Appendix for "Electoral concerns reduce the stringency of restrictive measures during the COVID-19 pandemic"

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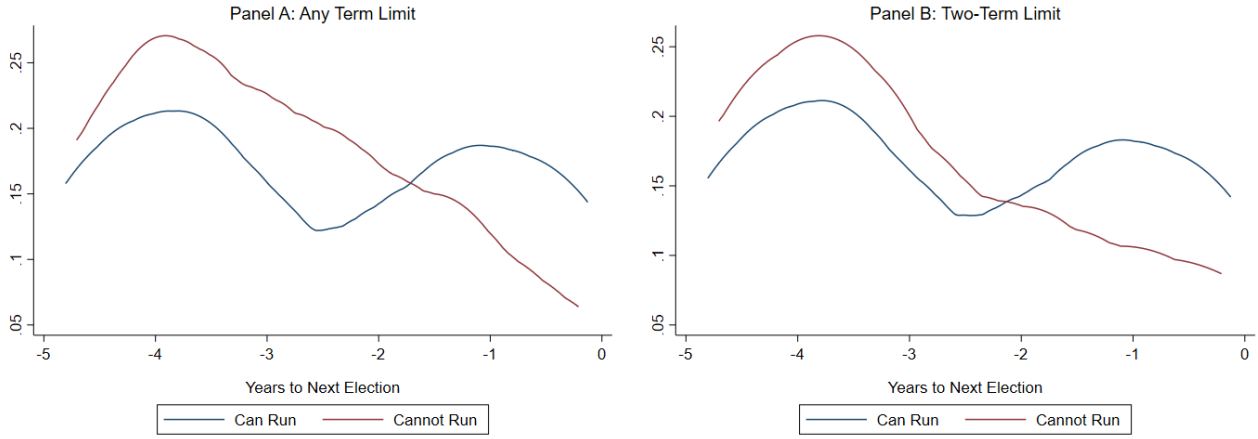
Table A1: Sample Description

Country	Date of Case 1	Date .001% Affected	Term Limit	Years to Election	Incumbent Can Run
Afghanistan	February 25	April 9	2	4.59	No
Algeria	February 26	March 29	2	4.8	Yes
Angola	March 22		2	2.42	Yes
Argentina	March 4	March 26	2	3.65	Yes
Benin	March 17	May 8	2	.97	Yes
Botswana	April 1	April 29	2	4.56	Yes
Brazil	February 26	March 25	2	2.6	Yes
Burkina Faso	March 11	March 31	2	.72	Yes
Burundi	April 1		2	.3	Yes
Cape Verde	March 21	April 1	2	1.53	No
Central African Republic	March 16	April 28	2	.96	Yes
Chile	March 4	March 18	1	1.71	No
Colombia	March 7	March 28	1	2.22	No
Congo	March 16	April 9	3	1.01	Yes
Costa Rica	March 7	March 18	1	1.92	No
Cyprus	March 10	March 14	2	2.89	No
Democratic Republic of Congo	March 11	May 7	2	3.81	Yes
Dominican Republic	March 2	March 22	2	.21	No
Ecuador	March 1	March 20	2	.97	Yes
Egypt	February 15	April 5	3	4.11	No
El Salvador	March 19	April 6	1	3.88	No
France	January 25	March 8	2	2.24	Yes
Ghana	March 13	April 9	2	.74	Yes
Guatemala	March 15	April 15	1	3.25	No
Indonesia	March 2	April 8	2	4.13	No
Ivory Coast	March 12	April 6	2	.62	No
Kazakhstan	March 15	March 28	2	4.24	Yes
Kenya	March 14	May 6	2	2.41	No
Liberia	March 17	April 13	2	3.57	Yes
Lithuania	February 28	March 19	2	4.21	Yes
Madagascar	March 21	May 17	2	3.63	Yes
Malawi	April 3		2	.13	No

