

Reverse Party Favoritism in Times of Pandemics: Evidence from Poland by Jarosław Kantorowicz. JPIPE V2N1.

Supplementary material

Table A1. Descriptive statistics of the full sample

VARIABLES	(1) N	(2) Mean	(3) SD	(4) Min	(5) Max
List shared, including lists with no password	2,079	0.177	0.382	0	1
List shared, excluding lists with no password	2,079	0.153	0.360	0	1
No response	2,477	0.161	0.367	0	1
Political alignment	2,475	0.103	0.304	0	1
Divided government	2,477	0.188	0.391	0	1
Political contestability	2,477	0.670	0.256	0.0392	0.999
Ideological alignment	2,476	0.536	0.139	0.183	0.889
% of PiS in county councils	2,477	0.342	0.153	0	0.759
% of PiS in voivodship councils	2,477	0.469	0.117	0	0.758
Own revenue (in 10,000 PLN)	2,476	0.212	0.132	0.0702	4.155
Female	2,475	0.120	0.325	0	1
Age	2,475	49.55	9.448	25	78
Higher education	2,477	0.914	0.280	0	1

Table A2. Descriptive statistics of the RD design sample

VARIABLES	(1) N	(2) Mean	(3) SD	(4) Min	(5) Max
List shared, including lists with no password	765	0.188	0.391	0	1
List shared, excluding lists with no password	765	0.158	0.365	0	1
No response	900	0.150	0.357	0	1
Political alignment	900	0.221	0.415	0	1
Divided government	900	0.229	0.420	0	1
Political contestability	900	0.747	0.173	0.264	0.999
Ideological alignment	899	0.549	0.140	0.209	0.889
% of PiS in county councils	900	0.370	0.159	0	0.759
% of PiS in voivodship councils	900	0.491	0.115	0.300	0.758
Own revenue	899	0.218	0.169	0.0702	4.155
Female	900	0.114	0.319	0	1
Age	900	49.41	9.284	26	78
Higher education	900	0.919	0.273	0	1

Table A3. Two sample t-tests of differences in means by political alignment (two-level operationalization)

	N ₁	N ₂	M ₁	M ₂	Diff	t-stat
List shared, including lists with no password	1866	212	.15	.42	-.28	-10.2
List shared, excluding lists with no password	1866	212	.13	.38	-.26	-10
No response	2220	255	.16	.17	-.01	-.4
Political contestability	2220	255	.67	.69	-.02	-1.15
Divided government	2220	255	.18	.22	-.03	-1.25
Ideological alignment	2219	255	.52	.64	-.12	-13.65
% of PiS in county councils	2220	255	.46	.56	-.1	-13.2
% of PiS in voivodship councils	2220	255	.33	.47	-.14	-14.45
Own revenue (in 10,000 PLN)	2219	255	.22	.18	.04	4.65
Female	2220	255	.12	.09	.03	1.35
Age	2220	255	49.79	47.41	2.38	3.8
Higher education	2220	255	.91	.92	0	-.2

Table A4. Regression models for the outcome variable that assumes the sharing lists without passwords constitutes the act of sharing; two-level operationalization of the political alignment variable

VARIABLES	(1) Baseline model: OLS	(2) Interaction model 1: OLS	(3) Interaction model 2: OLS	(4) Baseline model: Logit	(5) Interaction model 1: Logit	(6) Interaction model 2: Logit
Political alignment	0.197*** (0.041)	0.209** (0.082)	0.223*** (0.044)	0.984*** (0.202)	1.011** (0.414)	1.092*** (0.220)
Political contestability	0.028 (0.032)	0.030 (0.031)	0.027 (0.032)	0.262 (0.244)	0.269 (0.260)	0.255 (0.245)
Political alignment # Political contestability		-0.017 (0.113)			-0.039 (0.542)	
Divided government	-0.010 (0.022)	-0.010 (0.022)	0.004 (0.022)	-0.083 (0.167)	-0.083 (0.167)	0.018 (0.178)
Political alignment # Divided government			-0.121 (0.080)			-0.514 (0.408)
Ideological alignment	0.781*** (0.127)	0.781*** (0.127)	0.780*** (0.127)	6.088*** (0.933)	6.086*** (0.935)	6.088*** (0.934)
% of PiS in voivodship councils	-0.183 (0.127)	-0.184 (0.127)	-0.182 (0.127)	-1.537* (0.928)	-1.539* (0.926)	-1.526* (0.924)
% of PiS in county councils	0.070 (0.127)	0.070 (0.127)	0.069 (0.127)	0.686 (1.040)	0.687 (1.038)	0.667 (1.034)
Own revenue	0.062 (0.078)	0.062 (0.078)	0.062 (0.079)	0.301 (0.467)	0.301 (0.467)	0.304 (0.472)
Female	-0.020 (0.024)	-0.020 (0.024)	-0.018 (0.024)	-0.145 (0.209)	-0.145 (0.209)	-0.132 (0.207)
Age	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.010 (0.007)	0.010 (0.007)	0.010 (0.007)
Higher education	0.006 (0.032)	0.005 (0.032)	0.006 (0.032)	0.061 (0.227)	0.060 (0.227)	0.063 (0.228)
Constant	-0.298*** (0.087)	-0.299*** (0.087)	-0.298*** (0.087)	-5.428*** (0.728)	-5.432*** (0.728)	-5.437*** (0.729)
Observations	2,076	2,076	2,076	2,076	2,076	2,076
R-squared	0.113	0.113	0.115			
Adj. R-squared	0.109	0.108	0.110			
Pseudo R-squared				0.120	0.120	0.120

