Web Appendices for "Support for Polyarchy in the Americas"

Because this paper relies on a large battery of survey questions, interested readers may want access to their full text. In addition, some readers might require a more complete set of empirical results. Since the length of such appendices is prohibitive for their inclusion with a published article, the following document furnishes them and will appear on the authors' websites upon the final completion of the manuscript.

This document contains 5 appendices:

Appendix 1: Survey Question Wording
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Appendix 1: Question Wording

The survey questions used to construct the empirical indicators are reported in two sets. It begins with a list of the items used in the cluster analysis, then a list of the items used in multivariate analysis. Item codes from in the 2006-2007 LAPOP data set are included in brackets […].

To generate each of the indices, responses to each of the questions are summed into a single scale and normalized to a mean of 0 and standard deviation of 1.

Battery 1: Support for Public Contestation:

> To what degree do you approve or disapprove of a law prohibiting public protests? (0 strongly approve, 9 strongly approve) [D32]
>
> To what degree do you approve or disapprove of a law prohibiting the meetings of any group that criticizes the nationality political system? (0 strongly approve, 9 strongly approve) [D33]
>
> To what degree would you approve or disapprove if the government censored television programs? (0 strongly approve, 9 strongly approve) [D34]
>
> To what degree would you approve or disapprove if the government censored books in public school libraries? (0 strongly approve, 9 strongly approve) [D36]
>
> To what degree would you approve or disapprove if the government censored any of the media that criticized it? (0 strongly approve, 9 strongly approve) [D37]

Battery 2: Support for Inclusive Participation:

> There are people who speak negatively of the country's form of government, not just the incumbent government but the system of government. How strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people's right to vote? (0 strongly approve, 9 strongly approve) [D1]
>
> How strongly do you approve or disapprove that such people be allowed to conduct peaceful demonstrations in order to express their views? (0 strongly approve, 9 strongly approve) [D2]
>
> How strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people being permitted to run for public office? (0 strongly approve, 9 strongly approve) [D3]
>
> How strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people appearing on television to make speeches? (0 strongly approve, 9 strongly approve) [D4]

Battery 3: Support Limits on Executive Authority:

> I am going to read out several pairs of statements. Taking into account the current situation of this country, I would like you to tell me with which of the following two statements you agree with the most?

It is necessary for the progress of this country that our presidents limit the voice and vote of opposition parties (0) [or, on the contrary] even if they slow the progress of this country, our presidents should not limit the voice and vote of opposition parties (1). [pop1]

The congress hinders the work of our presidents and should be ignored (0) [or, on the contrary] even when it hinders the work of the president, our presidents should not bypass the congress. [pop2]

Judges frequently hinder the work of our presidents, and they should be ignored (0). [or, on the contrary], even when judges sometimes hinder the work of our presidents, their decisions should always be obeyed (1). [pop3]

Our presidents/prime ministers should have the necessary power so that they can act in the national interest (0) or, on the contrary the power of our presidents/prime ministers should be limited so that they do not endanger our liberties (1). [pop4]

Battery 4: Support for Institutions and Processes:

Do you think that sometimes there can be sufficient grounds for the President to close down the Congress or do you think there can never be a sufficient reason to do so? (0 no, 1 yes) [JC15]

Do you think that sometimes there can be sufficient grounds to dissolve the Supreme Court or do you think that there can never be sufficient grounds to do so? (0 no, 1 yes) [JC16]

Controls for the Analyses

Female: Female (1), Male (0) [Q1]

Age: Age in years [Q2]

Education: Years in school (0-18) [ED]

Income: Into which of the following income ranges does the total monthly income of this household fit, including remittances from abroad and the income of all the working adults and children? Recoded into local currencies from the following scale: (0) No income, (1) Less than $25, (2) $26- $50, (3) $51-$100, (4) $101-$150, (5) $151-$200, (6) $201-$300, (7) $301-$400, (8) $401-500, (9) $501-$750, (10)$751-$1,000, (11) $1,001- $1,500, (12) $1,501-$2,000, (13) Above $2,000. [Q10]

Catholic: Catholic (1), Not Catholic (0) [Q3]

Speaks the Dominant Language: What language have you spoken at home since childhood? (1) Spanish, (0) An indigenous or other foreign language