Mali	March 26	April 19	2	3.34	No
Mauritania	March 15	May 18	2	4.27	Yes
Mexico	February 29	April 2	1	4.34	No
Mongolia	March 10	April 20	2	1.3	Yes
Mozambique	March 23		2	4.57	No
Namibia	March 15		2	4.71	No
Niger	March 21	April 7	2	.77	No
Nigeria	February 28	May 2	2	2.99	No
Panama	March 10	March 15	1	4.16	No
Paraguay	March 8	April 3	1	3.12	No
Peru	March 7	March 23	1	1.09	No
Philippines	January 30	March 29	1	2.27	No
Poland	March 4	March 21	2	.18	Yes
Romania	February 27	March 18	2	4.71	No
Russia	February 1	March 30	2	4.13	No
Rwanda	March 15	April 13	2	4.39	Yes
Senegal	March 3	March 31	2	3.98	No
Seychelles	March 15	March 15	2	.72	Yes
Sierra Leone	April 1	April 25	2	2.93	Yes
South Africa	March 6	March 26	2	4.18	Yes
South Korea	January 20	February 23	1	2.13	No
Sri Lanka	January 28	April 14	2	4.81	Yes
Switzerland	February 26	March 6	1	3.65	No
Tanzania	March 17		2	.61	Yes
Thailand	January 13	March 23	2	3.19	Yes
Tunisia	March 3	March 26	2	4.73	Yes
Turkey	March 12	March 22	2	3.28	No
Ukraine	March 4	March 31	2	4.08	Yes
United States	January 21	March 16	2	.79	Yes
Uruguay	March 15	March 18	1	4.62	No
Uzbekistan	March 16	April 6	2	1.72	Yes
Zambia	March 19	May 10	2	1.4	Yes
Zimbabwe	March 21		2	3.36	Yes

Figure A1: Distribution of Years to Election for Leaders who Can and Cannot Run



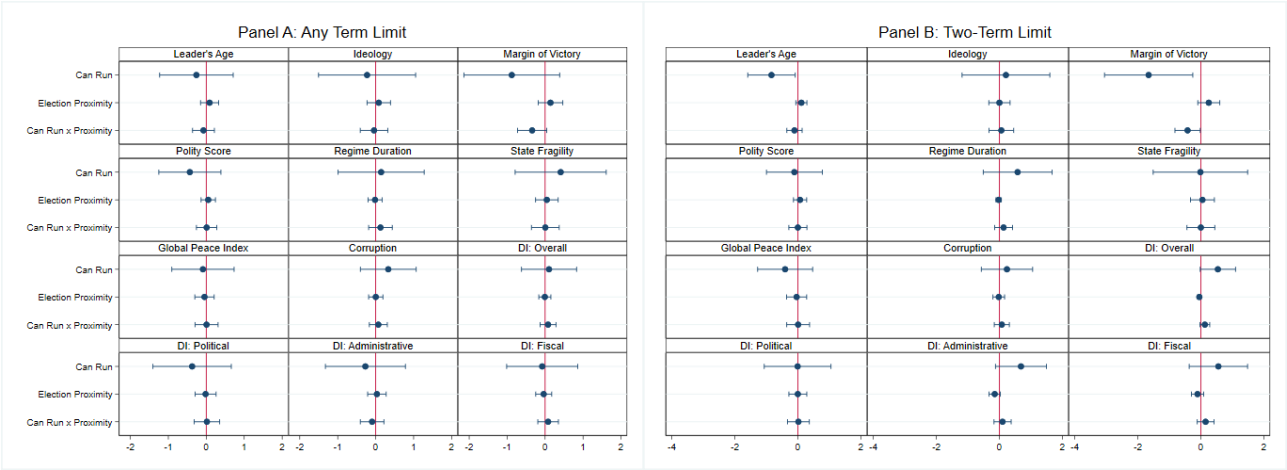
Notes: for both panels, a Kolmogorov-Smirnov test fails to reject the null that the two distributions are the same (combined-test p-value = .264 for Panel A and .803 for Panel B).

