**Supplemental Files for** **Authoritarianism and Right-Wing Voting in Brazil**

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**APPENDIX A**

**Table A1: 2019 Social and Political Attitudes Models**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  | *Dependent variable:* |  |
|  | Own a Gun | Death Penalty | Armed Forces | Democracy Support | PartyRights | Political Tolerance | Gay Rights | Peaceful Protests  | Religiousness(Secular) |
|  | *LOGIT* | *LOGIT* | *OLS* | *OLS* | *OLS* | *OLS* | *OLS* | *OLS* | *OLS* |
| *Authoritarianism* | .368\* (.161) | .402\*\* (.152) | .038\*(.019) | -.025\*(.011) | -.050\*\*(.016) | -.052\*\*(.015) | -.069\*\*\* (.020) | -.063\*\* (.021) | -.007\*\*\*(.001) |
| *Ideology* | .013 (.035) | .004 (.034) | .019\*\*\*(.004) | .002 (.002) | .002(.003) | .005(.003) | .004 (.004) | .004 (.004) | -.000(.000) |
| *Evangelical* | .211 (.204) | -.369+ (.199) | .013(.026) | .016 (.014) | -.041+(.022) | .001(.021) | -.218\*\*\* (.027) | .014 (.028) | .089\*\*\*(.001) |
| *Gender**(Male)* | .848\*\*\* (.199) | .340+ (.192) | .078(.025) | -.001 (.014) | .022 (.021) | .030(.020) | -.101\*\*\* (.026) | -.026 (.029) | .001(.001) |
| *Age**(in years)* | -.014\* (.006) | -.014\* (.006) | .001(.001) | .001\*(.000) | -.001+ (.000) | -.001+(.000) | -.003\*\*\* (.000) | -.001+ (.000) | -.000(.000) |
| *Education**(in years)* | -.023 (.030) | -.048 (.029) | -.008(.003) | .004\* (.002) | -.001 (.003) | .011\*\*\*(.003) | .015\*\*\* (.004) | .013\*\* (.004) | .000(.000) |
| *Race**(white)* | .518\* (.215) | .038 (.209) | -.009(.027) | -.016 (.015) | -.023 (.023) | -.002(.022) | .010 (.028) | -.026 (.029) | .057\*\*(.010) |
| *Income* | -.018 (.022) | -.012 (.021) | -.000(.002) | .003\* (.001) | .002 (.002) | .000(.002) | .001 (.002) | -.000 (.030) | .000(.001) |
| *Strong* *Partisan* | .602+ (.308) | .271 (.286) | .065(.037) | -.011 (.021) | -.022 (.031) | .007(.030) | -.052 (.039) | .034 (.040) | -.049+(.025) |
| *Moderate* *Partisan* | .303 (.234) | .288 (.226) | .012(.029) | -.028 (.016) | -.034 (.025) | -.018(.024) | .018 (.030) | -.051 (.032) | -.001(.002) |
| *Negative PT feelings* | .661\*\*\* (.195) | .118 (.191) | -.022(..025) | -.024+ (.014) | -.224\*\*\* (.021) | -.069\*\*\*(.020) | -.042 (.025) | -.080\*\* (.027) | .054\*\*(.017) |
| *Constant* | -1.30\*(.661) | .117 (.638) | .497\*\*\*(.083) | .625\*\*\*(.047) | .739\*\*\*(.071) | .645\*\*\*(.068) | .896\*\*\* (.086) | .769\*\*\* (.090) | .051\*\*\*(.005) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *Adjusted R2* | - | - | .110 | .039 | .207 | .092 | .251 | .068 | .171 |
| *AIC* | 652.4 | 675.22 | 123.09 | -434.84 | -23.81 | -73.23 | 159.52 | 206.51 | -253.32 |
| *df* | 497 | 477 | 483 | 478 | 477 | 484 | 483 | 486 | 488 |

Note: Standard errors are presented in parenthesis.

