Positive Spillovers from Negative Campaigning

Online Appendix

July 16, 2020

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Appendix I. Field Experiment

Treatment

Our treatments consisted of positive and negative canvassing. During the three weeks prior to the election, a campaign team of volunteers (see figure C1), supporters of Armando Lamberti, knocked on doors of private residences, and buzzed private residences' intercoms (see figure C2), to engage in personal interaction with eligible voters. These personal interactions featured the campaign volunteers soliciting the voters to communicate their ideas about what the new mayor should do for Cava de' Tirreni. These ideas would then be reported to the candidate, Armando Lamberti. Volunteers then took the opportunity to present to these voters Armando Lamberti's ideas, and to distribute electoral material. Electoral material was also left in the mailboxes of other eligible voters, who were not engaged in personal interactions. These electoral materials are at figures C3 to C6. The following sections present respectively the general instructions provided to the volunteers for the canvassing, the script for the initial approach (two options) and the positive and negative messages.

Canvassing Instructions to the Volunteers

General norms to be followed:

- In order to get in touch with the voters and establish a dialogue, it is important to look cheerful, trustful (do not keep your hands in the pocket, do not lean on the wall, no chewing-gums, etc.) and nice. You have to let the voters know that you are not attempting to sell anything, nor you are asking for money, and that you are there to listen to their ideas.

- Avoid assuming aggressive behaviors, even if the person opening the door is clearly aggressive and rude, or if she/he states not to approve Lamberti as a candidate. Just say goodbye and leave.

What to do if the front door of the apartment building is closed:

- If there is a doorman, first convince him/her to let you in the building for the canvassing. It might help starting the canvassing from him/her first. If you succeed, it is likely that he/she will let you in and warn the residents of your arrival. This will likely increase your chances of interviewing a greater number of voters.

- If there is no doorman, you will have to call on the intercom. In order to convince the person to let you in the building you will have to introduce yourselves with one of the introductions you find below.

Once inside the apartment building, how to get personal access to the voters:

- After having entered the building, you have to convince the person to open the door of his/her apartment! Ring the doorbell and when someone answers start introducing yourselves with one of the introductions you find below. The main advantage at this point is that they will see you through the peephole, and they will see your t-shirts.

- If a person, most likely an elderly, decides not to open the door but continues to talk to you from the other side of the door, you can still try to do the canvassing, as described below. You can slid the material under the door.

To enter or not to enter into an apartment:

- You do not need to enter into an apartment for the canvassing. You can give your introductions, listen to their ideas or complaints by remaining on the corridor outside the apartment's door.

- Do not ask to enter into the apartment, people may get frightened. Instead, if you notice that the person is frightened or suspicious, state clearly that you can talk standing at the door.

- If the person invites you to enter, you have two options: (i) If you know the person or he/she looks trustful to you, and you are at least two people, you can enter the apartment and do the canvassing inside; (ii) If you do not feel safe, state that the rules impose you not to enter. If he/she insists, greet him/her and leave.

Canvassing Script I

Good morning/afternoon,

As you can see from our t-shirts, we are young supporters of the candidate mayor Professor Armando Lamberti.

As you might have learned from the newspapers, or as you might have heard from friends of from the streets, Professor Lamberti has promoted an electoral campaign called 'Around the City Listening to Citizens', in order to listen to the ideas and needs of the citizens of the municipality of Cava. We are the volunteers, who 'Listen to Citizens', and we are interviewing people door-to-door.

IF NECESSARY: We know that your time is important and we are not attempting to sell anything, nor we are asking for money. We would like to know what you think the new mayor should do in order to improve the situation in the neighborhood or in your household. Your opinion is fundamental, and Professor Lamberti wants to know which are the priorities to be addressed for the citizens of Cava.

If there is someone else here at home we would also like to talk to him/her in order to collect as many opinions as possible. Once every two or three days, we young supporters meet Professor Lamberti to tell him the citizens' opinions and let him know what really people need.

QUESTION: What is in your opinion the most important issue the new mayor should address? OR ALTERNATIVELY: If you were the mayor, what is the first thing you would do?

Canvassing Script II

Good morning/afternoon,

We are the volunteers, who 'Listen to Citizens'. Have you ever heard of the campaign promoted by the candidate mayor Armando Lamberti to hear the opinions of the citizens of Cava?

As you can see from our t-shirts, we are young supporters of the candidate mayor Professor Armando Lamberti and we would like to know from you what you think of the situation in your neighborhood or in your household, and what the new mayor should do in order to improve the situation.

IF NECESSARY: We know that your time is important and we are not attempting to sell anything, nor we are asking for money. We would like to know what you think the new mayor should do in order to improve the situation in the neighborhood or in your household. Your opinion is fundamental, and professor Lamberti wants to know which are the priorities to be addressed for the citizens of Cava.

If there is someone else here at home we would also like to talk to him/her in order to collect as many opinions as possible. Once every two or three days, we young supporters meet Professor Lamberti to tell him the citizens opinions and let him know what really people need.

QUESTION: What is in your opinion the most important issue the new mayor should address? OR ALTERNATIVELY: If you were the mayor, what is the first thing you would do?

Possible Reactions

There are different tones of possible welcoming, after the opening of the door:

- VERY NEGATIVE WELCOMING (They do not let you speak, they interrupt you, they refuse to open the door or answer that they not have time, or are not interested): Just say thank you, goodbye and leave.

- NEGATIVE WELCOMING (They let you talk, but only in part; they do not open the door and talk from the other side of the door; they say that politicians are all crooks, and that they do not know Lamberti, and vote for XY). You can try one of the following three options: (i) Thank you. We understand that you might not trust politicians, but for us it is still important to know your opinion. What is in your opinion the most important issue the new mayor should address? (ii) Thank you. Even if you do not know Lamberti, for us it is still important to know your opinion. What is in your opinion the most important issue the new mayor should address? (iii) Thank you. Even if you will vote for XY, for us it is still important to know your opinion. What is in your opinion the most important issue the new mayor should address?

- POSITIVE WELCOMING (they let you talk, you arrived successfully to the question in script I or II): After having listened to the answer to your question and having noted it down, you can deliver the following positive or negative message.

Positive Canvassing

How to start:

- Give the person a flyer with the positive message.

- Start from the topic most closely related to the one proposed by the person. Start by stating that that topic is also very important to Professor Lamberti.

