caso-da-doenca>

UOL. (2022a, January 12). Bolsonaro atribui inflação a medidas de isolamento; economistas discordam. *UOL*. Retrieved April 4, 2022, from <https://economia.uol.com.br/noticias/redacao/2022/01/12/bolsonaro-inflacao-medidas-covid-19.htm>

UOL. (2022b, March 31). PoderData: Lula tem 41%; Bolsonaro, 32%; Ciro, 7%; Moro, 6%. *UOL*. Retrieved April 14, 2022, from <https://www.uol.com.br/eleicoes/2022/03/30/poderdata-30-de-marco-eleicoes-2022-presidente-pesquisa.htm>

Uruguay Constitution (1966). Retrieved from https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Uruguay_2004?lang=en

Wall, A. (2021). Open List Proportional Representation: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly. *IDEA*. <https://doi.org/10.31752/idea.2021.55>

Watts, J. (2017, May 7). Brazil's attorney general files criminal complaint over rape taunt in Congress. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/16/brazil-lawmaker-rape-taunt>

Wilson, H. (2016). The D'Hondt Method Explained. <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/~ucahhwi/dhondt.pdf>

Woods, J. (2011). The 9/11 effect: Toward a social science of the terrorist threat. *The Social Science Journal*, 48(1), 213–233. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2010.06.001>

World Bank. (2021, October). *Commodity Markets Outlook October 2021*. World Bank Group.

<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/36350/CMO-October-2021.pdf>

World Bank Indicators. (n.d.). *World Development Indicators / DataBank* [Dataset]. World Bank. <https://databank.worldbank.org/reports.aspx?source=2>

XP/Ipespe. (2020a, April). *Pesquisa XP com a População 23 e 24 de Abril 2020*. XP Política. https://conteudos.xpi.com.br/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Pesquisa-XP_-2020_04-24-de-abril.pdf

XP/Ipespe. (2020b, April). *Pesquisa XP com a População 28 a 30 Abril 2020*. XP Política. https://conteudos.xpi.com.br/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Pesquisa-XP_-2020_04-30-de-abril.pdf

XP/Ipespe. (2021a, July). *pesquisa XP IPESPE avaliação presidencial eleições 2022*. XP Política. https://conteudos.xpi.com.br/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Pesquisa-XP_-2021_07.pdf

XP/Ipespe. (2021b, August). *Pesquisa XP/Ipespe agosto | 2021 avaliação presidencial eleições 2022*. XP Política. https://conteudos.xpi.com.br/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Pesquisa-XP_-2021_08.pdf

Yam, K. C., Jackson, J. C., Barnes, C. M., Lau, J., Qin, X., & Lee, H. Y. (2020). The rise of COVID-19 cases is associated with support for world leaders. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *117*(41), 25429–25433. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2009252117>

Yoneshigue, B. (2021, November 30). Bolsonaro passou por oitos partidos desde que iniciou carreira política em 89, relembre. *O Globo*. <https://oglobo.globo.com/politica/bolsonaro-passou-por-oitos-partidos-desde-que-iniciou-carreira-politica-em-89-relembre-25298315>

Zucco, C. (2013). When Payouts Pay Off: Conditional Cash Transfers and Voting Behavior in Brazil 2002–10. *American Journal of Political Science*, n/a. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12026>

Zucco, C., & Power, T. J. (2013). Bolsa Família and the Shift in Lula's Electoral Base, 2002–2006: A Reply to Bohn. *Latin American Research Review*, 48(2), 3–24. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2013.0018>

APPENDIX 1: DATASET DESCRIPTION

The dataset is a composition of all above mentioned data. In this section describes the composition is the dataset:

1. All included countries, presidents and whether they are reelected or not are added manually in the dataset.
2. All independent data (*'Inflation, GDP', 'Unemployment ratings', 'GDP growth', 'Control of Corruption', 'Freedom of the Press', 'Freedom House Index', 'ODA received', 'Rally events'*) are included in the analysis. From all variables, except *'rally events'*, data a year prior to the elections are included. When no data was available, the field was coded as missing. For rally events is the presence of an event up to six months before the events included and coded as *'1'*. When no rally event took place six months before the elections, the field was coded *'0'*