‘\*\*\*’ .001 ‘\*\*’ .01 ‘\*’ .05 ‘+’ .10

**Table A2: Multinomial Logistic Regression for 2018 Presidential Vote
including Blank and Null votes**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | 2018 |
|  |  | Haddad(PT) | 3rdCandidates | Blank/Null Votes |
| *Authoritarianism* |  | -0.636 (.371) | -.913\* (.319) | -1.035\*(.434) |
| *Ideology* |  | -0.137 (.371) | -0.214\* (.080) | -0.066 (.108) |
| *Evangelical* |  | -1.479\* (.539) | -1.141\* (.515) | -0.878 (.651) |
| *Gender**(Male)* |  | -0.576 (.493) | -.080 (.437) | -1.270 (.650) |
| *Age**(in years)* |  | -0.022 (.019) | -.007 (.016) | -0.010 (.021) |
| *Education**(in years)* |  | -0.116 (.068) | -.073 (.061) | -0.067 (.088) |
| *Race* *(white)* |  | -0.128 (.525) | .284 (.436) | -1.508 (.826) |
| *Income**(in Reais)* |  | -0.052 (.051) | -.028 (.049) | -.091 (.063) |
| *Pocketbook**voting* |  | 0.165 (.511) | -1.832\* (.604) | .091 (.610) |
| *Sociotropic**voting* |  | -0.355 (.534) | .583 (.513) | -.720 (.661) |
| *Northeast**Region* |  | 1.136 (.593) | -.092 (.610) | .786 (.733) |
| *North**Region* |  | 1.343 (.694) | 1.192\* (.583) | -.224 (.919) |
| *Midwest**Region* |  | 0.558 (.701) | -.680 (.742) | .275 (.792) |
| *Partisanship**(ordinal)* |  | -1.799\* (.356) | -.319 (.348) | -.633 (.468) |
| *Anti-PT**feelings* |  | -1.907\* (.557) | -.353 (.453) | -.415 (.598) |
| *Owning* *a Gun* |  | -0.230 (.484) | -.790 (.446) | -.926 (.588)  |
| *Death* *Penalty* |  | 0.519 (.493) | .369 (.440) | .861 (.610) |
| *Armed* *Forces* |  | -2.388\*(.861) | -1.937\* (.813)  | -1.954\* (.980) |
| *Democracy* *Support* |  | 2.008(1.57) | 1.745 (.852) | 1.316 (1.82) |
| *Party* *Rights* |  | .622(1.57) | .683 (.852) | -1.253 (1.32) |
| *Political* *Tolerance* |  | -2.074(1.51) | .886 (1.44) | -.545 (1.81) |
| *Gay* *Rights* |  | .948(.855) | .819 (1.36) | .346 (1.080) |
| *Peaceful* *Protests* |  | 2.228(1.27) | .086 (1.13) | 1.457 (1.46) |
| *Religiousness (Secular)* |  | -1.609(1.19) | -.200 (1.02) | .057 (1.36) |
| *Constant* |  | 4.207(2.32) | 3.363 (2.10) | 4.443 (3.02) |
| *Log-likelihood**AIC**BIC**Adj. McFadden R2* | -228.18606.36888.98.73 |
| *N* | 885 |

Note: Jair Bolsonaro is the reference category.

Standard errors are presented in parenthesis.
‘\*\*\*’ .001 ‘\*\*’ .01 ‘\*’ .05 ‘+’ .10

**Table A3: First differences in predicted probabilities in 2018 presidential election voting**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | 2018 |
|  | *3rd Candidates* | *Haddad**(PT)* | *Bolsonaro**(Challenger)* |
| *Authoritarianism**(1 to 3)* | **-.283**(-.531; -.067) | -.136(-.387; .042) | **. 419**(.149; .645) |
| *Ideology**(0 to 7)* | **-.235**(-.463; -.036) | -.038(-.225; .083) | **.273**(.037; .500) |
| *Evangelical**(0 to 1)* | **-.111**(-.226; -.003) | **-.135**(-.239; -.037) | **.247**(.095; .390) |
| *Anti-PT feelings**(0 to 1)* | -.011(-.121 ; .095) | **-.237**(-.400; -.101) | **.249**(.088; .417) |
| *Strong Partisan feelings**(PT [-2] to PSDB [2])* | .044(-.157; .277) | **-.745**(-.916; -.470) | **.699**(.352; .903) |

