

# Online Appendices. *For Online Publication Only*

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# A Data Appendix

## A.1 Survey and Study Sample

The data used in this project was collected on an online survey that we conducted in late November and early December of 2020. 16% of respondents submitted the questionnaire in November and 84% in December. Field work was conducted by YouGov, which is a well-established data analytics firm.<sup>1</sup> The company has access to a large panel of individuals that have been recruited through online adds and that regularly respond to surveys on a variety of topics. Respondents accumulate points for answering surveys and they can exchange points for small gifts.

Most of the respondents in our study sample were re-contacted from a first wave survey that we conducted in May 2020. The data from both surveys was studied in [Martinez-Bravo and Sanz \(2021\)](#) to investigate the evolution of inequality during the pandemic. The first survey incorporated a different experiment, which provided information treatments about the severity of the economic crisis and the introduction of a guaranteed minimum income scheme to a randomly selected treatment group. Note that we stratify by treatment assignment in the first wave. Hence, it is unlikely that the first-round treatments interfere in the results of our current study. The sampling framework of the first wave was designed to be representative of the Spanish adult population according to age, gender, Nielsen region of residence, and education level.<sup>2</sup> Representativeness was achieved through a quota-sampling system. The population is first segmented into mutually exclusive sub-groups of age, gender, region, and education level. Then individuals are contacted from Yougov’s panel of respondents until all quotas are filled. The first wave sampled 5,051 individuals that were all recontacted for the second wave. 3,456 (68%) individuals responded the second wave. To increase sample size, 1,706 individuals that had not participated in the first wave were surveyed in the second wave. Hence, we start our analysis with 5,162 individuals.

We impose some sample restrictions to ensure the quality of the responses. First, we drop 168 observations because they completed the questionnaire in less than 8 minutes, while most other respondents needed more than 20 minutes to complete the survey. We also drop 103 observations that did not complete the questionnaire. Among this, 50 were in the treated group and 53 in the control group—also see [Table A5](#) for a test of differential attrition.

Next, we drop 139 observations that did not pass our quality checks, as stated in our pre-analysis plan. Specifically, we look for inconsistent answers across four sets of questions: the party the respondent feels the closest to, the intention to vote in the following regional and general elections, and the rating given to each party. We consider a response as inconsistent if the political preferences suggested by two different answers are severely contradictory, e.g., stating that the preferred party is a far-right party VOX and giving the highest grade to left-wing party Podemos. We drop observations with two or more inconsistencies.

We then drop 920 observations with missing information on past vote and ideological placement on a 0-10 scale, which are needed to construct the alignment variable. The reason this information is missing is that these were observations from a panel external to Yougov, and hence Yougov did not have any pre-recorded variable for these individuals. Finally, we drop 127 observations belonging to strata containing only one observation. All of our specifications contain strata fixed effects, so these observations do not have identifying variation to our estimation of the treatment effects.

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<sup>1</sup><https://es.yougov.com>

<sup>2</sup>Nielsen regions are six geographical areas of the country that are frequently used by data analytics firms.

The resulting sample consists of 3,705 observations. Appendix B shows that the main results are robust to changes in the sample selection.

## A.2 Construction of Income Variables

We define two income variables: household income in 2019, and change in household income from the start of the pandemic to the time of the survey. To construct these variables, we follow closely the approach by [Martinez-Bravo and Sanz \(2021\)](#), who study income inequality in Spain using the same survey.

We asked individuals for their household income before the pandemic. In particular, we asked for their net (after-tax) *total* income, including wages, earnings from professional activities, pensions, and government transfers during the average month of 2019 (question 10). Individuals were asked to select an interval that includes their level of income. We take the mid-point of each interval as a proxy of their income level. We defined narrow intervals in order to have high precision in their self-reported income. The intervals offered are the following (all expressed in € per month): 0, 0-300, 300-600, 601-900, 901-1200, 1201-1500, 1501-1800, 1801-2100, 2101-2300, 2401-3000, 3001-4500, 4501-6000, more than 6,000. We consider 8,000€ as the proxy of income for the highest interval. Few individuals select the largest income bracket. Hence, the precise income estimate for the top income bracket will not have a large effect on our results. In order to make comparisons across households, we define equivalent income for a four-member household formed of two adults and two children. We follow the convention used in Eurostat and other statistical agencies and assign children a weight of 0.5 when assessing their consumption demands. Hence, we divide the reported household income by the number of adult-equivalent individuals in the household, and then multiply by three, which corresponds to a household of two adults and two children. On average, the monthly disposable income of a household with four members in 2019 was 2,274€ per month.

Individuals were also asked about how their household and individual incomes had changed at the time of responding with respect to their income at the start of the pandemic. We also collected this information discretely by asking individuals to choose between different income-change intervals. The average change in household income is -216€ per month.

## A.3 Contact Tracing Data

Extensive scientific evidence exists on the importance of contact tracing for the control of COVID-19. For instance, in a recent article published in the medical journal *The Lancet*, [Kretzschmar et al. \(2020\)](#), the authors discuss contact tracing as a key component of control strategies during the de-escalation of physical distancing. Therefore, assessing whether regions have the necessary number of contact tracers is central to successfully controlling the epidemic.

A key component of our experiment is to provide individuals with the number of contact tracers in their autonomous region and to compare them with the ideal number of contact tracers they should have had to trace all cases.

The information on the number of contact tracers in each region was obtained an article published on October 27, 2020 in *El País*, one of the main newspapers in Spain.<sup>3</sup> The journalists obtained the number of contact tracers by contacting the health authorities of each regional

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<sup>3</sup>Sevillano, Elena G. and Pablo Linde (2020) “España tiene el doble de rastreadores que en julio, pero llegan tarde” *El País*, October 27. Retrieved on July 17, 2022.

government. We present the contact tracers to respondents divided by 100,000 inhabitants in the region. The population figures are extracted from the National Institute of Statistics (INE) for the year 2019.

The article from *El País* did not provide the number of tracers for the region of Galicia. To fill in this gap, we used the information from another article published in the online newspaper *elDiario.es*.<sup>4</sup> However, the count from this alternative source includes personnel like preventive care physicians who are not exclusively dedicated to contact tracing tasks. Given this information, we assumed that the equivalent full time number of contact tracers is 10% of the reported workforce. Note that our results are fully robust to excluding the region of Galicia or to use different assumptions regarding the number of equivalent tracers.

The estimation of the necessary number of contact tracers needed to trace all cases was obtained using the Contact Tracing Workforce Estimator (CT Estimator) tool, provided by the Health Resources and Services Administration (HRSA) of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS).<sup>5</sup> This tool was design to help policy international practitioners to determine the workforce need of contact tracers based on the particular situations in each locality. The key data input used by this tool is the population count and the COVID-19 case count from the past 14 days. The tool provides an estimate of the number of contact tracers needed to be able to trace all cases within a week of each new COVID-19 case. The tool adopts a number of assumptions regarding the efficiency of contact tracing systems and the work-load that each positive case generates. Some of the main assumptions are the following:

- The average number of close contacts of each new COVID-19 case is 10.
- All contacts need to be traced.
- In a 8-hour shift a contact tracer can conduct 6 interviews of new cases, 12 initial contact notifications, and 32 follow-ups of contacts.
- Each contact of a positive case is followed-up 7 times during one week.
- There is one supervisor per 10 contact tracers.

The preset parameters of the estimators reflect expert opinion and capture how they work in certain settings, such Massachusetts and California. The parameter assumptions are optimistic in terms of the efficiency of contact tracers. For instance, the European Centers for Disease Control (ECDC) considers that initial case interviews are twice as long as those reflected the by preset parameters of this estimator. The presets are also optimistic on the expected workload that follows outbreaks of COVID-19 cases can generate. Once social-distancing restrictions are lifted, many contact tracing systems had to handle larger average cases of contacts. In other words, the resulting estimate in the number of necessary contact tracers may underestimate the ideal number of contact tracers to effectively trace all cases in the depth that they require.

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<sup>4</sup>Pampín, María (2020) “De 20 a 6.000 rastreadores en mes y medio: la Xunta engorda sus cifras con personal médico que no hace seguimiento de contactos”, (From 20 to 6,000 tracers in a month and a half: the Xunta fattens their statistics with medical personnel who do not work on contact tracing) *elDiario.es*, August 13, 2020 (Retrieved on August 22, 2022).

<sup>5</sup>The international Contact Tracing Estimator is presented in an excel file downloaded from this website <https://www.gwhwi.org/estimator-613404.html>.

## A.4 Construction of the Alignment Variable

We first consider information pre-recorded by Yougov on the (self-reported) vote at the previous Congress election (November 2019). This was asked by Yougov shortly after that election. We code a respondent as aligned with the regional government if the respondent voted for one of the parties that voted “yes” to the investiture of the regional government. Table A1 shows the list of parties. Alternative definitions of alignment based on which parties are part of the executive, or which party has the regional presidency, yield very similar results.

Second, for 555 individuals with missing past vote information, we use an alternative pre-recorded variable, ideological placement on a 1-10 scale, where 1 is extreme left and 10 is extreme right. We code a respondent as aligned with the regional government if the regional government is right-wing and the respondent positions himself at a 5 or above, or if the regional government is left-wing and the respondent positions himself below 5.

## B Robustness Checks

Appendix Tables A14, A15, A16, A17, and A18 show robustness checks for our main outcomes of interest. Column (1) in each table shows our baseline results for comparison. Column (2) drops the strata fixed effects, hence, presenting results without controls. Column (3) drops the region of Galicia, for which we have less reliable information regarding the number of contact tracers as described in Appendix section A.3. In column (4) we control for a set of controls that we pre-specified in our PaP: indicators for past voting decisions, left-right ideological position on a 1-10 scale, gender, nationality, socio-economic situation (pre-pandemic and change with the pandemic), household income (pre-pandemic and change with the pandemic), and baseline values of the outcomes as measured in the first wave of the survey conducted in July 2020 to the same individuals.<sup>6,7</sup> All results are robust to this set of robustness exercises.

## C Deviations from the Pre-Analysis Plan

Next, we present here the effects of our treatment on three additional sets of outcomes that, as stated in our PaP, we are also interested in studying.

**Compliance** In our survey we include a number of outcomes to measure willingness to comply with governments’ directives. In the main text, we focus on willingness to accept a Covid-19

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<sup>6</sup>In particular, for past voting decisions, we include dummies for voting for the main parties (PSOE, PP, VOX, Unidas Podemos, Ciudadanos, and other), and another dummy for not reporting past vote. For nationality and gender, we include dummies for whether the respondent is female and a Spanish citizen, respectively. For socio-economic situation, we include dummies for private sector worker, public sector worker, self-employed, retired, non-employed who worked previously, non-employed who never worked, student, domestic work, and others, all for both the current status and the pre-pandemic status. For income, we include current household income per capita and change relative to before the pandemic, as described in Appendix A.2. Baseline outcomes are coded from the responses to the same questions in a previous survey that we ran in July 2020 to the same individuals. We asked about trust in regional and central governments but did not ask about perceived competence or perceived responsibility, so we only include baseline outcomes for Tables A16 and A17.

<sup>7</sup>The sample size is smaller for this column because some controls are missing as we allow not to respond some questions (e.g., income) or do not have the pre-determined values from the first wave for some individuals (e.g., pre-pandemic status, or baseline outcomes).

vaccine if recommended by the different governments. This is likely to capture to a great respondents' confidence in governments because at that point no vaccine had been approved. The question asked about the hypothetical acceptance of a new product and technology.

In the survey we also asked individuals about their willingness to comply with better understood measures to prevent the spread of COVID-19: masking and quarantines. Regarding masking, question 46 stated: *"The government of your autonomous community recommends people to wear masks, also outdoors, even if a safety distance of two meters can be maintained. Please indicate which of the following statements best reflects your opinion about this measure."* Note that this was the regulation at the time of the survey. As an outcome, we consider an indicator for the most favorable response, which is *"It is a good measure. It is important to wear a mask to protect everyone's health"*.

Regarding quarantines, question 47 stated the following: *"The government of your autonomous community requires people who have been in close contact with a person infected with COVID-19 to be confined to home for at least 10 days. These are called "quarantines". If you were in such a situation, would you comply with this indication?"* As an outcome, we consider a dummy indicating the most favorable answer, which is *"Yes, I would stay at home for 10 days or more"*. Question 48 asked about the perceived degree of compliance with quarantines and other restrictions by people similar to them, on a 0-10 scale, where 0 is "rarely met" and 10 is "strictly met".

Table A24 shows the results of compliance with masking and quarantines. The results are small and insignificant. This contrast with our results on willingness to accept the COVID-19 vaccine presented in the main paper, which are negative and significant.

