

# Appendix B

## Description of Surveys

### RURAL CLIENTELISM SURVEY

The Rural Clientelism Survey was collected by Gustavo Bobonis, Paul Gertler, Marco Gonzalez-Navarro, and Simeon Nichter in 2011–2013. This panel survey conducted face-to-face interviews across rural Northeast Brazil. Altogether, the Rural Clientelism Survey was fielded in 654 rural neighborhood clusters in 40 municipalities across 9 states. These surveys were collected in conjunction with a randomized control trial involving a water cisterns treatment. Results from that study, which focused on an experimental subsample of the Rural Clientelism Survey, are summarized briefly in Chapter 8.

The population for this study is rural households in the semi-arid zone of Brazil that do not have reliable access to drinking water. The semi-arid zone is almost entirely located in the Northeast region, with an area exceeding one million square kilometers in 1,262 contiguous municipalities. The zone has much less precipitation than the rest of Brazil, and its twenty-eight million residents are primarily poor and rural. The following inclusion criteria were used for households in our study: (a) no water cistern or piped drinking water, (b) sufficient physical space on the household's property to build a cistern, and (c) a roof no less than forty square meters, made of metal sheeting or tile (to allow for rainfall collection).

For the purpose of household sample selection, administrative data from the Brazilian federal government's *Cadastro Único* were first employed. We randomly selected municipalities employing weights proportional to the number of households without access to cisterns and piped water. Next, clusters of neighboring households (*logradouros* in the federal database) were randomly chosen within the sample municipalities. Per cluster, up to six eligible households were interviewed. Clusters were required to be at least two kilometers away from each other, to avoid spillovers. A localization survey was conducted

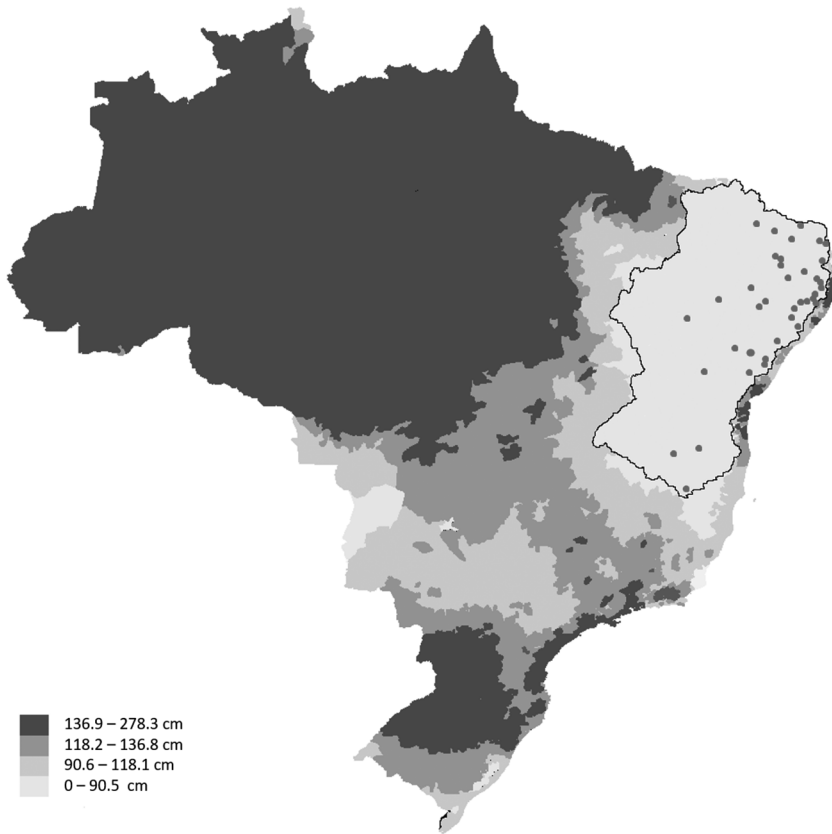


FIGURE B.1 Municipalities in rural clientelism survey, Brazil's semi-arid region, and rainfall levels

*Note:* Each dot indicates the location of a sampled municipality. Brazil's semi-arid region is circumscribed by a black line in the figure. Shading reflects average annual rainfall levels (1986–2013) as specified in the legend, with darker colors reflecting more rainfall.

