

Supplementary Information:
Do Authoritarians Vote for Authoritarians? Evidence from Latin America
 By Mollie Cohen and Amy Erica Smith

Table A1. Proportion Don't Know/Non-Response on
 Each Item of Authoritarian Parenting Battery

	AB1	AB2	AB5
Nicaragua	0.001	0.000	0.002
Dominican Republic	0.001	0.003	0.001
Panama	0.003	0.001	0.004
Paraguay	0.003	0.001	0.009
Brazil	0.004	0.005	0.007
Bolivia	0.005	0.006	0.006
Mexico	0.005	0.006	0.006
El Salvador	0.003	0.004	0.013
Venezuela	0.007	0.008	0.009
Uruguay	0.003	0.013	0.011
Costa Rica	0.007	0.011	0.011
Guatemala	0.011	0.008	0.016
Chile	0.012	0.013	0.012
Colombia	0.005	0.008	0.029
Peru	0.011	0.020	0.017
Honduras	0.011	0.024	0.023
Argentina	0.017	0.028	0.029
Ecuador	0.028	0.040	0.041
<i>Latin America</i>	<i>0.007</i>	<i>0.011</i>	<i>0.014</i>

Table A2. Cronbach's Alpha Coefficients
for Authoritarian Parenting Battery

Country	Cronbach's Alpha
Mexico	0.31
Guatemala	0.44
El Salvador	0.19
Honduras	0.51
Nicaragua	0.38
Costa Rica	0.45
Panama	0.47
Colombia	0.42
Ecuador	0.41
Bolivia	0.44
Peru	0.39
Paraguay	0.31
Chile	0.56
Uruguay	0.50
Brazil	0.53
Venezuela	0.46
Argentina	0.46
Dominican Republic	0.23
<i>Entire Region</i>	<i>0.46</i>

Table A3. Public Opinion Variables Examined in Convergent Validation

Label	Variable(s)	Text of Question(s)
Support for Social Welfare	Index of ROS2, ROS3, ROS4, and ROS6	The (Country) government, more than individuals, should be primarily responsible for ensuring the well-being of the people. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?
		The (Country) government, more than the private sector, should be primarily responsible for creating jobs.
		The (Country) government should implement strong policies to reduce income inequality between the rich and the poor.
		The (Country) government, more than the private sector should be primarily responsible for providing health care services. (7-point scales)
Rightist	L1	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? (1-10 scale; indicator coded for those responding 8-10).
Anti-Abortion	W14A	Do you think it's justified to interrupt a pregnancy, that is, to have an abortion, when the mother's health is in danger? (Yes/No)
Gender Inegalitarianism	GEN1	Some say that when there is not enough work, men should have a greater right to jobs than women. To what extent do you agree or disagree? (7-point scale)
Support Women Leaders	VB50	Some say that in general, men are better political leaders than women. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree?
Protested	PROT3	In the last 12 months, have you participated in a demonstration or protest march? (Yes/No)
Spanking Approval	VOL207	Suppose that in order to teach a child, a parent hits the child each time he or she disobeys. Would you approve of the parent hitting the child, or would

Label	Variable(s)	Text of Question(s)
		you not approve but understand, or would you neither approve nor understand? (3-point scale)
Torture Approval	VOL205	If the police torture a criminal to get information about a very dangerous organized crime group, would you approve of the police torturing the criminal, or would you not approve but understand, or would you neither approve nor understand? (3-point scale)
Support for Democracy	ING4	Democracy may have problems, but it is better than any other form of government. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement? (7-point scale)
Support for Political System	PSA5 (index of B1, B2, B3, B4, and B6)	To what extent do you think the courts in (country) guarantee a fair trial? To what extent do you respect the political institutions of (country)? To what extent do you think that citizens' basic rights are well protected by the political system of (country)? To what extent do you feel proud of living under the political system of (country)? To what extent do you think that one should support the political system of (country)? (7-point scales)
National Pride	MIL5	How proud do you feel to be [nationality] when you hear the national anthem? (4-point scale)
Approve Legal Protest	E5	How much do you approve or disapprove of people participating in legal demonstrations? (10-point scale)
Approve Protest Blocking Roads	E15	How much do you approve or disapprove of people participating in the blocking of roads to protest? (10-point scale)
Approve Protest Seizing Property	E14	How much do you approve or disapprove of people seizing private property or land in order to protest? (10-point scale)

