Religion, Race, and Class in Brazilian Municipal Elections

Survey codebook

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This survey was administered online via Qualtrics from September 18, 2012 to October 11, 2012. Respondents were recruited via advertisements on Facebook, targeted to residents of Brazil ages 18 or older. Approval was obtained from the Institutional Review Boards of Boston University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Iowa State University. For assistance with pretesting, we are grateful to Daniela Peixoto Ramos, Rômulo Leitão, Andre Luiz Coelho, Guilherme Russo, Elis Moreira, Vinicius Campos Freitas, Rafaela Reis A. de Oliveira, Cesar Zucco, Alessandra Aldé, Thad Dunning, Nara Pavão, Adla Bourdoukan, Ana Paula Evangelista de Almeida, Tiago Tavares, Lucio Rennó, Natalia Bueno, Diana Kapiszewski, and several anonymous testers.

The survey is further described, and the results analyzed, in the following publications and working papers:

Boas, Taylor C. 2014. "Pastor Paulo vs. Doctor Carlos: Professional Titles as Voting Heuristics in Brazil." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 6, 2: 39–72.

Boas, Taylor C., and F. Daniel Hidalgo. 2013. "Fielding Complex Online Surveys using rApache and Qualtrics," *The Political Methodologist* 20, 2: 21-26.

Boas, Taylor C., and Amy Erica Smith. 2014. "Religion and the Latin American Voter." In Ryan Carlin, Matthew Singer, and Elizabeth Zechmeister, eds., *The Latin American Voter.* Book manuscript, Georgia State University/University of Connecticut/Vanderbilt University.

Smith, Amy Erica. 2014. "Do the Sheep Follow the Shepherd?" Manuscript, Iowa State University.

Linode site

1. Consent form

2. Do you live in Brazil?
   (1) Yes (2) No

3. Are you over 18 years of age?
   (1) Yes (2) No

4. Are you registered to vote?
   (1) Yes (2) No

5. Choose the state and municipality where you vote. [drop-down menus]

Qualtrics site

[for Brasília residents, skip directly to question 13]

6. How interested are you in the current city council campaign in your city?

Not at all o o o o o o o A lot

7. Do you personally know any candidate for city council in your city in this year's election?
   (1) Yes (2) No

8. Have you decided whom you will vote for for city council?

I have no idea o o o o o o o I have already decided

9. Please respond to the questions below. If you don't know, you can leave your answer blank.

   Suppose that [PASTOR PAULO / PAULO RODRIGUES DE SOUZA] is running for city council for [PARTY]. He is 45 years old, married, and has finished high school.

   How likely would you be to vote for a person like this?

   Not at all o o o o o o o Very

   How competent would you say he is?

   Not at all o o o o o o o Very

   How intelligent would you say he is?

   Not at all o o o o o o o Very

   How honest would you say he is?

   Not at all o o o o o o o Very

[NOTE: For respondents from municipalities with one or more "pastor" candidates competing in the 2012 election, half were assigned to receive a randomly sampled "real candidate" treatment or control, with that candidate's name, party, and biographical details substituted for those of the fictional candidate described above.]

10. Please respond to the questions below. If you don't know, you can leave your answer blank.

    Suppose that [DR. CARLOS / CARLOS FERNANDES DA SILVA] is running for city council for [PARTY]. He is 50 years old, married, and has finished college.

    How likely would you be to vote for a person like this?

    Not at all o o o o o o o Very

    How competent would you say he is?

    Not at all o o o o o o o Very

    How intelligent would you say he is?

    Not at all o o o o o o o Very

    How honest would you say he is?

    Not at all o o o o o o o Very

    [NOTE: For respondents from municipalities with one or more "doctor" candidates competing in the 2012 election, half were assigned to receive a randomly sampled "real candidate" treatment or control, with that candidate's name, party, and biographical details substituted for those of the fictional candidate described above.]

11. Please respond to the questions below. If you don't know, you can leave your answer blank.

    Suppose that JOSÉ VARGAS DOS SANTOS is running for city council for [PARTY]. He is 42 years old and has finished high school. He is the owner of a local bakery. He has worked in the community for more than 20 years [and he participates actively in the homosexual movement]. [Various evangelical pastors have criticized his political stance.]

    How likely would you be to vote for a person like this?

    Not at all o o o o o o o Very

    How likely is it that a person like this will be elected?