*Source:* Bobonis, Gertler, Gonzalez-Navarro and Nichter (2018).

in May–July 2011 for the purpose of obtaining household characteristics and identifying families eligible for the study. In October–December 2011, a first wave collected a more detailed baseline survey with information about household characteristics and family members.

Whereas those two waves interviewed only household heads, the next two waves interviewed all household members present who were at least eighteen years old. These latter waves provide many variables analyzed in this book, as they include extensive modules related to clientelism. To learn about patterns around a municipal campaign, the second wave (with 3,685 respondents) was conducted in November–December 2012, just after the municipal elections in

October 2012. To learn about patterns during a non-election year, the third wave was conducted in November–December 2013 (with 3,761 respondents). A subset of respondents in the third wave had not participated in the second wave for two primary reasons: (a) different family members were present during household visits in 2012 and 2013, and (b) we obtained additional funding to add households to the sample in 2013 (such households are not used in the experimental analysis).

In the survey, attrition was relatively low. Bobonis, Gertler, Gonzalez-Navarro, and Nichter (2018) provide an analysis of attrition across rounds in the experimental sample: 9.1 percent of households identified for study participation were not successfully interviewed in Wave 1, 5.4 percent of households identified for study participation were not successfully interviewed in Wave 2, and 14.5 percent of households identified for study participation were not successfully interviewed in Wave 3.

This low rate of attrition did not affect the core characteristics across waves. Following Fitzgerald et al. (1997), attrition probits were employed to assess whether variables analyzed in this book were significantly associated with future nonresponse. With respect to key dependent variables, household heads who reported receiving benefits, requesting benefits, or declaring support in the 2012 wave were no more or less likely to drop out before the 2013 wave than those that did not. In addition, the vast majority of control variables were also not significantly associated with attrition. Moreover, the R-squared was very small even in the most inclusive specifications (less than 0.05), suggesting their low explanatory power with regards to attrition.

All dependent and independent variables from the Rural Clientelism Survey employed in the present book are now described. This list employs the names that are shown in regression tables and figures, in alphabetical order.

## Dependent Variables

### *Amount Citizen Expects Own Councilor to Return (Log Reais)*

The amount of money (in log Reais) the respondent expects his or her own councilor to return in a hypothetical trust game. The hypothetical trust game was played between a random citizen and the councilor for whom the respondent voted in the previous election. Responses were recorded for four rounds asked consecutively, in which the citizen sends R\$2, R\$4, R\$6, and R\$8 (respectively) to the councilor. Questions in 2013. For example, for the R\$2 round: “Think of the councilor candidate that you voted for in the last election. Our team doesn’t want to know the name of that candidate and is not going to talk to any politician from here. Suppose that someone named Fulano is chosen to be your councilor’s partner in the game. Suppose that our team gives R\$10 to Fulano. If Fulano gives R\$2 to your candidate, we give R\$4 more, so now your candidate gets R\$6. Of that R\$6, how much money (or nothing) do you think your candidate will send back to Fulano? Your candidate will never know who Fulano is or where he lives.”

***Benefit from Municipality***

Respondent reports receiving a private benefit or service from the municipality in 2013. Coded 1 if answered yes to receiving a benefit or service from the municipality, unless specifying in a follow-up question that it was a non-private good or service; 0 otherwise. Questions in 2013: (a) “In 2013, did you receive any benefit or service from the municipality?”; (b) “What did you receive?”

