

Elections and Selfishness:  
Online Appendix

March 2020

## Appendix A: Supplementary Tables and Figures

Table A.1: Balance across Control and Treatment Group

	Control	Election Prime	Difference
Age	33.1 [11.2]	33 [11.4]	-.14 (.71)
Female	.54 [.5]	.57 [.5]	.03 (.03)
Years of Education	9.51 [3.34]	9.33 [2.95]	-.18 (.2)
Raven's Test Score (normalized)	-.01 [1.01]	.02 [.99]	.03 (.06)
Observations	559	459	

Notes: For the first two columns, the table shows average values, with standard deviations in brackets, for the control and the priming treatment group respectively. The third column estimates the difference between the two averages and has standard errors in parentheses. None of the differences are statistically significant. The Raven's score for cognitive ability is demeaned and measured in standard deviation units. Data are pooled from the Tanzania round and the Kenya *non-election* and *election round*.

Table A.2: Impact of the Election Prime on Dictator Transfers

	Dictator Transfer (Percent of Endowment)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Election Prime	-2.68*	-2.98**	-3.04**	-3.12**	-2.18	-2.18
	(1.38)	(1.38)	(1.38)	(1.38)	(2.49)	(2.49)
Tanzania * Election Prime					-4.06	-4.06
					(3.33)	(3.33)
Kenya Election Round * Election Prime					2.37	2.16
					(3.53)	(3.55)
1(Female)		4.53***	4.81***	3.11	4.63***	3.13
		(1.43)	(1.43)	(2.62)	(1.43)	(2.62)
Years of Education		-0.17	-0.37	0.34	-0.37	0.34
		(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.41)	(0.23)	(0.41)
Age		-0.04	-0.06	0.06	-0.06	0.07
		(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.13)	(0.07)	(0.13)
Raven's Test Score		0.46	0.33	-1.00	0.36	-0.98
		(0.77)	(0.77)	(1.56)	(0.77)	(1.56)
Kenya Election Round			-7.30***	-7.51**	-8.44***	-8.34**
			(1.82)	(3.10)	(2.53)	(3.52)
Tanzania			-3.78**	-3.76	-2.11	-2.00
			(1.71)	(2.63)	(2.27)	(3.06)
Election * 1(Female)				2.79		2.39
				(3.86)		(3.87)
Election * Years of Education				-0.89		-0.85
				(0.65)		(0.65)
Election * Age				-0.01		-0.02
				(0.18)		(0.18)
Election * Raven's Score				3.10		2.99
				(2.16)		(2.16)
Tanzania * 1(Female)				2.48		2.31
				(3.39)		(3.39)
Tanzania * Years of Education				-1.11**		-1.13**
				(0.53)		(0.53)
Tanzania * Age				-0.24		-0.24
				(0.16)		(0.16)
Tanzania * Raven's Score				1.04		1.12
				(1.93)		(1.93)
Constant	40.78***	38.61***	42.33***	42.07***	41.98***	41.59***
	(0.93)	(1.23)	(1.72)	(2.26)	(2.01)	(2.50)
Election Prime in Tanzania					-6.23***	-6.23***
					(2.21)	(2.21)
Election Prime in Kenya Election Round					0.19	-0.01
					(2.50)	(2.53)
Observations	1018	1010	1010	1010	1010	1010

Notes: The table presents the exhaustive regression output for the estimation in Table 1. It shows OLS regressions with the dictator transfer, as a percentage of the endowment, as the dependent variable. Except for the female indicator, the interacted covariates are demeaned. Data are pooled from the Tanzania round and the Kenya *non-election* and *election rounds*. The coefficient for “Election Prime in Tanzania” sums the first two coefficients in the column. The coefficient for “Election Prime in Kenya Election Round” sums the first and third two coefficients in the column. Standard errors in parentheses. P-values:  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

Table A.3: Impact of the Election Prime on Dictator Transfers

	Dictator Transfer (Percent of Endowment)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Election Prime	-1.66 (1.77)	-1.76 (1.78)	-4.09* (2.09)	-3.86* (2.09)	-2.85 (2.15)	-2.63 (2.15)
Coethnic Recipient * Election Prime	0.16 (2.08)	0.27 (2.08)	0.91 (2.01)	0.95 (2.01)	-1.02 (2.62)	-0.97 (2.63)
Kenya Election Round			-6.98*** (2.04)	-7.75*** (2.10)	-6.52*** (2.50)	-7.31*** (2.56)
Kenya Election Round * Election Prime			4.84 (3.09)	4.01 (3.05)	2.28 (3.53)	1.47 (3.53)
Kenya Election Round * Coethnic Recipient					-0.83 (3.01)	-0.77 (3.02)
Kenya Election Round * Coethnic Recipient * Election Prime					4.57 (4.07)	4.53 (4.07)
Coethnic Recipient	-1.14 (1.49)	-1.10 (1.50)	-2.21 (1.46)	-2.23 (1.46)	-1.85 (1.80)	-1.89 (1.80)
Constant	40.38*** (1.26)	39.07*** (1.63)	43.86*** (1.47)	43.15*** (1.89)	43.63*** (1.52)	42.93*** (1.93)
Election Prime among Coethnics	-1.50 (1.91)	-1.49 (1.90)	-3.19 (2.28)	-2.92 (2.26)	-3.87 (2.46)	-3.59 (2.44)
Election Prime in Kenya Election Round			0.74 (2.57)	0.14 (2.57)	-0.56 (2.80)	-1.15 (2.81)
Election Prime among Coethnics in Kenya Election Round					2.98 (3.96)	2.41 (3.95)
Covariates	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Participants	506	506	506	506	506	506
Observations	1224	1224	1224	1224	1224	1224

Notes: The table presents OLS regressions with the dictator transfer, as a percentage of the endowment, as the dependent variable. Recipient profiles are either anonymous or coethnic. Data are pooled from the Kenya *non-election* and *election round*, since we do not have data on coethnic giving in Tanzania. The coefficient for “Election Prime among Coethnics” sums the first two coefficients in the column; the coefficient for “Election Prime in Kenya Election Round” sums the first and fourth coefficient; and the coefficient for “Election Prime among Coethnics in Kenya Election Round” sums the first, second, fourth and sixth coefficient. Covariates include age, education level, a gender indicator, and the Raven’s test score. We categorize Luos, Luhyas and Kisiis together as coethnics, since they are long political allies and their home region is geographically proximate. The fourth ethnicity in our sample is the larger Kikuyu group. Standard errors, in parentheses, are clustered at the participant level. P-values:  $p < 0.10$ ,  $** p < 0.05$ ,  $*** p < 0.01$ .

Table A.4: Descriptive statistics for the Kenya lab rounds

	Full Sample	Non-Election Round	Election Round	Difference
Female	58.97 [49.23]	52.32 [50.03]	65.67 [47.56]	-13.35*** (3.98)
Age	32.63 [11.04]	32.11 [11.32]	33.16 [10.75]	-1.05 (0.90)
Years of Education	9.69 [3.08]	9.75 [3.14]	9.62 [3.02]	0.13 (0.25)
Raven's Test Score (normalized)	-0.00 [1.00]	0.16 [0.96]	-0.16 [1.02]	0.32*** (0.08)
Number of Children	2.07 [2.11]	1.91 [2.02]	2.24 [2.18]	-0.33* (0.17)
Years Residing in Nairobi	15.99 [10.30]	16.85 [10.78]	15.11 [9.73]	1.74** (0.84)
Observations	602	302	300	

Notes: Data are pooled from the Kenya *non-election* and *election round* only. The table shows average values, with standard deviations in brackets, for the full sample, the *non-election* and *election round* samples. The final column estimates the difference between the two rounds and has standard errors in parentheses. The Raven's score for cognitive ability is demeaned and measured in standard deviation units. P-values:  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

Table A.5: Dictators Giving a Zero Transfer and Proximity to Elections in Kenya

	Dictator Transfers Zero							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Election Round	0.11*** (0.03)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)
1(Female)		-0.02 (0.03)						-0.03 (0.03)
Years of Education			-0.00 (0.00)					0.00 (0.00)
Age				-0.00 (0.00)				-0.00 (0.00)
Raven's Test Score					-0.01 (0.01)			-0.03 (0.02)
Number of Children						-0.00 (0.01)		0.00 (0.01)
Years in Nairobi							0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Constant	0.08*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.07** (0.03)	0.07* (0.04)
Observations	602	602	602	602	602	602	597	597

Notes: The table shows OLS regressions with an indicator variable for having a zero dictator transfer as the dependent variable. Data are pooled from the Tanzania round and the Kenya *non-election* and *election rounds*. Except for the female indicator, the control variables are demeaned. Standard errors in parentheses. P-values:  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

