

Supporting Information

“The Early Pandemic and Democratic Attitudes”

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1. Sampling Methodology and Weights

The firm, d.a.g.m.a.r. Research, has a mobile phone database of 200,000 numbers split evenly across each of Haiti's 10 departments: Artibonite, Centre, Grand'Anse, Nippes, Nord, Nord-Est, Nord-Ouest, Ouest, Sud, Sud-Est.

The sample was stratified by region (North, Center, West, and South) with targets set proportional to population, and additional targets were set by age and gender to match census projections. Only individuals 18 or older were eligible. Phone numbers were called twice before being discarded.

Weights were created by raking over indicators for age group (census projections provided by the survey firm), gender (50-50 split), education, and a module on ownership of household items. Since census data in Haiti are outdated (the last census was in 2003) and only partially public, we used the 2017 AmericasBarometer survey of Haiti as the population benchmark for education and ownership of household items. Missing values in the current survey were imputed using chained imputation to ensure each observation received a weight.

2. Pandemic Question Module [English translation]

Survey Code, Question Wording, and Variable Coding:

1. COVID1. How serious of a problem do you think the coronavirus outbreak is for Haiti? (coded 1-5, greater values = more serious)
2. COVID2A. How worried are you about the possibility that you or someone in your household will become sick with the coronavirus? (coded 1-4, greater values = more worried)
3. COVID2B. How worried are you about the possibility that your household economic situation will be negatively affected by the coronavirus? (coded 1-4, greater values = more worried)
4. COVID2C. How worried are you about the possibility that your household will have difficulty accessing basic goods, such as food or medicine, due to the coronavirus? (coded 1-4, greater values = more worried)
5. COVID3. How would you rate the performance of the national government in handling the coronavirus outbreak? (coded 1-5, higher values = better evaluations)
6. COVID4. Coronavirus is spreading in Haiti. Who is the most responsible for the increased number of infections? (coded 1=incumbent administration, 0=other)
7. COVID6. Please tell me if you have taken any of the following actions because of the recent coronavirus outbreak. Have you canceled any plans to attend large gatherings such as social events or church? (1=yes)
8. COVID7. Have you kept a greater distance between you and others when out in public? (1=yes)
9. COVID8. Have you washed your hands more often with water and soap or sanitizer? (1=yes)
10. COVID14. Considering those who get the coronavirus, would you say that they deserve to be sick because of the way they live, or that they could not help becoming sick? (1=deserve to be sick)

Table S1. Pandemic Module Treatment Effects

Variable	Prime (N=1,002)	Control (N=1,026)	Difference
COVID1	4.13	4.36	-0.23
COVID2A	3.07	3.12	-0.06
COVID2B	3.07	3.14	-0.06
COVID2C	2.88	2.83	0.05
COVID3	2.05	2.18	-0.13
COVID4	0.55	0.55	0.00
COVID6	0.73	0.76	-0.03
COVID7	0.90	0.88	0.02
COVID8	0.97	0.98	-0.01
COVID14	0.12	0.10	0.02

Note: Values are coded as noted above and survey weights are applied. Bolded differences are statistically significant at 95% (two-tailed).

3. Political Attitudes Module [English translation]

Survey Code, Question Wording, and Variable Coding (study variables in italics):

SOCT2. Do you think that the country's current economic situation is better than, the same as or worse than it was 12 months ago? (coded 1-3, higher values = better)

IDIO2. Do you think that your economic situation is better than, the same as, or worse than it was 12 months ago? (coded 1-3, higher values = better)

In general, how would you rate the quality of each of the following services in Haiti?

