Bloc Voting for Electoral Accountability

Online Appendix

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Contents

A1 Survey Variables and Summary Statistics

The following variables were measured at the individual level in the household survey. Where used in community-level analyses, I calculate the community mean values for these variables using the full sample but removing missing values. See Codebook on Dataverse for more information.

- *Community Trust in Others* is a binary variable that is 1 if respondent reports that people in the community are very trustworthy or trustworthy, and 0 if not very trustworthy or not at all trustworthy.
- *Elites Attend Assoc. Meetings* is a binary variable that is 1 where wealthy families (with land, businesses, or other professions) actively attend meetings and participate in association activities, and 0 where they somewhat or do not attend or participate.
- *Current/Former CC Member Lives in Community* is a binary variable that is 1 where respondents report that a current or former city council member lives in the community, and 0 if not.
- *Vote Not Perceived Secret* is a binary variable that is 1 where respondents report that though the vote is secret, it is very probable or somewhat probable that someone could discover their vote, and 0 if not at all probable or not very probable.
- *Leader Propose Ideas* is a binary variable that is 1 if respondent reports that the association president proposes topics for association meetings, and 0 if members propose topics.
- *Leader Constant Person or Family* is a binary variable that is 1 if respondent reports that the association president has tended to be the same person or from the same family, and 0 where families trade off or many different people rotate through.
- *More Than One Association* is a binary variable that is 1 where an association leader in the community responded that there was more than one community association, and 0 if not.
- *Household Assets Index* is the sum of the z-score of each of two variables created by summing the services (electricity, public sanitation, septic tank, trash collection, and paved road) and household assets (cellphone, land-line phone, car, washing machine, microwave, motorcycle, bathroom in home, computer or tablet, internet, refrigerator, television) as reported by respondents.[1]
- *Association Member* is a binary variable that is 1 if respondent reports that they themselves or someone else in their household is a member of the community / neighborhood association and 0 if not.
- *Male* is a binary variable that is 1 if the respondent was male, and 0 if female.
- *Age* is a continuous variable for the respondent's age in years as reported by the respondent.

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[1]I use a household assets index instead of self-reported income for a number of reasons, though the survey did ask about income. Some respondents may have inflated their reported income to seem less poor. Others may have reduced their reported income for fear of losing access to government programs, since the government proposed changing cut-offs for welfare benefits around the time of the survey.

Table A1: Summary Statistics for Bloc Voting Analysis

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Vote Share in Most Voted CC Member	120	0.295	0.123	0.079	0.612
Community Trust in Others*	120	0.656	0.161	0.200	1.000
Share Resp. at Polling Station	120	0.715	0.200	0.154	1.000
Elites Attend Assoc. Meetings*	120	0.434	0.295	0.000	1.000
CC Member Lives in Community*	120	0.095	0.229	0.000	1.000
Vote Not Perceived Secret*	120	0.324	0.145	0.000	0.688
More Than One Association	120	0.150	0.359	0	1
Leader Proposes Ideas*	120	0.776	0.170	0.200	1.000
Leader Constant Person or Family*	120	0.597	0.318	0.000	1.000
Total Votes at Polling Station (ln)	120	5.815	0.773	4.419	7.597
Distance to City Center (km)	120	18.133	9.434	2.406	50.279
Household Assets Index*	120	-0.061	0.948	-1.736	2.876
Herfindahl Index	120	0.165	0.083	0.044	0.396
Two CC Concentration Ratio	120	0.466	0.160	0.154	0.772

Note: Asterisk indicates variable collected at individual level.

Table A2: Summary Statistics for Water Analysis

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Water Index*	1,990	−0.000	0.484	−2.497	0.959
Vote Share in Most Voted CC Member	1,990	0.296	0.123	0.079	0.612
Household Assets Index*	1,990	0.000	1.592	−5.592	5.091
Association Member*	1,990	0.641	0.480	0	1
Male*	1,990	0.461	0.499	0	1
Age*	1,990	46.799	13.588	18	70
Herfindahl Index	1,990	0.167	0.083	0.044	0.396
Two CC Concentration Ratio	1,990	0.469	0.159	0.154	0.772

Note: Asterisk indicates variable collected at individual level.

Table A3: Water Security Index

Concept	Measure	Operationalization
Access	Water piped in household	Binary
	Access to water cistern	Categories (0-3)
	Satisfaction with overall community water access	Scale (1-5)
Security	Days without water in the last month (reverse coded)	Categories (0-4)
	Reliance on emergency water truck in last year (reverse coded)	Binary
Quality	Satisfaction with water quality	Scale (1-5)

Note: The z-score is a standardized measure that transforms a variable's value for each observation into the number of standard deviations away from the mean observed value. The index calculates the mean z-score value among all water access variables for each observation. $WaterIndex_{ijm} = \frac{\sum_{V=1}^{N}(\frac{X_{Vicm}-\bar{X}_{Vicm}}{\sigma_{X_{Vicm}}})}{N}$ where X_{Vicm} is the value of variable X_V for individual i in community c in municipality m. $N = 6$ in the list of water access variables above. The mean and standard deviation of the variable are calculated for the full sample.

A2 Conjoint Experiment – Regression Tables and Figures

See Appendix B on Dataverse for additional analysis, details on pre-registration, and experimental procedures.

Table A4: AMCE Model on Bloc Voting

	Dependent variable:
	Bloc Voting
Strong Participation in Assoc	0.268***
	(0.019)
Strong Responsiveness of Assoc Pres	0.169***
	(0.020)
Political Endorsement by Assoc Pres	0.076***
	(0.019)
High Assoc Pres Competition	0.018
	(0.020)
Constant Assoc Pres Leadership	0.009
	(0.019)
Constant	0.231***
	(0.021)
Observations	2,478
R^2	0.107
Adjusted R^2	0.106
Residual Std. Error	0.473

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Table of results in main manuscript Figure 5. Outcome reflects whether the respondent selected a community profile with that characteristic as more likely to engage in bloc voting. Results show average marginal component effects (AMCE). Standard errors clustered by respondent: 1239 clusters. Of the 1745 respondents in the full sample, 63 were randomly selected to be shown the same two profiles and were excluded, 64 said they did not want to respond to the question, and 379 said they did not know; all of these are coded as missing. In a regression to predict the latter two categories of non-response, I find that older respondents and more rural residents are more likely to not respond; non-response is not correlated with gender, bolsa familia recipient, or trust in others.