Urban: (1) Urban, (0) Rural

Political Interest: How much interest do you have in politics: a lot, some, little or none? (3) A lot (2) Some (1) Little (0) None [Pol1]

Political Knowledge: An index counting the number of correct answers given to the following questions: What is the name of the current president of the United States? What is the name of the President of Congress in [country]? How many provinces does [country] have? How long is the presidential/prime minister term in [country]? What is the name of the president of Brazil? Ranges in values from 0-5. [GI1-GI5]

Presidential Approval: Speaking in general of the incumbent administration in [capital], would you say that the job being done by President [name] is: (4) Very good (3) Good (2) Neither good nor bad (fair) (1) Bad (0) Very bad [M1]

Evaluation of the National Economy: How would you describe the country's economic situation? Would you say that it is very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad or very bad? (4) Very good (3) Good (2) Neither good nor bad (fair) (1) Bad (0) Very bad [Soct1]

Evaluation of Personal Finances: How would you describe your overall financial situation? Would you say that it is very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad or very bad? (4) Very good (3) Good (2) Neither good nor bad (fair) (1) Bad (0) Very bad [Idio1]

Victim of Crime: Have you been a victim of any type of crime in the past 12 months? (1) Yes (0) No [Vic1]

Victim of Corruption: During the past year did any public official ask you for a bribe? (1) Yes, (0) No [exc6]

Victim of Discrimination: Have you ever felt discriminated against or treated in an unjust manner because of your physical appearance or the way you talk in any of the following places? In governmental offices (courts, ministries, city halls) (1) Yes, (0) No [Dis2]

Left Ideology: Now, to change the subject.... On this card there is a 1-10 scale that goes from left to right. Nowadays, when we speak of political leanings, we talk of those on the left and those on the right. In other words, some people sympathize more with the left and others with the right. According to the meaning that the terms "left" and "right" have for you, and thinking of your own political leanings, where would you place yourself on this scale? Indicate the box that comes closest to your own position. [L1]. 1-3 (1), 4-10 (0)

Center Ideology: 4-7 (1), 1-3 (0), 8-10 (0)

No Ideology: Missing on L1 (1), other (0)

Voted for a Losing Presidential Candidate That Has Never Won the Executive: For which candidate did you vote for President in the last presidential elections? [VB3]. If the candidate lost the election and his or her party never held national executive office in the past (1), if the voter voted for some other candidate, abstained, or voted null (0).

Voted for a Losing Presidential Candidate Has Won the Executive Before: For which candidate did you vote for President in the last presidential elections? [VB3]. If the candidate lost the election but his or her party has held national executive office in the past (1), if the voter voted for some other candidate, abstained, or voted null.

Voted for a Losing Presidential Candidate That Has Never Won the Executive: From VB3. If the candidate lost the election and his or her party never held national executive office in the past (1), if the voter voted for some other candidate, abstained, or voted null.

Abstained/Cast a Null Vote: From VB3. If the voter abstained or cast a null vote (1), if the voter cast a valid vote (0).

Appendix 2: Principal Components Analysis of Support for Elements of Polyarchy

	Factors			
	1	2	3	4
Initial Eigenvalues	3.875	2.733	1.571	1.190
% of Variance	25.836	18.221	10.472	7.936
Rotated Factor Loadings[i]				
Let Citizens who Oppose the Regime Vote	**0.764**	0.061	0.069	-0.084
Let Citizens who Oppose the Regime Protest	**0.884**	-0.048	-0.046	0.006
Let Citizens who Oppose the Regime Seek Office	**0.905**	-0.063	-0.053	0.009
Let Citizens who Oppose the Regime be on Television	**0.897**	-0.065	-0.068	0.020
Would Oppose a Law Banning Protests	0.074	**0.677**	0.015	0.106
Would Oppose a Law Banning Meetings by Opposition Groups	-0.049	**0.742**	0.042	0.059
Would Oppose Attempts to Censor Television Programs	-0.104	**0.772**	0.075	-0.014
Would Oppose Attempts to Censor Books	-0.078	**0.743**	0.053	-0.015
Would Oppose Attempts to Censor Media Critical of the Government	-0.030	**0.771**	0.066	0.014
Supports Limits on Presidential Powers to Regulate Opposition Parties	0.457	-0.137	-0.083	**0.569**
Supports Limits on Presidential Powers to Regulate Congress	-0.084	0.147	0.173	**0.692**
Supports Limits on Presidential Powers to Regulate the Courts	0.469	-0.201	-0.122	**0.556**
Supports Limits on Presidential Powers to Protect Civil Liberties	-0.231	0.158	0.094	**0.461**
Would Oppose an Attempt to Close Congress	-0.051	0.066	**0.878**	0.084
Would Oppose an Attempt to Close the Supreme Court	-0.021	0.101	**0.870**	0.065

