

## Online Appendix

### Permissive Winners? The Quality of Democracy and the Winner-Loser Gap in the Perception of Freedoms

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Table A1. Variables and Measurement

Variable	Measurement	Source
<i>Dependent variables</i>		
Deficit of Freedom of the Press	“LIB1. Do you believe that nowadays in the country we have very little, enough or too much freedom of press?” Coded 1 if the answer is “very little”, 0 otherwise.	The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP). See: Cohen et al. (2017)
Deficit of Freedom of Speech	“LIB2B. And freedom of expression. Do we have very little, enough or too much?” Coded 1 if the answer is “very little”, 0 otherwise.	
Deficit of Freedom of Political Expression	“LIB2C. And freedom to express political views without fear. Do we have very little, enough or too much?” Coded 1 if the answer is “very little”, 0 otherwise.	
Deficit of Protection of Human Rights	“LIB4. Human rights protection. Do we have very little, enough or too much?” Coded 1 if the answer is “very little”, 0 otherwise.	
<i>Individual-level variables</i>		
Winner, Loser, or Non-Voter Status	This is a variable with three categories. The <i>Non-voter</i> status is defined by answering “Did not vote” to the question “VB2. Did you vote in the last presidential elections of (year of last presidential elections)?” <i>Winners</i> are those who voted and name the elected president after the question: “VB3N. Who did you vote for in the last presidential election of [year]?”. <i>Losers</i> are respondents who voted but name one of the losing candidates.	The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP). See: Cohen et al. (2017)
Female	“Q1. Sex”: (0) Male, (1) Female	
Age	“Q2. How old are you? _____ years”	
Age squared	Variable <i>Age</i> squared.	
Education	“ED. How many years of schooling have you completed?”	
Employed	“OCUP4A. How do you mainly spend your time? Are you currently [...]” Coded 1 if “Working”, 0 otherwise.	
Rural Location	“UR. (1) Urban (2) Rural”	
Household Wealth	“To conclude, could you tell me if you have the following in your house: ...”. Items: refrigerator, landline telephone, smartphone, vehicle [“How Many”], washing machine, microwave oven, motorcycle, drinking water line to the house, toilet/indoor bathroom, computer (or tablet), television, flat panel TV. An index is formed following Córdova (2009).	
Interest in Politics	“POL1. How much interest do you have in politics...” Recoded to: “A lot” = 4, “some” =3, “little” =2, and “none” =1.	

Ideological Extremism	Identification with extreme values from the right or the left. The highest score (5) indicates extreme ideological values. The lowest score indicates a non-definite ideological position (0). Respondents' ideological position is derived from the item: "L1. [...] On this card there is a 1-10 scale that goes from left to right. The number one means left and 10 means right. Nowadays, when we speak of political leanings, we talk of those on the left and those on 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?"	
National Economy	"SOCT2. Do you think that the country's current economic situation is better than, the same as or worse than it was 12 months ago?" Recoded to: "Better" = 3, "Same" =2, "Worse" =1.	
Social Trust	"IT1. And speaking of the people from around here, would you say that people in this community are very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy or untrustworthy...?" Recoded to "Very trustworthy" =4; "Somewhat trustworthy" =3; "Not very trustworthy" =2; and "Untrustworthy" =1.	
Crime Victimization	"VIC1EXT. Now, changing the subject, have you been a victim of any type of crime in the past 12 months? That is, have you been a victim of robbery, burglary, assault, fraud, blackmail, extortion, violent threats or any other type of crime in the past 12 months?" Recoded to 1 if "Yes", 0 if "No."	
Days since Election (Log)	Natural logarithm of the number of days since the presidential election was held in country $j$ until the date of the interview for individual $i$ in country $j$ .	Own calculations based on contextual information from countries in the dataset.
<i>Country-level variables</i>		
Liberal Democracy Index	The variable v2x_libdem measures to what extent is the ideal of liberal democracy achieved: "The liberal principle of democracy emphasizes the importance of protecting individual and minority rights against the tyranny of the state and the tyranny of the majority. The liberal model takes a "negative" view of political power insofar as it judges the quality of democracy by the limits placed on government. This is achieved by constitutionally protected civil liberties, strong rule of law, an independent judiciary, and effective checks and balances that, together, limit the exercise of executive power. To make this a measure of liberal democracy, the index also takes the level of electoral democracy into account."	<i>Varieties of Democracy Project</i> : Coppedge et al. (2019: 40)

