Skeletons Under the Altar: Authoritarian Stereotypes and Voting for Evangelicals in Latin America

Appendix

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1 Representativeness

In Chile, the online sample analyzed in this paper consists of two distinct subsamples. The main recruiting advertisement was shown to Facebook users throughout Chile. An identical advertisement was shown more frequently in districts with evangelical candidates for Congress, in order to gain a sufficiently large subsample to compare treatment effects on vote intention for a fictional and a real candidate. Respondents recruited via each of these advertisements can be thought of as a national sample and a geographically-specific oversample, respectively, albeit with the caveat that both constitute samples of convenience. As shown below, treatment effects do not differ significantly for real versus fictional candidates, but to maintain comparability, I exclude the "real candidate" observations.

I present representativeness statistics for two distinct groups—the subsample recruited with the untargeted advertisement, including the handful of respondents asked about real candidates, and the sample used in the analysis, which pools both subsamples but excludes respondents from either one who were asked about real candidates. Table 1 compares the sample to Chile's 2012 census, while Table 2 compares it to the nationally-representative 2012 AmericasBarometer survey. Targeting succeeded in increasing the share of respondents from certain *comunas* in the Valparaíso and Biobío regions but had very little effect on other variables.

For Brazil, Table 3 compares the sample to the 2010 census, while Table 4 compares it to the nationally-representative 2014 AmericasBarometer survey.

2 Covariate Balance

Random assignment resulted in similar treatment and control groups. Tables 5, 6, 7, and 8 present a series of balance statistics: mean values of each covariate in the treatment and control groups; the mean difference divided by the pooled standard deviation (ideally 0); the ratio of treatment to control group variance (ideally 1); and the p-values associated with a difference-in-means t-test and a bootstrapped Kolmogorov-Smirnov (KS) test for equality of distributions (the latter for

continuous covariates only).

For Chile, to eliminate categories with small numbers of observations, I group regions to the north of the Santiago metropolitan area and those to the south, and I include a single indicator for identifying with any party rather than checking balance on each one. Region, comuna, ideology, campaign interest, and age were asked pre-treatment; religion, partisanship, education, and gender were asked post-treatment.

For Brazil, region, municipality, religion, ideology, campaign interest, and age were asked pre-treatment; partisanship, education, and gender were asked post-treatment.

3 Treatment Effects by Screener Passage

Each survey survey included two "screener" questions to check whether respondents were paying attention. Screener passage results in Brazil will be addressed in a future version of the Appendix.

For Chile, as shown in Tables 9, 10, and 11, treatment effects rarely differ significantly for those passing one or both screeners versus those who passed none. The one instance in which screener passage does make a difference can be seen in Table 10, which reports the effect of mentioning that a candidate is evangelical, conditional on having primed evangelicals' support for Pinochet. Among evangelical respondents, this effect is large and highly significant for those passing no screeners, but smaller and insignificant for those passing one or both screeners. Hence, for evangelicals paying close attention to the survey—and, presumably, to potentially negative stereotypes about their religious group—the identity voting effect is attenuated.

4 Chile: Real versus Fictional Candidate Effects

Through a combination of Internet searches and snowball sampling using Facebook,[1] I identified five evangelical candidates for deputy in Chile's 2013 election, as listed in Table 12. Half of the respondents from these candidates' districts were randomly assigned to receive a "real candidate" version of the vote intention question, with that candidate's name, coalition, and biographical details substituted for those of the fictional Alejandro Pérez. As shown in Table 13, "real candidate" treatment effects are not significantly different from those in which respondents from the same districts were asked about a fictional candidate. Unfortunately, the small number of observations from these districts precludes testing for heterogeneous effects within the evangelical, right-wing non-evangelical, or center-left non-evangelical subsamples.

5 Chile: Main Results in Tabular Form

The effects of Pinochet stereotypes and candidate evangelicalism on vote intention are summarized in graphical form in the main text; they are presented in tabular form in Tables 14, 15, and 16.

