

Appendices

A 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.

B Conflicts of Interest

There are no conflicts of interest on the part of any of the authors.

C Data Availability

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

D Variables' Definitions

Party Affiliation

- *Leftwing party*: Colombia: Partido Liberal, Alianza Verde, Partido Comunes, MAIS, Polo Democrático Alternativo, Dignidad y Compromiso; Italy: Partito Democratico, +Europa, Liberi e Uguali; Pakistan: Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), Awami National Party (ANP).
- *Center and rightwing party*: Colombia: Partido Conservador, Centro Democrático, Partido de la U, Cambio Radical, MIRA; Italy: Forza Italia, Lega, Fratelli d'Italia, Noi con l'Italia - UDC; Pakistan: Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid (PML-Q), Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA).
- *Challenger party*: Colombia: Pacto Histórico; Italy: Movimento 5 Stelle; Pakistan: Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)

Policy Preferences

- *Support progressive taxation*: indicator variable equal to 1 if legislator reported to “Agree” or “Strongly agree” to the statement “Rich people should pay a larger share of their incomes in taxes than poor people.”
- *Support reducing unequal opportunities*: indicator variable equal to 1 if legislator answered “5”, “6”, or “7” to the question: “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?”
- *Support reducing large income differences*: indicator variable equal to 1 if legislator answered “5”, “6”, or “7” to the question: “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?”

Background Characteristics

- *Income: business/landholder*: indicator variable equal to 1 if legislator reported to have, in addition to serving as an elected politician, other regular sources of income be being a landholder or a business owner.
- *Social vs private motivation*: continuous variable measuring the relative weight of pro-social versus private motivations for entering politics. Constructed as the normalized difference between social motivations (helping those in need or serving the community) and private motivations (salary, career opportunities or pension, and limited outside options). Higher values indicate stronger pro-social relative to private motivations.
- *Male*: indicator variable equal to 1 if legislator is male.

- *Aged 35-49*: indicator variable equal to 1 if legislator's age is between 35 and 49 years.
- *Aged 50 or more*: indicator variable equal to 1 if legislator's age is 50 years or more.
- *More than college*: indicator variable equal to 1 if legislators obtained a graduate degree.
- *Plan on running again*: indicator variable equal to 1 if legislator reported to intend to seek reelection when their term of office ends.
- *Family member in politics*: indicator variable equal to 1 if legislator reported to have any immediate relatives who serve or have served in elected public office.
- *Senior*: indicator variable equal to 1 if legislator reported to have been an elected politician, to any office, for more than 10 years.
- *Religion taken into account in politics*: indicator variable equal to 1 if legislator answered "to a large extent" or "to a very large extent" to the question "How much do you think religion should be taken into account in political decisions?"

E Additional tables

Table E.1: Partisan distributions of legislator 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 KP		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: Entries report the share of legislators affiliated with each party in the population and in the sample, by country and chamber. Data on Colombia from the 9th Congress of the Republic of Colombia (seated 20 July 2022). Italian national-level data from Legislature XVIII of the Italian Republic (23 March 2018 to 12 October 2022) and Legislature XIX of the Italian Republic (seated 13 October 2022). Italian regional-level data from all Regional Councils in office as of June 2022. Data on Pakistan from the 11th Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the 17th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab (seated in August 2018).

Table E.2: Descriptive information about legislators' background characteristics

	Colombia (1)	Italy (2)	Pakistan - KP (3)	Pakistan - Punjab (4)
Male	28 (0.61)	76 (0.66)	100 (0.86)	131 (0.75)
Aged 18-34	7 (0.16)	7 (0.06)	8 (0.07)	7 (0.04)
Aged 35-49	21 (0.47)	57 (0.50)	55 (0.47)	62 (0.35)
Aged 50 or more	17 (0.38)	49 (0.43)	53 (0.47)	106 (0.61)
Income: business/landholder	8 (0.17)	40 (0.34)	9 (0.08)	143 (0.82)
Income: employed	1 (0.02)	17 (0.15)	8 (0.07)	2 (0.01)
No other source of income	37 (0.80)	60 (0.53)	99 (0.85)	30 (0.17)
College degree	39 (0.85)	91 (0.78)	98 (0.84)	170 (0.97)
More than college	30 (0.65)	79 (0.68)	73 (0.63)	70 (0.40)
Plan on running again	15 (0.33)	53 (0.45)	109 (0.94)	157 (0.90)
Family member in politics	8 (0.17)	23 (0.20)	8 (0.07)	47 (0.27)
Senior (10+ years in politics)	10 (0.22)	50 (0.43)	50 (0.43)	103 (0.59)
Religion taken into account in politics:				
to a considerable extent	12 (0.26)	34 (0.29)	112 (0.97)	100 (0.57)
to a large extent	4 (0.09)	10 (0.09)	94 (0.81)	69 (0.40)
Sample size	46	117	116	175

