

Supplementary Material
"Electoral Handouts as Information
Explaining Unmonitored Vote
Buying"

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A Radio Recording Script

Note that this is a rough and simplified version of the discussion that covers the main points in the recording. The discussion in the recording is in Swahili, follows this general framework, but is recorded in a vernacular way that would be familiar to listeners. As such, this is not an exact translation but rather a general outline of the discussion.

Person 1: Did you hear about the campaign rally in [insert location of survey] the other day?

Person 2: No, who was here?

Person 1: Oh, it was very interesting. A politician from was here to try to gain support for his campaign to be a member of parliament.

Person 2: I see. What happened at the event?

Person 1: First some people from the local community spoke in support of his candidacy. There was also music and a lot of dancing.

Person 2: Ah, sounds like fun.

Person 1: Yes, and then he gave a speech to the crowd. He said that education is a big priority for him. He also said that we would work hard to bring roads, electricity, and clean water to our area. Everyone cheered when he complained that politicians have ignored us for too long and that we need jobs to make life better.

Person 2: I see. Did he mention corruption? Politicians always talk about corruption, but I wonder if they ever do anything.

Person 1: Yes, he did mention corruption. He promised he would do his best to make sure that the wananchi [the people] benefit from the country's resources, and that thieves can no longer be in government.

Person 2: Ah, I see. And does he have any qualifications?

Person 1: He says that he does. He studied business at university, so he says that he can help make the economy grow.

Person 1: And after the speech, people from the campaign went out into the crowd handing out cash to people who were there.

Person 2: They handed out cash? I wonder how much they gave to people?

Person 1: My friend who was there got 500 Kenya shillings.

Person 2: Wow, sounds like a big event. How many people were there?

Person 1: About 1000 people were there.

Person 2: That is a good turnout. I wonder if he will win the election.

Person 1: We will have to wait and see!

B Description of Variables Used in Balance Tests and as Control Variables

This section describes the variables included in covariate balance tests and regression analyses.

- *Experiment 1*

- *Received Electoral Handout.* Constructed from following survey question: “In talking with many Kenyans about election campaigns, we often find that people have received gifts from candidates in order to convince them to vote for that party. Have you ever received a gift from a political candidate before an election, to convince you to vote for that candidate?”
- *Believes Ballot Secrecy is Not Protected.* Constructed from the following survey question: “In general, do you believe that when you vote your vote is secret, or do you think that members of a political party, the government, or your friends and neighbors can learn whom you voted for in an election?”
- *Feels Close to a Political Party.* Constructed from the following survey question: “Do you feel close to a political party?” If yes, respondents are asked which party they support. The follow-up question is used to code ODM and PNU supporters.
- *Living Conditions Better Than/Worse Than/Same As Others in Neighborhood.* Constructed from following question: “Would you say that your household is Better off, Worse off, or The same as other households in your neighborhood in terms of living conditions?”
- *Trust in Relatives/Neighbors/Coethnics/Other Ethnic Groups.* Constructed from following question: “How much do you trust each of the following types of people?” Answer responses are Not at All (1), Just a Little (2), I Trust Them Somewhat (3), I Trust Them a Lot (4).

- **Experiment 2**

- *Received Electoral Handout in 2007*. Constructed from the following question: “During the elections in 2007, did you receive money or a gift from a political party to convince you to vote for their candidate?”
- *Believes Ballot Secrecy is Not Protected*. Constructed from the following question: “Do you think that someone powerful, like a politician or someone from a political party, can guess how you voted?”
- *Feels Close to a Political Party*. Constructed from the following question: “Do you feel currently feel close to a political party?” If yes, follow-up question asks which party. Answers to the follow-up are used to code PNU and ODM supporters.
- *Reciprocity*. Measure of individual reciprocity is constructed by averaging responses to the following items. On each item, the respondent indicates whether they Strongly Agree (5), Agree (4), Neither Agree nor Disagree (3), Disagree (2), or Strongly Disagree (1).
 - * If somebody puts me in a difficult position I will do the same to him or her.
 - * If someone does me a favor, I am prepared to return it
 - * I will go out of my way to help somebody who has been kind to me before.
 - * If somebody insults me, I will insult him or her back.
- *Preference for Redistribution*. Constructed from the response to the following item. Respondent indicates whether they Strongly Agree (5), Agree (4), Neither Agree nor Disagree (3), Disagree (2), or Strongly Disagree (1) with the following statement: “The government should reduce income differences between the rich and the poor, perhaps by taxing the wealthy or giving cash transfers to the poor.”
- *Comfortable Marrying Some from a Different Region / Ethnic Group*. Constructed from the following item. “Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with