Label	Variable(s)	Text of Question(s)
Political Tolerance	TOL (index of D1, D2, D3, and D4)	<p>There are people who only say bad things about the (country) 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?</p> <p>How strongly do you approve or disapprove that such people be allowed to conduct peaceful demonstrations in order to express their views?</p> <p>Still thinking of those who only say bad things about the (country) form of government, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people being permitted to run for public office?</p> <p>How strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people appearing on television to make speeches? (10-point scales)</p>
Support for Gay Marriage	D6	How strongly do you approve or disapprove of same-sex couples having the right to marry? (10-point scale)
Support State Media Restrictions	D8	How strongly do you approve or disapprove of the state/government having the right to prohibit newspapers from publishing news that can be politically damaging to it? (10-point scale)
Church Attendance	Q5A	How often do you attend religious services? (5-point scale)

Table A4. Coding of Authoritarian Candidates

Country (year)	Support <i>Mano Dura</i> Policies: Name (Party, Left/Right)	Support Restriction of Civil Liberties or Rights: Name (Party, Left/Right)
Mexico (2006)		
Mexico (2012)	Vázquez Mota (PAN, Right)	
Guatemala (2011)	Pérez Molina (PP, Right) Baldizón (LIDER, Right)	
Guatemala (2015)		
El Salvador (2009)	Ávila (ARENA, Right)	
El Salvador (2014)	Quijano (ARENA, Right)	
Honduras (2009)	Lobo (PL, Right)	
Honduras (2013)	Hernández (PN, Right)	
Nicaragua (2011)		Ortega (FSN, Left)
Costa Rica (2010)		
Costa Rica (2014)		
Panama (2009)		
Panama (2014)		
Colombia (2010)		
Colombia (2014)		
Ecuador (2009)		Correa (MPAIS, Left)
Ecuador (2013)		Correa (MPAIS, Left)
Bolivia (2009)		Evo Morales (MAS, Left)
Bolivia (2014)		Evo Morales (MAS, Left)
Peru (2011)		Keiko Fujimori (Fuerza 2011, Right) Ollanta Humala (Gana Peru, Left)
Peru (2016)		Keiko Fujimori (Fuerza Popular, Right)
Paraguay (2008)		
Paraguay (2013)		
Chile (2009)		
Chile (2013)		

Country (year)	Support <i>Mano Dura</i> Policies: Name (Party, Left/Right)	Support Restriction of Civil Liberties or Rights: Name (Party, Left/Right)
Uruguay (2009)		
Uruguay (2014)		
Brazil (2010)		
Brazil (2014)		
Venezuela (2006)		Hugo Chávez (MQR, Left)
Venezuela (2012)		Hugo Chávez (PSUV, Left)
Argentina (2011)		Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (PJ, Left)
Argentina (2015)		
Dominican Republic (2008)		
Dominican Republic (2012)		

To identify authoritarian leaders we searched Google News and Lexis Nexis Academic for the terms “*mano dura*,” “hardline,” “free press,” “authoritarian,” and “coup.” We searched in both English and Spanish, in combination with country names and election years. We also read Freedom House country-year reports. About 75 percent of sources we used to identify authoritarian leaders were English-language sources. Leaders who restricted civil liberties (i.e., freedom of the press) were more likely to be identified using an English language source – given the nature of these rights violations, which limit the expression of grievances and opinions in print, this is unsurprising. Leaders or candidates proposing *mano dura* policies, on the other hand, were more likely to be identified using Spanish language sources.

We compared our measure of authoritarian leaders (incumbents and winning candidates) to Polity IV’s authority score and Freedom House’s Democracy Scores for the time periods when leaders we have coded as authoritarian held office. Overall, our measure is consistent with these standard metrics of authoritarianism and democracy. In line with our coding, Hugo Chávez, Evo Morales, Daniel Ortega, and Rafael Correa presided over declines in democratic quality as measured by Polity IV and Freedom House scores. Following the 2009 coup d’état, Honduras has seen declines in democratic quality – especially in respect for civil liberties – noted by Freedom House, but not by Polity IV. These declines have occurred in tandem with the rise of crime (and candidates promoting *mano dura* policies). While Freedom House

notes that Cristina Fernández de Kirchner presided over “indirect government censorship through the discriminatory allocation of official advertising and increased unfair tax treatment of political opponents” (see <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/argentina>), declines in press freedoms were not associated with declining democracy scores according to either metric. Finally, Pérez Molina’s government in Guatemala is not linked to democratic decline according to either metric.

