

AFRO 10 years BAROMETER

Working Paper No. 145

ANOTHER RESOURCE CURSE? THE IMPACT OF REMITTANCES ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

by **Kim Yi Dionne, Kris L. Inman and
Gabriella R. Montinola**

**A comparative series of national public
attitude surveys on democracy, markets
and civil society in Africa**



Core Partners

Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)
95 Ntonkei Ababio Street, North Airport Residential Area
P.O. Box 16 404, Legon-Accra, Ghana
233 21 776 142 • fax: 233 21 763 028
www.cddghana.org

The Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA)
P.O. Box 56950, Pretoria Arcadia, 0007, South Africa
27 12 392 0500 • fax: 27 12 320 2414/5
www.idasa.org.za

Institute for Empirical Research in Political Economy (IREEP)
Campus ENEAM Gbegamey 02 B.P. 372
Cotonou, République du Bénin
229 21 307992 • fax: 229 21 302329
www.ireep.org

with support units at

Michigan State University (MSU)
Department of Political Science
East Lansing, MI 48824
517 353 6590 • fax: 517 432 1091
www.polisci.msu.edu

University of Cape Town (UCT)
Democracy in Africa Research Unit
Centre for Social Science Research
Private Bag Rondebosch 7701 South Africa
Office: 27 21 650 3827 • Dept: 27 21 650 3811
fax: 27 21 650 4657
www.csr.uct.ac.za

www.afrobarometer.org

Working Paper No. 145

**ANOTHER RESOURCE CURSE? THE IMPACT
OF REMITTANCES ON POLITICAL
PARTICIPATION**

by **Kim Yi Dionne, Kris L. Inman and Gabriella R.
Montinola**

January 2014

Kim Yi Dionne is Five College Assistant Professor of Government at Smith College.
Email: kdionne@smith.edu

Kris L. Inman is Research Faculty at National Intelligence University.
Email: kristie.inman@dodiis.mil

Gabriella R. Montinola is Associate Professor of Political Science at UC Davis.
Email: grmontinola@ucdavis.edu

AFROBAROMETER WORKING PAPERS

Editor

Michael Bratton

Editorial Board

E. Gyimah-Boadi

Carolyn Logan

Robert Mattes

Leonard Wantchekon

Afrobarometer publications report the results of national sample surveys on the attitudes of citizens in selected African countries towards democracy, markets, civil society, and other aspects of development. The Afrobarometer is a collaborative enterprise of the Centre for Democratic Development (CDD, Ghana), the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), and the Institute for Empirical Research in Political Economy (IREEP) with support from Michigan State University (MSU) and the University of Cape Town, Center of Social Science Research (UCT/CSSR). Afrobarometer papers are simultaneously co-published by these partner institutions and the Globalbarometer.

Working Papers and Briefings Papers can be downloaded in Adobe Acrobat format from www.afrobarometer.org.



Idasa



co-published with: **GLOBALBAROMETER™**

ABSTRACT

International remittances have grown dramatically over the past few decades. Existing scholarship on the impact of remittances has focused on their socioeconomic effects. This article focuses instead on the political impact of remittances, and in particular, its effect on political participation. Recent work on Mexico suggests that remittances may be a resource curse. They insulate recipients from local economic conditions, weaken the link between government performance and individual well-being, and reduce incentives to participate in politics. The resource model of participation, however, suggests that since remittances increase incomes, they should increase political engagement. To our knowledge, we provide the first cross-country, individual-level analysis on remittances' effect on political participation. We employ data from 27,713 individuals across 20 sub-Saharan African countries. We find that remittance recipients are less likely to vote but more likely to participate in politics by contacting government officials directly as well as joining demonstrations and protest marches. Our work thus shows that remittances may not necessarily demobilize citizens, as previous work on Mexico suggests.

INTRODUCTION

International remittances--funds that migrants send back to their home countries--have grown dramatically over the past few decades. Remittance flows to developing countries reached \$401 billion in 2012 (Ratha, et.al. 2013). Total worldwide transfers come to around \$518 billion. These flows amount to twice as much as foreign aid flows and almost two-thirds of foreign direct investment to developing countries.

These substantial income transfers have drawn the attention of policymakers and scholars. Most of this attention has centered on remittances' economic effects. Remittances have been shown to reduce poverty, promote wealth distribution and improve education and health outcomes (Anyanwu and Erhijakpor 2010, Taylor 1992, Yang 2007, Hildebrandt and McKenzie 2005). Other work demonstrates that remittances increase investment and financial development (Ratha 2003, Durand and Massey 1996, Giuliano and Ruiz-Arranz 2009).

Recent work also suggests, however, that remittances may be a "resource curse." The label was first applied to natural resources, such as oil and other minerals (e.g. Gelb 1988), and then extended to include foreign aid (Djankov et al. 2008). These resources are characterized as curses because they generate perverse economic and political outcomes. First, revenues from natural resources and aid are volatile and often lead to boom-and-bust cycles in government spending (Humphreys, Sachs, and Stiglitz 2007, Arellano, Bulir, Lane, and Lipschitz 2009). Second, natural resource exports and aid produce foreign currency earnings that raise real exchange rates and undermine the competitiveness of other exports—a phenomenon known as the Dutch disease (Rajan and Subramanian 2005, Sachs and Warner 1995, Younger 1992). Finally, natural resource rents and aid are revenues derived independent of the citizens' willingness to engage in the economy (Smith 2008). Consequently, they reduce government incentives to reform and provide governments with the means to quell citizen demands for good governance (Djankov, Montalvo, and Reynal-Querol 2008, Ross 2001). Particularly in Africa, resource wealth has been an impediment to democratic transition and consolidation (Jensen and Wantchekon 2004).

Remittances share some characteristics with natural resource rents and aid. It is still unclear, however, whether they should be considered a resource curse. While some studies show that remittances induce Dutch disease effects (Amuendo-Dorantes and Pozo 2004, Bourdet and Falck 2006), one comprehensive study (Barajas et. al. 2011) finds that the effect of remittances on real exchange rates depends on the sample of countries examined. Evidence on remittances' political effects is also mixed and limited. While some studies show that remittances reduce the quality of government (Abdih et al. 2012, Ahmed 2012, Ahmed 2013), other studies show that remittances improve the functioning of political institutions (Tyburski 2012, Pftuze 2013).

Our paper contributes to the nascent literature on remittances' political effects. In particular, we examine remittance recipients' propensity to participate in politics. Many studies on the political consequences of migration in Mexico suggest that remittances reduce recipients' political participation (Bravo 2007, Germano 2013, Goodman and Hiskey 2008). These studies argue that remittances reduce recipients' incentive to engage in political activity because they loosen the link between the well-being of remittance recipients and local economic conditions. The implications of these studies are consistent with the remittances-as-curse view. If remittances reduce political participation, they may indeed foster poor governance. The limited geographic scope of these earlier studies, however, constrains our ability to conclude that remittances generally reduce political participation; remittance recipients in Mexico may differ from those in other countries for many reasons.

Furthermore, the well-established resource model of political participation suggests that resources (i.e., time, money, and skills) generally promote political participation, although some resource types may be

more important for particular types of participation (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman 1995). Income, for example, is required to contribute to campaigns, but is less necessary for voting. While the predictions of the resource model are not fully borne out in developing countries (Bratton 2008, Bratton, Chu and Lagos 2006), it is still an open question whether remittances, which are a major source of income for families left behind, promote political participation.

Our paper broadens the understanding of remittances' impact on participation. To our knowledge, we provide the first cross-country, individual-level analyses of the impact of remittances on political participation. We focus on common forms of participation (voting, direct contact with government officials, and protest) in Africa, where officially recorded remittance flows were estimated to be \$31 billion in 2012 and forecasted to reach \$39 billion in 2015 (Ratha et al. 2013). We analyze data measuring participation and remittances for 27,713 individuals across 20 sub-Saharan countries. Controlling for cross-country variance as well as other individual-level characteristics previously identified as associated with political participation, we find that remittances have a nuanced effect on the political behavior of recipients in sub-Saharan Africa. Specifically, remittance recipients are less likely to vote but more likely to contact government officials about important problems, and to engage in demonstrations and protests.

Our findings have at least two implications. First, our results show that our understanding of political participation is incomplete if we do not consider the impact of remittances. Remittances have a significant effect on participation even after controlling for well-established determinants of participation. Second, our results imply that remittances may not demobilize recipients, as initially suggested by works on Mexico. Remittance recipients in sub-Saharan Africa have not completely withdrawn from the political system. While they may not be expressing their preferences during elections, they continue to express them through direct contacts with officials and participation in demonstrations and protests. Concerns that remittances are a "resource curse," like natural resource rents and foreign aid, may thus be overstated.

