

Online Appendix for
“Election Results and Democratic Discontent:
Expectations, Extremism, and Democratic Values
in Post-Election Brazil”

Matteo F. Ferroni

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A-1 Variables' Definitions

A-1.1 Variables Based on Survey Questions

- **Political Affiliation Variables**

- *Strength of Support*: the question asks “How strong of a Lula/Bolsonaro supporter would you consider yourself?” depending on who the respondent reported to have voted or that would have voted for, answer options range from 0= “Not a supporter” to 10= “Very strong supporter”. Continuous variable range from -10= “Very strong Lula supporter” to 10= “Very strong Bolsonaro supporter”.
- *Extreme Bolsonaro supporter*: the question asks “How strong of a Lula/Bolsonaro supporter would you consider yourself?” depending on who the respondent reported to have voted or that would have voted for, answer options range from 0= “Not a supporter” to 10= “Very strong supporter”. Indicator=1 if voted/would have voted for Bolsonaro and answer=10.
- *Strong Bolsonaro supporter*: the question asks “How strong of a Lula/Bolsonaro supporter would you consider yourself?” depending on who the respondent reported to have voted or that would have voted for, answer options range from 0= “Not a supporter” to 10= “Very strong supporter”. Indicator=1 if voted/would have voted for Bolsonaro and answer=(8 or 9).
- *Moderate Bolsonaro supporter*: the question asks “How strong of a Lula/Bolsonaro supporter would you consider yourself?” depending on who the respondent reported to have voted or that would have voted for, answer options range from 0= “Not a supporter” to 10= “Very strong supporter”. Indicator=1 if voted/would have voted for Bolsonaro and answer=(4, 5, 6, or 7).
- *Reluctant Bolsonaro supporter*: the question asks “How strong of a Lula/Bolsonaro supporter would you consider yourself?” depending on who the respondent reported to have voted or that would have voted for, answer options range from 0= “Not a supporter” to 10= “Very strong supporter”. Indicator=1 if voted/would have voted for Bolsonaro and answer=(0, 1, 2, or 3).
- *Above median Bolsonaro supporter*: the question asks “How strong of a Lula/Bolsonaro supporter would you consider yourself?” depending on who the respondent reported to have voted or that would have voted for, answer options range from 0= “Not a supporter” to 10= “Very strong supporter”. Indicator=1 if voted/would have voted for Bolsonaro and answer=(9 or 10).
- *Below median Bolsonaro supporter*: the question asks “How strong of a Lula/Bolsonaro supporter would you consider yourself?” depending on who the respondent reported to have voted or that would have voted for, answer options range from 0= “Not a supporter” to 10= “Very strong supporter”. Indicator=1 if voted/would have voted for Bolsonaro and answer=(0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, or 8).
- *Extreme Lula supporter*: the question asks “How strong of a Lula/Bolsonaro supporter would you consider yourself?” depending on who the respondent reported to have voted or that would have voted for, answer options range from 0= “Not a supporter” to 10= “Very strong supporter”. Indicator=1 if voted/would have voted for Lula and answer=10.
- *Strong Lula supporter*: the question asks “How strong of a Lula/Bolsonaro supporter would you consider yourself?” depending on who the respondent reported to have voted or that would have voted for, answer options range from 0= “Not a supporter” to 10= “Very strong supporter”. Indicator=1 if voted/would have voted for Lula and answer=(8 or 9).
- *Moderate Lula supporter*: the question asks “How strong of a Lula/Bolsonaro supporter would you consider yourself?” depending on who the respondent reported to have voted or that would have voted for, answer options range from 0= “Not a supporter” to 10= “Very strong supporter”. Indicator=1 if voted/would have voted for Lula and answer=(4, 5, 6, or 7).
- *Reluctant Lula supporter*: the question asks “How strong of a Lula/Bolsonaro supporter would you consider yourself?” depending on who the respondent reported to have voted or that would have voted for, answer options range from 0= “Not a supporter” to 10= “Very strong supporter”. Indicator=1 if voted/would have voted for Lula and answer=(0, 1, 2, or 3).

• Democratic Discontent

- *Agreement violence acceptable to express disagreement*: the question asks “Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of the statements below: Violence is sometimes an acceptable way for Brazilians to express their disagreement with the government.” answer options range from 1= “*Strongly disagree*” to 5= “*Strongly agree*.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=agree or 5=strongly agree).
- *Agreement democracy best form of government*: the question asks “Do you agree with the following statement? Democracy may have problems but it’s better than any other form of government.” answer options range from 1= “*Strongly disagree*” to 5= “*Strongly agree*.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=agree or 5=strongly agree).
- *Belief good political system for Brazil - Democracy and Believe democracy good political system for Brazil*: the question asks “We are going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country? Having a democratic political system.” answer options range from 1= “*Very bad*” to 4= “*Very good*.” Indicator=1 if answer=(3=fairly good or 4=very good).
- *Belief good political system for Brazil - Strong Leader and Believe strong leader good political system for Brazil*: the question asks “We are going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country? Having a strong leader who does not have to bother with parliament and elections.” answer options range from 1= “*Very bad*” to 4= “*Very good*.” Indicator=1 if answer=(3=fairly good or 4=very good).
- *Belief good political system for Brazil - Army Rule and Believe army rule good political system for Brazil*: the question asks “We are going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country? Having the army rule the country.” answer options range from 1= “*Very bad*” to 4= “*Very good*.” Indicator=1 if answer=(3=fairly good or 4=very good).
- *Believe technocracy good political system for Brazil*: the question asks “We are going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country? Get rid of elections and parliaments and have experts make decisions on behalf of the people.” answer options range from 1= “*Very bad*” to 4= “*Very good*.” Indicator=1 if answer=(3=fairly good or 4=very good).
- *After Lula’s victory - Mass Protests*: the question asks “Now that Lula won, how likely do you think are the following events going to be? Mass protests against Lula.” answer options range from 1= “*Impossible*” to 6= “*Certain*.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=likely or 5=very likely or 6=certain).
- *After Lula’s victory - Violent Riots*: the question asks “Now that Lula won, how likely do you think are the following events going to be? Violent riots.” answer options range from 1= “*Impossible*” to 6= “*Certain*.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=likely or 5=very likely or 6=certain).
- *After Lula’s victory - Military Coup*: the question asks “Now that Lula won, how likely do you think are the following events going to be? Military coup in favor of Bolsonaro.” answer options range from 1= “*Impossible*” to 6= “*Certain*.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=likely or 5=very likely or 6=certain).
- *Percentage Chance of Protests being Successful*: the question asks “How likely do you believe it is that protests similar to the one on January 8th would be successful in making Lula step down?”, answer options range from 0 to 100.
- *Likely to attend - Violent Protests*: the question asks “If Brazil’s economy started to worsen, how likely do you think you would be doing the following things? Attend protests against the government even if they might turn violent.” answer options range from 1= “*Never*” to 6= “*For sure*.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=likely or 5=very likely or 6=for sure).

- *Likely to attend - Confrontations with Authorities*: the question asks “If Brazil’s economy started to worsen, how likely do you think you would be doing the following things? Participate in violent confrontations with the authorities.” answer options range from 1= “Never” to 6= “For sure.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=likely or 5=very likely or 6=for sure).
- *Likely to attend peaceful protests*: the question asks “If Brazil’s economy started to worsen, how likely do you think you would be doing the following things? Attend peaceful protests against the government.” answer options range from 1= “Never” to 6= “For sure.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=likely or 5=very likely or 6=for sure).
- *Approve January 8 Protests*: the question asks “On January 8th, some Bolsonaro protesters were in Brasilia and occupied governmental buildings to show their dissatisfaction with the 2022 presidential election’s results. In your opinion, how much do you approve or disapprove of this action?” answer options range from 1= “Completely approve” to 5= “Completely disapprove.” Indicator=1 if answer=(1=completely approve or 2=partially approve).
- *Big protests likely to happen again*: the question asks “In your opinion, how likely it is that similar events to the ones from January 8th, even if of a different magnitude, are going to happen again in the future?” answer options range from 1= “For sure will happen again” to 4= “Definitely won’t happen again.” Indicator=1 if answer=(1=for sure will happen again or 2=likely will happen again).
- *In favor of military intervention*: the question asks “Are you in favor or against a military intervention to make Lula step down as president?” answer options range from 1= “Completely against” to 5= “Completely in favor.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=in favor or 5=completely in favor).
- *Agree violence by State acceptable to preserve democracy*: the question asks “Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of the statements below: The use of force by the state is justified to preserve democracy.” answer options range from 1= “Strongly agree” to 5= “Strongly disagree.” Indicator=1 if answer=(1=strongly agree or 2=agree).
- *Agree violence against other group acceptable if violent*: the question asks “Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of the statements below: [If voted for Lula:] If Bolsonaro supporters resorted to violence, the use of force by Lula supporters would be justified; [If voted for Bolsonaro:] If Lula supporters resorted to violence, the use of force by Bolsonaro supporters would be justified.” answer options range from 1= “Strongly agree” to 5= “Strongly disagree.” Indicator=1 if answer=(1=strongly agree or 2=agree).

• Economic Perceptions and Expectations

- *Inflation decreased in 2022*: the question asks “In your opinion, how did inflation change in 2022?” answer options range from 1= “Increased a lot” to 5= “Decreased a lot”. Indicator=1 if answer=(4= decreased a bit or 5= decreased a lot).
- *Inflation decreased in 2023*: the question asks “In your opinion, how did inflation change so far in 2023?” answer options range from 1= “Increased a lot” to 5= “Decreased a lot”. Indicator=1 if answer=(4= decreased a bit or 5= decreased a lot).
- *Inflation will decrease in future* and *Inflation - Will decrease in next 12 months*: the question asks “In the next 12 months, how do you think will inflation change?” answer options range from 1= “Will increase a lot” to 5= “Will decrease a lot”. Indicator=1 if answer=(4= will decrease a bit or 5= will decrease a lot).
- *Economy ameliorated in 2022*: the question asks “Thinking about the economy of the whole country, would you say that in 2022 the Brazilian economy:” answer options range from 1= “Worsened a lot” to 5= “Improved a lot”. Indicator=1 if answer=(4= improved or 5= improved a lot).
- *Economy ameliorated in 2023*: the question asks “In 2023 so far, the Brazilian economy:” answer options range from 1= “Worsened a lot” to 5= “Improved a lot”. Indicator=1 if answer=(4= improved or 5= improved a lot).

- *Economy will ameliorate in future* and *Economy - Will ameliorate in next 12 months*: the question asks “Thinking now about the next 12 months, what is your expectations about the Brazilian economy?” answer options range from 1= “Worsen a lot” to 5= “Improve a lot”. Indicator=1 if answer=(4= improve or 5= improve a lot).
- *Finding job easy in 2022*: the question asks “In your opinion, finding a job in 2022 was:” answer options range from 1= “Very easy” to 5= “Very hard”. Indicator=1 if answer=(1= very easy or 2= easy).
- *Finding job easy in 2023*: the question asks “In your opinion, finding a job today is:” answer options range from 1= “Very easy” to 5= “Very hard”. Indicator=1 if answer=(1= very easy or 2= easy).
- *Finding job easy in future* and *Finding Job - Easy in next 12 months*: the question asks “In the next 12 months, finding a job will be:” answer options range from 1= “Very easy” to 5= “Very hard”. Indicator=1 if answer=(1= very easy or 2= easy).
- *Inequality serious problem in 2022*: the question asks “How serious of a problem do you believe was income inequality in Brazil in 2022?” answer options range from 1= “Definitely not a problem” to 5= “A very serious problem”. Indicator=1 if answer=(4= a serious problem or 5= a very serious problem).
- *Inequality decreased in 2023*: the question asks “Do you think income inequality in Brazil increased or decreased in 2023?” answer options range from 1= “Increased a lot” to 5= “Decreased a lot”. Indicator=1 if answer=(4= decreased a bit or 5= decreased a lot).
- *Inequality will decrease in future* and *Inequality - Will decrease in the future*: the question asks “Do you think income inequality in Brazil will increase or decrease in the next few years?” answer options range from 1= “Will increase a lot” to 5= “Will decrease a lot”. Indicator=1 if answer=(4= will decrease a bit or 5= will decrease a lot).
- *Average Expectations*: average of the following four indicator variables: *Inflation will decrease in future*, *Economy will ameliorate in future*, *Finding job easy in future*, and *Inequality will decrease in future*.

• Expectation Shocks

- *Expectation Shock - Economy*: difference between the post-election and pre-election answer to the question “Thinking about the next 12 months, what is your expectations about the Brazilian economy?”. Continuous variable ranging between -4 and 4.
- *Expectation Shock - Inflation*: difference between the post-election and pre-election answer to the question “In the next 12 months, how do you think will inflation and goods’ prices change?”. Continuous variable ranging between -4 and 4.
- *Expectation Shock - Finding Job*: difference between the post-election and pre-election answer to the question “In the next 12 months, finding a job will be”. Continuous variable ranging between -4 and 4.
- *Expectation Shock - Inequality*: difference between the post-election and pre-election answer to the question “Do you think income inequality in Brazil will increase or decrease in the next few years?”. Continuous variable ranging between -4 and 4.
- *Expectation shock - Average*: average of the four previous expectation shocks. Continuous variable ranging between -4 and 4.
- *Negative Expectation Shock*: inverse of *Expectation shock - Average*.
- *Neg Exp Shock*: z-score of *Negative Expectation Shock*.
- *Large Neg Exp Shock*: indicator=1 if value for *Negative Expectation Shock* ≤ -1 .
- *Small Neg Exp Shock*: indicator=1 if value for *Negative Expectation Shock* > -1 .

• Election

- *Percentage Chance of Bolsonaro Winning*: the question asks “What do you think is the percent chance that Bolsonaro is going to win the elections and be confirmed as President?”, answer options range from 0 to 100. Continuous variable.
- *Probability of victory*: the question asks “What do you think is the percent chance that Bolsonaro is going to win the elections and be confirmed as President?”, answer options range from 0 to 100. Continuous variable normalized to range between 0 and 1.
- *Percentage Chance of Lula Winning*: the question asks “What do you think is the percent chance that Lula is going to win the elections and becomes President again?”, answer options range from 0 to 100. Continuous variable.
- *Don't believe in fair election*: the question asks “How much confidence do you have that the 2022 election will be / was held fairly, that is that electoral fraud is not going to be / was not committed?”, answer options range from 1=“Not at all” to 5=“Completely”. Indicator=1 if answer=(1=not at all).
- *Legitimacy of Lula's victory*: the question asks “Do you believe that Lula's victory in the presidential election was legitimate or not legitimate?”, answer options range from 1=“Definitely not legitimate” to 4=“Definitely legitimate”. Continuous variable.
- *Election Not Legit*: the question asks “Do you believe that Lula's victory in the presidential election was legitimate or not legitimate?”, answer options range from 1=“Definitely not legitimate” to 4=“Definitely legitimate”. Indicator=1 if answer=(1=definitely not legitimate or 2=probably not legitimate).
- *Election Legit*: the question asks “Do you believe that Lula's victory in the presidential election was legitimate or not legitimate?”, answer options range from 1=“Definitely not legitimate” to 4=“Definitely legitimate”. Indicator=1 if answer=(3=probably legitimate or 4=definitely legitimate).

• Emotions

- *When thinking about the election feel a lot of - Hope*: the question asks “When you think about this year's elections, how much do you feel the following emotions? Hope” answer options range from 1=“Nothing” to 5=“Extremely.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=a lot or 5=extremely).
- *When thinking about the election feel a lot of - Joy*: the question asks “When you think about this year's elections, how much do you feel the following emotions? Joy” answer options range from 1=“Nothing” to 5=“Extremely.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=a lot or 5=extremely).
- *When thinking about the election feel a lot of - Enthusiasm*: the question asks “When you think about this year's elections, how much do you feel the following emotions? Enthusiasm” answer options range from 1=“Nothing” to 5=“Extremely.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=a lot or 5=extremely).
- *When thinking about the election feel a lot of - Fear*: the question asks “When you think about this year's elections, how much do you feel the following emotions? Fear” answer options range from 1=“Nothing” to 5=“Extremely.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=a lot or 5=extremely).
- *When thinking about the election feel a lot of - Indignation*: the question asks “When you think about this year's elections, how much do you feel the following emotions? Indignation” answer options range from 1=“Nothing” to 5=“Extremely.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=a lot or 5=extremely).
- *When thinking about the election feel a lot of - Sadness*: the question asks “When you think about this year's elections, how much do you feel the following emotions? Sadness” answer options range from 1=“Nothing” to 5=“Extremely.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=a lot or 5=extremely).
- *When thinking about the election feel a lot of - Pride*: the question asks “When you think about this year's elections, how much do you feel the following emotions? Pride” answer options range from 1=“Nothing” to 5=“Extremely.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=a lot or 5=extremely).

- *Negative Emotional Shock*: average of the differences between the post-election and pre-election answers to the previous questions on *Hope, Joy, Enthusiasm* (inputted positively), and *Fear, Indignation, Sadness* (inputted negatively). Continuous variable ranging between -4 and 4.
- *Average Positive Emotions*: average of the indicator variables *When thinking about the election feel a lot of - Hope, When thinking about the election feel a lot of - Joy, and When thinking about the election feel a lot of - Enthusiasm*.
- *Average Negative Emotions*: average of the indicator variables *When thinking about the election feel a lot of - Fear, When thinking about the election feel a lot of - Indignation, and When thinking about the election feel a lot of - Sadness*.
- *When thinking about the future of Brazil feel a lot of - Hope*: the question asks “When thinking about the future of Brazil, how much do you feel the following emotions? Hope” answer options range from 1= “Nothing” to 5= “Extremely.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=a lot or 5=extremely).
- *When thinking about the future of Brazil feel a lot of - Joy*: the question asks “When thinking about the future of Brazil, how much do you feel the following emotions? Joy” answer options range from 1= “Nothing” to 5= “Extremely.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=a lot or 5=extremely).
- *When thinking about the future of Brazil feel a lot of - Enthusiasm*: the question asks “When thinking about the future of Brazil, how much do you feel the following emotions? Enthusiasm” answer options range from 1= “Nothing” to 5= “Extremely.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=a lot or 5=extremely).
- *When thinking about the future of Brazil feel a lot of - Fear*: the question asks “When thinking about the future of Brazil, how much do you feel the following emotions? Fear” answer options range from 1= “Nothing” to 5= “Extremely.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=a lot or 5=extremely).
- *When thinking about the future of Brazil feel a lot of - Indignation*: the question asks “When thinking about the future of Brazil, how much do you feel the following emotions? Indignation” answer options range from 1= “Nothing” to 5= “Extremely.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=a lot or 5=extremely).
- *When thinking about the future of Brazil feel a lot of - Sadness*: the question asks “When thinking about the future of Brazil, how much do you feel the following emotions? Sadness” answer options range from 1= “Nothing” to 5= “Extremely.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=a lot or 5=extremely).
- *When thinking about the future of Brazil feel a lot of - Pride*: the question asks “When thinking about the future of Brazil, how much do you feel the following emotions? Pride” answer options range from 1= “Nothing” to 5= “Extremely.” Indicator=1 if answer=(4=a lot or 5=extremely).

• **Affective Polarization**

- *Feelings toward Bolsonaro*: the question asks “We would like you to rate how you feel toward different people on a scale of 0 to 100, which we are going to call a “feeling thermometer.” How would you rate your feelings toward Bolsonaro?”, answer options range from 0 to 100. Continuous variable.
- *Feelings toward Lula*: the question asks “We would like you to rate how you feel toward different people on a scale of 0 to 100, which we are going to call a “feeling thermometer.” How would you rate your feelings toward Lula?”, answer options range from 0 to 100. Continuous variable.
- *Feelings toward Bolsonaro supporters*: the question asks “We would like you to rate how you feel toward different people on a scale of 0 to 100, which we are going to call a “feeling thermometer.” How would you rate your feelings toward Bolsonaro supporters?”, answer options range from 0 to 100. Continuous variable.
- *Feelings toward Lula supporters*: the question asks “We would like you to rate how you feel toward different people on a scale of 0 to 100, which we are going to call a “feeling thermometer.” How would you rate your feelings toward Lula supporters?”, answer options range from 0 to 100. Continuous variable.
- *Affective Polarization - Candidate*: continuous variable computed as the difference between *Feelings toward Bolsonaro* and *Feelings toward Lula*. Normalized to range between -1 and 1.

- *Affective Polarization - Supporter*: continuous variable computed as the difference between *Feelings toward Bolsonaro supporters* and *Feelings toward Lula supporters*. Normalized to range between -1 and 1.
- *Polarization*: continuous variable computed as the difference between *Feelings toward Bolsonaro* and *Feelings toward Lula*. Normalized to range between -1 and 1.

• Perceptions

- *Perceived share of Lula supporters in their city*: the question asks “Out of 10 people living in your city, how many do you think are Lula supporters?”, answer options range from 0 to 100. Continuous variable normalized to range between 0 and 1.
- *Perceived share of Bolsonaro supporters in their city*: the question asks “Out of 10 people living in your city, how many do you think are Bolsonaro supporters?”, answer options range from 0 to 100. Continuous variable normalized to range between 0 and 1.
- *Assessment of Bolsonaro’s Government and Government Performance - Bolsonaro*: the question asks “How would you rate, on a scale from 0 to 10, Bolsonaro’s government?”, answer options range from 0 to 10. Continuous variable.
- *Assessment of Lula’s Government so far and Government Performance - Lula so far*: the question asks “How would you rate, on a scale from 0 to 10, Lula’s government so far?”, answer options range from 0 to 10. Continuous variable.
- *Expectation about Lula’s Government and Government Performance - Lula in future*: the question asks “How do you think Lula’s government is going to be in the next three years on a scale from 0 to 10?”, answer options range from 0 to 10. Continuous variable.

