Online Appendix

Natural Hazards, Social Policy, and Electoral Performance: Evidence from the 2017 Earthquake in Mexico City

Contents

1 Summary Statistics

1.1 Dependent Variables

	(obs = 5,528)
Δ in Vote for PRD (Mayor) 2015-2018	
Min	-0.522
Max	0.389
Mean	-0.071
SD	0.082
Δ in Vote for PRD (Governor) 2012-2018	
Min	-0.547
Max	0.276
Mean	-0.283
SD	0.080
Δ in Vote for MORENA (Mayor) 2015-2018	
Min	-0.206
Max	0.433
Mean	0.144
SD	0.075
Δ in Vote for Incumbent Mayor Party 2015-2018	
Min	-0.334
Max	0.433
Mean	0.012
SD	0.103

1.2 Conditioning Variables

	(obs = 5,528)
Average Age of Buildings (Risk Sensitivity)	
Min	4.328
Max	73.045
Mean	30.731
SD	7.318
Geological Zone (Risk Exposure)	
Min	1
Max	6
Mean	2.846
SD	1.734
Vote for MORENA (President)	
Min	0.005
Max	0.723
Mean	0.474
SD	0.096
Illiteracy Rate	
Min	0.000
Max	0.184
Mean	0.019
SD	0.013
Unemployment	
Min	0.000
Max	0.208
Mean	0.049
SD	0.020
Seguro Popular Coverage	
Min	0.000
Max	0.417
Mean	0.094
SD	0.074

1.3 Independent Variables

	(obs = 5,528)
Distance to Closest Damaged Housing Unit (Miles)	
Min	0
Max	0.079
Mean	0.004
SD	0.005
Damaged Housing Units per 1000 Inhabitants	
Min	0
Max	200
Mean	1.226
SD	6.035
Distance to Closest Severely-Damaged Housing Unit (Miles)	
Min	0
Max	0.079
Mean	0.004
SD	0.005
Severely-Damaged Housing Units per 1000 Inhabitants	
Min	0
Max	27.53
Mean	0.287
SD	1.256
Distance to Closest Damaged Multi-Family (Miles)	
Min	0
Max	0.181
Mean	0.018
SD	0.028
Damaged Multi-Family Units per 1000 Inhabitants	
Min	0
Max	10.59
Mean	0.054
SD	0.375
Beneficiaries from Housing Credit Policies per 1000 Inhabitants	
Min	0
Max	600
Mean	1.043
SD	9.312
Beneficiaries from Risk Reduction Policies per 1000 Inhabitants	
Min	0
Max	300
Mean	0.607
SD	6.188

2 Geographic Distribution of Electoral Returns

2012

2018

MORENA
PRD
PAN
PRI
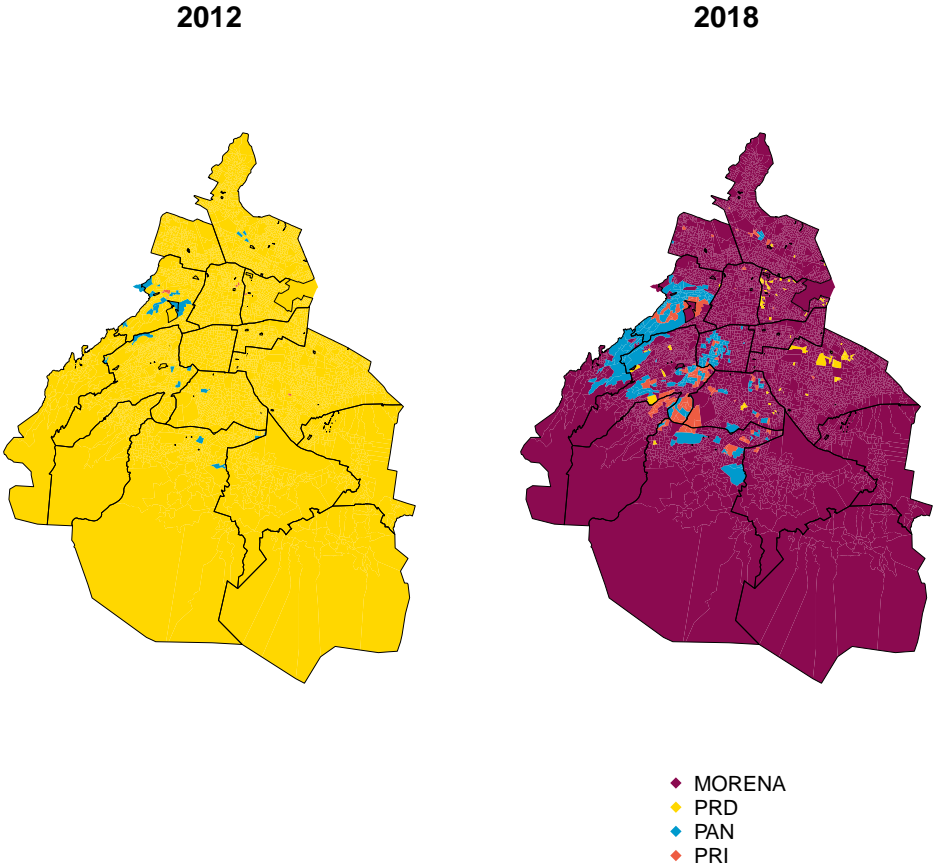
Figure S1: Political Geography of the 2012 and 2018 Gubernatorial Elections in Mexico City.

2015

2018
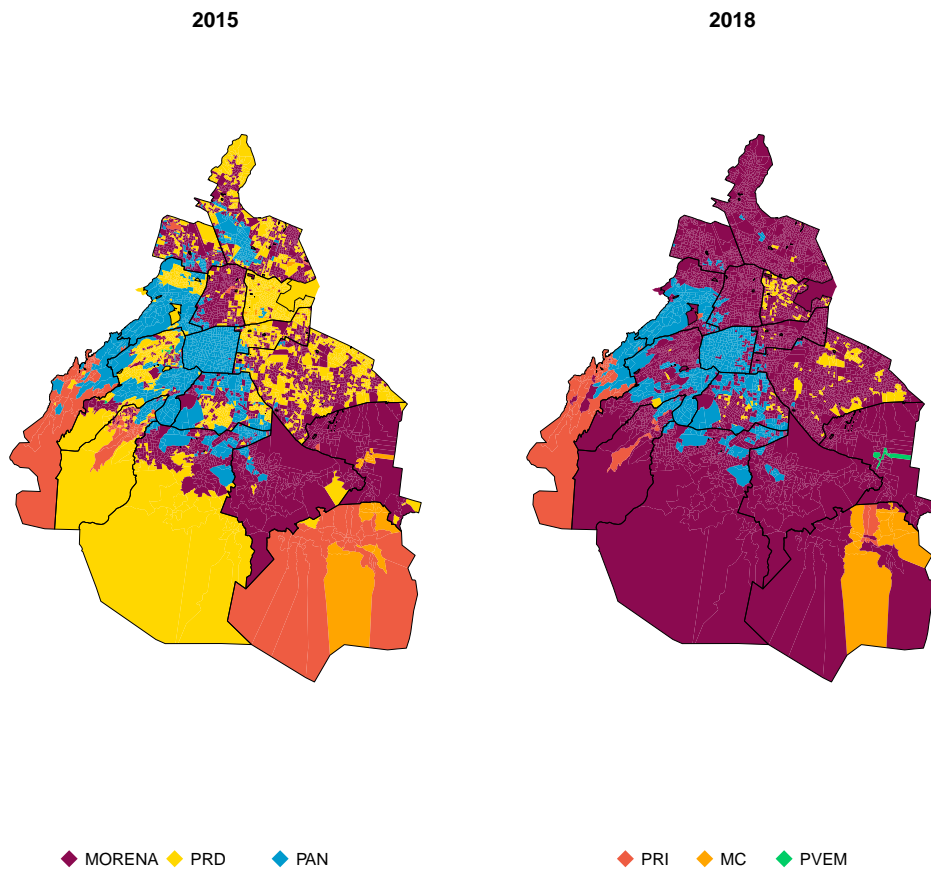
MORENA PRD PAN   PRI MC PVEM

Figure S2: Political Geography of the 2015 and 2018 Mayoral Elections in Mexico City.

3 Public Policies Implemented to Address the Disaster in Mexico City

3.1 Federal Disaster-Relief Policies

In September 2017, two powerful earthquakes hit the country; the first one was particularly damaging in the southern states of Oaxaca and Chiapas, which have fewer resources. The second one (the 19-S earthquake) hit mostly central Mexico. Mexico has a solid institutional framework to mitigate the effects of disasters. The National Fund for Disasters (FONDEN) deployed emergency relief, including food, water, and clothing, for the most disadvantaged populations in southern Mexico. Moreover, the fund was critical for the reconstruction of affected key infrastructure, such as hospitals and schools. Other areas of the federal public administration also deployed some resources, for example the "Seguro Popular" and the Ministry of Education.[1] In addition, most state governments implemented their own plans for reconstruction. For a detailed account of these efforts at different levels of government, see Merino (2018).