One possible reason for these different results is that vaccines were a new technology for which government advice may have been more relevant. Also, note that, for masking and quarantines, we only asked about willingness to comply as requested by the *regional* government (a.k.a. autonomous communities). We did this to avoid deception, since these requirements were decided by regional governments. Instead, for vaccines we elicited willingness to comply if the recommendation came from the regional and if it came from the central government. This description of the question may have emphasized the role of the different governments as endorsing institutions. Hence, the vaccine questions may have been more direct measures of willingness to follow governments' recommendations and confidence in governments. Initially, we thought of compliance with masking, quarantines, and vaccination mandates as proxies for compliance. However, given the hypothetical and uncertain nature of COVID-19 vaccines at the time of our study, we believe it is a better proxy of trust in government advice rather than of compliance with regulations. For this reason, we incorporate the vaccine outcome in the main text as an additional proxy for trust.

**Polarization** Following our PaP, we consider four types of polarization: ideological polarization, affective polarization, partisanship, and vote for parties in the extremes of the ideological spectrum.

We measure the ideological polarization as the standard deviation of the responses to a question on individuals' position on a 0 (extreme left)-10 (extreme right) scale. We measure affective polarization through the "feeling" question. For each individual, we compute the standard deviation of responses across all parties. For example, if a respondent grades all parties the same, then the standard deviation will be zero. We measure partisanship through self-reported persistence in voting preferences. We focus on the share of respondents that answer that they always vote for the same party, or that they always or generally vote for the same party.

We measure support for parties on the ideological extremes through the share of respondents that report an intention to vote for UP, VOX, or CUP.

Table A25 shows the results. While some specifications suggest that the treatment may reduce polarization, overall the effects are small and not significant.

**Support for Taxation and Redistribution** We consider three types of outcomes regarding support for taxation and redistribution: ideological stance regarding taxes, support for higher spending or higher taxes, and preferences regarding the progressivity of the tax system.<sup>8</sup>

We measure the ideological stance regarding taxes based on a question asking individuals to indicate which of a series of statements best reflects their opinion about taxes (question 42). We define a categorical variable taking the value of 3 if the respondent answers “taxes are a means to better redistribute wealth in our society”; 2 if “taxes are necessary for the state to be able to provide public services”; 1 if “what we pay in taxes does not correspond to the public services we receive, due to corruption”; 0 if “the money that the state collects in taxes would be better off in the pockets of citizens”. When multiple options are chosen, we calculate the mean.

We measure support for higher spending and taxes based on a question asking respondents where, on a scale from 0 to 10, they would place themselves, where 0 means decreasing spending and taxes and 10 means increasing spending and taxes (question 43).

We measure preferences towards progressive taxation based on a question asking respondents, if taxes were to be raised, which group do you think should bear the greatest increase in tax payments (question 44). We construct an indicator for whether a hypothetical increase in taxes should be mainly charged to very high-income individuals (higher than 120,000 €/year).

Table A26 shows the results. We do not see any effect of the treatment on any of the outcomes.

**Heterogeneity by Over-estimation of Number of Contact Tracers.** In our PaP we specified that we were going to examine whether the effects were heterogenous depending on whether individuals over- or under- estimated the number of contact tracers. However, the data showed that only 15% of respondents over-estimated the number of contact tracers, which hinders the examination of heterogenous results. Instead, we explore the heterogeneity of results by being above/below the median difference between Prior and Actual contact tracers. The results are presented in Appendix Tables A9 and A10. In the case of competence and trust in the regional government, the effects are indeed heterogeneous: individuals more negatively surprised develop a worse attitude towards the regional government.

**Responsibility for the Crisis and Factors behind Voting.** In Appendix Table A27 we report results on two additional outcomes that we specified in the PaP. Columns 1 and 2 show the effects on a measure of whether individuals think that the evolution of the pandemic depends on government action (as opposed to exogenous factors). While the interaction with the alignment dummy has a negative coefficient, it is not statistically significant. These results contrast with our main *blame-shifting* results presented in Table 6. While individuals politically aligned with the regional government do shift the blame to the central government when confronted with the negative news on performance, it is less clear that they shift the blame towards exogenous factors.

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<sup>8</sup>See ? for an experimental evaluation of the public finance effects of the pandemic.

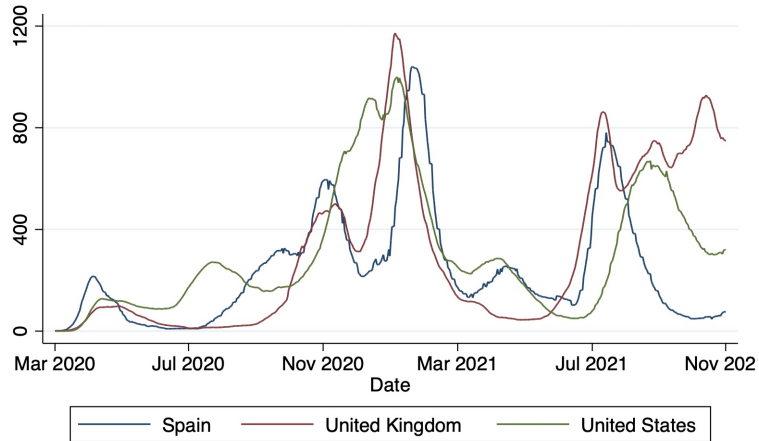


Columns 3 and 4 examine the effects on a measure of how much importance voters give to party ideals relative to performance track-record of the party. The results suggest that the treatment makes respondents pay more attention to performance when casting their voting decisions. The effect is not different depending on whether they are politically aligned with the regional government.

## D Appendix Figures

Figure A1: Timeline of the Pandemic: Spain, UK, US

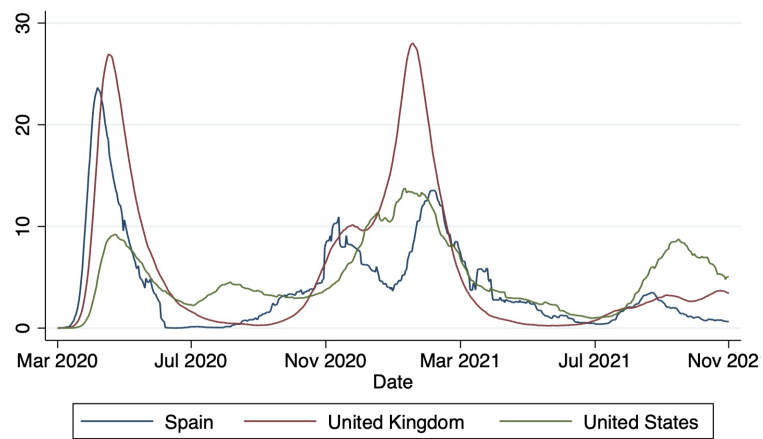
COVID-19 cases per 100,000 inhabitants during last 14 days



Source: Our World in Data (own calculation)

(a) Cases

COVID-19 deaths per 100,000 inhabitants during last 14 days



Source: Our World in Data (own calculation)

(b) Deaths

Figure A2: Prior Elicitation

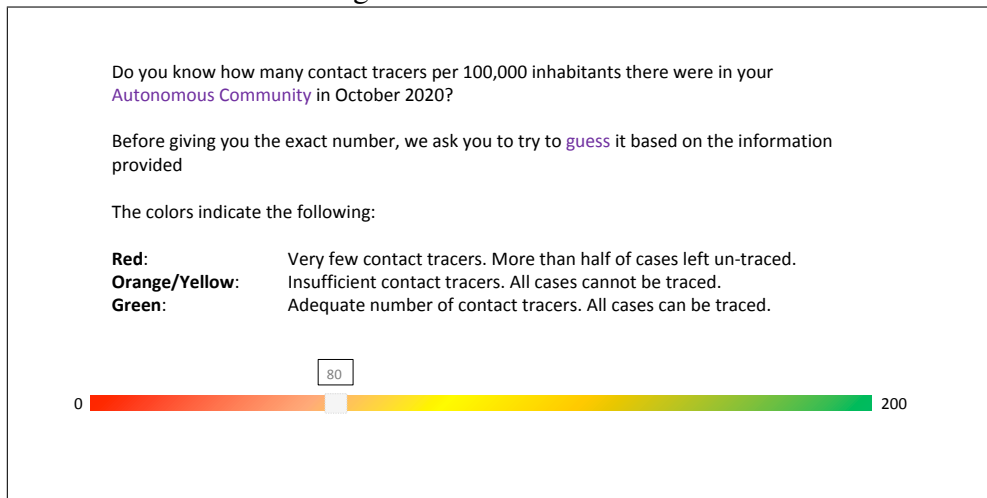


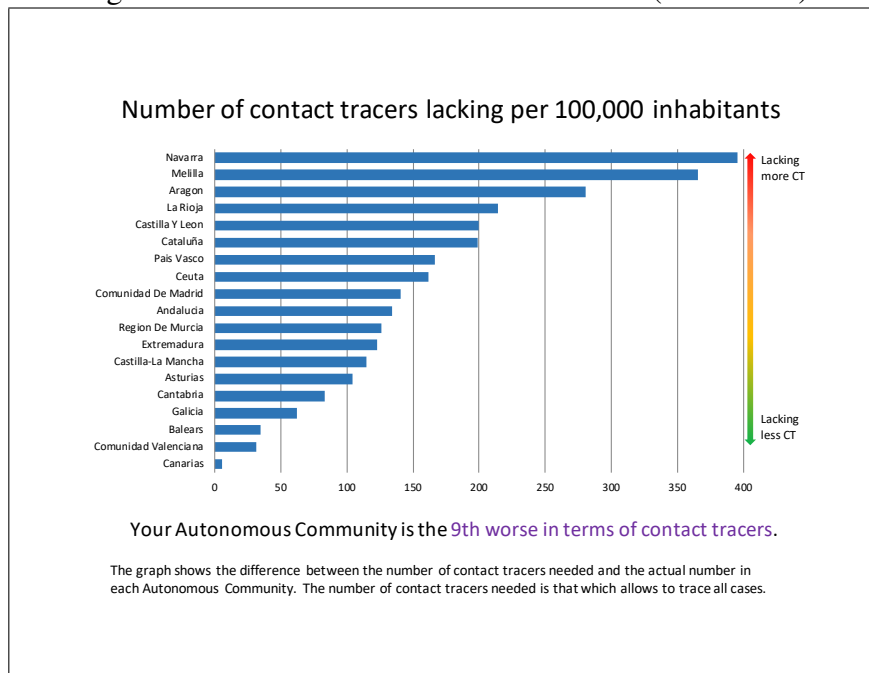
Figure A3: Additional Screens in Treatment (Additional)

**All the Autonomous Communities have a lack of contact tracers, but there are big differences across them.**

**How does contact tracing work in your Autonomous Community **compared with other** communities in Spain?**

**Next, we give you information about it.**

Figure A4: Additional Screens in Treatment (Additional)



## E Appendix Tables

Table A1: Government Coalitions and Divided Governments, by Region

Region	President (1)	Gov Coalition (2)	Gov Formation (3)	Divided Gov (4)
Central Government	PSOE	PSOE, UP	PSOE, UP, MP, PNV, BNG, Reg.	
Andalucía	PP	PP, Cs	PP, Cs, VOX	Yes
Aragón	PSOE	PSOE, UP, Reg.	PSOE, UP, Reg.	No
Asturias	PSOE	PSOE	PSOE, UP	No
Canarias	PSOE	PSOE, UP, Reg.	PSOE, UP, Reg.	No
Cantabria	Reg	PSOE, Reg.	PSOE, Reg.	No
Castilla y León	PP	PP, Cs	PP, Cs	Yes
Castilla La Mancha	PSOE	PSOE	PSOE	No
Cataluña	ERC	JxC, ERC	JxC, ERC	Yes
Ceuta	PP	PP	PP	Yes
Com. Valenciana	PSOE	PSOE, UP, Reg.	PSOE, UP, Reg.	No
Com. Madrid	PP	PP, Cs	PP, Cs, VOX	Yes
Galicia	PP	PP	PP	Yes
Extremadura	PSOE	PSOE	PSOE	No
Islas Baleares	PSOE	PSOE, UP, Reg.	PSOE, UP, Reg.	No
La Rioja	PSOE	PSOE, UP	PSOE, UP	No
Melilla	Cs	Cs, PSOE, Reg	Cs, PSOE, Reg	No
Murcia	PP	PP, Cs	PP, Cs, VOX	Yes
Navarra	PSOE	PSOE, UP, PNV	PSOE, UP, PNV	No
País Vasco	PNV	PNV, PSOE	PNV, PSOE	No

*Notes:* The column President indicates the party of the president of the regional government at the time of the survey. Gov Coalition indicates the parties that are part of the regional government (the executive). Gov Formation indicates the parties that voted “yes” to the investiture of the regional president. The first row shows analogous values for the central government, i.e., party of the prime minister, parties that are part of the central government, and parties that voted “yes” to the investiture of the prime minister. Divided Gov indicates regions in which there is no overlap between the government formation parties for that region and for the central government. “Reg.” stands for voting for any regionalist (or nationalist) party running in that region only.

