

Carew Boulding and Claudio A. Holzner, Community Organizations and Latin America's Poorest Citizens: Voting, Protesting, and Contacting Government. *Latin American Politics and Society* vol. 62, no. 4 (Winter 2020).

Appendix

Appendix 1: Summary Statistics

Variable	No. of Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<i>Individual-level Variables</i>					
Participation Index	101935	1.51	1.33	0	9
Voted	159069	0.76	0.42	0	1
Protested	113392	0.11	0.31	0	1
Contacted Government	118942	0.25	0.43	0	1
Attended Meetings of a Community Organization (0=Never, 1=Sometimes, 2=Frequently)	166307	1.76	1.15	0	3
Attended Meetings of a Community Organization (Dichotomous)	166307	0.77	0.42	0	1
Wealth Quintile	163924	2.91	1.42	1	5
Direct Contact by a Political Party	65457	0.12	0.32	0	1
Education	164574	9.09	4.58	0	18
Age	166049	39.22	15.89	16	99
Female	166437	0.52	0.50	0	1
Political Interest	146773	2.06	0.97	1	4
Internal Efficacy	115188	3.91	1.77	1	7
Ideology	132664	2.06	0.78	1	3
Rural	166429	0.31	0.46	0	1
<i>Country-Level Variables</i>					
Left President	164928	0.48	0.50	0	1
Compulsory Voting	166440	0.46	0.50	0	1

Appendix 2: Question Wording and Coding

Voted	Did you vote in the last presidential elections of (year of last presidential elections)?	= 1 if yes
Protest	In the last 12 months, have you participated in a demonstration or protest march?"	= 1 if yes
Contacted Government	<p>“Have you sought assistance from or presented a request to any office, official or councilperson of the municipality within the past 12 months?”</p> <p>“In order to solve your problems have you ever requested help or cooperation from a local public official or local government: for example, a mayor, municipal council, councilman, provincial official, civil governor or governor?”</p> <p>“In order to solve your problems have you ever requested help or cooperation from any ministry or minister (federal), state agency or public agency or institution?”</p> <p>“In order to solve your problems have you ever requested help or cooperation from a member of Congress/Parliament?”</p>	= 1 if yes to any of the contacting questions

Source: AmericasBarometer Data by the Latin American Public Opinion Project

(LAPOP), www.LapopSurveys.org.

Appendix 3: Full Models for Coefficient Plots in the Article

Figure 6 Main Models, All Wealth Group

Table 1b: Multilevel Models of Voting and Non-Voting Participation

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Voted	Protest	Contact Govt
Community Org	0.403*** (0.0161)	0.599*** (0.0276)	0.841*** (0.0194)
Poor	-0.0558** (0.0171)	0.00757 (0.0263)	0.177*** (0.0169)
Education	0.0633*** (0.00194)	0.0455*** (0.00259)	0.00938*** (0.00177)
Age	0.0553*** (0.000565)	-0.00605*** (0.000686)	0.00907*** (0.000452)
Female	0.0347* (0.0139)	-0.247*** (0.0198)	-0.0227 (0.0136)
Political Interest	0.297*** (0.00772)	0.435*** (0.0101)	0.256*** (0.00705)
Ideology Declared	0.218*** (0.0172)	0.370*** (0.0301)	0.117*** (0.0182)
Rural	0.137*** (0.0160)	-0.0857*** (0.0238)	0.432*** (0.0156)
_cons	-2.488*** (0.124)	-4.269*** (0.107)	-3.248*** (0.0727)
<i>N</i>	140472	138562	139512
No. of Countries	18	18	18

Note: This table contains the full results of the models shown in the coefficient plot in

Figure 6, multilevel mixed effect models estimated in Stata15 using the meqrlogit

command. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Figure 7 Main Models, Poorest Quintile

	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Voted	Protest	Contact Govt
Community Org	0.493*** (0.0333)	0.663*** (0.0665)	0.830*** (0.0400)
Education	0.0397*** (0.00426)	0.0205** (0.00648)	0.000167 (0.00416)
Age	0.0429*** (0.00108)	-0.00413** (0.00160)	0.00655*** (0.000957)
Female	-0.00275 (0.0291)	-0.360*** (0.0466)	0.00942 (0.0292)
Political Interest	0.307*** (0.0166)	0.387*** (0.0240)	0.259*** (0.0153)
Ideology Declared	0.220*** (0.0335)	0.378*** (0.0627)	0.0826* (0.0353)
Rural	0.108** (0.0332)	-0.236*** (0.0551)	0.249*** (0.0332)
Cons	-1.989*** (0.140)	-4.035*** (0.175)	-2.821*** (0.105)
<i>N</i>	29725	29358	29529
<i>No. of Countries</i>	18	18	18

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Standard errors in parentheses.

