RELIGION AND BRAZILIAN DEMOCRACY: MOBILIZING THE PEOPLE OF GOD
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APPENDIX C. VARIABLE CODING AND INFORMATION ON STUDIES

Churches North and South Clergy Study (Posted on the Book's Dataverse)

The sample of the Churches North and South Clergy Study is described in the text of Chapter Three. This study was funded by a Fulbright Fellowship and a Small Research Grant from the American Political Science Association, and approved by the Institutional Review Board of Iowa State University. The English translation of survey questions utilized in the analysis is listed below. All questions were included in Versions A and B of the questionnaire; the rightmost column below identifies which questions were included in Version C (see the text of Chapter Three for a discussion of the three versions).

Variable and Question Text	**Placement Randomized (Versions A/B)**	**Incl. in Version C?**
Clergy Gender: Coded Male/Female by interviewer without asking		X
Religious Tradition: How would you classify your church? (1) Catholic (2) Evangelical Protestant (3) Mainstream Protestant (4) Pentecostal/neo-Pentecostal (5) Nondenominational (6) Other:		X
Class: Would you say that **in general** people in your church are: (1) Wealthy, (2) Upper middle class, (3) Lower-middle class (4) Working class, or (5) Very poor? (*Clase A, B, C, D ou E*)		X
Tenure: For how many years have you worked as a priest/pastor in this church?		
Attendance: On average, about how many people **in total** attend church services each week?	X	X
Change in attendance: In the past two years, has attendance (1) grown, (2) decreased, or (3) stayed the same?	X	X
Outreach: To what extent does your church conduct outreach to invite new people to attend? Is your outreach (1) extremely active, (2) fairly active, (3) not very active, or (4) not at all active?	X	
Worry: Do you worry that other churches are trying to attract people from this church? (1) A lot (2) A little, or (3) Not at all?	X	
Now we're going to talk about **what churches like yours should do**. How strongly do you agree or disagree that churches like yours should: **Social Movements:** Participate in social movements to fight for the rights of the poor? Do you Strongly Disagree/Disagree/Neither Agree nor Disagree/Agree/Strongly Agree?		X
Internal Tolerance: Give everyone a say in the direction of the church. [Do you…]		X

Variable and Question Text	Placement Randomized (Versions A/B)	Incl. in Version C?
Legislative Advocacy: Advocate for policies supporting the church's values? [Do you…]		X
Here is a list of topics that may be discussed in church services and other activities. How often are these discussed in your church? **Evangelism:** The importance of helping non-believers find God. Is this discussed…Very rarely/Rarely/Occasionally/Often/Very often		
God's Love: God's forgiveness and love. [Is this discussed…]		
God's Wrath: God's wrath over people's sinfulness. [Is this discussed…]		
End Times: The End Times. [Is this discussed…]		
Hard Work/Responsibility: The importance of hard work and responsibility. [Is this discussed…]		
Prosperity Theology: That God will reward the faithful with prosperity and health		
Ministry to Poor: The importance of ministry to the poor, sick, and disadvantaged		
Traditional Family: The importance of the traditional family. [Is this discussed…]		
Chastity: The importance of chastity. [Is this discussed…]		
Homosexuality: The sinfulness of homosexuality. [Is this discussed…]		
Abortion: The sinfulness of abortion. [Is this discussed…]		
Environment: The need to take care of the environment. [Is this discussed…]		
Combat Racism: The fight against racism or discrimination. [Is this discussed…]		
External Tolerance: The importance of respecting different points of view.		
In the upcoming election campaign, how likely is it that each of the following will occur in your church? **Church Discussions of Politics:** Church members will try to convince each other to support their candidates. [Is it…] Very unlikely/Somewhat unlikely/Somewhat likely/Very likely		
Encourage Turnout: Church leaders will encourage members to vote. [Is it…]		X
Conscientious Voting: Church leaders will encourage members to think about their faith when they go vote.		
Endorsements: Church leaders will support some candidate. [Is it…]		X
Congregation Political Diversity: 1. In 2012, do you think most people in your church supported: (1) the same candidate for president; or (2) different candidates? 2. Regarding your **personal** political views, how different do you think they are from most church members? (1) Very different, (2) Somewhat different, (3) Somewhat similar, (4) Very similar		
Grievances 1. Thinking about your religious group's mission and its position in society, do you believe that laws in this country: (1) help your religious group, (2) hurt it, or (3) neither help nor hurt it? 2. And the current president, does she: (1) help your religious group, (2) hurt it, or (3) neither help nor hurt it?		X
Support for Democracy: Finally, to what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements about Brazilian politics? The current political system in the US is fair and deserves respect. Do you…		X
Legitimacy of Political System: Democracy may have problems, but it is the best form of government.		

