

Frederico Batista Pereira, Guilherme Russo, and Felipe Nunes dos Santos, Who Is Responsible for the Emergency Aid? Cash Transfer and Presidential Approval During the COVID-19 Pandemic in Brazil. *Latin American Politics and Society* vol. 64, no. 4 (Winter 2023).

APPENDIX

Instrumentation (in Portuguese)

De maneira geral, como você avalia o desempenho de Jair Bolsonaro como presidente do Brasil, está sendo: ótimo, bom, regular, ruim ou péssimo?

- Ótimo
- Bom
- Regular
- Ruim
- Péssimo
- Não sei

De maneira geral, como você avalia o desempenho do Congresso Nacional, está sendo: ótimo, bom, regular, ruim ou péssimo?

- Ótimo
- Bom
- Regular
- Ruim
- Péssimo
- Não sei

O Auxílio Emergencial (ou coronavoucher) é um benefício financeiro pago a trabalhadores informais para fornecer proteção no período de enfrentamento à crise causada pela pandemia do coronavírus. Qual opção abaixo melhor descreve a sua situação em relação ao auxílio?

- Recebi o auxílio
- Pedi, mas não recebi o auxílio
- Não pedi o auxílio

De acordo com o que você ouviu falar, quem é o principal responsável pelo Auxílio?

- Presidente Bolsonaro
- Congresso Nacional (deputados(as) e senadores(as))
- Governadores(as)
- Prefeitos(as)
- Não sei

[Control] No stimuli

[Treatment] Durante os debates políticos sobre o Auxílio Emergencial, o governo Bolsonaro propôs o valor de 200 reais por mês. Os deputados e senadores do Congresso Nacional consideraram pouco e negociaram para que o valor fosse maior. Por fim, Bolsonaro propôs um valor de 600 reais, mas demorou um mês para sancionar o projeto e vetou o benefício para algumas categorias profissionais que inicialmente iriam receber.

Considerando as decisões do Presidente, com qual frase você concorda mais?

- O Presidente Bolsonaro agiu certo: é preciso ter cuidado com as contas públicas durante a pandemia
- O Presidente Bolsonaro agiu errado: é preciso ajudar a população que necessita durante a pandemia
- Não sei

Depois de responder essas perguntas, de maneira geral, como você avalia o desempenho de Jair Bolsonaro como presidente do Brasil, está sendo: ótimo, bom, regular, ruim ou péssimo?

- Ótimo
- Bom
- Regular
- Ruim
- Péssimo
- Não sei

De maneira geral, como você avalia o desempenho do Congresso Nacional, está sendo: ótimo, bom, regular, ruim ou péssimo?

- Ótimo
- Bom
- Regular
- Ruim
- Péssimo
- Não sei

Descriptive Statistics for Study

Table A1 Descriptive statistics

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Presidential Approval (Pre-Treatment)	1,000	2.14	2.21	0	6
Presidential Approval (Post-Treatment)	1,000	2.16	2.20	0	6
Congressional Approval (Pre-Treatment)	1,000	2.32	1.78	0	6
Congressional Approval (Post-Treatment)	1,000	2.71	1.76	0	6
Received Benefit (binary)	1,000	0.38	0.49	0	1
Other/DK Responsible	1,000	0.15	0.35	0	1
Bolsonaro Responsible	1,000	0.38	0.49	0	1
Congress Responsible	1,000	0.47	0.50	0	1
Treatment	1,000	0.40	0.49	0	1
Income (less than 1 mw)	950	0.26	0.44	0	1
Income (between 1 and 2 mw)	950	0.27	0.44	0	1
Income (between 2 and 3 mw)	950	0.18	0.38	0	1
Income (between 3 and 5 mw)	950	0.15	0.36	0	1
Income (between 5 and 10 mw)	950	0.10	0.30	0	1
Income (between 10 and 15 mw)	950	0.03	0.18	0	1
Income (between 15 and 20 mw)	950	0.01	0.11	0	1
Income (more than 20 mw)	1,000	0.01	0.10	0	1
Age	1,000	35.34	12.90	16	93
Male	1,000	0.47	0.50	0	1
Protestant	1,000	0.31	0.46	0	1
Catholic	1,000	0.43	0.50	0	1
Region: Midwest	1,000	0.08	0.27	0	1
Region: Northeast	1,000	0.24	0.43	0	1
Region: North	1,000	0.06	0.24	0	1
Region: Southeast	1,000	0.48	0.50	0	1
Region: South	1,000	0.15	0.35	0	1