- After having talked about the initial topic (the one that is most closely related to the topic proposed by the person), continue BRIEFLY with the two other messages.

Script for the three messages (Only suggestive: you do not need to state everything)

- Dialogue with the citizens: The initiative 'Around the City Listening to Citizens', that brought us here, is just one of the many initiatives Mr Lamberti is planning in order to collect the opinions of the citizens and to dialogue with them, with the goal of taking aware decisions. His dream is that of an inclusive municipality, where every citizen is

seen as an important resource. FOR SUB-MUNICIPALITIES (FRAZIONI): This is especially true for the hamlets, which must feel part of the project of creating a unique municipality: Cava. This can be accomplished also through the promotion of public transportation.

- Competency and transparency: in his professional life as a professor of public law and as a member of several regional cabinets, Professor Lamberti has gained a great experience as an administrator, but he has always been very sensitive towards transparency. It is fundamental for him that citizens are aware of his actions and of the decision taken by his cabinet. The main objective is to reduce the burden of bureaucracy and costs, while increasing transparency in the procedures.

- More public services: Professor Lamberti has always been an active promoter of the improvement of the quality and quantity of health care services. He has always promoted Cava's hospital, and he has also proposed to improve the assistance to citizens by using regional funds that are already available. The project aims at including specialized doctors, a front desk, a nursey, pediatricians, and the launch of the 'Health Center (Casa della salute)', which will be conducting important functions (counseling in support of families, home assistance). The hospital should return to assist acute patients that need hospitalization and those who need emergency interventions, with an emergency service that will remain active 24 hours a day and with wards for cardiology, orthopedics, radiology, intensive care, surgery, pediatrics and the analytical laboratory. FOR SUB-MUNICIPALITIES: this means especially increasing the number of services here in hamlets with health centers and other specialized services of assistance to citizens.

How to finish:

- After having briefly talked about the three themes, ask the person if she/he has any comments. If yes, let the person talk and kindly end the discussion; leave the campaign material, greet him/her and leave.

- If the person interrupts you while you are giving your short presentation, let them him/her talk, try with kindness and BREVITY to talk about all three points. Kindly end the conversation, leave the campaign material, greet him/her and leave.

How to end the conversation if the person wants to continue with the discussion: You can invite him/her to visit Lamberti's committees, which are located in via Verdi. State that the person can meet professor Lamberti and the candidate counselors there.

IMPORTANT: Avoid talking too much if the person is not interested. Better to be brief and avoid getting people bored

Negative Canvassing

How to start:

- Give the person a flyer with the negative message.

- Start from the topic most closely related to the one proposed by the person. Start by stating that over the past five years that issue has not been addressed by Galdi's cabinet.

- After having talked about the initial topic (the one that is most closely related to the topic proposed by the person), continue BRIEFLY with the two other messages.

Script for the three messages (Only suggestive: you do not need to state everything)

- Too much old politics: Galdi's administration has been absent from people's life. Instead of listening to citizens and try to assist their needs, it kept politics distant from people. With Galdi's administration, Cava established a record of cabinets' turnovers: nine turnovers. The main interest of the administration was to keep its 'seats' instead of addressing the citizens' needs. FOR SUB-MUNICIPALITIES: This is especially true for sub-municipalities that joined Cava recently. Lamberti proposes a different style, starting from this initiative of the 'Around the City Listening to Citizens', which brought us here today.

- Too much waste of public money and too many municipal taxes: Galdi's administration pursued a series of wrong public expenditure choices that did not benefit the citizens of Cava. The renovation of the Abbro square with the famous chess-board created many troubles to citizens and waste of public resources. Municipal taxes also increased. For an average household, total municipal taxes increased by 250 Euro per year over the five years of Galdi's administration.

- Too much debt burdening citizens: the purchase of the 'ex-COFIMA' plant by the municipality has raised the level of the municipal debt. The interests on the debt for the purchase of the plant are equal to 1,000 Euro per day. This represents a considerable waste of money, especially because the plant is not yet being used.

How to finish:

- After having briefly talked about the three themes, ask the person if she/he has any comments. If yes, let the person talk and kindly end the discussion; leave the campaign material, greet him/her and leave.

- If the person interrupts you while you are giving your short presentation, let them him/her talk, try with kindness and BREVITY to talk about all three points. Kindly end the conversation, leave the campaign material, greet him/her and leave.

- What to do if the person criticizes your statements about the Galdi's administration? (i) Let him/her talk and interrupt him/her with courtesy; (ii) You can say that the situations you are talking about are complex political and economic issues, and that there can be many different opinions. State that according to you Galdi's administration could have handled certain situations in a better way; (iii) Do not be aggressive and do not attempt to impose your opinion; (iv) Avoid continuing the conversation on Galdi's administration. Kindly greet the person, leave the campaign material and leave.

How to end the conversation if the person wants to continue with the discussion: You can invite him/her to visit Lamberti's committees, which are located in via Verdi. State that the person can meet Professor Lamberti and the candidate counselors there.

IMPORTANT: Avoid talking too much if the person is not interested. Better to be brief and avoid getting people bored.