Note: Clustered standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A5. Regression models for the outcome variable that assumes the sharing the lists without passwords does not constitute the act of sharing; two-level operationalization of the political alignment variable

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Baseline	Interaction	Interaction	Baseline	Interaction	Interaction
	model: OLS	model 1: OLS	model 2: OLS	model: Logit	model 1: Logit	model 2: Logit
Political alignment	0.182*** (0.040)	0.169** (0.079)	0.206*** (0.045)	0.976*** (0.217)	0.874** (0.434)	1.071*** (0.237)
Political contestability	0.034 (0.029)	0.032 (0.029)	0.033 (0.029)	0.343 (0.252)	0.313 (0.275)	0.337 (0.253)
Political alignment # Political contestability		0.019 (0.107)			0.149 (0.554)	
Divided government	-0.016 (0.021)	-0.016 (0.021)	-0.002 (0.021) (0.000)	-0.135 (0.186)	-0.136 (0.186)	-0.037 (0.196) (0.000)
Political alignment # Divided government			-0.115 (0.082)			-0.467 (0.453)
Ideological alignment	0.745*** (0.122)	0.746*** (0.122)	0.744*** (0.122)	6.639*** (1.004)	6.646*** (1.007)	6.637*** (1.005)
% of PiS in voivodship councils	-0.174 (0.121)	-0.174 (0.121)	-0.173 (0.120)	-1.670* (0.972)	-1.662* (0.973)	-1.659* (0.969)
% of PiS in county councils	0.049 (0.127)	0.049 (0.127)	0.048 (0.126)	0.622 (1.170)	0.619 (1.171)	0.602 (1.164)
Own revenue	0.029 (0.088)	0.029 (0.088)	0.030 (0.088)	0.094 (0.776)	0.094 (0.779)	0.097 (0.784)
Female	-0.031 (0.021)	-0.031 (0.021)	-0.030 (0.021)	-0.272 (0.215)	-0.271 (0.215)	-0.259 (0.214)
Age	0.002* (0.001)	0.002* (0.001)	0.002* (0.001)	0.014* (0.008)	0.014* (0.008)	0.014* (0.008)
Higher education	0.005 (0.032)	0.006 (0.032)	0.006 (0.032)	0.070 (0.246)	0.072 (0.246)	0.072 (0.247)
Constant	-0.305*** (0.083)	-0.304*** (0.083)	-0.306*** (0.083)	-6.038*** (0.791)	-6.025*** (0.791)	-6.045*** (0.793)
Observations	2,076	2,076	2,076	2,076	2,076	2,076
R-squared	0.114	0.114	0.116			
Adj. R-squared	0.110	0.109	0.111			
Pseudo R-squared				0.132	0.132	0.133

Note: Clustered standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A6. Regression models for the responsiveness outcome variable; two-level operationalization of the political alignment variable