Table A.6: Dictator Transfers and Proximity to Elections in Kenya

	Dictator Transfer (Percent of Endowment)							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Election Round	-5.37*** (1.76)	-5.87*** (1.76)	-6.62*** (1.87)	-5.54*** (1.78)	-5.99*** (1.80)	-5.57*** (1.78)	-5.17*** (1.78)	-6.51*** (1.87)
Election Round * Coethnic Recipient	1.39 (2.04)	1.38 (2.04)	1.39 (2.04)	1.47 (2.04)	1.37 (2.04)	1.42 (2.04)	1.31 (2.05)	1.35 (2.06)
1(Female)		3.95** (1.55)						3.26* (1.70)
Years of Education			-0.60*** (0.21)					-0.37 (0.27)
Age				0.17** (0.07)				0.18* (0.10)
Raven's Test Score					-1.69** (0.74)			-0.22 (0.95)
Number of Children						0.70* (0.39)		-0.59 (0.55)
Years in Nairobi							0.03 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.08)
Coethnic Recipient	-2.35* (1.31)	-2.32* (1.31)	-2.36* (1.31)	-2.41* (1.31)	-2.34* (1.31)	-2.35* (1.31)	-2.40* (1.31)	-2.43* (1.32)
Constant	42.21*** (1.07)	40.18*** (1.38)	43.53*** (1.22)	42.29*** (1.08)	42.45*** (1.08)	42.29*** (1.08)	42.20*** (1.08)	41.43*** (1.67)
Participants	506	506	506	506	506	506	502	502
Observations	1224	1224	1224	1224	1224	1224	1215	1215

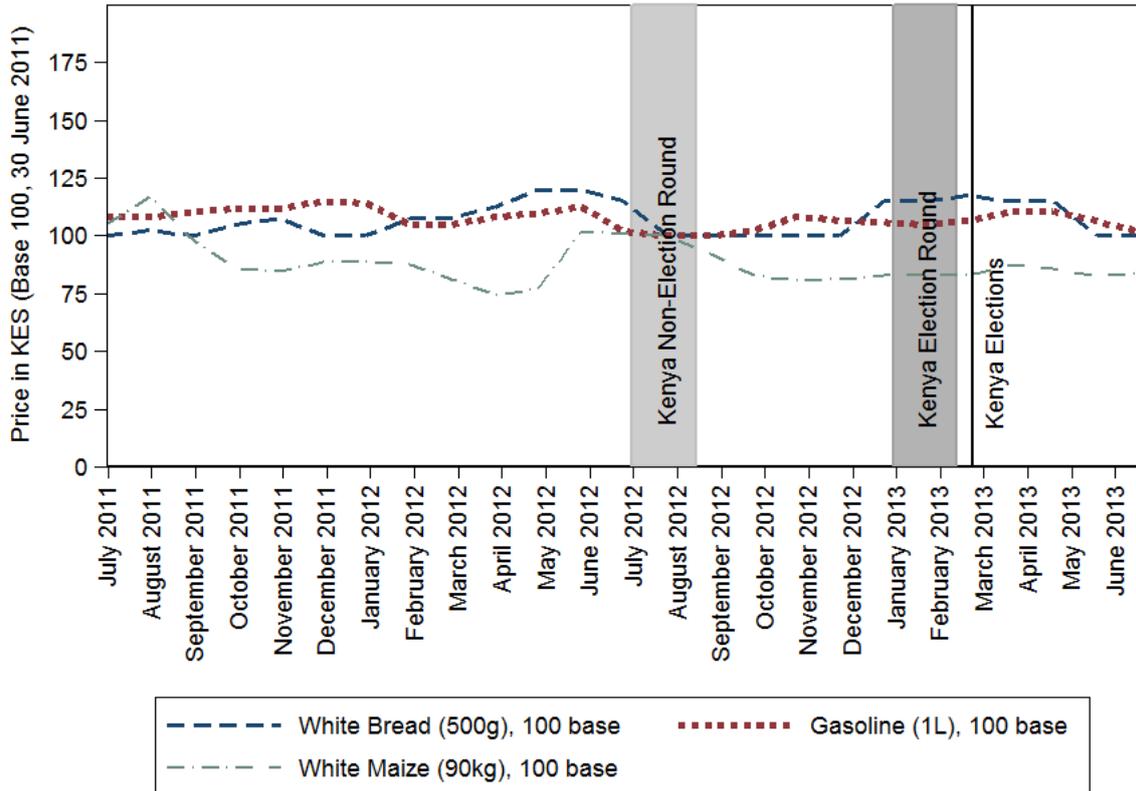
Notes: The table presents OLS regressions with the dictator transfer, as a percentage of the endowment, as the dependent variable. Recipient profiles are either “anonymous” or “coethnic.” Data are pooled from the Kenya *non-election* and *election* rounds. Except for the female indicator, the control variables are demeaned. The Raven’s score for cognitive ability is demeaned and normalized to standard deviation units. We categorize Luos, Luhyas and Kisiis together as coethnics, since they are long political allies and their home region is geographically proximate. The fourth ethnicity in our sample is the larger Kikuyu group. In the *non-election* round, participants typically decided on two transfers to coethnic respondents. Standard errors, in parentheses, are therefore clustered at the participant level. P-values:  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

Table A.7: Dictator Transfers to Coethnics: non-election vs. election round

	Non-election Round	Election Round	Difference
Full sample	42.6	36.6	-6.02*** (1.64)
Female	44.2	38.5	-5.71** (2.22)
Male	40.9	33	-7.89*** (2.46)
Below median age	41.1	35.3	-5.79** (2.56)
Above median age	44	37.6	-6.42*** (2.14)
Below median education	41.8	37.3	-4.5* (2.53)
Median education or above	43.3	35.7	-7.55*** (2.15)
Below median Raven's test score	44.2	37.2	-7.03*** (2.69)
Above median Raven's test score	41.7	36	-5.66*** (2.09)
Less than two children	41.6	36.5	-5.05** (2.41)
Two children or more	43.6	36.6	-6.99*** (2.27)
Residing less than 15 years in Nairobi	44.4	38.3	-6.06** (2.61)
Residing at least 15 years in Nairobi	41.3	34.9	-6.43*** (2.08)
Observations	302	300	

Notes: The first and second column show average dictator transfers (in percentage terms) to coethnic recipients in the *non-election* and *election round*, respectively. The third column shows the estimated difference between the two, with standard errors in parentheses. Since participants typically decided on two transfers to coethnic respondents in the non-election round, standard errors are clustered at the participant level. We categorize Luos, Luhya and Kisiis together as coethnics, since they are long political allies and their home region is geographically proximate. The fourth ethnicity in our sample is the larger Kikuyu group. The Raven's test score measures cognitive ability. P-values: \* $p < 0.10$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

Figure A.1: Commodity prices in Kenya



Notes: Data source for Kenya is FEWS NET (USAID) and the Kenya Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, and Fisheries. The Kenya *non-election round* was from July to August 2012. The Kenya *election round* was from January to February 2013. The Kenyan national elections took place in March 2013.

# Online Appendix B: Lab Protocols

## Appendix B.1: Protocol for Tanzania

### 1 Sampling and Recruitment

#### 1.1 Sample composition

- Subject pool: Convenience sample recruited in low-income neighborhoods.
- For our sample, we aim to achieve a composition similar to Dar es Salaam's ethnic composition, and to Tanzania's overall composition. To do so, we took the fifteen largest ethnic groups, since the ethnic composition of Tanzania is more fragmented.<sup>1</sup>
- Similar to Kenya, we will exclude non-nationals from the sample, mostly Indians and Arabs. However, if the Arabs sampled are Pemba (Zanzibaris) we will keep them in the sample.

#### 1.2 Recruitment

- The Economic and Social Research Foundation (ESRF) research assistants carried out the recruitment, with the assistance of local leaders. The subject pool consists of over 1800 respondents, recruited from several low-income neighbourhoods in Dar es Salaam, in Kinondoni, Manzese, and Hananasifu.

#### ***Script for recruitment:***

*My name is [] and I work for Economic and Social Research Foundation. We are recruiting people to participate in the studies at ESRF, supervised by Richard Ngilangwa and Dr. Tausi Kida.*

*The purpose of the study is to gain a better understanding of how people make their economic decisions. In particular, we are interested in how people of different backgrounds cooperate and interact with one another in Tanzania. Thus, we will be asking you for some background information.*

*In this study you will be asked to perform simple tasks on a computer. However, computer and reading skills are not required. The tasks in this study will be explained to you separately if you are invited to participate. To be eligible to enrol in the study, you should be a resident of Dar es Salaam aged 18 or above. Your participation is voluntary and you can decide whether to participate or not. You will not be penalized if you decide not to participate or to stop*

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<sup>1</sup> According to a research done by the African Studies Center at the University of Pennsylvania, there are more than 120 ethnic groups in Tanzania. The largest groups are the Sukuma (13% of the total population), the remaining large groups represent under 5% each (Nyamwezi, Chagga, Swahili, Shirazi, Zaramo and Makonde). The non-African population (including Europeans, Asians and Arabs) represent less than 1% of the population.