3.2 Local Disaster-Relief Policies: Housing Reconstruction Credits

At the local level, two of the most relevant actions to address the crisis were the Program of Emergency Credits for Housing Repair (which we denote in the text as "credits for housing reconstruction" and the Program for Rent Relief. According to journalistic accounts, the majority of the Reconstruction Commission Resources was devoted to the former. We obtained access to the geographic location of the beneficiaries through an information request act to the Housing Institute of Mexico City, the office in charge of administering this program. The amount offered in the credits varied, but most of them were around 2,000 dollars (140,000 pesos). Figure S3 shows the geographic distribution of these credits; in total, from November 2017 to November 2018 8,701 households received this form of government support. Figure S4 displays the temporal distributions of these credits; the red line indicates the election month.

3.3 Local Disaster-Relief Policies: Risk-Reduction Strategies

The other type of governmental response to the crisis we analyze are the risk-reduction actions implemented by the Social Attorney's Office (PROSOC), which we denote in the text as policies to reduce long-term risk to natural disasters. This local bureaucracy has three main functions: (1) promote the resolution of disputes between local authorities and citizens, (2) foster social awareness about citizens' rights, and (3) administer all issues related to multi-family housing units, known in Mexico City as "condominios". We obtained access to the policies implemented by the Social Attorney's Office in the aftermath of the earthquake through an official information request. These actions involved a strong involvement of the affected citizens, including inspection visits, conflict resolution interventions, and capacity-building workshops.

There are four main categories of risk-reduction policies. The first one corresponds to institutional capacity building. According to the local legislation, the distribution of some of the funds for reconstruction required specific forms of organization among the neighbors. The PROSOC provided institutional support and legal advice for the affected citizens to effectively organized. Moreover, in many cases the staff facilitated the assemblies. Hence, the PROSOC became a contact point between the population and other areas of the local administration. The second type of risk-reduction policy was the technical assessment of buildings. Teams of PROSOC's staff visited hundreds of affected homes to record the specific types of damaged that occurred. However, the data does not allow us to determine whether said records informed decision-making related to the reconstruction. The third type of risk-reduction strategy implemented by the PROSOC was the distribution of systems of seismic alert. Finally, the fourth type is not directly related to reduce future risk, as it corresponds to workshops to provide psychological and emotional support to the victims.

In summary, the policies implemented by the PROSOC aimed to: (1) foster capabilities among affected citizens on how to navigate the institutional and legal framework surrounding the reconstruction process, (2) provide technical assessments of the damaged buildings, which could identify potential sources of risk, and

---

[1]For a detailed description of the sources and spending of reconstruction funds, see: "Fuerza Mexico", available online at: https://www.transparenciapresupuestaria.gob.mx/es/PTP/fuerzamexico$_d$atosabiertos

(3) promote the organization among neighbors. In contrast to the housing reconstruction credits, these risk-reduction strategies involved a close coordination between the affected populations and authorities. Figure S5 shows the geographic distribution of these policies and Figure S12 displays the number of households that received each of the four main types of risk-reduction policies.
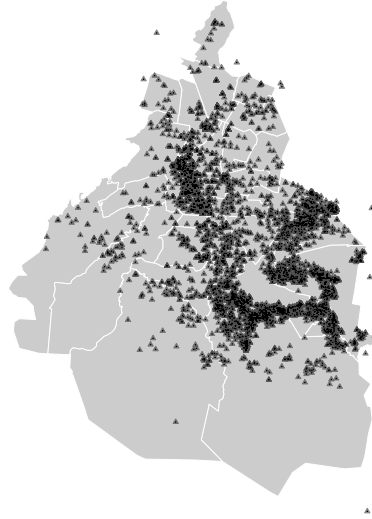

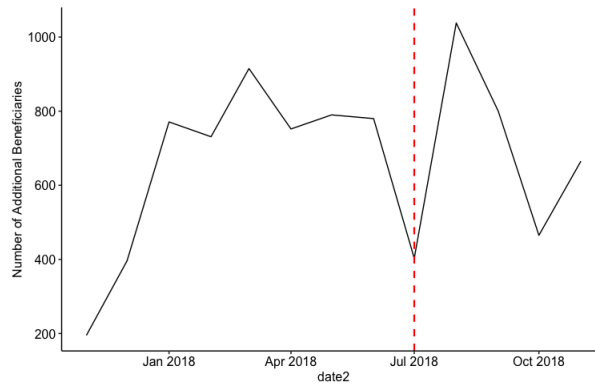Figure S3: Geographic Distribution of Reconstruction Credits

Figure S4: Distribution of Housing Reconstruction Credits by Mexico City's Housing Institute from November 2017 to December 2018
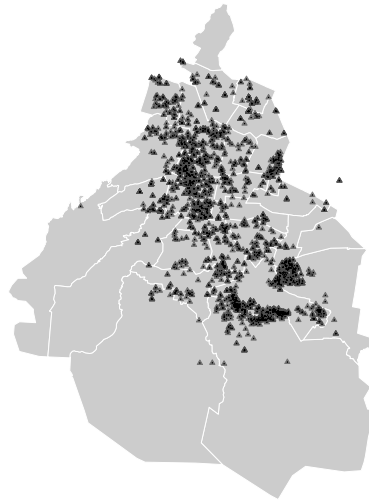
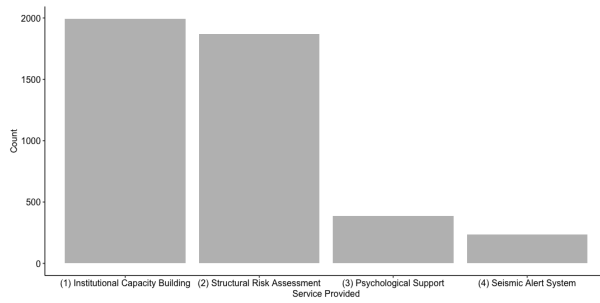Figure S5: Geographic Distribution of Risk Reduction Actions

Figure S6: Types of Services Provided by the Social Attorney's Office after the Earthquake

4 Regression Tables — Gubernatorial Elections

4.1 PRD Candidate for Governor

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	-0.272^*	-0.275^*	-0.270^*
	$[-0.287; -0.258]$	$[-0.290; -0.261]$	$[-0.285; -0.256]$
Distance to Any Damaged Housing Unit	-0.631^*		
	$[-1.005; -0.258]$		
Distance to a Severely-Damaged Housing Unit		-0.205^*	
		$[-0.407; -0.004]$	
Distance to a Damaged Multi-Family Unit			-0.204^*
			$[-0.298; -0.110]$
Seismic Zone II	0.006^*	0.007^*	0.006^*
	$[0.001; 0.011]$	$[0.002; 0.012]$	$[0.001; 0.011]$
Seismic Zone III	0.025^*	0.026^*	0.024^*
	$[0.020; 0.030]$	$[0.021; 0.032]$	$[0.018; 0.029]$
Average Age of Buildings	0.000^*	0.000^*	0.000^*
	$[0.000; 0.001]$	$[0.000; 0.001]$	$[0.000; 0.001]$
Illiteracy Rate	1.353^*	1.344^*	1.384^*
	$[1.095; 1.611]$	$[1.087; 1.601]$	$[1.123; 1.645]$
Unemployment Rate	0.088^*	0.090^*	0.085^*
	$[0.008; 0.168]$	$[0.010; 0.170]$	$[0.006; 0.165]$
Seguro Popular Coverage	0.292^*	0.294^*	0.302^*
	$[0.250; 0.333]$	$[0.253; 0.336]$	$[0.260; 0.343]$
AMLO Vote Share 2018	-0.133^*	-0.131^*	-0.128^*
	$[-0.157; -0.108]$	$[-0.155; -0.106]$	$[-0.153; -0.104]$
Adj. R^2	0.565	0.564	0.565
Num. obs.	5434	5434	5434
RMSE	0.053	0.053	0.053

* Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table S1: Results for models using distance-based measures of damage—PRD candidate for governor