REMITTANCES AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Research on remittances' political effects can be divided into three categories: (1) cross-country studies, (2) within-country district-level studies, and (3) individual-level studies. Studies in each category can be divided further into those that imply that remittances are a curse—a skeptic camp, and those that view remittances as promoting positive outcomes—an optimist camp.

Cross-country studies in the skeptic camp include work by Abdih, et.al. (2012) and Ahmed (2012, 2013). These studies argue that remittances increase households' ability to pay for welfare goods, such as health and education services, which governments are typically expected to provide. Remittances thus allow governments to reduce their contribution to public goods and lower the cost of diverting state resources to serve their own purposes.¹ Consistent with their arguments, Abdih et al. (2012) and Ahmed (2013) show that remittances increase government corruption in remittance-receiving countries, and Ahmed (2012) finds that remittances reduce the likelihood of government turnover in autocracies, implying that they prolong bad governance. Taken together, these studies suggest that remittances can act as a curse.

Cross-country analyses by O'Mahony (2012) and Escriba-Folch, Meseguer, and Wright (2013), on the other hand, suggest that remittances can promote government accountability. O'Mahony finds that remittances increase during election years in migrants' home countries. She attributes this to migrants'

¹ The view that remittances are used to finance welfare goods privately is supported by recent studies. Adida and Girod (2011) show, for example, that in Mexico remittances are used to finance sanitation and clean water. Calero, Bedi and Sparrow (2009) show that remittances to Ecuador are positively associated with private education.

desire to influence politics at home directly through campaign contributions or indirectly through friends and family members who receive the remittances. While O'Mahony does not track how this financial support affects election outcomes, the increase in remittances during election years suggests that migrants and their families at home are politically engaged, and remittances give them a means to hold governments accountable. Research by Escriba-Folch, Meseguer, and Wright (2013) contests more directly the findings of the pessimist camp, and in particular those of Ahmed (2012). Escriba-Folch, Meseguer, and Wright (2013) argue that remittances reduce voters' dependence on patronage, and consequently, lower the cost of supporting the opposition. Consistent with their argument, they show that in party-based autocracies, remittances reduce electoral support for incumbents and increase the likelihood of democratization.

Results from within-country and individual-level studies on remittances' political consequences are also mixed. However, those that focus on political participation—the topic of this study—tend to fall within the skeptic camp. Like those who employ cross-country analysis, Goodman and Hiskey (2008), Bravo (2007) and Germano (2013) assert that remittances serve as a substitute for government spending on public goods. Moreover, because remittances tend to increase when conditions in migrants' home countries deteriorate (Clarke and Wallsten 2003, Yang 2007), these private transfers insulate recipients from their economic circumstances (Bravo 2007, Germano 2013). Assuming that lack of public goods and poor economic conditions are due to poor government performance, Goodman and Hiskey (2008), Bravo (2007) and Germano (2013) argue that remittances loosen the link between the well-being of remittance-recipients and government performance. Insulated from poor governance, remittance-recipients are thus less likely to engage in political activity. Using different sources of municipal- and individual-level data on Mexico, these studies find that individuals in high migration municipalities, and in particular remittance recipients, are less likely to engage in political activities, including voting, contacting politicians for favors, signing protest letters, and attending demonstrations and unofficial strikes.

In contrast, two other studies on Mexico suggest that migrants are agents of political change in their home countries (Perez-Armendariz and Crow 2010, Pfutze 2013). These studies find, however, that the effect of remittances on political participation is ambiguous. Perez-Armendariz and Crow (2010) argue that migrants spread the attitudes and behaviors absorbed in more democratic host countries to their less democratic countries of origin through different transmission mechanisms. They find that one of their posited mechanisms—having migrant friends and family in Canada or the United States—makes individuals more likely to engage in political activity. Notably, however, remittances had no effect on political participation. In line with optimist cross-country studies, Pfutze (2013) argues that remittances reduce recipients' dependence on state patronage, and thus provide recipients with the capacity to vote for the opposition. Remittances' impact on political participation, however, is conditional on existing clientelistic structures. Pfutze notes remittances may actually lower turnout because where clientelism prevails, turnout is often tilted toward incumbent parties due to state patronage. Pfutze finds support for his argument by comparing turnout in Mexico for the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)—Mexico's long-standing ruling party—and opposition parties. He shows that in municipalities continuously ruled by the PRI, as the proportion of remittance-receiving households increases, turnout for the PRI decreases. In municipalities ruled by other political parties, however, turnout for both parties is increasing in the proportion of remittance-receiving households. Remittances thus have mixed effects on turnout.

These studies of political behavior in Mexico notwithstanding, there are still reasons to believe that remittances' should promote political participation. The well-established literature on participation shows that resources, such as income and time, are positively associated with the propensity to engage in political activities (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman 1995). Individuals with higher incomes have more time and money to devote to political activities. They are more likely to believe that they can make a

difference because of their greater resources. They are more likely to be exposed to participation opportunities. They have a greater stake in the community, and thus, a greater interest in holding government officials accountable. For these reasons, higher income individuals, it is argued, are more likely to engage in political activities.

Remittances are a major source of income for many households in developing countries. Studies examining households across Latin America (Acosta et.al. 2008), sub-Saharan Africa (Gupta et.al. 2009), and developing countries around the world (Adams and Page 2004) show that remittances increase recipients' income across a wide range of countries. Consistent with individual-level findings, aggregate analysis of remittances in sub-Saharan African countries demonstrates remittances have a poverty-mitigating effect (Gupta et al. 2009).

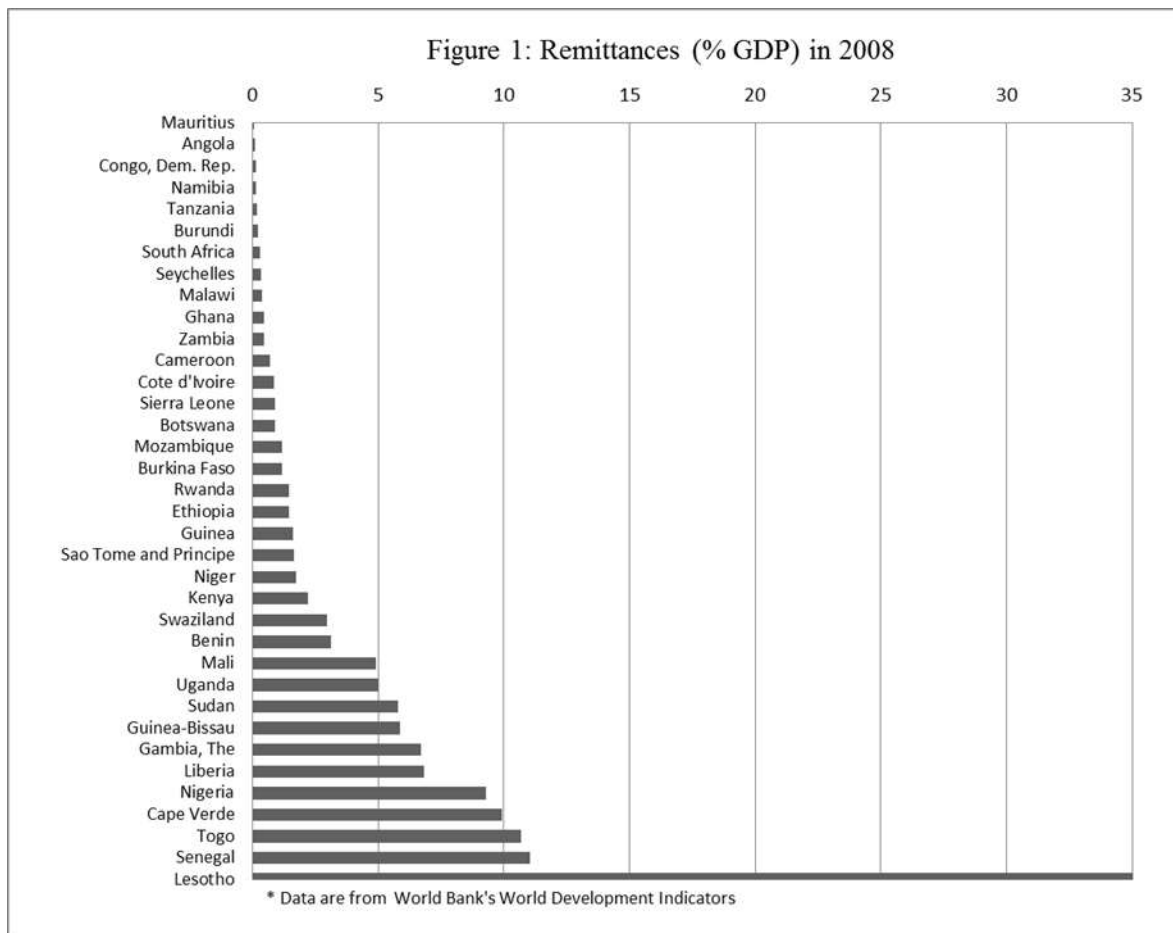
While recent work on participation in Africa (Bratton 2008), and across developing countries more broadly (Bratton, Chu and Lagos 2006), shows that income is negatively associated with voting and participation in community-based collective action, remittances may yet be positively associated with participation because they differ from other types of income in ways that make remittances more empowering. First, unlike revenues from natural resources and aid, remittances are resources that accrue directly to households rather than being channeled through governments. Thus remittances not only increase income, they reduce households' dependence on state patronage, as remittance-optimists argue. Second, unlike income earned in the domestic market, remittances are less subject to government intervention. Private transfers from family members working abroad are often remitted through informal channels (Puri and Ritzema 1999; Sander and Munzele Maimbo 2005; El-Qorchi 2002). Cash or in-kind remittances are often hand-carried by friends and family members, or taxi and bus drivers (Sander and Munzele Maimbo 2005). Aggregating data from 12 country case studies, Puri and Ritzema (1999) note that estimated unrecorded remittances as a percentage of total remittances range from 8% in South Korea to 50% in the Philippines. No data measures the ratio of formal to informal remittances, but we suspect the share of remittances sent informally is even greater in Africa because of its weak financial infrastructure when compared to other regions. The high emigration from rural areas in Africa will lead migrants to use informal money transfer options because of lack of access to financial services or because informal methods are viewed as more efficient, trustworthy, or inexpensive (Sander and Munzele Maimbo 2005). Remittance recipients are thus less vulnerable to the threat of higher taxes or extortion. Finally, as the skeptics argue, remittances insulate recipients from local economic conditions: migrants tend to increase their remittances when conditions deteriorate in their home countries (Clarke and Wallsten 2003; Yang 2004). While this implies that remittances attenuate the link between government performance and individual well-being, it also implies that holding non-remittance income constant, remittance recipients will have more time and resources than non-remittance recipients to express their discontent during recessions.