*participating. Participation is entirely voluntary. The study itself will last about 3 hours, but you should plan an entire morning or afternoon for attending a scheduled session. We will be holding workshops where you can participate in a range of economic activities. We will call you at the mobile phone number you give us to invite you to one of these sessions. During this phone call, you will schedule a date and time to come to ESRF. If you show up at ESRF for your scheduled session, you will receive 5000 Tsh just for showing up. Moreover, you will be able to earn additional money from participating in these economic activities. Your total payout, 5000 Tsh plus whatever money you earn, will be paid to you at the end of the scheduled session. If you have a photo ID, bringing it will facilitate your check-in process for identification. We will maintain the confidentiality of your personal information. This research project will not share any of your personal information with other people. Any information we use will be generalized and aggregated, and you will not be personally identified in any of the research findings. Is this okay with you? Please indicate to me if you are in agreement.*

*Thank you!*

Questions asked at recruitment by ESRF:

- Q1: What is your personal mobile phone number?  
(MAKE SURE this is their own personal phone number, not someone else's)
- Q2: If you do not have a personal mobile phone number, what phone number do you use?
- Q3: What is your first name?
- Q4: What is your middle name?
- Q5: What is your last name?
- Q6: Which neighborhood of Dar es Salaam do you live in?
- Q7: What year were you born?
- Q8: What is your gender? 1=Male 2=Female
- Q9: What is your highest level of education completed?  
(See code C1)
- Q10: What is your tribe?
- Q11: What is your religion? (See code C2)
- Q12: What is your occupation? (See code C3)
- Q13: Other: specify for Q12
- Q14: Is this source of income continuous (you work & earn money every day) or occasional (you work & earn money only sometimes)?      1=Continuous  
2=Occasional

Q15: Are you an employed by someone or self-employed? 1=Employed 2=Self-employed

### 1.3 Mobile phone call-in

- The on-time incentive is 1000 Tsh. Late-comers will be compensated transport costs but will not be able to participate. They are told at recruitment if they are late, they cannot participate.
- Scheduled sessions with participants about 2 days in advance of actual session.

#### Script for mobile phone calls:

*Hi, is this NAME? May I speak to NAME? This is [NAME OF CALLER], and I'm calling from the ESRF to invite you to our workshop on economic behavior. You recently registered in your ward to be a participant in our workshop.*

*Will you be able to attend the [9:00 AM OR 1:00PM] study? During the workshop, you will be asked to participate in a series of economic activities, from which you can earn money. The entire session will take about 3 hours, and you should plan for it to take an entire morning or an entire afternoon.*

*You will receive 5000 shillings simply for your time and to cover your transport costs. Once you arrive, you can earn additional payment through various activities during the study. The payment will be handed to you at the end of the session.*

*If yes: I'll mark you as attending then, I look forward to seeing you at [9:00 AM OR 1:00PM] on [DAY OF STUDY]. We can only start when everyone is present and we don't want to keep others waiting, so you will receive a 1000 Tanzanian shilling bonus if you arrive on time. Please note that if you are late to the workshop, you will not be able to participate and cannot be compensated for attending. It is important to show up early if you want to participate, as sessions fill up fast, and may become full. If you have young children coming with you, please have someone accompany you who can watch over the child during the session.*

*If no: I'm sorry, may I ask why? (for example, a) work b) no transport money c) don't want to) Could you take a moment please to answer some questions, so that we can verify your identity, and obtain some additional information?*

#### Mobile Phone Survey

1. Respondent ID

|\_|\_|\_|\_|\_|\_|\_|

2. Respondent answered phone?

a. Yes

- b. No, has work
- c. No, no transport money
- d. No, don't want to
- e. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Respondent will attend assigned session?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

4. Which session will this respondent attend?

\_\_\_\_\_

5. How many years have you been living in Dar es Salaam?

|\_\_|

6. Where is your ancestral home?

|\_\_\_\_\_|

7. What is your gender?

- a. Male
- b. Female

|\_\_\_\_\_|

8. Marital Status: What is your marital status?

- a. Single
- b. Married or cohabitating
- c. Divorced or separated

9. Children: How many biological children do you have? Biological children are children directly related to you, not step-children or adopted children.

|\_\_\_\_\_|

*Thank you for your time, goodbye."*

## **2 Lab Instructions (2.5-3 hours)**

### **Waiting Area:**

It is important that there is no interaction between the participants at any point for our study. There will be a person who will be in charge of actively monitoring the waiting area (the veranda outside the lab-venue) to make sure there is no interaction between respondents.

When respondents arrive at the waiting area, they will be given bites and water.

When respondents from the waiting area moves into the computer lab, the waiting area person will verify one by one that respondents have turned their cell phones off.

## **2.1 In the computer lab**

### **Instructor script:**

**A warm welcome to the Economic and Social Research Foundation. I see all participants are present. This workshop is part of a joint academic research project through the ESRF, the Norwegian School of Economics, University of California, Berkeley, Stanford University, and MIT.**

**You will be asked to participate in activities on economic decision-making and to give your point of view as an individual. This project is not affiliated with any government or political agency; it is headed by academic researchers who are interested in understanding how people make decisions.**

**You will receive payment for your time, for transport costs, and for being on time today. Your transport costs will be reimbursed depending upon how far you travelled to get here today. At the end of today's session you are going to receive the payouts you have earned during these activities.**

**If you need to use the bathroom, please do so now, before we begin.**

**Before we start, I request four things. First, please turn off your mobile phones now, and leave them turned off until the end of the session. This is so you are not distracted from doing the tasks. Second, due to the nature of the study, from now on you are not allowed to talk to other participants. If you talk to other participants, we will have to send you home and you will not have the opportunity to earn money from the activities. If you have questions, please raise your hand and one of the researchers will come and talk to you. Fourth, please do not touch the computers before we tell you to do so.**

## **2.2 Consent to Participate in Research**

**In front of you there is a consent form that explains the purpose of this research and your rights. It says that this study is for research purposes only; your responses are strictly confidential and will not be shared along with your name with anyone other than the researchers. You have the right to leave at any time. We would like to ask for your consent to participate by signing at the end of this form. So please read the form now and sign it at the end if you consent. An assistant will come by to collect the forms.**

## **2.3 Getting to know the screen and the touch screen number keypad.**

**For the remainder of the session, you will be instructed by recorded audio for the activities and questions. Instructions will be repeated twice. Please raise your hands if you have any questions during the session, or if your computer seems not to be working. Staff will be here to assist you directly. Now, please place your headphones over your ears, and indicate if you understood the instructions.**

**[A1]**

Introduction

The screens in front of you are touch screens; you can use your fingers to indicate your choices. To test this, please now take a finger of your hand and touch the OK in the bottom right of the screen. Please use the fleshy part of your finger, and not the nail, so the screen does not get damaged. Do not press too hard; if the computer does not respond right away, wait a few seconds and try again.

**[A2]**

During the activities, we will ask you to type in numbers on the touch screen keypad in front of you. Please practice typing in the following numbers, and pressing the OK button when you are done:

8  
200  
1673

**[A3]**

During the activities, we will ask you select responses on the screen in front of you. Occasionally, you will be asked questions in between activities. To practice selecting responses from the touch screen, please try answering the following questions:

1. How did you find out about ESRF? Please select the one that applies the most to you:
  - a. From a close friend
  - b. From a family member
  - c. From someone you knew in a group/organization
  - d. From a community leader
  - e. Approached directly by a ESRF recruiter

**[A4]**

2. Of the 25 participants here today, how many participants do you know in this room? |\_\_\_\_|

**[A5]**

From now on, you will hear instructions about the activities, and use the touch screen keypad and/or pictures on the screen to choose your responses. Instructions will be repeated twice. If you are unclear about the instructions afterwards, please raise your hand and someone will come to assist you.

Do you understand the instructions?

- a. Yes

- b. No

## 2.4 Cognitive Ability (16-piece Raven Progressive Matrices test)

[A6]

We would like you to first play a matching game.  
This activity will not affect your payout in any way.

[A7]

Here is a pattern with a piece missing.  
Below are six pieces, choose the one that best completes the pattern.