APPENDIX 2: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Table 1a. Descriptive Statistics

		Country	Is the rerunning incumbent reelected?	Freedom House Index (year before election)	GDP Growth (year before election)	Unemployment ratings (year before election)
N	Valid	46	46	39	41	33
	Missing	0	0	7	5	13
Mean		11.91	.76	3.026	4.366	8.921
Std. Error		.991	.064	.1978	.660	0.782
Min		1	0	1.0	-6.00	2.40
Max		20	1	5.5	12.90	22.20

Table 1b. Descriptive Statistics

		Inflation, GDP Deflator (year before election)	ODA, recieved per capita in current US\$ (year before election)	Control of Corruption (year before election)	Freedom of the Press (year before election)	Rally Event (6 months before election)
N	Valid	41	44	24	32	34
	Missing	5	22	22	14	12
Mean		125.061	15.073	-.547	1.97	.21
Std. Error		114.663	3.557	.103	.131	.070
Min		1.90	.00	-1.37	1	0
Max		4711.20	87.80	.44	3	1

Table 2. Country means

Country		Is the incumbent reelected?	GDP Growth (Year before election)	Unemployment Ratings (Year before election)	Inflation, GDP Deflator (Year before election)	ODA per capita in current US\$ (Year before election)	Rally Event (six months before election)	Freedom House Index (Year before election)	Control of corruption (Year before election)	Freedom of the press (Year before election)
Argentina	Mean	.67	4.433	9.567	21.233	3.167	.00	2.167	-.216	1.50
	N	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2
	Std. Error	.333	3.729	1.198	10.740	.895	.000	.167	.146	.500
	Min	0	-2.60	7.70	2.80	1.60	0	2.0	-.36	1
	Max	1	10.10	11.80	40.00	4.70	0	2.5	-.07	2
Bolivia	Mean	1.00	5.700	2.833	6.500	63.800	.00	3.000	-.577	2.00
	N	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2
	Std. Error	.000	.777	.338	2.122	1.744	.000	.000	.030	.000
	Min	1	4.20	2.40	3.10	60.60	0	3.0	-.62	2
	Max	1	6.80	3.50	10.40	66.60	0	3.0	-.52	2
Brazil	Mean	1.00	3.200	8.267	7.533	2.767	.33	2.500	-.110	2.00
	N	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3
	Std. Error	.000	.115	.751	.088	1.468	.333	.500	.030	.000
	Min	1	3.00	7.00	7.40	1.20	0	2.0	-.14	2
	Max	1	3.40	9.60	7.70	5.70	1	3.5	-.08	2
Colombia	Mean	1.00	4.950	10.10	3.350	16.750	.00	3.250	-.270	2.50
	N	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
	Std. Error	.000	.150	1.000	1.450	1.650	.000	.250	.140	.500
	Min	1	4.80	9.10	1.90	15.10	0	3.0	-.41	2
	Max	1	5.10	11.10	4.80	18.40	0	3.5	-.13	3

Dominican Republic	Mean	.75	6.700	6.567	11.262	10.800	.00	2.571	-.463	1.60
	N	8	8	3	8	8	8	7	3	5
	Std. Error	.164	1.519	.713	3.995	3.221	.000	.170	.322	.245
	Min	0	-1.30	5.20	2.50	.50	0	2.0	-.82	1
	Max	1	12.90	7.60	33.50	27.20	0	3.0	.18	2
Ecuador	Mean	1.00	6.000	3.550	9.400	13.350	.00	3.000	-.635	2.50
	N	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
	Std. Error	.000	.400	.350	4.400	3.750	.000	.000	.055	.500
	Min	1	5.60	3.20	5.00	9.60	0	3.0	-.69	2
	Max	1	6.40	3.90	13.80	17.10	0	3.0	-.58	3
Honduras	Mean	1.00	3.900	6.700	3.700	44.50	.00	4.000	-.660	3.00
	N	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Std. Error
	Min	1	3.90	6.70	3.70	44.50	0	4.0	-.66	3
	Max	1	3.90	6.70	3.70	44.50	0	4.0	-.66	3
Nicaragua	Mean	.75	1.375	7.067	1182.7000	73.567	.50	4.500	-.963	2.33
	N	4	4	3	4	3	4	4	3	3
	Std. Error	.250	1.865	1.212	1176.167	8.227	.289	.456	.1489	.333
	Min	0	-2.00	4.70	5.90	59.30	0	3.5	-1.25	2
	Max	1	4.80	8.70	4711.20	87.80	1	5,5	-.75	3
Peru	Mean	1.00	6.900	8.000	14.80	16.100	.50	4.500		2.50
	N	2	2	1	2	2	2	2		2
	Std. Error	.000	5.400	.	11.900	1.500	.00	.000		.500
	Min	1	1.50	8.00	2.90	14.60	0	4.5		2
	Max	1	12.30	8.00	26.70	17.60	1	4.5		3
Puerto Rico	Mean	.50	2.911	15.100	4.889	.000		1.429	.425	1.00
	N	12	9	7	9	12		7	2	6
	Std. Error	.151	1.327	1.437	.579	.000		.071	.015	.000
	Min	0	-2.30	10.90	2.40	.00		1.0	.41	1
	Max	1	7.90	22.20	7.40	.00		1.5	.44	1

