

**Table R1. Urban-rural cleavage in Radical, Socialist, and conservative votes, 1912-1940**

Year	Probability of voting for Radicals (in percent)				Probability of voting for Socialists (in percent)				Probability of voting for Conservatives (in percent)				Obs.
	Urban	Rural	Diff.	Type	Urban	Rural	Diff.	Type	Urban	Rural	Diff.	Type	
1912	24	25	-1	Cross	22	25	-3	Cross	42	25	+17	Cross	20
<b>1914</b>	57	25	+32	Urban	7	0	+7	Urban	33	74	-41	Rural	124
1916	45	44	+1	Cross	14	0	+14	Urban	39	56	-17	Cross	152
1918	52	61	-9	Cross	16	0	+16	Urban	30	38	-8	Cross	124
1920	44	53	-9	Cross	20	0	+20	Urban	34	47	-13	Cross	165
1922	52	63	-11	Cross	18	0	+18	Urban	24	36	-12	Cross	216
1926	48	69	-21	Cross	22	0	+22	Urban	23	28	-5	Cross	230
1928	63	58	+5	Cross	9	0	+9	Urban	20	39	-19	Cross	243
<b>1930</b>	39	67	-28	Cross	14	0	+14	Urban	43	32	+11	Cross	231
<b>1937</b>	64	48	+16	Cross	5	1	+4	Urban	28	45	-17	Cross	55
1940	45	57	-12	Cross	22	0	+22	Urban	23	42	-19	Cross	69

*Note:* Values are hierarchical multinomial-dirichlet estimates of the percentage of urban/rural voters in all departments who cast votes for the Radical, Socialist, and conservative parties (see Rosen et al. 2001). Estimates were implemented using Wittenberg and Bhaskar's (2005) R code.

“Cross” means support across urban and rural constituents; “urban” means urban support; “rural” means rural support

Bolded elections are those in which the parties were region-polarized

**Table R2. Urban-rural cleavage in Radical and Peronist votes, 1946-2003**

Year	Probability of voting for Radicals (in percent)				Probability of voting for Peronists (in percent)				Obs.
	Urban	Rural	Diff.	Type	Urban	Rural	Diff.	Type	
1946	41	52	-11	Cross	56	46	+10	Cross	354
Mar 1948	27	25	2	Cross	53	63	-10	Cross	294
<b>Dec 1948</b>	35	20	+15	Urban	58	77	-19	Cross	242
<b>1954</b>	38	18	+20	Urban	56	77	-21	Cross	452
1957	47	55	-8	Cross	26	17	+9	Urban	486
1958	77	68	+9	Cross	1	6	-5	Rural	327
<b>1960</b>	39	60	-21	Rural	31	17	+14	Urban	412
1962	46	47	-1	Cross	33	29	+4	Cross	406
1963	45	47	-2	Cross	21	24	-3	Cross	488
1965	40	48	-8	Cross	35	32	+3	Cross	443
Mar 1973	24	20	+4	Cross	45	52	-7	Cross	502
Sept 1973	27	23	+4	Cross	50	63	-13	Cross	494
1983	52	34	+18	Urban	37	44	-7	Cross	492
1985	44	43	+1	Cross	22	41	-19	Rural	490
1987	39	38	+1	Cross	40	45	-5	Cross	490
1989	37	34	+3	Cross	46	47	-1	Cross	489
1991	30	29	+1	Cross	39	44	-5	Cross	490
1993	31	31	0	Cross	42	48	-6	Cross	490
1995	20	25	-5	Cross	43	55	-12	Cross	489
1997	41	31	+10	Cross	37	50	-13	Cross	480
1999	47	37	+10	Cross	33	53	-20	Rural	490
2001	27	33	-6	Cross	36	48	-12	Cross	487
2003	4	7	-3	Rural	58	72	-14	Cross	491

*Note:* Values are hierarchical multinomial-dirichlet estimates of the percentage of urban/rural voters in all departments who cast votes for the Radical and Peronist parties (see Rosen et al. 2001). Estimates were implemented using Wittenberg and Bhaskar's (2005) R code.

“Cross” means support across urban and rural constituents; “urban” means urban support; “rural” means rural support

Bolded elections are those in which the parties were region-polarized