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Baseline	Interaction	Interaction	Baseline	Interaction	Interaction
	model: OLS	model 1: OLS	model 2: OLS	model: Logit	model 1: Logit	model 2: Logit
Political alignment	0.001 (0.027)	-0.026 (0.063)	0.011 (0.030)	0.009 (0.194)	-0.190 (0.490)	0.081 (0.216)
Political contestability	0.009 (0.032)	0.005 (0.034)	0.009 (0.032)	0.073 (0.242)	0.042 (0.257)	0.069 (0.241)
Political alignment # Political contestability		0.039 (0.091)			0.284 (0.682)	
Divided government	0.028 (0.021)	0.028 (0.021)	0.033 (0.022)	0.195 (0.146)	0.196 (0.146)	0.231 (0.145)
Political alignment # Divided government			-0.045 (0.058)			-0.316 (0.419)
Ideological alignment	0.083 (0.098)	0.084 (0.098)	0.082 (0.099)	0.496 (0.767)	0.504 (0.766)	0.492 (0.767)
% of PiS in voivodship councils	-0.009 (0.094)	-0.008 (0.094)	-0.008 (0.094)	-0.029 (0.700)	-0.022 (0.702)	-0.024 (0.702)
% of PiS in county councils	-0.023 (0.082)	-0.023 (0.082)	-0.023 (0.082)	-0.180 (0.608)	-0.183 (0.609)	-0.185 (0.608)
Own revenue	-0.068 (0.041)	-0.068 (0.041)	-0.068 (0.041)	-0.807 (0.665)	-0.807 (0.666)	-0.808 (0.665)
Female	0.031 (0.025)	0.032 (0.025)	0.032 (0.025)	0.218 (0.167)	0.219 (0.167)	0.221 (0.166)
Age	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.003 (0.006)	0.003 (0.006)	0.003 (0.006)
Higher education	-0.003 (0.028)	-0.003 (0.028)	-0.003 (0.028)	-0.020 (0.198)	-0.019 (0.198)	-0.018 (0.198)
Constant	0.114 (0.071)	0.115 (0.071)	0.113 (0.071)	-1.906*** (0.562)	-1.892*** (0.564)	-1.911*** (0.563)
Observations	2,473	2,473	2,473	2,473	2,473	2,473
R-squared	0.004	0.004	0.004			
Adj. R-squared	-0.000203	-0.000541	-0.000381			
Pseudo R-squared				0.00450	0.00458	0.00475

Note: Clustered standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A7. Regression models for the outcome variable that assumes the sharing lists without passwords constitutes the act of sharing; three-level operationalization of the political alignment variable

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Baseline	Interaction	Interaction	Baseline	Interaction	Interaction
	model: OLS	model 1: OLS	model 2: OLS	model: Logit	model 1: Logit	model 2: Logit
Political non-alignment	0.064*** (0.018)	0.061 (0.048)	0.058*** (0.020)	0.686*** (0.227)	0.920 (0.655)	0.608** (0.238)
Political alignment	0.253*** (0.043)	0.262*** (0.088)	0.272*** (0.048)	1.597*** (0.301)	1.850*** (0.704)	1.628*** (0.320)
Political contestability	0.030 (0.032)	0.027 (0.059)	0.029 (0.032)	0.278 (0.242)	0.603 (0.827)	0.273 (0.243)
Political non-alignment # Political contestability		0.005 (0.070)			-0.342 (0.902)	
Political alignment # Political contestability		-0.014 (0.121)			-0.368 (0.933)	
Divided government	-0.013 (0.022)	-0.013 (0.022)	-0.034 (0.040)	-0.104 (0.167)	-0.104 (0.167)	-0.598 (0.754)
Political non-alignment # Divided government			0.041 (0.046)			0.630 (0.785)
Political alignment # Divided government			-0.083 (0.086)			0.105 (0.839)
Ideological alignment	0.767*** (0.125)	0.767*** (0.126)	0.766*** (0.125)	5.985*** (0.931)	5.982*** (0.933)	5.981*** (0.933)
% of PiS in voivodship councils	-0.179 (0.128)	-0.180 (0.127)	-0.176 (0.127)	-1.559* (0.933)	-1.568* (0.931)	-1.535* (0.932)
% of PiS in county councils	0.067 (0.126)	0.067 (0.126)	0.065 (0.126)	0.673 (1.034)	0.676 (1.032)	0.650 (1.032)
Own revenue	0.059 (0.078)	0.059 (0.078)	0.060 (0.079)	0.265 (0.480)	0.264 (0.481)	0.270 (0.485)
Female	-0.022 (0.024)	-0.022 (0.024)	-0.021 (0.024)	-0.165 (0.208)	-0.164 (0.208)	-0.155 (0.207)
Age	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.011 (0.007)	0.011 (0.007)	0.011 (0.007)
Higher education	0.007 (0.032)	0.007 (0.032)	0.008 (0.032)	0.066 (0.226)	0.065 (0.226)	0.072 (0.227)
Constant	-0.352*** (0.093)	-0.350*** (0.099)	-0.348*** (0.094)	-5.996*** (0.815)	-6.212*** (0.989)	-5.941*** (0.820)
Observations	2,076	2,076	2,076	2,076	2,076	2,076
R-squared	0.117	0.117	0.118			
Adj. R-squared	0.112	0.111	0.113			
Pseudo R-squared				0.125	0.125	0.126

