

Appendix part of: “*Crisis Signaling: How Italy’s Coronavirus Lockdown Affected Incumbent Support in Other European Countries*”

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A. Robustness checks

Results belonging to Figure 2 in the main text

Table A1

Results belonging to Figure 2 in the main text: models without control variables

	Models without control variables			
	Government Party	PM Party	Far Right Party	Left-right
Lockdown	0.058*	0.049*	0.0001	-0.023
	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.046)
Country: Spain	-0.067*	0.072*	-0.009	-0.092*
	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.038)
Country: France	-0.151*	-0.013	0.046*	0.261*
	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.035)
Country: Poland	-0.014	0.125*	0.153*	0.401*
	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.041)
Constant	0.264*	0.126*	0.102*	2.229*
	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.024)
Observations	5,303	5,303	5,303	5,303
R ²	0.027	0.021	0.026	0.032

Note:

+ p<.1; * p<0.05)

Table A2

Results belonging to Figure 2 in the main text: models without control variables

	Models with control variables			
	Government Party	PM Party	Far Right Party	Left-right
Lockdown	0.044* (0.019)	0.045* (0.017)	-0.020 (0.016)	-0.042 (0.047)
Female	-0.034* (0.011)	-0.021* (0.010)	-0.033* (0.009)	-0.105* (0.028)
Age	0.001* (0.0004)	0.001 ⁺ (0.0004)	0.002* (0.0003)	0.002* (0.001)
Urban	-0.021 ⁺ (0.012)	-0.028* (0.011)	-0.024* (0.010)	-0.086* (0.030)
Education: high school	-0.022 (0.015)	0.003 (0.013)	0.003 (0.012)	0.057 (0.036)
Education: university	-0.016 (0.016)	0.004 (0.015)	-0.017 (0.014)	-0.032 (0.040)
Class: lower middle	-0.001 (0.013)	-0.008 (0.012)	-0.039* (0.011)	0.063* (0.032)
Class: upper middle	0.040* (0.016)	0.036* (0.015)	-0.059* (0.014)	0.183* (0.041)
Class: upper class	0.060 (0.048)	0.105* (0.043)	-0.030 (0.040)	0.246* (0.118)
Unemployed	-0.018 (0.016)	-0.011 (0.015)	-0.001 (0.014)	0.018 (0.040)
Country: Spain	-0.064* (0.016)	0.079* (0.015)	-0.017 (0.014)	-0.045 (0.040)
Country: France	-0.152* (0.014)	-0.012 (0.013)	0.043* (0.012)	0.271* (0.035)
Country: Poland	-0.009 (0.017)	0.126* (0.015)	0.143* (0.014)	0.410* (0.042)
Constant	0.254* (0.025)	0.122* (0.023)	0.107* (0.021)	2.154* (0.062)
Observations	5,303	5,303	5,303	5,303
R ²	0.033	0.027	0.040	0.041