Figures and Tables

Figure OA.1: Canvassers

Figure OA.2: Positive flyer

Figure OA.3: Negative flyer

Figure OA.4: Positive hanger

Figure OA.5: Negative hanger
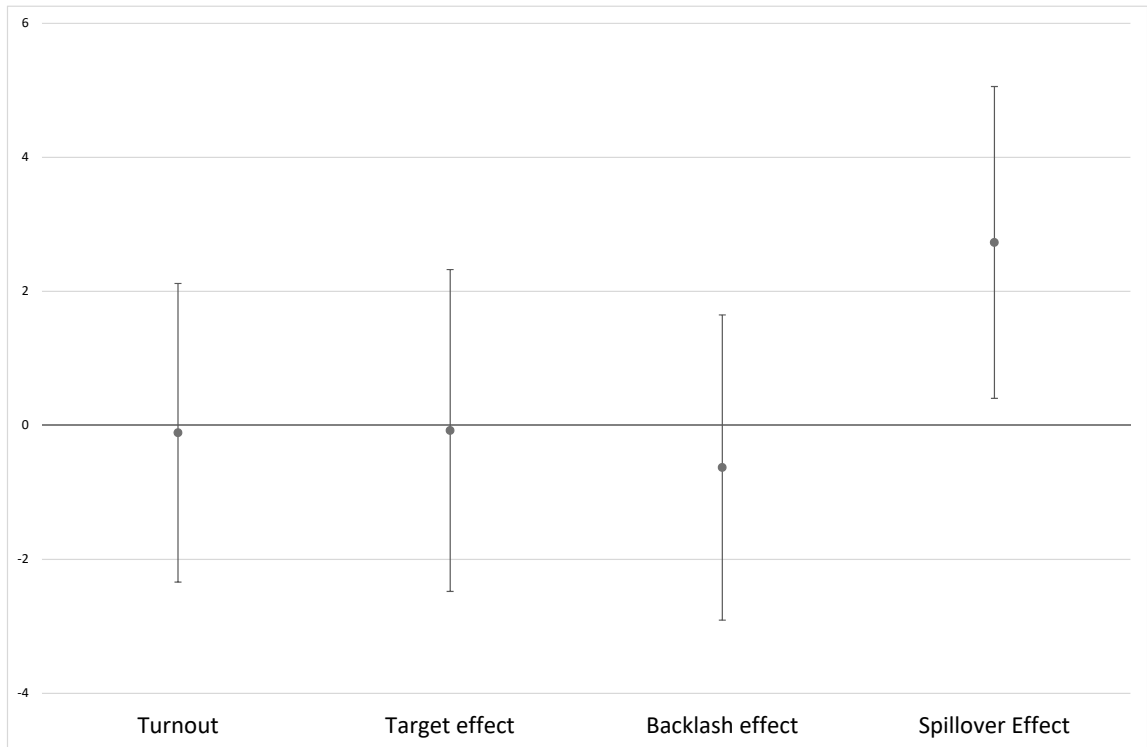
Figure OA.6: Field Experiment Results, The Effect of Negative Campaigning on Turnout, Incumbent Voter Shares (Target Effect), Treated Challenger (Backlash Effect) and Untreated Challenger (Spillover Effect). LPM estimates of vote share variations in percentage points, with controls including Winner's and Main Challenger's Voter Shares, Turnout Rate, Percentage of Female Voters and Total Voters in the 2010 election. Confidence intervals built using robust standard errors from estimates in columns 2 of Table 3.

		Panel A: Pre-Treatment Variables			
		(1)		(2)	
		Positive		Negative	Differences & T-Tests
Variable	N	Mean/SE	N	Mean/SE	(1)-(2)
2010 Winner's Vote Share	18	0.612	18	0.604	0.008
		(0.0204)		(0.018)	(0.027)
2010 Main Challenger's Vote Share	18	0.351	18	0.363	-0.012
		(0.020)		(0.185)	(0.027)
2010 Turnout Rate	18	0.715	18	0.706	0.008
		(0.010)		(0.020)	(0.022)
Percentage of female voters	18	0.515	18	0.517	-0.002
		(0.003)		(0.004)	(0.005)
Total Male voters	18	415.389	18	411.833	3.556
		(18.608)		(15.876)	(24.460)
Total Female voters	18	439.556	18	440.889	-1.333
		(17.014)		(17.143)	(24.153)
Total Voters	18	854.944	18	852.722	2.222
		(35.332)		(32.294)	(47.867)

		Panel B: Post-Treatment Variables			
		(1)		(2)	
		Positive		Negative	Differences & T-Tests
Variable	N	Mean/SE	N	Mean/SE	(1)-(2)
Treatment Intensity	18	0.749	18	0.805	-0.056
		(0.053)		(0.053)	(0.075)

Table OA.1: Field Experiment, Balance Tests for Treatments.
The value displayed in the last column is the differences in the means across the treatments.
***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1%, 5%, and 10% level according to t-tests.

Variable	N	(1) Positive Mean/SE	N	(2) Negative Mean/SE	N	(3) Control Group Mean/SE	Differences & T-Tests (1)-(2)	(1)-(3)	(2)-(3)
2010 Winner's Vote Share	18	0.612 (0.020)	18	0.604 (0.018)	19	0.587 (0.023)	0.008 (0.027)	-0.025 (0.031)	-0.017 (0.030)
2010 Main Challenger's Vote Share	18	0.351 (0.020)	18	0.363 (0.185)	19	0.376 (0.023)	-0.012 (0.027)	0.025 (0.031)	0.013 (.030)
2010 Turnout Rate	18	0.715 (0.010)	18	0.706 (0.020)	19	0.720 (0.008)	0.008 (0.022)	0.006 (0.013)	0.014 (0.021)
Percentage of female voters	18	0.515 (0.003)	18	0.517 (0.004)	19	0.520 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.005)	0.005 (0.005)	0.003 (0.006)
Total Male voters	18	415.389 (18.608)	18	411.833 (15.876)	19	397.315 (15.116)	3.556 (24.460)	-18.073 (23.855)	-14.518 (21.908)
Total Female voters	18	439.556 (17.014)	18	440.889 (17.143)	19	430.052 (14.488)	-1.333 (24.153)	-9.503 (22.264)	-10.836 (22.358)
Total Voters	18	854.944 (35.332)	18	852.722 (32.294)	19	827.368 (28.709)	2.222 (47.867)	-27.576 (45.300)	-25.354 (43.102)

Table OA.2: Field Experiment, Balance Tests for Treatments.
The value displayed in the last 3 columns are the differences in the means across the treatments and control. SEs in parentheses.
***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1%, 5%, and 10% level according to t-tests.

	Panel A					
	Turnout			Incumbent Vote Share		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
Int. Negative Campaign	-1.793	-1.444	-0.812	-1.013	-0.787	-0.402
	(2.39)	(2.20)	(2.28)	(1.67)	(1.37)	(1.55)
Constant	70.608***	70.256***	69.977***	25.08***	24.855***	24.683***
	(1.41)	(1.08)	(1.43)	(1.44)	(1.08)	(0.97)
Baseline Treatment	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive
Model	OLS	OLS	2SLS	OLS	OLS	2SLS
Observations	30	36	36	30	36	36
R-Squared	0.019	0.014	0.011	0.014	0.009	0.007

	Panel B					
	Treated Challenger Vote Share			Main Untreated Challenger Vote Share		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
Int. Negative Campaign	-0.803	-0.791	-0.945	4.490**	4.175**	4.129**
	(1.55)	(1.32)	(1.41)	(2.17)	(1.79)	(1.97)
Constant	15.09***	15.08***	15.15***	27.26***	27.57***	27.59***
	(1.14)	(0.81)	(0.89)	(1.77)	(1.27)	(1.24)
Baseline Treatment	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive
Model	OLS	OLS	2SLS	OLS	OLS	2SLS
Observations	30	36	36	30	36	36
R-Squared	0.010	0.011	0.010	0.136	0.135	0.135

