

Supplementary Appendix — Political Corruption Cycles: High-Frequency Evidence from Argentina’s Notebooks Scandal

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A. How quickly do scandals decay in Latin America?

In this appendix, I provide suggestive evidence that the adverse impact of scandals on a politician’s public opinion approval levels decays rapidly with time in Latin America. To do this, I exploit data available from Carlin and Hellwig (2019). The database contains quarterly data on presidential public opinion approval levels for 18 Latin American countries from their first transition into democracy to 2010, and data on the occurrence of “scandals” involving the president. I estimate the following equation on these data:

$$\text{Approval}_{it} = \beta \sum_{L=0}^5 \text{Scandal}_{i,t-L} + \text{Honeymoon}_{it} + \theta_i + \alpha_t + \epsilon_{it}$$

where Approval_{it} is the percentage of public opinion approval of the president of country i in quarter t , Honeymoon_{it} is a dummy variable indicating that a president is in her “honeymoon period” with public opinion —i.e. in her first quarter in office—, θ_i are country-specific fixed effects, α_t are quarter specific fixed effects, and $\text{Scandal}_{i,t-L}$ is a dummy variable indicating a political scandal involving the president in quarter $t - L$, where L is a given number of lags. Therefore, β_0 measures the “impact” of a scandal on public approval of the president the quarter in which the scandal took place (i.e. quarter $t - 0 = t$), β_1 measures the impact of the scandal on public approval of the president after a quarter (i.e. quarter $t - 1$), β_2 measures the impact after two quarters (i.e. quarter $t - 2$), and so forth. I cluster standard errors at the country level.

If the impact of scandals indeed decays quickly —as has been shown for other contexts outside of Latin America— then we should expect the size of β_L to decrease with L . That is, that $\beta_0 > \beta_1 > \beta_2 > \dots > \beta_5$. Table 1 shows the results. On average, a scandal involving a Latin American president is associated with a 4 percent drop in her level of public opinion approval in the quarter in which the scandal was made public. This coefficient is statistically significant (or almost statistically significant; the p-value of 0.108 in Model

Table (1) The temporal decay of the impact of scandals

	(1) Approval	(2) Approval	(3) Approval	(4) Approval	(5) Approval	(6) Approval
Scandal _t	-4.0561 (2.3904)	-3.9111* (2.2368)	-4.0971* (2.3119)	-4.3987* (2.3359)	-4.2621* (2.3573)	-4.0957* (2.3234)
Scandal _{t-1}		-1.7136 (2.1868)	-1.5852 (2.0494)	-1.7922 (2.1982)	-1.7098 (2.3087)	-1.5808 (2.3259)
Scandal _{t-2}			-0.8786 (2.2553)	-0.6681 (2.1511)	-0.4831 (2.3397)	-0.3018 (2.4158)
Scandal _{t-3}				-1.5549 (1.9785)	-1.3910 (1.8676)	-1.1665 (1.9855)
Scandal _{t-4}					-1.5482 (2.0189)	-1.3492 (1.9287)
Scandal _{t-5}						-1.6420 (1.5982)
Honeymoon	11.1428*** (1.7826)	12.2477*** (1.7665)	12.1210*** (1.8413)	12.3116*** (1.9029)	12.1584*** (1.8954)	12.2674*** (1.9095)
Observations	1,370	1,358	1,345	1,331	1,317	1,303
R-squared	0.1316	0.1387	0.1412	0.1448	0.1449	0.1450

Robust standard errors clustered at the country-level in parentheses

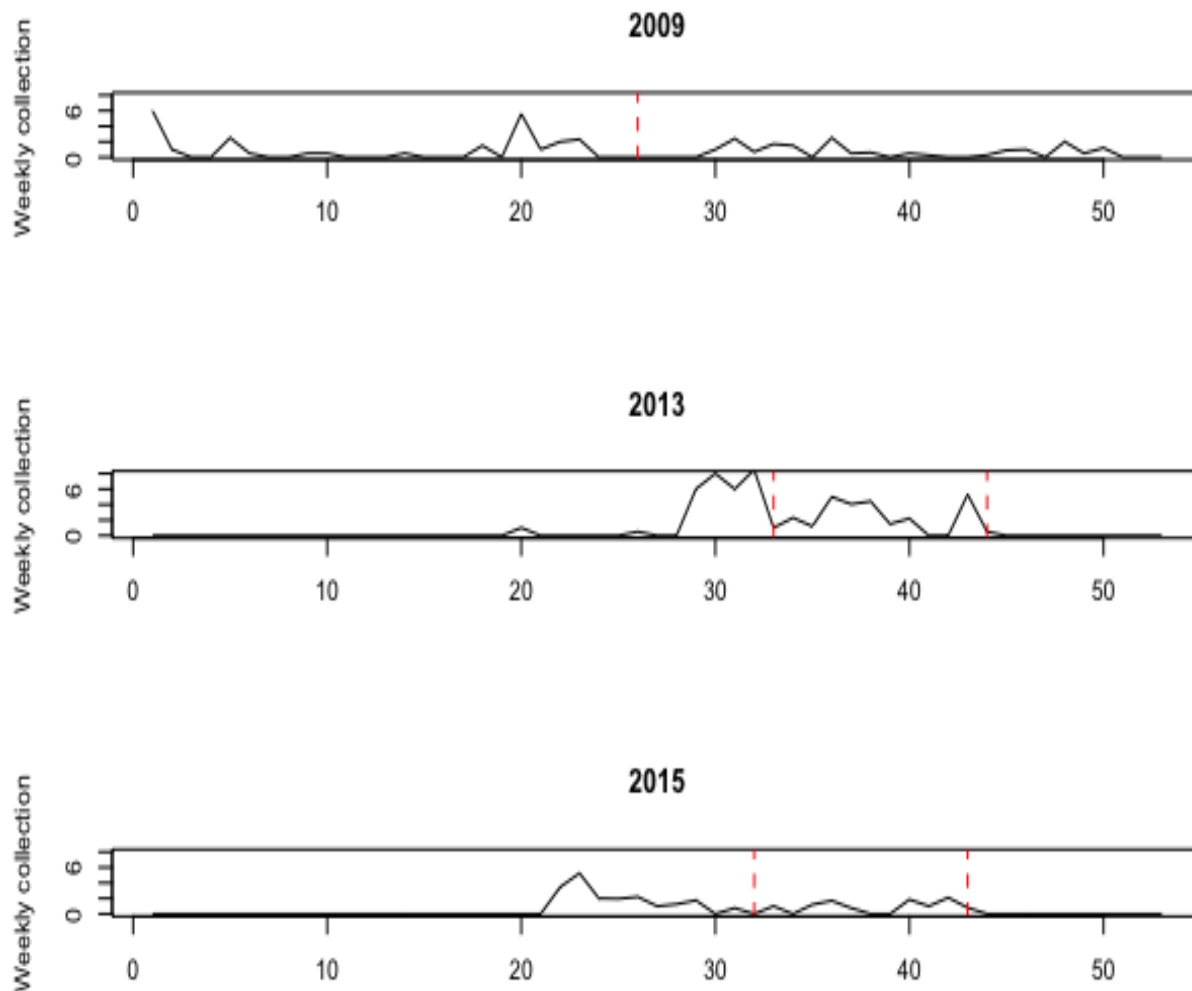
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