HAIACS5. Drinkable water. (coded 1-5, higher values = better)

HAIACS6. Trash disposal. (coded 1-5, higher values = better)

ANESGI1. Do you think what happens generally to people in your neighborhood [split sample: Haitians in this country] will have something to do with what happens in your life? (1=yes)

IT1N1. And speaking of the people from your neighborhood [split sample: Haitians], would you say that people in your community are very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy or untrustworthy...? (coded 1-4, higher values = more trustworthy)

Now, changing the subject. Some people say that under some circumstances it would be justified for the Police Nationale d'Haiti to take power by a coup d'état (military coup). In your opinion would a coup by the police be justified...:

JC10. When there is a lot of crime. (1=justified; asked only of split sample)

JC13. When there is a lot of corruption. (1=justified; asked only of split sample)

JC13COVID. When there is a public health emergency like the coronavirus (1=justified)

JCCOV1. Do you believe that when there is a public health emergency like the coronavirus it is justifiable for the president of the country to postpone elections? (1=justified; asked only of split sample)

JCCOV2. Do you believe that when there is a lot of violence it is justifiable for the president of the country to postpone elections? (1=justified; asked only of split sample)

VIC1EXT. Now, changing the subject, have you been a victim of any type of crime in the past 12 months? That is, have you been a victim of robbery, burglary, assault, fraud, blackmail, extortion, violent threats or any other type of crime in the past 12 months? (1=yes)

AOJ11. Speaking of the neighborhood where you live and thinking of the possibility of being assaulted or robbed, do you feel very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe or very unsafe? (coded 1-4, with higher values=more safe)

IVOL24. Is there a criminal gang or gangs in your neighborhood? (yes=1; those who responded “1” answered 3 follow-up questions)

B1. To what extent do you think the courts in Haiti guarantee a fair trial? (coded 1=7, higher values = more)

B2. To what extent do you respect the political institutions of Haiti? (coded 1=7, higher values = more)

B3. To what extent do you think that citizens’ basic rights are well protected by the political system of Haiti? (coded 1=7, higher values = more)

B4. To what extent do you feel proud of living under the political system of Haiti? (coded 1=7, higher values = more)

B6. To what extent do you think that one should support the political system of Haiti? (coded 1=7, higher values = more)

BESS1. To what extent do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance? (coded 1=7, higher values = more)

M1. Speaking in general of the current administration, how would you rate the job performance of President Jovenel Moïse? (coded 1-5, higher values=better)

HAIM6. Would you say that the election process in Haiti is very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad, or very bad? (coded 1-5, higher values=better)

ING4. Democracy may have problems, but it is better than any other form of government. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement? (coded 1-7, higher values=more agreement)

EXC7. Taking into account your own experience or what you have heard, corruption among public officials is: (coded 1-5, higher values=less common; asked of split sample)

EXC7NEW. Thinking of the politicians of Haiti... how many of them do you believe are involved in corruption? (coded 1-5, higher values=less common; asked of split sample)

ESSH1. How is your health in general? (coded 1-5, higher values=better)

HC3. Over the last 12 months that is from April 2019/May 2019 until today have you or any household member needed medical attention? (yes=1; those who responded “1” answered 3 follow-up questions)

SD6NEW2H. And thinking of the quality of public medical and health services in general? Are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied? (coded 1-4, higher values=more satisfied)

POL1A. How much interest do you have in politics: a lot, some, little or none? (coded 1-4, higher values = more)

VB20A. If the next presidential elections were being held this week, what would you do? (coded so that 1= vote for the incumbent, 0 otherwise)

HAIRIG1. Do you think that now you know more, about the same, or less about your rights than 12 months ago? (coded 1-3, higher values=know more; asked of a split sample)

HAIRIG5. Do you feel you know more, about the same, or less about your rights to access to justice than 12 months ago? (coded 1-3, higher values=know more; asked of a split sample)

WF1. Do you or someone in your household receive regular assistance in the form of money, food, or products from the government, not including pensions/social security? (1=yes)

Table S2. Political Attitudes Module Treatment Effects

Variable	Prime (N=1,002)	Control (N=1,026)	Difference
SOCT2	1.04	1.02	0.03
IDIO2	1.06	1.06	0.00
HAIACS5	2.10	1.93	0.18
HAIACS6	2.19	2.05	0.14
ANESGI	0.72	0.76	-0.04
IT1N	2.07	2.11	-0.05
VIC1EXT	0.23	0.23	-0.00
AOJ11	2.29	2.34	-0.05
IVOL24	0.21	0.22	-0.01
B1	2.32	2.36	-0.03
B2	4.12	3.97	0.15
B3	2.42	2.34	0.08
B4	2.82	2.66	0.16
B6	3.35	3.22	0.13
BESS1	4.09	4.21	-0.12
HAIM6	2.10	1.91	0.19
EXC7	2.96	2.93	0.04
EXC7NEW	2.33	2.12	0.22
ESSH1	2.81	2.78	0.03
HC3	0.68	0.69	-0.00
SD6NEW2H	2.13	2.11	0.02
POL1	1.97	2.08	-0.11
HAIRIG1	1.94	2.05	-0.11
HAIRIG5	1.85	1.87	-0.03
WF1	0.01	0.01	0.00

Note: Values are coded as noted above and survey weights are applied. Bolded differences are statistically significant at 95% (two-tailed).