## 2.5 Priming

Control and Priming Treatment:

1. Which of the following newspapers do you read the most?
  - A. Daily News
  - B. Mwananchi (The Citizen)
  - C. The Guardian
  - D. Not listed)
  
2. How often do you ride a Daladala every week?
  - A. 0 days / never
  - B. 1 day per week
  - C. 2 days per week
  - D. 3 days per week
  - E. 4 days or more per week

Control:

3. What cell phone provider do you use the most?
  - A. Zantel
  - B. Airtel
  - C. Vodacom
  - D. Mobitel
  - E. Tigo
  - F. None
  - G. Other not listed
  
4. Which of the following television stations do you watch the most?
  - A. ITV
  - B. Star TV

- C. TBC
- D. EATV
- E. Other, not listed

5. In your opinion, which radio station do you think is the most popular?
- A. Clouds FM
  - B. Radio One
  - C. Radio Free Africa
  - D. Other, not listed

Priming Treatment:

1. In your opinion, what share of the population voted in the last national election?
- A. Almost everyone
  - B. Most of the population
  - C. About half of the population
  - D. Some of the population
  - E. Almost no one
2. How many political candidates were running for the Presidency in 2010?
- A. 0
  - B. 1
  - C. 2
  - D. 3
  - E. 4 or more
  - F. Don't know
3. How many political candidates were running for the office of MP in your constituency?
- A. 0
  - B. 1
  - C. 2
  - D. 3
  - E. 4 or more
  - F. Don't know

## 2.6 Dictator Game

[A26]

**Economic Activity**

[A27]

**Please listen to the instructions.**

*In this exercise the computer has randomly paired you with another participant. You will not know who you are paired with; only the researchers will know this.*

*You will receive 1000 Tsh. You will then be asked to divide the money between yourself and the other participant. Whatever decision you make will be implemented. You can choose to divide the 1000 Tsh however you like. Whatever you do not give to the other person you get to keep.*

**[A28]**

You can divide 1000 Tsh between you and someone else.

**[A29]**

Example 1: You have 1000 Tsh, and you give 1000 Tsh.  
How much money do you have left?

**[A30]**

Example 2: You have 1000 Tsh, and you give 400 Tsh.  
How much money do you have left?

**[A31]**

Example 3: You have 1000 Tsh, and you give 700 Tsh.  
How much money do you have left?

**[A32]**

Example 4: You have 1000 Tsh, and you give 0 Tsh.  
How much money do you have left?

**[A32b]**

*Do you understand from these four examples? If not, please raise your hand. Remember, you can choose to divide the 1000 Tsh exactly as you like. Let's begin the exercise. You are given 1000 Tsh. How much would you like to give to the other person? Please type on the number pad on the screen:*

Do you understand?

A. Yes

B. No

**[A33]**

You have this amount in shillings: 1000  
How much money do you give away?

The lab session then continued with other activities that are not examined in this paper.

## Appendix B.2: Protocol for Kenya

### 1 Sampling and Recruitment

#### 1.1 Sample composition

1. Subject pool: Convenience sample recruited through in low-income neighborhoods.
2. For our sample, we aim to achieve a composition similar to Nairobi's ethnic composition, and to Kenya's overall composition. To do so, we took the five largest ethnic groups, the Kikuyu, Luo, Kamba, Luhya, and Kisii. In the coethnic dictator game, we drop the Kambas from the sample, since they changed their political alliance in between our two lab rounds.

#### 1.2 Recruitment

Busara research assistants carried out the recruitment, with the assistance of local leaders. The subject pool consists of over 3600 respondents, recruited from several low-income neighbourhoods in Viwandani and Kibera.

##### *Script for recruitment:*

*My name is [] and I work for the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics. We are recruiting people to participate in the studies at our center, supervised by Johannes Haushofer.*

*The purpose of the study is to gain a better understanding on how people make their economic decisions. In these studies you will be asked to perform simple tasks on a computer. Computer or reading skills are not required. The tasks in this study will be explained to you separately if you are invited to participate. To be eligible to enroll in the study, you should be a resident of Nairobi aged 18 or above. Your participation is voluntary and you can decide whether to participate or not. You will never be penalized if you decide not to participate or stop participating.*

*We will need to scan your right hand thumb; we are doing so for purpose of security and identification. The thumb print is a unique identifier. Since we have people who don't have ID's or who may have lost their ID's or have waiting cards, we settled on the thumb print for it is uniform to all. Once we invite you over to our center, for you to gain entrance we scan your thumb. This in return gives us your data to show you are among those recruited.*

*We have given you a consent form explaining the research more fully and guaranteeing that we take measures to maintain the confidentiality of your personal information. Because this is*

*a research program, we cannot share any of your personal information with other people. Any information we use will be general, statistical information, based on the information you provide in our studies, but will not include your name, number, etc, Please read the consent form and if you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask. If you are in agreement please write your name and signature at the back, as proof that you have read, understood and voluntarily accepted to participate.*

*When we have a study available, we will SMS you with an invitation listing the date and time to come to Busara. If you show up for the study, you will receive 200 Ksh, and sometimes more for answering questions correctly. All the money will be sent to you through Mpesa and so the number you give us should be registered. You may only be contacted once every month to participate in a study. This is not a job, but you may be able to make money from time to time.*

*When you receive the SMS you must reply "YES" and then your name if you want to let us know you are attending. If you don't we will assume you didn't receive the message or can't come, and will give your space to someone else. We always need 20 people at a study, so if you can't attend we have to find someone who can. If you don't reply YES and come anyway, we will have to turn you away.*

*Thanks.*

Questions asked at recruitment by Busara:

1. EnrollmentStart: Enrollment start time
2. MPesa: Do you have a Safaricom line registered with MPesa?
3. CellPhone1: What is your phone number?
4. CellPhone2: Do you have any other phone number we  
can contact you at?
5. FirstName: What is your first name?
6. MiddleName: What is your middle name?
7. LastName: What is your last name?
8. InKibera: Are you living in Kibera or elsewhere?
9. KiberaLocation: What is your location in Kibera?
10. InNairobi: Are you living in Nairobi or elsewhere?

11. NrbLocation: What is your location in Nairobi?
12. BirthYear: What year were you born?
13. Gender:
14. Education: What is the highest education level you have completed?
15. Occupation: What is your occupation?
16. Occupation\_specify: What specific occupation?
17. IncomeStream: Is this source of income continuous (you work & earn money everyday) or occasional (you work & earn money only sometimes)?
18. Selfemployed: Are you an employee (employed by someone) or self-employed?
19. NativeLanguage: What is your mother tongue?
20. NativeLanguage\_specify: What specific language?
21. Marital: What is your marital status?
22. Children: How many biological children do you have? Biological children are children directly related to you, not step-children or adopted children.

### **1.3 Mobile phone call-in**

- The on-time incentive is 50 Ksh. Late-comers will be compensated transport costs but will not be able to participate. They are told at recruitment if they are late, they cannot participate.
- Scheduled sessions with participants about 2 days in advance of actual session.

#### Script for mobile phone calls:

*Hi, is this NAME? May I speak to NAME? This is [NAME OF CALLER], and I'm calling from the Busara Center. You recently registered in Kibera [Viwandani] to be a participant in our studies and received an SMS inviting you to attend a session at [9:00 AM OR 1:00PM] on [DAY AND DATE OF STUDY].*

*Will you be able to attend the [9:00 AM OR 1:00PM] study? The entire session will take about 3 hours.*

*You will receive 200 shillings simply for your time and to cover your transport costs. Once you arrive, you can earn additional payment through various activities during the study. The payment will be sent via MPesa to the number you registered with during enrollment. [For Viwandani: The*

researchers of this study realize that the distance may be inconvenient, and are willing to pay 200 shillings additionally to make-up for the inconvenience.]

*If yes: I'll mark you as attending then, I look forward to seeing you at [9:00 AM OR 1:00PM] on [DAY OF STUDY]. We can only start when everyone is present and we don't want to keep others waiting, so you will receive a 50 shilling bonus if you arrive on time. If you arrive late and the study is full, you will not be able to participate and cannot be compensated for attending. If you have young children coming with you, please have someone accompany you who can watch over the child during the session.*

*If no: I'm sorry, may I ask why? (ie. a) work b) no transport money c) don't want to) Could you take a moment please to answer some questions, so that we can verify your identity, and obtain some additional information?*

### Mobile Phone Survey

10. Respondent ID

|\_|\_|\_|\_|\_|\_|\_|

11. Respondent answered phone?

- a. Yes
- b. No, has work
- c. No, no transport money
- d. No, don't want to
- e. Other:\_\_\_\_\_

12. Respondent will attend assigned session?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Other:\_\_\_\_\_

13. Which session will this respondent attend?

\_\_\_\_\_

14. How many years have you been living in Nairobi?

|\_|

15. Where is your ancestral home?

|\_\_\_\_\_|

16. What is your gender?

- a. Male
- b. Female

17. What is your age in years?

|\_\_\_\_\_|

18. What is your highest level of education completed?

- a. No schooling
- b. ECD/nursery/pre-unit
- c. Std 1
- d. Std 2
- e. Std 3
- f. Std 4
- g. Std 5
- h. Std 6
- i. Std 7
- j. Std 8
- k. Form 1
- l. Form 2
- m. Form 3
- n. Form 4
- o. Form 5
- p. Form 6
- q. Some polytechnic
- r. Completed polytechnic
- s. Some college
- t. Completed college
- u. Some university
- v. Completed university
- w. Higher than college/  
university
- x. Special education (mentally  
handicap)

19. What is your religion?

- a. Traditional/tribal religion
- b. Muslim
- c. Catholic
- d. Anglican
- e. Apostolic or New Apostolic  
Church
- f. Assembly of God Church
- g. Baptist Church
- h. Church of Christ
- i. Church of God
- j. Gospel/ New Testament/  
Injili Church
- k. Jehovah's Witness
- l. Legio Maria Church
- m. NENO
- n. Pentecostal Church
- o. Roho Church
- p. Salvation Army Church
- q. Seventh Day Adventists
- r. No Religion
- s. Other (specify)\_\_\_\_\_

20. We have spoken to many people in Kenya and they have all described themselves in different ways. Some people describe themselves in terms of their language, religion, race, and others describe themselves in economic terms, such as working class, middle class, or a farmer. Besides being a citizen of Kenya which specific group do you feel you belong to first and foremost?

|\_\_\_\_\_|

*Thank you for your time, goodbye."*

## **2 Priming for Kenya**

There are 4 rounds of priming. Each round will have 3 questions. For treatment, there will be: 1 neutral and 2 treatment questions (randomly ordered). For control there will be 3 neutral questions. All respondents will be asked 12 questions total.