Table A5: Heterogeneous Treatment Effects on Bloc Voting by Trust in Others

	Dependent variable:		
	Bloc Voting		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Strong Participation in Assoc	0.298***	0.242***	0.298***
	(0.031)	(0.026)	(0.031)
Strong Responsivness of Assoc Pres	0.166***	0.159***	0.166***
	(0.031)	(0.026)	(0.031)
Political Endorsement by Assoc Pres	0.058*	0.081***	0.058*
	(0.032)	(0.025)	(0.032)
High Assoc Pres Competition	−0.015	0.041	−0.015
	(0.032)	(0.026)	(0.032)
Constant Assoc Pres Leadership	0.054*	−0.017	0.054*
	(0.030)	(0.026)	(0.030)
Community Trust			0.015
			(0.044)
Participation*Trust			−0.055
			(0.040)
Responsiveness*Trust			−0.007
			(0.041)
Endorsement*Trust			0.023
			(0.041)
Competition*Trust			0.056
			(0.041)
Constant Leadership*Trust			−0.071*
			(0.040)
Constant	0.229***	0.244***	0.229***
	(0.034)	(0.028)	(0.034)
Sample	Low Trust	High Trust	Full Sample
Observations	956	1,430	2,386
R^2	0.126	0.093	0.106
Adjusted R^2	0.122	0.089	0.102
Residual Std. Error	0.469	0.477	0.474

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Outcome reflects whether the respondent selected a community profile with that characteristic as more likely to engage in bloc voting. Community Trust in Others is a dummy variable for respondent's perception of high trust in others within the community. Standard errors clustered by respondent: 478 clusters in Low Trust, 715 in High Trust, 1193 clusters in full sample.

Table A6: ACIE Model on Bloc Voting

	Dependent variable:
	Bloc Voting
Strong Participation in Assoc	0.280***
	(0.043)
Strong Responsivness of Assoc Pres	0.171***
	(0.044)
Political Endorsement by Assoc Pres	0.117***
	(0.043)
High Assoc Pres Competition	0.043
	(0.041)
Constant Assoc Pres Leadership	0.085**
	(0.041)
Participation * Responsiveness	0.008
	(0.038)
Participation * Endorsement	0.012
	(0.040)
Participation * Competition	0.020
	(0.038)
Participation * Constant Leader	−0.067*
	(0.039)
Responsiveness * Endorsement	−0.012
	(0.039)
Responsiveness * Competition	0.003
	(0.038)
Responsiveness * Constant Leader	−0.003
	(0.039)
Endorsement * Competition	−0.039
	(0.038)
Endorsement * Constant Leader	−0.046
	(0.038)
Competition * Constant Leader	−0.035
	(0.039)
Constant	0.192***
	(0.034)
Observations	2,478
R^2	0.110
Adjusted R^2	0.104
Residual Std. Error	0.473

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Outcome reflects whether the respondent selected a community profile with that characteristic as more likely to engage in bloc voting. Results show average component interaction effects (ACIE). Standard errors clustered by respondent: 1239 clusters.

A3 Bloc Voting – Regression Tables

Table A7: Bloc Voting with Controls

	Dependent variable:	
	Vote Share in Most Voted CC Candidate	
	(1)	(2)
Community Trust in Others	0.137**	−0.265
	(0.064)	(0.226)
Share Resp. at Polling Station	0.088	−0.293
	(0.059)	(0.214)
Leader Proposes Ideas	0.076	0.070
	(0.064)	(0.063)
Leader Constant Person or Family	−0.042	−0.038
	(0.031)	(0.031)
Elites Attend Assoc. Meetings	0.053	0.059
	(0.037)	(0.036)
Current/Former CC Member Lives in Community	0.127**	0.126**
	(0.052)	(0.051)
Vote Not Perceived Secret	0.103	0.091
	(0.071)	(0.071)
More Than One Association	−0.038	−0.033
	(0.029)	(0.029)
Total Votes at Polling Station (ln)	−0.037**	−0.036**
	(0.015)	(0.015)
Distance to City Center (km, ln)	0.046**	0.046**
	(0.021)	(0.021)
Household Assets Index	0.013	0.014
	(0.014)	(0.014)
Community Trust in Others * Share Resp. at Polling Station		0.573*
		(0.309)
Municipal Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Observations	120	120
R^2	0.430	0.450
Adjusted R^2	0.315	0.332
Residual Std. Error	0.102	0.101

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Reports full models for main manuscript Table 1.

Table A8: Bloc Voting with Alternative Measures for Dependent Variable

	Dependent variable:					
	Vote Share in Most Voted CC Candidate		Herfindahl Index		Two CC Concentration Ratio	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Community Trust in Others	0.137**	−0.265	0.068*	−0.179	0.064	−0.314
	(0.064)	(0.226)	(0.040)	(0.142)	(0.078)	(0.275)
Share at Main Polling Station	0.088	−0.293	0.034	−0.200	0.067	−0.291
	(0.059)	(0.214)	(0.037)	(0.135)	(0.071)	(0.261)
Leader Proposes Ideas	0.076	0.070	0.043	0.040	0.059	0.053
	(0.064)	(0.063)	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.077)	(0.077)
Leader Constant Person or Family	−0.042	−0.038	−0.009	−0.007	0.010	0.013
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.038)	(0.038)
Elites Attend Assoc. Meetings	0.053	0.059	0.030	0.034	0.054	0.060
	(0.037)	(0.036)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.044)	(0.044)
Current/Former CC Member Lives in Community	0.127**	0.126**	0.108***	0.108***	0.191***	0.190***
	(0.052)	(0.051)	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.063)	(0.063)
Vote Not Perceived Secret	0.103	0.091	0.042	0.035	0.039	0.028
	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.045)	(0.044)	(0.086)	(0.086)
More Than One Association	−0.038	−0.033	−0.024	−0.021	−0.038	−0.033
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.035)	(0.035)
Total Votes at Polling Station (ln)	−0.037**	−0.036**	−0.029***	−0.028***	−0.062***	−0.061***
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Distance to City Center (km, ln)	0.046**	0.046**	0.045***	0.044***	0.104***	0.103***
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Household Assets Index	0.013	0.014	0.012	0.013	0.031*	0.033*
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Community Trust in Others * Share at Main Polling Station		0.573*		0.351*		0.538
		(0.309)		(0.195)		(0.377)
Municipal Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	120	120	120	120	120	120
R^2	0.430	0.450	0.505	0.521	0.504	0.514
Adjusted R^2	0.315	0.332	0.405	0.418	0.404	0.410
Residual Std. Error	0.102	0.101	0.064	0.063	0.123	0.123

Note: *$p<0.1$; **$p<0.05$; ***$p<0.01$.