Divided Party Control	<p>The variable v2x_divparctrl measures if the executive and legislature controlled by different political parties: “This variable is a reordered version of the continuous measurement model estimates for indicator v2psnatpar: National party control. After reordering, the positive extreme signifies Divided party control. A Different parties or individuals unconnected to parties’ control the executive and the legislature or B Executive power is divided between a president/monarch and a prime minister, each of which belongs to different parties; or between a non-partisan monarch and a prime minister. The intermediate values signify Unified coalition control. A single multi-party coalition controls the executive and legislative branches of the national government. This is true almost by definition in a parliamentary system where a single coalition gathers together a majority of seats. And the negative extreme signifies "Unified party control. A single party controls the executive and legislative branches of the national government. This is true almost by definition in a parliamentary system where a single party has a majority of seats.”</p>	<p><i>Varieties of Democracy Project</i>: Coppedge et al. (2019: 281)</p>
GDP Annual Growth%	<p>Rate of growth of Total Annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita at constant prices.</p>	<p>CEPALSTAT: Databases and Statistical Publications. Economic Commission for Latin American and The Caribbean in the United Nations (<a href="http://cepal.org/en">cepal.org/en</a>)</p>

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Table A2. Descriptive Statistics

	N=	Mean	S.D.	Min.	Max.
<i>Dependent variables</i>					
Deficit of Freedom of the Press	28,187	0.47	0.50	0.00	1.00
Deficit of Freedom of Speech	28,453	0.53	0.50	0.00	1.00
Deficit of Freedom of Political Expression	28,407	0.57	0.49	0.00	1.00
Deficit of Protection of Human Rights	28,397	0.66	0.47	0.00	1.00
<i>Independent variables</i>					
Winners	28,736	0.26	0.44	0.00	1.00
Non-Voters	28,736	0.41	0.49	0.00	1.00
Losers	28,736	0.33	0.47	0.00	1.00
Female	29,063	0.50	0.50	0.00	1.00
Age	29,045	39.89	16.35	16.00	112.00
Age squared	29,045	1858.85	1492.21	256	12544
Education (Years of schooling)	28,540	9.84	4.32	0.00	18.00
Employed	28,900	0.44	0.50	0.00	1.00
Rural Location	29,064	1.29	0.45	1.00	2.00
Household Wealth	28,763	2.98	1.43	1.00	5.00
Interest in Politics	28,882	2.08	1.02	1.00	4.00
Ideological Extremism	26,133	2.79	1.58	1.00	5.00
National Economy	28,600	1.52	0.69	1.00	3.00
Social Trust	28,345	2.72	0.96	1.00	4.00
Crime Victimization	29,064	0.26	0.44	0.00	1.00
Days since Election (Log)	29,064	6.86	0.47	5.71	7.50
<i>Country-level variables</i>					
Liberal Democracy Index	18	0.50	0.21	0.14	0.82
Divided Party Control	18	0.14	1.00	-1.63	1.46
GDP Annual Growth%	18	1.70	5.04	-17.04	6.93

Source: own calculations based on the 2016/2017 round of surveys from The AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP, [www.LapopSurveys.org](http://www.LapopSurveys.org)).

Table A3. Null Models

	Deficit of Freedom of the Press	Deficit of Freedom of Speech	Deficit of Freedom of Political Expression	Deficit of Protection of Human Rights
<i>Thresholds</i>				
Too Much/Enough	-0.191 (.100)	-1.679 (.099)	-1.835 (.104)	-2.277 (.090)
Enough/Very Little	0.094 (.125)	-0.122 (.098)	-0.301 (.103)	-0.691 (.088)
<i>Variance Components</i>				
Country: Variance	0.176 (.059)	0.172 (.058)	0.190 (.064)	0.137 (.047)
Log-likelihood =	-29,094.46	-27,754.86	-26,564.29	-23,480.3
LR Test vs Logistic Model	1,250.42***	1,224.75***	1,296.48***	839.58***
N =	28,187	28,453	28,407	28,397
Number of countries =	18	18	18	18

Note: Multilevel random intercept ordered-logistic models. Standard errors in parenthesis.

\*p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\* p<.001.