Full Estimates from Table 1

Table A2 Relationship between Receiving Benefit, and Congressional and Presidential Approval

	Presidential Approval			Congressional Approval		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Received Benefit	0.38*	0.41*	0.10	0.29*	0.29*	0.38
	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.20)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.20)
Bolsonaro Responsible		1.27**	0.90**			
		(0.16)	(0.21)			
Congress Responsible					0.02	0.10
					(0.14)	(0.18)
Benefit * Bolsonaro Resp.			0.86**			
			(0.32)			
Benefit * Congress Resp.						-0.18
						(0.27)
Male	0.43**	0.26	0.28	0.09	0.09	0.09
	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Age	0.03**	0.03**	0.03**	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Region- Northeast	-0.67	-0.54	-0.53	-0.43	-0.43	-0.42
	(0.37)	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.31)
Region- North	0.12	0.28	0.27	-0.08	-0.08	-0.09
	(0.51)	(0.48)	(0.48)	(0.42)	(0.43)	(0.42)
Region- Southeast	-0.84**	-0.80*	-0.79*	-0.73**	-0.73*	-0.72*
	(0.35)	(0.34)	(0.36)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.30)
Region- South	-0.44	-0.46	-0.52	-0.72**	-0.72*	-0.73*
	(0.31)	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)
Income- 1-2 MW	0.05	0.00	-0.10	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08
	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Income- 2-3 MW	-0.16	-0.15	-0.14	-0.23	-0.23	-0.23
	(0.24)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Income- 3+ MW	-0.21	-0.18	-0.20	0.02	0.02	0.02
	(0.27)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.23)
Religion- Catholic	0.21	0.17	0.18	0.01	0.01	0.00
	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Religion- Evangelical	1.50**	1.29**	1.29**	0.37**	0.38*	0.38*
	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Matching weights	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.05	0.06	0.06
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Constant	0.63	0.32	0.47	2.64**	2.63**	2.58**
	(0.48)	(0.46)	(0.46)	(0.40)	(0.41)	(0.42)
n	657	657	657	657	657	657
Adjusted R ²	0.14	0.21	0.22	0.02	0.02	0.02

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01. Results are coefficients from OLS regressions with matching weights. Dependent variable ranges 0 to 6 where 6 means ‘Great’.

Matching Procedure

Table A3 Pre- and Post-Matching (CEM) Balance Statistics

	Full Sample		Balanced Sample	
	Treated	Control	Treated	Control
Male	0.41	0.50	0.38	0.38
Age	34.32	35.85	32.07	31.72
Region: Midwest	0.07	0.09	0.06	0.06
Region: Northeast	0.24	0.24	0.25	0.25
Region: North	0.08	0.05	0.04	0.04
Region: Southeast	0.47	0.46	0.54	0.54
Region: South	0.13	0.16	0.11	0.11
Income (less than 1 mw)	0.40	0.18	0.37	0.37
Income (between 1 and 2 mw)	0.34	0.23	0.34	0.34
Income (between 2 and 3 mw)	0.15	0.20	0.16	0.16
Income (more than 3 mw)	0.11	0.40	0.13	0.13
Catholic	0.40	0.46	0.41	0.41
Protestant	0.33	0.31	0.34	0.34

Table A4 Pre- and Post-Matching (Propensity Scores) Balance Statistics

	Full Sample		Balanced Sample	
	Treated	Control	Treated	Control
Male	0.41	0.50	0.37	0.45
Age	34.32	35.85	33.82	34.76
Region: Midwest	0.07	0.09	0.07	0.08
Region: Northeast	0.24	0.24	0.21	0.26
Region: North	0.08	0.05	0.10	0.07
Region: Southeast	0.47	0.46	0.49	0.45
Region: South	0.13	0.16	0.13	0.14
Income (less than 1 mw)	0.40	0.18	0.50	0.31
Income (between 1 and 2 mw)	0.34	0.23	0.36	0.32
Income (between 2 and 3 mw)	0.15	0.20	0.10	0.19
Income (more than 3 mw)	0.11	0.40	0.04	0.18
Catholic	0.40	0.46	0.36	0.42
Protestant	0.33	0.31	0.34	0.32