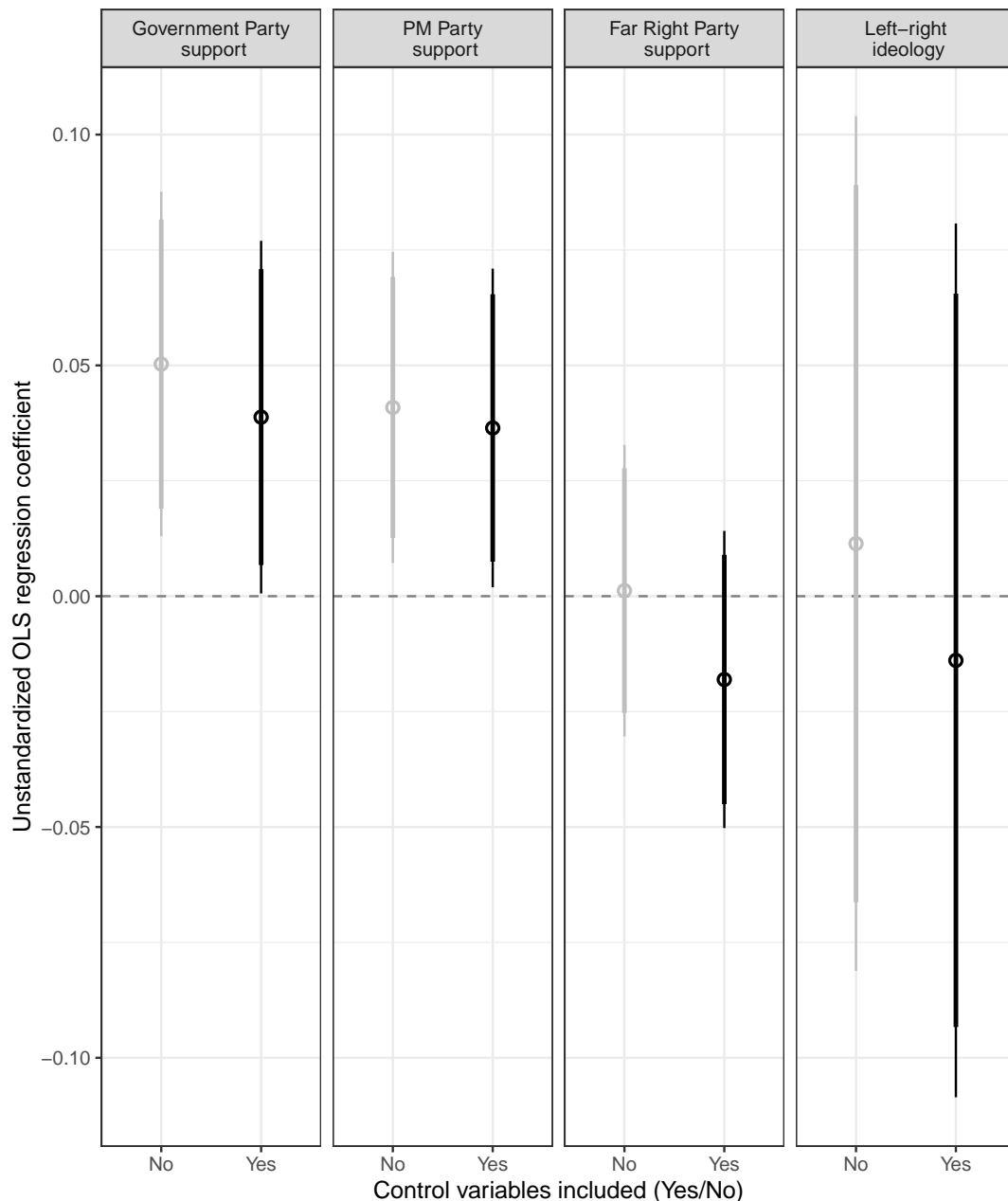
Note:

+ p<.1; * p<0.05)

Robustness checks of results belonging to Figure 2

Restricting the sample to one week after the Italian lockdown. Restricting our sample to respondents who completed the survey maximum one week after the Italian lockdown (March 15, 2020), does not change our substantive conclusions as can be seen in Figure A1.

