**Appendix 1.** Public Opinion Data**.**

**Table A1.** Clientelism in Mexico (2012 and 2015)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Year** | **Election** | At least one gift from one party | **PAN** | **PRI** | **PRD** | **PV** | **Morena** |
| 2012 | Presidential | 27% | 9% | 20% | 7% | -- | -- |
| 2015  (CSES) | Congress | 51% | 20% | 34% | 16% | 26% | 6% |
| Governor | 41% | 17% | 26% | 13% | 13% | 6% |
| Municipality | 58% | 26% | 42% | 20% | 25% | 8% |
| Average | *51%* | *22%* | *34%* | *17%* | *24%* | *7%* |

Source: National Election Study (CSES, 2015) and Castro Cornejo and Beltrán (2020)

**Table A2.** Type of Gifts Distributed by Mexican Parties (2015)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | PAN | PRI | PRD | Green  Party | Morena |
| Did not receive an electoral gift | 78% | 65% | 83% | 77% | 93% |
| **Non Clientelistic Gifts**  Campaign Merchandise: pens, grocery bags, t-shirts, hats, cups, glasses, etc. | 18% | 27% | 12% | 10% | 5% |
| **Clientelistic Gifts**  Cash, construction material, groceries (despensas), gifts cards, movie tickets, watch, school bag with school supplies. | 4% | 8% | 5% | 14% | 2% |

Source: National Election Study (CSES, 2015).

**Appendix 2.** Interview Questions.

1. Brokers.
2. When people entered the world of gestoría.
3. How are brokers paid?
4. Broker profiles; who are they?
5. How do brokers work with politicians?
6. Meetings, events, and rallies.
7. Whether brokers go to the municipal government or to their federal or local deputies for resources.
8. Politicians looking for brokers; brokers who ‘construct’ new leaders.
9. The role of the brokers in the neighborhoods.
10. The relationship of the brokers with the alcaldías.
11. Brokers changing parties.
12. Brokers that approach different politicians. This goes together with bastions vs non-bastions.
13. Why can’t brokers expand their territory?
14. The famous LISTS.
15. Wearing down of the brokers in their relationships with politicians and the residents.
16. Rich areas and their gestores.
17. Goods that are Distributed.
18. By the alcaldía.
19. By a powerful politician.
20. By the state government.
21. Lack of trust and the opportunities to cheat on the part of different actors.
22. Why is there so little trust among actors?
23. How do parties and municipal actors monitor the brokers?
24. Corruption,
25. Opportunities to Cheat:
26. Politicians letting down their brokers.
27. Brokers stealing goods.
28. Voters voting for other options.
29. Gestión in general.
30. Long-term versus short-term gestoría.
31. What brokers do; what alcaldes do.
32. Organization of the local leaders:
33. Comités Vecinales.
34. Different groups within each colonia and their leaders.
35. Campaigning Tasks and Election Day.
36. Campaigning.
37. Casillas, their importance and who works them;
38. Election day responsibilities.
39. Candidates’ campaign structure.
40. The Municipal Governments.
41. What happens when the party that governs the municipal govt changes?
42. The role of their workers in campaigning.
43. The role of private contractors in funding municipal activities.
44. Do the Parties Exist; or is it all Municipal Govt?

