

APPENDIX to Wiesehomeier and Benoit (2009). Presidents, Parties and Policy Competition

Details of the Expert Survey

The experts in our survey were primarily academics, ideally specialized in political parties and electoral processes of their countries. To identify experts we first contacted every academic and research institute member in the CLACSO network (Social Science of Latin America and the Caribbean network), individual national universities with political science institutes, some non-profit organizations, and individual researchers. Using the LASA (Latin American Studies Association) member list, we expanded our sample also to include academic experts based in the United States and Europe. Employing a snowball strategy, we asked our contact persons for support in compiling an expert list and to name as many as well-known country experts as possible. We then contacted each of those experts, again asking to name additional country experts. Apart from few exceptions, the majority of our experts were drawn from academia and research institutes.

All politically relevant parties were included, for a total of 146 parties, summarized in Table A.1. In Argentina, where personality-led factions exist within several of the main parties (the *Partido Justicialista* and the *Union Civica Radical*), we treated each faction as if it were a separate party, leading to the location in that country of 15 different political actors. In total, we collected information on policy positions of 164 different political actors in 18 Latin American countries, which includes the 18 presidents in office at the time of the survey.

In each country we asked experts to place parties on numerous, specific policy scales, in addition to a general left-right dimension, taking all other positions into

account. The specific choice of questions in each country reflected a careful process of balancing a common set of core dimensions to be deployed in all countries with other dimensions that applied only to some or even single countries. All dimensions were translated into Spanish (or Portuguese) and checked by native speakers. Whenever possible, we also pre-screened each country's questionnaire by at least two local experts.¹ In rare cases this resulted in the deletion of dimensions, but more often, as in Ecuador with the question of the use of oil revenues, it resulted in the addition of country-specific dimensions.

Table A1. Details of the Expert Surveys in 18 Countries

Country	Number of Dimensions	Number of Parties	Total Target Respondents	Responses	Response Rate (%)
ARG	11	14	114	38	33%
BOL	12	4	59	16	27%
BRA	11	14	135	41	30%
CHL	12	9	56	24	43%
COL	12	11	59	16	27%
CRI	12	9	43	16	37%
DOM	10	3	31	9	29%
ECU	12	10	54	8	15%
GTM	12	10	36	11	31%
HND	12	5	20	4	20%
MEX	12	8	74	25	34%
NIC	12	7	41	11	27%
PAN	12	7	28	9	36%
PER	11	10	46	13	28%
PRY	10	6	29	10	34%
SLV	11	5	31	13	42%
URY	9	5	33	18	55%
VEN	12	9	77	23	30%
Sum		146	966	305	
Mean	11.4	8.1	53.7	17.0	32%

¹ For Colombia, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Venezuela we could only get the collaboration of one country expert, in the case of the Dominican Republic none. This is the reason why in the latter case we only deployed the 10 core dimensions.

The survey questionnaire translated all of the dimensions below into Spanish, except for Brazil where Portuguese was used. (The original language dimension wording is available upon request from the authors and will be on a website for the dataset upon publication of this paper.) The entire survey was conducted online using an interactive Web interface, meaning that experts received an individually addressed invitation email explaining the survey and its purpose and a personalized URL leading them to the country-specific questionnaire.²

Dimension wording: All countries

TAXES V. SPENDING [1]

Promotes raising taxes to increase public services. (1)

Promotes cutting public services to cut taxes. (20)

ENVIRONMENT [5]

Supports protection of the environment, even at the cost of economic growth. (1)

Supports economic growth, even at the cost of damage to the environment. (20)

² This personalized URL included a scrambled, unique identifier for each respondent which not only permitted us to track non-response, but also served to prevent unauthorized or repeated completion of surveys by persons other than the targeted expert.

SOCIAL POLICY [2]

Favors liberal policies on matters such as abortion, homosexuality, [in vitro fertilization,] divorce and euthanasia. (1)

Opposes liberal policies on matters such as abortion, homosexuality, [in vitro fertilization,] divorce and euthanasia. (20)

Note: [in vitro fertilization,] added in Costa Rica only.