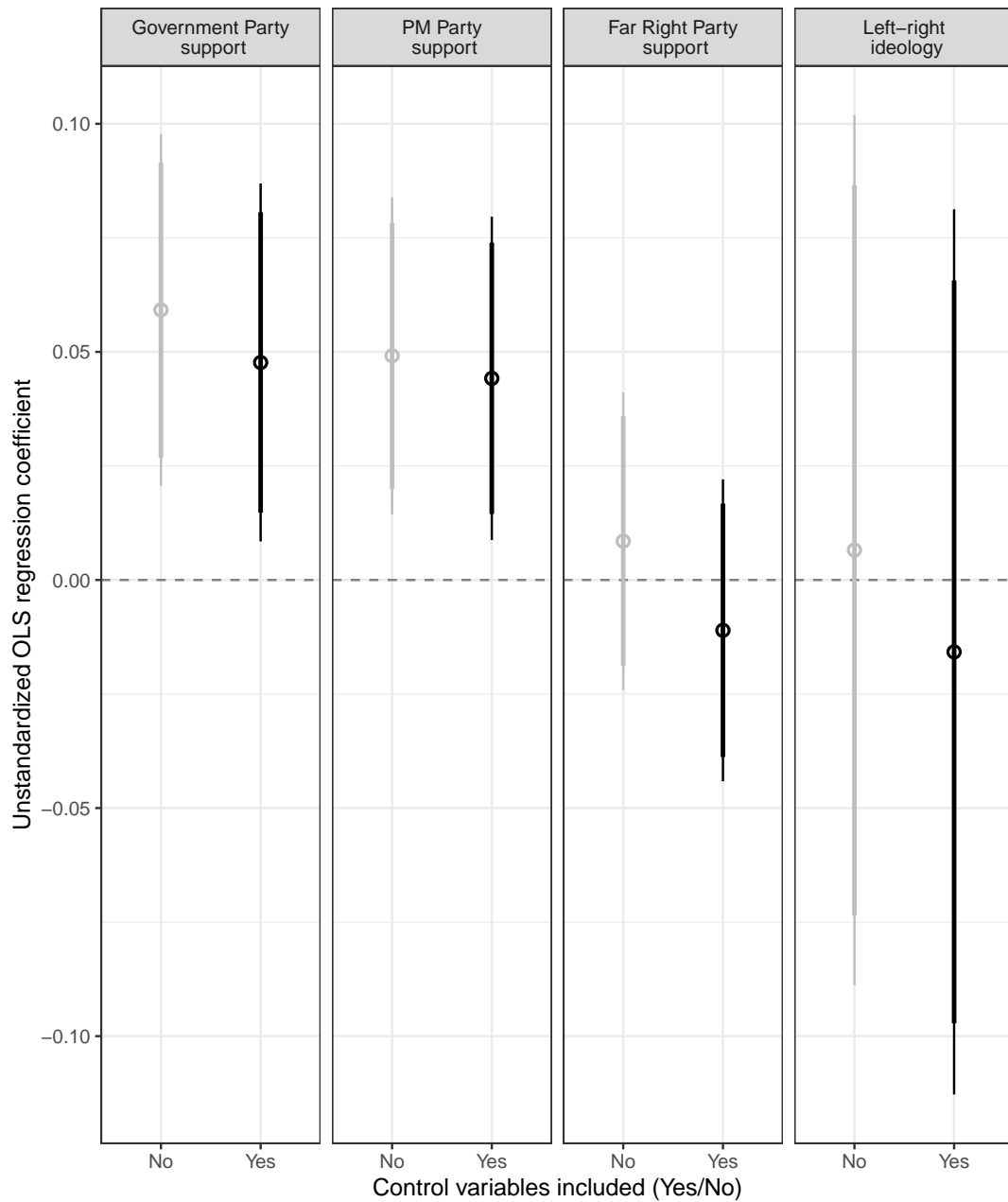
Figure A1. Effect of Italian Lockdown on Government Party Support, PM Party Support, Far Right Party support and left-right ideology in France, Germany, Poland and Spain **once sample is restricted to respondents who completed the survey March 15 2020 the latest.**



Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients of models with (black) and without (grey) controls. The dot is the point estimate and the thick bars are 90% confidence intervals and the thin bars are 95% confidence intervals. Full regression output belonging to all models can be derived from the replication files.

Restricting the sample to the day before a national lockdown. We restrict our sample to the day before the country of the survey respondent was going into lockdown. This is March 13 for Poland (so respondents until March 12 are included), March 14 for Spain (so respondents until March 13 are included), March 17 for France (so respondents until March 16 are included) and March 23 for Germany (so respondents until March 22 are included). As can be seen in Figure [A2](#), the results are basically unaffected by this robustness check.

Figure A2. Effect of Italian Lockdown on Government Party Support, PM Party Support, Far Right Party support and left-right ideology in France, Germany, Poland and Spain **once sample is restricted to the day before the country of the survey respondent would go in lockdown.**