Churches North and South: Citizen Study (Posted on the Book's Dataverse)

The Churches North and South congregation-level study was conducted in Juiz de Fora in September and October, 2014. The study had two components: congregational site (N=433) and

community site interviews (N=417). The nine congregational sites are discussed in the text. Quantitative exit interviews were conducted with approximately fifty attendees at several worship services in each church. Interviewers used gender quotas and were told to request an interview every second person exiting the church. Note that one of the selected religious communities was an extremely small Catholic mission with about 20 members total, of whom seven were interviewed. Given the small number of interviewees in that site, it is dropped from most of the analysis; hence, most of the analysis is based on 8 congregations, with an N of 426.

To assess the extent to which socialization in churches imposes constraint beyond that found in the broader population, interviews were also conducted in five neighborhood sites near the churches: four health clinics and, to capture upper-income citizens who use private health providers, a shopping mall catering to the upper-middle class. The study had initially intended to use the community sites as matches to the non-community sites. However, demographic variables such as social class and age varied significantly between congregations and nearby community sites, reducing the usefulness of the community sites as matches. Hence, most of the analysis focuses only on the congregational data, and not on the community sites.

Questions used in the analysis are listed below:

Frequency of Worship Service. How often do you attend church services/mass? (1) More than once / week (2) Once a week (3) A few times a month (4) Several times a year (5) Once or twice a year (6) Less than that / Never
Frequency of Church Activities. How often do you participate in other activities in your church? (1) More than once / week (2) Once a week (3) A few times a month (4) Several times a year (5) Once or twice a year (6) Less than that / Never
Doctrinal Conservatism. An index based on two questions: • Which statement best describes your view of the Bible? (1) It is an old book recorded by men. (2) It is the word inspired by God. (3) It is the real word of God and is to be taken literally. • I often fear the wrath of God. Do you...(1) Disagree fully (2) Partially disagree (3) Neither agree nor disagree (4) Partially agree (5) Fully agree
Support for democracy. Democracy may have problems, but it is the best form of government. Do you...(1) Disagree fully (2) Partially disagree (3) Neither agree nor disagree (4) Partially agree (5) Fully agree
Legitimacy of Political System. The current Brazilian political system is fair and deserves respect. Do you...(1) Disagree fully (2) Partially disagree (3) Neither agree nor disagree (4) Partially agree (5) Fully agree
Different Gender Roles. It is important for men and women to have different roles in society. Do you...(1) Disagree fully (2) Partially disagree (3) Neither agree nor disagree (4) Partially agree (5) Fully agree
Moral Duty to Vote. Voting is a moral obligation of all citizens. Do you...(1) Disagree fully (2) Partially disagree (3) Neither agree nor disagree (4) Partially agree (5) Fully agree

