A Appendix (For Online Publication)

A.1 Variables used for Randomization Checks

We present randomization checks in Appendix Tables A2 through A7. From the voter survey, we use the age, years of education, marital status (an indicator variable for married individuals), land ownership (an indicator for households that own any land), the number of adults and children in the household, an index of asset ownership,^{37,38} variables indicating the individual belongs to one of Uganda's three largest ethnic groups (Ganda, Nkole and Soga), and three indicator variables for being a Catholic, a Protestant, or a Muslim.

From the key informant survey, we use the years of education and marital status of the respondent, as well as the same four measures of occupational status, ethnicity and religion as above (note that age, land ownership, number of members in the household and assets were not collected in the key informant survey), as well as four indicator variables for whether the key informant is a local chief or elder, a member of a civil society group (a religious, youth, or women's group), a village committee member or a local council member.

Finally, from the official electoral data we use the number of registered voters in 2011, the voter turnout in 2011, the presidential vote shares of the NRM and of the FDC in 2011, the vote share of the winner of the parliamentary vote in 2011 (i.e., the 2011 vote share of the 2016 incumbent MP), and the number of registered voters in 2016.

A.2 Electoral data integrity

Opposition leaders in Uganda and international observers challenged the integrity of the voting data in the aftermath of the election (Agence France Presse, 2016; Gaffey, 2016). Analysts noted several potentially suspicious patterns. We acknowledge these issues, but believe that the electoral data can still be useful for our analysis for several reasons. First, we generally obtain similar results using self-reported voting outcomes from our voter survey and using the official election data.

Second, we show that our treatment is uncorrelated with traditional markers of electoral malfeasance (Beber and Scacco, 2012). Specifically, Table A12 indicates that treatment and spillover assignment, and parish saturation are uncorrelated with the last digit of the polling station valid votes and votes in favor of incumbents being rounded off to zero or to 5, which is usually associated with electoral fraud (Beber and Scacco, 2012). Only 1 out of 24 coefficients in this table is significant at 10%. Note that the mean of the dependent variable in columns 5, 6, 13 and 14 highlight an abnormal share of polling stations with valid votes and votes in favor of incumbents rounded off to zero for the parliamentary vote. However, this rounding pattern is uncorrelated with treatment and spillover assignment or saturation, which confirms

³⁷To construct this index, we simply add up the variables indicating ownership of a TV, radio, motor vehicle, and cell phone four measures of occupational status (indicator variables for individuals working in farming, trade/retail, any high-skill activity, or not actively working)

³⁸High-skill individuals include artisans or skilled manual workers, clerks and secretaries, supervisors, managers, security providers, mid-level professionals such as teachers, and upper-level professionals. Individuals not actively working include students as well as unemployed, retired, and disabled individuals.

the validity of our estimates using the official election data.

Furthermore, in Table A13, we show that treatment assignment and saturation do not significantly correlate with "suspicious polling stations," defined by being either at least 2 standard deviations above the sample average in both turnout and support for the incumbent president, the incumbent MP, or both. Overall, there is no evidence that treatment and spillover assignment or parish saturation correlate with electoral malfeasance.

A.3 Results from Pre-Specified Hypotheses

We report treatment effects on the main hypotheses of our pre-analysis plan in Appendix Tables A14 through Table A18. All tables report estimates from four specifications: equation (1) in column 1, equation (2) in column 2, a modified version of equation (3) in column 3 that includes interactions between ACFIM presence and the Treatment and Spillover dummies, and equation (3) in column 4. The specification used in column 3 is the original version of equation (3) that we included in our pre-analysis plan, but the correct specification should not include these interactions since they capture some of the treatment effects of interest.

Our primary hypotheses stated that vote buying should fall in treatment villages (Hypothesis 1) and rise in spillover villages (Hypothesis 2). We expected the intensity of these effects to be increasing in parish saturation levels (Hypotheses 7 and 8). To test for these hypotheses, the outcome in Table A14 is a preregistered index of self-reported vote buying, knowledge of particular individuals who sold their vote, and perceptions of the frequency of vote buying in the village from the voter survey and the key informant survey. Even if the main coefficients of interest in column 1 have the expected sign, we find little evidence in support of these hypotheses: the main effects of treatment and spillover are statistically insignificant and small in magnitude (column 1, Hypotheses 1 and 2). There is also little evidence that treatment effects vary with saturation levels (column 4, Hypotheses 7 and 8).

In Table A15, we show treatment effects for our Hypothesis 3A: the supply of votes (i.e., the perceived willingness to sell one's vote) should fall in treatment villages. The dependent variable for this hypothesis is an index of the perceived fraction of village residents who would sell their vote at given price points (ranging from 1,000 to 50,000 UShs) and of the perceived acceptability of selling one's vote in the vignette experiment (as in columns 9-10 in Table 3 in the main text). We find that the (perceived) supply of votes fell in treatment villages (see column 1) and in highly saturated parishes (column 2).

Table A16 shows results for our Hypothesis 3B: demand for votes may rise or fall in treatment villages. The dependent variable is an index of total offers received from brokers (accepted or rejected) and of the perceived fraction of village residents who were given a vote-buying offer. Overall, we do not find significant treatment effects supporting this hypothesis, though both the coefficient on saturation (column 2) and the coefficient on the interaction of treatment with saturation (column 4) are positive. This table also provides a test of Hypothesis 5 (demand for votes increases in spillover villages): we find a positive, but statistically insignificant effect on the spillover variable (column 1) and on the interaction between spillover and saturation (column 4). These findings are in line with those in Figure 2 in the main text, but that masks heterogeneity across candidates shown in Table 4 also in the main text. Finally, Hypotheses 4 and 6 focused on the price of votes, which we argued may increase or decrease in treatment villages depending on the relative magnitude of demand and supply shocks (Hypothesis 4), and increase in spillover villages (Hypothesis 6). Tables A17 and A18 present results from these tests, using the two different outcomes we pre-specified: a measure of the total amount of cash and goods received by the voter from all brokers in Table A17, and an index of typical amounts offered by candidates from the key informant survey in Table A18. The results from these tables are inconclusive: treatment and spillover effects are positive and statistically insignificant in Table A17, and negative and statistically insignificant in Table A18.

