

Online Appendix for “Strong Support, Weak Policies: Views on Corruption of Citizens and Legislators in Three Countries”

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A Sample Characteristics

In Appendix Table A.1, we report basic characteristics of citizen samples in each country. In Appendix Table A.2, we report the representativeness of the legislator samples in each country by partisanship.

Table A.1: Characteristics of citizen samples by country

	Colombia		Italy		Pakistan	
	Population (1)	Sample (2)	Population (3)	Sample (4)	Population (5)	Sample (6)
Gender						
Male	0.49	0.49	0.49	0.49	0.51	0.49
Age						
18-24 years old	0.24	0.24				
25-34 years old	0.23	0.23				
35-44 years old	0.19	0.17				
45-54 years old	0.16	0.16				
55-64 years old	0.12	0.12				
65-74 years old	0.07	0.07				
18-29 years old			0.16	0.16	0.37	0.29
30-39 years old			0.18	0.18	0.25	0.26
40-49 years old			0.23	0.23	0.18	0.22
50-59 years old			0.24	0.24	0.12	0.18
60-69 years old			0.19	0.19	0.07	0.04
Income						
Estrato 1	0.16	0.16				
Estrato 2	0.29	0.29				
Estrato 3	0.34	0.34				
Estrato 4	0.11	0.11				
Estrato 5	0.07	0.07				
Estrato 6	0.03	0.03				
€0- €17,999			0.27	0.27		
€18,000- €29,999			0.28	0.28		
€30,000- €39,999			0.19	0.19		
€40,000- €44,999			0.14	0.14		
€45,000+			0.12	0.12		
0 PKR - 29,000 PKR					0.40	0.36
30,000 PKR - 39,999 PKR					0.40	0.27
40,000 PKR - 49,999 PKR					NA	0.22
50,000+ PKR					NA	0.15
Macro-Regions						
Amazonia + Orinoquia	0.05	0.05				
Andino	0.41	0.40				
Bogota	0.17	0.17				
Costa Norte	0.19	0.20				
Pacifico	0.17	0.17				
Northwest			0.27	0.27		
Northeast			0.20	0.20		
Center			0.20	0.20		
South			0.23	0.23		
Islands			0.11	0.11		
Sample size		1,000		1,998		1,984

Table A.2: Characteristics of politician samples by country

Colombia				
	Chamber of Representatives		Senate	
	Population (1)	Sample (2)	Population (3)	Sample (4)
Alianza Verde	0.06	0.06	0.12	0.00
Cambio Radical	0.09	0.06	0.10	0.00
Centro Democrático	0.08	0.09	0.12	0.18
Pacto Histórico	0.15	0.37	0.19	0.09
Partido Conservador	0.13	0.06	0.14	0.18
Partido de la U	0.08	0.06	0.09	0.00
Partido Liberal	0.17	0.06	0.13	0.09
Other	0.24	0.26	0.11	0.45
Sample size	188	35	108	11

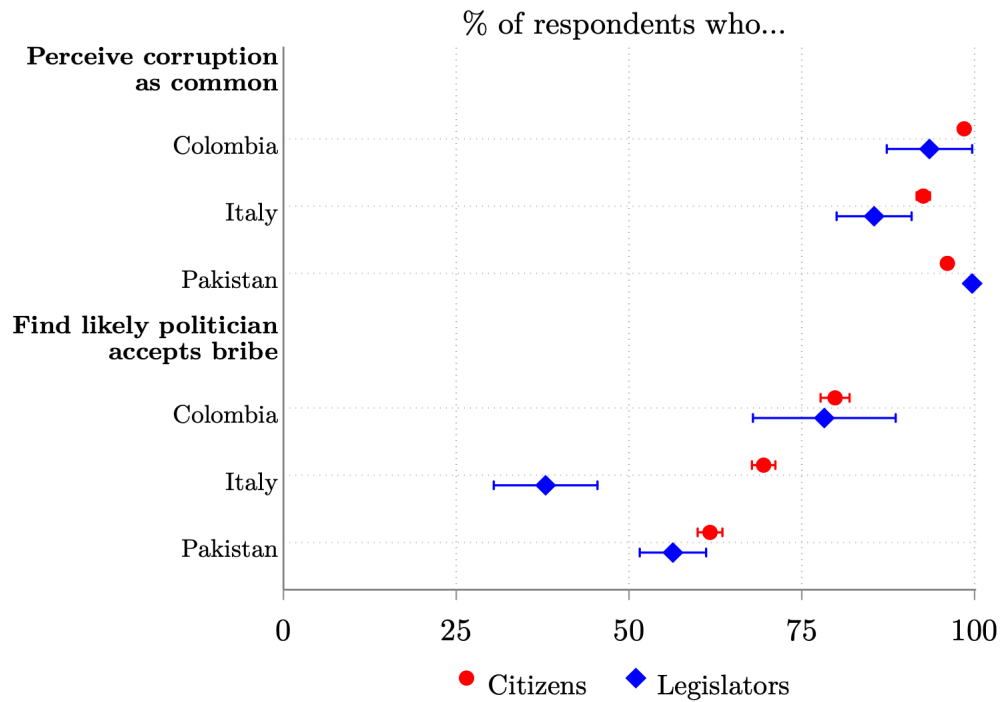
Italy						
	Chamber of Deputies		Senate		Regional Councils	
	Population (1)	Sample (2)	Population (3)	Sample (4)	Population (5)	Sample (6)
Forza Italia	0.14	0.00	0.15	0.27	0.08	0.04
Fratelli d'Italia	0.15	0.09	0.16	0.00	0.09	0.04
Lega	0.19	0.18	0.17	0.00	0.22	0.14
Movimento 5 Stelle	0.27	0.55	0.27	0.45	0.10	0.20
Partito Democratico	0.18	0.14	0.18	0.09	0.20	0.35
Other	0.07	0.05	0.07	0.18	0.31	0.24
Sample size	1,031	22	515	11	895	84