Table A2: Electoral Concerns and Timing of COVID-19 Outbreak

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	OLS	OLS	Neg. Binomial	Neg. Binomial
Incumbent Can Run	7.793	-3.275	0.115	-0.0497
	(8.626)	(8.247)	(0.125)	(0.115)
Election Proximity	0.0840	2.545	0.00128	0.0382
	(1.792)	(2.004)	(0.0266)	(0.0296)
Proximity × Can Run	2.138	-0.733	0.0317	-0.0115
	(2.582)	(2.801)	(0.0379)	(0.0408)
Observations	65	50	65	50
Term Limit	Any	2-Term	Any	2-Term

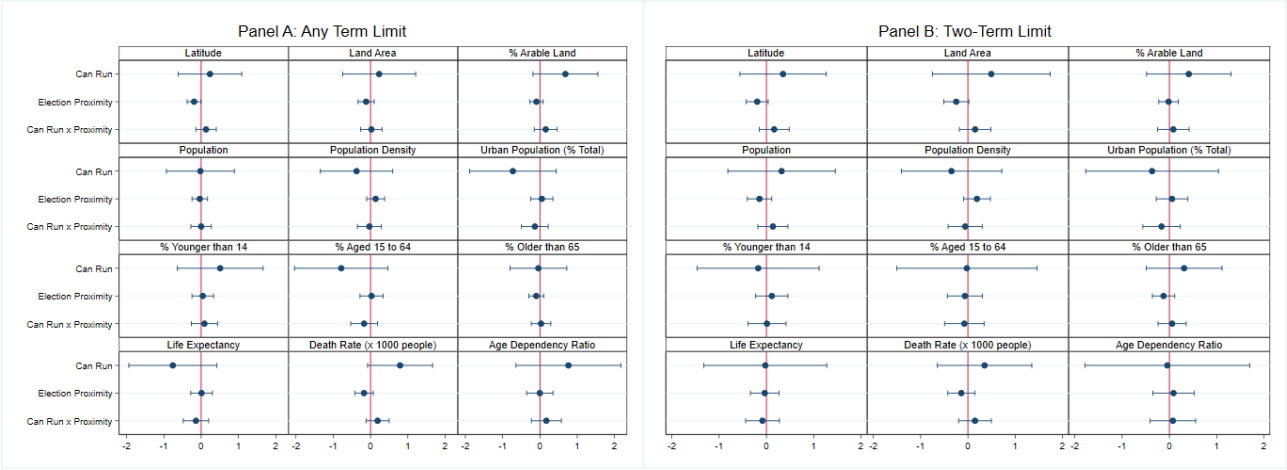
In all columns, the dependent variable is a count of the number of days since January 1st, 2020 to the day of the first confirmed case of COVID-19 in a country. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Figure A2: Balance Tests, Political Covariates



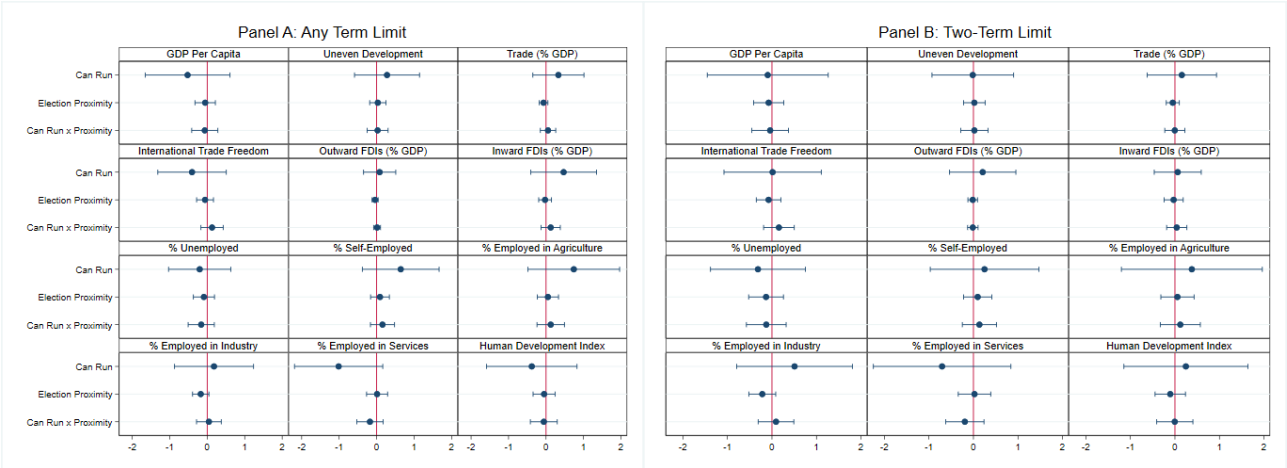
Notes: All outcomes are normalized to enhance the comparability of effect magnitudes. Horizontal bars are 95% confidence intervals based on robust standard errors. Details on each variable are provided in Table DA1.

