Codebook for Zambian Household Data Set

This codebook contains a description of the variables in the household data set used in *Why Vote with the Chief? Political Connections and the Performance of Representatives in Zambia.* These variables were constructed from a household survey conducted at two research sites in Zambia in October 2008, Kashiba/Lubunda and Ndake chiefdoms. At each site, 12 census sampling areas were selected (with replacement) with probability proportional to size, and then 16 households were selected within each census sampling area. The 16 households were selected at equal intervals so that the sampled households were spread throughout the entire census sampling area. Finally, one adult was randomly selected from the list of household members above 18 in the selected households.

Two versions of the household survey were prepared, one that included a prompt indicating the local chief's opinion of the current MP and one that did not. I randomized the order of the administration of the treatment and control surveys by each enumerator in advance. Each enumerator carried a table indicating which of the 8 respondents they interviewed on a given day were to receive the treatment. Block randomization was used to ensure the same number of individuals were assigned to the treatment and control groups in each census sampling area. The variables used in the analysis in the article (and the wording of the survey questions from which they were constructed) are described below.

- *researchsite*: Unique identifier for each research site.
- *chiefdom*: Name of chiefdom.
- *communityid*: Unique identifier for each census sampling area in the data set.
- *id*: Unique identifier for each respondent in the data set.
- *date*: Date on which survey was administered (ddmmyy).
- *treatment*: Dichotomous variable that indicates whether the voter was told their chief supported their MP or not. The exact wording of the treatment varied by chiefdom, as it was taken word-for-word from a prior interview with the chief. For example, in Ndake chiefdom, voters were told "In a recent interview, Chief Ndake said that he would love to see Forrie Tembo re-elected in the next parliamentary election."
- *voteMP*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent indicated they were likely to vote for the MP if an election were to be held in the next year (constructed from b1a1: "Imagine that a parliamentary election were to be held in the next year. Would you be very unlikely to vote for Forrie Tembo, unlikely to vote for him, likely to vote for him or very likely to vote for him?")

- *voteMP-noisy*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent indicated they were likely to vote for the MP if an election were to be held in the next year (constructed from b1a3, which asks the same question as b1a1, but after the respondent has been told additional information about the chief's opinion. For example, in Ndake chiefdom, voters were told additionally, "In the same interview, Chief Ndake also said that Forrie Tembo has limited qualifications for parliament, as he has only completed a grade 12 education. Furthermore, he said that as a backbencher, Forrie Tembo does not have that much power over the purse strings of government. In the interview, Chief Ndake concluded that Forrie Tembo has made a big effort to find out the problems that Nyimba constituency faces. Through on-the-job training, he thinks that he has the potential to bring development to this constituency, and he would like to see him re-elected."

- *female*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent is female and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from a1, the respondent's sex as assessed by interviewer)

- *age*: Age of the respondent in years (constructed from a2: "How old were you at your last birthday?")

- *over35*: A dichotomous variable created from the variable *age* variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent is 35 and higher and a value of 0 if the respondent is younger than 35

- *finprim*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent stated that they had completed primary school and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from d6: "What is the highest level of education you have completed?").

- *literacy*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent stated that they were literate and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from d7: "Can you read in any language?").

- *radio*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent stated that they had listened to a news program on the radio at least once in the past week and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from d22: "In the past week, how many times have you listened to news programs on the radio?")

- *newspaper*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent stated that they had read the newspaper at least once in the past month and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from d23: "In the past month, how many times have you read the newspaper?")

- *noincome*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent stated that they had earned no income in the past month and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from d15: "Can you estimate how many kwacha your family earned in the past month?")

- *agriculture*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent stated that their family engaged in farming and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from d16: "Does your family engage in farming?")

- *farmgroup*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent stated that they were a member of a farmer's group and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from d20: "Are you a member of a farmers group?")

- *partymember*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent stated that they belonged to a political party and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from c1a: "Are you a member of any political party?")

- *chiefstribe*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent considered themselves to belong to the same "tribe" as the chief and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from d3a: "What tribe do you consider yourself to belong to?")

- *royalfamily*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent stated they were part of the royal family and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from d4: "Are you a member of the royal family in your chiefdom?").

- *religion*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent stated that they attended church at least once in the past month and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from d13: "Do you attend church at least once a month?")

- *benefitsfromchief*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent stated that their local chief had done favors for them at least once in the past year and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from c11: "In the past year, how often has your local chief done any favors for you personally?" (Never/Only once/A few times/Often))

- *benefitsviachief*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent stated that they had received benefits from government assistance provided via resources given to their local chief and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from c17a/b: "In the past year, has the government provided any assistance or resources to your local chief? How much have the resources given to your local chief benefited you?" (Not at all/Not very much/Somewhat/A lot))

- *chiefMPimportant*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent rated the influence of both their chief and their MP above a 5 on a scale of 0 to 10 and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from a26b & a26d: "On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is nothing and 10 is a lot, I would like to know how much the decisions of the following individuals influence your daily life in this community... Your Member of Parliament? Your local chief?")

- *chiefMPimportant-diffcut*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent rated the influence of both their chief and their MP above a 7 on a scale of 0 to 10 and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from a26b & a26d: "On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is nothing and 10 is a lot, I would like to know how much the decisions of the following individuals influence your daily life in this community... Your Member of Parliament? Your local chief?)

- *MPimportant*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent rated the influence of their MP above a 5 on a scale of 0 to 10 and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from a26b: "On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is nothing and 10 is a lot, I would like to know how much the decisions of the following individuals influence your daily life in this community... Your Member of Parliament?")

- *chiefimportant*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent rated the influence of their chief above a 5 on a scale of 0 to 10 and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from a26d: "On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is nothing and 10 is a lot, I would like to know how

much the decisions of the following individuals influence your daily life in this community... Your local chief?")

- *chiefchangetreat*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent stated that there was any chance their chief could change their treatment of them based on how they cast their ballot, and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from a35c: "How likely do you think it is that how you cast your ballot in an election affects the treatment you subsequently receive from your chief?" (Not at all likely/ Not very likely/Somewhat likely/Very likely))

- *normreciprocity*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent indicated in their response to a vignette that individuals have some or a lot of obligation to vote for the candidate preferred by their chief after receiving favors from the chief, and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from a41a: "Let's imagine there is a person named Sylvia/Samuel [name chosen to match gender of respondent] who lives in a community like yours. Imagine that Sylvia/Samuel has received a number of personal favors from their local chief. The chief announces that he thinks the people in his community should give the Member of Parliament another term in office. How much of an obligation should Sylvia/Samuel feel to vote for their Member of Parliament in the next election?" (None/A little/Some/A lot))

- *activenormreciprocity*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent both believed in a norm of reciprocity (as coded in *normreciprocity* above) and had received assistance from the chief in the past year (as coded in *benefitsfromchief* above), and a value of 0 otherwise

- *dontknowcorrectview*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent stated that their chief would support their current MP if an election were to be held in the next year and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from a20: "Do you think [fill in local chief name] would vote for your Member of Parliament if a parliamentary election were held next month?")

- *chiefhightrust*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent stated that they trusted their local chief a lot and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from a14f: "How much do you trust each of the following leaders to do what is best for people like you... Your local chief?" (Not at all/Just a little/Somewhat/A lot))

- *MPtrust*: A dichotomous variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent stated that they trusted their member of parliament somewhat or a lot and a value of 0 otherwise (constructed from a14b: "How much do you trust each of the following leaders to do what is best for people like you.. Your Member of Parliament?"(Not at all/Just a little/Somewhat/A lot))