Now we will talk about some policy proposals. How much do you disagree with or agree with the following proposed bills? **Gay Marriage**. Implementing legal gay marriage. Do you...(1) Disagree fully (2) Partially disagree (3) Neither agree nor disagree (4) Partially agree (5) Fully agree
Abortion. Legalizing abortion. Do you...(1) Disagree fully (2) Partially disagree (3) Neither agree nor disagree (4) Partially agree (5) Fully agree
Environment. Implementing firm policies to protect the environment. Do you...(1) Disagree fully (2) Partially disagree (3) Neither agree nor disagree (4) Partially agree (5) Fully agree
Anti-Racism. Strengthening policies to combat racism and discrimination. Do you...(1) Disagree fully (2) Partially disagree (3) Neither agree nor disagree (4) Partially agree (5) Fully agree
Anti-Poverty. Do you...(1) Disagree fully (2) Partially disagree (3) Neither agree nor disagree (4) Partially agree (5) Fully agree
Recognize Christianity. Passing laws that recognize Christian values as the foundation of our nation. Do you...(1) Disagree fully (2) Partially disagree (3) Neither agree nor disagree (4) Partially agree (5) Fully agree
Likelihood of Voting. As we know, in October there will be presidential elections. Will you vote? (1) Most likely (2) Fairly likely (3) Not very likely (4) Not likely
Vote Intention. Which candidate do you intend to vote for? (1) Dilma (2) Aecio (3) Marina (4) Pastor Everaldo (5) Other (open text field) (8) DK (9) NR
News Attention. How often do you pay attention to news or advertisements about the elections? (1) Daily (2) Almost every day (3) Occasionally (4) Rarely (5) Never
Congregant Discussion of Election. Have you ever heard people talking about elections or candidates in church? (1) Yes, a lot (2) Rarely (3) Never
Leaders Encourage Turnout. Do church leaders encourage members to vote? (1) No (2) Yes
Leaders Encourage Conscientious Voting. Do church leaders encourage believers to reflect with their faith about which candidate to vote for? (1) No (2) Yes
Leaders Support Candidate. Do you know if church leaders are supporting a candidate? (1) No (2) Yes
Leaders' Candidate Choice. Whom? (Open text)
Other Campaign Contact. Outside the church, did someone encourage you to vote? (1) No (2) Yes, 1 person (3) Yes, 2-3 people (4) Yes, 4 or +
Age. Coded on a 0-1 scale, based on birth year. Age groups: 14-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65, 66-100
Education. What is your educational level? (1) Up to 4th grade (2) 4th to 8th grade (3) High school incomplete (4) Completed high school (5) Some higher education (6) Completed higher education
Income. What is your family income? (1) Up to one minimum wage (2) 1-2 minimum wages (3) 2-4 minimum wages (4) 4-7 minimum wages (5) 7-10 minimum wages (6) More than 10 min. wages
Female. Sex (M/F) was coded by interviewer without asking.

LAPOP AmericasBarometer Studies

The LAPOP AmericasBarometer began administering surveys in Brazil 2007, and has had six waves in this country: 2007 (N=1,214), 2008 (N=1,497), 2010 (N=2,482), 2012 (N=1,500), 2014 (N=1,500), and 2017 (N=1,532).[1] Samples are nationally representative, stratified, and clustered. Full details on sample designs, questionnaires, and free data downloads are available at www.americasbarometer.org. The following questions are used in this analysis:

Question	Year(s)
Fairness of Impeachment. BRAIMP17. The impeachment of the ex-president Dilma Rousseff was fair. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement? (7 point scale)	2017

[1] Thanks to the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) and its major supporters (the United States Agency for International Development, the Inter-American Development Bank, and Vanderbilt University) for making the data available.