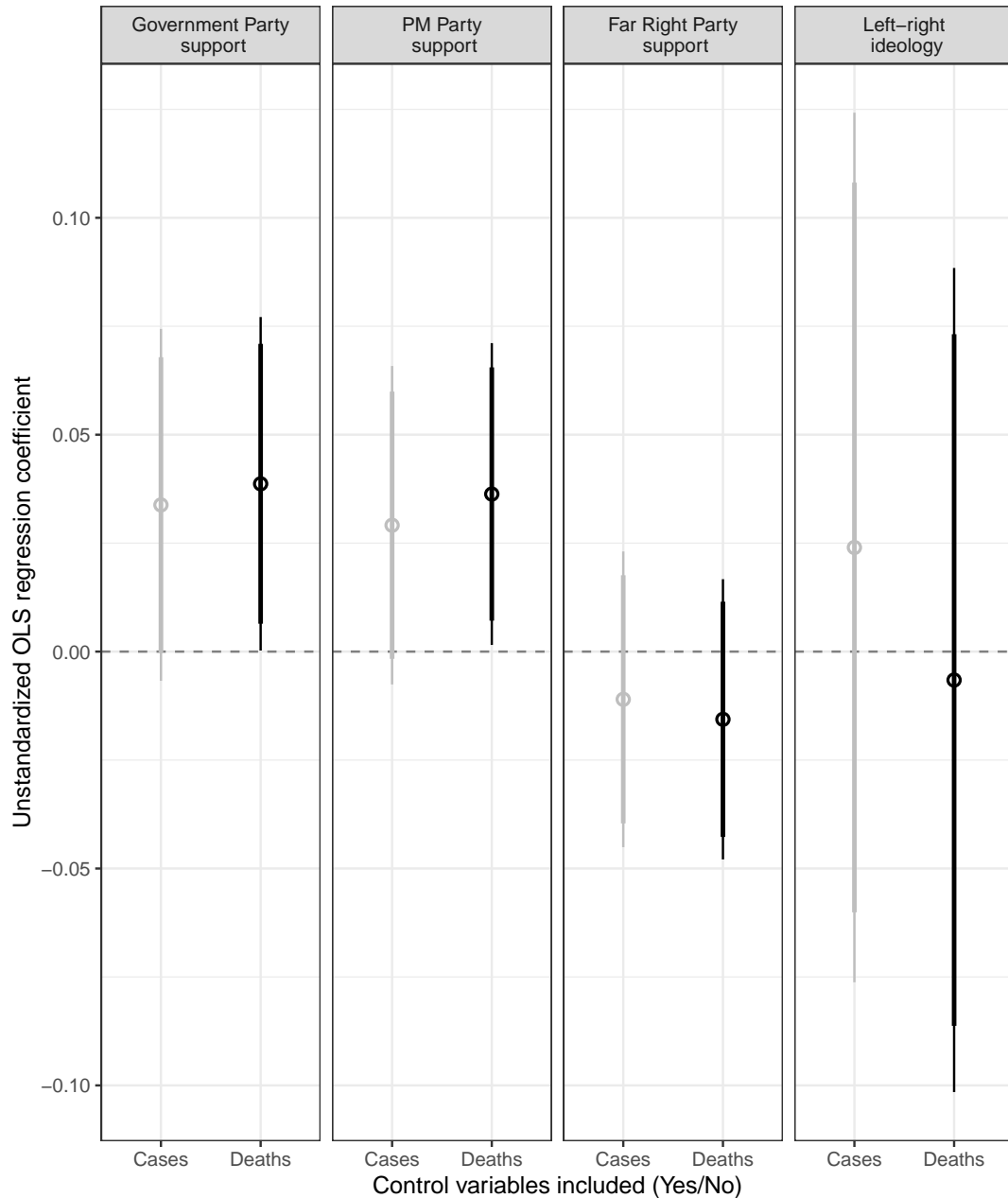


Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients of models with (black) and without (grey) controls. The dot is the point estimate and the thick bars are 90% confidence intervals and the thin bars are 95% confidence intervals. Full regression output belonging to all models can be derived from the replication files.

Controlling for the number of deaths or cases at the time of the survey. We rerun the models belonging to Figure 2 (with covariates) but now control for the number of confirmed cases or the number of confirmed cases on the day participants completed the survey. We run two models: one with the number of cases and one with the number of deaths because these two are highly correlated with each other. The numbers are taken from the WHO

dashboard for [France \(link\)](#), [Spain \(link\)](#), [Poland \(link\)](#) and [Germany \(link\)](#). As can be seen in Figure A3 the results are largely comparable to the results reported in the main text. The p-values are not always statistically significant at conventional levels once we control for the number of confirmed cases. But this could also be a multiple comparison issue. Moreover, the point estimates of this model are very close to those reported in Figure 2 in the main text. .

Figure A3. Effect of Italian Lockdown on Government Party Support, PM Party Support, Far Right Party support and left-right ideology in France, Germany, Poland and Spain **controlling for the number of confirmed cases or deaths at the time a participant completed the survey.**



Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients of models with (black) and without (grey) controls. The dot is the point estimate and the thick bars are 90% confidence intervals and the thin bars are 95% confidence intervals. Full regression output belonging to all models can be derived from the replication files.