Figure A3: Balance Tests, Geographic and Demographic Covariates



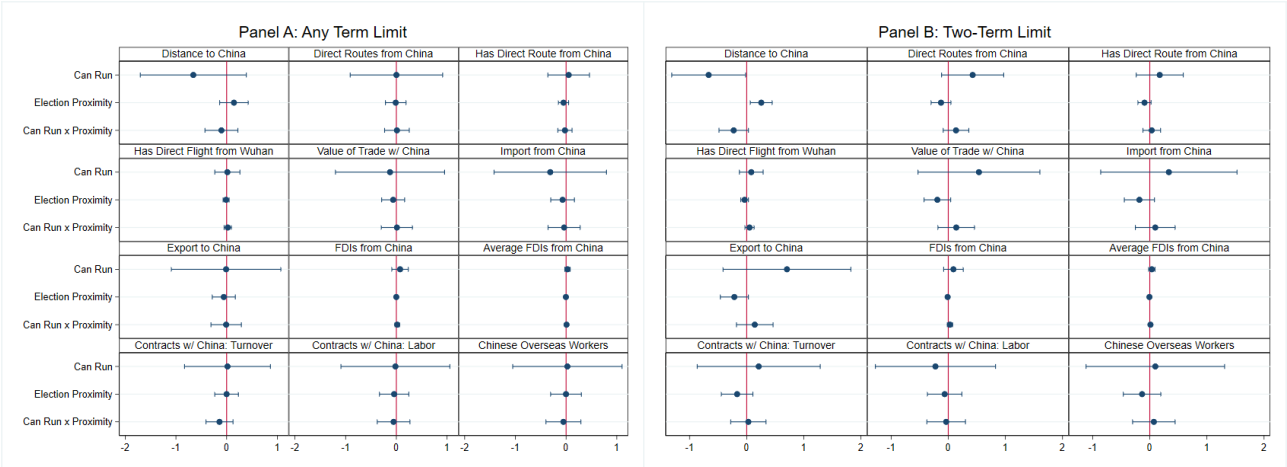
Notes: All outcomes are normalized to enhance the comparability of effect magnitudes. Horizontal bars are 95% confidence intervals based on robust standard errors. Details on each variable are provided in Table DA1.

Figure A4: Balance Tests, Economic Covariates



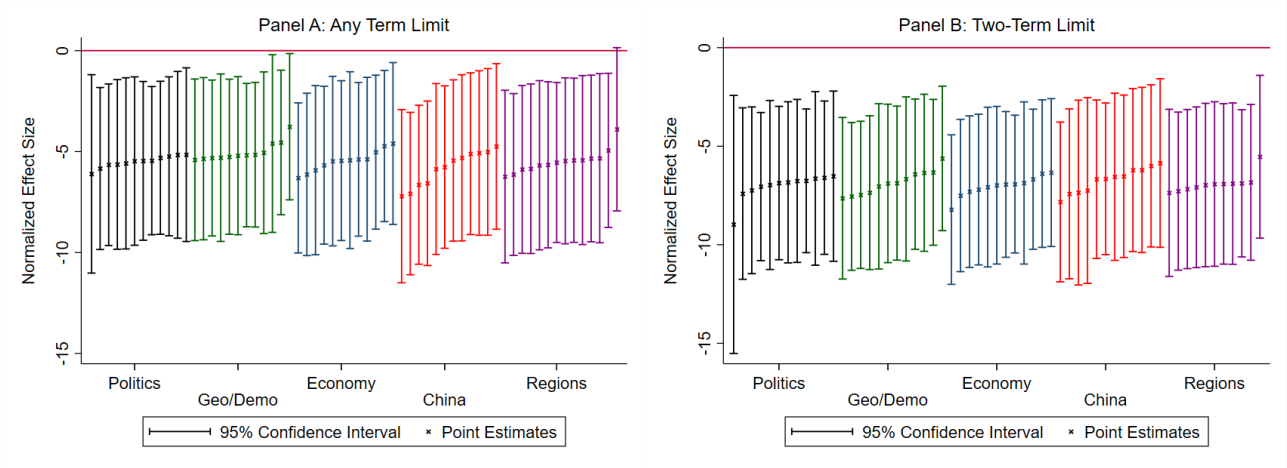
Notes: All outcomes are normalized to enhance the comparability of effect magnitudes. Horizontal bars are 95% confidence intervals based on robust standard errors. Details on each variable are provided in Table DA1.