Venezuela	Mean	.83	3.525	8.760	24.500	2.000	.50	4.700	-1.210	2.75
	N	6	4	5	4	5	6	5	4	4
	Std. Error	.167	3.433	1.706	3.536	.251	.224	.300	.0726	.250
	Min	0	-6.00	5.10	14.10	1.70	0	4.0	-1.37	2
	Max	1	10.30	14.50	29.60	3.00	1	5.5	-1.03	3
Total	Mean	.76	4.366	8.921	125.061	15.073	.21	3.026	-.5467	1.97
	N	46	41	33	41	44	34	39	24	32
	Std. Error	.064	.660	.782	114.664	3.557	.070	.198	.1033	.131
	Min	0	-6.00	2.40	1.90	.00	0	1.0	-1.37	1
	Max	1	12.90	22.20	4711.20	87.80	1	5.5	.44	3

APPENDIX 3: RALLY EVENTS

Table 3. Rally Events

Military Events						
Country	Date	Election date	Months until election	Event	Specification	Actors
Peru ²⁷	02-1995	9-04-1995	2	Cenepa War	Border dispute	Peru, Ecuador
Nicaragua ²⁸	08-1989	25-02-1990	6	Tela Agreement	End of the Nicaraguan Revolution	Nicaragua, Contas, US
Diplomatic Events						
Country	Date	Election date	Months until election	Event	Specification	Actors
Brazil ²⁹	07-1998	4-10-1998	3	Ushuaia Protocol	Reaffirming democracy in the region	Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia
Venezuela ³⁰	09-2006	3-10-2006	0.5	Chavez at the UN	Calling Bush 'the devil'	Chavéz, George Bush

²⁷ Long, W. R. (1995, February 8). Peru, Ecuador Battle on Small but Deadly Scale : Latin America: As peace talks hit snag, platoon-size units continue war in Amazon rain forest. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1995-02-08-mn-29584-story.html>

²⁸ AP NEWS. (1989, August 8). Excerpts from Central American Accord in Tela, Honduras With PM-Central America, Bjt. *AP NEWS*. <https://apnews.com/article/64f09d4809626d881562327de5922f80>

²⁹ OHCHR. (n.d.). *OHCHR / Protocolo de Ushuaia Sobre Compromiso Democrático en el Mercosur*. United Nations Human Rights. Retrieved December 8, 2021, from <https://www.ohchr.org/en/issues/ruleoflaw/compilationdemocracy/pages/mercosurprotocol.aspx>

³⁰ Stout, D. (2006, September 20). Chávez Calls Bush 'the Devil' in U.N. Speech. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2006/09/20/world/americas/20cnd-chavez.html>

Venezuela ³¹	04-2018	20-05-2018	1	Panama-Venezuela crisis	Sanctions on Maduro	Panama, Venezuela
Nicaragua ³²	06-2021	07-11-2021	6	Diplomatic crisis Spain - Nicaragua	Imprisoned opposition leaders	Spain, Nicaragua

Economic Events

Country	Date	Election date	Months until election	Event	Comment	Actors
Venezuela ³³	07-2012	07-10-2012	5	Mercosur membership	Full member of Mercosur	Venezuela, Mercosur