Unfortunately, existing measures of authoritarian governance do not capture the authoritarian tendencies of non-winning candidates, such as those observed in El Salvador and Mexico. We chose to take candidates at their word: those promoting *mano dura* policies, as well as those with authoritarian histories, were coded as authoritarian. Candidates whose ties to authoritarian regimes or coups were discussed at length by the media during the campaign were coded as authoritarians, regardless of their apparent commitment for democracy in the interim. For example, Peru’s Ollanta Humala had family ties to a failed military coup, which were discussed frequently in the Peruvian news during his 2006 and 2011 campaigns as a cause for distrust of his approach to governance. Humala won the 2011 election, and proceeded to govern from the center-left; were we to conduct this analysis after his rule, he would *not* be coded as an incumbent authoritarian in our analysis.

Table A5. Determinants of Retrospective Voting for Left-Wing and Right-Wing Authoritarian Candidates, Using Alternative Measures of Institutional Authoritarianism

	All authoritarian leaders		Left-wing authoritarian leaders		Right-wing authoritarian leaders	
Authoritarian parenting	0.255*	0.249*	0.070	0.038	0.619*	0.641*
	(0.113)	(0.113)	(0.130)	(0.130)	(0.206)	(0.208)
Rightist	0.008	0.048	-0.335*	-0.287*	0.622*	0.642*
	(0.075)	(0.074)	(0.088)	(0.088)	(0.116)	(0.114)
Support for democracy	0.344*		0.392*		0.175	
	(0.099)		(0.127)		(0.157)	
Support for the political system		1.734*		2.129*		0.314
		(0.138)		(0.162)		(0.242)
Woman	-0.015	-0.015	-0.095	-0.094	0.134	0.127
	(0.053)	(0.053)	(0.062)	(0.063)	(0.089)	(0.088)
Education	-0.391*	-0.345*	-0.339*	-0.235	-0.347	-0.413*
	(0.116)	(0.115)	(0.141)	(0.139)	(0.183)	(0.179)
Wealth quintile	-0.225*	-0.200*	-0.339*	-0.316*	-0.016	0.001
	(0.085)	(0.085)	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.138)	(0.139)
Skin color	0.535*	0.538*	0.956*	0.907*	-0.48	-0.462
	(0.199)	(0.199)	(0.241)	(0.242)	(0.326)	(0.327)
Constant	-0.567*	-1.290*	-0.284	-1.332*	-0.610*	-0.667*
	(0.170)	(0.174)	(0.220)	(0.222)	(0.260)	(0.273)
N	7232	7442	5096	5200	2861	2977
Log likelihood	-4525.50	-4535.97	-3374.65	-3325.75	-1512.95	-1564.19

Estimates represent logistic regression coefficients. Country fixed effects not shown. Standard errors in parentheses. Coefficients are significant at * $p < .05$.

Table A6. Determinants of Retrospective Voting for Authoritarian Candidates (Interactive Models)

	Coefficient	Standard Error
Left-Wing Authoritarian (LWA) Candidate	-0.337	0.323
Authoritarian parenting	0.486*	0.236
Authoritarian parenting x LWA Candidate	-0.325	0.269
Rightist	0.762*	0.136
Rightist x LWA Candidate	-0.996*	0.164
Support for democracy	0.113	0.168
Support for democracy x LWA Candidate	0.069	0.213
Support for the political system	0.329	0.302
Support for the political system x LWA Candidate	1.834*	0.343
Woman	-0.029	0.055
Education	-0.313*	0.119
Wealth quintile	-0.231*	0.088
Skin color	0.446*	0.203
Constant	-0.852*	0.286
N	7120	
Log likelihood	-4525.50	

Estimates represent logistic regression coefficients. Country fixed effects not shown.
Coefficients are significant at *p<.05.

Table A7. Determinants of Voting for Left-Wing and Right-Wing Authoritarian Candidates, with Authoritarianism*Ideology Interaction

	Left-wing authoritarian leaders	Right-wing authoritarian leaders
Authoritarian parenting	-0.066 (0.142)	0.609* (0.227)
Rightist	-0.815* (0.263)	0.579 (0.372)
Authoritarian parenting x Rightism	0.683* (0.337)	0.052 (0.436)
Support for democracy	0.189 (0.134)	0.111 (0.161)
Support for the political system	2.134* (0.166)	0.266 (0.256)
Woman	-0.106+ (0.064)	0.133 (0.090)
Education	-0.242+ (0.143)	-0.397* (0.186)
Wealth quintile	-0.329* (0.106)	-0.008 (0.140)
Skin color	0.822* (0.244)	-0.479 (0.331)
Constant	-1.332* (0.242)	-0.684* (0.296)
N	5026	2812
Log likelihood	-3211.30	-1487.75

Estimates represent logistic regression coefficients. Country fixed effects not shown. Standard errors in parentheses. Coefficients are significant at *p<.05.