Table A9: Bloc Voting Excluding Resident Politician

	Dependent variable:			
	Vote Share in Most Voted CC Candidate			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Community Trust in Others	0.141**	−0.225	0.138*	−0.150
	(0.069)	(0.236)	(0.077)	(0.264)
Share Resp. at Polling Station	0.081	−0.271	0.067	−0.204
	(0.064)	(0.226)	(0.072)	(0.248)
Leader Proposes Ideas	0.110	0.103	0.121	0.117
	(0.067)	(0.067)	(0.080)	(0.080)
Leader Constant Person or Family	−0.041	−0.040	−0.022	−0.023
	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.039)	(0.038)
Elites Attend Assoc. Meetings	0.046	0.050	0.045	0.047
	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.042)	(0.042)
Vote Not Perceived Secret	0.081	0.071	0.067	0.060
	(0.075)	(0.074)	(0.079)	(0.079)
More Than One Association	−0.044	−0.039	−0.037	−0.035
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.035)	(0.035)
Total Votes at Polling Station (ln)	−0.038**	−0.036**	−0.041**	−0.039**
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Distance to City Center (km, ln)	0.046*	0.046*	0.066**	0.067**
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.027)	(0.027)
Household Assets Index	0.021	0.023	0.024	0.026
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Community Trust in Others * Share Resp. at Polling Station		0.529		0.413
		(0.326)		(0.362)
Municipal Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Share Saying Current/Former CC Lives There	¡0.5	¡0.5	0	0
Observations	110	110	91	91
R^2	0.364	0.382	0.373	0.385
Adjusted R^2	0.230	0.243	0.206	0.209
Residual Std. Error	0.104	0.103	0.104	0.104

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Sample excludes communities where 50% or more respondents (Columns 1, 2) or any respondent (Columns 3, 4) reported that a current or former city councilor lived in the community. Due to data limitations, I cannot identify whether the most voted candidate is the same as the current or former politician that respondents reported living in the community. Electoral data from the Brazilian government does not report candidates' neighborhood of residence, and the survey did not ask respondents for the name of the current or former politician in the community.

Table A10: Bloc Voting with Alternative Measures for Resident Politician

		Dependent variable:				
		Vote Share in Most Voted CC Candidate				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Community Trust in Others	0.137**	−0.265	0.126*	−0.274	0.150**	−0.256
	(0.064)	(0.226)	(0.066)	(0.231)	(0.065)	(0.230)
Share Resp. at Polling Station	0.088	−0.293	0.077	−0.303	0.095	−0.291
	(0.059)	(0.214)	(0.060)	(0.219)	(0.060)	(0.218)
Leader Proposes Ideas	0.076	0.070	0.090	0.085	0.089	0.083
	(0.064)	(0.063)	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.064)
Leader Constant Person or Family	−0.042	−0.038	−0.043	−0.040	−0.037	−0.034
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)
Elites Attend Assoc. Meetings	0.053	0.059	0.054	0.060	0.052	0.058
	(0.037)	(0.036)	(0.038)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)
Current/Former CC Member Lives in Community (mean)	0.127**	0.126**				
	(0.052)	(0.051)				
Current/Former CC Member Lives in Community (any)			0.039	0.038		
			(0.027)	(0.027)		
Current/Former CC Member Lives in Community (50% or more)					0.072	0.072
					(0.045)	(0.044)
Vote Not Perceived Secret	0.103	0.091	0.095	0.083	0.104	0.091
	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.072)	(0.072)	(0.072)	(0.072)
More Than One Association	−0.038	−0.033	−0.029	−0.024	−0.036	−0.031
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.030)	(0.029)
Total Votes at Polling Station (ln)	−0.037**	−0.036**	−0.039**	−0.038**	−0.034**	−0.033**
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Distance to City Center (km, ln)	0.046**	0.046**	0.051**	0.051**	0.049**	0.049**
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.021)
Household Assets Index	0.013	0.014	0.021	0.023*	0.017	0.019
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.014)
Community Trust in Others * Share Resp. at Polling Station		0.573*		0.571*		0.578*
		(0.309)		(0.316)		(0.315)
Municipal Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	120	120	120	120	120	120
R^2	0.430	0.450	0.408	0.428	0.411	0.431
Adjusted R^2	0.315	0.332	0.289	0.305	0.292	0.309
Residual Std. Error	0.102	0.101	0.104	0.103	0.104	0.102

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. The household survey asked if a current or past city council member lives in the community. Columns 1 and 2 use the mean value within the community. Columns 3 and 4 use a binary variable that =1 if any respondent said yes (29 of 120 communities) and =0 if not. Columns 5 and 6 use a binary variable that =1 if 50% or more respondents said yes (10 of 120 communities) and =0 if not. Due to data limitations, I cannot identify whether the most voted candidate is the same as the current or former politician that respondents reported living in the community. Electoral data from the Brazilian government does not report candidates' neighborhood of residence, and the survey did not ask respondents for the name of the current or former politician in the community.

A4 Water – Regression Tables

Table A11: Water Access

	Dependent variable:			
	Water Service Index			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Vote Share in Most Voted CC Member	0.178	−0.157		
	(0.190)	(0.251)		
Most Voted CC Won			0.024	0.022
			(0.045)	(0.057)
Association Member	0.136***	−0.015	0.135***	0.133***
	(0.027)	(0.063)	(0.027)	(0.050)
Male	−0.045**	−0.046**	−0.044**	−0.044**
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Age	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Household Assets Index	0.011	0.011	0.012	0.012
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Rural Area	−0.086***	−0.084***	−0.085***	−0.085***
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.028)
Assoc. Leader	−0.105***	−0.105***	−0.106***	−0.106***
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)
Water Operator	0.091**	0.094***	0.090**	0.090**
	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.036)
Landowner	0.032	0.035	0.028	0.029
	(0.054)	(0.054)	(0.053)	(0.053)
Vote Share in Most Voted CC Member x Association Member		0.509**		
		(0.218)		
Most Voted CC Won x Association Member				0.003
				(0.057)
Municipal Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Clustered Standard Errors	Community	Community	Community	Community
Observations	1,990	1,990	1,990	1,990
R^2	0.123	0.127	0.122	0.122
Adjusted R^2	0.115	0.118	0.114	0.114
Residual Std. Error	0.455	0.454	0.455	0.456

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Reports full models for main manuscript Table 2. Includes municipal fixed effects and clustered standard errors at community level: 120 clusters. Reference category for type of respondent (Rural Area, Assoc. Leader, Water Operator, Landowner) is Populated Area.