Table A4. The Appraisal of Basic Freedoms: Multilevel Analysis

	Deficit of Freedom of the Press		Deficit of Freedom of Speech		Deficit of Freedom of Political Expression		Deficit of Protection of Human Rights	
Winners								
Non-Voters	0.306***	(.089)	0.269**	(.102)	0.289***	(.084)	0.128	(.083)
Losers	0.357***	(.087)	0.356***	(.100)	0.350***	(.082)	0.266 ***	(.080)
Liberal Democracy Index	-1.906 ***	(.422)	-1.776***	(.451)	-1.921***	(.472)	-1.640 ***	(.396)
<i>Individual- level controls</i>								
Female	-0.132***	(.025)	0.040	(.026)	0.107***	(.026)	0.226 ***	(.028)
Age	-0.009*	(.004)	-0.012**	(.004)	-0.030***	(.004)	0.014***	(.005)
Age^2	0.000	(.000)	0.000	(.000)	0.000***	(.000)	-0.000***	(.000)
Education	0.008*	(.003)	-0.002	(.004)	0.011***	(.004)	0.007	(.004)
Employed	-0.019	(.026)	-0.036	(.027)	-0.038	(.028)	0.012	(.029)
Rural Location	0.081**	(.029)	-0.006	(.030)	-0.034	(.031)	-0.030	(.032)
Household Wealth	-0.029**	(.011)	-0.049***	(.011)	-0.039***	(.011)	-0.051***	(.012)
Interest in Politics	0.006	(.012)	-0.050***	(.012)	-0.063***	(.013)	-0.112***	(.013)
Ideological Extremism	0.000	(.007)	-0.006	(.007)	-0.029***	(.008)	-0.025**	(.008)
National Economy	-0.170 ***	(.018)	-0.254***	(.019)	-0.265***	(.019)	-0.273***	(.020)
Social Trust	-0.056***	(.013)	-0.090***	(.013)	-0.081***	(.014)	-0.140***	(.015)
Crime Victimization	0.65 *	(.028)	0.153***	(.029)	0.176***	(.030)	0.231***	(.032)
Days since Election (Log)	-0.112	(.522)	0.510	(.532)	0.108	(.552)	0.718	(.587)
<i>Country-level controls</i>								
Party Control	0.184**	(.092)	0.127	(.099)	0.213*	(.103)	0.118	(.087)
GDP Annual Growth %	-0.014	(.017)	-0.009	(.018)	0.008	(.019)	-0.005	(.016)
<i>Thresholds</i>								
Too Much/Enough	-1.952	(.258)	-2.420	(.258)	-2.669	(.262)	-3.043	(.223)
Enough/Too Little	-0.632	(.258)	-0.802	(.258)	-1.063	(.262)	-1.401	(.223)
<i>Variance Components</i>								
Variance (Winners)	0.122	(.060)	0.164	(.060)	0.104	(.040)	0.097	(.038)
Variance (Country-level)	0.094	(.037)	0.108	(.037)	0.118	(.041)	0.081	(.029)
Log-likelihood =	-26,632.05		-25,100.57		-23,906.82		-21,215.1	
Number of observations =	26,092		26,276		26,261		26,237	
Number of countries =	18		18		18		18	

Note: multilevel random-slope ordered-logistic models. Standard errors in parenthesis; \*p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\* p<.001.