• Trust

- *Trust federal govt to do what is right*: the question asks “How much of the time do you think you can trust the Federal Government to do what is right?”, answer options range from 0 to 10. Continuous variable.
- *Most politicians can be trusted*: the question asks “Generally speaking, would you say that most politicians can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with them?”, answer options range from 0 to 10. Continuous variable.
- *Most people can be trusted*: the question asks “Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with them?”, answer options range from 0 to 10. Continuous variable.
- *Most people would try to be fair*: the question asks “Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to be fair?”, answer options range from 0 to 10. Continuous variable.

• Brazil’s Problems

- *Access to education*: the question asks “In your opinion, which are the biggest problems Brazil is facing today? Select up to three options.” Indicator=1 if answer=access to education.
- *Access to health-care*: the question asks “In your opinion, which are the biggest problems Brazil is facing today? Select up to three options.” Indicator=1 if answer=access to health-care.
- *Unemployment*: the question asks “In your opinion, which are the biggest problems Brazil is facing today? Select up to three options.” Indicator=1 if answer=unemployment.
- *Low wages*: the question asks “In your opinion, which are the biggest problems Brazil is facing today? Select up to three options.” Indicator=1 if answer=low wages.
- *High taxes*: the question asks “In your opinion, which are the biggest problems Brazil is facing today? Select up to three options.” Indicator=1 if answer=high taxes.

- *Inflation*: the question asks “In your opinion, which are the biggest problems Brazil is facing today? Select up to three options.” Indicator=1 if answer=inflation.
- *Low econ growth*: the question asks “In your opinion, which are the biggest problems Brazil is facing today? Select up to three options.” Indicator=1 if answer=low economic growth.
- *Inequality*: the question asks “In your opinion, which are the biggest problems Brazil is facing today? Select up to three options.” Indicator=1 if answer=inequality.
- *Poverty*: the question asks “In your opinion, which are the biggest problems Brazil is facing today? Select up to three options.” Indicator=1 if answer=poverty.
- *Weakened democracy*: the question asks “In your opinion, which are the biggest problems Brazil is facing today? Select up to three options.” Indicator=1 if answer=weakening of the democratic institutions.
- *Corruption*: the question asks “In your opinion, which are the biggest problems Brazil is facing today? Select up to three options.” Indicator=1 if answer=corruption.
- *Criminality*: the question asks “In your opinion, which are the biggest problems Brazil is facing today? Select up to three options.” Indicator=1 if answer=criminality.
- *Lack of moral values*: the question asks “In your opinion, which are the biggest problems Brazil is facing today? Select up to three options.” Indicator=1 if answer=lack of moral values.
- *Intolerance to minorities*: the question asks “In your opinion, which are the biggest problems Brazil is facing today? Select up to three options.” Indicator=1 if answer=intolerance to minorities.
- *Environmental degradation*: the question asks “In your opinion, which are the biggest problems Brazil is facing today? Select up to three options.” Indicator=1 if answer=environmental degradation.

A-1.2 Indices

• PCA Indices

- **Expectation Shock**: principal component analysis index increasing in *Expectation Shock - Economy*, *Expectation Shock - Inflation*, *Expectation Shock - Finding Job*, and *Expectation Shock - Inequality*.
- **Democratic Discontent**: principal component analysis index increasing in *Agreement violence acceptable to express disagreement*, *Belief good political system for Brazil - Army Rule*, and decreasing in *Belief good political system for Brazil - Democracy*.
- **Economic Expectations**: principal component analysis index increasing in *Inflation will decrease in future*, *Economy will ameliorate in future*, *Finding job easy in future*, *Inequality will decrease in future*.
- **Violent Protests**: principal component analysis index increasing in *Likely to attend - Violent Protests* and *Likely to attend - Confrontations with Authorities*.
- **Violence Acceptance**: principal component analysis index increasing in *Approve January 8 Protests* and *Agreement violence acceptable to express disagreement*.
- **Support Military**: principal component analysis index increasing in *Belief good political system for Brazil - Army Rule* and *In favor of military intervention*.
- **Support Democracy**: principal component analysis index increasing in *Belief good political system for Brazil - Democracy* and *Agreement democracy best form of government*.

A-2 Model Appendix

A-2.1 Model Extension

In this section, I will extend my model to include the perceived probability of success of violence in overthrowing the government. In this new setting, I assume that can choose between three actions: never violence ($v = 0$), always violence ($v = 1$), contingent violence ($v = v^c$). This last action mean that you are not violent before the election, and you decide to become violent after the election only if you candidate loses. I will assume that if you are always violent, that is also before the election result, your perceived probability of success in overthrowing the government is going to be higher than if you choose contingent violence. The intuition is that by having violent attitudes already before the result, you contributed to set up the stage to a more successful overthrowing of the government. For simplicity, I will assume that the perceived probability of success if you chose $v = 1$ is going to be equal to 1. If you instead chose $v = v^c$, it is going to be $0 < p^i < 1$.

The conditional utilities of the three actions for Bolsonaro supporters are going to be the following:

$$\begin{aligned} U^b(v = 0|B) &= c_B^b \\ U^b(v = 0|L) &= c_L^b \\ \\ U^b(v = 1|B) &= c_B^b - \delta \\ U^b(v = 1|L) &= c_B^b - \delta \\ \\ U^b(v = v^c|B) &= c_B^b \\ U^b(v = v^c|L) &= p^b c_B^b + (1 - p^b) c_L^b - \delta \end{aligned}$$

By combining the conditional utilities, I get that the three expected utilities are:

$$\begin{aligned} U^b(v = 0) &= P^b(B) c_B^b + (1 - P^b(B)) c_L^b \\ \\ U^b(v = 1) &= c_B^b - \delta \\ \\ U^b(v = v^c) &= P^b(B) c_B^b + (1 - P^b(B)) [p^b c_B^b + (1 - p^b) c_L^b - \delta] \end{aligned}$$

I'm interesting in understanding which supporters are more likely to chose the contingent violence. That is, who are those that are not violent before the election but then decide to switch once Bolsonaro lost. An individual is going to choose contingent violence, if and only if the expected utility of this choice is greater than the one they would get from choosing $v = 0$ or $v = 1$. That is:

$$\begin{aligned} U^b(v = v^c) > U^b(v = 0) &\Leftrightarrow p^b(c_B^b - c_L^b) > \delta \\ \\ U^b(v = v^c) > U^b(v = 1) &\Leftrightarrow \delta > \frac{1 - p^b}{P^b(B)} [(c_B^b - c_L^b) + \Delta\theta^b] \end{aligned}$$

By combing these two conditions, I find that a Bolsonaro supporter is going to choose the contingent violence if and only if the following condition holds.

$$p^b(c_B^b - c_L^b) > \delta > \frac{1 - p^b}{P^b(B)} [(c_B^b - c_L^b) + \Delta\theta^b]$$

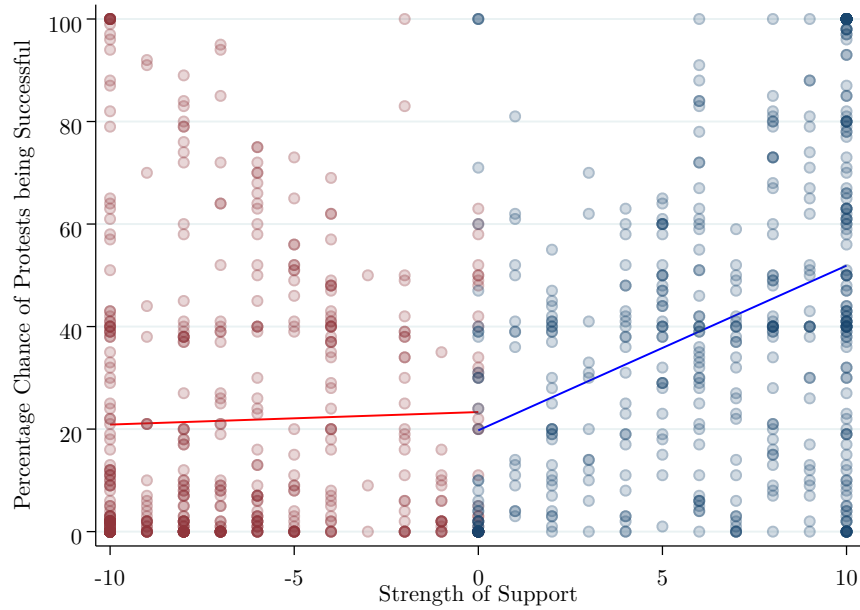
It can be noticed that this condition is very similar to the one from the main model with the only difference of the factor p^b on the left-hand side on the inequality and of $\frac{1 - p^b}{P^b(B)}$ on the right-hand side. As I will show

in the next section, my data shows that the perceived probability of success is increasing in the strength of support (see Figure A-1). This means that the more extreme you are, the more likely you are to satisfy both the left-hand side condition (p^b increasing in strength of support), and the right-hand side ($\frac{1-p^b}{P^b(B)}$ decreasing in strength of support). Therefore, this extension strengthen the prediction of my model.

A-2.2 Measuring Probability of Success

In Wave 6 of the survey, respondents were asked how much they believe that protests similar to the one on January 8th would be successful in making Lula step down. While being specific on the kind of “violence” considered as well as the outcome (for the sake of comparability across respondents), I can use the answer provided to this question as a measure of the perceived probability of success in overthrowing the government in the case they choose to be violent. In Figure A-1 we can see how this probability is increasing in the strength of support among Bolsonaro supporters. While respondents would provide different probabilities of success to different kind of violent actions, I am confident that I would still find a positive relationship with the strength of support.

FIGURE A-1: PROBABILITY OF PROTESTS BEING SUCCESSFUL IN MAKING LULA STEP DOWN



Notes: The figure shows the dispersion of respondents by strength of support and perceived probability of Lula winning the election. Variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. Respondents from Wave 6, control group only. Red dots represent Lula supporters, blue dots Bolsonaro supporters. The red line is a linear fit of Lula supporters, the blue line is a linear fit of Bolsonaro supporters.

A-3 Assessment of Government Performance and Feeling Thermometer

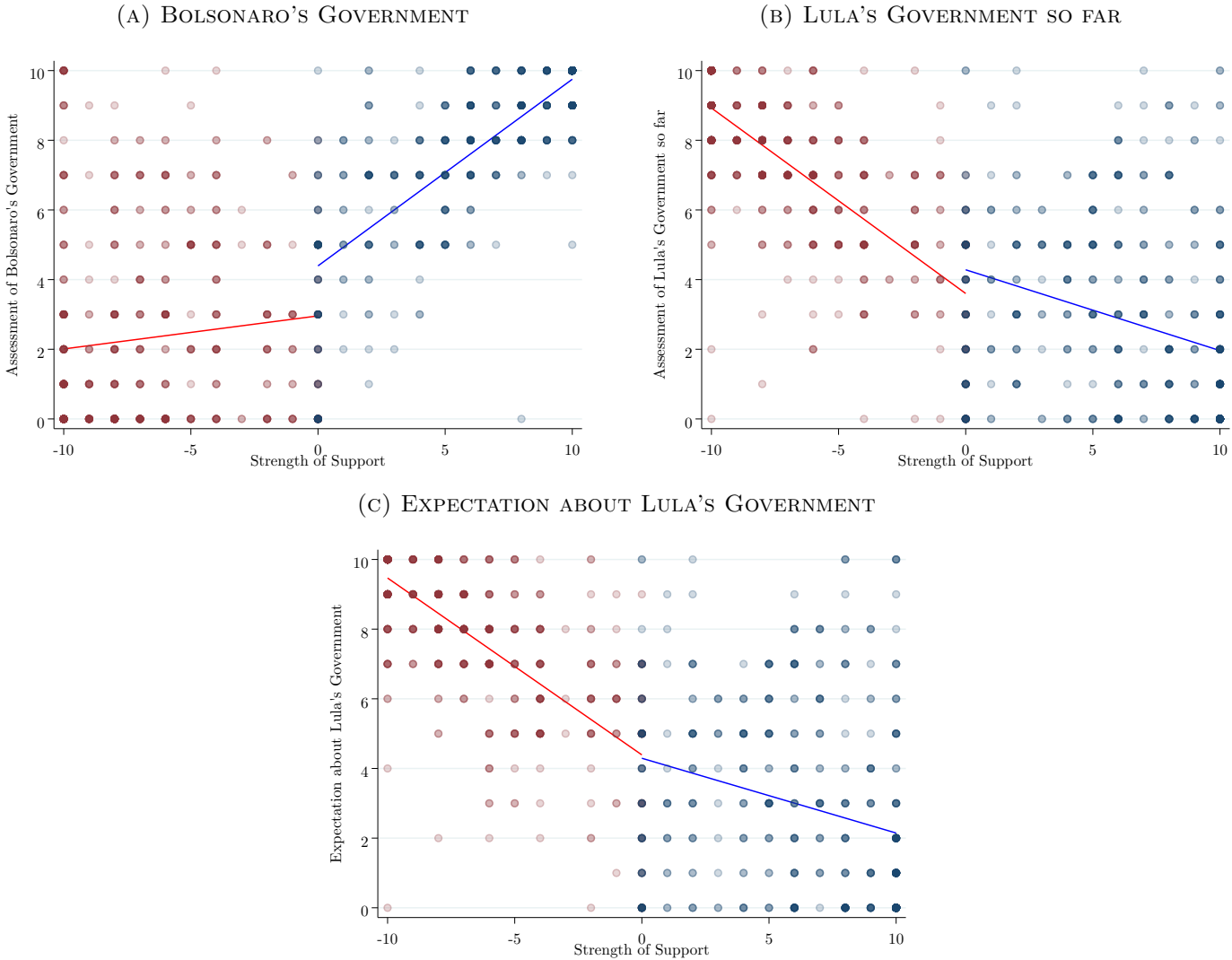
In Wave 6, respondents were asked to rate on a scale from 0 to 10 Bolsonaro’s government, Lula’s government so far, and their expectations of Lula’s government in the next three years. These questions allow me to test how correlated perceptions of the two candidates’ competences, captured by the assessments of their governments, are with the feelings that respondents have toward them.

In Figure A-2, I start by showing how these assessments relate to respondents’ support strength. Besides the clear positive correlation between these two variables, it is worth noticing how similar these patterns are the ones observed in Panels A and B of Figure 3, suggesting that these two variables are highly related.

In Figure A-3, I instead directly plot the relationship between the feelings toward the two candidates and the assessment of their government performances. As it can be seen, I found a clear positive relationship between these two variables, both for Bolsonaro and Lula supporters.

Taken all together, this evidence supports my choice of using the feelings toward the two candidates as a proxy for their perceived competence.

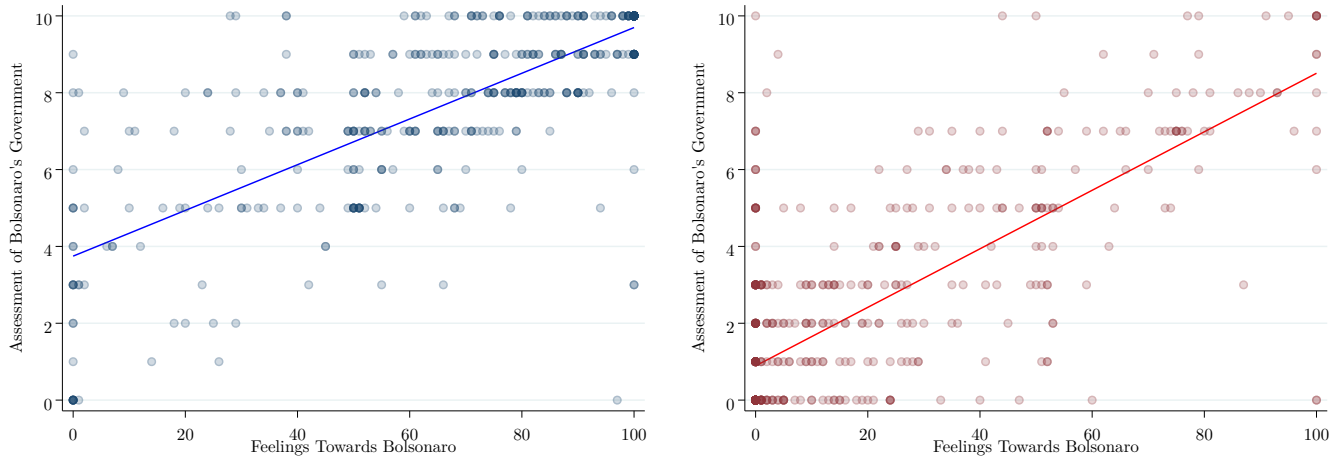
FIGURE A-2: ASSESSMENT OF GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE BY STRENGTH OF SUPPORT



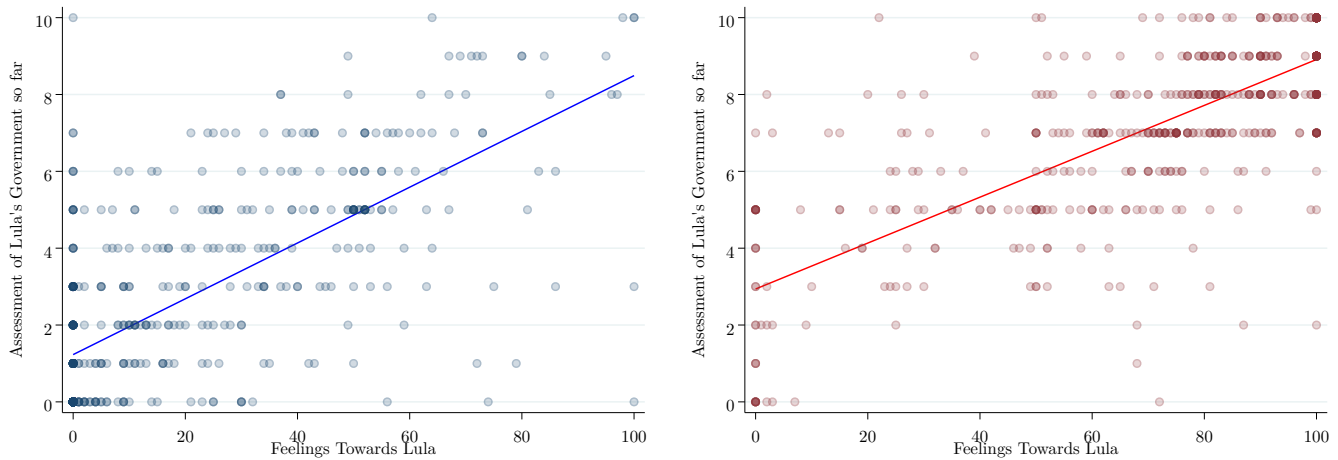
Notes: The figures show the dispersion of respondents by strength of support and their assessments of government performances. Variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. Respondents from Wave 6, control group only. Red dots represent Lula supporters, blue dots Bolsonaro supporters. The red line is a linear fit of Lula supporters, the blue line is a linear fit of Bolsonaro supporters.

FIGURE A-3: RELATION BETWEEN FEELINGS TOWARD CANDIDATES AND ASSESSMENT OF THEIR GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCES

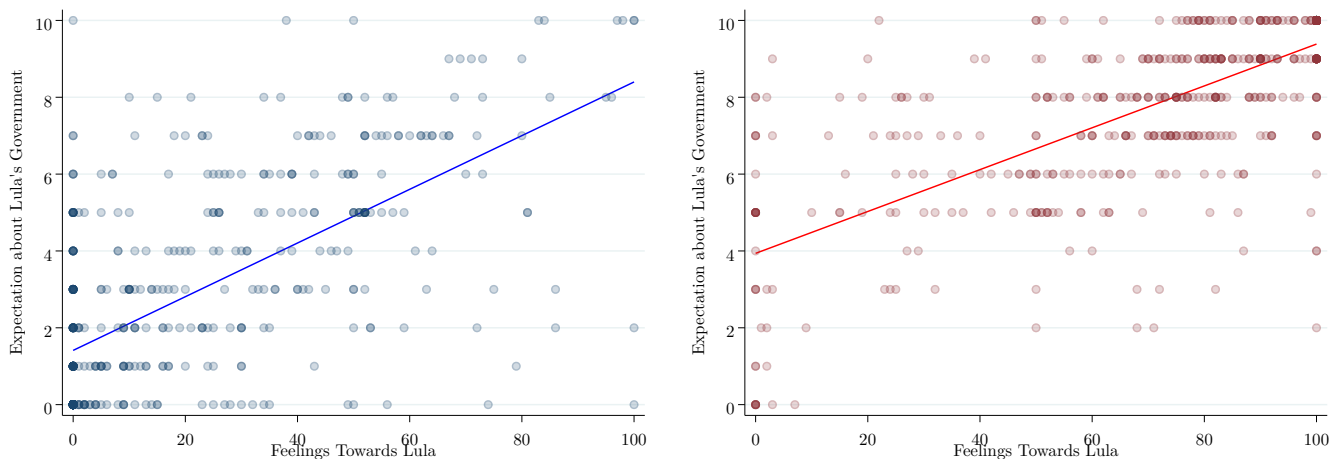
(A) FEELINGS TOWARD BOLSONARO AND ASSESSMENT OF HIS GOVERNMENT



(B) FEELINGS TOWARD LULA AND ASSESSMENT OF HIS GOVERNMENT SO FAR



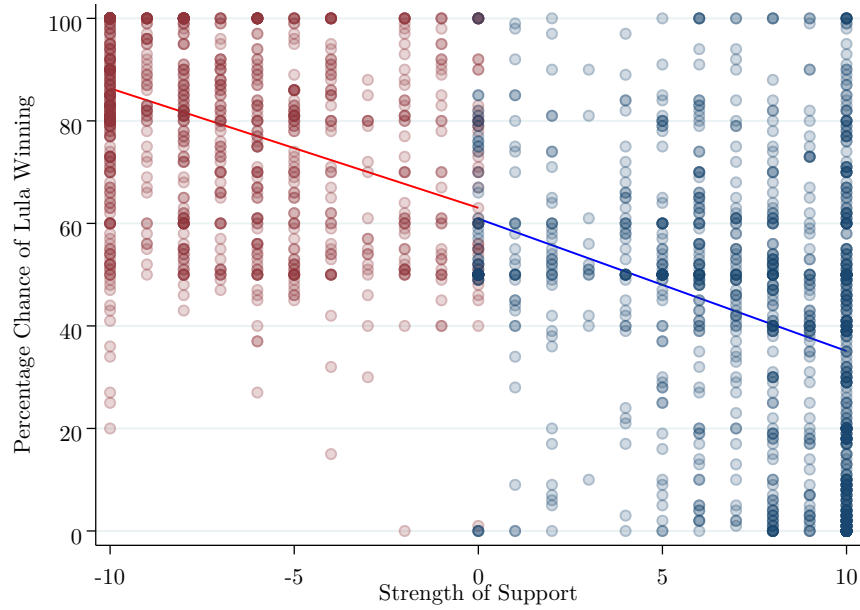
(C) FEELINGS TOWARD LULA AND EXPECTATIONS ABOUT HIS GOVERNMENT



Notes: The figures show the dispersion of respondents by feelings toward the two candidates and their assessments of government performances. Variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. Respondents from Wave 6, control group only. Red dots represent Lula supporters, blue dots Bolsonaro supporters. The red line is a linear fit of Lula supporters, the blue line is a linear fit of Bolsonaro supporters.