Pakistan				
	Provincial Assembly of KPK		Provincial Assembly of Punjab	
	Population (1)	Sample (2)	Population (3)	Sample (4)
ANP	0.08	0.10		
MMA	0.10	0.08		
PML(N)	0.05	0.07	0.44	0.46
PML(Q)	0.01	0.00	0.03	0.02
PPP	0.03	0.04	0.02	0.02
PTI	0.65	0.56	0.50	0.50
Other	0.08	0.15	0.01	0.01
Sample size	145	116	371	175

Notes: Data on Colombia is from the 9th Congress of the Republic of Colombia, which took office on 20 July 2022. Italian national-level data is from the Legislature XVIII of Italian Republic, in office from 23 March 2018 to 12 October 2022, and the Legislature XIX of Italian Republic, which took office on 13 October 2022. Italian regional-level data is from all the Regional Councils that were in office as of June 2022. Data on Pakistan is from the 11th Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the 17th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab, both of which took office in August 2018.

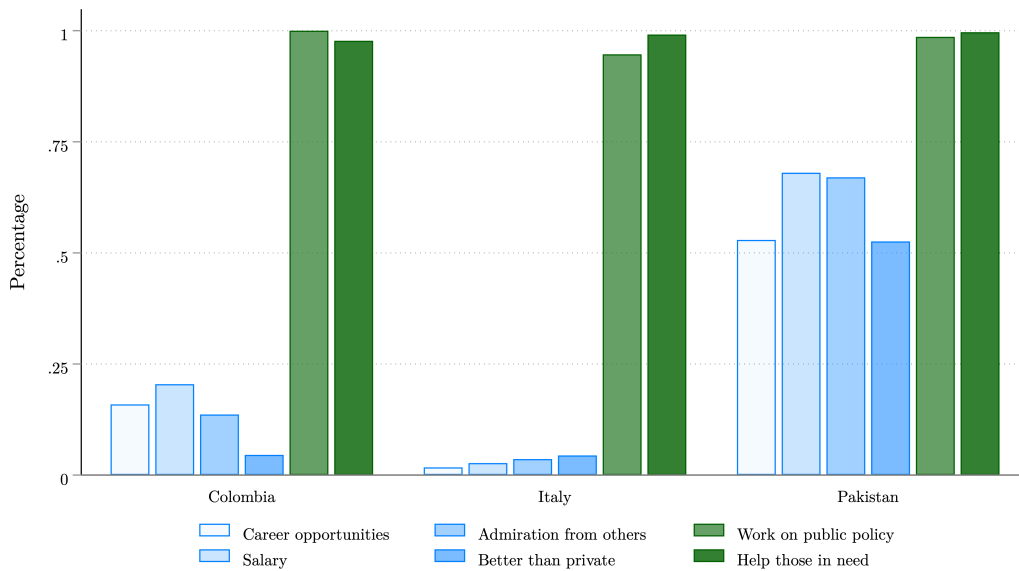
B Additional Figures

Figure B.1: Respondent perceptions of corruption and bribe-taking



Notes: The figure depicts, by country, the share of respondents who satisfy the condition listed on the left vertical axis with its associated 90% confidence interval, for citizens and legislators in the sample. All variables defined in Appendix Section F.1.

Figure B.2: Shares of legislators reporting specific motivations for seeking public office



Notes: The figure depicts, by country, the share of respondents who report as important or very important every motivation for entering public office.

C Information Treatment Effects

Table C.1: Treatment effects on belief that citizens overestimate corruption by country

	Colombia				Italy				Pakistan			
	Continuous (1)	Binary (2)	Binary (3)	Binary (4)	Continuous (5)	Binary (6)	Binary (7)	Binary (8)	Continuous (9)	Binary (10)	Binary (11)	Binary (12)
Panel A: Descriptive Statistics (control group only)												
Legislators mean	3.14	0.29	0.29	0.29	2.70	0.33	0.33	0.33	3.13	0.30	0.30	0.30
Above threshold mean			0.25				0.38				0.39	
Below threshold mean			0.33				0.22				0.20	
Panel B: Treatment Effects												
Treatment	-0.84*** (0.26)	-0.26* (0.13)		-0.62 (0.68)	-0.12 (0.27)	-0.07 (0.10)		0.14 (0.37)	-0.23** (0.11)	-0.11* (0.06)		0.38 (0.27)
T x More than 80% corruption as common			-0.28* (0.16)				-0.11 (0.12)				-0.19** (0.08)	
T x Less than 80% corruption as common			-0.09 (0.24)				-0.01 (0.17)				-0.02 (0.08)	
T x Second-order belief on corruption common				0.05 (0.09)				-0.03 (0.05)				-0.06* (0.03)
Second-order belief on corruption common				-0.03 (0.05)				0.05 (0.03)				0.07*** (0.03)
Observations	36	36	36	36	97	97	97	97	219	219	219	219
R ²	0.466	0.235	0.239	0.250	0.075	0.021	0.041	0.045	0.087	0.049	0.069	0.087