***Benefit from Politician***

Respondent reports receiving a private benefit or service from a politician in 2013. Coded 1 if answered yes to receiving a benefit or service from a politician, unless specifying in a follow-up question that it was a non-private good or service; 0 otherwise. Questions in 2013: (a) “Now I’m going to ask about help from politicians. I don’t want to know anyone’s name. In 2013, did you receive help from a city councilor?”; (b) “What did you receive?”; (c) “In 2013, did you receive help from the mayor?”; (d) “What did you receive?”

***No Benefit Due to Vote Choice***

Respondent reports that his or her family did not receive help from a politician in 2013 due to vote choice. Coded 1 if answered that did not receive help from a politician in 2013 due to vote choice; 0 otherwise. Question in 2013: “In 2013, do you think that your family didn’t receive help from a politician because it didn’t vote for him?”

***Perceptions of Defeated (Victorious) Mayoral Candidate’s Competence, Experience, Accessibility, and Honesty***

Respondent’s opinion about 2012 mayoral candidates’ attributes. Four characteristics (competence, experience, accessibility, and honesty) were each coded on a four-point scale: “Very good,” “Good,” “Bad,” and “Very Bad.” Questions in 2012: “I am going to ask you about these politicians, whether they are good or not, your opinion about them. I would just like to remind you that I have no connection with any of them and that your answers will be kept secret. What do you think of [name of victorious or defeated mayoral candidate] in relation to: (a) capacity to do things; (b) experience; (c) is it easy to find him?; (d) honesty?”

***Politician Helped Get Job***

Respondent reports that in 2013, a family member received help obtaining a job from an elected politician. Coded 1 if answered that he or she received such help in 2013 from a candidate who won the election; 0 otherwise. Questions in 2013: (a) “In 2013, did any of the last election’s candidates help you or someone in your family to get a job?”; (b) “Did this candidate, the one that helped getting a job, win or lose the last election?”

***Post-Election Benefit by Request***

Respondent reported receiving private benefits or services requested from a politician in 2013. Coded 1 if answered yes to receiving a requested benefit or

service; 0 otherwise. This variable is generated from a question asked directly after the questions described next in the “Post-Election Request” variable. Question in 2013: “Did you receive it?”

### ***Post-Election Request***

Respondent requested private benefits or services from a politician in 2013. Coded 1 if answered yes to requesting from politician, unless specifying in a follow-up question that the request was for a non-private good or service; 0 otherwise. Questions in 2013: (a) “Now, I am going to ask about requests for help. It doesn’t matter if you received it or not, but I want to know if you asked for any help. In 2013, did you ask a city councilor for help?”; (b) If yes: “What did you ask for?”; (c) “In 2013, did you ask the mayor for help?”; (d) If yes: “What did you ask for?”

### ***Pre-Election Benefit by Request***

Respondent reported receiving private benefits or services requested from a politician in 2012. Coded 1 if answered yes to receiving a requested benefit or service; 0 otherwise. This variable is generated from a question asked directly after the questions described next in the *Pre-Election Request* variable. Question in 2012: “Did you receive it?”

### ***Pre-Election Request***

Respondent requested private benefits or services from a politician in 2012. Coded 1 if answered yes to a question about making a request, unless specifying it was for a non-private good or service; 0 otherwise. Questions in 2012: (a) “This year, did you ask a city councilor candidate for help?”; (b) If yes: “What did you ask for?”; (c) “This year, did you ask a mayor candidate for help?”; (d) If yes: “What did you ask for?”

### ***Received Campaign Handout***

Respondent reported receiving private benefits or services from a campaign visit in 2012. Coded 1 if answered yes to having received, prior to the 2012 election, a private benefit or service during or through promises made in a campaign visit; 0 otherwise. Question in 2012, asked during module about campaign visits by representatives of politicians: (a) “Did you receive any help? For example, help can be goods (like bricks), services (like medical exams), money, food or beverages”; (b) If yes: “What help was this?”; (c) “Did you receive the help before or after the election?”