Table A3

Results belonging to Figure 2 in the main text: logistic regression results

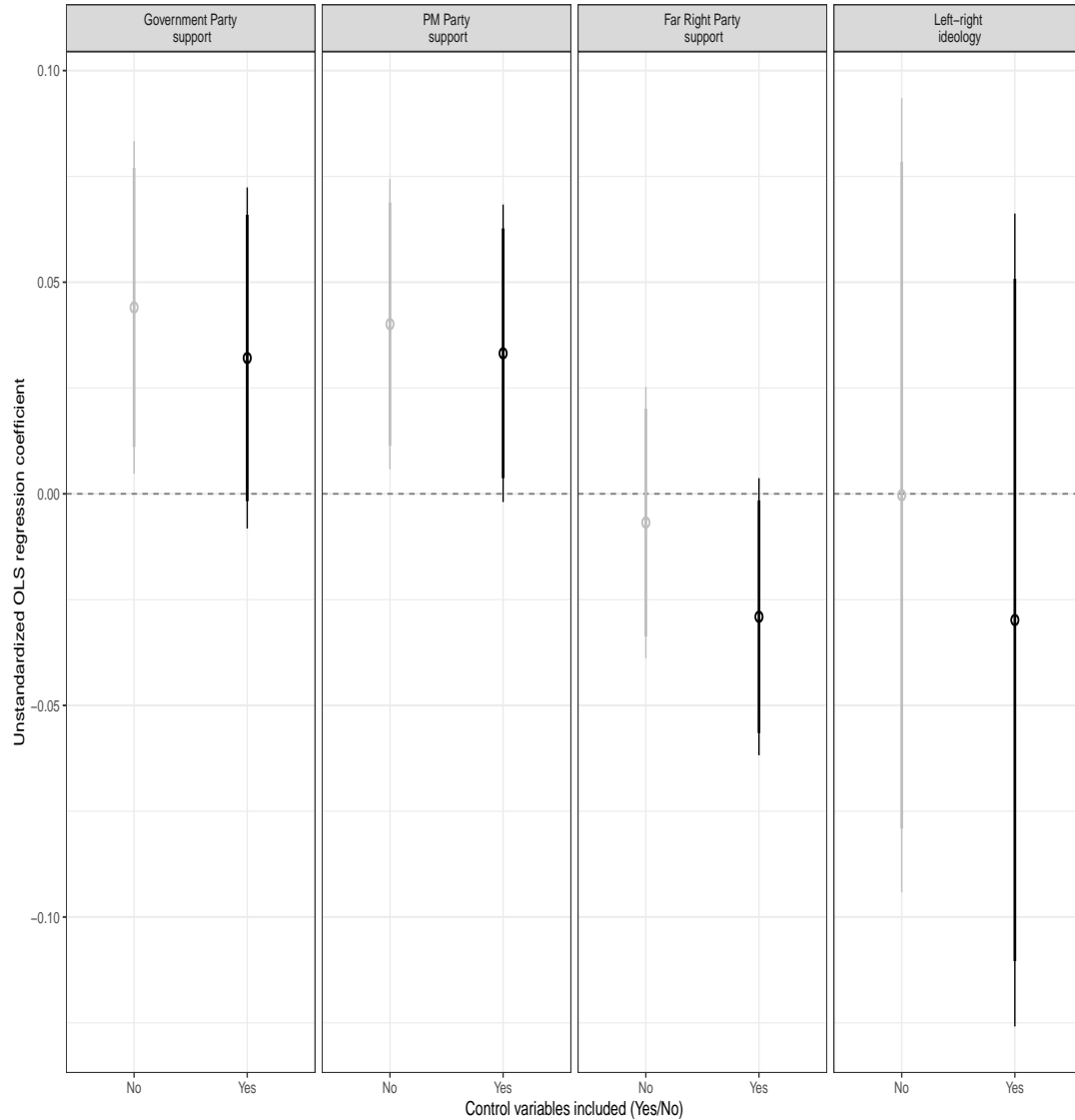
	Models with control variables		
	Government Party	PM Party	Far Right Party
Lockdown	0.230* (0.102)	0.300* (0.115)	-0.180 (0.135)
Female	-0.214* (0.066)	-0.164* (0.073)	-0.289* (0.078)
Age	0.008* (0.002)	0.005 ⁺ (0.003)	0.014* (0.003)
Urban	-0.130 ⁺ (0.072)	-0.215* (0.078)	-0.203* (0.083)
Education: high school	-0.147 ⁺ (0.086)	0.031 (0.097)	0.017 (0.101)
Education: university	-0.113 (0.096)	0.041 (0.105)	-0.149 (0.118)
Class: lower middle	-0.008 (0.077)	-0.069 (0.085)	-0.313* (0.087)
Class: upper middle	0.240* (0.094)	0.270* (0.104)	-0.550* (0.123)
Class: upper class	0.349 (0.261)	0.664* (0.266)	-0.254 (0.344)
Unemployed	-0.126 (0.100)	-0.085 (0.107)	-0.002 (0.113)
Country: Spain	-0.362* (0.093)	0.581* (0.103)	-0.179 (0.129)
Country: France	-1.031* (0.094)	-0.118 (0.103)	0.398* (0.103)
Country: Poland	-0.042 (0.092)	0.844* (0.101)	1.028* (0.106)
Constant	-1.094* (0.145)	-1.986* (0.166)	-2.176* (0.178)
Observations	5,303	5,303	5,303
Akaike Inf. Crit.	5,713.343	4,980.126	4,447.039