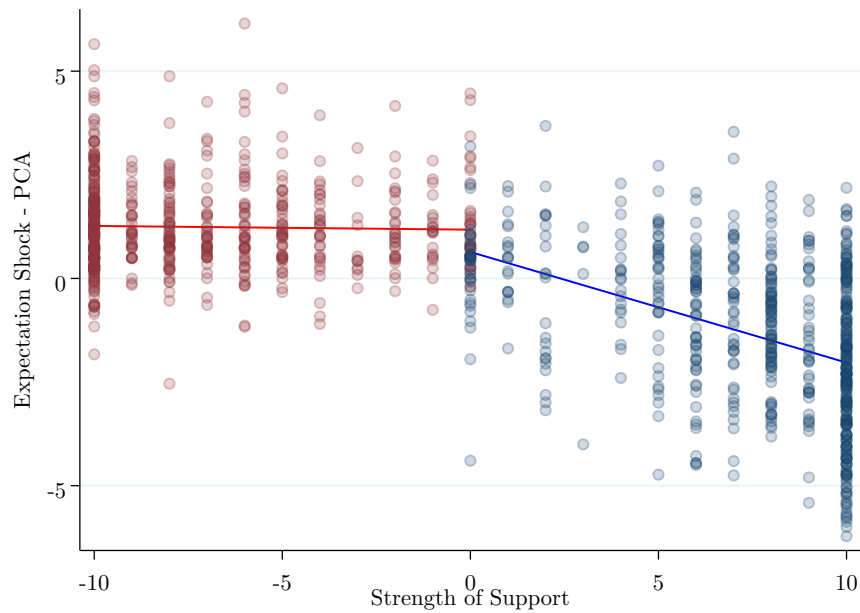
A-4 Additional Figures

FIGURE A-4: PROBABILITY OF LULA WINNING BY STRENGTH OF SUPPORT



Notes: The figure shows the dispersion of respondents by strength of support and perceived probability of Lula winning the election. Variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. Respondents from Wave 3. Red dots represent Lula supporters, blue dots Bolsonaro supporters. The red line is a linear fit of Lula supporters, the blue line is a linear fit of Bolsonaro supporters.

FIGURE A-5: EXPECTATION SHOCK - PCA INDEX

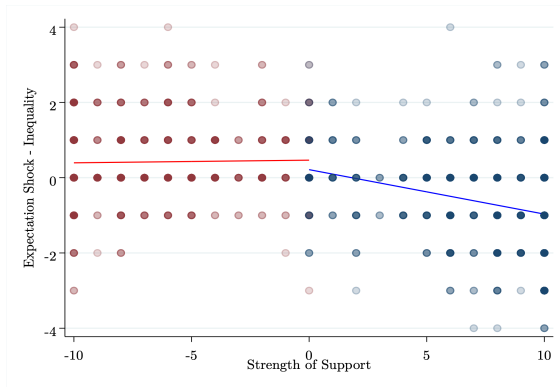
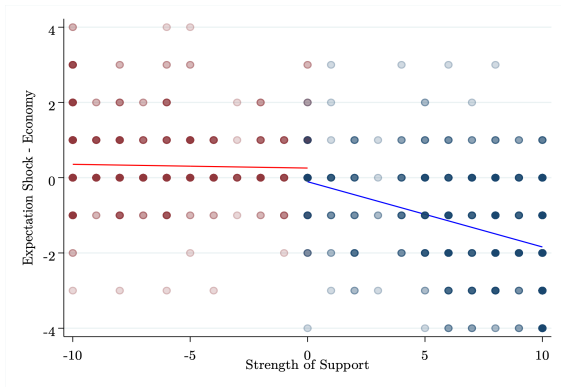


Notes: The figure shows the dispersion of respondents by strength of support and expectation shock. Variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. Respondents from Wave 3. Red dots represent Lula supporters, blue dots Bolsonaro supporters. The red line is a linear fit of Lula supporters, the blue line is a linear fit of Bolsonaro supporters.

FIGURE A-6: EXPECTATION SHOCKS

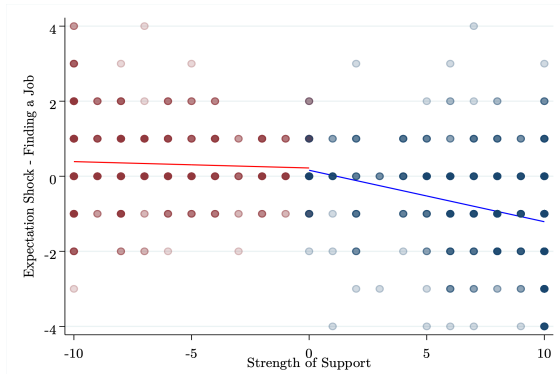
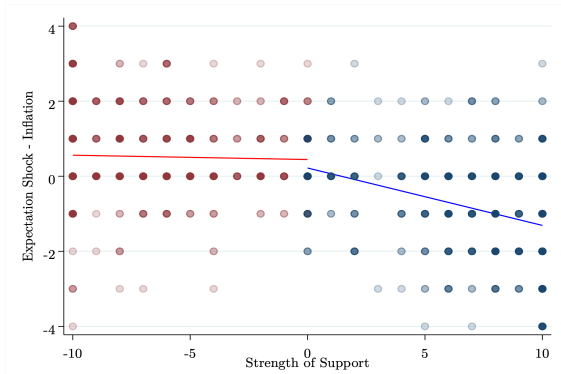
(A) ECONOMY

(B) INEQUALITY



(C) INFLATION

(D) FINDING JOB

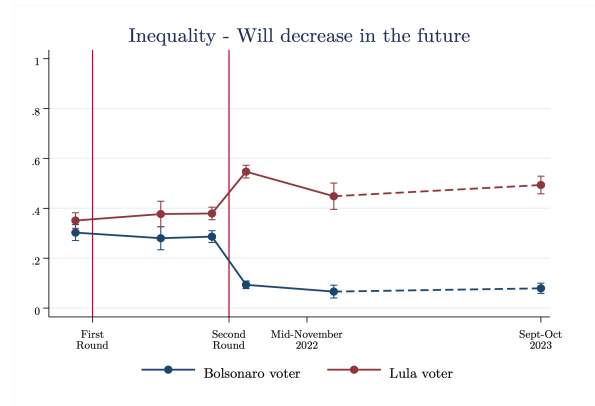
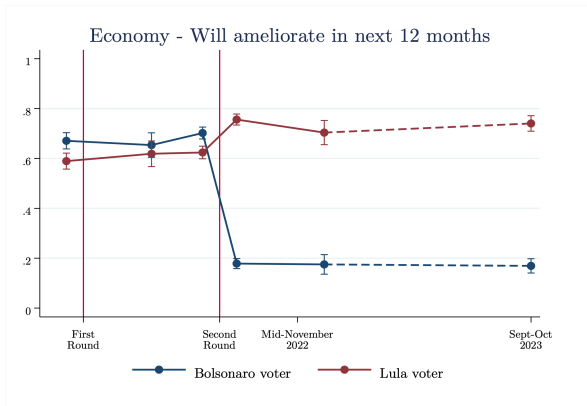


Notes: The figures show the dispersion of respondents by strength of support and various expectation shock. Variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. Respondents from Wave 3. Red dots represent Lula supporters, blue dots Bolsonaro supporters. The red line is a linear fit of Lula supporters, the blue line is a linear fit of Bolsonaro supporters.

FIGURE A-7: ECONOMIC EXPECTATIONS ACROSS TIME

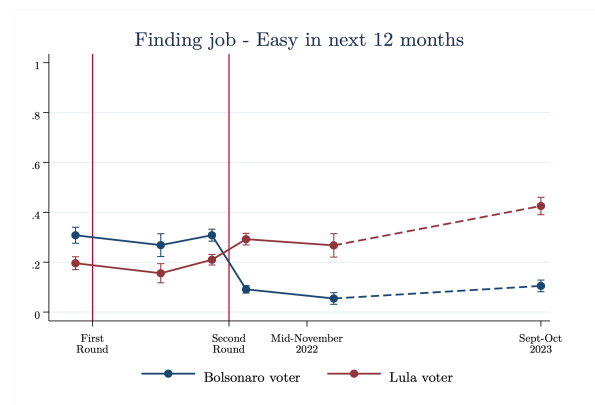
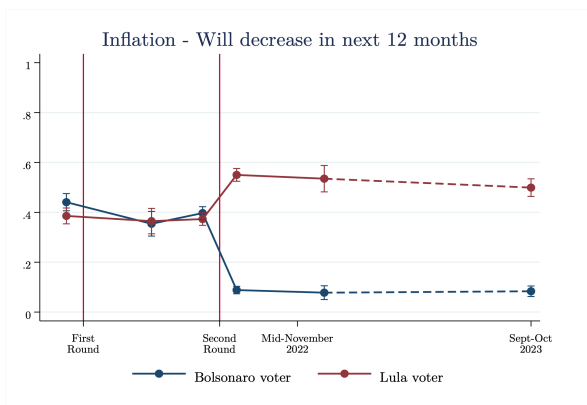
(A) ECONOMY

(B) INEQUALITY



(C) INFLATION

(D) FINDING JOB

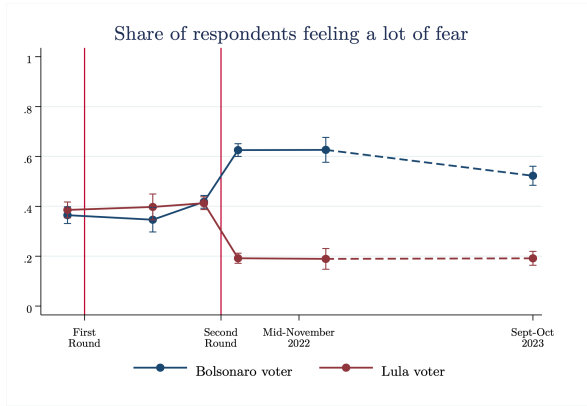
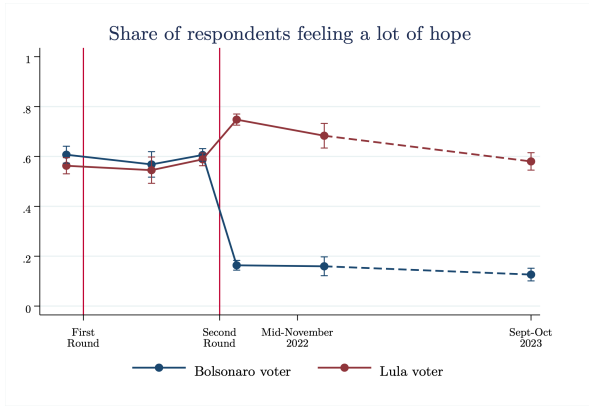


Notes: The figures show, for all six waves, the share of respondents agreeing with the statement at the top of every subfigure for Bolsonaro and Lula supporters with its associated 90% confidence interval. Variable defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. The two vertical red lines represent the two election's rounds.

FIGURE A-8: EMOTIONS ACROSS TIME

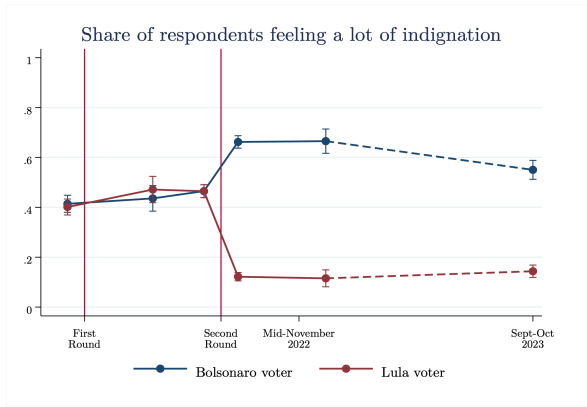
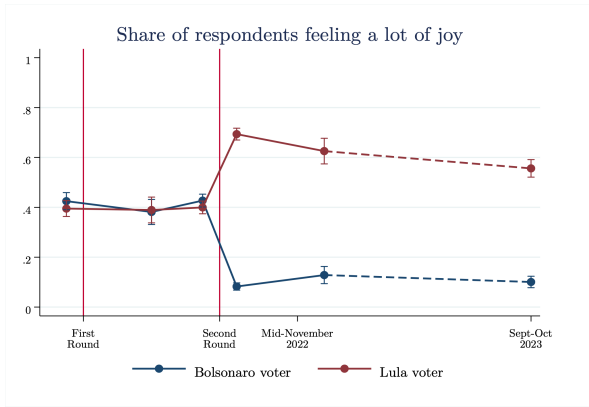
(A) HOPE

(B) FEAR



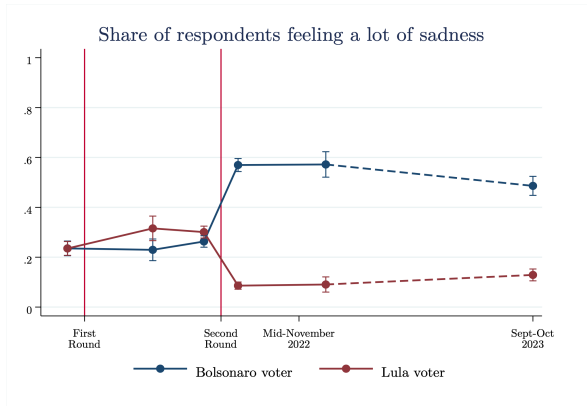
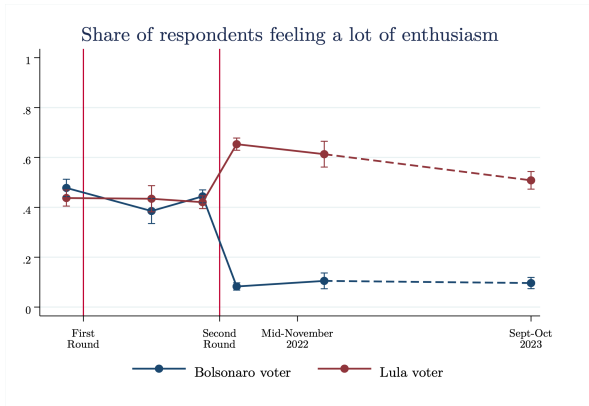
(C) JOY

(D) INDIGNATION

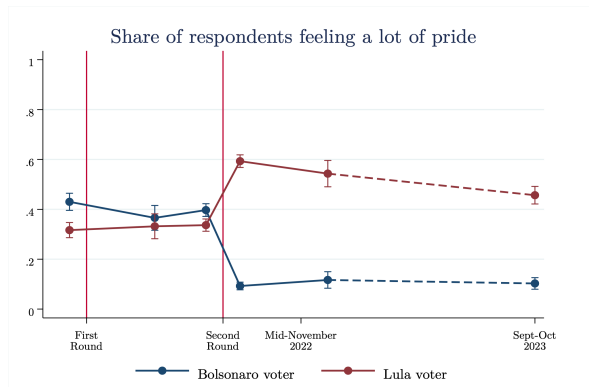


(E) ENTHUSIASM

(F) SADNESS



(G) PRIDE



Notes: The figures show, for all six waves, the share of respondents feeling a lot of the emotion listed at the top of every subfigure for Bolsonaro and Lula supporters with its associated 90% confidence interval. Variable defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. The two vertical red lines represent the two election's rounds.

A-5 Effects on Lula Supporters

In this section, I replicate Tables 2 and 3 but looking at Lula supporters only. Among Lula voters, 15.58% are “reluctant supporters,” 27.14% are “moderate” supporters, 16.92% are “strong” supporters, and 40.37% are extreme supporters. Among the Lula supporters in my sample, the expectation shock ranges between 3 and -1.29, with a median value of 0.29.

TABLE A-1: ELECTION EFFECTS ON DEMOCRATIC DISCONTENT - LULA SUPPORTERS

	Agree violence acceptable to express disagreement (1)	Agree democracy best form of government (2)	Believe good political system for Brazil:			If Lula wins:		
			Democracy (3)	Strong Leader (4)	Army Rule (5)	Mass Protests (6)	Violent Riots (7)	Military Coup (8)
Panel A - Lula Voters by Support Strength								
Pre-election extreme supporters mean	0.05	0.04	0.01	0.08	0.10	-0.13	-0.14	0.12
Pre-election strong supporters mean	0.09	0.10	0.07	-0.02	-0.02	0.18	0.09	-0.08
Pre-election moderate supporters mean	-0.06	-0.15	-0.06	-0.02	-0.04	-0.02	-0.03	-0.05
Pre-election reluctant supporters mean	-0.13	0.05	0.01	-0.16	-0.18	0.18	0.32	-0.12
Observations	596	593	591	591	592	592	591	584
Panel B - All Lula Voters								
Post-Election × Neg Exp Shock	0.04 (0.05)	-0.07* (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.04 (0.05)	0.00 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)
Post-Election	-0.14*** (0.05)	0.10** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.07* (0.04)	0.17*** (0.05)	0.09** (0.05)	-0.09** (0.05)
Observations	1191	1188	1184	1184	1187	1187	1182	1179
Panel C - Post-Election Effect on:								
Extreme Lula Supporter × Neg Exp Shock	0.04 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	0.10 (0.07)	0.10 (0.08)	0.08 (0.07)	0.02 (0.06)
Strong Lula Supporter × Neg Exp Shock	0.07 (0.13)	0.05 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.12)	-0.06 (0.10)	-0.07 (0.10)	-0.10 (0.10)	-0.12 (0.12)
Moderate Lula Supporter × Neg Exp Shock	-0.02 (0.08)	-0.16* (0.09)	-0.16* (0.09)	0.02 (0.06)	0.03 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.10)	-0.11 (0.09)	0.06 (0.11)
Reluctant Lula Supporter × Neg Exp Shock	0.14 (0.11)	-0.24* (0.13)	-0.16* (0.08)	0.04 (0.16)	-0.03 (0.08)	0.13 (0.10)	0.15 (0.11)	0.05 (0.10)
Extreme Lula Supporter	-0.17** (0.07)	0.07 (0.07)	0.14* (0.08)	0.05 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.07)	0.30*** (0.09)	0.24*** (0.07)	-0.13* (0.08)
Strong Lula Supporter	-0.09 (0.17)	0.27*** (0.09)	0.18* (0.10)	-0.18 (0.13)	-0.32** (0.13)	-0.03 (0.13)	-0.02 (0.12)	-0.01 (0.12)
Moderate Lula Supporter	-0.23*** (0.08)	0.15* (0.09)	0.18** (0.09)	0.03 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.07)	0.16 (0.10)	0.10 (0.08)	-0.14 (0.09)
Reluctant Lula Supporter	0.06 (0.09)	-0.08 (0.10)	0.00 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.10)	0.03 (0.07)	0.05 (0.10)	-0.16* (0.10)	-0.04 (0.08)
Observations	1191	1188	1184	1184	1187	1187	1182	1179

Notes: All dependent variables are continuous variables (Z-scores) defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. First four rows report the mean of the dependent variables for extreme, strong, moderate, and reluctant Lula supporters before the election result (Wave 3). The following rows report the coefficients of a fixed-effects regression with cluster-robust standard errors within individual. This specification includes all triple interactions between “Post-Election,” the Lula supporter groups (“Extreme,” “Strong,” “Moderate,” “Reluctant supporter”), and the continuous negative expectation shock (“Neg Exp Shock”), and all double interactions between “Post-Election” and the Lula supporter groups. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE A-2: ELECTION EFFECTS ON POLARIZATION, ELECTION FAIRNESS, AND EMOTIONS - LULA SUPPORTERS

	Affective Polarization		Don't believe in fair election	Perceived share of		When thinking about the election feel a lot of						
	Candidate	Supporter		Lula supporters in their city	Bolsonaro supporters in their city	Hope	Joy	Enthusiasm	Fear	Indignation	Sadness	Pride
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Panel A - Lula Voters by Support Strength												
Pre-election extreme supporters mean	0.82	0.68	0.04	0.77	0.40	0.82	0.68	0.68	0.35	0.44	0.25	0.56
Pre-election strong supporters mean	0.67	0.52	0.02	0.69	0.47	0.70	0.39	0.38	0.41	0.50	0.32	0.36
Pre-election moderate supporters mean	0.46	0.32	0.02	0.64	0.48	0.48	0.27	0.33	0.45	0.48	0.28	0.23
Pre-election reluctant supporters mean	0.21	0.19	0.08	0.59	0.48	0.27	0.12	0.13	0.56	0.58	0.44	0.08
Observations	590	589	596	596	595	596	596	596	596	596	596	596
Panel B - Post-Election Effect on:												
Extreme Lula Supporter	-0.04*** (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.04*** (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.23*** (0.03)	0.18*** (0.03)	-0.21*** (0.03)	-0.34*** (0.04)	-0.20*** (0.03)	0.25*** (0.03)
Strong Lula Supporter	0.00 (0.03)	-0.04* (0.03)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.17*** (0.05)	0.43*** (0.05)	0.36*** (0.06)	-0.27*** (0.05)	-0.42*** (0.06)	-0.28*** (0.05)	0.40*** (0.05)
Moderate Lula Supporter	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	0.23*** (0.04)	0.36*** (0.04)	0.23*** (0.04)	-0.25*** (0.04)	-0.38*** (0.04)	-0.22*** (0.04)	0.26*** (0.04)
Reluctant Lula Supporter	0.04 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.04* (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.12*** (0.05)	0.17*** (0.05)	0.17*** (0.05)	-0.30*** (0.06)	-0.45*** (0.06)	-0.33*** (0.06)	0.13*** (0.04)
Observations	1175	1179	1192	1192	1189	1190	1192	1187	1191	1191	1187	1190

Notes: The dependent variables in columns 1-2 and 4-5 are continuous variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. The dependent variables in columns 3 and 6-12 are indicator variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. First four rows report the mean of the dependent variables for extreme, strong, moderate, and reluctant Lula supporters before the election result (Wave 3). The following rows report the coefficients of a fixed-effects regression with cluster-robust standard errors within individual. This specification includes all interactions between “Post-Election,” and the Lula supporter groups (“Extreme,” “Strong,” “Moderate,” “Reluctant supporter”). Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

A-6 Robustness Checks

A-6.1 Alternative Sample Split

In this section, I replicate Tables 2 and 3 using a simpler sample split. Instead of dividing supporters into four groups, I differentiate between those above or below the support strength median. For this specification, I included only respondents who reported to have voted in the election.