Notes: Entries report counts with shares in parentheses.

Table E.3: Citizens' and legislators' income distributions

	Colombia		Italy		Pakistan	
	Citizens (1)	Legislators (2)	Citizens (3)	Legislators (4)	Citizens (5)	Legislators (6)
Col\$0 - Col\$299,999	0.18	0.00				
Col\$300,000 - Col\$699,999	0.09	0.00				
Col\$700,000 - Col\$999,999	0.18	0.00				
Col\$1,000,000 - Col\$1,999,999	0.30	0.00				
Col\$2,000,000 - Col\$3,999,999	0.17	0.00				
Col\$4,000,000+	0.09	1.00				
0€ - 17,999€			0.27	0.00		
18,000€ - 29,999€			0.28	0.00		
30,000€ - 39,999€			0.19	0.03		
40,000€ - 49,999€			0.10	0.09		
50,000€ - 59,999€			0.08	0.10		
60,000+€			0.08	0.78		
0 PKR - 29,000 PKR					0.36	0.00
30,000 PKR - 39,999 PKR					0.27	0.00
40,000 PKR - 49,999 PKR					0.22	0.00
50,000 PKR - 99,999 PKR					0.12	0.02
100,000+ PKR					0.03	0.98
Sample size	902	34	1,998	117	1,984	291

Notes: Entries report the share of respondents in each income bracket, separately for citizens and legislators, by country. In Colombia, 98 (0.10) citizen respondents and 12 (0.26) legislator respondents answered “prefer not to say.”

Table E.4: Regression results for citizens' support for redistributive policies in three countries

	Colombia (1)	Italy (2)	Pakistan - KP (3)	Pakistan - Punjab (4)
Descriptive Statistics				
Sample mean	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00
Sample SD	1.31	1.35	1.28	1.34
Regression Results				
Leftwing	0.390*** (0.126)	0.494*** (0.076)	-0.103 (0.173)	0.093 (0.183)
Challenger	0.630*** (0.113)	0.423*** (0.076)	0.649*** (0.161)	-0.120 (0.145)
Rural			1.281*** (0.096)	
Male	-0.338*** (0.082)	-0.205*** (0.060)	0.034 (0.059)	-0.309*** (0.119)
Aged 35-49	0.285*** (0.103)	0.422*** (0.081)	-0.315*** (0.069)	0.157 (0.141)
Aged 50 or more	0.565*** (0.105)	0.586*** (0.078)	-0.330*** (0.088)	-0.068 (0.145)
College degree	-0.087 (0.092)	-0.161** (0.066)	0.311*** (0.073)	-0.456*** (0.131)
Medium income	0.029 (0.098)	0.109 (0.073)	0.039 (0.067)	-0.105 (0.214)
High income	-0.135 (0.126)	-0.205** (0.089)	0.233*** (0.075)	-0.194 (0.156)
Observations	986	1981	1441	500
R^2	0.069	0.079	0.294	0.070

Notes: The dependent variable is an index formed using principal component analysis. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