4. Auxiliary Analyses

Table S3. Balance Test for COVID-19 Prime Experiment

Variable	(1)
Female	-0.004 (0.023)
Age group	
18-25	-- --
26-35	0.022 (0.032)
36-45	0.007 (0.035)
46-55	-0.018 (0.036)
56-65	0.015 (0.053)
66+	0.075 (0.081)
Education	
Incomplete primary	-- --
Primary	-0.042 (0.077)
Secondary	-0.061 (0.072)
Post-Secondary	-0.061 (0.075)
Region	
North	-- --
Center	0.026 (0.035)
West	0.014 (0.031)
South	-0.001 (0.035)
Constant	1.545* (0.078)
Observations	1,983
R^2	0.0024

OLS regression; standard errors in parentheses; * p<0.05

Table S4. Attitudes toward the President, Without Weights

	Prime	Control	Treatment Effect
Approval (1-5)	2.18	2.03	0.15
Intention to vote for president (0-1)	6.94	6.15	0.79
Postpone elections in health crisis (%)	88.18	81.65	6.53
Postpone elections in high violence (%)	76.28	79.04	-2.76

Notes: Bolded differences are statistically significant at 95% (two-tailed).

Table S5. Core Democratic Values, Without Weights

	Prime	Control	Treatment Effect
Support for democracy (1-7)	4.07	3.98	0.09
Coup is justified in high crime (%)	42.73	43.50	-0.77
Coup is justified in high corruption (%)	37.43	41.77	-4.34
Coup is justified in health crisis (%)	39.53	36.94	2.59

Notes: No differences are statistically significant at 95% (two-tailed).

Table S6. Attitudes toward the President, With Controls

Variable	Presidential Approval	Presidential Vote Intention	Postpone Elections due to Health Crisis	Postpone Elections due to Violence
Prime	-0.173* (0.068)	-0.470 (0.264)	-0.720* (0.248)	-0.104 (0.213)
COVID concern	0.027 (0.029)	0.157 (0.104)	0.007 (0.100)	0.116 (0.092)
Female	-0.095 (0.068)	-0.880* (0.262)	0.159 (0.247)	0.180 (0.218)
Age	-0.003 (0.028)	-1.08 (0.086)	-0.149 (0.100)	-0.058 (0.082)
Education	0.143* (0.062)	-0.303 (0.193)	0.331 (0.206)	0.079 (0.184)
Constant	2.237* (0.212)	-1.185 (0.689)	1.610* (0.792)	0.549 (0.627)
Region dummies	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,463	1,384	771	728
R^2	0.048	–	–	–

OLS regression, first data column, and logit regression for others; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.05$

Table S7. Core Democratic Values, With Controls

Variable	Support for Democracy	Coup Justified in High Crime	Coup Justified in High Corruption	Coup Justified in Health Crisis
Prime	0.103 (0.146)	0.008 (0.209)	0.315 (0.215)	0.010 (0.146)
COVID concern	-0.074 (0.068)	-0.044 (0.094)	-0.112 (0.097)	0.033 (0.066)
Female	-0.189 (0.147)	0.475* (0.215)	0.489* (0.209)	0.451* (0.147)
Age	-0.011 (0.060)	-0.390* (0.094)	-0.260* (0.093)	-0.322* (0.064)
Education	0.117 (0.138)	-0.778* (0.214)	-0.305 (0.207)	-0.771* (0.137)
Constant	4.271* (0.459)	2.442* (0.712)	1.241 (0.646)	1.654* (0.459)
Region dummies	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	1,561	602	604	1,269
R^2	0.007	–	–	–

OLS regression, first data column, and logit regression for others; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.05$