Not at all o o o o o o o Very

12. Please respond to the questions below. If you don't know, you can leave your answer blank.

    Suppose that HELENA GONÇALVES DE LIMA is running for city council for the PMDB. She is 35 years old and has finished college. But she doesn't read questions as carefully as you do. To show that you read this, just click 5 times here and then click 'Continue.' You don't need to respond to the questions below.

    How likely would you be to vote for a person like this?

    Not at all o o o o o o o Very

    How likely is it that a person like this will be elected?

    Not at all o o o o o o o Very

13. This is a photo of a Brazilian politician:

    PHOTO HERE

    Please respond to the questions below. If you don't know, you can leave the response blank.

    In your opinion, what is this politician's color or race?
    (1) White
    (2) Black
    (3) Brown
    (4) Yellow
    (5) Indian

14. [IF THEY ANSWER "BROWN" TO PREVIOUS QUESTION, OTHERWISE SKIP] Between white and black, which better describes the color or race of this politician?
    (1) White
    (2) Black

15. The government classifies citizens' economic situation as A, B, C, D, or E. The letter A corresponds to the richest people, and the letter E corresponds to the poorest. In your opinion, which of these income groups do you think this politician belongs to?

    Richest o o o o o Poorest
    A B C D E

    And now, talking about you again:

16. What is your religion, if you have one?

(1) Catholic
(2) Evangelical or Protestant
(3) None (I believe in a supreme being but I don't belong to any religion)
(4) Atheist/I don't believe in God
(5) Other (Spiritist, Jehovah's Witness, Umbanda/Candomblé, etc.)

17. Do you consider yourself a Pentecostal or charismatic Christian?
(1) Pentecostal (2) Charismatic (3) Neither

18. Have you been through the religious experience of being "born again"?
(1) Yes (2) No

19. How often do you go to mass or religious services?

(1) More than once a week
(2) Once a week
(3) Once a month
(4) Once or twice a year
(5) Never or almost never

20. There are many serious problems in society. Some problems are not so serious for politicians, but are for researchers. For example, sometimes people don't read instructions carefully. To show that you read this, don't choose any of the options below, just type the letter 'k' on your keyboard.

In your opinion, what is the most serious problem facing the country?

(1) Corruption
(2) Unemployment
(3) Inequality
(4) Drugs
(5) Education, poor quality
(6) Inflation
(7) Environment
(8) Housing, lack of
(9) Poverty
(10) Health
(11) Violence
(12) Other

21. Do you currently identify with a political party?
(1) Yes
(2) No

22. [IF THEY ANSWER "YES" TO PREVIOUS QUESTION, OTHERWISE SKIP] With which political party do you identify? [drop-down menu]

23. In the first round of the last presidential election, you:
    (1) Voted for Dilma Rousseff
    (2) Voted for José Serra
    (3) Voted for Marina Silva
    (4) Voted for Plínio de Arruda Sampaio
    (5) Voted for another candidate
    (6) Didn't vote and/or were excused
    (7) Cast a blank/spoiled ballot
    (8) Don't remember

24. [10% sample] Would you approve of your daughter or son marrying a black person? You:
    (1) Would greatly disapprove
    (2) Would somewhat disapprove
    (3) Would neither approve nor disapprove
    (4) Would somewhat approve
    (5) Would greatly approve

25. Your color or race is:
    (1) White
    (2) Black
    (3) Brown
    (4) Yellow
    (5) Indian

26. [IF THEY ANSWER "BROWN" TO PREVIOUS QUESTION, OTHERWISE SKIP] And between white and black, which better describes your color or race?
    (1) White
    (2) Black
    (3) Don't know

27. Your sex is:
    (1) Male
    (2) Female

28. Your age is: __ [drop-down menu]

29. What is the approximate total monthly income of your family? (Include all the people who contribute to the household income. If you depend on your parents, consider them part of your family even if you don't live with them.)
    (1) From R$ 0 to R$ 1090,00
    (2) From R$ 1090,01 to R$ 2.725,00

(3) From R$ 2.725,01 to R$ 4.360,00
(4) From R$ 4.360,01 to R$ 6.540,00
(5) From R$ 6.540,01 to R$ 8.175,00
(6) From R$ 8.175,01 to R$10.900,00
(7) More than R$10.900,01
(8) Don't know

30. Would you like to enter the drawing for an iPad?
    (1) Yes (In this case, you will go to another site where you will be able to enter your name and email)
    (2) No

Second Qualtrics survey

31. [FOR THOSE ENTERING THE DRAWING]
    To enroll in the drawing for an iPad, please type your name and email below. We will get in contact with the person who is selected in October 2012.

    Name: _____

    Email: _____