1) at the 10 percent level across models 1 through 5. Furthermore, the results show that the adverse impact of scandals on presidential approval levels fades away after a quarter. The impact of scandals on presidential approval after a three months decreases in size to half the contemporaneous impact of the scandal, and it ceases to be statistically significant. After nine months (three quarters), the impact of a scandal is less than a fourth of its contemporaneous impact, and again, it is not statistically significant.

These results are, of course, not conclusive. Studying how quickly the impact of political scandals decays could be the subject of an entire paper. The results, however, suggest that scandals do not hurt presidential approval for long periods of time, and are in agreement with results found elsewhere outside of Latin America.

B. Time-series data at the weekly level of aggregation

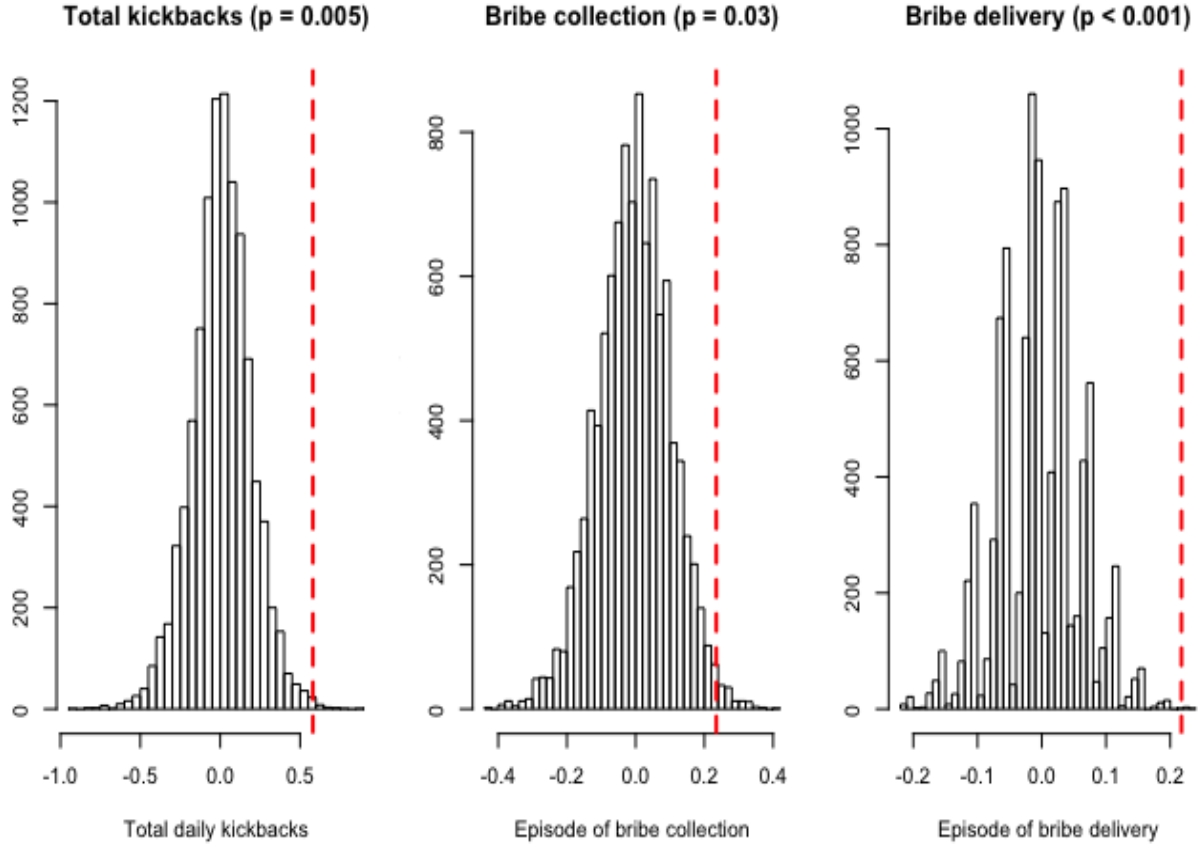
Figure (1) Time-series variation in the data



Notes: the plots display total value of collected bribes each week in 2009, 2013, and 2015 in duffel bags. Vertical (dashed, red) lines indicate weeks with elections.