### ***Voted for Same Candidate / Party***

Respondent reported voting for same mayoral candidate (party) in the 2008 and 2012 elections. Coded 1 if vote choice for candidate (party) was identical in both years; 0 otherwise. Questions in 2013: (a) “In the 2012 election, for which mayoral candidate did you vote?” [List of 2012 mayoral candidates provided];

(b) “In the election 5 years ago, for which candidate did you vote? [List of 2008 mayoral candidates provided]. Choices also included not voting and casting a blank or invalid ballot.

## Independent Variables

### *Access to Cistern*

Respondent has access to, but does not own, a cistern. Coded 1 if answered yes to accessing a cistern but does not own a cistern; 0 otherwise. Question in 2012 and 2013: “Do you usually fetch water from any cistern?”

### *Age*

Respondent’s age, in years.

### *Any Declaration*

Respondent publicly declared support for any political candidate during the 2012 election. For analyses of the 2012 wave, coded 1 if answered yes to any of the following four questions asked in 2012; 0 otherwise: (a) “Let’s talk about this year’s political campaign: about the last 3 months before the election. Did you wear a candidate’s sticker or shirt?”; (b) Asked of rally attendees: “In this rally, did you use a flag, shirt or anything else to show your support?”; (c) “During the electoral campaign, did you put a flag or a poster on your house?”; (d) “Was the wall of your house painted with the name of a candidate?” For analyses of the 2013 wave, coded 1 if answered yes to the following question asked in 2013, 0 otherwise: “Let’s talk about 2012’s political campaign: about the 3 months before the election. Some people declared their support for a candidate by using stickers or shirts, going to rallies or placing flags or posters on their houses. Did you declare your support for any candidate during the campaign?”

### *Association Member*

Respondent or someone in household is member of an association. Coded 1 if answered yes to both of the following questions, 0 otherwise. Questions in 2012 and 2013 waves: (a) “We heard that, in some neighborhoods, people get together to solve problems in the community, forming a kind of association. Are there any associations in this neighborhood?”; (b) “Are you or is someone in this house a member of the association?”

### *Declared for Councilor*

Respondent publicly declared support for any councilor candidate during the 2012 political campaign. This variable is used as a control in the hypothetical trust games involving councilors, which were included in the 2013 wave. Question in 2013 wave: “For whom did you declare your support?” Coded 1 if selected either of these answers; 0 otherwise: (a) “For a city councilor

candidate who won the election”; (b) “For a city councilor candidate who lost the election.” This question was asked of all declarers; i.e., respondents who answered affirmatively to the 2013 question in the *Any Declaration* variable description earlier. Multiple answer choices could be selected.

### ***Declared for Loser***

Respondent publicly declared support for a defeated candidate during the 2012 political campaign. Question in 2013 wave: “For whom did you declare your support?” Coded 1 if either of these responses, 0 otherwise: (a) “For a mayoral candidate who lost the election”; (b) “For a city councilor candidate who lost the election.” This question was asked of all declarers; i.e., respondents who answered affirmatively to the 2013 question in the *Any Declaration* variable description earlier. Multiple answer choices could be selected.

### ***Declared for Winner***

Respondent publicly declared support for a victorious candidate during the 2012 political campaign. Question in 2013 wave: “For whom did you declare your support?” Coded 1 if either of these responses, 0 otherwise: (a) “For a mayoral candidate who won the election”; (b) “For a city councilor candidate who won the election.” This question was asked of all declarers; i.e., respondents who answered affirmatively to the 2013 question in the *Any Declaration* variable description earlier. Multiple answer choices could be selected.

### ***Declared on Body***

Respondent publicly declared support on body during the 2012 political campaign. Coded 1 if answered yes to the following question; 0 otherwise. Question in 2012 wave: “Let’s talk about this year’s political campaign: about the last three months before the election. Did you wear a candidate’s sticker or shirt?”

### ***Declared on House***

Respondent publicly declared support on house during the 2012 political campaign. Coded 1 if answered yes to the following question; 0 otherwise. Question in 2012 wave: “During the electoral campaign, did you put a flag or a poster on your house?”