Table A5. Cross-Level Interaction Analysis using the Electoral Democracy Index

	Deficit of Freedom of the Press		Deficit of Freedom of Speech		Deficit of Freedom of Political Expression		Deficit of Protection of Human Rights	
Winners								
Non-Voters	0.955***	(.271)	1.010***	(.276)	0.866 ***	(.213)	0.431	(.227)
Losers	1.485***	(.267)	2.021 ***	(.271)	1.704 ***	(.208)	1.670 ***	(.226)
Electoral Democracy Index	-0.925	(.656)	-0.288	(.535)	-1.011*	(.504)	-0.621	(.578)
<i>Cross-level interaction</i>								
Electoral Democracy Index × Non-Voters	-0.992 *	(.397)	-1.100 **	(.409)	-0.838**	(.310)	-0.479	(.332)
Electoral Democracy Index × Losers	-1.694***	(.391)	-2.457***	(.401)	-1.974***	(.302)	-2.078 ***	(.328)
<i>Individual- level controls</i>								
Female	-0.131***	(.025)	0.042	(.026)	0.109***	(.026)	0.229***	(.028)
Age	-0.009*	(.004)	-0.012**	(.004)	-0.030***	(.004)	0.013***	(.005)
Age^2	0.000	(.000)	0.000	(.000)	0.000***	(.000)	-0.000***	(.000)
Education	0.008*	(.003)	0.003	(.004)	0.013***	(.004)	0.007	(.004)
Employed	-0.019	(.026)	-0.035	(.027)	-0.038	(.028)	0.012	(.029)
Rural Location	0.082**	(.029)	0.009	(.030)	-0.031	(.031)	-0.027	(.032)
Household Wealth	-0.029**	(.011)	-0.049***	(.011)	-0.039***	(.011)	-0.051***	(.012)
Interest in Politics	0.006	(.012)	-0.050***	(.012)	-0.063***	(.013)	-0.111***	(.013)
Ideological Extremism	0.001	(.007)	-0.006	(.007)	-0.028***	(.008)	-0.025**	(.008)
National Economy	-0.169***	(.018)	-0.254***	(.019)	-0.265***	(.019)	-0.272***	(.020)
Social Trust	-0.056***	(.013)	-0.090***	(.013)	-0.081***	(.014)	-0.140***	(.015)
Crime Victimization	0.64 *	(.028)	0.152***	(.029)	0.176***	(.030)	0.231***	(.032)
Days since Election (Log)	-0.106	(.522)	0.504	(.532)	0.106	(.552)	0.731	(.587)
<i>Country-level controls</i>								
Party Control	0.140	(.092)	0.074	(.098)	0.181	(.102)	0.067	(.085)
GDP Annual Growth %	-0.006	(.018)	0.001	(.018)	0.017	(.021)	0.004	(.017)
<i>Thresholds</i>								
Too Much/Enough	-1.618	(.445)	-1.175	(.338)	-2.351	(.332)	-2.641	(.392)
Enough/Too Little	-0.298	(.445)	-0.096	(.338)	-0.744	(.331)	-0.997	(.392)
<i>Variance Components</i>								
Variance (Winners)	0.060	(.025)	0.074	(.029)	0.038	(.017)	0.033	(.017)
Variance (Country-level)	0.101	(.035)	0.114	(.037)	0.138	(.045)	0.085	(.030)
Log-likelihood =	-26,622.19		-25,069.63		-23,880.13		-21,183.99	
Number of observations =	26,092		26,276		26,261		26,237	
Number of countries =	18		18		18		18	

Note: multilevel random-slope ordered-logistic models. Standard errors in parenthesis; \*p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\* p<.001. The Electoral Democracy Index is from Coppedge et al. (2019: 39)



Table A6. Cross-Level Interaction Analysis Omitting Extreme Cases: Nicaragua.

	Deficit of Freedom of the Press	Deficit of Freedom of Speech	Deficit of Freedom of Political Expression	Deficit of Protection of Human Rights
<b>Winners</b>				
Non-Voters	0.643** (.214)	0.655 ** (.236)	0.596 *** (.184)	0.413 (.177)
Losers	0.996** (.208)	1.225 *** (.231)	1.125 *** (.176)	1.253*** (.169)
Liberal Democracy Index	-1.046 (.568)	-0.818* (.589)	-1.067 (.562)	-1.707** (.439)
<i>Cross-level interaction</i>				
Liberal Democracy Index × Non-Voters	-0.669 (.384)	-0.746 (.424)	-0.619 (.328)	-0.501 (.315)
Liberal Democracy Index × Losers	-1.252 *** (.375)	-1.682*** (.415)	-1.486*** (.316)	-1.798*** (.303)
<i>Individual- level controls</i>				
Female	-0.131*** (.026)	0.049 (.026)	0.122*** (.027)	0.248*** (.029)
Age	-0.012** (.004)	-0.014*** (.004)	-0.032*** (.004)	0.010*** (.005)
Age^2	0.000 (.000)	0.000 (.000)	0.000*** (.000)	-0.000*** (.000)
Education	0.007* (.004)	0.002*** (.004)	0.009* (.004)	0.005 (.004)
Employed	-0.007 (.027)	-0.028 (.028)	-0.024 (.028)	0.022 (.030)
Rural Location	0.080** (.030)	0.010 (.031)	-0.025 (.032)	-0.019 (.034)
Household Wealth	-0.32** (.011)	-0.052*** (.011)	-0.040*** (.011)	-0.057*** (.012)
Interest in Politics	0.013 (.013)	-0.039** (.013)	-0.047 *** (.013)	-0.101 *** (.014)
Ideological Extremism	0.003** (.008)	-0.001 (.008)	-0.025 *** (.008)	-0.024 (.008)
National Economy	-0.170 *** (.019)	-0.264 *** (.020)	-0.254 *** (.020)	-0.263*** (.021)
Social Trust	-0.062 *** (.013)	-0.090*** (.014)	-0.080 *** (.014)	-0.136*** (.015)
Crime Victimization	0.060* (.028)	0.141 *** (.029)	0.165 *** (.030)	0.215*** (.033)
Days since Election (Log)	-0.106 (.522)	0.511 (.532)	0.095 (.552)	0.712 (.587)
<i>Country-level controls</i>				
Divided Party Control	0.173 (.091)	0.108 (.090)	0.195 * (.099)	0.094 (.078)
GDP Annual Growth %	-0.009 (.017)	-0.000 (.017)	0.016 (.018)	0.007 (.014)
<i>Thresholds</i>				
Too Much/Enough	-1.618 (.311)	-1.959 (.322)	-2.251 (.307)	-2.524 (.229)
Enough/Too Little	-0.298 (.310)	-0.347 (.322)	-0.656 (.306)	-0.903 (.228)
<i>Variance Components</i>				
Variance (Winners)	0.060 (.032)	0.098 (.039)	0.050 (.022)	0.042 (.018)
Variance (Country-level)	0.104 (.033)	0.087 (.031)	0.107 (.038)	0.065 (.022)
Log-likelihood =	-25,160.60	-23,657.42	-22,581.66	-19,924.47
Number of observations =	24,683	24,859	24,849	24,819
Number of countries =	17	17	17	17