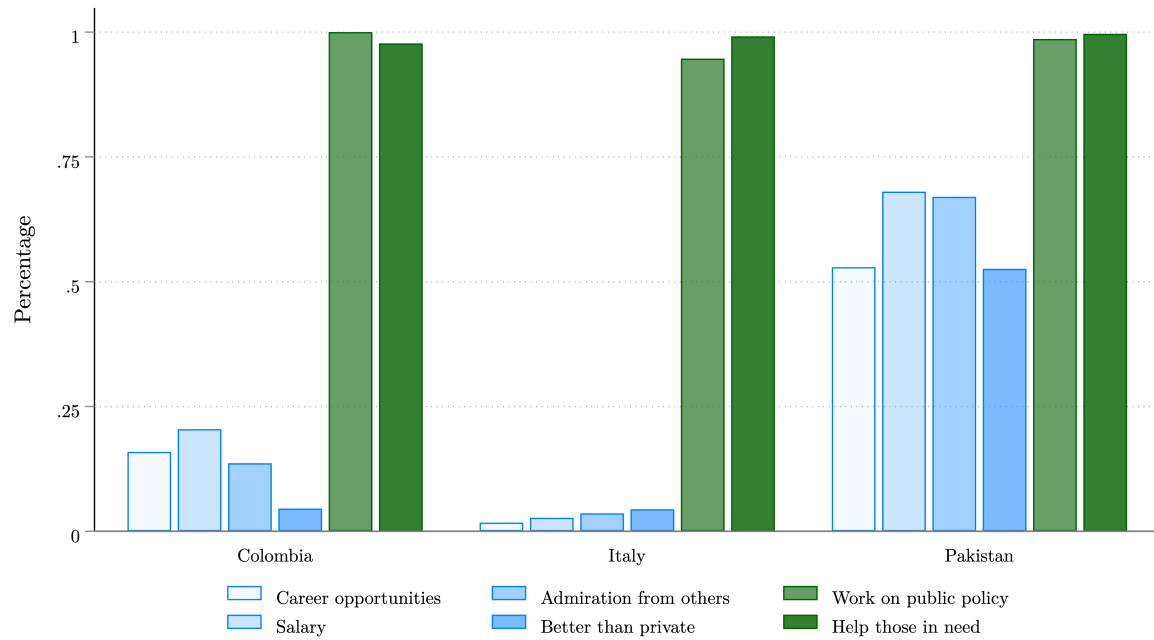
Table E.5: Regression results for legislators' support for redistributive policies in three countries by policy

	Colombia			Italy			Pakistan - KP			Pakistan - Punjab		
	Support progressive taxation	Support reducing		Support progressive taxation	Support reducing		Support progressive taxation	Support reducing		Support progressive taxation	Support reducing	
		unequal opportunities	large income differences		unequal opportunities	large income differences		unequal opportunities	large income differences		unequal opportunities	large income differences
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	
Descriptive Statistics												
Sample mean	4.36	6.40	5.80	4.10	6.62	5.69	3.85	5.20	5.08	3.78	5.70	5.73
Sample SD	1.05	1.19	1.49	1.02	0.90	1.70	0.59	0.78	0.75	0.76	0.85	0.85
Income: business/landholder	0.280 (0.371)	0.657 (0.593)	0.458 (0.664)	-0.413* (0.239)	-0.264 (0.319)	-0.605 (0.383)	0.191 (0.333)	0.565* (0.336)	0.283 (0.306)	-0.224 (0.189)	-0.287 (0.216)	-0.514*** (0.190)
Social vs private motivation	-0.107 (0.155)	0.276 (0.229)	0.011 (0.265)	0.117 (0.086)	0.184** (0.087)	0.108 (0.130)	0.196*** (0.062)	0.202*** (0.071)	0.175** (0.070)	0.210*** (0.076)	0.288*** (0.098)	0.255*** (0.073)
Leftwing	0.659* (0.361)	0.694 (0.416)	0.865 (0.560)	0.774** (0.344)	0.388 (0.420)	2.170*** (0.451)	-0.091 (0.210)	-0.205 (0.216)	-0.245 (0.222)	0.490* (0.292)	0.748** (0.299)	0.393 (0.350)
Challenger	0.783** (0.316)	0.628* (0.315)	1.034* (0.518)	0.842** (0.364)	0.395 (0.421)	2.659*** (0.461)	0.035 (0.170)	-0.039 (0.202)	-0.325 (0.219)	0.332*** (0.114)	0.390*** (0.118)	0.363*** (0.113)
Male	0.079 (0.350)	-0.777** (0.362)	-0.959* (0.487)	0.200 (0.205)	0.212 (0.275)	-0.063 (0.367)	-0.018 (0.152)	-0.129 (0.170)	-0.181 (0.233)	0.102 (0.131)	0.214 (0.159)	0.282** (0.142)
Aged 35-49	0.668 (0.620)	1.074 (0.838)	0.186 (0.937)	1.959*** (0.553)	1.019 (0.722)	-0.404 (1.047)	-0.161 (0.218)	-0.157 (0.215)	0.220 (0.237)	0.178 (0.202)	0.257 (0.288)	0.362 (0.325)
Aged 50 or more	0.833 (0.574)	0.624 (0.733)	0.554 (0.801)	2.132*** (0.561)	1.209* (0.712)	0.411 (1.066)	-0.252 (0.242)	0.180 (0.243)	0.498* (0.259)	-0.066 (0.205)	0.149 (0.294)	0.124 (0.329)
More than college	-0.438 (0.349)	0.101 (0.355)	-0.477 (0.458)	-0.146 (0.226)	-0.268 (0.235)	-0.175 (0.422)	-0.006 (0.114)	0.149 (0.142)	0.007 (0.155)	0.172 (0.129)	0.323** (0.145)	0.302** (0.129)
Plan on running again	-0.570 (0.405)	0.599 (0.399)	0.616 (0.466)	-0.220 (0.192)	0.107 (0.210)	0.938*** (0.298)	0.157 (0.330)	1.038*** (0.254)	0.152 (0.392)	0.006 (0.201)	-0.344* (0.190)	-0.254 (0.220)
Family member in politics	-0.057 (0.259)	-0.308 (0.431)	0.256 (0.526)	0.083 (0.201)	-0.218 (0.293)	0.378 (0.367)	-0.114 (0.215)	0.205 (0.254)	0.449 (0.292)	-0.273** (0.119)	-0.134 (0.121)	-0.253** (0.111)
Other party	-0.644 (0.867)	-0.810 (1.295)	-0.710 (1.430)	0.414 (0.397)	0.261 (0.420)	1.213* (0.644)	0.194 (0.231)	0.308 (0.271)	0.010 (0.292)	0.062 (0.201)	0.150 (0.206)	-0.204 (0.150)
Observations	41	41	41	92	92	92	108	108	108	173	173	173
R^2	0.424	0.369	0.333	0.455	0.221	0.401	0.173	0.281	0.212	0.256	0.313	0.348