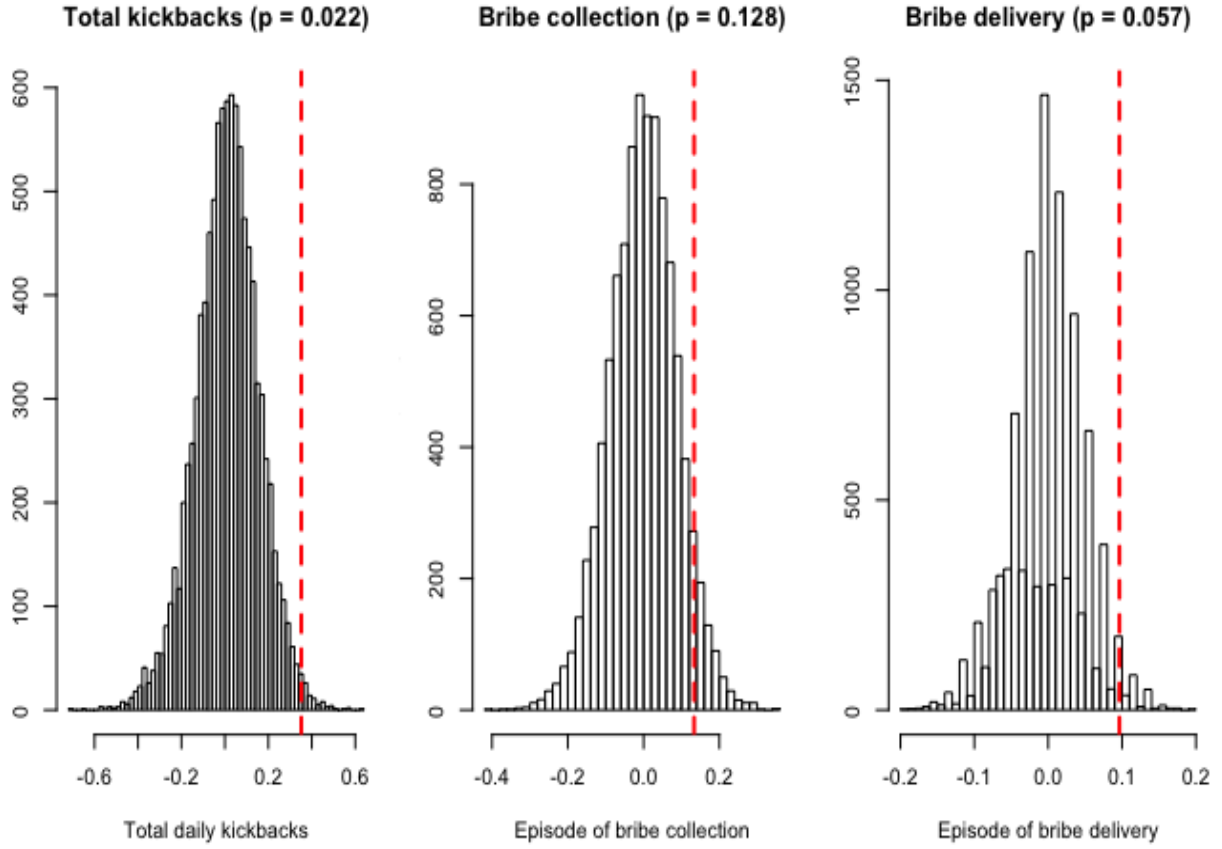
C. Randomization inference results with different temporal windows

Figure (2) Randomization inference, 1-week window



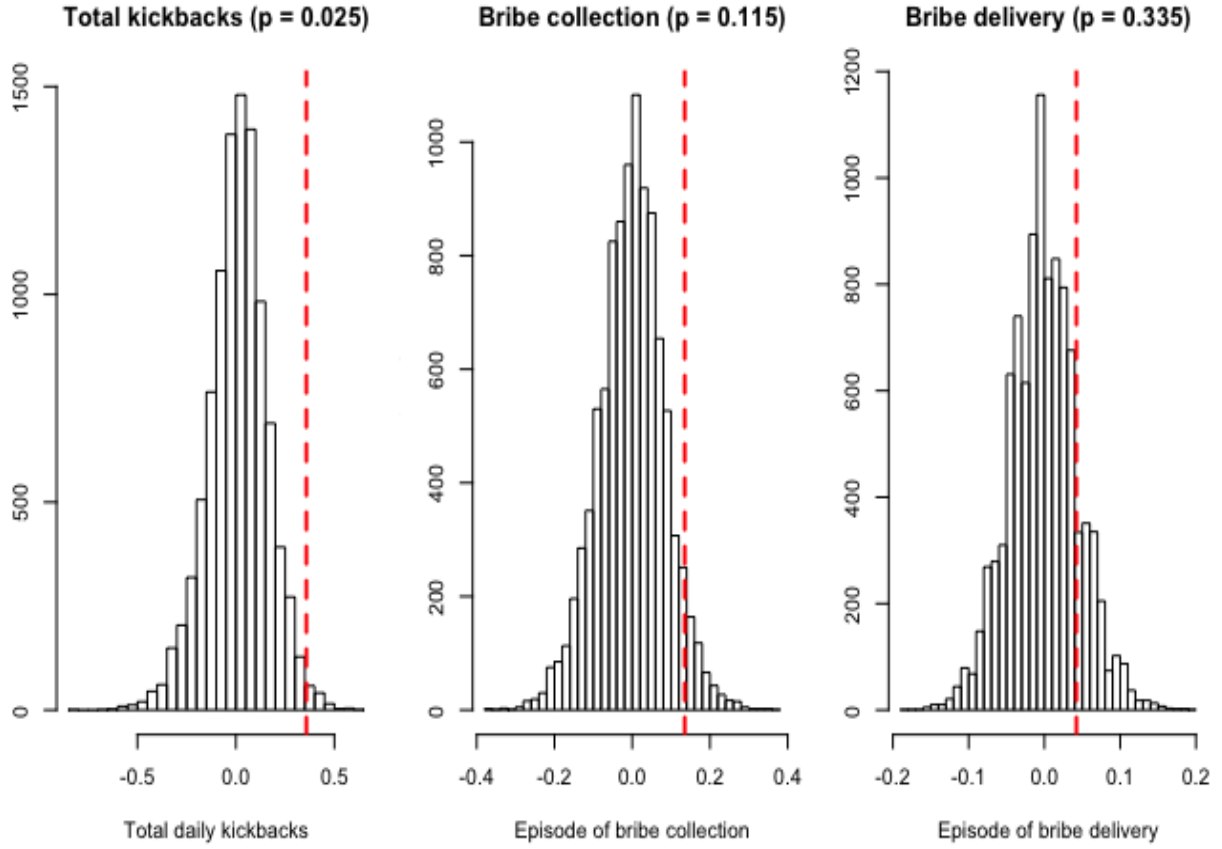
Notes: the plots display the sampling distribution of 10,000 “placebo coefficients”, obtained by estimating equation (1) but randomly assigning 5 “false” elections instead of using the real ones. The (two-tailed) p-values are displayed on the plots’ captions.