Notes: The dependent variable in columns (1), (5), and (9) is a 5-point scale variable on the extent to which citizens under- or overestimate corruption, the dependent variable in columns (2) to (4), (6) to (8), and (10) to (12) is an indicator variable for whether legislators believe that citizens overestimate the extent of corruption. All regressions include controls for gender, age group, and education. All variables defined in Appendix Section F.1. Panel A reports the mean of the dependent variables for respondents who were assigned to the control group (no information treatment) and separately for believing that less or more than 80% of citizens believe that corruption is very common in their country. Panels B reports the coefficients from four different specifications for Colombia, Italy, and Pakistan. For every country, the first and second column shows the treatment effects of the information treatment. The third column shows the treatment effect on respondents believing that less or more than 80 percent of citizens believe that corruption is very common in their country separately. The fourth column shows the treatment effect interacted with the second order belief on how many people believe that corruption is very common. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

D Ethics Statement

The research reported in this paper was deemed exempt by the Institutional Review Board of Boston University, Protocol #6193X on September 22, 2021 and Protocol #6539X on June 1, 2022.

The research did not involve deception. After each sample was collected (Italian voters, Italian legislators, Pakistani voters, Pakistani legislators, etc.), we randomly selected one subject as the lottery winner, informed that individual of his winning status, and made an anonymous donation on his behalf to the charity of his choice. If the individual had requested a framed certificate, we printed and delivered it to him. Additionally, as promised, we emailed legislator participants personalized reports of our findings about their country following the close of data collection in all three countries.

E Data Availability

The data, code, and additional materials required to replicate all analyses in this article will be made available at the Harvard Dataverse Network.

F Variables' Definitions

F.1 Variables based on survey questions

Vignettes questions - Corruption Expectations (“Would”)

- *Corrupt company selected for highway contract*: the question asks “An official in the national procurement office is in charge of overseeing a highway contract. Two companies have made comparable bids. Company A is known to be scrupulously honest. Company B is rumored to have bribed officials in the past to get contracts but is very efficient in its business. It is expected that Company B will complete the road much more quickly than Company A, without any sacrifice in quality. Which company do you think the official would select if this were

to occur in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan]?", answers are 1="Company A", or 2="Company B". Indicator=1 if answer=(2=Company B).

- *Don't punish assistant taking gift*: the question asks "A member of the [COL: Chamber of Representatives] [IT: Parliament] [PAK: National Assembly] discovers that his personal assistant was given a holiday gift of expensive chocolates [PAK: Eid sweets] by a businessman who had been trying to set up a meeting with the politician. After receiving the gift, the assistant set up a meeting for the following week, whereas it would normally have taken longer to make an appointment with the representative. Although not explicitly illegal, some people could see this as favoritism. What do you think the legislator would do if this were to occur in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan]?", answer options range from 1="Nothing", to 4="Fire his assistant". Indicator=1 if answer=(1=nothing or 2=warn his assistant).
- *Accept illicit financial support*: the question asks "In a small town, a wealthy local businessman has announced that he intends to run for mayor. His main opponent lacks comparable financial resources but has received an offer from a supporter to pay for local television and radio advertising on his behalf. Imagine that this informal offer runs counter to campaign finance laws, but is unlikely to be uncovered by authorities, and without the additional funding the businessman's opponent has little chance of winning. What do you think the opponent is likely to do if this were to occur in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan]?", answers are 1="Accept the offer", or 2="Decline the offer". Indicator=1 if answer=(1=Accept the offer).
- *Hire relative as accountant*: the question asks "There is an opening for an accountant in the public works department of a small city. The short-list of candidates has been narrowed to two individuals. While both have appropriate qualifications and are legally eligible for the job, Candidate A has additional years of relevant work experience and is thus likely to transition into the position more smoothly; Candidate B is a relative of the head of the department, who has the ultimate decision on who gets the job. Whom do you think the head of the department is likely to hire if this occurred in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan]?", answers are 1="Candidate A", or 2="Candidate B". Indicator=1 if answer=(2=Candidate B).

- *Bribe-paying mayoral candidate likely elected*: the question asks “A small town has recently elected a new, very wealthy businessman as its mayor. Prior to running for office, the businessman donated some of his personal wealth to help build a health facility in the city. Now evidence has emerged that before he entered politics, his company paid bribes to secure some of the government contracts. How likely do you think it is that this candidate would be re-elected if this occurred in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan]?”, answer options range from 1=“*Never*”, to 6=“*Certain*”. Indicator=1 if answer=(4=likely or 5=very likely or 6=certain).