In Table A-3, I use the following specification:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha_i + \sum_{g \in G} \beta_g Post_t \times Group_{g,i} \times NegExpShock_i + \sum_{g \in G} \delta_g Post_t \times Group_{g,i} + \varepsilon_{it}$$

while in Table A-4, I use the following one:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha_i + \sum_{g \in G} \delta_g Post_t \times Group_{g,i} + \varepsilon_{it}$$

where $G = \{above, below\}$, α_i are the individual fixed effects, $Post_t$ is a dummy taking the value of 1 in the after-election period, $Group_{g,i}$ are dummies taking the value of 1 for every supporter group $g \in G$, and $NegExpShock_i$ is the continuous variable measuring the expectation shock experienced by supporter i .

TABLE A-3: ELECTION EFFECTS ON DEMOCRATIC DISCONTENT - MEDIAN SPLIT

	Agreement violence acceptable to express disagreement (1)	Agreement democracy best form of government (2)	Belief good political system for Brazil:			After Lula's victory:		
			Democracy (3)	Strong Leader (4)	Army Rule (5)	Mass Protests (6)	Violent Riots (7)	Military Coup (8)
Panel A - Bolsonaro Voters by Support Strength								
Pre-election above median supporters mean	0.08	-0.02	0.02	0.24	0.31	0.18	0.17	0.16
Pre-election below median supporters mean	-0.09	0.02	-0.02	-0.25	-0.33	-0.19	-0.18	-0.17
Observations	497	498	496	494	496	496	494	491
Panel B - Post-Election Effect on:								
Above Median Bolsonaro Supporter × Neg Exp Shock	0.18*** (0.06)	-0.10 (0.07)	-0.14** (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)	0.16** (0.06)	0.08 (0.08)	0.13* (0.07)	0.18*** (0.07)
Below Median Bolsonaro Supporter × Neg Exp Shock	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.08)	0.06 (0.07)	-0.11** (0.05)	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.13 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.07)
Above Median Bolsonaro Supporter	-0.03 (0.12)	0.08 (0.12)	0.11 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.10)	-0.05 (0.10)	0.03 (0.14)	-0.05 (0.13)	-0.14 (0.11)
Below Median Bolsonaro Supporter	0.11 (0.09)	-0.01 (0.09)	0.00 (0.10)	-0.20** (0.08)	0.12** (0.06)	0.21** (0.08)	0.29*** (0.10)	0.16** (0.08)
Observations	994	992	989	992	989	994	992	987

Notes: All dependent variables are continuous variables (Z-scores) defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. Panel A reports the mean of the dependent variables for Bolsonaro supporters, whose support strength is above or below the median, before the election result (Wave 3). Panel B reports the coefficients of a fixed-effects regression with cluster-robust standard errors within individual. This specification includes all triple interactions between “Post-Election,” the Bolsonaro supporter groups (“Above Median,” “Below Median”) and the continuous negative expectation shock (“Neg Exp Shock”), and all double interactions between “Post-Election” and the Bolsonaro supporter groups. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE A-4: ELECTION EFFECTS ON DEMOCRATIC DISCONTENT - MEDIAN SPLIT

	Affective Polarization		Don't believe in fair election	Perceived share of		When thinking about the election feel a lot of						
	Candidate	Supporter		Lula supporters in their city	Bolsonaro supporters in their city	Hope	Joy	Enthusiasm	Fear	Indignation	Sadness	Pride
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Panel A - Bolsonaro Voters by Support Strength												
Pre-election above median supporters mean	0.80	0.66	0.27	0.41	0.80	0.82	0.66	0.69	0.40	0.44	0.24	0.61
Pre-election below median supporters mean	0.42	0.29	0.12	0.46	0.69	0.51	0.30	0.27	0.44	0.45	0.30	0.28
Observations	483	485	498	494	497	498	498	498	498	498	498	498
Panel B - Post-Election Effect on:												
Above Median Bolsonaro Supporter	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.02)	0.21*** (0.03)	0.06*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.62*** (0.03)	-0.56*** (0.03)	-0.60*** (0.03)	0.26*** (0.04)	0.41*** (0.04)	0.52*** (0.04)	-0.51*** (0.03)
Below Median Bolsonaro Supporter	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.05*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.39*** (0.03)	-0.24*** (0.03)	-0.21*** (0.03)	0.15*** (0.04)	0.19*** (0.04)	0.21*** (0.04)	-0.20*** (0.03)
Observations	967	972	996	991	993	994	993	989	994	992	991	994

Notes: The dependent variables in columns 1-2 and 4-5 are continuous variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. The dependent variables in columns 3 and 6-12 are indicator variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. Panel A reports the mean of the dependent variables for Bolsonaro supporters, whose support strength is above or below the median, before the election result (Wave 3). Panel B reports the coefficients of a fixed-effects regression with cluster-robust standard errors within individual. This specification includes all interactions between “Post-Election,” and the Bolsonaro supporter groups (“Above Median,” “Below Median”). Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

A-6.2 Discrete Expectation Shock

In this section, I replicate Table 2 using a discrete version of the expectation shock. Respondents are divided between those who experienced a negative expectation shock and those who didn't. Using the usual expectation shock variable (which ranges between 4 and -4), I will consider as a large negative expectation shock a value below -1, the median value among Bolsonaro supporters.

The specification is going to be the following:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha_i + \sum_{g \in G} \beta_g Post_t \times Group_{g,i} \times LargeNegExpShock_i + \sum_{g \in G} \beta_g Post_t \times Group_{g,i} \times SmallNegExpShock_i + \varepsilon_{it}$$

where $G = \{e, s, m, r\}$, α_i are the individual fixed effects, $Post_t$ is a dummy taking the value of 1 in the after-election period, $Group_{g,i}$ are dummies taking the value of 1 for every supporter group $g \in G$, $LargeNegExpShock_i$ is a dummy taking the value of 1 if supporter i 's expectation shock was below -1, and $SmallNegExpShock_i$ is a dummy taking the value of 1 if supporter i 's expectation shock was greater or equal than -1.

TABLE A-5: ELECTION EFFECTS ON DEMOCRATIC DISCONTENT - DISCRETE EXPECTATION SHOCK

	Agree violence acceptable to express disagreement (1)	Agree democracy best form of government (2)	Believe good political system for Brazil:			If Lula wins:		
			Democracy (3)	Strong Leader (4)	Army Rule (5)	Mass Protests (6)	Violent Riots (7)	Military Coup (8)
Panel A - Bolsonaro Voters by Support Strength								
Pre-election extreme supporters mean	0.23	0.79	0.88	0.74	0.70	0.82	0.70	0.44
Pre-election strong supporters mean	0.16	0.84	0.94	0.60	0.50	0.80	0.61	0.31
Pre-election moderate supporters mean	0.20	0.74	0.89	0.53	0.44	0.80	0.62	0.33
Pre-election reluctant supporters mean	0.06	0.74	0.93	0.51	0.18	0.76	0.65	0.28
Observations	550	551	549	547	549	549	547	544
Panel B - Post-Election Effect on:								
Extreme Bolsonaro Supporter × Large Neg Exp Shock	0.12*** (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.04)	0.09** (0.04)	0.08** (0.03)	0.08* (0.04)	0.11** (0.05)
Extreme Bolsonaro Supporter × Small Neg Exp Shock	-0.10 (0.07)	0.02 (0.07)	0.02 (0.06)	0.02 (0.07)	0.03 (0.06)	0.03 (0.07)	0.02 (0.07)	0.07 (0.08)
Strong Bolsonaro Supporter × Large Neg Exp Shock	0.10 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.08 (0.07)	0.08 (0.07)	0.07 (0.06)	0.08 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)
Strong Bolsonaro Supporter × Small Neg Exp Shock	0.09 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.14** (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	0.09 (0.07)	0.18** (0.08)	0.14** (0.06)
Moderate Bolsonaro Supporter × Large Neg Exp Shock	-0.04 (0.05)	0.00 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.05)	0.04 (0.07)	0.02 (0.05)
Moderate Bolsonaro Supporter × Small Neg Exp Shock	0.01 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.10* (0.05)	0.00 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	0.06 (0.06)	0.05 (0.05)
Reluctant Bolsonaro Supporter × Large Neg Exp Shock	0.00 (.)	0.00 (0.17)	0.00 (.)	-0.08 (0.14)	-0.08 (0.14)	0.08 (0.08)	0.00 (0.12)	0.17 (0.16)
Reluctant Bolsonaro Supporter × Small Neg Exp Shock	0.00 (0.04)	0.07 (0.06)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.07)	0.07 (0.06)	0.04 (0.07)	0.14** (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)
Observations	1100	1098	1093	1098	1095	1100	1097	1092

Notes: All dependent variables are indicator variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. Panel A reports the mean of the dependent variables for extreme, strong, moderate, and reluctant Bolsonaro supporters before the election result (Wave 3). Panel B reports the coefficients of a fixed-effects regression with cluster-robust standard errors within individual. This specification includes all triple interactions between "Post-Election," the Bolsonaro supporter groups ("Extreme," "Strong," "Moderate," "Reluctant supporter") and the negative expectation shock ("Large Neg Exp Shock," "Small Neg Exp Shock"). Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

A-6.3 Election Effects by Support Strength

In this section, I replicate Table 2 focusing only on the heterogeneous effects of the election result on the various groups of supporters:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha_i + \sum_{g \in G} \delta_g Post_t \times Group_{g,i} + \varepsilon_{it}$$

where $G = \{e, s, m, r\}$, α_i are the individual fixed effects, $Post_t$ is a dummy taking the value of 1 in the after-election period, and $Group_{g,i}$ are dummies taking the value of 1 for every supporter group $g \in G$.

TABLE A-6: ELECTION EFFECTS ON DEMOCRATIC DISCONTENT BY SUPPORT STRENGTH

	Agreement violence acceptable to express disagreement (1)	Agreement democracy best form of government (2)	Belief good political system for Brazil:			After Lula's victory:		
			Democracy (3)	Strong Leader (4)	Army Rule (5)	Mass Protests (6)	Violent Riots (7)	Military Coups (8)
Panel A - Bolsonaro Voters by Support Strength								
Pre-election extreme Bolsonaro supporters mean	0.09	0.03	0.03	0.29	0.40	0.20	0.21	0.18
Pre-election strong Bolsonaro supporters mean	-0.01	0.02	0.05	-0.04	-0.06	-0.05	-0.16	-0.11
Pre-election moderate Bolsonaro supporters mean	0.05	-0.06	-0.10	-0.22	-0.17	-0.19	-0.16	-0.10
Pre-election reluctant Bolsonaro supporters mean	-0.38	0.00	0.04	-0.36	-0.82	-0.13	-0.05	-0.17
Observations	547	548	546	544	546	546	544	541
Panel B - Post-Election Effect on:								
Extreme Bolsonaro Supporter	0.23*** (0.07)	-0.11 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.07)	-0.10 (0.07)	0.16** (0.07)	0.17** (0.08)	0.13 (0.08)	0.15* (0.08)
Strong Bolsonaro Supporter	0.23** (0.10)	0.05 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.31*** (0.09)	0.10 (0.08)	0.19 (0.12)	0.20** (0.10)	0.04 (0.08)
Moderate Bolsonaro Supporter	0.05 (0.09)	-0.09 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)	-0.10 (0.08)	0.01 (0.06)	0.12 (0.08)	0.19** (0.09)	0.12* (0.07)
Reluctant Bolsonaro Supporter	0.01 (0.09)	0.10 (0.12)	0.10 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.10)	0.10 (0.08)	0.01 (0.11)	0.18 (0.11)	0.02 (0.10)
Observations	1094	1092	1088	1092	1089	1094	1091	1086

Notes: All dependent variables are continuous variables (Z-scores) defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. Panel A reports the mean of the dependent variables for extreme, strong, moderate, and reluctant Bolsonaro supporters before the election result (Wave 3). Panel B reports the coefficients of a fixed-effects regression with cluster-robust standard errors within individual. This specification includes all interactions between “Post-Election,” and the Bolsonaro supporter groups (“Extreme,” “Strong,” “Moderate,” “Reluctant supporter”). Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

A-6.4 Multiple Hypothesis Testing

TABLE A-7: ELECTION EFFECTS ON DEMOCRATIC DISCONTENT - MULTIPLE HYPOTHESIS TESTING

	Agreement violence acceptable to express disagreement (1)	Agreement democracy best form of government (2)	Belief good political system for Brazil:			After Lula's victory:		
			Democracy (3)	Strong Leader (4)	Army Rule (5)	Mass Protests (6)	Violent Riots (7)	Military Coup (8)
Panel A - All Bolsonaro Voters								
Post-Election × Neg Exp Shock	0.12*** (0.04)	-0.10** (0.05)	-0.11** (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.05 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)
Model p-value	[0.0067]	[0.0333]	[0.0170]	[0.8346]	[0.2064]	[0.2901]	[0.9102]	[0.1124]
Romano-Wolf p-value	[0.0050]	[0.0430]	[0.0230]	[0.9540]	[0.3966]	[0.4655]	[0.9540]	[0.2228]
Post-Election	0.04 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	-0.15*** (0.05)	0.05 (0.05)	0.09 (0.07)	0.16** (0.07)	0.03 (0.06)
Model p-value	[0.5044]	[0.4119]	[0.2632]	[0.0067]	[0.2668]	[0.1696]	[0.0202]	[0.5619]
Romano-Wolf p-value	[0.6593]	[0.6593]	[0.6154]	[0.0060]	[0.6154]	[0.4406]	[0.0290]	[0.6593]
Observations	1094	1092	1088	1092	1089	1094	1091	1086
Panel B - Post-Election Effect on:								
Extreme Bolsonaro Supporter × Neg Exp Shock	0.19*** (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.15** (0.07)	-0.05 (0.07)	0.14* (0.07)	0.08 (0.08)	0.19** (0.08)	0.18** (0.08)
Model p-value	[0.0043]	[0.5443]	[0.0437]	[0.5396]	[0.0585]	[0.3378]	[0.0237]	[0.0253]
Romano-Wolf p-value	[0.0070]	[0.6963]	[0.0769]	[0.6963]	[0.1029]	[0.5764]	[0.0480]	[0.0480]
Strong Bolsonaro Supporter × Neg Exp Shock	0.03 (0.13)	-0.12 (0.11)	0.01 (0.14)	0.12 (0.10)	0.02 (0.09)	0.07 (0.13)	-0.13 (0.13)	0.12 (0.09)
Model p-value	[0.8248]	[0.2821]	[0.9345]	[0.2559]	[0.8331]	[0.5954]	[0.3215]	[0.1646]
Romano-Wolf p-value	[0.9960]	[0.7912]	[0.9960]	[0.7902]	[0.9960]	[0.9630]	[0.7912]	[0.6444]
Moderate Bolsonaro Supporter × Neg Exp Shock	0.03 (0.10)	-0.07 (0.09)	-0.13 (0.09)	0.03 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.14 (0.09)	-0.14 (0.09)	-0.11 (0.09)
Model p-value	[0.7837]	[0.4398]	[0.1517]	[0.7243]	[0.4198]	[0.1116]	[0.1274]	[0.2223]
Romano-Wolf p-value	[0.9021]	[0.8182]	[0.4705]	[0.9021]	[0.8182]	[0.4605]	[0.4605]	[0.5644]
Reluctant Bolsonaro Supporter × Neg Exp Shock	0.01 (0.10)	-0.38* (0.22)	0.04 (0.11)	0.01 (0.10)	-0.14 (0.11)	0.30* (0.17)	-0.06 (0.16)	-0.01 (0.13)
Model p-value	[0.9406]	[0.0862]	[0.7450]	[0.9011]	[0.1967]	[0.0751]	[0.6875]	[0.9339]
Romano-Wolf p-value	[1.0000]	[0.4615]	[0.9920]	[1.0000]	[0.6474]	[0.4615]	[0.9920]	[1.0000]
Extreme Bolsonaro Supporter	-0.04 (0.12)	-0.05 (0.12)	0.12 (0.13)	-0.04 (0.12)	-0.03 (0.12)	0.05 (0.16)	-0.13 (0.15)	-0.10 (0.13)
Model p-value	[0.7415]	[0.7039]	[0.3499]	[0.7655]	[0.8180]	[0.7362]	[0.3641]	[0.4326]
Romano-Wolf p-value	[0.9950]	[0.9950]	[0.8981]	[0.9950]	[0.9950]	[0.9950]	[0.8981]	[0.9181]
Strong Bolsonaro Supporter	0.21 (0.16)	0.15 (0.15)	-0.06 (0.19)	-0.41*** (0.12)	0.08 (0.12)	0.12 (0.17)	0.31** (0.16)	-0.07 (0.10)
Model p-value	[0.2051]	[0.2865]	[0.7548]	[0.0009]	[0.4722]	[0.4682]	[0.0434]	[0.5208]
Romano-Wolf p-value	[0.6723]	[0.7493]	[0.8751]	[0.0040]	[0.8751]	[0.8751]	[0.1758]	[0.8751]
Moderate Bolsonaro Supporter	0.03 (0.12)	-0.05 (0.11)	0.09 (0.11)	-0.12 (0.09)	0.05 (0.08)	0.22** (0.10)	0.29** (0.12)	0.19** (0.10)
Model p-value	[0.8115]	[0.6621]	[0.3848]	[0.1775]	[0.5447]	[0.0385]	[0.0206]	[0.0466]
Romano-Wolf p-value	[0.8631]	[0.8631]	[0.7942]	[0.4645]	[0.8631]	[0.1169]	[0.0579]	[0.1269]
Reluctant Bolsonaro Supporter	0.01 (0.09)	0.20 (0.13)	0.09 (0.10)	-0.07 (0.11)	0.13* (0.08)	-0.07 (0.12)	0.20 (0.13)	0.02 (0.11)
Model p-value	[0.9203]	[0.1167]	[0.3647]	[0.5099]	[0.0813]	[0.5712]	[0.1332]	[0.8387]
Romano-Wolf p-value	[0.9590]	[0.4845]	[0.8332]	[0.9101]	[0.3956]	[0.9101]	[0.4845]	[0.9590]
Observations	1094	1092	1088	1092	1089	1094	1091	1086

Notes: This table replicates the results of 2. All dependent variables are continuous variables (Z-scores) defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. Panel A and B report the coefficients of a fixed-effects regression with cluster-robust standard errors within individual. In Panel B, the specification includes the interaction between “Post-Election” and the continuous negative expectation shock (“Neg Exp Shock”). In Panel C, the specification includes all triple interactions between “Post-Election,” the Bolsonaro supporter groups (“Extreme,” “Strong,” “Moderate,” “Reluctant supporter”) and the continuous negative expectation shock (“Neg Exp Shock”), and all double interactions between “Post-Election” and the Bolsonaro supporter groups. Standard errors in parentheses. I show the p-value from the baseline regression (“Model p-value”) and the Romano-Wolf step-down adjusted p-values robust to multiple hypothesis testing (“Romano-Wolf p-value”). I implement the resampling algorithm described in ?, which provides a p-value corresponding to the significance of a hypothesis test where N tests, where N is the number of outcome variables considered, have been implemented, providing strong control of the familywise error rate (the probability of committing any Type I error among all of the S hypotheses tested). * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE A-8: ELECTION EFFECTS ON POLARIZATION, ELECTION FAIRNESS, AND EMOTIONS - MULTIPLE HYPOTHESIS TESTING