Table A12: Water Access – Herfindahl and Two CC Concentration Ratio

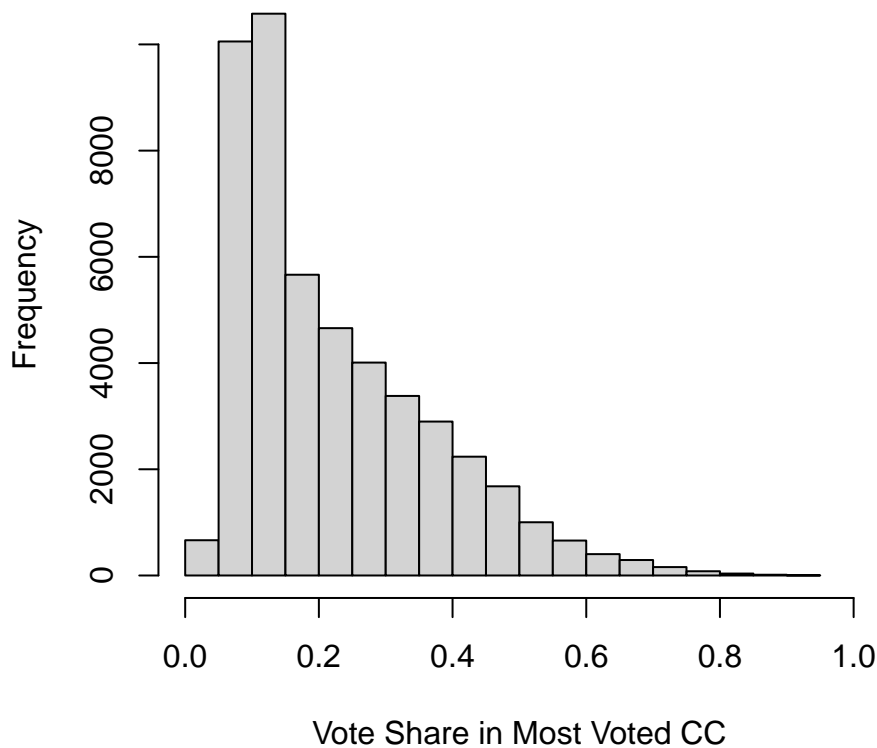|	*Dependent variable:*			
	Water Service Index			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Herfindahl Index	0.178	−0.378		
	(0.281)	(0.355)		
Two CC Concentration Ratio			0.161	−0.055
			(0.148)	(0.179)
Association Member	0.136***	−0.009	0.137***	−0.023
	(0.027)	(0.051)	(0.027)	(0.071)
Male	−0.045**	−0.046**	−0.045**	−0.046**
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Age	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Household Assets Index	0.011	0.011	0.010	0.010
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Rural Area	−0.086***	−0.083***	−0.086***	−0.085***
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)
Assoc. Leader	−0.105***	−0.105***	−0.104***	−0.104***
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)
Water Operator	0.090**	0.094***	0.091**	0.093***
	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.036)
Landowner	0.030	0.035	0.032	0.036
	(0.054)	(0.054)	(0.054)	(0.054)
Herfindahl Index x Association Member		0.865***		
		(0.302)		
Two CC Concentration Ratio x Association Member				0.340**
				(0.154)
Municipal Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Clustered Standard Errors	Community	Community	Community	Community
Observations	1,990	1,990	1,990	1,990
R^2	0.122	0.127	0.124	0.127
Adjusted R^2	0.114	0.119	0.116	0.118
Residual Std. Error	0.455	0.454	0.455	0.454

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Includes municipal fixed effects and clustered standard errors at community level: 120 clusters. Reference category for type of respondent (Rural Area, Assoc. Leader, Water Operator, Landowner) is Populated Area.

A5 Long Run Voting – Regression Tables and Figures

I analyze data from 15,326 sections in 182 municipalities across Ceará during five municipal elections: 2000-2016. I exclude the state capital's metropolitan area (Fortaleza, Caucaia) because its electoral dynamics differ from most other municipalities. Data from 2000 identify the previous most voted candidate for 2004; section-level data from 1996 are only available for Fortaleza.
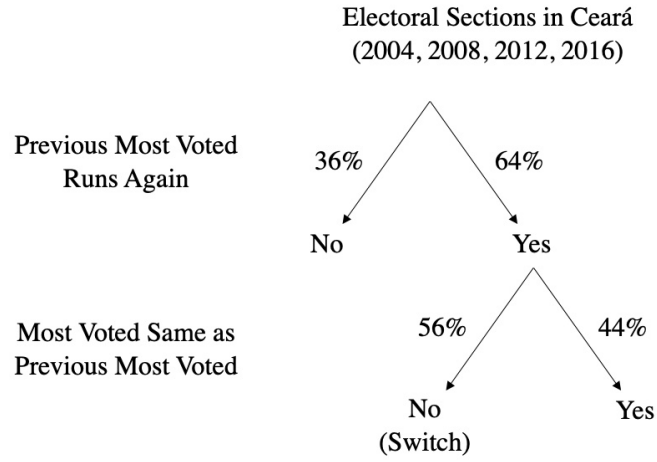
There are 19,278 unique sections in Ceará during 2000-2016, but many sections did not exist the whole time. Over time, new sections were created while others were merged into other sections. Some sections underwent electoral rezoning in 2016 and were assigned new numbers that cannot be linked to their previous numbers. I exclude sections with data for only one election year because they lack variation over time, and I exclude sections in the first election year of their existence because they do not have a prior year to which I can compare them. I use the voting behavior in the main (not supplementary) election so that the timing of the election is consistent across units. There are 48,465 section-year observations where the section is in at least the second municipal election of its existence.
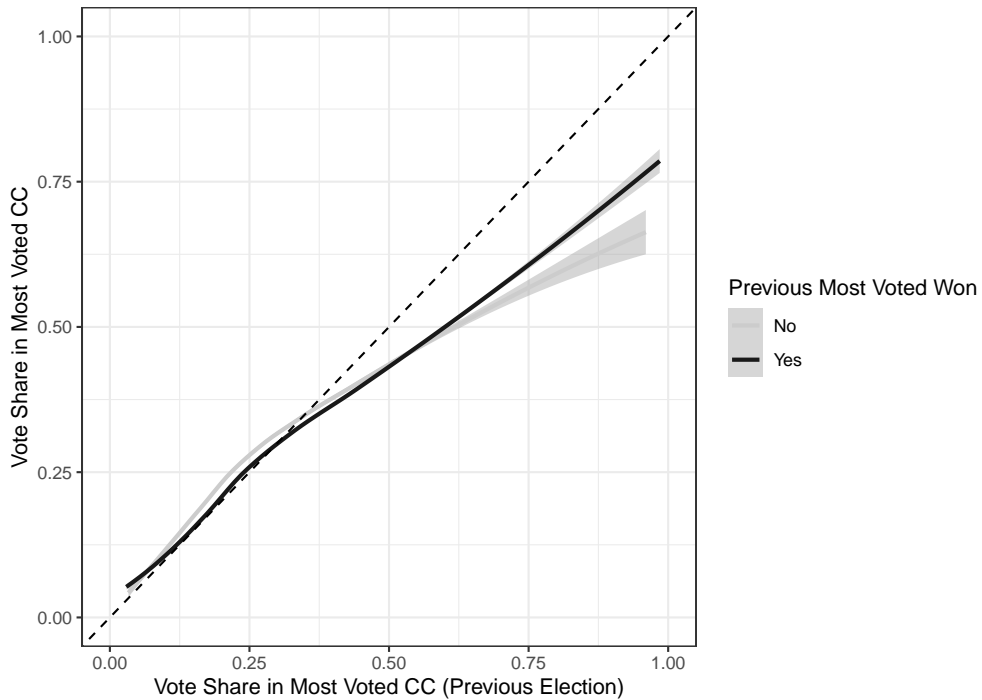
Figure A1: Vote Concentration

Note: Includes 48465 sections across 182 municipalities in 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016.

Figure A2: Proportion of Electoral Sections by Voting Behavior

Note: Includes 48465 sections across 182 municipalities based on data from 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016.