³¹ Reuters Staff. (2018, April 27). Venezuela, Panama to restore envoys and resume airline service. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-venezuela-diplomacy/venezuela-panama-to-restore-envoys-resume-airline-service-maduro-idUSKBN1HX3IM>

³² Reuters. (2021, June 27). Nicaragua lambastes Spain's foreign minister in angry attack. *Reuters*. <http://www.reuters.com/world/americas/nicaragua-lambastes-spanish-foreign-minister-furious-broadside-2021-06-27/>

³³ Romero, S. (2012, August 1). Mercosur Trade Bloc Admits Venezuela as Full Member. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/01/world/americas/mercosur-trade-bloc-admits-venezuela-as-full-member.html>

APPENDIX 4: CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

Table 4. Correlations

		Freedom House Index (year before election)	Freedom of the press (year before election)
Freedom House Index (year before election)	Pearson Correlation	1	.768**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	38	27
Freedom of the press (year before election)	Pearson Correlation	.768**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	27	27

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

APPENDIX 5: MULTICOLLINEARITY

Table 5. Model 1 Economic Factors x Reelection Incumbent

	Coefficients ^a					Collinearity Statistics	
	Unstandardized		Standardized Coefficients			Tolerance	VIF
	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.		
(Constant)	.676	.224		3.018	.006		
GDP Growth (year before election)	.052	.018	.475	2.977	.006	.801	1.248
Unemployment ratings (year before election)	-.013	.017	-.137	-.754	.457	.618	1.618
Inflation, GDP deflator (year before election)	.000	.000	-.253	- 1.616	.118	.833	1.201
ODA received per capita in current US\$ (year before election)	.002	.003	.132	-.737	.467	.638	1.568

^a Dependent Variable: Is the rerunning incumbent reelected?

Table 6. Model 2 Political Factors x Reelection Incumbent

	Coefficients ^a					Collinearity Statistics	
	Unstandardized		Standardized Coefficients			Tolerance	VIF
	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.		
(Constant)	.796	.291		2.732	.017		
Control of Corruption (year before election)	-.546	.208	-.898	- 2.618	.021	.411	2.434
Rally event (6 months before election)	-.137	.198	-.189	-.695	.499	.657	1.522
Freedom House Index (year before election)	-.137	.098	-.547	- 1.392	.187	.314	3.190
Freedom of the press (year before elections)	.119	.144	.245	.825	.424	.547	1.827

^a Dependent Variable: Is the rerunning incumbent reelected?