Previous work thus generates competing hypotheses on remittances' impact on political participation. If remittances affect participation through their effect on income as the resource model of participation suggests, then we would expect remittance receipt to be associated with greater political participation. If remittances affect participation by insulating recipients from government mismanagement, then we would expect remittances to be negatively associated with participation. Note that the mechanisms linking remittances and participation are not mutually exclusive. Remittances may simultaneously affect participation through each mechanism. Thus, whether remittances promote or reduce political participation is an empirical question. Moreover, because ordinary citizens have different cost-benefit calculations for different forms of participation, the impact of remittances' on different forms of participation is also still in question.

SETTING, DATA, AND METHODS

Despite the relative lack of attention to remittances in Africa, the continent has a long history of remittances dating back to at least the colonial period, when heads of rural households migrated to urban areas to earn wages to pay colonial taxes (Sander and Munzele Maimbo 2005). The World Bank recently estimated 21.8 million (or 2.5% of) Africans emigrated abroad, primarily to other countries in the region (63%), but the report also noted that one-quarter of African migrants migrated to high-income OECD countries (World Bank 2011: 33). Political instability is a compelling factor prompting emigration, but the prime motivator for most African migrants is economic (Sander and Munzele Maimbo 2005). The mix of nations in the top 10 emigration countries of sub-Saharan Africa reflects as much: Burkina Faso, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Nigeria, Sudan, Eritrea, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and South Africa (World Bank 2011). In terms of recorded remittances, Nigeria was the largest recipient, accounting for 67% of remittance inflows to Africa in 2012 (Ratha et al. 2013). Smaller countries Lesotho, Senegal, Togo, and Cape Verde each account for far less of the total remittance inflows to the region, however, they are heavily dependent on remittances. Figure 1 presents remittance inflows as a percent of GDP across African countries. As the figure shows, in 2008, Lesotho was the highest recipient of remittances as a percentage of GDP (35.3%), followed by Senegal at 11%, Togo at 10.6%, and Cape Verde at 9.9%.

Figure 1: Remittances (% GDP) in 2008

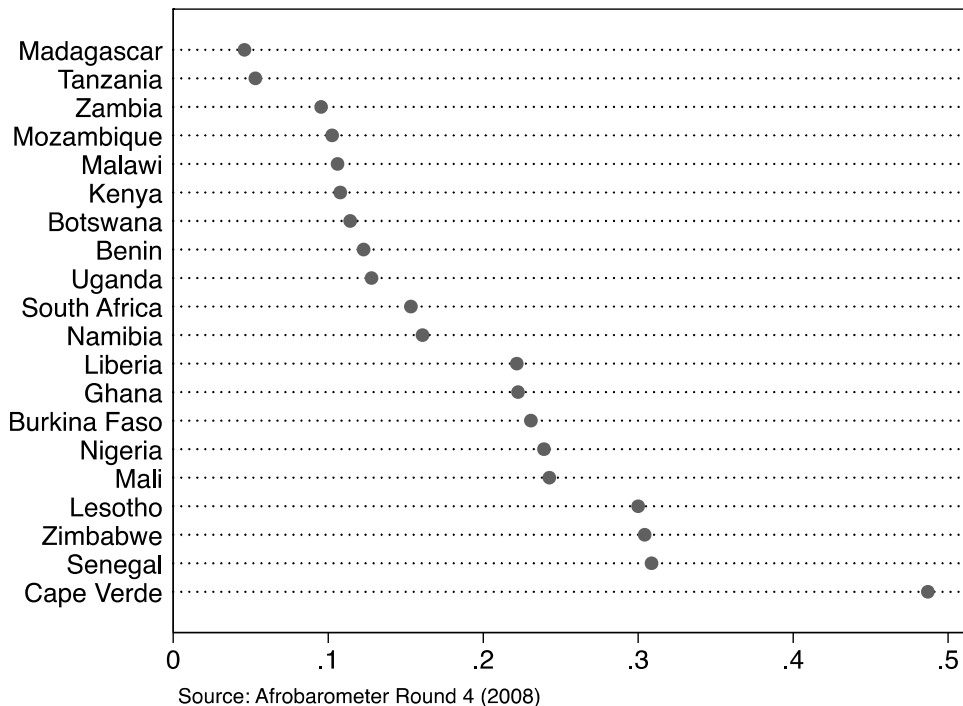


To study the relationship between remittances and political participation, we analyze data from the Afrobarometer, a cross-national public opinion survey capturing attitudes toward social, political, and economic issues. In particular, we employ data from Round 4 of the Afrobarometer, conducted in 2008 and 2009. Round 4 includes responses from 27,713 individuals across 20 countries. The 20 countries in Afrobarometer Round 4 include: Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

Since we are most interested in the impact of remittances on the political behavior of those left behind, we use an item from the Afrobarometer that indicates whether or not respondents received remittances. The question asked: “How often, if at all, do you receive money remittances from friends or relatives outside of the country?” Responses were divided into 4 categories based on how often respondents received remittances: never, once a week, once a month, or a few times a year. We transformed this item into a binary measure because we think the frequency of remittance receipts should not affect recipients’ likelihood of participating in politics. Theoretically, if remittances affect participation through an income or insulating effect, then what would matter is the size of transfers not their frequency. Since the Afrobarometer does not ask respondents how much they receive, we pooled together all those who receive remittances irrespective of how often. The variable is thus coded 1 if the respondent reported receiving remittances (whether it be once a week, once a month, or a few times a year) and 0 otherwise. By pooling remittance-recipients in this way, we cannot specify whether each additional dollar of remittances has a marginal effect on participation, however, we can determine whether participation levels differ on average between individuals who receive remittances and those who do not.

Roughly 18% of Afrobarometer respondents reported receiving remittances in Round 4 data. Figure 2 shows a comparison of reported remittance rates by country in the sample. The percent of the sample reporting having received remittances from abroad ranges from 5% in Madagascar to 49% in Cape Verde.

Figure 2: Proportion of Respondents Reporting Having Received Remittances



To measure participation, we use data from three questions asked in the Afrobarometer survey about voting, contacting government officials, and taking part in protests and demonstrations. To measure voting behavior, we use an indicator of self-reported participation in the last election before the survey was conducted.² We create a binary variable *Vote*, coded 1 if the respondent reported having voted in the last election, and 0 otherwise. We treat as missing observations those respondents who were too young to vote in the previous election, even if they reported to have voted or to have not voted for some other reason.³ Of the 25,479 Afrobarometer Round 4 respondents estimated to be of voting age during the most recent election, 75% of them voted. The proportion of the voting age population that reported voting in the most recent election ranged from 62% in Nigeria to 92% in Benin.