6 Chile: Treatment Interaction with 10-Point Ideology Scale

I hypothesize that the effect of priming evangelicals' Pinochet connection on vote intention for an evangelical candidate will be different for non-evangelical voters on the right versus those on the center-left. In the main text, I test this hypothesis by examining effects among subgroups of voters defined by ideological self-placement: positions 7–10 are classified as right-wing and 1–6 as center-left. This approach has the advantage of not assuming a linear functional form for the interaction between ideology and Pinochet stereotypes. However, it has the disadvantage that the chosen cut point between the right-wing and center-left categories might be considered somewhat

[1] I contacted evangelical candidates through Facebook, identified myself as a researcher, and asked what other evangelical candidates they were aware of. I also inspected the pages of other politicians that evangelical candidates "liked."

arbitrary.

In Table 17 and Figure 1, I show that similar results are obtained when interacting the treatment indicator with the 10-point ideology scale. At scores of 6 and higher, conditional effects are positive and significant at the 0.05 level; elsewhere they are insignificant.

Table 1: Chile: Online Sample vs. 2012 Census

	Sample (Used)	Sample (Untargeted)	Census
Comuna			
Median Population	151,520	152,985	130,808
Region			
Tarapacá	1.2	1.8	1.7
Antofagasta	2.2	2.7	3.2
Atacama	1.9	2.1	1.7
Coquimbo	3.1	3.7	4.2
Araucanía	5.1	5.2	5.4
Metropolitana	36.8	43.1	40.6
Valparaíso	15.9	9.9	10.6
O'Higgins	3.1	4.2	5.2
Maule	4.8	5.7	5.8
Biobío	16.4	11.9	11.9
Los Lagos	4.2	3.7	4.7
Aysén	0.3	0.1	0.6
Magallanes y Antártica	1.5	1.3	1
Los Ríos	2.4	2.9	2.2
Arica y Parinacota	1.3	1.6	1.3
Religion			
Catholic	41.2	41.7	67.4
Evangelical	14.8	14.3	16.6
Other	4.7	4.2	4.4
None	39.4	39.8	11.6
Education			
None	0.2	0.3	2.5
Primary	1.4	1.4	25.2
Secondary	31.1	31.7	44.2
Technical	13.8	14.1	8.9
University	51.2	50.8	17.7
Postgraduate	2.3	1.8	1.5
Other			
Median Age	21	20	42
Male	50.4	51.4	47.9

Individual census figures are for residents 15 and older (religion and education) or 18 and older (other variables). Comuna figures are those associated with the median individual. Non-median figures are percentages. Education is the highest level started or completed. The sample used in the analysis includes an oversample of voters in some comunas, as explained in the text.

Table 2: Chile: Online Sample vs. 2012 AmericasBarometer

	Sample (Used)	Sample (Untargeted)	Americas Barometer
Church Attendance			
1+ Times/Week	10.6	10.4	8.3
1 Time/Week	10.7	10.4	13.1
1 Time/Month	10.7	10.9	21.7
1–2 Times/Year	20.4	20.5	22.8
Never/Almost Never	47.6	47.7	34.1
Party ID			
None	78.9	78.8	82.9
PS	1.5	1.3	3.5
PPD	1.1	1.3	1.9
PDC	1.2	1.3	2.4
RN	4.9	4.8	2.4
UDI	3.6	3.8	1.8
PC	1.9	1.8	2.3
Other	6.6	6.6	1.3
Ideology			
Left (1–4)	29.1	27.8	33
Center (5–6)	44.5	44.8	41
Right (7–10)	26.4	27.4	25.9

All figures expressed as percentages of registered voters. The sample used in the analysis includes an oversample of voters in some comunas, as explained in the text.