Vignettes questions - Corruption Tolerance (“Should”)

- *Corrupt company selected for highway contract*: the question asks “An official in the national procurement office is in charge of overseeing a highway contract. Two companies have made comparable bids. Company A is known to be scrupulously honest. Company B is rumored to have bribed officials in the past to get contracts but is very efficient in its business. It is expected that Company B will complete the road much more quickly than Company A, without any sacrifice in quality. Which company do you think the official should select?”, answers are 1=“*Company A*”, or 2=“*Company B*”. Indicator=1 if answer=(2=Company B).
- *Don’t punish assistant taking gift*: the question asks “A member of the [COL: Chamber of Representatives] [IT: Parliament] [PAK: National Assembly] discovers that his personal assistant was given a holiday gift of expensive chocolates [PAK: Eid sweets] by a businessman who had been trying to set up a meeting with the politician. After receiving the gift, the assistant set up a meeting for the following week, whereas it would normally have taken longer to make an appointment with the representative. Although not explicitly illegal, some people could see this as favoritism. What do you think the legislator should do?”, answer options range from 1=“*Nothing*”, to 4=“*Fire his assistant*”. Indicator=1 if answer=(1=nothing or 2=warn his assistant).
- *Accept illicit financial support*: the question asks “In a small town, a wealthy local businessman has announced that he intends to run for mayor. His main opponent lacks comparable financial

resources but has received an offer from a supporter to pay for local television and radio advertising on his behalf. Imagine that this informal offer runs counter to campaign finance laws, but is unlikely to be uncovered by authorities, and without the additional funding the businessman's opponent has little chance of winning. What do you think the opponent should do?", answers are 1="Accept the offer", or 2="Decline the offer". Indicator=1 if answer=(1=Accept the offer).

- *Hire relative as accountant*: the question asks "There is an opening for an accountant in the public works department of a small city. The short-list of candidates has been narrowed to two individuals. While both have appropriate qualifications and are legally eligible for the job, Candidate A has additional years of relevant work experience and is thus likely to transition into the position more smoothly; Candidate B is a relative of the head of the department, who has the ultimate decision on who gets the job. Whom do you think the head of the department should hire?", answers are 1="Candidate A", or 2="Candidate B". Indicator=1 if answer=(2=Candidate B).
- *Bribe-paying mayoral candidate likely elected*: the question asks "A small town has recently elected a new, very wealthy businessman as its mayor. Prior to running for office, the businessman donated some of his personal wealth to help build a health facility in the city. Now evidence has emerged that before he entered politics, his company paid bribes to secure some of the government contracts. Setting aside any concerns about party allegiance, how likely do you think it is that you would vote for this candidate if he ran for re-election?", answer options range from 1="Never", to 6="Certain". Indicator=1 if answer=(4=likely or 5=very likely or 6=certain).

Corruption questions

- *Citizens' first-order beliefs*: the question asks "How common do you think corruption is in your country?", answer options range from 1="Not common at all", to 4="Extremely common". Indicator=1 if answer=(3=common or 4=very common).

- *Legislators' second-order beliefs*: the question asks “Out of 10 adult citizens in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan], how many do you think would answer common or extremely common?”, answer options range from 0 to 10.
- *Likely that a politician accepts a bribe - Own party*: the question asks “How likely do you think it is that the average member of the [COL: Chamber of Representatives] [IT: Parliament] [PAK: National Assembly] affiliated with [COL: Liberal Party/Conservative Party/Pacto Historico] [IT: Lega/Democratic Party/5 Stars Movement] [PAK: PTI/PML(N)/PPP] would be willing to accept a bribe?”, answer options range from 1=“*Never*”, to 6=“*Certain*”. Indicator=1 if answer to own party=(4=likely or 5=very likely or 6=certain).
- *Likely that a politician accepts a bribe - Other parties*: the question asks “How likely do you think it is that the average member of the [COL: Chamber of Representatives] [IT: Parliament] [PAK: National Assembly] affiliated with [COL: Liberal Party/Conservative Party/Pacto Historico] [IT: Lega/Democratic Party/5 Stars Movement] [PAK: PTI/PML(N)/PPP] would be willing to accept a bribe?”, answer options range from 1=“*Never*”, to 6=“*Certain*”. Indicator=1 if average answer to other two parties \geq (4=likely).
- *Perceive corruption as common*: the question asks “How common do you think corruption is in your country?”, answer options range from 1=“*Not common at all*”, to 4=“*Extremely common*”. Indicator=1 if answer=(3=common or 4=extremely common).
- *Find likely politician accepts bribe*: the question asks “How likely do you think it is that the average member of the [COL: Chamber of Representatives] [IT: Parliament] [PAK: National Assembly] would be willing to accept a bribe?”, answer options range from 1=“*Never*”, to 6=“*Certain*”. Indicator=1 if answer=(4=likely or 5=very likely or 6=certain).

Motivations for entering politics

- *Career opportunities*: the question asks “We have been talking to a lot of politicians like you and heard them describe many reasons for entering politics. What are the reasons you decided to become a politician? Please tell us how important each of these was in your thinking. Career

opportunities or pension after holding office.”, answer options range from 1=“*Not important at all*”, to 4=“*Very important*”.