To measure participation in the form of direct contact with government officials, we use three questions from the Afrobarometer. Each question asked respondents how often they contacted a specific type of government official about some important problem or to share their views during the past year. The officials included a local government councilor, a Member of Parliament, and an official of a government agency. Responses to each question were coded 0=Never, 1= Only once, 2=A few times, and 3=Often. Given the relatively low frequency of respondents reporting having contacted a government official more than once, we pooled responses indicating contact with a government official regardless of frequency and type of official. The variable *Political Contact* is thus coded 1 if the respondent contacted at least one government official during the past year, and 0 otherwise. Across the three types of contact, 33% of respondents reported contacting some government agent about some important problem or to share their views in the past year; this figure ranges from 10% in Madagascar to 47% in both Kenya and Uganda. Much of this contact was directed at local government councilors. 27% of respondents reported having contacted local government councilors in the past year, compared to 13% of respondents reporting having contacted their member of parliament or a government agency official.

Finally, to measure protest, we use an item that asks respondents if they attended a protest march or demonstration during the past year. The survey question used to create our measure of *Protest* is coded 0=No, would never do this, 1=No, but would do if had the chance, 2=Yes, once or twice, 3=Yes, several times, and 4=Yes, often. Because only a small minority--less than 10% of the sample--reported attending protests or demonstrations more than once, we created a dichotomous measure--*Protest*, with 1 signifying that the respondent reported engaging in at least one protest march or demonstration, and 0 otherwise.⁴ A bit more than 12% of the Afrobarometer Round 4 sample reported having participated in a march or demonstration in the previous year; the smallest proportion reporting having protested was in Madagascar (4%) and the country with the largest proportion reporting having protested was Tanzania (20%). Table 1 provides summary statistics, showing how political participation varies widely across respondents and across forms of participation.

² The question asked, "With regard to the most recent, [year] national elections, which statement is true for you?" Respondents could choose from the following options: "You were not registered or you were too young to vote," "You voted in the elections," "You decided not to vote," "You could not find the polling station," "You were prevented from voting," "You did not have time to vote," "Did not vote for some other reason."

³ More specifically, we exclude from analysis all respondents who were not 18 years old during the year of the election (e.g., we code as missing respondents who were younger than 22 years old when the Afrobarometer collected data in Mozambique in 2008). The most recent national election was 2008 in Madagascar, 2007 in Benin, Burkina Faso, Kenya, Lesotho, Mali, Nigeria and Senegal; 2006 in Uganda and Zambia; 2005 in Cape Verde, Liberia and Tanzania; 2004 in Botswana, Ghana, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

⁴ We coded "Don't know" responses for all items used to create our dependent variables as 0 because we assume that those who cannot recall voting, joining protests, and contacting government officials did not engage in the activity. We use the same logic when coding our key independent variable--remittance recipient--as well as controls, with a few exceptions, which we describe below.

Table 1: Summary Statistics of Political Participation by Country

Country	Vote			Contact			Protest		
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N
ALL	0.752	0.432	25473	0.326	0.469	27707	0.125	0.330	27691
Benin	0.919	0.273	1177	0.286	0.452	1200	0.168	0.374	1200
Botswana	0.662	0.473	1068	0.428	0.495	1200	0.132	0.338	1200
Burkina Faso	0.741	0.439	1164	0.303	0.460	1200	0.133	0.340	1200
Cape Verde	0.845	0.362	1123	0.273	0.446	1264	0.147	0.355	1263
Ghana	0.896	0.305	1050	0.400	0.490	1200	0.093	0.290	1200
Kenya	0.811	0.392	1074	0.475	0.500	1102	0.135	0.342	1100
Lesotho	0.635	0.482	1157	0.388	0.487	1200	0.078	0.267	1200
Liberia	0.827	0.379	1091	0.368	0.483	1200	0.113	0.317	1200
Madagascar	0.698	0.459	1350	0.097	0.296	1350	0.036	0.185	1350
Malawi	0.817	0.387	1068	0.228	0.419	1200	0.097	0.296	1199
Mali	0.785	0.411	1203	0.380	0.486	1232	0.164	0.370	1232
Mozambique	0.758	0.428	914	0.213	0.409	1199	0.120	0.325	1197
Namibia	0.758	0.429	978	0.292	0.455	1200	0.126	0.332	1200
Nigeria	0.618	0.486	2228	0.258	0.437	2324	0.169	0.375	2324
Senegal	0.813	0.390	1157	0.242	0.428	1199	0.115	0.319	1193
South Africa	0.722	0.448	2129	0.281	0.449	2400	0.185	0.388	2400
Tanzania	0.892	0.311	1101	0.359	0.480	1208	0.202	0.402	1208
Uganda	0.734	0.442	2293	0.475	0.499	2430	0.086	0.281	2431
Zambia	0.625	0.484	1112	0.332	0.471	1199	0.070	0.256	1195
Zimbabwe	0.680	0.467	1036	0.436	0.496	1200	0.074	0.262	1199

To gauge remittances' effect on political participation, we control for individual-level variables that other scholars have demonstrated influence political participation. These controls include demographic characteristics, civic orientations, and civic skills.

Demographic Characteristics: We include the following demographic variables as controls in our model: wealth, employment status, education, residence, age, and gender. Studies on political participation find that income is positively associated with participation (e.g. Wolfinger and Rosenstone, 1980; Verba, Brady, & Schlozman 1995; Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993). Respondents are not asked to report their income in the Afrobarometer survey because many citizens in poor countries operate in informal markets where cash transactions, including income, are unrecorded and difficult to measure (Bratton 2008). Instead we rely on two index measures. The first is an index created from questions that ask about household assets. The survey asks respondents: "Which of these things do you personally own: A radio? A television? A motor vehicle, car or motorcycle?" Responses to these questions are binary (0=don't own; 1=own). The variable *Asset-based Wealth* is a sum of responses to the three questions, divided by three. An alternative measure is the *Lived Poverty Index*, which mixes objective and subjective approaches to measuring poverty (Bratton 2008). The Afrobarometer asks a series of questions for the components of the *Lived Poverty Index*: "Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or your family gone without: (a) enough food to eat; (b) enough clean water for home use; (c) medicines or medical

treatment; (d) electricity in your home; (e) enough fuel to cook your food; and (f) a cash income.” Responses to the question are ordinal: “never,” “just once or twice,” “several times,” “many times,” or “always.” The variable *Lived Poverty Index* is created from summing across these measures and then log-transforming the sum to normalize its distribution. Though *Asset-based Wealth* is a more reliable measure than income in African contexts (Bratton 2008), we suspect the *Lived Poverty Index* is more strongly influenced by current income.

Work on political participation in Africa indicates that employment status influences participation. Bratton, Mattes, and Gyimah-Boadi (2005) show that respondents who hold jobs, regardless of whether they belong to the peasant, working, or middle class, are more likely to vote. They also show that job holders are more likely to protest because workers are more likely to belong to civic organizations, trade unions, farmer associations, etc. Thus, we control for employment status. The survey asks respondents: “Do you have a job that pays a cash income? Is it full-time or part-time? And are you presently looking for a job (even if you are presently working)?” Responses to this question are coded 0=No (not looking), 1=No (looking), 2=Yes, part time (not looking), 3=Yes, part time (looking), 4=Yes, full time (not looking), and 5=Yes, full time (looking). We transform the original variable into a trichotomous variable ranging from 0 (unemployed) to 1 (employed part-time) to 2 (employed full time).

The extant literature also demonstrates that education is positively associated with political participation (Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980; Verba, Brady, and Schlozman 1995; Rosenstone and Hansen 1993), although the relationship between education and participation is less established in Africa (e.g. Bratton, Mattes, and Gyimah-Boadi 2005; Kuenzi 2006). To avoid the possibility of omitted variable bias, we control for education in our analysis. Respondents’ level of education is a ten-category variable ranging from no formal schooling (0) through post-graduate education (9). Given the mixed results on the effect of education on participation in Africa, we have no expectations about the role that education plays on participation.

Examining earlier waves of the Afrobarometer data, Bratton, Mattes, and Gyimah-Boadi (2005: 296-301) find that older voters are more likely to vote, while protesting is more likely among youth. In more recent work focused on youth political participation in Africa, youth were less likely to vote (Resnick and Casale 2013), but no more likely to protest than older citizens (Resnick and Casale 2011). Given these findings, we control for age of the respondent measured in years. We expect older respondents to be more likely to vote as well as contact government officials directly. We also control for gender given the substantial political engagement gap between men and women in Africa (Barnes and Burchard 2012). We expect in particular that men will be more likely to protest than women (Bratton et al. 2005). Finally, we include a binary measure indicating whether the respondent is an urban or rural dweller, coded 1 if the respondent lives in an *urban* area, and 0 otherwise. We expect urban dwellers to be more likely to protest than their rural counterparts since mobilization is easier in densely populated areas (Bates 1981; Bratton et al. 2005).

Civic Orientations: Many studies suggest that political participation begins with interest in politics (e.g. Almond and Verba 1963; Gamson 1968; Bratton 1999; Bratton, Mattes, and Gyimah-Boadi 2005). To capture the effect of political interest on participation, we include a question that asks respondents about their interest in public affairs. This question ranges from 0 to 3, where 0 corresponds to “not at all interested” and 3 corresponds to “very interested.”⁵ We expect individuals who are more interested in politics to be more likely to engage in all forms of participation.

