

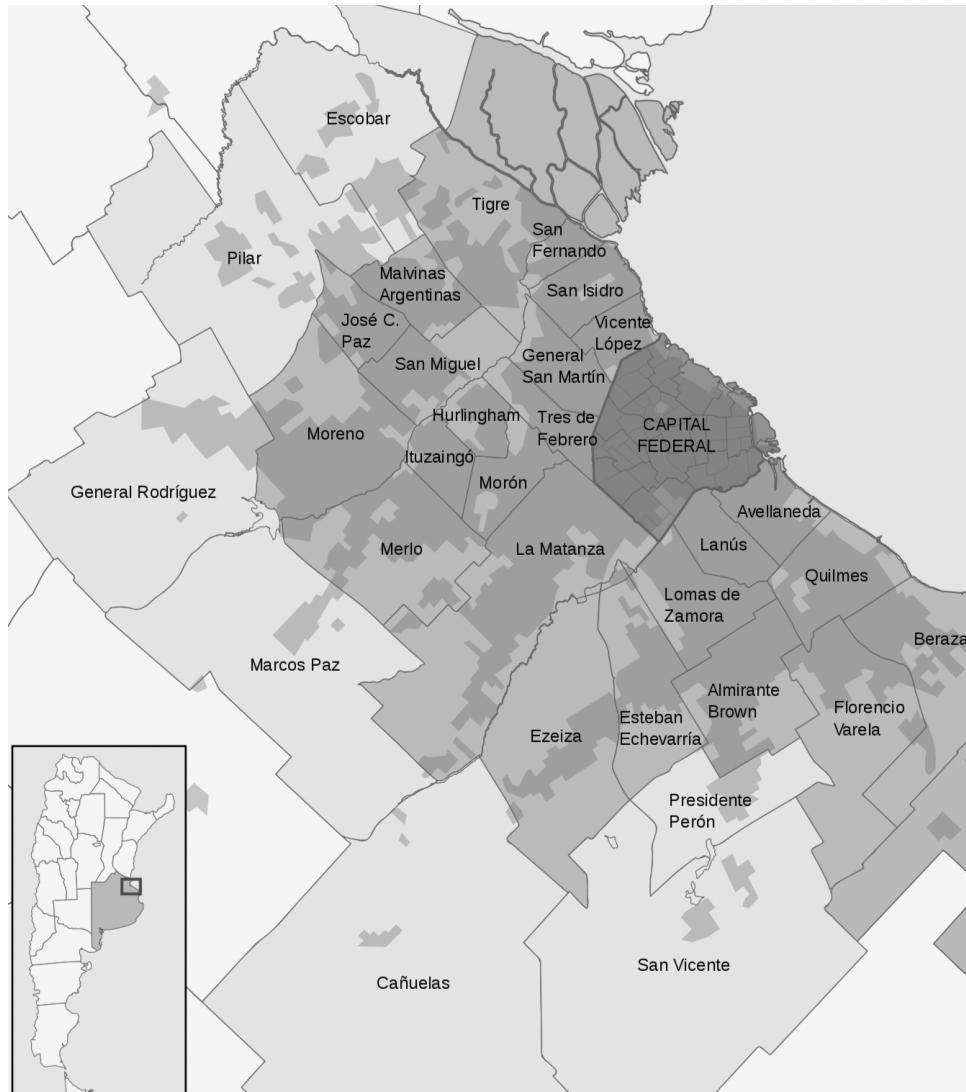
Online Appendix

The Most Vulnerable Poor

Clientelism among Slum Dwellers

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Figure A1: Map of Greater Buenos Aires



Note: *Capital Federal* (Federal District) is the older name of the City of Buenos Aires. Municipalities in darker grey are the 24 municipalities of *Gran Buenos Aires* (GBA). San Miguel can be seen to the northwestern of the City of Buenos Aires.

