

Supplementary Material

THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF INSTITUTIONAL WEAKNESS AND CHANGE
Preferences, Power, and Police Reform in Latin America

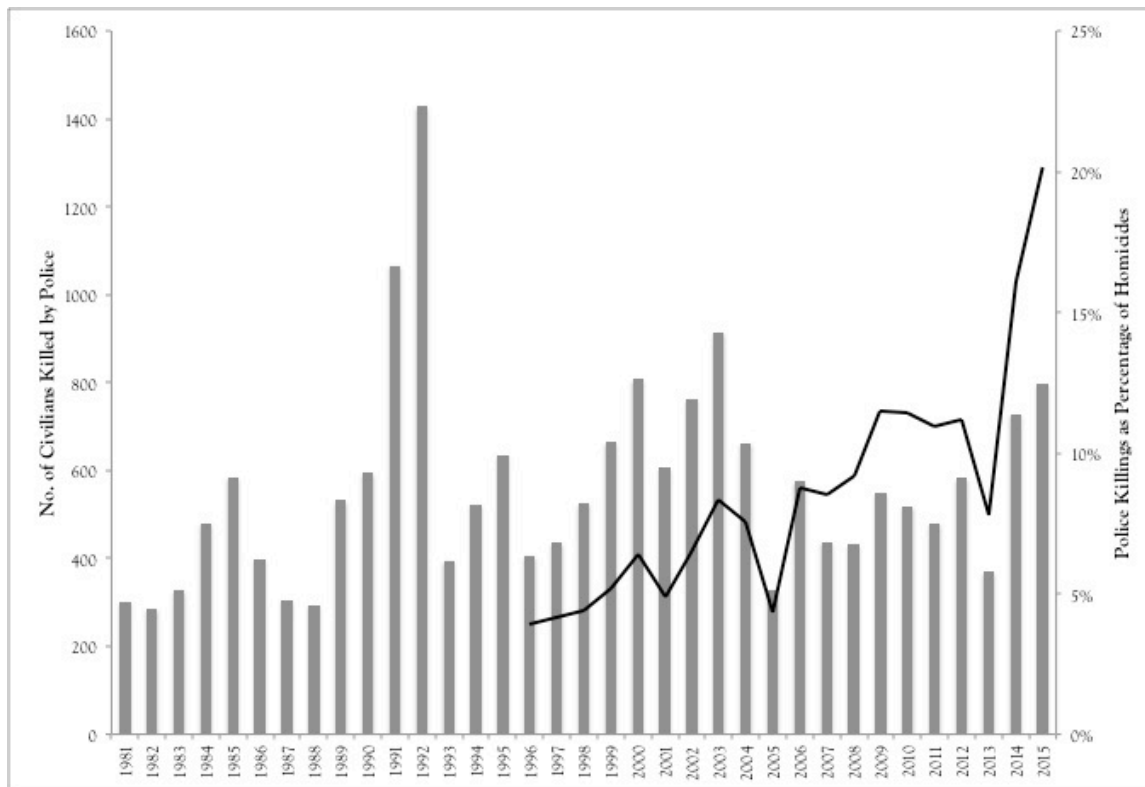
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World Politics

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Appendix 1

Figure 1.1 - Civilians Killed by Military and Civil Police in São Paulo State (1981-2015)



The figure presents the total number of civilians killed by Military and Civil Police officers in São Paulo State and such killings as a percentage of all homicides in the state. *Sources:* 1981-1989: Pinheiro et al. (1991, p. 97); 1990-2000: Ouidoria da Polícia do Estado de São Paulo (2000, p. 79); 2001-2015 and homicides: *Dados Trimestrais* (quarterly reports) issued by the Secretariat for Public Security of the State of São Paulo regarding “persons killed in confrontation with police” both on and off duty.

