

Online Appendix

Table 1A. Time Frame of the Survey Data Used in the Paper (Matched Analyses)

| Country | Legislative Period in PELA Survey | AmericasBarometer Survey |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Argentina | 2007-11 | 2008 |
| Bolivia | 2006-10 | 2006 |
| Brazil | 2003-07 | 2006 |
| Chile | 2006-10 | 2006 |
| Colombia | 2006-10 | 2006 |
| Costa Rica | 2006-10 | 2006 |
| Ecuador | 2007-08 | 2008 |
| El Salvador | 2006-09 | 2006 |
| Guatemala | 2008-12 | 2008 |
| Honduras | 2006-10 | 2006 |
| Mexico | 2006-09 | 2006 |
| Nicaragua | 2007-11 | 2008 |
| Panama | 2004-09 | 2004 |
| Paraguay | 2003-08 | 2006 |
| Peru | 2006-11 | 2006 |
| Dominican Republic | 2006-10 | 2006 |
| Uruguay | 2005-10 | 2006 |

Table 1B. Multilevel Logit Model of Mass Public Economic MIP (Using Inflation)

| Variable | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Crime Victimization | -0.098*** (0.021) |
| Household Income Deterioration | 0.241*** (0.019) |
| Role of the State (Ownership) | 0.103*** (0.025) |
| Role of the State (Inequality) | 0.188*** (0.034) |
| Urban | -0.150*** (0.020) |
| Female | 0.083*** (0.017) |
| Age | -0.395*** (0.048) |
| Skin Tone | 0.146*** (0.054) |
| Education Level | -0.125*** (0.040) |
| Wealth Quintile | -0.391*** (0.026) |
| Country-Year Crime Victimization | 1.014 (2.304) |
| Inflation, Consumer Prices (annual %) | 0.051** (0.021) |
| Intercept | -1.068* (0.579) |
| Intercept Variance | 0.338*** (0.034) |
| Level 1 Observations | 66,181 |
| Level 2 Observations | 52 |

Cell entries are logit coefficients; standard errors in parentheses.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 2B. Multilevel Logit Model of Elite Economic MIP (Using Inflation)

| Variable | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Left-Right Self-Placement | -0.121** (0.020) |
| Inflation, Consumer Prices (annual %) | 0.007 (0.043) |
| Intercept | 0.126 (0.784) |
| Intercept Variance | 0.422** (0.070) |
| Level 1 Obs. | 2,789 |
| Level 2 Obs. | 31 |

Cell entries are logit coefficients; standard errors in parentheses. Country fixed effects included in the model but omitted from table.

** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3B. Multilevel Model of Elite-Mass Economic Priority Differences (Using Inflation)

| Variable | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Mean Left-Right Self-Placement | 0.004 (0.013) |
| Inflation, Consumer Prices (annual %) | 0.039** (0.012) |
| Left-Right Placement X Inflation | -0.009** (0.001) |
| Intercept | 0.028 (0.094) |
| Intercept Variance | 0.117** (0.024) |
| Level 1 Obs. | 53 |
| Level 2 Obs. | 16 |

Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 1B. The Effect of Economic Context Conditional on Party Ideological Profile (Using Inflation)