### ***Declared at Rally***

Respondent publicly declared support at a political rally during the 2012 political campaign. Coded 1 if answered yes to the following question; 0 otherwise. Question in 2012 wave: Asked of rally attendees: “In this rally, did you use a flag, shirt or anything else to show your support?”

***DEM, PMDB, PSDB, or PT Supporter***

Respondent spontaneously indicates preference for DEM, PMDB, PSDB, or PT parties (respective dummy variables for each party). Questions in 2011 (household head only) and 2013 (all respondents). Coded 1 if both conditions apply; 0 otherwise: (a) answered yes to the question “Do you have a preference for any political party?”; and (b) spontaneously mentions DEM, PMDB, PSDB or PT, respectively, when asked in an immediate follow-up question, “Which party?”

***Education***

Level of education attained by respondent, twenty-point scale ranging from No Education to Post-Graduate. Question in 2011.

***Female***

Gender of respondent, coded 1 if female. Coded by enumerator in 2011.

***Has Own Cistern***

Respondent's house has own water cistern. Question in 2012 and 2013: “Does your house have a cistern?”

***Has Piped Water***

Respondent has piped water. Question in 2012 and 2013: “Do you have piped water?”

***Log Amount Sent to Councilor***

As described more extensively earlier, respondents were asked about four rounds of a hypothetical trust game, in which a random citizen sends money to the respondent's own councilor. This variable indicates whether in the round analyzed, the question specified that the citizen had sent R\$2, R\$4, R\$6, or R\$8 to the councilor. Variable is logged.

***Neighborhood Collaboration***

Respondent indicates that his or her neighborhood worked collaboratively to solve a problem in past year. Coded 1 if answered yes to the following question; 0 otherwise. Question in 2013: “In the last 12 months, did your neighborhood work together to solve any problem?”

***Public Goods***

Amount of money (in R\$) that respondent would contribute in a hypothetical, non-incentivized public goods game. Question in 2013, with a diagram and examples: “You are in a group with 4 people; you and 3 other neighbors. Suppose that our research team will give R\$5 to each person in the group. You can keep the R\$5 or put a part of it, or everything, in the community savings pot. The research team will double the money in the pot. It doesn't matter how



much you will put in the pot, you will receive an equal share of any amount that ends up in the pot. Would you like to put some of the R\$5 to the savings pot?"

### ***Reciprocity***

Measure of reciprocity based on experimental games (with differing values) and analyses in Finan and Schechter (2012). Questions in 2012 (non-incentivized) and 2013 (incentivized); for example: "If your secret partner sends you R\$2, we'll add R\$4 more, so now you have R\$6. You can give some, all or none of this money back to your secret partner. Do you want to send any money back? If yes, how much?"

### ***Requested Assistance***

Respondent requested private benefits or services from a politician. For 2012, variable coded as described in "Pre-Election Request" in the dependent variables section earlier. For 2013, variable coded as described in "Post-Election Request" in the dependent variables section earlier.

### ***Requested Job Assistance***

Respondent requested job assistance from an elected politician in 2013. Coded 1 if answered yes to requesting from politician, if specifying in a follow-up question that the request was employment; 0 otherwise. Questions in 2013: (a) "Now, I am going to ask about requests for help. It doesn't matter if you received it or not, but I want to know if you asked for any help. In 2013, did you ask a city councilor for help?"; (b) If yes: "What did you ask for?"; (c) "In 2013, did you ask the mayor for help?"; (d) If yes: "What did you ask for?"

### ***Risk Aversion***

Measure of risk aversion based on experimental games with differing values. Questions in 2012 (non-incentivized) and 2013 (incentivized); for example (with image and example): "Tell me which of the bags you'd like to choose. Bag A has a R\$2 coin. Bag B has a coin worth R\$0.20 and a coin worth R\$5. Which of the two bags do you choose?"

### ***Satisfaction with Mayor***

Household head's satisfaction with current mayor in 2011. Question in 2011 wave (asked of household heads): "Regarding the current mayor of your municipality, would you say that you are 'Very Unsatisfied,' 'Unsatisfied,' 'Satisfied,' or 'Very Satisfied?'"