Note: Coefficients represent ﻿the difference between the minimum and maximum values for each covariate holding all other variables constant at typical values computed from the coefficients in Table 2.

Bold numbers indicate significant coefficients and 95% Confidence Intervals are presented in parenthesis.

**Table A4: Authoritarianism Demographic Characteristics**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | Authoritarianism |
|  | *(OLS)* |
| *Ideology* | .023\* (.010) |
| *Evangelical* | .064 (.060) |
| *Gender**(Male)* | -.139\* (.058) |
| *Age**(in years)* | .002 (.002) |
| *Education**(in years)* | -.021\* (.008) |
| *Race**(white)* | -.141\* (.063) |
| *Income* | -.012+ (.006) |
| *Partisanship**(ordinal)* | -.020 (.037) |
| *Negative PT feelings* | .025 (.059) |
| *Constant* | 2.789\*\*\* (.147) |
|  |  |
| *Adjusted R2* | .055 |
| *df* | 490 |

Standard errors are presented in parenthesis.
‘\*\*\*’ .001 ‘\*\*’ .01 ‘\*’ .05 ‘+’ .10

**APPENDIX B**

*Attitudes toward the use of force*

*Gun Ownership.* Attitudes on gun ownership were measured with a ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ question that asked, “If you could, would you have your own firearm for protection?”

*Death Penalty.* The question asked: “Are you in favor or against capital punishment for those guilty of murder?” Response options were: ‘in favor’ or ‘against.’

*Armed Forces Support.* The question asked in a 7-point response scale from ‘not at all’ to ‘a lot’:“To what extent do you trust the Armed Forces?”.

*Political Attitudes*

*Party Rights.* For each of the major parties in Brazil, the AmericasBarometer asked whether respondents supported the right for that party to compete in presidential elections. The respondents were asked on a 10-point scale from ‘strongly disapprove’ to ‘strongly approve’: “To what extent do you approve of the right of the [PT] [PSDB] [MDB], to run in the elections for president of Brazil?”

*Democracy Support and Satisfaction.* There were two questions tapping the population’s overall feeling toward the political system and attitudes towards democratic practices. The first question asked on a 7-point scale from ‘strongly disagree’ to ‘strongly agree’: “Democracy may have problems, but it is better than any other form of government. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?” The second item asked, “In general, would you say that you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the way democracy works in Brazil?”

*Political Tolerance.* A series of questions asked, using a 10-point scale from ‘strongly disapprove’ to ‘strongly approve’, if respondents would approve or disapprove of government opponents (i) to have the right to vote, (ii) to conduct peaceful demonstrations, (iii) to run for public office, and (iv) to make speeches in the television. The four questions were combined in an index resulting in a .77 alpha and has been used by others (see Cohen and Smith 2016).

*Social Attitudes*

*Gay Rights.* Two items asked using a 10-point scale from ‘strongly disapprove’ to ‘strongly approve’: “How strongly do you approve or disapprove of same-sex couples having the right to marry?” and “How strongly do you approve or disapprove of homosexuals being permitted to run for public office?”

*Religiousness.* The question measuring religiousness taps into one personal importance of religion, which asked on 4-point scale from ‘very important’ to ‘not at all important’: “How important is religion in your life?”

*Peaceful Demonstrations.* The question reads:“How strongly do you approve or disapprove that people should be allowed to conduct peaceful demonstrations in order to express their views?” Response options ranged from ‘strongly disapprove’ to ‘strongly approve’.