Note: This table contains the full results of the models shown in the coefficient plot in Figure 7, multilevel mixed effect models estimated in Stata13 using the meqrlogit command.

Figure 8 Main Models with Interaction for Wealth

	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Voted	Protest	Contact Govt
Wealth Quintile	0.0438*** (0.00971)	0.0684*** (0.0179)	-0.107*** (0.0126)
Community Org	0.540*** (0.0358)	0.828*** (0.0675)	0.718*** (0.0428)
Education	0.0641*** (0.00205)	0.0446*** (0.00277)	0.0146*** (0.00189)
Age	0.0556*** (0.000572)	-0.00647*** (0.000696)	0.00929*** (0.000459)
Female	0.0350* (0.0140)	-0.244*** (0.0200)	-0.0251 (0.0138)
Political Interest	0.296*** (0.00780)	0.436*** (0.0102)	0.259*** (0.00713)
Ideology Declared	0.217*** (0.0174)	0.371*** (0.0304)	0.117*** (0.0184)
Rural	0.138*** (0.0163)	-0.0921*** (0.0241)	0.442*** (0.0159)
Wealth X Community Org	-0.0474*** (0.0111)	-0.0736*** (0.0192)	0.0425** (0.0135)
Cons	-2.641*** (0.126)	-4.462*** (0.120)	-2.968*** (0.0799)
<i>N</i>	138079	136192	137170
<i>No. of Countries</i>	18	18	18

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Standard errors in parentheses.

Note: This table contains the full results of the models shown in the coefficient plot in Figure 8, multilevel mixed effect models estimated in Stata13 using the `meqrlogit` command.

Figure 9: Direct Mobilization of Poorest Quintile

	(10)
	Directly Contacted by a Party or a Candidate
Community Org	0.0717*** (0.0154)
Education	0.000805 (0.00184)
Age	-0.000995* (0.000427)
Female	-0.00650 (0.0129)
Political Interest	0.0385*** (0.00688)
Ideology Declared	-0.0126 (0.0149)
Rural	0.0119 (0.0149)
_cons	-0.599*** (0.00803)
<i>N</i>	7765
<i>No. of Countries</i>	18

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Standard errors in parentheses.

Figure 10: The Effect of Different Types of Organizations and Level of Contact on Voting

	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
	Any Org	Religious	Parent	Communi ty	Profession al	Womens
1.orgmtg	0.338*** (0.0483)					
2.orgmtg	0.590*** (0.0397)					
3.orgmtg	0.478*** (0.0386)					
Education	0.0400*** (0.00427)	0.0408*** (0.00426)	0.0434*** (0.00431)	0.0403*** (0.00429)	0.0383*** (0.00466)	0.0556*** (0.00649)
Age	0.0430*** (0.00109)	0.0432*** (0.00109)	0.0445*** (0.00108)	0.0428*** (0.00109)	0.0407*** (0.00118)	0.0466*** (0.00170)
Female	-0.0120 (0.0293)	0.0353 (0.0289)	-0.0768** (0.0297)	0.0700* (0.0289)	0.0438 (0.0314)	0.258 (0.143)
Political Interest	0.306*** (0.0166)	0.318*** (0.0166)	0.309*** (0.0167)	0.297*** (0.0167)	0.313*** (0.0182)	0.258*** (0.0251)
Ideology	0.219*** (0.0335)	0.226*** (0.0334)	0.197*** (0.0338)	0.210*** (0.0336)	0.232*** (0.0361)	0.246*** (0.0483)
Rural	0.105** (0.0332)	0.117*** (0.0331)	0.0946** (0.0335)	0.0557 (0.0336)	0.0814* (0.0363)	0.0623 (0.0501)
1.relig		0.0977* (0.0493)				
2.relig		0.256*** (0.0423)				
3.relig		0.198*** (0.0351)				
1.parentorg			0.612*** (0.0471)			
2.parentorg			0.726*** (0.0363)			
3.parentorg			0.511*** (0.0814)			
1.comm				0.535*** (0.0493)		
2.comm				0.623*** (0.0486)		
3.comm				0.462*** (0.0902)		
1.prof					0.351***	