Figure A5: Balance Tests, Connectedness to China



Notes: All outcomes are normalized to enhance the comparability of effect magnitudes. Horizontal bars are 95% confidence intervals based on robust standard errors. Details on each variable are provided in Table DA1.

Figure A6: Controlling for Covariates Interacted with Proximity to the Next Election



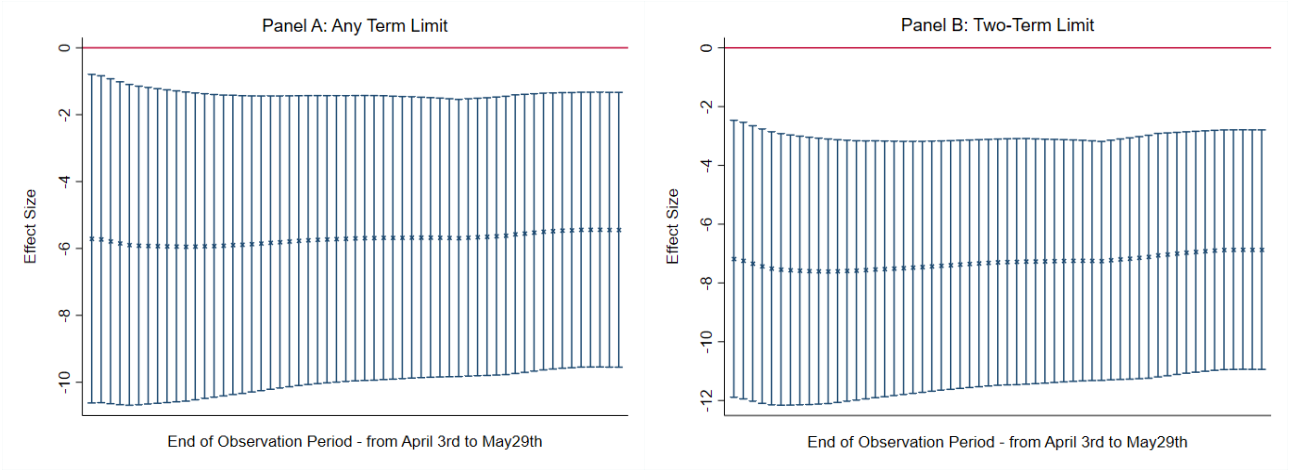
Notes: The dependent variable is SI_1. Both panels plot point estimates of β_3 and the relative 95% confidence intervals based on robust standard errors from equation (1), after having added each normalized covariate and its interaction to a country's number of years to the next election. Details on each variable are provided in Table DA1.

Table A3: Controlling for Term Length as a Potential Confounder

	(1)	(2)
	SI_1	SI_1
Incumbent Can Run	-45.14*	-53.46**
	(25.22)	(25.07)
Term Length	-3.416	-3.424
	(3.572)	(4.176)
Incumbent Can Run × Term Length	6.225	7.518
	(5.545)	(5.751)
Election Proximity	1.248	2.073
	(1.517)	(1.485)
Proximity × Can Run	-4.651**	-6.044**
	(2.314)	(2.319)
Observations	65	50
Term Limit	Any	2-Term