OLS Results for Umbalanced Sample

Table A5 Relationship between Receiving Benefit, and Congressional and Presidential Approval

	Presidential Approval			Congressional Approval		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Received Benefit	0.30*	0.32*	0.09	0.25*	0.25	0.40*
	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.18)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.17)
Bolsonaro Responsible		1.58**	1.36**			
		(0.14)	(0.17)			
Congress Responsible					0.07	0.18
					(0.12)	(0.15)
Benefit * Bolsonaro Resp.			0.60*			
			(0.27)			
Benefit * Congress Resp.						-0.30
						(0.24)
Male	0.52**	0.35**	0.35**	0.09	0.10	0.10
	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.11)
Age	0.02**	0.02**	0.02**	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Region- Northeast	-0.38	-0.31	-0.28	-0.18	-0.18	-0.17
	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.24)
Region- North	0.00	0.20	0.21	0.00	-0.00	0.00
	(0.36)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.31)
Region- Southeast	-0.50	-0.41	-0.41	-0.25	-0.25	-0.25
	(0.26)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)
Region- South	-0.15	-0.14	-0.17	0.10	0.10	0.10
	(0.30)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)
Income- 1-2 MW	-0.07	-0.14	-0.15	-0.26	-0.26	-0.26
	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Income- 2-3 MW	-0.00	-0.03	-0.02	-0.33	-0.33	-0.33
	(0.22)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Income- 3+ MW	-0.36	-0.35	-0.20	-0.37*	-0.38*	-0.39*
	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Religion- Catholic	0.07	0.02	0.02	0.17	0.17	0.18
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Religion- Evangelical	1.32**	1.06**	1.07**	0.41**	0.42**	0.42**
	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Constant	1.04**	0.67	0.75*	2.54**	2.52**	2.45**
	(0.37)	(0.34)	(0.35)	(0.31)	(0.32)	(0.32)
n	929	929	929	929	929	929
Adjusted R ²	0.11	0.22	0.23	0.02	0.02	0.02

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01. Results are coefficients from OLS regressions.
Dependent variable ranges 0 to 6 where 6 means 'Great'.

Relationship between Recipient Status and Political Preferences

Table A6 Relationship between Receiving Benefit and Second-Round Presidential Vote in 2018

Recipient	Blank/Null	Haddad	Bolsonaro	No vote
No	98 (59%)	173 (69%)	231 (61%)	70 (52%)
Yes	68 (41%)	78 (31%)	147 (39%)	64 (48%)
Total	166	251	378	134

Chi-Square (3): 11.15 (p=0.01)

Table A7 Relationship between Receiving Benefit and Attributed Responsibility for the Benefit

Recipient	Other/DK1	Congress	President
No	77 (61%)	273 (61%)	222 (63%)
Yes	49 (39%)	176 (39%)	132 (37%)
Total	126	449	354

Chi-Square (2): 0.32 (p=0.85)

Robustness Test: Alternative Coding of IV

Table A8 Relationship between Receiving Benefit, and Congressional and Presidential Approval

	Presidential Approval	Congressional Approval
Benefit Denied	-0.05 (0.21)	-0.03 (0.18)
Received Benefit	0.28 (0.17)	0.24 (0.14)
Male	0.52** (0.14)	0.09 (0.12)
Age	0.02** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.00)
Region- Northeast	-0.38 (0.28)	-0.18 (0.24)
Region- North	-0.00 (0.36)	-0.00 (0.31)
Region- Southeast	-0.50 (0.26)	-0.25 (0.22)
Region- South	-0.15 (0.30)	0.10 (0.25)
Income- 1-2 MW	-0.07 (0.19)	-0.27 (0.16)
Income- 2-3 MW	-0.01 (0.22)	-0.33 (0.18)
Income- 3+ MW	-0.37 (0.21)	-0.38* (0.17)
Religion- Catholic	0.07 (0.17)	0.17 (0.15)
Religion- Evangelical	1.32** (0.19)	0.41** (0.16)
Constant	1.07** (0.38)	2.56** (0.32)
n	929	929
Adjusted R ²	0.11	0.02

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01. Results are coefficients from OLS regressions.
Dependent variable ranges 0 to 6 where 6 means 'Great'.