					(0.0788)	
2.prof					0.508***	
					(0.0873)	
3.prof					0.212	
					(0.139)	
1.women						0.225*
						(0.104)
2.women						0.391***
						(0.0971)
3.women						0.0524
						(0.133)
_cons	-0.700***	-0.693***	-0.733***	-0.720***	-0.687***	-0.678***
	(0.170)	(0.170)	(0.170)	(0.170)	(0.170)	(0.174)
<i>N</i>	29725	29610	29513	29531	24684	13123
<i>No. of Countries</i>	18	18	18	18	18	18

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Standard errors in parentheses

Figure 11: The Effect of Different Types of Organizations and Level of Contact on Protest

	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)
	Any Org	Religious	Parent	Communi ty	Profession al	Womens
1.orgmtg	0.493*** (0.0863)					
2.orgmtg	0.763*** (0.0728)					
3.orgmtg	0.650*** (0.0736)					
Education	0.0206** (0.00648)	0.0212** (0.00649)	0.0225*** (0.00651)	0.0197** (0.00655)	0.0268*** (0.00707)	0.00820 (0.0101)
Age	-0.00411* (0.00161)	-0.00377* (0.00159)	-0.00261 (0.00163)	- 0.00532** (0.00163)	-0.00427* (0.00175)	-0.00480 (0.00260)
Female	-0.371*** (0.0469)	-0.307*** (0.0465)	-0.402*** (0.0475)	-0.288*** (0.0468)	-0.240*** (0.0510)	-0.399 (0.242)
Political Interest	0.384*** (0.0240)	0.402*** (0.0239)	0.394*** (0.0241)	0.356*** (0.0244)	0.384*** (0.0264)	0.392*** (0.0379)
Ideology	0.378*** (0.0627)	0.389*** (0.0628)	0.366*** (0.0631)	0.348*** (0.0633)	0.363*** (0.0684)	0.246** (0.0881)
Rural	-0.241*** (0.0551)	-0.221*** (0.0551)	-0.231*** (0.0554)	-0.347*** (0.0563)	-0.302*** (0.0614)	-0.323*** (0.0881)
1.relig		0.281*** (0.0747)				
2.relig		0.313*** (0.0642)				
3.relig		0.164** (0.0585)				
1.parentorg			0.493*** (0.0661)			
2.parentorg			0.562*** (0.0549)			
3.parentorg			0.473*** (0.116)			
1.comm				0.855*** (0.0629)		
2.comm				1.007*** (0.0607)		
3.comm				1.028*** (0.104)		

1.prof					0.896***	
					(0.0864)	
2.prof					1.190***	
					(0.0857)	
3.prof					0.839***	
					(0.162)	
1.women						0.833***
						(0.123)
2.women						0.719***
						(0.117)
3.women						0.806***
						(0.176)
_cons	-0.700***	-0.687***	-0.699***	-0.769***	-0.756***	-0.609***
	(0.174)	(0.174)	(0.174)	(0.175)	(0.177)	(0.182)
<i>N</i>	29358	29248	29164	29174	24341	13207
<i>No. of Countries</i>	18	18	18	18	18	18

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Standard errors in parentheses

Figure 12: The Effect of Different Types of Organizations and Level of Contact on Protest

	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)
	Any Org	Religious	Parent	Communi ty	Profession al	Womens
1.orgmtg	0.561*** (0.0542)					
2.orgmtg	0.897*** (0.0444)					
3.orgmtg	0.888*** (0.0441)					
Education	0.000400 (0.00417)	0.00113 (0.00415)	0.00234 (0.00417)	-0.000969 (0.00422)	-0.00198 (0.00459)	-0.0128* (0.00639)
Age	0.00647** * (0.000961)	0.00582** * (0.000952)	0.00932** * (0.000972)	0.00578** * (0.000970)	0.00606** * (0.00105)	0.00582** * (0.00147)
Female	-0.0121 (0.0294)	0.0592* (0.0291)	-0.0218 (0.0297)	0.123*** (0.0293)	0.131*** (0.0320)	0.0788 (0.152)
Political Interest	0.256*** (0.0153)	0.272*** (0.0152)	0.268*** (0.0153)	0.232*** (0.0156)	0.256*** (0.0169)	0.213*** (0.0235)
Ideology	0.0792* (0.0354)	0.106** (0.0353)	0.0676 (0.0355)	0.0515 (0.0358)	0.0890* (0.0387)	0.102* (0.0509)
Rural	0.248*** (0.0332)	0.264*** (0.0331)	0.252*** (0.0333)	0.138*** (0.0340)	0.215*** (0.0370)	0.0553 (0.0519)
1.relig		0.213*** (0.0500)				
2.relig		0.470*** (0.0409)				
3.relig		0.386*** (0.0354)				
1.parentorg			0.488*** (0.0438)			
2.parentorg			0.650*** (0.0342)			
3.parentorg			0.773*** (0.0737)			
1.comm				0.836*** (0.0421)		
2.comm				1.044*** (0.0403)		