### **2.1 Election prime (8 questions): Focus on elections and politicians.**

1. In your opinion, what share of the population voted in the last national election?
  - A. Almost everyone
  - B. Most of the population
  - C. About half of the population
  - D. Some of the population
  - E. Almost no one
  
2. How many political candidates are running for the Presidency?
  - A. 0
  - B. 1
  - C. 2
  - D. 3
  - E. 4 or more
  - F. Don't know
  
3. How many political candidates are running for the office of MP in your constituency?
  - A. 0
  - B. 1
  - C. 2
  - D. 3
  - E. 4 or more
  - F. Don't know
  
4. In the last week, approximately how much time *per day* did you spend discussing the upcoming elections?
  - A. None

- B. About 0-1 hours
- C. About 1-2 hours
- D. About 3-4 hours
- E. Over 4 hours
- F. Don't know

5. How long do you think you will have to wait in line to vote in the upcoming elections?

- A. Will not vote
- B. Half an hour or less
- C. An hour
- D. 1 hour and a half
- E. Over 2 hours
- F. Don't know

6. Some people say that multiparty elections are good because they let the people decide who will rule the country. Other people say that they cause too much division. Which of these views is closest to your own?

- A. Multiparty elections are good because they let the people decide who will rule the country.
- B. Multiparty elections cause too much division.
- C. I agree with both of these statements.
- D. Don't know

7. What kinds of things do political parties do to win votes?

- A. Make promises to bring development
- B. Offer people money
- C. Talk about what they have done in the past
- D. Say bad things about other parties or candidates
- E. More than one of the above.
- F. Don't know

8. In how many months will the next Kenyan presidential election take place?

- A. 3
- B. 6
- C. 8
- D. 10
- E. Don't know

## **2.4 Neutral questions (12 questions): Public opinion/trivia questions. [The questions in italics will be asked for the entire sample.]**

1. *Which of the following newspapers do you read the most?*

- A. *Daily Nation*
- B. *The Star*
- C. *The Standard*

*D. Other, not listed*

2. *How often do you ride a matatu every week?*

*A. 0 days / never*

*B. 1 day per week*

*C. 2 days per week*

*D. 3 days per week*

*E. 4 or more days per week*

3. *What cell phone provider do you use the most?*

*A. Safaricom*

*B. Airtel*

*C. Orange*

*D. Yu*

*E. Multiple*

*F. None*

*G. Other not listed*

4. *Which of the following television stations do you watch the most?*

*A. Citizen*

*B. KTN*

*C. KBC*

*D. NTV*

*E. Other, not listed*

5. *In your opinion, which radio station do you think is the most popular?*

*A. Capital FM*

*B. Citizen*

*C. Classic*

*D. Other, not listed*

6. *In your opinion, which TV show is the most popular?*

*A. Big Brother Africa*

*B. Beautiful But Unlucky*

*C. Tusker All-Stars*

*D. Other, not listed*

7. *In the past week, how many hours did you spend on Facebook?*

*A. 0-2 hours*

*B. 2-4 hours*

*C. 4-6 hours*

*D. More than 6 hours*

*E. Never use Facebook*

8. *In the past week, approximately how much time *per day* did you spend socializing with friends?*

- A. 0-2 hours
- B. 2-4 hours
- C. 4-6 hours
- D. More than 6 hours

9. In your opinion, what is the most popular soda drink?

- A. Coke
- B. Stony Tangawizi
- C. Fanta
- D. Krest
- E. Other not listed

10. Approximately how many people live in Nairobi?

- A. About 1 million
- B. About 2 million
- C. About 3 million
- D. About 4 million
- E. Don't know

11. In your opinion, what is the most popular form of daily transport in the city?

- A. Matatu/Bus
- B. Motorbike
- C. Walking
- D. Other, not listed

12. What is your favorite color?

- A. Red
- B. Blue
- C. Green
- D. Yellow
- E. Other, not listed

### **3. Lab Instructions**

#### **Waiting Room:**

It is important that there is no interaction between the participants at any point for our study. There will be a person will be in charge of actively monitoring the waiting room to make sure there is no interaction between respondents.

While respondents arrive in the waiting room, they will be informed that we are interested in their opinion on the radio clip that they listen to while they are waiting. We will play a radio clip from Classic 105FM, a popular radio program that appeals across audiences, which has no political content and focuses on love/relationship advice. This is often played on public transport, and will

probably be similar to what most have already heard in the matatu/bus on the way to the center. We will make sure that the clip has no news or political content. The audio should be loud enough for to discourage talking, and if anyone talks, the person monitoring the room will remind them to pay attention to the radio clip.

As respondents from the waiting room into the computer lab, the waiting room person will verify one by one that respondents have turned their cell phones off.

### **3.1 In the computer lab**

The keyboard will be placed behind the computer at each station. Amos, Joseph, and Cynthia do not introduce themselves. No payouts will be displayed until the end of the entire session. Participants are informed *immediately* upon going into the session room that the study will take at least 2-3 hours. When all participants have arrived, been identified, and seated:

#### **Instructor script:**

**A warm welcome to the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics. I see all participants are present. This workshop is part of a joint academic research project through the Norwegian School of Economics, University of California, Berkeley, Stanford University, and MIT. We have hired the Busara Center's facilities to conduct a workshop on decision-making. You will be asked to participate in activities on economic decision-making and to give your point of view as an individual. This project is not affiliated with any government or political agency; it is headed by academic researchers who are interested in understanding how people make decisions.**

**You will receive payment for your time, for transport costs, and for being on time today. Your transport costs will be reimbursed depending upon how far you travelled to get here today. At the end of today's session you are going to receive the payouts you have earned during these activities. This money will be transferred within the next day to the phone number you gave us when you registered by MPESA.**

**If you need to use the bathroom, please do so now, before we begin.**

**Before we start, I request three things. First, please turn off your mobile phones now, and leave them turned off until the end of the session. This is so you are not distracted from doing the tasks. Second, due to the nature of the study, from now on you are not allowed to talk to other participants. If you talk to other participants, we will have to send you home and you will not have the opportunity to earn money from the activities. If you have questions, please raise your hand and one of the researchers will come and talk to you. Third, please do not touch the computers before we tell you to do so.**

### **3.2 Consent to Participate in Research**

**In front of you there is a consent form that explains the purpose of this research and your rights. It says that this study is for research purposes only; your responses are strictly confidential and will not be shared along with your name with anyone other than the researchers. You have the right to leave at any time. We would like to ask for your consent to participate by signing at the end of this form. [Instructor reads Kiswahili form.] So please read the form now and sign it at the end if you consent. If**

you require a Kiswahili version or have any questions, please let one of the assistants know and they will come and assist you. An assistant will come by to collect the forms.

### 3.3 Getting to know the screen and the touch screen number keypad.

For the remainder of the session, you will be instructed by recorded audio for the activities and questions. Instructions will be repeated twice. Please raise your hands if you have any questions during the session, or if your computer seems not to be working. Staff will be here to assist you directly. Now, please place your headphones over your ears, and indicate if you understood the instructions.

[A1]

Introduction

The screens in front of you are touch screens; you can use your fingers to indicate your choices. To test this, please now take a finger of your hand and touch the OK in the bottom right of the screen. Please use the fleshy part of your finger, and not the nail, so the screen does not get damaged. Do not press too hard; if the computer does not respond right away, wait a few seconds and try again.