Note: multilevel random-slope ordered-logistic models. Standard errors in parenthesis; \*p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\* p<.001.

Table A7. Cross-Level Interaction Analysis Omitting Extreme Cases: Venezuela

	Deficit of Freedom of the Press		Deficit of Freedom of Speech		Deficit of Freedom of Political Expression		Deficit of Protection of Human Rights	
Winners								
Non-Voters	0.359**	(.124)	0.157	(.132)	0.320**	(.114)	-0.044	(.115)
Losers	0.609***	(.123)	0.768***	(.131)	0.793***	(.111)	0.744***	(.116)
Liberal Democracy Index	-1.362 *	(.537)	-1.526**	(.565)	-1.733 **	(.567)	-0.987*	(.496)
<i>Cross-level interaction</i>								
Liberal Democracy Index × Non-Voters	-0.224	(.222)	0.065	(.236)	-0.155	(.203)	0.215	(.204)
Liberal Democracy Index × Losers	-0.630 **	(.218)	-0.938***	(.232)	-0.944 ***	(.197)	-1.013***	(.203)
<i>Individual- level controls</i>								
Female	-0.141***	(.026)	0.037	(.026)	0.097***	(.027)	0.230***	(.029)
Age	-0.010*	(.004)	-0.013**	(.004)	-0.030***	(.004)	0.012**	(.005)
Age^2	0.000	(.000)	0.000	(.000)	0.000***	(.000)	-0.000**	(.000)
Education	0.008*	(.004)	0.011	(.004)	-0.013***	(.004)	0.007	(.004)
Employed	-0.011	(.027)	-0.032	(.028)	-0.031	(.028)	0.021	(.030)
Rural Location	0.084**	(.030)	0.006	(.030)	-0.028	(.031)	-0.027	(.033)
Household Wealth	-0.031**	(.011)	-0.053***	(.011)	-0.042***	(.011)	-0.052***	(.012)
Interest in Politics	0.013	(.012)	-0.049***	(.013)	-0.061***	(.013)	-0.111***	(.014)
Ideological Extremism	-0.000	(.007)	-0.006	(.008)	-0.029***	(.008)	-0.025**	(.008)
National Economy	-0.161 ***	(.018)	-0.240 ***	(.019)	-0.255***	(.019)	-0.260***	(.020)
Social Trust	-0.060 ***	(.013)	-0.093***	(.014)	-0.085***	(.014)	-0.143***	(.015)
Crime Victimization	0.042	(.028)	0.130***	(.029)	0.155***	(.030)	0.215***	(.032)
Days since Election (Log)	-0.040	(.542)	0.758	(.554)	0.048	(.577)	1.014	(.608)
<i>Country-level controls</i>								
Divided Party Control	0.174	(.094)	0.139	(.099)	0.234*	(.100)	0.086	(.088)
GDP Annual Growth %	-0.406	(.034)	-0.032	(.035)	-0.033	(.035)	0.014	(.032)
<i>Thresholds</i>								
Too Much/Enough	-1.732	(.306)	-2.424	(.322)	-2.697	(.323)	-2.753	(.283)
Enough/Too Little	-0.406	(.306)	-0.779	(.321)	-1.067	(.323)	-1.098	(.282)
<i>Variance Components</i>								
Variance (Winners)	0.017	(.009)	0.020	(.011)	0.010	(.007)	0.009	(.008)
Variance (Country-level)	0.093	(.033)	0.102	(.036)	0.108	(.037)	0.080	(.029)
Log-likelihood =	-25,609.18		-24,017.38		-22,823.53		-20,382.52	
Number of observations =	24,808		24,987		24,969		24,940	
Number of countries =	17		17		17		17	