### ***Talks with Politicians***

Respondent reports conversing with a politician at least monthly. Coded 1 if answered yes to having spoken with politician at least monthly; 0 otherwise. Questions in 2012 refer to conversations with political candidates before

the campaign began: (a) “This year, did you speak with any city councilor candidate?”; (b) If yes: “How often before the political campaign (before June)?”; (c) “This year, did you speak with any mayor candidate?”; (d) If yes: “How often before the political campaign (before June)?” Questions in 2013 refer to conversations with office-holders during that year: (a) “In 2013, did you speak with a councilor?”; (b) If yes: “How often?”; (c) “In 2013, did you speak with the mayor?”; (d) If yes: “How often?”

### *Time Preference*

Measure of time preference based on experimental games with differing values. Questions in 2012 and 2013 (both non-incentivized); for example: “Let’s now think of a situation that isn’t real but that I’d like you to answer as if it were true. Suppose that you won a money prize. You can receive this prize in two ways. Do you prefer a prize of R\$100 tomorrow or a guaranteed prize of R\$110 in three months? Don’t worry because in the game, you are sure to receive the prize.”

### *Voted for Elected Councilor*

Respondent reported voting for a victorious city councilor candidate in 2012. Questions asked of citizens who reported voting in 2012; coded 1 if answered “win”; 0 otherwise. Question in 2012: “In this election, did the city councilor candidate, for whom you voted, win or lose?” Question in 2013: “In the 2012 election, did the city councilor candidate, for whom you voted, win or lose?”

### *Voted for Mayor*

Respondent reported voting for the victorious mayoral candidate in 2012. Questions asked of citizens who reported voting in 2012. Question in 2012; coded 1 if answered “win”; 0 otherwise: “In this election, did the mayoral candidate, for whom you voted, win or lose?” Question in 2013; coded 1 if selected name of victorious candidate in the following question; 0 otherwise: “In the 2012 election, for which mayoral candidate did you vote?” (Names of all 2012 mayoral candidates provided).

### *Voted in 2008*

Reported voting in 2008 municipal election. Coded 1 if voted; 0 otherwise. Question in 2011 (asked of household heads only): “Did you vote for mayor in the last elections that took place in 2008?” Question in 2013: “In the election 5 years ago, for which candidate did you vote?” [In 2013, coded as 0 if selecting “did not vote” as answer choice].

### *Voted in 2012*

Respondent reported voting in 2012 municipal election. Coded 1 if voted; 0 otherwise. Question in 2012: “Did you vote in the last election?” Question in 2013: “Did you vote in the 2012 election?”

**Wealth**

Wealth of respondent's household, based on numerous household assets and using a principal-components analysis (see Filmer and Pritchett, 2001). Household heads were asked in 2011 about accumulated household wealth rather than flows such as income and expenditures. Questions asked about financial assets, property, household assets, animals, debts, and remittances.

**ONLINE CLIENTELISM SURVEY**

The Online Clientelism Survey was collected by Simeon Nichter and Salvatore Nunnari in August–December 2016. This survey recruited participants through Facebook advertisements displayed in all Brazilian municipalities with 250,000 or fewer residents. Municipalities of this size comprise 98.2 percent of Brazil's municipalities and 59.7 percent of the nation's population. Overall, 2,286 citizens from 1,210 municipalities commenced the survey, and 1,859 citizens from 1,065 municipalities completed it.

According to 2016 estimates, Facebook had 90.1 million registered users in Brazil, compared to an overall population of about 200 million.<sup>1</sup> In terms of users, Brazil is Facebook's third largest market, after India and the United States. Our Facebook recruitment strategy builds on research in Brazil by Samuels and Zucco (2013, 2014) and Boas (2014), as well as additional information provided by those authors. Facebook allows advertisers to target specific demographic groups; we targeted Brazilians at least eighteen years of age. Our advertisement offered an equal opportunity drawing for an iPhone 5S; four phones were awarded in total. Facebook users who clicked on the advertisement were redirected to a separate web page. Informed consent was obtained for all participants. Consenting participants commenced a fifteen-minute survey including both experimental and observational questions on Qualtrics.