Table A2: Statistics about Contact Tracers used in the Information Treatment

	Actual Number of Contact Tracers per 100.000 inhab.	Recommended Number of Contact Tracers Provided by Estimation Tool	First threshold (red turns to yellow)	Second threshold (yellow turns to green)	Range (max)	Deficit of Contact Tracers	Message displayed in Main Treatment	Message displayed in Additional Treatment <i>Your region is the ...</i>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Navarra	17	413	200	400	500	396	Very few C.T.	... worse in terms of C.T.
Melilla	32	398	200	400	500	365	Very few C.T.	... 2nd worse in terms of C.T.
Aragón	26	307	150	300	400	281	Very few C.T.	... 3rd worse in terms of C.T.
La Rioja	42	256	125	250	350	214	Very few C.T.	... 4th worse in terms of C.T.
Castilla y León	41	241	120	240	300	200	Very few C.T.	... 5th worse in terms of C.T.
Cataluña	20	219	110	220	300	199	Very few C.T.	... 6th worse in terms of C.T.
País Vasco	17	184	90	180	250	167	Very few C.T.	... 7th worse in terms of C.T.
Ceuta	44	205	100	200	250	162	Very few C.T.	... 8th worse in terms of C.T.
Com. Madrid	13	153	75	150	200	141	Very few C.T.	... 9th worse in terms of C.T.
Andalucía	7	141	70	140	200	134	Very few C.T.	... 10th worse in terms of C.T.
Murcia	27	153	75	150	200	126	Very few C.T.	... 11th worse in terms of C.T.
Extremadura	34	156	75	150	200	123	Very few C.T.	... 12th worse in terms of C.T.
Castilla La Mancha	33	148	75	150	200	115	Very few C.T.	... 13th worse in terms of C.T.
Asturias	19	124	60	120	150	105	Very few C.T.	... 14th worse in terms of C.T.
Cantabria	24	107	50	100	150	83	Very few C.T.	... 5th closest to reaching the necessary C.T.
Galicia	22	85	40	80	100	62	Insufficient C.T.	... 4th closest to reaching the necessary C.T.
Islas Baleares	30	64	30	60	100	34	Insufficient C.T.	... 3rd closest to reaching the necessary C.T.
Com. Valenciana	32	64	30	60	100	32	Insufficient C.T.	... 2nd closest to reaching the necessary C.T.
Canarias	23	29	15	30	50	6	Insufficient C.T.	... closest to reaching the necessary C.T.

Notes: This table provides information on how the information treatment was customized for each region.

Table A3: Balance of Pre-treatment Characteristics (Including Strata Fixed Effects)

	Age Group	Education Level	Female	Household Income	HH Income Change	Past Vote PP	Past Vote PSOE	Ideology 1-10	Prior-Actual	Indicator (Prior-Actual) > p50
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Treatment	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.03* (0.02)	-58.54 (56.82)	6.83 (16.24)	0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.10 (0.08)	1.03 (1.67)	0.01 (0.02)
Observations	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,339	3,512	3,109	3,109	3,699	3,705	3,705
$R^2$	1.00	1.00	0.15	0.19	0.15	0.13	0.15	0.18	0.39	0.31
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	2.17	1.77	0.49	2299.97	-218.72	0.08	0.22	4.57	51.34	0.47

*Notes:* The table shows the same results as Table 3 but now including strata fixed effects in all regressions. See notes to Table 3 for details.

Table A4: Balance of Characteristics: Region of Residence

	And	Ara	Cant	CyL	CLM	Cat	Ceu	Mad	Nav	Val	Ext	Gal	Bal	Canar	Rio	Mel	PV	Ast	Mur
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)
Treatment	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (.)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01* (0.00)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (.)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Observations	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705
$R^2$	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	.	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	.	0.00	0.00	0.00
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	0.19	0.03	0.02	0.05	0.04	0.16	0.00	0.18	0.01	0.11	0.02	0.07	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.03	0.02

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. No controls included. The dependent variables are dummies indicating whether the respondent is a resident of any given region. \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .



Table A5: Differential Attrition

	Dependent Variable: Indicator for Dropping Out of the Sample
	(1)
Treatment	-0.001 (0.004)
Observations	5,162
$R^2$	0.00
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	0.02

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. The sample includes all respondents that completed any part of the survey. See Appendix A for details on the data. No controls included. The dependent variables is a dummy taking the value of one if the respondent exited the survey before its completion. \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

Table A6: Correlates of Priors and Accuracy of Priors

	Dependent Variables:			
	Prior		Prior-Actual	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Female	0.58 (1.93)		0.89 (1.96)	
Age	-0.07 (0.07)		-0.08 (0.07)	
Education Level	1.20 (2.33)		2.12 (2.37)	
Aligned Regional Gov		11.99*** (2.08)		13.25*** (2.09)
Observations	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705
$R^2$	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	71.34	71.34	51.34	51.34

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. All specifications include strata fixed effects. The dependent variables are Prior, which denotes the respondents' estimated number of contact tracers in their region, and (Prior-Actual), which is the prior minus the actual number of contact tracers in their region. Aligned Reg Gov = 1 if the respondent voted for one of the parties supporting the regional government in the past general election—see Section A and Table A1 for details. \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

Table A7: Effects on Vaccination: Robustness

	Dependent Variable: Willingness to Accept Vaccination					
	If Recommended By:					
	Reg Government			Central Government		
	Dummy	Linear	Index	Dummy	Linear	Index
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Treatment	-0.03** (0.02)	-0.08* (0.05)	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.04** (0.02)	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.07** (0.03)
Observations	3,537	3,537	3,537	3,545	3,545	3,545
$R^2$	0.16	0.17	0.16	0.16	0.17	0.17
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	0.35	2.62	0.03	0.36	2.64	0.03

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. All specifications include strata fixed effects. The dependent variables in columns (1) and (4) are a dummy indicating that the respondent would “very likely” get vaccinated if the vaccine were recommended by the regional (or central) government. The dependent variables in columns (2) and (5) are lineal variables taking the value of 5 if the respondent is “sure” to get vaccinated; 4 if “likely”; 3 if “doesn’t know”; 2 if “likely not”; 1 if “sure not”. The dependents variable in columns (3) and (6) are indexes aggregating the dependent variables in the previous two columns: we standardize each variable, then take the mean of the standardized variables. \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

Table A8: Effects on Trust: Additional Institutions

Panel A. Political Institutions					
	Congress	Local Governments	EU Institutions	Judiciary System	Index
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treatment	0.00 (0.08)	-0.14 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.08)	-0.14 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.03)
Observations	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705
$R^2$	0.15	0.15	0.17	0.16	0.16
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	2.26	4.19	4.47	3.94	0.02
Panel B. Other Institutions					
	Epidemiologists	Economists	Media	Pharmaceutical Industry	Index
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treatment	-0.07 (0.09)	-0.11 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.04 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.03)
Observations	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705
$R^2$	0.18	0.16	0.17	0.15	0.18
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	6.10	4.38	3.25	4.31	0.02

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. All specifications include strata fixed effects. The dependent variables are trust, on a 0-10 scale, in Congress, local governments, EU institutions, judiciary system, epidemiologists, economists, media, and pharmaceutical industry. The dependent variable in the last columns is an index aggregating the previous dependent variables: we standardize each variable, then take the mean of the standardized variables. \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table A9: Heterogeneous Effects by Prior on Perceived Competence and Trust (Regional Government)

	Dependent Variables:									
	Perceived Competence of Regional Gov					Trust in Regional Gov (scale 0-10)				
	Full Sample	Full Sample	Strong Prior	Full Sample	Strong Prior	Full Sample	Full Sample	Strong Prior	Full Sample	Strong Prior
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Treatment	-1.05*** (0.09)	-0.92*** (0.12)	-0.33 (0.27)	-1.07*** (0.08)	-0.76*** (0.21)	-0.31*** (0.09)	-0.27** (0.12)	-0.09 (0.27)	-0.32*** (0.09)	-0.48** (0.21)
1 {(Prior-Actual) > p50}		1.32*** (0.13)	2.34*** (0.34)				1.22*** (0.14)	2.48*** (0.35)		
T*1 {(Prior-Actual) > p50}		-0.29* (0.17)	-0.99** (0.44)				-0.11 (0.19)	-0.92** (0.43)		
Prior-Actual				1.36*** (0.13)	2.28*** (0.26)				1.30*** (0.13)	2.26*** (0.26)
T*(Prior-Actual)				-0.14 (0.16)	-0.75** (0.33)				-0.08 (0.16)	-0.88*** (0.33)
Observations	3,705	3,705	815	3,705	815	3,705	3,705	815	3,705	815
R <sup>2</sup>	0.19	0.23	0.37	0.24	0.40	0.17	0.20	0.39	0.22	0.40
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	4.88	4.88	4.93	4.88	4.93	3.95	3.95	4.28	3.95	4.28

Notes: Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. All specifications include strata fixed effects. The dependent variable are perceived of competence of the regional government, on a 0-10 scale, and trust in the regional government, on a 0-10 scale. Strong prior is defined as individuals in the top quartile of the distribution of confidence in their prior. They are the ones that selected 7 or above on a 0-10 scale. \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table A10: Heterogeneous Effects by Prior on Perceived Competence and Trust (Central Government)

	Dependent Variables:									
	Perceived Competence of Central Gov					Trust in Central Gov (scale 0-10)				
	Full Sample	Full Sample	Strong Prior	Full Sample	Strong Prior	Full Sample	Full Sample	Strong Prior	Full Sample	Strong Prior
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Treatment	-0.59*** (0.09)	-0.74*** (0.13)	-0.73** (0.30)	-0.60*** (0.09)	-0.43* (0.23)	-0.20** (0.10)	-0.34** (0.14)	-0.64** (0.31)	-0.20** (0.10)	-0.28 (0.24)
1 {(Prior-Actual) > p50}		0.36** (0.14)	0.59 (0.39)				0.43*** (0.15)	0.51 (0.39)		
T*1 {(Prior-Actual) > p50}		0.30 (0.19)	0.72 (0.47)				0.28 (0.20)	0.85* (0.48)		
Prior-Actual				0.64*** (0.13)	1.07*** (0.31)				0.65*** (0.13)	0.92*** (0.32)
T*(Prior-Actual)				0.07 (0.16)	-0.10 (0.37)				-0.01 (0.17)	-0.09 (0.39)
Observations	3,705	3,705	815	3,705	815	3,705	3,705	815	3,705	815
R <sup>2</sup>	0.16	0.16	0.27	0.17	0.28	0.14	0.15	0.27	0.15	0.27
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	3.91	3.91	3.97	3.91	3.97	3.13	3.13	3.47	3.13	3.47

Notes: Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. All specifications include strata fixed effects. The dependent variable are perceived of competence of the regional government, on a 0-10 scale, and trust in the regional government, on a 0-10 scale. Strong prior is defined as individuals in the top quartile of the distribution of confidence in their prior. They are the ones that selected 7 or above on a 0-10 scale. \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table A11: Heterogeneous Effects by Additional Treatment (Regional Government)

	Dependent Variables:					
	Perceived Competence of Regional Gov			Trust in Regional Gov (scale 0-10)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Treatment	-1.05*** (0.09)	-1.07*** (0.11)	-0.93*** (0.17)	-0.31*** (0.09)	-0.36*** (0.11)	-0.52*** (0.19)
Treatment (Additional)		0.04 (0.12)	0.38* (0.20)		0.11 (0.13)	0.47** (0.21)
T*Low Performance			-0.21 (0.22)			0.23 (0.23)
T_Add*Low Performance			-0.51** (0.25)			-0.53** (0.26)
Observations	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705
R <sup>2</sup>	0.19	0.19	0.19	0.17	0.17	0.17
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	4.88	4.88	4.88	3.95	3.95	3.95

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. All specifications include strata fixed effects. The dependent variable are perceived of competence of the regional (or central) government, on a 0-10 scale and trust in the regional (or central) government, on a 0-10 scale. In columns 3 and 7 the measure of “Low Performance” is a dummy that takes value for respondents in regions with an above the median deficit of contact tracers. Note that in these specifications the uninteracted variable of “Low Performance” is absorbed by the strata fixed effects. In columns 4 and 8 the measure of “Low Performance” is a dummy that takes value one for respondents for which the difference between their prior and the actual number of contact tracers is above the median. Those are likely to be the individuals more negatively surprised by our information treatment. \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table A12: Heterogeneous Effects by Additional Treatment (Central Government)

	Dependent Variables:					
	Perceived Competence of Central Gov			Trust in Central Gov (scale 0-10)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Treatment	-0.59*** (0.09)	-0.62*** (0.11)	-0.53*** (0.20)	-0.20** (0.10)	-0.24** (0.12)	-0.35* (0.21)
Treatment (Additional)		0.05 (0.12)	-0.10 (0.22)		0.09 (0.14)	0.12 (0.24)
T*Low Performance			-0.13 (0.24)			0.16 (0.25)
T_Add*Low Performance			0.22 (0.27)			-0.06 (0.29)
Observations	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705	3,705
R <sup>2</sup>	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.14	0.14	0.14
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	3.91	3.91	3.91	3.13	3.13	3.13

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. All specifications include strata fixed effects. The dependent variable are perceived of competence of the regional (or central) government, on a 0-10 scale and trust in the regional (or central) government, on a 0-10 scale. In columns 3 and 7 the measure of “Low Performance” is a dummy that takes value for respondents in regions with an above the median deficit of contact tracers. Note that in these specifications the uninteracted variable of “Low Performance” is absorbed by the strata fixed effects. In columns 4 and 8 the measure of “Low Performance” is a dummy that takes value one for respondents for which the difference between their prior and the actual number of contact tracers is above the median. Those are likely to be the individuals more negatively surprised by our information treatment. \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.