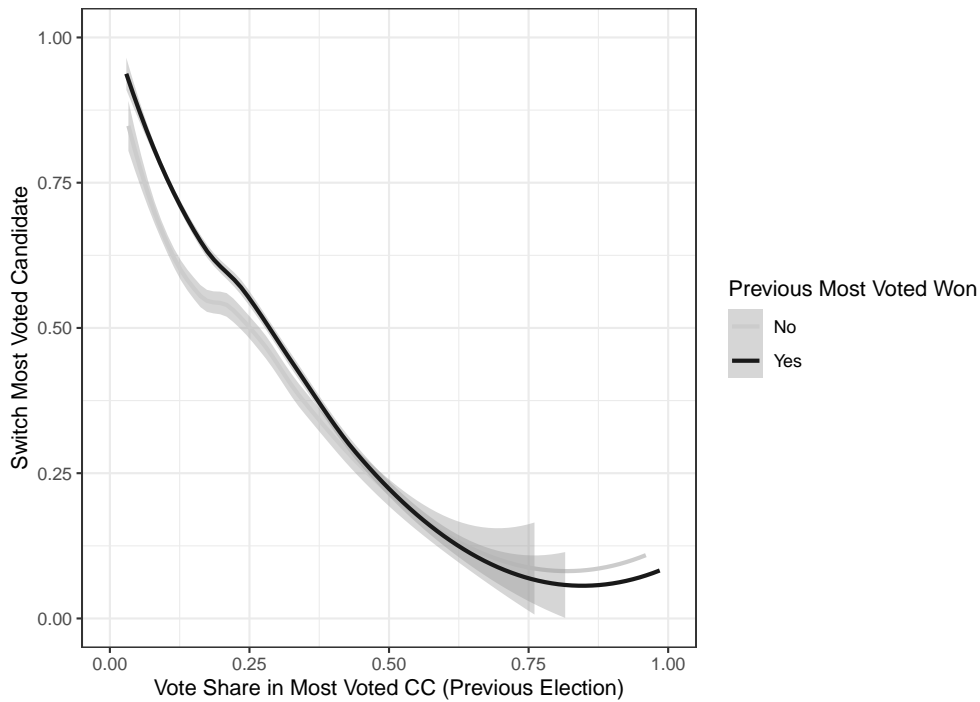## Figure A3: Voting Behavior Over Time by Prior Candidate Won

Note: Limited to section-years where previous most voted city council candidate ran again. Local polynomial regression fit lines (loess) calculated using "loess" from package **ggplot2:geom_smooth** (n=31,160 section-years). Plot shows 95% confidence intervals. Does not include controls, municipal fixed effects, or clustered standard errors.

Table A13: Proportion of Switching by Prior Vote Concentration

	Below 20pp	20-40pp	40-60pp	60-100pp
Not Switch	0.28	0.52	0.76	0.89
Switch	0.72	0.48	0.24	0.11

Note: Limited to section-years where previous most voted city council candidate ran again. Switching defined by selecting a different most voted city council candidate than the prior election. Includes 31,186 section-years across 182 municipalities based on data from 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016.

Figure A4: Switching by Prior Candidate Won

Note: Limited to section-years where previous most voted city council candidate ran again. Local polynomial regression fit lines (loess) calculated using "loess" from package **ggplot2:geom_smooth**. Plot shows 95% confidence intervals. Does not include controls, municipal fixed effects, or clustered standard errors. Includes 31,160 section-years across 182 municipalities based on data from 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016. Excludes sections where the most voted candidate's information was not included in election authority's candidate profile dataset.

Table A14: Voting Behavior Over Time Across Electoral Sections

	Dependent variable:			
	Vote Share in Most Voted CC Member			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Vote Share in Most Voted CC Member (lag)	0.769***	0.698***	0.668***	0.657***
	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Ran and Same		−0.006***	−0.006*	−0.006*
		(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Ran Not Same (Switch)		−0.014***	−0.012***	−0.012***
		(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Number Votes at Section				−0.0001***
				(0.00001)
Number of Votes in Mun (log)				0.012
				(0.024)
Number Effective CC Cand in Mun (log)				−0.085***
				(0.006)
Number of Sections in Mun (log)				−0.004
				(0.022)
Vote Share Most Voted (lag) * Ran and Same		0.095***	0.101***	0.103***
		(0.006)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Vote Share Most Voted (lag) * Ran Not Same (Switch)		0.078***	0.069***	0.069***
		(0.007)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Constant	0.044***	0.054***		
	(0.001)	(0.001)		
Municipal Fixed Effects	No	No	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	No	No	Yes	Yes
Municipal Clustered SE	No	No	Yes	Yes
Observations	48,465	48,465	48,465	46,770
R^2	0.663	0.668	0.678	0.678
Adjusted R^2	0.663	0.668	0.677	0.676
Residual Std. Error	0.085	0.085	0.083	0.084

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Sections divided into categories: "Did Not Run" is reference category where the most voted candidate (lag) did not run in next election, "Ran and Same" where section voted for the same most voted candidate in both elections, and "Ran Not Same (Switch)" where the section did not vote for the same most voted candidate, even though the most voted candidate (lag) ran again. Includes 182 municipalities during 4 election years (2004, 2008, 2012, 2016).

Table A15: Voting Behavior by Most Voted CC Ran

	Dependent variable:	
	Vote Share in Most Voted CC Member	
	Previous Most Voted CC Ran	Previous Most Voted CC Did Not Run
	(1)	(2)
Vote Share in Most Voted CC Member (lag)	0.763***	0.637***
	(0.007)	(0.011)
Most Voted Won (lag)	−0.022***	−0.021***
	(0.002)	(0.003)
Number Votes at Section	−0.0001***	−0.0001***
	(0.00001)	(0.00002)
Number of Votes in Mun (log)	−0.017	0.034
	(0.026)	(0.037)
Number Effective CC Cand in Mun (log)	−0.093***	−0.071***
	(0.007)	(0.010)
Number of Sections in Mun (log)	0.006	−0.017
	(0.024)	(0.031)
Municipal Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Municipal Clustered SE	Yes	Yes
Observations	29,986	16,592
R^2	0.728	0.587
Adjusted R^2	0.726	0.582
Residual Std. Error	0.079	0.089

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Sections divided into categories: "Most Voted CC Did Not Run" where the most voted candidate (lag) did not run in next election, "Most Voted CC Ran" where the most voted candidate (lag) ran again. Includes 182 municipalities during 4 election years (2004, 2008, 2012, 2016).