Note:

+ p<.1; * p<0.05)

Results belonging to Figure 2 without survey weights. As can be seen in Figure A4, not including the survey weights leaves the results largely unaffected.

Figure A4. Effect of Italian Lockdown on Government Party Support, PM Party Support, Far Right Party support and left-right ideology in France, Germany, Poland and Spain without survey weights



Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients of models with (black) and without (grey) controls. The dot is the point estimate and the thick bars are 90% confidence intervals and the thin bars are 95% confidence intervals. Full regression output can be derived from the replication files.

Results belonging to Figure 3. .

Table A.4 Full results for March 5 as placebo test accompanying Figure 3.

	Government Party	PM Party	Far Right Party	Left-Right Ideology
Lockdown	.004 (.013)	.023* (.011)	-.003 (.011)	-.046 (.031)
Gender	-.030* (.012)	-.022* (.010)	-.033* (.009)	-.109* (.028)
Age	.001* (.000)	.001 (.000)	.001* (.000)	.002* (.001)
Urban Residence	-.017 (.013)	-.029* (.011)	-.024* (.010)	-.087* (.030)
Education	-.002 (.008)	.004 (.007)	-.009 (.006)	-.019 (.019)
Social Class	.005 (.008)	.018* (.007)	-.028* (.006)	.082* (.019)
Unemployment	-.025 (.017)	-.012 (.015)	-.000 (.014)	.016 (.040)
Constant	.231* (.034)	.208* (.030)	.301* (.028)	2.565* (.081)
Country FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
R ²	.05	.02	.04	.04
N	5303	5303	5305	5305

Notes: Table entries are logistic regression coefficients and standard errors in parentheses * significant at $p \geq .05$

Table A.5 Full results for March 6 as placebo test accompanying Figure 3.

	Government Party	PM Party	Far Right Party	Left-Right Ideology
Lockdown	.004 (.013)	.023* (.011)	-.003 (.011)	-.046 (.031)
Gender	-.030* (.012)	-.023* (.010)	-.033* (.009)	-.109* (.028)
Age	.001* (.000)	.001 (.000)	.001* (.000)	.002* (.001)
Urban Residence	-.017 (.013)	-.029* (.011)	-.024* (.010)	-.087* (.030)
Education	-.002 (.008)	.004 (.007)	-.009 (.006)	-.019 (.019)
Social Class	.005 (.008)	.018* (.007)	-.028* (.006)	.082* (.019)
Unemployment	-.025 (.017)	-.011 (.015)	-.000 (.014)	.016 (.040)
Constant	.231* (.034)	.208* (.029)	.301* (.028)	2.565* (.081)
Country FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
R ²	.05	.02	.04	.04
N	5303	5303	5305	5305

Notes: Table entries are regression coefficients and standard errors in parentheses * significant at $p \geq .05$