Question	Year(s)
Support for Clergy Campaigning (BRAREL1). To what extent do you agree or disagree with a priest or pastor supporting or campaigning for a certain candidate at election time. (10 point scale)	2014
Approval of Homosexuality (**GEN8).** Now I am going to talk about a controversial topic. What do you think about men who have sex with men? Do you think that... (1) they are free to do what they want, (2) they are shameless, OR (3) they're mentally ill (*doentes*)?	2007
Same-Sex Marriage (D6). To what extent do you approve or disapprove of homosexual couples having the right to marry?	2010-2017
Abortion (W14A). Do you believe that it's justified to interrupt a pregnancy, that is, to have an abortion, when the mother's health is in danger? (1) Yes, it's justified (2) No, it's not justified	2010-2017
Women's Role in Labor Force: Index based on two items (each on a 5 point scale): **GEN6.** When unemployment is high, men should have more right to jobs than women. **GEN7**. A university diploma is more essential for a man than for a woman.	2007
Economic Role of the State: Index based on two items (each with a 7 point scale): **ROS1.** The Brazilian state, in place of the private sector, should be owner of the most important businesses and enterprises in the country. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement? **ROS4.** The Brazilian state should implement **firm** policies to reduce income inequality between rich and poor people. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?	2008-2017
Environment (Versus Economy) **ENV1**. In your opinion, what should have priority (1) Protecting the environment (2) Promoting economic development (3) [Do not read aloud] Both (Coded so that "Economic development"=0, "Both"=0.5, "Environment"=1)	2014
Environment (Versus Economy) **ENV1C**. Some people believe that protecting the environment should be given priority over economic growth, while others believe that growing the economy should be prioritized over environmental protection. On a 1 to 7 scale where 1 means that the environment should be the highest priority, and 7 means the economic growth should be the highest priority, where would you place yourself? (Coded so that "1"=0, "4"=0.5, "7"=1)	2017
Race-Based Affirmative Action (RAC2). To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: It's fair for public universities to reserve spaces for people people who are afro-descendants (people who are black or mulatto). (7 point scale)	2010
Petista (PT Identifier). Based on two questions. **VB10**. Do you currently sympathize with a political party? **(If yes) VB11.** Which political party do you sympathize with?	2007-2017
Support for Democracy (ING4). Democracy has some problems, but it is better than any other form of government.	2007-2017
Legitimacy of Political System. Index of agreement with 5 statements, each on a 7-point scale: **B1**. The courts in Brazil guarantee a fair trial. **B2**. You respect Brazil's political institutions **B3.** Citizens' basic rights are well-protected by the Brazilian political system **B4**. You feel proud to live under the Brazilian political system **B6**. People should support the Brazilian political system.	2007-2017
Tolerance (D5). To what extent do you approve or disapprove of homosexuals having the right to run for public office?	2007-2017
Petition signing (PROT6). In the last twelve months, have you signed any petition?	2012
Contacting Local Officials. Index based on: **NP2**. Have you asked for help or sent a request to a city council person, official, or agency at City Hall in the last twelve months? **CP4A**. In order to solve your problems, have you ever requested help or cooperation from any local authority, like a mayor, city council person, or governor?	2007-2014
Contacting Non-Local Officials. Index based on: **CP2**. In order to solve your problems, have you ever requested help or cooperation from any federal deputy or senator? **CP4**. In order to solve your problems, have you ever requested help or cooperation from any federal ministry, public institution, or state agency?	2007-2012
Community Problem Solving. **CP5**. In the last 12 months, have you contributing to solving some problem in your community or among your neighbors? Please tell me whether you have done that at least once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year, or never in the last 12 months.	2007-2017
Community Association.	2007-2014

Question	Year(s)
CP8. Meetings of a neighborhood association or committee for community improvements? Do you attend them once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year, or never?	
Protest (PROT3). Nos últimos doze meses, o(a) sr./sra., participou de alguma manifestação ou protesto público?	2007-2017
Personal Ties to Politicians (SNW1A). Do you know personally some elected politician or someone who was a candidate in the last national, state, or municipal elections?	2012
Exposure to Clientelism (CLIEN1). In recent years, and thinking about election campaigns, has some candidate or someone from a political party offered you something, like a favor, food, or any other benefit or thing in exchange for your vote or support? Has that happened frequently, occasionally, or never?	2010

Brazilian Electoral Panel Studies 2010 and 2014

Data and documentation for the Brazilian Electoral Panel Studies (BEPS) of 2010 and 2014 are available on the website of the Inter-American Development Bank (Ames et al. 2013, Ames et al. 2016). BEPS 2010 was a three-wave, nationally representative study running from March/April to November 2010, with all three waves conducted via face-to-face interviews. BEPS 2014 was a seven-wave, nationally representative study running from May/June 2014 to November 2014. The first wave of BEPS 2014 was conducted via face-to-face interviews, and the remaining waves were conducted by phone. The questions used in this study are listed below:

