

Supplementary Appendix

Table A1: Descriptive Statistics

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Partisanship (Trump vote US counties)	9793	0.612	0.172	0.087	0.968
Trump vote (Ohio school districts)	608	0.615	0.143	0.026	0.88
District size (logged enrollment)	9824	7.047	1.553	0	13.113
Median income (logged dollars)	9412	10.850	0.31	9.840	12.315
Per-pupil spending (logged dollars)	9783	9.398	0.33	6.177	11.661
Percent white students	9817	0.687	0.276	0	1
Catholic schools per 10,000 students	9836	1.066	1.796	0	28.818
Secular priv. schools per 10,000 students	9836	0.282	0.89	0	14.728
Teacher Union PAC giving 50%+	285	0.291	0.455	0	1
Collective bargaining	1498	0.689	0.463	0	1
COVID case rate (August 1-14)	9836	13.915	15.897	0	572.48
COVID case rate (August 15-28)	9836	12.715	12.287	0	345.184
COVID case rate (August all)	9836	13.201	12.468	0	422.09
COVID death rate (August 1-14)	9836	0.261	0.546	0	14.824
COVID death rate (August 15-28)	9836	0.278	0.539	0	8.277
COVID death rate (August all)	9836	0.260	0.454	0	7.043
COVID tot. cases (August 1)	9836	989.855	888.313	0	10547.3
COVID tot. cases (August 31)	9836	1384.730	1055.42	0	14295.9
COVID tot. deaths (August 1)	9836	31.034	43.039	0	402.034
COVID tot. deaths (August 31)	9836	38.864	46.220	0	461.156
COVID indicator combination (August 1-14)	7902	0.786	0.284	0.215	3.101
COVID indicator combination (August 15-28)	7918	0.675	0.225	0.194	2.063
COVID indicator combination (August all)	7978	0.719	0.238	0.247	2.495
COVID-related hospitalizations (7-31-20)	8663	23.416	43.231	0	500
COVID-related hospitalizations (8-7-20)	8659	23.324	45.202	0	500
COVID-related hospitalizations (8-14-20)	8642	21.145	41.714	0	500
COVID-related hospitalizations (8-21-20)	8626	20.950	42.220	0	500
COVID-related hospitalizations (8-28-20)	8649	21.465	43.806	0	500
COVID-related hospitalizations (10-2-20)	8688	27.308	45.151	0	500
COVID-related hospitalizations (10-9-20)	8701	31.724	51.095	0	500

Note: data on weekly hospitalizations per 100,000 persons are “top coded” to 500 (extremely few counties exceed this rate (<.01% of the sample). Our results are robust to dropping this handful of observations.

Table A2: Full Regression Results for Figure 4
Effects of Mass Partisanship Unconditioned by Pandemic Intensity

	(1) School Reopening Model (1-3)
Partisanship (Trump vote)	2.992*** (0.333)
COVID case rate	-0.002 (0.011)
Partisanship (Trump vote) X COVID case rate	-0.003 (0.014)
Catholic schools	0.039*** (0.010)
Secular priv. schools	0.008 (0.018)
District size	-0.238*** (0.031)
Median income	0.379** (0.116)
Per-pupil spending	0.136 (0.119)
Percent white	0.952*** (0.138)
Cut Point #1	4.940*** (1.227)
Cut Point #2	7.250*** (1.224)
State FE	Yes
Locale FE	Yes
Observations	9338
Pseudo R ²	0.324

Note: Cell entries are ordered probit coefficients with standard errors clustered by state reported beneath in parentheses. All measures are two-tailed tests. † p<0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001