Table A13: Effects on Well-being

	Dep. var: Well-being (0-10)	
	(1)	(2)
Treatment	-0.01 (0.08)	0.08 (0.10)
Aligned Reg Gov		0.32** (0.12)
T*Aligned Reg Gov		-0.28 (0.17)
Observations	3,639	3,639
$R^2$	0.14	0.14
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	5.24	5.24

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. All specifications include strata fixed effects. The dependent variable is how the respondent would rate their emotional well-being, on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 indicates “great discomfort or depression” and 10 indicates “full happiness”. Aligned Reg Gov = 1 if the respondent voted for one of the parties supporting the regional government in the past general election—see Section A and Table A1 for details. \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

Table A14: Robustness: Competence of Regional Government

	Dep. var: Competence of Reg Gov (0-10)			
	Baseline	No FE	Drop Galicia	Controls PaP
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment	-1.05*** (0.09)	-1.07*** (0.09)	-1.08*** (0.09)	-1.18*** (0.10)
Observations	3,705	3,705	3,474	2,560
$R^2$	0.19	0.04	0.19	0.26
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	4.88	4.88	4.84	4.90

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. The dependent variable is the perceived competence of the regional government, on a 0-10 scale. Column (1) includes strata fixed effects. Relative to that column, column (2) drops the strata fixed effects, column (3) drops observations from Galicia, and column (4) includes the controls specified in our PaP: indicators for past voting decisions, left-right ideological position on a 1-10 scale, gender, nationality, socio-economic situation (pre-pandemic and change with the pandemic), household income (pre-pandemic and change with the pandemic), and baseline values of the outcomes as measured in the first wave of the survey conducted in July 2020 to the same individuals. \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table A15: Robustness: Competence of Central Government

	Dep. var: Competence of Cent Gov (0-10)			
	Baseline	No FE	Drop Galicia	Controls PaP
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment	-0.59*** (0.09)	-0.61*** (0.09)	-0.62*** (0.09)	-0.54*** (0.09)
Observations	3,705	3,705	3,474	2,560
$R^2$	0.16	0.01	0.15	0.44
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	3.91	3.91	3.87	3.99

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. The dependent variable is the perceived competence of the central government, on a 0-10 scale. Column (1) includes strata fixed effects. Relative to that column, column (2) drops the strata fixed effects, column (3) drops observations from Galicia, and column (4) includes the controls specified in our PaP: indicators for past voting decisions, left-right ideological position on a 1-10 scale, gender, nationality, socio-economic situation (pre-pandemic and change with the pandemic), household income (pre-pandemic and change with the pandemic), and baseline values of the outcomes as measured in the first wave of the survey conducted in July 2020 to the same individuals. \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table A16: Robustness: Trust in Regional Government

	Dep. var: Trust in Reg Gov (0-10)			
	Baseline	No FE	Drop Galicia	Controls PaP
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment	-0.31*** (0.09)	-0.35*** (0.09)	-0.36*** (0.09)	-0.35*** (0.08)
Observations	3,705	3,705	3,474	2,558
$R^2$	0.17	0.00	0.17	0.57
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	3.95	3.95	3.95	3.96

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. The dependent variable is trust in the regional government, on a 0-10 scale. Column (1) includes strata fixed effects. Relative to that column, column (2) drops the strata fixed effects, column (3) drops observations from Galicia, and column (4) includes the controls specified in our PaP: indicators for past voting decisions, left-right ideological position on a 1-10 scale, gender, nationality, socio-economic situation (pre-pandemic and change with the pandemic), household income (pre-pandemic and change with the pandemic), and baseline values of the outcomes as measured in the first wave of the survey conducted in July 2020 to the same individuals. \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

Table A17: Robustness: Trust in Central Government

	Dep. var: Trust in Cen Gov (0-10)			
	Baseline	No FE	Drop Galicia	Controls PaP
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment	-0.20** (0.10)	-0.20** (0.09)	-0.22** (0.10)	-0.15** (0.07)
Observations	3,705	3,705	3,474	2,558
$R^2$	0.14	0.00	0.14	0.70
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	3.13	3.13	3.11	3.19

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. The dependent variable is trust in the central government, on a 0-10 scale. Column (1) includes strata fixed effects. Relative to that column, column (2) drops the strata fixed effects, column (3) drops observations from Galicia, and column (4) includes the controls specified in our PaP: indicators for past voting decisions, left-right ideological position on a 1-10 scale, gender, nationality, socio-economic situation (pre-pandemic and change with the pandemic), household income (pre-pandemic and change with the pandemic), and baseline values of the outcomes as measured in the first wave of the survey conducted in July 2020 to the same individuals. \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

Table A18: Robustness: Blame-shifting

	Dep. var: Trust in Cen Gov (0-10)			
	Baseline	No FE	Drop Galicia	Controls PaP
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment	-0.08 (0.25)	-0.04 (0.24)	-0.18 (0.26)	0.24 (0.29)
Aligned Regional Gov	-1.15*** (0.33)	-0.87*** (0.30)	-1.19*** (0.34)	-0.63 (0.40)
T*Aligned Reg Gov	-1.08** (0.45)	-1.09*** (0.41)	-0.98** (0.46)	-1.44*** (0.52)
Observations	3,705	3,705	3,474	2,560
$R^2$	0.15	0.02	0.15	0.26
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	-0.75	-0.75	-0.79	-0.74

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. The dependent variable is which institution the responder thinks has a greater responsibility in the management of the COVID-19 pandemic in their region of residence on a -10 to 10 scale, where -10 means all responsibility is of the central government and 10 means that all responsibility is of regional governments. Relative to that column, column (2) drops the strata fixed effects, column (3) drops observations from Galicia, and column (4) includes the controls specified in our PaP: indicators for past voting decisions, left-right ideological position on a 1-10 scale, gender, nationality, socio-economic situation (pre-pandemic and change with the pandemic), household income (pre-pandemic and change with the pandemic), and baseline values of the outcomes as measured in the first wave of the survey conducted in July 2020 to the same individuals. Aligned Reg Gov = 1 if the respondent voted for one of the parties supporting the regional government in the past general election—see Section A and Table A1 for details. \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

Table A19: Blame-Shifting: Robustness to Controlling for Priors

	Dependent Variable: Responsibility of Regional Gov (vs. Central Gov)				
	All			Strong Prior	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treatment	-0.084 (0.248)	-0.109 (0.248)	-0.097 (0.247)	-0.160 (0.573)	-0.161 (0.573)
Aligned Regional Gov	-1.146*** (0.327)	-1.303*** (0.326)	-1.294*** (0.326)	-1.829** (0.810)	-1.834** (0.811)
T*Aligned Reg Gov	-1.077** (0.454)	-1.045** (0.453)	-0.984** (0.453)	-1.265 (1.081)	-1.124 (1.079)
Prior-Actual		0.012*** (0.003)	0.013*** (0.004)	0.009 (0.007)	0.007 (0.008)
T*(Prior-Actual)		-0.001 (0.004)	0.003 (0.004)	0.005 (0.008)	0.012 (0.009)
Aligned*(Prior-Actual)			-0.003 (0.006)		0.005 (0.014)
T*Aligned*(Prior-Actual)			-0.013 (0.008)		-0.022 (0.019)
Observations	3,705	3,705	3,705	815	815
R <sup>2</sup>	0.15	0.16	0.16	0.32	0.33
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	-0.75	-0.75	-0.75	-0.05	-0.05

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. All specifications include strata fixed effects. The dependent variable is which institution the responder thinks has a greater responsibility in the management of the COVID-19 pandemic in their region of residence on a -10 to 10 scale, where -10 means all responsibility is of the central government and 10 means that all responsibility is of regional governments. Aligned Reg Gov = 1 if the respondent voted for one of the parties supporting the regional government in the past general election—see Section A and Table A1 for details. Prior denotes the respondents' estimated number of contact tracers in their region, measured as a deviation to its mean. Prior-Actual is the difference between the prior and the actual number of contact tracers in their region, also measured as a deviation to its mean. \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table A20: Blame-Shifting: Heterogeneity by Treatment

	Dependent Variable: Responsibility of Regional Gov (vs. Central Gov)					
	Control or T (not T_Add)			Control or T_Add (not T)		
	Sample Treatment:					
	Sample Regions:			Sample Regions:		
All	Low Competence	High Competence	All	Low Competence	High Competence	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Treatment	0.18 (0.30)	0.30 (0.36)	0.01 (0.54)	-0.43 (0.31)	-0.64* (0.37)	0.09 (0.58)
Aligned Regional Gov	-1.33*** (0.34)	-2.31*** (0.39)	1.39** (0.62)	-1.15*** (0.34)	-2.12*** (0.39)	1.53** (0.64)
T*Aligned Reg Gov	-1.49*** (0.55)	-1.86*** (0.63)	-0.39 (1.07)	-0.42 (0.59)	-0.28 (0.68)	-0.75 (1.14)
Observations	2,708	1,831	877	2,726	1,850	876
$R^2$	0.18	0.18	0.25	0.17	0.16	0.23
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	-0.77	-0.46	-1.43	-0.72	-0.46	-1.27

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. All specifications include strata fixed effects. The dependent variable is which institution the responder thinks has a greater responsibility in the management of the COVID-19 pandemic in their region of residence on a -10 to 10 scale, where -10 means all responsibility is of the central government and 10 means that all responsibility is of regional governments. Aligned Reg Gov = 1 if the respondent voted for one of the parties supporting the regional government in the past general election—see Section A and Table A1 for details. Divided Gov = 1 for respondents living in a region where there is no overlap between the parties supporting the regional and central governments—see Table A1 for details. \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

Table A21: Accountability: Robustness to Sympathy and Feel

	Dependent variables:							
	Sympathy				Feel			
	Divided Gov		Non-divided Gov		Divided Gov		Non-divided Gov	
	Reg Gov	Cent Gov	Reg Gov	Cent Gov	Reg Gov	Cent Gov	Reg Gov	Cent Gov
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Treatment	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.06 (0.12)	-0.18 (0.13)	-0.40* (0.21)	-0.35* (0.20)
Observations	1,897	1,897	887	887	1,897	1,897	887	887
$R^2$	0.14	0.12	0.28	0.30	0.14	0.14	0.28	0.28
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	0.39	0.32	0.43	0.45	0.39	0.32	0.43	0.45

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. All specifications include strata fixed effects. The dependent variable Sympathy takes the value of 1 if the respondent reports one of the parties supporting the regional (or central) government as the party that s/he feels the most sympathy for (question 37). Feel is the average rate given to parties supporting the regional (or central) government on a 0-10 scale (where 0 is you do not like the party at all, and 10 is you like it a lot, question 38). Divided Gov = 1 for respondents living in a region where there is no overlap between the parties supporting the regional government and the parties supporting the central government—see Table A1 for details. \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table A22: Trust by Alignment and Divided Government

	Dep. var.: Trust in Government (scale 0-10)							
	Divided Gov				Non-divided Gov			
	Reg Gov		Cent Gov		Reg Gov		Cent Gov	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Treatment	-0.24** (0.11)	-0.17 (0.13)	-0.14 (0.11)	0.00 (0.14)	-0.47*** (0.17)	-0.43** (0.20)	-0.33* (0.18)	-0.23 (0.21)
Aligned Regional Gov		1.97*** (0.16)		-1.52*** (0.17)		2.08*** (0.25)		2.86*** (0.26)
T*Aligned Reg Gov		-0.22 (0.23)		-0.40* (0.22)		0.26 (0.33)		0.18 (0.36)
Observations	2,498	2,498	2,498	2,498	1,207	1,207	1,207	1,207
R <sup>2</sup>	0.12	0.21	0.10	0.17	0.25	0.36	0.22	0.39
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	3.72	3.72	2.98	2.98	4.42	4.42	3.45	3.45

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. All specifications include strata fixed effects. The dependent variable is trust in the regional or central government on a 0-10 scale. Aligned Reg Gov = 1 if the respondent voted for one of the parties supporting the regional government in the past general election—see Section A and Table A1 for details. \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table A23: Accountability by Alignment

	Dep Var: Indicator for Intention to Vote for Incumbent Government							
	Divided Gov				Non-divided Gov			
	Vote Reg Gov		Vote Cent Gov		Vote Reg Gov		Vote Cent Gov	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Treatment	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.07** (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.09** (0.04)	-0.04 (0.03)
Aligned Reg Gov		0.69*** (0.03)		-0.45*** (0.03)		0.71*** (0.04)		0.66*** (0.04)
T*Aligned Reg Gov		0.00 (0.04)		-0.02 (0.04)		-0.03 (0.06)		0.03 (0.06)
Observations	1,910	1,910	1,910	1,910	893	893	893	893
R <sup>2</sup>	0.14	0.53	0.12	0.31	0.29	0.63	0.26	0.57
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	0.39	0.39	0.32	0.32	0.44	0.44	0.45	0.45

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. All specifications include strata fixed effects. The dependent variable Vote Regional Gov equals 1 if the respondent intends to vote for any of the parties supporting the regional government in the next regional election. The dependent variable Vote Central Gov equals 1 if the respondent intends to vote for any of the parties supporting the central government in the next general election. Aligned Reg Gov = 1 if the respondent voted for one of the parties supporting the regional government in the past general election—see Section A and Table A1 for details. Divided Gov = 1 for respondents living in a region where there is no overlap between the parties supporting the regional and central governments—see Table A1 for details. The sample is reduced due to some respondents preferring not to declare their voting intention. \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.