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	-0.279^*	-0.279^*	-0.278^*
	$[-0.293; -0.264]$	$[-0.293; -0.264]$	$[-0.292; -0.263]$
Damaged Housing Units per 1000	0.001^*		
	$[0.000; 0.001]$		
Severely-Damaged Housing Units per 1000		0.001	
		$[-0.001; 0.002]$	
Damaged Multi-Family Units per 1000			-0.007^*
			$[-0.010; -0.004]$
Seismic Zone II	0.007^*	0.008^*	0.008^*
	$[0.003; 0.012]$	$[0.003; 0.013]$	$[0.004; 0.013]$
Seismic Zone III	0.027^*	0.027^*	0.028^*
	$[0.022; 0.032]$	$[0.022; 0.032]$	$[0.022; 0.033]$
Average Age of Buildings	0.000^*	0.000^*	0.000^*
	$[0.000; 0.001]$	$[0.000; 0.001]$	$[0.000; 0.001]$
Illiteracy Rate	1.329^*	1.330^*	1.326^*
	$[1.074; 1.584]$	$[1.075; 1.586]$	$[1.070; 1.581]$
Unemployment Rate	0.099^*	0.096^*	0.093^*
	$[0.019; 0.179]$	$[0.015; 0.176]$	$[0.013; 0.174]$
Seguro Popular Coverage	0.293^*	0.294^*	0.294^*
	$[0.252; 0.334]$	$[0.253; 0.335]$	$[0.252; 0.335]$
AMLO Vote Share 2018	-0.129^*	-0.129^*	-0.131^*
	$[-0.153; -0.104]$	$[-0.153; -0.104]$	$[-0.156; -0.107]$
Adj. R^2	0.565	0.564	0.565
Num. obs.	5434	5434	5434
RMSE	0.053	0.053	0.053

* Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table S2: Results for models using per capita measures of damage—PRD candidate for governor

5 Regression Tables — Mayoral Elections

5.1 PRD Candidates for Mayor

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	0.075*	0.075*	0.065*
	[0.061; 0.089]	[0.061; 0.090]	[0.050; 0.079]
Distance to Any Damaged Housing Unit	−1.587*		
	[−1.980; −1.194]		
Distance to a Severely-Damaged Housing Unit		−0.908*	
		[−1.140; −0.677]	
Distance to a Damaged Multi-Family Unit			−0.149*
			[−0.262; −0.036]
Seismic Zone II	−0.018*	−0.018*	−0.014*
	[−0.024; −0.012]	[−0.024; −0.012]	[−0.020; −0.008]
Seismic Zone III	−0.009*	−0.009*	−0.006
	[−0.015; −0.003]	[−0.015; −0.003]	[−0.012; 0.000]
Average Age of Buildings	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*
	[0.000; 0.001]	[0.000; 0.001]	[0.000; 0.001]
Illiteracy Rate	−0.724*	−0.726*	−0.737*
	[−0.919; −0.529]	[−0.922; −0.530]	[−0.938; −0.537]
Unemployment Rate	−0.035	−0.041	−0.024
	[−0.121; 0.051]	[−0.127; 0.046]	[−0.111; 0.063]
Seguro Popular Coverage	0.054*	0.060*	0.066*
	[0.017; 0.091]	[0.024; 0.097]	[0.029; 0.103]
AMLO Vote Share 2018	−0.281*	−0.280*	−0.271*
	[−0.306; −0.256]	[−0.305; −0.255]	[−0.296; −0.246]
Adj. R^2	0.491	0.490	0.485
Num. obs.	5420	5420	5420
RMSE	0.059	0.059	0.059

* Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table S3: Results for models using distance-based measures of damage—PRD candidates for mayor

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	0.059*	0.059*	0.057*
	[0.045; 0.072]	[0.045; 0.072]	[0.043; 0.071]
Damaged Housing Units per 1000	0.000		
	[−0.000; 0.001]		
Severely Damaged Housing Units per 1000		0.000	
		[−0.001; 0.002]	
Damaged Multi-Family Units per 1000			0.007*
			[0.004; 0.010]
Seismic Zone II	−0.012*	−0.012*	−0.012*
	[−0.018; −0.006]	[−0.018; −0.006]	[−0.018; −0.006]
Seismic Zone III	−0.003	−0.003	−0.003
	[−0.009; 0.002]	[−0.009; 0.002]	[−0.009; 0.002]
Average Age of Buildings	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*
	[0.000; 0.001]	[0.000; 0.001]	[0.000; 0.001]
Illiteracy Rate	−0.777*	−0.776*	−0.768*
	[−0.977; −0.578]	[−0.975; −0.577]	[−0.967; −0.569]
Unemployment Rate	−0.014	−0.017	−0.015
	[−0.101; 0.072]	[−0.103; 0.070]	[−0.102; 0.071]
Seguro Popular Coverage	0.059*	0.060*	0.060*
	[0.022; 0.096]	[0.023; 0.097]	[0.024; 0.097]
AMLO Vote Share 2018	−0.271*	−0.271*	−0.268*
	[−0.296; −0.246]	[−0.296; −0.246]	[−0.293; −0.243]
Adj. R^2	0.485	0.484	0.485
Num. obs.	5420	5420	5420
RMSE	0.059	0.059	0.059

* Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table S4: Results for models using per capita measures of damage—PRD candidates for mayor

5.2 MORENA Candidates for Mayor

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	−0.023*	−0.018*	−0.016*
	[−0.035; −0.012]	[−0.030; −0.006]	[−0.028; −0.004]
Distance to Any Damaged Housing Unit	0.856*		
	[0.573; 1.139]		
Distance to a Severely-Damaged Housing Unit		0.198*	
		[0.012; 0.383]	
Distance to a Damaged Multi-Family Unit			0.043
			[−0.047; 0.134]
Seismic Zone II	0.010*	0.008*	0.008*
	[0.005; 0.015]	[0.003; 0.013]	[0.003; 0.013]
Seismic Zone III	0.017*	0.015*	0.014*
	[0.012; 0.022]	[0.010; 0.020]	[0.009; 0.020]
Average Age of Buildings	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000
	[−0.000; 0.000]	[−0.000; 0.000]	[−0.000; 0.000]
Illiteracy Rate	0.123	0.140	0.140
	[−0.058; 0.303]	[−0.040; 0.320]	[−0.042; 0.321]
Unemployment Rate	0.098*	0.093*	0.090*
	[0.027; 0.168]	[0.022; 0.164]	[0.019; 0.161]
Seguro Popular Coverage	−0.054*	−0.057*	−0.059*
	[−0.086; −0.021]	[−0.089; −0.025]	[−0.091; −0.026]
AMLO Vote Share 2018	0.421*	0.418*	0.416*
	[0.399; 0.442]	[0.396; 0.439]	[0.394; 0.437]
Adj. R^2	0.550	0.548	0.548
Num. obs.	5420	5420	5420
RMSE	0.051	0.051	0.051

* Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table S5: Results for models using distance-based measures of damage—MORENA candidates for mayor

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	−0.014*	−0.014*	−0.013*
	[−0.025; −0.003]	[−0.025; −0.003]	[−0.024; −0.002]
Damaged Housing Units per 1000	−0.000		
	[−0.000; 0.000]		
Severely-Damaged Housing Units per 1000		−0.000	
		[−0.002; 0.001]	
Damaged Multi-Family Units per 1000			−0.005*
			[−0.009; −0.001]
Seismic Zone II	0.007*	0.007*	0.007*
	[0.002; 0.012]	[0.002; 0.012]	[0.002; 0.012]
Seismic Zone III	0.014*	0.014*	0.014*
	[0.009; 0.019]	[0.009; 0.019]	[0.009; 0.019]
Average Age of Buildings	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000
	[−0.000; 0.000]	[−0.000; 0.000]	[−0.000; 0.000]
Illiteracy Rate	0.151	0.151	0.145
	[−0.029; 0.331]	[−0.029; 0.331]	[−0.035; 0.325]
Unemployment Rate	0.087*	0.088*	0.087*
	[0.016; 0.158]	[0.017; 0.159]	[0.016; 0.158]
Seguro Popular Coverage	−0.057*	−0.057*	−0.057*
	[−0.089; −0.024]	[−0.089; −0.025]	[−0.090; −0.025]
AMLO Vote Share 2018	0.416*	0.416*	0.414*
	[0.394; 0.437]	[0.394; 0.437]	[0.392; 0.435]
Adj. R^2	0.548	0.548	0.549
Num. obs.	5420	5420	5420
RMSE	0.051	0.051	0.051

* Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table S6: Results for models using per capita measures of damage—MORENA candidates for mayor