Note: Clustered standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A8. Regression models for the outcome variable that assumes the sharing the lists without passwords does not constitute the act of sharing; three-level operationalization of the political alignment variable

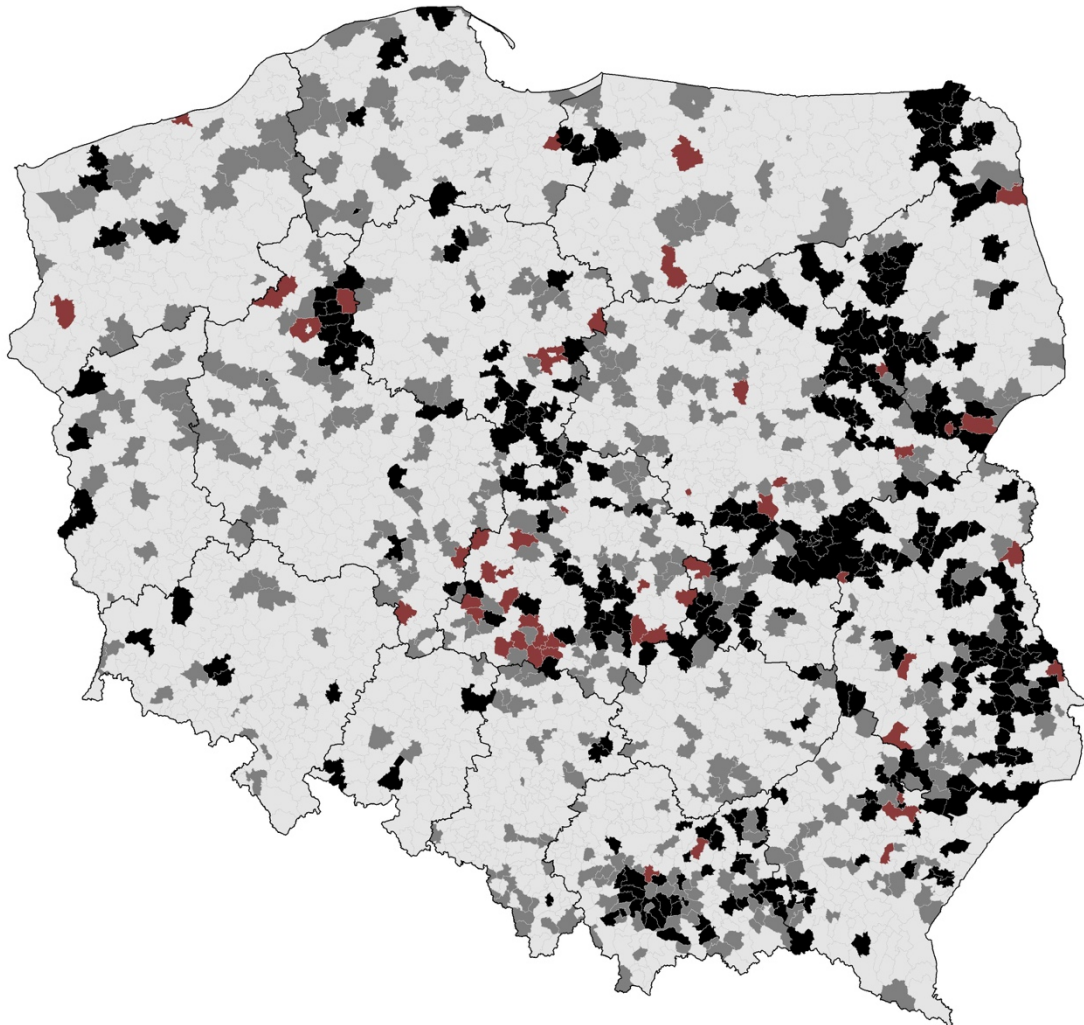
VARIABLES	(1) Baseline model: OLS	(2) Interaction model 1: OLS	(3) Interaction model 2: OLS	(4) Baseline model: Logit	(5) Interaction model 1: Logit	(6) Interaction model 2: Logit
Political non-alignment	0.064*** (0.016)	0.067 (0.045)	0.062*** (0.018)	0.823*** (0.257)	1.262 (0.821)	0.795*** (0.267)
Political alignment	0.237*** (0.042)	0.227*** (0.084)	0.259*** (0.048)	1.718*** (0.329)	2.037** (0.857)	1.779*** (0.350)
Political contestability	0.036 (0.029)	0.038 (0.056)	0.034 (0.029)	0.361 (0.251)	0.926 (1.056)	0.356 (0.252)
Political non-alignment # Political contestability		-0.004 (0.067)			-0.634 (1.134)	
Political alignment # Political contestability		0.015 (0.116)			-0.460 (1.156)	
Divided government	-0.018 (0.021)	-0.018 (0.021)	-0.011 (0.037)	-0.159 (0.187)	-0.160 (0.187)	-0.243 (0.748)