Table OA.3:Field Experiment, The Effect of Intense Negative Campaigning on Actual Vote Shares. Columns (1) and (2) report OLS estimates of our intensity measure with low intensity precincts being dropped (column 1) or not (column 2). Column (3) reports the complier average causal effect (CACE) obtained running a 2SLS regression in which treatment assignment is the instrumental variable predicting treatment intensity. SEs in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

	Panel A					
	Turnout			Incumbent Vote Share		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
Int. Negative Campaign	-1.186	-1.052	-0.837	-1.820	-1.446	-1.757
	(2.108)	(1.655)	(1.986)	(1.807)	(1.516)	(1.93)
Int. Positive Campaign	0.608	0.742	-0.029	-0.808	-0.434	-1.549
	(1.655)	(1.587)	(2.269)	(2.145)	(1.904)	(2.21)
Constant	70***	69.87***	70***	25.888***	25.514***	25.888***
	(0.87)	(0.74)	(1.23)	(1.59)	(1.26)	(1.20)
Baseline Treatment	No Camp.	No Camp.	No Camp.	No Camp.	No Camp.	No Camp.
Model	OLS	OLS	2SLS	OLS	OLS	2SLS
Observations	49	55	55	49	55	55
R-Squared	0.017	0.015	0.010	0.020	0.014	0.006

	Panel B					
	Treated Challenger Vote Share			Main Untreated Challenger Vote Share		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
Int. Negative Campaign	-1.293	-1.165	-1.432	3.780**	3.700**	3.707*
	(1.70)	(1.46)	(1.67)	(1.88)	(1.66)	(2.03)
Int. Positive Campaign	-0.490	-0.363	-0.557	- 0.710	-0.791	-0.482
	(1.75)	(1.52)	(1.91)	(2.25)	(2.06)	(2.32)
Constant	15.58***	15.45***	15.58***	27.966***	28.048***	27.966***
	(1.33)	(1.02)	(1.03)	(1.39)	(1.09)	(1.26)
Baseline Treatment	No Camp.	No Camp.	No Camp.	No Camp.	No Camp.	No Camp.
Model	OLS	OLS	2SLS	OLS	OLS	2SLS
Observations	49	55	55	49	55	55
R-Squared	0.013	0.012	0.011	0.102	0.101	0.100

Table OA.4: Field Experiment, The Effect of Intense Negative Campaigning on Actual Vote Shares. Columns (1) and (2) report OLS estimates of our intensity measure with low intensity precincts being dropped (column 1) or not (column 2). Column (3) reports the complier average causal effect (CACE) obtained running a 2SLS regression in which treatment assignment is the instrumental variable predicting treatment intensity. SEs in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

	Panel A					
	Turnout			Incumbent Vote Share		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
Negative Campaign	-0.744	0.368		-1.562	-2.516**	
	(1.94)	(1.03)		(1.77)	(1.18)	
Positive Campaign	-0.023	0.409		-1.205	-2.570*	
	(1.45)	(0.99)		(1.99)	(1.51)	
Int. Negative Campaign			-1.186			-1.820
			(2.108)			(1.807)
Int. Positive Campaign			0.608			-0.808
			(1.655)			(2.145)
Constant	70***	24.416	70***	25.888***	94.074	25.888***
	(0.87)	(36.79)	(0.87)	(1.59)	(68.10)	(1.60)
Baseline Treatment Controls	No Camp.	No Camp. ✓	No Camp.	No Camp.	No Camp. ✓	No Camp.
Observations	55	55	49	55	55	49
R-Squared	0.004	0.745	0.017	0.017	0.492	0.020
Random Inference p-Values:						
Negative Campaign variable	0.329	0.371	0.271	0.166	0.027	0.163
Positive Campaign variable	0.484	0.323	0.409	0.225	0.014	0.337

	Panel B					
	Treated Challenger Vote Share			Main Untreated Challenger Vote Share		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
Negative Campaign	-1.273	-0.322		3.295*	3.762***	
	(1.63)	(1.45)		(1.82)	(1.19)	
Positive Campaign	-0.433	0.329		-0.374	0.969	
	(1.59)	(1.49)		(1.97)	(1.30)	
Int. Negative Campaign			-1.293			3.780**
			(1.880)			(2.03)
Int. Positive Campaign			-0.490			-0.710
			(1.751)			(2.246)
Constant	15.58***	85.166	15.58***	27.966***	-117.97**	27.966***
	(1.33)	(79.46)	(1.34)	(1.39)	(46.28)	(1.39)
Baseline Treatment Controls	No Camp.	No Camp. ✓	No Camp.	No Camp.	No Camp. ✓	No Camp.
Observations	55	55	49	55	55	49
R-Squared	0.014	0.316	0.013	0.081	0.665	0.102
Random Inference p-Values:						
Negative Campaign variable	0.170	0.391	0.205	0.022	0.000	0.013
Positive Campaign variable	0.359	0.387	0.389	0.407	0.150	0.331

Table OA.5: Field Experiment, The Effect of Negative Campaigning on Actual Vote Shares. LPM estimates. SEs in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. Controls in columns (2) include Winner's and Main Challenger's Voter Shares, Turnout Rate, Percentage of Female Voters and Total Voters in the 2010 election. p-values of one-sided tests from running 1,000 placebo estimates with permutation methods and evaluating where the baseline estimate falls in the empirical distribution of these simulated (placebo) estimates.