A.4 Discussion of external validity

The presence of a local ACFIM activist is clearly non-random. Our treatment randomization was within the sample of parishes/villages with local ACFIM activists, so this is *not* a problem for internal validity, but it does require a brief discussion on external validity. From the perspective of civil society organizations (CSOs) considering similar campaigns, the villages/parishes with pre-existing civil society presence may, in fact, be the policy-relevant sample. The strength of CSOs often lies in their local credibility, built over multiple years and sustained through the presence of local members of the larger national CSO. As a result, very few CSOs are willing to launch a campaign in locations where they had never worked before. In particular, this was our experience when we inquire with ACFIM about the possibility of extending the campaign to villages without ACFIM activists. However, it is still worth noting the differences.

First, to be in our sample, a parish must contain at least 1 village where a local ACFIM activist works or lives. Since we do not survey any parishes with zero ACFIM presence, we cannot compare our sample directly to other parishes. However, we can correlate the degree of ACFIM presence (i.e. the percent of voters in a given parish who live in villages with ACFIM presence) with covariates to explore this selection indirectly. For example, as expected, ACFIM presence is correlated with lower vote-share in 2011 for the incumbent president — in a parish with 100% ACFIM presence the incumbent president got 7 percentage points fewer, on average, than in one with 0% ACFIM presence. Similarly, as expected, ACFIM presence is correlated with less prior vote buying: using the same 100% to 0% comparison, full ACFIM presence is correlated with a 5 percentage lower share of respondents reporting receiving a gift for their voters in 2011.

Second, within each parish, we sample every village where an ACFIM activist had the potential to work. However, in addition, we sampled 1,399 additional villages in the eligible parishes that were ineligible for treatment, but could be affected by spillovers. Throughout the analysis, we control for an indicator that a village was not part of the experimental sampling frame. As can be seen in the results later, this dummy is usually insignificant, indicating that these villages do not generally differ from the untreated villages that were part of the experimental sample, though in some specifications a small difference appears.

	5		
	Mean	SD	N
Survey Data			
Recalls NGO visit in village	.324	.468	27807
Received a leaflet	.172	.377	28060
Recalls meetings took place	.129	.335	27755
Attended meeting	.207	.651	27745
Received a robo-call	.053	.224	28507
Recalls posters	.129	.335	28133
Negative consequences	.895	.306	28507
People angry	.756	.43	28507
Vote sellers ostracized	.579	.494	27732
Vote-buying unacceptable	.744	.437	28501
Any cash received, any candidate	.4	.49	28507
Any cash - Incumbents	.331	.578	28507
Any cash - Challengers	.111	.321	28507
Cash amount received (USh)	1526.1	4269.3	28507
Cash amount - incumbents	1004.0	2864.7	28507
Cash amount - challengers	697.8	2668.5	28507
Reported vote for incumbent	.658	.349	27112
Campaign activities, all	5.901	4.246	28507
Campaign activities, incumbents	3.504	2.536	28507
Campaign activities, challengers	2.397	2.25	28507
Electoral Data			
Registered Voters	574.0	202.9	3659
Turnout 2016, presidential ballot	.675	.09	3659
Turnout 2016, parliamentary election	.689	.086	3112
Incumbent vote share 2016 (pres.)	.614	.184	3654
Challengers vote 2016 (pres.)	.386	.184	3654
Incumbent vote share 2016 (parl.)	.441	.246	3104
Challengers vote share 2016 (parl.)	.559	.246	3104
Turnout 2011 (pres.)	.601	.103	3641
Incumbent vote share 2011 (pres.)	.678	.186	3641

Table A1: Summary Statistics

	A	Age	Years Ec	Years Education		ried	Own	Land	Ad	ults	Chile	dren
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Treatment village	-0.247 [0.302]		0.012 [0.117]		-0.011 [0.010]		-0.002 [0.010]		-0.014 [0.049]		-0.078 [0.068]	
Spillover	0.123 [0.338]		-0.120 [0.146]		-0.006 [0.011]		0.002 [0.011]		-0.044 [0.057]		-0.223*** [0.075]	
Treatment Saturation		-0.079 [0.494]		-0.004 [0.213]		-0.011 [0.018]		0.008 [0.020]		-0.038 [0.090]		-0.197 [0.130]
Outside Sampling Frame	-0.843** [0.342]	-0.650*** [0.245]	0.170 [0.139]	0.083 [0.097]	-0.014 [0.011]	-0.012 [0.008]	-0.001 [0.010]	0.001 [0.007]	0.011 [0.051]	-0.010 [0.033]	0.096 [0.067]	-0.009 [0.045]
ACFIM Presence	-1.085** [0.467]	-1.062** [0.518]	-0.176 [0.209]	-0.185 [0.223]	-0.022 [0.016]	-0.018 [0.018]	-0.044*** [0.017]	-0.048** [0.020]	0.354*** [0.082]	0.368*** [0.096]	0.696*** [0.114]	0.768*** [0.138]
R^2 Control Mean	$\begin{array}{c} 0.00\\ 40.088\end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.00\\ 40.088\end{array}$	0.00 5.497	0.00 5.487	$0.00 \\ 0.741$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01
Observations	40.088 27375	40.088 27375	5.487 28452	5.487 28452	0.741 28454	0.741 28454	0.872 28454	0.872 28454	3.181 28454	3.181 28454	3.551 28451	3.551 28451

Table A2: Balance on Voter Respondent's Characteristics

Note: Odd-numbered columns report estimates from equation (1) and even-numbered columns report estimates from equation (2). All dependent variables come from the voter survey data (see text for details).