13

6 Regression Tables — Legislative Elections

6.1 PRD Candidates for Deputy

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	0.081*	0.081*	0.075*
	[0.068; 0.094]	[0.068; 0.094]	[0.061; 0.088]
Distance to Any Damaged Housing Unit	−1.690*		
	[−2.050; −1.330]		
Distance to a Severely-Damaged Housing Unit		−0.969*	
		[−1.179; −0.760]	
Distance to a Damaged Multi-Family Unit			−0.268*
			[−0.370; −0.165]
Seismic Zone II	−0.016*	−0.015*	−0.012*
	[−0.022; −0.010]	[−0.021; −0.009]	[−0.018; −0.006]
Seismic Zone III	0.001	0.000	0.002
	[−0.005; 0.006]	[−0.005; 0.006]	[−0.003; 0.008]
Average Age of Buildings	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*
	[0.000; 0.001]	[0.000; 0.001]	[0.000; 0.001]
Illiteracy Rate	−1.070*	−1.072*	−1.057*
	[−1.272; −0.868]	[−1.276; −0.869]	[−1.264; −0.850]
Unemployment Rate	−0.052	−0.057	−0.045
	[−0.129; 0.026]	[−0.135; 0.021]	[−0.123; 0.033]
Seguro Popular Coverage	−0.010	−0.004	0.006
	[−0.048; 0.027]	[−0.041; 0.033]	[−0.031; 0.043]
AMLO Vote Share 2018	−0.287*	−0.286*	−0.276*
	[−0.310; −0.264]	[−0.310; −0.263]	[−0.299; −0.253]
Adj. R^2	0.465	0.464	0.459
Num. obs.	5419	5419	5419
RMSE	0.054	0.055	0.055

* Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table S7: Results for models using distance-based measures of damage—PRD candidates for deputy

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	0.063*	0.064*	0.062*
	[0.051; 0.076]	[0.051; 0.076]	[0.050; 0.075]
Damaged Housing Units per 1000	0.000		
	[−0.000; 0.001]		
Severely-Damaged Housing Units per 1000		0.001	
		[−0.001; 0.002]	
Damaged Multi-Family Units per 1000			0.005*
			[0.003; 0.008]
Seismic Zone II	−0.009*	−0.009*	−0.009*
	[−0.015; −0.004]	[−0.015; −0.003]	[−0.015; −0.003]
Seismic Zone III	0.007*	0.007*	0.007*
	[0.002; 0.012]	[0.002; 0.012]	[0.002; 0.012]
Average Age of Buildings	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*
	[0.000; 0.001]	[0.000; 0.001]	[0.000; 0.001]
Illiteracy Rate	−1.127*	−1.128*	−1.120*
	[−1.335; −0.920]	[−1.335; −0.921]	[−1.327; −0.913]
Unemployment Rate	−0.030	−0.032	−0.031
	[−0.108; 0.048]	[−0.110; 0.047]	[−0.109; 0.047]
Seguro Popular Coverage	−0.005	−0.004	−0.004
	[−0.042; 0.032]	[−0.041; 0.033]	[−0.041; 0.033]
AMLO Vote Share 2018	−0.276*	−0.277*	−0.275*
	[−0.300; −0.253]	[−0.300; −0.253]	[−0.298; −0.251]
Adj. R^2	0.456	0.456	0.456
Num. obs.	5419	5419	5419
RMSE	0.055	0.055	0.055

* Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table S8: Results for models using per capita measures of damage—PRD candidates for deputy

6.2 MORENA Candidates for Deputy

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	−0.029*	−0.023*	−0.035*
	[−0.040; −0.019]	[−0.034; −0.012]	[−0.046; −0.024]
Distance to Any Damaged Housing Unit	0.502*		
	[0.231; 0.774]		
Distance to a Severely Damaged Housing Unit		−0.058	
		[−0.250; 0.134]	
Distance to a Damaged Multi-Family Unit			0.263*
			[0.174; 0.353]
Seismic Zone II	0.008*	0.005*	0.009*
	[0.003; 0.012]	[0.001; 0.010]	[0.004; 0.013]
Seismic Zone III	0.009*	0.007*	0.012*
	[0.005; 0.014]	[0.002; 0.011]	[0.007; 0.016]
Average Age of Buildings	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000
	[−0.000; 0.000]	[−0.000; 0.000]	[−0.000; 0.000]
Illiteracy Rate	0.423*	0.443*	0.372*
	[0.274; 0.572]	[0.293; 0.592]	[0.222; 0.522]
Unemployment Rate	0.085*	0.078*	0.092*
	[0.020; 0.150]	[0.013; 0.143]	[0.027; 0.157]
Seguro Popular Coverage	0.011	0.009	−0.001
	[−0.018; 0.040]	[−0.020; 0.038]	[−0.030; 0.029]
AMLO Vote Share 2018	0.455*	0.451*	0.451*
	[0.434; 0.475]	[0.431; 0.471]	[0.431; 0.472]
Adj. R^2	0.509	0.508	0.512
Num. obs.	5419	5419	5419
RMSE	0.046	0.046	0.045

* Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table S9: Results for models using distance-based measures of damage—MORENA candidates for deputy.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	−0.024*	−0.024*	−0.024*
	[−0.034; −0.014]	[−0.034; −0.014]	[−0.034; −0.013]
Damaged Housing Units per 1000	0.000		
	[−0.000; 0.000]		
Severely Damaged Housing Units per 1000		−0.000	
		[−0.001; 0.001]	
Damaged Multi-Family Units per 1000			−0.002
			[−0.005; 0.001]
Seismic Zone II	0.006*	0.006*	0.006*
	[0.001; 0.010]	[0.001; 0.010]	[0.001; 0.010]
Seismic Zone III	0.007*	0.007*	0.007*
	[0.003; 0.012]	[0.003; 0.012]	[0.003; 0.012]
Average Age of Buildings	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000
	[−0.000; 0.000]	[−0.000; 0.000]	[−0.000; 0.000]
Illiteracy Rate	0.439*	0.440*	0.437*
	[0.291; 0.588]	[0.291; 0.589]	[0.289; 0.586]
Unemployment Rate	0.079*	0.079*	0.079*
	[0.014; 0.144]	[0.014; 0.144]	[0.014; 0.143]
Seguro Popular Coverage	0.009	0.009	0.009
	[−0.020; 0.038]	[−0.020; 0.039]	[−0.020; 0.038]
AMLO Vote Share 2018	0.452*	0.452*	0.451*
	[0.431; 0.472]	[0.431; 0.472]	[0.430; 0.471]
Adj. R^2	0.508	0.508	0.508
Num. obs.	5419	5419	5419
RMSE	0.046	0.046	0.046

* Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table S10: Results for models using per capita measures of damage—MORENA candidates for deputy.

7 Regression Tables — The Role of Social Policies

7.1 Reconstruction Credits

	PRD Mayor	MORENA Mayor	PRD Dep	MORENA Dep	PRD Gov
(Intercept)	0.05644*	−0.01294*	0.06150*	−0.02350*	−0.27832*
	[0.04279; 0.07008]	[−0.02389; −0.00198]	[0.04887; 0.07414]	[−0.03366; −0.01333]	[−0.29272; −0.26393]
Reconstruction Credits per 1000	0.00023*	−0.00014*	0.00026*	−0.00000	0.00023*
	[0.00016; 0.00030]	[−0.00026; −0.00002]	[0.00019; 0.00033]	[−0.00006; 0.00005]	[0.00001; 0.00046]
Damage Per Capita	0.00633*	−0.00483*	0.00453*	−0.00209	−0.00808*
	[0.00318; 0.00948]	[−0.00890; −0.00076]	[0.00194; 0.00713]	[−0.00488; 0.00070]	[−0.01136; −0.00480]
Seismic Zone II	−0.01247*	0.00746*	−0.00955*	0.00567*	0.00817*
	[−0.01843; −0.00651]	[0.00249; 0.01243]	[−0.01539; −0.00371]	[0.00118; 0.01016]	[0.00339; 0.01295]
Seismic Zone III	−0.00336	0.01376*	0.00663*	0.00726*	0.02743*
	[−0.00898; 0.00226]	[0.00872; 0.01880]	[0.00153; 0.01174]	[0.00285; 0.01166]	[0.02228; 0.03258]
Average Age of Buildings	0.00041*	−0.00005	0.00049*	−0.00009	0.00042*
	[0.00016; 0.00066]	[−0.00025; 0.00015]	[0.00026; 0.00073]	[−0.00027; 0.00009]	[0.00019; 0.00065]
Illiteracy Rate	−0.77021*	0.14670	−1.12223*	0.43748*	1.32346*
	[−0.96902; −0.57140]	[−0.03335; 0.32674]	[−1.32887; −0.91558]	[0.28870; 0.58626]	[1.06802; 1.57890]
Unemployment Rate	−0.01282	0.08515*	−0.02809	0.07862*	0.09580*
	[−0.09920; 0.07357]	[0.01420; 0.15609]	[−0.10620; 0.05001]	[0.01388; 0.14336]	[0.01567; 0.17593]
Seguro Popular Coverage	0.06048*	−0.05723*	−0.00387	0.00913	0.29366*
	[0.02379; 0.09716]	[−0.08957; −0.02490]	[−0.04086; 0.03312]	[−0.02009; 0.03835]	[0.25240; 0.33492]
AMLO Vote Share 2018	−0.26746*	0.41318*	−0.27361*	0.45080*	−0.13048*
	[−0.29264; −0.24228]	[0.39187; 0.43450]	[−0.29698; −0.25024]	[0.43038; 0.47122]	[−0.15511; −0.10586]
Adj. R^2	0.48571	0.54878	0.45721	0.50811	0.56548
Num. obs.	5420	5420	5419	5419	5434
RMSE	0.05925	0.05070	0.05490	0.04557	0.05340

* Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table S11: Results for models using per capita measures of disaster aid (reconstruction credits) for incumbent and challenger candidates to different levels of office.