- *Salary*: the question asks “We have been talking to a lot of politicians like you and heard them describe many reasons for entering politics. What are the reasons you decided to become a politician? Please tell us how important each of these was in your thinking. The salary.”, answer options range from 1=“*Not important at all*”, to 4=“*Very important*”.
- *Admiration from others*: the question asks “We have been talking to a lot of politicians like you and heard them describe many reasons for entering politics. What are the reasons you decided to become a politician? Please tell us how important each of these was in your thinking. To get the admiration of others.”, answer options range from 1=“*Not important at all*”, to 4=“*Very important*”.
- *Better than private*: the question asks “We have been talking to a lot of politicians like you and heard them describe many reasons for entering politics. What are the reasons you decided to become a politician? Please tell us how important each of these was in your thinking. Less appealing opportunities in the private sector.”, answer options range from 1=“*Not important at all*”, to 4=“*Very important*”.
- *Work on public policy*: the question asks “We have been talking to a lot of politicians like you and heard them describe many reasons for entering politics. What are the reasons you decided to become a politician? Please tell us how important each of these was in your thinking. To work on public policy and legislation.”, answer options range from 1=“*Not important at all*”, to 4=“*Very important*”.
- *Help those in need*: the question asks “We have been talking to a lot of politicians like you and heard them describe many reasons for entering politics. What are the reasons you decided to become a politician? Please tell us how important each of these was in your thinking. To help those in need or serve others in my community.”, answer options range from 1=“*Not important at all*”, to 4=“*Very important*”.

Post-treatment questions

- *Belief that citizens overestimate corruption*: the question asks “Do you think that voters’ views about how serious corruption is in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan] are accurate?”, answer options range from 1=“*Voters underestimate its seriousness a lot*”, to 5=“*Voters overestimate its seriousness a lot*”. Indicator=1 if answer=(4=voters overestimate its seriousness a little or 5=voters overestimate its seriousness a lot).

F.2 Construction of Indices

The following indices are z-scores constructed following the methodology in ?. Each index consists of an equally weighted average of the z-scores of its components with signs oriented consistently within domain. Variables are transformed into z-scores by subtracting the control group mean and dividing by the control group standard deviation, so that each z-score has mean 0 and standard deviation 1 for the control group. Once the average is computed, we standardize the index once more by computing its z-score. All indices described below are built using variables presented in the previous subsections. To build the indices we used the variables in their discrete or continuous form. Indicator variables were used only when a given question had only two answer options.

- **Corruption Expectation Index**: index increasing in *Corrupt company selected for highway contract* - *Would*, *Don’t punish assistant taking gift* - *Would*, *Accept illicit financial support* - *Would*, *Hire relative as accountant* - *Would*, and *Bribe-paying mayoral candidate likely elected* - *Would*.
- **Corruption Tolerance Index**: index increasing in *Corrupt company selected for highway contract* - *Should*, *Don’t punish assistant taking gift* - *Should*, *Accept illicit financial support* - *Should*, *Hire relative as accountant* - *Should*, and *Bribe-paying mayoral candidate likely elected* - *Should*.
- **Social Motivation Index**: difference between an index increasing in *Work on public policy* and *Help those in need*, and an index increasing in *Career opportunities*, *Salary*, *Admiration from*

others, and *Better than private*. Difference standardized once more by computing its z-score.

G Questionnaire

G.1 Introduction and informed consent

We are a non-partisan group of three academic researchers from Boston University and the European University Institute, conducting a study on the views of politicians and voters.

We are sending this survey to many politicians in Colombia/Pakistan/Italy and elsewhere. This survey will give you an opportunity to express your own views on important political questions. We are extremely interested in getting your perspective on these questions; by completing this survey, you are contributing to our knowledge as a society. Furthermore, if you complete the survey, you will have the option to receive a personalized report about how citizens and politicians in your country responded to it, and how their views compare to your own.

Your participation in this study is purely voluntary. Results that are put in the public domain may include aggregate summary data, but under no circumstances will you ever be personally identified as a participant, nor will your answers ever be revealed without your express consent. The data will be used only for academic purposes and in no case for commercial or political purposes.

It is important for the success of our research that you fill out this survey personally and do not delegate answering to someone else. There are no right or wrong answers to any question. Please just answer as honestly as you can.

It is also important for the success of this research project that you complete the survey. The survey takes an average of about 10 minutes to complete.

If you have any questions about this study, you may contact us at legislator_survey@eui.eu.

Consent Form Pop-Up

Do you agree to participate in this study?

Yes; No.

G.2 Survey introduction and set-up for the public goods game

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this survey!

We know you are very busy and we are grateful for your time.

If you complete the survey, your name will be entered in a lottery. If you win the lottery, [1,800,000 Colombian pesos/€1,000/20,000 PKR] will be donated in your name to a charity of your choice. Your chances of winning depend on the total number of participants. If you are selected, you will be recontacted to let you know that you have won.