	As	sets	Far	mer	Tra	ade	High	Skill	Not W	orking
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Treatment village	-0.012 [0.032]		0.025 [0.016]		-0.008 [0.008]		-0.005 [0.006]		-0.008 [0.005]	
Spillover	0.011 [0.038]		0.015 [0.021]		-0.006 [0.009]		-0.011 [0.008]		-0.002 [0.007]	
Treatment Saturation		-0.030 [0.059]		0.028 [0.033]		-0.012 [0.014]		-0.008 [0.012]		-0.009 [0.009]
Outside Sampling Frame	-0.020 [0.033]	-0.004 [0.022]	-0.015 [0.017]	-0.018* [0.010]	-0.006 [0.008]	-0.006 [0.005]	0.013 [0.008]	0.008 [0.005]	0.000 [0.006]	0.003 [0.004]
ACFIM Presence	-0.186*** [0.055]	-0.170*** [0.062]	0.026 [0.028]	0.016 [0.032]	-0.018 [0.012]	-0.013 [0.014]	0.012 [0.010]	0.015 [0.011]	0.010 [0.008]	0.014 [0.009]
<i>R</i>²Control MeanObservations	0.00 1.638 28454	0.00 1.638 28454	0.00 0.687 28453	0.00 0.687 28453	0.00 0.088 28453	0.00 0.088 28453	0.00 0.078 28453	0.00 0.078 28453	0.00 0.053 28453	0.00 0.053 28453

Table A3: Balance on Voter Respondent's Characteristics (Continues)

Note: Odd-numbered columns report estimates from equation (1) and even-numbered columns report estimates from equation (2). All dependent variables come from the voter survey data (see text for details).

	Ga	nda	Nk	ole	So	ga	Catl	nolic	Protestant		Muslim	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Treatment village	0.015 [0.014]		-0.011 [0.014]		-0.018 [0.015]		0.035* [0.019]		-0.022 [0.018]		-0.017 [0.012]	
Spillover	0.021 [0.018]		-0.009 [0.017]		-0.029 [0.018]		0.049** [0.021]		-0.022 [0.020]		-0.028** [0.014]	
Treatment Saturation		0.002 [0.029]		-0.011 [0.018]		-0.028 [0.031]		0.082** [0.036]		-0.039 [0.035]		-0.043* [0.023]
Outside Sampling Frame	0.002 [0.013]	0.010 [0.006]	0.004 [0.013]	0.003 [0.009]	0.020 [0.013]	0.009 [0.008]	-0.020 [0.019]	-0.008 [0.013]	-0.003 [0.017]	-0.006 [0.012]	0.016 [0.012]	0.008 [0.007]
ACFIM Presence	0.057** [0.024]	0.060** [0.027]	-0.162*** [0.026]	-0.158*** [0.027]	0.032 [0.026]	0.041 [0.031]	0.014 [0.033]	-0.020 [0.036]	-0.043 [0.031]	-0.028 [0.035]	0.056*** [0.018]	0.074*** [0.023]
R²Control MeanObservations	0.01 0.075 28451	0.00 0.075 28451	0.03 0.061 28451	0.03 0.061 28451	0.00 0.060 28451	0.00 0.060 28451	0.00 0.423 28454	0.00 0.423 28454	0.00 0.429 28454	0.00 0.429 28454	0.00 0.087 28454	0.00 0.087 28454

Table A4: Balance on Voter Respondent's Characteristics (Continues)

Note: Odd-numbered columns report estimates from equation (1) and even-numbered columns report estimates from equation (2). All dependent variables come from the voter survey data (see text for details).

	Chief c	or Elder	Civil	Society	Village C	ommittee	Local C	Council
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Treatment village	-0.019 [0.017]		0.009 [0.008]		-0.001 [0.026]		0.026 [0.021]	
Spillover	0.023 [0.023]		-0.003 [0.008]		-0.045 [0.031]		0.012 [0.025]	
Treatment Saturation		-0.038 [0.031]		0.014 [0.011]		-0.015 [0.047]		0.072* [0.039]
Outside Sampling Frame	-0.028 [0.021]	0.002 [0.013]	-0.002 [0.008]	-0.010 [0.007]	0.055** [0.027]	0.024 [0.016]	-0.005 [0.025]	-0.016 [0.016]
ACFIM Presence	0.143*** [0.028]	0.166*** [0.035]	-0.028** [0.011]	-0.036*** [0.013]	-0.213*** [0.042]	-0.208*** [0.049]	0.152*** [0.034]	0.113*** [0.039]
R^2 Control Mean Observations	0.01 0.187 4090	0.01 0.187 4090	0.00 0.031 4090	0.00 0.031 4090	0.02 0.430 4090	0.02 0.430 4090	0.01 0.247 4090	0.01 0.247 4090

Table A5: Balance on Key Informant Respondent's Characteristics

Note: Odd-numbered columns report estimates from equation (1) and even-numbered columns report estimates from equation (2). All dependent variables come from the key informant survey data (see text for details).

	Ga	nda	Nk	cole	So	ga	Catl	nolic	Prote	estant	Mu	slim
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Treatment village	0.006 [0.024]		-0.004 [0.016]		-0.015 [0.016]		0.005 [0.025]		-0.013 [0.025]		-0.018 [0.015]	
Spillover	0.031 [0.030]		-0.005 [0.017]		-0.029* [0.016]		0.029 [0.029]		-0.001 [0.028]		-0.026 [0.016]	
Treatment Saturation		-0.003 [0.055]		0.003 [0.029]		-0.021 [0.035]		0.033 [0.046]		-0.023 [0.045]		-0.043 [0.030]
Outside Sampling Frame	-0.019 [0.022]	0.002 [0.008]	0.011 [0.012]	0.009 [0.008]	0.027** [0.011]	0.015** [0.007]	-0.021 [0.026]	-0.005 [0.017]	0.006 [0.025]	0.014 [0.017]	0.004 [0.013]	-0.002 [0.008]
ACFIM Presence	0.177*** [0.048]	0.181*** [0.051]	-0.115*** [0.029]	-0.117*** [0.030]	0.051* [0.028]	0.061* [0.036]	0.011 [0.041]	-0.004 [0.048]	-0.034 [0.041]	-0.021 [0.046]	0.066*** [0.023]	0.088*** [0.031]
R^2	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01
Control Mean Observations	0.095 4090	0.095 4090	0.063 4090	0.063 4090	0.063 4090	0.063 4090	0.449 4090	0.449 4090	0.421 4090	0.421 4090	0.091 4090	0.091 4090

Table A6: Balance on Key Informant Respondent's Characteristics (Continues)

Note: Odd-numbered columns report estimates from equation (1) and even-numbered columns report estimates from equation (2). All dependent variables come from the key informant survey data (see text for details).