⁵ “Don’t know” responses are coded to the midpoint because we believe that respondents may have had difficulty distinguishing between categories presented in this question, e.g. between “not very interested” and “somewhat interested.” We follow the same coding rule for the measures of political evaluation and civic skills described below. Our results are essentially the same when “don’t know” responses are dropped altogether.

We also expect individuals who feel an affinity with any political party to be more involved than non-partisans, since partisanship taps into overall commitment and interest in politics as well as support for a particular political party (Bratton et al. 2005). Thus we include a question that asks respondents if they feel close to a political party. Responses to the question are coded 0=not close to a party, and 1=close to a party.

In addition to political interest and partisan leaning, we also control for political evaluations. Studies of political opinion and behavior in Africa generally include measures of evaluations of political performance, however, there is no standard question or series of questions that all scholars use to measure such evaluations (Bratton and Mattes 2001; Bratton et al. 2005). Because participation is more likely to occur in societies that are open to it (Tarrow 1994), we include an index of evaluations on the openness of the political system—*Evaluation of the Political System*. The index includes questions on the extent of democracy in the country, whether respondents view elections as free and fair, and the extent to which respondents feel they can have their voice heard between elections. Each of these variables is originally coded 1-4, where 1 indicates more negative evaluations (e.g. “The country is not a democracy”, “elections are not free and fair”, or “it is very difficult to be heard between elections”) and 4 indicates more positive evaluations (e.g. “The country is a full democracy”, “elections are completely free and fair”, or “it is very easy to be heard between elections”). To create the index, we first transform each variable into a measure ranging from 0-4 placing “don’t know” responses at the midpoint value of 2. We then sum respondents’ scores on each variable to create a single index. The index is then rescaled to range from 0-4, with 4 representing the most positive evaluations. We expect those who evaluate their political system more positively will be more likely to vote and contact government officials directly, while those who evaluate it more negatively will be more likely to protest.

Civic Skills: The resource model of political participation (Verba et al. 1995) predicts that those with greater civic skills are more likely to participate. Thus, we include a measure of civic skills based on the extent of respondents’ participation in voluntary associations or community groups. Each respondent was asked whether he or she was an official leader, active member, inactive member, or not a member of either type of group. The measure is coded 0 (not a member) to 3 (official leader). We expect that those who score higher on this measure have more civic skills and will therefore be more likely to engage in all forms of participation.

To examine the association between remittances and political participation, we employ multilevel random effects logistic regressions.⁶ We use logistic regressions because our dependent variables are dichotomous measures. We use multilevel analyses because our data are based on survey responses of individuals nested within countries. This method allows us to control for cross-country variance and correct for the clustering of our data. We use multivariate analysis to control for demographic characteristics as well as civic orientations and skills.⁷

⁶ More specifically, we use the command *xtlogit* in STATA, qualified with a random effects option (*, re*).

⁷ Variables such as wealth, interest in politics, and civic skills may also be affected by remittances. Controlling for these “post-treatment” variables can result in bias in the estimate of the total effect of remittances on participation where any identified effect is likely to underestimate the potential impact of remittances. A more precise estimate of the impact of remittances would include measures of pre-remittance civic skills and post-remittance skills, but these are not available in the Afrobarometer data we study.

RESULTS

Table 2 presents our results. Each column reports results for a different form of participation, i.e., voting, contacting government officials, or joining protests. Each model regresses the dependent variable (vote, contact, or protest) on remittances, while controlling for survey respondents' demographic characteristics, civic orientations and skills. We find remittance recipients are less likely to vote than those who do not receive remittances. This is consistent with Bravo's findings among Mexican citizens. Interpreting the coefficients in terms of log odds, receiving remittances decreases the odds of voting by 17%. We also find that those who receive remittances are more likely to contact government officials about important problems or to share their views. Whereas remittances have a significant negative effect on voting, they have a significant positive effect on contacting government officials. Receiving remittances increases the odds of political contact by 15%. Finally, we find that remittance recipients are more likely to protest than those who do not receive remittances. Receiving remittances increases the odds of protesting by 16%. Note that the positive effect of remittances on protest is similar to that of remittances on contacting government officials, but contrary to that of remittances on voting. The impact of control variables across these regressions is consistent with findings elsewhere on the determinants of political behavior in African countries.

Table 2: Effects of Remittances on Political Behavior: Random Effects Logistics Models Using Round 4 Afrobarometer Data (2008)

	Voted Last Election	Contacted Officials	Participated in Demonstration
Received Remittance	-0.161*** (0.042)	0.153*** (0.038)	0.151** (0.048)
Asset Index (Radio, TV, Car)	0.301*** (0.059)	0.493*** (0.054)	0.159* (0.071)
Poverty Index	0.031 (0.021)	0.150*** (0.019)	0.124*** (0.025)
Employment Status	0.106*** (0.022)	0.106*** (0.020)	0.062* (0.026)
Level of Education	-0.027** (0.010)	0.072*** (0.009)	0.067*** (0.012)
Age	0.033*** (0.001)	0.012*** (0.001)	-0.012*** (0.002)
Urban	-0.211*** (0.036)	-0.349*** (0.033)	0.213*** (0.043)
Male	0.103** (0.033)	0.352*** (0.029)	0.159*** (0.040)
Political Interest	0.161*** (0.015)	0.224*** (0.014)	0.215*** (0.020)
Evaluation of Political System	0.165*** (0.018)	0.082*** (0.016)	-0.069** (0.021)
Feels Close to a Political Party	0.691*** (0.033)	0.403*** (0.031)	0.174*** (0.042)
Member of Community Group	0.145*** (0.019)	0.515*** (0.015)	0.469*** (0.019)
Constant	-1.133*** (0.151)	-3.301*** (0.130)	-3.130*** (0.142)
Observations	24,879	27,090	27,081
Panel-Level Variance (Insig2u)	-1.216*** (0.325)	-1.587*** (0.325)	-1.757*** (0.336)
Proportion of Variance Attributed to Panel-Level Variance (rho)	0.0827	0.0585	0.0499
Standard Deviation (sigma_u)	0.545	0.452	0.415

Standard errors in parentheses

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

ROBUSTNESS CHECKS

In this section of the paper, we examine three potential methodological concerns with our analysis: country effects, measurement of remittances, and measurement of contacting government agents.

To check that our results are not driven in particular by respondents in countries with high levels of remittance activity, we run a series of robustness checks where respondents from Cape Verde, Nigeria, and Lesotho are dropped sequentially and also simultaneously. To provide some background, Cape Verde has the highest proportion of population reporting to have received remittances in the Afrobarometer Round 4 data. In absolute terms, Nigeria is the largest recipient of officially recorded remittance flows in sub-Saharan Africa (Ratha et al. 2013). And finally, Lesotho is the highest recipient of remittances as a percentage of GDP in sub-Saharan Africa, estimated at 34.2% of GDP; Cape Verde has the next highest value at 14.5% (Nyamongo et al. 2012). We replicate our analysis omitting each of these three countries and then omitting all three countries from the analysis and include tables for each outcome (voting, contacting government agents, and protesting) in the appendix. Though the coefficient values shift slightly, remittances remain a significant negative influence on voting and positive influence on contacting government agents and participating in protest, consistent with our earlier analysis.

We also conducted separate analysis where we did not recode the remittance data to be a binary outcome (receipt=1, no receipt=0), but instead kept the ordinal distinctions in frequency of remittance receipt. We find that the impact of remittance receipt operates similarly. Increasing the frequency of remittance receipt reduces the likelihood a respondent will turnout to vote, and increase the likelihood that s/he will contact a government agent or participate in a protest (results not shown).

Finally, we consider the potential different types of contact – contacting a local government councilor, contacting a member of parliament, and contacting an official of a government agency – and whether by combining these responses into one variable we are masking heterogeneous effects across types of contact. Though we find a smaller substantive effect of remittance receipt on contacting a local government councilor, and a higher substantive effect of remittance receipt on contacting a member of parliament, in each model, remittance receipt has a statistically significant and positive effect on contacting these different agents of the government (see appendix for regression table).

DISCUSSION

International remittances are quickly becoming an important source of income for millions of individuals around the world. While there is already a large body of work on remittances' socioeconomic effects, work on the political consequences of this important source of income is limited. Our work builds on the nascent literature on remittances' political effects by focusing on the political behavior of remittance recipients.