Table A24: Effects on Compliance

	Dependent Variables:		
	Mask	Quarantine (own)	Quarantine (observed)
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Treatment	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.08 (0.08)
Observations	3,685	3,641	3,705
$R^2$	0.15	0.12	0.16
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	0.78	0.83	5.58

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. All specifications include strata fixed effects. The dependent variable in column (1) is an indicator for the response “it is a good measure” to the question on which statement best reflects the respondent’s opinion about masking. The dependent variable in column (2) is an indicator for the most favorable answer, “Yes, I would stay at home for 10 days or more”, to the question on whether the respondent would comply with an indication by the regional government to be confined at home for at least 10 days if in close contact with a person infected with COVID-19. The dependent variable in column (3) is the response, on a 0-10 scale, to the question on which is the perceived degree of compliance with quarantines and other restrictions by people similar to them, where 0 is “rarely met” and 10 is “strictly met”. \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

Table A25: Effects on Polarization

	Dependent Variables:			
	Ideological	Affective	Partisanship	Vote
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment	-0.09 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Observations	3,438	3,705	3,260	2,939
$R^2$	0.20	0.16	0.36	0.14
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	6.59	2.52	0.42	0.27

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. All specifications include strata fixed effects. The dependent variable in column (1) is the standard deviation of the respondent’s position on a 0 (extreme left)-10 (extreme right) scale. The dependent variable in column (2) is the standard deviation of the “feel” grade given by each respondent to all parties. The dependent variable in column (3) takes the value of 1 if the respondent reports that they always vote for the same party, or that they always or generally vote for the same party. The dependent variable in column (4) takes the value of 1 if the respondent reports an intention to vote for UP, VOX, or CUP. \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

Table A26: Effects on Support for Taxation and Redistribution

	Dependent Variables:		
	Taxes Useful	Support More Taxes	Progressive Taxes
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Treatment	0.00 (0.02)	-0.10 (0.09)	-0.01 (0.02)
Observations	3,705	3,705	3,705
$R^2$	0.17	0.16	0.15
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	1.39	3.50	0.49

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. All specifications include strata fixed effects. The dependent variable in column (1) is a categorical variable taking the value of 3 if the respondent answers “taxes are a means to better redistribute wealth in our society”; 2 if “taxes are necessary for the state to be able to provide public services”; 1 if “what we pay in taxes does not correspond to the public services we receive, due to corruption”; 0 if “the money that the state collects in taxes would be better off in the pockets of citizens”. When multiple options are chosen, we calculate the mean. The dependent variable in column (2) is where respondents would place themselves regarding taxes and spending on a 0-10 scale, where 0 means decreasing spending and taxes and 10 means increasing spending and taxes. The dependent variable in column (3) is an indicator for whether a hypothetical increase in taxes should be mainly charged to very high-income individuals (higher than 120,000 €/year). \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01.

Table A27: Effects on Perceived Influence of Endogenous vs. Exogenous Factors, and on Vote According to Ideals vs. Management

	Dependent Variables:			
	Endogenous (vs. Exogenous)		Ideals (vs. Management)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treatment	-0.11 (0.18)	0.11 (0.22)	-0.43** (0.22)	-0.39 (0.27)
Aligned Reg Gov		0.28 (0.29)		-0.15 (0.34)
T*Aligned Reg Gov		-0.65 (0.40)		-0.13 (0.47)
Observations	3,705	3,705	3,291	3,291
$R^2$	0.13	0.13	0.16	0.16
Dep. Var. Mean (Control)	1.14	1.14	0.33	0.33

*Notes:* Robust standard errors shown in parentheses. The unit of observation is the respondent. All specifications include strata fixed effects. The dependent variable in columns (1) and (2) is what factors the respondent thinks are more important to handle the pandemic, on a -10 to 10 scale, where -10 means “pandemic depends only on other factors (population density, aging population, etc.)” and 10 means “pandemic depends only on government management (containment measures, contact tracing, testing, etc.)”. The dependent variable in columns (3) and (4) is, when considering which party to vote for in general elections, whether the respondent takes into account the competence in the management of each party, or the proximity of the party to their ideals, on a -10 to 10 scale, where -10 means “the management of each party” and 10 means “the party’s proximity to your ideals”. Aligned Reg Gov = 1 if the respondent voted for one of the parties supporting the regional government in the past general election—see Section A and Table A1 for details. \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

## F Complete Questionnaire

Answer options are in *italics*, separated by a semicolon.

1. Last June you responded to a survey on the effects of COVID-19 on the household economy. The following questionnaire is a continuation of the previous one and aims to collect additional information. Thank you for your collaboration!

Your participation is voluntary, completely anonymous, and you can leave the survey at any time. We will ask you a series of questions about your personal and economic situation. We will also give you information that you may find useful about some recent changes in our society.

The results of this survey will be used by a team of researchers from the Center for Monetary and Financial Studies and other academic institutions for scientific purposes only.

2. Do you agree to participate?

*Yes; No*

### F.1 Background Socio-economic Measures

3. In which autonomous community do you live?

*Andalucía; Aragón; Cantabria; Castilla y León; Castilla-La Mancha; Cataluña; Ceuta; Comunidad de Madrid; Comunidad Foral de Navarra; Comunidad Valenciana; Extremadura; Galicia; Islas Baleares; Islas Canarias; La Rioja; Melilla; País Vasco; Principado de Asturias; Región de Murcia*

4. What is the highest educational or work qualification you have?

*Incomplete primary education; Primary education; First stage of Secondary Education (ESO or EGB); Second stage of Secondary Education (Bachillerato, BUP or COU); Vocational education (Intermediate Level); Vocational education (Advanced Level); Incomplete university studies; University Studies (Bachelor's Degree); Master's Degree or PhD; Other; I prefer not to answer*

5. What is your age?

6. Which of the following options best represents your current employment status?

*Employee (private sector); Employee (public sector); Entrepreneur, professional or self-employed; Retiree or pensioner; Unemployed but I have worked before; Unemployed and I have not worked before; Student; Unpaid domestic work; Other (please specify);*

[If the respondent answers “Retiree or pensioner”, “Unemployed and I have not worked before”, “Student”, “Unpaid domestic work” or “Other (please specify)”, go to question [10.](#)]

7. What type of occupation or position best reflects your current work activity?

*Directors and managers; Professionals, scientists and intellectuals; Technicians and associate professionals; Clerical support workers; Service personnel in the hotel, tourism*

*and catering industry; Service personnel in other sectors; Domestic service; Sales workers; Delivery men and women; Security personnel; Cleaning personnel; Agricultural workers; Officers, and craft and related trades workers; Plant and machine operators, and assemblers; Healthcare personnel (doctors or managers); Healthcare personnel (nurses or assistants); Healthcare personnel (other); Military and police occupations; Teaching personnel; Other (please specify); I do not know*

8. What type of contract or occupation best reflects your current situation?

*Salaried employee with indefinite contract (full time); Salaried employee with indefinite contract (part-time); Salaried employee with temporary contract (full time); Salaried employee with temporary contract (part-time); Entrepreneur or professional with employees; Professional or self-employed with no employees; Household chores; Other situation (please specify)*

9. What is the main activity of the company or organization where you currently work?

*Agriculture, livestock and primary sector; Extractive industries; Manufacturing industry; Power, gas and water production and distribution; Construction; Retail trade, repair of vehicles and objects; Hotels, tourism, catering; Transportation, warehousing and communications; Financial services; Consulting, advertising or other business services; Real estate activities; Public service; Security and defense services; Education; Health and veterinary services, social services; Culture and sports; Other personal services; Households employing domestic workers; Activities ancillary to transportation, travel agencies; Computer activities; Other activities (please specify)*

10. What was your monthly income, on average, during 2019? Please specify both:

- Your individual monthly income
- That of your household as a whole

By income we mean, for example, wages, income from professional activities, pensions and subsidies, among others. Please indicate the net income, this is, your income after taxes. You do not need to indicate the exact amount, just need to indicate in which interval of the following scale are included your income and the income of your household. We remind you that this information is completely confidential.

*I have no income at all; 0-300€; 301-600€; 601-900€; 901-1,200€; 1,201-1,500€; 1,501-1,800€; 1,801-2,100€; 2,101-2,400€; 2,401-3,000€; 3,001-4,500€; 4,501-6,000€; 6,000€+; I do not know / I prefer not to answer*

11. Thinking about your net monthly income, has it changed since the COVID-19 epidemic broke out (this is, between February 2020 and now)? Please, specify this for:

- Your individual monthly income
- That of your household as a whole

*Yes; No*

12. And, more precisely, how has your net monthly income (after taxes) changed between February 2020 and today? Please, specify this for:

- Your individual monthly income
- That of your household as a whole

*Reduced by more than 1,000€ per month; Reduced between 600€ and 1,000€ per month; Reduced between 400€ and 600€ per month; Reduced between 200€ and 400€ euros per month; Reduced between 100€ and 200€ euros per month; It is more or less the same; Increased between 100€ and 500€ per month; Increased by more than 500€ per month; I do not know; I prefer not to answer*

13. Have you received any public subsidy, aid or benefit during the last 6 months? Check all that apply:

*Unemployment benefit; ERTE<sup>9</sup> benefit; Pension; Moratorium on mortgage or rent payments; Minimum Vital Income from the state government; Minimum Insertion Income or Guaranteed Income from your autonomous community; Extraordinary benefit for self-employed who cease activity; Other benefits (please specify); I have not received any subsidy, aid or public benefit; I do not know*

[If the respondent answers “Minimum Vital Income from the state government”, go to question 14. If the respondent answers “Minimum Insertion Income or Guaranteed Income from your autonomous community”, go to question 15. Otherwise, go to question 16.]

14. Please, indicate the approximate monthly amount that your household has received or been granted for the Minimum Vital Income in the last few months.

*0€-99€; 100€-199€; 200€-299€; 300€-399€; 400€-499€; 500€-599€; 600€-699€; 700-799€; 800€-899€; 900€-1,000€; 1,000€-1,100€; I do not know*

[Go to question 16]

15. Please, indicate the approximate monthly amount that your household has received or been granted for the Minimum Insertion Income or Guaranteed Income from your autonomous community in the last few months.

*0€-99€; 100€-199€; 200€-299€; 300€-399€; 400€-499€; 500€-599€; 600€-699€; 700-799€; 800€-899€; 900€-1,000€; 1,000€-1,100€; I do not know*

16. We are interested in knowing the size of the municipality in which you live. Consider very large (more than 1,000,000 people), large (between 500,000 and 1,000,000 people), medium (between 100,000 and 500,000 people), small (between 10,000 and 100,000 people) and very small (less than 10,000 people). To show that you have read the question, select the two answers “Very large” and “Very small” regardless of the reality. What is the size of the municipality in which you have your normal residence?

*Very small; Small; Medium; Large; Very large*

## **F.2 Elicitation of Priors and Treatments (only Treatment Groups)**

17. *TREATMENT GROUP*: The COVID-19 pandemic has greatly changed our lives. Below, we would like to show you some information that might be of your interest.

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<sup>9</sup> Record of Temporary Employment Regulation

In the last weeks, harsh measures have been imposed to contain the advance of COVID-19: curfews, mobility restrictions, maximum of 6 people in social gatherings, cancellation of cultural events.

How did we get here? Could these measures have been avoided with a more efficient management of the pandemic by our governments?

In March 2020, the scientific community recommended developing mass testing and contact tracing systems. Investing in these systems reduces the spread of the virus and helps to avoid having to take harsher measures.