Appendix 3: Results of the Cluster Analysis

For the sake of presentation, the text does not present the numerical results from the cluster analysis. The table below presents the means on each of the four dimensions for the 5 clusters.

	Polyarch	Power Constrainer	Power Checker	Power Delegator	Power Refrainer
Public Contestation (min: –3.29, max: 1.18)	0.732	0.323	-1.027	-0.147	-0.325
Inclusive Participation (min: –2.00, max: 1.57)	1.117	-0.738	0.017	0.031	-0.310
Limits on Executive Authority (min: –2.61, max: 0.98)	0.519	0.368	0.211	0.004	-1.617
Institutions and Processes (min: –3.29, max: 1.18)	0.648	0.648	0.627	-1.291	0.124
Percentage of the Sample	17.89%	24.19%	19.36%	14.3%	24.25%

To simplify the presentation, variable values in the top third of the scale are considered "liberal", in the middle third "ambivalent", and the bottom third "illiberal." This convention borrows from Schedler and Sarsfield (2007, 2009). The cutoffs employed are as follows:

	Range for Illiberal	Range for Ambivalent	Range for Liberal
Public Contestation	-3.29 to -1.82	-1.82 to -0.34	-0.34 to 1.18
Inclusive Participation	-2.00 to -0.82	-0.82 to 0.35	0.35 to 1.57
Limits on Executive Authority	-2.16 to -1.43	-1.43 to -0.24	-0.24 to 0.98
Institutions and Processes	-3.29 to -1.07	-1.07 to -0.21	-0.21 to 1.18

Appendix 4: The results of the cluster analysis for the two regions estimated separately

Table 2 in the text presented the results of the cluster analysis for all countries in the sample. However, as noted in the text, software limitations required running two sets of cluster analyses. In the absence of a strong *a priori* method of dividing countries, largest democracies were combined into one category (Colombia, Peru, Mexico, Chile, Uruguay, and Venezuela) and the Central American countries assigned to a second one (Panama, Honduras, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Nicaragua). In both samples, a 5-cluster appeared most reasonable according to the Duda and Hart stopping rule. As the table below attests, the results for each cluster are remarkably similar. The table reports the variable means (as in Table 2) for each set of countries separately to justify their combination into the 5 clusters documented in the text.

	Polyarch	Power Constrainer	Power Checker	Power Delegator	Power Refrainer
Central America					
Public Contestation	0.62	0.15	-1.20	-0.30	-0.29
Inclusive Participation	1.08	-0.72	0.05	-0.05	-0.40
Limits on Executive Authority	0.43	0.56	0.06	-0.26	-1.47
Institutions and Processes	0.65	0.65	0.65	-1.24	0.63
South America and Mexico					
Public Contestation	0.85	0.49	-0.86	0.01	-0.36
Inclusive Participation	1.15	-0.76	-0.02	0.11	-0.22
Limits on Executive Authority	0.61	0.18	0.36	0.26	-1.76
Institutions and Processes	0.65	0.65	0.61	-1.34	-0.38

In looking at these clusters, Polyarchs in Central America are slightly less supportive of contestation than polyarchs in the larger countries, while Central American polyarchs remain more supportive of limiting executive authority. This mirrors a larger pattern: Central Americans in all clusters are less supportive of public contestation than their counterparts in South America and Mexico. Generally speaking, however, the differences between regions are, on average, smaller than the differences between clusters. Thus for this reason and the surprising similarities across the two sets of countries, pooling the two sets of cluster analyses seems reasonable and justified.