Note: multilevel random-slope ordered-logistic models. Standard errors in parenthesis; \*p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\* p<.001.

Table A8. Cross-Level Interaction Analysis Omitting Extreme Cases: Nicaragua and Venezuela

	Deficit of Freedom of the Press		Deficit of Freedom of Speech		Deficit of Freedom of Political Expression		Deficit of Protection of Human Rights	
Winners								
Non-Voters	0.265	(.148)	0.302	(.158)	0.290*	(.140)	-0.091	(.142)
Losers	0.553***	(.142)	0.828***	(.151)	0.772***	(.132)	0.723***	(.136)
Liberal Democracy Index	-1.619**	(.582)	-1.766**	(.587)	-2.060***	(.585)	-1.454***	(.456)
Cross-level interaction								
Liberal Democracy Index × Non-Voters	-0.087	(.258)	-0.157	(.275)	-0.116	(.241)	0.284	(.243)
Liberal Democracy Index × Losers	-0.538 *	(.246)	-1.022***	(.264)	-0.911***	(.226)	-0.973***	(.232)
Individual- level controls								
Female	-0.141***	(.026)	0.043	(.027)	0.109***	(.028)	0.249***	(.030)
Age	-0.012 **	(.004)	-0.015***	(.004)	-0.032***	(.005)	0.010*	(.005)
Age^2	0.000	(.000)	0.000	(.000)	0.000***	(.000)	-0.000*	(.000)
Education	0.007*	(.004)	0.004	(.004)	0.010**	(.004)	0.006	(.004)
Employed	0.000	(.028)	-0.024	(.028)	-0.017	(.029)	0.031	(.031)
Rural Location	0.081**	(.031)	-0.007	(.031)	-0.023	(.032)	-0.021	(.034)
Household Wealth	-0.033**	(.011)	-0.057***	(.011)	-0.044***	(.012)	-0.059***	(.012)
Interest in Politics	0.021	(.013)	-0.038***	(.013)	-0.045***	(.013)	-0.101***	(.014)
Ideological Extremism	0.002	(.008)	-0.001	(.008)	-0.026***	(.008)	-0.024**	(.009)
National Economy	-0.161***	(.019)	-0.250***	(.020)	-0.243***	(.020)	-0.250***	(.022)
Social Trust	-0.067***	(.014)	-0.094***	(.014)	-0.084***	(.015)	-0.139***	(.015)
Crime Victimization	0.036	(.029)	0.119***	(.030)	0.142***	(.031)	0.199***	(.033)
Days since Election (Log)	-0.037	(.542)	0.763	(.554)	0.038	(.577)	0.999	(.608)
Country-level controls								
Divided Party Control	0.170	(.095)	0.149*	(.092)	0.226*	(.097)	0.077	(.074)
GDP Annual Growth %	-0.003	(.034)	-0.040	(.032)	-0.032	(.035)	0.015	(.026)
Thresholds								
Too Much/Enough	-1.888	(.336)	-2.557	(.337)	-2.894	(.338)	-3.024	(.264)
Enough/Too Little	-0.572	(.335)	-0.919	(.336)	-1.276	(.338)	-1.392	(.263)
Variance Components								
Variance (Winners)	0.017	(.010)	0.021	(.012)	0.011	(.008)	0.010	(.008)
Variance (Country-level)	0.094	(.035)	0.094	(.033)	0.099	(.036)	0.055	(.021)
Log-likelihood =	-24,146.34		-22,598.47		-21,521.30		-19,128.37	
Number of observations =	23,399		23,570		23,557		23,522	
Number of countries =	16		16		16		17	

Note: multilevel random-slope ordered-logistic models. Standard errors in parenthesis; \*p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\* p<.001.

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