Figure (3) Randomization inference, 2-week window



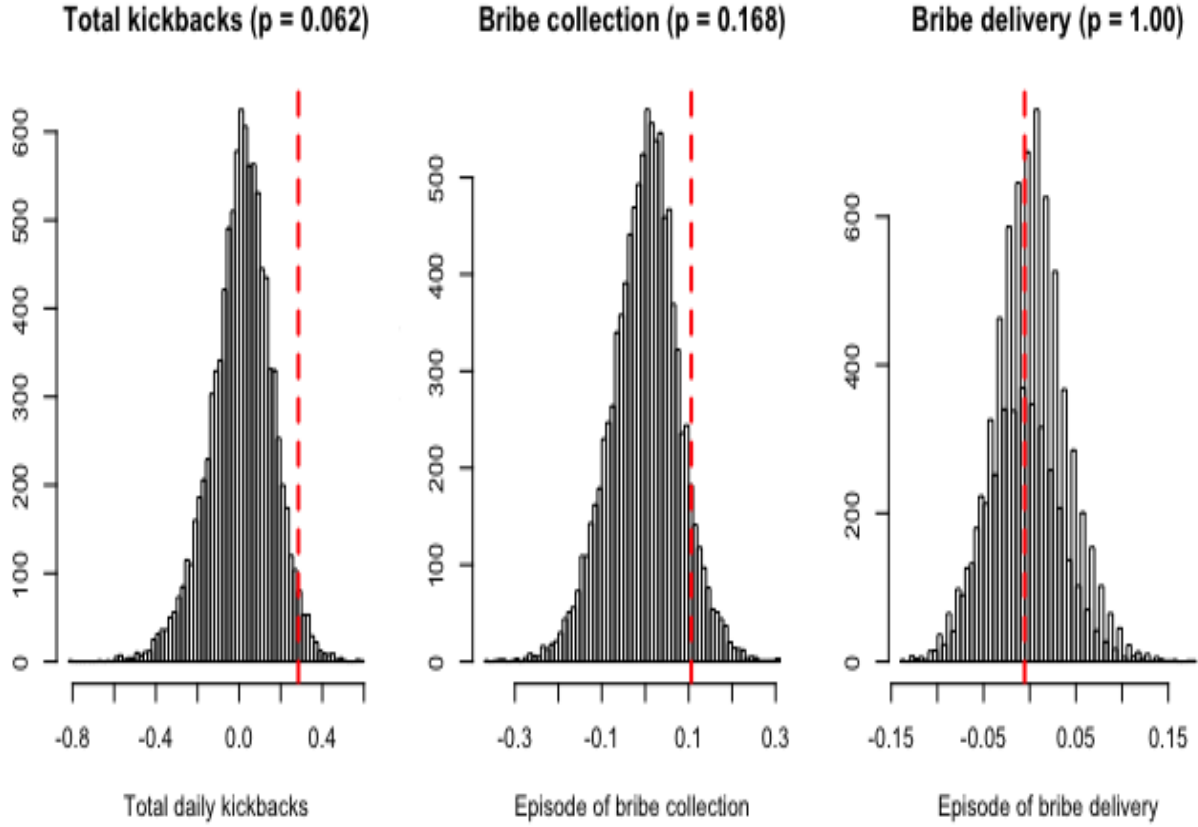
Notes: the plots display the sampling distribution of 10,000 “placebo coefficients”, obtained by estimating equation (1) but randomly assigning 5 “false” elections instead of using the real ones. The (two-tailed) p-values are displayed on the plots’ captions.

Figure (4) Randomization inference, 3-week window



Notes: the plots display the sampling distribution of 10,000 “placebo coefficients”, obtained by estimating equation (1) but randomly assigning 5 “false” elections instead of using the real ones. The (two-tailed) p-values are displayed on the plots’ captions.

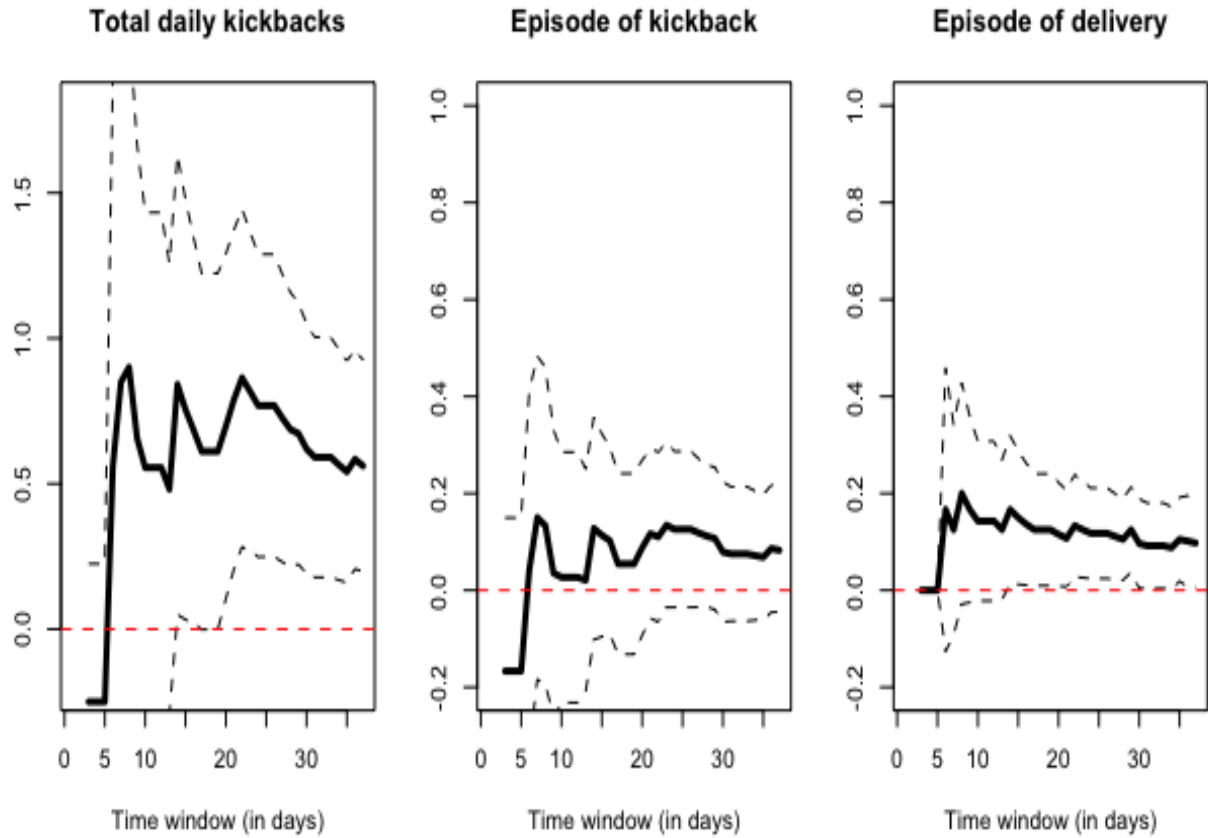
Figure (5) Randomization inference, 4-week window