OLS Results for Umbalanced Sample by Gender

Table A9 Relationship between Receiving Benefit, and Congressional and Presidential Approval

	Presidential Approval	Congressional Approval
Received Benefit	0.48* (0.20)	0.23 (0.17)
Male	0.67** (0.18)	0.07 (0.15)
Received Benefit*Male	-0.40 (0.29)	0.06 (0.24)
Age	0.02** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.00)
Region- Northeast	-0.39 (0.28)	-0.18 (0.24)
Region- North	-0.02 (0.36)	-0.00 (0.31)
Region- Southeast	-0.51 (0.26)	-0.25 (0.22)
Region- South	-0.16 (0.30)	0.10 (0.25)
Income- 1-2 MW	-0.07 (0.19)	-0.27 (0.16)
Income- 2-3 MW	-0.02 (0.22)	-0.33 (0.18)
Income- 3+ MW	-0.37 (0.20)	-0.38* (0.17)
Religion- Catholic	0.07 (0.17)	0.17 (0.15)
Religion- Evangelical	1.32** (0.18)	0.41** (0.16)
Constant	0.98** (0.37)	2.56** (0.31)
n	929	929
Adjusted R ²	0.11	0.02

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01. Results are coefficients from OLS regressions.
Dependent variable ranges 0 to 6 where 6 means 'Great'.

Balance Tests for Experimental Design

Table A10 OLS Regression of Pre-Treatment Covariates on Treatment Assignment

Covariate	Estimate
Presidential Approval	-0.02** (0.01)
Congressional Approval	0.01 (0.01)
Received Benefit	0.02 (0.04)
Bolsonaro Responsible	0.01 (0.05)
Congress Responsible	0.01 (0.05)
Region- Northeast	0.07 (0.06)
Region- North	-0.07 (0.08)
Region- Southeast	0.02 (0.06)
Region- South	0.08 (0.07)
Income- 1-2 MW	-0.01 (0.04)
Income- 2-3 MW	-0.00 (0.05)
Income- 3+ MW	0.02 (0.05)
Age	0.00 (0.00)
Male	-0.13** (0.03)
Religion - Evangelical	-0.05 (0.04)
Religion - Catholic	-0.01 (0.04)
Constant	0.045** (0.09)
n	950
Adjusted R ²	0.04
F-test (Joint sig.)	3.03** (15, 933)

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01. Robust Standard Errors.

Full Estimates from Table 2

Table A11 Impact of Experimental Stimuli on Presidential and Congressional Approval

	Presidential Approval	Congressional Approval
Treatment	0.06 (0.06)	0.38** (0.08)
(Pre-Treatment) Pres. Approval	0.90** (0.01)	0.00 (0.02)
(Pre-Treatment) Cong. Approval	0.02 (0.02)	0.69** (0.02)
Received Benefit	0.09 (0.07)	0.27** (0.09)
Male	0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.08)
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Region- Northeast	-0.11 (0.12)	0.35* (0.16)
Region- North	-0.10 (0.16)	0.21 (0.21)
Region- Southeast	-0.15 (0.11)	0.09 (0.15)
Region- South	-0.18 (0.13)	0.05 (0.17)
Income- 1-2 MW	0.07 (0.08)	0.09 (0.11)
Income- 2-3 MW	0.03 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.13)
Income- 3+ MW	0.02 (0.09)	0.03 (0.12)
Religion- Catholic	0.00 (0.07)	0.19 (0.10)
Religion- Evangelical	0.026 (0.08)	0.09 (0.11)
Constant	0.23 (0.17)	0.51** (0.22)
n	950	950
Adjusted R ²	0.83	0.61

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$. Results are coefficients from OLS regressions.
Dependent variable ranges 0 to 6 where 6 means 'Great'.