Although online participants were not randomly selected from a sampling frame, their characteristics are fairly representative of Brazil with respect to gender, age, and geographic region. With respect to gender, 47.8 percent of the online surveys were completed by women. By comparison, women comprised 51 percent of Brazil's population in the 2010 IBGE census. With respect to age, 33.5 percent of the online surveys were completed by the youngest quartile of Brazilian adults (ages 18–28), 17.7 percent were completed by the second quartile (ages 29–39), 27.4 percent were completed by the third quartile (ages 40–53), and 20.8 percent were completed by the oldest quartile (age fifty-four and greater). Age quartiles are based on 2013 IBGE projections. With respect to geographic region, 37.4 percent of the online surveys were completed by citizens in the Southeast, 30.9 percent in the Northeast, 18.6 percent in the South,

<sup>1</sup> Estimate of Facebook users retrieved from: [www.statista.com/statistics/268136/top-15-countries-based-on-number-of-facebook-users/](http://www.statista.com/statistics/268136/top-15-countries-based-on-number-of-facebook-users/)

6.6 percent in the Center-West, and 6.5 percent in the North. By comparison, IPEA reported in 2014 that 33.5 percent of Brazilians in municipalities with 250,000 or fewer residents live in the Southeast, 33 percent live in the Northeast, 17.1 percent live in the South, 7.1 percent live in the Center-West, and 9.2 percent live in the North. To obtain this balance, advertisements were shown with greater frequency to certain groups, such as women and older citizens.

The survey included both observational and experimental components. The present book primarily employs the observational component, which had more participants and includes questions about respondents' experiences with declared support and clientelism. The experimental component is analyzed in Nichter and Nunnari (2017), which is discussed in Section 5.4. The experimental questions elicited participants' willingness to declare support for fictitious candidates, while using actual incentives (iPhone drawing tickets) to change rewards, penalties, and preferences for fictitious candidates. To control for the level of participant attentiveness, the survey included two screener questions inserted in different points of the survey, following the work of Berinsky et al. (2014).

All dependent and independent variables from the Online Clientelism Survey employed in the present book are described next. This list employs the names that are shown in regression tables and figures in alphabetical order.

## Dependent Variables

### *Benefit from Municipality*

Respondent reports that his or her family received a benefit or service from the municipality between January 2013 and June 2016. Coded 1 if answered yes to the following question; 0 otherwise. Question: "Between January 2013 and June 2016, did you or your family receive some benefit or service from the municipality?"

### *Benefit from Politician*

Respondent reports that his or her family received a benefit or service from a politician or politician's representative between January 2013 and June 2016. Coded 1 if answered yes to the following question; 0 otherwise. Question: "Now, think about any help that your family received in recent years, between January 2013 and June 2016. During this time, did you or your family receive some benefit or service from the mayor, a councilor, or their representatives?"

### *Denied Benefit Due to Vote Choice*

Respondent reports that his or her family did not receive help from the municipality between January 2013 and June 2016 due to vote choice. Coded 1 if answered that did not receive help from the municipality during this period due to vote choice; 0 otherwise. Question: "Between January 2013 and June 2016, do you think that someone from your family didn't receive some benefit

or service from the municipality because he didn't vote for a candidate who won?"

#### ***Received Campaign Handout in 2012***

Respondent reported receiving a benefit or service from a politician or politician's representative during the 2012 municipal campaign. Coded 1 if answered yes to receiving; 0 otherwise. Question: "Think about the political campaign four years ago for mayors and councilors. During the 2012 political campaign, did you or someone in your family receive some benefit or service from the mayor, a councilor, or their representatives?"