3.comm				1.197***		
				(0.0724)		
1.prof					0.713***	
					(0.0643)	
2.prof					0.987***	
					(0.0658)	
3.prof					0.845***	
					(0.118)	
1.women						0.721***
						(0.0897)
2.women						0.600***
						(0.0826)
3.women						0.845***
						(0.115)
_cons	-1.242***	-1.274***	-1.295***	-1.204***	-1.267***	-1.034***
	(0.175)	(0.175)	(0.175)	(0.174)	(0.177)	(0.179)
<i>N</i>	29529	29421	29339	29357	24508	13121
<i>No. of Countries</i>	18	18	18	18	18	18

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Standard errors in parentheses

Figure 13: Effect of Community Organizations Poor People with Low Interest in Politics

	(29)	(30)	(31)
	Voted	Protest	Contact Gov't
Community Org	0.514*** (0.0558)	0.802*** (0.112)	0.897*** (0.0608)
Education	0.0567*** (0.00690)	0.0362*** (0.01000)	0.0197*** (0.00572)
Age	0.0478*** (0.00185)	-0.00104 (0.00249)	0.00933*** (0.00137)
Female	-0.160*** (0.0473)	-0.376*** (0.0745)	-0.101* (0.0415)
Ideology Declared	0.274*** (0.0558)	0.589*** (0.118)	0.115* (0.0525)
Rural	0.0931 (0.0530)	-0.185* (0.0885)	0.291*** (0.0465)
Constant	-0.938*** (0.183)	-0.931*** (0.194)	-1.432*** (0.190)
<i>N</i>	11899	7779	12204
<i>No. of Countries</i>	18	18	18

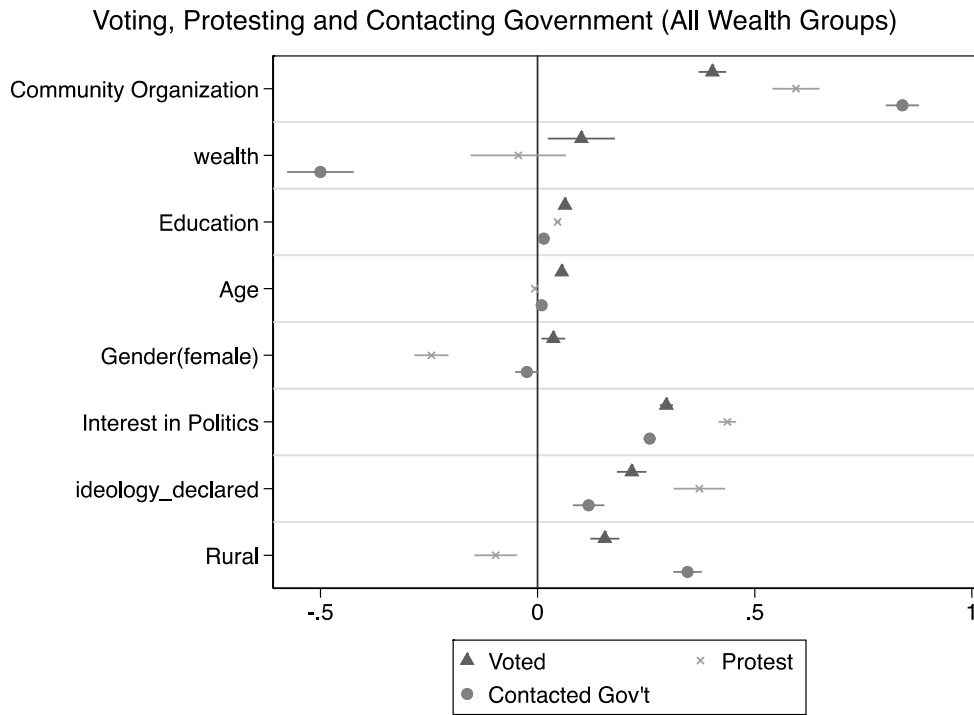
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Standard errors in parentheses

Note: This table contains the full results of the models shown in the coefficient plot in Figure 9, multilevel mixed effect models estimated in Stata15 using the `meqrlogit` command.