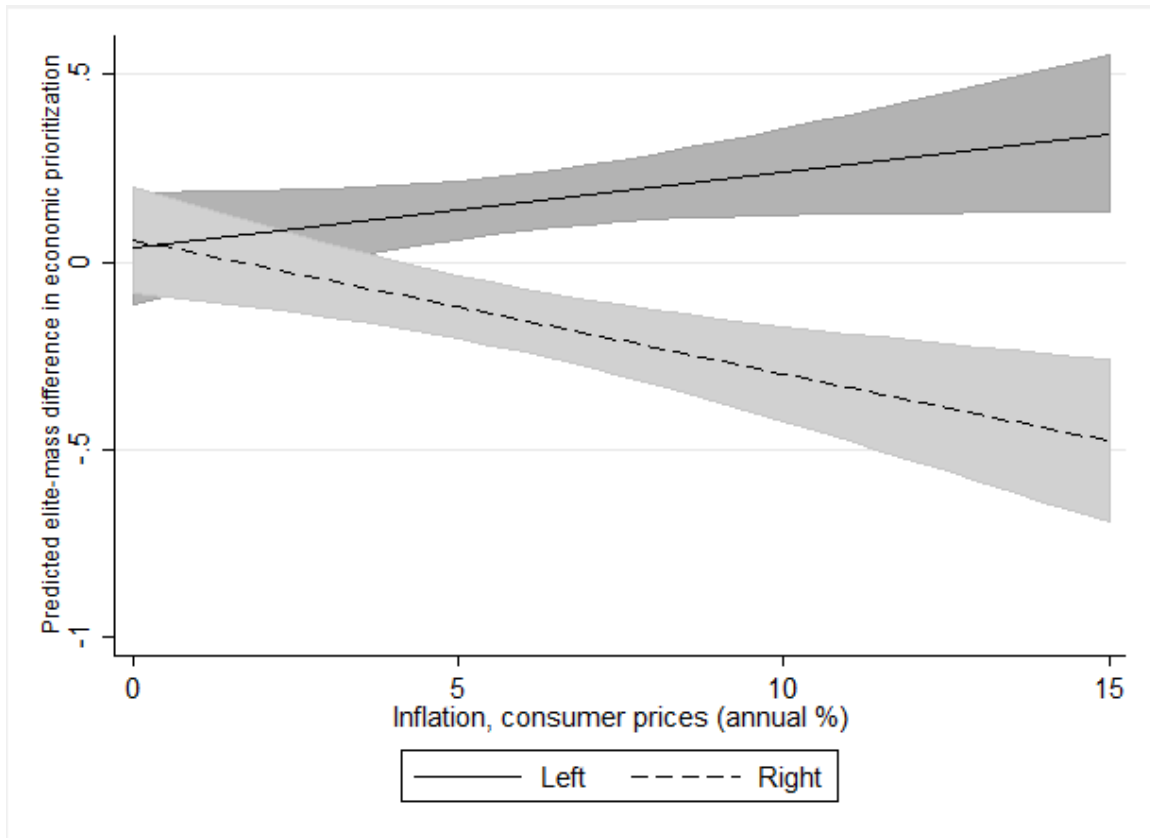


Table 1C. Multilevel Model of Elite-Mass Economic Priority Differences Replacing Party Ideology with Incumbency Status

| Variable | |
|--|--------------------|
| Incumbent Party Status | 0.114 (0.129) |
| GDP per capita growth (annual %) | 0.003 (0.021) |
| Incumbent Status X GDP per capita growth | -0.009 (0.019) |
| Intercept | -0.062 (0.124) |
| Intercept Variance | 0.100** (0.023) |
| Level 1 Obs. | 51 |
| Level 2 Obs. | 15 |

Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Parties were coded as an incumbent if they were the party of the sitting president or part of the president's electoral coalition.

Figure 1C. The Effect of Economic Context (Not) Conditional on Party Incumbency Status

