

# Appendix (For Online Publication)

## A Data

**Stringency Index and Covid data** . This data comes from Roser et al. (2020).

<https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/covid-stringency-index?time=2020-01-22..latest>

**Political Variables** . Our main set of political variables are from the Polity Project:

<https://www.systemicpeace.org/polityproject.html><https://www.systemicpeace.org/polityproject.html>.

We use variables from 2018.

Additionally we obtain measures of the size of the selectorate and the winning coalition from Bueno de Mesquita and Smith (2018).

## Proofs

### Proof of Theorem 1

**Proof** Condition (3) can be expressed as  $F_i \equiv P_i \left[ (1 - \tau) + \frac{\tau}{w_i^2} \right] + \frac{\tau}{w_i^2} [\sum_{-i} P_{-i}] - \frac{\kappa}{w_i^2} = 0$ , where  $P_i \equiv \frac{d\rho_i}{dp} (Y_{\rho_i} - \bar{Y}) + \frac{dY_{\rho_i}}{dp} \rho_i$  is the total marginal effect of the pandemic policy  $p$  on coalition  $i$ . This implies that, for, say a pair of members indexed 1 and 2,  $P_1[w_1^2(1 - \tau) + \tau] + \tau[P_2 + P_3 + \dots + P_K] = P_2[w_2^2(1 - \tau) + \tau] + \tau[P_1 + P_3 + \dots + P_K]$ . This reduces to  $P_1[w_1^2(1 - \tau)] = P_2[w_2^2(1 - \tau)]$ , or  $w_1^2 P_1 = w_2^2 P_2$ . More generally, for any pair  $(a, b)$  of coalition members from groups  $c$  and  $d$ ,  $w_c^2 P_a = w_d^2 P_b$ .

### Proof of Theorem 2

**Proof** Take any  $K$ -tuple of members from  $W$ , each of whom derives marginal benefit from the policy, respectively denoted as  $P_1, P_2, \dots, P_K$ . Then the proof of Theorem 1 also implies that  $w_1^2 P_1 = w_2^2 P_2 = \dots = w_K^2 P_K$ . Since  $w_1 > w_2 > \dots > w_K$ , it must be that  $P_1 < P_2 < \dots < P_K$ .

### Proof of Theorem 3

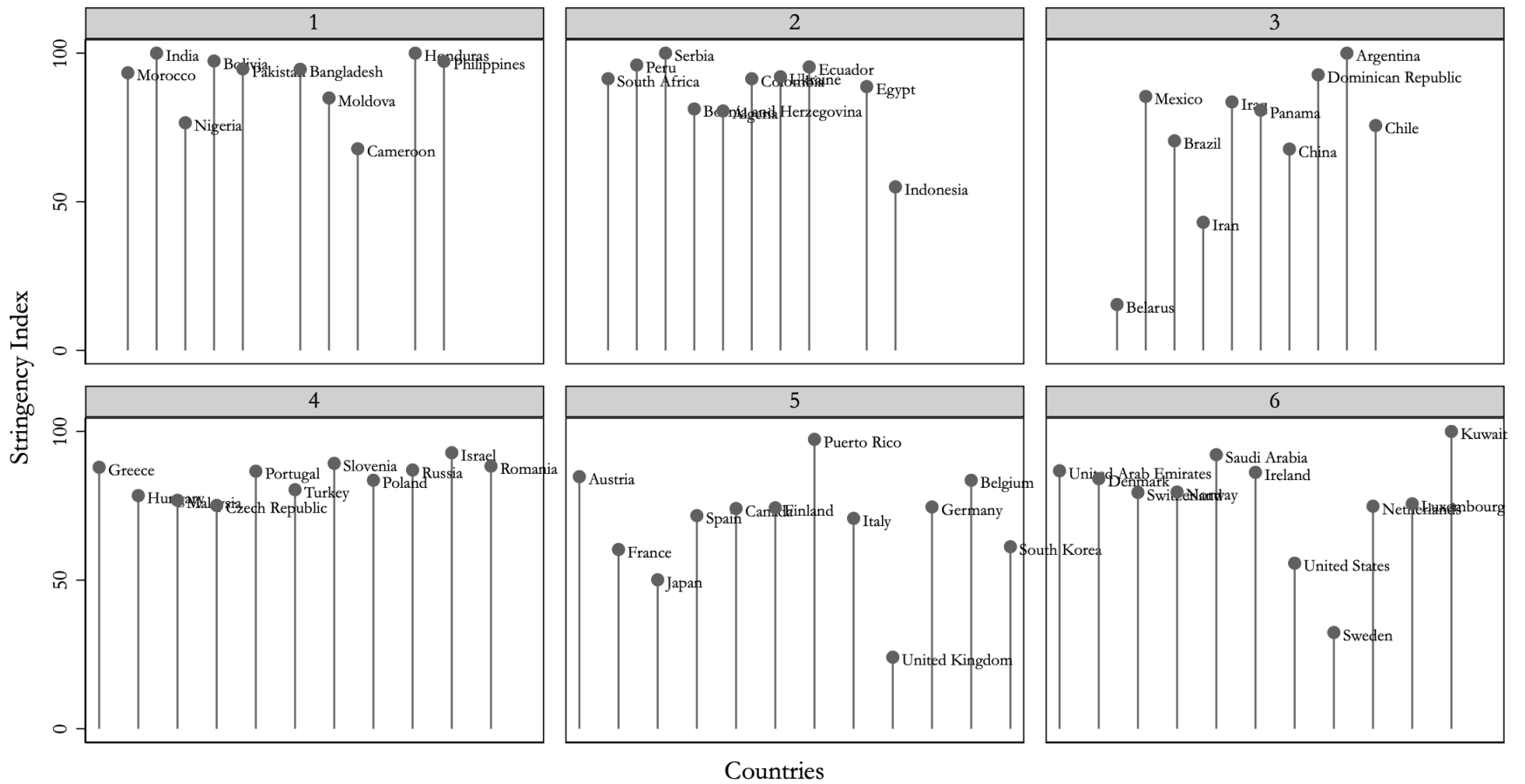
**Proof** By Theorem 2,  $P_K - P_1$  is largest, and  $P_1/P_K$  closest to zero, than other pairs of total marginal effects. Set  $P_1/P_K \approx 0$  and  $\frac{1}{P_K} \approx 0$ . Then  $\frac{1}{\frac{d\rho_K}{dp} (Y_{\rho_K} - \bar{Y}) + \frac{dY_{\rho_K}}{dp} \rho_K} \approx 0$ , which is implicit in  $(\eta_K, \epsilon_K)$ , since

$$\frac{d\rho_K}{dp} = \frac{\partial \rho_K}{\partial p} + \eta_K \frac{\partial(\frac{\sum_i S_i \rho_i}{S})}{\partial p} \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{dY_{\rho_K}}{dp} = \frac{\partial Y_{\rho_K}}{\partial p} + \epsilon_K \frac{\partial(\sum_i S_i y_i)}{\partial p}$$
 are functions of  $\eta_K$  and  $\epsilon_K$ .

This is true for any  $K$ -tuple of members from  $W$  – the member belonging to  $w_K$  always experiences the largest marginal effect of the policy and, thus, the policy most closely reflects her HV–EV profile. (See subsequent discussion in the text.)

## B Additional Figures

Figure 7: A snapshot of the stringency index at the point when 100 deaths were reached. Data: (Roser et al. 2020).



Graphs by 6 quantiles of GDP per capita

This figure includes data on all countries with at least 100 deaths as of July 2020.

Figure 8: The stringency index for selected countries at 10, 100, 200, and 500 deaths respectively.