Have our politicians done their homework? Next, we will give you information about the quality of the tracing system in your autonomous community (at the end of the survey we will give you more information about the data used).

Do you know how many contact tracers per 100,000 inhabitants there were in your autonomous community in October 2020? Before giving you the exact number, we ask you to try to guess based on the information provided. The colors indicate the following:

- Red: Very few contact tracers. More than half of cases left un-traced.
- Orange/Yellow: Insufficient contact tracers. All cases cannot be traced.
- Green: Adequate number of contact tracers. All cases can be traced.

*Colored slider.*

18. **TREATMENT GROUP:** On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “very unsure” and 10 is “very sure”, how sure are you that your guess was close to the correct number of tracers?

0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10

19. **TREATMENT GROUP:** Your autonomous community has  $x$  contact tracers per 100,000 inhabitants. With  $x$  contact tracers, your autonomous community lacks  $t-x$  contact tracers per 100,000 inhabitants to be able to track all cases.<sup>10</sup> Deficiencies in tracing contribute to the increase in cases and lead to the application of tougher measures, such as those we have been experiencing in recent weeks.

[If the respondent answered “Galicia” to question 3, display the following paragraph]

The official number of contact tracers in Galicia includes primary healthcare personnel. In our estimation of the number of contact tracers we have taken into account that primary healthcare personnel only spend part of their working day on tracing tasks. More information is provided at the end of the survey.

20. **ADDITIONAL TREATMENT GROUP:** All the autonomous communities have a lack of contact tracers, but there are big differences across them. How does contact tracing work in your autonomous community compared with other communities in Spain? Next, we give you information about it.

Your autonomous community is the  $y$ th worse in terms of contact tracers.

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<sup>10</sup>  $x$  refers to the number of contact tracers per 100,000 inhabitants corresponding to the autonomous community of the respondent, according to the answer to question 3.  $t$  refers to the number of contact tracers per 100,000 inhabitants that would be necessary to track all cases.

### F.3 Outcomes

21. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “very bad” and 10 is “very good”, how would you evaluate the quality of management of the government of your autonomous community in dealing with a crisis like the COVID-19 one?

*0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10*

22. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “very bad” and 10 is “very good”, how would you evaluate the quality of management of the Government of Spain in dealing with a crisis like the COVID-19 one?

*0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10*

23. We would like to ask you about which institution you think bears greater responsibility in the management of the COVID-19 pandemic in your region (containment measures, healthcare, contact tracing, testing, etc.).

On a scale of -10 to 10, where -10 is “all responsibility lies with the Government of Spain” and 10 “all responsibility lies with the government of your autonomous community”, what degree of responsibility would you attribute to each government?

*-10; -9; -8; -7; -6; -5; -4; -3; -2; -1; 0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10*

24. We would like to ask you about what factors you think have the most influence on the evolution of the pandemic (this is, on the number of COVID-19 infections). What do you think is more important, government management (containment measures, contact tracing, testing, etc.) or other factors (population density, aging population, etc.)? On a scale of -10 to 10, where -10 is “pandemic depends only on other factors” and 10 is “pandemic depends only on government management”, where would you place yourself?

*-10; -9; -8; -7; -6; -5; -4; -3; -2; -1; 0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10*

25. When you consider which party to vote for in general elections, do you take more into account the competence in the management of each party, or the proximity of the party to your ideals? On a scale of -10 to 10, where -10 is “the management of each party” and 10 is “the party’s proximity to your ideals”, where would you place yourself?

*-10; -9; -8; -7; -6; -5; -4; -3; -2; -1; 0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10*

26. On a scale of 0 to 10, how would you rate the ability of each of the following parties to manage a crisis similar to the one generated by COVID-19?

- PP (Partido Popular)
- PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español)
- Cs (Ciudadanos)
- VOX
- Podemos

*0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10*



27. Which level of government do you think has the greatest capacity to manage a crisis similar to the one generated by COVID-19? On a scale of -10 to 10, where -10 is “the government of the autonomous community” and 10 is “the Government of Spain”, where would you place yourself?

*-10; -9; -8; -7; -6; -5; -4; -3; -2; -1; 0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10*

28. Next, we want to ask you about your level of confidence regarding a number of institutions or groups of people. Using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means “I have very little confidence in them” and 10 means “I have a lot of confidence in them”, how much confidence do you have in the following ones?

- Politicians in the Congress of Deputies
- Government of Spain
- Government of your autonomous community
- Government of your municipality
- European Union Institutions
- The judicial system
- The public health system
- Epidemiologists
- Economists
- Media
- Pharmaceutical companies

*0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10*

29. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “very low” and 10 is “very high”, how would you rate the ability of the political system to provide solutions to the main problems faced by citizens?

*0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10*

30. Imagine that you win a prize of 1,000€ aimed at alleviating the effects of COVID-19 in Spain. You cannot keep the prize. You can only donate it to the following two institutions: COVID-19 fund from the Ministry of Health of the Central government and the Red Cross. What percentage of the prize would you donate to each of them?

- COVID-19 Fund of the Ministry of Health, Government of Spain
- Red Cross

*Text box (one for each institution)*

31. Imagine that you win another similar prize of 1,000€ and the two institutions to which you can donate it are the following ones. Which percentage of the prize would you donate to each of them?

- Fund against COVID-19 of the Health Department of your autonomous community
- Red Cross

*Text box (one for each institution)*

32. From your point of view, which of the following terms best represents the current situation in Spain? You can select up to two options.

*Hope; Amelioration; Unity; Solidarity; Uncertainty; Division; Inequality; Deterioration; Despair*

33. If a general election were to be held tomorrow, this is, an election to the Spanish Parliament, which party would you vote for?

*PSOE; PP; Vox; Unidas Podemos; Ciudadanos; Más País-Equo; ERC-Sobiranistes; Junts-JuntsxCat; CUP-PR; EAJ-PNV; EH Bildu; Other (please specify); Abstention/ Would not vote; I do not know*

34. If regional elections were to be held again tomorrow, this is, elections to the Parliament of your Autonomous Community, which party would you vote for?

*List of political parties adapted to the answer to question 3.*

35. Are you one of those people who always votes for the same party, who usually votes for the same party or, depending on what convinces them most at a particular time, votes for one party or another, or does not vote at all?

*I always vote for the same party; I usually vote for the same party; I vote for one party or another, or I do not vote at all, depending on what convinces me most at a particular time; I tend to vote blank or null; I do not usually vote; I prefer not to answer*

36. When talking about politics, the expressions left and right are commonly used. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means “left” and 10 means “right”, where would you place yourself?

*0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10; I prefer not to answer*

37. Please, indicate which party you feel more sympathy for:

*PSOE; PP; Vox; Podemos; Ciudadanos; Más País-Equo; ERC; Junts-JuntsxCat; CUP; EAJ-PNV; EH Bildu; Izquierda Unida; Other (please specify); None of them*

38. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “you do not like it” and 10 is “you like it”, how would you rate the following parties?

- PSOE
- PP
- Vox
- Podemos
- Ciudadanos
- ERC
- EAJ-PNV
- Más País-Equo
- CUP

- Junts-JuntsxCat
- EH Bildu
- Izquierda Unida

0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10

39. Since the COVID-19 epidemic broke out (this is, February 2020), have you regularly participated in pots and pans protests against the political management?

*Always; Almost always; Few times; Almost never; Never*

40. Since the COVID-19 epidemic broke out (this is, February 2020), have you participated in any protest or demonstration?

*Yes; No*

[If the respondent answers “No”, go to question 42.]

41. Could you indicate the reason for the protest?

*Text box*

42. Please indicate which of the following statements best reflects your opinion about taxes. You can select more than one option if you prefer.

*Taxes are a means to better redistribute wealth in our society; Taxes are necessary for the state to be able to provide public services; What we pay in taxes does not correspond to the public services we receive, due to corruption; The money that the state collects in taxes would be better off in the pockets of citizens*

43. The COVID-19 crisis has led to an increase in public spending to finance health and social protection measures, such as the ERTE<sup>11</sup> benefits. Some politicians argue that it is necessary to raise taxes to finance these additional costs, while others propose lowering taxes to revive the economy. Indicate your position on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “lower taxes” and 10 is “raise taxes”.

0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10

44. If taxes were to be raised, which group do you think should bear the greatest increase in tax payments?

*Taxpayers with income over 120,000€ per year (10,000€ per month); Taxpayers with income over 60,000€ per year (5,000€ per month); All taxpayers in proportion to their income*

45. In recent months many people have been infected with COVID-19. Below we will ask you some questions regarding potential containment measures. Remember that all information you provide will be treated confidentially and used only in aggregate form by our researchers.

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<sup>11</sup> Record of Temporary Employment Regulation

46. The government of your autonomous community recommends people to wear masks, also outdoors, even if a safety distance of 2 meters can be maintained. Please indicate which of the following statements best reflects your opinion about this measure. Check all that apply.

*I think it is a good measure. It is important to wear a mask to protect everyone's health; It seems excessive to me. It should only be mandatory indoors, and outdoors when a distance of 2 meters cannot be maintained; It seems excessive to me. It should only be mandatory indoors; The use of masks should not be mandatory. It is an imposition against individual freedom; Other (please specify)*

47. The government of your autonomous community requires people who have been in close contact with a person infected with COVID-19 to be confined to home for at least 10 days. These are called “quarantines”. If you were in such a situation, would you comply with this indication? We remind you that your answer is completely confidential.

*Yes, I would stay at home for 10 days or more; I would try to leave my house as least as possible for 10 days; It would be impossible for me not to leave home for 10 days due to professional and/or family responsibilities; I would not follow such directions. I would act according to my own judgment; Other (please specify); I prefer not to answer*

48. Based on what you see in your neighborhood or municipality, which do you think is the degree of compliance with quarantines and other restrictions by people similar to you? Please, indicate on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “rarely met” and 10 is “strictly met”.

*0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10*

49. Imagine that in the next few months a vaccine against COVID-19 is approved. Imagine that the Government of Spain recommends vaccination in your age group. How likely would you be to follow the government's recommendation and agree to be vaccinated?

*I would certainly accept to be vaccinated; It is likely that I would accept to be vaccinated; I do not know whether or not I would accept to be vaccinated; It is likely that I would not accept to be vaccinated; I would certainly not accept to be vaccinated; I do not know*

50. If, instead, the government of your autonomous community was to recommend vaccination in your age group, how likely would you be to follow this recommendation and agree to be vaccinated?

*I would certainly accept to be vaccinated; It is likely that I would accept to be vaccinated; I do not know whether or not I would accept to be vaccinated; It is likely that I would not accept to be vaccinated; I would certainly not accept to be vaccinated; I do not know*

#### **F.4 Open-ended Questions on the Economic Situation and Management of the COVID-19 Pandemic**

51. The COVID-19 crisis has greatly changed our lives. We are really interested in your views on how the situation has been handled. Below we ask you some questions and leave some boxes for you to tell us your vision. You can write as much as you like. We will be happy to read it. Thank you very much.

52. When you think about the economic situation, what aspects seem most relevant to you?

*Text box*

53. What is your opinion on how the COVID-19 pandemic has been managed in Spain?

*Text box*

54. When you think about the impact of COVID-19 and its impact on the economy, which population groups are you most concerned about?

*Text box*

## **F.5 Usefulness of Treatment Information (only Treatment Group)**

55. *TREATMENT GROUP*: On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “not useful at all” and 10 is “very useful”, how useful did you find the information on the number of contact tracers in your autonomous community that we have provided in this survey?

*0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10*

[If the respondent answers “5” or greater, go to question [57](#).]

56. *TREATMENT GROUP*: Your answer above indicates that the information provided on the number of contact tracers has not been very useful to you. Could you tell us the reason(s)? Please, check all that apply.

*I already knew this information; I do not consider this information relevant; I have doubts about the quality of the data provided; I do not agree with some of the statements; Other (please specify)*

## **F.6 Elicitation of Priors and Usefulness of Treatment Information (only Control Group)**

Control group receives here questions in Sections [F.2](#) and [F.5](#).

## **F.7 Exposure to COVID-19 and Health Services**

57. Below, we would like to ask you some questions about how you have felt over the last few months. We remind you that your answers are completely confidential.

