

## **Appendix A - Operationalization of Variables**

This appendix describes the way we operationalized each variable. As indicated in the paper, we used data from *AmericasBarometer* 2010, which can be freely accessed at the website of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP): <http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/>.

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### **1. Dependent Variable “Intended Behavior” (Tables 1, 2, and 4)**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Survey</b>	<b>Question Code</b>	<b>Definition</b>
Intended Behavior if the general or presidential elections were held this week/weekend*	All Surveys, except Colombia	VB20	= 0 if respondent would vote for a party, or candidate different from the current government (VB20=3) = 1 if respondent would not vote, vote blank, or cancel her vote (VB20=1, or VB20=4) = 2 if respondent would vote for the incumbent candidate or party (VB20=2)
Intended Behavior if the presidential elections were held this week	Colombia 2010	COLVB20	= 0 if respondent would vote for a candidate other than Juan Manuel Santos (COLVB20 > 5 & COLVB20 ≠ 7) = 1 if respondent would not vote, vote blank, or cancel her vote (COLVB20=1, or COLVB20=4) = 2 if respondent would vote for Juan Manuel Santos (COLVB20=7)

\* The survey conducted in Trinidad & Tobago is the only one whose question coded as VB20 has the fifth alternative “It would depend on who the candidates are”. If that was the respondent’s choice in this case, we coded the variable as one (Apathetic).

## 2. Dependent Variable “Respondent is Anti-BF” (Table 3)

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Survey</b>	<b>Question Code</b>	<b>Definition</b>
Anti-BF	Brazil 2010	CCT4BRA	= 1 if respondent thinks that the government should reduce or discontinue the Bolsa Família (CCT4BRA=3, or CCT4BRA=4)

## 3. Independent Variable “CCT Beneficiary” (Tables 1 and 2)

<b>Survey</b>	<b>Beneficiary of</b>	<b>Question</b>	<b>Definition</b>
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		<b>Code</b>	
Argentina	<i>Asignación Universal por Hijo, Plan Jefes y Jefas de Hogar, or Plan Familias</i>	CCT1	= 1 if respondent, or someone in her household, receives monthly cash or in-kind aid from the government, like <i>Asignación Universal por Hijo, Plan Jefes y Jefas de Hogar, or Plan Familias</i> (CCT1=1)
Bolivia	<i>Renta Dignidad, Bono Juancito Pinto, or Bono Juana Azurduy</i>	CCT1	= 1 if respondent, or someone in her household, receives monthly cash or in-kind aid from the government, like <i>Renta Dignidad, Bono Juancito Pinto, or Bono Juana Azurduy</i> (CCT1=1)
Brazil	<i>Bolsa Família</i>	CCT1	= 1 if respondent, or someone in her household, receives monthly cash or in-kind aid from the government, like the program <i>Bolsa Família</i> (CCT1=1)
Colombia	<i>Familias en Acción</i>	CCT1	= 1 if respondent, or someone in her household, receives monthly cash or in-kind aid from the government, like <i>Familias en Acción</i> (CCT1=1)
Dominican Republic	<i>Solidaridad (excluding Para Envejeciente)</i>	DOMTS1, DOMTS2A, DOMTS2B, DOMTS2C	= 1 if respondent, or someone in her household receives cash from the government through the programs <i>Comer es Primero, Incentivo Escolar, or Bono Gas</i> . (DOMTS2A=1, or DOMTS2B=1, or DOMTS2C=1)
Ecuador	<i>Bono Solidario, or Bono de la Vivienda</i>	CCT1	= 1 if respondent, or someone in her household, receives monthly cash or in-kind aid from the government, like <i>Bono Solidario, or Bono de la Vivienda</i> (CCT1=1)
Guatemala	<i>Bolsa Solidaria, Mi Familia Progreso, Fertilizante Barato, Comedores Solidarios, or similar programs</i>	GUAN20	= 1 if respondent is beneficiary of <i>Bolsa Solidaria, Mi Familia Progreso, Fertilizante Barato, Comedores Solidarios, or similar programs</i> (GUAN20 = 1)
<b>Survey</b>	<b>Beneficiary of</b>	<b>Question Code</b>	<b>Definition</b>
Mexico	<i>Oportunidades, or</i>	CCT1	= 1 if respondent, or someone in

	<i>Procampo</i>		her household, receives monthly cash or in-kind aid from the government, like <i>Oportunidades</i> , or <i>Procampo</i> (CCT1=1)
Uruguay	<i>Asignaciones Familiares</i> , or <i>Plan de Emergencia</i>	CCT1, CCT2A, CCT2B	= 1 if respondent, or someone in her household, receives monthly cash or in-kind aid from the government, like <i>Asignaciones Familiares</i> , or <i>Plan de Emergencia</i> (CCT2A=1, or CCT2B=1)
Venezuela	<i>Misión Ribas</i> , <i>Misión Sucre</i> , or <i>Misión Madres del Barrio</i>	CCT1	= 1 if respondent, or someone in her household, receives monthly cash or in-kind aid from the government, like <i>Misión Ribas</i> , <i>Misión Sucre</i> , or <i>Misión Madres del Barrio</i> (CCT1=1)