	Year	Wave(s)
VB20BRA. Whom did you vote for in the first round presidential elections this year? (1) Dilma Rousseff (2) José Serra (3) Marina Silva ou (5) Outro (Open text field)	2010	3
Q5J. How long have you been attending worship services for your current religious group? (1) Less than 2 months (2) 2 to 6 months, (3) 6 to 12 months, (4) More than 12 months	2010	2
Q5E. Did the pastor/priest of your church support some candidate for president? Whom? (0) No candidate support (1) Dilma Rousseff (2) José Serra (3) Marina Silva or (5) Other (Open text field)	2010	2, 3
ABORT. In some people's opinions, the law should allow abortion under certain conditions; in other people's, the law should prohibit any type of abortion. Which of these statements best expresses your opinion? (1) Abortion should not be permitted under any circumstances. (2) Abortion should be permitted by law in certain exceptional circumstances, such as rape and risk to the mother's life. (3) Abortion should be permitted in the initial stages of pregnancy. (4) Abortion should be permitted without restrictions.	2010	3
	2014	1
REL1. Do you approve or disapprove of a priest or pastor supporting or campaigning for a certain candidate at election time? (1) Approves (2) Disapprove	2014	1
REL2. In the last month, has your priest or pastor talked about the elections in October? (1) Yes (2) No	2014	1-5
REL3. In the last month, has some church leader encouraged members to participate on election day? (1) Yes (2) No	2014	6
REL4. In the last month, has some church leader encouraged members to carefully examine the candidates? (1) Yes (2) No	2014	6
REL5. Did the leaders of your church support some presidential candidate? (1) Yes (2) No	2014	6
REL5A. Who? (Could mark more than one candidate)	2014	6

	Year	Wave(s)
VB1. Whom did you vote for in the presidential election? (1) Dilma Rousseff (2) Aécio Neves (3) Marina Silva (13) Voted null/blank (14) Did not go vote	2014	6
Now I'm going to mention various groups. I'd like you to give each group a score from 0 to 10, where 0 means that the actions of that group are very improper, and 10 means that the actions of that group are very right. **GRUP1.** Petistas (PT sympathizers)	2014	7
GRUP2. "Tucanos," or people who sympathize with the PSDB	2014	7
GRUP3. Catholics	2014	7
GRUP4. Evangelicals	2014	7
GRUP5. Atheists and people who don't believe in God	2014	7

Two-City Study

The Two-City Study is a six-wave panel study conducted by Barry Ames, Andy Baker, and Lucio Rennó in the cities of Juiz de Fora and Caxias do Sul between 2002 and 2006 (Baker, Ames, and Rennó 2006). Caxias do Sul is a medium-sized, manufacturing-oriented city in the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul, with a strong anti-petista political orientation. Interviews were clustered by neighborhood in both cities, with large samples at the neighborhood level in order to estimate contextual effects. Data and full information on the Two-City Study, including the city of Caxias do Sul, are available on the study's Dataverse page.[2] Vote choice reported in Chapter Seven is taken from Waves 3 and 6.

Juiz de Fora Local Elections Study 2008

The "Networks and Neighborhoods in Local Politics" study interviewed 1,089 respondents in Juiz de Fora in 2008 (see also Smith 2017). The 22 neighborhoods in which interviews were conducted were the ones that had been randomly selected for the Two City Study in Juiz de Fora. The study was conducted for my dissertation, and funded in part by a Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant from the National Science Foundation

[2] https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/XSCFX5

(Grant No. 0921716). Documentation and data are available on Dataverse.[3] Questions utilized in this analysis are discussed below:

Q23. In recent months, have you heard anyone in the church say that you should vote, or that you should vote conscientiously?
Q24. In recent months, have you heard anyone in church talk about the candidates?
Q25. Do you know which city council candidate your (pastor/priest/*pai ou mãe de santo*) supported? (Whom?)
Q26. Do you know which mayoral candidate your (pastor/priest/*pai ou mãe de santo*) supported? (Whom?)
Q46. Did you go vote on the 5th of October, the day of the first round of the municipal election?
Q51. In the first round, which mayoral candidate did you vote for?
Q54. And did you vote in the second round on the 26th of October?