	Reg'd Vo	oters 2011	Turno	ut 2011	NRM V	ote 2011	FDC Vo	ote 2011	MP Incumb	pent Vote 2011	Reg'd Vo	oters 2016
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Treatment Polling Station	-284.303 [196.161]		0.004 [0.008]		-0.010 [0.014]		0.005 [0.013]		-0.019 [0.015]		-2.988 [10.425]	
Spillover Polling Station	-374.461 [375.616]		0.000 [0.009]		-0.006 [0.017]		-0.006 [0.015]		-0.001 [0.016]		-14.056 [9.117]	
Treatment Saturation		-699.026 [458.784]		0.004 [0.018]		-0.024 [0.029]		0.013 [0.026]		-0.035 [0.029]		4.987 [17.359]
Outside Sampling Frame	550.989*** [202.723]	512.567*** [121.113]	-0.021*** [0.005]	-0.023*** [0.004]	-0.025*** [0.008]	-0.023*** [0.006]	0.015** [0.007]	0.010** [0.005]	-0.019** [0.008]	-0.010* [0.005]	-81.618*** [9.420]	-86.769*** [7.363]
ACFIM Presence	-591.868 [440.937]	-298.382 [504.111]	-0.074*** [0.016]	-0.076*** [0.019]	-0.153*** [0.027]	-0.142*** [0.031]	0.036 [0.022]	0.029 [0.025]	-0.076*** [0.025]	-0.059** [0.029]	-45.561*** [15.677]	-49.449*** [18.111]
R^2 Control Mean	0.04 3007.687	0.04 3007.687	0.03 0.600	0.03 0.600	0.04 0.685	0.04 0.685	0.00 0.262	0.00 0.262	0.01 0.554	0.01 0.554	0.04 575.130	0.04 575.130
Observations	3641	3641	3641	3641	3641	3641	3641	0.202 3641	3214	3214	3659	3659

Table A7: Balance on Pre-determined Electoral Data

Note: Odd-numbered columns report estimates from equation (1) and even-numbered columns report estimates from equation (2). All dependent variables come from the official electoral data provided by the Ugandan Electoral Commission (see text for details).

	Vote-buying (PAP Index)	Vote-buying (cash/kind)	Vote for incumbents	Vote for challengers	Acceptability of vote-buying	Social sanctions	Vote-buying by incumbents	Vote-buying by challengers	Campaigning by incumbents	Campaigning by challengers
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Treatment Saturation	-0.016	0.063	-0.184***	0.184***	-0.098**	0.027	0.018	0.087^{*}	0.092	0.179**
	[0.066]	[0.045]	[0.064]	[0.064]	[0.043]	[0.018]	[0.047]	[0.045]	[0.075]	[0.091]
R^2	0.16	0.06	0.09	0.09	0.03	0.04	0.06	0.04	0.13	0.10
Observations	28454	28454	27065	27065	28454	28454	28454	28454	28454	28454

Table A8: Main Effects of Treatment Saturation

Note: This table report estimates from equation (2). The dependent variables in each column are the same as those reported in Figure 2 (see text for details). * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. Standard errors clustered by parish in brackets.

	All Can	didates	Incum	nbents	All Cha	llengers
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Treatment village	0.020 [0.019]		0.002 [0.015]		0.022* [0.012]	
Spillover	0.028 [0.021]		0.004 [0.017]		0.029** [0.013]	
Treatment Saturation		0.048 [0.033]		0.017 [0.026]		0.040* [0.024]
Outside Sampling Frame	-0.013 [0.020]	-0.008 [0.014]	-0.000 [0.015]	0.000 [0.011]	-0.016 [0.012]	-0.009 [0.007]
ACFIM Presence	-0.035 [0.034]	-0.060 [0.037]	-0.037 [0.026]	-0.046 [0.029]	0.017 [0.025]	-0.003 [0.023]
R^2	0.13	0.13	0.11	0.11	0.08	0.08
Control Mean	0.43	0.43	0.33	0.33	0.16	0.16
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	28454	28454	28454	28454	28454	28454

Table A9: Effects of the Campaign on Vote Buying: Any Cash Received (Individual level)

Note: All regressions include a dummy for out-of-sample villages and control for the parish-level ACFIM presence. The dependent variable is the sum of indicators for any vote buying by candidates in the presidential and parliamentary races. The range of the first outcome is 0-4 and the range of the second and third outcomes is 0 to 2.

	All Can	didates	Incum	lbents	All Challenge		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Treatment village	0.012 [0.095]		-0.009 [0.088]		0.129* [0.076]		
Spillover	0.102 [0.107]		0.026 [0.101]		0.218** [0.086]		
Treatment Saturation		0.083 [0.161]		0.044 [0.149]		0.239* [0.140]	
Outside Sampling Frame	-0.068 [0.099]	-0.006 [0.071]	0.022 [0.093]	0.041 [0.067]	-0.120 [0.077]	-0.047 [0.047]	
ACFIM Presence	-0.309* [0.168]	-0.346* [0.182]	-0.304** [0.154]	-0.326* [0.171]	0.071 [0.142]	-0.047 [0.146]	
R^2	0.12	0.12	0.11	0.11	0.07	0.07	
Control Mean	2.58	2.58	2.14	2.14	1.12	1.12	
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Observations	28454	28454	28454	28454	28454	28454	

Table A10: Effects of the Campaign on Vote Buying: Log Cash Received (Individual Level)

Note: All regressions include a dummy for out-of-sample villages and control for the parish-level ACFIM presence. The dependent variables are equal to the natural log + 1 of the amount of cash received by the respondent from candidates in the presidential and parliamentary races, measured for any candidate (cols. 1-2) and separately for incumbents (cols. 3-4) and challenger candidates (cols. 5-6).