Appendix II. Survey Experiment
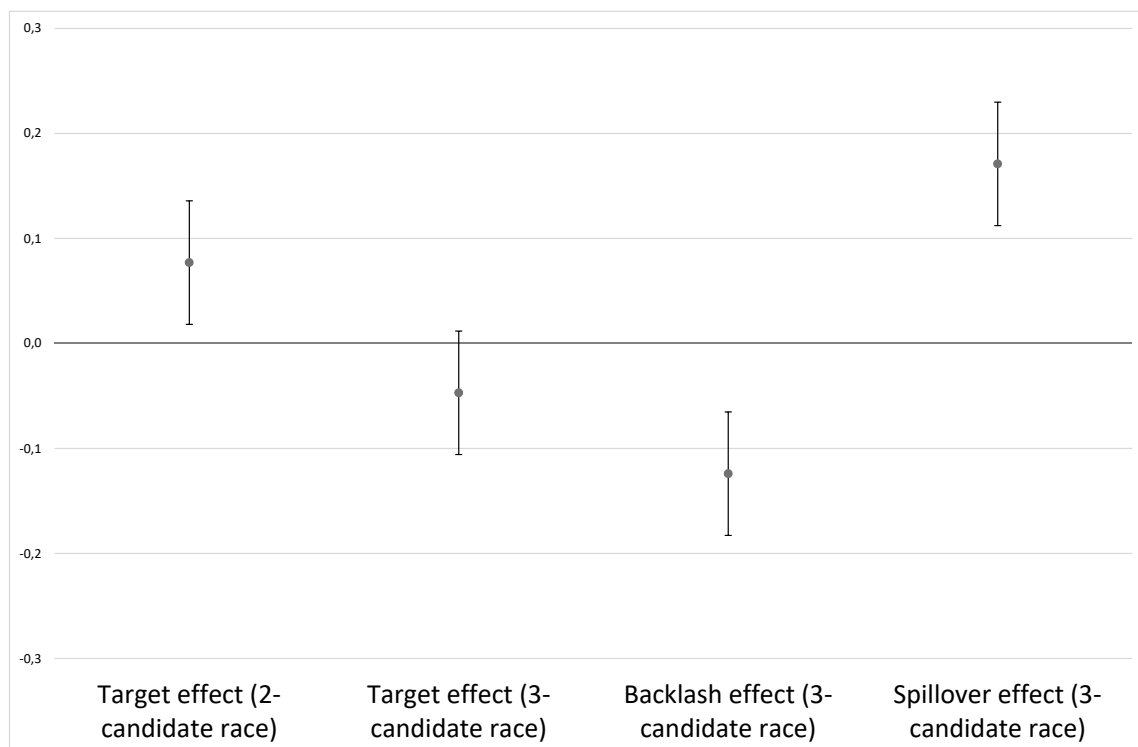
Figures and Tables

Figure OA.7: Survey Experiment Results, The Effect of Negative Campaigning on Incumbent Voter Shares (Target effect) in 2-candidate race, on Incumbent Voter Shares (Target effect) in 3-candidate race, on the Treated Challenger (Backlash effect) in 3-candidate race and Untreated Challenger (Spillover effect) in 3-candidate race. LPM estimates of vote share variations in percentage points with controls including Male, Age, High School Diploma, South Islands, Large Municipality (100k+). Confidence intervals built using robust standard errors from estimates in columns 2 of Table 4 (Target effect in 2-candidate race) and of Table 5 (Target, Backlash and Spillover effects in 3-candidate race).

Variable	(1) 2 & Aggressive		(2) 2 & Negative		(3) 2 & Positive		Differences & T-Tests		
	N	Mean/SE	N	Mean/SE	N	Mean/SE	(1)-(2)	(1)-(3)	(2)-(3)
Male	505	0.503 (0.022)	478	0.506 (0.023)	468	0.506 (0.023)	-0.003 (0.032)	-0.003 (0.032)	-0.000 (0.033)
Age	505	47.905 (0.729)	478	47.215 (0.718)	468	48.605 (0.730)	0.689 (1.023)	-0.700 (1.032)	-1.389 (1.024)
High School Diploma	505	0.850 (0.016)	478	0.885 (0.015)	468	0.865 (0.016)	-0.035 (0.022)	-0.016 (0.022)	0.020 (0.022)
South & Islands	505	0.349 (0.021)	478	0.364 (0.022)	468	0.357 (0.022)	-0.016 (0.031)	-0.008 (0.031)	0.007 (0.031)
Large Municipality (100k+)	505	0.319 (0.021)	478	0.291 (0.021)	468	0.323 (0.022)	0.028 (0.029)	-0.004 (0.030)	-0.032 (0.030)
Risk Aversion	505	3.893 (0.064)	478	3.872 (0.071)	468	3.872 (0.071)	0.021 (0.095)	0.021 (0.096)	0.001 (0.100)
Cooperative	505	0.752 (0.019)	478	0.699 (0.021)	468	0.722 (0.021)	0.054* (0.028)	0.030 (0.028)	-0.023 (0.030)
Competitive (Tournament)	505	0.279 (0.020)	478	0.274 (0.020)	468	0.291 (0.021)	0.005 (0.029)	-0.011 (0.029)	-0.017 (0.029)
Overconfidence	505	-0.119 (0.056)	478	-0.073 (0.061)	468	-0.090 (0.060)	-0.046 (0.083)	-0.029 (0.082)	0.017 (0.086)
Public Good Contribution	505	10.663 (0.234)	478	10.544 (0.259)	468	10.944 (0.254)	0.119 (0.348)	-0.281 (0.345)	-0.401 (0.362)
Trusting	505	0.109 (0.014)	478	0.157 (0.017)	468	0.126 (0.015)	-0.048** (0.022)	-0.017 (0.021)	0.031 (0.023)
Liberal	505	0.309 (0.021)	478	0.343 (0.022)	468	0.327 (0.022)	-0.034 (0.030)	-0.018 (0.030)	0.016 (0.031)

Table OA.6: Survey Experiment, Balance Tests for Treatments with 3 Candidates.
The value displayed in the last three columns are the differences in the means across the treatments. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1%, 5%, and 10% level according to t-tests.