Appendix 2

Table 2.1 - Results of Gubernatorial Elections in São Paulo State (1982-1994)

Year	Candidate	Party	Percentage
1982	Andre Franco Montoro	PMDB	44.92
	Reynaldo De Barros	PDS	23.53
	Janio Quadros	PTB	12.48
	Luiz Inacio Lula Da Silva	PT	9.87
	Others		0.81
1986	Orestes Quercia	PMDB	36.1
	Antonio Ermirio De Moraes	PTB	23.78
	Paulo Salim Maluf	PDS	17.27
	Eduardo Matarazzo Suplicy	PT	9.76
	Others		1.62
1990 - 1 st Round	Paulo Salim Maluf	PDS	34.28
	Luiz Antonio Fleury Filho	PMDB	22.2
	Mario Covas Junior	PSDB	11.97
	Others		10.35
1990 - 2 nd Round	Luiz Antonio Fleury Filho	PMDB	43.81
	Paulo Salim Maluf	PDS	40.82
1994 - 1 st Round	Mario Covas Junior	PSDB	35.71
	Francisco Rossi	PDT	16.94
	Jose Dirceu	PT	11.32
	Others (including PMDB)		12.24
1994 - 2 nd Round	Mario Covas Junior	PSDB	48.8
	Francisco Rossi	PDT	38.15

Source: SEADE (State System for Data Analysis, State of São Paulo) *Informações Eleitorais*

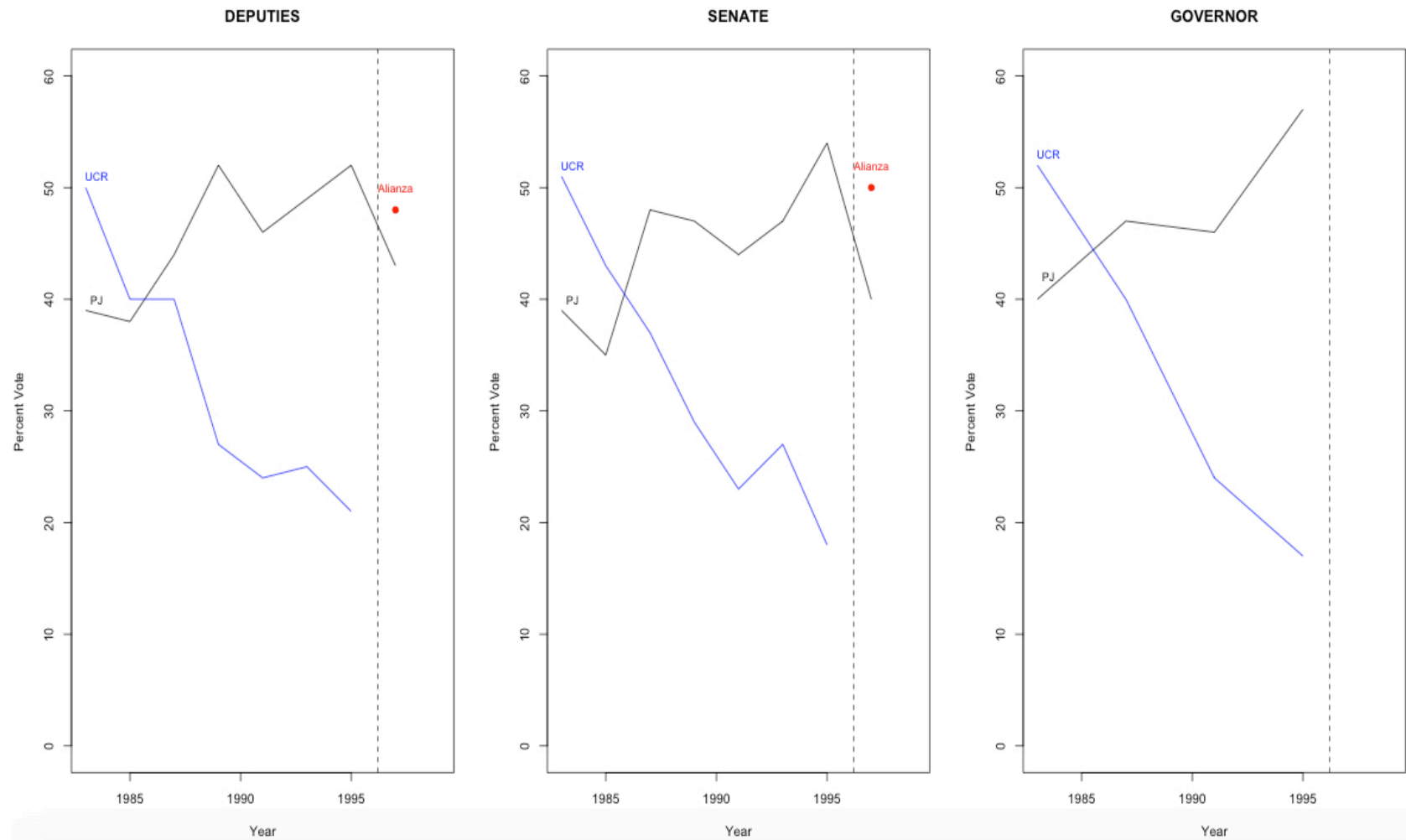
Table 2.2 - Results of Legislative Elections in São Paulo State (1982-1994)