Table A16: Switching Behavior by Most Voted CC Won

	Dependent variable:
	Section Switch
Most Voted Won (lag)	0.020
	(0.025)
Vote Share in Most Voted (lag) – Below 20pp	0.579***
	(0.027)
Vote Share in Most Voted (lag) – 20-40pp	0.364***
	(0.025)
Vote Share in Most Voted (lag) – 40-60pp	0.161***
	(0.026)
Number Votes at Section	−0.0005***
	(0.0001)
Number of Votes in Mun (log)	0.322**
	(0.137)
Number Effective CC Cand in Mun (log)	0.143***
	(0.040)
Number of Sections in Mun (log)	−0.310**
	(0.123)
Won (lag) * Vote Share (lag) – Below 20pp	0.067**
	(0.031)
Won (lag) * Vote Share (lag) – 20-40pp	0.020
	(0.030)
Won (lag) * Vote Share (lag) – 40-60pp	−0.034
	(0.031)
Municipal Fixed Effects	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes
Municipal Clustered SE	Yes
Observations	29,986
R^2	0.173
Adjusted R^2	0.168
Residual Std. Error	0.453

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Limited to section-years where previous most voted city council candidate ran again. Switching defined by selecting a different most voted city council candidate than the prior election. Reference category for Vote Share is 60-100 percentage points. Includes 182 municipalities during 4 election years (2004, 2008, 2012, 2016).

A6 Interview Methodology

Interview respondents did not receive compensation. All respondents gave oral informed consent before participating in the interview, and they were free to decline participation or stop the interview at any time. No study involved deception of any kind. All studies received IRB approval at the PIs' universities. The consent script told participants that they would remain anonymous.

Most interviews in rural communities were conducted in the late morning or afternoon, and most local residents were home after farming in the early morning to avoid the heat. Response rates were very high.

Table A17: Interview Appendix: Selection Process

Process	Municipal	Community	Household	Language
A	Variation in 2012 mayor electoral competition and regional water access; Neighboring municipalities in each region of state.	Variation in concentration of votes at community polling station for city council members in 2012.	Random walk in rural village.	Portuguese with support of local RA with B.A. in social work and qualitative research training.
B	Location of regional water headquarters and large municipality with water scarcity.	Community uses well and has a community association, identified with help of regional water management staff.	Random walk in rural village.	Portuguese with support of local RA with B.A. in social work and qualitative research training.
C	Location in dry, central part of state.	Variation in concentration of voting at polling station, number of voters at polling station, and whether the most voted candidate won or lost.	Random walk in rural village.	Portuguese.

Table A18: Interview Methods Appendix: Rural Residents and Association Leaders

Number	Interviewee	Date	Source	Format	Length	Recording	Selection	Community
1	Poor urban HH	17-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	1 hour, 28 mins.	Audio recorded	A	1A: Outskirts of urban zone
2	Water truck driver	17-Apr-16	Snowball	Semi-structured	11 mins.	Audio recorded	A	1A: Outskirts of urban zone
3	Private water salesman	17-Apr-16	Snowball	Semi-structured	41 mins.	Audio recorded	A	1A: Outskirts of urban zone
4	Poor rural HH	18-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	50 mins.	Audio recorded	A	1B: Rural district
5	Water system operator	18-Apr-16	Snowball	Semi-structured	12 mins.	Audio recorded	A	1C: Rural community
6	Poor rural HH	18-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	18 mins.	Audio recorded	A	1D: Rural community
7	Poor rural HH	18-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	41 mins.	Audio recorded	A	1E: Rural district
8	Association President	18-Apr-16	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour, 17 mins.	Audio recorded	A	1E: Rural distict
9	Rural extension worker	19-Apr-16	Water Basin Meetings	Open-ended	20 mins.	Notebook after	A	1F: Community meeting
10	Community member	19-Apr-16	Water Basin Meetings	Open-ended	15 mins.	Notebook after	A	1F: Community meeting
11	COMDEC staff	20-Apr-16	Targeted	Open-ended	1 hour, 48 mins.	Audio recorded	A	2A: Municipal center
12	Mayor	20-Apr-16	Targeted	Semi-structured	52 mins.	Audio recorded	A	2A: Municipal center
13	Poor rural HH	21-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	16 mins.	Audio recorded	A	2B: Rural community
14	Poor rural HH	21-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	43 mins.	Audio recorded	A	2B: Rural community
15	Poor rural HH	21-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	1 hour, 6 mins.	Audio recorded	A	2C: Rural community
16	Pres. of Federation of Assoc.	21-Apr-16	Snowball	Semi-structured	52 mins.	Audio recorded	A	2D: Rural community
17	Poor rural HH	21-Apr-16	Snowball	Semi-structured	28 mins.	Audio recorded	A	2E: Rural community
18	Taxi driver	21-Apr-16	Snowball	Open-ended	30 mins.	Notebook after	A	2F: Municipal center
19	Poor rural HH	22-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	36 mins.	Audio recorded	A	1B: Rural district
20	Water truck coordinator	22-Apr-16	Snowball	Semi-structured	32 mins.	Audio recorded	A	1B: Rural district
21	Poor rural HH	22-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	15 mins.	Notebook during	A	1B: Rural district
22	Association President	22-Apr-16	Snowball	Semi-structured	27 mins.	Audio recorded	A	1B: Rural district
23	COMDEC staff	25-Apr-16	Targeted	Open-ended	2 hours, 8 mins.	Audio recorded	A	3A: Municipal center
24	Poor rural HH	26-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	1 hour, 13 mins.	Audio recorded	A	3B: Rural community
25	Middle class rural HH	26-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	59 mins.	Audio recorded	A	3C: Rural community
26	Poor rural HH	26-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	15 mins.	Audio recorded	A	3C: Rural community
27	Poor rural HH	26-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	1 hour, 23 mins.	Audio recorded	A	3D: Rural community
28	Poor rural HH	26-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	20 mins.	Audio recorded	A	3E: Rural community
29	Association President	26-Apr-16	Snowball	Semi-structured	37 mins.	Audio recorded	A	3E: Rural community
30	Poor rural HH	26-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	14 mins.	Audio recorded	A	3F: Rural community
31	Poor rural HH	27-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	48 mins.	Audio recorded	A	4A: Rural community
32	Poor rural HH	27-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	19 mins.	Audio recorded	A	4B: Rural community
33	Poor rural HH	27-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	51 mins.	Audio recorded	A	4B: Rural community
34	Middle class rural HH	27-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	33 mins.	Audio recorded	A	4C: Rural community
35	Poor rural HH	27-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	18 mins.	Audio recorded	A	4D: Rural community
-	Poor rural HH	27-Apr-16	Random walk		Declined		A	4E: Rural community
36	Poor rural HH	27-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	20 mins.	Notebook during	A	4E: Rural community
37	Poor rural HH	27-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	40 mins.	Notebook during	A	4F: Rural community
38	Poor rural HH	28-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	22 mins.	Audio recorded	A	3G: Rural community
39	Poor rural HH	28-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	10 mins.	Audio recorded	A	3H: Rural community
40	Poor rural HH	28-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	19 mins.	Audio recorded	A	3H: Rural community
41	Poor rural HH	28-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	11 mins.	Audio recorded	A	3H: Rural community
42	Former association president	28-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	56 mins.	Audio recorded	A	3G: Rural community
43	Poor rural HH	28-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	38 mins.	Audio recorded	A	3I: Rural community
44	Poor rural HH	28-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	23 mins.	Audio recorded	A	3I: Rural community
45	Poor rural HH	28-Apr-16	Random walk	Semi-structured	24 mins.	Audio recorded	A	3I: Rural community
46	Association President	28-Apr-16	Snowball	Semi-structured	43 mins.	Audio recorded	A	3I: Rural community

Table A19: Interview Methods Appendix: Rural Residents and Association Leaders (cont.)