1. If you win the lottery, to which charity would you like your donation to be made?

Italy: *Caritas; Save the Children Italia; Croce Rossa Italiana.*

Pakistan: *Eidhi Foundation; Shaukat Khanum; Fatmid Foundation*

Colombia: *Techo para mi país; Pies Descalzos; Acción contra el Hambre.*

G.3 Background questions

We want to ask some basic background questions to learn a bit more about you, and to ensure that the publicly-available information we have about you is accurate.

1. What is your gender?

Male; Female; Prefer not to say.

2. What is your age?

3. What was your total household income, before taxes, last year?

Same income brackets for Italy; Colombia; Pakistan as citizen surveys

4. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

Primary school; High school; Vocational training; Bachelor's degree; Master's degree; Doctorate.

5. *[If Bachelor's degree or more:]* Have you qualified as a lawyer?

Yes; No.

6. In addition to serving as an elected politician, do you have other regular sources of income?

[Multiple answers possible]

None; Landholdings; Business owner/self-employed; Full-time employment; Part-time employment; Consulting.

We now would like to ask you a few questions about your activities and political background.

7. Which party were you affiliated with when you ran for the office you now hold?

Colombia: *Pacto Histórico; Partido Liberal; Partido Conservador; Centro Democrático; Partido de la U; Cambio Radical; Alianza Verde; Other.*

Italy: *Forza Italia; Lega; Fratelli d'Italia; Noi con l'Italia - UDC; Movimento 5 Stelle; Partito Democratico; +Europa; Liberi e Uguali; Altro.*

Pakistan: *PTI; PML(N); PPP; MMA; TLP; GDA; ANP; MQM-P; Other.*

8. How long have you been an elected politician (to any office)?

Less than 2 years; 2 to 5 years; 5 to 10 years; More than 10 years.

9. Do you have any immediate relatives (e.g., parent, sibling, child) who serve or have served in elected public office?

Yes; No.

10. Do you intend to seek reelection when your term of office ends?

Yes; No; Not sure.

11. *[If No or Not sure:]* Do you intend to run for another public office instead, either immediately or in the future?

Yes; No; Not sure.

12. Typically, how often do you access *news*? By news we mean national, international, regional/local news and other topical events accessed via any platform (radio, TV, newspaper or online).
Several times a day; Once a day; Several times a week; Once a week; Once a month; Never.
13. 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.
14. [PAK] How often do you pray?
Five times daily; Less than five times a day but every day; Less than every day.

G.4 Motivations for entering politics

1. We have been talking to a lot of politicians like you and heard them describe many reasons for entering politics. What are the reasons you decided to become a politician? Please tell us how important each of these was in your thinking.
- Career opportunities or pension after holding office.
 - To get the admiration of others.
 - To work on public policy and legislation.
 - The salary.
 - Less appealing opportunities in the private sector.
 - To help those in need or serve others in my community.
- Not important at all; Slightly important; Important; Very important.*
2. Imagine you decide to resign your office tomorrow and seek other employment. How do you think the job you expect you would take would compare to your current office in terms of:
- Salary

- Work load
- Job satisfaction

A lot less; Somewhat less; Same; Somewhat more; A lot more.

G.5 Vignette questions

We understand that politicians face complex tradeoffs in making decisions. We'd like to hear what you think would be the appropriate decisions for public officials in the following hypothetical scenarios. We emphasize that there are no right or wrong answers – please tell us what you think would be the most appropriate response by the public official in each scenario.

1. An official in the national procurement office is in charge of overseeing a highway contract. Two companies have made comparable bids. **Company A** is known to be scrupulously honest. **Company B** is rumored to have bribed officials in the past to get contracts but is very efficient in its business. It is expected that Company B will complete the road much more quickly than Company A, without any sacrifice in quality.

- (a) Which company do you think the official **should** select?

Company A; Company B.

- (b) Which company do you think the official **would** select if this were to occur in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan]?

Company A; Company B.

2. A member of the [COL: Chamber of Representatives] [IT: Parliament] [PAK: National Assembly] discovers that his personal assistant was given a holiday gift of expensive chocolates [PAK: Eid sweets] by a businessman who had been trying to set up a meeting with the politician. After receiving the gift, the assistant set up a meeting for the following week, whereas it would normally have taken longer to make an appointment with the representative. Although not explicitly illegal, some people could see this as favoritism.

- (a) What do you think the legislator **should** do?
Nothing; Warn his assistant; Write up his assistant; Fire his assistant.
- (b) What do you think the legislator **would** do if this were to occur in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan]?
Nothing; Warn his assistant; Write up his assistant; Fire his assistant.
3. In a small town, a wealthy local businessman has announced that he intends to run for mayor. His main opponent lacks comparable financial resources but has received an offer from a supporter to pay for local television and radio advertising on his behalf. Imagine that this informal offer runs counter to campaign finance laws, but is unlikely to be uncovered by authorities, and without the additional funding the businessman's opponent has little chance of winning.
- (a) What do you think the opponent **should** do?
Accept the offer; Decline the offer.
- (b) What do you think the opponent is **likely** to do if this were to occur in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan]?
Accept the offer; Decline the offer.
4. There is an opening for an accountant in the public works department of a small city. The short-list of candidates has been narrowed to two individuals. While both have appropriate qualifications and are legally eligible for the job, **Candidate A** has additional years of relevant work experience and is thus likely to transition into the position more smoothly; **Candidate B** is a relative of the head of the department, who has the ultimate decision on who gets the job.
- (a) Whom do you think the head of the department **should** hire?
Candidate A; Candidate B.
- (b) Whom do you think the head of the department is **likely** to hire if this occurred in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan]?
Candidate A; Candidate B.
5. A small town has recently elected a new, very wealthy businessman as its mayor. Prior to running for office, the businessman donated some of his personal wealth to help build a health

facility in the city. Now evidence has emerged that before he entered politics, his company paid bribes to secure some of the government contracts.