**4. Independent Variables “Rich”, “College” (all of the Tables), “Liberal”, “Skeptical”, and “Index” (Tables 3 and 4)**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Survey</b>	<b>Question Code</b>	<b>Definition</b>
Rich	All Surveys	Q10	= 1 if total income of respondent's household belongs to the top four, out of ten, categories (Q10 > 6)
College	All Surveys	ED	= 1 if respondent is attending college, or has college degree (ED > x; x varies across surveys)
Liberal	All Surveys	ROS1	= 1 if respondent strongly disagrees that the state, instead of the private sector, should own the most important companies and industries of the country (ROS1=1)
Skeptical	All Surveys	N1	= 1 if respondent disagrees that the government is fighting poverty (N1 < 4)
Index	All Surveys		= RICH + COLLEGE + LIBERAL + SKEPTICAL

### 5. Independent Variable "Previous Oppositionist" (all of the tables)

<b>Survey</b>	<b>Did not vote for:</b>	<b>Question Code</b>	<b>Definition</b>
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Argentina	Cristina Kirchner in 2007	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for Cristina Kirchner, nor spoiled her vote in 2007 (VB3≠1701 and VB3≠00)
Belize	UDP in 2008	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for the UDP, nor spoiled her vote in 2008 (VB3≠2601 and VB3≠00)
Bolivia	Evo Morales in 2009	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for Evo Morales, nor spoiled her vote in 2009 (VB3≠1002 and VB3≠00)
Brazil	Lula in 2006	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for Lula, nor spoiled her vote in 2006 (VB3≠1501 and VB3≠00)
Colombia	Álvaro Uribe in 2006	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for Álvaro Uribe, nor spoiled her vote in 2006 (VB3≠803 and VB3≠00)
Costa Rica	Óscar Arias in 2006	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for Óscar Arias, nor spoiled her vote in 2006 (VB3≠602 and VB3≠00)
Dom. Republic	Leonel Fernández in 2008	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for Leonel Fernández, nor spoiled her vote in 2008 (VB3≠2101 and VB3≠00)
Ecuador	Rafael Correa in 2009	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for Rafael Correa, nor spoiled her vote in 2009 (VB3≠901 and VB3≠00)
El Salvador	Mauricio Funes in 2009	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for Mauricio Funes, nor spoiled her vote in 2009 (VB3≠302 and VB3≠0)
Guatemala	Álvaro Colom in 2007	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for Álvaro Colom, nor spoiled her vote in 2007 (VB3≠201 and VB3≠00)
Guyana	PPP in 2006	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for the PPP, nor spoiled her vote in 2006 (VB3≠2401 and VB3≠0)
Honduras	Porfirio Lobo in 2009	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for Porfirio Lobo, nor spoiled her vote in 2009 (VB3≠404 and VB3≠00)
Jamaica	JLP in 2007	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for the JLP, nor spoiled her vote in 2007 (VB3≠2302 and VB3≠0)
Mexico	Felipe Calderón in 2006	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for Felipe Calderón, nor spoiled her vote in 2006 (VB3≠101 and VB3≠0)

Survey	Did not vote for:	Question Code	Definition
Nicaragua	Daniel Ortega in	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for

	2006		Daniel Ortega, nor spoiled her vote in 2006 (VB3≠502 and VB3≠0)
Panama	Ricardo Martinelli in 2009	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for Ricardo Martinelli, nor spoiled her vote in 2009 (VB3≠702 and VB3≠00)
Paraguay	Fernando Lugo in 2008	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for Fernando Lugo, nor spoiled her vote in 2008 (VB3≠1201 and VB3≠00)
Suriname	NPS in 2005	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for the NPS, nor spoiled her vote in 2005 (VB3≠2709 and VB3≠0)
Trinidad and Tobago	PNM in 2007	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for the PNM, nor spoiled her vote in 2007 (VB3≠2501 and VB3≠0)
Uruguay	José Mujica in 2010	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for José Mujica, nor spoiled her vote in 2009 (VB3≠1401 and VB3≠00)
Venezuela	Hugo Chávez in 2006	VB3	= 1 if respondent neither voted for Hugo Chávez, nor spoiled her vote in 2006 (VB3≠1601 and VB3≠0)

Note. All of these variables are coded zero if the respondent did not vote, voted blank, or voted for the incumbent candidate. We only coded as missing, cases in which the respondent did not answer/remember if she voted in the election (variable VB2 or analogous is missing), or if she voted, but does not remember for whom (variable VB2 or analogous = 1, but variable VB3 or analogous is missing). All variables refer to the 1<sup>st</sup> round.

## 6. Independent Variable “Previous Apathetic” (all of the tables)

Survey	Question Code	Definition
All Surveys	VB2 and	= 1 if respondent did not vote, or

VB3	spoiled her vote in the previous presidential/general election (VB2 = 2, or VB3 = 00)
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## 7. Control Variables (all of the tables)

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Survey</b>	<b>Question Code</b>	<b>Definition</b>
Female	All Surveys	Q1	= 1 if respondent is female (Q1=2)
White	All Surveys, except Guatemala 2010	ETID	= 1 if respondent classifies herself as white (ETID=1). Note: This category is missing in the Guatemalan 2010 survey.
Ladino	Guatemala 2010	ETID	= 1 if respondent classifies herself as “ladina” (ETID=2)
Age (in decades)	All Surveys	Q2	= respondent’s age in decades (Q2/10)
Lives in Urban Areas	All Surveys	UR	= 1 if respondent lives in urban area (UR=1)