Figure A1. Determinants of Voting for Left-Wing and Right-Wing Authoritarian Candidates, with Authoritarianism*Ideology Interaction, Using Tripartite Measure of Ideology

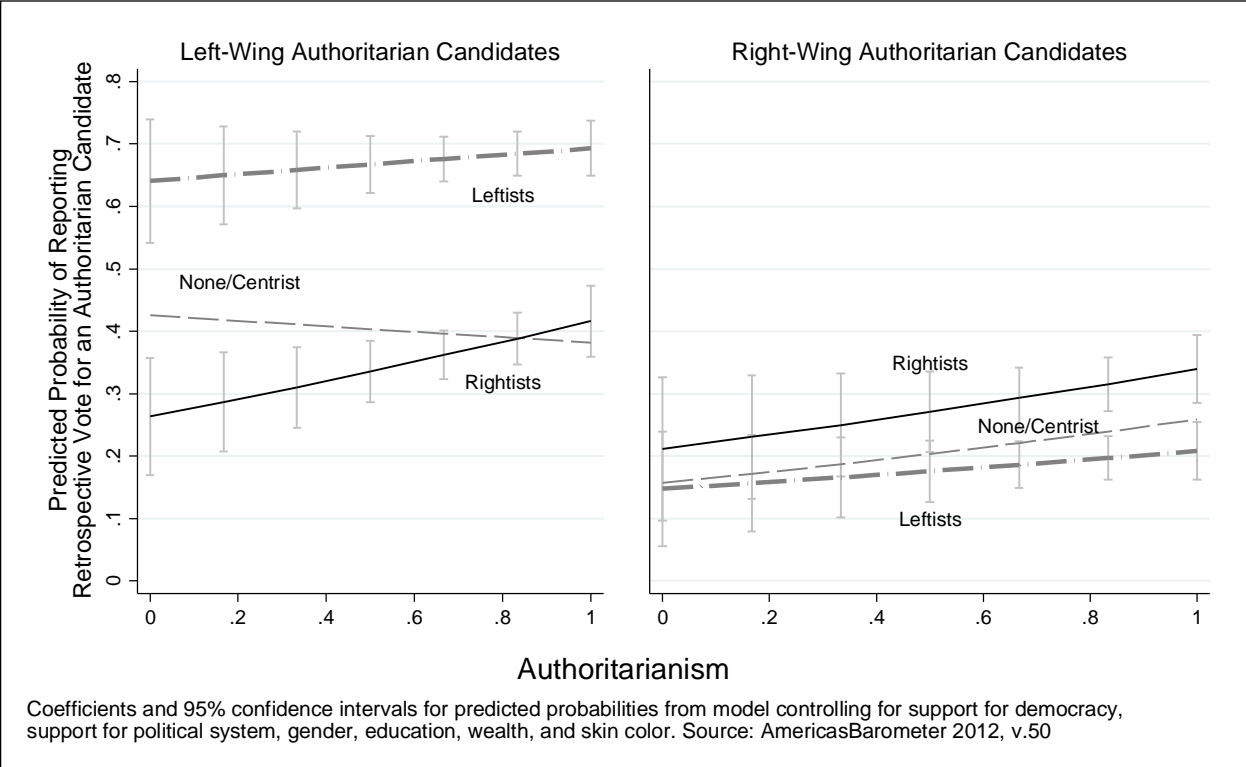


Table A8. Determinants of Prospective Vote Choice in Countries with Authoritarian Incumbents

	Model 1			Model 2		
	Abstain	Opposition Vote	Blank/ Null	Abstain	Opposition Vote	Blank/ Null
Authoritarian parenting	0.173 (0.243)	0.059 (0.206)	0.067 (0.276)	0.106 (0.239)	0.029 (0.206)	-0.014 (0.267)
Rightist	0.058 (0.152)	0.743* (0.125)	0.154 (0.197)	-0.022 (0.147)	0.612* (0.124)	0.08 (0.201)
Support for democracy	-0.786* (0.187)	-0.335* (0.169)	-0.777* (0.225)			
Support for the political system				-3.329* (0.283)	-3.559* (0.238)	-3.879* (0.349)
Woman	0.096 (0.112)	0.099 (0.104)	0.259 (0.133)	0.127 (0.116)	0.126 (0.107)	0.258 (0.136)
Education	-0.036 (0.223)	0.485* (0.201)	0.343 (0.255)	-0.22 (0.216)	0.345 (0.200)	0.115 (0.262)
Wealth quintile	-0.06 (0.160)	0.359* (0.149)	0.153 (0.207)	-0.122 (0.161)	0.294 (0.152)	0.145 (0.210)
Skin color	-0.289 (0.358)	-0.599 (0.339)	-1.158* (0.440)	-0.256 (0.370)	-0.337 (0.326)	-0.819 (0.450)
Constant	1.685* (0.315)	0.408 (0.287)	-0.678 (0.372)	2.893* (0.339)	1.861* (0.321)	0.634 (0.392)
N	4268			4399		