[A2]

During the activities, we will ask you to type in numbers on the touch screen keypad in front of you. Please practice typing in the following numbers, and pressing the OK button when you are done:

8

200

1673

[A3]

During the activities, we will ask you select responses on the screen in front of you. Occasionally, you will be asked questions in between activities. To practice selecting responses from the touch screen, please try answering the following questions:

3. How did you find out about Busara? Please select the one that applies the most to you:
  - a. From a close friend
  - b. From a family member
  - c. From someone you knew in a group/organization
  - d. From a community leader
  - e. Approached directly by a Busara recruiter

[A4]

4. Of the 20 participants here today, how many participants do you know in this room? |\_\_\_\_|

[A5]

From now on, you will hear instructions about the activities, and use the touch screen keypad and/or pictures on the screen to choose your responses. Instructions will be repeated twice. If you are unclear about the instructions afterwards, please raise your hand and someone will come to assist you.

Do you understand the instructions?

- c. Yes
- d. No

### 3.4 Cognitive Ability (16-piece Raven Progressive Matrices test)

[A6]

We would like you to first play a matching game.  
This activity will not affect your payout in any way.

[A7]

Here is a pattern with a piece missing.  
Below are six pieces, choose the one that best completes the pattern.

### 3.5 Priming I

[A24]

Now we would like you to answer some questions. Your payment will not be affected by any of your answers here.

[R1]

1. While you were waiting, you listened to a short radio clip. Do you think that the social issue discussed is an important one in Kenya?

- A. Yes
- B. No
- C. Don't know

[R2]

2. In general, do you like the type of music that was played during the radio clip?

- A. Yes
- B. No
- C. Don't know

[A25]

Priming questions

Treatment: N1, N2, T1, T2, T3

Control: N1, N2, N3, N4, N5

### 3.6 Dictator Game

[A26]

#### Economic Activity 1

[A27]

**Please listen to the instructions.**

*In this exercise the computer has randomly paired you with another participant. You will not know who you are paired with; only the researchers will know this.*

*You will receive 50 Ksh. You will then be asked to divide the money between yourself and the other participant. Whatever decision you make will be implemented. You can choose to divide the 50 Ksh however you like. Whatever you do not give to the other person you get to keep.*

[A28]

You can divide 50 Ksh between you and someone else.

[A29]

Example 1: You have 50 Ksh, and you give 50 Ksh.  
How much money do you have left?

[A30]

Example 2: You have 50 Ksh, and you give 19 Ksh.  
How much money do you have left?

[A31]

Example 3: You have 50 Ksh, and you give 35 Ksh.  
How much money do you have left?

[A32]

Example 4: You have 50 Ksh, and you give 0 Ksh.  
How much money do you have left?

[A32b]

*Do you understand from these four examples? If not, please raise your hand. Remember, you can choose to divide the 50 Ksh exactly as you like. Let's begin the exercise. You are given 50 Ksh. How much would you like to give to the other person? Please type on the number pad on the screen:*

Do you understand?

A. Yes

B. No

[A33]

You have this amount in shillings: 50

How much money do you give away?

### 3.7 Public Goods Game: Introduction

[A34]

Economic Activity 2: Introduction

[Note to RAs: For Example 1, we have decided to make the example interactive. For the first example, you can work with participants to calculate the payoffs. However, the second example should be done through audio and touchscreen.]

*We now move to the next activity of the workshop, where you also can earn money, but in a different way. In this particular activity, you will make decisions in a group. This means that how much money you earn in this activity will depend both on your decision and on the decisions of the others in the group.*

*The members of your group will be randomly selected from the people who are participating in this workshop. You will be grouped with two other participants. However, you will not know who they are and they will not know who you are; only the researcher knows who is in the group.*

*Now, we will proceed with the information about how you can earn money in this activity.*

*You are in a group with 2 other people in this room. Each of you receives 60 Ksh and must decide whether you want to place this money into your **private basket** or into your **group basket**.*

*The rules of the private basket are simple: If you decide to put the money in your private basket, you will get to keep it. This money will be added to what you earn from the workshop.*

*The rules of the group basket are more complicated, so pay close attention: All of the money that is put in the group basket will be added up and the researchers will add extra money to double the amount. This total amount will then be divided equally between the three of you in the group.*

*In sum, what you earn from this activity is what you choose to keep by putting it in your private basket plus your share of what is in the group basket.*

*We understand that this is complicated, so a demonstration of how this works will play on your screen. If you have any questions at the end of the audio, please raise your hand, and we will come and assist you.*

**[A35]**

**Economic Activity: Example 1**

*Now that you have watched the video, let us try some practice examples.*

*As before, each group member receives 60 Ksh. This is their money, and each person will decide how much money to put into their own private basket, and how much money to put into the group basket.*

*In this example, you contributed 0 Ksh to the group basket and put 60 Ksh to your own private basket. Group member A contributed 30 Ksh to the group basket and put 30 Ksh in his or her own private basket. Group member B contributed 30 Ksh to the group basket and put 30 Ksh in his or her own private basket.*

*This 60 Ksh placed in the group fund automatically doubles to 120 Ksh. The 120 Ksh is divided equally among all three players.*

**[A36]**

Now, please remove your headphones, so that the instructors can go through an example with everyone.

**[Screen 1]**

**You contributed 0 Ksh to the group basket.  
Group member A contributed 30 Ksh to the group basket.  
Group member B contributed 30 Ksh to the group basket.**

**How much money would you receive from the group basket?**

**[Screen 2]**

**You contributed 0 Ksh to the group basket.  
Group member A contributed 30 Ksh to the group basket.  
Group member B contributed 30 Ksh to the group basket.**

**How much money did you keep in the private basket?**

**[Screen 3]**

**You contributed 0 Ksh to the group basket.  
Group member A contributed 30 Ksh to the group basket.  
Group member B contributed 30 Ksh to the group basket.**

How much money would you receive in total?

**[A39]**

Economic Activity: Example 2

*As before, each group member receives 60 Ksh. This is their money, and each person will decide how much money to put into their own private basket, and how much money to put into the group fund basket.*

*In this example, you placed 20 Ksh in the group basket and 40 Ksh in your private basket. Group member A contributed 40 Ksh to the group fund and put 20 Ksh in his or her own private basket. Group member B contributed all 60 Ksh to the group fund basket and kept no money in his or her own basket.*

*The group fund is 120 Ksh. This 120 Ksh placed in the group fund automatically doubles to 240 Ksh. The 240 Ksh from the group fund basket is equally among all the players, so that each player gets 80 Ksh from the group fund.*

**[A40]**

You contributed 20 Ksh to the group basket.

Group member A contributed 40 Ksh to the group basket.

Group member B contributed 60 Ksh to the group basket.

How much money would you receive from the group basket?

**[A41]**

You contributed 20 Ksh to the group basket.

Group member A contributed 40 Ksh to the group basket.

Group member B contributed 60 Ksh to the group basket.

How much money did you keep in the private basket?

**[A42]**

You contributed 20 Ksh to the group basket.

Group member A contributed 40 Ksh to the group basket.

Group member B contributed 60 Ksh to the group basket.

How much money would you receive in total?

### **3.8 Priming II**

**[A43]**

Now we would like you to answer some questions. Your payment will not be affected by any of your answers here.

**[A44]**

Priming questions

Treatment: N6, T4, T5

Control: N6, N7, N8

### **3.9 Public Goods Game**

**[A48]**

Economic Activity 2

*We will now do to the actual activity, where you can earn payouts. You are now in a group with 2 other people, who have been randomly selected from this workshop. Please press OK to continue. On your screen, you will see a picture from the demonstration video. [The picture is for ten seconds.] You and the other two members of the group each have 60 Ksh, and can decide how much to contribute to the group basket. The remaining amount will stay in your private basket, for you to take home. You will not know who they are, and they will not know who you are.*

**[A49]**

Each member of the group was allocated 60 Ksh.

Group Member A: How much do you think group member A will contribute to the group fund?

**[A50]**

Each member of the group was allocated 60 Ksh.

Group Member B: How much do you think group member B will contribute to the group fund?

**[A51]**

You have this amount in shillings: 60

How much do you want to contribute to the group fund?

**[A52]**

*Please answer the questions on the screen, while we prepare for the next activity.*

### **3.10 Priming III**

**[A53]**

Now we would like you to answer some questions. Your payment will not be affected by any of your answers here.