Source: Map constructed over original from Wikimedia Commons, available here: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mapa_de_la_Gran_Buenos_Aires.svg

Table A1: Demographic information of Greater Buenos Aires

	Population	Size (Km ²)	Population density (Pop/Km ²)	% urban	% of house- holds with NBI*	Average # of people per house
Total Argentina	40,117,096	3,745,997	10.7	91.0	9.1	
Total Buenos Aires province	15,625,084	307,571	50.8	97.2	8.1	
Total Greater Buenos Aires	9,916,715	3,680	2694.8	99.8	9.2	
24 Municipalities						
ALMIRANTE BROWN	552,902	129.3	4275.1	99.9	10.5	3.9
AVELLANEDA	342,677	52.5	6,529.7	100	5.8	3.3
BERAZATEGUI	324,244	221.0	1467.1	100	10.4	3.7
ESTEBAN ECHEVERRÍA	300,959	120.2	2503.4	99.9	10.8	3.9
EZEIZA	163,722	236.8	691.4	99.2	14.1	3.9
FLORENCIO VARELA	426,005	189.9	2243.3	100	17	4.1
GENERAL SAN MARTÍN	414,196	55.8	7429.5	100	6.7	3.4
HURLINGHAM	181,241	35.4	5115.5	100	6.9	3.6
ITUZAINGÓ	167,824	38.2	4388.7	100	4.9	3.4
JOSÉ C. PAZ	265,981	50.2	5302.7	100	12	4.0
LA MATANZA	1,775,816	329.22	5394.0	100	11.9	4.4
LANÚS	459,263	48.4	9,498.7	100	5	3.3
LOMAS DE ZAMORA	616,279	87.3	7,059.3	100	8.9	3.7
MALVINAS ARGENTINAS	322,375	63.1	5109.8	100	12.1	4.0
MERLO	528,494	173.13	3052.6	99.8	11.5	3.9
MORENO	452,505	186.1	2,431.1	100	12.9	4.0
MORÓN	321,109	55.7	5769.1	100	3.5	3.2
QUILMES	582,943	91.5	6,371.7	100	9.2	3.5
SAN FERNANDO	163,240	877.1	186.1	98.2	8.6	3.6
SAN ISIDRO	292,878	51.4	5693.6	100	3.7	3.2
SAN MIGUEL	276,190	82.8	3335.6	100	8.2	3.8
TIGRE	376,381	304.4	1236.7	98.5	11	3.8
TRES DE FEBRERO	340,071	43.0	7901.3	100	4.3	3.2
VICENTE LÓPEZ	269,420	33.8	7978.1	100	2.4	2.8

Source: INDEC (2013) Censo Nacional de Población, Hogares y Viviendas 2010. CEPAL/CELADE
Redatam+SP

Note: A household is considered to have unsatisfied basic needs (*NBI - Necesidades Básicas Insatisfechas*) if it meets at least one of the following characteristics: density of more than three persons per room (crowding), living in a precarious house (housing), not having an indoor flush toilet (sanitation), having a child between 6 and 12 years old who is not attending school (school attendance), or having more than four members per employed member and the head of the household having two or fewer years of elementary school (subsistence capacity). For reference, the richest municipality in the country is Vicente López (last row).

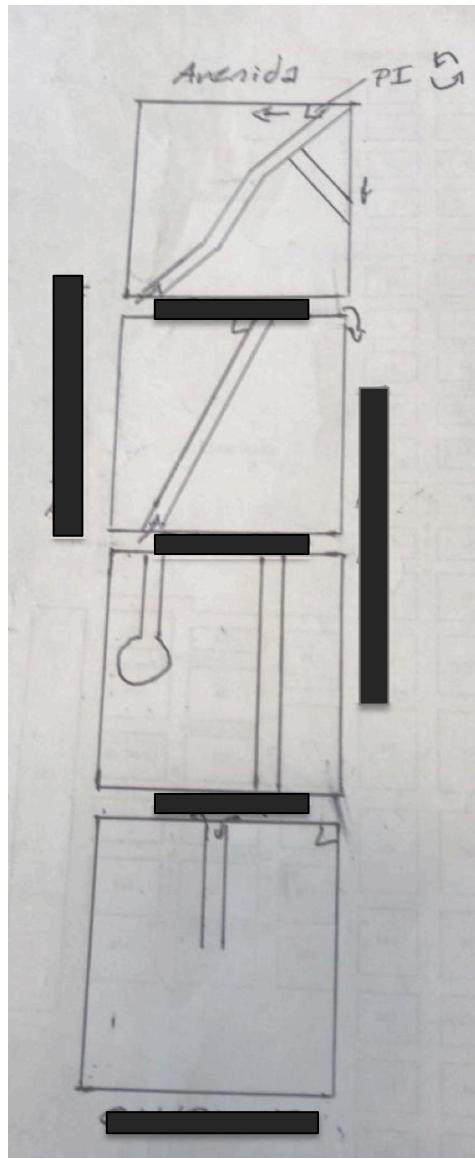
Table A2: Informal settlements in Argentina, compared to the slum we surveyed(Source: TECHO (2016). *Relevamiento de Asentamientos Informales 2016*.<https://www.techo.org/argentina/>)