Estimates represent multinomial logistic regression coefficients. Country fixed effects not shown. Coefficients are significant at *p<.05.

Table A9. Authoritarian Parenting and Prospective Vote, Left-Wing Non-Authoritarian Incumbents

	Abstain	Opposition Vote	Blank/Null Vote
Authoritarian parenting	0.192 (0.255)	0.328+ (0.180)	0.333 (0.217)
Woman	0.153 (0.119)	0.093 (0.080)	0.201* (0.101)
Education	-0.125 (0.238)	0.623* (0.178)	0.342 (0.245)
Wealth quintile	-0.058 (0.173)	0.499* (0.129)	-0.234 (0.181)
Skin color	-0.447 (0.334)	-0.690* (0.244)	-0.412 (0.386)
Constant	-0.406 (0.346)	-0.513* (0.251)	-1.574* (0.331)
N	3718		

Estimates represent multinomial logistic regression coefficients. Country fixed effects not shown. Standard errors in parentheses. Coefficients are significant at * $p < .05$ or + $p < .10$.

Table A10. Authoritarian Parenting and Prospective Vote, Right-Wing Non-Authoritarian Incumbents

	Abstain	Opposition Vote	Blank/Null Vote
Authoritarian parenting	-0.656* (0.193)	-0.444* (0.188)	-0.363 (0.281)
Woman	-0.007 (0.091)	-0.182* (0.080)	-0.011 (0.123)
Education	0.337+ (0.199)	0.534* (0.196)	0.561+ (0.324)
Wealth quintile	-0.437* (0.154)	-0.018 (0.147)	-0.216 (0.222)
Skin color	0.067 (0.321)	0.086 (0.271)	0.260 (0.460)
Constant	0.055 (0.259)	0.076 (0.243)	-2.069* (0.420)
N	3843		

Estimates represent multinomial logistic regression coefficients. Country fixed effects not shown. Standard errors in parentheses. Coefficients are significant at * $p < .05$ or + $p < .10$.

Table A11. Authoritarian Parenting and Prospective Vote, Left-Wing Authoritarian Incumbents

	Abstain	Opposition Vote	Blank/Null Vote
Authoritarian parenting	0.117 (0.279)	0.000 (0.215)	0.125 (0.276)
Woman	0.136 (0.133)	0.171 (0.106)	0.249+ (0.130)
Education	0.017 (0.276)	0.702* (0.218)	0.307 (0.270)
Wealth quintile	-0.126 (0.188)	0.311+ (0.158)	0.160 (0.217)
Skin color	-0.051 (0.520)	-0.742* (0.355)	-0.934* (0.456)
Constant	-0.894* (0.417)	-1.326* (0.311)	-2.838* (0.373)
N	3137		

Estimates represent multinomial logistic regression coefficients. Country fixed effects not shown. Standard errors in parentheses. Coefficients are significant at * $p < .05$ or + $p < .10$.

Table A12. Authoritarian Parenting and Prospective Vote, Right-Wing Authoritarian Incumbents

	Abstain	Opposition Vote	Blank/Null Vote
Authoritarian parenting	0.162 (0.330)	0.074 (0.292)	-0.060 (0.569)
Woman	-0.259+ (0.156)	-0.394* (0.148)	-0.073 (0.268)
Education	-0.124 (0.311)	0.031 (0.335)	1.087* (0.498)
Wealth quintile	-0.477+ (0.250)	-0.228 (0.238)	0.421 (0.442)
Skin color	-1.006* (0.500)	-0.64 (0.517)	-0.663 (0.825)
Constant	-0.211 (0.441)	0.800+ (0.415)	-2.175* (0.601)
N	1346		

Estimates represent multinomial logistic regression coefficients.
Country fixed effects not shown. Standard errors in parentheses.
Coefficients are significant at * $p < .05$ or + $p < .10$.