Political Party	1982	1986	1990	1994
PC do B			1%	2%
PDC			1%	
PDS	26%	13%	13%	10%
PDT		4%	4%	3%
PFL		11%	10%	5%
PL		1%	2%	5%
PMDB	50%	44%	23%	24%
PRN			2%	
PRONA				1%
PRP				2%
PSB			1%	1%
PSD				2%
PSDB			11%	18%
PST			2%	
PT	11%	12%	17%	17%
PTB	13%	15%	13%	7%
PV				1%

Source: SEADE (State System for Data Analysis, State of São Paulo) *Informações Eleitorais*

Appendix 3

Figure 3.1 - Legislative and Gubernatorial Elections Results in Buenos Aires Province (1983-1999)



Source: Department of Statistics, National Election Office, Argentine Ministry of the Interior

Appendix 4

Colombian Political Party Strength 1980s-1994

Table 4.1 - Presidential Elections 1986-1990

Political Party	1986	1990
Liberal Party	58%	48%
National Salvation Movement	36	24
M-19	5	12
Conservative Party	1	12
Other candidates	~	2

Sources: Georgetown University's Political Database of the Americas. Colombia: Elección Presidencial de 1990. [Internet]. Georgetown University y Organización de Estados Americanos. En: <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres90.html>. 2 de febrero 2000.
Colombia: Elecciones Presidenciales 1826-1990. [Internet]. Georgetown University y Organización de Estados Americanos. En: http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres1826_1990.html. 2 de febrero 2000.

Table 4.2 - Elections of Delegates to the Constituent Assembly 1991

Political Party	% of vote
Liberal Party	28%
M-19	27
National Salvation Movement	16
Conservative Party	11
Patriotic Union	2
Other	14

Note: As a result of the vote totals, the top three parties held the "tripartite presidency" of the Constituent Assembly.
Source: Georgetown University's Political Database of the Americas. Colombia: Elección Presidencial de 1990. [Internet]. Georgetown University y Organización de Estados Americanos. En: <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres90.html>. 2 de febrero 2000.

Table 4.3 - Congressional Representation - Senate

Political Party	1990		1991	
	No. of Seats	% of Seats	No. of Seats	% of Seats
Liberal Party	66	58%	58	57%
Conservative Party	38	33	10	10
New Democratic Force (Conservative Party)	~	~	9	9
M-19 Democratic Alliance	~	~	9	9
National Salvation Movement (Conservative Party)	~	~	5	5
Patriotic Union	~	~	1	1
Others	10	9	10	10
Total	114	100%	102	100%

Note: New congressional elections were held in 1991 in accordance with the new constitution

Sources:

* Political Database of the Americas. (1999) Colombia: Elecciones legislativas de 1990 (Cámara de Representantes). [Internet]. Georgetown University y Organización de Estados Americanos. En: <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/Elecamara90.html>. 2 de febrero 2000.