	All Car	didates	Incun	nbents	Challe	engers
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Treatment village	0.026 [0.056]		-0.000 [0.043]		0.050 [0.041]	
Spillover	0.076 [0.066]		-0.005 [0.048]		0.095** [0.046]	
Treatment Saturation		0.019 [0.110]		-0.018 [0.082]		0.094 [0.080]
Outside Sampling Frame	-0.113** [0.057]	-0.072** [0.031]	-0.040 [0.040]	-0.042* [0.025]	-0.107*** [0.040]	-0.071*** [0.022]
ACFIM Presence	-0.398*** [0.099]	-0.402*** [0.104]	-0.361*** [0.072]	-0.352*** [0.079]	-0.149** [0.075]	-0.194*** [0.074]
R^2	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
Control Mean	1.216	1.216	0.919	0.919	0.595	0.595
Observations	4111	4111	4111	4111	4111	4111

Table A11: Effects of the Campaign on Vote Buying: Any Cash Received (Village level)

Note: All regressions include a dummy for out-of-sample villages and control for the parish-level ACFIM presence. Each dependent variable is the sum of dummies for each individual (presidential or parliamentary) race. All Candidates ranges from 0 to 15, while the other dependent variables range from 0 to 2.

	Pres	sidential	(Total Va	ılid)		MP (Tot	al Valid)		Presid	ential (Ir	ncumben	t Vote)	MP (Incumbent Vote)			
	(1) 0	(2) 0	(3) 5	(4) 5	(5) 0	(6) 0	(7) 5	(8) 5	(9) 0	(10) 0	(11) 5	(12) 5	(13) 0	(14) 0	(15) 5	(16) 5
Treatment Polling Station	-0.00 [0.02]		-0.02 [0.02]		0.02 [0.03]		0.01 [0.02]		0.01 [0.02]		-0.00 [0.02]		0.03 [0.03]		-0.01 [0.02]	
Spillover Polling Station	-0.02* [0.01]		-0.00 [0.01]		0.05 [0.03]		-0.01 [0.01]		0.00 [0.01]		-0.02 [0.01]		0.05 [0.03]		-0.00 [0.01]	
Saturation		-0.00 [0.02]		-0.04 [0.03]		0.05 [0.06]		-0.00 [0.02]		0.02 [0.02]		0.02 [0.02]		0.10 [0.06]		0.02 [0.02]
Outside Sampling Frame	-0.01 [0.01]	-0.01 [0.01]	-0.00 [0.02]	0.00 [0.01]	-0.04** [0.02]	-0.03* [0.02]	-0.02 [0.01]	-0.03*** [0.01]	-0.01 [0.01]	-0.01 [0.01]	-0.00 [0.02]	-0.01 [0.01]	-0.05** [0.02]	-0.04*** [0.02]	-0.00 [0.01]	0.00 [0.01]
ACFIM Presence	-0.02 [0.02]	-0.03 [0.02]	-0.01 [0.02]	0.01 [0.03]	-0.11** [0.05]	-0.13** [0.06]	0.02 [0.02]	0.01 [0.03]	-0.01 [0.02]	-0.02 [0.03]	-0.03 [0.02]	-0.04 [0.02]	-0.11** [0.06]	-0.15*** [0.06]	-0.01 [0.02]	-0.01 [0.02]
R ² Control Mean Controls	0.00 0.100 Yes	0.00 0.100 Yes	0.00 0.105 Yes	0.00 0.105 Yes	0.04 0.202 Yes	0.04 0.202 Yes	0.01 0.091 Yes	0.01 0.091 Yes	0.00 0.100 Yes	0.00 0.100 Yes	0.00 0.093 Yes	0.00 0.093 Yes	0.04 0.223 Yes	0.04 0.223 Yes	0.00 0.080 Yes	0.00 0.080 Yes
Observations	3192	3192	3192	3192	3192	3192	3192	3192	3192	3192	3192	3192	3192	3192	3192	3192

Table A12: Electoral Checks - Rounding

Note: This table tests whether treatment status and parish-level treatment saturation correlate with the likelihood that vote counts were rounded to 0 or 5 in the electoral data. Vote counts are measured as total valid votes in columns 1-8, and valid as votes for incumbents in columns 9-16.

	Above 2	SD, Pres	Above	Above 2SD, MP		SD, Both
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Treatment Polling Station	0.001 [0.002]		0.045 [0.031]		-0.000 [0.000]	
Spillover Polling Station	-0.000 [0.002]		0.062** [0.030]		-0.001 [0.001]	
Saturation		0.004 [0.003]		0.090 [0.062]		-0.000 [0.000]
Outside Sampling Frame	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.040** [0.016]	-0.033*** [0.011]	0.001 [0.001]	0.000 [0.000]
ACFIM Presence	-0.001 [0.003]	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.106** [0.053]	-0.143** [0.056]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]
R ² Control Mean Controls Observations	0.01 0.001 Yes 3192	0.01 0.001 Yes 3192	0.07 0.110 Yes 3192	0.06 0.110 Yes 3192	0.00 0.001 Yes 3192	0.00 0.001 Yes 3192

Table A13: Electoral Checks - Abnormal Returns

Note: This table tests whether abormal voting returns correlate with treatment status and parish-level treatment saturation. Abnormal returns are defined as returns were both voter turnout and vote tallies for incumbents are 2SD above the mean in the electoral data, for the presidential race (columns 1-2), parliamentary races (columns 3-4), or both races (columns 5-6). * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. Standard errors clustered by parish in brackets.