Our analyses show that remittances have a significant effect on political participation in migrants' home countries, although this effect differs across types of participation. Specifically, remittance recipients are less likely to vote but more likely to contact government officials directly as well as engage in protest marches. Our results on voting behavior are consistent with previous work on Mexico (Bravo 2007; Goodman and Hiskey 2008), while our results on the latter forms of participation (government contact and protest) are more in line with the resource model of participation. This suggests that the insulating effect of remittances dominates when considering voting, while the income effect prevails when considering the decision to contact government officials directly or to engage in protests. Why might this be the case?

We offer an explanation based on the calculus that remittance receivers might engage in when deciding to participate in politics. While voting may be the least costly political activity in terms of time and effort,

in the context of African politics, it is also the least likely to incur a payoff. The chances of effecting change through voting are slim to none. In his work on Mexico, Pfutze (2013) argues and shows that the impact of remittances on voting is conditional on clientelistic structures. Where clientelism prevails, remittances are likely to reduce the need to turnout for incumbents that provide little benefit. This could explain our results as clientelism is seen as pervasive in African countries (Wantchekon 2003; van de Walle 2007). Remittances provide recipients with the ability to provide for themselves the meager welfare goods that politicians in Africa provide in exchange for votes. Remittance recipients thus have little incentive to vote. The insulating effect of remittances dominates the decision to turnout.

On the other hand, direct contact with government officials, while more costly in terms of time and effort, is a more effective way of securing benefits in states like those of sub-Saharan Africa where clientelistic politics dominates. The return to one's investment of time and effort is much more likely to payoff. Thus, the income effect of remittances is more likely to outweigh the insulating effect when deciding whether to contact government officials directly.

The income effect of remittances may also prevail when remittance recipients decide whether to engage in demonstrations and protest marches. Other scholars have suggested remittances ease the economic obstacles to political participation, particularly as a challenge to the state (Tyburski 2012). Because citizens often use remittances to cover basic necessities (i.e., food, healthcare, and education), remittances can lead to the political activation of citizens demanding different things from the state (Acevedo 2013). Because protest is the most costly form of political engagement given the risk of punishment, remittances could – like wealth or status – provide citizens sufficient resources to mitigate risks in contexts of government-sponsored violence (Dionne and Robinson 2013). However, studies of the effects of remittances in particular suggest political activation in the form of protest is more likely in politically “open” contexts (Acevedo 2013; Burgess 2012). The data analyzed here draws from political contexts in Africa that tend towards being more democratic or “open” and thus do not permit greater scrutiny of the relative importance of open or closed political contexts.

Our results highlight the utility of disaggregating the concept of participation into different forms, as Leighley (1995) suggests. Our finding that remittance recipients are less likely to vote but more likely to engage in political contact and protest is consistent with research that shows little overlap between those who participate in elections and those who participate in non-electoral activities (Hansen and Rosenstone 1983). Our work is generally consistent with the resource model of participation, which suggests that the impact of particular resources depends on the type of participation in question (e.g., Brady, Verba, & Schlozman 1995). Further research on recipients' motivations might shed more light on why remittances have different effects on different forms of participation.

Examining the effects of remittances on different forms of participation leads us to a more sanguine view of remittances than might have been the case if we had focused only on voting behavior. As mentioned earlier, remittances are increasingly being described as a resource curse akin to natural resource rents and foreign aid (Abdih et.al. 2012). The latter, it is argued, are revenue sources that can be substituted for taxes and serve as a buffer between government performance and citizens (Bueno de Mesquita and Smith 2009). Remittances do not flow through governments. Indeed, they are private income transfers that are difficult to tax. However, like natural resource rents and foreign aid, remittances can serve as a buffer between government performance and citizens. They can insulate recipients from local conditions and reduce their incentives to engage in political activities.

Our work shows that remittances may not necessarily demobilize participation as previous work on Mexico (Bravo 2007, Goodman and Hiskey 2008) suggests. Remittance recipients in Africa have not withdrawn from the political system. While they are less likely to vote, they express their views by

contacting government officials directly or by joining demonstrations and protest marches. Given the state of politics in African countries, this may be the most effective way to be heard. Thus, concerns that remittances are a “resource curse,” like natural resource rents and foreign aid, may be overstated.

REFERENCES

- Acosta, Pablo A., Emmanuel K.K. Lartey, and Federico S. Mandelman. 2009. "Remittances and the Dutch Disease." *Journal of International Economics* 79(1): 102-116.
- Abdih, Yasser, Ralph Chami, Jihad Dagher, and Peter Montiel. 2012. "Remittances and Institutions: Are Remittances a Curse?" *World Development* 40(4):657-666.
- Adida, Claire L. and Desha M. Girod. 2011. "Do Migrants Improve Their Hometowns? Remittances and Access to Public Services in Mexico, 1995-2000." *Comparative Political Studies* 44(1):3-27.
- Acevedo, Jesse. 2013. "Remittances and Protests in Africa." *Draft Manuscript*.
- Ahmed, Faisal Z. 2012. "The Perils of Unearned Foreign Income: Aid, Remittances, and Government Survival." *American Political Science Review* 106(1):146-165.
- Ahmed, Faisal Z. 2013. "Remittances Deteriorate Governance." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 95(4): 1166-1182.
- Almond, Gabriel A. and Sidney Verba. 1963. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. London: Sage Publications.
- Amuendo-Dorantes, Catalina, and Susan Pozo. 2004. "Workers Remittances and the Real Exchange Rate: A Paradox of Gifts." *World Development* 32(8):1407-17.
- Anyanwu, John, and Andrew Erhijakpor. 2010. "Do International Remittances Affect Poverty in Africa?" *African Development Review* 22(1): 51-91.
- Arellano, Cristina, Ales Bulir, Timothy Lane, and Leslie Lipschitz. 2009. "The Dynamic Implications of Foreign Aid and its Variability." *Journal of Development Economics* 88(1):87-102.
- Barajas, Adolfo, Ralph Chami, Dalia Hakura and Peter J. Montiel. 2011. "Workers' Remittances and the Equilibrium Real Exchange Rate: Theory and Evidence." *Economia* 11(2):45-99.
- Barnes, Tiffany, and Stephanie Burchard. 2012. "'Engendering' Politics: The Impact of Descriptive Representation on Women's Political Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 46(7): 767-790.
- Bates, Robert. 1981. *Markets and States in Tropical Africa*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Bourdet, Yves, and Hans Falck. 2006. "Emigrants' Remittances and Dutch Disease in Cape Verde." *International Economic Journal* 20(3): 267-284.

- Brady, Henry E., Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Scholzman. 1995. "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation." *The American Political Science Review* 89:271-94.
- Bratton, Michael. 1999. "Political Participation in a New Democracy: Institutional considerations from Zambia." *Comparative Political Studies* 32 (5):549-88.
- Bratton, Michael and Robert Mattes. 2001. "Support for Democracy in Africa: Intrinsic or Instrumental?" *British Journal of Political Science* 31: 447-474.
- Bratton, Michael. 2008. "Poor People and Democratic Citizenship in Africa." In Krishna, Anirudh (Ed.) *Poverty, Participation and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bratton, Michael, Yun Han Chu and Marta Lagos. 2006. "Who Votes? Implications for New Democracies." Chapter prepared for the second annual Yearbook of the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (Stockholm, IDEA).
- Bratton, Michael, Robert Mattes, and E. Gyimah-Boadi. 2005. *Public Opinion, Democracy, and Market Reform in Africa*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Bravo, Jorge. 2007, "Emigration, remittances, and political engagement in Mexico." *Draft Manuscript*.
- Burgess, Katrina. 2012. "Migrants, remittances, and politics: loyalty and voice after exit." *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 36(1): 43-74.
- Calero, Carla, Arjun S. Bedi and Robert Sparrow. 2009. "Remittances, Liquidity Constraints and Human Capital Investments in Ecuador." *World Development* 37(6):1143–1154.
- Clarke, George R. G. and Wallsten, Scott. 2003. Do Remittances Act Like Insurance? Evidence From a Natural Disaster in Jamaica. *World Bank Working Paper*.
- Cornelius, Wayne A. and Marc R. Rosenblum. 2005. "Immigration and Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* (8): 99-119.
- Dionne, Kim Yi, and Amanda L. Robinson. 2013. "Risk of political violence and protest participation: evidence from contemporary Malawi." *Draft Manuscript*.
- Djankov, Simeon, Jose G. Montalvo, and Marta Reynal-Querol. 2008. "The Curse of Aid." *Journal of Economic Growth* 13(3):169-194.
- Durand, J., E.A. Parrado, and D.S. Massey. 1996. "Migradollars and Development: A Reconsideration of the Mexican Case." *International Migration Review* 30: 423-44.
- Escriba-Folch, Abel, Covadonga Meseguer and Joseph Wright. 2013. "Remittances and Democratization." *Draft Manuscript*.