Political non-alignment # Divided government			0.007 (0.044)			0.187 (0.787)
Political alignment # Divided government			-0.106 (0.088)			-0.258 (0.864)
Ideological alignment	0.732*** (0.120)	0.732*** (0.121)	0.731*** (0.120)	6.523*** (1.008)	6.527*** (1.012)	6.519*** (1.010)
% of PiS in voivodship councils	-0.171 (0.121)	-0.170 (0.121)	-0.169 (0.120)	-1.703* (0.979)	-1.706* (0.978)	-1.687* (0.977)
% of PiS in county councils	0.047 (0.126)	0.046 (0.126)	0.046 (0.125)	0.607 (1.163)	0.607 (1.163)	0.587 (1.158)
Own revenue	0.027 (0.088)	0.027 (0.088)	0.027 (0.088)	0.047 (0.823)	0.045 (0.831)	0.050 (0.830)
Female	-0.034 (0.021)	-0.033 (0.021)	-0.032 (0.021)	-0.295 (0.214)	-0.293 (0.214)	-0.283 (0.214)
Age	0.002** (0.001)	0.002** (0.001)	0.002** (0.001)	0.015* (0.008)	0.015* (0.008)	0.015* (0.008)
Higher education	0.007 (0.032)	0.007 (0.032)	0.007 (0.032)	0.077 (0.246)	0.077 (0.246)	0.080 (0.247)
Constant	-0.359*** (0.088)	-0.360*** (0.092)	-0.358*** (0.088)	-6.723*** (0.883)	-7.111*** (1.087)	-6.706*** (0.887)
Observations	2,076	2,076	2,076	2,076	2,076	2,076
R-squared	0.118	0.118	0.119			
Adj. R-squared	0.113	0.112	0.114			
Pseudo R-squared				0.139	0.139	0.139