Number	Interviewee	Date	Source	Format	Length	Recording	Selection	Community
47	Poor rural HH	12-Apr-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	42 mins.	Audio recorded	B	5A: Rural community
48	Poor rural HH	12-Apr-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	22 mins.	Audio recorded	B	5A: Rural community
49	Poor rural HH	12-Apr-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	17 mins.	Audio recorded	B	5B: Rural community
50	Business owner	12-Apr-17	Snowball	Semi-structured	15 mins.	Notebook during	B	5B: Rural community
51	Poor rural HH	12-Apr-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	18 mins.	Audio recorded	B	5C: Rural community
52	Association president	12-Apr-17	Snowball	Semi-structured	50 mins.	Audio recorded	B	5C: Rural community
53	Poor urban HH	13-Apr-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	22 mins.	Audio recorded	B	5D: Rural district
54	Water system operator	13-Apr-17	Snowball	Semi-structured	25 mins.	Notebook during	B	5D: Rural district
55	Water system operator	13-Apr-17	Snowball	Semi-structured	20 mins.	Notebook after	B	5E: Rural district
56	Poor rural HH	13-Apr-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	23 mins.	Audio recorded	B	5F: Rural community
57	Middle class rural HH	13-Apr-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	23 mins.	Audio recorded	B	5G: Rural community
58	Poor rural HH	9-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	23 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6A: Rural district
59	Poor rural HH	9-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	27 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6A: Rural district
60	Poor rural HH	9-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	12 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6B: Rural community
61	Poor rural HH	9-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	20 mins.	Notebook during	C	6B: Rural community
62	Poor rural HH	9-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	42 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6B: Rural community
63	Middle class rural HH	9-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	1 hour, 2 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6C: Rural community
64	Poor rural HH	9-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	25 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6D: Rural district
65	Poor rural HH	9-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	25 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6D: Rural district
66	Poor rural HH	9-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	31 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6E: Rural community
67	Association President	9-Aug-17	Snowball	Semi-structured	45 mins.	Notebook during	C	6E: Rural community
68	Poor rural HH	10-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	34 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6F: Rural community
69	Poor rural HH	10-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	17 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6F: Rural community
70	Poor rural HH	10-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	24 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6G: Rural community
71	Local leader	10-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	18 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6H: Rural community
72	Local leader	10-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	37 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6H: Rural community
73	Poor rural HH	10-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	28 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6I: Rural community
74	Poor rural HH	11-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	28 mins.	Audio recorded	C	7A: Rural district
75	Middle class rural HH	11-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	55 mins.	Audio recorded	C	7A: Rural district
76	Poor rural HH	11-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	30 mins.	Audio recorded	C	7B: Rural community
77	Poor rural HH	11-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	26 mins.	Audio recorded	C	7C: Rural community
78	Middle class rural HH	11-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	25 mins.	Audio recorded	C	7C: Rural community
79	Poor rural HH	11-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	20 mins.	Audio recorded	C	7D: Rural community
80	Poor rural HH	13-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	48 mins.	Audio recorded	C	8A: Rural community
81	Poor rural HH	13-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	31 mins.	Audio recorded	C	8A: Rural community
82	Poor rural HH	13-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	15 mins.	Audio recorded	C	8B: Rural community
83	Middle class rural HH	13-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	29 mins.	Audio recorded	C	8C: Rural community
84	Poor rural HH	13-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	17 mins.	Audio recorded	C	8D: Rural community
85	Poor rural HH	13-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	14 mins.	Audio recorded	C	8D: Rural community
86	Family of city council member	13-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	43 mins.	Audio recorded	C	8E: Rural community
87	Poor rural HH	13-Aug-17	Random walk	Semi-structured	13 mins.	Audio recorded	C	8E: Rural community

Table A20: Interview Methods Appendix: Officials and Academic Interviews

Number	Interviewee	Date	Focus	Format	Length	Recording
88	Meeting with staff from state and regional headquarters of water management company (COGERH)	4-Apr-17	Rural water management	Open-ended	1 hour, 1 min	Audio recording
89	Former president of state meteorological agency (FUNCEME)	6-Apr-17	Rural water access	Open-ended	30 mins	Notes during interview
90	President of state meteorological agency (FUNCEME)	7-Apr-17	Rural water access and management	Open-ended	49 mins	Audio recording
91	Meeting with staff of regional water headquarters of state water management company (COGERH)	11-Apr-17	Rural water access and management	Open-ended	2 hours, 24 mins	Audio recording
92	NGO coordinator, Caritas	11-Apr-17	Rural water access and social dynamics	Semi-structured	1 hour, 39 mins	Audio recording
93	Geologist, state water management company (COGERH)	14-Jun-17	Rural water access and management	Open-ended	20 mins	Notes during interview
94	Professor of Geology who is a former manager at state water management company (COGERH)	17-Jun-17	Rural water access and management	Open-ended	47 mins	Audio recording
95	Professor of Hydrology	5-Jul-17	Drought relief and politics	Open-ended	30 mins	Notes during interview
96	Meeting with staff from water management NGO (SISAR)	24-Aug-17	Rural water access and management	Open-ended	1 hour	Notes during interview
97	Coordinator, state Institute of Statistics, Geography, and Information (IPECE)	21-Sep-17	Drought criteria and data access	Open-ended	2 hours	Notes during interview
98	Analyst, state Institute of Statistics, Geography, and Information (IPECE)	28-Sep-17	Drought criteria and data access	Open-ended	1 hour, 30 mins	Notes during interview
99	Manager, state Secretariat of Agrarian Development (SDA - Projeto Paulo Freire)	2-Oct-17	Rural water access and social dynamics	Open-ended	1 hour	Notes during interview
100	Coordinator, state Secretariat of Agrarian Development (SDA - Projeto São José)	3-Oct-17	Rural development projects	Open-ended	40 mins	Notes during interview
101	Coordinator, state Secretariat of Agrarian Development (SDA - COPPE)	3-Oct-17	Rural water cisterns program	Open-ended	30 mins	Notes during interview
102	Analyst, state Secretariat of Health	4-Oct-17	Rural health access	Open-ended	1 hour, 30 mins	Notes during interview
103	Planning Advisor, state Rural Extension and Technical Assistance agency (EMATERCE)	5-Oct-17	Drought relief program - Rural technical assistance	Open-ended	2 hours	Notes during interview
104	Coordinator, state Secretariat of Agrarian Development (SDA - COCRED)	9-Oct-17	Drought relief program - Garantia Safra	Open-ended	2 hours	Notes during interview