Variable	N	(1) 3 & Aggressive Mean/SE	N	(2) 3 & Negative Mean/SE	N	(3) 3 & Positive Mean/SE	Differences & T-Tests (1)-(2)	(1)-(3)	(2)-(3)
Male	510	0.506 (0.022)	506	0.498 (0.022)	504	0.502 (0.022)	0.008 (0.031)	0.004 (0.031)	-0.004 (0.031)
Age	510	44.878 (0.601)	506	44.427 (0.630)	504	45.448 (0.644)	0.452 (0.870)	-0.570 (0.881)	-1.022 (0.901)
High School Diploma	510	0.888 (0.014)	506	0.899 (0.013)	504	0.903 (0.013)	-0.011 (0.019)	-0.015 (0.019)	-0.004 (0.019)
South & Islands	510	0.351 (0.021)	506	0.356 (0.021)	504	0.347 (0.021)	-0.005 (0.030)	0.004 (0.030)	0.009 (0.030)
Large Municipality (100k+)	510	0.353 (0.021)	506	0.314 (0.021)	504	0.351 (0.021)	0.039 (0.030)	0.002 (0.030)	-0.037 (0.030)
Risk Aversion	510	3.782 (0.066)	506	3.929 (0.065)	504	3.853 (0.067)	-0.147 (0.093)	-0.071 (0.094)	0.076 (0.093)
Cooperative	510	0.761 (0.019)	506	0.741 (0.019)	504	0.784 (0.018)	0.020 (0.027)	-0.023 (0.026)	-0.043 (0.027)
Competitive	510	0.302 (0.020)	506	0.285 (0.020)	504	0.272 (0.020)	0.017 (0.029)	0.030 (0.028)	0.013 (0.028)
Overconfidence	510	-0.143 (0.057)	506	-0.053 (0.057)	504	-0.181 (0.057)	-0.090 (0.080)	0.037 (0.081)	0.127 (0.081)
Public Good Contribution	510	10.735 (0.246)	506	10.496 (0.241)	504	10.571 (0.239)	0.239 (0.344)	0.164 (0.343)	-0.075 (0.340)
Trusting	510	0.120 (0.014)	506	0.119 (0.014)	504	0.123 (0.015)	0.001 (0.020)	-0.003 (0.021)	-0.004 (0.021)
Liberal	510	0.312 (0.021)	506	0.328 (0.021)	504	0.319 (0.021)	-0.016 (0.029)	-0.008 (0.029)	0.009 (0.029)

Table OA.7: Survey Experiment, Balance Tests for Treatments with 3 Candidates.
The value displayed in the last three columns are the differences in the means across the treatments. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1%, 5%, and 10% level according to t-tests.

	N	Mean	SD	Median	Min	Max
Vote Baldi	2971	0.44	0.50	0	0	1
Vote Landi	2971	0.32	0.47	0	0	1
Vote Vanni	1520	0.48	0.50	0	0	1
Landi Cooperative	2969	0.52	0.50	1	0	1
Landi Good Mayor	2971	0.27	0.44	0	0	1
Landi Extreme	2971	0.19	0.39	0	0	1
Male	2971	0.50	0.50	1	0	1
Age	2971	46.4	15.1	45	17	92
High School Diploma	2971	0.88	0.32	1	0	1
South & Islands	2971	0.35	0.48	0	0	1
Large Municipality (100k+)	2971	0.33	0.47	0	0	1
Risk Aversion	2971	3.87	1.50	4	1	6
Cooperative	2971	0.74	0.44	1	0	1
Competitive (Tournament)	2971	0.28	0.45	0	0	1
Overconfidence	2971	-0.11	1.29	0	-3	3
Public Good Contribution	2971	10.7	5.45	10	0	20
Trusting	2971	0.13	0.33	0	0	1
Liberal	2971	0.32	0.47	0	0	1

Table OA.8: Survey Experiment, Descriptive Statistics, All Treatments

Scripts from Videos

Baldi (Incumbent)

Good morning! With the commitment of our City Council and with the help of our fellow citizens, in few years Castel Gufo has become an attractive tourist destination. We created a large pedestrian area inside the Old Town's walls, freeing the city center from traffic and pollution. We provided to all tourists a walk into the heart of city. It is always a pleasure to see plenty of tourists visiting our castle and crowding restaurants and bars in the city center. Precisely because tourism creates employment and generates revenues for the hotels, restaurants and for local tradition industry. Indeed, we will continue to draw from these local traditions, such as the Raptor's festival and Hare's festival With Alessandro Baldi we will continue to promote the beauty of our city. Simply Castelgufo. Give value to the beauties of our city. Vote Alessandro Baldi.

Landi (Treated Challenger), Positive Message

Good morning! With my City Council, Castel Gufo will be a city for all citizens. Thanks to our castle and to the beauty of our territory, we will be able to attract lots of tourists to Castel Gufo. My City Council will launch an important project of social and-economic aggregation outside the city's historic walls. For those who work or live in the city center, my commitment is to continue to incentivize tourism, which represents an important source of income for the citizens of Castel Gufo. Outside the historic walls, we plan to build a modern shopping center that will provide jobs to people living in our suburbs. We will also improve the public transportation service that connects the suburbs to the city center. Furthermore, we will also improve the garbage collection in the suburbs. Francesco Landi will be everyone's Mayor, inside and outside the Castel Gufo's walls. Look ahead for a city tailored to everyone's needs. Vote Francesco Landi

Landi (Treated Challenger), Negative Message

Good morning! It is the fault of the incumbent mayor Alessandro Baldi, if we now have two types of citizens in Castel Gufo: the lucky ones, who live within Old Town's walls, and the others, the forgotten ones, who live in the city suburbs and have less opportunities to find a job and face greater difficulty to move with public transportation. Since the city center was pedestrianized and public transportations were reduced, the car traffic outside the city center has tripled. Nowadays, tourists visit only the Old Town and, because of this, small commercial activities are going out of business. Nevertheless, the actual mayor refuses to

approve the project of a modern shopping mall. Also the garbage collection has worsened in the suburbs. Overflowing garbage cans can be seen everywhere. Alessandro Baldi has been the mayor of the Old Town's lobbies and not the mayor of all citizens of Castel Gufo Let's make a change. Stop to a city only for a few. Vote Francesco Landi

Vanni (Untreated Challenger)

Good morning! If I will be elected, the project my City Council has for Castel Gufo is to put our city at the center of a network of small cities in our province, which will join effort to strengthen public transportation, to optimize garbage collection, to rationalize healthcare and to develop tourism in our area, also through the creation of a modern shopping mall. Castel Gufo has the right historic features to be at center of our local community. The castle will host the administrative headquarter of our community, and our hospital, in the borough of Bosco Rapace, will be a part of a multisite hospital complex that will include the other three hospitals of the province and several clinics. I am confident that this network of services will increase employment for our citizens in the administration and in healthcare sector and it also improve the quality of the local public services. Remember, with Lorenzo Vanni, Castel Gufo and its citizens will be at the center of our local community. Citizens first. Let's put Castelgufo at the center of our province. Vote Lorenzo Vanni.