	Affective Polarization		Don't believe in fair election	Perceived share of		When thinking about the election feel a lot of						
	Candidate	Supporter		Lula supporters in their city	Bolsonaro supporters in their city	Hope	Joy	Enthusiasm	Fear	Indignation	Sadness	Pride
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Post-Election Effect on:												
Extreme Bolsonaro Supporter	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.03)	0.22*** (0.03)	0.07*** (0.02)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.63*** (0.04)	-0.58*** (0.04)	-0.62*** (0.04)	0.27*** (0.04)	0.41*** (0.04)	0.55*** (0.04)	-0.53*** (0.04)
Model p-value	[0.0005]	[0.0042]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]
Romano-Wolf p-value	[0.0010]	[0.0020]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]
Strong Bolsonaro Supporter	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.05** (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.02)	-0.57*** (0.05)	-0.37*** (0.05)	-0.35*** (0.05)	0.23*** (0.05)	0.29*** (0.06)	0.30*** (0.06)	-0.30*** (0.05)
Model p-value	[0.1096]	[0.3786]	[0.0018]	[0.0144]	[0.0014]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]
Romano-Wolf p-value	[0.1169]	[0.3087]	[0.0040]	[0.0160]	[0.0040]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]
Moderate Bolsonaro Supporter	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.08** (0.04)	0.05*** (0.02)	-0.05*** (0.02)	-0.31*** (0.05)	-0.21*** (0.04)	-0.17*** (0.04)	0.18*** (0.05)	0.22*** (0.05)	0.17*** (0.05)	-0.18*** (0.04)
Model p-value	[0.3240]	[0.8249]	[0.0267]	[0.0030]	[0.0008]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0002]	[0.0000]	[0.0005]	[0.0000]
Romano-Wolf p-value	[0.3926]	[0.7672]	[0.0320]	[0.0050]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]
Reluctant Bolsonaro Supporter	0.04 (0.03)	0.05** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.10** (0.05)	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.15** (0.06)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.04)
Model p-value	[0.1435]	[0.0345]	[0.5273]	[1.0000]	[0.5400]	[0.1288]	[0.1267]	[0.0299]	[0.4136]	[0.0145]	[0.6837]	[0.4794]
Romano-Wolf p-value	[0.5235]	[0.2178]	[0.9311]	[0.9990]	[0.9311]	[0.5235]	[0.5235]	[0.2118]	[0.9121]	[0.1399]	[0.9311]	[0.9311]
Observations	1064	1069	1096	1089	1092	1094	1093	1089	1094	1092	1091	1094

Notes: This table replicates the results of 3. The dependent variables in columns 1-2 and 4-5 are continuous variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. The dependent variables in columns 3 and 6-12 are indicator variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. The table reports the coefficients of a fixed-effects regression with cluster-robust standard errors within individual. This specification includes all interactions between “Post-Election,” and the Bolsonaro supporter groups (“Extreme,” “Strong,” “Moderate,” “Reluctant supporter”). Standard errors in parentheses. I show the p-value from the baseline regression (“Model p-value”) and the Romano-Wolf step-down adjusted p-values robust to multiple hypothesis testing (“Romano-Wolf p-value”). See notes to Table A-7. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE A-9: TREATMENT EFFECTS - INFLATION DECREASE - MULTIPLE HYPOTHESIS TESTING

	Inflation			Indices				
	decreased in 2022	decreased in 2023	will decrease in future	Economic Expectations	Violent Protests	Violence Acceptance	Support Military	Support Democracy
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Treatment Effects - Inflation Decrease								
T × Bolsonaro Supporter	0.09*** (0.03)	0.25*** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.29*** (0.09)	-0.21** (0.10)	-0.06 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.07)	0.03 (0.09)
Model p-value	[0.0071]	[0.0000]	[0.0002]	[0.0010]	[0.0301]	[0.4966]	[0.6500]	[0.7586]
Romano-Wolf p-value	[0.0370]	[0.0010]	[0.0020]	[0.0070]	[0.0869]	[0.8581]	[0.8681]	[0.8681]
T × Lula Supporter	0.12*** (0.03)	0.23*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.35*** (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.06)	0.10 (0.07)
Model p-value	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.0000]	[0.6928]	[0.1843]	[0.4980]	[0.1847]
Romano-Wolf p-value	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.0010]	[0.7433]	[0.5175]	[0.7433]	[0.5175]
Observations	1650	1650	1650	1645	1623	1649	1636	1640
R ²	0.069	0.299	0.318	0.546	0.094	0.206	0.460	0.114

Notes: The dependent variables in columns 1-3 are indicator variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. The dependent variables in columns 4-8 are indices defined in Appendix Section A-1.2. The table reports the treatment effects of the inflation decrease video interacted with the respondent’s political affiliation (“T × Bolsonaro Supporter” and “T × Lula Supporter”) relative to the omitted category (no video). All regressions include controls for gender, age group, race, income group, employment status, education, religion, whether on welfare, strength of support, and macro-region fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses. I show the p-value from the baseline regression (“Model p-value”) and the Romano-Wolf step-down adjusted p-values robust to multiple hypothesis testing (“Romano-Wolf p-value”). See notes to Table A-7. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

A-6.5 Alternative Mechanisms

In this section, I replicate Table 2 by interacting the election effect with probability of victory (Table A-10), affective polarization (Table A-11), and the legitimacy of the election (Table A-12), rather than with the expectation shock.

The three used specifications are the following:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha_i + \sum_{g \in G} \beta_g Post_t \times Group_{g,i} \times ProbVictory_i + \sum_{g \in G} \delta_g Post_t \times Group_{g,i} + \varepsilon_{it}$$

$$Y_{it} = \alpha_i + \sum_{g \in G} \beta_g Post_t \times Group_{g,i} \times Polarization_i + \sum_{g \in G} \delta_g Post_t \times Group_{g,i} + \varepsilon_{it}$$

$$Y_{it} = \alpha_i + \sum_{g \in G} \beta_g Post_t \times Group_{g,i} \times ElectionNotLegit_i + \sum_{g \in G} \beta_g Post_t \times Group_{g,i} \times ElectionLegit_i + \varepsilon_{it}$$

where $G = \{e, s, m, n\}$, α_i are the individual fixed effects, $Post_t$ is a dummy taking the value of 1 in the after-election period, $Group_{g,i}$ are dummies taking the value of 1 for every supporter group $g \in G$, $ProbVictory_i$ is the continuous variable measuring the perceived probability of supporter i that Bolsonaro was going to win, $Polarization_i$ is the continuous variable measuring the affective polarization of supporter i , $ElectionNotLegit_i$ is a dummy taking the value of 1 if supporter i believes that Lula's victory was not legitimate, and $ElectionLegit_i$ is a dummy taking the value of 1 if supporter i believes that Lula's victory was legitimate.

TABLE A-10: ELECTION EFFECTS ON DEMOCRATIC DISCONTENT - PROBABILITY OF VICTORY

	Agree violence acceptable to express disagreement (1)	Agree democracy best form of government (2)	Believe good political system for Brazil:			If Lula wins:		
			Democracy (3)	Strong Leader (4)	Army Rule (5)	Mass Protests (6)	Violent Riots (7)	Military Coup (8)
Post-Election Effect on:								
Extreme Bolsonaro Supporter × Probability of Victory	-0.02 (0.48)	0.42 (0.46)	-0.09 (0.49)	0.10 (0.47)	-0.33 (0.50)	-0.67 (0.55)	-0.36 (0.52)	0.32 (0.61)
Strong Bolsonaro Supporter × Probability of Victory	-0.07 (0.58)	-0.08 (0.37)	0.16 (0.51)	0.06 (0.42)	-0.10 (0.37)	-1.17 (0.72)	-0.80 (0.63)	1.14** (0.48)
Moderate Bolsonaro Supporter × Probability of Victory	-0.75* (0.45)	-0.01 (0.43)	-0.15 (0.34)	0.16 (0.39)	-0.69** (0.31)	-0.33 (0.50)	-0.28 (0.52)	-0.46 (0.38)
Reluctant Bolsonaro Supporter × Probability of Victory	-0.59* (0.36)	0.26 (0.85)	0.20 (0.34)	-0.17 (0.45)	-0.48 (0.30)	-0.79 (0.60)	-1.73*** (0.61)	-0.47 (0.40)
Extreme Bolsonaro Supporter	0.24 (0.44)	-0.48 (0.40)	-0.00 (0.44)	-0.18 (0.42)	0.45 (0.45)	0.75 (0.50)	0.45 (0.47)	-0.13 (0.55)
Strong Bolsonaro Supporter	0.30 (0.46)	0.11 (0.26)	-0.18 (0.41)	-0.34 (0.32)	0.16 (0.29)	1.10* (0.58)	0.82 (0.52)	-0.86** (0.38)
Moderate Bolsonaro Supporter	0.57* (0.31)	-0.08 (0.30)	0.12 (0.26)	-0.22 (0.25)	0.50** (0.23)	0.37 (0.37)	0.38 (0.39)	0.44* (0.26)
Reluctant Bolsonaro Supporter	0.36 (0.25)	-0.05 (0.55)	-0.02 (0.19)	0.04 (0.29)	0.37* (0.21)	0.47 (0.31)	1.19*** (0.34)	0.30 (0.23)
Observations	1100	1098	1093	1098	1095	1100	1097	1092

Notes: All dependent variables are continuous variables (Z-scores) defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. The table reports the coefficients of a fixed-effects regression with cluster-robust standard errors within individual. This specification includes all triple interactions between "Post-Election," the Bolsonaro supporter groups ("Extreme," "Strong," "Moderate," "Reluctant supporter") and the perceived probability of Bolsonaro winning ("Probability of Victory"), and all double interactions between "Post-Election" and the Bolsonaro supporter groups. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE A-11: ELECTION EFFECTS ON DEMOCRATIC DISCONTENT - AFFECTIVE POLARIZATION

	Agree violence acceptable to express disagreement (1)	Agree democracy best form of government (2)	Believe good political system for Brazil:			If Lula wins:		
			Democracy (3)	Strong Leader (4)	Army Rule (5)	Mass Protests (6)	Violent Riots (7)	Military Coup (8)
Post-Election Effect on:								
Extreme Bolsonaro Supporter × Polarization	-0.50** (0.24)	0.21 (0.28)	-0.20 (0.22)	0.13 (0.21)	-0.00 (0.21)	0.17 (0.26)	0.36 (0.25)	-0.11 (0.45)
Strong Bolsonaro Supporter × Polarization	-0.15 (0.35)	-0.03 (0.37)	0.12 (0.31)	-0.03 (0.30)	-0.24 (0.25)	0.52 (0.43)	0.58 (0.39)	0.02 (0.31)
Moderate Bolsonaro Supporter × Polarization	0.17 (0.27)	-0.09 (0.28)	0.28 (0.26)	-0.09 (0.27)	0.36* (0.20)	0.26 (0.22)	-0.11 (0.27)	0.01 (0.26)
Reluctant Bolsonaro Supporter × Polarization	0.38 (0.34)	0.78 (0.64)	-0.12 (0.34)	0.30 (0.30)	0.40* (0.22)	0.28 (0.30)	0.61* (0.36)	-0.32 (0.55)
Extreme Bolsonaro Supporter	-0.16 (0.20)	0.07 (0.25)	-0.26 (0.19)	0.00 (0.18)	0.15 (0.18)	0.28 (0.23)	0.41* (0.22)	0.09 (0.39)
Strong Bolsonaro Supporter	0.12 (0.24)	0.01 (0.21)	-0.01 (0.21)	-0.33 (0.21)	-0.07 (0.17)	0.53* (0.29)	0.60** (0.27)	0.07 (0.20)
Moderate Bolsonaro Supporter	0.07 (0.12)	-0.12 (0.12)	0.10 (0.14)	-0.16 (0.12)	0.14* (0.08)	0.25*** (0.10)	0.14 (0.13)	0.12 (0.12)
Reluctant Bolsonaro Supporter	0.04 (0.11)	0.20 (0.17)	0.06 (0.10)	-0.04 (0.11)	0.13* (0.08)	0.06 (0.13)	0.25* (0.13)	-0.05 (0.13)
Observations	1066	1064	1059	1064	1063	1066	1063	1058

Notes: All dependent variables are continuous variables (Z-scores) defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. The table report the coefficients of a fixed-effects regression with cluster-robust standard errors within individual. The specification includes all triple interactions between “Post-Election,” the Bolsonaro supporter groups (“Extreme,” “Strong,” “Moderate,” “Reluctant supporter”) and affective polarization (“Polarization”), and all double interactions between “Post-Election” and the Bolsonaro supporter groups. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE A-12: ELECTION EFFECTS ON DEMOCRATIC DISCONTENT - LEGITIMACY OF ELECTION

	Agree violence acceptable to express disagreement (1)	Agree democracy best form of government (2)	Believe good political system for Brazil:			If Lula wins:		
			Democracy (3)	Strong Leader (4)	Army Rule (5)	Mass Protests (6)	Violent Riots (7)	Military Coup (8)
Post-Election Effect on:								
Extreme Supporter × Election Not Legit	0.08** (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.04)	0.08** (0.04)	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.04)	0.12*** (0.04)
Extreme Supporter × Election Legit	0.00 (0.08)	0.00 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)	0.04 (0.09)	0.04 (0.09)	0.15** (0.07)	0.15** (0.07)	0.00 (0.09)
Strong Supporter × Election Not Legit	0.12** (0.06)	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.09 (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)	0.12* (0.06)	0.15*** (0.06)
Strong Supporter × Election Legit	0.06 (0.08)	0.04 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.15** (0.07)	0.04 (0.09)	0.13** (0.07)	0.15* (0.09)	0.02 (0.08)
Moderate Supporter × Election Not Legit	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.01 (0.05)	0.09 (0.07)	0.11** (0.05)
Moderate Supporter × Election Legit	0.01 (0.06)	0.05 (0.05)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.06)	0.00 (0.05)	0.07 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.05)
Reluctant Supporter × Election Not Legit	0.06 (0.05)	-0.17* (0.09)	0.06 (0.06)	-0.22* (0.13)	-0.06 (0.12)	-0.11 (0.07)	0.00 (0.11)	0.28** (0.13)
Reluctant Supporter × Election Legit	-0.02 (0.04)	0.14** (0.06)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.07)	0.08 (0.06)	0.10 (0.07)	0.16** (0.07)	0.00 (0.07)
Observations	1100	1098	1093	1098	1095	1100	1097	1092

Notes: All dependent variables are indicator variables (Z-scores) defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. The table report the coefficients of a fixed-effects regression with cluster-robust standard errors within individual. The specification includes all triple interactions between “Post-Election,” the Bolsonaro supporter groups (“Extreme,” “Strong,” “Moderate,” “Reluctant supporter”) and legitimacy of the election (“Election Not Legit,” “Election Legit”). Only some of these coefficients are reported due to space constraints. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

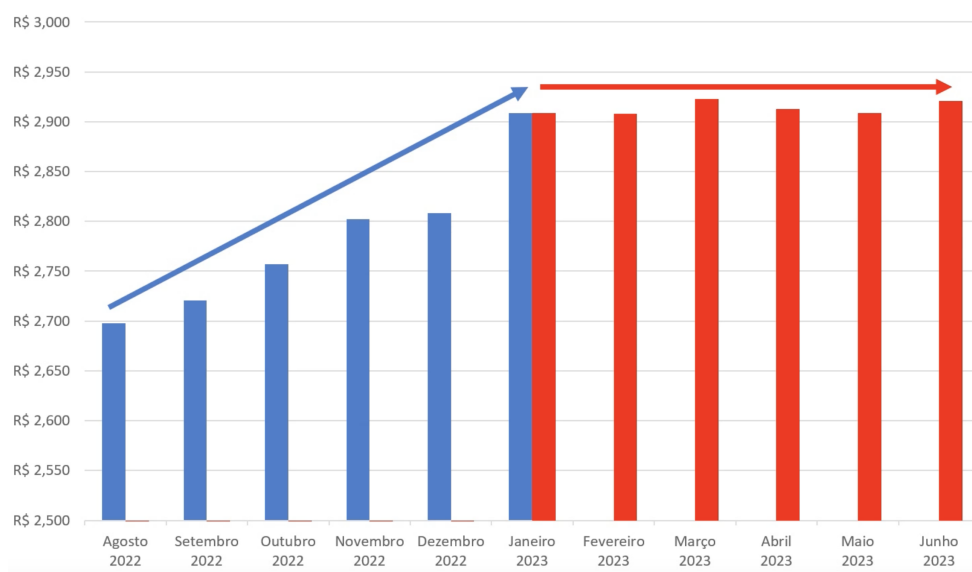
A-7 Experiment Appendix

A-7.1 Income's Stagnation Treatment

As stated in my registered pre-analysis plan, I wanted to test the effect of both a positive and negative update to people's expectations about the economy. A negative update to Bolsonaro supporters' expectations would have replicated more closely what happened after the election result. To avoid deceiving the respondents, I had to rely on real data. For this reason, I decided to use as treatment the average real income trend. As can be seen in Figure A-9, during the last months of Bolsonaro's presidency the average real income was increasing but after Lula took office, this positive trend stopped. My initial hypothesis was that this information would have been perceived by Bolsonaro supporters as a negative news about the economy. This would have led to negative expectations about the future and an increase in their democratic discontent.

But, as can be seen in Table A-13, this is not what happened. Bolsonaro supporters ameliorated their perceptions on how the economy was doing in 2022 (column 1), but they didn't perceive this information as something negative regarding the current state of the economy. If anything, they seem to have perceived as positive news and positively updated their expectations about the future, even if not in a significant way (columns 2 and 3). This might be because their expectations about Lula were so low, that just seeing that the economy isn't in a downward trend is perceived as good news. Given the positive first-stage effect, it is not surprising that I find a decrease in the likelihood to attend violent protests (column 5) as well as negative signs on "violence acceptance" and "support military" indices (columns 6 and 7), while a positive one on the "support democracy" index (column 8).

FIGURE A-9: TREATMENT - INCOME STAGNATION



Notes: Data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE).

TABLE A-13: TREATMENT EFFECTS - INCOME STAGNATION

	Economy			Indices				
	ameliorated in 2022 (1)	ameliorated in 2023 (2)	will ameliorate in future (3)	Economic Expectations (4)	Violent Protests (5)	Violence Acceptance (6)	Support Military (7)	Support Democracy (8)
Descriptive Statistics (control group only)								
Bolsonaro supporters mean	0.52	0.09	0.17	-1.27	0.23	0.41	0.76	-0.20
Lula supporters mean	0.20	0.67	0.78	0.95	-0.11	-0.34	-0.67	0.17
Observations	878	878	878	876	861	877	869	872
Treatment Effects - Income's Stagnation								
T × Bolsonaro Supporter	0.08** (0.03)	0.03 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)	0.10 (0.09)	-0.16* (0.09)	-0.11 (0.08)	-0.07 (0.07)	0.03 (0.08)
T × Lula Supporter	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.08)	-0.06 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.05 (0.07)
Observations	1665	1665	1665	1663	1638	1664	1650	1656
R ²	0.232	0.420	0.420	0.527	0.081	0.203	0.470	0.116

Notes: The dependent variables in columns 1-3 are indicator variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. The dependent variables in columns 4-8 are indices defined in Appendix Section A-1.2. First two rows report the mean of the dependent variables for respondents who saw no treatment video separately for Bolsonaro and Lula supporters. The bottom panel reports the treatment effects of the income stagnation video interacted with the respondent's political affiliation ("T × Bolsonaro Supporter" and "T × Lula Supporter") relative to the omitted category (no video). All regressions include controls for gender, age group, race, income group, employment status, education, religion, whether on welfare, strength of support, and macro-region fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

A-7.2 Additional Treatment Effects

In this section, I show the treatment effect on all the additional outcomes not included in my main analysis. All tables use the same specifications from Table 5.