58. In the past few months, have you had symptoms consistent with COVID-19?

*No symptoms; Mild symptoms (for instance, cough or fever less than 38 degrees); Severe symptoms (for instance, fever greater than 38 degrees or breathing difficulties), without hospitalization; Severe symptoms, with hospitalization; I prefer not to answer*

59. Have you been tested for COVID-19? Check all that apply.

*Yes, PCR test or antigen test with positive result (infected); Yes, PCR or antigen test with negative result (not infected); Yes, antibody test with positive result (past infection); Yes, antibody test with negative result (not infected); No; I prefer not to answer*

[If the respondent answers “No” or “I prefer not to answer”, go to question [66](#)]

60. How long did it take from the time you were tested until you received the results?  
*Less than 24h; Between 24 and 48h; 3 to 5 days; 5 to 10 days; More than 10 days; I did not receive the results; I do not know, I prefer not to answer*  
[If the respondent answered “Yes, PCR test or antigen test with positive result (infected)” or “Yes, antibody test with positive result (past infection)” to question 59, go to question 61. If the respondent answered “Yes, PCR or antigen test with negative result (not infected)” or “Yes, antibody test with negative result (not infected)” to question 59, go to question 66.]
61. After your positive COVID-19 test result, did healthcare personnel contact you to follow up on your health status?  
*Yes; No*  
[If the respondent answers “No”, go to question 63]
62. How many times did healthcare personnel contact you during the 14 days following your positive COVID-19 test result?  
*0 (never); 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10*
63. After your positive COVID-19 test result, were you contacted for an interview to gather information about the people you had been in contact with in previous days?  
*Yes; No*  
[If the respondent answers “No”, go to 66]
64. Do you know whether the contact tracing system, after the interview, reached out to any of the people you had been in contact with?  
*Yes, all of them were contacted; Yes, most of them were contacted; Yes, they contacted some of them; I am not aware that they were contacted; I do not know*  
[If the respondent answers “I am not aware that they were contacted” or “I do not know”, go to question 66]
65. Approximately, how long did it take for the contact tracing system to phone the people you had been in contact with?  
*They called them within the first 24 hours after my positive test result; They called them within 24 to 48 hours after my positive test result; They called them within 48 to 72 hours after my positive test result; They called them more than 72 hours after my positive test result*
66. Have you been reached out, at any time, by personnel from the contact tracing system to alert you that you may had been in contact with a person who had tested positive for COVID-19?  
*Yes; No; I do not know; I prefer not to answer*
67. During the last few months, have you had difficulties accessing health services in general (for instance, due to cancelled or delayed medical appointments)?  
*Yes; No; I prefer not to answer*

68. We would like to know your views on the risk of COVID-19 infection in your municipality. How likely do you think it is that you will be infected with COVID-19 in the following month?

*Extremely likely, Very likely; Somewhat likely; Unlikely; Very Unlikely*

69. And how likely do you think it is that a person in his/her 30s, who works on site and lives in your neighborhood or municipality will be infected with COVID-19 in the following month?

*Extremely likely, Very likely; Somewhat likely; Unlikely; Very Unlikely*

70. How many of your personal acquaintances have been infected with COVID-19?

*0; 1; 2; 3 to 5; 6 to 10; 10+*

71. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “very bad” and 10 is “very good”, how would you rate the quality of care received by you and those close to you in the following areas?

- COVID-19 detection system (speed of tests, results notification, etc.)
- Contact tracing system
- Follow-up healthcare for COVID-19 cases
- Access to the healthcare system (telephone accessibility, availability of appointments, etc.)
- Medical attention by healthcare personnel

*0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10*

72. We would like to know how your habits have changed as a result of COVID-19. Comparing your habits before the start of the pandemic with your current habits, how has the frequency with which you perform the following actions changed?

- Eating or drinking in restaurants or bars (indoors)
- Eating or drinking in restaurants or bars (outdoors/terrace)
- Meeting with close relatives who do not live with you (parents, siblings, aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews).
- Meeting with other, more distant, relatives
- Meeting with friends
- Leaving my municipality for leisure purposes (travel, visits, etc.)

*Much more frequently; More frequently; As before; Less frequently; Much less frequently*

## **F.8 Emotional Well-being**

73. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 indicates “great discomfort or depression” and 10 indicates “full happiness”, how would you rate your emotional well-being?

*0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10*

74. Comparing your emotional well-being before the first state of alarm was declared (March 14, 2020) with your current one, how would you say your emotional well-being has changed?

*It is now much better; It is now slightly better; About the same; It is now slightly worse; It is now much worse; I prefer not to answer*

[If the respondent answers “*It is now much better*”, “*It is now slightly better*”, “*About the same*” or “*I prefer not to answer*”, go to question 76.]

75. You have previously told us that your emotional well-being has worsened since the state of alarm was declared, select the main reasons. Check all that apply.

*Loss of employment and/or income; Difficulties in reconciling work and child care; Uncertainty about the future; I have reduced my contact with my loved ones; Health problems; Family conflicts; Other (please specify); I prefer not to answer*

## **F.9 Knowledge and Opinion about the Minimum Income Scheme (*Ingreso Mínimo Vital*)**

76. On May 29, the government approved the Minimum Vital Income, which aims to guarantee a minimum income for all families. Have you (or someone in your household) applied for this benefit or do you intend to apply for it?

*I have already applied for it; I have not applied for it, but I am going to apply for it; I have not applied for it and I do not know if I will do so; I have not and will not apply for it*

[If the respondent answers something different to “*I have already applied for it*”, go to question 79.]

77. Have you received a response to your application for the Minimum Vital Income benefit?

*Yes, we have been granted the aid and we have received it; Yes, we have been granted the aid but we have not yet received it; Yes, the aid has been denied; We have no response yet*

[If the respondent answers “*Yes, the aid has been denied*” or “*We have no response yet*”, go to question 79.]

78. Please, indicate the approximate monthly amount that your household has been granted as Minimum Vital Income.

*0€-99€; 100€-199€; 200€-299€; 300€-399€; 400€-499€; 500€-599€; 600€-699€; 700-799€; 800€-899€; 900€-1,000€; 1,000€-1,100€; I do not know*

79. What is your opinion about the Minimum Vital Income? Please, use the scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means “I do not like it at all” and 10 means “I like it very much”.

*0; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10*

80. Select the option that best captures your opinion about this aid. You can select more than one option if you prefer.

*It will help to those people most in need; It will help reduce inequality; It will help reduce child poverty; It is too costly for the state; It will discourage beneficiaries to seek*



*employment; It will foster the informal economy; It is not fair to give an aid to people who are able to work; Other (please specify); I do not know, I prefer not to answer*

81. According to the announcement by the government, the Minimum Vital Income that will be granted to an eligible family consisting of two adults and two children is 877€ per month. If this family has an income of 400€ per month from their current job, what transfer do you think they should receive?

*877€ per month; 477€ per month; 277€ per month; No transfer; I do not know*

82. Do you want to tell us something more? In the space below you can give us your opinion on this survey or on any of the topics covered, we will be happy to read it!

*Text box*

## **F.10 Additional Information on Sources Used for the Treatment**

83. Additional Information

- There is extensive scientific evidence on the importance of contact tracing.
- [Here<sup>12</sup>](#) you can find an scholarly article published in the prestigious journal The Lancet (in English).
- The calculation of the number of contact tracers needed has been done using the U.S. Health Resources and Services Administration (HRSA) tool.  
The calculation takes into account the population of each autonomous community and the number of cases per 100,000 inhabitants. [Here<sup>13</sup>](#) you can find the tool (in English).
- The estimated number of contact tracers per inhabitant in each autonomous community has been calculated using data supplied by the regional Health Departments, and information provided by Elena G. Sevillano and Pablo Linde.  
[Here<sup>14</sup>](#) you can find more information.

[If the respondent answered “Galicia” to question 3, display the following paragraph]

- As we said, there is no reliable data for Galicia, because the autonomous community also considers personnel who are not exclusively dedicated to this task. You can find more information [here<sup>15</sup>](#).  
For the calculation of the number of contact tracers needed to track all cases, we have assumed that the staff spends 10% of their working day on this task.

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<sup>12</sup><https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2468266720301572>

<sup>13</sup><https://www.gwhwi.org/estimator-613404.html>

<sup>14</sup><https://elpais.com/sociedad/2020-10-26/espana-tiene-el-doble-de-rastreadores-que-en-julio-pero-llegan-tarde.html>

<sup>15</sup>[https://www.eldiario.es/galicia/politica/20-6-000-rastreadores-mes-medio-xunta-engordacifras-personal-medico-no-seguimiento-contactos\\_1\\_6162599.html](https://www.eldiario.es/galicia/politica/20-6-000-rastreadores-mes-medio-xunta-engordacifras-personal-medico-no-seguimiento-contactos_1_6162599.html)

## **G Pre-Analysis Plan**

Here we reproduce the content of our pre-analysis plan (?).

### **G.1 Introduction**

This document outlines the hypotheses to be tested and specifications to be used in the study about the effects of quality in the management of the Covid-19 crisis on political attitudes. Since the authors completed the plan before the data was delivered to the authors and analyzed, the plan can provide a useful reference in evaluating the final results of the study. In particular, we registered this study with the American Economic Association (AEA) Randomized Control Trial Registry on December 13, 2020.

This study is related to the project ‘The Political Consequences of the Covid-19 Crisis’ that we conducted in June and July 2020 and for which we submitted a Pre-Analysis Plan to the American Economic Association (AEA) Randomized Control Trial Registry AEARCTR-0006084. This Pre-Analysis Plan focuses on describing new experiments that we plan to conduct within the new survey, which will take place in November 2020.

We have received IRB clearance from CEMFI (Centro de Estudios Monetarios y Financieros)’s IRB for these data collection and survey experiment (Application Reference #9; Approval date: October 2020).

The rest of this plan is outlined as follows: Section 2 reviews the motivation for the study; Section 3 presents the data sources, experimental design and econometric specifications; Section 4 presents the main outcomes to be tested; Section 5 the main hypotheses; Section 6 describes the analysis of heterogeneous effects and potential non-linearities.

### **G.2 Motivation**

In this study, we analyze the political and economic consequences of the (mis)management of the Covid-19 crisis. With this objective, we plan to implement a number of large-scale online experiments conducted to a representative sample of the Spanish population. Spain is one of the most severely affected countries by the Covid-19 pandemic, both in terms of the public health crisis and the expected economic downturn.

Our main research question is to study how providing information about the importance and the quality of the public management of the crisis and about the difference in management of the crisis across Spanish regions affect trust in institutions, support for extremist parties, polarization, and compliance with the rules, among other political attitudes.

### **G.3 Data sources, experimental design and econometric specifications**

#### **G.3.1 Data**

To perform this study, we will conduct a large-scale survey in Spain during November and early-December of 2020. We expect the sample size to be of approximately 4,000 individuals. These individuals will be selected by recontacting the 5,000 individuals that we surveyed in a baseline survey conducted in July 2020 (see AEA Pre-Analysis Plan AEARCTR-0006084). Given that a few months have passed since the baseline survey, we anticipate there will be some attrition.

In this survey we will collect some basic socio-demographic information, expose individuals to different information treatments, and elicit beliefs and political attitudes that are examined as outcomes of interest. We outsourced the data collection to YouGov, which is a well-established data analytics firm.<sup>16</sup>

### G.3.2 Experimental design

Individuals will be randomly assigned to one of the following three groups:

*T1*: This group obtains a treatment that consists on information on the importance of political action in managing the Covid crisis. In particular, it emphasizes the relevance of contact tracing. First, we elicit the individual’s prior on what is the number of contact tracers in his/her region (Autonomous Communities in Spain). Second we provide the actual number of contact tracers in their region in October 2020. In order to provide a benchmark for this information, we also provide information on the recommended number of contact tracers according to the Fitzhugh Mullan Institute for Health Workforce Equity.

*T2*: This group obtains the same information and prior elicitation as those in T1. At the end of that treatment, they receive additional information on how the number of contact tracers in their region compares to the rest of Spanish regions. This information provides an additional benchmark to the number of contact tracers.

*Control*: This group receives the treatment T1 at the end of the survey. Since at the time of answering all relevant outcomes the control group has not received yet the information treatment, this group serves as a control group. By providing the treatment information to this group at the end of the survey, we can obtain from them the prior about the number of contact tracers in their region.

#### Randomization

The sample is randomized to the three groups according to the following proportions: T1 (1/4 of the sample), T2 (1/4 of the sample), Control (1/2 of the sample).

The randomization is stratified by region, age, education level, and treatment assignment in the survey wave conducted in July 2020.<sup>17</sup> In particular, the combination of each of the 17 Autonomous Communities of Spain, 3 age-levels, 2 education groups, and 6 first-wave assignments define different strata. Individuals in each stratum are randomly assigned to the three groups (treatments and control) without replacement.

### G.3.3 Econometric specifications

In a first econometric specification we will combine the two treatment groups into a single group, which we denote as  $T_{ic}$ , and compare it to the control group. In particular,  $T_{ic}$  is an indicator that takes value 1 if the individual  $i$  living in region  $c$  is assigned to groups T1 or T2. Note that since the information provided differs by region, we include subindex  $c$ . The specification we plan to estimate is

$$Y_{ic} = \alpha + \beta T_{ic} + X'_{ic} \delta + u_{ic} \quad (1)$$

where  $Y_i$  is one of our outcomes of interest measured at the individual level (we describe outcomes in detail in the next section);  $T_{ic}$  is defined as described above;  $X'_{ic}$  is a vector of

<sup>16</sup><https://es.yougov.com/?stay>. Contact: Pau Pinós [pau.pinos@yougov.com](mailto:pau.pinos@yougov.com).