Note: Clustered standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A9. Regression models for the responsiveness outcome variable; three-level operationalization of the political alignment variable

VARIABLES	(1) Baseline model: OLS	(2) Interaction model 1: OLS	(3) Interaction model 2: OLS	(4) Baseline model: Logit	(5) Interaction model 1: Logit	(6) Interaction model 2: Logit
Political non-alignment	-0.003 (0.023)	-0.130* (0.067)	-0.012 (0.026)	-0.023 (0.176)	-0.916** (0.425)	-0.090 (0.191)
Political alignment	-0.002 (0.031)	-0.137 (0.088)	0.000 (0.035)	-0.011 (0.226)	-0.959 (0.615)	0.006 (0.250)
Political contestability	0.009 (0.032)	-0.160* (0.090)	0.009 (0.031)	0.073 (0.242)	-1.133* (0.597)	0.072 (0.241)
Political non-alignment # Political contestability		0.193** (0.094)			1.389** (0.639)	
Political alignment # Political contestability		0.205 (0.126)			1.462 (0.894)	
Divided government	0.028 (0.021)	0.028 (0.021)	-0.020 (0.057)	0.196 (0.146)	0.193 (0.147)	-0.148 (0.447)
Political non-alignment # Divided government			0.060 (0.059)			0.430 (0.460)
Political alignment # Divided government			0.008 (0.081)			0.062 (0.614)
Ideological alignment	0.083 (0.098)	0.088 (0.098)	0.083 (0.098)	0.501 (0.766)	0.527 (0.767)	0.494 (0.766)
% of PiS in voivodship councils	-0.009 (0.094)	-0.005 (0.094)	-0.006 (0.095)	-0.030 (0.701)	0.001 (0.701)	-0.010 (0.703)
% of PiS in county councils	-0.023 (0.082)	-0.026 (0.081)	-0.024 (0.082)	-0.179 (0.608)	-0.202 (0.609)	-0.188 (0.610)
Own revenue	-0.068 (0.041)	-0.065 (0.041)	-0.067 (0.041)	-0.804 (0.663)	-0.785 (0.672)	-0.799 (0.661)
Female	0.032 (0.025)	0.031 (0.025)	0.032 (0.025)	0.219 (0.167)	0.214 (0.167)	0.221 (0.166)
Age	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.003 (0.006)	0.003 (0.006)	0.002 (0.006)
Higher education	-0.003 (0.028)	-0.003 (0.028)	-0.003 (0.028)	-0.021 (0.198)	-0.022 (0.198)	-0.018 (0.198)
Constant	0.116 (0.076)	0.223** (0.093)	0.122 (0.077)	-1.887*** (0.598)	-1.151* (0.654)	-1.843*** (0.598)
Observations	2,473	2,473	2,473	2,473	2,473	2,473
R-squared	0.004	0.006	0.004			
Adj. R-squared	-0.000600	0.000634	-0.000784			
Pseudo R-squared				0.00451	0.00678	0.00518

Figure A1. Spatial distribution of the outcome variable (in red marked the municipalities which shared the list of voters with no password)

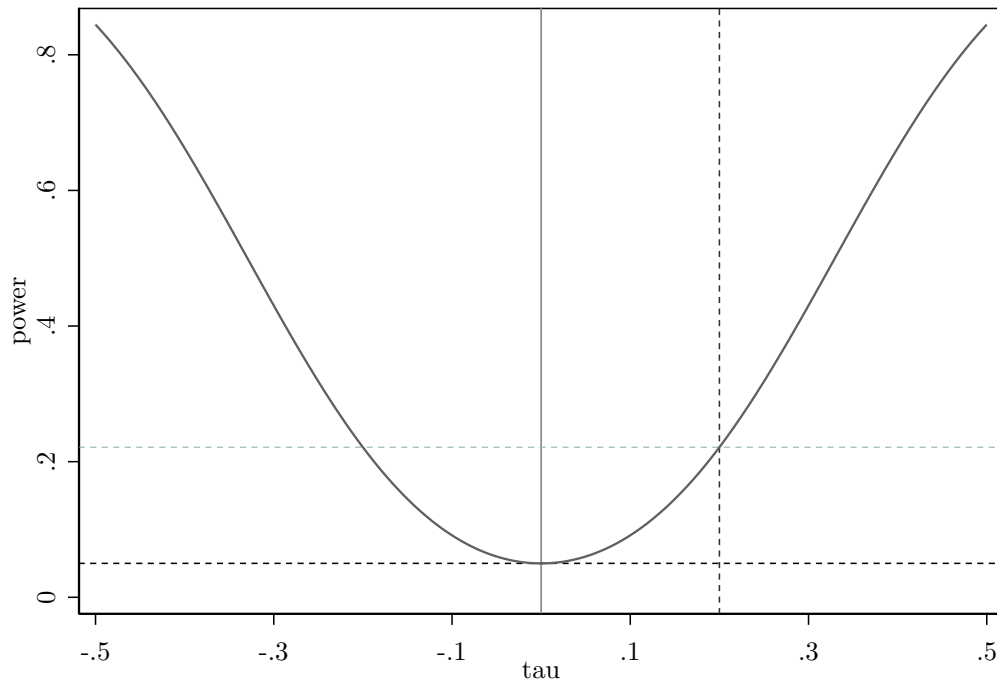


Voters lists transferred to the Post: ■ Yes ■ Yes, but without the password ■ No or vague response ■ No

Figure A2. Spatial distribution of the municipalities considered in the RD design



Figure A3. Ex-post power calculation for a given sample size and the effects (τ) ranging from -0.5 to 0.5



Power function for $N_l = 57$, $N_r = 99$, $\alpha = .05$ (horizontal black dashed line).