

Online Appendix

Isabela Mares, Aurelian Muntean and Tsveta Petrova, 'Economic Intimidation in Contemporary Elections: Evidence from Romania and Bulgaria', *Government and Opposition*.

APPENDIX A

Romanian questionnaire survey for voters

Good morning/Hello/Good evening. My name is: _____. I am a student in the Sociology department at SNSPA, Bucharest. We are carrying out a study that analyzes the opinions of people on social, economic and political questions. To discuss these topics, we have selected you randomly, just like in a lottery. We hope that you agree to answer a few of our questions, we will not take more than five minutes of your time. The answers to these questions will be entirely confidential. We will not communicate them to anybody. The sheet with your answer will be introduced in this sealed box. At the end of the study, we will analyze all the responses found in this box, but we will not be able to identify the individual answers of the persons that have participated in this study.

Did you vote during the last parliamentary elections?

Yes -> Use surveys for voters

No -> Use surveys for non-voters

You have told us that you have participated in the last parliamentary elections. We would like to present a number of statements about the elections and to ask four questions related to these elections. We ensure you that your answers will be anonymous.

There are several reasons why people vote for a particular candidate. We will enumerate some of these reasons. We would like to ask you how many of the statements below are true in your case. We will not ask you WHICH of these statements below are true, but only HOW MANY.

Here are four reasons.

- An employee of the city hall or of the state, a person known in the community or a representative of the party have offered me money, gifts or food to vote for a particular candidate. [Treatment group only]
- The candidate has a good reputation in the countries of the European Union.
- The candidate has promised that the state will invest more in infrastructure, such as highways.
- The candidate has promised that the state will invest more in the quality of people's lives, not in highways.

Please write the number of statements that are true in the box below. The number can be 0, 1, 2, 3, or 4.

Here are four additional reasons.

- An employee of the city hall, a person known in the community or a representative of a party have pressured me to vote for a particular candidate. [Treatment group only]

- I voted for political change.
- I voted against political change. Too much political change is undesirable.
- I was impressed by the youth of the candidate.

Please write the number of statements that are true in the box below. The number can be 0, 1, 2, 3, or 4.

Here are four additional reasons.

- Somebody at the workplace, for example my boss or a co-worker pressured me to vote for a particular candidate.[Treatment group only]
- The candidate has a good reputation in the United States.
- The candidate continued to fight against the former communists who will have political responsibilities.
- The candidate has promoted the consensus and understanding among the people.

Please write the number of statements that are true in the box below. The number can be 0, 1, 2, 3, or 4.

Here are the last political reasons.

- An employee of the city hall or of the state, a person I know in the community or a representative of a party have offered me administrative favors if I vote for a particular candidate. [Treatment group only]
- The candidate is good-looking.
- The candidate promised to maintain the flat income tax rate of sixteen percent of all persons, irrespective of income.
- The candidate promised to reduce the income tax for persons with low income and increase it for persons with high income.

Please write the number of statements that are true in the box below. The number can be 0, 1, 2, 3, or 4.

Below are seven questions about yourself. Please circle the answer that is true for you.

What is your age?

1. 18 -30
2. 31-40
3. 41-50
5. 51-60
6. 61-70
7. Over 70 years.

What is your gender?

1. Male
2. Female

What is your ethnicity?

1. Romanian
2. Hungarian
3. German
4. Roma
5. Other. Please specify what it is, please_____.

What is the last school you have graduated?

1. Primary	2. Gymnasium	3. Professional School	4. High school
5. Vocational School*	6. University	7. Post-university	8. No school

*Romanian (*Scoala post-liceala*)

What was your income last month?

1. Below 560 lei	2. Between 561 and 1600 lei	3. Above 1601 lei
------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------

What is your occupation?

1. I am self employed	2. I am employed with formal contract	3. Employed without formal contract
4. Unemployed	5. Retired	6. Student

You said you did not vote during the last parliamentary election in December 2012. What is the party that you feel closest to?

1. UDMR (Democratic Union of Romanian Hungarians)	2. PPDD (People's Party – Dan Diaconescu)	3. PNL (National Liberal Party)
4. PDL (Democratic Liberal Party)	5. PSD (Social Democratic Party)	6. Another. Please mention which

APPENDIX B
Bulgarian questionnaire survey for voters

You chose to cast a vote in the parliamentary elections last week. I would like to ask you four questions about that. There are many ways in which parties appeal to voters. I will list several of them. How many of them apply to you?

(The answers you give will be anonymous. *To that end, please note that I am not asking you which ones but only how many apply to you.*)

Here are 4 ways in which parties appeal:

1. Someone offered me money, gifts, or food to vote for a particular party. [Treatment group only]
2. The party's leader visited my hometown.
3. The party promised to raise wages and pensions.
4. The party proposed to cut spending in order to avoid inflations spikes.

How many of these ways apply to you? ____

Here are 4 more ways in which parties appeal:

1. Some state official, community leader, the candidate or another party representative pressured me to vote for a particular party. [Treatment group only]
2. The party promised to break up the electricity monopolist.
3. The party promised to regulate the electricity monopolist.
4. The party's leader has a good reputation in the US.

How many of these ways apply to you? ____

Here are four more ways parties appeal:

1. Someone at work, for example, my boss or a colleague, pressured me to vote for a particular party. [Treatment group only]
2. The candidates of the party impressed me with their youthfulness.
3. The party promised to invest in the country's highways.
4. The party promised to invest in the people's quality of life, not in the country's highways.

How many of these ways apply to you? ____

Here are four additional ways parties appeal:

1. Some politician or a state official offered or did me some favor so that I will vote for a particular party. [Treatment group only]
2. The party's leader is a family man.
3. The party promised to reform the state subsidized healthcare system.
4. The party promised to improve the quality of private healthcare.

How many of these ways apply to you? ____

What is your age?

1. Less than 30 years old.
2. My age is between 31 and 60
3. I am over 60 years old.

What is your gender?

1. Female
2. Male

What is your ethnicity?

1. Bulgarian
2. Turkish
3. Roma
4. Other

What is your education?

1. I have not completed high school
2. I have completed high school.
3. I have gone to college.

What is your income?

1. Below 350 Leva
2. Below 800 Leva
3. Above 800 Leva

Which party did you support during the last election?

1. GERB
2. BSP
3. DPS
4. DSB
5. Ataka
6. Other