**[A54]**

Priming questions:

Treatment: T6, T7

Control: N9, N10

\*\*\*\*\*

**Start of identified sessions. All will have 2 rounds for each:**

- 1. Similar background profiles**
- 2. Different background profiles**

***PROFILES***

- [P1a] This participant was born in 1989, comes from near Gatanga and has schooling up until Form 4.
- [P1b] This participant is originally from near Gatanga, went to school up until Form 4 and was born in 1989.
- [P2a] This participant was born in 1984, comes from near Nyeri and has schooling up until Form 2.
- [P2b] This participant is originally from near Nyeri, went to school up until Form 2, and was born in 1984.
- [P3a] This participant was born in 1992, comes from near Murang'a and has schooling up until Form 4.
- [P3b] This participant is originally from near Murang'a, went to school up until Form 4 and was born in 1992.
- [P4a] This participant was born in 1969, comes from near Kiambu and has schooling up until Form 2.
- [P4b] This participant is originally from near Kiambu, went to school up until Form 2 and was born in 1969.
- [P5a] This participant was born in 1966, comes from near Nyeri and has schooling up until Form 2.
- [P5b] This participant is originally from near Nyeri, went to school up until Form 2 and was born in 1966.
- [P6a] This participant was born in 1989, comes from near Mwea and has schooling up until Form 4.
- [P6b] This participant is originally from near Mwea, went to school up until Form 4 and was born in 1989.
- [P7a] This participant was born in 1979, comes from near Kisumu and has schooling up until Form 2.
- [P7b] This participant is originally from near Kisumu, went to school up until Form 2 and was born in 1979.
- [P8a] This participant was born in 1990, comes from near Siaya and has schooling up until Form 4.
- [P8b] This participant is originally from near Siaya, went to school up until Form 4 and was born in 1990.
- [P9a] This participant was born in 1972, comes from near Kisumu and has schooling up until Form 4.
- [P9b] This participant is originally from near Kisumu, went to school up until Form 4 and was born in 1972.
- [P10a] This participant was born in 1990, comes from near Siaya and has schooling up until Form 4.
- [P10b] This participant is originally from near Siaya, went to school up until Form 4 and was born in 1990.
- [P11a] This participant was born in 1986, comes from near Nyakach and has schooling up until Form 4.
- [P11b] This participant is originally from Nyakach, went to school up until Form 4 and was born in 1986.
- [P12a] This participant was born in 1984, comes from near Homa Bay and has schooling up until Form 4.
- [P12b] This participant is originally from Homa Bay, went to school up until Form 4 and was born in 1984.

From now on, all the audiofiles will be named as *Screen Number*.

**Except** the audiofiles with identified participants, where the name is *NameOfActivity\_A\_ProfileNumber* or *NameOfActivity\_B\_ProfileNumber*

\*\*\*\*\*

**3.11 Priming IV**

**[I1]**

Now we would like you to answer some questions. Your payment will not be affected by any of your answers here.

**[I2]**

Priming questions:

Treatment: T8, N11

Control: N12, N11

### **3.12 ID Public Goods Game**

**[I41]**

Economic Activity 3

*This activity is similar to the previous activity where you earned money by making decisions in a group. You will still not know who the other group members are, and they will not know who you are. However, we will provide you with some additional background information about your group members. How much money you earn in this activity will depend both on your decision and on the decisions of the others in the group. You are in a group with 2 other participants who have been randomly selected by the computer.*

*Just to review the instructions for this activity:*

*You are in a group with 2 other people. Each of you receives 60 Ksh and must decide whether you want to place this money into your **private basket** or into your **group basket**. The rules of the private basket are simple: If you decide to put the money in your private basket, you will get to keep it. This money will be added to what you earn from the workshop.*

*The rules of the group basket are as before: All of the money that is put in the group basket will be added up and the researchers will add extra money to double the amount. This total amount will then be divided equally between the three of you in the group.*

**[I42]**

You have been placed in a group activity with two other individuals.

**[I43]**

Each member of the group was allocated 60 Ksh.

Randomly drawn profile of group member A.

How much do you believe group member A will contribute to the group basket?

|\_\_\_\_\_|

**Audiofiles:**

IDPG\_A\_P1a  
IDPG\_A\_P1b  
IDPG\_A\_P2a  
IDPG\_A\_P2b  
IDPG\_A\_P3a  
IDPG\_A\_P3b  
IDPG\_A\_P4a  
IDPG\_A\_P4b  
IDPG\_A\_P5a  
IDPG\_A\_P5b  
IDPG\_A\_P6a  
IDPG\_A\_P6b  
IDPG\_A\_P7a  
IDPG\_A\_P7b  
IDPG\_A\_P8a  
IDPG\_A\_P8b  
IDPG\_A\_P9a  
IDPG\_A\_P9b  
IDPG\_A\_P10a  
IDPG\_A\_P10b  
IDPG\_A\_P11a  
IDPG\_A\_P11b  
IDPG\_A\_P12a  
IDPG\_A\_P12b

**[I44]**

Each member of the group was allocated 60 Ksh.  
Randomly drawn profile of group member B.

How much do you believe group member B will contribute to the group basket?

|\_\_\_\_\_|

**Audiofiles:**

IDPG\_B\_P1a  
IDPG\_B\_P1b  
IDPG\_B\_P2a  
IDPG\_B\_P2b  
IDPG\_B\_P3a  
IDPG\_B\_P3b  
IDPG\_B\_P4a  
IDPG\_B\_P4b

IDPG\_B\_P5a  
IDPG\_B\_P5b  
IDPG\_B\_P6a  
IDPG\_B\_P6b  
IDPG\_B\_P7a  
IDPG\_B\_P7b  
IDPG\_B\_P8a  
IDPG\_B\_P8b  
IDPG\_B\_P9a  
IDPG\_B\_P9b  
IDPG\_B\_P10a  
IDPG\_B\_P10b  
IDPG\_B\_P11a  
IDPG\_B\_P11b  
IDPG\_B\_P12a  
IDPG\_B\_P12b

**[I45]**

You have this amount in shillings: 60

How much do you want to contribute to the group basket?

**[I46]**

Now a new group will be created, with 2 other individuals that have been randomly chosen.

**[I47]**

**2 more rounds, with randomly generated profiles.**

### **3.13 ID Choose Your Dictator**

**[I12]**

#### **Economic Activity 4: Part 1**

*In this exercise, you will be paired with another participant, randomly selected by the computer. This individual will receive 50 Ksh. He or she must then decide how much to give to you.*

*Your job is to choose the other participant. You can choose between two different people; we will provide you with some background information. If you decide that you cannot choose between them, you can let the computer randomly select one for you.*

*The person that you choose makes the decision about how much of the 50 Ksh he or she will keep and how much he or she will give to you. The other person that you have chosen will not know who you are, only the researchers will know that.*

*Do you understand? If not, please raise your hand.*

**[I13]**

Did you understand the instructions?

A. Yes

B. No

**[I14]**

Participant A was given 50 Ksh, and can decide how much to give you.

Randomly drawn profile of Participant A.

How much do you believe that he or she would give you?

***Audiofiles:***

*CD1\_A\_P1a*

*CD1\_A\_P1b*

*CD1\_A\_P2a*

*CD1\_A\_P2b*

*CD1\_A\_P3a*

*CD1\_A\_P3b*

*CD1\_A\_P4a*

*CD1\_A\_P4b*

*CD1\_A\_P5a*

*CD1\_A\_P5b*

*CD1\_A\_P6a*

*CD1\_A\_P6b*

*CD1\_A\_P7a*

*CD1\_A\_P7b*

*CD1\_A\_P8a*

*CD1\_A\_P8b*

*CD1\_A\_P9a*

*CD1\_A\_P9b*

*CD1\_A\_P10a*

*CD1\_A\_P10b*

*CD1\_A\_P11a*

*CD1\_A\_P11b*

*CD1\_A\_P12a*

*CD1\_A\_P12b*

**[I15]**

Participant B was given 50 Ksh, and can decide how much to give you.

Randomly drawn profile of Participant B.

How much do you believe that he or she would give you? \_\_\_\_\_

***Audiofiles:***

*CD1\_B\_P1a*  
*CD1\_B\_P1b*  
*CD1\_B\_P2a*  
*CD1\_B\_P2b*  
*CD1\_B\_P3a*  
*CD1\_B\_P3b*  
*CD1\_B\_P4a*  
*CD1\_B\_P4b*  
*CD1\_B\_P5a*  
*CD1\_B\_P5b*  
*CD1\_B\_P6a*  
*CD1\_B\_P6b*  
*CD1\_B\_P7a*  
*CD1\_B\_P7b*  
*CD1\_B\_P8a*  
*CD1\_B\_P8b*  
*CD1\_B\_P9a*  
*CD1\_B\_P9b*  
*CD1\_B\_P10a*  
*CD1\_B\_P10b*  
*CD1\_B\_P11a*  
*CD1\_B\_P11b*  
*CD1\_B\_P12a*  
*CD1\_B\_P12b*

**[I16]**

Of the last two participants described, which individual would you choose to decide how much of his or her 50 Ksh to give to you?

- A. Participant A
- B. Participant B
- C. Indifferent, let the computer randomly choose for me.

**[I17]**

Now, you can decide between another two participants, randomly selected for you by the computer.

**[I27]**

**Economic Activity 4: Part 2**

*The next exercise is exactly as the one above: your job is to choose the person who will control 50 Ksh and who can choose to share some of it with you. In the last exercise, the other person*

*did not know who you were. But now we will provide him or her with similar information to what you have.*

**[I28]**

Participant A was given 50 Ksh, and can decide how much to give you.