Survey Instructions

You have just moved to Castel Gufo, a town of about 14 thousand inhabitants in central Italy and in a few days there will be municipal elections. Castel Gufo is a town that lives on tourism and small food and textile industries of local importance. In recent years, during the term of office of the outgoing mayor, the chronicle of Castel Gufo has not recorded major events. The most accessible debate concerned the road network and the development model of the city's tourism. In the historical centre, a large pedestrian area has been created from which citizens and tourists have benefited positively. However, traffic outside the city walls has increased and connections between the centre and the hamlets have become slower. In the elections that will take place in a few days, the main candidates for the mayor's seat are three, all belonging to civic lists:

- Alessandro Baldi, outgoing mayor, 44 years old, married with two children;

- Francesco Landi, 48 years old, married with a son;

- Lorenzo Vanni, 46 years old, married with a son.

According to surveys, the election will be decided at the last vote, since each candidate has the support of about a third of the electorate. So, your vote could be decisive: choose carefully! Now we'll show you a video for each candidate prepared for their election campaign, so that you can make an informed choice. Make sure that the sound on your computer, tablet or smartphone is active and high enough and, if possible, wear earphones.

CAND_CHOICE_P1 Which candidate do you prefer for mayor of Castel Gufo?

○ Alessandro Baldi

○ Francesco Landi

○ Lorenzo Vanni

CAND_CONF_P1 Attention! Please read the text of this question carefully. Notice that it is different from the previous one. Now try to put yourself in the shoes of the candidates. Which of the three candidates do you think is most likely to win the election?

○ Alessandro Baldi

○ Francesco Landi

○ Lorenzo Vanni

○ The three candidates are equally convinced that they will win

Q203 We are interested in your opinion about the candidate Francesco Landi, from the List Together for Castel Gufo.

LANDI_IDEOLOGY How would you define Franceco Landi's political position?

○ Left-wing (1)

○ Center-left (2)

○ Center (3)

○ Center-right (4)

○ Right-wing (5)

○ Independent (6)

○ Do not know (7)

LANDI_IDEOLOGY2 If Francesco Landi is elected mayor, what probability do you assign to these events? Indicates 5 numbers between 0 and 100 that add up to 100.

His council will promote left-wing policies: _____ (1)

His council will promote centre-left policies:_____(2)

His council will promote central policies : _____ (3)

His council will promote centre-right policies: _____ (4)

His council will promote right-wing policies: _____ (5)

Total: _____

LANDI_VALENCE If Francesco Landi is elected mayor, what probability do you assign to these events? Indicates 5 numbers between 0 and 100 that add up to 100.

Francesco Landi's mandate will be very good: _____ (1)

Francesco Landi's mandate will be fine: _____ (2)

The mandate of Francesco Landi will go on average: _____ (3)

Francesco Landi's mandate will go wrong: _____ (4)

Francesco Landi's mandate will go very wrong: _____ (5)

Total: _____

LANDI_COOP After the elections, municipalities in the region will have the opportunity to participate in a regional call for proposals for public funds. In case Francesco Landi is elected mayor, which of the following two options you believe will be chosen by his council:

○ Cooperate with other municipalities of the province to participate in the regional call with a joint project (1)

○ Competing with other municipalities in the province by participating in the regional call with a project exclusively for Castel Gufo (2)

LANDI_CAMPAIGN Which of these two statements on Francesco Landi's election campaign do you find most convincing?

○ He carried out a positive campaign, focused on the problems of the city (1)

○ He has carried out a negative campaign, aimed at belittling his main opponents (2)

Q314 We are interested in your opinion about the candidate Alessandro Baldi, from the Open City List.

Q315 How would you define Alessandro Baldi's political position?

○ Left-wing (1)   ○ Right-wing (5)

○ Center-left (2)
                                    ○ Independent (6)
○ Center (3)

○ Center-right (4)   ○ Do not know (7)

Q316 If Alessandro Baldi is elected mayor, what probability do you assign to these events? Indicates 5 numbers between 0 and 100 that add up to 100.

His council will promote left-wing policies: _____ (1)

His council will promote centre-left policies:_____(2)

His council will promote central policies : _____ (3)

His council will promote centre-right policies: _____ (4)

His council will promote right-wing policies: _____ (5)

Total: _____

Q317 If Alessandro Baldi is elected mayor, what probability do you assign to these events? Indicates 5 numbers between 0 and 100 that add up to 100.

Alessandro Baldi's mandate will be very good: _____ (1)

Alessandro Baldi's mandate will be fine: _____ (2)

The mandate of Alessandro Baldi will go on average: _____ (3)

Alessandro Baldi's mandate will go wrong: _____ (4)

Alessandro Baldi's mandate will go very wrong: _____ (5)

Total: _____

Q318 After the elections, municipalities in the region will have the opportunity to participate in a regional call for proposals for public funds. In case Alessandro Baldi is elected mayor, which of the following two options you believe will be chosen by his council:

○ Cooperate with other municipalities of the province to participate in the regional call with a joint project (1)

○ Competing with other municipalities in the province by participating in the regional call with a project exclusively for Castel Gufo (2)

Q319 Which of these two statements on Alessandro Baldi's election campaign do you find most convincing?

○ He carried out a positive campaign, focused on the problems of the city (1)

○ He has carried out a negative campaign, aimed at belittling his main opponents (2)

Q68 In this second part of the questionnaire, we ask you to answer a series of questions about yourself and your political opinions. We ask you to read these questions carefully and answer them carefully. Besides being anonymous, your answers in this second part of the questionnaire do not affect your earnings. Click to start with the second part of the questionnaire.

SUB_SEX Are you male or female?

○ Male (1)

○ Female (2)

SUB_IDEOLOGY If you had to define your political position with a single word, would you define yourself as...?

- ○ Left-wing (1)
- ○ Center-left (2)
- ○ Center (3)
- ○ Center-right (4)
- ○ Right-wing (5)
- ○ Independent (6)

SUB_TRUST Which of these statements do you agree with the most?

- ○ Most people can be trusted (1)
- ○ It's better not to trust completely, you're never too careful (2)
- ○ You can only trust your family (3)

SUB_COOP To succeed in life, it is more important...

- ○ Being better than others (1)
- ○ Knowing how to work with others (2)

Q255 When important news comes out, people often go online to get up-to-date details about what's going on. We want to know which websites people trust to get this information. We also want to know if people pay attention to the instructions. To prove you've read so far, ignore the question and select Il Sole 24 Ore and Donna Moderna as your two answers.

When an important news breaks out, which news website do you visit first? Name just one.