Notes: the plots display the sampling distribution of 10,000 “placebo coefficients”, obtained by estimating equation (1) but randomly assigning 5 “false” elections instead of using the real ones. The (two-tailed) p-values are displayed on the plots’ captions.

D. Using data from 2010 and imputing the 2013 electoral dates

Figure (6) Placebo analysis of 2010 with days of election from 2013



Notes: Dashed lines indicate (two-tailed) 90 percent confidence intervals using Huber-White robust standard errors and assuming that the sampling distribution of the difference-in-means follows the t distribution with $n - k$ degrees of freedom.

E. Transcription and translation of excerpts

In this appendix, I provide the original text (in Spanish, along with my English translation) of the central excerpts referenced in the body of the paper. The original text has grammatical and spelling mistakes in Spanish that I do not correct. [I occasionally include clarifying comments or add words for readability between brackets].

A1. The mission of the organization was to collect bribes from businessmen in the construction sector

Notebook #7, May 6th, 2013

Original text. “Hoy, 6 de mayo de 2013 vuelvo a escribir después de la muerte de Néstor Kirchner porque dejé de hacerlo. Pensé que después del fallecimiento no se haría más el Valijero. Pero sí, disminuyó la frecuencia, con la diferencia que se recolecta dinero para el ministro De Vido y el propio Baratta. No quise a anotar más por temor que me descubran y quede sin trabajo. Pero decidí nuevamente porque en una reunión que tuvo el ministro De Vido, Baratta y la Sra. Presidenta Cristina F. Kirchner en la cual los instruyó para que sigan recaudando de las empresas para las próximas campañas electorales.”

English translation. “*Today, May 6th, 2010, I resume the record-keeping after Nestor Kirchner’s death, because I stopped doing it. I thought that bribe-collection would stop after his death. The frequency of bribe-collection decreased, and it was different because money was collected for Minister De Vido and [the undersecretary] Baratta. I didn’t want to write for fear of being caught, for I would lose my job. But I decided to start doing it again, because in a meeting between Minister De Vido, Baratta, and the President Cristina F. de Kirchner, she instructed them to keep collecting money from firms for the upcoming electoral campaigns.*”

Notebook #8, first entry

Original text. “Comienzo a registrar los retiros de dinero porque considero que es increíble todo el tiempo que no lo hice. Dejo aclarado de manera interrumpible se viene haciendo con las empresas que logran las licitaciones por obras y pagos por servicios prestados al ministerio de planificación y que por intermedio del licenciado Baratta y Nelson Lazarte vienen recaudando. Dejo aclarado también que algunos de los retiros de dinero lo hace el Lic. por dependencia propia y el resto para el ministro Julio De Vido.”

English translation. *“I start recording the money collection because it’s incredible that I haven’t done it for a long time. I want to highlight that, continuously, bribes have been collected from companies that won public contracts and provided services to the MoP, and the intermediaries have been Baratta and Nelson Lazarte. I also want to remark that some bribes are collected autonomously by [Baratta] for himself and the minister Julio De Vido.”*

A2. The bureaucrats followed orders and instructions from party leaders

Notebook #6, July 29th, 2010

Original text. “Del ministerio lo llevé al licenciado a la Quinta de Olivos , también vino el secretario de Baratta, fue a reunirse con Néstor Kirchner a recibir las órdenes para las nuevas recorridas de recolección de dinero de las obras publicas. Luego a las 13:15 salimos de la quinta de Olivos, pero a las 12:15 salió en helicóptero la Señora presidenta de La Nacion Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, se pudo ver en la filmación cuando salimos de Olivos los llevé al licenciado y a su secretario a su domicilio quien me hizo subir a su departamento para que le arregle un cajón de su departamento que se descarriló. Y luego nos invitó a comer unos sandwiches. Luego Nélon se fue y yo lo llevé al licencaido a la psicóloga, [...] y luego lo llevé al ministerio.”

English translation. *“I drove [Baratta] from the ministry to the Quinta de Olivos [note: the presidential residence], and Baratta’s secretary also came along, to meet with Néstor Kirchner and receive orders about the new routes to collect money from public works. At 13.15 we left the Quinta de Olivos, but at 12.15, Mrs. President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner left on a helicopter. It is possible to see on videotape that we left Olivos, and I drove [Baratta] and his secretary to his apartment, where he asked me to fix his drawer, which was broken. Then he gave us some sandwiches. Then Nelson [Baratta’s secretary] left, and I drove [Baratta] to the psychologist [...], and then I drove him back to the ministry.”*

Notebook #6, October 6th, 2010

Original text. “Del ministerio lo llevé al Lic. y Nelson a la Quinta de Olivos a reunirse con Néstor Kirchner para recibir instrucciones para el recorrido de mañana para la recaudación del dinero de las empresas por obras públicas en el país y luego lo dejé en su domicilio.”