Table A21: Interview Methods Appendix: Rural Residents and Association Leaders 2022

Number	Interviewee	Date	Source	Format	Length	Recording	Selection	Community
105	Poor rural household	7-May-22	Random walk	Semi-structured	27 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6I: Rural community
106	Poor rural household	7-May-22	Random walk	Semi-structured	28 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6G: Rural community
107	Poor rural household	7-May-22	Random walk	Semi-structured	46 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6G: Rural community
108	Poor rural household	7-May-22	Random walk	Semi-structured	32 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6G: Rural community
109	Poor rural household	8-May-22	Random walk	Semi-structured	29 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6B: Rural community
110	Former association president	8-May-22	Random walk	Semi-structured	44 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6B: Rural community
111	Association treasurer	11-May-22	Snowball	Semi-structured	52 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6J: Rural community
112	Poor rural household	11-May-22	Random walk	Semi-structured	25 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6I: Rural community
113	Association president	11-May-22	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour, 21 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6I: Rural community
114	Poor rural household	11-May-22	Random walk	Semi-structured	30 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6I: Rural community
115	Former association president	11-May-22	Random walk	Semi-structured	39 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6H: Rural community
116	Association treasurer	11-May-22	Snowball	Semi-structured	18 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6G: Rural community
117	Association president	11-May-22	Snowball	Semi-structured	22 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6G: Rural community
118	Water operator	12-May-22	Snowball	Semi-structured	33 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6B: Rural community
119	Former association president	12-May-22	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour, 25 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6B: Rural community
120	Poor rural household	14-May-22	Random walk	Semi-structured	35 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6K: Rural community
121	Association treasurer	14-May-22	Snowball	Semi-structured	27 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6K: Rural community
122	Association president	14-May-22	Snowball	Semi-structured	41 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6K: Rural community
123	Poor rural household	14-May-22	Random walk	Semi-structured	23 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6L: Rural community
124	Association president	14-May-22	Snowball	Semi-structured	40 mins.	Notebook during	C	6L: Rural community
125	Association president	15-May-22	Snowball	Semi-structured	43 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6M: Rural community
126	Poor rural household	15-May-22	Random walk	Semi-structured	27 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6M: Rural community
127	Association president	15-May-22	Snowball	Semi-structured	41 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6N: Rural community
128	Association president	15-May-22	Snowball	Semi-structured	51 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6O: Rural community
129	Association treasurer	15-May-22	Snowball	Semi-structured	36 mins.	Audio recorded	C	6P: Rural community

Table A22: Interview Methods Appendix: Government Officials and NGO Interviews 2022

Number	Interviewee	Date	Focus	Format	Length	Recording
130	Manager, state Water Management Company (COGERH)	2-May-22	Rural water access and management	Open-ended	45 mins.	Audio recording
131	Leadership, state Secretariat of Water Resources (SRH)	2-May-22	Rural water access and management	Semi-structured	1 hour, 10 mins.	Audio recording
132	Leadership, state Superintendency for Water Works (SOHIDRA)	3-May-22	Rural water access and management	Open-ended	1 hour, 31 mins.	Audio recording
133	Analyst, state Superintendency for Water Works (SOHIDRA)	3-May-22	Rural water access and management	Open-ended	30 mins.	Audio recording
134	Leadership, state Regional Tribunal for Elections (TRE)	6-May-22	Election management	Semi-structured	1 hour, 8 mins.	Audio recording
135	Administration, Fortaleza City Council	4-May-22	City council administration	Semi-structured	43 mins.	Audio recording
136	Administration, Quixadá City Council	9-May-22	City council administration	Semi-structured	35 mins.	Audio recording
137	Leadership, municipal Regional Tribunal for Elections (TRE) in Quixadá - CE	9-May-22	Election management	Semi-structured	1 hour, 10 mins.	Audio recording
138	Leadership, Federation of Associations of Canindé (FECC)	12-May-22	Federation of community associations	Semi-structured	52 mins.	Audio recording
139	Leadership, municipal Regional Tribunal for Elections (TRE) in Canindé - CE	12-May-22	Election management	Semi-structured	1 hour, 21 mins.	Audio recording
140	Administration, Canindé City Council	13-May-22	City council administration	Semi-structured	36 mins.	Audio recording
141	Administration, Crateús City Council	17-May-22	City council administration	Semi-structured	36 mins.	Audio recording
142	Administration, Canindé City Council	18-May-22	City council administration	Semi-structured	44 mins.	Audio recording
143	Administration, municipal Civil Defense Agency in Canindé - CE	18-May-22	Rural water access and management	Semi-structured	2 hours, 12 mins.	Audio recording
144	Leadership, Federation of Associations of Canindé (FACC)	18-May-22	Federation of community associations	Semi-structured	1 hour, 16 mins.	Audio recording
145	Leadership, municipal Secretariat of Agriculture and Water Resources	20-May-22	Rural water access and management	Semi-structured	1 hour, 24 mins.	Audio recording
146	Leadership, municipal Regional Tribunal for Elections (TRE) in Canindé - CE	20-May-22	Election management	Semi-structured	54 mins.	Audio recording

A7 Data Availability, IRB, and Additional Materials

Data, reproduction scripts, and supporting materials (interview guides, survey instruments, ethics certificates, codebook) are available on the Harvard Dataverse at `https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/JOZR5H`.

A separate supplementary materials document is also available on the Dataverse (Appendix B) with additional robustness checks and analyses for the conjoint survey and bloc voting results, results from the 2016 household survey, detail and analyses about clientelism and vote-buying, information about Brazilian elections and distribution of polling stations, descriptive statistics and additional literature about community associations, detail about fieldwork and the research process, coding procedure for dynastic candidates, survey sampling methodology, and detailed acknowledgments for contributions to field research and data collection.

Data are available for all analyses except those involving individual-level data merged with community polling station results due to concerns about personally identifiable information.

The IRB-approved consent scripts for all household surveys (2016, 2017, 2019) stated that data would be anonymized in any future publications. On their own, the survey results are anonymous; they do not contain the community name or address. However, when the household data are merged with the community's modal polling station, it would be possible to use the electoral data to identify the community location. When the community location is combined with demographics such as age, gender, household assets, water security status, and type of resident, some individuals in communities with small populations could become personally identifiable. While data are not considered sensitive, this would violate the terms of the IRB informed consent process.

Therefore, I do not make public the data for analyses involving household water security merged with community electoral data (Tables 2, A2, A11, A12) and the 2016 survey involving household level community characteristics, water access, demographics merged with community electoral data (Tables B14, B15, B16).

All studies reported in this paper for household surveys and qualitative interviews were deemed exempt by either Columbia University or Texas A&M University, the institutions where I was based at the time. The protocol numbers are as follows: Columbia University (AAAN8507, AAAQ9277, AAAR3407, and AAAR3628) and Texas A&M University (2022-0408).