TABLE A-14: TREATMENT EFFECTS ON ECONOMIC PERCEPTIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

	Government performance			Economy			Finding Job			Inequality		
	Bolsonaro so far (1)	Lula so far (2)	Lula in future (3)	ameliorated in 2022 (4)	ameliorated in 2023 (5)	will ameliorate in future (6)	easy in 2022 (7)	easy today (8)	easy in future (9)	serious prob in 2022 (10)	decreased in 2023 (11)	will decrease in future (12)
Descriptive Statistics (control group only)												
Bolsonaro supporters mean	7.90	2.59	2.71	0.52	0.09	0.17	0.31	0.07	0.08	0.36	0.04	0.08
Lula supporters mean	2.10	7.23	7.93	0.20	0.67	0.78	0.07	0.22	0.42	0.71	0.32	0.53
Observations	858	858	863	878	878	878	878	878	878	878	878	878
Treatment Effects - Inflation Decrease												
Treatment	-0.15 (0.11)	0.33*** (0.10)	0.25** (0.10)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.05*** (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.03* (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)	0.05*** (0.02)
T × Bolsonaro Supporter	-0.19 (0.13)	0.12 (0.17)	0.11 (0.18)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)	0.04** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)
T × Lula Supporter	-0.11 (0.17)	0.52*** (0.11)	0.38*** (0.10)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.08*** (0.03)	0.05** (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.06** (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
Observations	1618	1616	1621	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650
R ²	0.701	0.665	0.685	0.233	0.454	0.445	0.151	0.114	0.259	0.154	0.214	0.290

Notes: All dependent variables are indicator variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. First two rows report the mean of the dependent variables for respondents who saw no treatment video separately for Bolsonaro and Lula supporters. The bottom panel reports the coefficients from two different specifications, whose only difference is given by the interaction of the treatment effects. The first row shows the treatment effect of the inflation decrease video ("Treatment") relative to the omitted category (no video). The following two rows show the treatment effects of the video interacted with the respondent's political affiliation ("T × Bolsonaro Supporter" and "T × Lula Supporter"). All regressions include controls for gender, age group, race, income group, employment status, education, religion, whether on welfare, strength of support, and macro-region fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE A-15: TREATMENT EFFECTS ON INDICES COMPONENTS

	Violent Protests		Violence Acceptance		Support Military		Support Democracy	
	Likely to attend: Violent protests (1)	Confrontations with authorities (2)	Approve January 8 protests (3)	Agree violence acceptable to express disagreement (4)	Believe army rule good political system for Brazil (5)	In favor of military intervention (6)	Agree democracy best form of government (7)	Believe democracy good political system for Brazil (8)
Descriptive Statistics (control group only)								
Bolsonaro supporters mean	0.25	0.12	0.16	0.24	0.53	0.42	0.62	0.85
Lula supporters mean	0.15	0.09	0.05	0.12	0.22	0.02	0.74	0.91
Observations	878	878	878	878	878	878	878	878
Treatment Effects - Inflation Decrease								
Treatment	-0.03* (0.02)	-0.02* (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
T × Bolsonaro Supporter	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)
T × Lula Supporter	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.04 (0.03)	0.00 (0.02)
Observations	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650
R^2	0.093	0.069	0.097	0.065	0.175	0.421	0.068	0.061

Notes: All dependent variables are indicator variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. See notes to Table A-15. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE A-16: TREATMENT EFFECTS ON EMOTIONS

	When thinking about the future of Brazil feel a lot of						
	Hope (1)	Joy (2)	Enthusiasm (3)	Fear (4)	Indignation (5)	Sadness (6)	Pride (7)
Descriptive Statistics (control group only)							
Bolsonaro supporters mean	0.18	0.09	0.11	0.57	0.59	0.50	0.09
Lula supporters mean	0.61	0.51	0.46	0.23	0.18	0.13	0.44
Observations	878	878	878	878	878	878	878
Treatment Effects - Inflation Decrease							
Treatment	0.01 (0.02)	0.03* (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
T × Bolsonaro Supporter	-0.03 (0.03)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)
T × Lula Supporter	0.04 (0.03)	0.06** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)	-0.06** (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)
Observations	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650
R^2	0.351	0.380	0.324	0.210	0.255	0.249	0.339

Notes: All dependent variables are indicator variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. See notes to Table A-15. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE A-17: TREATMENT EFFECTS ON ADDITIONAL OUTCOMES (PART 1)

	Believe strong leader good political system for Brazil (1)	Believe technocracy good political system for Brazil (2)	Likely to attend peaceful protests (3)	Big protests likely to happen again (4)	Agree violence	
					by state acceptable to preserve democracy (5)	against other group acceptable if violent (6)
Descriptive Statistics (control group only)						
Bolsonaro supporters mean	0.58	0.34	0.56	0.41	0.31	0.24
Lula supporters mean	0.55	0.28	0.45	0.32	0.35	0.27
Observations	878	878	878	878	878	878
Treatment Effects - Inflation Decrease						
Treatment	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
T × Bolsonaro Supporter	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
T × Lula Supporter	0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
Observations	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650
R^2	0.041	0.039	0.083	0.071	0.042	0.045

Notes: All dependent variables are indicator variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. See notes to Table A-15. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE A-18: TREATMENT EFFECTS ON ADDITIONAL OUTCOMES (PART 2)

	Affective Polarization		Trust federal govt to do what is right (3)	Most politicians can be trusted (4)	Most people can be trusted (5)	Most people would try to be fair (6)
	Candidate (1)	Supporter (2)				
Descriptive Statistics (control group only)						
Bolsonaro supporters mean	0.50	0.43	0.34	0.26	0.36	0.43
Lula supporters mean	0.56	0.48	0.60	0.33	0.40	0.49
Observations	850	846	869	854	870	869
Treatment Effects - Inflation Decrease						
Treatment	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
T × Bolsonaro Supporter	0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.04** (0.02)	-0.04** (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
T × Lula Supporter	0.03 (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	0.04** (0.01)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Observations	1599	1593	1632	1603	1627	1633
R^2	0.457	0.387	0.368	0.117	0.079	0.097

Notes: All dependent variables are continuous variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. See notes to Table A-15. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE A-19: TREATMENT EFFECTS ON PERCEIVED BRAZIL'S PROBLEMS

	3 main problems of Brazil nowadays														
	Access to education (1)	Access to health-care (2)	Unemployment (3)	Low wages (4)	High taxes (5)	Inflation (6)	Low econ growth (7)	Inequality (8)	Poverty (9)	Weakened democracy (10)	Corruption (11)	Criminality (12)	Lack of moral values (13)	Intolerance to minorities (14)	Environmental degradation (15)
Descriptive Statistics (control group only)															
Bolsonaro supporters mean	0.25	0.25	0.45	0.08	0.19	0.33	0.06	0.19	0.22	0.04	0.45	0.28	0.10	0.00	0.05
Lula supporters mean	0.29	0.28	0.45	0.15	0.10	0.23	0.05	0.36	0.31	0.05	0.24	0.24	0.04	0.05	0.09
Observations	878	878	878	878	878	878	878	878	878	878	878	878	878	878	878
Treatment Effects - Inflation Decrease															
Treatment	-0.05** (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)
T × Bolsonaro Supporter	-0.04 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.04)	0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.07** (0.03)	0.04** (0.02)	-0.05* (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	0.07** (0.04)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.07*** (0.03)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.02)
T × Lula Supporter	-0.05 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.06** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.06* (0.03)	0.10*** (0.03)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)
Observations	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650
R ²	0.020	0.030	0.034	0.035	0.038	0.043	0.024	0.073	0.047	0.041	0.100	0.028	0.064	0.044	0.054

Notes: All dependent variables are indicator variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. See notes to Table A-15. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

A-7.3 Pre-Treatment Elicitation of Perceptions of Inflation

In this section, I examine how initial perceptions of inflation affected the effects of the treatment. In wave 6, I elicited respondents perception, before the treatment, on whether inflation was higher or lower compared to the previous year. With this question, I create a measures of initial knowledge. “Not aware of reduction” is an indicator variable equal to 1 if the respondent answered *almost the same*, *higher*, or *much higher* to whether, compared to the previous year, inflation is higher or lower than before. The full question can be found in Appendix Section A-9. In Table A-20, I control for initial perceptions. In Table A-21, I interact the treatment with the initial perception of the information provided in it.

TABLE A-20: CONTROLLING FOR PRE-TREATMENT ELICITATION

	Inflation decreased in 2022		Inflation decreased in 2023		Inflation will decrease in future		Index Economic Expectations		Index Violent Protests		Index Violence Acceptance		Index Support Military		Index Support Democracy	
	No Control	Control Pre-T	No Control	Control Pre-T	No Control	Control Pre-T	No Control	Control Pre-T	No Control	Control Pre-T	No Control	Control Pre-T	No Control	Control Pre-T	No Control	Control Pre-T
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
Treatment Effects - Inflation Decrease																
Not aware of reduction		-0.08*** (0.03)		-0.42*** (0.03)		-0.29*** (0.03)		-0.92*** (0.07)		0.10 (0.08)		0.20*** (0.06)		0.30*** (0.05)		-0.37*** (0.07)
T × Bolsonaro Supporter	0.09*** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.03)	0.25*** (0.03)	0.26*** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.29*** (0.09)	0.31*** (0.08)	-0.21** (0.10)	-0.21** (0.10)	-0.06 (0.09)	-0.06 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	0.03 (0.09)	0.04 (0.09)
T × Lula Supporter	0.12*** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.23*** (0.03)	0.23*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.35*** (0.08)	0.35*** (0.07)	0.03 (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.06)	0.10 (0.07)	0.10 (0.07)
Observations	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1650	1645	1645	1623	1623	1649	1649	1636	1636	1640	1640
R ²	0.069	0.075	0.299	0.422	0.318	0.379	0.546	0.596	0.094	0.095	0.206	0.211	0.460	0.470	0.114	0.131

Notes: The dependent variables in columns 1-3 are indicator variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. The dependent variables in columns 4-8 are indices defined in Appendix Section A-1.2. All regressions include controls for gender, age group, race, income group, employment status, education, religion, whether on welfare, strength of support, and macro-region fixed effects. In the even columns I control for pre-treatment perceptions. The table reports the treatment effects of the inflation decrease video interacted with the respondent's political affiliation (“T × Bolsonaro Supporter” and “T × Lula Supporter”) relative to the omitted category (no video). Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE A-21: INTERACTION WITH PRE-TREATMENT ELICITATION

	Inflation			Indices				
	decreased in 2022 (1)	decreased in 2023 (2)	will decrease in future (3)	Economic Expectations (4)	Violent Protests (5)	Violence Acceptance (6)	Support Military (7)	Support Democracy (8)
Panel A: Treatment Effects - Inflation Decrease								
Treatment	0.11*** (0.02)	0.24*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)	0.32*** (0.06)	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.05)	0.06 (0.06)
T x Not aware of reduction	0.15*** (0.03)	0.32*** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.02)	0.32*** (0.07)	-0.15* (0.08)	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.06)	0.04 (0.07)
T x Aware of reduction	0.04 (0.04)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.07* (0.04)	0.36*** (0.09)	0.04 (0.10)	-0.09 (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)	0.13 (0.08)
Observations	1650	1650	1650	1645	1623	1649	1636	1640
R ²	0.069	0.299	0.318	0.546	0.092	0.206	0.460	0.114
Panel B: Treatment Effects - Inflation Decrease - By Political Affiliation								
T x Bolsonaro Supporter	0.09*** (0.03)	0.25*** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.29*** (0.09)	-0.21** (0.10)	-0.06 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.07)	0.03 (0.09)
T x Lula Supporter	0.12*** (0.03)	0.23*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.35*** (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.06)	0.10 (0.07)
T x Bolsonaro Supporter x Not aware	0.11*** (0.04)	0.30*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.02)	0.29*** (0.09)	-0.29*** (0.10)	-0.10 (0.09)	-0.06 (0.08)	0.04 (0.09)
T x Bolsonaro Supporter x Aware	-0.03 (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.08)	0.43** (0.21)	0.26 (0.22)	0.15 (0.20)	0.10 (0.15)	-0.01 (0.20)
T x Lula Supporter x Not aware	0.20*** (0.04)	0.35*** (0.04)	0.19*** (0.05)	0.36*** (0.12)	0.07 (0.12)	-0.01 (0.11)	-0.07 (0.09)	0.03 (0.11)
T x Lula Supporter x Aware	0.05 (0.04)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.09** (0.04)	0.35*** (0.09)	-0.00 (0.10)	-0.15** (0.07)	-0.01 (0.07)	0.16* (0.09)
Observations	1650	1650	1650	1645	1623	1649	1636	1640
R ²	0.069	0.299	0.318	0.546	0.094	0.206	0.460	0.114

Notes: The dependent variables in columns 1-3 are indicator variables defined in Appendix Section A-1.1. The dependent variables in columns 4-8 are indices defined in Appendix Section A-1.2. Regressions in all panels include controls for gender, age group, race, income group, employment status, education, religion, whether on welfare, strength of support, and macro-region fixed effects. Panel A shows the treatment effects on the full sample, Panel B shows the treatment effect by political affiliation. All Panels report the coefficients from two different specifications, whose only difference is given by the interaction of the treatment effects. In Panel A, the first row shows the treatment effect of the inflation decrease video (“Treatment”) relative to the omitted category (no video). The following two rows show the treatment effects of the video interacted with the initial perception of the information contained in the video (“T x Not aware of reduction” and “T x Aware of reduction”). In Panel B, the first two rows report the treatment effects of the inflation decrease video interacted with the respondent’s political affiliation (“T x Bolsonaro Supporter” and “T x Lula Supporter”) relative to the omitted category (no video). The last four rows show the treatment effects of the video interacted with the respondent’s political affiliation and the initial perception of the information contained in the video (“T x Bolsonaro Supporter x Not aware,” and “T x Bolsonaro Supporter x Aware,” “T x Lula Supporter x Not aware,” and “T x Lula Supporter x Aware”). Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

A-8 Survey Links

The web interface of the survey can be experienced at the following links. Surveys are in the original language, translations of the surveys can be found in the next Appendix Section. Screen outs and quotas have been deactivated as well to allow an easier survey experience. In Wave 6, the treatment randomization has been deactivated to allow every survey taker to watch both treatments.

- Wave 1: https://bostonu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_d4E9cC3W1pV0ap0
- Wave 3: https://bostonu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_bJwpmQEzQnyKB8
- Wave 4: https://bostonu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_esUL15BcP0WX1D8
- Wave 6: https://bostonu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_4Z2aU0uJ2kc9XTw

A-9 Questionnaires

A-9.1 Wave 1 to 5

Consent

1. We are a non-partisan group of academic researchers from Boston University. By completing this survey, you are contributing to our knowledge as a society.

Our survey will give you an opportunity to express your own views.

It is very important for the success of our research that you answer honestly and read the questions very carefully before answering. Don't leave any question blank, if you don't know an answer, please give your best guess. There aren't right or wrong answers. However, be sure to spend enough time reading and understanding the question.

It is also very important for the success of our research that you complete the survey on your own, that you don't ask anyone for help and that you complete it entirely once you have started.

This survey takes an average of about 20 minutes to complete.

Note: Your participation in this study is purely voluntary. Your name will never be recorded. Results may include summary data, but you will never be personally identified. If you have any question about this study, you may contact us at mferroni@bu.edu

Yes, I would like to take part in this study; No, I would not like to participate

Screening Questions

We would like to ask some questions about yourself.

1. Are you a Brazilian citizen?
Yes; No
2. What is your gender?
Male; Female; Prefer not to say.
3. What is your age?
4. What was your total monthly household income, before taxes, that you normally received last year?
Less than R\$500; R\$500 - R\$1,000; R\$1,000 - R\$1,500; R\$1,500 - R\$2,000; R\$2,000 - R\$3,000; R\$3,000 - R\$4,000; R\$4,000 - R\$5,000; R\$5,000 - R\$7,500; R\$7,500 - R\$10,000; More than R\$10,000.

5. How many people live in you house?
1; 2; 3; 4; 5 or more.
6. Which State do you live in?
7. reCAPTCHA
8. This is a question to check whether whether you are paying attention and reading the questions carefully. Please select both "1" and "4" to move to the next page of the survey.
1; 2; 3; 4; 5.

Background Questions

1. Which are the first five digits of your CEP of residency?
2. What is your level of education?
No education; Primary school; High school; Vocational training; Education of Young and Adults; Bachelor's degree; Master's degree; Doctorate.
3. Your color or race is:¹
White; Black; Yellow; Mixed race; Indigenous.
4. What is your current employment status?
Full-time employee; Part-time employee; Self-employed; Unemployed and looking for work; Stay at home wife/husband; Student; Not currently working and not looking for work; Retiree
5. *[If Full-time employee, Part-time employee, or Self-employed:]* Which category best describes your main occupation?
Culture, arts, and entertainment; Computers and information technology; Finance; Agriculture; Health or education; Electoral politics; Other private sector; Other public sector.
6. Are you or someone in your household receiving the new Auxílio Brasil that replaced Bolsa Família?
There is someone already receiving it; No one is receiving but someone will soon; No one is receiving it and no one will.
7. What is your religion or cult?⁵
Catholic; Evangelical; Protestant; Spiritist; Spiritualized without following a given religion; Atheist or agnostic; Other [text entry box].
8. Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible?
The Bible is the actual Word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word; The Bible is the Word of God but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word; The Bible is a book written by men and is not the Word of God
9. Do you consider religion to be an important part of your life, or not?
Not at all important; Not very important; Important; Extremely important.
10. What would you say it's your main source of news about politics?
TV; Social networks; Websites and blogs; Friends, family members or acquaintances; Digital newspapers; Printed newspapers; WhatsApp or Telegram; Radio; I don't follow the news.
11. If you had to estimate how much time in total you spend every day on social media platforms (such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Telegram, Instagram, YouTube, etc. . .), it would be:
None at all; Some, but less than 30 minutes; Between 30 minutes and 1 hour; Between 1 and 2 hours; Between 2 and 4 hours; More than 4 hours.

¹Wording from the Brazilian Census.

Expectations about the elections

1. **[Shown only in Wave 4 and 5]** In the next set of questions we would like to ask you to remember what were your thoughts on the elections [**Wave 4:** last week] [**Wave 5:** last month], that is before the election results were revealed. Please try to remember as best as you can, thank you!
2. In the next question we will ask you to think about the percent chance of something happening in the future. Your answer can range from 0 to 100, where 0 means there is absolutely no chance, and 100 means that is absolutely certain.

For example, numbers like:

- 2 or 5 percent may indicate “almost no chance”.
- 18 percent or so may mean “not much chance”.
- 47 or 52 percent chance may be a “pretty even chance”.
- 83 percent or so may mean a “very good chance”.
- 95 or 98 percent chance may be “almost certain”.

- 2.1 **[Wave 1, 2, and 3 version]** What do you think is the percent chance that Bolsonaro is going to win the elections and be confirmed as President?

Slider 0-100.

[Wave 4 and 5 version] Before the second round, what was the percent chance that you were giving to a Bolsonaro victory in the elections and his confirmation as president?

Slider 0-100.

- 2.2 **[Wave 1, 2, and 3 version]** What do you think is the percent chance that Lula is going to win the elections and becomes President again?

Slider 0-100.

[Wave 4 and 5 version] Before the second round, what was the percent chance that you were giving to a Lula victory in the elections and him becoming President again?

Slider 0-100.

3. **[Asked only in Wave 1, 2, and 3]** How much do you believe the answers that you just provided?

I'm certain; I believe them a lot; I believe them a bit; I don't believe to them.

4. **[Wave 1, 2, and 3 version]** In the second round of the elections, [**Wave 1:** it is very likely that] voters will have to choose between Lula and Bolsonaro. What share of valid votes do you think will Bolsonaro get and what share of valid votes will Lula get?

As a reference, in the last 5 elections, the winner got between 51.64% and 61.27% of valid votes, while the loser got between 38.72% and 48.36%.

If your answer is going to be close enough to the actual results (within a 2 percentage points interval), you are going to be automatically enrolled in a lottery to receive an additional monetary reward of R\$100.

Please move the slider to select the share of votes that you expect Bolsonaro is going to get. The pie chart will automatically update to show the share of votes that you predict both Bolsonaro and Lula will get.

Slider 0-100 with pie chart

[Wave 4 and 5 version] Before the second round, what share of valid votes were you expecting Bolsonaro to get and what share of valid votes were you expecting Lula to get?

As a reference, in the last 5 elections, the winner got between 51.64% and 61.27% of valid votes, while the loser got between 38.72% and 48.36%.

Please move the slider to select the share of votes that you were expecting Bolsonaro to get. The bar chart will automatically update to show the share of votes that you were predict both Bolsonaro and Lula

would have gotten.

Slider 0-100 with pie chart

5. **[Asked only in Wave 1, 2, and 3]** How much do you believe the answers that you just provided?
I'm certain; I believe them a lot; I believe them a bit; I don't believe to them.
6. **[Asked only in Wave 2 and 3]** In the first round, Lula got 48.43% of the votes while Bolsonaro got 43.20%. Were you surprised by these results?
Yes, I was expecting more votes for Lula and fewer for Bolsonaro; Yes, I was expecting more votes for Bolsonaro and fewer for Lula; No, this result is similar to what I was expecting.
7. **[Asked only in Wave 2 and 3]** Were you more disappointed or happy with the results of the first round?
Very disappointed; Disappointed; Indifferent; Happy; Very happy.
8. **[Asked only in Wave 4 and 5]** In the second round, Lula got 50.90% of the votes while Bolsonaro got 49.10%. Were you surprised by these results?
Yes, I was expecting more votes for Lula and fewer for Bolsonaro; Yes, I was expecting more votes for Bolsonaro and fewer for Lula; No, this result is similar to what I was expecting.
9. **[Asked only in Wave 4 and 5]** Were you more disappointed or happy with the results of the second round?
Very disappointed; Disappointed; Indifferent; Happy; Very happy.
10. **[Asked only in Wave 4 and 5]** *[If expecting more votes for Lula or Bolsonaro in Q9:]* Why do you think the results ended up to be different from what you were expecting?
[Text entry box]
11. **[Asked only in Wave 4 and 5]** *[If expecting more votes for Lula or Bolsonaro in Q9:]* Among the options below, which one would you say are the main reasons why your expectations were different from what actually happened? Please select up to 3 options
I relied too much on the polls; I have been influenced too much by the news; I have been influenced too much by what my family and friends were going to do; I have been influenced too much by what I read on the social networks; The votes have not been counted properly; I was expecting voters to be smarter; I was hoping on a different result and this influenced my expectations; I was expecting a different turn-out rate; I was not paying much attention to the election; Lula tricked voters into believing him much more than I was expecting; Bolsonaro tricked voters into believing him much more than I was expecting; Some voters haven't been allowed to vote.
12. **[Asked only in Wave 4 and 5]** Lula got the majority of votes in the elections' second round. How much do you believe he is the actual winner of these elections?
Slider (0 Not at all - 100 Completely)
13. **[Asked only in Wave 4 and 5]** Do you believe that Lula's victory in the presidential election was legitimate or not legitimate?
Definitely not legitimate; Probably not legitimate; Probably legitimate; Definitely legitimate.
14. How important do you believe these elections are going to be in determining the future of Brazil?
Extremely important; Important; Not very important; Not at all important.
15. When you think about this year's elections, how much do you feel the following emotions?
 - 16.1 Hope
Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.
 - 16.2 Joy
Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.