7.2 Risk Reduction Policies

	PRD Mayor	MORENA Mayor	PRD Dep	MORENA Dep	PRD Gov
(Intercept)	0.05641*	−0.01306*	0.06150*	−0.02337*	−0.27833*
	[0.04278; 0.07003]	[−0.02402; −0.00210]	[0.04890; 0.07410]	[−0.03353; −0.01322]	[−0.29271; −0.26395]
Risk Reduction per 1000	0.00043*	−0.00017	0.00046*	−0.00009	0.00041*
	[0.00026; 0.00059]	[−0.00034; 0.00000]	[0.00037; 0.00056]	[−0.00026; 0.00008]	[0.00001; 0.00080]
Damage Per Capita	0.00643*	−0.00504*	0.00467*	−0.00196	−0.00794*
	[0.00323; 0.00962]	[−0.00914; −0.00095]	[0.00212; 0.00722]	[−0.00476; 0.00085]	[−0.01096; −0.00492]
Seismic Zone II	−0.01241*	0.00737*	−0.00948*	0.00571*	0.00824*
	[−0.01836; −0.00646]	[0.00240; 0.01235]	[−0.01531; −0.00364]	[0.00122; 0.01019]	[0.00348; 0.01300]
Seismic Zone III	−0.00342	0.01374*	0.00658*	0.00730*	0.02738*
	[−0.00904; 0.00221]	[0.00870; 0.01878]	[0.00147; 0.01169]	[0.00290; 0.01171]	[0.02224; 0.03253]
Average Age of Buildings	0.00040*	−0.00004	0.00049*	−0.00009	0.00041*
	[0.00015; 0.00065]	[−0.00024; 0.00016]	[0.00025; 0.00072]	[−0.00027; 0.00009]	[0.00019; 0.00064]
Illiteracy Rate	−0.76666*	0.14484	−1.11847*	0.43715*	1.32691*
	[−0.96536; −0.56797]	[−0.03526; 0.32495]	[−1.32488; −0.91207]	[0.28839; 0.58590]	[1.07128; 1.58253]
Unemployment Rate	−0.00905	0.08420*	−0.02411	0.07738*	0.09923*
	[−0.09546; 0.07735]	[0.01313; 0.15528]	[−0.10227; 0.05405]	[0.01259; 0.14218]	[0.01911; 0.17934]
Seguro Popular Coverage	0.06064*	−0.05730*	−0.00366	0.00909	0.29382*
	[0.02396; 0.09733]	[−0.08965; −0.02494]	[−0.04065; 0.03333]	[−0.02013; 0.03831]	[0.25255; 0.33509]
AMLO Vote Share 2018	−0.26793*	0.41355*	−0.27416*	0.45075*	−0.13097*
	[−0.29308; −0.24278]	[0.39224; 0.43485]	[−0.29750; −0.25081]	[0.43033; 0.47116]	[−0.15556; −0.10638]
R^2	0.48824	0.55058	0.45994	0.51027	0.56756
Adj. R^2	0.48605	0.54867	0.45763	0.50818	0.56572
Num. obs.	5420	5420	5419	5419	5434
RMSE	0.05923	0.05071	0.05487	0.04556	0.05338

* Null hypothesis value outside the confidence interval.

Table S12: Results for models using per capita measures of disaster aid (risk reduction policies) for incumbent and challenger candidates to different levels of office.

8 Robustness Checks

8.1 Spatial Auto-regressive Models for Mayoral Elections PRD

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	0.03741***	0.03981***	0.03364***
	(0.00893)	(0.00910)	(0.00958)
Distance to Any Damaged Housing Unit	−0.95495***		
	(0.26813)		
Distance to a Severely-Damaged Housing Unit		−0.73588***	
		(0.20115)	
Distance to a Damaged Multi-Family Unit			−0.10713
			(0.09405)
Seismic Zone II	−0.00454	−0.00512	−0.00333
	(0.00419)	(0.00422)	(0.00429)
Seismic Zone III	−0.00288	−0.00377	−0.00193
	(0.00457)	(0.00462)	(0.00478)
Average Age of Buildings	0.00035**	0.00033**	0.00033**
	(0.00012)	(0.00012)	(0.00012)
Illiteracy Rate	−0.54171***	−0.53633***	−0.54011***
	(0.08348)	(0.08352)	(0.08382)
Unemployment Rate	−0.00007	−0.00158	0.00132
	(0.03652)	(0.03652)	(0.03654)
Seguro Popular Coverage	0.00728	0.00885	0.00891
	(0.01785)	(0.01785)	(0.01798)
AMLO Vote Share 2018	−0.19997***	−0.19937***	−0.19510***
	(0.01244)	(0.01242)	(0.01242)
lambda	0.62903***	0.62969***	0.63340***
	(0.01426)	(0.01424)	(0.01416)
R^2	0.64710	0.64723	0.64684
AIC	−16718.30168	−16719.03330	−16707.06773
BIC	−16553.40619	−16554.13781	−16542.17225
Deviance	13.13408	13.12954	13.14308
Log Likelihood	8384.15084	8384.51665	8378.53387
nobs	5409	5409	5409

$^{***}p < 0.001$; $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{*}p < 0.05$

Table S13: Results for spatial auto-regressive models—PRD candidates for mayor / distance-based measure of damage

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	0.02894***	0.02935***	0.02871***
	(0.00867)	(0.00868)	(0.00867)
Damaged Houses per 1000	0.00034*		
	(0.00014)		
Severely-Damaged Houses per 1000		0.00133*	
		(0.00068)	
Damaged Multi-Family Units per 100			0.00321
			(0.00204)
Seismic Zone II	−0.00243	−0.00259	−0.00226
	(0.00417)	(0.00417)	(0.00416)
Seismic Zone III	−0.00038	−0.00051	−0.00029
	(0.00455)	(0.00455)	(0.00454)
Average Age of Buildings	0.00033**	0.00034**	0.00034**
	(0.00012)	(0.00012)	(0.00012)
Illiteracy Rate	−0.54844***	−0.55233***	−0.54660***
	(0.08345)	(0.08349)	(0.08349)
Unemployment Rate	0.00412	0.00278	0.00363
	(0.03650)	(0.03650)	(0.03652)
Seguro Popular Coverage	0.00512	0.00536	0.00690
	(0.01788)	(0.01789)	(0.01787)
AMLO Vote Share 2018	−0.19443***	−0.19515***	−0.19498***
	(0.01241)	(0.01241)	(0.01241)
lambda	0.63437***	0.63480***	0.63354***
	(0.01414)	(0.01413)	(0.01416)
R^2	0.64736	0.64724	0.64699
AIC	−16712.09005	−16709.61299	−16708.25369
BIC	−16547.19456	−16544.71750	−16543.35820
Deviance	13.12679	13.13099	13.13960
Log Likelihood	8381.04503	8379.80650	8379.12684
nobs	5409	5409	5409

***$p < 0.001$; **$p < 0.01$; *$p < 0.05$

Table S14: Results for spatial auto-regressive models—PRD candidates for mayor / per capita measure of damage

8.2 Spatial Auto-regressive Models for Mayoral Elections MORENA

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	0.01063	0.01338	0.01378
	(0.00762)	(0.00777)	(0.00811)
Distance to Any Damaged Housing Unit	0.40341		
	(0.22924)		
Distance to a Severely-Damaged Housing Unit		0.05747	
		(0.17040)	
Distance to a Damaged Multi-Family Unit			0.01028
			(0.07860)
Seismic Zone II	0.00264	0.00184	0.00172
	(0.00358)	(0.00361)	(0.00365)
Seismic Zone III	0.01064**	0.00975*	0.00964*
	(0.00388)	(0.00392)	(0.00404)
Average Age of Buildings	−0.00003	−0.00002	−0.00002
	(0.00010)	(0.00010)	(0.00010)
Illiteracy Rate	0.17425*	0.17689*	0.17713*
	(0.07253)	(0.07258)	(0.07281)
Unemployment Rate	0.01278	0.01170	0.01148
	(0.03175)	(0.03176)	(0.03177)
Seguro Popular Coverage	−0.00523	−0.00514	−0.00521
	(0.01544)	(0.01545)	(0.01554)
AMLO Vote Share 2018	0.34219***	0.34051***	0.34019***
	(0.01074)	(0.01074)	(0.01071)
lambda	0.61097***	0.61283***	0.61295***
	(0.01465)	(0.01461)	(0.01461)
R^2	0.67992	0.67994	0.67994
AIC	−18258.41530	−18255.45327	−18255.35672
BIC	−18093.51982	−18090.55779	−18090.46124
Deviance	9.93484	9.93470	9.93454
Log Likelihood	9154.20765	9152.72664	9152.67836
nobs	5409	5409	5409