2012 Religion, Race, and Class Experimental Study

This online survey experimental study used Facebook advertisements to recruit 1,820 registered voters nationwide during the weeks prior to the first round municipal election in October. The study was conducted jointly with Taylor Boas of Boston University and F. Daniel Hidalgo of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Data and documentation are available online (see also Boas and Smith 2015).[4] In Chapter Seven, I report results from the following survey experiment:

Control Condition: Suppose that José Vargas dos Santos is a candidate for city council from [the PT/the PSDB/the PMDB] party.[5] He is 42 years old and has finished high school. He's the owner of a local bakery and has been working in the community for more than 20 years. Treatment 1: He participates actively in the gay movement. Treatment 2: Various evangelical pastors have spoken out against his political positions. Treatment 3: He participates actively in the gay movement. Various evangelical pastors have spoken out against his political positions.
Q11_1. How likely are you to vote for such a candidate? (7 point scale)
Q11_2. How likely is such a candidate to win? (7 point scale)

Balance across the four randomly assigned conditions on a series of demographic variables is presented below:

Mean Value	Control	Treatment 1	Treatment 2	Treatment 3
Catholic	0.45	0.40	0.43	0.43
Evangelical	0.30	0.30	0.29	0.29
No Religion	0.25	0.30	0.28	0.28
Pentecostal/Charismatic	0.50	0.47	0.46	0.47

[3] https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/JJ3F53
[4] https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/26951
[5] The prompt randomized among three large, centrist parties (the PT, the PMDB, and the PSDB). Results did not vary significantly by candidate party or by whether respondent and candidate were co-partisans.

Mean Value	Control	Treatment 1	Treatment 2	Treatment 3
Born Again	0.41	0.41	0.36	0.39
Religious Attendance Frequency	3.12	3.07	3.09	3.10
Campaign Interest	4.39	4.34	4.41	4.33
Party Identifier	0.37	0.35	0.36	0.38
Voted Dilma^	0.36	0.31	0.35	0.36
Voted Serra	0.20	0.22	0.21	0.22
Female	0.40	0.42	0.42	0.42
White*	0.47	0.53	0.51	0.54
Age Category*	8.81	9.94	8.96	10.24
Income Category	2.74	3.08	3.05	2.88

^ Statistically significant at p < .10; * statistically significant at p < .05.

Given imbalance on a few of the demographic variables in a few of the treatment conditions, analysis presented in the text controls for the variables listed here.

2014 Facebook Online Experimental Study

The study "Religion in Brazil's 2014 Elections: A Survey Experiment" was conducted nationwide in the weeks prior to the 2014 national election, using Facebook ads to recruit participants; 1,190 respondents completed the online survey. The study was conducted jointly with Taylor Boas of Boston University. Data and documentation will be published online. Several survey experiments were embedded in the questionnaire, one of which is reported in Chapter Seven.

Stimulus Text: Suppose that José Vargas dos Santos is a candidate for state deputy from the PMDB. [RANDOMIZED TEXT HERE.] He has received donations from various groups. He promises more investment in schools and roads if elected.

Control Condition: He's the owner of a bakery.
Treatment 1: He's the owner of a bakery and he has the support of many evangelical leaders.
Treatment 2: He's the owner of a bakery and he has the support of many Catholic leaders.
Treatment 2: He's the owner of a bakery and he is a leader in his church.

Q15. Would you agree to wear a button for a candidate like this? (1) Yes (2) No
Q16. How likely is it that you would vote for a person like this? (7 point scale)
Q29_1. To what extent is it proper for people to base their political attitudes on religion? (7 point scale)
Q29_2. To what extent is it proper for people to talk about politics and elections at church? (7 point scale)

Balance across the four randomly assigned conditions on a series of demographic variables is presented below:

Mean Value	Control	Treatment 1	Treatment 2	Treatment 3
Female*	0.65	0.56	0.54	0.55
Education	2.62	2.49	2.53	2.57
Catholic*	0.41	0.45	0.50	0.47

Mean Value	Control	Treatment 1	Treatment 2	Treatment 3
Evangelical*	0.33	0.27	0.23	0.28
Other Religion	0.11	0.14	0.15	0.10
No Religion	0.14	0.13	0.13	0.14
Religious Attendance Frequency^	0.58	0.57	0.53	0.55
White	0.53	0.53	0.47	0.50
Afro-Descendant	0.45	0.43	0.49	0.45
Age*	35.39	36.47	37.87	37.34
Campaign Interest	0.49	0.54	0.51	0.52
Party Identifier	0.45	0.42	0.42	0.38
PT Identifier	0.11	0.12	0.11	0.12

^ Statistically significant at p < .10; * statistically significant at p < .05.