English translation. *“I drove [Baratta] and Nelson from the ministry to the Quinta de Olivos for a meeting with Néstor Kirchner to receive instructions for the bribe-collection routing to take place tomorrow, to collect money from public works companies, and then I left [Baratta] in his home.”*

A3. The minister issues orders for the undersecretary

Notebook #6, November 12th, 2010

Original text. “Del ministerio lo llevé al Lic Baratta y a Hernán Gómez a [...], donde retiró un bolso con dinero U\$S380.000 (trescientos ochenta mil dólares), luego lo llevé a un casamiento de un amigo de la esposa del Lic, en Bulnes y Beruti, en el salón del cine. Entró solo y con Hernán Gomez nos quedamos en el auto cuidando el bolso con dinero; luego lo llevé a reunirse con Juanjo Álvarez (como lo llaman) a [...] donde se sumó luego al grupo

Nelson Lazarte, luego nuevamente fuimos a [...] a retirar ms dinero, no pude saber cuánto era; luego se queda en el lugar Hernán y se va al ministerio caminando y llevo al Lic a [...] ‘restaurant Croque Madame’ a reunirse con Mundin donde le dice a Nelson que se vaya a su casa. Luego lo llevo al Lic a su dpto y lo espero para luego llevarlo a reunirse con el ministro De Vido e informarle todo lo acontecido y recibir ordenes; luego de una hora lo llevé al Lic a su dpto y me fui a casa.”

English translation. *“I drove Baratta and Hernán Gómez from the ministry to [...], where he picked up a duffel bag with money \$380.000 (three hundred and eighty thousand dollars), and then I drove him to the wedding of a friend of [Baratta’s] wife in [...]. He went to the wedding alone, and I stayed in the car with Hernán Gomez protecting the duffel bag with money. Then I drove [Baratta] to a meeting with Juanjo Álvarez [...] in [...] where they also met with Nelson Lazarte. Then we went to [...] to pick up more money, and I couldn’t tell how much it was. Then Nelson stayed and Hernan left to the ministry on foot, and I drove [Baratta] to the restaurant Croque Madame for him to meet with Mundin, and [Baratta] told Nelson to go home. Then I drove [Baratta] to his apartment, and waited for him so I could drive him to meet with minister De Vido to inform him of what happened and receive orders; after an hour I drove [Baratta] to his apartment and then I went home.”*

A4. The undersecretary seeks the minister’s advice in moments of crisis

Notebook #6, May 27th, 2010

Original text. “Del ministerio lo llevé al licenciado Baratta y al Ingeniero Ezequiel Garca a [...], en el lugar nos esperaba una persona que nos pregunta si veníamos por Goycochea y el licenciado le dice que sí. Esta persona nos dice que bajemos al segundo subsuelo que nos esperaban y se sube a mi auto y bajamos al segundo subsuelo. Estaba otra persona al lado

de un passat gris claro. Nos dicen que pongamos el auto nuestro a la par del otro. En el lugar dice García que bajaba él a recibir el bolso con el dinero porque haba cámaras. Luego se vuelve a subir con el bolso que tena 1.300.000 dólares salimos, pero antes nos previenen que a la derecha había un control de Prefectura y Baratta dice que no hay problemas porque ponemos el cartel oficial de circulación. El licenciado Baratta me dice que vayamos al encuentro de Hernán Gómez, que estaba con otro bolso de recaudación antigua, pero cuando llegamos a la altura de Retiro le digo al licenciado que nos están siguiendo en una Toyota Hilux 634 y me dice que la pierda, que la deje atrás y acelero y me tiro a la derecha y me escapo y el licenciado Baratta llama a Fabián González, Jefe de custodia del ministro De Vido, y le pasa los datos de la camioneta hasta que lleguemos a la casa del ministro y ahí, si esta camioneta nos seguía, ellos la detendrían. Y fue cuando me dice que vayamos a su departamento y le dijo también a Hernán Gómez que nos espere en [...]. El licenciado estaba preocupado por la camioneta y lo llamó al ministro De Vido y le comenta lo sucedido y el ministro dice que tengamos los ojos bien abiertos y que salgamos de la zona. As fue que los llevé al licenciado Baratta y a García al departamento y ya estaba Hernán esperando en su camioneta y bajaron los bolsos (el que llevábamos nosotros y el que tenía Hernán Gomez en su Meriva [...]). Subieron al departamento a dejar los bolsos y nos dicen que nos vayamos a dar más vueltas. Hasta que a las 16,15 me llamó el licenciado y me dice que lo espere en la esquina de siempre (French y Coronel Daz) voy al encuentro, se subieron a mi auto nuevamente, el licenciado y Garca y los traje al ministerio.”

English translation. *“I drove Baratta and Ezequiel García to [...] from the ministry. A person was waiting for us there, and asked us if we went there to meet Goycochea, and [Baratta] said ‘yes.’ The person told us to go to the second underground level because they were waiting for us, he got in my car and we went to the second underground level. Another person was next to us in a light gray Passat car. They told us to park the car next to the other one. In that place García said he was getting out of the car to receive the duffel bag*

with cash because there were videocameras. He then got back in the car with the duffel bag, which had 1.300.000 dollars. We got out [of the parking garage], they warned us that there was a police check [note: of the Naval Prefecture], and Baratta said it was okay because we would put the sign indicating immunity from traffic laws. [Baratta] told me to go meet with Hernán Gómez, who had another duffel bag with old collected money, but when we got to Retiro [note: a neighborhood in Buenos Aires], I told [Baratta] that a Toyota Hilux van was following us, and he told me to lose it, so I accelerated and escaped, and Baratta called Fabián González, the chief of security of minister De Vido, he gave him the information of the car, and [González] told him to go to the minister's house, and that he would stop the van if it was still following us. Right then, [Baratta] told me to go to his apartment, and told Hernán Gómez to wait us in [...]. [Baratta] was worried about the van, and called minister De Vido to tell him what had happened. The minister told him to keep our eyes open and exit the area. So I drove Baratta and García to the apartment, and Hernán was waiting for us in his van, and they took the duffel bags to the apartment (the ones we had on us and the one Hernán Gómez had in his Meriva [...]). They went up to the apartment to leave the bags and told us [note: the driver and García] to drive around the block. At 16.15, [Baratta] called me and told me to wait for him in the usual corner (French and Coronel Díaz), [so] I went there, they got in the car again, [Baratta] and García, and I drove them to the ministry.”

A5. The undersecretary issues orders for his advisor

Notebook # 7, August 5th, 2013

Original text. “Lo llevo a Nelson a retirar una caja (hay foto). La caja contenía dinero (medía la caja 21 cm x 32 cm x 36 cm) decía que eran dólares y pesaba aproximadamente 12 o 15 kg y volvemos al Ministerio. Me quedo cuidando la caja y Nelson sube a recibir instrucciones del Lic. y baja a los 15’ y lo llevo a Diagonal Norte entre San Martín y Florida 18:30 y esperamos que venga el auto de Presidencia el Ford Focus [...], le pasa la caja a esta

persona (joven, morocho, delgado) y se dirigen a la Casa de Gobierno.”