$^{***}p < 0.001$; $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{*}p < 0.05$

Table S15: Results for spatial auto-regressive models—MORENA candidates for mayor / distance-based measure of damage

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	0.01422	0.01413	0.01440
	(0.00737)	(0.00737)	(0.00737)
Damaged Housing Units per 1000	−0.00002		
	(0.00012)		
Severely-Damaged Housing Unit per 1000		−0.00028	
		(0.00059)	
Damaged Multi-Family Unit per 1000			−0.00227
			(0.00177)
Seismic Zone II	0.00163	0.00171	0.00169
	(0.00354)	(0.00355)	(0.00354)
Seismic Zone III	0.00948*	0.00953*	0.00952*
	(0.00383)	(0.00384)	(0.00383)
Average Age of Buildings	−0.00002	−0.00002	−0.00002
	(0.00010)	(0.00010)	(0.00010)
Illiteracy Rate	0.17801*	0.17889*	0.17664*
	(0.07251)	(0.07253)	(0.07251)
Unemployment Rate	0.01125	0.01132	0.01077
	(0.03175)	(0.03174)	(0.03175)
Seguro Popular Coverage	−0.00490	−0.00473	−0.00517
	(0.01545)	(0.01545)	(0.01544)
AMLO Vote Share 2018	0.34017***	0.34020***	0.33995***
	(0.01071)	(0.01071)	(0.01071)
lambda	0.61296***	0.61300***	0.61248***
	(0.01461)	(0.01460)	(0.01462)
R^2	0.67995	0.67996	0.67998
AIC	−18255.36666	−18255.56313	−18256.97645
BIC	−18090.47117	−18090.66764	−18092.08096
Deviance	9.93449	9.93400	9.93295
Log Likelihood	9152.68333	9152.78157	9153.48822
nobs	5409	5409	5409

$^{***}p < 0.001$; $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{*}p < 0.05$

Table S16: Results for spatial auto-regressive models—MORENA candidates for mayor / per capita measure of damage

8.3 Spatial Auto-regressive Models for Legislative Elections PRD

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	0.04083***	0.04294***	0.04363***
	(0.00835)	(0.00853)	(0.00903)
Distance to Any Damaged Housing Unit	−1.13578***		
	(0.24884)		
Distance to a Severely-Damaged Housing Unit		−0.82596***	
		(0.19166)	
Distance to Damaged Multi-Family Unit			−0.28727**
			(0.09091)
Seismic Zone II	−0.00221	−0.00266	−0.00265
	(0.00390)	(0.00393)	(0.00399)
Seismic Zone III	0.00375	0.00299	0.00231
	(0.00433)	(0.00437)	(0.00451)
Average Age of Buildings	0.00046***	0.00044***	0.00043***
	(0.00011)	(0.00011)	(0.00011)
Literacy Rate	−0.69373***	−0.68845***	−0.68076***
	(0.07481)	(0.07486)	(0.07509)
Unemployment Rate	−0.05486	−0.05611	−0.05541
	(0.03267)	(0.03268)	(0.03269)
Seguro Popular Coverage	−0.04949**	−0.04791**	−0.04473**
	(0.01615)	(0.01616)	(0.01626)
AMLO Vote Share 2018	−0.20733***	−0.20633***	−0.20165***
	(0.01128)	(0.01127)	(0.01126)
lambda	0.66793***	0.66859***	0.67096***
	(0.01338)	(0.01337)	(0.01331)
R^2	0.65522	0.65516	0.65456
AIC	−17852.51334	−17850.30520	−17841.85905
BIC	−17687.61785	−17685.40972	−17676.96356
Deviance	10.51171	10.51357	10.52109
Log Likelihood	8951.25667	8950.15260	8945.92953
nobs	5409	5409	5409

***$p < 0.001$; **$p < 0.01$; *$p < 0.05$

Table S17: Results for spatial auto-regressive models—PRD candidates for deputy / distance-based measure of damage

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	0.03093***	0.03129***	0.03079***
	(0.00815)	(0.00816)	(0.00815)
Damaged Housing Units per 1000	0.00028*		
	(0.00012)		
Severely Damaged Housing Units per 1000		0.00103	
		(0.00061)	
Damaged Multi-Family Units per 1000			0.00245
			(0.00183)
Seismic Zone II	0.00014	0.00002	0.00028
	(0.00389)	(0.00390)	(0.00389)
Seismic Zone III	0.00652	0.00642	0.00658
	(0.00432)	(0.00432)	(0.00432)
Average Age of Buildings	0.00045***	0.00045***	0.00045***
	(0.00011)	(0.00011)	(0.00011)
Illiteracy Rate	−0.69897***	−0.70224***	−0.69787***
	(0.07483)	(0.07487)	(0.07487)
Unemployment Rate	−0.05112	−0.05219	−0.05149
	(0.03268)	(0.03268)	(0.03269)
Seguro Popular Coverage	−0.05140**	−0.05113**	−0.04997**
	(0.01619)	(0.01620)	(0.01619)
AMLO Vote Share 2018	−0.20133***	−0.20202***	−0.20189***
	(0.01127)	(0.01127)	(0.01127)
lambda	0.67404***	0.67390***	0.67338***
	(0.01324)	(0.01324)	(0.01326)
R^2	0.65510	0.65491	0.65475
AIC	−17837.20842	−17834.75848	−17833.73333
BIC	−17672.31294	−17669.86299	−17668.83784
Deviance	10.51849	10.52382	10.52778
Log Likelihood	8943.60421	8942.37924	8941.86667
nobs	5409	5409	5409

$^{***}p < 0.001$; $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{*}p < 0.05$

Table S18: Results for spatial auto-regressive models—PRD candidates for deputy / per capita measure of damage

8.4 Spatial Auto-regressive Models for Legislative Elections MORENA

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	−0.00069	0.00287	−0.00832
	(0.00681)	(0.00694)	(0.00714)
Distance to Any Damaged Housing Unit	0.28219		
	(0.20530)		
Distance to a Severely-Damaged Housing Unit		−0.06816	
		(0.14900)	
Distance to Damaged Multi-Family Unit			0.22921***
			(0.06721)
Seismic Zone II	0.00195	0.00090	0.00391
	(0.00319)	(0.00322)	(0.00323)
Seismic Zone III	0.00505	0.00386	0.00806*
	(0.00341)	(0.00345)	(0.00352)
Average Age of Buildings	−0.00006	−0.00006	−0.00003
	(0.00009)	(0.00009)	(0.00009)
Illiteracy Rate	0.30647***	0.31063***	0.28857***
	(0.06727)	(0.06732)	(0.06750)
Unemployment Rate	0.05401	0.05251	0.05709
	(0.02950)	(0.02951)	(0.02950)
Seguro Popular Coverage	0.04947***	0.04971***	0.04376**
	(0.01417)	(0.01418)	(0.01424)
AMLO Vote Share 2018	0.38994***	0.38822***	0.38850***
	(0.00984)	(0.00983)	(0.00978)
lambda	0.57157***	0.57258***	0.56689***
	(0.01546)	(0.01544)	(0.01555)
R^2	0.62769	0.62766	0.62757
AIC	−19106.82212	−19105.14784	−19116.40989
BIC	−18941.92664	−18940.25235	−18951.51440
Deviance	8.58826	8.58859	8.58376
Log Likelihood	9578.41106	9577.57392	9583.20495
nobs	5409	5409	5409

***$p < 0.001$; **$p < 0.01$; *$p < 0.05$

Table S19: Results for spatial auto-regressive models—MORENA candidates for deputy / distance-based measure of damage

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	0.00187	0.00179	0.00191
	(0.00657)	(0.00658)	(0.00658)
Damaged Housing Units per 1000	0.00005		
	(0.00011)		
Severely-Damaged Housing Units per 1000		−0.00023	
		(0.00054)	
Damaged Multi-Family Units per 1000			−0.00054
			(0.00164)
Seismic Zone II	0.00115	0.00128	0.00122
	(0.00315)	(0.00316)	(0.00315)
Seismic Zone III	0.00418	0.00426	0.00422
	(0.00337)	(0.00337)	(0.00337)
Average Age of Buildings	−0.00006	−0.00005	−0.00005
	(0.00009)	(0.00009)	(0.00009)
Illiteracy Rate	0.30909***	0.30989***	0.30886***
	(0.06724)	(0.06726)	(0.06725)
Unemployment Rate	0.05320	0.05298	0.05285
	(0.02950)	(0.02949)	(0.02950)
Seguro Popular Coverage	0.04933***	0.04974***	0.04950***
	(0.01418)	(0.01418)	(0.01418)
AMLO Vote Share 2018	0.38867***	0.38854***	0.38849***
	(0.00981)	(0.00980)	(0.00981)
lambda	0.57272***	0.57276***	0.57256***
	(0.01544)	(0.01544)	(0.01544)
R^2	0.62769	0.62770	0.62766
AIC	−19105.13933	−19105.11654	−19105.04531
BIC	−18940.24384	−18940.22105	−18940.14982
Deviance	8.58828	8.58822	8.58879
Log Likelihood	9577.56967	9577.55827	9577.52265
nobs	5409	5409	5409