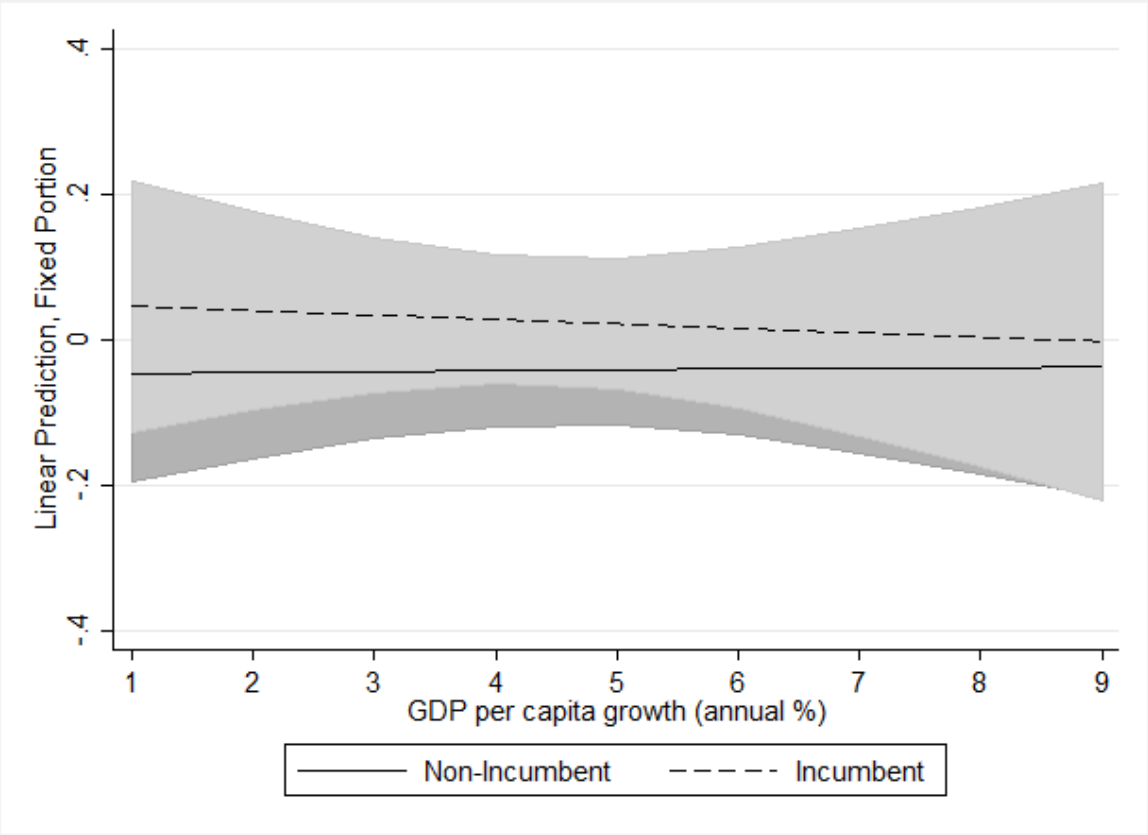


Table 1D. Sensitivity Analysis

| Country Excluded | GDP per capita growth (annual %) | Mean Left-Right Placement | GDP growth X Left-Right Placement |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Mexico | -.090* (.048) | -.118** (.044) | .016* (.009) |
| Guatemala | -.109* (.063) | -.128** (.058) | .020 (.012) |
| El Salvador | -.092* (.052) | -.117** (.051) | .017* (.010) |
| Honduras | -.087* (.050) | -.111** (.044) | .016* (.009) |
| Nicaragua | -.056 (.042) | -.069** (.027) | .009 (.007) |
| Costa Rica | -.090* (.052) | -.110** (.045) | .016* (.009) |
| Panama | -.071 (.046) | -.101** (.042) | .013 (.009) |
| Colombia | -.096* (.054) | -.114** (.045) | .018* (.010) |
| Ecuador | -.094* (.051) | -.112** (.045) | .017* (.009) |
| Bolivia | -.100** (.051) | -.125** (.045) | .019* (.009) |
| Peru | -.074 (.054) | -.104** (.046) | .014 (.010) |
| Paraguay | -.068 (.044) | -.102** (.044) | .014 (.009) |
| Chile | -.086* (.051) | -.110** (.047) | .016* (.009) |
| Uruguay | -.116** (.051) | -.124** (.045) | .021** (.010) |
| Argentina | -.088* (.049) | -.111** (.044) | .016* (.009) |
| Dominican Republic | -.092* (.055) | -.121** (.046) | .019* (.010) |

Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 1E. Number of Elite and Mass Supporters for Each Party from Surveys

| <u>Party</u> | <u>Mass N</u> | <u>Elite N</u> | <u>Party</u> | <u>Mass N</u> | <u>Elite N</u> |
|--------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| PAN(MEX) | 248 | 53 | MPAIS(ECU) | 414 | 60 |
| PRI(MEX) | 187 | 28 | MAS(BOL) | 878 | 55 |
| PRD(MEX) | 236 | 32 | MNR(BOL) | 126 | 6 |
| UNE(GTM) | 141 | 31 | PODEMOS(BOL) | 463 | 30 |
| PP(GTM) | 54 | 17 | UN(BOL) | 130 | 6 |
| ARENA(ES) | 182 | 28 | UPP(PER) | 117 | 35 |
| FMLN(ES) | 263 | 29 | APRA(PER) | 218 | 27 |
| PCN(ES) | 24 | 7 | UN(PER) | 24 | 14 |
| PL(HON) | 374 | 43 | AF(PER) | 17 | 10 |
| PN(HON) | 288 | 39 | ANR(PRY) | 477 | 23 |
| PLC(NIC) | 147 | 18 | PLRA(PRY) | 238 | 16 |
| FSLN(NIC) | 291 | 28 | MPQ(PRY) | 63 | 8 |
| ALN(NIC) | 112 | 17 | UNACE(PRY) | 80 | 7 |
| PUSC(CR) | 57 | 5 | PS(CHI) | 84 | 11 |
| PLN(CR) | 306 | 25 | PPD(CHI) | 76 | 15 |
| PAC(CR) | 132 | 17 | PDC(CHI) | 87 | 16 |
| ML(CR) | 20 | 6 | RN(CHI) | 52 | 14 |
| PS(PAN) | 39 | 7 | UDI(CHI) | 43 | 25 |
| PRD(PAN) | 381 | 36 | EP/FA/NM(URY) | 392 | 47 |
| PA(PAN) | 142 | 14 | PN(URY) | 163 | 29 |
| PLC(COL) | 158 | 23 | PC(URY) | 51 | 9 |
| PDA(COL) | 58 | 8 | FpV-PJ(ARG) | 185 | 53 |
| UN(COL) | 122 | 19 | UCR(ARG) | 30 | 10 |
| CR(COL) | 45 | 13 | PRD(DR) | 200 | 26 |
| PCC(COL) | 45 | 15 | PLD(DR) | 603 | 56 |
| PRIAN(ECU) | 26 | 6 | PRSC(DR) | 64 | 11 |
| PSP(ECU) | 22 | 14 | | | |