- Gamson, William A. 1968. *Power and Discontent*. Homewood: The Dorsey Press.
- Gelb, Alan H. 1988. *Oil Windfalls: Blessing or Curse?* Oxford University Press.
- Germano, Roy. 2013. "Migrants' Remittances and Economic Voting in the Mexican Countryside." *Electoral Studies*. Online version.
- Giuliano, Paola and Marta Ruiz–Arranz. 2009. "Remittances, Financial Development, and Growth." *Journal of Development Economics* 90(1):144–152.
- Goodman, Gary L., and Jonathan T. Hiskey. 2008. "Exit without Leaving: Political Disengagement in High Migration Municipalities in Mexico." *Comparative Politics* 40(2): 169-189.
- Gupta, Sanjeev, Catherine A. Pattillo, and Smita Wagh. 2009. "Effect of Remittances on Poverty and Financial Development in Sub-Saharan Africa." *World Development* 37(1): 104-115.
- Hansen, John Mark, and Steven J. Rosenstone. 1983. "Participation Outside Elections" Presented to the Board of Overseers, National Election Study 1984 National Election Study Planning Committee.
- Hildebrandt, N, and D.J. McKenzie. 2005. "The Effects of Migration on Child Health in Mexico." *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3573*.
- Jensen, Nathan, and Leonard Wantchekon. 2004. "Resource Wealth and Political Regimes in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 37(7): 816-841.
- Humphreys, Macartan, Jeffrey Sachs, and Joseph Stiglitz. 2007. *Escaping the Resource Curse*. Columbia University Press: New York.
- Kapur, Devesh, and John McHale. 2003. "Migration's New Payoff." *Foreign Policy* 139: 48-57.
- Kuenzi, Michelle T. 2006. "Nonformal Education, Political Participation, and Democracy: Findings from Senegal." *Political Behavior* 28(1): 1-31.
- Leighley, Jan E. 1995. "Attitudes, Opportunities and Incentives: A Field Essay on Political Participation." *Political Research Quarterly* 48(1): 181-209.
- Lowell, Lindsay B. and Rodolfo O. de la Garza. 2000. "The Developmental Role of Remittances in U.S. Latino Communities and in Latino American Countries." Washington: Inter-American Dialogue.
- Nyamongo, Esman Morekwa, Roselyn N. Misati, Leonard Kipyegon, and Lydia Ndirangu. 2012. "Remittances, Financial Development and Economic Growth in Africa." *Journal of Economics and Business* 64: 240-260.

- O'Mahony, Angela. 2012. "Political Investment: Remittances and Elections." *British Journal of Political Science*. Online version.
- Perez-Armentariz, Clarisa and David Crow. 2010. "Do Migrants Remit Democracy? International Migration, Political Beliefs, and Behavior in Mexico." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(1):119–148.
- Pfütze, Tobias. 2013 "Clientelism Versus Social Learning: The Electoral Effects of International Migration." *International Studies Quarterly*. Online version.
- Rajan, Raghuram and Arvind Subramanian. 2005. "What Undermines Aid's Impact on Growth?" NBER Working Paper No. 11657.
- Ratha, Dilip. 2003. "Workers' Remittances: An Important and Stable Source of External Development Finance," Chapter 7 in *Global Development Finance*. Washington: World Bank.
- Ratha, Dilip, Gemechu Ayana Aga, Christian Eigen-Zucchi, Sonia Plaza, and Ani Rudra Silwal.. 2013. *Migration and Development Brief 20* (April 19, 2013). The World Bank Migration and Remittances Unit, Development Prospects Group. Accessed 7/22/13 from: <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1288990760745/MigrationDevelopmentBrief20.pdf>
- Resnick, Danielle, and Daniela Casale. 2011. "The political participation of Africa's youth: Turnout, partisanship, and protest." World Institute for Development Economics Research Working Paper, No. 2011.56.
- Resnick, Danielle, and Daniela Casale. 2013. "Young populations in young democracies: generational voting behavior in sub-Saharan Africa." *Democratization* (ahead of print). DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2013.793673.
- Rosenstone, Steven J. and John Mark Hansen. 1993[2003]. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: Longman.
- Ross, Michael. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53(3): 325-361.
- Sachs, Jeffrey D. and Andrew M. Warner. 1995. "Natural Resource Abundance and Economic Growth." NBER Working Paper No. 5398.
- Smith, Alastair. 2008. "The Perils of Unearned Income." *The Journal of Politics* 70(3):780–793.
- Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. *Power in Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, J. Edward. 1992. "Remittances and inequality reconsidered: Direct, indirect, and intertemporal effects." *Journal of Policy Modeling* 14(2): 187-208.

- Tyburski, Michael D. 2012. "The Resource Curse Reversed? Remittances and Corruption in Mexico." *International Studies Quarterly* 56(2):339–350.
- van de Walle, Nicolas. 2007. "Meet the new boss, same as the old boss? The evolution of political clientelism in Africa." In H. Kitschelt and S. I. Wilkinson (Eds.), *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*, pp. 50–67. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Wantchekon, Leonard. 2003. "Clientelism and voting behavior: Evidence from a field experiment in Benin." *World Politics* 55(3), 399–422.
- Wolfinger, Raymond E. and Steven J. Rosenstone. 1980. *Who Votes?* New Haven: Yale.
- Yang, D. 2007. "Are Remittances Insurance? Evidence from Rainfall Shocks in the Philippines." *The World Bank Economic Review* 21(2): 219-248.
- Younger, Stephen D. 1992. "Aid and the Dutch disease: Macroeconomic Management When Everybody Loves You." *World Development* 20(11):1587–1597.

APPENDIX

Table A1. Effects of Remittances on Voting: Random Effects Logistic Models Using Round 4 Afrobarometer Data (2008)

	Omits Cape Verde	Omits Nigeria	Omits Lesotho	Omits CV, NG, LS
Received Remittance	-0.175*** (0.044)	-0.129** (0.046)	-0.163*** (0.044)	-0.141** (0.051)
Asset Index (Radio, TV, Car)	0.298*** (0.060)	0.343*** (0.065)	0.306*** (0.061)	0.348*** (0.068)
Poverty Index	0.032 (0.021)	0.050* (0.023)	0.029 (0.021)	0.048* (0.024)
Employment Status	0.106*** (0.023)	0.107*** (0.024)	0.105*** (0.022)	0.107*** (0.025)
Level of Education	-0.027** (0.010)	-0.023* (0.011)	-0.029** (0.010)	-0.024* (0.012)
Age	0.033*** (0.001)	0.034*** (0.001)	0.032*** (0.001)	0.034*** (0.002)
Urban	-0.215*** (0.037)	-0.271*** (0.039)	-0.214*** (0.037)	-0.286*** (0.041)
Male	0.118*** (0.033)	0.077* (0.035)	0.122*** (0.034)	0.113** (0.037)
Political Interest	0.168*** (0.015)	0.147*** (0.016)	0.157*** (0.016)	0.150*** (0.017)
Evaluation of Political System	0.167*** (0.018)	0.155*** (0.019)	0.168*** (0.019)	0.160*** (0.020)
Feels Close to a Political Party	0.685*** (0.034)	0.686*** (0.035)	0.689*** (0.034)	0.678*** (0.037)
Member of Community Group	0.147*** (0.019)	0.151*** (0.020)	0.133*** (0.019)	0.140*** (0.021)
Constant	-1.184*** (0.154)	-1.159*** (0.160)	-1.054*** (0.151)	-1.127*** (0.165)
Observations	23,802	22,672	23,739	20,455
Panel-Level Variance (Insig2u)	-1.219*** (0.334)	-1.176*** (0.333)	-1.294*** (0.334)	-1.258*** (0.353)
Proportion of Variance Attributed to Panel-Level Variance (rho)	0.0824	0.0857	0.0769	0.0795
Standard Deviation (sigma_u)	0.544	0.555	0.524	0.533

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table A2. Effects of Remittances on Contacting Government Officials: Random Effects Logistic Models Using Round 4 Afrobarometer Data (2008)