$^{***}p < 0.001$; $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{*}p < 0.05$

Table S20: Results for spatial auto-regressive models—MORENA candidates for deputy / per capita measure of damage

8.5 Propensity Score Matching

	Nearest	Optimal	Nearest	Optimal	Nearest	Optimal
(Intercept)	−0.2725***	−0.2744***	−0.2660***	−0.2614***	−0.3280***	−0.3275***
	(0.0022)	(0.0023)	(0.0030)	(0.0033)	(0.0040)	(0.0046)
Any Damaged Housing Unit	0.0114***	0.0132***				
	(0.0031)	(0.0032)				
Severely-Damaged Housing Unit			0.0060	0.0013		
			(0.0042)	(0.0047)		
Damaged Multi-Family Unit					−0.0212***	−0.0217***
					(0.0056)	(0.0065)
Adj. R^2	0.0044	0.0055	0.0007	−0.0006	0.0314	0.0243
Num. obs.	2826	2826	1490	1490	410	410

***$p < 0.001$; **$p < 0.01$; *$p < 0.05$

Table S21: **PRD Candidate for Governor**. Treatment is defined as having more than one: (1) damaged housing unit, (2) severely-damaged housing unit, and (3) damaged multi-family unit per 1000. The outcome is the change in the vote from 2012 to 2018.

	Nearest	Optimal	Nearest	Optimal	Nearest	Optimal
(Intercept)	−0.0809***	−0.0902***	−0.0759***	−0.0954***	−0.0539***	−0.0599***
	(0.0023)	(0.0024)	(0.0031)	(0.0036)	(0.0042)	(0.0046)
Any Damaged Housing Unit	0.0212***	0.0305***				
	(0.0032)	(0.0033)				
Severely-Damaged Housing Unit			0.0160***	0.0356***		
			(0.0044)	(0.0050)		
Damaged Multi-Family Unit					−0.0006	0.0054
					(0.0060)	(0.0065)
Adj. R^2	0.0151	0.0283	0.0081	0.0318	−0.0024	−0.0008
Num. obs.	2826	2826	1490	1490	410	410

***$p < 0.001$; **$p < 0.01$; *$p < 0.05$

Table S22: **PRD Candidates for Mayor**. Treatment is defined as having more than one: (1) damaged housing unit, (2) severely-damaged housing unit, and (3) damaged multi-family unit per 1000. The outcome is the change in the vote from 2015 to 2018.

	Nearest	Optimal	Nearest	Optimal	Nearest	Optimal
(Intercept)	−0.0944***	−0.1032***	−0.0929***	−0.1151***	−0.0484***	−0.0596***
	(0.0020)	(0.0021)	(0.0029)	(0.0031)	(0.0034)	(0.0040)
Any Damaged Housing Unit	0.0049	0.0137***				
	(0.0029)	(0.0030)				
Severely-Damaged Housing Unit			0.0042	0.0264***		
			(0.0041)	(0.0043)		
Damaged Multi-Family Unit					0.0078	0.0190***
					(0.0048)	(0.0057)
R^2	0.0010	0.0073	0.0007	0.0245	0.0064	0.0266
Adj. R^2	0.0007	0.0070	0.0001	0.0239	0.0039	0.0242
Num. obs.	2826	2826	1490	1490	410	410

***$p < 0.001$; **$p < 0.01$; *$p < 0.05$

Table S23: **PRD Candidates for Deputy**. Treatment is defined as having more than one: (1) damaged housing unit, (2) severely-damaged housing unit, and (3) damaged multi-family unit per 1000. The outcome is the change in the vote from 2015 to 2018.

	Nearest	Optimal	Nearest	Optimal	Nearest	Optimal
(Intercept)	0.1594***	0.1642***	0.1549***	0.1703***	0.1191***	0.1315***
	(0.0020)	(0.0020)	(0.0028)	(0.0029)	(0.0042)	(0.0046)
Any Damaged Housing Unit	−0.0418***	−0.0466***				
	(0.0028)	(0.0029)				
Severely-Damaged Housing Unit			−0.0423***	−0.0576***		
			(0.0039)	(0.0041)		
Damaged Multi-Family Unit					−0.0104	−0.0228***
					(0.0060)	(0.0065)
R^2	0.0715	0.0840	0.0714	0.1167	0.0074	0.0298
Adj. R^2	0.0711	0.0837	0.0708	0.1161	0.0050	0.0274
Num. obs.	2826	2826	1490	1490	410	410

$^{***}p < 0.001$; $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{*}p < 0.05$

Table S24: **MORENA Candidates for Mayor**. Treatment is defined as having more than one: (1) damaged housing unit, (2) severely-damaged housing unit, and (3) damaged multi-family unit per 1000. The outcome is the change in the vote from 2015 to 2018.

	Nearest	Optimal	Nearest	Optimal	Nearest	Optimal
(Intercept)	0.1969***	0.1966***	0.1982***	0.2006***	0.1396***	0.1455***
	(0.0017)	(0.0017)	(0.0023)	(0.0024)	(0.0038)	(0.0041)
Any Damaged Housing Unit	−0.0124***	−0.0121***				
	(0.0024)	(0.0024)				
Severely-Damaged Housing Unit			−0.0144***	−0.0168***		
			(0.0033)	(0.0034)		
Damaged Multi-Family Unit					−0.0085	−0.0145*
					(0.0053)	(0.0058)
R^2	0.0096	0.0087	0.0129	0.0160	0.0062	0.0151
Adj. R^2	0.0092	0.0084	0.0123	0.0153	0.0038	0.0127
Num. obs.	2826	2826	1490	1490	410	410

$^{***}p < 0.001$; $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{*}p < 0.05$

Table S25: **MORENA Candidates for Deputy**. Treatment is defined as having more than one: (1) damaged housing unit, (2) severely-damaged housing unit, and (3) damaged multi-family unit per 1000. The outcome is the change in the vote from 2015 to 2018.
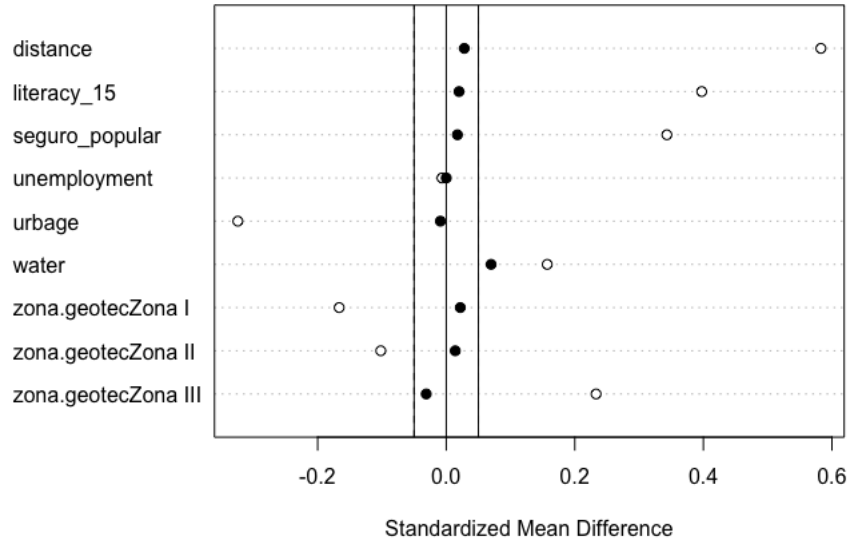
8.6 Quality of the Matching Algorithm