English translation. *“I drove Nelson to withdraw a box (there’s a photo). The box contained money (its measures were 21cm x 32cm x 36cm). [Nelson] said the box was full of dollars and weighted approximately 12 or 15 kgs, and we went back to the Ministry. I stayed [in the car] guarding the box, and Nelson went up to receive instructions from [Baratta], and came down 15 minutes after, and I drove him to Diagonal Norte, between San Martin and Florida 18:30, and we waited for the car from the Presidency, a Ford Focus [...]. [Nelson] gave the box to a person (young, brunette, and thin), and they went to the Presidential palace.”*

A6. Bureaucrats avoided contact with law enforcement officers

Notebook # 6, June 9, 2010

Original text. “Del ministerio lo llevé al licenciado y a Nelson a Suipacha 1111 y Santa Fe. Secretar?a de Turismo, cuando llegamos había un patrullero en la vereda de enfrente y el licenciado Baratta llama por celular y le dice a una persona que lo esperamos a la vuelta sobre Santa Fe. El [patrullero] pertenece a una comisaría que hay sobre Suipacha. Luego sube una persona joven al auto y le da un papel con la cuenta y le dice al licenciado Baratta y le da un bolso con dinero, 450.000 dólares y a las dos cuerdas se baja del auto esta persona, y el licenciado me dice que vamos a buscarlos a Hernán Gómez que estaba esperando con la otra recaudación. Nos dirigimos al estacionamiento de la AGP de Azopardo y Belgrano. En el lugar, sube Hernán Gómez al auto que íbamos con dinero, la suma de 1.200.000 dólares. Luego me dice el licenciado Baratta, “No vas a ir por el Puerto, no? Y entonces doy la vuelta por Huergo, Venezuela y regreso al Ministerio. Bajaron todo el dinero y subieron por el ascensor vip, el licenciado Baratta, Hernán Góme[z] y Nélon Lazarte.”

English translation. *“From the Ministry, I drove [Baratta] and Nelson to [...]. When*

we arrived at the Secretary of Tourism, there was a police car parked across the street, so Baratta called a person on the phone and told him that we shall wait for him on Santa Fe [a street]. The police car was part of a police station on Suipacha [a street]. A young person got in the car and gave [Baratta] a paper with a number [of money] and gave [Baratta] a duffel bag with 450,000 dollars, and got out of the car two blocks away. [Baratta] told me to go pick up Hernán Gómez [Baratta's advisor] who was waiting for us with more money. We went to the parking garage of the AGP in Azopardo and Belgrano. Hernán Gómez got in the car there, with 1,200,000 dollars. Then Baratta says "you are not driving near the port, right?", so I turned around in Huergo, Venezuela, and drove back to the Ministry. They grabbed the money and went to the Ministry using the VIP elevator, Baratta, Hernán Gómez, and Nélon Lazarte [Baratta's advisor]."

Notebook # 7, August 9, 2013

Original text. "Lo llevo a Nelson al Edificio Bs As Plaza, de M. Saenz 351 (foto), retira dinero en el bolso y se contacta con la persona del Ford Focus [...] y vamos al encuentro en México y Paseo Colón; pero como había un patrullero de prefectura estacionado, seguimos hasta Independencia; 20 metros sobre Defensa (foto) pasan el contenido en el baúl del auto estacionado y regresamos a Minplan."

English translation. "*I drove Nelson to the BsAs Plaza building [...], he withdrew money in the duffel bag and contacted a person in a Ford Focus [...] and we drove to meet him at Mexico and Paseo Colon [an intersection in Buenos Aires City], but given that there was a police car from the Naval Prefecture, we drove further to Independencia [another street]; [...] [Nelson] transferred the money from the trunk of the car that was parked there [into our car] and we went back to the MoP*".

Notebook # 6, May 27, 2010

This excerpt is referenced above.

Notebook # 6, June 2, 2010

Original text. “Del ministerio lo llevé al Licenciado Baratta y Nélon a la puerta del estacionamiento de Azopardo y Belgrano, donde guarda la camioneta Meriva [...] Hernán Gómez, quien estaba esperando con un bolso de dinero de la recaudación de empresarios 600.000 dólares y sube a mi auto y me dirijo por el Puerto para ir al ministerio y el Licenciado Baratta me recrimina por qué iba por ahí que hay personal de Prefectura y me hace poner el cartel de la franquicia de libre circulación para que no nos paren. Y llegamos al ministerio y suben con el bolso de dinero a la oficina del licenciado Baratta.”

English translation. “*From the Ministry, I drove Baratta and Nelson to the parking garage of Azopardo and Belgrano [two streets], where Hernan Gomez parks his van. He was waiting for us with a duffel bag with the money he collected from businessmen, 600 thousand dollars, and got in my car, and I drove near the port to go back to the Ministry, and Baratta complained that I was driving near the port because there were officers from the Naval Prefecture, and asked me to display the Ministry’s sign indicating immunity from traffic laws so that we were not stopped. We arrived at the Ministry and they went up with the duffel bag with the money to Baratta’s office.*”

F. “Units of measurement” used in the notebooks

Date	Collected amount	Units of measurement
22-Oct-15	0.8	Dollars
19-Oct-15	0.8	Dollars
14-Oct-15	1.3	Dollars
8-Oct-15	1	Dollars
6-Oct-15	0.65	Dollars
1-Oct-15	1.2	Dollars
14-Sep-15	0.75	Dollars
7-Sep-15	1.7	Dollars
1-Sep-15	1.2	Dollars
18-Aug-15	0.5	Bag
14-Aug-15	NA	Units not specified
12-Aug-15	0.5	Dollars
3-Aug-15	0.25	Dollars
30-Jul-15	0.5	Dollars
27-Jul-15	NA	Units not specified
21-Jul-15	1.75	Dollars
13-Jul-15	1.25	Dollars
1-Jul-15	1	Dollars
30-Jun-15	1.5	Dollars
29-Jun-15	0.7	Dollars
24-Jun-15	NA	Units not specified
23-Jun-15	1.5	Dollars
22-Jun-15	0.2	Dollars
18-Jun-15	0.25	Dollars