	Argentina's informal settlements	Buenos Aires' informal settlements	Surveyed Slum
# of informal settlements	3,826	1,352 (35.3% of total settlements)	
estimated # of families living in informal settlements	787,808	397,905 (50.5% of total families living in settlements)	1,150
estimated # of people living in informal settlements	3,623,916 (9.3% of total population)	1,829,443 (around 10% of province population)	Around 15,000 (estimated by local NGO)
Land insecurity	In 79% of settlements, the majority have no legal property document	In 81.8% of settlements, the majority have no legal property document	No legal property documents
Pit latrines	In 73.3% of settlements	In 65.4% of settlements	Only pit latrines
No gas from public grids, propane tanks instead	In 88,2% of settlements	In 95,3% of settlements	No gas from public grid (propane tanks)
Sewerage	No sewerage in 73,7% of settlements	No sewerage in 64,7% of settlements	No sewerage
Running water from public grid	Only in 3,9% of settlements, the majority of households have running water	Only in 4,9% of settlements, the majority of households have running water	Around 40% of households have running water
Electricity from public grid with individual meter	In 70% of settlements, the majority of settlements do not have electricity with an individual meter (61,2% have illegal connections; 5,7% have legal connection to the public grid with no individual meter)	In 69,1% of settlements, the majority of settlements do not have electricity with an individual meter (62,6% have illegal connections; 6,3% have legal connection to the public grid with no individual meter)	Electricity from public grid, with no individual meter
Flooding every time there is heavy rain	In 64,7% of settlements	In 61,5% of settlements	Yes
Paved streets	No paved streets in 69,5% of settlements	No paved streets in 58,1% of settlements	Only 7% paved street (our survey)
Garbage Collection	61,8% of settlements have a garbage collection system that is in most cases insufficient and deficient	68,5% of settlements have a garbage collection system that is in most cases insufficient and deficient	Yes, but deficient and does not reach all households
Open garage dumps	12,9% of settlements have an open dump	7,8% of settlements have an open dump	Yes, there is one open dump

Slum Survey

The slum survey was conducted between December 1 2015 and January 3 2016 by a team of seven local enumerators recruited, trained, and supervised by the authors. All of the enumerators were familiar with the slum and its residents since they were affiliated with a non-profit organization that has been providing social services in the community since 1999. The ONG has 15 employees and 20 years of experience doing social work with the poor in slums in the province of Buenos Aires. All our enumerators were affiliated with this ONG and all of them live either in the slum or very close by. To conduct the survey, we took advantage of maps that were drawn by this NGO. These maps included all the streets and alleys in the slum and the number of houses on each block. Our enumerators were randomly assigned a starting point in the slum and were instructed to conduct interviews in every other household. Figure A2 shows one of these maps as an example.

Figure A2: One of the handmade maps used for the survey



The response rate was 72 percent. The survey was preceded by a pilot administered in November 28, 2010. In the pilot, each of the seven enumerators conducted five surveys. The goal was to test the survey instrument (particularly the list and survey experiments) and elicit feedback from interviewers and respondents about question wording and clarity. For the purpose of survey verification, we randomly selected 10 percent of the questionnaires (43 in total), and we contacted the interviewees again. Of the 43 respondents, we failed to contact six of them. Of

those six, two of them had moved out of the slum (according to their neighbors). The “control survey” consisted on five basic questions that we then matched with the original survey responses. We found high levels of consistency across responses (only around 10% of answers did not match).

Table A3: APES 2015 sample representativeness and comparison with slum survey

Characteristic	2010 Census	APES 2015		
		Unweighted Distribution	Weighted Distribution	Slum
Age				
18-25	20%	20%	18%	25%
26-40	32%	30%	35%	36%
41-64	34%	37%	35%	32%
65 and over	14%	12%	11%	7%
Education				
None	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%	2.4%
Incomplete Primary	13%	7%	5%	10%
Primary Completed	26%	24%	18%	18%
Incomplete Secondary	20%	21%	15%	38%
Secondary Completed	20%	31%	30%	24%
Post-Secondary Trade/ Vocational	6%	6%	15%	5%
University Incomplete	8%	7%	6%	3%
University Degree	7%	3%	9%	0.7%
Gender				
Male	49%	45%	47%	38%
Female	51%	55%	53%	62%

Note: APES 2015 weighted sample includes weights for sex, age, and level of education.