Given imbalance on a few of the demographic variables in a few of the treatment conditions, analysis presented in the text controls for the variables listed here.

Brazilian Legislative Surveys

The Brazilian Legislative Survey is a seven-wave study of Brazilian deputies and senators, conducted by Cesar Zucco and Timothy Power. Between 1990 and 2013, the study includes 1,142 interviews; N(1990)=249, N(1993) = 182, N(1997) = 162, N(2001) = 138, N(2005) = 124, N(2009) = 139, N(2013) = 148. Full documentation and data downloads, as well as related papers, are publicly available.[6] In the analysis presented in Chapter Seven, the following variables are used:

Item	Year
Abortion (ABORTO). Abortion should be prohibited under all circumstances. (5 point agree/disagree scale)	2013
Same-Sex Marriage (CASAMENT). Same-sex couples should have the right to marry. (5 point agree/disagree scale)	2013
State Economic Role (ECONLMR). In your opinion, which type of system would be most appropriate for Brazil? Choose only one option: 1) A predominantly market economy with the least possible participation of the state. 2) An economic system with an equitable distribution between one part that's the responsibility of state firms and another part for private firms. 3) An economy in which state firms and the state constitute the principal sector, without eliminating the market economy. 4) An economy in which private capital was totally eliminated from the principal economic sectors, turning large firms over to state control. *(Options 3 and 4 were combined into the leftmost option.)*	1997, 2001, 2005, 2009, 20013
Spending for Poor. An index of responses to the following items: The federal budget determines government expenditures in different areas. For each item below, indicate if you believe the current level of expenses should be reduced, maintained, or increased. **SAUDE**. Public health services **EDFUND**. Elementary and secondary public education	2013

[6] https://dataverse.harvard.edu/data/set.xhtml?persistentId=hdl:1902.1/14970

SOCPOL. Social assistance programs *Response options to the above three questions*: 1) Reduce expenses in order to reduce taxes; 2) Reduce expenses without reducing taxes; 3) Maintain the current level of expenses; 4) Increase expenses, as long as it's not necessary to increase taxes; 5) Increase expenses, even if it's necessary to increase taxes. **COTRENDA**. It's fair for public universities to reserve openings for people from low-income families. (5 point agree/disagree scale)	
Affirmative Action (Race-Based) (COTAAFRO). It's fair for public universities to reserve openings for Afro-descendants. (5 point agree/disagree scale)	2013
Environment (ENVIRO). Here are two arguments that people often use when they discuss economic issues in relation to the defense of nature and the environment. Which of them is closer to your point of view? (1) The defense of the environment should be a priority, even if it causes delay in economic development and fewer job openings. (2) Economic development and job creation should be priorities, even if the environment suffers.	2013
Ideological Identification (Rightist) (LRCLASS). Now let's suppose that on a ruler the number 1 corresponds to left, the number 5 to center, and the number 10 to right. A person who was very leftist would be number 1, and a person who was very rightist would be number 10. Where would you place yourself?	All 7 waves
Electoral Base. Why do you think voters supported you in the last election? Using a scale from 1 (least important) to 10 (most important), please indicate the relative weight of the following factors: **Family/Tradition (FAMTRAD)**. Family tradition and historical loyalties.	1990, 1993, 2001, 2005, 2009
Grassroots Groups (BASE). The support of grassroots groups (*grupos de base*).	1990, 1993, 2001, 2005, 2009
Party (EFFORTS). Some parliamentarians are elected because of their party label – that is, the party's organization, or the party's profile in public opinion. Others are elected due to their individual capacity for organization, or their personal political activism. In your case, which was more important?	All 7 waves