	Index for Hypotheses 1 & 2			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment village	-0.030 [0.038]		-0.102 [0.083]	-0.085 [0.068]
Spillover	0.023 [0.046]		0.040 [0.086]	0.079 [0.080]
Treatment Saturation		-0.017 [0.067]		
Treatment*Saturation			-0.046 [0.169]	0.118 [0.121]
Spillover*Saturation			0.019 [0.240]	-0.180 [0.204]
Outside Sampling Frame	-0.060 [0.043]	-0.026 [0.030]	-0.077 [0.052]	-0.145* [0.087]
ACFIM Presence	-0.132** [0.064]	-0.119 [0.076]	-0.180 [0.114]	0.020 [0.185]
ACFIM Presence*Treatment			0.174 [0.199]	
ACFIM Presence*Spillover			-0.041 [0.222]	
ACFIM Village*ACFIM Presence				-0.211 [0.191]
R^2	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16
Control Mean	0.037	0.037	0.037	0.037
Controls Observations	Yes 28454	Yes 28454	Yes 28454	Yes 28454

Table A14: Campaign Effects, Primary Hypotheses (Overall Vote Buying)

Note: This table reports experimental results for Hypotheses 1 & 2 in our pre-analysis plan: the campaign reduces the equilibrium number of votes sold in treatment villages (H1), and weakly increases the equilibrium number of votes sold in spillover villages (H2). The dependent variable is our pre-specified index of vote buying.

	Index for Hypothesis 3A			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment village	-0.059** [0.025]		-0.028 [0.055]	-0.043 [0.046]
Spillover	-0.026 [0.029]		0.076 [0.052]	-0.014 [0.047]
Treatment Saturation		-0.096** [0.043]		
Treatment*Saturation			-0.021 [0.123]	-0.033 [0.082]
Spillover*Saturation			0.102 [0.141]	-0.043 [0.115]
Outside Sampling Frame	-0.010 [0.029]	0.010 [0.022]	-0.032 [0.033]	0.036 [0.055]
ACFIM Presence	0.041 [0.040]	0.094* [0.049]	0.125* [0.071]	-0.016 [0.109]
ACFIM Presence*Treatment			-0.054 [0.141]	
ACFIM Presence*Spillover			-0.278** [0.137]	
ACFIM Village*ACFIM Presence				0.102 [0.114]
R^2	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03
Control Mean	0.046	0.046	0.046	0.046
Controls Observations	Yes 28454	Yes 28454	Yes 28454	Yes 28454

Table A15: Campaign Effects, Hypothesis 3A (Supply of Votes)

Note: This table reports experimental results for Hypothesis 3A in our pre-analysis plan: the campaign reduces the supply of votes in treatment villages. The dependent variable is an index of the perceived fraction of village residents who would sell their vote at given price points and of the perceived acceptability of selling one's vote in the vignette experiment. * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. Standard errors clustered by parish in brackets.

	Inc	dex for Hy	ypothesis	3B
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment village	-0.002 [0.033]		-0.062 [0.069]	-0.073 [0.054]
Spillover	0.018 [0.038]		0.023 [0.068]	0.015 [0.071]
Treatment Saturation		0.038 [0.061]		
Treatment*Saturation			0.176 [0.127]	0.151 [0.101]
Spillover*Saturation			0.050 [0.208]	0.019 [0.176]
Outside Sampling Frame	-0.046 [0.033]	-0.035* [0.020]	-0.061* [0.036]	-0.064 [0.070]
ACFIM Presence	-0.080 [0.057]	-0.100 [0.065]	-0.123 [0.097]	-0.125 [0.145]
ACFIM Presence*Treatment			-0.046 [0.154]	
ACFIM Presence*Spillover			-0.038 [0.189]	
ACFIM Village*ACFIM Presence				-0.015 [0.146]
R^2	0.19	0.19	0.19	0.19
Control Mean	0.025	0.025	0.025	0.025
Controls Observations	Yes 28353	Yes 28353	Yes 28353	Yes 28353

Table A16: Campaign Effects, Hypotheses 3B & 5 (Demand for Votes)

Note: This table reports experimental results for Hypothesis 3B in our pre-analysis plan: the campaign affects the demand for votes in treatment villages. The dependent variable is an index capturing offers made by brokers of votes (accepted and rejected).

	Inc	Index for Hypothesis 4_1		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment village	0.012 [0.020]		0.021 [0.044]	0.026 [0.037]
Spillover	0.029 [0.023]		0.023 [0.042]	0.024 [0.041]
Treatment Saturation		0.017 [0.033]		
Treatment*Saturation			-0.040 [0.094]	-0.029 [0.064]
Spillover*Saturation			0.006 [0.112]	0.016 [0.101]
Outside Sampling Frame	-0.018 [0.021]	-0.004 [0.014]	-0.017 [0.024]	-0.013 [0.044]
ACFIM Presence	-0.052 [0.037]	-0.059 [0.042]	-0.049 [0.058]	-0.051 [0.097]
ACFIM Presence*Treatment			0.020 [0.107]	
ACFIM Presence*Spillover			0.009 [0.108]	
ACFIM Village*ACFIM Presence				0.009 [0.098]
R^2	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.09
Control Mean	0.003	0.003	0.003	0.003
Controls Observations	Yes 28454	Yes 28454	Yes 28454	Yes 28454

Table A17: Campaign Effects, Hypotheses 4 & 6 (Price of Votes)

Note: This table reports experimental results for Hypothesis 4 in our pre-analysis plan: the campaign increases or decreases the price of votes in treatment villages, depending on the relative magnitude of supply and demand shocks. The dependent variable is the sum of all gifts received by the respondent in cash or in kind, by all candidates. * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. Standard errors clustered by parish in brackets.