Table 3: Brazil Online Sample vs. 2010 Census

	Online Sample	Census
Municipality		
Median Population	173,149	154,472
Region		
Center-West	7.1	7.3
Northeast	23.9	26.6
North	5	7.4
Southeast	43.3	43.8
South	20.7	14.9
Religion		
Catholic	47.6	65.8
Evangelical	27.6	21
Other	12.2	5.3
No Organized Religion	10.9	7.4
Atheist/Agnostic	1.7	0.4
Race		
White	51.3	49.2
Black	9.1	8.2
Brown	36.2	41
Asian	2.2	1.2
Indigenous	1.2	0.4
Education		
Less than Primary	6.7	45.3
Primary	15.5	16.7
Secondary	51.8	28
Higher	26	10
Other		
Median Age	34	38
Male	42.1	48.2

Individual census figures are for residents 18 and older. Municipality figures are those associated with the median individual. Non-median figures are percentages. Education is the highest level completed.

Table 4: Brazil Online Sample vs. 2014 Americas-Barometer

	Sample	AmericasBarometer
Church Attendance		
1+ Times/Week	25.2	23.9
1 Time/Week	27.6	21.6
1 Time/Month	14.3	19.4
1–2 Times/Year	14.5	15.3
Never/Almost Never	18.4	19.8
Party ID		
None	57.8	76.3
PT	11.6	12.5
PSDB	5	2.6
PMDB	6.5	4
Other	14.8	4
Ideology		
Left (1–4)	35.3	34.5
Center (5–6)	35.3	30.9
Right (7–10)	29.4	34.6

All figures expressed as percentages of registered voters, ages 18 and older. Church attendence is from 2012 AmericasBarometer.

Table 5: Chile: Covariate Balance for Authoritarian Treatment

	Treated	Control	Std. Diff.	Var. Rat.	t-test	KS-test
Comuna						
Log Population	11.67	11.75	−0.07	1.06	0.29	0.16
Region						
North	0.25	0.25	−0.01	0.98	0.84	
Santiago	0.38	0.37	0.03	1.02	0.63	
South	0.37	0.38	−0.02	0.99	0.76	
Religion						
Catholic	0.38	0.43	−0.10	0.96	0.16	
Evangelical	0.17	0.14	0.08	1.17	0.26	
Other	0.05	0.04	0.04	1.19	0.56	
None	0.40	0.39	0.03	1.01	0.65	
Politics						
Partisan	0.21	0.20	0.02	1.03	0.80	
Ideology (1–10)	5.40	5.29	0.05	1.20	0.49	0.55
Campaign Interest (1–7)	4.36	4.49	−0.07	1.03	0.32	0.30
Demographics						
Age	23.02	24.08	−0.11	0.69	0.09	0.05
Education (1–10)	6.88	6.88	0.00	0.97	1.00	0.57
Male	0.54	0.48	0.11	1.00	0.12	

NOTE: 'Treated' and 'Control' give mean values; 'Std. Diff.' is their difference divided by the pooled standard deviation. 'Var. Rat.' is the ratio of treatment to control group variance. 't-test' and 'KS-test' give two-sided p-values (bootstrapped for KS).

Table 6: Chile: Covariate Balance for Evangelical Treatment

	Treated	Control	Std. Diff.	Var. Rat.	t-test	KS-test
Comuna						
Log Population	11.70	11.72	−0.02	0.94	0.82	0.86
Region						
North	0.25	0.25	−0.02	0.98	0.78	
Santiago	0.35	0.40	−0.09	0.95	0.17	
South	0.40	0.35	0.11	1.06	0.11	
Religion						
Catholic	0.37	0.43	−0.13	0.95	0.05	
Evangelical	0.17	0.13	0.10	1.22	0.14	
Other	0.05	0.05	−0.01	0.95	0.86	
None	0.41	0.38	0.06	1.03	0.36	
Politics						
Partisan	0.21	0.20	0.02	1.03	0.79	
Ideology (1–10)	5.32	5.32	0.00	1.13	0.96	0.80
Campaign Interest (1–7)	4.56	4.29	0.14	0.93	0.04	0.12
Demographics						
Age	23.40	23.58	−0.02	0.97	0.78	0.46
Education (1–10)	6.87	6.88	0.00	0.99	0.95	0.98
Male	0.48	0.54	−0.12	1.00	0.09	

NOTE: 'Treated' and 'Control' give mean values; 'Std. Diff.' is their difference divided by the pooled standard deviation. 'Var. Rat.' is the ratio of treatment to control group variance. 't-test' and 'KS-test' give two-sided p-values (bootstrapped for KS).