RELIGION [10]

Supports secular principles in politics (1)

Supports religious principles in politics. (20)

DECENTRALISATION [12]

Promotes decentralisation of all administration and decision-making. (1)

Opposes any decentralisation of administration and decision-making. (20)

ECONOMIC COOPERATION [46]

Favors closer ties to regional organizations or treaties of economic cooperation that may impose binding regulations on _____trade. (1)

Rejects closer ties to regional organizations or treaties of economic cooperation that may impose binding regulations on _____ trade. (20)

GLOBALIZATION [26]

Opposed to all consequences of globalisation. (1)

Favourable toward the consequences of globalisation. (20)

THE GENERAL LEFT-RIGHT DIMENSION [13]

Please locate each party on a general left-right dimension, taking all aspects of party policy into account.

Left (1) Right (20)

RESPONDENT SYMPATHY/CLOSENESS TO PARTY [99]

Taking all aspects of party policy into account, please score each party in terms of how close it is to your own personal views.

Same as respondent. (1) Farthest from respondent. (20)

Dimension wording: Country specific dimensions

PRIVATIZATION [3] (Bolivia, Brasil, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela)

Promotes maximum state ownership of business and industry, such as gas, oil, electricity and telecommunications. (1)

Opposes all state ownership of business and industry, such as gas, oil, electricity and telecommunications. (20)

DEREGULATION [22] (all except those where Privatization was asked)

Favors high levels of state regulation and control of the market. (1)

Favors deregulation of markets at every opportunity. (20)

INDIGENOUS PEOPLE/MINORITIES [47] (all countries except Argentina and Uruguay)

Supports the right of minorities to live their own lifestyle even if this renders necessary special laws. (1)

Supports the assimilation of minorities and their abidance by the laws the majority needs. (20)

INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES/ SECURITY [48] (Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Panamá, Perú, Venezuela)

Promotes protection of civil liberties, even when this hampers efforts to fight crime/delinquency, violence and organized crime. (1)

Supports tough measures to fight crime/delinquency, violence and organized crime, even when this means curtailing civil liberties. (20)

NEIGHBOUR RELATIONS WITH NICARAGUA [49] (Costa Rica)

Favours the implementation of bilateral policies concerning security, cooperation for the development of the border region, and transfer of arms. (1)

Against the implementation of bilateral policies concerning security, cooperation for the development of the border region, and transfer of arms. (20)

PARTY REGULATION [50] (Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panamá, Venezuela)

Political parties should be subject to strict regulation and held publicly accountable on matters relating to finances and campaigning activities. (1)

Financial contributions to political parties and their campaign activities need not be subject to state regulation and public scrutiny. (20)

FAMILY REMITTANCES [51] (Bolivia, Nicaragua)

Supports the state's right to impose taxes or duties on family remittances sent to _____ from abroad. (1)

Rejects any state taxes or duties on family remittances sent to _____ from abroad. (20)

USE OF REVENUES FROM THE OIL RESERVES [52] (Ecuador)

In favor of destining the revenues from the oil reserves to pay the external debt. (1)

In favor of destining the revenues from the oil reserves to invest in social spending. (20)

PLAN COLOMBIA [53] (Ecuador)

Supports a greater military participation, defense and border mobilization concerning the conflict in Colombia. (1)

In favor of keeping a position of neutrality concerning the conflict in Colombia. (20)

Table A2. Variables and Sources

<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
Absolute difference of presidential and partisan positioning on policy dimensions	Authors' calculation from expert survey data
<i>Independent variables:</i>	
Absolute difference of presidential and partisan positioning on policy importance	Authors' calculation from expert survey data
Concurrent elections	Dummy variable. 1 indicating concurrent elections, 0 non-concurrent elections. Source: Zovatto (2005)
Vote margin	Difference in percentage points between the winner and the runner-up. Source: Adam Carr's election archive, Wikipedia
Average district magnitude	Authors' calculation
Bicameralism	Dummy variable. 1 stands for bicameralism, 0 for unicameralism. Source: Zovatto (2005)
Legislative Majority	Dummy variable. 1 indicates that the presidential party has legislative majority, 0 that not. Authors' own calculations
Presidential power index	Index based on PCA, ranging from 0 to 100 where a low score indicates less presidential power. Source: Negretto (2009)
Presidents' days in office	Authors' calculation; end date is 1.06.2007, the day our survey ended.