1 0				
	Index for Hypothesis 4_2			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment village	0.002 [0.026]		-0.003 [0.059]	-0.009 [0.047]
Spillover	-0.041 [0.033]		-0.028 [0.070]	-0.040 [0.058]
Treatment Saturation		-0.007 [0.042]		
Treatment*Saturation			0.130 [0.125]	0.023 [0.081]
Spillover*Saturation			-0.178 [0.138]	-0.005 [0.135]
Outside Sampling Frame	0.044 [0.033]	0.013 [0.024]	0.061 [0.041]	0.100 [0.069]
ACFIM Presence	-0.096** [0.044]	-0.095* [0.052]	-0.088 [0.075]	-0.209 [0.141]
ACFIM Presence*Treatment			-0.101 [0.147]	
ACFIM Presence*Spillover			0.081 [0.144]	
ACFIM Village*ACFIM Presence				0.140 [0.148]
R^2	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07
Control Mean	-0.003	-0.003	-0.003	-0.003
Controls Observations	Yes 28440	Yes 28440	Yes 28440	Yes 28440

Table A18: Campaign Effects, Hypotheses 4 & 6 (Price of Votes)

Note: This table reports experimental results for Hypothesis 4 in our pre-analysis plan: the campaign increases or decreases the price of votes in treatment villages, depending on the relative magnitude of supply and demand shocks. The dependent variable is an index of typical gift amounts offered by different candidates in the village.

	NGO visit	Received leaflet	Meetings Attended	Received call	Posters
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treatment village	0.374***	0.349***	0.311***	0.031***	0.183***
	[0.021]	[0.019]	[0.031]	[0.008]	[0.016]
Spillover	-0.003	-0.017*	-0.006	-0.003	-0.009
	[0.018]	[0.009]	[0.023]	[0.007]	[0.010]
Treatment*Saturation	-0.084**	-0.025	-0.044	-0.004	0.014
	[0.040]	[0.037]	[0.055]	[0.015]	[0.032]
Spillover*Saturation	0.064	0.080***	0.021	-0.002	0.043
	[0.045]	[0.025]	[0.058]	[0.019]	[0.028]
Outside Sampling Frame	-0.006	-0.003	-0.012	0.001	-0.006
	[0.022]	[0.013]	[0.024]	[0.009]	[0.012]
ACFIM Presence	0.023	-0.013	-0.022	0.016	0.035
	[0.038]	[0.021]	[0.048]	[0.019]	[0.024]
ACFIM Village*ACFIM Presence	0.025	0.015	0.019	-0.012	-0.026
	[0.043]	[0.027]	[0.050]	[0.019]	[0.028]
R ²	0.14	0.20	0.06	0.04	0.09
Control Mean	0.198	0.052	0.113	0.040	0.062
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	27756	28007	27693	28454	28081

Table A19: Interactions on Key Outcomes - Quality of Implementation (Table 1)

Note: This table reports estimates from equation (3). All regressions include a dummy for out-of-sample villages, the parishlevel ACFIM presence, and their interaction. Dependent variables in this table are indicators of program implementation: whether the NGO visited (col. 1), distributed leaflets (col. 2), held meetings (col. 3), conducted robocalls (col. 4), or posted signs in the village (col. 5), as reported by respondents in the voter survey.

	Survey Data	Electoral	Data
	Incumbents	Incumbents	Turnout
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Treatment	0.060	0.120	0.023
	[0.056]	[0.081]	[0.077]
Spillover Polling Station	0.020	0.028	-0.051
	[0.064]	[0.093]	[0.080]
Treatment*Saturation	-0.258**	-0.418**	0.102
	[0.112]	[0.171]	[0.160]
Spillover*Saturation	-0.299*	-0.131	0.280
	[0.164]	[0.226]	[0.221]
Outside Sampling Frame	0.043	0.133**	-0.045
	[0.059]	[0.059]	[0.071]
ACFIM Presence	0.051	0.009	-0.017
	[0.136]	[0.116]	[0.111]
ACFIM Village*ACFIM Presence	0.002	-0.316**	-0.166
	[0.133]	[0.144]	[0.166]
R²ControlsObservations	0.09	0.49	0.34
	Yes	Yes	Yes
	27065	3657	3659

Table A20: Interactions on Electoral Outcomes (Table 2)

Note: This table reports estimates from equation (3). All regressions include a dummy for out-of-sample villages, the parishlevel ACFIM presence, and their interaction. Dependent variables are defined as in Table 2. All outcomes are standardized indices with mean zero in the control group.

	Supply of Votes	Neg Consequences	Services not delivered	Social punishment	Ostracizing
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treatment village	-0.044	-0.007	-0.021	0.039**	0.052**
	[0.046]	[0.013]	[0.023]	[0.019]	[0.022]
Spillover	-0.011	0.008	-0.041	0.008	-0.001
	[0.046]	[0.013]	[0.027]	[0.021]	[0.024]
Treatment*Saturation	-0.036	0.042*	0.091**	-0.035	-0.063
	[0.082]	[0.022]	[0.043]	[0.033]	[0.039]
Spillover*Saturation	-0.044	0.008	0.078	0.024	-0.016
	[0.114]	[0.033]	[0.068]	[0.050]	[0.059]
Outside Sampling Frame	0.032	-0.012	0.024	-0.009	-0.007
	[0.055]	[0.014]	[0.029]	[0.024]	[0.027]
ACFIM Presence	-0.015	-0.037	-0.141**	0.026	0.050
	[0.109]	[0.030]	[0.062]	[0.045]	[0.053]
ACFIM Village*ACFIM Presence	0.099	0.011	0.076	-0.003	-0.016
	[0.113]	[0.031]	[0.064]	[0.048]	[0.057]
R ²	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.04	0.07
Control Mean	0.046	0.888	0.482	0.745	0.567
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	28454	28454	28454	28454	27680

Table A21: Interactions on Key Outcomes - Voter Reciprocity and Social Punishment (Table 3)

Note: This table reports estimates from equation (3). All regressions include a dummy for out-of-sample villages, the parish-level ACFIM presence, and their interaction. Dependent variables in this table include: an index of the perceived fraction of village residents who would sell their vote at given price points (ranging from 1,000 to 50,000 Ugandan Shillings) and of the perceived acceptability of selling one's vote in the vignette experiment (col. 1, see text for details); an indicator for respondents saying vote buying has negative consequences for the village (col. 2); an indicator for respondents saying vote buying will result in services not being delivered to the community (col. 3); an indicator for beliefs that vote selling would lead to social sanctions (col. 4), and beliefs that fellow villages would ostracize vote-sellers (col. 5).