- (a) Setting aside any concerns about party allegiance, how likely do you think it is that **you would vote** for this candidate if he ran for re-election?

Never; Very unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; Certain.

- (b) How likely do you think it is that this candidate **would be re-elected** if this occurred in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan]?

Never; Very unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; Certain.

G.6 Preferences for redistribution questions

We would like to get your views on income inequality and whether you think governments should play a role in reducing it.

1. Do you agree with the following statement?

“Rich people should pay a larger share of their incomes in taxes than poor people.”

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

2. The next two questions ask for your views 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.

- (a) **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

- (b) **Large income differences between rich and poor.**

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. Do you agree with the following statement?

National legislators should be permitted to earn money from outside employment while serving in office.

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

G.7 Corruption questions

1. (a) How common do you think corruption is in your country?

Not common at all; Not very common; Common; Extremely common.

- (b) [Asked to Legislators only:] Out of 10 adult citizens in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan], how many do you think would answer **common** or **extremely common**?

Slider 0-10

2. (a) If a [COL: member of the Chamber of Representatives] [IT: deputy] [PAK: member of the National Assembly] were to take a bribe, what is the likelihood she or he would **be exposed in public**?

Never; Very unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; Certain.

- (b) Out of 10 adult citizens in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan], how many do you think would answer **likely**, **very likely**, or **certain**?

Slider 0-10

3. (a) If a [COL: member of the Chamber of Representatives] [IT: deputy] [PAK: member of the National Assembly] were to take a bribe, what is the likelihood she or he would **be**

charged with a crime?

Never; Very unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; Certain.

- (b) Out of 10 adult citizens in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan], how many do you think would answer **likely, very likely, or certain?**

Slider 0-10

4. (a) If a [COL: member of the Chamber of Representatives] [IT: deputy] [PAK: member of the National Assembly] were to take a bribe, what is the likelihood she or he would **be convicted?**

Never; Very unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; Certain.

- (b) Out of 10 adult citizens in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan], how many do you think would answer **likely, very likely, or certain?**

Slider 0-10

5. [Asked to Legislators only:] How likely do you think it is that the average member of the [COL: Chamber of Representatives] [IT: Parliament] [PAK: National Assembly] would be willing to accept a bribe?

Never; Very unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; Certain.

6. [Asked to Citizens only:] Randomized order:

- (a) How likely do you think it is that the average member of the [COL: Chamber of Representatives] [IT: Parliament] [PAK: National Assembly] affiliated with [COL: Liberal Party] [IT: Lega] [PAK: PTI] would be willing to accept a bribe?

Never; Very unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; Certain.

- (b) How likely do you think it is that the average member of the [COL: Chamber of Representatives] [IT: Parliament] [PAK: National Assembly] affiliated with [COL: Conservative Party] [IT: Democratic Party] [PAK: PML(N)] would be willing to accept a bribe?

Never; Very unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; Certain.

- (c) How likely do you think it is that the average member of the [COL: Chamber of Representatives] [IT: Parliament] [PAK: National Assembly] affiliated with [COL: Pacto Historico] [IT: 5 Stars Movement] [PAK: PPP] would be willing to accept a bribe?

Never; Very unlikely; Unlikely; Likely; Very likely; Certain.

G.8 Trust questions

We would like to get your views on some aspects of social capital in Pakistan/Colombia/Italy.

1. 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?

Please tell us what you think by moving the slider below. The slider goes from 0 to 10, where 0 means *Most people would try to take advantage of me* and 10 means *Most people would try to be fair*.

2. Generally speaking, would you say that **most people** can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

Please tell us what you think by moving the slider below. The slider goes from 0 to 10, where 0 means *You cannot be too careful in dealing with people* and 10 means *Most people can be trusted*.

3. Generally speaking, would you say that **most other politicians** can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with them?

Please tell us what you think by moving the slider below. The slider goes from 0 to 10, where 0 means *You cannot be too careful in dealing with other politicians* and 10 means *Most other politicians can be trusted*.

G.9 Continuation of the public goods game

If you win the lottery and a donation of [1,800,000 Colombian pesos/€1,000/20,000 PKR] is made to the charity you chose, [*present charity of choice*], you may elect to receive a framed certificate

acknowledging your donation. If you win, we will recontact you to inform you of that and to verify your address if you indicated you wish to receive the framed certificate.