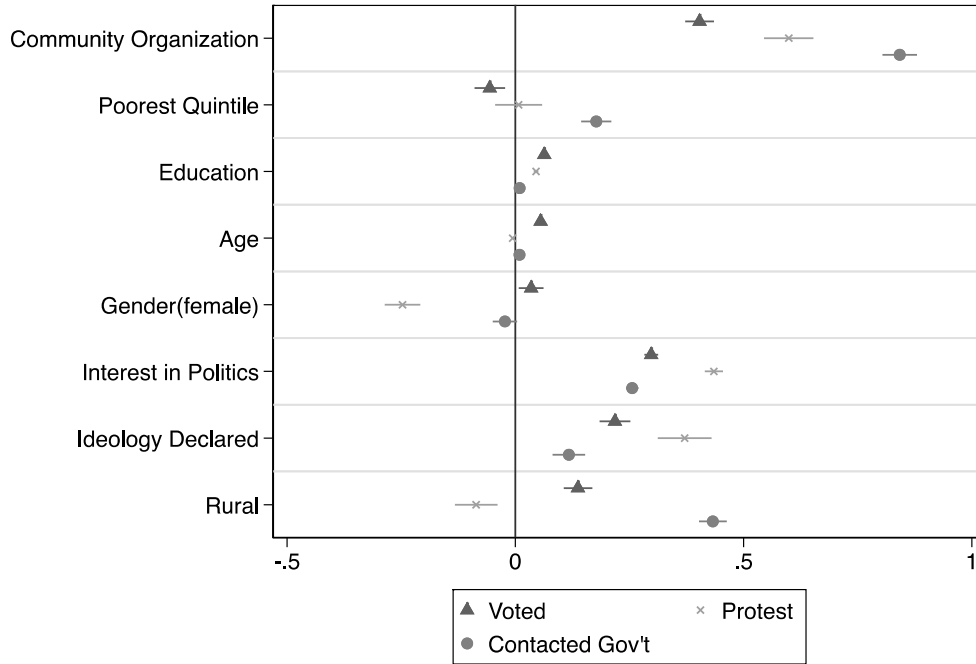
Appendix 4: Robustness Checks

Main Models from Figure 5, using continuous wealth measure



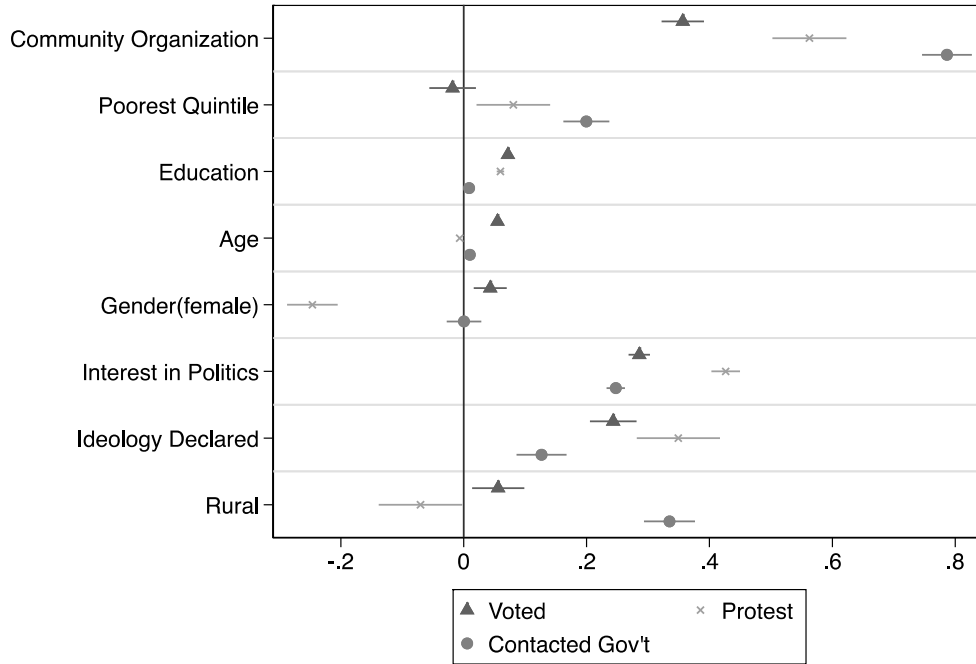
Main models from Figure 5, with country fixed effects

Voting, Protesting and Contacting Government (All Wealth Groups)



Main Models from Figure 5, with LAPOP survey weights

Voting, Protesting and Contacting Government (All Wealth Groups)



Main Models from Figure 5, with country level variables