the following? I would feel comfortable marrying: a) Someone from a different region;
b) Someone from a different ethnic group.” Response options are Strongly Agree (5),
Agree (4), Neither Agree nor Disagree (3), Disagree (2), or Strongly Disagree (1).

C Supplementary Results

Figure C.1: Vote Buying and Prospective Expectations, Results on the Individual Survey Items in Experiment 1

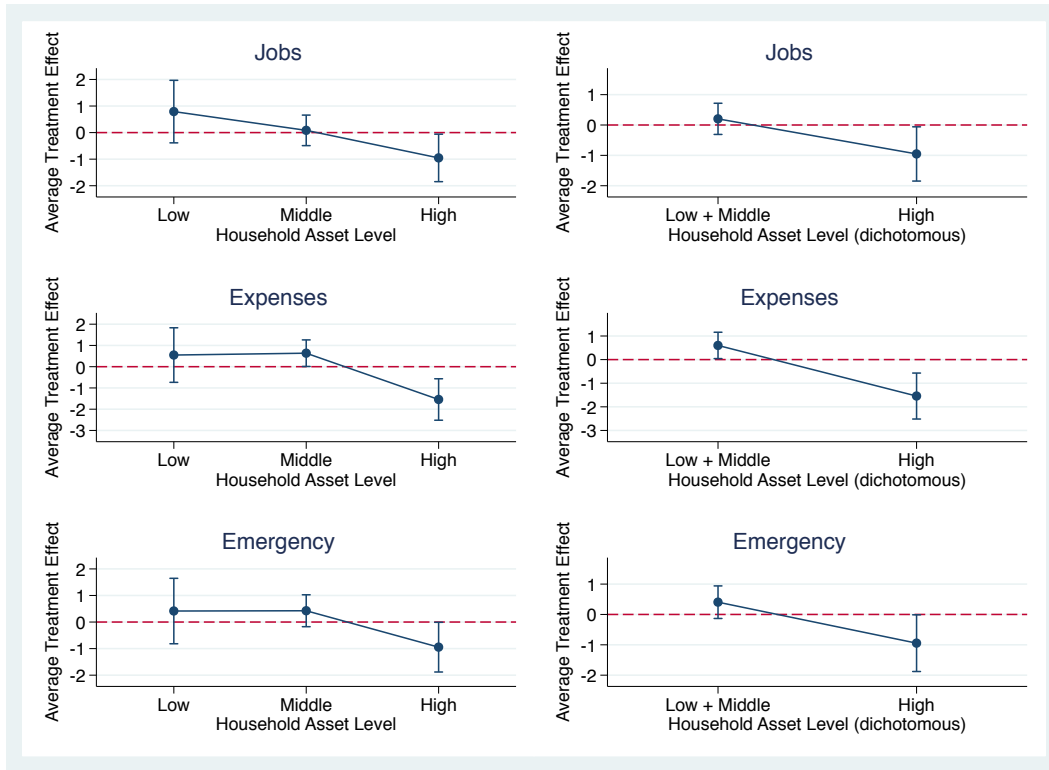


Figure displays average vote-buying treatment effects, and 95 percent confidence intervals. Dependent variables are the following survey items: 1) degree of agreement with the statement, “the candidate will provide jobs for people like me”; degree of agreement with the statement, “the candidate will help people like me who need help with health or education expenses”; degree of agreement with the statement, “the candidate will help people like me if they have an emergency.”