16-Jun-15	1	Dollars
15-Jun-15	1	Dollars
9-Jun-15	1.25	Dollars
8-Jun-15	0.25	Dollars
3-Jun-15	3.75	Dollars
2-Jun-15	1.25	Dollars
28-May-15	2.2	Dollars
31-Oct-13	0.5	Duffel bag
24-Oct-13	0.5	Dollars
23-Oct-13	0.3	Dollars
22-Oct-13	4.5	Dollars
1-Oct-13	2.2	Dollars
24-Sep-13	1.5	Dollars
20-Sep-13	0.2	Dollars
19-Sep-13	0.06	Dollars
18-Sep-13	0.8	Dollars
17-Sep-13	2.5	Dollars
16-Sep-13	0.85	Dollars
12-Sep-13	0.8	Dollars
11-Sep-13	1.5	Duffel Bag
10-Sep-13	1.75	Dollars
6-Sep-13	1	Duffel Bag
5-Sep-13	NA	Units not specified
4-Sep-13	2	Duffel bag and package
3-Sep-13	2	Bag and suitcase
30-Aug-13	1.2	Duffel bag and package

23-Aug-13	1.29	Dollars
20-Aug-13	1	Duffel Bag
13-Aug-13	1	Duffel Bag
9-Aug-13	4	Duffel Bag and Box
8-Aug-13	1	Duffel Bag
7-Aug-13	1.5	Duffel Bag
5-Aug-13	2	Box and bags
1-Aug-13	2	Duffel Bag
31-Jul-13	2	Duffel Bag and Box
29-Jul-13	2	Duffel Bag
26-Jul-13	1	Duffel Bag
25-Jul-13	3	Duffel Bag
24-Jul-13	2	Duffel bag
23-Jul-13	2	Duffel Bag
19-Jul-13	1	Box
18-Jul-13	1	Duffel Bag
17-Jul-13	1	Duffel Bag
16-Jul-13	1	Duffel Bag
15-Jul-13	2	Duffel Bag
26-Jun-13	0.5	Duffel Bag
14-May-13	1	Duffel Bag
20-Dec-10	1	Duffel Bag
24-Nov-10	0.2	Dollars
12-Nov-10	0.38	Dollars
21-Oct-10	3.5	Dollars
14-Oct-10	3	Dollars

7-Oct-10	4	Dollars
22-Sep-10	3.3	Dollars
15-Sep-10	0.9	Dollars
9-Sep-10	0.9	Dollars
1-Sep-10	0.7	Dollars
19-Aug-10	1.2	Dollars
18-Aug-10	2.7	Dollars
11-Aug-10	1.5	Dollars
6-Aug-10	4.5	Dollars
4-Aug-10	4.5	Dollars
29-Jul-10	4.5	Dollars
23-Jul-10	3.5	Dollars
21-Jul-10	4.5	Dollars
20-Jul-10	0.25	Dollars
14-Jul-10	1	Duffel Bag
7-Jul-10	0.8	Dollars
9-Jun-10	1.65	Dollars
2-Jun-10	1.1	Dollars
27-May-10	1.3	Dollars
19-May-10	0.9	Dollars
12-May-10	1.2	Dollars
5-May-10	1.2	Dollars
28-Apr-10	1.2	Dollars
22-Apr-10	1.2	Dollars
15-Apr-10	0.2	Dollars
8-Apr-10	1.3	Dollars

23-Mar-10	1.8	Dollars
19-Mar-10	0.3	Dollars
17-Mar-10	2.75	Dollars
15-Mar-10	0.25	Dollars
10-Mar-10	2.5	Dollars
25-Feb-10	0.3	Dollars
24-Feb-10	3.25	Dollars
17-Feb-10	0.4	Dollars
10-Feb-10	NA	Units not specified
3-Feb-10	1.2	Dollars
27-Jan-10	1.2	Dollars
26-Jan-10	0.5	Package
21-Jan-10	0.2	Dollars
20-Jan-10	0.8	Dollars
15-Jan-10	0.5	Bag
10-Dec-09	1.2	Dollars
7-Dec-09	0.2	Dollars
3-Dec-09	0.3	Dollars
26-Nov-09	2	Duffel Bag
12-Nov-09	1	Bag
4-Nov-09	0.9	Dollars
28-Oct-09	0.27	Dollars
8-Oct-09	0.25	Dollars
2-Oct-09	0.15	Dollars
1-Oct-09	0.1	Dollars
30-Sep-09	0.25	Dollars

17-Sep-09	0.6	Dollars
10-Sep-09	0.5	Bag
3-Sep-09	2	Duffel Bag
2-Sep-09	0.5	Package
20-Aug-09	1.5	Duffel bag and package
12-Aug-09	1.7	Duffel bag and dollars
5-Aug-09	0.7	Dollars
30-Jul-09	0.4	Dollars
29-Jul-09	2	Dollars
22-Jul-09	1	Duffel Bag
16-Jul-09	NA	Units not specified
4-Jun-09	2	Duffel Bag
3-Jun-09	0.3	Dollars
29-May-09	2	Duffel Bag
21-May-09	1	Duffel Bag
15-May-09	0.8	Dollars
14-May-09	4.6	Dollars
13-May-09	0.2	Dollars
29-Apr-09	1.5	Duffel bag and bag
7-Apr-09	0.5	Bag
26-Mar-09	NA	Units not specified
4-Mar-09	0.5	Package
25-Feb-09	0.5	Package
10-Feb-09	0.5	Dollars
28-Jan-09	2.5	Box and Bag
13-Jan-09	1	Duffel Bag

5-Jan-09	6	Dollars
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F2. Testing for systematic differences in units of account before and after elections

Table 2 shows that the units of account used in the notebooks do not vary systematically around elections. The proportion of entries using “cash”, “duffel bag”, and “other” units of account (conditional on a bribe collection being reported) before and after elections are statistically undistinguishable using a two-tailed t-test.

	Before elections	After elections	Difference	p-value
Prop. cash	0.50	0.45	0.05	0.73
Prop. duffel	0.38	0.25	0.13	0.32
Prop. other	0.12	0.30	-0.18	0.14