Table 7: Brazil: Covariate Balance for Authoritarian Treatment

	Treated	Control	Std. Diff.	Var. Rat.	t-test	KS-test
Municipality						
Log Population	12.22	11.97	0.12	1.06	0.09	0.23
Latitude	−18.45	−18.90	0.06	0.98	0.43	0.90
Longitude	−46.02	−45.87	−0.03	1.18	0.72	0.85
Region						
North	0.04	0.05	−0.05	0.82	0.52	
Northeast	0.26	0.24	0.05	1.06	0.50	
Center-West	0.07	0.06	0.02	1.06	0.81	
South	0.21	0.22	−0.02	0.97	0.76	
Southeast	0.42	0.42	−0.01	1.00	0.86	
Religion						
Catholic	0.48	0.46	0.03	1.00	0.65	
Evangelical	0.28	0.26	0.05	1.05	0.47	
Other	0.13	0.13	0.00	1.00	0.98	
No Organized Religion	0.09	0.12	−0.11	0.75	0.09	
Church Attendence (1–5)	3.27	3.26	0.00	1.06	0.96	0.91
Race						
White	0.53	0.51	0.05	1.00	0.52	
Black	0.09	0.09	0.03	1.09	0.67	
Brown	0.34	0.37	−0.06	0.96	0.39	
Politics						
No Party ID	0.58	0.57	0.02	1.00	0.83	
PT	0.10	0.10	0.00	1.01	0.96	
PSDB	0.05	0.06	−0.03	0.88	0.66	
PMDB	0.06	0.08	−0.09	0.74	0.20	
Other Party ID	0.17	0.14	0.08	1.16	0.26	
Ideology (1–10)	4.99	5.48	−0.17	0.87	0.01	0.03
Campaign Interest (1–7)	4.18	4.00	0.08	0.88	0.25	0.07
Demographics						
Age	35.69	37.08	−0.09	1.11	0.18	0.02
Education (1–10)	6.12	6.30	−0.08	0.96	0.29	0.20
Male	0.43	0.42	0.01	1.00	0.87	

NOTE: 'Treated' and 'Control' give mean values; 'Std. Diff.' is their difference divided by the pooled standard deviation. 'Var. Rat.' is the ratio of treatment to control group variance. 't-test' and 'KS-test' give two-sided p-values (bootstrapped for KS).

Table 8: Brazil: Covariate Balance for Evangelical Treatment

	Treated	Control	Std. Diff.	Var. Rat.	t-test	KS-test
Municipality						
Log Population	12.11	12.08	0.01	0.93	0.82	0.87
Latitude	−18.09	−19.10	0.13	1.14	0.03	0.08
Longitude	−45.69	−46.24	0.09	1.08	0.11	0.13
Region						
North	0.05	0.05	−0.02	0.92	0.73	
Northeast	0.28	0.20	0.17	1.23	0.00	
Center-West	0.07	0.07	0.00	0.99	0.96	
South	0.21	0.21	0.00	1.00	0.98	
Southeast	0.40	0.47	−0.13	0.96	0.02	
Religion						
Catholic	0.49	0.46	0.05	1.00	0.40	
Evangelical	0.25	0.29	−0.10	0.90	0.08	
Other	0.14	0.12	0.06	1.14	0.30	
No Organized Religion	0.11	0.11	0.00	0.99	0.96	
Church Attendence (1–5)	3.23	3.25	−0.01	0.95	0.79	0.83
Race						
White	0.48	0.54	−0.11	1.01	0.05	
Black	0.10	0.08	0.05	1.14	0.43	
Brown	0.38	0.34	0.08	1.05	0.15	
Politics						
No Party ID	0.57	0.58	−0.02	1.01	0.72	
PT	0.12	0.11	0.04	1.09	0.53	
PSDB	0.05	0.05	0.03	1.15	0.56	
PMDB	0.06	0.07	−0.04	0.88	0.53	
Other Party ID	0.15	0.15	0.02	1.03	0.79	
Ideology (1–10)	5.22	5.23	0.00	1.09	0.95	0.81
Campaign Interest (1–7)	4.03	4.07	−0.02	0.97	0.71	0.34
Demographics						
Age	36.28	36.65	−0.02	0.98	0.66	0.58
Education (1–10)	6.09	6.34	−0.11	1.01	0.06	0.14
Male	0.44	0.40	0.07	1.02	0.25	