Full Estimates from Figure 2

Table A12 Treatment Effect on Presidential Approval by Pre-Treatment Level of Approval

	Terrible	Bad	Reg. Neg.	Neutral	Reg. Pos.	Good	Great
Treatment	0.18*	0.21	0.14	-0.57	-0.15	-0.20	-0.06
	(0.07)	(0.19)	(0.24)	(0.26)	(0.25)	(0.16)	(0.21)
(Pre-T) Cong. Approval	0.02	0.11	0.16	0.12	-0.03	0.05	-0.10
	(0.02)	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.22)	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Received Benefit	0.16	0.35	-0.17	1.86	0.31	-0.03	0.21
	(0.09)	(0.20)	(0.26)	(0.50)	(0.25)	(0.16)	(0.25)
Male	0.06	-0.05	-0.01	2.07*	-0.02	0.31*	-0.32
	(0.08)	(0.19)	(0.26)	(0.48)	(0.23)	(0.15)	(0.22)
Age	-0.00	0.01	-0.00	0.10*	-0.00	0.01*	0.01
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Region - NE	0.11	0.00	-1.24*	3.57*	-0.23	0.08	-0.65
	(0.16)	(0.40)	(0.50)	(0.55)	(0.44)	(0.27)	(0.36)
Region - N	0.03	0.10	-1.64**	3.99*	-0.14	0.41	-0.21
	(0.22)	(0.51)	(0.60)	(0.87)	(0.56)	(0.33)	(0.47)
Region - SE	0.00	-0.14	-0.89	3.20*	-0.38	0.15	-0.82*
	(0.15)	(0.38)	(0.48)	(0.65)	(0.42)	(0.22)	(0.35)
Region - S	-0.05	0.15	-1.17*	3.32*	-0.46	-0.06	-0.30
	(0.17)	(0.44)	(0.53)	(0.63)	(0.44)	(0.27)	(0.43)
Income 1-2 MW	0.12	0.30	-0.00	-0.81	0.06	-0.06	-0.23
	(0.11)	(0.26)	(0.31)	(0.74)	(0.28)	(0.21)	(0.27)
Income 2-3 MW	-0.06	0.45	-0.46	1.54*	0.14	-0.09	0.22
	(0.13)	(0.29)	(0.37)	(0.34)	(0.35)	(0.21)	(0.36)
Income 3+ MW	0.08	0.20	0.05	2.57	-0.16	-0.09	0.01
	(0.11)	(0.16)	(0.35)	(0.70)	(0.33)	(0.24)	(0.30)
Catholic	0.06	-0.19	0.28	-1.90	-0.09	0.06	-0.31
	(0.08)	(0.23)	(0.33)	(0.47)	(0.31)	(0.20)	(0.33)
Protestant	-0.03	0.10	0.31	0.58	0.37	-0.06	-0.39
	(0.11)	(0.27)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.31)	(0.19)	(0.31)
Constant	0.13	0.59	2.57	-5.34*	4.09**	3.88**	6.57**
	(0.22)	(0.49)	(0.76)	(1.00)	(0.61)	(0.42)	(0.66)
n	373	124	97	17	131	114	94
Adjusted R ²	0.02	0.00	0.05	0.95	-0.04	0.02	0.03

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01. Results are coefficients from OLS regressions.
 Dependent variable ranges 0 to 6 where 6 means ‘Great’

Table A13 Treatment Effect on Congressional Approval by Pre-Treatment Level of Approval