**Inter-Parliamentary Union Election Archives http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2067_91.htm

Table 4.4 - Congressional Representation - Deputies

Political Party	1990*		1991**	
	No. of Seats	% of Seats	No. of Seats	% of Seats
Liberal Party	119	60%	86	53%
Conservative Party	62	31	15	9
New Democratic Force (Conservative Party)	-	-	12	7
M-19 Democratic Alliance	-	-	15	9
National Salvation Movement (Conservative Party)	-	-	12	7
Patriotic Union	1	1	2	1
Others	17	9	19	12
Total	199	100%	161	100%

Note: New congressional elections were held in 1991 in accordance with the new constitution

Sources:

* Political Database of the Americas. (1999) Colombia: Elecciones legislativas de 1990 (Cámara de Representantes). [Internet]. Georgetown University y Organización de Estados Americanos. En: <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/Elecamara90.html>. 2 de febrero 2000.

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Appendix 5

Table 5.1 - Ideology of Selected Political Parties, Parliamentary Elites of Latin America Project

Case	Political Party	Survey Year	PELA (1-10)	Ideology
São Paulo State ^a	PMDB	2005	6.42	Center
São Paulo State ^a	PSBD	2005	6.89	Center/Center-right
Buenos Aires Province ^b	PJ/Peronist	1996	7.4	Center-right
Buenos Aires Province ^b	Alianza	1996	5.63 (UCR) / 3.94 (FREPASO)	Center-left
Colombia	Liberal	1998	6.09	Center/Center-right
Colombia	Conservative	1998	8.28	Right
Colombia ^c	M-19	1998	3.85	Left/Center-left

Source: Parliamentary Elites of Latin America Project (Alcántara 1996-2005). PELA is a survey of Latin American parliamentarians conducted since 1994 by researchers at Universidad de Salamanca. The survey asks respondents to score the ideology of political parties on a scale of 1-10, with 1 as left and 10 as right. Datasets available at <http://americo.usal.es/oir/elites/index.htm>

^a The PELA survey was administered in Brazil in 2005, many years after the period under study. As Power and Zuccho (2009) note, in the early years of the democracy, the PMDB could be characterized as center-left, but many of its social democratic leaders (including Franco Montoro and Mário Covas) left to form the PSDB in the late 1980s (Appendix, Table 4). The PSDB, meanwhile, moved from slightly left of center in 1990 to right-of-center in the early 2000s (p. 229).

^b The ideology is measured by asking national-level parliamentarians, likely capturing perceived ideology of national-level parties. This is particularly clear in the case of the Peronist Party/PJ, whose ideology is likely tied to that of President Carlos Menem (Score = 7.45). As a check that the assessments of national-level parties correspond to those of Buenos Aires Province, the same survey scored Buenos Aires governor Eduardo Duhalde at 6.4, or center-right (though certainly to the left of Menem); though by 1998, Duhalde's score moved slightly right, 6.8. Ideology scores for the Alianza that won the 1997 midterm elections in Buenos Aires Province (and beyond) were not available directly. However, we can infer perceived ideology from the ideology scores of the two political parties that composed the coalition, UCR (5.63) and FREPASO (3.94), from the coalition's national-level leader Chacho Álvarez (4.27), and its provincial leader and 1999 gubernatorial candidate, Graciela Fernández Meijide (4.29 – from 1998 survey).

^c The 1998 survey did not ask respondents to rate the M-19 party overall, perceived ideology score corresponds to rating of the M-19's main leader since its days as an armed guerrilla group, Antonio Navarro Wolff.