NOTE: 'Treated' and 'Control' give mean values; 'Std. Diff.' is their difference divided by the pooled standard deviation. 'Var. Rat.' is the ratio of treatment to control group variance. 't-test' and 'KS-test' give two-sided p-values (bootstrapped for KS).

Table 9: Effect of Pinochet Stereotypes on Vote Intention for an Evangelical Candidate, by Screener Passage

	Subgroup		
	Right-Wing Non-Evangelicals	Center-Left Non-Evangelicals	Evangelicals
Intercept	3.58	3.59	5.13
	(0.56)	(0.29)	(0.71)
Pinochet Prime	0.69	-0.25	0.43
	(0.81)	(0.4)	(0.97)
1 Screener	-0.33	-0.59	-0.29
	(0.79)	(0.4)	(0.91)
2 Screeners	-0.86	-0.89	-0.21
	(0.7)	(0.37)	(0.91)
Pinochet $\times$ 1 Screener	0.39	-0.18	-0.71
	(1.27)	(0.57)	(1.31)
Pinochet $\times$ 2 Screeners	0.85	0.49	-1.01
	(1.01)	(0.51)	(1.24)
N	82	272	65

NOTE: Entries are OLS regression coefficients with estimated standard errors in parentheses.

Table 10: Effect of Candidate Evangelicalism on Vote Intention When Pinochet Stereotypes Are Primed, by Screener Passage

	Subgroup		
	Right-Wing Non-Evangelicals	Center-Left Non-Evangelicals	Evangelicals
Intercept	4	3.7	1.87
	(0.65)	(0.25)	(0.64)
Evangelical Candidate	0.27	-0.36	3.68
	(0.88)	(0.37)	(0.88)
1 Screener	-0.45	-0.75	1.83
	(0.88)	(0.35)	(0.86)
2 Screeners	-0.12	-0.87	1.13
	(0.76)	(0.32)	(0.88)
Evang. Cand. $\times$ 1 Screener	0.52	-0.02	-2.83
	(1.33)	(0.54)	(1.21)
Evang. Cand. $\times$ 2 Screeners	0.11	0.48	-2.35
	(1.06)	(0.47)	(1.16)
N	82	297	60

NOTE: Entries are OLS regression coefficients with estimated standard errors in parentheses.

Table 11: Effect of Candidate Evangelicalism on Vote Intention When Pinochet Stereotypes Are Not Primed, by Screener Passage

	Subgroup		
	Right-Wing Non-Evangelicals	Center-Left Non-Evangelicals	Evangelicals
Intercept	4.22	3.48	2.8
	(0.45)	(0.26)	(0.57)
Evangelical Candidate	-0.64	0.11	2.32
	(0.71)	(0.39)	(0.85)
1 Screener	-1.14	-0.78	0.37
	(0.71)	(0.4)	(0.93)
2 Screeners	-0.59	-0.85	0.7
	(0.62)	(0.33)	(0.73)
Evang. Cand. $\times$ 1 Screener	0.81	0.19	-0.66
	(1.05)	(0.56)	(1.24)
Evang. Cand. $\times$ 2 Screeners	-0.27	-0.04	-0.91
	(0.92)	(0.48)	(1.1)
N	95	272	64

NOTE: Entries are OLS regression coefficients with estimated standard errors in parentheses.