#### ***Received Campaign Handout in 2016***

Respondent reported receiving a benefit or service from a politician or politician's representative during the 2016 municipal campaign. Coded 1 if answered yes to receiving; 0 otherwise. Question: "Now, think about the political campaign this year. In last few months, did you or someone in your family receive some benefit or service from the mayor, a councilor, or their representatives?"

### **Independent Variables**

#### ***Age***

Respondent's age, in years. Question: "What is your age?"

#### ***Declared for Loser***

Respondent publicly declared support for a defeated candidate during the 2012 political campaign. Immediately following the question in the "Declared Support in 2012" variable description, respondents who answered affirmatively were asked: "For whom did you declare your support? Mark all answers that apply." Coded 1 if either of these responses; 0 otherwise: (a) "For a mayoral candidate who lost the election"; (b) "For a city councilor candidate who lost the election."

#### ***Declared for Winner***

Respondent publicly declared support for a victorious candidate during the 2012 political campaign. Immediately following the question in the "Declared Support in 2012" variable description, respondents who answered affirmatively were asked: "For whom did you declare your support? Mark all answers that apply." Coded 1 if either of these responses; 0 otherwise: (a) "For a mayoral candidate who won the election"; (b) "For a city councilor candidate who won the election."

#### ***Declared Support in 2012***

Respondent publicly declared support for any candidate during the 2012 political campaign. Coded 1 if answered yes to declaring support; 0 otherwise.

Question: “Think about the political campaign in 2012 for mayors and councilors. Some people showed their support for a candidate publicly. For example, they used stickers or T-shirts, went to rallies, placed flags or banners on their homes, or painted their houses. Did you show your support publicly for some candidate during the 2012 municipal campaign?”

### *Declared Support in 2016*

Respondent publicly declared support for any candidate during the 2016 political campaign. Coded 1 if answered yes to declaring support; 0 otherwise. Question: “Think about the political campaign this year. Some people showed their support for a candidate publicly. For example, they used stickers or T-shirts, went to rallies, placed flags or banners on their homes, or painted their houses. In the past few months, did you show your support publicly for some candidate?”

### *DEM, PMDB, PSDB, or PT Supporter*

Respondent indicates a preference for DEM, PMDB, PSDB, or PT parties. Coded 1 for each respective dummy variables if indicating preference for that party; 0 otherwise. Question: “Currently, do you sympathize with some political party? If yes, please indicate which party. If not, choose ‘no party.’ ”

### *Education*

Level of education attained by respondent, on a seven-point scale ranging from “no education” to “post-graduate.” Question: “What is your level of education?”

### *Female*

Gender of respondent, coded 1 if female.

### *Income*

Monthly family income of respondent, measured on a ten-point scale. Question: “What is the monthly income of your family?”

### *Risk Aversion*

Measure of risk aversion based on experimental game with increasing values. Coded on a four-point scale based on responses to several questions. Example of question (with images): “Suppose that you have to choose between two bags. In bag 1, there is a R\$20 bill. In bag 2, there is a R\$2 bill and a R\$50 bill. After you choose the bag, you can put your hand inside your chosen bag and take out only one of the bills of money. It doesn’t matter which bill you take out, you win that one. Which of the two bags do you choose?”

### *Rural*

Respondent lives in a rural area. Code 1 if rural; 0 otherwise. Question: “Do you live in the rural zone of your municipality?”

***Screenener***

As described earlier, the survey included two screener questions to control for the level of participant attentiveness (see Berinsky et al., 2014). Coded on a three-point scale, with 0, 1, or 2 screeners answered correctly.

***Voted for Mayor in 2012***

Respondent reported voting for the victorious mayoral candidate in 2012. Question: “In 2012, did the mayoral candidate you voted for win or lose?” Coded 1 if answered that candidate “won”; 0 otherwise.

***Voted in 2012***

Respondent reported voting in 2012. Question: “In 2012, did the mayoral candidate you voted for win or lose?” Coded 0 if answered “did not vote”; 1 if selecting a different answer choice.