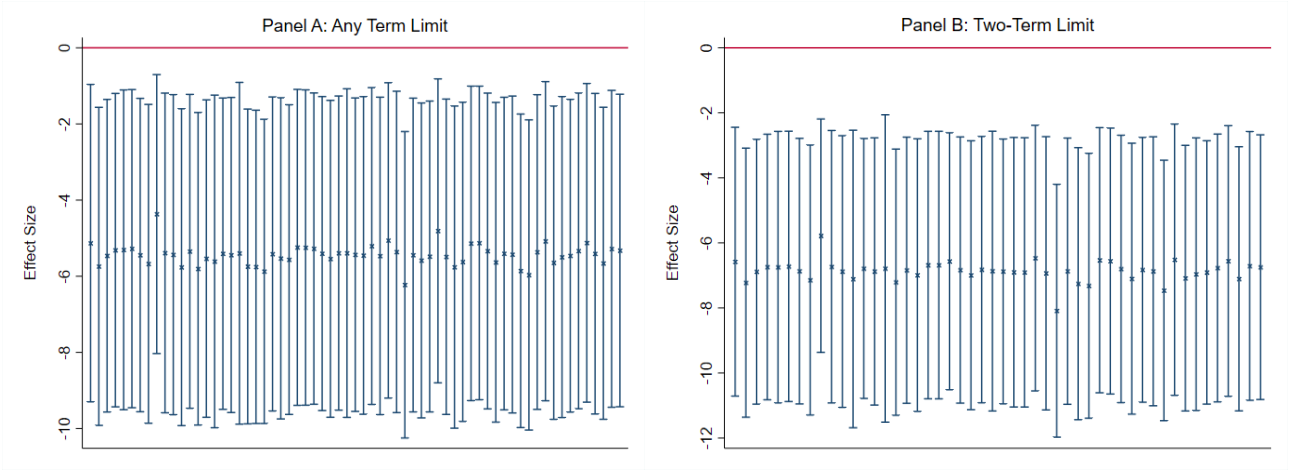
Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Figure A7: Robustness to Different Periods of Observation



Notes: The dependent variable is SI_1. Both panels plot point estimates of β_3 from equation (1) and the relative 95% confidence intervals based on robust standard errors.

Figure A8: Leave-One-Out Tests, Countries



Notes: The dependent variable is SI_1. Both panels plot point estimates of β_3 from equation (1) and the relative 95% confidence intervals based on robust standard errors.

Data Appendix: Description of Coding Protocols and Variables

DA1. Coding Party Ideology

We hereby detail the procedure used to code incumbent parties' ideology, a variable used for the tests presented in figures 3, A2, and A6 above. The variable is trichotomous, and takes on the value -1 if the party is a left-wing party, 1 if it is a right-wing party, and 0 if it is neither left- nor right-wing. We apply the following five-step procedure to construct this variable:

1. We rely on parties' current or recent membership into international progressive and conservative party families. A party is coded as left-wing if it has belonged to the *Socialist International* and as right-wing if it has belonged to the *International Democrat Union*.

2. For European parties not coded at step (1), we rely on parties current membership into European Parliament's groups. A party is coded as left-wing if it belongs to the *Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats*, to the *Greens/European Free Alliance*, or to the *European United Left-Nordic Green Left*. A party is coded as neither left- nor right-wing if it belongs to the *Renew Europe Group*. A party is coded as right-wing if it belongs to the *European People's Party*, to the *Identity and Democracy Group*, or to the *European Conservative and Reformists*.

3. For parties not coded as of step (2), we rely on the party name. A party is coded as left-wing if its name contains the world "Left", "Socialist", "Labour", "Communist", or "Progressive". An incumbent is coded as neither left- nor right-wing if she ran as an "Independent".

4. For parties not yet coded as of step (3), we rely on the right-left ideological index (`rile`) in the Manifesto Project Dataset, version 2019*b*. A party is coded as left-wing if its `rile` is smaller than -10. A party is coded as neither left- nor right-wing if its `rile` is between -10 and 10. A party is coded as right-wing if its `rile` is greater than 10.

5. For parties not yet coded as of step (4), we conduct an independent web search and code their ideology based on the information retrieved.

DA2. Covariates

Table DA1 below provides the description and source for the 48 variables used for the balance tests displayed in Figure 3 and the additional regressions presented in figures A2 through A6 above.