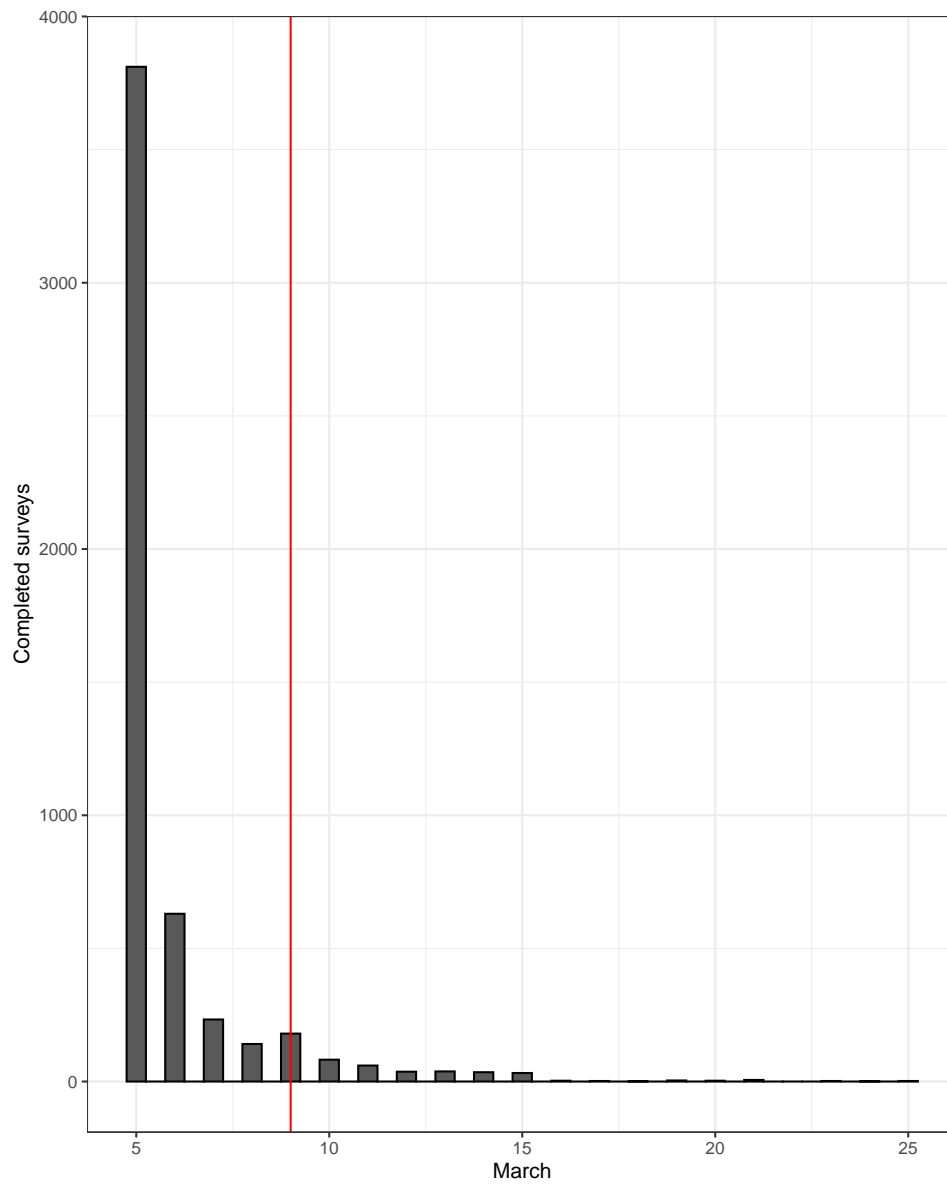
Table A.6 Full results for March 7 as placebo test accompanying Figure 3.

	Government Party	PM Party	Far Right Party	Left-Right Ideology
Lockdown	.025 (.018)	.030* (.015)	-.020 (.014)	-.056 (.042)
Gender	-.030* (.012)	-.023* (.010)	-.034* (.009)	-.107* (.028)
Age	.001* (.000)	.001 (.000)	.002* (.000)	.002* (.001)
Urban Residence	-.017 (.013)	-.029* (.011)	-.024* (.010)	-.087* (.030)
Education	-.001 (.008)	.003 (.007)	-.010 (.006)	-.017 (.019)
Social Class	.005 (.008)	.018* (.007)	-.028* (.006)	.082* (.019)
Unemployment	-.025 (.017)	-.011 (.015)	-.000 (.014)	.015 (.040)
Constant	.231* (.033)	.215* (.030)	.300* (.027)	2.553* (.081)
Country FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
R ²	.05	.02	.02	.04
N	5303	5303	5305	5305

Notes: Table entries are regression coefficients and standard errors in parentheses * significant at $p \geq .05$

Results belonging to Table 1. .

Figure A5. Number of completed surveys per day that the survey was in the field in March 2020.



Note: Red line is the day of the Italian lockdown.