	Omits Cape Verde	Omits Nigeria	Omits Lesotho	Omits CV, NG, LS
Received Remittance	0.193*** (0.039)	0.127** (0.039)	0.158*** (0.039)	0.178*** (0.043)
Asset Index (Radio, TV, Car)	0.514*** (0.055)	0.467*** (0.056)	0.492*** (0.055)	0.487*** (0.059)
Poverty Index	0.144*** (0.019)	0.133*** (0.020)	0.149*** (0.019)	0.125*** (0.021)
Employment Status	0.100*** (0.020)	0.105*** (0.021)	0.106*** (0.020)	0.099*** (0.022)
Level of Education	0.066*** (0.009)	0.072*** (0.010)	0.074*** (0.009)	0.067*** (0.010)
Age	0.013*** (0.001)	0.013*** (0.001)	0.012*** (0.001)	0.013*** (0.001)
Urban	-0.366*** (0.034)	-0.360*** (0.035)	-0.349*** (0.034)	-0.383*** (0.037)
Male	0.356*** (0.030)	0.355*** (0.030)	0.349*** (0.030)	0.356*** (0.032)
Political Interest	0.228*** (0.014)	0.217*** (0.015)	0.225*** (0.015)	0.224*** (0.016)
Evaluation of Political System	0.080*** (0.016)	0.076*** (0.017)	0.082*** (0.017)	0.072*** (0.018)
Feels Close to a Political Party	0.409*** (0.032)	0.398*** (0.032)	0.406*** (0.032)	0.408*** (0.034)
Member of Community Group	0.519*** (0.015)	0.493*** (0.016)	0.519*** (0.015)	0.500*** (0.016)
Constant	-3.301*** (0.136)	-3.202*** (0.136)	-3.312*** (0.135)	-3.203*** (0.148)
Observations	25,877	24,787	25,907	22,391
Panel-Level Variance (Insig2u)	-1.531*** (0.333)	-1.567*** (0.334)	-1.547*** (0.334)	-1.460*** (0.352)
Proportion of Variance Attributed to Panel-Level Variance (rho)	0.0617	0.0597	0.0608	0.0660
Standard Deviation (sigma_u)	0.465	0.457	0.461	0.482

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table A3. Effects of Remittances on Protest Participation: Random Effects Logistic Models Using Round 4 Afrobarometer Data (2008)

	Omits Cape Verde	Omits Nigeria	Omits Lesotho	Omits CV, NG, LS
Received Remittance	0.191*** (0.050)	0.124* (0.052)	0.165*** (0.049)	0.186*** (0.056)
Asset Index (Radio, TV, Car)	0.127 (0.072)	0.206** (0.076)	0.167* (0.071)	0.185* (0.079)
Poverty Index	0.139*** (0.025)	0.122*** (0.027)	0.125*** (0.025)	0.141*** (0.028)
Employment Status	0.060* (0.026)	0.071** (0.027)	0.059* (0.026)	0.066* (0.029)
Level of Education	0.058*** (0.012)	0.069*** (0.013)	0.064*** (0.012)	0.057*** (0.014)
Age	-0.012*** (0.002)	-0.011*** (0.002)	-0.012*** (0.002)	-0.012*** (0.002)
Urban	0.217*** (0.045)	0.256*** (0.046)	0.204*** (0.044)	0.254*** (0.048)
Male	0.166*** (0.041)	0.153*** (0.042)	0.150*** (0.040)	0.150*** (0.044)
Political Interest	0.218*** (0.020)	0.218*** (0.021)	0.220*** (0.020)	0.227*** (0.022)
Evaluation of Political System	-0.067** (0.022)	-0.067** (0.023)	-0.074*** (0.022)	-0.067** (0.024)
Feels Close to a Political Party	0.185*** (0.043)	0.170*** (0.044)	0.192*** (0.043)	0.205*** (0.047)
Member of Community Group	0.462*** (0.020)	0.427*** (0.020)	0.472*** (0.020)	0.418*** (0.021)
Constant	-3.169*** (0.146)	-3.151*** (0.150)	-3.103*** (0.145)	-3.172*** (0.157)
Observations	25,869	24,778	25,898	22,383
Panel-Level Variance (Insig2u)	-1.782*** (0.345)	-1.742*** (0.346)	-1.774*** (0.346)	-1.777*** (0.366)
Proportion of Variance Attributed to Panel-Level Variance (rho)	0.0487	0.0505	0.0490	0.0489
Standard Deviation (sigma_u)	0.410	0.418	0.412	0.411

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table A4. Effects of Remittances on Contacting Government Officials by Type of Contact: Random Effects Logistic Models Using Round 4 Afrobarometer Data (2008)

	All Types Of Contact	Local Govt Councillor	Member of Parliament	Government Official
Received Remittance	0.153*** (0.038)	0.108** (0.039)	0.278*** (0.048)	0.221*** (0.049)
Asset Index (Radio, TV, Car)	0.493*** (0.054)	0.485*** (0.056)	0.580*** (0.073)	0.560*** (0.073)
Poverty Index	0.150*** (0.019)	0.139*** (0.020)	0.129*** (0.026)	0.164*** (0.025)
Employment Status	0.106*** (0.020)	0.103*** (0.020)	0.074** (0.026)	0.117*** (0.025)
Level of Education	0.072*** (0.009)	0.054*** (0.010)	0.042*** (0.012)	0.104*** (0.012)
Age	0.012*** (0.001)	0.013*** (0.001)	0.009*** (0.001)	0.009*** (0.001)
Urban	-0.349*** (0.033)	-0.379*** (0.035)	-0.298*** (0.045)	-0.162*** (0.045)
Male	0.352*** (0.029)	0.354*** (0.031)	0.271*** (0.040)	0.233*** (0.040)
Political Interest	0.224*** (0.014)	0.210*** (0.015)	0.247*** (0.020)	0.230*** (0.020)
Evaluation of Political System	0.082*** (0.016)	0.102*** (0.017)	0.103*** (0.021)	0.067** (0.022)
Feels Close to a Political Party	0.403*** (0.031)	0.367*** (0.032)	0.364*** (0.043)	0.331*** (0.043)
Member of Community Group	0.515*** (0.015)	0.505*** (0.015)	0.430*** (0.019)	0.489*** (0.019)
Constant	-3.301*** (0.130)	-3.533*** (0.147)	-4.432*** (0.176)	-4.728*** (0.196)
Observations	27,090	27,092	27,089	27,084
Panel-Level Variance (Insig2u)	-1.587*** (0.325)	-1.268*** (0.325)	-1.016** (0.331)	-0.675* (0.339)
Proportion of Variance Attributed to Panel-Level Variance (rho)	0.0585	0.0788	0.0991	0.134
Standard Deviation (sigma_u)	0.452	0.531	0.602	0.714

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

AFROBAROMETER WORKING PAPERS

- No. 144 Carlson, Elizabeth. "Social Desirability Bias and Reported Vote Preferences in Africa Surveys" 2014
- No. 143 Ali, Merima, Odd-Helge Fjeldstad and Ingrid Hoem Sjørnsen. "To Pay or Not to Pay? Citizens' Attitudes Towards Taxation in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and South Africa" 2013
- No. 142 Bodenstein, Thilo. "Ethnicity and Individual Attitudes Towards International Investors: Survey Evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa" 2013
- No. 141 Bandyopadhyay, Sanghamitra and Elliott Green. "Pre-Colonial Political Centralization and Contemporary Development in Uganda" 2012
- No. 140 Sacks, Audrey. "Can Donors and Non-State Actors Undermine Citizens' Legitimizing Beliefs" 2012
- No. 139 Justesen, Mogens K. and Christian Bjørnskov. "Exploiting the Poor: Bureaucratic Corruption and Poverty in Africa" 2012
- No. 138 De Luca, Giacomo and Marijke Verpoorten. "From Vice to Virtue? Civil War and Social Capital in Uganda" 2012
- No. 137 Kerr, Nicholas. "Perceptions versus Reality: Assessing Popular Evaluations of Electoral Quality in Africa" 2011.
- No. 136 Resnick, Danielle and Daniela Casale. "Political Participation of Africa's Youth: Turnout, Partisanship, and Protest" 2011.
- No. 135 Conroy-Krutz, Jeffrey and Carolyn Logan. "Museveni and the 2011 Ugandan Election: Did the Money Matter?" 2011.
- No. 134 Carter, Danielle. "Sources of State Legitimacy in Contemporary South Africa: A Theory of Political Goods" 2011.
- No.133 Justesen, Mogens K. "Too Poor to Care? The Salience of Aids in Africa" 2011.
- No.132 Kasara, Kimuli. "Separate and Suspicious: Local Social and Political Context and Ethnic Tolerance in Kenya" 2011.
- No.131 Mattes, Robert. "The 'Born Frees': The Prospects for Generational Change in Post-Apartheid South Africa" 2011.
- No.130 Baldwin, Kate. "When Politicians Cede Control of Resources: Land, Chiefs and Coalition-Building in Africa" 2011.
- No.129 Conroy-Krutz, Jeffrey and Dominique Lewis. "Mapping Ideologies in African Landscapes" 2011.
- No.128 Logan, Carolyn. "The Roots of Resilience: Exploring Popular Support for African Traditional Authorities" 2011.
- No.127 Bratton, Michael, Ravi Bhavnani and Tse-Hsin Chen. "Voting Intentions in Africa: Ethnic, Economic or Partisan?" 2011.
- No.126 D'Arcy, Michelle. "Why Do Citizens Assent to Pay Tax? Legitimacy, Taxation and the African State" 2011.
- No.125 LeBas, Adrienne. "Ethnicity and the Willingness to Sanction Violent Politicians: Evidence from Kenya" 2010.
- No.124 Mattes, Robert, Francis Kibirige and Robert Sentamu. "Understanding Citizens Attitudes to Democracy in Uganda" 2010.