Table 12: Evangelical Candidates for Deputy, Chile 2013

Name	Party	Pact	District	Votes
Francesca Muñoz	RN	Alianza por Chile	44 (Concepción)	9.34%
Jaime Barrientos	UDI	Alianza por Chile	13 (Valparaíso)	11.56%
Viviana Betancourt	PS	Nueva Mayoría	59 (Aisén)	20.91%
José Aburto	PRI	PRI	57 (Puerto Montt)	7.27%
Susana Garcés	PRI	PRI	58 (Chiloé)	3.12%

NOTE: UDI = Independent Democratic Union; RN = National Renewal; PS = Socialist Party; PRI = Regional Party of Independents. None of the candidates was elected.

Table 13: Treatment Effects on Vote Intention for Real vs. Fictional Candidates

	Conditional on:		
	Evang. Cand.	Pinochet	¬Pinochet
Intercept	3.26	3.46	2.81
	(0.42)	(0.53)	(0.43)
Real Candidate	-0.08	-0.51	0.97
	(0.64)	(0.68)	(0.64)
Pinochet Prime	0.27		
	(0.67)		
Real Cand. $\times$ Pinochet	-0.15		
	(0.9)		
Evangelical Candidate		0.07	0.45
		(0.72)	(0.6)
Real Cand. $\times$ Evang. Cand.		0.28	-1.05
		(0.91)	(0.9)
N	85	78	79

NOTE: Entries are OLS regression coefficients with estimated standard errors in parentheses. Includes only respondents from congressional districts with evangelical candidates, as listed in Table 12.

Table 14: Effect of Pinochet Stereotypes and Candidate Evangelicalism on Vote Intention (Right-Wing Non-Evangelical Respondents)

	Prime Pinochet			
	Yes	No	Difference	N
Evangelicalism				
Mentioned	4.28	3.09	1.19	82
			(0.43)	
Not Mentioned	3.83	3.71	0.11	95
			(0.39)	
Difference	0.45	-0.63		
	(0.43)	(0.39)		
N	82	95		

NOTE: Entries are mean vote intention and differences in vote intention, measured on a 1–7 scale, with estimated standard errors in parentheses.

Table 15: Effect of Pinochet Stereotypes and Candidate Evangelicalism on Vote Intention (Centrist and Left-Wing Non-Evangelical Respondents)

	Prime Pinochet			
	Yes	No	Difference	N
Evangelicalism				
Mentioned	2.96	3.02	-0.06	272
			(0.21)	
Not Mentioned	3.13	2.88	0.25	297
			(0.19)	
Difference	-0.16	0.14		
	(0.2)	(0.2)		
N	297	272		

NOTE: Entries are mean vote intention and differences in vote intention, measured on a 1–7 scale, with estimated standard errors in parentheses.

Table 16: Effect of Pinochet Stereotypes and Candidate Evangelicalism on Vote Intention (Evangelical Respondents)

	Prime Pinochet			
	Yes	No	Difference	N
Evangelicalism				
Mentioned	4.73	4.94	-0.21	65
			(0.49)	
Not Mentioned	2.93	3.22	-0.29	59
			(0.42)	
Difference	1.8	1.72		
	(0.48)	(0.44)		
N	60	64		