Table A4: Eight Treatment Categories (Slum Survey)

	Susana		Pedro		Total N
	Get	Promise	Get	Promise	
Not voting	50	46	46	52	194
Voting for another candidate	57	57	47	46	207
Total N	107	103	93	98	401

Note: Each cell shows the numbers of respondents that were exposed to each of the eight treatment conditions

Table A5: Balance on pre-treatment covariates (Slum Survey)

	Susana	Pedro	Diff				Not voting	Voting for other	Diff
	Deliver	Promise		Diff					
Age	37.85 (0.97)	38.82 (1.13)	0.98 (1.49)	38 (1.14)	38.61 (0.96)	-0.61 (1.49)	39.59 (1.07)	37 (1.02)	2.58 (1.48)
	N=220	N=200		N=204	N=216		N=213	N=207	
Female	0.63 (0.03)	0.60 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.61 (0.04)	0.63 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.62 (0.03)	0.62 (0.03)	0 (0.05)
	N=211	N=192		N=195	N=208		N=199	N=204	

Table A6: Eight Treatment Categories (APES 2015)

	Susana		Pedro		Total N
	Get	Promise	Get	Promise	
Not voting	54	158	258	183	653
Voting for another candidate	132	80	129	155	496
Total N	186	238	387	338	1149

Note: Each cell shows the numbers of respondents that were exposed to each of the eight treatment conditions. Note that the balance across some of the conditions is not perfect. Particularly, the randomization of gender seems problematic. Unfortunately, this was caused by a programming mistake on the implementation of the survey. Table A5, however, shows that balance on pre-treatment characteristics across groups was still achieved.

Table A7: Balance on pre-treatment covariates (APES 2015)

	Susana (N=424)	Pedro (N=725)	Diff	Deliver (N=573)	Promise (N=576)	Diff	Not voting (N=653)	Voting for other (N=496)	Diff
Age	42.2 (0.80)	42.5 (0.65)	0.35 (1.04)	41.9 (0.69)	42.9 (0.73)	-1.04 (1.01)	41.8 (0.67)	43.2 (0.77)	-1.34 (1.02)
Female	0.53 (0.25)	0.53 (0.02)	0 (0.31)	0.53 (0.02)	0.53 (0.02)	0 (0.03)	0.56 (0.02)	0.50 (0.02)	0.06 (0.03)
Relative Wealth	3.02 (0.07)	3.01 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.09)	3.08 (0.06)	2.95 (0.06)	0.13 (0.09)	2.98 (0.06)	3.07 (0.06)	-0.10 (0.09)

Note: Means (with standard errors in parentheses) for pre-treatment covariates across groups. Age is measured in years; Female takes the value of one for female respondents, and zero otherwise; Relative wealth is measured in quintiles of a factored index constructed from a series of questions about household assets, taking values from 1 to 5 from poorer to richer. Although the number of respondents in each group is not equivalent, there is balance on pre-treatment characteristics across groups. None of the differences in means achieve statistical significance.

Table A8: Distribution of responses for the list experiment, across treatment and control

SLUM				APES 2015 (WAVE 1)				APES 2015 (WAVE 2)				
	Control	Treatment		Control	Treatment		Control	Treatment		Control	Treatment	
0	2	1%	4	2%	36	7%	37	6%	25	4%	16	2%
1	13	6%	7	3%	94	17%	83	14%	56	9%	59	8%
2	45	22%	28	13%	202	37%	215	36%	210	33%	232	33%
3	141	69%	112	52%	204	37%	227	38%	286	45%	319	45%
4	2	1%	64	29%	13	2%	23	4%	54	9%	37	5%
5			2	1%			5	1%			43	6%
Estimate												
		0.43***			0.11*				0.15**			
N	203		217		549		590		631		706	

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

Table A9: Covariates included in the matching

Variable	Question	Categories
Age	Could you tell me your age?	+18, in years
Female	Register by enumerators	(1) female, (0) male
Education (0-5)	What's the highest level of school you have completed?	(0) No formal education or incomplete primary, (1) Complete primary, (2) Incomplete secondary, (3) Complete secondary, (4) Incomplete tertiary or university, (5) Complete tertiary or university
Married	What's your civil status?	(1) Married, (0) otherwise
# of people	How many people in total live in your home right now?	1-13
# of children	And how many under the age of 18?	0-8
Employed	Could you tell me how many of the following objects do you have at home?	(1) Employed, (0) otherwise
Material Wealth	Freezer	
	Cellular phone	(1) Yes, (0) No
	Washing machine	
	Computer	
	Flat screen TV	
Peronist father	When you were younger, did your father identify with some political party? Which party?	(1) Peronist father, (0) otherwise
AUH	Are you or is someone in your household a beneficiary of the <i>Asignación Universal por Hijo</i> ?	(1) Yes, (0) No
Moratoria	Did you or anyone in your household benefit from the <i>moratoria previsional</i> ?	(1) Yes, (0) No
<i>List experiment treatment</i>		(1) Treatment, (0) Control
<i>Survey experiment treatment</i>		(1) Treatment, (0) Control