	All Candidates	Incumbents	All Challengers
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Treatment village	0.050	0.008	0.061
	[0.047]	[0.048]	[0.047]
Spillover	-0.025	-0.054	0.064
	[0.048]	[0.054]	[0.059]
Treatment*Saturation	-0.022	-0.003	0.002
	[0.089]	[0.091]	[0.091]
Spillover*Saturation	0.145	0.145	-0.053
	[0.123]	[0.137]	[0.143]
Outside Sampling Frame	0.000	0.031	-0.048
	[0.048]	[0.054]	[0.055]
ACFIM Presence	-0.068	-0.163	0.137
	[0.100]	[0.111]	[0.107]
ACFIM Village*ACFIM Presence	0.041	0.094	-0.081
	[0.102]	[0.113]	[0.111]
R ²	0.06	0.06	0.04
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	28454	28454	28454

Table A22: Interactions on Key Outcomes - Vote-Buying Index (Table 4)

Note: This table reports estimates from equation (3). All regressions include a dummy for out-of-sample villages, the parishlevel ACFIM presence, and their interaction. The dependent variable is a standardized index of the following variables: any cash received, natural log of the amount of cash received, any gift received, and log of the value of any gift received, measured for any candidate running in the presidential and parliamentary races (col. 1), or separately for incumbent candidates (col. 2) and challenger candidates (col. 3). All outcomes are standardized indices with mean zero in the control group.

	Gifts from Competing Candidates	Did Not Reciprocate
	(1)	(2)
Treatment village	-0.019 [0.046]	0.046 [0.043]
Spillover	-0.004 [0.051]	-0.001 [0.046]
Treatment*Saturation	0.120 [0.095]	-0.012 [0.083]
Spillover*Saturation	0.035 [0.124]	0.094 [0.115]
Outside Sampling Frame	-0.006 [0.048]	0.048 [0.045]
ACFIM Presence	0.011 [0.106]	-0.063 [0.101]
ACFIM Village*ACFIM Presence	-0.002 [0.101]	0.133 [0.095]
R ² Controls	0.04 Yes	0.06 Yes
Observations	28454	28454

Table A23: Interactions on Key Outcomes - Vote Buying and Reciprocity (Table 5)

Note: This table reports estimates from equation (3). All regressions include a dummy for out-of-sample villages, the parish-level ACFIM presence, and their interaction. The dependent variable in columns 1-2 is an indicator for respondents reporting they received cash from at least two competing candidates in the same electoral race (presidential or parliamentary). The dependent variable in columns 3-4 is an indicator for respondents reporting they accepted cash from a candidate but voted for a different candidate in a given race. All outcomes are standardized indices with mean zero in the control group.

	All Candidates	Incumbents	All Challengers
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Treatment village	-0.112	-0.060	-0.134*
	[0.071]	[0.068]	[0.071]
Spillover	-0.071	0.005	-0.119
	[0.076]	[0.075]	[0.077]
Treatment*Saturation	0.341**	0.218	0.379**
	[0.147]	[0.139]	[0.147]
Spillover*Saturation	0.140	-0.071	0.283
	[0.180]	[0.177]	[0.184]
Outside Sampling Frame	-0.012	0.024	-0.038
	[0.072]	[0.073]	[0.070]
ACFIM Presence	-0.131	-0.140	-0.101
	[0.148]	[0.145]	[0.152]
ACFIM Village*ACFIM Presence	-0.065	-0.004	-0.102
	[0.148]	[0.146]	[0.148]
R ²	0.12	0.13	0.11
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	28454	28454	28454

Table A24: Interactions on Key Outcomes - Campaigning Index (Table 6)

Note: This table reports estimates from equation (3). All regressions include a dummy for out-of-sample villages, the parish-level ACFIM presence, and their interaction. The dependent variable is the standardized sum of indicators of campaigning activities: visit to the village, posters, leaflets, advertising over loud-speakers, and merchandise, measured for any candidate running in the presidential and parliamentary races (col. 1), or separately for incumbent candidates (col. 2) and challenger candidates (col. 3). All outcomes are standardized indices with mean zero in the control group. * p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01. Standard errors clustered by parish in brackets.

	Vote-Buying 2011		NRM Vote 2011	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment village	-0.002 [0.010]		-0.004 [0.008]	
Spillover	-0.003 [0.012]		-0.008 [0.009]	
Treatment Saturation		-0.007 [0.018]		-0.019 [0.013]
Outside Sampling Frame	-0.011 [0.011]	-0.011 [0.008]	-0.002 [0.009]	-0.005 [0.006]
ACFIM Presence	-0.001 [0.017]	0.003 [0.020]	0.018 [0.013]	0.028* [0.015]
R^2	0.07	0.07	0.09	0.09
Control Mean	0.22	0.22	0.84	0.84
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	28454	28454	21785	21785

Table A25: Test of Social Desirability Bias

Note: * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. Standard errors clustered by parish in brackets. All regressions control for an ACFIM dummy (in-sample villages) and the parish-level ACFIM presence. The dependent variables in this table are: whether the respondent reported selling their vote in 2011 (cols. 1-2), and whether they reported voting for the NRM in 2011 (cols. 3-4).