- ☐ Corriere della Sera (1)
- ☐ La Repubblica (2)
- ☐ La Stampa (3)
- ☐ Rai News (4)
- ☐ Huffington Post Italia (5)
- ☐ Il Fatto Quotidiano (6)
- ☐ Sky TG24 (7)
- ☐ Il Sole 24 Ore (8)
- ☐ Ansa (9)
- ☐ Dagospia (10)

☐ Il Sole 24 Ore (11)   ☐ Donna Moderna (15)

☐ TGCOM24 (12)   ☐ Oggi (16)

☐ Il Messaggero (13)   ☐ Il Manifesto (17)

☐ Il Giornale (14)   ☐ Il Foglio (18)

Q87 In the rest of the questionnaire, you will have the opportunity to earn a sum of points that we will add to the 120 points that you will earn for your participation.

Your earnings in this third part of the questionnaire will depend partly on your choices, partly on the choices of the other participants and partly on random.

In this third part of the questionnaire, we ask you to participate in some games.

The method we will use to determine your payment is different in each game. Therefore, if you want to earn more points, please pay attention and read the instructions on each page carefully!

You will find out your results in each game when you are awarded the points quota for the games.

Q88 Game 1 - Fixed Payment

In Game 1, we ask you to find out how many times the letter F appears in a row of 50 randomly selected letters. You'll have exactly 90 seconds to find the number of F in a series of these lines.

Here is an example:

How many F's are there in the line below?

USAJJDKWXMLUCNMQFOORAZNXFTYEDUPFTABPALKTWVFQFRTGAW

You will earn 3 points for each line for which you correctly identify the number of F's within the 90 seconds. Your payment will not decrease if you give a wrong answer to a line.

We call this payment scheme "Fixed Payment".

The lines to be resolved are on the next page. When you are ready, click the >> button. From that moment on, you will have exactly 90 seconds. At the end of the 90 seconds, the computer will automatically proceed to the instructions for Game 2.

Q121 Game 2 - Tournament

This time we ask you to find out how many times the letter D appears in a row of 50 randomly selected letters. You will have exactly 90 seconds to find the number of D in a series of these lines.

Unlike Game 1, in Game 2, your payment depends on your performance relative to that of a group of other participants. Each group is made up of 4 people. The other 3 members of your group are randomly selected from the participants in this questionnaire.

In Game 2, the group member who correctly solves the most lines will receive 12 points for each correct line. The other three group members will not receive any points. If there are draws, the winners will equally divide the 12 points for each correct line.

As before, the lines are on the next page. When you are ready, click the ¿¿ button. From that moment on, you will have exactly 90 seconds. At the end of the 90 seconds, the computer will automatically proceed to the instructions for Game 3.

Q154 Game 3 - Choice

This time you have 90 seconds to find out how many times the letter L appears in a row of 50 randomly selected letters.

In this game, you can choose how you want to be paid: Fixed Payment or Tournament.

If you choose Fixed Payment, you will receive 3 points for each line correctly resolved.

If you choose Tournament, your performance in Game 3 will be compared to the performance of the other 3 members of your group in Game 2. Game 2 is the one you have just completed. If you correctly solve more lines than these 3 participants did in Game 2, you will receive a payment 4 times higher than the Fixed Payment, i.e. 12 points for each exact answer. If in this game you do not give more exact answers than the other members of your group in Game 2, you will not receive any payment for this game. If there are draws, the winners will equally divide the 12 points for each correct line.

As before, the lines are on the next page. When you are ready, click the ¿¿ button. From that moment on, you will have exactly 90 seconds. At the end of the 90 seconds, the computer will automatically proceed to the instructions for the next part of the questionnaire.

SUB_COMP How do you want to get paid in Game 3?

○ Fixed payment (0)

○ Tournament (1)

SUB_CONF This question concerns your performance in Game 2 (the Tournament).

What do you think about your ranking in your group in terms of the number of exact answers?

Choose a number from 1 (which means "I think I was the first, or the best, in my group of four") to 4 (which means "I think I was the fourth, or the worst, in my group of four").

If you correctly guess your position in the ranking, you will receive 20 points.

○ 1 (1)

○ 2 (2)

○ 3 (3)

○ 4 (4)

SUB_RISK Game 4

In this Game 4, we ask you to choose one of six lotteries. Each lottery makes you win a high amount with a 50% chance and a low amount with a 50% chance.

The computer will randomly determine whether you will be paid the high or low amount of the lottery you have chosen. In particular, the computer will pull a virtual coin: if this coin falls on your head, you will receive the high amount of the lottery you have chosen; if the coin falls on the cross, you will receive the low amount. Which lottery do you prefer among these 6?

○ Lottery 1: 28 points with 100% probability (1)

○ Lottery 2: 36 points with 50% probability and 24 points with 50% probability (2)

○ Lottery 3: 44 points with 50% probability and 20 points with 50% probability (3)

○ Lottery 4: 52 points with 50% probability and 16 points with 50% probability (4)

○ Lottery 5: 60 points with 50% probability and 12 points with 50% probability (5)

○ Lottery 6: 70 points with 50% probability and 2 points with 50% probability (6)

SUB_COOP Game 5

For this last Game 5, you will be assigned to a group of four people. The groups will be formed randomly by the computer.

We'll give you 20 additional points and ask you to decide how to use them.

You can put the 20 points in your personal account or invest them - all or part of them - in a common project. Any points not invested in the common project will automatically be placed in your personal account.

For every point you put in your personal account, you earn exactly one point. For example, if you put 20 points in your personal account - and invest 0 in the joint project - you get exactly 20 points. If you put 6 points in your personal account, you get 6 points from your personal account (and you get additional earnings from the joint project, as described below).

Contrary to the personal account, everything you invest in the joint project generates earnings for all members of the group. You will also benefit from the points invested in the joint project by other group members.

More precisely, your earnings from the joint project are calculated as follows: sum of the investments in the joint project of the members of your group divided by 2.

Consider these examples:

1. If the sum of your investments and the investments of the other group members is equal to 60, each group member - including you - earns $60/2 = 30$ points from the joint project.

2. If the sum of your investments and the investments of the other group members is equal to 10, each group member - including you - earns $10/2 = 5$ points from the joint project.

Your total points for this game will be equal to:

Points earned from your personal account + Points earned from the joint project.

How many points out of a total of 20 do you want to invest in the common project?