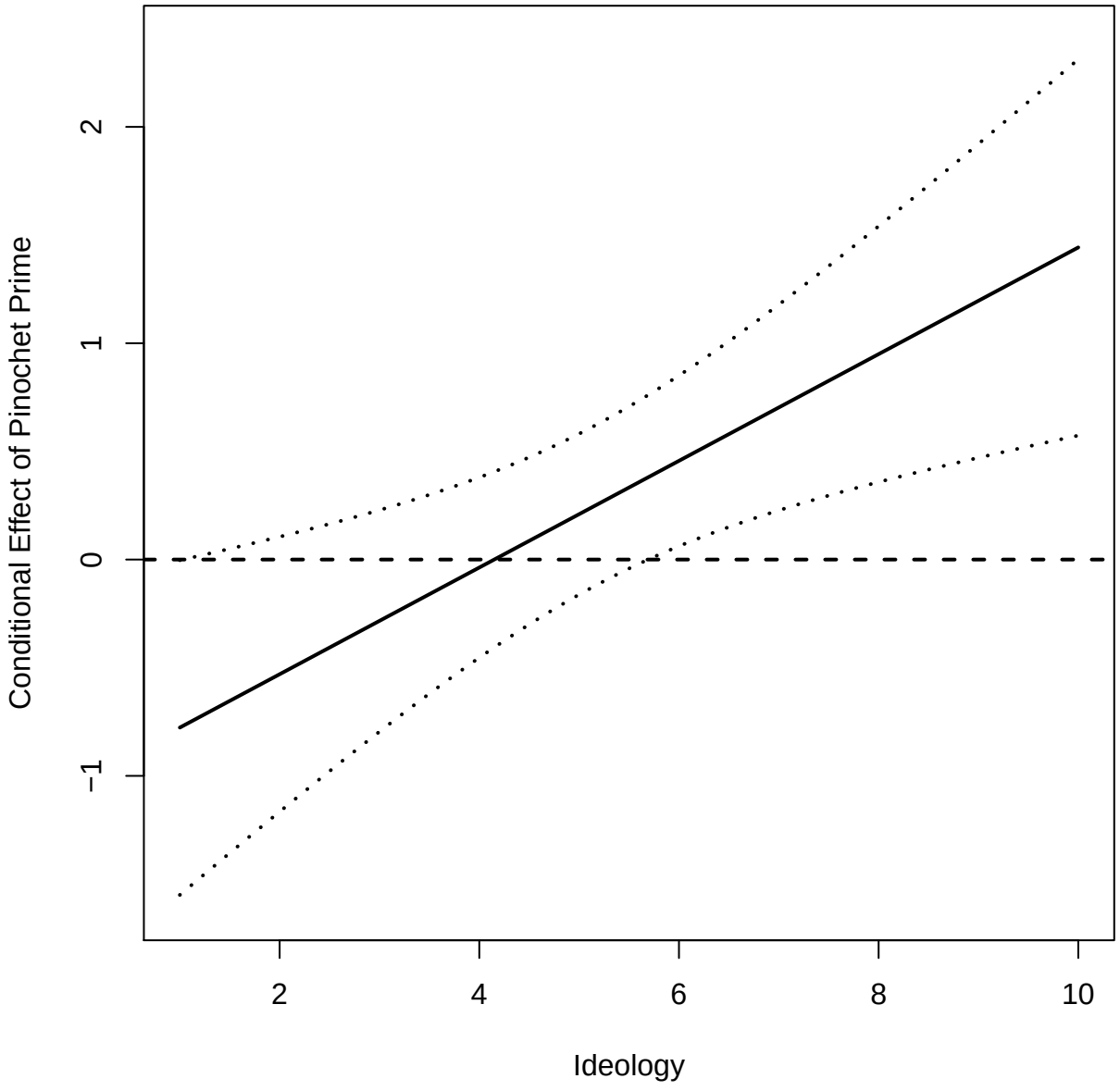
NOTE: Entries are mean vote intention and differences in vote intention, measured on a 1–7 scale, with estimated standard errors in parentheses.

Table 17: Conditional Effect of Pinochet Stereotypes on Non-Evangelicals' Vote Intention for an Evangelical Candidate

Intercept	2.89
	(0.33)
Pinochet Prime	-1.02
	(0.47)
Ideology	0.03
	(0.05)
Pinochet Prime × Ideology	0.25
	(0.08)
N	354

NOTE: Entries are OLS regression coefficients with estimated standard errors in parentheses. Ideology is scaled from 1–10; higher numbers are Right.

Figure 1: Conditional Effect of Pinochet Stereotypes on Non-Evangelicals' Vote Intention for an Evangelical Candidate



NOTE: Dotted lines give 95% confidence interval. Plot based on the estimates reported in Table 17.