Notes: The dependent variable is an index formed using principal component analysis (see Table 2 for details). For variable definitions, see Appendix D. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

F Additional figures

Figure F.1: 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 each motivation for entering public office.

G Survey Instrument

We reprint an English-language version of survey instrument that we distributed to legislators. The information provided in Section 10 of the survey showed each treated legislator an accurate depiction of his specific responses to the vignette questions in relation to the average response by citizen respondents in his country. The citizen surveys were identical except that we omitted Section 4 (Motivations for Entering Public Office) and Section 10 (Information Experiment with Legislators).

The surveys were delivered in Spanish (in Colombia), in Italian (in Italy), and in both Urdu and English (in Pakistan). Responses were collected directly via Qualtrics except for citizen surveys in one province (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) in Pakistan, where they were filled out on paper by enumerators and then subsequently input. See Table 1 for other survey dissemination details.

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?

Colombia: *Less than Col\$150,000; Col\$150,000 - Col\$300,000; Col\$300,000 - Col\$400,000; Col\$400,000 - Col\$500,000; Col\$500,000 - Col\$600,000; Col\$600,000 - Col\$700,000; Col\$700,000 - Col\$1,000,000; Col\$1,000,000 - Col\$2,000,000; Col\$2,000,000 - Col\$4,000,000; More than Col\$4,000,000; Prefer not to say.*

Italy: *Less than 10,000€; 10,000€ - 18,000€; 18,000€ - 30,000€; 30,000€ - 35,000€; 35,000€ - 40,000€; 40,000€ - 45,000€; 45,000€ - 50,000€; 50,000€ - 55,000€; 55,000€ - 60,000€; More than 60,000€.*

Pakistan: *Less than 20,000PKR; 20,000PKR - 30,000PKR; 30,000PKR - 40,000PKR; 40,000PKR - 50,000PKR; 50,000PKR - 60,000PKR; 60,000PKR - 80,000PKR; 80,000PKR - 100,000PKR; More than 100,000PKR.*

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 large extent; To a very large extent.

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 corruption 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 candidates 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.