Randomize:

- **No Waste:** The cost to produce and send you the certificate is [108,000 Colombian pesos/€60/1,200 PKR], to be covered by the researchers. The donation made in your name will therefore be [1,800,000 Colombian pesos/€1,000/20,000 PKR]. The certificate will report that you donated [1,800,000 Colombian pesos/€1,000/20,000 PKR].
- **Waste:** The cost to produce and send you the certificate is [108,000 Colombian pesos/€60/1,200 PKR], and this amount will be deducted from the donation made in your name. The donation made in your name will therefore be [1,692,000 Colombian pesos/€940/18,800 PKR]. The certificate will report that you donated [1,692,000 Colombian pesos/€940/18,800 PKR].
- **Waste + Lie:** The cost to produce and send you the certificate is [108,000 Colombian pesos/€60/1,200 PKR], and this amount will be deducted from the donation made in your name. The donation made in your name will therefore be [1,692,000 Colombian pesos/€940/18,800 PKR]. The certificate will report that you donated [1,800,000 Colombian pesos/€1,000/20,000 PKR].

Do you wish to receive the framed certificate if you win the lottery?

- *Yes, I would like to receive the certificate.*
- *No, I do not want to receive the certificate.*

G.10 Information experiment with legislators

Randomize:

- **Control:** *No information about vignettes provided.*
- **Treatment:** The following figure compares the answers that you provided in response

to the various scenarios that we presented to you a few minutes ago to those provided by a representative sample of adults in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan]. The bars show the distribution of responses about what people expect politicians would do in each scenario and the little figure shows what you thought the official should do.

As you can see, **in X scenarios out of 5**, a majority of voters think that public officials will make decisions that are different from what you believed to be appropriate.

If you hover your cursor over the bar, the complete text of the scenario will pop up so you can reread it.

Personalized treatment figure

1. Do you believe citizens and politicians share the same views on how public officials will behave in the five scenarios we presented earlier?

Very similar; Somewhat similar; Somewhat different; Very different.

2. How concerned do you think citizens in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan] are with political corruption relative to other major policy issues, such as the economy, social unrest, or public health? *Much less concerned; Somewhat less concerned; About the same as other major concerns; Somewhat more concerned; Much more concerned.*

3. Do you think that voters' views about how serious corruption is in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan] are accurate?

Voters underestimate its seriousness a lot; Voters underestimate its seriousness a little; Voters have roughly accurate views ; Voters overestimate its seriousness a little; Voters overestimate its seriousness a lot.

4. How much do you think that public perceptions of corruption undermine trust in government by voters in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan]?

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

5. What policy or legislative reforms do you think could improve citizens' perceptions of corrup-

tion in [Colombia/Italy/Pakistan]?

Like all your responses in this survey, your answer will remain confidential and we will report only anonymous information in our analysis.

[Text entry box]

6. Would you be willing to support legislation that strengthens financial disclosure by persons running for elected office? Like all your responses in this survey, your answer will remain confidential and we will report only summary data in our analysis.

Yes, I am willing to take this position; No, I am not willing to take this position

Randomize assignment to Group 1 or 2:

7. **[If Group 1 or Group 2 and No to Q6:]** We would like to encourage you to claim credit in front of voters for your legislative accomplishments. Would you be willing to use a media platform of your choice to disseminate information about the most important piece of legislation you have supported recently? Use any language you choose.

Yes, I am willing to remind voters of an important piece of legislation; No, I am not willing to do this

- 7.1 [If Yes:] I plan to send out an announcement via:

Twitter; Facebook; Instagram; My personal website; Other:.

- 7.2 [If Yes:] The legislation I plan to discuss concerns (please provide subject matter):

[Text entry box]

8. **[If Group 2 and Yes to Q6:]** We would like to encourage you to claim credit in front of voters for your legislative commitments. Would you be willing to make your support for legislation that strengthens financial disclosure by persons running for elected office public via social media? If you decline, your response will not be mentioned publicly and will remain confidential. If you wish to do this, please use the social media platform of your choice. Use any language you choose. One suggestion is the following: “In order to improve the integrity of government, I hereby announce that I support possible legislation to strengthen financial disclosures by can-

didates for elected office in Colombia/Italy/Pakistan.”

Yes, I am willing to make this announcement; No, I am not willing to make this announcement

8.1 [If Yes:] I plan to send out an announcement via:

Twitter; Facebook; Instagram; My personal website; Other:.

G.11 Bias and Feedback

Thank you very much for having participated in this survey!

1. To thank you for having completed the survey, we will email you a personalized report that will allow you to compare your own responses to the questions that we have asked you to the responses given by citizens and by other politicians in your country. The report will be sent to you after we have finished collecting information in [Colombia/Pakistan/Italy].

Do you wish to receive the report?

Yes; No.

2. Do you feel that this survey was biased?

[COL, IT:] *Yes, it was biased towards the left; Yes, it was biased towards the right; No, it did not feel biased.*

[PAK:] *Yes, it was biased; No, it did not feel biased.*

3. Please feel free to give us any feedback or impressions regarding this survey. We may contact you in the future, and we are very interested in knowing whether there are aspects of this survey that you would have found more useful.

[Text entry box]

4. [For respondents who received the information treatment only:] We are also interested in any comments you may have about the information we presented you about what citizens in your country think.

[Text entry box]

If you wish to discuss any aspects of this survey with us, please email us at legislator_survey@eui.eu and we will respond as quickly as possible.