APPENDIX 6: OUTLIERS

Table 7. Excl. Argentina Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	2.382 (0.906)	32.510* (1.357)	29.281* (1.266)	4.330 (0.738)	0.039 (8.572)
GDP Growth (year before elections)	1.412* (0.138)				1.896 (0.451)
Unemployment ratings (year before elections)		0.816 (0.120)			1.443 (0.433)
Inflation, GDP deflator (year before elections)			0.919 (0.064)		0.951 (0.243)
ODA recieved (year before elections)				1.017 (0.025)	1.318 (0.601)
N	38	30	38	41	29
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	2.901	0.311	4.217	1.176	27.282
ICC(%) ^b	46.85%	8.63%	56.17%	26.33%	89.24%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b $ICC = \text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 8. Excl. Argentina Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	6.963** (0.616)	0.493 (1.162)	0.872 (1.353)	1.399 (0.816)	4.081 (7.253)
Rally Event (Ref=No) (6 months before elections)	0.861 (1.243)				0.147 (5.634)
Freedom House Index		2.136 (0.432)			0.218 (2.310)
Freedom of the Press			2.558 (0.744)		4.194 (2.949)
Control of Corruption				0.013* (2.010)	0.002 (4.608)
N	31	36	30	22	17
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
ICC (%) ^b	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b ICC = $\text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 9. Excl. Bolivia Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	1.721 (0.815)	22.994* (1.268)	33.560** (1.263)	3.516* (0.588)	0.055 (7.659)
GDP Growth (year before elections)	1.441** (0.131)				1.801 (0.394)
Unemployment ratings (year before elections)		0.827 (0.110)			1.388 (0.395)
Inflation, GDP deflator (year before elections)			0.898 (0.055)		0.945 (0.185)
ODA recieved (year before elections)				1.013 (.025)	1.326 (0.525)
N	38	30	38	41	29
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	2.430	0.000	4.018	0.685	18.378
ICC(%) ^b	42.48%	0,00%	54.98%	17.23%	84.82%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b ICC = $\text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 10. Excl. Bolivia Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	5.000** (0.548)	0.452 (1.102)	1.122 (1.302)	1.015 (0.780)	3.436 (7.102)
Rally Event (Ref=No) (6 months before elections)	1.199 (1.211)				0.159 (5.663)
Freedom House Index		2.112 (0.416)			0.219 (2.134)
Freedom of the Press			2.256 (0.717)		4.506 (2.971)
Control of Corruption				0.011* (2.130)	0.003 (4.545)
N	31	36	30	21	16
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
ICC (%) ^b	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b ICC = $\text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 11. Excl. Brazil Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	1.583 (0.815)	22.389* (1.194)	33.294** (1.261)	2.738 (0.573)	0.005 (9.599)
GDP Growth (year before elections)	1.442** (0.129)				1.964 (0.465)
Unemployment ratings (year before elections)		0.824 (0.104)			1.521 (0.451)
Inflation, GDP deflator (year before elections)			0.898 (0.055)		0.968 (0.221)
ODA recieved (year before elections)				1.024 (0.024)	1.440 (0.623)
N	38	30	38	41	29
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	2.296	0.000	4.007	0.512	25.478
ICC(%) ^b	41.10%	0.00%	54.91%	13.47%	88.56%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b ICC = $\text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 12. Excl. Brazil Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	5.250** (0.546)	0.355 (1.149)	1.121 (1.289)	0.640 (0.978)	0.412 (8.152)
Rally Event (Ref=No) (6 months before elections)	0.952 (1.224)				0.077 (5.887)
Freedom House Index		2.285 (0.431)			0.445 (2.453)
Freedom of the Press			2.210 (0.708)		4.180 (2.888)
Control of Corruption				0.007* (2.216)	0.003 (4.187)
N	31	36	29	22	16
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
ICC (%) ^b	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b ICC = $\text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 13. Excl. Colombia Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	1.743 (0.819)	25.282* (1.192)	35.534** (1.265)	3.157 (0.586)	0.055 (7.694)
GDP Growth (year before elections)	1.445** (0.131)				1.804 (0.396)
Unemployment ratings (year before elections)		0.815 (0.105)			1.389 (0.397)
Inflation, GDP deflator (year before elections)			0.897 (0.056)		0.944 (0.186)
ODA recieved (year before elections)				1.020 (0.024)	1.323 (0.535)
N	39	31	39	42	30
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	2.472	0.000	4.050	0.648	18.637
ICC(%) ^b	42.90%	0.00%	55.18%	16.46%	85.00%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b ICC = $\text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 14. Excl. Colombia Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	5.250** (0.546)	0.461 (1.117)	1.185 (1.331)	0.819 (0.859)	31.175 (8.162)
Rally Event (Ref=No) (6 months before elections)	1.142 (1.210)				0.370 (5.455)
Freedom House Index		2.129 (0.424)			0.133 (2.475)
Freedom of the Press			2.210 (0.739)		2.272 (4.096)
Control of Corruption				0.009* (2.084)	0.001 (4.934)
N	32	37	30	22	16
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
ICC (%) ^b	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b $ICC = \text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 15. Excl. Dominican Republic Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	2.819 (0.944)	44.286* (1.407)	70.326* (1.795)	4.724 (0.800)	
GDP Growth (year before elections)	1.442* (0.153)				
Unemployment ratings (year before elections)		0.792 (0.118)			
Inflation, GDP deflator (year before elections)			0.887 (0.084)		
ODA recieved (year before elections)				1.014 (0.026)	
N	33	30	33	36	
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	
Intercept Variance	3.171	0.000	6.399	1.423	
ICC(%) ^b	49.08%	0.00%	66.04%	30.19%	