Figure S7: **Comparison of covariate balance in matched sample (black dot) and unmatched sample (white dot)**. Method employed: nearest neighbor matching. Treatment: presence of any damaged housing unit after the 19-S earthquake. Vertical lines indicate standardized mean differences of + / - 0.05.
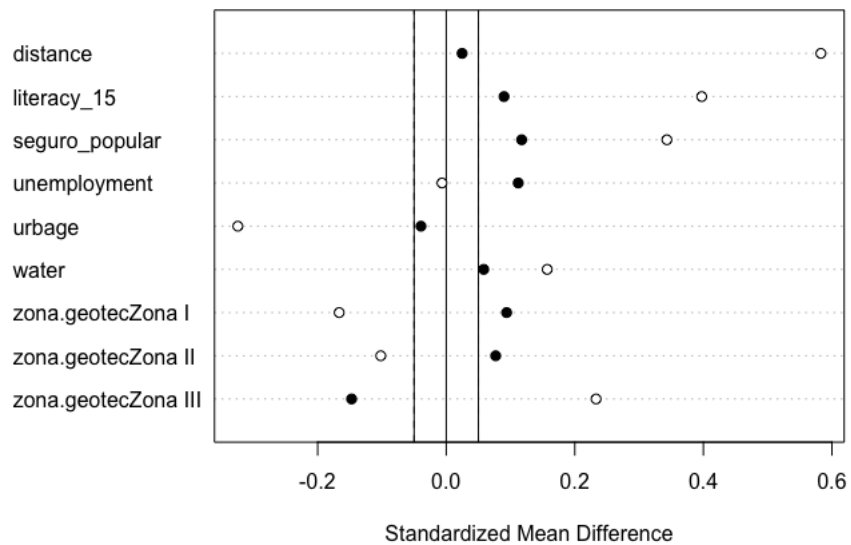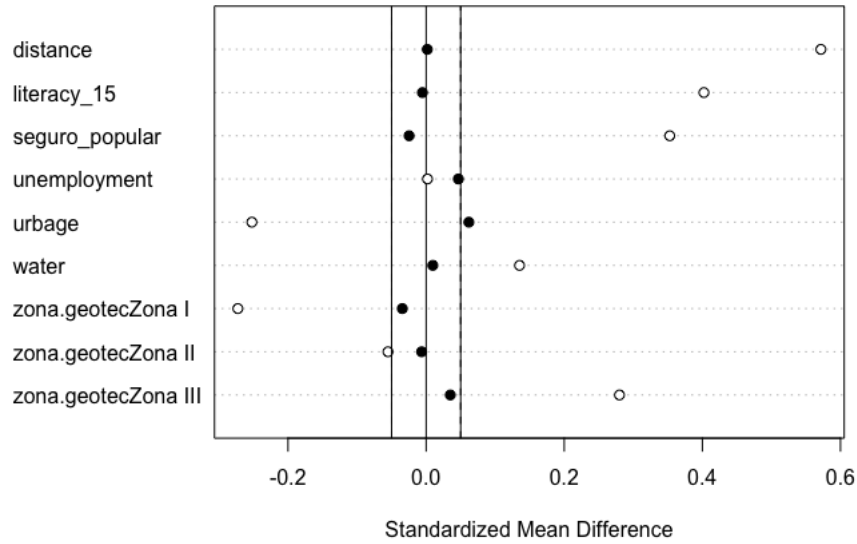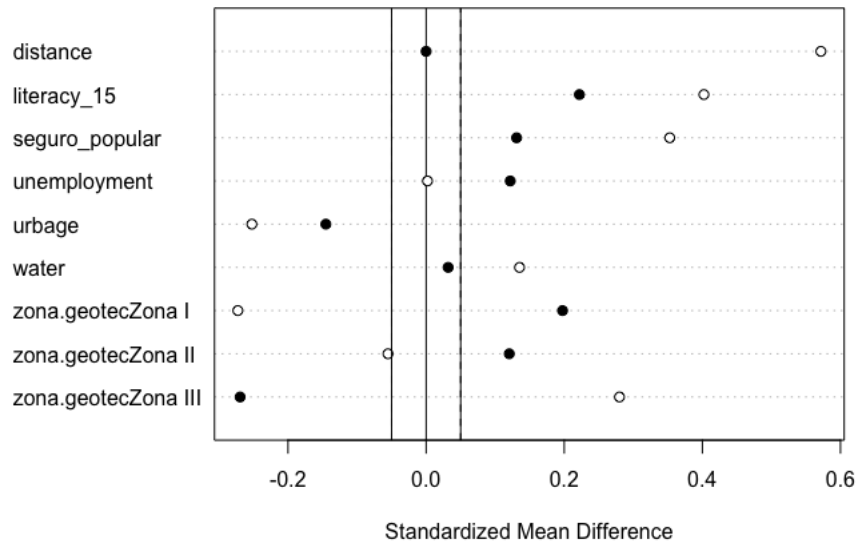

Figure S8: **Comparison of covariate balance in matched sample (black dot) and unmatched sample (white dot)**. Method employed: optimal matching. Treatment: presence of any damaged housing unit after the 19-S earthquake. Vertical lines indicate standardized mean differences of + / - 0.05.
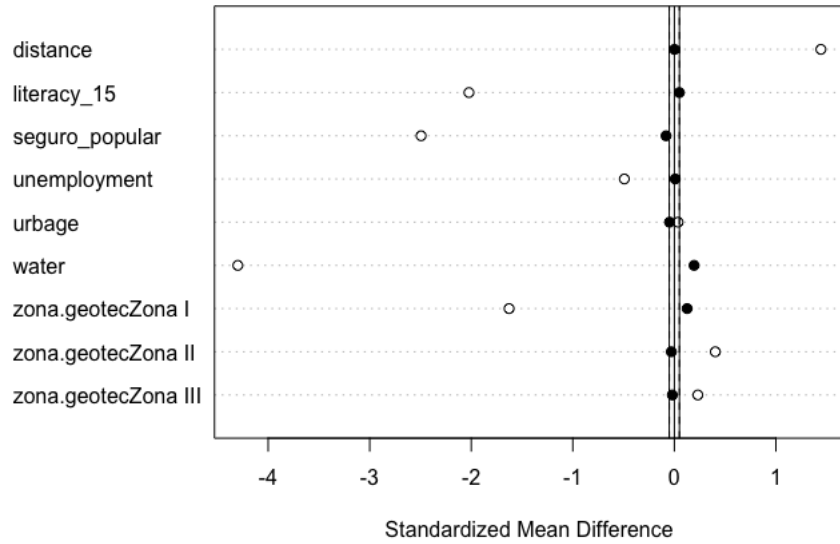
Figure S9: **Comparison of covariate balance in matched sample (black dot) and unmatched sample (white dot)**. Method employed: nearest neighbor matching. Treatment: presence of severely-damaged housing units after the 19-S earthquake. Vertical lines indicate standardized mean differences of + / - 0.05.

Figure S10: **Comparison of covariate balance in matched sample (black dot) and unmatched sample (white dot)**. Method employed: optimal matching. Treatment: presence of severely-damaged housing units after the 19-S earthquake. Vertical lines indicate standardized mean differences of + / - 0.05.

Figure S11: **Comparison of covariate balance in matched sample (black dot) and unmatched sample (white dot)**. Method employed: nearest neighbor matching. Treatment: presence of damaged multi-family units after the 19-S earthquake. Vertical lines indicate standardized mean differences of + / - 0.05.
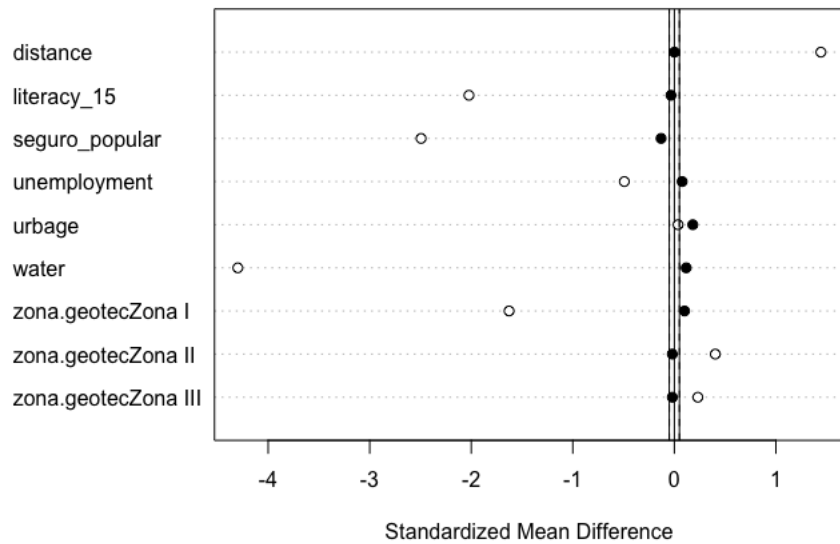

Figure S12: **Comparison of covariate balance in matched sample (black dot) and unmatched sample (white dot)**. Method employed: optimal matching. Treatment: presence of damaged multi-family units after the 19-S earthquake. Vertical lines indicate standardized mean differences of + / - 0.05.

9 Additional Figures

less than 25y (Q1)   25–30y (Q2)   30–35y (Q3)   +35y (Q4)

Figure S13: **Average age of buildings in Mexico City**

References

Merino, Mauricio. 2018. Mecanismos de Vigilancia, Transparencia y Rendición de Cuentas en el Proceso de Reconstrucción y Atención de las Afectaciones Generadas por la Emergencia Nacional. Technical report.