Appendix 5: The Country Fixed Effects from the Statistical Analyses

	Power Constrainer		Power Checker		Power Delegator		Power Refrainer	
Education	-0.044	(0.013)	-0.066	(0.012)	-0.056	(0.013)	-0.045	(0.014)
Income	-0.076	(0.020)	-0.088	(0.015)	-0.082	(0.016)	-0.056	(0.018)
Age	-0.002	(0.002)	-0.005	(0.003)	-0.003	(0.003)	0.000	(0.002)
Political Interest	-0.161	(0.028)	-0.051	(0.032)	-0.115	(0.034)	-0.111	(0.028)
Political Knowledge	-0.087	(0.025)	-0.171	(0.027)	-0.088	(0.028)	-0.105	(0.025)
Speaks the Dominant Language	0.179	(0.227)	-0.349	(0.237)	-0.096	(0.258)	-0.246	(0.217)
Left Ideology	-0.093	(0.083)	-0.373	(0.098)	-0.119	(0.101)	-0.307	(0.090)
Center Ideology	0.151	(0.071)	0.123	(0.085)	0.191	(0.081)	0.030	(0.074)
No Ideology	-0.308	(0.113)	-0.508	(0.104)	-0.434	(0.110)	-0.598	(0.098)
Voted for a Losing Candidate that Has Held Office Before	0.024	(0.100)	0.054	(0.128)	-0.166	(0.133)	0.026	(0.107)
Voted for a Losing Candidate that Has Never Won	-0.227	(0.102)	-0.112	(0.110)	-0.344	(0.111)	-0.086	(0.102)
Abstained in the Last Election	-0.064	(0.078)	0.002	(0.098)	-0.127	(0.101)	0.064	(0.083)
Presidential Approval	0.123	(0.037)	0.268	(0.036)	0.378	(0.036)	0.233	(0.037)
Evaluation of the National Economy	-0.151	(0.044)	-0.092	(0.048)	-0.054	(0.038)	-0.012	(0.046)
Evaluation of Personal Finances	-0.023	(0.037)	-0.022	(0.044)	-0.117	(0.043)	-0.024	(0.041)
Victim of Crime	0.050	(0.067)	0.050	(0.080)	-0.107	(0.082)	-0.053	(0.075)
Victim of Corruption	-0.087	(0.094)	-0.027	(0.087)	-0.068	(0.126)	0.191	(0.109)
Victim of Discrimination	-0.215	(0.092)	-0.213	(0.091)	-0.079	(0.097)	0.030	(0.082)
Catholic	0.086	(0.077)	0.044	(0.084)	0.061	(0.085)	0.093	(0.062)
Female	0.158	(0.059)	0.166	(0.069)	0.080	(0.073)	0.010	(0.066)
Urban	-0.157	(0.073)	-0.152	(0.083)	-0.115	(0.086)	-0.015	(0.075)
Chile	0.911	(0.178)	-0.350	(0.209)	0.693	(0.164)	1.266	(0.193)
Colombia	0.039	(0.137)	-0.319	(0.154)	-0.283	(0.173)	0.802	(0.196)
Costa Rica	1.140	(0.151)	0.253	(0.153)	0.253	(0.223)	0.718	(0.203)
El Salvador	-0.073	(0.126)	-1.054	(0.166)	-0.638	(0.166)	0.495	(0.183)
Guatemala	-0.165	(0.148)	-0.586	(0.150)	-0.821	(0.177)	0.423	(0.163)
Honduras	0.655	(0.155)	0.596	(0.158)	0.181	(0.184)	1.122	(0.179)
Nicaragua	0.267	(0.184)	0.426	(0.181)	0.631	(0.227)	1.097	(0.178)
Panama	0.487	(0.204)	0.247	(0.184)	1.296	(0.172)	1.791	(0.153)
Peru	-0.187	(0.153)	-0.311	(0.150)	-0.205	(0.150)	-0.690	(0.191)
Uruguay	-0.588	(0.148)	-1.074	(0.179)	-1.292	(0.205)	-0.646	(0.241)
Venezuela	-0.662	(0.156)	-0.354	(0.189)	0.049	(0.144)	-0.671	(0.167)
Constant	1.622	(0.435)	2.259	(0.517)	1.396	(0.475)	0.935	(0.408)

Note: Entries are logit coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Polyarchs are the reference category.

[i] Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Rotations converged in 4 iterations.