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b ICC = $\text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 16. Excl. Dominican Republic Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	8.353** (0.742)	0.382 (1.209)	0.649 (1.476)	1.376 (0.833)	
Rally Event (Ref=No) (6 months before elections)	0.718 (1.310)				
Freedom House Index		2.414 (0.472)			
Freedom of the Press			3.229 (0.839)		
Control of Corruption				0.014 (2.143)	
N	26	32	27	21	
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	
Intercept Variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	
ICC (%) ^b	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b $ICC = \text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 17. Excl. Ecuador Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	1.776 (0.815)	24.497* (1.242)	34.992** (1.261)	3.115 (0.587)	0.037 (8.201)
GDP Growth (year before elections)	1.445** (0.131)				1.846 (0.416)
Unemployment ratings (year before elections)		0.823 (0.108)			1.424 (0.414)
Inflation, GDP deflator (year before elections)			0.896 (0.056)		0.949 (0.198)
ODA recieved (year before elections)				1.021 (0.024)	1.299 (0.538)
N	39	31	39	42	30
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	2.474	0.000	4.087	0.642	20.914
ICC(%) ^b	42.92%	0.00%	55.40%	16.33%	86.71%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b ICC = $\text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 18. Excl. Ecuador Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	5.250** (0.546)	0.449 (1.113)	1.185 (1.331)	1.042 (0.779)	3.061 (7.676)
Rally Event (Ref=No) (6 months before elections)	1.142 (1.210)				0.106 (5.915)
Freedom House Index		2.143 (0.422)			0.185 (2.256)
Freedom of the Press			2.210 (0.739)		5.835 (3.309)
Control of Corruption				0.011* (2.124)	0.002 (4.754)
N	32	37	30	22	16
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
ICC (%) ^b	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b ICC = $\text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 19. Excl. Honduras Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	1.767 (0.823)	25.921* (1.212)	36.886** (1.256)	3.415* (0.590)	0.055 (7.659)
GDP Growth (year before elections)	1.451** (0.131)				1.801 (0.394)
Unemployment ratings (year before elections)		0.819 (0.106)			1.388 (0.395)
Inflation, GDP deflator (year before elections)			0.896 (0.056)		0.945 (0.185)
ODA recieved (year before elections)				1.019 (0.024)	1.326 (0.525)
N	40	32	40	43	31
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	2.513	0.000	4.048	0.699	18.380
ICC(%) ^b	43.31%	0.00%	55.16%	17.52%	84.82%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b ICC = $\text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 20. Excl. Honduras Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	5.499** (0.544)	0.461 (1.134)	1.182 (1.344)	1.051 (0.779)	4.048 (7.596)
Rally Event (Ref=No) (6 months before elections)	1.090 (1.209)				0.144 (5.959)
Freedom House Index		2.160 (0.433)			0.216 (2.175)
Freedom of the Press			2.259 (0.748)		4.273 (3.164)
Control of Corruption				0.010* (2.096)	0.002 (4.421)
N	33	38	31	23	17
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
ICC (%) ^b	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^b $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^c ICC = $\text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 21. Excl. Nicaragua Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	1.900 (0.963)	35.147* (1.336)	33.495** (1.263)	1.932 (0.632)	0.055 (7.659)
GDP Growth (year before elections)	1.463* (0.144)				1.801 (0.394)
Unemployment ratings (year before elections)		0.808 (0.112)			1.388 (0.395)
Inflation, GDP deflator (year before elections)			0.898 (0.055)		0.945 (0.185)
ODA recieved (year before elections)				1.194 (0.125)	1.326 (0.525)
N	37	30	37	41	29
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	3.222	0.000	4.011	0.469	18.378
ICC(%) ^b	49.48%	0.00%	54.94%	12.48%	84.82%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b ICC = $\text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 22. Excl. Nicaragua Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	5.250** (0.546)	0.151 (1.402)	0.420 (1.483)	1.041 (0.797)	4.746 (7.086)
Rally Event (Ref=No) (6 months before elections)	6.434 (0.682)				0.163 (5.881)
Freedom House Index		3.711* (0.616)			0.185 (2.301)
Freedom of the Press			4.808 (0.962)		4.719 (3.054)
Control of Corruption				0.007* (2.308)	0.002 (4.583)
N	30	35	29	21	16