- 16.3 Fear
Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.
- 16.4 Pride
Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.
- 16.5 Indignation
Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.
- 16.6 Sadness
Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.
- 16.7 Enthusiasm
Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.

Political Questions

1. In politics people sometimes talk of “left” and “right”. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 1 means extreme left and 10 means extreme right?
Slider (0 Extreme Left – 5 Center - 10 Extreme Right)
2. How much do you believe religion should be taken into account in political decisions?
Not at all; To some extent; To a considerable extent; To a very large extent; Religious views should always take precedence.
3. To what extent are you interested in politics?
A lot; Moderately; A little; Not at all.
4. How much attention have you been paying to the 2022 election campaign for president?
A lot; Some; Only a little; None at all.
5. Please indicate how many times have you done the following activities in the last year:
 - 5.1 Attended a political rally, speech or campaign event.
Never; Once; A few times; A lot of times.
 - 5.2 Worked or volunteered for a political party, candidate or campaign.
Never; Once; A few times; A lot of times.
 - 5.3 Contributed money to a candidate’s campaign.
Never; Once; A few times; A lot of times.
 - 5.4 Publicly expressed your support for a political campaign on social media.
Never; Once; A few times; A lot of times.
6. Did you vote in the [**Wave 1, 2, and 3:** last] [**Wave 4 and 5:** before last] Brazilian Presidential Elections (2018)?
Yes; No
7. [*If Yes to Q6:*] Which candidate did you support in the second round of the [**Wave 1, 2, and 3:** last] [**Wave 4 and 5:** before last] presidential election?
Jair Bolsonaro; Fernando Haddad

[If No to Q6:] Even though you didn’t vote, which candidate would have you supported in the second round of the [**Wave 1, 2, and 3:** last] [**Wave 4 and 5:** before last] presidential election?
Jair Bolsonaro; Fernando Haddad
8. [**Wave 1 version**] Who are you planning to vote for President in the first round (October 2nd)?
Jair Bolsonaro; Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva; Ciro Gomes; Simone Tebet; Other [text entry box]; I will not vote.

[Wave 2, 3, 4, and 5 version] Who did you vote for President in the first round (October 2nd)?
*Jair Bolsonaro; Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva; Ciro Gomes; Simone Tebet; Other [text entry box]; Invalid;
Null vote; I didn't vote.*

9. **[Wave 1 version]** If there is going to be a run-off between Lula and Bolsonaro, who are you going to vote for? If you don't plan in voting, please tell us the candidate that gets closer to your views.
Lula; Bolsonaro.

[Wave 2 and 3 version] Who are you going to vote for President in the second round (October 30th)?
Lula; Bolsonaro; Invalid or null; I won't vote

[Wave 4 and 5 version] Who did you vote for President in the second round (October 30th)?
Lula; Bolsonaro; Invalid or null; I didn't vote

10. **[Asked in Wave 2, 3, 4, and 5]** *[If Invalid or null to Q9:]* Even voting/having voted invalid or null, which candidate would you say gets closer to your views?
Lula; Bolsonaro.

[Asked in Wave 2, 3, 4, and 5]*[If I won't/didn't vote to Q9:]* Even not voting/not having voted, which candidate would you say gets closer to your views?
Lula; Bolsonaro.

11. *[If voting/voted for Lula:]* How strong of a Lula supporter would you consider yourself?
Slider (0 Not a supporter – 10 Very strong supporter)

[If voting/voted for Bolsonaro:] How strong of a Bolsonaro supporter would you consider yourself?
Slider (0 Not a supporter – 10 Very strong supporter)

12. **[Asked in Wave 2, 3, 4, and 5]** *[If voting/voted for Lula:]* Please, briefly tell us what you like about Lula:
[Text entry box]

[Asked in Wave 2, 3, 4, and 5] *[If voting/voted for Bolsonaro:]* Please, briefly tell us what you like about Bolsonaro:
[Text entry box]

13. **[Asked in Wave 2, 3, 4, and 5]** *[If voting/voted for Lula:]* Tell us also what you don't like about Bolsonaro:
[Text entry box]

[Asked in Wave 2, 3, 4, and 5] *[If voting/voted for Bolsonaro:]* Tell us also what you don't like about Lula:
[Text entry box]

Extra Questions

1. **[Asked in Wave 2, 3, 4, and 5]** These are two questions to make sure that you are paying attention. Thanks for completing the survey so far!
- 1.1 In a sale, a shop is selling all items at half price. Before the sale, a sofa costs R\$300. How much will it cost in the sale?
[Text entry box]
- 1.2 If the chance of getting a disease is 10 per cent, how many people out of 1,000 would be expected to get the disease?
[Text entry box]

2. **[Asked in Wave 2, 3, 4, and 5]** In your opinion, which are the biggest problems Brazil is facing today? Select up to three options:
Access to education; Access to health care; Low economic growth; Corruption; Environmental degradation; Unemployment; Inequality; Weakening of the democratic institutions; Lack of moral values; High taxes; Inflation; Poverty; Intolerance to minorities; Low wages; Criminality.
3. **[Asked only in Wave 4]**² Last week, which did you think were the biggest problems Brazil is facing today? Select up to three options:
Access to education; Access to health care; Low economic growth; Corruption; Environmental degradation; Unemployment; Inequality; Weakening of the democratic institutions; Lack of moral values; High taxes; Inflation; Poverty; Intolerance to minorities; Low wages; Criminality.

Perceptions of others

1. Out of 10 people living in your city, how many do you think are Lula supporters?
Please tell us what you think by moving the slider below.
Slider 0-10.
2. Out of 10 people living in your city, how many do you think are Bolsonaro supporters?
Slider 0-10.
3. Out of 10 Brazilians, how many do you think are strong Lula supporters?
Slider 0-10.
4. Out of 10 Brazilians, how many do you think are strong Bolsonaro supporters?
Slider 0-10.
5. **[Wave 1, 2, and 3 version]** *[If voting for Lula:]* Think about your family members and close friends, how many of them do you think are also going to vote for Lula?
All of them; Almost all of them; A majority of them; Roughly half of them; A minority of them; Almost no one; No one.
- [Wave 4 and 5 version]** *[If voted for Lula:]* Think about your family members and close friends, how many of them do you think also voted for Lula?
All of them; Almost all of them; A majority of them; Roughly half of them; A minority of them; Almost no one; No one.
- [Wave 1, 2, and 3 version]** *[If voting for Bolsonaro:]* Think about your family members and close friends, how many of them do you think are also going to vote for Bolsonaro?
All of them; Almost all of them; A majority of them; Roughly half of them; A minority of them; Almost no one; No one.
- [Wave 4 and 5 version]** *[If voted for Bolsonaro:]* Think about your family members and close friends, how many of them do you think also voted for Bolsonaro?
All of them; Almost all of them; A majority of them; Roughly half of them; A minority of them; Almost no one; No one.
6. **[Wave 1, 2, and 3 version]** *[If voting for Lula:]* How often do you socialize with friends or acquaintances, for example at the workplace, that you believe are going to vote for Bolsonaro?
Never; Once a year or less; A few times a year; Once or twice a month; About every week; Once a week; Every day or almost every day.

²In Wave 4, the order of Q2 and Q3 was randomized with half respondents having to answer Q2 before Q3 and the other half the other way around.

[Wave 4 and 5 version] *[If voted for Lula:]* How often do you socialize with friends or acquaintances, for example at the workplace, that you believe voted for Bolsonaro?
Never; Once a year or less; A few times a year; Once or twice a month; About every week; Once a week; Every day or almost every day.

[Wave 1, 2, and 3 version] *[If voting for Bolsonaro:]* How often do you socialize with friends or acquaintances, for example at the workplace, that you believe are going to vote for Lula?
Never; Once a year or less; A few times a year; Once or twice a month; About every week; Once a week; Every day or almost every day.

[Wave 4 and 5 version] *[If voted for Bolsonaro:]* How often do you socialize with friends or acquaintances, for example at the workplace, that you believe voted for Lula?
Never; Once a year or less; A few times a year; Once or twice a month; About every week; Once a week; Every day or almost every day.

Affective polarization

1. How comfortable are you or would you be having a close friend who is a Bolsonaro supporter?
Not at all comfortable; Not too comfortable; Comfortable; Extremely comfortable.
2. Suppose a son or daughter of yours was getting married. How would you feel if he or she married a Bolsonaro supporter?
Very upset; Upset; Not too upset; Not at all upset.
3. How comfortable are you or would you be having a close friend who is a Lula supporter?
Not at all comfortable; Not too comfortable; Comfortable; Extremely comfortable.
4. Suppose a son or daughter of yours was getting married. How would you feel if he or she married a Lula supporter?
Very upset; Upset; Not too upset; Not at all upset.
5. We would like you to rate how you feel toward different people on a scale of 0 to 100, which we are going to call a “feeling thermometer.”

On this feeling thermometer scale, ratings between 0 and 49 degrees mean that you feel unfavorable and cold (with 0 being the most unfavorable and coldest). Ratings between 51 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm (with 100 being the most favorable and warmest). A rating of 50 means you have no feelings one way or the other.

- 5.1 How would you rate your feelings toward other Brazilians?

Slider 0-100

- 5.2 And how would you rate your feelings toward Bolsonaro supporters?

Slider 0-100

- 5.3 And your feelings toward Lula supporters?

Slider 0-100

- 5.4 How would you rate your feelings toward Bolsonaro?

Slider 0-100

- 5.5 And your feelings toward Lula?

Slider 0-100

Trust

1. How much of the time do you think you can trust the Federal Government to do what is right?
Please tell us what you think by moving the slider below.
Slider (0 Never – 10 Always)

2. Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to be fair?
Slider (0 Most people would try to take advantage of me – 10 Most people would try to be fair)
3. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with them?
Slider (0 You need to be very careful – 10 Most people can be trusted)
4. Generally speaking, would you say that most politicians can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with them?
Slider (0 You need to be very careful – 10 Most politicians can be trusted)

Policy preferences - Redistribution policies

1. Some people think the government should provide fewer services, in areas such as health and education, in order to reduce spending. Other people feel that it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending.

On a scale of 1 to 7 (where 1 means the government should provide fewer services to reduce spending and 7 means that the government should provide more services even if it will increase its spending), which score comes closest to the way you feel?
1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7.
2. The next two questions ask about the role of government regarding two social issues. For each, a score of 1 means that the government should not concern itself with the issue and a score of 7 means the government should do as much as possible to resolve the issue.
 - 2.1 Unequal opportunity for children from rich and poor families.
On a scale of 1 to 7 (where 1 means the government should not concern itself with creating opportunities to make children from poor and rich families less unequal and 7 means that the government should do everything in its power to reduce inequality of opportunity for children), which score comes closest to the way you feel?
1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7.
 - 2.2 Large income differences between rich and poor people.
On a scale of 1 to 7 (where 1 means that the government should not concern itself with reducing income differences between the rich and poor and 7 means that the government should do everything in its power to reduce income differences between rich and poor), which score comes closest to the way you feel
1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7.
3. How much you agree with the following statements?
 - 3.1 “Who earns more should pay a higher tax rate than those who earn less.”
Strongly disagree; Disagree; Neither agree nor disagree; Agree; Strongly agree.
 - 3.2 “The government should increase taxes to ensure better education and better health care to those who need it.”
Strongly disagree; Disagree; Neither agree nor disagree; Agree; Strongly agree.
4. Do you think that upper-income people are paying their fair share in taxes, paying too much, or paying too little?
Too much; Fair share; Too little.
5. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, for which of the following programs would you like to see spending increased and for which would you like to see spending decreased:

5.1 Public health and education

Decrease a lot; Decrease a bit; Stay the same; Increase a bit; Increase a lot.

5.2 Social security

Decrease a lot; Decrease a bit; Stay the same; Increase a bit; Increase a lot.

5.3 Auxílio Brasil (former Bolsa Familia)

Decrease a lot; Decrease a bit; Stay the same; Increase a bit; Increase a lot.

5.4 Infrastructure

Decrease a lot; Decrease a bit; Stay the same; Increase a bit; Increase a lot.

5.5 Environment protection

Decrease a lot; Decrease a bit; Stay the same; Increase a bit; Increase a lot.

5.6 Public security and police

Decrease a lot; Decrease a bit; Stay the same; Increase a bit; Increase a lot.

5.7 Defense and national security

Decrease a lot; Decrease a bit; Stay the same; Increase a bit; Increase a lot.

Policy preferences - Moral policies

1. When you think about the rights of same-sex couples, which of the following comes closest to your personal opinion?

Same sex couples should be allowed to marry legally; Same sex couples should be allowed to obtain some kind of legal recognition, but not to marry; Same sex couples should not be allowed to marry or obtain any kind of legal recognition.

2. Do you think homosexual couples should be legally permitted to adopt children?

Strongly against; Against; Neither against nor in favor; In favor; Strongly in favor.

3. There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the following opinions is closer to your view?

By law, abortion should never be permitted; The law should permit abortion only in case of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger; The law should permit abortion for other reasons as well but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established; By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice.

4. What is your opinion on the right to bear arms?

I am in favor of people bearing arms everywhere; I am in favor of people bearing arms only in their house or in their stores; I am against people bearing arms.

5. Do you agree with the following statement:

"The Army should be deployed to keep the streets of our cities safe." Strongly disagree; Disagree; Neither agree nor disagree; Agree; Strongly agree.

6. What is your opinion on the legalization of cannabis?

Cannabis should be completely forbidden; I am in favor of legalization for medical purposes; I am in favor of legalization for any purpose.

7. Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of the statements below:

- 7.1 "Climate change is an important problem."

Strongly disagree; Disagree; Neither agree nor disagree; Agree; Strongly agree.

- 7.2 "Brazil should take measures to fight climate change."

Strongly disagree; Disagree; Neither agree nor disagree; Agree; Strongly agree.

- 7.3 "The protection of the Amazon forest should be a priority of the federal government."

Strongly disagree; Disagree; Neither agree nor disagree; Agree; Strongly agree.

Democratic discontent

1. Do you agree with the following statement?
“Democracy may have problems but it’s better than any other form of government.”
Strongly disagree; Disagree; Neither agree nor disagree; Agree; Strongly agree.
2. **[Asked only in Wave 4]**³ And before the second round, how much did you agree with the following statement?
“Democracy may have problems but it’s better than any other form of government.”
Strongly disagree; Disagree; Neither agree nor disagree; Agree; Strongly agree.
3. We are going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country?
 - 3.1 Having a democratic political system.
Very bad; Fairly bad; Fairly good; Very good.
 - 3.2 Having a strong leader who does not have to bother with parliament and elections.
Very bad; Fairly bad; Fairly good; Very good.
 - 3.3 Having the army rule the country.
Very bad; Fairly bad; Fairly good; Very good.
 - 3.4 We should get rid of elections and parliaments and have experts make decisions on behalf of the people.
Very bad; Fairly bad; Fairly good; Very good.
4. **[Wave 1, 2, and 3 version]** How much confidence do you have that the 2022 election will be held fairly, that is that electoral fraud is not going to be committed?
Not at all; A little; A moderate amount; A lot; Completely.
[Wave 4 and 5 version] How much confidence do you have that the 2022 election was held fairly, that is that electoral fraud was not committed?
Not at all; A little; A moderate amount; A lot; Completely.
5. How much do you trust the data from electoral polls, such as Datafolha and IBOPE?
Not at all; A little; A moderate amount; A lot; Completely.
6. **[Asked only in Wave 2 and 3]** **[Wave 2 version]** How frequently have you heard or do you hear talking about the possibilities that there might be committed electoral fraud in these elections?
Never; A few times; Many times; Almost every day; Constantly.
[Asked only in Wave 2 and 3] **[Wave 3 version]** How frequently have you heard or do you hear talking about the possibilities that Lula might commit electoral fraud in these elections?
Never; A few times; Many times; Almost every day; Constantly.
7. **[Asked only in Wave 2 and 3]** Where did you mainly hear talking about this?
TV; Social networks; Websites and blogs; Friends, family members or acquaintances; Digital newspapers; Printed newspapers; WhatsApp or Telegram; Radio.
8. **[Asked only in Wave 2 and 3]** How much do you trust the source of these information?
Not at all; A little; A moderate amount; A lot; Completely.
9. **[Asked only in Wave 3, 4, and 5]** **[Wave 3 version]** How much do you believe that Lula is going to commit electoral fraud?
Not at all; A little; A moderate amount; A lot; Completely.

³In Wave 4, the order of Q1 and Q2 was randomized with half respondents having to answer Q1 before Q2 and the other half the other way around.

[Asked only in Wave 3, 4, and 5] [Wave 4 and 5 version] How much do you believe that Lula committed electoral fraud in these elections?

Not at all; A little; A moderate amount; A lot; Completely.

10. [Showed only in Wave 4 and 5]⁴ In the next set of questions we would like to ask you to remember what were your thoughts last [Wave 4: week] [Wave 5: month], that is before the election results were revealed. Please try to remember as best as you can, thank you!
11. [Asked only in Wave 4 and 5] Before the second round, how frequently did you hear talking about the possibility that Lula was going to commit electoral fraud in these elections?
Never; A few times; Many times; Almost every day; Constantly.
12. [Asked only in Wave 4 and 5] Where did you mainly hear talking about this??
TV; Social networks; Websites and blogs; Friends, family members or acquaintances; Digital newspapers; Printed newspapers; WhatsApp or Telegram; Radio.
13. [Asked only in Wave 4 and 5] How much did you trust the source of these information?
Not at all; A little; A moderate amount; A lot; Completely.
14. [Asked only in Wave 4, and 5] How much did you believe that Lula was going to commit electoral fraud?
Not at all; A little; A moderate amount; A lot; Completely.
15. [Asked in Wave 2, 3, 4, and 5] Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of the statements below:
 - 15.1 “Lula committed many corrupt doings.”
Strongly disagree; Disagree; Neither agree nor disagree; Agree; Strongly agree.
 - 15.2 “The Supreme Federal Court (STF) did well annulling all of Lula’s convictions.”
Strongly disagree; Disagree; Neither agree nor disagree; Agree; Strongly agree.
16. [Wave 1, 2, and 3 version:] If Lula wins the elections, how likely do you think are the following events going to be?

[Wave 4 and 5 version:] Now that Lula won, how likely do you think are the following events going to be?
 - 16.1 Peaceful transition of power in January.
Impossible; Very Unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; Certain.
 - 16.2 Mass protests against Lula.
Impossible; Very Unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; Certain.
 - 16.3 Violent riots.
Impossible; Very Unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; Certain.
 - 16.4 Military coup in favor of Bolsonaro.
Impossible; Very Unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; Certain.
17. [Asked only in Wave 1, 2, and 3:] If Bolsonaro wins the elections, how likely do you think are the following events going to be?
 - 17.1 Peaceful transition of power in January.
Impossible; Very Unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; Certain.
 - 17.2 Mass protests against Bolsonaro.
Impossible; Very Unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; Certain.

⁴In Wave 4, the order of this set of questions was randomized in the following way: half saw Q4, Q5, Q9, Q10, Q11, Q12, Q13, and Q14; the other half saw Q10, Q11, Q12, Q13, Q14, Q4, Q5, and Q9.

17.3 Violent riots.

Impossible; Very Unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; Certain.

17.4 Military coup in favor of Lula.

Impossible; Very Unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; Certain.

Socio-economic perceptions and expectations

1. Financially, are you better off now than you were four years ago?
Better off now; More or less the same; Better off four years ago.
2. Are you optimistic or pessimistic about the future of Brazil?
Very optimistic; Optimistic; Neither optimistic nor pessimistic; Pessimistic; Very pessimistic.
3. In your opinion, how did inflation and goods' prices change in the last 12 months?
Increased a lot; Increased a bit; Stayed the same; Decreased a bit; Decreased a lot.
4. And in the next 12 months, how do you think will inflation and goods' prices change?
Will increase a lot; Will increase a bit; Will stay the same; Will decrease a bit; Will decrease a lot.
5. In your opinion, finding a job today is:
Very easy; Easy; Normal; Hard; Very hard.
6. In the next 12 months, finding a job will be:
Very easy; Easy; Normal; Hard; Very hard.
7. How serious of a problem do you believe is income inequality in Brazil?
Definitely not a problem; A small problem; A problem; A serious problem; A very serious problem.
8. Do you think income inequality in Brazil will increase or decrease in the next few years?
Increase a lot; Increase; Stay the same; Decrease; Decrease a lot.
9. Thinking about the economy of the whole country, would you say that in the last year the Brazilian economy:
Worsened a lot; Worsened; Stayed the same; Improved; Improved a lot.
10. Thinking now about the next 12 months, what is your expectations about the Brazilian economy?
Worsen a lot; Worsen; Stay the same; Improve; Improve a lot.
11. Considering the last 12 months, would you say that criminality and violence increased, stayed the same, or decreased?
Increased a lot; Increased; Stayed the same; Decreased; Decreased a lot.
12. Now, considering the next 12 months, do you believe that criminality and violence will increase, will stay the same, or will decrease?
Will increase a lot; Will increase; Will stay the same; Will decrease; Will decrease a lot.
13. In the last 12 months, would you say that Brazil became more divided because of politics?
Became much more divided; Became more divided; Didn't change; Became less divided; Became much less divided.
14. Now, considering the next 12 months, do you believe that Brazil will become more divided because of politics?
Will become much more divided; Will become more divided; Will not change; Will become less divided; Will become much less divided.