Table A10: The effect of living in a slum on reporting clientelism, regression results

	Self-reported clientelism			Witnessed clientelism		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Living in the slum	0.06** (0.03)	0.06** (0.03)	0.06** (0.03)	0.21*** (0.04)	0.21*** (0.05)	0.21*** (0.05)
Age		(0.00)	(0.00)		(0.00)	(0.00)
Female		0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)		-0.02 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)
Freezer		-0.08** (0.04)	-0.08** (0.04)		0.03 (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)
Cellular phone		-0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)		0.05 (0.09)	0.05 (0.09)
Washing machine		0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)		-0.01 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.07)
Computer		-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)		-0.03 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)
Flat screen TV		-0.05* (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)		-0.04 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.05)
		0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)		-0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)
Education		(0.01)	(0.01)		(0.02)	(0.02)
Married		-0.04 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)		0.02 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)
		0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)		0.04 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
# of kids		(0.02)	(0.02)		(0.03)	(0.03)
# of people		-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)		-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Employed		-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)		-0.03 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)
Peronist father			-0.02 (0.04)			-0.07 (0.08)
AUH			0.06* (0.03)			0.04 (0.05)
Moratoria			-0.05 (0.05)			0.03 (0.10)
Constant	0.06*** (0.02)	0.04 (0.09)	0.03 (0.10)	0.30*** (0.03)	0.46*** (0.16)	0.49*** (0.18)
Observations	468	468	468	468	468	468
R-squared	0.01	0.06	0.07	0.05	0.06	0.06

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

Question wording (English and Spanish)

Self-reported clientelism

During this year, have you received any material benefit—like clothes or food—or personal favor from a political broker?

Durante este año, ¿recibió usted alguna ayuda material—como ropa o comida—o favor personal de algún referente político?

Witnessed clientelism

During this year, have neighbors from your neighborhood received any material benefit—like clothes or food—or personal favor from a political broker?

Durante este año, ¿hubo vecinos en su barrio que recibieron alguna ayuda material—como ropa o comida—o favor personal de algún referente político?

List experiment

Now I am going to show you a list where various activities related to politics are listed. I would like for you to tell me HOW MANY of those have you done this year. Do not tell me which ones, only HOW MANY.

- Saw campaign posters
- Talk about politics with someone
- **Received any material benefit—like clothes or food—or personal favor from a political broker**
- Saw campaign adds on TV and radio
- Was a candidate for political office

Ahora le voy a mostrar una lista donde figuran varias actividades relacionadas con la política. Quisiera que me diga CUANTAS de ellas fueron realizadas por usted en este año. No me diga cuáles, sino CUANTAS.

- *Vio carteles de campaña en su barrio*
- *Habló de política con alguien*
- ***Recibió alguna ayuda material – como ropa o comida – o favor personal de algún referente político***
- *Vio publicidad de campaña por TV y radio*
- *Fue candidato a algún cargo público*

Survey experiment

Now imagine that another political broker named [Pedro/Susana] [delivers/promises] a government sponsored temporary job (*plan de empleo*) to a resident of the neighborhood and asks

him/her to vote for the broker's candidate in the next election. The resident accepts the job but on Election Day he/she decides [**not to vote/to vote for another candidate**]. How likely are you to believe that the voter would face any problems [**for not turning out to vote/ for not voting for [Pedro/Susana]'s candidate**]? Very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or not at all likely?

*Ahora imagínese que [otro/otra] referente político de nombre [Pedro /Susana] le [consigue / promete] a un vecino del barrio un plan de empleo y le pide que vote por su candidato en las próximas elecciones. El vecino acepta el plan de empleo pero el día de la elección [**decide no ir a votar /decide votar por otro candidato**. ¿Cuan probable le parece que es que el vecino tenga algún problema [**por no haber ido a votar /por no haber votado por el candidato de [Pedro / Susana]**]? ¿Muy probable, algo probable, poco probable, o nada probable?*