Table DA1: Variables and sources

Variable	Description	Source
Panel A. Political Covariates		
Incumbent's age	Age of incumbent leader in years.	Incumbent's biography
Incumbent's ideology	Ideology of incumbent leader based on her party.	See subsection DA1
Margin of victory	Margin of victory of incumbent leader in latest election.	Official electoral results
Polity Score	Most recent measurement of democracy according to Freedom House.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Regime Durability	Years since last regime change.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
State Fragility Index	State's effectiveness and legitimacy on a 25-point scale.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Global Peace Index	Country's peacefuleness on a 5-point scale, based on its level of Societal Safety and Security; the extent of Ongoing Domestic and International Conflict; and the degree of Militarisation.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Bayesian Corruption Indicator	The BCI index values lie between 0 and 100, with an increase in the index corresponding to a raise in the level of corruption.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Decentralization Index	The values lie between 0 and 100, with an increase in the index corresponding to a raise in the level of decentralization.	Ivanyna and Shah (2014)
Political Decentralization Index	The values lie between 0 and 100, with an increase in the index corresponding to a raise in the level of political decentralization.	Ivanyna and Shah (2014)
Administrative Decentralization Index	The values lie between 0 and 100, with an increase in the index corresponding to a raise in the level of administrative decentralization.	Ivanyna and Shah (2014)
Fiscal Decentralization Index	The values lie between 0 and 100, with an increase in the index corresponding to a raise in the level of fiscal decentralization.	Ivanyna and Shah (2014)
Panel B. Geographic and Demographic Covariates		
Latitude	The country's latitude.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Area	The country's area in square km.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Arable land	The country's arable land as % of its area.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Population	The country's inhabitants.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Population density	The country's inhabitants per sq. km.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020

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Table DA1 – Variables and sources, continued from previous page

Variable	Description	Source
Urban population	The % of the country's population living in urban areas.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Population younger than 14	The % of the country's population younger than 14.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Population between 14 and 65	The % of the country's population aged 14 to 65.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Population older than 65	The % of the country's population older than 65.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Life expectancy	Life expectancy at birth, in years.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Death rate	Crude death rate per 1,000 people.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Age dependency ratio	Age dependency ratio as % of working age population.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Panel C. Economic Covariates		
GDP per capita	GDP per capita, PPP (constant 2011 international USD).	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Uneven Economic Development	Includes pressures and measures related to GINI coefficient, income share of highest 10%, income share of lowest 10%, urban-rural service distribution, access to improved services, slum population.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Trade value	Value of trade as % of GDP.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Freedom to Trade Internationally	The index goes from 0 to 10 and consists of the following indicators: Taxes on international trade, Regulatory trade barriers, Actual size of trade sector compared to expected size, Difference between official exchange rate and black market rate International capital market controls.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Inward FDIs	Foreign direct investment, net inflows (% of GDP).	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Outward FDIs	Foreign direct investment, net outflows (% of GDP).	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Unemployment	Unemployment, total (% of total labor force) (modeled ILO).	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Self-employed	% of total labor force that is self-employed.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Employed in agriculture	% of total labor force that is employed in the agricultural sector.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Employed in industry	% of total labor force that is employed in the industrial sector.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Employed in services	% of total labor force employed in the service sector.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Human Development Index	UNDP Human Development Index, a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable and have a decent standard of living. The HDI is the geometric mean of normalized indices for each of the three dimensions.	QoG Basic Dataset 2020
Panel D. Covariates on Connectedness to China		
Distance	Distance between the country and China (number of km. between two most popoulous cities).	CEPII GeoDist Database
Air routes	Total number of direct routes from China to the country.	flightconnections.com

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Table DA1 – Variables and sources, continued from previous page

Variable	Description	Source
Air routes (indicator)	Indicator = 1 if country has at least one direct route from China.	flightconnections.com
Air route Wuhan	Indicator = 1 if country has at least one direct route from Wuhan Tianhe International Airport.	flightconnections.com
Trade	Total Value of Trade with China in 2018 (10000 USD).	China Statistical Yearbook 2019
Import	Total Value of Import from China in 2018 (10000 USD).	China Statistical Yearbook 2019
Export	Total Value of Export to China in 2018 (10000 USD).	China Statistical Yearbook 2019
FDIs 2018	Chinese FDIs in the country in 2018.	ceicdata.com
Average FDIs	Average yearly Chinese FDIs in the country between 2003 and 2018.	ceicdata.com
Contracts Turnover	2018 Contracted Projects with China, Value of Turnover Fulfilled (10000 USD)	ceicdata.com
Contracts Labor	2018 Contracted Projects with China, Dispatched Labor (N. Persons)	ceicdata.com
Contracts Workers	2018 Contracted Projects with China, Overseas Chinese Workers in the country (N. Persons)	ceicdata.com