Randomly drawn profile of Participant A. He or she has similar information about you.

How much do you believe that he or she would give you? \_\_\_\_\_|

***Audiofiles:***

*CD2\_A\_P1a*

*CD2\_A\_P1b*

*CD2\_A\_P2a*

*CD2\_A\_P2b*

*CD2\_A\_P3a*

*CD2\_A\_P3b*

*CD2\_A\_P4a*

*CD2\_A\_P4b*

*CD2\_A\_P5a*

*CD2\_A\_P5b*

*CD2\_A\_P6a*

*CD2\_A\_P6b*

*CD2\_A\_P7a*

*CD2\_A\_P7b*

*CD2\_A\_P8a*

*CD2\_A\_P8b*

*CD2\_A\_P9a*

*CD2\_A\_P9b*

*CD2\_A\_P10a*

*CD2\_A\_P10b*

*CD2\_A\_P11a*

*CD2\_A\_P11b*

*CD2\_A\_P12a*

*CD2\_A\_P12b*

**[I29]**

Participant B was given 50 Ksh, and can decide how much to give you.

Randomly drawn profile of Participant B. He or she has similar information about you.

How much do you believe that he or she would give you? \_\_\_\_\_|

***Audiofiles:***

CD2\_B\_P1a  
CD2\_B\_P1b  
CD2\_B\_P2a  
CD2\_B\_P2b  
CD2\_B\_P3a  
CD2\_B\_P3b  
CD2\_B\_P4a  
CD2\_B\_P4b  
CD2\_B\_P5a  
CD2\_B\_P5b  
CD2\_B\_P6a  
CD2\_B\_P6b  
CD2\_B\_P7a  
CD2\_B\_P7b  
CD2\_B\_P8a  
CD2\_B\_P8b  
CD2\_B\_P9a  
CD2\_B\_P9b  
CD2\_B\_P10a  
CD2\_B\_P10b  
CD2\_B\_P11a  
CD2\_B\_P11b  
CD2\_B\_P12a  
CD2\_B\_P12b

**[I30]**

Of the last two participants described, which individual would you choose to decide how much of his or her 50 Ksh to give to you?

- A. Participant A
- B. Participant B
- C. Indifferent, let the computer randomly choose for me.

**[I31]**

Now, you can decide between another two participants, randomly selected for you by the computer.

### **3.14 ID Dictator Game**

**[I6]**

**Economic Activity 5**

**[I7]**

**Please listen to the instructions.**

*In this exercise you are paired with another participant. You will not know who you are paired with; only the researchers will know this. However, now you have some additional information about the individual receiving the money.*

*You will receive 50 Ksh. You will then be asked to divide the money between yourself and the other participant. Whatever decision you make will be implemented. You can choose to divide the 50 Ksh however you like. Whatever you do not give to the other person you get to keep.*

*Do you understand from these instructions? If not, please raise your hand. Remember, you can choose to divide the 50 Ksh exactly as you like. Let's begin the exercise. You are given 50 Ksh. How much would you like to give to the other person? Please type on the number pad on the screen:*

**[18]**

You have this amount in shillings: 50

Randomly drawn profile of Participant X.

How much money do you give away?

*AudioFiles:*

*IDD\_P1a*

*IDD\_P1b*

*IDD\_P2a*

*IDD\_P2b*

*IDD\_P3a*

*IDD\_P3b*

*IDD\_P4a*

*IDD\_P4b*

*IDD\_P5a*

*IDD\_P5b*

*IDD\_P6a*

*IDD\_P6b*

*IDD\_P7a*

*IDD\_P7b*

*IDD\_P8a*

*IDD\_P8b*

*IDD\_P9a*

*IDD\_P9b*

*IDD\_P10a*

*IDD\_P10b*

*IDD\_P11a*

*IDD\_P11b*

*IDD\_P12a*

*IDD\_P12b*

### 3.15 Payout Display Screen

[I75]

Final Payout

*This is the conclusion of the activities for which you can earn money. The concluding part of this session will not affect the money you have earned thus far in any way.*

[I76]

Final payout on screen, tallied by activity.

*These are your final payouts that will be transferred to your MPESA account later. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask.*

### 2.16 Political Preferences Survey

*In the concluding part of the workshop, we are interested in your opinion as a Kenyan. The money you have earned from the previous activities will not be affected in any way by the way you answer these questions. The information you provide will be kept strictly confidential and will only be used for research purposes. Your responses will not be linked to you personally in any way.*

*The questions will appear on the screen. They will also be read to you over the headphones.*

*To answer a question, press the button on the screen next to your selected response. Then press the green OK button. If you feel uncomfortable answering any of the questions, you can press the red X button at the bottom of the screen to skip that question. If you need a question to be repeated, you can press the yellow picture with the headphones on the screen and the question will be repeated. If you require any further assistance, please raise your hand.*

---

[surv1]

1. What is the most important attribute you look for in your presidential candidate?
  - A. Education
  - B. Past record of performance
  - C. Integrity
  - D. Will represent the interests of the poor
  - E. Will represent the interests of my home region
  - F. Credible campaign promises

[surv3]

2. Do you intend to vote in the next presidential election in 2013?

- A. Yes
- B. No
- C. Would like to vote, but no ID card
- D. Don't know

[surv4]

3. Which presidential candidate did you vote for in the 2007 election?
- A. Did not vote
  - B. Raila Odinga
  - C. Mwai Kibaki
  - D. Other \_\_\_\_\_
  - E. Don't know

[surv5]

4. If the national election were to be held tomorrow, which presidential candidate would you vote for?
- A. Peter Kenneth
  - B. Mutava Musyimi
  - C. Raila Odinga
  - D. Musalia Mudavadi
  - E. Uhuru Kenyatta
  - F. William Ruto
  - G. Raphael Tuju
  - H. Kalonzo Musyoka
  - I. Martha Karua
  - J. Not listed
  - K. Don't know

[surv6]

5. Given the circumstances, the violence in Kenya after the December 2007 presidential election was justified./*Kulingana na hali ilivyokuwa fujo zilizotokea nchini Kenya baada ya kura za urais za 2007 zilikuwa za haki. Probe: Je, unakubali / haukubali kabisa sana?*
- A. Strongly agree/Unakubali kabisa
  - B. Somewhat agree/Unakubali kidogo
  - C. Neither agree nor disagree/Unakubali wala haukubali
  - D. Somewhat disagree/Haukubali kidogo
  - E. Strongly disagree/Haukubali kabisa
  - F. Don't know

[surv7]

6. In the past month, have you received any of the following from a political candidate (please indicate each box that applies):
- T-shirts
  - Food

- Cash
- Alcohol
- Flyer
- Other: \_\_\_\_\_
- None
- Don't know

[surv8]

7. In the past month, how much cash did you receive at a campaign rally?
- A. None
  - B. Between 1-500 Ksh
  - C. Between 501-1000 Ksh
  - D. Between 1001-1500 Ksh
  - E. Between 1501-2000 Ksh
  - F. More than 2000 Ksh
  - G. Don't know

[surv9]

8. In the past month, how many campaign rallies have you been to? |\_\_|

[surv10]

9. Before coming to Busara, has anyone who participated in this study previously spoken with you about the activities here today?
- A. Yes
  - B. No

### 3.17 Conclusion

#### [Screen 1]

##### Conclusion

**You have now completed all activities for this workshop. You will receive your show-up fee, transport reimbursement, and total earnings as an MPESA transfer to the phone number you registered with later today. The total amount that you will receive is on your screen.**

#### [Screen 2]

This is how much you have earned:

**Recall that this workshop will be held over a 3-week period, with over 600 participants from across Nairobi. In the parts of the session with background profiles, you were paired with actual participants from previous sessions—their previous decisions determined your payouts from those games. The same will be done with the decisions that you made today. Thus, there is a possibility that you could receive additional earnings 3 weeks from now, depending upon the decisions of the other participants of this workshop.**

**We are finished with the session. We thank you very much for having participated and hope that you will come again if we invite you another time. Remember that the answers you gave are completely confidential and will not be shared with anyone outside the research team in individualized form. Since we are conducting similar workshops in the days to come, we would appreciate if you did not share the contents of this workshop with anybody, as some of these questions are potentially sensitive. We wish to keep the sessions confidential, so that individuals may feel comfortable to participate freely while they are here. If you have any questions about the workshop, please feel free to ask one of the assistants or to call the number on the flyers being passed out.**

**Some of you have been randomly selected to participate in a brief 5-minute exit interview before you leave. If your number is called, please remain seated. If your number is not called, you may pack up your things now and we will show you the way to the gate through the front door.**

**For those who are leaving, please give me your placecards, pens, and visitor passes. Thank you very much for your participation in this study!**