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
ICC (%) ^b	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b ICC = $\text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 23. Excl. Peru Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	1.664 (0.836)	25.985* (1.206)	36.248** (1.258)	3.150 (0.586)	0.052 (7.812)
GDP Growth (year before elections)	1.664** (0.132)				1.822 (0.403)
Unemployment ratings (year before elections)		0.818 (0.105)			1.399 (0.401)
Inflation, GDP deflator (year before elections)			0.888* (0.058)		0.945 (0.192)
ODA recieved (year before elections)				1.020 (0.024)	1.307 (0.585)
N	39	32	39	42	31
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	2.509	0.000	4.139	0.647	19.805
ICC(%) ^b	43.67%	0.00%	55.71%	16.43%	85.75%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b ICC = $\text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 24. Excl. Peru Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	5.499** (0.544)	0.477 (1.151)	1.185 (1,331)	1,055 (0,780)	4,242 (6,999)
Rally Event (Ref=No) (6 months before elections)	0.909 (1.223)				0,147 (5,636)
Freedom House Index		2.128 (0.443)			0,214 (2,165)
Freedom of the Press			2.210 (0.739)		4,207 (2,945)
Control of Corruption				0.010* (2.063)	0.002 (4.402)
N	32	37	30	24	18
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
ICC (%) ^b	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b $ICC = \text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 25. Excl. Puerto Rico Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	2.551 (0.634)	19.273 (1.770)	9.257** (0.604)	6.390* (0.680)	0.055 (3.885)
GDP Growth (year before elections)	1.338* (0.142)				1.642 (0.323)
Unemployment ratings (year before elections)		0.884 (0.206)			1.535 (0.423)
Inflation, GDP deflator (year before elections)			0.999 (0.001)		0.999 (0.001)
ODA recieved (year before elections)				1.004 (0.022)	1.030 (0.046)
N	32	26	32	32	25
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
ICC(%) ^b	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b ICC = $\text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 26. Excl. Puerto Rico Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	5.747** (0.542)	3.022 (1.779)	55.562 (3.004)	1.403 (0.965)	4.242 (6.999)
Rally Event (Ref=No) (6 months before elections)	1.043 (1.208)				0.147 (5.636)
Freedom House Index		1.288 (0.535)			0.214 (2.165)
Freedom of the Press			0.493 (1.212)		4.207 (2.945)
Control of Corruption				0.018 (2.441)	0.002 (4.402)
N	34	32	26	22	18
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
ICC (%) ^b	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b ICC = $\text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 27. Excl. Venezuela Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	0.838 (0.883)	23.424* (1.241)	29.719** (1.168)	2.198 (0.500)	1.229 (2.444)
GDP Growth (year before elections)	1.618** (0.167)				1.749* (0.243)
Unemployment ratings (year before elections)		0.811 (0.111)			0.899 (0.209)
Inflation, GDP deflator (year before elections)			0.883* (0.059)		0.999 (0.001)
ODA recieved (year before elections)				1.029 (0.025)	1.022 (0.051)
N	37	28	37	39	28
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	1.710	0.000	3.307	0.197	0.000
ICC(%) ^b	34.2%	0.00%	50.13%	5.65%	0.00%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b ICC = $\text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)

Table 28. Excl. Venezuela Multi-level regression “Incumbent Reelection”

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	6.963** (0.616)	0.530 (1.195)	1.364 (1.371)	0.979 (0.846)	1.383 (7.778)
Rally Event (Ref=No) (6 months before elections)	0.429 (1.308)				
Freedom House Index		2.018 (0.468)			0,245 (2.248)
Freedom of the Press			1.992 (0.771)		5.886 (3.416)
Control of Corruption				0.003* (2.686)	0.002 (4.648)
N	28	34	28	20	15
Residual Variance ^a	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29	3.29
Intercept Variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
ICC (%) ^b	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

Note: Multi-Level Logistic Regression odds ratio coefficients with standard errors between brackets.

Dependent variable: “Is the incumbent reelected?” with the reference category: No.

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

^a $\sigma^2 = \pi^2 / 3$ (Snijders & Bosker, 1999)

^b $ICC = \text{var}(u_{0j}) / (\text{var}(u_{0j}) + (\pi^2 / 3))$ (Sommet & Moselli, 2017)