	Terrible	Bad	Reg. Neg.	Neutral	Reg. Pos.	Good	Great
Treatment	0.56** (0.20)	0.55** (0.24)	0.63** (0.19)	0.57 (0.34)	0.21 (0.15)	0.07 (0.21)	-0.39 (0.56)
(Pre-T) Pres. Approval	-0.07 (0.05)	0.06 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)	0.13 (0.09)	0.07* (0.04)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.25 (0.18)
Received Benefit	0.13 (0.23)	0.11 (0.25)	0.58** (0.20)	-0.11 (0.32)	0.35* (0.17)	0.31 (0.23)	1.83* (0.70)
Male	0.12 (0.20)	-0.28 (0.23)	0.16 (0.20)	-0.29 (0.33)	0.12 (0.15)	-0.05 (0.21)	0.27 (0.63)
Age	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.03)
Region - NE	0.48 (0.39)	0.68 (0.48)	0.26 (0.39)	0.62 (1.27)	0.20 (0.30)	0.37 (0.35)	-0.51 (0.90)
Region - N	0.64 (0.62)	-0.07 (0.58)	0.29 (0.46)	0.36 (1.45)	0.27 (0.43)	0.31 (0.40)	-0.91 (1.51)
Region - SE	0.21 (0.36)	-0.19 (0.43)	0.43 (0.36)	0.16 (1.27)	0.01 (0.29)	-0.12 (0.33)	-1.06 (0.90)
Region - S	0.22 (0.44)	-0.17 (0.51)	0.46 (0.42)	0.35 (1.31)	-0.23 (0.32)	0.04 (0.36)	-0.33 (1.39)
Income 1-2 MW	0.14 (0.30)	0.14 (0.32)	-0.18 (0.26)	0.16 (0.39)	0.06 (0.20)	0.18 (0.27)	0.01 (0.71)
Income 2-3 MW	-0.16 (0.33)	0.01 (0.38)	-0.20 (0.28)	-0.25 (0.52)	0.22 (0.23)	0.11 (0.31)	1.35 (1.16)
Income 3+ MW	-0.42 (0.30)	0.06 (0.36)	0.07 (0.26)	0.06 (0.43)	0.50* (0.23)	0.07 (0.29)	0.75 (0.90)
Catholic	0.34 (0.25)	0.18 (0.27)	0.19 (0.23)	-0.39 (0.39)	0.23 (0.19)	0.22 (0.28)	-1.02 (1.16)
Protestant	0.25 (0.26)	-0.04 (0.31)	-0.00 (0.27)	-0.32 (0.42)	0.24 (0.20)	0.45 (0.27)	-1.64 (1.01)
Constant	0.73 (0.53)	1.52* (0.64)	1.43** (0.52)	2.92 (1.46)	2.90** (0.39)	3.83** (0.55)	7.72** (2.09)
n	196	171	195	61	211	85	31
Adjusted R ²	0.05	0.03	0.05	-0.09	0.01	-0.06	0.07

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01. Results are coefficients from OLS regressions.
Dependent variable ranges 0 to 6 where 6 means ‘Great’

Full Estimates from Figure 3

Table A14 Treatment Effect on Presidential and Congressional Approval by Assignment of Responsibility

	Presidential Approval			Congressional Approval		
	Congress	President	Other/DK	Congress	President	Other/DK
Treatment	-0.03 (0.09)	0.11 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.22)	0.29* (0.12)	0.30* (0.12)	0.74** (0.27)
(Pre-T) Pres. Approval	0.81** (0.02)	0.95** (0.02)	0.81** (0.07)	0.05 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.10 (0.08)
(Pre-T) Cong. Approval	0.07** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.16* (0.08)	0.60** (0.03)	0.78* (0.03)	0.51** (0.09)
Received Benefit	0.09 (0.10)	0.25** (0.09)	-0.38 (0.22)	0.14 (0.13)	0.48* (0.13)	-0.01 (0.28)
Male	0.15 (0.09)	-0.14 (0.08)	0.12 (0.22)	0.09 (0.12)	-0.14 (0.12)	-0.05 (0.26)
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)
Region - NE	-0.38* (0.17)	0.11 (0.15)	-0.12 (0.58)	0.488 (0.23)	0.36 (0.22)	0.70 (0.70)
Region - N	-0.27 (0.22)	0.12 (0.21)	-0.67 (0.67)	0.53 (0.30)	-0.23 (0.31)	0.52 (0.81)
Region - SE	-0.36* (0.16)	-0.02 (0.14)	-0.31 (0.55)	0.06 (0.22)	0.20 (0.21)	0.43 (0.68)
Region - S	-0.43* (0.19)	0.11 (0.16)	-0.73 (0.60)	-0.01 (0.26)	0.26 (0.24)	0.20 (0.74)
Income 1-2 MW	-0.11 (0.13)	0.00 (0.11)	0.59* (0.25)	0.17 (0.17)	-0.17 (0.16)	0.36 (0.31)
Income 2-3 MW	0.04 (0.14)	-0.03 (0.12)	-0.11 (0.34)	-0.10 (0.19)	-0.06 (0.18)	0.41 (0.42)
Income 3+ MW	-0.05 (0.13)	-0.03 (0.12)	0.55 (0.31)	-0.02 (0.17)	-0.07 (0.17)	0.41 (0.39)
Catholic	0.04 (0.11)	-0.19 (0.10)	0.28 (0.24)	0.37** (0.14)	0.01 (0.15)	-0.03 (0.29)
Protestant	0.17 (0.12)	-0.10 (0.11)	0.18 (0.28)	0.16 (0.16)	-0.10 (0.16)	0.30 (0.34)
Constant	0.50* (0.23)	0.03 (0.22)	0.38 (0.73)	0.45 (0.31)	0.83** (0.13)	0.18 (0.89)
n	461	361	128	461	361	128
Adjusted R ²	0.75	0.90	0.67	0.45	0.69	0.27