Other attitudes

1. Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of the statements below:
 - 1.1 “The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society.”
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
 - 1.2 “The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes.”
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
 - 1.3 “This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties.”
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
2. How would you split R\$100 between a randomly-selected person who lives in Brazil and a member of one of your past or current organizations (local church, leisure club or association, etc.)?
Please assume both individuals below have the same income, and would not find out that it was you who sent them the money.
Write down how much you would give to each one of them, remembering that the total must be 100.
Randomly-selected person who lives in Brazil [text entry box]; Member of one of your past or current organizations [text entry box].
3. And how would you instead split R\$100 between a randomly-selected person who lives anywhere in the world and a randomly-selected person who lives in Brazil?
Randomly-selected person who lives anywhere in the world [text entry box]; Randomly-selected person who lives in Brazil [text entry box].
4. How important are the following aspect for your identity?
 - 4.1 Being Brazilian
Not important at all; A little important; Moderately important; Very important; Extremely important.
 - 4.2 My race
Not important at all; A little important; Moderately important; Very important; Extremely important.
 - 4.3 My religion
Not important at all; A little important; Moderately important; Very important; Extremely important.
 - 4.4 My occupation
Not important at all; A little important; Moderately important; Very important; Extremely important.
 - 4.5 My political affiliation
Not important at all; A little important; Moderately important; Very important; Extremely important.
5. Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of the statements below:
 - 5.1 “Public officials don’t care much about what people like me think.”
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
 - 5.2 “People like me don’t have much to say in what government does.”
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
 - 5.3 “I consider myself well qualified to participate in politics.”
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
 - 5.4 “Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can’t really understand what’s going on.”
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
6. Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of the statements below:

- 6.1 “Violence is sometimes an acceptable way for Brazilians to express their disagreement with the government.”
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
- 6.2 “If needed to reach important objectives, the use of violence is acceptable.”
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
- 6.3 “Sometimes I share information on social media about politics even though I believe it may be false.”
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.

Concluding Questions

1. [Showed only in Wave 3] In one week we are going to reach out to you again to ask you to complete a second shorter and more remunerated survey. Please check your in-box and wait for us! Thank you!
2. Do you feel that the survey was biased?
Yes, it was biased toward the left; Yes, it was biased toward the right; No, it did not feel biased.
3. Please feel free to give us any feedback or impression regarding this survey.
Text entry box.

A-9.2 Wave 6

Consent

1. We are a non-partisan group of academic researchers from Boston University. By completing this survey, you are contributing to our knowledge as a society.

Our survey will give you an opportunity to express your own views.

It is very important for the success of our research that you answer honestly and read the questions very carefully before answering. Don't leave any question blank, if you don't know an answer, please give your best guess. There aren't right or wrong answers. However, be sure to spend enough time reading and understanding the question.

It is also very important for the success of our research that you complete the survey on your own, that you don't ask anyone for help and that you complete it entirely once you have started.

This survey takes an average of about 20 minutes to complete.

Note: Your participation in this study is purely voluntary. Your name will never be recorded. Results may include summary data, but you will never be personally identified. If you have any question about this study, you may contact us at mferroni@bu.edu

Yes, I would like to take part in this study; No, I would not like to participate

Screening Questions

We would like to ask some questions about yourself.

1. Are you a Brazilian citizen?
Yes; No
2. What is your gender?
Male; Female; Prefer not to say.
3. What is your age?
4. What was your total monthly household income, before taxes, that you normally received last year?
Less than R\$500; R\$500 - R\$1,000; R\$1,000 - R\$1,500; R\$1,500 - R\$2,000; R\$2,000 - R\$3,000; R\$3,000 - R\$4,000; R\$4,000 - R\$5,000; R\$5,000 - R\$7,500; R\$7,500 - R\$10,000; More than R\$10,000.

5. How many people live in you house?
1; 2; 3; 4; 5 or more.
6. Which State do you live in?
7. reCAPTCHA
8. This is a question to check whether whether you are paying attention and reading the questions carefully. Please select both "1" and "4" to move to the next page of the survey.
1; 2; 3; 4; 5.

Background Questions

1. Which are the first five digits of your CEP of residency?
2. What is your level of education?
No education; Primary school; High school; Vocational training; Education of Young and Adults; Bachelor's degree; Master's degree; Doctorate.
3. Your color or race is:⁵
White; Black; Yellow; Mixed race; Indigenous.
4. What is your current employment status?
Full-time employee; Part-time employee; Self-employed; Unemployed and looking for work; Stay at home wife/husband; Student; Not currently working and not looking for work; Retiree
5. *[If Full-time employee, Part-time employee, or Self-employed:]* Which category best describes your main occupation?
Culture, arts, and entertainment; Computers and information technology; Finance; Agriculture; Health or education; Electoral politics; Other private sector; Other public sector.
6. Are you or someone in your household receiving Bolsa Família (former Auxílio Brasil)?
There is someone already receiving it; No one is receiving but someone will soon; No one is receiving it and no one will.
7. What is your religion or cult?⁵
Catholic; Evangelical; Protestant; Spiritist; Spiritualized without following a given religion; Atheist or agnostic; Other [text entry box].
8. Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible?
The Bible is the actual Word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word; The Bible is the Word of God but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word; The Bible is a book written by men and is not the Word of God
9. Do you consider religion to be an important part of your life, or not?
Not at all important; Not very important; Important; Extremely important.
10. Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of the statements below:
 - 10.1 "The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society."
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
 - 10.2 "The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes."
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.

⁵Wording from the Brazilian Census.

10.3 “This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties.”

Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.

11. What would you say it's your main source of news about politics?

TV; Social networks; Websites and blogs; Friends, family members or acquaintances; Digital newspapers; Printed newspapers; WhatsApp or Telegram; Radio; I don't follow the news.

12. If you had to estimate how much time in total you spend every day on social media platforms (such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Telegram, Instagram, YouTube, etc. . .), it would be:

None at all; Some, but less than 30 minutes; Between 30 minutes and 1 hour; Between 1 and 2 hours; Between 2 and 4 hours; More than 4 hours.

Pre-Treatment Elicitation

1. Compared to last year, how do you think is the Brazilian economy doing?

Much better; A bit better; The same; A bit worse; Much worse.

2. Compared to last year, do you think inflation is higher or lower than before?

Much lower; Lower; Almost the same; Higher; Much higher.

Expectations about the elections

1. In the second round, Lula got 50.90% of the votes while Bolsonaro got 49.10%. Were you surprised by these results?

Yes, I was expecting more votes for Lula and fewer for Bolsonaro; Yes, I was expecting more votes for Bolsonaro and fewer for Lula; No, this result is similar to what I was expecting.

2. Were you more disappointed or happy with the results of the second round?

Very disappointed; Disappointed; Indifferent; Happy; Very happy.

3. Lula got the majority of votes in the elections' second round. How much do you believe he is the actual winner of these elections?

Slider (0 Not at all - 100 Completely)

4. Do you believe that Lula's victory in the presidential election was legitimate or not legitimate?

Definitely not legitimate; Probably not legitimate; Probably legitimate; Definitely legitimate.

5. How important do you believe these elections were in determining the future of Brazil?

Extremely important; Important; Not very important; Not at all important.

6. When you think about last year's elections, how much do you feel the following emotions?

6.1 Hope

Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.

6.2 Joy

Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.

6.3 Fear

Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.

6.4 Pride

Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.

6.5 Indignation

Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.

6.6 Sadness

Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.

6.7 Enthusiasm

Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.

Political Questions

1. In politics people sometimes talk of “left” and “right”. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 1 means extreme left and 10 means extreme right?
Slider (0 Extreme Left – 5 Center - 10 Extreme Right)
2. How much do you believe religion should be taken into account in political decisions?
Not at all; To some extent; To a considerable extent; To a very large extent; Religious views should always take precedence.
3. To what extent are you interested in politics?
A lot; Moderately; A little; Not at all.
4. Did you vote in the before last Brazilian Presidential Elections (2018)?
Yes; No
5. *[If Yes to Q4:]* Which candidate did you support in the second round of the presidential election?
Jair Bolsonaro; Fernando Haddad

[If No to Q4:] Even though you didn’t vote, which candidate would have you supported in the second round of the presidential election?
Jair Bolsonaro; Fernando Haddad
6. Did you vote in the last Brazilian Presidential Elections (2022)?
Yes; No

[If Yes to Q6:] Who did you vote for President in the second round of the last election?
Lula; Bolsonaro; Invalid or null
7. *[If Invalid or null:]* Even having voted invalid or null, which candidate would you say was closer to your views?
Lula; Bolsonaro.

[If No to Q6:] Even not having voted, which candidate would you say was closer to your views?
Lula; Bolsonaro.
8. *[If voting/voted for Lula:]* How strong of a Lula supporter would you consider yourself?
Slider (0 Not a supporter – 10 Very strong supporter)

[If voting/voted for Bolsonaro:] How strong of a Bolsonaro supporter would you consider yourself?
Slider (0 Not a supporter – 10 Very strong supporter)

Perceptions of others

1. Out of 10 people living in your city, how many do you think are Lula supporters?
Please tell us what you think by moving the slider below.
Slider 0-10.
2. Out of 10 people living in your city, how many do you think are Bolsonaro supporters?
Slider 0-10.
3. *[If voted for Lula:]* Think about your family members and close friends, how many of them do you think also voted for Lula?
All of them; Almost all of them; A majority of them; Roughly half of them; A minority of them; Almost no one; No one.

[If voted for Bolsonaro:] Think about your family members and close friends, how many of them do you think also voted for Bolsonaro?

All of them; Almost all of them; A majority of them; Roughly half of them; A minority of them; Almost no one; No one.

4. *[If voted for Lula:]* How often do you socialize with friends or acquaintances, for example at the workplace, that you believe voted for Bolsonaro?

Never; Once a year or less; A few times a year; Once or twice a month; About every week; Once a week; Every day or almost every day.

[If voted for Bolsonaro:] How often do you socialize with friends or acquaintances, for example at the workplace, that you believe voted for Lula?

Never; Once a year or less; A few times a year; Once or twice a month; About every week; Once a week; Every day or almost every day.

Treatment

Radomization:

1/3: Inflation's Decrease Treatment; 1/3: Income's Stagnation Treatment; 1/3: Control Group.

Treatments' Texts:

We will now show you one short animation on Brazil's economy. The animation will last around 1 minute. Please pay attention to the information provided as you will be asked questions about it later. Please proceed to the next page when you are ready.

1. Inflation's Decrease Treatment

How did inflation evolve in the last year?

To answer this question, we are going to rely on data from the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE), the non-partisan agency responsible for official collection of statistical information in Brazil.

In the last months of 2022, inflation was slightly decreasing but was still at a high level.

In the first months of 2023, inflation started to quickly decrease and reached a much lower level.

2. Income's Stagnation Treatment

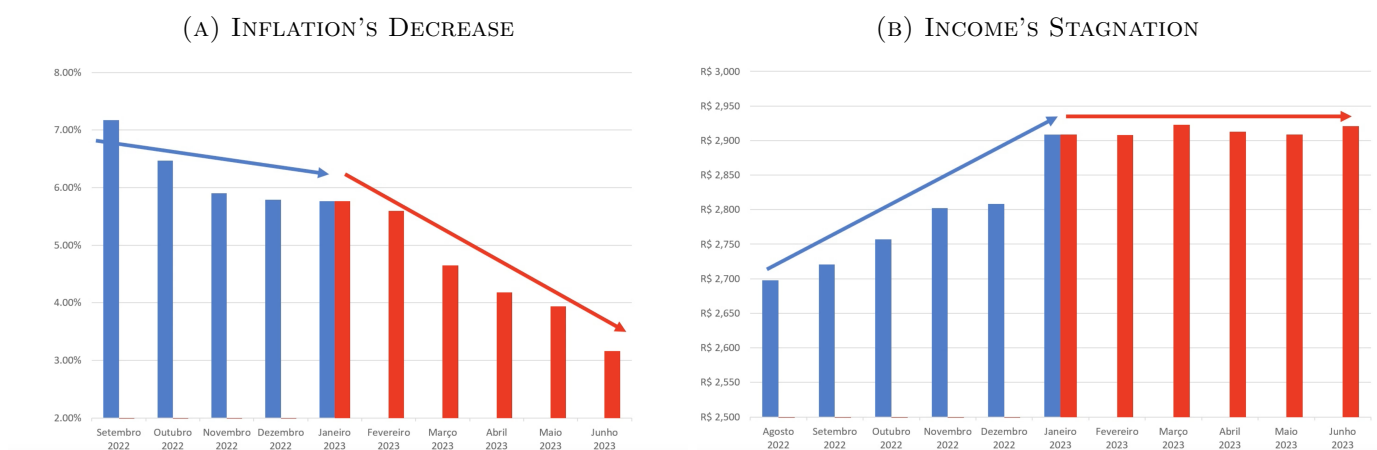
How did the average monthly income evolve in the last year?

To answer this question, we are going to rely on data from the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE), the non-partisan agency responsible for official collection of statistical information in Brazil.

In the last months of 2022, the average monthly income was steadily increasing.

In the first months of 2023, the average monthly income stopped increasing and has been constant at the same level since then.

FIGURE A-10: TREATMENTS' SCREENSHOTS



Treatments' Links:

- Inflation's Decrease: https://bostonu.qualtrics.com/ControlPanel/File.php?F=F_nJEyJrSZDFSbDu3
- Income's Stagnation: https://bostonu.qualtrics.com/ControlPanel/File.php?F=F_dicS02gH1mgcsHj

Socio-economic perceptions and expectations⁶

1. How would you rate, on a scale from 0 to 10, Bolsonaro's government?
Slider (0 Terrible – 10 Excellent)
2. How would you rate, on a scale from 0 to 10, Lula's government so far?
Slider (0 Terrible – 10 Excellent)
3. And how do you think Lula's government is going to be in the next three years on a scale from 0 to 10?
Slider (0 Terrible – 10 Excellent)
4. Financially, are you better off now than you were in 2022?
Better off now; More or less the same; Better off in 2022.
5. Are you optimistic or pessimistic about the future of Brazil?
Very optimistic; Optimistic; Neither optimistic nor pessimistic; Pessimistic; Very pessimistic.
6. In your opinion, how did inflation change in 2022?
Increased a lot; Increased a bit; Stayed the same; Decreased a bit; Decreased a lot.
7. In your opinion, how did inflation change so far in 2023?
Increased a lot; Increased a bit; Stayed the same; Decreased a bit; Decreased a lot.
8. And in the next 12 months, how do you think will inflation change?
Will increase a lot; Will increase a bit; Will stay the same; Will decrease a bit; Will decrease a lot.
9. In your opinion, finding a job in 2022 was:
Very easy; Easy; Normal; Hard; Very hard.
10. In your opinion, finding a job today is:
Very easy; Easy; Normal; Hard; Very hard.
11. In the next 12 months, finding a job will be:
Very easy; Easy; Normal; Hard; Very hard.
12. How serious of a problem do you believe was income inequality in Brazil in 2022?
Definitely not a problem; A small problem; A problem; A serious problem; A very serious problem.
13. Do you think income inequality in Brazil increased or decreased in 2023?
Increased a lot; Increased; Stayed the same; Decreased; Decreased a lot.
14. Do you think income inequality in Brazil will increase or decrease in the next few years?
Increase a lot; Increase; Stay the same; Decrease; Decrease a lot.
15. Thinking about the economy of the whole country, would you say that in 2022 the Brazilian economy:
Worsened a lot; Worsened; Stayed the same; Improved; Improved a lot.
16. And in 2023 so far, the Brazilian economy:
Worsened a lot; Worsened; Stayed the same; Improved; Improved a lot.

⁶The order of the following three blocks was randomized. Half of the respondents saw the questions in the following order: Socio-economic perceptions and expectations, Institutions, Violence; the other half saw them in the following order: Institutions, Violence, Socio-economic perceptions and expectations.

17. Thinking now about the next 12 months, what is your expectations about the Brazilian economy?
Worsen a lot; Worsen; Stay the same; Improve; Improve a lot.
18. Thinking about the criminality and violence in Brazil, would you say that in 2022 it was:
Increasing a lot; Increasing; Staying the same; Decreasing; Decreasing a lot.
19. And in 2023 so far, would you say that criminality and violence in Brazil:
Increased a lot; Increased; Stayed the same; Decreased; Decreased a lot.
20. Now, considering the next 12 months, do you believe that criminality and violence will increase, will stay the same, or will decrease?
Will increase a lot; Will increase; Will stay the same; Will decrease; Will decrease a lot.
21. In 2022, would you say that Brazil was becoming more divided because of political reasons?
Was becoming much more divided; Was becoming more divided; Wasn't changing; Was becoming less divided; Was becoming much less divided.
22. In 2023 so far, would you say that Brazil became more divided because of political reasons?
Became much more divided; Became more divided; Didn't change; Became less divided; Became much less divided.
23. Now, considering the next 12 months, do you believe that Brazil will become more divided because of politics?
Will become much more divided; Will become more divided; Will not change; Will become less divided; Will become much less divided.
24. When thinking about the future of Brazil, how much do you feel the following emotions?
 - 24.1 Hope
Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.
 - 24.2 Joy
Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.
 - 24.3 Fear
Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.
 - 24.4 Pride
Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.
 - 24.5 Indignation
Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.
 - 24.6 Sadness
Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.
 - 24.7 Enthusiasm
Nothing; A bit; More or less; A lot; Extremely.

Democratic Discontent

1. Do you agree with the following statement?
“Democracy may have problems but it’s better than any other form of government.”
Strongly disagree; Disagree; Neither agree nor disagree; Agree; Strongly agree.
2. We are going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country?
 - 2.1 Having a democratic political system.
Very bad; Fairly bad; Fairly good; Very good.

- 2.2 Having a strong leader who does not have to bother with parliament and elections.
Very bad; Fairly bad; Fairly good; Very good.
- 2.3 Having the army rule the country.
Very bad; Fairly bad; Fairly good; Very good.
- 2.4 We should get rid of elections and parliaments and have experts make decisions on behalf of the people.
Very bad; Fairly bad; Fairly good; Very good.
3. If Brazil's economy started to worsen, how likely do you think you would be doing the following things?
- 3.1 Attend peaceful protests against the government.
Never; Very unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; For sure.
- 3.2 Attend protests against the government even if they might turn violent.
Never; Very unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; For sure.
- 3.3 Participate in violent confrontations with the authorities.
Never; Very unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; For sure.
4. On January 8th, some Bolsonaro protesters were in Brasilia and occupied governmental buildings to show their dissatisfaction with the 2022 presidential election's results. In your opinion, how much do you approve or disapprove of this action?
Completely approve; Partially approve; Neither approve nor disapprove; Partially disapprove; Completely disapprove.
5. In your opinion, how likely it is that similar events to the ones from January 8th, even if of a different magnitude, are going to happen again in the future?
For sure will happen again; Likely will happen again; Unlikely will happen again; Definitely won't happen again.
6. How likely do you believe it is that protests similar to the one on January 8th would be successful in making Lula step down?
Slider (0 Would never succeed – 100 Would certainly succeed)
7. Are you in favor or against a military intervention to make Lula step down as president?
Completely against; Against; Indifferent; In favor; Completely in favor.
8. *[If In favor or Completely in favor:]* If a military intervention would make Lula step down as president, what would be your most preferred outcome?
Military junta in charge of the country until next election; Bolsonaro reinstated as president; New elections.
9. Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of the statements below:
- 9.1 "Violence is sometimes an acceptable way for Brazilians to express their disagreement with the government."
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
- 9.2 "The use of force by the state is justified to preserve democracy."
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
- 9.3 [If voted for Lula:] "If Bolsonaro supporters resorted to violence, the use of force by Lula supporters would be justified."
[If voted for Bolsonaro:] "If Lula supporters resorted to violence, the use of force by Bolsonaro supporters would be justified."
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.

Other attitudes

Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of the statements below:

1. “Public officials don’t care much about what people like me think.”
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
2. “People like me don’t have much to say in what government does.”
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
3. “I consider myself well qualified to participate in politics.”
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.
4. “Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can’t really understand what’s going on.”
Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree.

Affective polarization

We would like you to rate how you feel toward different people on a scale of 0 to 100, which we are going to call a “feeling thermometer.”

On this feeling thermometer scale, ratings between 0 and 49 degrees mean that you feel unfavorable and cold (with 0 being the most unfavorable and coldest). Ratings between 51 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm (with 100 being the most favorable and warmest). A rating of 50 means you have no feelings one way or the other.

1. How would you rate your feelings toward other Brazilians?
Slider 0-100
2. And how would you rate your feelings toward Bolsonaro supporters?
Slider 0-100
3. And your feelings toward Lula supporters?
Slider 0-100
4. How would you rate your feelings toward Bolsonaro?
Slider 0-100
5. And your feelings toward Lula?
Slider 0-100

Brazil’s Problems

1. In your opinion, which are the biggest problems Brazil is facing today? Select up to three options:
Access to education; Access to health care; Low economic growth; Corruption; Environmental degradation; Unemployment; Inequality; Weakening of the democratic institutions; Lack of moral values; High taxes; Inflation; Poverty; Intolerance to minorities; Low wages; Criminality.

Trust

1. How much of the time do you think you can trust the Federal Government to do what is right?
Please tell us what you think by moving the slider below.
Slider (0 Never – 10 Always)
2. Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to be fair?
Slider (0 Most people would try to take advantage of me – 10 Most people would try to be fair)

3. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with them?
Slider (0 You need to be very careful – 10 Most people can be trusted)
4. Generally speaking, would you say that most politicians can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with them?
Slider (0 You need to be very careful – 10 Most politicians can be trusted)

Concluding Questions

1. Do you feel that the survey was biased?
Yes, it was biased toward the left; Yes, it was biased toward the right; No, it did not feel biased.
2. Please feel free to give us any feedback or impression regarding this survey.
Text entry box.

A-10 References

References

Romano, J. P. and M. Wolf (2016). Efficient computation of adjusted p-values for resampling-based stepdown multiple testing. *Statistics & Probability Letters* 113, 38–40.