<sup>17</sup>See AEA Pre-Analysis Plan AEARCTR-0006084.

controls that we specify below.  $\beta$  captures the effect of receiving the treatment information on the number of contact tracers in region  $c$  on political attitudes.

We are also interested in the heterogeneous response by priors:

$$Y_{ic} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 T_{ic} + \beta_2 T_{ic} \times (\mu_{ic} - a_c) + \beta_3 (\mu_{ic} - a_c) + X'_{ic} \delta + e_{ic} \quad (2)$$

where  $Y_{ic}$  and  $T_{ic}$  are defined as in equation 1;  $a_c$  is the measure of the number of contact tracers in region  $c$ ,  $\mu_{ic}$  is individual  $i$ 's prior about the number of contact tracers in region  $c$ . Hence,  $(\mu_{ic} - a_c)$  captures the information shock to the individual. If  $\mu_{ic} - a_c > 0$  the individual got bad news, if  $\mu_{ic} - a_c < 0$ , the individual got good news.  $\beta_1$  captures the effect of receiving the information treatments for individuals that do not update their priors.  $\beta_2$  captures the additional effect for individuals that receive bad news.

We will examine a number of variations of specifications 1 and 2:

- We will examine if the effects are different depending on whether individuals received treatment T1 or T2 (i.e., for whether individuals obtained additional information about the performance of their region relative to the rest of the country).
- In specification 2, instead of the continuous measure of ‘bad news’,  $\mu_{ic} - a_c$ , we will use a dummy for receiving bad news  $d_i = 1$  iff  $\mu_{ic} - a_c > 0$ . In that specification,  $\beta_1$  captures the effect for individuals that obtain ‘good news’ (i.e.,  $\mu_{ic} - a_c < 0$ ), while  $\beta_2$  captures the differential (or additional) effect for individuals that obtain good news.
- We will also allow all the main coefficients in equation 2 to vary by whether the news received is good or bad news: we will interact the main terms with  $d_i$  defined above.
- We will examine whether the coefficients are heterogeneous on the basis of whether the individual is ideologically aligned to the government of their Autonomous Community, as well as by whether the individual is right-wing leaning or left-wing leaning (which proxies for alignment with the left-leaning central government).

**Controls.** Ideally, the vector of controls  $X'_i$  will include strata fixed effects defined by the combination of each autonomous region (17 in total), educational level (3 levels), age level (2 groups), and treatment assignment of first wave (6 treatments) which amounts to 612 strata. However, many strata will have very few or no observations and, hence, little variation on treatment assignment. In case the inclusion of strata fixed effects leaves little remaining identifying variation, we will replace the strata fixed effects for the variables used in the stratification. We will also add a number of controls to improve the precision of our estimates. In particular, pre-treatment ideological variables (self-reported vote in the last Congress election and left-right ideological position on a 1-10 scale); gender; centrality; socio-economic situation (pre-shock and change with the shock); and household income (pre-shock and change with the shock). As a robustness check, we will also add baseline values of the outcome as measured in the first wave of the survey conducted in July 2020 by the same individuals. We may exclude some of these covariates if they have too many missing values and their inclusion would lead to an important drop in the sample size. We will report the results with and without covariates.

**Randomization balance check.** We will report a balance table to check whether the different treatment groups are balanced across all the pre-treatment variables mentioned in the previous paragraph.

**Outcomes.** As we describe in the next section, we will aggregate outcomes on six different families of outcomes. For each of these families of outcomes, we will construct mean effects indices following. We will also report the estimates for each separate outcome.

**Data cleaning.** Before proceeding with the analysis, we will examine the internal quality of the data. In case of detecting observations for which we have evidence of careless response patterns, we will drop those observations from the sample. The criteria that we will use to detect those observations will be: (i) abnormally short time to answer all questions (less than 2 standard deviations from the mean, bottom 5% of time to complete); (ii) inconsistent answers across similar questions, (for instance, inconsistent description of occupation and sector); or (iii) abnormal responses (e.g., answering 0 or 10 to all questions with a 0-10 scale, or always answering the same number).

## **G.4 Outcomes**

We have 6 different sets of outcomes and hypotheses.

1. Beliefs.
2. Trust in political institutions.
3. Political preferences and support for the incumbent government.
4. Polarization.
5. Support for taxation and redistribution.
6. Compliance.

### **G.4.1 Beliefs**

#### **Competence of regional government in handling of the pandemic**

- Measure in a scale from 0 to 10 of how good or bad has the handling of the Covid-19 pandemic in their region, where 0 is very bad and 10 is very good.

#### **Competence of central government in handling of the pandemic**

- Measure in a scale from 0 to 10 of how good or bad has the handling of the Covid-19 pandemic by the central government, where 0 is very bad and 10 is very good.

#### **Regional versus central government responsibility**

- Measure in a scale from -10 to 10, where -10 means only the central government is responsible and 10 means only the regional government is responsible.

#### **Exogenous versus endogenous factors responsible**

- Measure in a scale from -10 to 10, where -10 means the evolution of the pandemic only depends on exogenous factors and 10 means only endogenous factors responsible.

#### **Voting based on management or ideals**

- Measure in a scale from -10 to 10, where -10 means individual votes only based on management and 10 means only on ideals.

#### **Competence of parties (PP, PSOE, Cs, Vox, Podemos) in management**

- Measure in a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means very bad and 10 means very good.

#### **Competence of central versus regional governments in management**

- Measure in a scale from -10 to 10, where -10 means regional governments more competent and 10 means central government more competent.

### **G.4.2 Trust**

#### **Trust in regional government**

- Measure of degree of trust on the regional government on a scale from 0 to 10.
- Share of money chosen to donate to regional government (vs. Red Cross). Alternatively, we will consider a dummy indicating whether the individual chooses to donate more than 50% to the regional government.
- Share of money chosen to donate to regional government (vs. Red Cross) net of central government vs. Red Cross.

#### **Trust in the political system and other institutions**

- Measure of degree of trust on the following institutions on a scale from 0 to 10: Spanish government, members of central parliament, local government, institutions of the European Union, judicial system, public health system.
- Assessment of the capacity of political institutions to address citizens' main problems. On a scale from 0 to 10.
- Share of money chosen to donate to central government (vs. Red Cross). Alternatively, we will consider a dummy indicating whether the individual chooses to donate more than 50% to the central government.

#### Additional analysis:

We will collect measures of trust on other entities or groups of individuals: economists, epidemiologists, media, and pharmaceutical companies. We will use these measures as outcomes to explore if the effects on trust are generalized across groups, or specific to institutions.

### **G.4.3 Political preferences and support for the regional incumbent party**

- An indicator for whether the individual intends to vote for one of the parties that form the regional government.
- An indicator for whether the individual mentions one of the parties that form the regional government as the party to which he/she feels the most sympathy.
- Mean sympathy for the parties that form the regional government. On a scale from 0 to 10.

#### Additional analyses:

- We plan to explore as outcomes the whole vector of vote intention and sympathy for all parties.
- We plan to explore as outcomes the support for centralist and pro-regional independence parties.
- We plan to explore as outcomes participation in collective action, e.g., demonstrations.
- We plan to explore as outcomes responses about what term best describes the situation of the country.

#### **G.4.4 Polarization**

We will consider four types of polarization: ideological polarization, affective polarization, partisanship, and support for radical parties.

**a.** We measure **ideological polarization** through a question on individuals' position on a 0 (extreme left)-10 (extreme right) scale. We construct three ideological polarization variables: the standard deviation of the responses, and the share of respondents in the extreme positions (0 and 10 or, alternatively, 0-1 and 9-10).

**b.** We measure **affective polarization** through a set of questions on how each party 'makes the respondent feel'. We construct two affective polarization variables. First, for each individual, we will compute the standard deviation of responses across all parties. For example, if a respondent grades all parties the same, then the standard deviation will be zero. Second, for each individual, we will compute the difference between her 'feelings' about her preferred party (as answered in the question about which party they feel closest to) and the mean of her feelings for the parties in the opposite side of the ideological spectrum. Parties on the right (left) of the ideological spectrum are CS, PP, and VOX (PSOE, Podemos, Más País-Equo, and Izquierda Unida). For example, for a respondent whose preferred party is the PSOE, this variable will take the value of the feeling about the PSOE minus the mean feeling for CS, PP, and VOX. For voters whose preferred party is a nationalist party (ERC, Junts, CUP, PNV, and EH Bildu), we consider central right-wing parties (CS, PP, VOX) as parties on the opposite side. For voters whose preferred party is 'another' or 'none', we will consider the party for which they report the highest feeling as their preferred party, and then proceed following the previous steps. In case the respondent gives more than two parties her highest valuation, we will randomly choose one as the preferred party to construct this variable.

**c.** We measure **partisanship** through self-reported persistence in voting preferences. We will focus on the share of respondents that answer that they always vote for the same party, or that they always or generally vote for the same party.

**d.** We measure **support for parties on the ideological extremes** through the share of respondents that report an intention to vote for Podemos, VOX, or CUP; or through the share of voters that mention one of these parties as the party for which they feel the most 'sympathy'; or through the sympathy felt for these parties on a 0-10 scale.

#### **G.4.5 Support for taxation and redistribution**

- Support for taxation and redistribution based on ideological stance regarding taxes. Two alternative outcome variables:

- Categorical variable that takes the following values:
  - \*  $\text{sup\_tax} = 3$  if answer ‘tax revenue is a way to better redistribute wealth in society’
  - \*  $\text{sup\_tax} = 2$  if answer ‘taxes are necessary to fund the provision of public goods’
  - \*  $\text{sup\_tax} = 1$  if answer ‘the amount we pay in taxes is not in accordance with the public goods we receive due to corruption’
  - \*  $\text{sup\_tax} = 0$  if answer ‘tax money would be better used in people’s pockets’
  - \* When multiple options are chosen, we will calculate the mean.
- Indicator that takes value 1 if the answer ‘tax revenue is a way to better redistribute wealth in our society’ (and ‘tax money would be better used in people’s pockets’ is not chosen); and takes value 0 otherwise.
- Support for higher spending and taxes. On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means decreasing spending and taxes and 10 means increasing spending and taxes
- Preferences towards progressive taxation. In particular:
  - Indicator for whether a hypothetical increase in taxes should be mainly charged to very high-income individuals (higher than 120,000 €/year).
  - Indicator for whether a hypothetical increase in taxes should be mainly charged to high-income individuals (higher than 60,000 €/year).

#### Additional analysis:

- We will also test whether the treatment has larger effects on support for redistribution for people that self-identify as left-leaning (or voted for left-wing parties in the last election), and a more negative effect for people that self-identify as right-leaning (or voted for right-wing parties).

#### **G.4.6 Compliance**

- Support for mask use. Indicator for whether it is a good idea or linearized variable.
- Willingness to quarantine. Indicators for options (a) or (a or b) or linearized variable.
- Observed willingness to quarantine. 0-10.
- Willingness to get vaccine. 0-10.

### **G.5 Hypotheses**

**‘First Stage’:** We will first examine the effects on the perceived level of competence of regional governments (first outcome of section 4.1.). This regression can be understood as a ‘first stage’, since we hypothesize that the effects on the rest of outcomes are mediated through a change in the perceived level of competence in the quality of political reaction to the Covid-19 crisis.

We expect our treatments to have a negative effect on the perceived level of competence of regional governments ( $\beta < 0$  in specification 1,  $\beta_1 < 0$  and  $\beta_2 < 0$  in specification 2).



We also expect these effects to decline in magnitude when the respondent is ideologically aligned to the regional government and misaligned to the central government. We expect T2 to have larger (smaller) effects in magnitude for individuals in regions with a below-median (above-median) response.

**‘Other Outcomes’:** We expect to find similar effects for outcomes that measure ‘favorable’ political attitudes, such as trust in government, support for redistribution, lack of polarization, and compliance with rules and regulations. In particular, we expect ( $\beta < 0$  in specification 1,  $\beta_2 < 0$  in specification 2). We also expect similar heterogeneous effects on the basis of ideological alignment with regional and central governments.

## **G.6 Heterogeneous effects and non-linearities**

### **G.6.1 Heterogeneous treatment effects**

For all outcomes, we will explore heterogeneous effects along several dimensions: age, educational level, region, gender, centrality, pre-treatment ideological variables (self-reported vote at the last Congress election and left-right ideological position on a 1-10 scale), socio-economic situation (pre-shock and change with the shock), and household income (pre-shock and change with the shock), by having suffered from Covid-19 disease personally or in the household, by eligibility to GMI (proxied using pre-treatment questions, such as reported household income), by health and personal experience with handling of the pandemic.

### **G.6.2 Non-linear effects**

For the 0-10 outcome variables, in addition to linear models, we will allow for non-linearities by considering as alternative outcomes indicators for whether respondents respond above a given number.

For multiple-choice qualitative outcome variables, in addition to dummies for each category, we will consider ordered probits.