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01. Results are coefficients from OLS regressions.

Dependent variable ranges 0 to 6 where 6 means 'Great'

ATEs from Unadjusted Models

Table A15 Impact of Experimental Stimuli on Presidential and Congressional Approval

	Presidential Approval	Congressional Approval
Treatment	-0.44** (0.14)	0.31** (0.11)
Constant	2.33** (0.09)	2.59** (0.07)
n	1,000	1,000
Adjusted R ²	0.01	0.01

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01. Results are coefficients from OLS regressions.
Dependent variable ranges 0 to 6 where 6 means ‘Great’.

Results for Recipients

Table A16 Impact of Experimental Stimuli on Presidential and Congressional Approval Among Benefit Recipients

	Presidential Approval	Congressional Approval
Treatment	0.11 (0.11)	0.35** (0.13)
(Pre-Treatment) Pres. Approval	0.88** (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
(Pre-Treatment) Cong. Approval	0.04 (0.03)	0.67** (0.04)
Male	-0.04 (0.11)	-0.15 (0.13)
Age	-0.00 (0.04)	0.01 (0.01)
Region- Northeast	-0.43 (0.22)	0.18 (0.27)
Region- North	-0.51 (0.26)	-0.05 (0.33)
Region- Southeast	-0.57** (0.20)	0.11 (0.26)
Region- South	-0.49* (0.24)	0.06 (0.30)
Income- 1-2 MW	-0.03 (0.12)	0.00 (0.15)
Income- 2-3 MW	0.02 (0.16)	-0.05 (0.20)
Income- 3+ MW	0.00 (0.18)	0.11 (0.22)
Religion- Catholic	0.12 (0.13)	0.30 (0.16)
Religion- Evangelical	-0.01 (0.14)	0.06 (0.17)
Constant	0.72** (0.28)	0.71** (0.35)
n	357	357
Adjusted R ²	0.80	0.52

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$. Results are coefficients from OLS regressions. Dependent variable ranges 0 to 6 where 6 means 'Great'.

Experimental Results by Gender

Table A17 Impact of Experimental Stimuli on Presidential and Congressional Approval

	Presidential Approval	Congressional Approval
Treatment	0.12 (0.08)	0.35** (0.11)
Male	0.08 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.10)
Treatment*Male	-0.15 (0.12)	0.06 (0.17)
(Pre-Treatment) Pres. Approval	0.90** (0.01)	0.00 (0.02)
(Pre-Treatment) Cong. Approval	0.02 (0.02)	0.69** (0.02)
Received Benefit	0.09 (0.07)	0.27** (0.09)
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Region- Northeast	-0.11 (0.12)	0.35* (0.16)
Region- North	-0.10 (0.16)	0.21 (0.21)
Region- Southeast	-0.16 (0.11)	0.09 (0.15)
Region- South	-0.18 (0.13)	0.05 (0.17)
Income- 1-2 MW	0.06 (0.08)	0.09 (0.11)
Income- 2-3 MW	0.02 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.13)
Income- 3+ MW	0.02 (0.09)	0.03 (0.12)
Religion- Catholic	-0.00 (0.07)	0.19 (0.10)
Religion- Evangelical	0.05 (0.08)	0.09 (0.11)
Constant	0.21 (0.17)	0.62** (0.22)
n	950	950
Adjusted R ²	0.83	0.51

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$. Results are coefficients from OLS regressions.
Dependent variable ranges 0 to 6 where 6 means 'Great'.