**Appendix 3**. List of Those Interviewed for Article.

On next page.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **NUMBER** | **DATE** | **TIPO DE ACTOR** | **GENDER** | **COMITÉ VECINAL** | **PARTY** | **JOB DELEGATION** | **CHEATED or mentioned a cheating incident** | **PLACE** |
| 1 | 3-Aug-19 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | PRD | 1 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 2 | 3-Aug-19 | BROKER | MALE | NO | PRD>PVEM | 0 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 3 | 16-Dec-19 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | PRD | 0 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 4 | 16-Oct-19 | POLITICIAN | FEMALE | . | PRD>MORENA | 0 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 5 | 3-Aug-19 | BROKER | MALE | NO | PRD | 1 | BOTH CHEATED AND OTHER | CDMX |
| 6 | 7-Aug-19 | BROKER | FEMALE | NO | PRD | 0 | NO | CDMX |
| 7 | 3-Aug-19 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | PRI>PRD | 0 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 8 | 16-Aug-19 | BROKER | MALE | NO | PRD | 1 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 9 | 10-Aug-19 | BROKER | MALE | YES | PRD>PRI VERDE | 1 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 10 | 14-Aug-19 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | PRD>PRI VERDE | 0 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 11 | 7-Feb-20 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | . | OFFERED, rejected | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 12 | 9-Aug-19 | BROKER | MALE | NO | . | 0 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 13 | 12-Feb-20 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | . | 0 | NO | CDMX |
| 14 | 30-Jul-19 | BROKER | FEMALE | NO | PRD | 0 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 15 | 9-Aug-19 | BROKER | FEMALE | NO | PRD>PRI VERDE | 0 | MENTION OF OWN | CDMX |
| 16 | 7-Aug-19 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | PRI>PRD | 0 | NO | CDMX |
| 17 | 7-Aug-19 | BROKER | MALE | NO | PRD>MORENA | 1 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 18 | 21-Feb-20 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | PRI>PRD | 0 | MENTION OF OWN | CDMX |
| 19 | 7-Feb-20 | POLITICIAN | MALE | . | PAN | 1 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 20 | 18-Feb-20 | POLITICIAN | MALE | . | PAN | 0 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 21 | 15-Jan-20 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | MORENA | 0 | NO | CDMX |
| 22 | 6-Feb-20 | BROKER | MALE | NO | MORENA | 1 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 23 | 18-Dec-19 | POLITICIAN | MALE | . | PRD | 1 | NO | CDMX |
| 24 | 23-Jan-20 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | PRD>PAN | 0 | BOTH CHEATED AND OTHER | CDMX |
| 25 | 5-Mar-00 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | PRD>MORENA | PROMISED | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 26 | 25-Feb-20 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | PRD>MORENA | 1 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 27 | 9-Nov-19 | POLITICIAN | MALE | . | PAN | 1 | NO | CDMX |
| 28 | 7-Mar-20 | BROKER | MALE | YES | PRD>PAN | 0 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 29 | 31-Jan-20 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | PAN | 1 | NO | CDMX |
| 30 | 10-Oct-19 | POLITICIAN | MALE | . | PAN>MORENA | 1 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 31 | 13-Dec-19 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | PAN | 0 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 32 | 11-Jan-20 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | PES>MORENA | 0 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 33 | 7-Mar-20 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | PAN | PROMISED | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 34 | 18-Feb-20 | POLITICIAN | MALE | . | PAN | 1 | NO | CDMX |
| 35 | 30-Jan-20 | BROKER | MALE | NO | PAN | 0 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 36 | 6-Feb-20 | POLITICIAN | FEMALE | . | PRD>MC>MORENA | 0 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 37 | 21-Feb-20 | BROKER | MALE | NO | PRD>PAN | 1 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 38 | 14-Jun-10 | POLITICIAN | FEMALE | . | PAN>PRI | 0 | NO | CDMX |
| 39 | 7-Feb-20 | POLITICIAN | MALE | . | PAN | 1 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 40 | 31-Oct-19 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | PRD | 1 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 41 | 14-Nov-19 | BROKER | FEMALE | NO | PRI | 1 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 44 | 11-Dec-19 | POLITICIAN | MALE | . | PRD>PAN | 1 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 45 | 6-Mar-20 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | PRD>PAN | 1 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 46 | 29-Jan-20 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | PRI>PRD | 0 | MENTION OF OWN | CDMX |
| 47 | 20-Nov-19 | POLITICIAN | MALE | . | PAN>MORENA | 1 | BOTH CHEATED AND OTHER | CDMX |
| 48 | 10-Jan-20 | BROKER | MALE | YES | PAN | 0 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 49 | 18-Feb-20 | POLITICIAN | MALE | . | PAN | 1 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 50 | 13-Mar-20 | POLITICIAN | MALE | . | INDEPENDENT | 0 | NO | CDMX |
| 51 | 30-Aug-10 | POLITICIAN | MALE | . | PRD>MORENA | 1 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 53 | 16-Jan-20 | BROKER | FEMALE | YES | PRD>PAN | 0 | MENTION OF OTHER | CDMX |
| 54 | 10-Jun-10 | POLITICIAN | FEMALE | . | PRD | 0 | NO | CDMX |